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# CASS GILBERT AND THE IDEAL OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL:

# CITY AND CAMPUS PLANS, 1900-1916

by

BARBARA SNOWDEN CHRISTEN

VOLUME ONE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1997

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 25, 1997
Date

Rosemarie H. Bletter
Rosemarie H. Bletter
Chair of Examining Committee

4.29.97
Date

Rose-Carol Washton Long
Rose-Carol Washton Long
Executive Officer

Sally Webster

Jon A. Peterson

Richard Guy Wilson

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Abstract

CASS GILBERT AND THE IDEAL OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL:

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by

Barbara Snowden Christen

Advisor: Rosemarie H. Bletter

The dissertation argues for understanding the acclaimed American architect, Cass Gilbert (1859-1934), as an important planner and not just as an architect. It discusses the interest that Gilbert had in the shaping of public space throughout his career by examining his comprehensive city and campus plans. This examination also illuminates 1) Gilbert's understanding of the civic reform ideals of the City Beautiful movement at the turn of the century and in later years, and 2) the impact of local citizens on the development of each of Gilbert's comprehensive plans.

Chapters I and II argue that Gilbert was profoundly influenced by his professional involvement with his early employers (McKim, Mead & White), the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, the American Institute of Architects (AIA), and particularly by Glenn Brown, Secretary of the AIA. Brown's influence is shown to have been instrumental in encouraging Gilbert to develop an understanding of the ideal of the City Beautiful movement.

The remaining chapters illustrate Gilbert's application of this ideal in the comprehensive plans that he developed after 1902. The study presents a chronological examination of

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the early development of the Minnesota State Capitol Approaches (especially 1902-1909) and also of his master plans for schools--the University of Minnesota, the University of Texas, and Oberlin College (1903-1916). The goals of Gilbert's and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.'s report and city plan for New Haven (1907-1912) are highlighted in the conclusion. The discussion of each of these projects shows that Gilbert was aided greatly by the efforts of local, public-spirited advocates of municipal reform. It emphasizes the interconnections between actual small-scale efforts and the idealized, monumental vision of the City Beautiful. This dissertation therefore explains how Cass Gilbert was encouraged by citizens at several critical junctures and how he made significant contributions to the American landscape aside from the buildings for which he is best-known, such as the U. S. Custom House (New York; 1899-1907), the Woolworth Building (New York; 1911-1913), and the U. S. Supreme Court (Washington, D. C.; 1927-1935).

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My understanding of Gilbert's campus projects was developed by the efforts of many scholars and administrators, both abroad and in this country. Donald Peacock graciously referred me to the Sir Charles Reilly Archive at the University of Liverpool where Adrian Allan, university archivist, was most helpful. Joseph Sharples, Assistant Curator of Fine Art at the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, further illuminated the reasons for Reilly's interest in Gilbert's work. Penelope Krosch, Archivist, and her assistant, Lois Hendrickson, University of Minnesota/ University Archives; and Alan K. Lathrop, Curator, Northwest Architectural Archives; kindly gave of their time to clarify details regarding Gilbert's University of Minnesota proposals. With respect to the University of Texas material, I am indebted to Ralph Elder, Head of Public Services, The Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin; and to Margaret Glover, Assistant Secretary to the Board of Regents of the University of Texas. Roland Baumann, Archivist at Oberlin College, offered assistance at many stages of this project. I am grateful for Oberlin's support of my work in the form of the Frederick B. Artz Summer Research Award and also in the form of moral support and editorial suggestions from political historian, Geoffrey Blodgett. My essay on the Oberlin Village Improvement Society, sponsored by the college archives, influenced me to consider the local applications of Gilbert's monumental projects for cities and campuses alike.

I am indebted to my professors, the late Albert Fein, who

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION: CASS GILBERT, ARCHITECT AND PLANNER

In 1910, Sidney E. Mezes, President of the University of Texas at Austin, provided perhaps the most clear and concise description of Gilbert's life and work. Mezes enthusiastically endorsed the selection of Cass Gilbert as the university architect and proclaimed that Gilbert combined "practical efficiency with artistic knowledge and skill to a[n] . . . unusual extent."[1] This evaluation of Gilbert's many talents was representative of the kind of praise his work had garnered him by the first decade of the twentieth century. Identified as an architect of immense skill and versatility, by 1913 Gilbert had designed and built a state or municipal building in nearly every state of the country. Gilbert also enjoyed an exemplary international reputation, having been considered for work as far afield as Japan.[2]

What Mezes failed to mention, however, was Gilbert's considerable reputation as a planner. His stature in this regard is suggested by the wide-ranging invitations and requests for advice that Gilbert received with respect to municipal art matters, town and park planning, and architectural materials for municipal building groups. He was asked for advice by representatives of cities as diverse as Baltimore, Atlanta, Cleveland, and Seattle, as well as small towns such as Halesite, New York; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Winona, Minnesota; and settlements in Montana.[3]

Because of his busy architectural practice and also

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perhaps because of his reticence to speak in public, Gilbert categorically turned down offers of work from cities and towns such as these. He also rejected numerous requests to speak about the subject of town planning.[4] Yet, despite his avoidance of the institutional framework of town planning efforts, Gilbert in his practice was influenced by the ideals of the City Beautiful movement. This movement represented a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century planning phenomena whose general goal was to improve the visual, moral, and social quality of life in small towns and large cities alike. Gilbert moved with ease among well-known planners, such as Flavel Shurtleff, Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, as well as landscape architects and planners, such as John Nolen, and George Kessler. Gilbert also was frequently asked to join planning-related organizations (such as the National Housing Association, the American Association of Highway Improvement, the New York City Planning Commission, and the Municipal Art Society) and was requested to supply information and articles for statistics experts and publishers, invitations which he did not accept.[5]

Yet Gilbert continued to regard himself as much as a planner as an architect. When requested by a colleague for the names of architects who had had extensive experience in the planning of building groups, Gilbert not only supplied a list of expected names such as those of California architect, John Galen Howard; Eames and Young of St. Louis; McKim, Mead & White, George B. Post, and others from New York, he also

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included his own name on the list.[6] Some years later, when requested to name "the best city planners in the country," Gilbert again could not resist including himself on the list of illustrious designers and planners that he supplied.[7]

The influence of the City Beautiful movement is especially apparent in Gilbert's campus and city plans that were developed in the years between 1900 and 1916. During this period, Gilbert's practice mainly consisted of designing public works--large commercial buildings, monumental structures, and group plans of various types.[8] These works developed after 1895, most significantly, when Gilbert had attained national attention for his award-winning design of the Minnesota State Capitol and when issues of city planning could not be avoided.[9]

This dissertation presents a close examination of the interrelationship between the architect's correspondence and the drawings that pertain to each of Gilbert's comprehensive plans. This examination reveals the impact of local citizens upon the development of each proposal. Gilbert, as discussed in this chapter, was greatly influenced by his professional involvement with his early employers, McKim, Mead & White, and by his exposure to the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. By 1900, as illustrated in Chapter II, these early influences were developed further through the organizational efforts of Glenn Brown, a Washington, D.C. architect and administrator for American Institute of Architects (AIA). Brown, in his campaign for the

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reorganization of the core of public space in Washington, D.C., coordinated the AIA Conference and secured Gilbert's participation in the discussion of these matters of public art and planning. Through these various experiences, Gilbert attained the knowledge and fluency of the theoretical framework of the City Beautiful ideal to champion beauty in architecture, sculpture, park design, and other areas.

The remaining chapters illustrate Gilbert's application of this ideal in the comprehensive designs that he produced after 1902. Chapter III offers a chronological examination of the early development of the Minnesota State Capitol Approaches (especially 1902-1909). Chapter IV presents a discussion of Gilbert's early involvement with the planning ideal and theoretical background of the ways in which City Beautiful principles were applied to many college campus designs in the late 19th-century. Chapters V through VII examine Gilbert's master plans for the University of Minnesota, the University of Texas, and Oberlin College, respectively. The concluding section, Chapter VIII, highlights Gilbert's contributions to the New Haven city plan, which he produced in collaboration with Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. In each of these projects, Gilbert was aided by the efforts of local, public-spirited advocates of municipal reform. Thus, this study emphasizes not only Gilbert's development as a planner, but also the interconnections between various civic-minded individuals and Gilbert's monumental vision based on the City Beautiful movement.

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Gilbert's contributions as a planner have been little studied, particularly with respect to developments in the middle of the architect's career. During this period, from 1895 to 1916, Gilbert moved into a new phase, one that would inform the work that he produced in subsequent decades. While working on his well-known and influential contributions to commercial architecture (such as the Woolworth, West Street, and Broadway Chambers Buildings), he was deeply engaged in planning issues as well. The city and campus plans that he developed during this period clearly demonstrate his interest in and application of the formal and programmatic principles associated with the City Beautiful ideal. Gilbert also promoted planning goals in a nationally-significant forum by serving from 1910 to 1916 on the Commission of Fine Arts, an advisory group that made recommendations concerning proposals for all federal buildings and municipal improvements affecting the appearance of Washington, D.C.[10]

The all-encompassing nature of his design at this time, especially with respect to the issue of the control of public space, influenced the development of many of the architect's well-known projects. These include his contributions to the Armed Services during World War I--with his designs for Brooklyn's United State Army Supply Base (1918-19)--considered to be one of the largest military depots on the East Coast; his collaboration with the Swiss-born engineer, Othmar H. Ammann for the George Washington Bridge (1928-1931); and his last, and perhaps most widely respected work, the United

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States Supreme Court Building (1927-1935)."

This examination of Gilbert's city and campus plans concludes in 1916. This date marks the final year of Gilbert's major plans for Oberlin College and also that of the architect's resignation from the Commission of Fine Arts. In addition, by 1916, Gilbert was diverted from city and campus planning by the war relief effort. He became actively involved in the preparation and building of the military supply base, as noted above.

Gilbert thought highly of his campus and city plans--so much so that he included them in panoramic drawings of the designs that he had completed over the course of his career. These views, relating to the tradition of late 18th-century British renderer, Joseph Gandy, presented a wide array of built projects depicted in magnificent scale. In one such drawing from 1928, Gilbert included references to the University of Minnesota and the University of Texas, as well as to several buildings from Oberlin College (including the Finney Memorial Chapel, the Allen Memorial Art Museum, and unbuilt proposals for an auditorium and memorial tower) (Figure 1). Gilbert gave the work an elaborate title, "Some of the Buildings Built or Designed by Me, Add to this a lot of smaller buildings for railroad manufacturers, private enterprises &c. &c., small churches, clubs, &c., and the Supreme Court, &c." Both this title and the panoramic view depicted suggest the architect's great pride in having developed such a wide range of notable structures in the

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American landscape.

To this end, Gilbert received many honors, including awards for his wide-ranging contributions to the profession. These distinctions included awards for his work at expositions such as the Paris (1900), Louisiana Purchase (1904), and Pan-Pacific (1915) displays; honors from the city of Leipzig, Germany (1913) and the New York Architectural League (1916); as well as recognition of his lifetime achievement with the 1931 gold medal from the Academy of Arts and Sciences.[12] During his career, he was awarded honorary degrees from the University of Michigan, Oberlin College, Middlebury College, New York University, and Columbia University, and also was decorated by the French Legion of Honor. In addition, he was elected an honorary member of the Royal Academy of British Architects (RIBA), and the Architectural Society of Liverpool.

Gilbert lectured extensively at several institutions of higher learning.[13] He also had served as president of many arts organizations, including the American Institute of Architects (1908-09), the Architectural League (1913-14), the National Institute of Arts and Letters (1919), and the National Academy of Design (1926-33). Socially, he moved in circles of political, economic, and cultural influence through his many memberships in New York associations (such as the Century, Union, Metropolitan, University, and Lawyers' Clubs) and similar groups in St. Louis, Washington, D.C., London, and Paris.

The architect's half-century-long career was extremely

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prolific, as is suggested by the nearly 700 projects and designs that Gilbert's firm produced for residential, commercial, exposition, and public buildings.[14] When Gilbert died in 1934 in Brockenhurst, England, he was widely regarded as a leader in his profession. Upon his death, he was variously described as the "father of modern skyscrapers," the "king," and the "Grand Old Man," and he was thought to have been "born under a glowing star," a man who had won "conspicuous national distinction."[15] In many aspects of American architecture, design, and planning, Gilbert had come to be regarded as an authority. His name, it was said, had become commonplace--and even legendary--in architectural circles and laypersons' households alike.[16]

This dissertation contributes to the examination of Gilbert's stature and development as an architect and designer by complementing the various studies completed during the past few decades. These earlier studies have examined various segments of Gilbert's career. Patricia A. Murphy, for example, has examined the early stages of Gilbert's work before his success in the Minnesota State Capitol competition, a period during which the architect's residential work exhibited various revival styles.[17] Gilbert's 1899 move from St. Paul to New York (after being awarded the United States Custom House competition) has been amply documented by Sharon Irish, who believes that Gilbert's role as a "modern traditionalist" poised him between two very different worlds.[18] In addition to these architectural historical

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studies, historian William T. Morgan has examined Gilbert's politics of business during the beginning peak of the architect's career.[19] As an American studies project, Robert Allen Jones has examined Gilbert's position as a Midwestern architect of great ambition, one who traveled East to establish a practice to become entrenched in the architectural establishment.[20] Historian Geoffrey Blodgett has also provided an overview of Gilbert's career, particularly from the standpoint of the architect's political orientation.[21]

Most important in relation to my examination of Gilbert's comprehensive plans is Gail G. Fenske's study of the Woolworth Building. Fenske, as an architectural historian, has examined the early skyscraper as a paradigmatic example of the City Beautiful ideal amidst the complex matrix of economic, political, and aesthetic reception of the commercial building type in New York. Fenske's view, which goes beyond the stylistic orientation of Howard Frederick Koeper's examination of the same building, serves as a corollary to the subject of this study of Gilbert's comprehensive plans.[22]

What has not been fully addressed in these studies, however, is how Gilbert's immersion in East Coast ideals and his experimentation with the commercial building type was extended nationally, with the ideals being carried out across the country in projects such as Gilbert's various city and campus plans. These plans embody some of Gilbert's finest ideas and accomplishments.

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Early biographical background

Cass Gilbert, the middle of three sons, was born in Zanesville, Ohio on November 24, 1859 to Samuel and Elizabeth Wheeler Gilbert.[23] His father was an engineer for the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and had served as a general during the Civil War. While Gilbert was a young boy, his family moved to St. Paul, Minnesota. Although his father died soon after this move, the family was able to lead a moderately comfortable, middle-class life. By 1876, Gilbert worked as a carpenter-builder in Red Wing, Minnesota, and had entered the offices of St. Paul architect, Abraham M. Radcliff.[24] He attended Macalester College, and, in 1878, enrolled in a non-degree architectural program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). At MIT, he studied under both William Robert Ware and Eugene Létang, professors who were both intimately familiar with the Paris-based, Ecole des Beaux-Arts methods of teaching and design.[25] During the summer of 1879, he worked as a surveyor in New York's Hudson River Highlands.[26] In traveling to Europe for ten months in 1880, the young architect hoped to find employment in the offices of Victorian architects, such as George E. Street, Sir Alfred Waterhouse, Richard Norman Shaw, and William Burges. Unfortunately, as he explained to his mother, nobody over there wanted his work at any price.[27]

Instead, in the summer of 1880, Gilbert returned to New York, where he more providentially entered the offices of McKim, Mead & White.[28] For the next two years, Gilbert worked

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as a draftsman and was exposed to McKim, Mead & White's developing ideas concerning Shingle-style residential architecture, early civic buildings and planning for the developing American city. His first job for the firm is purported to have been work on a pedestal for an Augustus St. Gaudens statue, probably that of David Glasgow Farragut.[29] Gilbert eventually was sent to Baltimore to take charge of the firm's office and also to oversee work which included the Ross Winans House (1881-82). In 1883, he was sent to St. Paul where he became the firm's representative for projects sponsored by the Northern Pacific Railway.[30]

In late 1882, Gilbert left the offices of McKim, Mead & White in order to establish his own practice. From 1884 to 1891, Gilbert maintained a partnership with James Knox Taylor, a childhood friend and MIT colleague who later became the Supervising Architect of the United States Department of Treasury.[31] Together, Gilbert and Taylor produced designs that reflected the influence of the contemporary work produced by McKim, Mead & White. The St. Paul firm produced a variety of designs, including the Shingle-style inspired A. Kirby Barnum House, White Bear Lake, Minnesota (1884), the Colonial revival Charles P. Noyes House, St. Paul (1888-89), the Renaissance revival Endicott Building, St. Paul, (1886-92), and works influenced by the massive masonry of Henry Hobson Richardson, such as the Dayton Avenue Presbyterian Church, St. Paul (1886-88).[32] By 1887, he had married Julia T. Finch of Milwaukee, and eventually began a family.[33]

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In these formative years, Gilbert entertained the possibility of entering into a partnership with Daniel Hudson Burnham, the organizer and master administrator of the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition.[34] After the sudden death in 1891 of John Welborn Root, Burnham's original partner, Gilbert contacted his mother, explaining that he faced what might be "the crisis" of his career.[35] Acting as a liaison between Gilbert and Burnham was William Rutherford Mead, one of the founding partners of the firm McKim, Mead & White. Mead advised Gilbert how and when to respond to Burnham's inquiries about forming a potential partnership. Although Burnham considered continuing his architectural practice alone, he summoned Gilbert to visit in order to discuss the matter.[36] They met in New York in early February of 1891.[37]

Burnham apparently had approached several candidates with a possible offer; but, according to Gilbert, the Chicago architect had considered only Gilbert seriously. Evidently, Gilbert's innate architectural ability and potential had caught Burnham's attention. Gilbert proposed to work as an associate architect to Burnham for a trial period of one year, with the added clause that Gilbert would receive a small percentage (about 12 1/2%) of the net proceeds of the business. If the trial period was deemed to be successful, then Gilbert expected to continue work during the following year for an increased percentage of the profits. After this two-year trial, if it was amenable to both parties, a full

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partnership would then be pursued, with three months notice being required for the termination of the agreement.[38]

Although Gilbert was favorably inclined toward the partnership, and Burnham eventually modified his initial offer to accommodate Gilbert's requests, the alliance did not materialize.[39] By the end of March, all proposals were off, with Burnham claiming that his "old connections" were "causing a trying condition. . . .which [would] drag along indefinitely" and prevent any possible association.[40] Despite this change of plans, Gilbert, in later years, remained a great admirer of Burnham's work, especially of Burnham and Edward Bennett's Plan of Chicago (1910).[41]

## Gilbert and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition

By the early 1890s, Gilbert was positioned as part of the emerging younger generation of civic design-oriented architects. He and his colleagues would carry on the legacy of more established architects that included (in addition to McKim, Mead & White and Daniel Burnham), George B. Post and Richard Morris Hunt. The St. Paul architect's training at McKim, Mead & White exposed him to the firm's nascent interests in urbanism and also to members of the social and cultural elite of the East coast.

Although Cass Gilbert was denied the opportunity of actively participating in the architectural design and building for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, the event served as another rallying point for Gilbert in his early

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development. The exposition represented the tangible embodiment, even in its temporary buildings, of the prospects and opportunities that lay ahead for American architects and planners. Dubbed the great "White City," the exposition's Court of Honor, with its classically-inspired façades and grand vistas, was held up as an ideal to be emulated in public spaces across America.[42]

Gilbert did serve, however, on the National Jury of Fine Arts for the architecture section of the 1893 fair (although he seemed to be more interested in meeting the renowned Polish pianist, composer, and statesman, Ignace Jan Paderewski, than he was in jury work.[43]) Gilbert and Taylor, incidentally, exhibited three of their own works at the fair: drawings of a residential cottage at Manitou Island, a detail of the St. Paul Endicott Building, and a drawing of an unidentified St. Paul church.[44]

Gilbert had been eager to participate in the design of a building for the fair. He even offered to work as a supervisor in the construction of McKim, Mead & White's Agricultural Building, probably realizing the opportunities that might develop out of his association with the great art and cultural display. He made inquiries with Mead, explaining that he was also frustrated with job prospects in St. Paul.[45] Although Gilbert had prepared his own preliminary sketches for the Minnesota state building, he was unsuccessful in procuring the commission for the building's design.[46]

Gilbert was excited, however, because he had nearly been

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included in the select group of East coast architects (including McKim, Mead & White, Post, Hunt, and others) who had built several of the exposition pavilions. As he described the selection process to his wife, Julia, Gilbert explained that he was extremely impressed by the spectacle. He had attended the fair with St. Louis architect, W. S. Eames, and during the course of their visit, learned that before Burnham's partner Root had died, a list of twenty-one architects had been compiled. From this list, it was expected that ten would carry out the architectural work. Eames had seen this list and had noted that his own firm (Eames & Young) and Gilbert's were included. "[I]f Root had lived," Gilbert told his wife, "we would have both been in it. It is worth something to know that."[47]

Later in life, it became especially apparent that Gilbert felt a strong association with the fair and with the architects connected to it. When, one by one, he began to lose his friends and colleagues to death, Gilbert commented upon the passing of an era. Upon Burnham's death in 1912, Gilbert wistfully noted that "the old World's Fair crowd [was] thinning out."[48] Gilbert thus considered himself a part of the generation that had come of age during the Chicago fair: for him, the great event represented a watershed in his career.

More than one writer has commented upon the importance of the World's Columbian Exposition to planning projects in America in the early twentieth century. Claude Bragdon, in a

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1909 essay on taste in American architecture, called the 1893 exhibition an event which

> caused the dullest of us to sit up and take notice, to make [an] inquiry concerning the road we travelled, and to speculate about the terminus: that City Beautiful foreshadowed in the spectacle of summer nights when music swelled and softened, while rockets bloomed and faded in the deep blue garden of the sky--of the Court of Honor, vast, pearl-colored, crowded, lighted, with fluttering banners, rippling waves and plashing fountains: still a treasured memory to thousands, . . . .[49]

Although some of the buildings were impermanent and the visitors were not real citizens of the place, the vision of what might be possible on an urban scale had fascinated Bragdon. In fact, he outlined how, from the date of the fair, the scientific study of the city as a coherent organism had been developed by Daniel Hudson Burnham, Frederick Law Olmsted, Charles Follen McKim, and Cass Gilbert, the last of whom by 1909, was recognized as a key contributor to the realization of the City Beautiful movement in America.[50]

## Gilbert and the City Beautiful Movement

During the formative years between 1897 and 1902, the City Beautiful movement was expressed in small-scale projects that reflected its origins--municipal art, civic improvement, and outdoor art.[51] (Municipal art of the 1890s, for example, favored small-scale adornment.) In later years, however, these early and often disparate aims were fused together to create a complex aesthetic, cultural, political, and environmental agenda. These later goals included the construction of monumental urban public spaces, and the

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formation of visually harmonious areas of beauty, order, and clarity. In addition, the movement's efforts included pragmatic and functional components such as municipal reform, public sanitation, and recreation.[52] The term "City Beautiful" finally emerged in 1898 when the New York architect Charles R. Lamb used the phrase to encourage urban dwellers to realize their utopian dreams of a more ordered, coherent, and beautiful environment.[53]

Civic improvement began as an outgrowth of the National League of Improvement Associations (NLIA)--later renamed the American League of Civic Improvement (ALCI)--a grass-roots group that advocated betterment in small- to mid-sized cities.[54] (This organization also was related to the village improvement movement that had developed in New England from the mid- to late-nineteenth century, with the first society having been established in 1853 in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The movement became especially strong in that state, and by the 1890s village improvement had spread beyond the northeast, partly because of the success of articles published in the Atlantic Monthly. By 1900, societies had been formed as far west as California.[55])

Outdoor (or public) art was organized through the efforts of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association (APOAA), established in 1897. The APOAA sought to educate, to intensify, and to focus the support for the creation of outdoor art, which included landscape art, architecture, and sculpture. In 1904, the APOAA and the ALCI merged to form the

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American Civic Association (ACA), the most important national institutional group to promote the goals of the City Beautiful movement.[56]

Gilbert, somewhat paradoxically, kept his distance from the institutional organizations of the City Beautiful and made a concerted effort not to participate within their confines. Gilbert repeatedly turned down membership in organizations such as the APOAA (in 1898), and later the ACA (in 1907, 1909-10, 1912, and even as late as 1925), citing as a reason his active schedule and many other duties as a professional architect.[57] Furthermore, Gilbert did not participate in the 1902 ALCI convention in St. Paul (even though he was encouraged to do so); nor did he accept many of the speaking engagements in which he was invited to expound upon the subject of civic improvement.[58]

Although Gilbert was not active in the day-to-day activities of these organizations, one wonders why he was asked so frequently to contribute to projects that involved complicated building groups. Several reasons can explain this seeming incongruity. First, Gilbert's own background and orientation meshed with the moral concerns of City Beautiful platform. Second, the architectural circles to which he belonged were those that were well aware of these mainstream issues. In addition, Gilbert was fully aware that the acceptance of such ideas and the participation in competitions espousing these issues would further enhance his stature as a professional architect.

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It is also especially important to note Gilbert's relationship to the Christian moralist orientation of City Beautiful politics.[59] Gilbert came from devoutly religious Quaker-Presbyterian roots, where good works were held up as models to emulate. His grandmother, Eleanor Warden Wheeler was a woman of strong religious conviction; she was active in several charitable efforts in the community, including work with the local missionary society.[60] Gilbert was especially devoted to his mother, Elizabeth Fulton Wheeler, whom he called his "counsellor" and "kindest friend," and to whom he turned in times of crisis.[61]

The architect, as is revealed in his writings, felt obligated to live out the life of duty and moral uprightness that his mother had instilled in him. After settling in St. Paul and considering whether or not to become Burnham's partner, Gilbert was grateful for his mother's guidance, explaining that

> I thought as a boy, that I [had] made a sacrifice: I find as man, [that] I have gained a thousand blessings. God moves us. If we follow what we believe to be our duty, no evil can become of it--only good: unless indeed we become bigoted in thinking our judgement of what constitutes duty is infallible.[62]

In another letter of approximately the same date, Gilbert assured his mother that he and his siblings had learned a great deal from her own "self-sacrificing devotion and unselfishness."[63] As further evidence of this duty to others, Gilbert contributed to several charitable groups that helped children and the poor [see Appendix I]. His frequent financial contributions (and also strong Republican

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orientation) suggest a pattern consistent with the Progressivist/City Beautiful agenda of an individual's moral and social obligation to society. Thus, Gilbert's personal experience made him receptive to the ideas of the movement, although he was unable to participate in the formal organizations that promoted its ideas.

Gilbert also felt that part of his duty as a national figure was the cultivation of public taste. To this end, he was active in loaning to various organizations scores of his most spectacularly rendered watercolor and gouache presentation drawings which were in demand across the country from "Massachusetts Bay to Puget Sound."[64] As will be illustrated in the chapter concerning Gilbert's university projects, he also believed that the design of building groups contributed strongly toward the shaping of the morals and beliefs of college and university students.

Gilbert's interest in village improvement issues further suggest his personal connection to small-scale City Beautiful concerns. In 1913-14, Gilbert became involved with the improvement society in Ridgefield, Connecticut, where, since 1906, he had owned a summer home. Gilbert was in frequent contact with this group during the design and construction of an outdoor fountain that he had designed for the town.[65] Initially attracted to Ridgefield because of the town's beauty, Gilbert felt that its visual charm should be preserved so that the town would "continue to rival Stockbridge, Lenox, Great Barrington and other beautiful New England towns."[66]

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A few years before this personal interest developed, Gilbert had attacked the goals of the City Beautiful movement during his 1909 tenure as AIA President. It is likely that he did so in response to his audience's expectation to hear such a critique. Architects were increasingly aware that many grand proposals in the City Beautiful vein were coming under attack for their lavishness and expense. Thus, their concerns turned toward more pragmatic and cost-effective concerns. At the 43rd Annual AIA Convention in Washington, D.C., Gilbert railed against the City Beautiful:

> If I were disposed to delay, interrupt, or confuse the progress of city development I would publish the phrase "city beautiful" in big headlines in every newspaper. . . .Let us have the city useful, the city practical, the city liveable, the city sensible, the city anything but beautiful.[67]

According to period accounts, these and other comments about the "ridiculous" and "offensive" aspects of the popular planning movement were met with hearty applause.[68]

Some scholars, such as historian William H. Wilson, have argued that Gilbert's statements place him at the forefront of the architectural avant-garde. His emphasis on the language and terms of the so-called City Practical movement gives evidence to this argument.[69] Gilbert's response, however, met with the whole-hearted approval of longtime ACA President and City Beautiful advocate J. Horace McFarland, who was "overjoyed" at Gilbert's protest. McFarland explained his position to Gilbert, by stating that

> [i]t is after all, the beauty of a country, considered as a whole which arouses the love that makes patriotism, and while the city beautiful as a phrase is incomplete and

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> tends toward a mawkish understanding, beauty can be defended for itself, though it does not need such defense when it is considered in connection with efficiency, of which is an integral part.[70]

Beauty for McFarland could not be separated from economic viability; he believed that the two ideas were inextricably connected. McFarland also lamented that Americans had become "accustomed to ugliness," and then had the boldness--while they were abroad--to spend the money that they had "made in creating [that] ugliness" in order to witness beauty.[71] Gilbert's use of language (and McFarland's agreement) associated with the concerns of efficiency characteristic of the later planning movement thus can be seen as a continuation--not an abrupt reversal--of the program of the City Beautiful movement. That the persistence of City Beautiful goals continued well into the late teens has recently begun to receive more interest and study.[72]

Gilbert, in later years, took up this issue when he spoke about the general lack of civic order and embellishment in the architectural condition of the American city. He believed that since democratic freedom and private ownership had allowed citizens of various means to live close to one another, the result was, at times, "interesting and picturesque, yes; but seldom well organized, and rarely beautiful."[73] He further advocated the making of what he believed to be better cities, by making them

> better organized, better planned, more beautiful, more acceptable to live in, with better housing for rich and poor alike; and while providing better utilities for sanitation, transportation, education and health to provide also opportunities for sane recreation and

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> enjoyment, art galleries, libraries, museums, music halls, and all that makes civic life attractive and desirable; . . . .[74]

Gilbert remained interested in programmatic aspects of the City Beautiful, and he incorporated them into several projects in the middle phase of his career. The next chapter will address the extent to which Gilbert's early ideas about planning were further influenced by Glenn Brown, the Washington, D.C. architect and Secretary of the American Institute of Architects.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

SEM=Sidney E. Mezes
GWB=George W. Brackenridge
WPL=Warren P. Laird
FLO=Frederick Law Olmsted
JLM=John L. Mauran
AWP=Arthur W. Page
CRL=Charles R. Lamb
FS=Flavel Shurtleff
RCMcL=Robert Craik McLean
GWBH=George W. B. Hicks
GHC=George Hollis Carsley
JHMcF=J. Horace McFarland
EWG=Elizabeth Wheeler Gilbert
JRR=John R. Rockart
WRW=William Rutherford Mead
DHB=Daniel H. Burnham
WHM=Warren H. Manning
JFG=Julia Finch Gilbert
CRW=Clinton Rodgers Woodruff
RBW=Richard B. Watrous
EGR=E. G. Routzahn

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. SEM to GWB, January 13, 1910, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH).

2. "Cass Gilbert: The Eminent American Architect," Social Life 4 (April 1913): n.p.; and Report, January 4, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1911 (1909-10), F: Misc. (N-YHS).

3. Re: Atlanta, Thomas H. Morgan to CG, January 13, 1913, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1913/#2, F: #103 M-P (N-YHS); re: Baltimore, CG to William W. Emmart, October 31, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 7 (N-YHS); re: Cleveland, Charles S. Howe to CG, September 24, 1906, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1906, F: H-M (N-YHS); re: Seattle, CG to W. R. B. Willcox, April 20, 1910, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR4, Bx: 1, F: 6 (AIA) and W. R. B. Willcox to CG, March 28, April 27, and May 4, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: #103-W (N-YHS); W. R. B. Willcox to CG, January 25, 1911, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#1, F: Misc. (N-YHS), and W. R. B. Willcox to CG, October 28, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: U-Y (N-YHS). Gilbert referred these inquiries from Seattle to Glenn Brown at the AIA. For inquiries made from small towns, see re: Halesite (for town and park plan), C. D. McDonough to CG, August 31, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1914, F: #103 M-P (N-YHS); re Grand Rapids (for a comprehensive plan), John Ihlder to CG, ca. March 14, 1908, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1907-08/#7, F: New Business/#6 (N-YHS); re: Winona (for park system), WPL to CG, September 6 and 18, October 6, 1906, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1906, F: H-M (N-YHS); re: Montana towns, CG to GHC, December 1, 1916; CG to FLO and CG to Working, March 14, 1917, CGC, CGP-LB 10/16-7/17 (N-YHS).

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4. Gilbert was asked to speak about civic improvement at the St. Louis Civic League and the Minneapolis Architectural Club, for example, but he turned them down [JLM to CG, January 8, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: M-P (N-YHS); CG to JLM and CG to J. L. Hornsby, January 20, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS) and CG to William Channing Whitney, April 10, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS)]. In addition, he declined to speak in Cincinnati, Ohio when he was informed that he had not secured the courthouse competition for that city [CG to Jesse R. Clark, July 30, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS)].

With the many demands placed upon his time with a busy professional architectural practice, the speeches that Gilbert did deliver often consisted of informal remarks, the notes for which he sometimes would scratch on the back of placecards or whatever happened to be available. Only on formal occasions did Gilbert type out his talks. For examples of these transcripts, see Gilbert's notes about the city planning in New York and specific problems with the 1811 Commissioner's plan for that city, Speech notes, November 28, 1913, CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS).

Although he was requested to help with the famous 1910 Town Planning Conference in London, Gilbert did not bother to respond [RIBA to CG, January 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: R-T (N-YHS)]. Nor did he become directly involved in other city planning exhibitions in America, such as the First Municipal City Planning Exhibition, held in 1911 in Philadelphia, the 1913 City Planning Conference and Exhibition in New York, or the 9th Annual Planning Conference in Kansas City in 1917 [When Gilbert was requested for his advice and asked to deliver a talk on the subject, "The Scope of City Planning," he declined [Arthur E. Buchholz to CG, December 29, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2 and 1911/#1 respectively, F: #103 A-D (N-YHS)]. For information about the New York City Planning Conference and Exhibition, see George McAneny to CG, September 23, 1913, and George B. Ford to CG, September 26 and 30, and October 29, 1913, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1913/#2, F: #103 (N-YHS), CG to McAneny, September 27, 1913 and CG to Ford, September 29, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS); and Gilbert's notes, November 28, 1913, CGPprs, Bx: 16, F: 1913 (LC/MSS); CG to Ford, January 8, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS). For reference to the Kansas City conference, see Invitation [ca. April 1917], CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 2 (N-YHS).

Although Gilbert was interested in writing an essay for Doubleday Page and Company about the ideal city and university building group, he eventually had to back out of the agreement, citing the demands of his architectural practice. Gilbert explained to Page that as an architect, he was on the "firing line, doing the active work of building," and had "little time to give to other matters than the immediate work in hand from day to day . . . ."[CG to AWP, February 5, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS) in response to AWP to CG, March 1 and 2, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#2, F: #103 M-P, S (N-YHS). Doubleday Page made several more overtures, in trying to involve Gilbert with a book they hoped to publish about

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planning. Although he was tempted to accept, Gilbert declined each time [C. D. Morley to CG, December 2, 1913, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1913/#1, F: #103 (N-YHS); CG to Doubleday Page & Co., December 20, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS); CDM to CG, April 7 and 15, 1914, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1914-15, F: 3 (N-YHS); and Joseph E. Brown to CG, June 29 and July 27, 1914, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1914/1915, F: 1 and 2 (N-YHS)]. When asked to contribute to the publication, How Theory is Becoming Practice in City and Town Planning, Gilbert similarly avoided participation, and instead referred the book's editor, Harold S. Buttenheim, to George Dudley Seymour and civic improvement projects in New Haven [H. S. Buttenheim to CG, November 21 and December 20, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#1, F: #103 A-D (N-YHS)].

The only exception to Gilbert's participation in planning-related groups was the Merchants' Association of New York, a local group that often came to him for advice about matters close to home, such as the Lenox Public Library plan, Varick Street traffic circulation, and park plans for a civic center area near the Equitable Life Assurance Building [CG to CRLamb, two letters of June 25, 1912, July 9, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS); CG to Henry R. Towne, July 12, 1912; CG to CRL, July 15, October 7, December 6, 1912 and March 15, 1913; in CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS). Gilbert, however, turned down an invitation to lecture for the Association [CRL to CG, July 27, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#2, F: #103 I-L (N-YHS); and CG to CRL, August 2, 1912, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS)].

Gilbert's membership in this association was so well valued that, upon his resignation in 1914, several of his colleagues urged him to reverse his decision [Henry to Towne and others to CG, July 7 and 8, December 2 and 8, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1914, F: #103 M-P (N-YHS); and CG to Towne, July 8, 1914 and CG to S. C. Mead, December 7, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS)]. In response to another such project, Henry Rutgers Marshall's "Crossways Plan" (which suggested the construction of a curved avenue extending from Fifth Avenue to Pennsylvania Station), Gilbert emphasized his belief in excess condemnation. He explained to the Merchants' Association president, Henry R. Towne, that he had given much study to the subject of civic development over the past fifteen years, and, "having acted professionally for several municipalities, I can say perhaps with some degree of authority that without 'excess condemnation' it is practically impossible to improve and develop American cities" [CG to Henry R. Towne, July 12, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS)].

5. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. introduced Gilbert in 1910 to Shurtleff, Secretary of the National Planning Conference. Since Shurtleff was gathering data about the legal and administrative problems of city planning in the United States, Olmsted had hoped that Gilbert could aid the planning administrator in this project, especially by placing him in contact with the appropriate people in St. Paul, Minneapolis,

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and other cities where Gilbert had completed work [FLO to CG, September 28, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#1, F: #103 (N-YHS); also see FS to CG, September 30, 1910, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: #103 (N-YHS)].

In later years, however, when Gilbert was elected to the General Committee for the National Committee on City Planning, Gilbert was not able to accept the honor [CG to FS, July 26, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS)]. And, when Shurtleff tried to corral Gilbert into delivering a talk at the Detroit Planning Conference of 1915, Gilbert declined to give a formally prepared speech [FS to CG, May 26, July 21, and December 13, 1915, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1915/#2, F: #103 R-T (N-YHS); CG to G. B. Ford, June 23, 1915, CGC, CGP-LB 12/14-12/15 (N-YHS); and Report on conference, June 8, 1915, CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS)]. Also see CG to Edward H. Bennett, April 27, 1915, CGC, CGP-LB 12/14-12/15 (N-YHS). Shurtleff continued to attempt to secure Gilbert's participation in later years, for example, with the 1925 National Conference on City Planning, but Gilbert declined the invitation [CG to FS, December 22, 1921, CGC, CGP-LB 12/20-2/22 (N-YHS)].

Gilbert became familiar with the work of landscape architect and planner, John Nolen, after making inquiries with his colleagues [RCMcL to CG, October 20, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: #103 (N-YHS); and FLO to CG, October 26, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#1, F: #103 (N-YHS)]. Also see Gilbert's inclusion in his scrapbook of John Nolen, "The City Planning Movement," Charlotte, NC News, June 25, 1917, in CGC, oversize-SB, p. 229 (N-YHS). George Kessler, also a landscape architect, admired Gilbert's work, including certain details of the architect's design for the St. Louis Public Library [William Hodgkinson to CG, January 23, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1914, F: #103 A-C (N-YHS)]. Gilbert was apparently instrumental in adding Kessler's name to the list of membership of the National Art Commission, although Taft deleted his name before forming the Fine Arts Commission. Gilbert's familiarity with their work and that of other landscape architects prompted him to serve as a clearinghouse for information on landscape issues, a service taken advantage of by the University of Pennsylvania architect, Warren P. Laird [e.g. WPL to CG, June 29, 1916, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911-18, F: #103 I-L (N-YHS)].

As with many other solicitations, Gilbert (who was addressed as "city planner") declined to join the National Housing Association [NHA to CG, July 14, 1915, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1915/#2, F: M-P (N-YHS)]; the American Association for Highway Improvement [Thomas N. Page to CG, March 9, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#2, F:#103 I-L (N-YHS); and F. A. Vanderlip to CG, October 26, 1915, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1915/#3, F: #103 A-D (N-YHS)]; and the New York City Planning Commission [Robert Grier Cooke to CG, April 29 and June 12, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#2, F: #103 (N-YHS); and CG to Cooke, May 9, 1912, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS)]. The Municipal Art Society turned to him to take advantage of his great experience and discriminatory artistic judgment with respect to the subject

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of limiting building height in New York [Laurel Harris, July 1, 1913, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1913/#2, F: #103 M-P (N-YHS)].

For more background with respect to a Philadelphia statistician's request for city planning information, see GWBH to CG, February 12 and 20, 1912, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1907-12, F: #164 (N-YHS); and CG to GWBH, February 15, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 2/11-6/12 (N-YHS).

6. CG to WPL, February 23, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

7. CG's notes on WPL to CG, April 15, 1918, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1917-18, F: #103 I-L (N-YHS). Gilbert cited Frederick Law Olmsted, Edward H. Bennett, Arnold Brunner who, as Gilbert, had "been connected with several city plan enterprises," and the author of the Canberra, Australia plan, Walter Burley Griffin.

8. This is a description that Gilbert, himself, gave to a colleague in 1914 [CG to Alfred Yockney, October 5, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS)].

9. The Minnesota State Capitol also attracted the attention of City Beautiful groups, such as the American Civic Association, which wanted information on the project to add to its collection of reference materials that would foster the science of park planning [JHMcF to CG, February 6, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909, F: A-C (N-YHS); and RBW to CG, December 28, 1909 and January 8, 1910, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909, F: A-C (N-YHS)].

10. John Reps, Monumental Washington: The Planning and Development of the Capital Center (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 154.

11. By the early 1920s, the many successes of his career had begun to take their toll on Gilbert. In a 1922 diary, he mused, "My family expenses are so large and I have gotten to be a sort of human hack horse. About time I was turned out to pasture. . . . I am very tired. Why should I go on--God only knows--But I must keep up for so many depend on me--Is this the price or the reward of success? What's the good of success?" [January 30 and 31, 1922 entries, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 3 (LC/MSS)].

12. Biographical notes, dated November 1, 1919, CGC, PP, Bx: 1916-34, F: 2 (N-YHS) and clippings dated January 16-20, 1931, CGC, PP, Bx: St. Paul-Society of Arts and Sciences, F: 4 (N-YHS).

13. "Cass Gilbert Dead, Eminent Architect," New York Times, May 18, 1934, p. 23. He lectured at institutions such as Harvard University, Yale University, West Point Military Academy, and Columbia University. For information about the

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Harvard lectures, see 1911-1912 correspondence between CG and H. Langford Warren, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: U-Y (N-YHS); for Yale, see John F. Weir to CG, January 2, 1912, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1912, 1916, F: #103 W (N-YHS), a November 1, 1919 typescript, CGC, PP, Bx: 1916-34, F: 2 (N-YHS), and CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1914, F: #103 R-T and Bx: 1911-1918, F: #103 U-W (N-YHS); and for Columbia, see H. S. Kissam to CG, November 9 and 25, December 7 and 11, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: #103 K (N-YHS). Because of his busy schedule, Gilbert could not always comply with these and other requests, such as one invitation to participate in the Scammon lectures, which were modelled after the well-known Lowell lectures in Boston.

14. This estimate is based on the firm's office list (N-YHS). The Brooklyn-Eagle, upon Gilbert's death, commented on this great output of projects, stating that "[t]he list of his creations is so long that most of us will identify him with a few [monuments] selected according to each one's preference. . . .but no abbreviated list can do justice to his many-sided talent" [[Obituary], Brooklyn-Eagle, n.d., in CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 12 (N-YHS)].

15. "Cass Gilbert, Designer of West Virginia State Capitol, Woolworth Building Dies," Charleston (W.Va.) Gazette, May 18, 1934, p. 1; E. P. Bassford to CG, Jr., May 18, 1934, CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 8 (N-YHS); E. F. Tyler to JRR, May 18, 1923, CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F:7 (N-YHS); Edwin H. Blashfield to CG, Jr., May 22, 1934, CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 6 (N-YHS); Jonas Lie, "Cass Gilbert, 1859-1934," Architectural Forum (June 1934): 6; unidentified St. Paul newspaper, ca. late May 1934, in CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 4 (N-YHS); respectively. The Hartford Courant, on June 7, 1934, eulogized his efforts by stating that "No study of American architecture in the first three decades of the century can slight him. He has been called 'the most remarkable architect of his times.' His influence has been termed both a blessing and a blight. Seldom in recent years has there been an artist whose work has been the subject of so many bitter controversies."

Other obituary references include: "Cass Gilbert, Who Designed Capitol, Dead," Charleston Daily Mail, May 18, 1934, pp. 1 in CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 7 (N-YHS); Charles Moore, "Cass Gilbert, Architect, 1859-1934," American Architect 144 (July 1934): 20; Jonas Lie, "Cass Gilbert, 1859-1934," Architectural Forum (June 1934): 6; Royal Cortissoz, "Cass Gilbert: 1859-1934, An Appreciation by Royal Cortissoz," Architecture 70 (July 1934): 34; and Efflo E. Eggert, ed. The Archi 15 (June 1934): entire issue. Also see Guy Kirkham, "Cass Gilbert, Master of Style," Pencil Points 15 (November 1934): 541-556.

Gilbert, at the time of his death, had been working on plans for a new building in the United States ["Cass Gilbert Dead, Eminent Architect," New York Times, May 18, 1934, p. 23].

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16. J. Gordon Clark to CG, Jr., May 19, 1934, CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 5 (N-YHS).

17. Patricia Anne Murphy, "The Early Career of Cass Gilbert: 1878 to 1895" (M. A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1979); and more general exhibition catalog, Patricia Anne Murphy, Cass Gilbert: Minnesota Master Architect (Minneapolis: University Gallery, [ca. 1980].

18. Sharon Lee Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York, 1899-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1985). For other works by Irish, see "Cass Gilbert's New York Custom House, Bowling Green" (M. A. thesis, Northwestern University, 1982) and "A 'Machine that Makes the Land Pay': The West Street Building in New York," Technology and Culture 30 (April 1989): 376-397. For shorter studies of the U.S. Custom House, see Brendan Gill, The U. S. Custom House on Bowling Green New York: New York Landmarks Conservancy, 1976).

19. William Towner Morgan, "The Politics of Business in the Career of an American Architect: Cass Gilbert, 1878-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1972).

20. Robert Allen Jones, "Cass Gilbert, Midwestern Architect in New York" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1976).

21. Geoffrey Blodgett, "Cass Gilbert, Architect: Conservative at Bay," The Journal of American History 72 (December 1985): 615-636.

22. Gail G. Fenske, "The 'Skyscraper Problem' and the City Beautiful: The Woolworth Building" (Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988); and Howard Frederick Koeper, "The Gothic Skyscraper: A History of the Woolworth Building and its Antecedents" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969).

23. His father had served in the Civil War and had worked for the United States Coast Survey. His mother came from an Ohio family. Gilbert's first name, Cass, was given to him because of his father's admiration for Brigadier-General Lewis Cass (1782-1866), an Exeter, New Hampshire-born statesman who settled near the family home in Zanesville, Ohio in 1801 [J. H. Galbraith, "Short Stories of Ohio," Columbus Dispatch, December 29, 1930, in CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 4 (N-YHS)]. For other references to Gilbert's own family history see CGPprs (LC/MSS).

Lewis Cass enjoyed a long and successful career as a politician. Among his early accomplishments were his appointment in 1806 as the youngest legislator in Ohio, his service in the War of 1812, his appointment as governor of the Territory of Michigan, his fair negotiations with several Native American tribes at Prairie du Chien, and his service to

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the U. S. Department of War during President Andrew Jackson's administration. Later in his career, he served as minister to France (1835-42), made an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination (followed by two successful bids in 1848 and 1852), and was named the first president of the American Historical Society.

The politician's career reached its peak between the years of 1857 and 1860, coinciding with the birth of his namesake. During this time, Lewis Cass served as the Secretary of State in the Buchanan Administration [Louis Martin Sears, "Lewis Cass," Dictionary of American Biography, A. Johnson and D. Malone, eds., rev. ed., vol. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 562-564; and "Lewis Cass," The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 5, (New York: James T. White, 1897), 3-5.] The identity of Lewis Cass should not be confused with that of his son, Lewis Cass, Jr. (b. ca. 1810) who was also a statesman]. It is therefore not surprising that Gilbert's father, Samuel, named his child after such an eminent and respected national figure. Gilbert clearly lived up to his name by establishing himself as a national figure of comparable stature.

24. Winston Weisman, "Cass Gilbert," The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 2, (New York: The Free Press, 1982), 202-204.

25. Gilbert was enrolled in the class of 1880, although he did not receive a degree from this course. He received early recognition as a young architect, when he was awarded the 1879 prize from the Boston Society of Architects for his work at MIT [typescript, November 1, 1919, CGC, PP, Bx: 1916-34, F: 2 (N-YHS)].

26. CG to A. L. Merrill, September 25, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

27. CG to EFW, July 18, 1880, CGPprs, Bx: 2, F: 6 (LC/MSS); also see CG's letter of introduction to Sir Alfred Waterhouse, January 1880, CGPprs, Bx: 2, F: 3 (LC/MSS).

28. Gilbert travelled extensively throughout his life and found great pleasure in observing and studying his surroundings. Besides the obvious enjoyment of travel as a respite from the daily demands of work, he also received much satisfaction in recording, sketching, and taking notes on the sites and towns that he visited [see letters and travel diaries, 1880ff, and especially 1897ff, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F; 2-8 (LC/MSS) and (LC/P&P)].

29. "Death of Gilbert," Time, May 28, 1934, p. 22. Although this statue is not named, it appears to have been the Farragut memorial since this work was completed in 1881. See Michele H. Bogart, Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago

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Press, 1989), 30-33.

In addition, Gilbert collected lantern slides of McKim, Mead & White's designs for the Prospect Park area, such as the pergola at 15th Street and Coney Island Avenue. He also made a point to obtain views from the Monograph of McKim, Mead & White of the block plan and north facade of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, which is now known as the Brooklyn Museum. [JRR to Paul Wenzel, November 8, 1916, CGC, CGP-LB 6/16-3/17 (N-YHS)].

30. The head of Northern Pacific, journalist and financier Henry Villard, planned to build depots and offices throughout the Northwest region. By 1883, however, Villard had gone bankrupt.

31. Taylor was chosen for this position of influence in 1897 and until 1912, when he retired, oversaw the development of hundreds of governmental buildings and designs. Gilbert's letters of congratulation on this occasion can be found in October 1897 correspondence, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB 10/97-7/98 (N-YHS); and CGPprs, Bx: 18, F: 1896, 1897 (MHS).

32. For general information about Gilbert's life, see Frank H. Vizetelly, "Cass Gilbert," The New International Yearbook (1934) (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1935), 276; M. Epstein, ed., The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events Home and Abroad for the Year 1934, part 2, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1935), 120-21; Murphy, chronology in Cass Gilbert: Minnesota Master Architect, n.p.; Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York," 1-60.

33. "Cass Gilbert Dead; Eminent Architect," New York Times, May 18, 1934, p. 23; and also see personal correspondence between Cass and Julia in CGPprs, Bx: 2-5 (LC/MSS).

34. For discussions of Burnham's work, see Charles Moore, Daniel H. Burnham, Architect, Planner of Cities, 2 vols., (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921); Thomas S. Hines, Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); and Cynthia R. Field, "The City Planning of Daniel Hudson Burnham" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1974).

35. CG to EFW, February 3, 1891, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 1 (LC/MSS).

36. WRM to CG, January 19 and 31, 1891; DHB to CG, January 22, 1891; CG to WRM, January 26, 1891; DHB to WRM, February 2, 1891; WRM to CG and DHB to CG, February 5, 1891; and CG to JFG, March 9, 1891; all in CGPprs, Bx: 17, F: 1891 (MHS).

37. DHB to CG, February 9 and 11, 1891, CGprs, Bx: 17, F: 1891 (MHS).

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38. CG to DHB, February 18, 1891, CGPprs, Bx: 17, F: 1891 (MHS).

39. DHB to CG March 5, 1891; CG to DHB, March 6, 1891; CGPprs, Bx: 17, F: 1891 (MHS); and CG to JFG, March 5, 1891; and CG's notes, March 11, 1891; CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 1 (LC/MSS).

40. DHB to CG, March 23, 1891, Bx: 17, F: 1891 (MHS).

41. Gilbert loaned his copy of the Plan of Chicago to his friend and colleague, Alfred Morton Githens [CG to AMG, September 23, 1909, CG, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS)]. Burnham was an admirer of Gilbert's, noting the success of the New York architect's design for the Boston Stock Exchange [DHB to CG, November 19, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909, F: A-C (N-YHS)].

Gilbert also owned other volumes pertaining to planning issues, such as Triggs' Town Planning (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, ca. 1909) [see Scribner's to CG, August 30, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909 (N-YHS)]. In addition, John R. Rockart, one of Gilbert's most trusted associates, was interested in park design, as indicated by his collection of data pertaining to this subject. Rockart, for instance, had acquired George Kessler's report on parks and boulevards, a source which would have been useful in the many plans that Rockart developed for Gilbert [JRR to GEK, October 23, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 2/11-6/12 (N-YHS)]. Gilbert's library also contained Frederick Law Olmsted's report to the Pittsburgh Planning Commission, "Pittsburgh, its Main Thoroughfares and the Down Town District," as noted in correspondence [CG to FLO and CG to Pittsburgh Civic Commission, April 29, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS)]. The 25th Annual report of City Parks Association of Philadelphia and the "Report of the Federal Planning Commission of the General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull" was contained in Gilbert's source material as well [CG to Andrew Crawford Wright, February 3, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS); CG to Federal Planning Commission, July 20, 1916, CGC, CGP-LB 6/16-3/17 (N-YHS)].

Gilbert's scrapbooks additionally suggest that he was familiar with the linear city model [see clippings such as Milo Hastings, "What the Dreamers Have Dreamed for Future Cities," "Planning Utopias that should Do Away with the Congestion Evils of the Great Town," "Some Possibilities of 'Roadtown,' with its Linea [sic] Buildings Serving Both Quick Transportation and Beauty," all from the New York Sun, December 17, 1916, p. 7, in CGC, oversize-SB, p. 176 (N-YHS)]. In later years, Gilbert kept abreast of local planning projects, such as the plans for Forest Hills Gardens, in Queens [see clippings from New York Tribune, November 9, 1924, CGC, oversize-SB, p. 250 (N-YHS)].

42. For revisionist interpretations of the World's Columbian Exposition, see James Gilbert, Perfect Cities, Chicago's Utopias of 1893 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991);

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Neil Harris, et al., Grand Illusions, Chicago's World Fair of 1893 (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993); Robert W. Rydell, All the World's a Fair, Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Richard Guy Wilson, ed., The American Renaissance, 1876-1917 (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979); Rodney Reid Badger, The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and World Culture (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979); Titus M. Karlowicz, "D. H. Burnham's Role in the Selection of Architects for the World's Columbian Exposition," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 29 (October 1970): 247-254. Official guidebooks and views of the fair can be found in Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Book of the Fair, 2 vols., (New York: Bancroft Books, 1894); James William Buel, The Magic City: A Massive Portfolio of Original Photographic Views of the Great World's Fair (St. Louis and Philadelphia, 1894). General works on the fair include Rossiter Johnson, ed., A History of the World's Columbian Exposition, 4 vols., (New York: D. Appleton, 1898); and Stanley Applebaum, The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 (New York: Dover, 1981).

43. Gilbert also served on the jury for the Paris Exposition of 1900, soliciting work from several Minneapolis architects, including Frederick Kees, Leroy Buffington, William Channing Whitney, and Harry W. Jones and also many Midwestern architects [CG to Kees, et.al., November 28, 1899; CG to SH, December 7, 1899, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS).

By 1911, Gilbert's opinion and exposition experience was so respected by his colleagues that he was asked for advice about fair compensation for development of a general plan for the Panama-Pacific Exposition [John G. Howard to CG, August 9, 1911, CGC, Misc. Bx: II. 1911 (1909-10), F: #164 (N-YHS)]. Clarence Ward, Oberlin College Professor of Art, served with Howard on the building and grounds committee for the exposition.

44. Memo, March 9, 1893, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 1 (LC/MSS).

45. CG to WRM, December 20, 1890, CGP-LB 1890-99 (N-YHS).

46. Gilbert's sketches of the Minnesota state building are dated April 16, 1892, negative #56367 (N-YHS). William Channing Whitney, a local colleague of Gilbert's won the commission to design the state building.

47. CG to JFG, March 7, 1893, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 2 (LC/MSS).

48. Gilbert's notes about Daniel H. Burnham, July 10, 1912, CGPprs, Bx: 16, F: 1912 (LC/MSS). When Gilbert wrote these notes, he also had recently lost another collegue, the painter Francis Davis Millet, who, in April, had died in the Titanic disaster.

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49. Claude Bragdon, "Architecture in the United States, II. The Growth of Taste," Architectural Record 25 (July 1909): 38-45.

50. Bragdon, 39. Gilbert was noted for his work on the New Haven plan, the United States Custom House, the Minnesota State Capitol and city plan, and the Essex County Courthouse in Newark, New Jersey. He was cited by Bragdon almost as frequently as was Charles Follen McKim, of the firm, McKim, Mead & White.

51. Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," Journal of Urban History 2 (August 1976): 415-435.

52. For other studies of the movement, see Jon A. Peterson, "The Origins of the Comprehensive Planning Ideal in the United States, 1840-1911" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1967); William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 1-95; William H. Wilson, "The Ideology, Aesthetics and Politics of the City Beautiful Movement," in Anthony Sutcliffe, ed., The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 165-198; Mario Manieri-Elia, "Toward an 'Imperial City': Daniel H. Burnham and the City Beautiful Movement," in Giorgio Ciucci, et al., The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal, trans. by B. L. La Penta, (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1979), 1-142. Period articles include Mary Caroline Robbins, "The Art of Public Improvement," Atlantic Monthly 78 (December 1898): 742-751; Sylvester Baxter, "The Beautifying of Village and Town," The Century 63 (April 1902): 844-851; Andrew Jackson Downing, "On the Improvement of Country Villages," in Downing's Rural Essays, ed. George William Curtis, (New York: George P. Putnam, 1853); Charles Zueblin, American Municipal Progress, reprint of 1902 ed.,(New York: Macmillan, 1916; Charles Mulford Robinson, Modern Civic Art; or, the City Made Beautiful, reprint of 1918 ed., (New York: Arno Press, 1970).

For local examinations of the movement, see Harvey A. Kantor, "The City Beautiful in New York," The New-York Historical Society Quarterly 57 (April 1973): 149-171; Margaret French Cresson, The Laurel Hill Association, 1853-1953 (Pittsfield, Mass.: Eagle Printing and Binding Co., 1953); Daniel Bluestone, Constructing Chicago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Gail G. Fenske, "The 'Skyscraper Problem' and the City Beautiful: The Woolworth Building" (Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, 1988); and Barbara Christen, City Beautiful in a Small Town: The Early History of the Village Improvement Society in Oberlin (Elyria, Ohio: Lorain County Historical Society, 1994); among others.

53. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement," JUH, 419.

54. Ibid., 421-424.

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55. Ibid., 422ff.

56. Ibid., 425-426. The journalist, Charles Mulford Robinson, became the major publicist of early 20th-century City Beautiful ideals. His 1899 articles in Atlantic Monthly, and his first major book, The Improvement of Towns and Cities (New York: George P. Putnam & Sons, 1901), provided a clear voice for the movement.

57. Re: APOAA--CG to WHM, June 7, 1898, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB 10/97-7/98 (N-YHS); re: ACA--CRW to CG, September 19 and October 10, 1907, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1907/#2, F: 4 and 2 respectively (N-YHS); CG to CRW, October 6, 1907 and CG to FLO, December 30, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS); CRW to CG, June 5, 1908, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908/#1, F: 9 (N-YHS); CG to CRW, June 17, 1908, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS); RBW to CG, December 28, 1909 and January 8, 1910, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909, F: A-C (N-YHS); CG to RBW, January 5, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS); RBW to CG, January 2, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#1, F: #103 A-D (N-YHS); CG to RBW, January 6, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS); and CG to ACA, April 20, 1925, PP, Bx: 1925-27 (N-YHS).

58. CG to EGR, September 12, 1902, CGC, CGP-LB/General 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS). Gilbert also declined to speak about civic improvement at the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA [CG to W. D. Hewitt, November 20, 1909, AIA/OFSO RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 4, F: 5 (AIA)].

59. For more background on the aspect of social control as embodied in the charity efforts of many religious organizations, see Paul Boyer's Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978).

60. Obituary and memorial program for EWW, 1885, CGPprs, Bx: 2, F: 8 (LC/MSS). During the early 1880s, Gilbert's mother and his own young family belonged to the Dayton Avenue Presbyterian Church [Murphy, M. A. thesis, 41.]. Later in life, however, he may have had connections to the Episcopal church since his funeral was held in that denomination's Church of the Heavenly Rest in New York.

61. CG to EWG, September 8, 1895, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 1 (LC/MSS); also see EWG to CG, March 8, 1896, Ibid.

62. CG to EWG, February 3, 1891, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 1 (LC/MSS).

63. CG to EWG, February 7, 1892, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 1 (LC/MSS).

64. CG to A. A. Pollard, April 6, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS). Also see requests for drawings from M. A. Vinson/Portland Architectural Club to CG, January 14, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909, F: V-W (N-YHS).

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65. CG to Mrs. A. H. Storer, January 20 and July 8, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS); and December 29, 1913, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1913 (LC/MSS).

66. CG to Mrs. A. H. Storer, December 29, 1913, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1913 (LC/MSS).

67. CG to AIA convention, December 1909; also see "Hit [sic] City Beautiful: Architects Object to Term Applied to Washington," Washington, D.C. Evening Star, December 16, 1909; "Architects in Convention," Urbana, (Ill.) Courier, December 16, 1909; "Laughs at 'City Beautiful'," Baltimore Sun, December 17, 1909; all in CGC, 1907-10-SB (N-YHS).

68. Ibid.

69. William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement, 287.

70. JHMcF to CG, December 28, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909, F: #103 A (N-YHS).

71. Second letter from JHMcF to CG, December 30, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 1909, F: A-C (N-YHS). McFarland went further to criticize Gifford Pinchot (1865-1945), an American forester and public official, who McFarland did not believe understood the value of beauty and how it could be linked to the conservation movement.

72. e.g. Jon Peterson, The Birth of American City Planning, publication forthcoming.

73. Speech notes from City Planning Conference in Detroit, June 8, 1915, CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS).

74. Ibid.

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# CHAPTER II

## CASS GILBERT, GLENN BROWN, AND THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS (AIA)

Among the most important influences on the career of Cass Gilbert, besides that of his early training with the firm of McKim, Mead & White and his exposure to the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, were the ideas of Glenn Brown, Secretary of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). Gilbert did not independently pursue planning questions but became involved with them as an outgrowth of his institutional involvement with the AIA. Brown effectively drew Gilbert into the public discussion of city planning discussions for the first time in his career, urging him to produce a plan for the reorganization of the core of Washington, D.C. (Figure 2). This experience, coupled with the general interest in and excitement about public design in this era, caused Gilbert to develop his own planning ideals that became fundamental to his own later comprehensive city and campus plans.[1] To examine how these ideas developed, it is useful to trace Gilbert's involvement with the AIA over the course of the early to middle years of Gilbert's career, beginning in 1892, when he joined the organization, through the late teens, when he resigned because of political differences with leaders of the AIA.[2]

The AIA provided an important network for architects. Founded in 1889, when the Western Architects Association consolidated with the East Coast AIA, it served as the only

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professional organization for architects.[3] Gilbert was probably drawn to such a group for several reasons. As a Minnesota-based architect who wanted to expand his architectural and social connections, Cass Gilbert was well aware of the benefits that AIA membership and involvement could offer. Specifically, he aspired to join the architectural and social ranks of the East Coast establishment, connections which would be made much easier through the AIA. In fact, it would be surprising if Gilbert had not joined such a group.[4]

The AIA's development of professional standards for architects, both through the creation of guidelines for fair competition as well as through the passage of the celebrated Tarsney Act, may have attracted Gilbert further in his ambitious orientation. The Tarsney Act of 1893 achieved governmental recognition of the architectural profession by allowing private architects (and not government engineers) to compete for federal public building commissions. Previously, engineers had maintained a stranglehold on such commissions, creating an atmosphere of enmity among architects who felt trained professionals such as themselves were not given their due.[5] From early in his career, Gilbert not only chronicled his trips, appointments, and design ideas, but indicated his potential for success, especially on the heels of receiving his first major commission for the Minnesota State Capitol (begun 1895) and later for the United States Custom House (1899-1905).[6] Certainly from an early time, Gilbert felt that

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his skill and his training qualified him to discern what was best. He therefore subscribed to the assumption that the expert spoke for and articulated the public's interest.

The open competition system was also the focus of AIA efforts to improve conditions for architects' future work. This latter issue may have been especially pertinent to Gilbert, who, by the late nineties, had experienced his own frustrations with competitions. In 1899, for instance, Gilbert complained to his wife about the problems of the open competition, specifically in reference to his experience with developing plans for Washington University in St. Louis:

> This whole [open] competition system is wrong and I am sick of it. It is too much to ask a man to spend months of study and work, and thousands of dollars all on a chance and then to have to work by political methods to hold [onto] what you may have won fairly by merit. After the Washington University is over [sic] I am through with it once and for all. The strain is too great. I can't understand why [Charles Follen] McKim and other men of equal standing submit to it.[7]

Throughout his career Gilbert continued to advocate either limited competitions, in which a few architects would be invited to participate, or direct appointments or commissions, instead of the open system in which one had little chance of success. (He also may have felt that his skills qualified him as an exceptional designer who deserved prominent commissions.) That the AIA, in the 1890s, was developing a strong voice with respect to competitions may have been appealing to Gilbert as he developed his own private practice after dissolving his partnership in 1891 with the St. Paul architect, James Knox Taylor.

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Gilbert was only somewhat active in the AIA in the 1890s; he served on a variety of institutional committees but was not an especially prominent member of the national organization at that time [see Appendix II]. His individual practice was relatively new, and much of his time was devoted to the Minnesota State Capitol project. Yet, during this period, Gilbert was singled out, probably because he was recognized as an up and coming leader of the profession. On three occasions--in 1894, 1898, and 1899,--he was asked either to deliver a talk or respond to a set of talks at the annual convention for each of those years. In each case, he either declined to participate or was not able to attend the events at all. In 1894, AIA Secretary Alfred Stone asked him to speak about the effect of street railways and rapid transit on city and urban architecture. Although Gilbert offered to deliver a talk about competitions instead, he ultimately did not deliver any paper at the Convention.[8] In 1898, Gilbert was unable to attend the Convention and participate in a discussion concerning the employment of electrical, heating and sanitary engineers.[9] Similarly, in 1899, Gilbert did not participate in discussions concerning the influence of French ideas on American architecture, even though he initially had agreed to serve as a respondent and was sent the papers to read in advance.[10]

However, once influenced by the ideas, guidance, and leadership of the charismatic Glenn Brown, Gilbert's relationship to the AIA changed. Brown had been elected

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Secretary of the AIA in 1899 and remained in this position until 1913. Brown was a respected Washington architect whose opinion was valued by his peers, a gifted writer and essayist, and a dedicated civic advocate who envisioned the development of a true City Beautiful in the nation's capital. He also was the primary figure in and behind the scenes at the AIA as it grew into a highly professional, national organization.[11]

## The Early Relationship between Gilbert and Brown

The turning point in Gilbert's participation in the AIA, and his thinking in general about planning, occurred as a result of his discussions with Brown in preparation for the AIA Annual Convention of 1900. Brown masterfully choreographed this convention to focus upon several issues with respect to civic, or public, art in the city of Washington. At the turn of the century, this term referred to the formal arrangement of classically-inspired buildings and often public sculpture, that articulated areas of outdoor space, including streets, public parks and squares. Gilbert, himself, several years later commented on the distinction between a wide range of municipal improvements and civic planning:

> There is to-day, as you know, a broad and general movement all over the United States for the betterment of civic conditions. There is scarcely any important city in the United States that has not [been] the subject under consideration in some form or other. The problems of sanitation, street construction, lighting, transportation and the laws governing the construction of private buildings and public works are constantly under review; besides these are the questions of civic plan and the development along [the] lines of symmetry, beauty and

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> convenience. It would appear obvious that such information properly compiled would be of great benefit to the whole country, particularly at this period of active building of our cities and at a time when our country is assimilating a vast immigration, bringing about conditions of urban life which create new problems.[12]

(Gilbert also believed that if "adjustment and improvement" of urban conditions could be made, many "distressing sociological problems" would disappear.[13])

These concerns represented merely one part of Brown's efforts over many years to secure a long-term plan (based on the historic precedent of L'Enfant's ideas), and develop the physical fabric of the city, especially its governmental core and public spaces. Brown later went on to form a public art commission that would oversee the production of all public art and architecture for Washington, D.C.

Gilbert deeply admired Brown's efforts and leadership as is attested by their continued correspondence over many years. Late in his career, Gilbert praised Brown's many achievements, including the beautification of Washington, the creation of the Commission of Fine Arts, the implementation of the McMillan plan of 1902 that secured the proper site for the Lincoln Memorial, the preservation of the White House, and the purchase of the Octagon for the AIA's headquarters in Washington, D.C. Gilbert wrote:

> In ascribing so much of the development of Washington to you, I do not detract from others who . . . have rendered such long, loyal and able service in the same good cause and who have had their own great part in initiating and carrying on the development of the city and its environs . . . . But you, dear friend, stand out in my mind as the one who <u>first started it</u> all and who sacrificed most in the good cause, and without whose constant guardianship

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> it would have failed at many a critical juncture. When others wavered you were constant. You never swerved from your compass.[14]

This high praise for Brown's work reflects Gilbert's overall respect for the Washington architect. Earlier in their careers, it was also not uncommon for Gilbert to extol the virtues of Brown's scholarship or recommend him as a competition judge or expert lecturer.[15]

Nor was Gilbert the only one of Brown's colleagues to recognize the AIA Secretary's contributions. Charles Moore, biographer of Daniel H. Burnham and secretary to Senator James McMillan during the development of the Senate Park Commission Plan, recalled Brown as "a profound and indefatigable student of Capitol history and lore; a man of historic sense and feeling and of sound taste; and withal a person who combined modesty with persistency." Moore also singled out Brown as the primary leader who was responsible for reviving L'Enfant's plan and generating broad efforts for the future development of Washington.[16]

Before examining Brown's influence on Gilbert with regard to the Annual Convention of 1900, it is useful to consider the common educational and social background of the two architects. Both Brown and Gilbert studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, although at different times. Brown spent one year there as a special student in 1875.[17] Gilbert attended the school in 1878, also for one year, after deciding not to complete the two-year drafting program in which he had enrolled.[18] They also had the

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opportunity to see each other frequently in the social context of gentlemen's clubs in their home cities. In New York, it was not uncommon for Brown to meet with Gilbert at the Century Club, although Brown was not a member.[19] Both men, however, were members of the Cosmos Club in Washington. As Gilbert's letter of praise relates:

> It was in 1898 or 1899 that you and Charles Moore talked to me one evening at the Cosmos Club about what <u>might</u> be done, of how the mall should be developed, of how the plan of L'Enfant should be adhered to and enriched, of how public buildings should be located in accordance with a definite plan and not left to individual whim or to be the basis of political real estate speculators. All these and many other things we talked about that evening and on many other occasions.[20]

This meeting at the Cosmos Club represented a defining moment in Brown's plans for the AIA Convention of 1900.

Brown's interest in Gilbert, specifically to participate in the featured discussions of the Convention of 1900, likely resulted from a number of factors. To consider the question of why Gilbert was included, one must consider certain internal political issues. First, Gilbert may have been a politic choice for Brown, since Gilbert's former architectural partner, James Knox Taylor, in 1897, had been appointed to the position of Supervising Architect of the U. S. Department of Treasury. Since the Tarsney Act authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to set up competitions for federal public buildings, the Secretary wielded great power in deciding which government buildings would be designed by the Office of the Supervising Architect--Knox's office--and which buildings would be subject to a competition among private architects.

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The Tarsney Act further stipulated that when a competition did take place, five or more architects had to be invited to participate.[21] Brown had worked hard to implement this Act (even on a limited basis by 1897), and he might have thought that he would gain potential leverage by asking Gilbert to take part in the convention. Brown probably also had pegged Gilbert as a potential future leader. That Gilbert had been selected at a young age to design two of the most important buildings in the nation, the Minnesota State Capitol and the U. S. Custom House, suggests his extraordinary achievement.

On another level closer to Brown's own contributions to the AIA, Brown's attention may have been drawn to Gilbert's name because of the way in which it was highlighted in correspondence regarding the revival of the Minnesota Chapter of the AIA. This local chapter had floundered, with no reports being delivered at the annual national conventions of 1897 and 1898 [see Appendix II]. After initial inquiries to the chapter's secretary went unanswered, Brown wrote to Gilbert and to over a half-dozen of his Minneapolis/St. Paul architectural colleagues soliciting information about the troubled chapter. In these letters, Brown pleaded for help in reviving its membership.[22] Brown's inquiries to Edwin Payson Bassford of St. Paul yielded a hearty endorsement of Gilbert's youthful enthusiasm. Bassford wrote to Brown: "Better write to Cass Gilbert about this matter. He is a Young Man [sic] and full of vim and piss and energy and well calculated for anything of this kind."[23] Shortly thereafter, Gilbert agreed

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to help Brown reorganize the local chapter.[24]

Brown, through his Washington-based Public Art League (est. 1895), also had enlisted Gilbert in 1900 to aid his fight for legislation supporting the creation of a public art commission.[25] Gilbert contacted Representative J. T. McCleary to try to convince him to support Brown's bill rather than competing legislation prepared by the Chief Engineer of the Army, Bernard Green. Brown wrote to Gilbert: "This [later bill] is to be very much deplored as it will place matters in the hands of the Army. . . It therefore behooves us to do all we can to get ours presented and through first. . . ."[26] Gilbert then asked Brown for "the best argument you can present" which Gilbert promised to transmit to McCleary.[27] Gilbert also offered to try to interest the New York Tribune and other papers to follow-up on McCleary's letter and exert further influence. When Gilbert met with a Mr. Whitney of the New York Evening Post, he showed him Brown's news clippings and pamphlets concerning the proposed commission. As a result, Whitney promised Gilbert that the paper would take up the issue.[28]

About one month after their initial correspondence, Gilbert wrote McCleary a lengthy letter in which he argued in favor of Brown's Art Commission legislation. In fact, Gilbert's own words sounded as if they might have come directly from Brown:

> In order to obtain unity and the highest beauty of public monuments, buildings and grounds, their grouping and decoration should harmonize. Improper grouping, or wrongly placed statuary, or badly designed buildings, mar

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> the fine effect that such objects are intended to produce. . .
>
> The finest cities of ancient and modern times were created under conditions where architecture and fine art was arranged in harmony, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and pre-eminently Vienna are examples of this, and all have been largely rebuilt in this respect within modern times, at vast expense. It is self-evident that the early buildings in Washington, located in accordance with a definite plan, give the city a fine effect, which has been marred by more recent structures. . .
>
> . . .there would seem no good reason why Washington should not become one of the most beautiful capitol cities in the world.[29]

In this letter, Gilbert continued to describe the composition of the proposed Commission, the group's selection from leading fine arts societies, and the value of consulting experts about engineering, legal, financial and military matters. In closing, Gilbert urged that McCleary not support the opposing legislation which advocated the appointment of engineers to positions of such importance.

Gilbert even offered to travel to Washington to urge members of Congress to support the bill. He, however, cautiously made this offer to Brown:

> I could also write to the members of the House of Representatives from Minnesota, but you will understand that I do not like to do either of these things unless such action <u>is</u> necessary, or regarded as important. In other words, if I do not use up their good will by letter writing I might be able to approach them with better grace at a time when it would be more effective or necessary.[30]

Although correspondence is scant concerning this aspect of his professional connection to Brown, evidence suggests that Gilbert also tried to shape public opinion by contacting one of his hometown newspapers. Gilbert urged George Thompson of the <u>St. Paul Dispatch</u> to write in support of the public art

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commission. Gilbert, sure of the commission's high moral purpose, reasoned "It needs only a little interest on the part of the public to accomplish the result desired, and to take the art works of the country out of the reach of grave stone contractors and of political influence."[31]

Gilbert and the AIA Annual Convention of 1900

Given that these various events put Brown in contact with Gilbert, it is not surprising that Brown identified Gilbert as a significant figure who could contribute to the AIA Annual Convention of 1900. Brown's strategy, of course, was to use this event as a public forum for the advancement of his long-term goals regarding municipal improvement in the city of Washington. The convention also represents a turning point for Gilbert when, as an architect, he pulled together the ideas to which he had been exposed from the late 1870s on and when he began to work in a new mode that articulated some of the concepts that he had absorbed. This change can be seen in Gilbert's later comprehensive designs for city and campus projects, designs which were completed at the peak of his career. Brown's vision for a transformed city begin and end with the AIA Convention of 1900 (as John Reps and William Bushong have pointed out in their respective studies).[32] Instead, the Convention represented only one part of Brown's own broader, long-term efforts. Using to his advantage the 100th anniversary of the founding of Washington as the nation's capital, Brown coordinated the convention as only one

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portion of what became known as "The Centennial Celebration of the Foundation of the Seat of Government in Washington."

It was Brown who served as the central organizer of the Convention, although fellow AIA members William S. Eames of St. Louis and Joseph C. Hornblower of Washington were also appointed by AIA President Robert S. Peabody to the Committee of Arrangements on March 1, 1900.[33] Interestingly, Brown did not initially include Gilbert on his list of potential speakers. In his earliest schematic outline of March 14, Brown noted that either two evenings or one evening and one afternoon should be devoted to three topics. For each of these topics, he listed potential speakers. McKim, Mead & White were to be invited to speak about "Landscape or Grouping of Government Buildings," Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. for "Landscape for a Grouping of Government Buildings," and Daniel Chester French for "Monuments and Statuary in Connection with the Landscape of Government Buildings." For a fourth related topic, "Color Effect in Landscape and Buildings," Brown did not list any names.[34] Ten days later, however, Brown invited Gilbert, as well as Olmsted and French, each to prepare a paper on the subject of the "Grouping of Federal Buildings, Landscape, Statuary and Monuments" for the AIA Convention in December.[35] This title was Brown's way of trying to encourage his fellow architects to develop a wider vision.

With regard to Gilbert's invitation, Brown began a long struggle with the architect to take part in the keynote feature of the Convention. While Olmsted readily had agreed

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to prepare a paper for the winter event, Gilbert initially hesitated to promise anything, especially since the program was months away.[36] No sooner had Brown received Gilbert's response than he sent an encouraging reply to help persuade Gilbert. Brown wrote: "We feel that the series of papers which we propose on the grouping of Architecture, Landscape and Sculpture is so important to the art interest of the country that we hope very much you will determine to help us." Brown further explained that he expected the papers would receive the attention of Congressmen so that a "harmonious scheme" would be followed in the future development of Washington, D.C. In closing, Brown pushed his case further by telling Gilbert, "You are the man the Committee want[s], and we hope you will consider the matter favorably."[37] In the meantime, Gilbert had written to Olmsted to see if he and his brother would also be preparing a paper; but they had not yet notified Brown of their decision to participate.[38] After a second letter of encouragement from Brown, Gilbert declined to contribute a paper on the grounds that he did not have time to make the necessary preparations.[39] Brown acknowledged, but did not accept, Gilbert's response a few days later.[40]

By July, Brown tried a different tactic to persuade Gilbert to change his mind, telling him that Olmsted and C. Howard Walker would also be giving papers. (In the intervening weeks between Gilbert's decline of the invitation and Brown's renewed attempt to get Gilbert to agree, Brown had invited Walker to participate.)[41] Brown also changed his

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tactics by inquiring if Gilbert would simply "enter the discussion," a point which later caused some confusion.[42] Gilbert did finally agree to take part in the discussion.[43] After the summer passed and Brown was finalizing arrangements to obtain the papers before the Convention, Gilbert questioned Brown's understanding of what he had agreed to do: "Are you not mistaken about thinking that I have any paper to read at the Convention? . . . I did promise to discuss papers, but not to undertake anything more serious. I shall try to be on hand, but without any paper or lantern slides."[44] Whatever misunderstanding there was, it seemed to be straightened out by late November when Gilbert was sent two papers for review.[45]

Gilbert attended the Convention (although not as an official AIA delegate), including the third session of the meeting which was held on the evening of December 13, 1900.[46] The official title for this session was "On the General Subject of the Grouping of Government Buildings, Landscape and Statuary in the City of Washington." After an introduction by Joseph C. Hornblower, papers were delivered by C. Howard Walker, Edgar V. Seeler, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Henry Kirke Bush-Brown. Since the session ran late, however, the proposed discussion in which Gilbert was to take part ironically was omitted. Gilbert thus, after months of negotiation with Brown, did not have the chance to respond to the ideas that had been presented.[47] Despite the unsuccessful nature of Gilbert's participation, his experience with this

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convention was critical in the formation of his ideas about civic architecture.

Gilbert's essay concerning the plan for Central Washington

Shortly after the Convention, Brown decided to publish the papers and the respondents' ideas (those of Gilbert, Paul J. Pelz, and George O. Totten) as a Senate document.[48] Barely one week after the Convention, Brown urged Gilbert to send a copy of what he had planned to discuss and any accompanying illustrations, photographs, and diagrams.[49] By early January, Gilbert complied with Brown's request by reworking his informal notes and sending them to Brown in the form of an essay concerning the plan of Washington.[50] Gilbert also sent a "sketch plan of certain portions of the city" drawn to a small scale (Figure 2). This plan represents one of the more accomplished proposals that was submitted by the presenters. Brown later promised to submit to Gilbert proofs of the document as soon as they were ready.[51]

To better understand how Gilbert's paper (and his response to Brown's invitation) represented part of Brown's plan for long-term improvements to Washington, it is useful to consider how Brown developed the program of the session to serve as a forum for a larger audience. First, consider Brown's attempts at assembling a slate of speakers. Brown largely acted on his own, without the help of his fellow committee members, Eames and Hornblower.[52] As noted above, Olmsted, like Gilbert, was invited early on to participate and

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was the first to agree to give a paper.[53] Brown followed-up Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.'s acceptance by sending him maps and reports concerning the planning of Washington.[54] Olmsted's acceptance served as an anchor for the program and provided Brown with further leverage bringing in other speakers. Soon after receiving Olmsted's acceptance letter, Brown contacted C. Howard Walker, the Boston architect who had been traveling in Europe "especially with a view to study[ing] municipal improvements."[55]

Of all the participants, Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, a New York sculptor and chairman of the Committee on Municipal Improvements of the Architectural League in 1900, needed the most coaxing.[56] He was doubtful about what to say in his talk at the Convention. Correspondence between Brown and Bush-Brown chronicles the New Yorker's worries about his abilities, his address, and how his talk might complement the other presentations. Bush-Brown's hesitations might have been due to the fact that he was invited later than many of the other participants. In late June, Brown had invited him and also Philadelphia architect, Edgar V. Seeler. More than any of the other presenters, Bush-Brown was in close and frequent contact with Glenn Brown concerning his paper, and Brown was quite involved in helping Bush-Brown develop ideas for his paper.[57]

Other participants responded with more confidence. Edgar V. Seeler, in contrast to Bush-Brown's hesitant and drawn-out reaction, gladly accepted Brown's invitation to take part in the convention. Seeler needed very little encouragement.[58]

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About a week and a half later, when Brown invited William A. Boring, Daniel H. Burnham, as well as Cass Gilbert, to serve as discussants at the special session, Boring responded right away and accepted the invitation. Burnham did not respond immediately; but, after Brown issued a second invitation, he promised Brown he would try to attend if he could, depending on involvement with an Indianapolis competition.

By late November, however, Burnham knew he would not be able to participate.[59] Brown soon after invited Paul J. Pelz, the Washington architect who, with Smithmeyer, had designed the Library of Congress (1886-1897). Pelz accepted almost immediately, "having as a member of the Board of Trade, given this subject [of improvement] some study during this last year and having produced a suggestion [sic] plan to that effect which met with unanimous approval of the Committee on Public Buildings of the Board of Trade."[60]

Receiving promises from the potential discussants was another matter. After not hearing right away from Burnham in mid-July, Brown invited John M. Carrère, partner in the New York firm of Carrère & Hastings and co-designer of the New York Public Library, and Edward B. Green to serve as discussants.[61] Carrère could not make a commitment because he was too busy traveling and working on the Pan-American exhibition which was to be held in Buffalo, New York the following year.[62] Brown, however, continued to correspond with Carrère and conferred with him about getting someone to speak about the subject of color in relation to building

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groups. By November, Brown had been unable to secure a speaker on this subject. After his unsuccessful attempt to secure Frederick W. Crowninshield of New York, Brown asked Carrère if he thought O. Y. Turner, Director of Color of the Pan-American Exposition, would be a good choice.[63] Although Carrère heartily endorsed the candidate, Turner declined the invitation because of the work he had to do for the upcoming Exposition. As a result, Brown was unable to fill the position.[64] Edward B. Green, the other early potential discussant, was a Buffalo architect who was asked in late July to participate in the Convention.[65] Green, who had accepted the invitation but increasingly had misgivings about the event, was frightened off.[66] As he explained to Brown:

> This is assuming altogether too formal a character for me. I am not used to public speaking and shall certainly decline to afflict the audience. I was under a misapprehension--I thought possibly after hearing some of the papers, I would be expected to say a few words before the A.I.A., but not that I was necessarily going to study the subject extensively and prepare a paper to read to an audience, with lantern slides, etc. So I am going to stay away from Washington unless you assure me I will not be called upon in any such way as this . . . .[67]

Indeed, Green did stay away from the convention, claiming that illness in his family and his own professional duties prevented him from attending.[68] George O. Totten was then asked to participate at the last minute, and joined those who had agreed by late November to respond to papers.[69]

Gilbert, like many of his colleagues who took part in the session, exchanged little correspondence with Brown concerning the conceptual aspects of the talk. Brown, in fact, did not directly communicate ideas that should be presented in the

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talks, but his design for Washington and his writings influenced the speakers nonetheless. Gilbert ultimately synthesized the ideas of the AIA Secretary and other City Beautiful-oriented architects in the post-convention publication, Papers Pertaining to the Improvement of the City of Washington District of Columbia (1901). Gilbert even incorporated addressing aspects about color (in building materials) which Brown had wanted to include in the discussion at the convention.[70]

By mid-July, Brown had thus secured the main speakers Frederick Law Olmsted, C. Howard Walker, Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, Edgar V. Seeler, William A. Boring, and discussants Edward B. Green and Cass Gilbert. Brown sent them reports, maps, and blueprints regarding the plan of Washington. He also sent them references to plans by F. W. Fitzpatrick and Henry I. Cobb in the March 1900 issue of Inland Architect and News Record as well as references to his own article in the August 1900 issue of Architectural Review.[71] In September, Brown finalized plans to obtain papers from the speakers (Olmsted, Walker, Bush-Brown, and Seeler). In October, he referred all participants to Colonel Theodore A. Bingham's upcoming article in the Ladies' Home Journal (November 1900) concerning the restoration of the White House.[72] By late November, Brown was able to circulate papers by Walker and Seeler to those on the roster: Walker, Seeler, Green, Boring, Burnham, Olmsted, Bush-Brown, and Gilbert.[73]

Gilbert's essay, "Grouping of Public Buildings and

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Development of Washington," offers a re-statement of many of the general principles espoused by Glenn Brown, with significant subtleties. Gilbert's early drafts and the published version pay homage to Brown's advocacy for a future plan for Washington developed from the historic precedent of L'Enfant's original scheme (Figures 3 and 4). Yet, in extreme contrast, Gilbert employed features characteristic of Renaissance and Baroque planning, whereas Brown relied upon the picturesque tradition of nineteenth-century landscape garden history, by establishing a series of intimately-scaled spaces (Figure 5). Both Gilbert and Brown, though, envisioned the development of generally-oriented primary and secondary axes to open up grand vistas and connect carefully grouped buildings. They also envisioned the preservation of the park-like character of the Mall and the park's use as the main open feature to link symbolically and physically the two most important features of L'Enfant's plan: the White House and the Capitol.[74] Like Brown, Gilbert spoke of the need to restrict building height, a limitation that would prevent other buildings such as the new Richardsonian Post Office from being built.[75] In addition, Gilbert, like the Secretary of the AIA, included a discussion of color as an important feature in the selection of building and plant materials, elements integral to the overall improvement scheme for Washington, D.C.

Gilbert was no doubt familiar with Brown's article, "A Suggestion for Grouping Government Buildings; Landscape,

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Monuments and Statuary," published in the August 1900 issue of Architectural Review to which Brown had referred all of the participants. This article was reprinted as Brown's own essay in Papers Relating to the Improvement of the City of Washington, District of Columbia, with the addition of a small section of text and 16 more plates illustrating the use of water and foliage features in European gardens. Like many similar City Beautiful publications, Brown's article and his later essay, included photographs that illustrated the existing conditions of areas that had lacked the impact of an overall comprehensive improvement plan. Brown, also like other City Beautiful authors, offered photographs of improved areas to show what was possible in striving toward a vision of ideal urban reform. Furthermore, Brown's writing exemplified the work of other improvement advocates by delivering an enthusiastic clarion call for change and the creation of more beautiful environments.[76]

The differences between Gilbert's and Brown's writings are more subtle. Gilbert addressed the question of improvement as an issue of form, proportion, and composition in relation to his own "sketch plan." Brown, in contrast, was an inspired advocate speaking from a context more rooted in culture and history, especially in relation to how European ideals could be used to develop Washington into a world-class city. Gilbert's attempt at offering a specific solution resulted in his codification of twelve principles. Although some of these principles overlapped conceptually, Gilbert made

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an attempt to offer his solution as much in writing--almost as a treatise of sorts--as in his design. The other plans, published in Papers. . ., offered solutions but these were not as integrally connected to their respective texts as Gilbert's was. Brown's plan, already published months earlier in Architectural Review (Figure 5), formed only a part of his broader discussion of what Washington could become. Certainly, Brown's plan and its curving pathways were more connected to the English picturesque garden movement than to Gilbert's hierarchical arrangement of buildings, open space, and grand vistas.

The other two plans offered by respondents were also not linked up with a cohesive list of principles. For example, George Oakley Totten, Jr.'s plan, as he, himself admitted, was a "hasty sketch" open to change, at best. Totten's design was based on examples of exposition architecture, the topic of his published essay.[77] Paul J. Pelz's plan, submitted by the architect who was asked to take part in the Convention just a few weeks before the event, was indebted to Pelz's own previous winter's work for the Washington Board of Trade.[78] As for Walker and Seeler, neither of them offered specific plans to enhance their respective texts. Walker, in fact, did not employ any images to illuminate his historical discussion of how numerous European cities (ranging from Paris to Prague) had addressed the problem of public space.[79] Seeler used only a couple of illustrations to support his text.[80] Gilbert, however, was interested in offering a neatly woven package of

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principles in writing and in their application in his sole illustration, the plan of Washington, D.C. Together, text and plan were to be interpreted as a means of supporting Glenn Brown's broad vision for a transformed environment.

Gilbert began his essay by using the metaphor of the city in relation to the "machine" of government. He referred to the city as a part of the order and system that he believed characterized government.[81] He elaborated: "The departmental buildings [of government], the Capitol, the White House are details of this machinery." As he continued, Gilbert made clear that a comprehensive plan for the city was a necessity, especially in light of the historical precedent of L'Enfant's original plan. Gilbert also stressed that this comprehensive plan should serve as a foundation that would allow for growth and development. This future change, he believed, was to be made within the matrix of the basic plan--without rigid rules or principles.[82]

Gilbert then turned to discuss the general, and relatively flexible, principles that would engender the kind of development that he--and Brown--were seeking. His twelve principles largely addressed form, proportion, and composition for a broadly-based city plan. Although he attempted to group them more logically in early drafts of the essay, the principles in published form are not consistently linked.[83] Some are logical extensions of principles discussed in the essay; others present either unrelated ideas or, more often, similar versions of those already presented. Nevertheless,

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throughout his discussion Gilbert guides his reader in interpreting the sketch plan and his attempt to outline long-term ideas for civic improvement.

Gilbert was most concerned not only with buildings in relation to one another but also, and perhaps more importantly, with their relation to the street, the site, and plantings in the landscape. He believed proportion should determine the height and length of buildings and the width and length of the street or boulevard (principle #1)."[4] Conversely, he believed the height of the building should be correlated to the length and width of the street or boulevard. But if buildings were placed along a grand boulevard, he believed that their height should be uniform, as in Vienna's Ringstrasse or the Rue du Rivoli in Paris (#8). As an extension of this later idea, Gilbert envisioned buildings of great height or prominence to be placed on the axes of streets "to form definite composition with other buildings" (#9), although prominent buildings (such as the Capitol) should not be more than four stories (#10).

Gilbert also believed these buildings should generally be monumental and classical in style (#7); and, that groups of them should be arranged not in parks, but along streets, boulevards, and public squares. Furthermore, he believed these building groups should be enhanced by foliage and by suitable approaches that included plantings (#5 and #6). As a supplementary note to his principle about approaches, Gilbert believed the only situation in which masonry should be

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utilized in architectural construction was when a building (such as the Capitol) was articulated by a grand façade and had to face a thoroughfare (#12).

He addressed other issues, including the need for variety in minor axes (#2), street orientation (where he advocated curved streets to be broader than straight ones--paradoxically forms which do not appear in his plan) (#3), and site grades (which he believed should not impede architectural beauty) (#4). He also noted that color should be an important element of form, with the materials of surrounding buildings to be used as a cue for design (#11). As an example, he cited the disharmony of a brick building in a street of marble or granite "unrelieved by foliage and without transitional color. . ."[85]

Although Gilbert stressed that his ideas were not new, in the same essay, he explained that his proposal was a guide for what could be done in Washington, D. C. Like Brown and the other speakers, Gilbert advocated protecting the park-like character of the mall and placing the development of the city in the hands of trained specialists who would consider "the aesthetic as well as the material conditions."[86] Both supported the use of experts in proposing what would be designed for the public.

Several years later, for example, Gilbert would advocate such a position, when he spoke to the local chapter of the Seattle AIA. In giving a talk entitled, "The Civic City," Gilbert underscored the city's need for an appropriate civic

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plan. He urged his listeners to consider some definite scheme, as he explained:

> . . . when you come to doing that, remember that the name, the city beautiful, if there is one thing more than another that will kill it in the eyes of practical men, it is the title, the city beautiful. What you want is a city improvement [sic], good streets, good sidewalks, well-lighted, well-sewered, well-guttered. You want good buildings. You need a civic city. Make it conform to broad lines and it will be beautiful. Recognize your plans for transportations [sic] and natural growth. . .[87]

Gilbert, in addition, reinforced the importance of the Seattle AIA chapter in the city's planning process. He emphasized the need for the city to capitalize on its commercial origins by expanding business and transportation sectors, and he also underscored the need to entrust a civic plan to trained specialists.[88]

To return to Gilbert's Washington, D.C. essay, he admirably developed a "sketch plan" more sophisticated in building arrangement than its counterparts and used the Capitol (in Figure 2, Building #1), the White House (Building #3), and the open area of the Mall as key features around which the rest of the plan was generated. (These features had similarly defined L'Enfant's original plan.) Of these three features, the Capitol was the linchpin of the design. Gilbert envisioned (as Brown and L'Enfant had before him) a grand boulevard extending west from the Capitol to the Washington Monument (#7). Gilbert created the illusion of the monument's being located on axis with the Capitol by exploiting the great distance between the two monuments and by widening the boulevard at the western end. (In Brown's plan, this slanting

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of the boulevard southward is more noticeable.) Gilbert further enhanced the illusion of balance and symmetry by suggesting the placement of a large sculptural monument on axis with the Capitol and Washington Monument, and situated as far from the White House to the north as was the Washington Monument. The main axis extended further west, culminating in the proposed reviewing grounds for public military events or celebrations (#15), articulated by colonnades. These sheltered spaces would protect visitors as they promenaded and enjoyed views of the river, the memorial bridge (extending from the axis of New York Avenue) (#9), the parade ground itself, and the vista eastward toward the Capitol.

Like L'Enfant, Gilbert also proposed a group of buildings that set up an architecturally-bounded space along the Mall. These buildings were arranged at the Mall's northern and southern edges (#11), located just east of the Washington Monument. The Smithsonian Institution (#8) would have been likewise balanced by a building of a similar size north of the main axis. East of the Capitol, the then-new Congressional Library [now known as the Library of Congress] (#2), would have been balanced by a similarly-sized building with a courtyard to the north. (This unnamed building would become the U. S. Supreme Court over a quarter century later.)

The pronounced axial arrangement of Gilbert's plan relied on precedents such as L'Enfant's neo-Baroque plan, with its radially displaced boulevards providing the fundamental circulation system for the city. Other elements of Gilbert's

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plan, including the hierarchical symmetry characteristic of Ecole des Beaux-Arts plans, created a highly ordered, balanced composition. Bisecting the main east-west axis in Gilbert's plan was the north-south subsidiary axis connecting the existing White House (#3), a potential site for an expanded White House (if the present White House could not serve its function without improvements), about a mile and three-quarters to the north (#10), and, to the south, a proposed historical museum (#14), which was flanked by two small, unidentified buildings. This strong north-south axis distinguished Cass Gilbert's plan from the other proposals. If the present White House was maintained, however, Gilbert suggested that departmental buildings should flank either side of the residence with the Treasury Building (#4) to the east and the War, State and Navy Buildings (#5) to the west. Remaining buildings north of the Washington Monument consisted of the existing Corcoran Gallery (#6) balanced by a similar building to the east. The symmetrical clustering of buildings on each side of his subsidiary axis would be completed with proposed scientific and educational buildings to the west (#13) and another group of departmental buildings to the east (#11).

Gilbert thus created a bold axial framework for the open space of the Mall and the buildings around it. His plan took into account L'Enfant's original ideas and also the structures that had been built since L'Enfant's time, such as the Washington Monument, the Smithsonian Institution, the Corcoran

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Gallery and the Library of Congress. The placement of the main buildings east, north, and south of the Washington Monument emphasized the open space established by the intersection of the two main axes. As in his essay, Gilbert made form, proportion, and composition paramount in this sketch plan. This plan became the basis for later projects, especially the McMillan Commission plan of 1902 that would soon overshadow Brown's and Gilbert's initial ideas to reform the core of Washington.

## Gilbert's Efforts after the Convention

In the weeks following publication of the various papers, Gilbert further aided Brown's cause of passing legislation for improvements in Washington by using his personal influence. In early February 1901, William A. Boring, chairman of the AIA committee to present the bill to Congress, sent a form letter and personal note to Gilbert, asking for his help with the proposed bill (Senate Report No. 139) and the report that was submitted by Senator James McMillan, chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia.[89] Boring wondered if Gilbert could contact Minnesota congressmen in person or by letter in order to extract their promises to support the legislation. He also explained that Gilbert's plan had been shown at the convention (and not just published later as part of Brown's volume) and had been well received:

> I need not tell you of the importance of this measure for you have already displayed great interest in it by exhibiting at the Convention, a plan for this improvement, which was much admired and was considered by

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> the Executive Committee as the best solution of the problem yet.[90]

Soon after Boring's contact with Gilbert, Gilbert wrote to Minnesota Senators Knute Nelson and Moses E. Clapp seeking their help with the passage of the bill. They agreed to do whatever they could. Clapp, in particular, believed the bill had considerable merit.[91] Gilbert reported back to Brown that he had received favorable responses from Nelson and Clapp and suggested that Brown use his own influence through James Knox Taylor, an old friend of Senator A. G. Foster of Washington state, to help secure Foster's vote.[92]

Senate Report Number 139, Report Number 1919 (introduced December 17, 1900 and published a month later, at roughly the same time as Papers Pertaining to the Improvement of the City of Washington, District of Columbia) consisted of the joint resolution to provide a commission to consider improvements for Washington, D.C. The commission was to be composed of two architects and one landscape architect to evaluate the plan of locating and grouping public buildings and monuments for the city and its park system. The committee was requested to report back to Congress in December 1901. At that time, ten thousand dollars was appropriated to carry out the resolution.[93]

This report included a brief history of the project as well as a persuasive and eloquent entreaty by Glenn Brown for the Senate to pass legislation that would carry out Washington's original plan to establish a beautiful capital city. The report argued that although some legislation had

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been passed, it was necessary to continue such efforts. The report cited various examples of projects devoted to improving public health, especially those concerning an improved water supply and sewer system (issues that both related to Brown's own early interests). The report then turned to discuss the success of the 1893 World Columbian Exposition as a paradigm of "how an artistic plan may be devised and carried out so as to be a source of national pride, and a means of national education."[94]

Brown, in his own statement, which was appended to the report, explained that Washington had reached a stage where a well-conceived, comprehensive plan was necessary and provided a brief commentary on how to resolve the issue. Thus, he reviewed many of the same points he made in his earlier Architectural Review article and concurrent essay published in Papers Pertaining to the Improvement of the City of Washington, District of Columbia. Brown's statement stressed the importance of historical precedence in attaining a harmonious arrangement buildings. Brown included a brief explanation of the key features of L'Enfant's plan: prominent locations for buildings, radiating streets emanating from central points, and the importance of vistas in creating special features of beauty. As he explained, "'The fundamental idea of the scheme was a dignified, formal, and artistic approach and setting for these principal architectural monuments.'"[95] But Brown also explained that the comprehensive vision of L'Enfant's general harmonious

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scheme had been forgotten in the present day with "'the landscape of each section of the Mall treated as if it were an individual park and had no bearing or effect upon the Capitol, Monument, or Executive Mansion.'"[96] Government buildings had been located at random, creating many unpleasant results as opposed to creating great forms of beauty and providing a termination for magnificent views. Given these conditions, in addition to the growing park system which was also subject to a lack of comprehensive planning, Brown again called for a visionary plan to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the nation's capital.

Brown recognized, even in the picturesque elements of own scheme, that connection with the existing park system in Washington had to be an essential component of his ideas. He worked closely with Senator McMillan, who had great authority regarding the park system of the city. As he explained in Report Number 1919:

> Now is the time for a general plan for connecting the park system, as well as devising the broad principles on which all parks shall be treated, which shall have formal treatment, which shall be treated broadly for river and distant effects, and which shall be treated naturally because of their natural and picturesque beauties.[97]

Brown continued to call for placing the project in the hands of trained professionals, such as a qualified, expert commission. Perhaps Brown was also responding to Gilbert's own plan when he called for Executive Departments to be located near the Executive Mansion, (i.e. White House--like Gilbert's buildings #5 and #6 on Figure 2), various scientific departments to form another group (like Gilbert's building

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#11), and buildings associated with Congress to be grouped in connection and in harmony with the Capitol (also like Gilbert's building #11). Brown ended his report, as Gilbert did his essay, with a passionate call for action:

> The opportunity is too great to be cast aside. No country has a building more noble, grand, or beautiful than the Capitol, a shaft more imposing than the Monument, a free space with such an opportunity to treat it so as to enhance the effect of the capitol, the Monument, and the Executive Mansion!. . .
>
> We believe that the ends suggested in this report can only be attained by the appointment of a commission such as is embodied in this resolution.[98]

Likewise, Gilbert hoped that the example of General Washington's eagerness to call upon specialists such as engineer/surveyor L'Enfant and architect Stephen Hallet would influence a modern-day public to see the value of forming a commission of trained specialists.[99]

The ultimate success in Gilbert's plan for Washington came in its recognition by the McMillan Commission. Gilbert came closer than Brown to articulating a grand, unified space bounded by public architecture. Gilbert stayed well apprised of the development of the Senate Park Commission plan and continued to support Brown's efforts by corresponding with representatives through 1904.[100] Even a decade later, Gilbert closely followed newspaper coverage of the tenth anniversary of the McMillan plan, collecting numerous articles for his office scrapbooks.[101]

In spite of his involvements with the AIA, Gilbert was seldom interested in delivering public papers. In the year following the Convention, Brown asked Gilbert to give a second

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paper. The topic to be addressed was the effectiveness of the Tarsney Act, the advisability of leaving this issue in the hands of the architect, and what methods might be adopted in the architect's office to overcome problems recently reported by Supervising Architect of the Treasury, James Knox Taylor.[102] As winner of the U. S. Custom House competition and the first architect to secure a commission for a major government building in the city of New York, Gilbert agreed to deliver a paper. Even though he could not attend the convention, Gilbert promised to give Brown a manuscript for publication for the AIA Quarterly Bulletin. After falling ill, however, he was unable to supply the manuscript.[103] The following year Gilbert once more promised Brown to give a talk on municipal improvements, but this talk did not materialize either.[104] In 1904, Brown asked Gilbert, yet again, to speak about issues concerning the Tarsney Act, but Gilbert again declined, due to lack of time.[105]

Despite Gilbert's later problems with the AIA, the architect's institutional connections with that organization, and also with Royal Institute of Architects (RIBA) from 1900 to the early teens, broadened his exposure to and interest in comprehensive planning and the City Beautiful movement. Furthermore, Gilbert's commitment to the AIA overall did not go unnoticed. On Gilbert's 50th birthday in 1909, Glenn Brown showered accolades on his colleague:

> My association with him in Institute work has been a great pleasure and a memory which will remain with me. His gift of time and mind, his zealous support of what was good, his initiation and ability in attaining ends

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> for the good of Art, will remain one of the bright spots in the history of the Institute.[106]

Brown's respect for the architect and his work only deepened in later years. In fact, Brown ended his lengthy memoir with an homage to the life and work of Cass Gilbert, who had served as the president of the Institute in 1908 and 1909. Brown more than recited Gilbert's achievements; he wrote about a colleague who had become a close friend and advisor. Brown thus not only admired Gilbert for his great designs like the Woolworth Building (among many others), but he also highly valued Gilbert's participation within the institutional framework of the AIA and the American architectural community.[107]

Gilbert's efforts within the institutional structure of the AIA were instrumental in his developing an understanding of city planning issues related to the City Beautiful movement. Glenn Brown, whose tenure as Secretary of the AIA coincided with Gilbert's most active years in the organization, was the key figure in Gilbert's transformation. Brown's orchestration of the AIA Annual Convention of 1900 was pivotal in encouraging Gilbert to embrace the theoretical issues that he would later apply in his own city and campus plans. Gilbert's further involvement with various committee projects, international contact through the RIBA and the International Congress of Architects, and service as AIA president, suggest that the architect held more than a passing interest in planning issues [see Appendix III]. The next chapter will turn to how local citizens aided Gilbert in his

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efforts to incorporate some of these ideas in his design for the St. Paul Capitol Approaches Plan.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

GB=Glenn Brown
DHB=Daniel Hudson Burnham
JFG=Julia Finch Gilbert
AS=Alfred Stone
FLO=Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.
DCF=Daniel Chester French
JRR=John R. Rockart

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. For period articles addressing the topic of reorganizing the core of Washington, D.C., see Henry Ives Cobb, "Suggestions for Locating Future Government Buildings in the District of Columbia," Diagram 2, Inland Architect and News Record 35 (March 1900): second plate after p. 16; F. W. Fitzpatrick, "Beautifying the Nation's Capital," Inland Architect and News Record 35 (March 1900): 10-14; [Col.] Theodore A. Bingham, "The Future of the White House," Ladies Home Journal 17 (November 1900): 9-10; F. W. Fitzpatrick, "Centennial of the Nation's Capital," The Cosmopolitan 30 (December 1900): 108-120; and William Cox, comp., Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Seat of Government in the District of Columbia (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1901).

2. In the years following his presidency of the AIA, Gilbert began to experience some internal political problems that eventually were not resolved. His initial chafing against some of the AIA's policies is apparent in the conflict concerning Daniel Burnham's resignation in 1911. When Gilbert discovered that Burnham wanted to resign from the organization because of a recent AIA ruling on the competition with which Burnham had been involved, Gilbert strongly discouraged him from doing so. The issue concerned Burnham's firm, as well as four other architectural firms that were investigated for violation of an AIA law of ethics governing competitions. All the firms had submitted designs for the Continental and Commercial National Bank. Non-AIA member Jarvis Hunt submitted a design that the jury had selected as the winning entry. The bank directors, however, ignored that decision and awarded the contract to D. H. Burnham & Co. Burnham was also criticized for a conflict of interest since he had served as a director of the bank. The AIA further condemned the bank for neither developing a uniform agreement nor employing an expert advisor. Burnham regarded these stipulations as arbitrary and was ready to resign rather than submit to AIA policy [Chicago Tribune, June 16, 1911 enclosed with

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correspondence from CG to GB, June 20, 1911 in the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, RG 801 SR 5, Bx: 3, F: 2 (AIA)].

Gilbert sided with Burnham on this issue. In correspondence with Robert S. Peabody, Gilbert wrote that ". . . without criticizing the Committee [on Competitions] of the Institute, I have not felt always in entire sympathy with the recent policy for however much I admit its logic, I have been inclined to think that those matters cannot be pressed too rapidly, but must be allowed time for growth and development. However, this may be, we ought not to lose Burnham from the list [CG to Robert S. Peabody, April 24, 1911; also CG to George B. Post, April 24, 1900 and CG to GB, April 25, 1911, in U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, RG 801 SR 5, Bx: 8, F: 13 (AIA)].

In a letter to Burnham Gilbert wrote: "We have to make some sacrifices. You have made yours, I have made mine and we both of us will make many more. I have myself not entirely agreed with some of the recent dicta of our Committees, but I must admit a certain measure of logic therein that we must all see that they are earnestly striving to better the conditions of practice in this country. They have for several years, been trying out certain theories and while I have had some misgivings and have sometimes felt that we should make haste slowly, I have had to concur in the general intention because it appealed to my sense of what would be ultimately an economic necessity. No reform can be accomplished without some friction. 'You can't make an omelet without breaking some egss [sic].' Some theories will have to be tried out before the ideal condition is achieved" [CG to DHB, April 24, 1911, U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, RG 801 SR 5, Bx: 3, F: 2 (AIA)]. Gilbert also wrote to Pond on the same date and emphasized that "the Institute is greater than any one man in it." Gilbert wrote to Burnham some two months later, again urging him to withdraw his resignation only to learn the same day that Burnham had, in fact, just submitted his resignation to the AIA Board of Trustees [CG to DHB, June 29, 1911, U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, RG 801 SR 5, Bx: 8, F: 13; CG to I. K. Pond, June 29, 1911, from Ibid., Bx: 3, F: 2 (AIA)].

By 1914, Gilbert eased himself out of committee work that earlier in his career he had embraced. He resigned from the chairmanship of the Committee on the Schedule of Charges, pleading lack of time [CG to AIA President Russell C. Sturgis, March 21, 1914 and Sturgis to CG, March 28, 1914, AIA/OS, RG 801 SR 4, Bx: 1, F: 6 (AIA)]. The following year Harold Van Buren Magonigle and the New York Chapter of the AIA brought charges of unprofessional conduct against Gilbert and Thomas Hastings. The two architects were criticized for their own conflict of interest, posed by their simultaneous membership on the Commission of Fine Arts and their participation in a government competition for the Portland Post Office. The charges, however, were eventually dropped [Acting Executive Secretary of the AIA to Burt L. Fenner, January 6, 1915 and Fenner to CG, January 11, 1915 in CGPprs, 1915-19, RG 803, Bx: 224, F: 21 (AIA). In the latter correspondence, the Committee

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on Practice reviewed the case and found that no case existed. By unanimous vote, the charges were dismissed].

Whether or not these events had some bearing on Gilbert's own resignation in 1919 is unclear, but they likely contributed to Gilbert's growing discontentment with the AIA after Glenn Brown was no longer secretary in 1913 and a new group of architects had come in to manage the organization. (Brown spoke eloquently about the changing of the guard at the time of Frank Millet's death in 1912. Brown wrote: ". . . Millet was most intimately connected with all our endeavors. The last of the old guard McKim--Saint Gaudens--Gilder--Millet--who worked for the good of others--all of whom were my good friends. We of the younger set must close up the ranks as you say" [GB to CG, April 30, 1912, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1912 (LC/MSS)].

Gilbert's resignation took months to be realized because of confusion surrounding the process. He began the procedure in May, by notifying AIA President Kimball. Kimball, however, explained that Gilbert first had to go through the New York chapter [CG to T. R. Kimball, May 15, 1919; Kimball to CG, June 23, 1919; and AIA Exec. Sec. to CG, June 30, 1919, CGPprs, 1915-19, RG 803, Bx: 224, F: 21 (AIA)]. When Gilbert then corresponded with this local chapter, his request was held up because of a delay at the August meeting [CG to Board of Directors/AIA and CG to E.C. Kemper/AIA Executive Secretary, July 2, 1919, Ibid. Also see Stowe Phelps to Parker, July 3, 1919; Kemper to Phelps, July 3, 1919; and Parker to CG, September 9, 1919, Ibid]. The Board of Directors of the New York Chapter then asked Gilbert to explain his reasons for withdrawing membership, but he did not wish to elaborate. Gilbert was somewhat aloof and cryptic when told them: "I have some doubt of the desirability of presenting my reasons at this time. I believe that some of the officers of the Institute are aware that I have differed with the Institute in certain matters which I regard as important" [CG to Parker, September 10, 1910 (two letters of this date), Ibid].

Gilbert's resignation from the AIA was finally accepted at the November 1919 meeting [Parker to CG, September 26, 1919; CG to Parker, December 5, 1919, Ibid. Incidentally, Cass, Jr. was a member of the AIA beginning in 1931, after working in his father's office for 15 years. His membership was valid through 1940 [see CG, Jr. membership file, Bx: 408, F: 23 (AIA). Brown recalled in his memoir that Gilbert had resigned during the "radical administration" of Kimball; see Brown, Memories, p. 574].

3. For further background on the consolidation process between the Western Association of Architects and the AIA, see Henry H. Saylor, The A.I.A.'s First Hundred Years (Washington, D.C.: The Octagon, 1957), 16-21.

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4. Gilbert's ultimate transformation from a local, mid-Western architect to one of Eastern, and even national fame has been examined in some depth. See Robert Allen Jones, "Cass Gilbert, Midwestern Architect in New York" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1976); William Towner Morgan, "The Politics of Business in the Career of an American Architect: Cass Gilbert--1878-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1972); and Sharon Lee Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York, 1899-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1985).

5. See Albert E. Cowdry, A City for a Nation, the Army Engineers and the Building of Washington, D.C., 1790-1967 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1978).

6. In his 1895 diary, n.p., CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 1, (LC/MSS), Gilbert noted the beginning of his East Coast trip the day "after having been awarded the competition for the new Capitol" with a sense of excitement and strong belief that perhaps he was destined to succeed. The U. S. Custom House, incidentally, represented only the fourth building to be designed according to the regulations of the Tarsney Act. See Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 272.

7. CG to JFG, September 20, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 4 (LC/MSS).

8. AS to CG, May 29, June 11, and August 27, 1894, in AIA/OF, RG 801 SR 1.1, vols. 8 and 9 (AIA).

Gilbert's response several years later was much different. While AIA president in 1909, Gilbert initiated discussion about the role of railways in civic development. At Gilbert's suggestion, Brown began conversations with Daniel H. Burnham on this subject with the hope that it would be included in the slate of talks at the next convention. Gilbert explained to Burnham what such a topic could do for the Institute: "I suggested this subject to our Committee for a number of reasons . . . I feel that the Institute should always be progressive and should deal with the problems of the present and the future and not always those academic questions which relate to the past. No project of civic development is possible without a full recognition of the importance of the lines of transportation whether they be intra-mural or transcontinental. I hope the Institute will deal with the matter in the largest sense although there is room for some discussion of details. I hope that there will be papers and discussions giving a general review of what has been done in railway planning and railway business in Europe as well as in America and that they will deal not only with the suburban station but [also] with the metropolitan terminal problem. I expect to invite some of the leading railway men to be present and to bring to the councils of the Institute men of the highest standing in railway matters" [CG to DHB, August 12, 1909, AIA/OF, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 6 (AIA). Also see CG to

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GB, same date, Ibid.] Clearly, Gilbert was interested in the AIA addressing the issue of civic development writ large.

Gilbert's interest in transportation questions of the future also extended to airplane travel. Gilbert not only invited airplane pioneer, Wilbur Wright, to attend the AIA convention banquet in December 1909, he hoped the pilot could be induced to speak at the convention. Gilbert compiled detailed notes from his visit with the pilot during which time they discussed, among other topics, the plan of Washington, D.C.[CG Memo, October 5, 1909, AIA/ OFS, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 7 and related correspondence, CG to GB, October 5, 1909, Ibid, F: 7 (AIA)]. This memo has been reprinted in Cass Gilbert, "Notes and Documents: Cass Gilbert and Wilbur Wright," Minnesota History 22 (September 1941): 302-305.

Several factors may have influenced Gilbert's interests. No doubt Gilbert was very familiar with Burnham's work as an architect and planner; in fact, he had recently received a copy of Burnham's Plan of Chicago in July 1909 and was deeply impressed by it [CG to DHB, July 25, 1909 and CG to the Commercial Club of Chicago, July 26, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09 - 5/10 (N-YHS)]. In the July 25 correspondence, Gilbert told Burnham: ". . . I wish to express my sincere admiration for the great project you have inaugurated and for you courage and farsightedness in carrying it this far on toward realization." The topic of railway development also may have stimulated Gilbert's own orientation, earlier in his career, as a designer of railroad offices and depots. He had represented McKim, Mead & White in the West, from Minnesota to Washington state, working with Henry Villard of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Moreover, Gilbert, in his own practice in 1909, was working with Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad on the improvement plan for New Haven which included provision for a new railroad station.

Gilbert probably realized the value of such discussions in relation to this project. That he invited Yale University President, Arthur T. Hadley, to participate in the discussions suggests Gilbert was not unaware of how he could directly benefit. (These issues, in relation to the New Haven Improvement Plan, will be addressed at greater length in the final chapter of this study.) Some of these issues were also not far from Gilbert's mind when he consequently drummed up support for the project from within the ranks of the AIA. He wrote to his St. Louis colleague, William S. Eames, emphasizing that these discussions "will widen the interest and influence of the Institute and perhaps secure for us some good friends in powerful circles [while] at the same time being a topic of great architectural interest" [CG to William S. Eames, August 30, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09 - 5/10 (N-YHS)]. For further information about the development of the railway talks, see correspondence from Gilbert, December 2-20, 1909, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 7 (AIA).

The papers read at the Annual AIA Convention of 1909 and later published as The Relations of Railways to Civic Development, ed. Glenn Brown, (Washington, D.C.: Gibson

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Brothers, 1910) addressed many facets of railway planning and design. Frederic A. Delano, President of the Wabash Railroad Company, spoke about railway terminals and their relation to city planning. Freight house design was the subject of the talk given by M. A. Long, architect for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. M. V. Richards, Land and Industrial Agent of the Southern Railway, addressed how railways were connected to the conservation of natural resources. Two talks addressed the problems of terminal stations--one talk was given by J. Vipond Davies with J. Hollis Wells and the other by George Cary. Yet another talk, by Philadelphia architect, Albert Kelsey, focused upon street trolley stations and traffic. Most related to Gilbert's work, however, was the talk given by John R. Rockart, architect and I. D. Waterman and C. W. Lord, engineers, for the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. Rockart worked as an associate in Gilbert's office and was one of Gilbert's most trusted advisors [For more information on Rockart, who was originally known as Rachac and Rohac, see Sharon Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York, 1899-1905," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1985), 629-631].

This talk addressed the topic of buildings in relation to their surrounding context and liberally quoted examples from Gilbert's own projects for New Haven and its environs. Among the examples were Gilbert's and Olmsted's New Haven Improvement Plan as well as Gilbert's plans for suburban and metropolitan railroad stations. [Brown, ed., Ibid., 45-53].

9. Alfred Stone, ed., Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects (Providence, R.I.: E. A. Johnson, 1898), 80.

10. GB to CG, July 28, August 12 and 23, October 20 and 25, 1899, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 14 and Glenn Brown, ed. Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1899), 59ff.

11. William B. Bushong's dissertation presents an examination of Brown's many talents. See William Brian Bushong, "Glenn Brown, the American Institute of Architects, and the Development of the Civic Core of Washington, D.C." (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1988).

12. CG to R. S. Woodward, January 23, 1908, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 38, F: 3 (AIA). Gilbert made these remarks to Dr. R. S. Woodward, President of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, as he, Gilbert, and AIA colleague, John L. Mauran, urged the institution to fund a project initially put forth by Brown. The AIA-based Committee for Advocating the Development of Cities tried unsuccessfully to obtain support for their work.

13. Ibid.

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14. CG to GB, November 10, 1931, RG 804 SR 5, Bx: 5c (AIA). Gilbert continued his praise of Brown at some length, as the following suggests: "The whole nation owes you a great debt of gratitude which it can never repay, but it must be a proud memory to you and your family that your wholly unselfish labors have been so successful and have born such rich fruit for the present and for the future.

"I doubt if ever a professional man, be he artist, lawyer, doctor or salesman, has worked with more unselfish devotion, or less material reward. You never looked for reward, you only looked to do your duty, and you did it. You must, however, have the consciousness of a much higher reward in the spiritual satisfaction of having played such a useful part in such a good cause. Your work will live long after you and I have passed off the stage . . . ."

See also Gilbert's informal report to a Philadelphia group about the history of Washington--CG to Albert E. Kelsey, December 10, 1909, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 1909 E-J, F: 1909 G (AIA).

15. CG to Dr. Charles Hatfield, August 3, 1908, CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS); and CG to Senator Augustus O. Bacon, November 19, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

16. Charles Moore, Daniel H. Burnham, Architect, Planner of Cities, 2 vols., (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 136.

17. Bushong, 12. Also see Brown's autobiography, 1860 - 1930 Memories: A Winning Crusade to Revive George Washington's Vision of a Capitol City (Washington, D.C.: Press of W. R. Roberts, 1931), 15-16.

18. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 37.

19. Bushong, 16-17. Brown was a member of the Cosmos Club from 1888 to 1932; Gilbert from 1902 to 1933. Gilbert's membership at gentlemen's clubs in New York were as follows: Century Club (1899-1934) and Union Club (1904-1934). Gilbert's exact dates of membership at the Metropolitan Club are unavailable.

20. CG to GB, November 10, 1931, RG 804 SR 5, Bx: 5c (AIA).

21. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 270.

22. GB to CG, April 18 and 24, 1899, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 13 (AIA).

23. E[dwin] P. Bassford to GB, n.d., received May 2, 1899, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 15, F: 2 (AIA). For further information on Bassford, see Alan Lathrop, "Edwin Payson Bassford, Architect (1837-1912)," Architecture Minnesota 3 (January/February 1977), 37-40.

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24. GB to CG, May 8, 1899, (acknowledges Gilbert's letter of May 3), AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 13 (AIA).

25. For more background on the development of Public Art League, see Bushong, 78 and 91-92.

26. GB to CG, April 2, 1900 and McCleary to CG, March 21, 1900, CGC, Box: 1899-1902 (#6 of 9), F: A-3 (N-YHS). Neither Gilbert's letter to McCleary of March 19, 1900 nor his earlier correspondence with Brown has been found.

27. CG to GB, March 30, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

28. CG to GB, April 3, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

29. CG to J. T. McCleary, April 14, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

30. CG to GB, April 17, 1900, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB, 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS).

31. CG to George Thompson, April 28, 1900, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB, 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS).

32. John Reps, Monumental Washington, 84; Bushong, 113-123. For more general discussions of the Convention, see John Reps, The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 502-505; Frederick Gutheim and Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Federal City: Plans & Realities (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976), 32; and Frederick Gutheim, Worthy of the Nation: The History of Planning for the National Capitol (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977), 117.

33. GB to William S. Eames and Brown to Joseph C. Hornblower, March 1, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16 (AIA). Bushong and Reps also address the central role of Brown in organizing the Convention. AIA First Vice-President Eames seems to have been only slightly more involved than Hornblower, who hardly corresponded with Brown at all concerning the preparations for the event.

34. Memo of GB to Eames and GB to Hornblower, March 14, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16 (AIA).

35. GB to CG, GB to FLO, GB to DCF, March 24, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA); GB to CG, March 24, 1900 also in CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#9 of 9), F: E-18 (N-YHS).

Brown's invitation to Gilbert was sent the same day Brown also asked him to loan the U.S. Custom House drawings for a "full exhibition of two or three of the recent prominent buildings" representing work done under the Tarsney Act. This exhibition was meant to showcase the quality of work possible in government buildings designed by private architects so that

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other architects, government officials, and the public could see what was possible under the Tarsney Act. Gilbert agreed to loan the drawings which were then exhibited in the Octagon. [See GB to CG, March 24, October 27, November 30, December 4, 1900, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#9 of 9), F: E-17 (N-YHS) and copies in AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vols. 16-18 (AIA)].

Hornblower and Marshall were also asked to contribute drawings of their Custom House for this exhibition. Other invitations were issued to Rankin & Kellogg for their Government Building at Camden, New Jersey; George B. Post for his Department of Justice Building, Boring and Tilton for their Ellis Island work, Carrère & Hastings for their success at New York Public Library, and Wyatt & Nolting for their Government Building at Norfolk, Virginia. [GB to each of the above architects, October 27, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA)].

36. GB to FLO, March 24 and 28, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16 (AIA); FLO to GB, May 1, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: [1900] A-O, F: O (AIA); and also CG to GB, March 31, 1900, AIA/OFSO, 801 SR 1, Bx: 17, F: 7 (AIA); copy in CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

37. GB to CG, April 2, 1900, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#9 of 9), F: E-18 (N-YHS); copy in AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16 (AIA).

38. FLO to CG, April 2, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: O (AIA).

39. GB to CG, May 15, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16 (AIA); copy in CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

40. GB to CG, May 21, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16 (AIA).

41. CB to C. Howard Walker, May 22, 1900--initial invitation, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16; Walker to GB, June 12, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) P-Z, F: U-Z (AIA). Walker had been travelling in Europe "especially with a view to studying municipal improvement" and seemed very interested in delivering a paper concerning architectural issues.

42. GB to CG, July 6, 1900, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#9 of 9), F: E-17 (N-YHS), copy in AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA).

43. CG to GB, July 11, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 17, F: 7 (AIA); copy in CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS). Brown's response of July 14, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA).

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44. CG to GB, November 26, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 17, F: 7 and AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: G (AIA). GB to CG, November 22, 1900 has not been found at the AIA or N-YHS. The confusion also might have occurred if Brown inadvertently sent Gilbert the wrong form letter requesting the paper. Brown often sent such letters in batches, as was custom for his job duties as AIA Secretary.

45. GB to CG, November 27, 1900 (x 2), AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 18 (AIA). Brown sent Gilbert C. Howard Walker's paper and Edgar V. Seeler's paper. Minor scheduling details had to be worked out just before the Convention. By mid-December, Gilbert was still unclear about the schedule for the talks. [CG to GB, December 12, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 17, F: 7 (AIA)].

46. Glenn Brown, ed. Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1900), 52; CG to GB, January 2, 1900 [sic], AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR1, Bx: 19, F: 8 (AIA).

47. Brown, ed. Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects, 92.

48. Ibid. Senate Document No. 94, 56th Congress, 2nd session. Incidentally, Gilbert attended at least part of the 1897 (Detroit) and 1899 (Pittsburgh) AIA conventions. But in neither case did he give talks or take part in the formal discussions of them. [Proceedings (1897) and (1898).]

49. GB to CG, December 19, 22 and 31, 1900, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#9 of 9), F: E-17 (N-YHS). Also see GB to FLO, December 29, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 18 (AIA) about Brown wanting to get the matter into the hands of the government as soon as possible.

50. GG to GB, January 2, 1900 (sic)/actually 1901, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 19, F: 8 (AIA).

51. GB to CG, January 9, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1901-02, F: 1901 (N-YHS).

52. GB and Eames corresponded very little regarding the Committee on Arrangements. GB to Eames, March 14, 1900 and November 20, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vols. 16 and 18; Eames to GB, March 17, 1900 and November 24, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: E (AIA). Similarly, Brown and Hornblower corresponded little concerning scheduling.

53. GB to FLO, March 24 and 28, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 16; FLO to GB, May 1, 1900--acceptance, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: O (AIA).

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54. GB to FLO, July 12, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA). Brown sent under separate cover to Olmsted as well as Walker and Seeler the following documents: the Report on the Centennial of the Establishment of the Seat of Government in Washington, D.C., with an early map of the city, Report on the Designs for a Memorial Bridge across the Potomac River in Washington, D.C., a blueprint map of a portion of Washington "Showing the Present Location of Government Buildings," and a then-current map of the city of Washington.

In September, Brown requested Olmsted's paper for review. Later that month, Olmsted expressed an interest in conferring with Walker about his ideas. Brown thought it advisable for Olmsted to hold onto his paper until he had a chance to confer with Walker. By late October, Brown referred Olmsted to his article published in the August 1900 issue of Architectural Review and also Col. Bingham's article in Ladies Home Journal concerning expansion and renovation of the White House. [GB to FLO, September 14, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1 vol. 17; FLO to GB, September 17, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: O; GB to FLO, September 22, October 29, and November 23, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA)].

55. GB to Walker, May 22 (invitation), July 12 (Brown sends documents and refers him to articles as noted re: Olmsted), September 14 (Brown's request for his paper), October 28 (Brown calls Walker's attention to Bingham's article), November 26 (Brown encloses proof of paper), and December 19, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vols. 16-18; Walker to GB, June 12 (Walker explains his study of municipal improvements), October 17 (Walker explains he usually speaks extemporaneously and therefore may stray from the manuscript text; also tells Brown he has sent Olmsted a synopsis of his talk), December 7, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) P-Z, F: U-Z, (AIA).

56. Bush-Brown was the nephew and protegé of sculptor Henry Kirke Brown. See Who Was Who in American Art: compiled from the Original American Art Annual Who's Who in Art, Biographies of American Artists Active from 1898-1947 , s.v. "Henry K. Bush-Brown," ed. Peter Hastings Falk, (Madison, Conn.: Sound View Press, 1985); and Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers with an Addendum, s.v. "Henry Kirke Brown," ed. James F. Carr, (New York: James F. Carr, 1965).

57. GB to H. K. Bush-Brown; GB to Edgar V. Seeler, June 26, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA). From the start, Bush-Brown had doubts about whether he could do justice to the topic. Before making a decision, he asked who else was preparing papers. [Bush-Brown to GB, July 7, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: B.] When Glenn Brown persisted, Bush-Brown relented, although he wanted to confer with Walker upon Walker's return from Europe. [GB to Bush-Brown, July 12, 1900, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17; Bush-Brown to GB, July 14, 1900, RG 801 SR 1 (AIA)].

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After receiving the maps and plans from Brown, Bush-Brown's concern escalated by mid-fall when he still had not written the paper. At this time, Bush-Brown wanted to confer not only with Walker but also with Seeler and Olmsted. [GB to Bush-Brown, July 17 (documents sent) and September 14 (Brown's request for his paper), RG 801 SR 1.1., vol. 17; Bush-Brown to GB, September 17, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: B; GB to Bush-Brown, September 22, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA)].

By October, Bush-Brown was still uneasy about the "requirements" of the paper when he asked Brown to send him a list of statues and monuments in Washington. Brown responded with a letter of reassurance and clarification. Bush-Brown then sent him a draft and explained he would confer soon with Olmsted and hopefully with Seeler. [Bush-Brown to GB, October 5,10, and 27, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: B; GB to Bush-Brown, October 9 and 18, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA)].

Even through November and December, Bush-Brown corresponded regularly with Brown about making further changes to his paper.[Bush-Brown to GB, November 13 and 19, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: B; GB to Bush-Brown, November 14 and 21, December 3, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA)].

58. Edgar V. Seeler to GB, July 9, 1900--Seeler's acceptance; Brown to Seeler, July 12, 1900--documents sent; Brown to Seeler, September 14, 1900--requests Seeler's paper; Seeler to Brown, October 6, 1900--Seeler hasn't written paper yet: "I am so extremely busy that I am rash to have promised to write the paper at all. But I want to do it even tho it may not be in shape by November 1 as you expect"; GB to Seeler, October 9 and 18, 1900--Brown further encouraged Seeler to submit paper; Seeler to Brown, October 30, 1900--Seeler was interested in seeking out sites mentioned in Brown's Architectural Review article; Brown to Seeler, October 31, 1900--Brown offered to meet with Seeler; Seeler to Brown, November 21, 1900--Seeler sent Brown his paper and asked for suggestions, even though most of his text is appropriated from Brown's Architectural Review article. He thanked Brown for his help touring sites and admitted: "The most essential things are L'Enfant's plan, your own and Mr. Cobb's. I shall lay out a plan of my own, which I can have photographed here or forwarded to you for that purpose"; GB to Seeler, November 22, 1900--requested images from Seeler and referred him to Bingham's article about renovation of the White House; GB to Seeler, November 23, 1900--acknowledged receipt of Seeler's paper; Seeler to GB, December 1, 1900--Seeler interested in further discussions with Brown; Brown to Seeler, December 4, 1900--reminded Seeler that changes can be made to paper after the convention.

All the above letters can be found in AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) P-Z, F: S; and also in AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA).

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59. GB to Boring, GB to Burnham, GB to CG, July 6, 1900--invitation, and July 14, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17; Boring to GB, July 13, 1900--acceptance, November 28 and December 19, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: B (AIA).

The second invitation can be found in Brown to Burnham, October 29, a final invitation by Brown was issued November 30, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17; DHB to GB, October 31, 1900--he promised he would try to attend, November 26, 1900--Burnham backed out, December 4, 1900--explained it was impossible for him to attend, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: B (AIA). Burnham's initial response to Brown's July invitation has not been found in these files.

60. GB to Paul J. Pelz, December 1 and 6, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 18; Pelz to GB, December 6, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) P-Z, F: P (AIA).

61. GB to J. M. Carrère and GB to E. B. Green, July 12, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA).

62. Carrère to GB, July 14 and August 2, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: C; GB to Carrère, July 16, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA). Carrère also suggested that the Pan American drawings be included with the Phoebe Hearst drawings at the Convention exhibition and referred Brown to George K. Birge, Chairman of Buildings and Grounds for the exhibition.

63. GB to Frederick W. Crowninshield, July 13 and 20, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17, Crowninshield to Brown, July 16, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: C (AIA).

64. GB to Carrère, November 6, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17; Carrère to GB, November 8, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: C (AIA).

Brown's invitation to Turner has not been found, but Turner's rejection of Brown's offer and Brown's response can be found in Turner to GB, November 17, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) P-T, F: T; GB to Turner, November 20, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 18 (AIA).

65. GB to Edward B. Green, July 12--invitation and 20--acknowledgement of acceptance, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17; Green to GB, July 18, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: G (AIA). In this latter correspondence, Green wrote: "I am very much in sympathy with the question, in fact, only last Fall I had an extended discussion with one of the influential Congressman on the measly lot that the Building for the Judiciary was to be placed."

66. Perhaps mistakenly, Brown requested photos and illustrations concerning Green's paper rather than information about his involvement as a discussant.

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67. Green to GB, November 26, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: G (AIA).

68. Green to GB, December 12, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: G (AIA). Green, however, offered to help Brown's cause by speaking to a few members of Congress and also educating officials (and the public?). Brown took up Green's offer and appointed him to the committee whose goal it was to pass legislation allowing an Art Commission to take charge of grouping buildings and landscape work in Washington, D.C. [See GB to Green, December 18, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 18; and Green to GB, December 22, 1900, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: (1900) A-O, F: G (AIA)].

69. Brown's invitation to Totten has not been found. In Brown's correspondence with Franklin Smith of November 26, 1900, he was not yet on the roster. By November 30, 1900, however, he had agreed to take part. On this date, Brown requested from him images for his part in the session [GB to George O. Totten, November 30, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 18 (AIA)].

70. Gilbert was a likely candidate to discuss this issue given his penchant for keen observation of color and texture on his early study trips. For example, his 1895 diary from a study trip for the Minnesota State Capitol and the Brazer Building is a veritable compendium of details about color and uses of stone as he observed from visits to public buildings in Boston, Providence, New York, Baltimore, and Washington. Brown's interest in color as a feature of a harmonious group plan very likely resonated with Gilbert's own ideas.

71. GB to each of the speakers, July 12-18, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA).

72. GB to Walker, Seeler, Boring and Green, October 28, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 17 (AIA).

73. GB to each of the participants, November 27, 1900, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 18 (AIA).

74. Gilbert did not make substantive changes between his first and second drafts, "Grouping of Buildings and Development of Washington," 1/2/1901 and 1/3/1901 in CGPprs, Bx: 17/Articles (LC/MSS). He changed the format, such as paragraph breaks and the order of his principles, but otherwise left the January 2 text as is. Likewise, Brown printed the text as it was submitted to him in the January 3 version, making only minor syntactical and formatting changes.

75. Before 1900, Gilbert had other ideas about building height in Washington. In a letter to one of his daughters, Gilbert included a sketch of the kind of skyscraper Washington needed. He wrote: "I think I shall build an office building down here

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somewhere [in Washington]. The buildings in New York are not high enough to suit me. The highest [in New York] is only 33 stories. Now mine [for Washington] will look something like this [sketch enclosed in letter] . . . . ¶It is so high that people going along the street don't look bigger than grass by comparison." [CG to Elizabeth Gilbert, February 26, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 3 (1899), (LC/MSS).] The building Gilbert proposed in this letter would have been far higher than the post office he criticized in his Washington essay.

76. See William H. Wilson's discussion of the ideology and aesthetics of the City Beautiful Movement in The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 75-95.

77. George Oakley Totten, Jr., "Exposition Architecture in its Relation to the Grouping of Federal Buildings," in Papers Relating to the Improvement of the City of Washington, District of Columbia, comp. Glenn Brown (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 83-86 and plan (unpaginated).

78. Paul J. Pelz, "The Grouping of Federal Buildings in Washington," in Papers . . . . , 87-91 and plan (unpaginated).

79. C. Howard Walker, "The Grouping of Public Buildings in a Great City," in Papers . . . . , 35-47. Since Walker had been travelling extensively in Europe, the orientation of his essay is not surprising.

80. Edgar V. Seeler, "The Monumental Grouping of Public Buildings in Washington," in Papers. . . , 48-59.

81. Gilbert, Papers. . . , 78.

82. Ibid., 78.

83. One can compare the order of principles as laid out in the January 2 and 3 drafts (LC/MSS).

84. It is possible that Gilbert was familiar with Camillo Sitte's ideas of proportional relationships between buildings and streets, although no evidence has been found to indicate a direct influence.

85. Ibid., 80.

86. Ibid., 81.

87. CG, "The Civic City," October 1909 typescript, CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS).

88. Ibid., 2.

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89. Reps, 73. Other members of the Committee on Securing a Commission for Grouping Buildings in Washington, D.C. included Glenn Brown, W. S. Eames, George B. Post, G. F. Shepley, F. M. Day, and E. B. Green.

90. William A. Boring to CG, February 1, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1901-02, F: 1901 (N-YHS).

91. Knute Nelson to CG, February 7, 1901, and Moses E. Clapp to CG, February 8, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1901-02, F: 1901 (N-YHS).

92. CG to GB, February 8 and 9, 1901, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 19, F: 8 (AIA).

93. Report No. 1919, p. 2 and Senate Report 139, CGC, Chron, Bx: 1901-02, F: 1901 (incl. #12) (N-YHS). Also see Jon A. Peterson, "The Mall, the McMillan Plan, and the Origins of American City Planning," The Mall in Washington 1791-1991, ed. Richard Longstreth, (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art and Hanover, N.H. and London: University Press of New England, 1991), 100-115; Peterson, "The Nation's First Comprehensive City Plan for Washington, D.C., 1900-1902," Journal of the American Planning Association 51 (Spring 1985): 134-150; and Alan Lessoff, The Nation and Its City, Politics, "Corruption," and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861-1902 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

94. Ibid, 3.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid., 4.

99. Gilbert, "Grouping Buildings and Development of Washington," in Papers. . ., 82.

100. Morris E. Clapp to CG, June 17, 1902, CGC, Chron, Bx: 1899-1903 (#6 of 9), F: A-12 (N-YHS); Senate Park Commission plan in CGC, Bx: 1904/#2 of 2, F: 4 (#165, #168, etc.) (N-YHS); and correspondence from Representatives James T. McCleary, James A. Tawney, J. Adam Bede, John Lind, Francis G. Newlands, and others to Gilbert concerning the preservation of the open space of the Mall, re: Senate bill 4845, March 1904, Ibid.

101. See "Three of Many Public Buildings Illustrating Accomplishments of Ten Years of the Public Park Commission Plan, submitted January 15, 1902," "M'Millan Scheme for City Beautiful Followed Closely," "Mall Site Urged for Memorial to

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Lincoln," "Judson Anxious for Completion of Park Project," "Cannon Now Urges Adoption of Park for Capitol," from Washington Times, January 14, 1912, CGC, SB (1905-1912), p. 62 (N-YHS).

102. GB to CG, May 18, 1901, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 19 (AIA).

103. GB to CG, May 20, August 12, September 23, October 16, and November 15, 1901, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vols. 18-20; CG to GB, October 5, 1901, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 19, F: 8 (AIA); and CG to GB, January 3, 1902, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr., 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS).

104. GB to CG, November 7, 1902, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 23 (AIA).

In the following years, however, Gilbert loaned money to help secure the Octagon as the headquarters of the AIA. He increasingly became Brown's supporter concerning AIA matters, especially those of policy and administrative structure of the organization (see Appendix A).

105. GB to CG, August 26, 1904, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 27; CG to GB, September 1, 1904, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 26, F: 9 (AIA). A few days later, in fact, Gilbert's daughter died after a "lingering illness," which also may have been part of his decision not to participate as a speaker. [See T. H. Anderson (for CG) to GB, September 6, 1904, Ibid.]

Another factor may have been Gilbert's involvement at this time with the lawsuit regarding the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. He had requested Brown to testify and give a deposition concerning the usual Schedule of Charges, as approved by the AIA, to establish legal precedent. Brown thoroughly supported Gilbert's cause and was very willing to help [see GB to CG, September 20, November 17, 20, 28, 1904 and April 10, 1905, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vols. 28-29 (AIA).

106. GB to JRR, November 23, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1909 (LC/MSS).

107. One of the most interesting exchanges of correspondence between Brown and Gilbert later in their careers, in the mid-1920s, concerned Italian premiere Benito Mussolini's idea of building a 75-story tower in Rome. Brown wanted to write an editorial on the subject in 1926 and asked for Gilbert's help, knowing that Gilbert had previously corresponded with Mussolini. Although Gilbert was reticent to supply Brown with background information on the tower since Gilbert, himself, was thinking of using the information in his own memoirs, Gilbert supplied Brown with newsclippings. In return, Brown supplied Gilbert with a draft of his editorial [GB to CG, June 6, 15, and 21, 1926; CG to GB, June 10 and 17, 1926; CGC, PP, Bx: Gilbert Family-St. Paul Property (alpha. #3), F: Mussolini

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(N-YHS)].

For a broader understanding of Gilbert's involvements with Mussolini (1918-1933), see other documents, Ibid., as well as documents in CGPprs, Bx: 20, F: 1906-10ff (MHS); and in CGPprs, Bx: 17, F: Mussolini (LC/MSS).

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# CHAPTER III

## THE MINNESOTA STATE CAPITOL APPROACHES PLAN

Cass Gilbert's grasp of the programmatic concepts associated with the City Beautiful ideal that he had gained from his experience working for McKim, Mead & White, from his knowledge of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, and from his professional involvements with the AIA (and particularly with Glenn Brown), was put to the test as early as 1902. That year, Gilbert began to propose plans for the approaches to the Minnesota State Capitol. At this time, several other civic projects were emerging across the country, including Fairmount Parkway (begun 1892), civic center plans for Cleveland (1903), a park and boulevard system for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (begun 1903), and similar projects for St. Louis, Missouri; Buffalo, New York; and New York City.

By 1895, Gilbert had gained a national reputation as the architect chosen to design the capitol building for the city of St. Paul and was no longer considered a local or even a regional architect.[1] In fact, his capitol design contributed to the perception of St. Paul as a city of great sophistication and culture in the vast outpost of the Midwest at the turn of the century. This perception persisted in later years, when the publication Western Architect requested 70 respondents to name twenty buildings that represented the best architectural work in America. Gilbert's St. Paul capitol was the only one listed that was located west of New York and Washington, D.C.[2] Symbolically, this image of St.

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Paul as a quintessential City Beautiful project was significant. As an early embodiment of the civic design movement, the St. Paul capitol, and the approach schemes to it, reflected the importance and gaining momentum of East Coast ideals moving westward. Gilbert's various proposals had long-term effects on the capitol approaches which still exist today.

Gilbert's involvement with the St. Paul capitol eventually led him, in 1902, to the consideration of the building site, and ultimately, to the issue of the approaches. Although Gilbert's generation of architects--by virtue of its classical stylistic preferences--was naturally drawn to related traditions of civic design, Gilbert became closely involved with such questions as he worked on the Minnesota State Capitol. During the ten years that it took for the capitol to be built, Gilbert benefited from the unfailing support of Channing Seabury, vice-chairman and leader of the Board of State Capitol Commissioners, and other local citizens from St. Paul.[3] In particular, Lenora Austin Hamlin, Katherine Deane MacLaren, Joseph Albert Wheelock, and Webster Wheelock, worked within local municipal improvement groups and encouraged Gilbert at many critical junctures to apply City Beautiful ideas to his capitol approach plans which extended well into the downtown area of St. Paul. The contributions of this latter group are the focus of this chapter. Gilbert's plans for other state capitol projects in Wisconsin, Arkansas, and West Virginia, are not addressed here because these

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projects did not constitute comprehensive plans on the scale of their St. Paul counterpart [see Appendix IV].

From 1894, when the competition for the Minnesota capitol was held, until 1902, Gilbert had evinced little interest in siting and approaches to the new building. In 1902, however, this orientation underwent a significant shift, as his interests and those of many St. Paul citizens began to change. In order to understand these changes, it is important first to outline Gilbert's early, limited efforts to develop the area located just south of the capitol. These efforts served as the foundation for his later, grandly scaled plans for approaches to the new building.

It also should be noted that the 1902 Capitol Approaches Plan concerned Gilbert for the next thirty years.[4] His long-term interest in this project can be explained in a number of ways. First and foremost, Gilbert went from being a monument-oriented architect to being a planning-oriented designer, as has been discussed in the preceding chapters. Second, Gilbert undoubtedly wanted to set off this architectural "gem" of a building in a fitting and proper setting. Newspapers of the period referred to the capitol as just such a gem. One 1903 editorial claimed that the capitol, a "diamond set in brass," needed a longer vista and appropriate approaches to be fully comprehended as a grand and dignified monument. With these changes, St. Paul, the editorial argued, might then become a true "city beautiful."[5] In addition to this aesthetic view of the capitol, Gilbert also believed that the building was

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imbued with great cultural significance. In his article, "The Greatest Element of Monumental Architecture," Gilbert not only wrote about the importance of vista in disclosing the relationship between the parts of a plan. He also suggested that civic structures in such a plan were symbolic of civilization, culture, and national ideals.[6]

## The Capitol and its Surroundings Before Late 1902

Plans for the approaches to the Capitol before November 1902 concentrated on the immediate area south of the building, between the capitol and the downtown business area of St. Paul. In 1896, the highly skilled renderer, Hughson Hawley, was contracted to produce a presentation drawing of the capitol and the surrounding area, for which he was paid $200 (Figure 6). In a letter from March 1896, Gilbert expressed hope that Hawley could produce the drawing for a lower fee, especially since Hawley already had created two drawings of the capitol. Gilbert also reasoned, however, that "if it is necessary to pay that amount to get the very best, I do not wish to be parsimonious."[7] A few days later, he wrote to Hawley saying that he anticipated great results.[8] When Gilbert finally received the drawing, he was delighted:

> The drawing of the Minnesota State Capitol at St. Paul was received . . . and is entirely satisfactory. It makes a notable and beautiful drawing, and I make you my compliments on its success. The only thing I could have wished was that in rendering the background the suggestion of the surrounding city might have been a little more clearly made, and instead of pine trees, that the local character of elms and maples would have been, perhaps, more desirable, for, as you know, the building is really located at the heart of a city of 150,000

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> people, but that is a small consideration in so fine a drawing. The building is shown most admirably . . . . [and with the use of your white mat] I am having it framed with a perfectly plain broad gold frame showing the grain of the wood under the gilding, and outside of that a plain dull finished brown oak border or outer frame.[9]

Despite his reservations about details of the context in which the drawing presented the capitol, Gilbert clearly was pleased with the results.[10]

Hawley's presentation drawing was the image most often reproduced in national and local periodicals. On the national level, Gilbert allowed William Rotch Ware from the American Architect and Building News to reproduce the Hawley drawing. Ware was eager to obtain a photograph of this drawing for publication in his magazine, probably because of the monument's significance as representing the legacy of the Rhode Island State House that had been designed by McKim, Mead & White.[11] Several editors also made overtures to publish Hawley's drawing in Northwest Magazine, where it was reproduced, and in Leslie's Weekly, The Illustrated American.[12] Later after Hawley's presentation drawing was altered in 1901 and 1902, further overtures were made to have it published in Public Improvements: A Magazine for Modern Resources and in the Brown and Bigelow Art Calendars that were printed in St. Paul.[13]

When Gilbert promised local papers that they could publicize this new capitol picture, the papers reproduced a pen and ink sketch based on Hawley's drawing.[14] The March 22, 1896 issue of the St. Paul Pioneer Press, for example,

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included this sketch as well as the following description about the building and its setting:

> The material has not yet been selected, but the architectural requirements demand a white stone, or at least one light in color. All the surfaces will be dressed and very carefully cut. The terraces surrounding the building will be of a stone to correspond, and it is expected that they together with the approaches, will add materially to the effect.[15]

In this description, the approaches received only brief attention.

Hawley's drawing portrayed terraced levels leading up to the Capitol.[16] Although Hawley did not write about his presentation drawing, another associate of Gilbert's did write about the general idea of the capitol's placement in the landscape. Thomas Gannett Holyoke--whom Gilbert had put in charge of his St. Paul office and had made his principal assistant on the Minnesota State Capitol--provided a description written a few months before the drawing was completed. He stated "[t]he terrace walls, balustrades and general features of the approaches [were] designed to harmonize with the building, and [aided] in the general composition."[17] Holyoke's statement of December 1895 emphasizes the fact that the capitol building was to be enhanced by architectural features (such as terraces and balustrades); however, it also suggests that these features were being discussed in the most general way.

Holyoke, very likely, was involved in these discussions with Gilbert and with Hawley since he had his own ideas about how best to locate the capitol in St. Paul. In November 1895,

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one month before he wrote the above statement, Holyoke wrote to Gilbert:

> Enclosed please find plat of the Capitol site enlarged by including blocks 3 and 4, so that it might be possible to center the dome on the axis of University Ave. as we once talked of during the work on the competitive drawings. This scheme,--according to the city atlas in your office, from which this tracing is made,--would give an unobstructed view of the dome from a point in Hamline or a distance of about 3 1/2 miles in riding into this city from Minneapolis. Brewster Ave. on the other axis is in line with a street running to the bluff in W. St. Paul. It seems to me something that the commissioners might consider if you were to recall to their minds the fine effects that have been attained in Washington and Paris by similar means . . . .[18]

Given Holyoke's training at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and his interest in French ideas about planning, these suggestions were not surprising.[19] Holyoke was thinking about how the capitol would have been seen coming east from Minneapolis. He was also concerned with how the dome might best be set apart from the context of the surrounding city, a concern that became central to Gilbert's later planning of the capitol approaches to the south.

The treatment of terraced areas, articulated by balustrades, was outlined in earlier designs made in 1896, as shown in the sketch made in January and later published in Gilbert's essay, "The Greatest Element of Monumental Architecture."[20] Another early sketch showing a three-quarter view of the capitol, although undated, was probably produced in early 1896.[21] These early sketches, along with Hawley's presentation drawing, formed the basis of the blueprint, "Plat for Grounds, Minnesota State Capitol, St. Paul," dated April 1896, which presented the preliminary site grading plan as

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part of the excavation and grading contract of the St. Paul surveyors, Fowble and Fitz.[22]

Hawley's 1892 rendering of the Rhode Island State House (Figure 7) also proved to be important for Gilbert, especially in terms of its presentation of the ideas of that building's designers, McKim, Mead & White. As discussed in Chapter I, this national firm was part of a first generation of architects whose work was imbued with the City Beautiful ideal. Gilbert, as one of McKim, Mead & White's employees, learned first hand about this orientation in design, and he ultimately joined them, as his later projects attest, in the dissemination of this civic design tradition.

The idea of terraces leading up to the capitol building was derived, most significantly, from McKim, Mead & White's design for the Rhode Island State Capitol, as illustrated in Hawley's 1892 rendering. The Rhode Island building served as an invaluable model of monumental civic architecture not only for Gilbert but also for other architects across the country. Inspired by the vision of American classicism first introduced on a large scale at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, the Rhode Island capitol design later popularized this idea. Time and again architects turned to McKim, Mead & White's model for their own capitol projects, including those for Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Utah, among others.[23]

Gilbert viewed the Rhode Island State Capitol (and other McKim, Mead & White projects) as practical and conceptual models during the process of his design of the Minnesota

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building. Confident of the firm's experience and success with public buildings, especially with that of the Rhode Island capitol that was then being built in Providence, Gilbert in 1895 went so far as to offer McKim, Mead & White's services as consulting architects to the Minnesota Board of State Capitol Commissioners.[24] It is curious that Gilbert considered making such an offer since his reputation by this time was established, though this offer may have been a political move to secure his own position as architect of the capitol.

Gilbert visited the McKim, Mead & White Providence building on several occasions. A few days after winning the 1895 Minnesota capitol competition, Gilbert traveled east to visit civic monuments in Providence as well as many other cities. Gilbert made extensive notes regarding the Rhode Island state house and eventually produced in his diary from that trip one of his earliest plans for the capitol approaches. Similar to the composition portrayed by Hawley, Gilbert's early sketch presented terraced areas to the south of the building. A street, parallel to the main axis of the capitol building, bisected the entrance steps and the steps leading to a fountain and plaza farther south.[25] (Gilbert also made a second trip in mid-1896 to visit the Providence building on his way to Boston, where he was engaged in work on a commercial project, the Brazer Building).[26]

In 1897, Gilbert sought McKim, Mead & White's advice about the use of galvanized iron anchors in the marble ashlar facing of the Rhode Island building because he wanted to use

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similar features in his own capitol.[27] He additionally requested from Mead an official report on the architects' fees for the Providence capitol, the Boston Public Library, Columbia University, and "other important buildings" constructed by the New York firm.[28] When Gilbert was later engaged in constructing the dome for the St. Paul capitol, he closely examined McKim, Mead & White's design for the dome at the Rhode Island capitol. Measuring the dimensions of the Providence dome, Gilbert examined the simple construction that relied on the cohesive properties of cement reinforced by iron bands. (Gilbert had studied even Thomas Jefferson's dome design for the University of Virginia library, which was undergoing renovation at the time by Stanford White.) The Catalan system of vaulting that was perfected and patented in this country by Raphael Guastavino also attracted his attention. Gilbert was interested especially in the Guastavino construction of McKim, Mead & White's dome design for the library of New York University, then still located at Morris Heights in the Bronx (now the campus of the Bronx Community College of the City University of New York).

Gilbert surmised, however, that the "cohesive construction" of the Providence capitol was more useful for his work in Minnesota than what he believed to be the lighter and easier-to-construct Guastavino system. Yet, Gilbert did not rule out the possibility of using Guastavino vaults, since the dome at the Minnesota capitol was going to be covered in stone and had to be strong enough to support a lantern. It is

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unclear, however, why he made this decision.[29]

Wanting to make his own drawings more suitable for display at expositions, Gilbert studied drawings and prints of McKim, Mead & White's Providence capitol design for information about how best to present the interior disposition of spaces. Stevens Haskell, a staff member in Gilbert's New York office, requested reproductions that would give information about the arrangement of rooms, their furniture and decorative features, and also the treatment of the rotunda and stairs.[30] (Reciprocally, McKim, Mead & White were interested in Gilbert's drawings of the Minnesota capitol. Their interest is indicated by Gilbert's request for the firm to return drawings of the St. Paul building that Gilbert had traced for them.)[31]

Each of these capitol designs--for Minnesota and for Rhode Island--constituted a similar composition and similar exterior material: a central mass of three bays was flanked by subsidiary wings rendered in sand-rubbed Georgia marble. This choice of material was of special interest to Gilbert. He noted that, in contrast to the Georgia stone, the polished white Italian marble used in the Library of Congress looked "thin & cheap though it [was] richly ornamental."[32] Gilbert also became embroiled in an argument with Lucien Swift, manager and part owner of the Minneapolis Journal, about the use of Georgia marble instead of stone from Minnesota. Displeased about the paper's commentary, which suggested that Minnesota stone should be used, and angry that Swift also

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stood to gain (because he held stock in the Minnesota stone company in question), Gilbert threatened to publish a damning letter from Swift. Gilbert reminded the newsman "that we are trying to do the work well and thoroughly, and to build a noble and beautiful building, which will be representative of the broad intelligence and civilization of the state."[33] Clearly, Gilbert's efforts to create a work using fine materials echoed the standard set by McKim, Mead & White's Providence building.

On his third trip to Providence in the fall of 1897, Gilbert was especially impressed by the beauty of the Georgia marble that McKim, Mead & White had used in their state house, and he anticipated fine results in using this same material for his Minnesota project.[34] In 1898, Gilbert and the commissioners hoped to travel to the southern state in order to visit the quarries that would supply the stone. The group even tried to meet with Norcross and Brothers, the premier stone suppliers of the Boston area with whom the American architect, Henry Hobson Richardson, had worked extensively.[35] Gilbert clearly desired to create a capitol for the Midwest that would represent a shimmering, civic monument to classicism and the American Renaissance. This monument would also conjure up the similar effect of the classical pavilions at the influential World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, although many of these pavilions had been constructed out of very different, impermanent materials.[36]

With regard to the differences between the overall Rhode

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Island and Minnesota designs, one must consider the conditions by which each was developed. Although the competition guidelines for the Minnesota design included the site plan by Fowble & Fitz, this document was supplied to the competitors merely for study purposes (Figure 8).[37] Fowble and Fitz, hired by the Capitol Commission, prepared a report with diagrams of the site. Their report suggested that "'[a] broad avenue--100' feet wide leads up to the front of the building[;] this avenue, divided by a boulevard into two driveways with walks, etc., separates in front of the building, and one half goes each way to Cedar Street and Park avenue.'"[38] Since the original contract required competitors to design only the Minnesota capitol building itself, an approach scheme was <u>not</u> included in Gilbert's proposal of December 1895 or in the final contract and plaster model of January 1896.[39] (Discussions for fabricating a plaster model began that month and continued through November 1897. It is unclear whether or not the terraced areas were included, but Gilbert consulted with Harvard University Professor H. Langford Warren about contacting potential modelmakers.)[40] The Board of State Capitol Commissioners, in fact, prohibited the development of grounds in the 1895 architectural competition instructions.[41]

The guidelines for the Rhode Island State Capitol, in contrast, stipulated that a 300-foot mall approach connecting the civic building with the new passenger railroad station had to be included in each competition proposal.[42] As early as

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1890, even before the opening of the Chicago World's Fair, the Public Parks Association of Providence described the ideal design for a grand boulevard in these terms:

> What an ornament this would be to the city, to the State! It should be designed in the perfection of landscape architecture; with a wide avenue. . . transversed by electric cars and vehicles of every description, and the one hundred and ten feet on each side ornamented with foliage, lawns, promenades, beds of flowers, fountains and other works of art . . . . How much it would add to the attractions of the State House! It would be one of the grandest boulevards in the country.[43]

McKim, Mead & White's solution for treatment of the grounds depicts the direct link (which was never fully realized), between the capitol and the downtown area (Figure 9). Given the impact of McKim, Mead & White's Rhode Island capitol building design on Gilbert's Minnesota project, this grand treatment for the surroundings of the Rhode Island capitol undoubtedly influenced Gilbert's thinking about more extensive possibilities for approaches to his building in St. Paul.

In addition, even though Gilbert was not requested to include a plan for extensive approaches in his original proposal, the view of the capitol from the surrounding area was important to him even in 1895, during the early stages of design. When Gilbert and Channing Seabury, vice-chairman and spokesman of the Board of State Capitol Commissioners, discussed locating the boiler plant at the southwest corner of University and Park Avenues, Gilbert advised Seabury that the entire block should be purchased and made into a city park "so as to give a fine view of the building."[44] This area, west of the capitol site, was not heavily developed, as can be seen in

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period photographs (such as Figures 10 and 11) and the ca. 1896 plat (Figure 12).[45] The topography and eventual grading of the site further enhanced the visibility of the monumental, Renaissance-inspired structure.

The location of the boiler plant was also the subject of some discussion regarding smoke nuisance, a common local and national problem in the late nineteenth century. Civic improvement groups across the country routinely campaigned against smoke nuisance, the proliferation of billboards, electric wires built above ground, and other unsightly features in the landscape. Since prevailing winds in St. Paul usually blew to the south, the southern location of the boiler plant helped prevent coal smoke discoloration of the marble building.[46] (Ultimately, the boiler plant was connected to the capitol structure by means of an underground tunnel.[47]) Ironically, when the powerhouse began operation, it was reported to have spewed "smoke, mephitic vapors, and cinders right into the most exclusive homes on the hill, making them uninhabitable and life not worth living to their occupants."[48] The main complaint was that the smokestack was too low to clear the height of most of the surrounding residences, a situation that was later remedied when the smokestack's height was increased.[49]

By 1901, Gilbert had seen the wisdom of incorporating a landscape plan, most likely because of his exposure earlier in his career to civic design ideas. He looked beyond the domestic models (such as the Rhode Island capitol) to European

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ones for the terrace design as depicted in a presentation drawing of 1900-1901 (Figure 13).[50] Specifically, the dramatic and sophisticated treatment of the southern area, as seen in this presentation drawing, recalls the treatment in drawings done by Gilbert's office staff of the Spanish steps in Rome and the Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann's boulevards in Paris, and other drawings of public spaces.[51]

This presentation drawing, given to Seabury in late February 1901, was received with much interest. Although Seabury did not care for one of the cloud shadows in the picture, he believed the rendering was "one of the finest things in the country."[52] Seabury also cautioned Gilbert:

> I am enthusiastic over it, and wish I could bring myself to think that we can some time carry it out. Possibly we may do so, but the more I think of it, the more I have concluded that we had better not say or do very much about it, in a public way, just at this time,--certainly not until after an absolute conclusion has been reached about the additional funds we are asking for, with which to complete the building itself.[53]

Seabury's position was understandable since funding for the capitol was cobbled together by piecemeal appropriations beginning in 1893. Even well after capitol construction was underway and the legislature had appropriated three million dollars for the project, additional funding estimated at $1.7 million dollars was needed to complete the building. As actual building costs far surpassed initial estimates, the whole project (and Gilbert's involvement in it) became the subject of a six-week legislative study in 1902. This study, however, cleared Gilbert and the Board of State Capitol Commissioners of any financial improprieties.[54]

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Before 1902, Gilbert was most concerned with publicizing the work on the building interior and the dome itself. Wanting to include a model of the dome in an exhibition sponsored by the Architectural League of New York, he explained to Seabury:

> It would be all the more interesting in view of the fact that Mr. [Daniel Chester] French's models of the sculpture for the Capitol will be in the same exhibition, and will have certain value in showing the eastern people what Minnesota is doing in this regard, besides interesting artists and others, in our work to an extent that will operate favorably in future work of the interior finish and adornment of the building, in case there are funds available for such purposes.[55]

Gilbert's interest in publicizing his efforts may have been self-serving, but he clearly did not feel any need at this stage to publicize his efforts concerning a plan for approaches to the capitol.

At this point in his career, Gilbert also was concerned with moving his practice to New York, where he believed more opportunities for work might develop. In a personal letter to his wife, Julia, Gilbert reviewed their reasons for moving to the East coast:

> In the new life in New York we hope for a larger opportunity for ourselves and our children--for bigger buildings and more of them, and consequently for a larger income, that will enable us to put aside something for the future. We feel that in St. Paul when the Capitol is finished it will be unlikely that other important works will go forward there, and that if we remain I may find my professional work come to a stop with its completion. An opportunity appears to await us here [in New York] that promises great success and we would be wrong to neglect it. New York is the center for my kind of work; it has a fine climate--it affords opportunities for enjoying music, art, society and all that makes modern life in cities desirable. Educationally it is a good thing for our children to be brought up here.[56]

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Gilbert's main concern was developing his business and, by extension, the benefits of that development for his family. In contrast, the financial, social, and civic limitations of the city of St. Paul were quite apparent to him by this time. As he compared the attractions of New York with those of St. Paul, Gilbert also made some revealing comments about urban life in the Midwest:

> . . . St. Paul while having many good points, is not progressive, there is no library, no art, no music, no public spirit: it is dirty, the climate is severe and the people from ten years past have been less and less enterprising & have lost ambition for the city and confidence in its future; property has depreciated enormously in value, building investments do not pay, the buildings now being erected are consequently inferior to those of ten or twelve years ago and the outlook for the future is to say the least questionable. . . . we believe that by remaining there we would lose ground and by leaving we gain.[57]

Gilbert's comments provide an interesting context for the efforts of a few years later when civic groups, such as the Women's Civic League, began to address some of these pressing problems in St. Paul.[58]

Gilbert's pre-1902 attempts to place the capitol in a special setting, albeit in a limited way, show that efforts to develop the surroundings of the building were not entirely new. By March 1902, a more concerted effort to shape and transform the area became apparent when Cass Gilbert and the Board of State Capitol Commissioners travelled to other sites to study how other cities developed public civic spaces. They visited the New York State Capitol in Albany, Grant's Tomb and Columbia University in New York City, the Rhode Island State House in Providence, the Boston Public Library, the new

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courthouse in Baltimore, and various public buildings in Washington, D.C. The commissioners and Gilbert were concerned with both interior treatments of, as well as exterior approaches to, these buildings. In fact, as a result of this trip, Gilbert considered the steps and approaches at Columbia University to be "exceptionally fine."[59] By the summer of 1902, Gilbert tabulated that roughly $300,000 was needed out of the $1.7 million additional appropriation (which was eventually made in the fall of 1902) for the completion of grading, sodding, and plantings on the site as well as for the construction of the terrace, retaining walls, and other features of the approaches as they had been designed.[60]

It is intriguing that during this period, the American League of Civic Improvement (ALCI--a City Beautiful organization headed by University of Chicago professor, Charles Zueblin) was also interested in securing Gilbert's participation in the group's annual convention of 1902. It appears, however, that Gilbert declined to participate.[61]

Seabury's concern about finishing the capitol and these other events, including Gilbert's interest in using the Rhode Island capitol and other civic structures as models for the Minnesota capitol, likely spurred on discussion about what was to be done with the area to the south of the capitol.

## Lenora Austin Hamlin, Katharine Deane MacLaren, the Women's Civic League, and the 1902 Plan

Beginning in late 1902, Gilbert was further aided by

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local citizens in developing what transpired into a grand design for the capitol approaches. Over the next 15 years, four citizens in particular supported and encouraged Gilbert's large-scale plans for the city of St. Paul: Lenora Austin Hamlin and Katharine Deane McLaren from the Women's Civic League, and Joseph Albert Wheelock and his son, Webster, of the St. Paul Pioneer Press.

Lenora Austin Hamlin, daughter of early Minnesota state governor, Horace Austin, was active from 1902 to 1904 in municipal groups that helped heighten civic sensibility in St. Paul. Specifically, her efforts in leading the Women's Civic League and the Twin City Joint Committee on Municipal Exhibitions for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition contributed to disseminating information about Gilbert's plans. These efforts illustrate her contributions to the development of Gilbert's ideas and also provide information about some of the inner workings of the institutional activities available to elite women in St. Paul at the turn of the century. Hamlin's role and her own grand designs, so to speak, for Gilbert's ideas form a compelling picture of how the efforts of citizens, the structure of professional groups, and the ideas of the architect came together in plans for transforming a small city into an imposing metropolis.

Before turning to a fuller discussion of Hamlin's contributions, it is important first to consider the role of women's organizations at the turn of the century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, St. Paul was a small

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world where most upper middle class and upper class citizens knew one another. The population of St. Paul in 1890 was 133,156 and by 1900, had only grown to 163,065.[62] Women's clubs gave well-to-do women a forum for intellectual, social, and political exchange. Club work, as Kara Marie Korsgaard points out in her illuminating study of St. Paul women's clubs, allowed elite women to develop their skills in research, organization, presentation, and most importantly, leadership. Clubs also were characterized by their benevolent function in the community since they were often linked to specific philanthropic and scientific charities that aided children, working women, the poor, and other groups.[63] Korsgaard also points out that these many features of women's clubs contributed to women's development of their moral obligation to society and not just to their families.

Women's clubs were significant in their own time for the opportunities they gave women. Fanny Earl Kennish, a turn-of-the-century writer, was intrigued by the clubs of both Minnesota and Wisconsin. In an article about the women's clubs in Minnesota, Kennish explained how the Twin Cities, with their great club activities, were islands of culture in the Midwest. She also believed that the differences in the two cities were reflected in the cities' respective club life. St. Paul's clubs were conservative and exclusive in orientation, and though fewer in number than those in Minneapolis, they enjoyed a larger membership. The New Century Club and the Schubert Club, for example, each boasted

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150 members. Mirroring the general attitudes of the citizens of Minneapolis, the smaller Minneapolis clubs--such as the Women's Council in Minneapolis and the Women's Improvement League--were often less concerned with social class and wealth.[64] Yet, no matter which city's clubs she observed, Kennish had great respect for the various groups' activities and for what they generally offered women:

> If the people who fear the much-abused "new woman,"--who has exchanged her ancient weapon of the broom for the more modern one of the club,--would drop into some of these assemblies and listen to the intelligent, dignified discussion of literature, current events, social economics or philanthropy by society women who have lost nothing of their grace or good looks and who still wear becoming bonnets and gowns, they would soon become convinced that they were belaboring a woman of straw.[65]

The groups therefore were instrumental in allowing women to work outside of the home in certain areas of public life.

Although Gilbert was not involved with the groups named by Kennish, he was sought out by a representative of the Federation of Women's Clubs concerning legislation drafted by the group. The Federation was a state and national organization that took up the work of civic betterment, such as the promotion of free public libraries and the improvement of public schools.[66] The state Federation was largely responsible for establishing the State Art Commission of 1903. Mrs. George Metcalf, a Federation member active in art committees and the Women's Auxiliary Board to the World's Fair Commission of Minnesota, may have considered Gilbert to be a potential advisor. Metcalf was also active in the Women's Civic League, an organization which will be discussed at

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greater length below.[67] When Gilbert's assistance was requested by Mrs. William E. Thompson, another Federation member, in the group's effort to create a public art commission, Gilbert was supportive of the Federation's efforts and the "spirit of the movement." He, however, criticized some of the features of the group's proposal for the formation of the new commission. Believing their draft of the bill was too long and too specific in content, Gilbert referred the Federation to legislation that had facilitated the formation of New York-based groups such as the Society of Mural Painters and the National Sculpture Society. Gilbert also recommended Thomas G. Holyoke, from his staff, and Channing Whitney, whom he undoubtedly knew from his own membership in the Minnesota Chapter of the AIA, as possible members to serve on a commission when it came time for such a group to be formed.[68]

Gilbert's only other contact with women's groups has been documented by Korsgaard. Records of the New Century Club, one of two founding members of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, show that Gilbert organized its architectural section of the Harvest Home Festival of 1890, a successful fund-raising event that was held for one week in the newly completed Endicott Arcade in downtown St. Paul. The event benefitted Saint Luke's Hospital and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union in St. Paul. Gilbert coordinated an architectural display that included architectural models and drawings from architects across the country.[69] Furthermore, though the exact role of Julia Finch Gilbert--Gilbert's wife

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and an active member of the New Century Club--is unknown, it is evident from the New Century Club records, as Korsgaard notes, that husbands and wives often worked on the same projects. Although the men often advised the women about how to carry out their work, they all shared common interests and goals.[70]

It was against this backdrop that Lenora Hamlin's activity in the Women's Civic League (a women's club that promoted interest in the arts) must be understood. Hamlin initially was involved in leading a committee which procured, for a 1901 exhibition, models of architectural decoration utilized in the state capitol. The following year, Hamlin became President of the League.[71] This group was most interested in the English Arts and Crafts movement. In fact, the only existing official document of the club, a calendar of events for 1902, notes that a lecture was scheduled to be given by Charles Zueblin, who spoke on the work of William Morris, the late 19th-century artist and writer best known as one of the founders of the Arts and Crafts movement. Other speakers addressed a wide range of topics within this tradition. These topics included textiles and weaving, manual training, so-called "primitive" arts and crafts, pottery, woodwork, metal work, mural decoration, leather and bookbinding, glass work, and the labor conditions of women and children in Minnesota.[72]

According to Cass Gilbert, Jr., however, the League was "primarily interested in a movement to clean up the yards,

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streets and alleys of the city and especially the district around the Capitol itself which was then in very raw condition."[73] Even Thomas G. Holyoke, from Gilbert's staff, was engaged to give a lecture in early 1902 on the subject of landscape architecture and its relation to buildings. Also, the Women's Civic League credo identified its members as conscientious, public-spirited citizens whose goal was "to cooperate with all good people who [were] striving to enhance the beauty of the city, upbuild its prosperity and make it a better place to live in."[74] These interests in municipal reform also stimulated similar groups nationwide on a large and a small scale from New York to California.[75]

The Women's Civic League invited Gilbert to deliver a lecture to their society on November 13, 1902 at the Commercial Club, a local men's organization.[76] It remains unclear, however, why he chose to speak to this League when he would not address the ALCI in St. Paul. This women's league lecture was to become the most significant public forum for Gilbert's ideas and goals with respect to the capitol approaches. Paradoxically, Gilbert was willing to defer to the wishes of the Women's Civic League, as he explained to MacLaren,

> [i]f you think anything I would say would be of sufficient interest, I am quite willing to give an impromptu talk at such [a] meeting as you might appoint, on say November 10th, 12th, or 13th; you may name your own hour, whether at noon, afternoon or evening will suit me, I would prefer that the date be November 12th, but [I] leave it to you.
>
> I think it impracticable to illustrate this talk as I would like to do, but I will consider it a little further and see if it is possible to have some

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> photographs or sketches which would be available. I doubt very much if I can do this, however.[77]

Gilbert's later correspondence with MacLaren [also known as McLaren] further suggests the inspiration for the lecture arose from the League, and not from Gilbert, himself.[78]

As an additional note, MacLaren most likely knew Gilbert's wife, Julia, very well. They were both members of the New Century Club, the St. Paul women's social and literary organization previously mentioned. (A few years later, the New Century group, with the help of Mrs. Metcalf, organized an informal discussion of Gilbert's approach plans.[79] All three women, MacLaren, Gilbert, and Metcalf, also worked on that club's major fund-raising event, the Harvest Festival Art Loan Committee.) MacLaren and Mrs. Gilbert were also both members of St. Paul's Nushka Club and Schubert Club, still other women's clubs.[80] The Gilbert family, furthermore, probably knew of the MacLarens since Gilbert had designed a house for the family at 412 Holly in St. Paul, and because he had developed a proposal for an apartment and commercial building to be located at 3rd Street and Pleasant Avenue in St. Paul.[81]

Perhaps because of these social connections, Gilbert agreed to deliver the lecture on November 13th and to present a plat that he and his office draftsmen, Holyoke and Maxime Boyer, had produced (Figure 14).[82] Gilbert's goal at this meeting was to discuss the question of the approaches mainly from the standpoint of what the city should do. He praised the unobstructed views of state capitols in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, citing them as prime examples of the

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beautification possible in St. Paul. Gilbert was critical of the existing capitol area which contained a grocery store located on one side of the entrance and a saloon on the other.[83] Typical views of the place, such as those seen from the intersection of Cedar Street and Central Avenue, included telegraph lines amidst several frame houses that blocked the view of the capitol (Figure 15). Gilbert envisioned, instead, an open plaza--located close to the capitol--balanced by a careful grouping of buildings to the southeast. Gilbert believed that these buildings (arranged on the site of the old capitol between Wabasha Street and Cedar Avenue) could be added at a later date. Gilbert suggested that this southeast group should include an auditorium, a museum, and an art gallery--all buildings which the city needed. In the lecture, Gilbert also expressly did not mention any expenditures that would have to be made by the state, in order to avoid appearing extravagant and also to emphasize the need for local civic support.

Gilbert presented a plat in conjunction with lantern slides that depicted approaches to "buildings, parkways and other municipal developments in this country and abroad."[84] These slides, which Gilbert had collected for the purpose of his own study, included images of a series of Grand Prix designs made at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the Villa d'Este in Rome, the great fountain of St. Cloud near Paris, the gardens of the Pitti Palace in Florence, and several American views.[85] (Gilbert's slide collection, which is still partially intact,

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was used primarily for study and reference. It consisted of several images from Versailles and other sites in France; villas and their gardens in Rome, Florence, Naples, and elsewhere in Italy; many locations in the United States--especially Central Park and Gilbert's own work for the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis--and a few images from England, Holland, Spain, Japan, Germany, and Eastern Europe and South America.[66])

The distinguishing feature of the 1902 plat was the clear axial connection established between the Capitol and the downtown area. The bold axiality of the St. Paul plan is clearly related to that of his earlier plan for Washington, D.C. The St. Paul plan included one approach from the southeast encompassing the Cedar/Wabasha mall (so-named because of the streets it included), and another from the south, from a proposed soldier's memorial monument. Significantly, two buildings positioned north of the St. Paul capitol echoed the relationship of the Library of Congress and an unnamed building to the U. S. capitol, as illustrated in Gilbert's Washington, D.C. plan. Gilbert probably was making a conscious comparison of the two capitols--setting each apart from its surrounding city fabric by topography and by plan. The proposed Minnesota capitol and the actual national capitol were also similarly located on high ground, and they were visually and symbolically reinforced by a cluster of smaller buildings located nearby.

The November 13th Civic League lecture encouraged the

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formation of a joint civic committee, which would consist of representatives from the Women's Civic League, the Jobber's Union, the Commercial Club, and the Chamber of Commerce."[87] Gilbert held his own ideas about the formation of such a committee, which may have stemmed from his early, but limited, involvement with the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce.[88] Although he thought a representative from the Women's Civic League should be included in the group, he mainly believed it should consist of "men who are progressive and broad-minded, but at the same time men whose business standing in the community is such as to carry weight."[89] He also wanted to limit the committee at first to no more than five people, with the option to add more members if necessary. (Gilbert's desire to assign men to this potentially influential group is typical of the social attitudes of the period. Yet, ironically, it was the work of Mrs. Hamlin and Mrs. MacLaren that helped to disseminate Gilbert's plans and that ultimately shaped how the plans and ideas were perceived by the public.)

In whatever fashion the joint committee was formed, it eventually included Chamber of Commerce representative, Oscar Livingston Taylor, and may have included Commercial Club President, H. A. Boardman and Chamber of Commerce President, Luther S. Cushing.[90] Gilbert even greatly supported Mrs. MacLaren's appointment as representative from the Women's Civic League. In correspondence to another League member, Gilbert enthusiastically endorsed MacLaren's involvement and the formation of the new committee:

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> I am very much gratified at the spirit of co-operation that seems to exist, and while we must realize that the project is one that will take some time to put into definite shape, I am confident as to its ultimate success.
>
> The League should certainly have a member on the Committee, and as Mrs. McLaren's [sic] position has been such a leading one it is only natural that she should be on the Committee. I trust that i[t] has been so arranged, and, if not, I think the joint committee will see to it that some member of the Civic League will act with it.[91]

By the time MacLaren was appointed, Gilbert was pleased with the overall membership of the group.[92] He, however, cautioned MacLaren to be patient since the project would probably develop slowly. Nevertheless, he assured her, and the others, that the project would be successful.[93] Indeed, the committee's initial goal in November was merely "to see what action could be taken to carry out the project."[94] By January, Gilbert expected to confer with Taylor and the other members of the committee.[95]

Public response to Gilbert's approaches plan was positive from at least one influential member of the business community. Benjamin Franklin Beardsley, secretary of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, wrote to the architect to say that he was "deeply impressed" by Gilbert's address and plat. He also encouraged Gilbert to supply the Secretary of the Capitol Commission with a copy of the plat so the Joint Committee could study the plan further.[96]

Gilbert's own public and private responses to this lecture, however, were mixed. In a formal letter to MacLaren, Gilbert wrote:

I was very much gratified at the large attendance at the

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> Commercial Club yesterday and appreciated it, not only as a personal compliment to myself, but as an evidence of the very great interest which is taken in the movement which the Civic League has inaugurated for the benefit of St. Paul. I hope the matter will not be allowed to drop . . . [I have] taken so much interest in the project that I am having the rough plat which I showed yesterday more completely developed into a finished drawing, in which the details will be somewhat more thoroughly studied.[97]

Gilbert went on to say that he hoped that this plat would stimulate further discussions, especially if he placed copies of it at the disposal of the Civic League and other community groups.[98] He was further encouraged to do so by MacLaren, who wanted a copy of the plan to be placed in the meeting rooms of the Women's Civic League. MacLaren also wanted to send copies to corollary groups, such as the Commercial Club, the Jobber's Union, and the Chamber of Commerce.[99]

Gilbert's private response to the 1902 lecture was another matter. When asked by AIA Secretary, Glenn Brown, to deliver a lecture to the American Institute of Architects (AIA) about civic improvements in St. Paul, Gilbert declined. He explained to Brown:

> I was very sorry to have to telegraph you yesterday that I could not take part in the discussion of development of St. Paul in relation to the new Capitol at the next convention of the Institute. I had to make a speech on the subject yesterday before a public meeting here, and I found that the preparation and worry of the thing nearly used me up,. . . .[100]

Gilbert was concerned that he did not have the time to prepare a suitable talk. He was also anxious about several important contracts regarding the construction of the Minnesota capitol that were coming before the Board of Capitol Commissioners. Nevertheless, these are curious words coming from a highly

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professional architect who spent over half his career thinking about and developing capitol approach plans for St. Paul. It is odd that he would express such undue anxiety in the ordinary course of delivering a lecture, and the reasons for this response remain puzzling.

One month after the lecture, MacLaren delivered to Gilbert's office a blue-line drawing plat prepared by the surveyors Fowble & Fitz (Figure 16). According to MacLaren, the accompanying list of property values had been worked out by Will Read, a local real estate broker who was later active in condemnation proceedings of the lots in the immediate vicinity of the capitol.[101] The survey depicted the property that would have to be acquired for the so-called "main" approach of the Cedar/Wabasha mall. As reported in St. Paul newspapers, lively negotiations ensued through 1903 between local landowners and the Capitol commissioners.[102]

Real estate experts initially estimated rates of land value near the capitol at $150-175 per front foot--rates comparable to those that had recently been paid for a piece of property on Summit Avenue. George Benz, a St. Paul resident and owner of property adjacent to that which was condemned, commented on the increased value of the real estate in the immediate area. He reported that "[t]here was no smoke, noise or dust. [T]he streets were all in fine condition and it was the most desirable site in the city for rentable flat buildings."[103]

The actual rates that were paid out, however, ran closer

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to $100 to $150 per front foot.[104] John Klein, for instance, owner of lot #4, as shown on the survey, was particularly vocal in his initial unwillingness to sell, as he tried to obtain $50,000 for his property.[105] Real estate experts concurred with Klein's high asking price, believing that Klein's lot was particularly attractive as a site for a large apartment house or luxury hotel.[106] Klein later accepted the Capitol Commission's offer of nearly $30,000, which was still a great sum of money at that time, for his property and home.[107] (When Klein also claimed that the Butler Brothers damaged his property, he demanded $5000 for necessary repairs and sought legal injunctions preventing the construction firm and the Capitol Commission from further use of Aurora Avenue. Klein, however, did not receive payment for these damages, since he received such high compensation from the Capitol Commission.[108] He was successful, nevertheless, in pushing through at least one injunction, which disrupted Seabury and the Butler Brothers' construction plans.[109]) Other property owners with smaller lots in less desirable locations received lower rates of compensation.[110] The fees paid to landowners by the Commission were generally considered to be 40% above market value, although all of the tenants had tried to negotiate for higher amounts.[111] In spite of these machinations concerning the practical aspects of land acquisition, broader issues were at stake in discussions about Gilbert's St. Paul plan, issues that will be addressed in the following section.

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Hamlin, Gilbert, Warren Manning and the 1903 Ideal Plan

Whatever the immediate outcome of the Civic League lecture, it is clear that the event stimulated discussion about the approaches by creating a broader civic forum. This progress was so clear in Gilbert's mind that he linked these events of 1902 with a series of recommendations he later made to Joseph Albert Wheelock, editor-in-chief of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and commissioner of the St. Paul Park Board.[112] While Wheelock's own contributions to the development of the capitol approaches plan will be considered later in this chapter, it is important to examine the events of 1903 surrounding the development of Gilbert's most comprehensive and most widely published grand scheme, "The Original Ideal Group Plan" (Figure 17).

This plan became Gilbert's most widely known urban work and ultimately was considered a model, along with McKim, Mead & White's statehouse, for what was possible in other cities and other City Beautiful-oriented projects. The ideal plan appeared as the opening illustration in the 1906 "Report of the Capitol Approaches Commission to the Common Council of the City of St. Paul." Philadelphia architects, Andrew Wright Crawford and Frank Miles Day, however, first reproduced the plan in their 1905 publication entitled, The Existing and Proposed Outer Park Systems of American Cities: Report of the Philadelphia Allied Organizations. They did so because of their interest in the relationship between the St. Paul plan and Philadelphia's development of the parkway from City Hall

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to Fairmount Park. Gilbert had supplied Crawford and Day with several other drawings of city plans for St. Paul, which he labelled "1," "A," "B," and "C" (all depicted in Figure 18). These plans depicted the early stages of the development of the comprehensive plan. The 1903 ideal plan was also reproduced in Werner Hegemann's and Elbert Peets' The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art (1922).[113]

This plan, which was submitted to the Park Board in December 1903, expanded on the ideas put forth in the earlier plat by including three major changes.[114] First, the southwest approach was added, accommodating the soon-to-be-built St. Paul Cathedral (1906-1915) and the city's premiere residential street, Summit Avenue. Webster Wheelock, son of Joseph Albert Wheelock, years later discussed some of the details of this particular change in a news article. Wheelock reported that the southwest avenue was planned to measure approximately 100 feet wide by 2200 feet long and that it originally was to have cut through an unattractive district:

> This approach will afford a vista between the two most imposing and beautiful buildings in the city and will also be a connecting link between two of the most popular parkways, Summit Avenue and Como Avenue. The latter parkway leading to beautiful Como Park, is proposed as a minor feature of the general scheme, to extend directly to the capitol.[115]

The parkway connection, in the northwest area of the plan, was the second major change. The new Park Avenue/Como Avenue extension was conceived as an attempt to connect the Capitol area with the outlying parkway system. The third major change involved the soldier's memorial approach, which extended

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farther south to an area known as Seven Corners. This central approach, the younger Wheelock noted, was to have been 180-200 feet wide and about 3800 feet long and interrupted midway by Park Place, a small park to be surrounded by houses. Wheelock also reported that:

> It is proposed to acquire all this private property and to convert the entire square into one of the features of the approach. The site of this square is commanding, for at this point, after a gradual descent from the capitol[,] there is a drop of some twenty-five feet to a lower level. This break in the avenue will not only interrupt the vista of the capitol, but will afford the opportunity for a special treatment which will add greatly to the beauty of the approach.[116]

The relationship between the old and the new capitols (which had been illustrated in the 1902 plat) had not changed on the southeast approach. Wheelock described a rectangular garden, about 300 feet wide, that created a striking vista 2000 feet away from the new capitol building.[117]

At issue in all of Wheelock's descriptions of the grandiose plan is the importance of the vista and how the topography would have enhanced the effect of setting off the new capitol as a beacon of culture and sophistication. It was in this light that Gilbert, in letters to his children, depicted the capitol. In his March 1903 letters to his own son, Cass, Jr., Gilbert first sketched an old-fashioned pioneer wagon making its way toward the capitol building that was silhouetted by the sun on the horizon. In a later sketch, Gilbert showed the travellers, in a modern motor car, nearing the monument by way of a broad boulevard and hurtling toward the massive pile of sculpted stone (Figure 19).[118] Although

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these images were intended for an audience different from other than the capitol commissioners and the general public, it is interesting to note that Gilbert was fundamentally interested in how the capitol would be perceived by visitors coming into St. Paul from far away.

This ideal plan, as St. Paul historian Gary Phelps points out, was developed as a response to the interests of capitol commissioner, Channing Seabury, in a city plan that formally would set off the capitol. Seabury's interest was first expressed at a politically-charged time in January 1903, just one month before the state legislature investigated the capitol board for cost overruns. Seabury intended the proposal for the soldier's memorial approach (located directly to the south of the capitol) to be considered as a separate financial proposition that would not delay the completion of the rest of the capitol. Although Gilbert, himself, was interested in creating such a suitably grand approach, he deferred to Seabury on how best to present the issue. Gilbert also thought that Seabury would be apprehensive about state officials misinterpreting any agitation concerning further improvements, whereby the officials might mistakenly assume that the state would have to fund the extra work. The only action advocated by Gilbert was an announcement clarifying that the entire cost of city-wide improvement would be covered by the citizens of St. Paul.[119]

In addition, the 1903 plan was probably influenced by the proposals of Warren Manning, a landscape architect who had

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worked with Frederick Law Olmsted and Charles Eliot in laying out the park system in Boston and who had also recently developed plans for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.[120] Lenora Hamlin tried to make arrangements in the fall of 1903 for Manning to meet with Gilbert to discuss their park and city plans for St. Paul.[121] Although Hamlin's initial efforts were thwarted, Manning wrote to Gilbert about his perceptions of their work. He understood their goals to be one and the same:

> . . . that any consultation at this time can only be preliminary and general. We have, however, prepared studies and stereopticon slides to illustrate a scheme that would make a connection between the Capitol, the city, and the park system, and which bears so close a relation to your work at the Capitol that we do not wish to submit them before going over them with you. It is our hope that there may be mutual co-operation in the study of a larger park system for the two cities and a city plan may result in our accomplishing together a notable result. As we study the problem, it seems to us that the opportunity is an unusually favorable one for this, and it is our feeling that such a result can be brought about only through the harmonious co-operation of an architect and a landscape designer.[122]

Officially, at least, Manning seemed willing to join Gilbert's efforts at transforming St. Paul.

In the meantime, Gilbert wanted to know more about Manning and his work. Gilbert had contacted colleagues Edmund M. Wheelwright and C. Howard Walker to obtain this information. He explains the reasons for his interest in the following passage:

> I learned here that [Manning] is making some designs for a very important park scheme that connects St. Paul and Minneapolis, and that his work will probably join, and may affect, the grounds of the new capitol. I have been asked by a member of one of the Civic committees if I would work in conjunction with him, but have with-held a[n] answer, as I am unfamiliar with his work or personality.[123]

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Wheelwright knew neither Manning nor his work. Walker, however, was well acquainted with the landscape architect, and he relates his candid impressions in his response to Gilbert:

> Warren Manning I know well. He takes himself very seriously and is not as good as Olmstead [sic], but I think after a sort of temporary struggle to bolster up his own point of view if it disagreed with yours, that he would do as you wanted him to. He is capable enough, and on the whole does good work. You can judge from this that while I am not enthusiastic about him, I believe that you could get good work out of him. He is a little apt to put up a bluff to maintain his opinion, but his bluff can be called every time. . . .[124]

In a handwritten postscript to this guarded report, which did not resoundingly endorse Manning, Walker added: "Destroy this. I haven't even let my typewriter see it."[125]

After his half-hearted attempt in October to collaborate with Gilbert, Manning gave an illustrated lecture concerning the beautification of the city entitled, "Metropolitan St. Paul," to about 200 people at the Commercial Club. Sponsored by the Commercial Club and the Women's Civic League, Manning's lecture outlined St. Paul's unique opportunities. Specifically, he discussed how the city's location and topography were conducive to laying out a metropolitan park system. Manning believed St. Paul had many topographical features that lent themselves to the construction of parks and so-called "driveways," and he emphasized the need to beautify and to improve the riverbank area. He also believed that the lakes in St. Paul offered excellent possibilities.[126] In his estimation, these features were so favorable that it would not require any great outlay of funds to make a magnificent inter-urban park. Manning explained that "the view from the Indian

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Mounds Park was excelled only by one other park view in the country, and that was from the top of Lookout Mountain. The grandeur of the view from the Mounds was in the blending of foliage, its water scape [sic], and the hills." Although the inter-urban park alone would not require much funding, Manning reported that the estimated cost of all the improvements he proposed would amount to approximately $1 million, with 23 acres needed to carry out the plans.[127]

Favoring the central approach that Gilbert proposed, Manning also addressed some of the issues put forth by Gilbert's approach plans. He explained the particular danger, at the center of the city, of obscuring the capitol from view:

> As the streets now approach the building there are two which afford the best view, Wabasha and Cedar. There is a slight jog near the capitol in each of these, and should high buildings be erected near the jogs the view of the capitol would be shut out from the street below.[128]

Manning further suggested extending the planned vista from the capitol to Seven Corners and terminating it at Irving Park. Manning believed that such a feature would make a fine parkway and secure unobstructed views of the capitol for the future.[129]

In order to grasp the wide scope of Manning's discussion of the park plan for St. Paul and Gilbert's ideal plan of 1903, it is useful to consider the status of work relating to the approaches by that date. For example, the 1902 plan to widen Park Avenue from Wabasha to University Avenues from 60 to 100 feet and also to straighten the crooked road was still incomplete in 1903. (This area was necessary for the

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development of the western approach since the granite steps of the west facade would have encroached upon the Park Avenue sidewalk.) As a result, Channing Seabury arranged for $20,000 to be included in the 1903 budget since no more than $4000 could be raised through tax assessments.[130] Compared to these machinations to obtain a small strip of land for merely one portion of Gilbert's grand project, Manning's city-wide park plan, estimated at $1 million, and Gilbert's entire capitol approaches plan were not favorably received by many citizens, either in St. Paul or elsewhere. In Redwood Falls, Minnesota, for example, resentment still ran deep about the choice of stone for the new building, when one editorial proclaimed "let the saintly city provide the wherewithal to make the improvement--the state has been taxed enough already for a building constructed out of Georgia marble that should have been built of native Minnesota stone."[131]

The extent to which Gilbert's work may have been influenced by Manning's proposals is difficult to ascertain. Some evidence of its influence can be seen in Gilbert's sentiments, expressed in December 1903, when Gilbert was appointed to serve on a joint Civic League and Commercial Club committee. In order to promote a park development scheme "extending from the state capitol to the university grounds in Minneapolis," Gilbert was adamant that civic and not state funds be used for the project.[132] He therefore was clearly aware of Manning's work and the impact it might have on his own proposed plans.

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By roughly the same date, Gilbert submitted to the park board a more comprehensive set of plans for approach development, which probably included the ideal scheme of 1903.[133] Accompanying the plans was a lengthy description of them in which Gilbert explained to Park Board President, Joseph A. Wheelock, that he had been asked many times to organize in writing the ideas that he had advocated more than one year before at the Civic League meeting held at the Commercial Club.

Gilbert's description offered a pragmatic, five-point strategy geared toward implementing his goals. First, he recommended that a commission of three members be appointed by city government to investigate the issue of approach plans and prepare a report. Second, Gilbert proposed limiting the height of buildings around the capitol, especially in the area southeast of it. To reinforce this point, he referred to the aforementioned plan "A." Third, Gilbert advocated a central approach directly from the south that would extend to Park Place, as he illustrated in the schematic plan "B." Gilbert envisioned that this approach in the future would be extended farther south to Seven Corners, as he had shown in plan "C." The Como Avenue extension, his fourth concern, was meant to link Park Avenue directly with Como Avenue and the park system. To illustrate this feature, Gilbert referred to his plan "D," which depicted the more complete development of plans "A," "B," and "C." Gilbert's final recommendation, to provide a direct line of approach from the new Cathedral on

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St. Anthony Hill to the Capitol, was similarly reinforced visually, when Gilbert referred to plan "E." This plan represented a compilation of plans "A" through "D."

The expense for such a huge project was a concern for Gilbert, and he addressed it at some length:

> It is obvious that an attempt to carry out all the suggestions above made (as shown in Plan E, or even on Plan D) would involve an expense far beyond the means of the city at the present time, but it is not too much to hope that if the commission, suggested in my first recommendation, should find some of the minor portions of the project to be practicable now, that within a period of say fifty years its important features could all be accomplished, particularly if some definite scheme were adopted at this time so that future improvement could be along such lines. Whatever is attempted now should be upon such conservative and economic lines as to form no heavy burden of taxation or materially increase the city's debt. It should, therefore, be undertaken, if at all, only after careful deliberation, and carried forward slowly. Unwise action in so large a project would discourage tax payers and impair our credit, if in fact it did not bankrupt the community . . .[134]

Gilbert's plans "A," "B," and "C" (Figure 18) correspond to the images reproduced the 1904 Philadelphia park system report. Plan "E" probably referred to Gilbert's ideal plan of 1903 (Figure 17).[135]

Representatives of the Women's Civic League, the Commercial Club, and the Chamber of Commerce were all invited to hear Gilbert deliver his report to the Park Board in December 1903.[136] Although there are no reports in existence from the meeting, Gilbert stated shortly thereafter that about 50 people had attended his informal address. He also explained what had transpired at the meeting:

> My project was approved and it was resolved to ask Mr. Seabury, Mr. Wheelock and myself to act as commissioners to carry this scheme out. I had shown the drawings and

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> the letter addressed to Mr. Wheelock, President of the Park Board, to the Capitol Board at the morning session.[137]

Katharine Dean MacLaren, an active member of the Women's Civic League, offered her own ideas for funding the project. She suggested that "the city should be taxed (a special assessment for the whole city) for, say one third the cost and that the state pay the other two thirds."[138] MacLaren also assured Gilbert that her father was convinced that the proposal could be carried out if proper influence was made in the state legislature.[139]

Public support for the three-part approaches plan was strong, as suggested by the popular press in St. Paul. One writer at the St. Paul Dispatch spoke of the excitement that had been stirred up two years before, with talk of making St. Paul a "city beautiful." Calling for suitable approaches to the new building, and a clearing away of the "unsightly" buildings wedged into the nearby area, the journalist encouraged the city to embrace the idea of civic beautification. The journalist called for citizens to

> bring artifice into consonance with the beauty of natural conditions. As with men, so with cities, as the former became prosperous, are relieved from the strain of bread and butter problems, they use their wealth to indulge their finer tastes,. . .so the latter begins to study its problems of beautification. St. Paul has reached that stage. . .the time is propitious as it never will be again. The cost of creating a mall of obtaining title to the land will never be so low as [it is] now. As increase of population presses upon opportunities for location, the pressure inevitably forces land values up. There should be no more lingering in this matter.[140]

Additionally, the Dispatch from January to February 1904 ran a series of articles entitled, "Civic Progress in St. Paul,"

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about the tentative three-part approach plans. On his own copy of the Dispatch, Gilbert made intriguing notations on the approaches plan illustrated in the final article. He re-configured the drawing so that the cathedral became part of a building cluster, with a viaduct added to the approach to that cluster (Figure 20). Neither of these ideas was developed in his more finished schemes.[141]

As much as Gilbert may have been interested in Manning's park plans, almost a year and a half later, when Manning requested information on the "Group Plan for St. Paul," Gilbert would not supply him with the information he requested. Gilbert instead referred Manning to Frank Miles Day, who would soon publish a paper addressing this topic in the AIA Proceedings.[142]

## Hamlin and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition

Lenora Hamlin and her exhibition committee held an ultimate objective with respect to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. They hoped that Gilbert and Manning would collaborate on a joint proposal (that addressed both the approaches and the metropolitan parks district) and envisioned that the project would become the centerpiece of the Twin Cities display at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.[143] Hamlin, who organized this display, had become involved with the Exposition through her husband, Condé, editor and later business manager at the Pioneer Press Printing Company. (He also had served as President of the Minnesota Board of

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Managers, the group responsible for the construction and organization of the Minnesota State Building at the Louisiana fair.[144]) Mr. Hamlin, coincidentally, had been in contact with Gilbert a couple of years earlier, hoping to reproduce a presentation drawing of Gilbert's capitol in The Book of Minnesota (1903).[145]

When the Board of Managers was approached by the organizers of a municipal display, Mr. Hamlin and the Board referred the matter to Hamlin's wife and other local leaders.[146] Mrs. Hamlin became deeply committed to the success of this project. A later news article praised her efforts in these words:

> That these [Twin] cities should have been so far in the lead is due entirely to the Woman's [sic] Civic League and also largely to Mrs. Hamlin, who for more than a year has given it her entire attention. Had she been a business woman and dependent upon her work for support she could not have worked harder, and when the work was done the league women were anxious that she should go to St. Louis to assure the final success of their enterprise. The work up to that time had been gratuitous. It then became, for the time at least, professional.[147]

Hamlin's achievements, which were considered extraordinary for a woman of her time, did not go unnoticed.

The municipal exhibition represented one part of the "Model City," later scaled down to the "Model Street," at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. This feature was unique to the centennial celebration.[148] Organized by the Department of Social Economy, the 1200 foot-long street was articulated by buildings designed to serve a variety of functions (Figures 21 and 22). Many of these buildings were contributed by several

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U. S. cities. Kansas City, for example, donated the casino; San Francisco donated a ferry depot; and the Municipal Museum was given to the Fair by Minneapolis and St. Paul.[149] Hamlin worked with Benjamin Franklin Beardsley, Secretary of the Commercial Club Civic Committee, on the Twin Cities exhibition and on the St. Paul committee. The museum exhibition included maps of local steam and railway transportation, information about public service industries (such as gas, water, and electric and gas lighting), and displays about various natural and civic monuments (including bridges, public baths, recreational piers, and schools).

The crowning feature of the section on civic design was Gilbert's Minnesota State Capitol approach plans and Warren Manning's park proposals. In addition, a cyclorama of the Twin Cities was also part of the exhibition. This pictorial representation encircled the spectator. It depicted, in elaborate panoramic sculpted form, a view of the cities in relation to the river and bridges from a vantage point at Fort Snelling. Measuring approximately 20 feet in length, 14 feet in total height, and modeled about 7 1/2 feet high in the foreground, this display provided a dramatic backdrop for the rest of the exhibition. For added effect, the cyclorama was also "to be supplied with the electrical apparatus necessary to produce daylight and moonlight effects with illumination of the cities."[150]

As Secretary of the Twin Cities Joint Committee on Municipal Exhibitions, Hamlin urged Gilbert to supply a large

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plaster model of the Capitol which she hoped would be constructed by students from the Mechanic Arts High School in St. Paul.[151] Gilbert rebuffed her, arguing that the students had neither the money (an estimated $7000), nor the necessary skill to undertake such an endeavor.[152] Undaunted, Hamlin supplied Gilbert with the documents that he would need to construct the model and she maintained high hopes for exhibiting it.[153] Her goal was "to show something thoroughly good and calculated to arouse the imagination and pride of the laymen and the approval of the expert." She wanted the model to occupy a "place of honor," in order to underscore its importance. Hamlin also hoped that the larger plan of the capitol building and grounds, as well as the interior decoration, would be included in the exhibition.[154] The model, eventually executed by a professional New York model-making firm, Altrock & Schlesinger, received a gold medal award from the municipal jury at the fair.[155] This award, ironically, mistakenly was given to the park board and not to Gilbert. One editorial report even claimed that Mrs. Hamlin

> deserve[ed] the credit for originating and persistently urging the idea of illustrating Mr. Gilbert's plan of capitol approaches, through the medium of a model, but when due recognition of the shares of credit due to others is made it still remains true that the gold medal . . . should have gone to the architect of the capitol, who conceived and worked out the plan of the proposed capitol approaches, made the surveys and the drawings at his own expense and supervised the work of making the model.[156]

Gilbert's efforts were thus supplemented by Hamlin's own significant contributions and by her persistence.

Gilbert provided details about the construction of the

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model in his correspondence with Rockart. As he explained:

> you may remember that at my inspection last week I directed them to show a plaza at the southwest of the building balancing the mall which is between Cedar and Wabasha Streets. This plaza I first made of equal length with the mall and later, in order to get a more direct connection for driving, I shortened so as to carry the street across it at about 2/3 of the length.
>
> I meant to have told you before leaving New York that I wished you to instruct the modelers that the plaza must be the same length as the mall so as to balance perfectly, a roadway to cross it so that a passage for vehicles will be provided on the street line which you last located. In other words, make the plaza the same length as the mall and cross it with a roadway instead of stopping short with the street, the roadway being say--30 to 40 feet wide. This will maintain the balance of the plan."[157]

The roughly symmetrical model, in general accord with the 1903 ideal plan, was exhibited on "substantial," weathered oak tables set on heavy casters. Two-inch square wire mesh guard extended about two feet upward from the base of the tables. One central table was surrounded by four smaller ones, and a larger table may have been used as an abutment to this configuration for the exhibition of the model.[158] (Despite Hamlin's efforts and local interest in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, architectural publications, such as Western Architect, did not publish views of the St. Paul/Minneapolis exhibit.)[159]

Mrs. Hamlin, nevertheless, had great plans for this model of the approaches and what it represented. In March 1904, she requested that a photograph of it be displayed in Boston, in a municipal improvement exhibition at the 20th-Century Club. This exhibition was to draw on recent work in Providence, Cleveland, Washington, D.C. and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.[160]

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A few months later, as a result of her involvement with the St. Louis exhibition and her extensive knowledge of municipal affairs, Hamlin was asked by the Chicago Municipal Museum to help procure exhibits for their institution. She subsequently moved to Chicago and served as chairwoman of the museum's Exhibition Committee.[161] Once she was relocated, Hamlin displayed the famed model in another civic improvement exhibition (Figure 23). The model, with its proposed approaches, and a panoramic view of the Twin Cities, again served as the focus of this display.

On the heels of this exhibition, Hamlin requested that it be permanently displayed in the rotunda of the Minnesota State Capitol. She explained her plan to Channing Seabury by saying, "There people could see it. Legislators and officials could see it. And attention would be attracted to the proposed plan. . . . [W]hen I suggested the making of the model and secured the appropriation for it I had in mind just this disposition of it."[162] While Gilbert agreed with Hamlin that the model should be displayed in the new capitol building, he discouraged her from wanting to place it in the rotunda because of the great scale difference between the small model and the immense, domed central space. Instead, he suggested placing it, along the north corridor or in the large, well-lit rooms occupied by the Art Society.[163] Nothing came of Hamlin's request, however, because of the expense involved in procuring a special case for it.[164]

On a more personal note, Lenora Hamlin's municipal

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exhibition activities took their toll on her marriage. Her extensive civic involvements proved to be too much for her husband, when, in the fall of 1905, after thirteen years of marriage, Condé filed for divorce on the grounds of desertion.[165] During these several years Lenora had spent a great deal of time away from home, a condition which her husband did not wish to continue. While the couple was going through their divorce, Lenora lived at Jane Addams' Hull House.[166] (She probably was acquainted with Addams since the social reformer was a member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Public Library.) Hamlin remained in Chicago for that winter; her husband eventually moved to New York City.[167]

Years later, Mrs. Hamlin moved back to St. Paul, where she served in a variety of civic improvement roles.[168] In 1911, she was Civic Secretary of the St. Paul City Club.[169] The following year, she also served as the Social Secretary of Associated Charities, a so-called "scientific" charity devoted to systematic philanthropy that was funded by private donations as opposed to government aid.[170] Also in 1912, Hamlin worked as the only juror of Civic Art for the eighth annual Jury of Selection for the Minnesota State Art Society (MSAS) Exhibit Committee.[171] Moreover, in 1914, she was associated with the Women's Welfare League.[172] Thus, even though Hamlin's intense involvement with women's clubs had contributed to the breakdown of her marriage, these many aspects of her later municipal work suggest her great commitment to the betterment of public life at the expense of

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her personal life.

Gilbert's grand vision was thus extended through a club and committee structure available to elite citizens in St. Paul. Groups like the Women's Civic League regarded their work seriously and provided an important educational and institutional framework for public expression.[173] As an active member of the League, Hamlin was not only seriously dedicated to this work but she also sacrificed part of her own life to further the cause. In organizing the 1902 lecture and by encouraging the development of the 1904 Minnesota State Capitol model, she helped extend the public debate about Gilbert's city plan to influential citizens of St. Paul as well as to the general populace of the Twin Cities and beyond. In contrast to Hamlin's efforts, Joseph and Webster Wheelock's efforts were not as comprehensive, but they nonetheless contributed to several years of local support that Gilbert received in St. Paul for his approaches plan.

## Joseph Albert Wheelock, Early Park Commission Efforts, and Wheelock's Editorial Policies

Like many well-to-do St. Paul citizens, Joseph Albert Wheelock (1831-1906) and his family moved in the same social and intellectual circles as did Gilbert and his family. Wheelock knew Lenora Hamlin through his personal involvement with the Twin Cities' display for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.[174] He probably also knew Hamlin through his wife, Kate French Wheelock, since both women were members of the

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Women's Civic League and other municipal improvement groups.[175] Wheelock and Gilbert were named to a city plan commission that was charged with formulating a city plan that would provide a suitable setting for the new capitol and one that would combine the approaches with the city's park and boulevard systems.[176]

Wheelock's role as editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and as a long-standing member of the St. Paul Park Board cannot be understated. The Pioneer Press, it has been noted, "was a consistent friend" to Cass Gilbert's plans for the capitol approaches and helped to marshall support for the plan's implementation.[177] Editorials in Wheelock's paper often enthusiastically supported Gilbert's work.[178] Wheelock's role as a journalist is crucial to understanding how he helped shape public opinion. Although other scholars, such as Richard B. Eide and Quintus Charles Wilson in their biographies of Wheelock have generally commented upon Wheelock's editorial policies, the specific interaction between Gilbert and Wheelock has not been examined.[179] This interaction, in fact, reveals that Wheelock was extremely active in many stages of discussion about the approaches and land use in St. Paul. Gilbert acknowledged his great debt to Wheelock when he wrote to the journalist, "I am constantly under a sense of obligation for the appreciation which you are good enough to express."[180] Even after Wheelock's death in 1906, when Gilbert and a friend discussed building a memorial monument that would honor the elder civic leader, Gilbert was

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overcome by the many instances in which Wheelock had advocated improvements for the benefit St. Paul.[181]

Joseph Albert Wheelock was instrumental in using the St. Paul Pioneer Press to advocate further work because he realized, as Scott Lyle Koch notes in his master's thesis, the powers of the city and of the Park Board were too limited.[182] Before looking at Wheelock's use of the public press in more detail, one must ask, why did Wheelock support Gilbert's work so strongly? The answer lies in several factors, all of which stem from the fact that the two men were kindred spirits who shared many of the same goals. Both Wheelock and Gilbert enjoyed illustrious careers in their chosen fields for over five decades, Wheelock in journalism and Gilbert in architecture. Both were committed to the transformation of St. Paul from a pioneer outpost located in "Indian Territory" into an urban center of culture and sophistication that would rival cities on the East coast. Both also shared similar political views and were vigorously patriotic; and, both travelled widely.[183]

While Wheelock enjoyed traveling in the wilderness as a young man, he also valued the benefits of a stimulating intellectual environment, where books as well as current newspapers provided a vital link to the outside world. Remembering his visit to a remote fort located on the western edge of Manitoba, Wheelock mused:

> These people have no intellectual life, newspapers rarely reach these distant abodes. The grand procession of events, the dramas of conquest, of revolution, of reform, of political progress, which till the buzzing theaters of

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> both continents have no interest for these simple children of the wilderness. It is a Siberian exile.[184]

Although he refers to the "simple children of the wilderness" with both condescension and fascination, Wheelock, in fact, was uninterested in their isolated existence. After his initial arrival in Minnesota, Wheelock's career developed and he extended this personal attitude about intellectual stimulation to include his goals for the citizenry of the entire state. Specifically, he became concerned about the state's cultural and economic position. As Commissioner of Statistics for the Minnesota State Bureau from 1859 to 1863, Wheelock compiled data that would bring the nation's attention to the advantages claimed by the state. These advantages included excellent natural resources, trade routes, agricultural production, and railroad prospects, among other features.[185]

Wheelock extolled the beauty as well as the opportunity of the region.[186] His editorials reflected his great appreciation of natural beauty.[187] From the time he worked as a historiographer and consultant on an 1859 Canadian expedition to his later work as an editor and newsman, Wheelock's florid writing style reflected his deep feeling for the natural world.[188] This style carried over into the rich vocabulary that he utilized in later editorials. This editorial voice was also one that called for public decency and good ethics. Like other City Beautiful advocates, he supported the development of parkways and boulevards, among other issues.[189] In fact, the beautification of St. Paul

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through the development of the city's park system became central to Wheelock. As Wheelock's early biographer, Richard B. Eide notes:

> No editor worked more enthusiastically for the beautification of St. Paul than did Wheelock. Parks and boulevards, good roads for the hills, bluffs and winding valleys of St. Paul, were his hobby.[190]

From the 1860s through the early 1900s, Wheelock was a tireless advocate for improving St. Paul. Besides his efforts to develop the park system, Wheelock also called for other public and aesthetic benefits, such as the elimination of above-ground wires and smoke nuisances. Although Wheelock was not the first to dream of a grand park system, he was the first major proponent to develop the idea.[191] Much of St. Paul's reputation today as a civic, business, and cultural center, which was surrounded by beautiful parkways, wooded hills, and lakes, resulted from Wheelock's vision for the city.[192]

In 1858, one year before Wheelock arrived in St. Paul, limited overtures were made by local citizens to organize park space. Henry M. Rice and John R. Irvine donated to the fledgling town two blocks to be used as public squares--spaces that today are known as Rice and Irvine Parks. In 1867, The St. Paul City Council created a small standing committee to take charge of these spaces. Under a state legislative act that was passed February 29, 1872, five commissioners were appointed to acquire land for park development. One of these commissioners was Wheelock.[193] He and this group worked toward the purchase of land that eventually formed Como Park,

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the largest park in St. Paul.[194] By 1903, this commission had created more than forty public squares and parks in the city. These outdoor spaces were perceived as areas where one might find respite from the daily pressures of city living. Parks, for example, were described as

> oases of shade and verdure, and fountains amid deserts of brick and mortar, crowded streets and choked thoroughfares, and are as welcome resorts to thousands as the oases of Sahara to the heat oppressed caravan.[195]

This perception carried on Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.'s belief that parks should represent a place of repose and offer restorative value--a special place that was a necessary counterpoint to the densely inhabited urban environment. The park, for Olmsted, also represented a space in which people of any age, race or creed, could congregate and enjoy recreation with others. Most of all, he, like Wheelock, believed the park offered a necessary component for a healthy, happy and virtuous life in the modern urban environment.[196]

Although Wheelock was not named to the first St. Paul Board of Park Commissioners, established in February 1887,[197] he nevertheless had dreams of developing a unified park system. Wheelock supported H. W. S. Cleveland's plan for the development of Como Park and also Phelan and Crocus Hill Parks.[198] In his service to the Park Board, from 1893 to 1906, Wheelock was instrumental in several endeavors: the development of the St. Paul parkway along the Mississippi River that extended from Summit Avenue to Fort Snelling, the acquisition and development of Indian Mounds Park, and the development of a system of parks and boulevards for the entire

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city.[199]

Coinciding with Gilbert's work on the Minnesota State Capitol, Wheelock's interest in park development intensified during the last ten years of his life. During this period, Wheelock reportedly devoted at least half of his time to his duties as chairman of the park board. As noted by Q. C. Wilson, whenever Wheelock became tired or disgusted at his newspaper office, he would leave his work to tour the park and city drives with Frederick Nussbaumer, the superintendent of parks.[200]

Gilbert's later appointment as advisory architect to the Park Board helped Wheelock to realize his goal for the board to insist upon the highest artistic standards for all park structures and all works relating to park improvements.[201] Gilbert was later consulted extensively about the plans for the Mannheimer Memorial Fountain and a separate pavilion, both of which were to be constructed in Como Park.[202] Wheelock was particularly chagrined over the selection process in the 1905 competition for the design of a park pavilion. Since Gilbert was out of the country when the plans were reviewed by the Park Board, a local architect was called upon to substitute for Gilbert as an advisor.

Wheelock had misgivings about the plan that ultimately was chosen. He believed that the plan was architecturally inferior and he did not favor a solution to include towers to counter its "squatty" effect. Furthermore, Wheelock was aggravated that the design, even without alterations, was

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estimated to exceed the Park Board's budget of $40,000. When the winning architect's father-in-law, Dr. Rudolph Schiffman, offered to pay the outstanding balance, Wheelock was infuriated and embarrassed. He explained to Gilbert:

> I am very much disappointed at and ashamed of the outcome of this instance of my efforts to secure the standard of architecture in our parks by having the designs of all our permanent structures made or selected by an architect of the first order like yourself.[203]

Wheelock not only admired Gilbert's skill as an architect but he also preferred Gilbert's abilities over those who were, in his opinion, less talented. Wheelock's primary goal to maintain a high standard in design in the park system was therefore tested under less than optimal conditions.

This goal was tested again when Wheelock was away from St. Paul in 1906. The Park Board sought Gilbert's advice regarding the design of a bridge for the Northern Pacific Railway that would rise over Lexington Avenue, located at the south entrance of Como Park. Frederick Nussbaumer, Superintendent of Parks, regretfully noted Wheelock's absence from the bridge discussions and wished that Wheelock could have been there to help settle matters.[204]

Like Gilbert and other City Beautiful advocates of the period, Wheelock believed in the moral and social value of parks, playgrounds, and boulevards. (The next chapter offers a discussion of Gilbert's view of this idea, particularly as it relates to Gilbert's comprehensive university and college plans.) Wheelock believed that architecture and, by extension, landscape design, reflected controlling forces that

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molded characteristic virtues. Certainly, this connection between political goals and the natural is part of a long-standing history, as noted by historian Martin Warnke.[205] In particular, this linkage has been discussed as an important aspect of the City Beautiful agenda.[206] Wheelock first expressed this idea in relation to German architecture and design, which he studied on his European travels in the early 1880s. His later hopes for St. Paul were imbued with this same idea.

Throughout his later editorial life, Wheelock insisted that newspapers should enlighten public opinion by contributing to the discussion of issues that would have an impact on the public good.[207] Wheelock believed it was the responsibility of the journalist to impart an adequate sense of moral responsibility, a characteristic which Wheelock believed could not be taught in a formal academic setting.[208] To Wheelock, an old-school journalist, the ideal newspaper was one that was "conservative, yet progressive; crusading, yet critical; [and, in general,] tolerant," with the main goal to instruct and to enlighten.[209] Wheelock was thus committed to the discussion of public issues and civic affairs, including Gilbert's approach plans, because he felt it was inextricably part of his moral responsibility as a journalist.

This theoretical stance caused Wheelock to utilize the editorial page as a tool for social and political change. From the 1870s, when he first established editorial policy at the St. Paul Pioneer Press editorials were Wheelock's greatest

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strength as a journalist.[210] His goal was to educate the public through his editorials, which were characterized in style by long sentences and a distinctive vocabulary. Most of the editorials in the Pioneer Press were written by Wheelock, but since they were usually unsigned, the style in which they were written becomes an important means of determining authorship.[211] Wheelock also backed the large-scale educational expansion of industrial schools, traveling libraries, the formation of a city university in St. Paul, and also the creation of the University of Minnesota School of Medicine and School of Agriculture.[212] Had he lived beyond 1906, Wheelock would probably have figured prominently in discussions about Gilbert's University of Minnesota master plan for the Minneapolis campus, discussed in the next chapter.

Wheelock was involved in early condemnation proceedings for the land surrounding the capitol. In May 1901, he met with Gilbert to discuss the acquisition of property adjoining Park Avenue. Gilbert later recalled their meeting. Wheelock told the architect of condemnation proceedings which he hoped would inaugurate the acquisition of the block west of the Capitol for park purposes. Gilbert believed that this area to be condemned should have included

> the property at the southwest side of Wabasha Street from Park Avenue to Central Avenue, taking all the property in the last named location, excepting the [Madison High] school property. Mr. Wheelock suggested that the street car line could then be re-adjusted and the Capitol site could be made more symmetrical.[213]

It was Wheelock, as much as it was Gilbert, who had early

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ideas about reconfiguring the space around the capitol.

Wheelock's active role continued throughout that year. Gilbert noticed with great interest the journalist's advocacy of a project to create a park west of the new Capitol. Gilbert himself supported the project and hoped to dedicate the park to Channing Seabury:

> I would suggest that the park should be named Seabury Place or Seabury Square. It seems to me that this is a compliment which is due Mr. Seabury for his continued and self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of the City and State in the erection of the new Capitol. No one knows better than myself the immense amount of labor he has done in this matter, and that he has done it at great personal sacrifice is evident to all who know the history of the Capitol. He has given his time unselfishly night and day for nearly ten years, and no demand has been made upon him that he has not fully met.[214]

Gilbert did not, however, wish to be known as the originator of this idea because he believed his motives might be misinterpreted as a means to further his own ambitions. Wheelock's response to Gilbert's idea, unfortunately, is not known.[215] Whatever his response, however, Wheelock must have been gratified when the capitol park west of the new building was funded years later with a $25,000 appropriation and the Board of Aldermen authorized the Board of Public Works to go ahead with condemnation proceedings.[216]

By 1903, Wheelock's efforts had taken a broader turn when he wanted to know more about the Park Commission in Washington, D.C. and asked Gilbert to secure a copy of its report. The Park Commission Plan of 1902 (also known as the McMillan Plan), set forth a comprehensive design for the Mall and the outlying park system, an idea that had been initially

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set forth by the AIA Annual Convention of 1900 and later codified by Brown in his publication of Papers Relating to the Development of the City of Washington (1901). This publication contained the papers given by Gilbert and other architects at the AIA Convention concerning the development of parks and public buildings.[217] (For a further discussion of Gilbert's contribution, see Chapter I.) Gilbert sent Wheelock that information and continued to relay to him--as he received it--new information regarding the park system of the national capital.[218]

Wheelock shared Gilbert's ambition for planning the area around the capitol. He quickly realized that the power of the city, and that of the Park Board to implement Gilbert's approach plans, was too limited in scope.[219] Wheelock's increased interest in Gilbert's work is reflected in the 1903 and 1904 Park Board proceedings. During this period, Wheelock served as the president of the board and he corresponded with Gilbert about the approaches. Gilbert, in response to Wheelock's queries, developed a lengthy proposal of how best to achieve their joint goals. In addition to the strategy of working in stages, which was illustrated by Gilbert's plans "A" through "E" (Figure 18 and 17, respectively), as described earlier in this chapter, Gilbert stressed the need for the formation of a commission. He believed his drawings should be considered as only sketches, and the commission, if formed, would be able to make necessary changes to his ideas:

> In short, the essential point of my recommendation is not the adoption of any of the features shown on these

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> drawings, but the appointment of a suitable commission which shall carefully study the subject, report upon its practicability, recommend ways and means, and if approved, then have authority to adopt a definite plan of city improvement, and power to carry into effect such parts thereof as may be authorized by the government of this city when funds are provided. . . .I do not pretend to offer any statistics or estimates of cost, as they would be inaccurate and premature at this time.[220]

Gilbert presented these ideas to Wheelock, hoping that the newspaper editor would use his influence in urging the Board to recommend to city government that a commission be formed.[221]

Wheelock's involvement with the St. Paul Park Board points to his understanding of the need for the legislature or a charter commission to provide authority to carry forward approach plans. Shortly after his exchange with Gilbert in 1903, Wheelock published articles in the Pioneer Press that highlighted the great public interest in the three approaches to the new capitol as well as in the planning of the semi-circular area directly to the south of the building. Wheelock believed this area was a crucial element in the general plan that was being overlooked.[222] He envisioned an area that he referred to as a "plaza," which would give symmetry to the capitol grounds and would provide a foundation for later design work.

In order to implement the early stages of work on the plaza, Wheelock urged the rapid acquisition of land in this area. Secondly, he made a case for the practical function of the approaches as the best and shortest circulation routes for business travel in the city. The approach along Cedar and

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Wabasha Avenues was especially useful since the business and city center lay southeast of the capitol. The central approach, in contrast, was described in these terms:

> The proposed central mall by way of Park Place to Seven Corners would run through a district which lies outside the movements of business activities. As we have said before, it has been dead for over fifty years, and it is likely to remain for so many years to come. It would probably cost but little to acquire the land fifteen years from this time than it would cost now.[223]

Although Wheelock did not espouse the immediate purchase of the lots farther away from the capitol, he put forth a vague yet intriguing proposal for the funding of improvement on the south approach. Inspired by economic plans that had been used in England and elsewhere in Europe, Wheelock suggested that the city acquire all the land needed for the approach, make the necessary improvements (thereby driving up the value of nearby lots), and then sell off the adjacent lots to a private syndicate of wealthy St. Paul citizens. The city would then recoup the costs of their civic improvements.[224] He was convinced that the combined financial resources of a group of enterprising, public-spirited citizens could thus contribute to the realization of Gilbert's plans.

## The Wood Walks Controversy

During this time and well into 1905, implementation of the Capitol Approaches plan remained almost at a standstill, largely because of lack of financial and political support and problems with the public's perception of project. Gilbert's plans thus encountered very different obstacles. The state,

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for example, believed that the city of St. Paul should contribute to the approaches, since the legislature had given ample funds to the project. In another camp, the general public was not supportive of such grand plans, since they were fearful of the financial demands of the project. Each of these groups notably did not criticize the ideas behind Gilbert's design. Rather, criticism of it mainly focussed on the problems of how it possibly could be realized.

In terms of the state's position, although State Representative James R. Hickey on November 12, 1904 came out in favor of a "capitol park," to be located immediately south of the new building, the Board of State Capitol Commissioners felt that is did not have the funds to carry out such a project. In addition, while the House of Representatives requested Gilbert to supply plans and drawings for an approach scheme, the state ultimately did not authorize Gilbert to implement the plan. Several opportunities for Gilbert to serve the state beyond his contract through 1905 with the Capitol Commission failed to materialize.[225] Further progress on the overall approaches scheme was limited and painfully slow. In spite of Gilbert's preparation of detailed plans for the approaches, the street car railway company's offer to re-route the rail tracks along Wabasha Avenue (to follow the new line of that street), and the successful widening of Park Avenue to allow for the development of the western approach to the capitol, little more was accomplished in late 1904.[226] At this time, Gilbert told his brother, Charles, that the stress

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of the political situation was preying upon him: "This is certainly a strenuous life, and I shall be glad when the time comes when I can retire to a chicken ranch and raise hens."[227]

As for the public perception of the project, a series of events occurred in the months following the display of the proposed approaches at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. These events involved the construction of roads and sidewalks leading to the new building. Although the capitol commissioners had requested contract bids, only one firm, the Barber Asphalt Company, submitted figures for review. When their bid of $19,075 was rejected--because it was too high and because the company would not guarantee completion of the work by the following summer--the Commissioners decided to build temporary wood walks before the onset of winter.[228]

This decision, combined with the slow and limited progress on other aspects of Gilbert's broader plans, caused the architect's faith in civic improvement to fall to a significant low. In great disgust, Gilbert exclaimed at a meeting of the capitol commissioners that the city of St. Paul was "dead" when it came to civic spirit and that he wished the capitol had been built in Minneapolis, where it would have stood a better chance of being completed according to his and the commissioners' ideas.[229] He was frustrated that during the previous two years, the city had not taken up his proposals to build approaches to the new Capitol, let alone beautify the building with special plantings enhancing it like the manner of the landscaping around the nation's capitol in

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Washington, D.C.[230] [See Appendix V for a discussion of this topic.] The eight-foot wide hemlock walks, depicted in an October 1904 blueprint (Figure 24), were to be fabricated in three locations for less than $1200: from Central Avenue and Wabasha Street to the south entrance, from the corner of Wabasha Street and Park Avenue to the west entrance, and from Cedar Street to the east entrance.[231]

Gilbert's vituperative remarks, and the press coverage that these remarks received, ultimately sparked great public debate about implementing approach plans, and specifically furthered discussion about the plaza area that had concerned Wheelock. Much of the local press was sympathetic to Gilbert's plans. This support was clear in a series of editorials and news articles by Wheelock, who fully understood Gilbert's impatience concerning the matter of the approaches. Although the state had spent $4 1/2 million to place the capitol on a convenient site, the problem remained with the area around it--where "the streets run obliquely toward it, cutting in front of the capitol into all sorts of hideous triangles and catty corners."[232] Wheelock was convinced that the plaza was the heart of the whole scheme, giving the capitol ground the symmetry that he deemed essential to the dignity and beauty of the building. Wheelock wrote in his editorial about the plaza area:

> The broad malls, which figure in Gilbert's complete plan as parts of an ideal scheme of approaches, are of minor importance as compared with this central plaza in front of the capitol. The malls would cost a good deal of money, but it would cost comparatively little money for the city to acquire the several pieces and parcels of

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> land necessary to this rounding out of the capitol grounds. . . . Many of the people of St. Paul are in hearty sympathy with this entire scheme of approaches to the capitol and a great many have an especially lively interest in the proposed semi-circular plaza in front of the capitol which has been several times portrayed in the columns of the Pioneer Press. All they are waiting for is some capable person to take the initiative in some practicable plan for financing the scheme. . . St. Paul is not as dead as it seems to be. . . but is sleeping overlong on this matter. Its heart is all right. It only needs to be stirred into the needed activity. Mr. Gilbert's little outburst of vexation will, perhaps, help to awaken it from its torpor.[233]

He also emphasized that initially Gilbert was only interested in developing this small portion of his larger city plan. As Wheelock further drummed up increased support of the volunteer community, he estimated that the small project would cost $150,000. This relatively modest sum was made more attractive with the offer that had been made by the railroad to remove the existing street rail tracks in the vicinity.[234]

These concerns about the plaza area were supplemented by other articles and political cartoons that exploited a wide range of metaphors of the "dead" city. Most notable was an image of a portly allegorical figure of St. Paul, lumbering along a shoddily constructed walkway and exclaiming that the temporary path was good enough for him. This caricature, given the caption, "A Matter of City Pride," and published in the Minneapolis Times, October 13, 1904 (Figure 25), graphically depicted public support of Gilbert's outrage. Appearing the day after Gilbert's outburst, the caricature illustrates St. Paul "making do" with the temporary wood walks and an allegorical female figure of Minnesota painstakingly making her way among the rough-shod boards.[235] Soon after

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this caricature appeared, the Minneapolis Times published a brief editorial that stated: "We don't believe that St. Paul is dead beyond hope of resuscitation."[236]

While some believed that the city could rally to respond to Gilbert's pleas, others thought all was lost. The St. Cloud, Minn. Journal-Press, for example, likened the city of St. Paul to a slothful glutton, whose "slumber-soothed ears" had fallen deaf to Gilbert's pleas for adequate approaches. The slothful city was further criticized for being

> perfectly content to have the state build a magnificent structure and it is equally content to have it surrounded by a lot of ancient shacks that would disgrace Deadwood [South Dakota] in it deadest days. It is too busy to take notice or care.[237]

Many felt that by turning its back on this rare opportunity for development, the city was shamefully remiss. One editorial even conjured up Biblical allusions. Expressing fear that the crown of honor (the capitol) would turn into a "crown of thorns," the editorial called for the state to be encouraged to think more carefully of its institutions and act with pride regarding them.[238] Still another editorial sarcastically compared the city to a rhinoceros, whose tough hide "would never be pierced" by culture or by refinement.[239]

Other newspapers also expressed strong popular support for Gilbert's proposed approaches in mixed metaphors. They agreed that the expense of the capitol should not hinder efforts to place it in an appropriately beautiful setting and that St. Paul citizens should contribute funds for the development of the approaches. The Glencoe (Minn.) Register,

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for example, believed that St. Paul had "no business being so parsimonious." They thought that Gilbert's approaches would

> round out [the capitol's] noble proportions on which St. Paul can gaze when its people retire, for a sedative for restlessness; and in the morning can behold it coming out of the gloom of fading darkness and looming up before their enraptured vision like one of Jim Hill's big Pacific transports sailing through a fog. What is two million dollars to be spent for Cass Gilbert's ideal capitol approaches. They are worth his commission of 5 percent or $100,000 and more, too, for they will add a brighter halo of glory for the saintly city.[240]

This strikingly poetic vision suggested the city was a powerful industrial force similar to that of the extensive railroad network developed by local magnate, James Hill. Adding a note of boosterism, still other editorials agreed that if Minneapolis or their own towns had been the home of the capitol, the approaches plan would have already been amply provided.[241] The general thrust to most of these positive responses was that either the city or the citizens should provide funds for this huge undertaking.[242]

Countering this outpouring of support was strong criticism of Gilbert's $1 1/2 to $2 million project. The scope of Cass Gilbert's 1903 approaches plan and the early 1904 model surely overwhelmed the citizens of St. Paul. A St. Paul city official returning from a visit to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition claimed that whenever a taxpayer approached the model at the Municipal Museum,

> an attendant is directed to stand behind the visitor to catch him when he faints. The expenditure of a couple of million dollars for capitol approaches is no small matter for St. Paul, even should the expenditure be spread over a number of years, or even a century.[243]

Other officials believed Gilbert was hasty in his judgment of

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St. Paul. Mayor Smith, for example, did not think Gilbert was justified, given the fact that St. Paul had co-operated with the Capitol Commission on everything that it had been asked to do. City Comptroller, Louis Betz, concurred with Smith, fearing that changes to the city would take longer than estimated and possibly never be completed. Betz was also concerned about other necessary public improvements. He believed that "if the city were to follow Mr. Gilbert's evident desire we would have a gorgeous center of town fringed with frayed edges." Other small-town papers joined in the debate, believing that the city taxpayers would suffer further financial hardship.[244]

Webster Wheelock and the Formation of the 1906 Commission

Joseph Albert Wheelock's son, Webster Wheelock, was a journalist, a businessman, and later a librarian, who was as supportive of Gilbert's work as his father. Over the course of several years, Webster was instrumental in securing community support for the proposed capitol approaches. He had gained experience as a journalist at the St. Paul Pioneer Press, the newspaper built up by his father. Webster first worked at the paper as a reporter (1893-96), and then as an associate editor (1897-1906). After 1906, upon his father's death, he became editor-in-chief, a position which he held until 1909, when he went into the insurance business.

From the 1890s on, the younger Wheelock's interest in the financial aspects of civic affairs, especially those in St.

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Paul, became a rallying point for his work both at the paper and after his stint there. In his 1899 article, "Recent Municipal Progress in St. Paul: Tests in Efficiency," Wheelock examined the practical issue of finance, whereby cities could judge the value of their improvements in relation to the monies which had been expended for the changes. He discussed the example of St. Paul, a city which, between 1892 and 1898, had illustrated that economic government could also be good government. By referring to various municipal services, such as schools and libraries, the police and fire departments, charities, public sanitation, and civic groups, Wheelock illustrated how the city of St. Paul had been successful in making municipal progress without the outlay of huge sums of money.[245] These economic concerns were to become increasingly important to Wheelock as he continued the legacy of his father's support of Cass Gilbert's approaches plan.

By late 1905, Webster Wheelock actively lobbied for the success of Gilbert's entire plan. Like his father, he was optimistic that a charter commission would obtain enough power to realize the capitol approaches proposal. Webster's primary concern, however, lay in the financing of the grand scheme. He explained to Gilbert:

> In this case probably an assessment, or a partial assessment with bonds to cover the balance, the assessment to be spread as widely as possible and to be payable in twenty annual installments with interest on the unpaid balance, if say, four per cent or whatever interest the certificates issued against them have to carry to sell at par or better. Contractors and land owners within the condemned strip will be paid from the proceeds of certificates issued on the credit of the city and running either in annual series, to be returned one-

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> twentieth each year; or running the full twenty years. I hope you grasp the financing scheme we have in mind--tentatively.[246]

Although these were tentative plans, Webster had more than a passing familiarity with a potential financial solution that would secure future work on the plan.

Perhaps more importantly, Webster's role in influencing other leading citizens must be noted. When referring to the May 1906 election for the charter commission, he confided to Gilbert that the required 3/5 of all votes would be difficult to obtain: "This means a hard pull, and much agitation but to judge by [the] feeling at present we can land it. I have sounded [out] a good many people and they all want it."[247] The younger Wheelock elaborated:

> The Auditorium and the Y.M.C.A. [building] campaigns have given them a taste for more blood. The Auditorium committee, which has public confidence to no small degree, came back from a Kansas city trip enthusiastic over the boulevard system there, the method of financing it and the possibility of pulling through your scheme in St. Paul. W[illiam] Hamm and I are going to have a meeting when the preliminaries are a little more matured and get the proposition before them and get them to back it.[248]

Webster wanted to exert influence through various civic and religious channels. He spoke of winning over the cathedral parish by "swinging into the campaign [with] the best part of the Catholic vote."[249] Webster also had secured votes from other journalists "sure and strong" at the St. Paul Daily News, but he had some trouble convincing those at the Dispatch. Overall, however, Webster was confident of his, his father's, and Gilbert's potential to realize the approaches plan. He concluded a lengthy letter to Gilbert with the

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comment that, "In short, the time seems to be ripe for a bold stroke for your scheme."[250]

After Webster and his father received Gilbert's letter urging that the charter commission explicitly map out the approaches plan, the younger Wheelock continued his efforts to influence other newsmen at the Dispatch. He explained to Gilbert:

> [t]he matter has gone slowly because I wanted to get the right man to lay it before George Thompson of the [St. Paul] Dispatch and secure his enthusiastic cooperation . . . . Hamm has just completed that task. He offered to let Thompson name one of the commission. Thompson did not care very much about that, but was heartily in favor of the scheme.[251]

Webster also arranged with Henry G. Haas, president of the St. Paul Common Council, and with the president of the board of aldermen, to agree with Webster's selection for the charter commission. Webster thus was given free reign to chose the members of the 1906 group. Since this group ultimately provided a blueprint for later discussions about the capitol approaches, its formation was an important step in the attempt to realize Gilbert's plans. Webster elaborated on his own contributions to the process:

> They said they would see that it was put through. There is little doubt about their power and none about their enthusiasm and willingness. I have already three men in mind who have all expressed a willingness to serve. There are two others who would be good. In selecting them I have borne in mind several things[:] 1. their interest in and sympathy with the project[;] 2. their fitness for the general scheme, judgment, business capacity, etc.; 3. their fitness for some special phase of the matter[;] 4. their standing in the community and the confidence their judgment would inspire[; and] 5. their willingness to take hold and work.[252]

Webster's criteria for selection (which may have been

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influenced by the ideas of his father), reflected his own political interest in assuring that Gilbert's plan would be taken up seriously.

Concerning the composition of the charter commission, Gilbert suggested that he, Pierce Butler, and Louis Betz, would like to serve. Webster had considered Armand Albrecht and Oscar Claussen, but he had not yet conferred with either potential candidate. After urging Gilbert to submit the names of other interested parties, Webster outlined his goals for the commission. He wanted its members to provide a detailed report recommending the tasks to be done, the cost estimates for the project, and the legislation that would allow the plan to be implemented. He reminded Gilbert that, in the meantime, he would help push forward, through the newspapers and possibly through a special organization, a campaign that would develop further interest in Gilbert's work in each city ward and precinct. Wheelock's broader goal was to ensure the adoption of a law that would allow the formation of the charter commission during the fall elections.[253]

Webster soon advised Gilbert of a shift in program. Although it had been decided that the new commission's work would be limited to determining what property needed to be acquired, the added responsibility of providing a detailed report was not required. (The cost estimate and legal recommendations, however, were still necessary.) Wheelock rationalized why this new plan would be useful:

> first, . . . the mere cost of the land will not be so likely to scare some of our thrifty voters; second, . .

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> . having acquired the land we shall have a powerful lever to hasten improvement and third, . . . there would probably be little time lost anyway.[254]

Wheelock further advised Gilbert not to ask for any compensation for serving on the charter commission, as he was especially concerned about public criticism. He cautioned Gilbert:

> We cannot afford to make mistakes and you are the only one to ensure us against them. You have studied the situation more than anyone else and you know what is required. The project as framed at present depends on your active guiding [of] the deliberations of the commission of the first part of this program: to wit, what property is to be acquired.[255]

Webster pressed Gilbert to serve on the commission, although Webster, himself, could not guarantee that there would not be any self-interested maneuvering. Webster did, however, point out that Oscar Claussen, an experienced engineer, enjoyed a fine reputation as a citizen and was universally respected for his judgment and his character. Webster also spoke well of George Tibbs, president of the St. Paul Jobber's Union: "He is very public spirited, has good common sense and is not wedded to his own ideas. He is just the right sort, modest but very public spirited, efficient, and universally liked."[256] After considering Wheelock's entreaties, Gilbert assured him that he, indeed, was interested in serving on the new commission.[257]

The February 6, 1906 meeting of the Common Council, as reported in the St. Paul Pioneer Press and in other papers, solidified the long-standing efforts of both Joseph and Webster Wheelock. The elder Wheelock had recommended, through

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the Park Board in 1903, that Gilbert's plan be adopted; the younger Wheelock advocated the formation of a politically effective commission to carry out that plan. The February meeting permitted the Common Council to appoint a five-member commission.[258] The Board of Aldermen, a few days later, unanimously approved the resolution to form a commission that would report on suitable approaches to the capitol. The resolution stipulated that the commission would have to submit its report by July of that year.[259] The commission, appointed by Common Council President, Henry Haas, was composed of Louis Betz, financial controller; Cass Gilbert, architect; Oscar Claussen, the well-respected engineer; Pierce Butler, the attorney who would draft recommended legislation (and who later would figure in the University of Minnesota plans); and George Tibbs, a respected member of the business community. They were all elected to the charter commission and charged with presenting their report by July 1, 1906.[260] This group met regularly through the early summer of 1906, studying civic work that had been accomplished in recent years in Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Harrisburg, among other cities. Gilbert consulted with planners Arnold W. Brunner, George E. Kessler, Frederick Ford and J. Horace McFarland to collect data about their respective projects and submitted it to Betz.[261]

Although Gilbert did not meet with the study committee very often, Betz filled him in on developments as they occurred.[262] When Betz was busy or unable to contact Gilbert,

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however, Webster Wheelock (not an official member of the commission) served as Gilbert's liaison with the committee. This relationship became especially apparent when plans were made regarding the development of the report.

From the start, Gilbert had a clear idea about how the report should be presented to the public. While the committee had a vague goal of producing a type-written pamphlet with illustrations of improvement projects carried out elsewhere, Gilbert would settle for nothing less than a booklet printed on high-quality paper, with an attractive cover. Gilbert made it clear to Wheelock that the document should be of the finest quality since he expected it would be widely circulated and have a strong educational impact upon the state capitol commissioners and the public.[263] Not only was the "Report of the Capitol Approaches Commission to the Common Council of the City of St. Paul" published in such a fashion, but it set a high standard for the presentation of Gilbert's approach plans.[264]

The events of 1906, and especially the editorial support of the St. Paul Pioneer Press, stimulated discussion of the capitol approaches after a period of relatively little interest. Webster Wheelock, in taking over the helm of the family's newspaper by mid-1906, later that year ran a long series of editorials that supported Gilbert's plans for the approaches.[265] This continued support, over the course of almost a decade, however, was not evident in other local newspapers. The Minneapolis Tribune, for example, was highly

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critical of Gilbert's proposals on financial grounds.[266] By contrast, Webster and Joseph Albert Wheelock were steadfast in their belief that Gilbert's plans for the beautification of St. Paul were worth implementing. Even after the limited success of the Capitol Approaches Association, (founded in 1907 after the publication of the lavish report), the younger Wheelock remained committed to the cause of beautification.[267] In 1909, he published a brief history of the development of the approach plans, entitled "Re-Setting Minnesota's Capitol." After a decade of his and his father's efforts, Webster remained hopeful about the potential for further success:

> In a very short time, considering the novelty of the idea of extensive street transformations, and the still comparative paucity of examples in other American cities of an intelligent rearrangement and relocation of streets and public buildings, St. Paul has brought its ambitious scheme of spacious approaches to the new capitol to the point where success may be reasonably anticipated. A substantial foundation has been laid for results in the not too distant future.[268]

This forward-looking statement expressed the optimism and commitment of Webster Wheelock and also that of his father and active members of the Women's Civic League, Lenora Austin Hamlin and Katherine Deane MacLaren. Although Gilbert's own work on the capitol approaches continued for almost another twenty years, it was the efforts of these citizens in the first decade of the project that most significantly contributed to how the project would be formulated and shaped. St. Paul and many of its prominent citizens, including Hamlin, MacLaren, and the two Wheelocks, wanted to situate their a capitol in an appropriately beautiful setting, but neither the

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city nor the state wanted to pay for it.

What ultimately was built in succeeding years has paid homage to Gilbert's original ideas, even if it has done so in limited fashion. The most dramatic implementation of Gilbert's ideas today can be found in John Ireland Boulevard (ca. 1955). Connecting the capitol with the St. Paul Cathedral, this thoroughfare operates as a conceptual, practical and aesthetic outgrowth of the link that the architect envisioned between his capitol building and the nearby downtown area. The areas to the south and to the southeast of the capitol have not been as fortunate. Directly to the south, although the area closest to the capitol has been landscaped as a memorial park, the Veterans Service Building (1955) and the interstate located nearby, effectively cut off any link between Gilbert's building and central St. Paul. The Cedar-Wabasha Approach, to the southeast, balances the overall plan, but does not provide the sweeping vista to Capitol hill that Gilbert surely must have had in mind. Nevertheless, Gilbert's plans remain a touchstone for several contemporary projects that hope to improve the outlying capitol area.[269]

The next chapter, by extension of this focus on the contributions of local citizens in the case of St. Paul, will turn to Gilbert's interaction with citizens interested in creating a City Beautiful in the context of the American campus.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

CS=Channing Seabury
HH=Hughson Hawley
WRW=William R. Ware
TGH=Thomas G. Holyoke
BSCC=Board of State Capitol Commissioners
MMW=McKim, Mead & White
THA=T. H. Anderson
SSH=Samuel Stevens Haskell
GHC=George H. Carsley
JFG=Julia Finch Gilbert
LAH=Lenora Austin Hamlin
KDM=Katharine Deane MacLaren [also McLaren]
MB=Maxime Boyer
BFB=Benjamin Franklin Beardsley
GB=Glenn Brown
WHM=Warren H. Manning
JAW=Joseph A. Wheelock
CG, Jr.=Cass Gilbert, Jr.
JRR=John R. Rockart
LAL=Lowell A. Lamoreaux
WW=Webster Wheelock
EW=Eugene Ward

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. See William Towner Morgan, "The Politics of Business in the Career of an American Architect, Cass Gilbert, 1878-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1972) and Neil B. Thompson, Minnesota's State Capitol: The Art and Politics of a Public Building (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1974) for historical background on the building of the capitol. For general information about the two capitol buildings that preceded Gilbert's design, see Eldon Hauck, "Minnesota: The Gopher State--North Star," American Capitols: An Encyclopedia of the State, National and Territorial Capitol Edifices of the United States (Jefferson, N. C. and London: McFarland & Co., 1991), 109-114. For an overview of Gilbert's Minnesota state capitol building, see Henry Russell Hitchcock and William Seale, Temples of Democracy: The State Capitols of the U. S. A. (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 205-206.

For a photograph of Gilbert and his staff taken at about the time the capitol was being constructed, see FM6.143/m1 at MHS; copyprint also in files at Northwest Architectural Archives.

2. "Do Architects of Taste Cross the Alleghenys?" Western Architect 20 (January 1914): 1-2. I thank Patty Dean at the Minnesota Historical Society for this reference.

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3. Seabury became the leader of the capitol commission since the chairman, the governor of Minnesota, did not wish to become involved. William Towner Morgan discusses the close business relationship between Seabury and Gilbert in "The Politics of Business in the Career of an American Architect, Cass Gilbert, 1878-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1972). The roles of Seabury and other capitol commissioners in the development of the Gilbert's plans has been examined by Scott Lyle Koch in "Cass Gilbert's Minnesota Capitol Approach Plan: 1902-1915" (M.S. thesis, Illinois State University, 1975), 49ff.

Gilbert's admiration of Seabury was unmatched. Years later, Gilbert recalled working on the Minnesota capitol project. He wrote: "It is a wonder now to me that I ever got that work through--most of [the Capitol Commissioners] had so little conception or understanding of what I was doing or what architecture meant and no knowledge at all of its practice or ethics. But it brings back my remembrance of charming Seabury's fine character and sturdy friendship. He rendered great service to the state as a good citizen and it was not appreciated nor rewarded" [Datebook entry, April 2, 1922, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 3/Diaries (LC/MSS)].

Gilbert's friendship with Seabury extended to their attempts to arrange vacations together. When Gilbert finished the Washington University drawings, he tried to coax Seabury into making a trip either to Mexico or Paris that winter. Gilbert facetiously wrote: "I do not want to go away, but in such important matters [I] would be willing to sacrifice myself to my duties, especially if I felt that you were making an equal sacrifice" [CG to CS, October 16, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 12/99 - 4/09 (N-YHS)]. Conversely, a few years later, Seabury tried to talk Gilbert into going on a fishing trip with him and with Colonel Graves, another member of the Capitol Commission who was a seasoned fisherman. Seabury wrote: "Such an opportunity as this does not present itself to you every day; 'Make hay while the sun shines.' Some day we shall all be dead; and while there may be plenty of music, I have no authentic information that there is any Trout-Fishing on the other side, where we are all going" [CS to CG, July 30, 1902, CGC, PC, MSC, Bx: 4, F: 5 (N-YHS)].

For a photograph of Seabury breaking ground for the new capitol in 1896 [March 6?], see "Channing Seabury taking out the 1st shovelful of dirt on the site of the new Minnesota State Capitol," (FM6.141/m1 at MHS).

4. Scott Lyle Koch, op. cit. also gives a detailed political account of the development of the capitol approaches. Neil B. Thompson also generally addresses the development of the site and the design in Minnesota's State Capitol, 4-16.

5. "Capitol Approaches," St. Paul Dispatch, Dec. 12, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). Also see "Fit Setting for a New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 9, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

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6. Cass Gilbert, "The Greatest Element of Monumental Architecture," American Architect 136 (August 5, 1929): 143.

7. CG to HH, March 2, 1896, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS).

8. CG to HH, March 6, 1896, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS).

9. CG to HH, March 14, 1896, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS).

10. Many years later, in fact, after the drawing had been damaged, probably while on display at the Buffalo Exposition of 1901, Gilbert asked Hawley to change the design of the central pavilion in order to coincide with the changes that had been requested over the years by the Board of State Capitol Commissioners [CG to HH, December 10, 1901, CGC, MSC-LB 2/01-2/02 (N-YHS)].

Hawley gladly made alterations. [See HH to CG, December 16, 1901, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#3, F: 6-H (N-YHS).] Hawley returned the drawing by early 1902, when Gilbert sent Seabury a photograph of the altered rendering with the "central pavilion and steps as finally designed." At the same time, Gilbert sent the actual drawing to be exhibited in an (unidentified) architectural exhibition [CG to CS, January 3, 1901 (sic), CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS)].

11. CG to WRW, March 6, 14, and 16, 1896, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS)] Since Gilbert was unwilling to send the original drawing to Boston, Ware arranged for his staff to make a photographic reproduction. The February 20, 1897 issue of AABN which contained an article about American statehouses, however, ended up not including a reproduction of the Hawley drawing. Instead, the Minnesota capitol was noted for its construction delays, a claim that Gilbert did not appreciate [CG to AABN, February 23, 1897, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS)].

12. CG to M. D. Avery at The Illustrated American, November 2, 1896, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS). Hawley's drawing was the basis of the schematic sketch published in "What to See in St. Paul: The Various Sights and Attractions of Minnesota's Capitol City," Northwest Illustrated Monthly Magazine 14 (September 1896), 9.

13. For reproductions of Hawley's drawing after 1902, see Gilbert's note on corr. Robert C. Auld to CG, August 26, 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: 1 (N-YHS) and Brown and Bigelow to CG, September 30, 1902, CGC, PC, Box: MSC/#12, F: 2 (N-YHS).

Other correspondence from Hawley dated January 1903 may refer to further changes made in the large presentation drawing of the capitol [See HH to CG, January 9, 1903, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 58 (MHS) and HH to CG, January 2, 19, and 27, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: 7/#107-Misc. (N-YHS)]. In this correspondence, Hawley refers to altering original parts of a large drawing resulting in a more Beaux-Arts effect. Hawley wrote: ". . . personally I like the more dashy [?--word

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unintelligible] & artistic method--but it is one of my principles to endeavor to carry out architects' ideas to the best of my humble ability even when contrary to my own taste" (January 9). Gilbert also appears to have questioned the fee involved in making these later changes. Hawley destroyed all his notes after sending the first bill, but remembered having spent 105 hours on the job over the course of nearly two weeks. Hawley additionally made a case for why the drawing was worth what he was charging, especially because he had to complete the work in a short amount of time. He believed no one else would have been able to complete such a finished drawing under these stressful conditions [January 19 letter].

14. CG to WRW, March 9, 1897, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS).

15. Copy in CGPprs, Box: 11, F: 75 (MHS). Edmund Wheelwright, a St. Paul architect, was also interested in the Hawley drawing. Gilbert and Wheelwright corresponded regarding the design and siting of the capitol [Wheelwright to CG, March 30, 1896, CGPprs, Bx: 5, F: 37 (MHS)].

This drawing was also probably the one exhibited at the Minnesota State Capitol for the G. A. R. Encampment (?) in August 1896 (CG to Steven & Robertson, August 24, 1896, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS)].

16. A large photomechanical reproduction of this image can be found in the CGC (N-YHS); a smaller similar image, in Gilbert's public buildings album is located at Avery Library.

17. TGH report, December 12, 1896, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 77 (MHS). For more information on Thomas G. Holyoke, see Sharon Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York, 1899-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation: Northwestern University, 1985), 623-626.

For more information on how the terraces were to be built, see the following blueprints. Drawing no. 2007A "Plan Showing Terrace Floor Construction," June 10, 1901, which superseded drawing no. 2007 "Framing Plan of Terraces," July 24, 1897, shows the location of the timbrel arch as well as details about masonry construction, vaulting, damp proofing, and grade levels [MSC drawings, 100/ov3-4 (MHS)].

18. TGH to CG, November 5, 1895, CGPprs, Bx: 5, F: 35 (MHS).

19. For more information about Holyoke's training, see Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 624. By early 1900, Holyoke began practicing on his own while remaining connected to Gilbert's office [CG to F. G. Broadbury, March 31, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS)].

20. Cass Gilbert, "The Greatest Element of Monumental Architecture," American Architect 136 (August 5, 1929): 142. The album, "Sketches: Public Buildings" contains a photomechanical reproduction of this image (AAAL).

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21. Minnesota State Capitol sketch, orange chalk and graphite, CGC, Capitol stack of presentation drawings (N-YHS). This drawing, catalog no. 25, in the Minnesota 1900 catalog was included in the exhibition of the same name.

22. The drawing includes an outline of the proposed building surrounded by rough grades and street patterns [Drawing No. 9A, dated 4/1/96, MSC Drawings, Location: 100/ov3-4 (MHS)]. For more information regarding Fowble & Fitz's excavation, see their correspondence with Gilbert, March 27 and April 3, 1896; and November 30, 1906; CGPprs, Bx: 5, F: 37 (MHS).

23. Leland M. Roth, McKim, Mead & White, Architects (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 155. The capitols most influenced by McKim, Mead & White's Rhode Island State Capitol design included those for Arkansas, Mississippi, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Washington, Montana, South Dakota, Pennsylvania, Idaho, and Utah. See Appendix B for Gilbert's involvements regarding the capitols for Arkansas, Wisconsin, and Montana, among others.
For a broader discussion of national capitols, also see Hitchcock and Seale's Temples of Democracy, and Hauck's American Capitols, op.cit.

24. CG to BSCC, September 9, 1895, CGPprs, Bx: 5, F: 35 (MHS).

25. CG, entry for Nov. 2, 1895, Diary/1895, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 1 (LC/MSS). With his wife, Julia Finch Gilbert, Cass Gilbert visited numerous civic buildings in Albany, Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Zanesville, Chicago, and Milwaukee. He took extensive notes concerning the foundation, the load, and the dimensions of the Rhode Island capitol building.
The "Project for approaches, Capitol of Minnesota," a drawing dated November 27, 1895, graphite on graph note paper, makes no reference to the three boulevards developed in the plans after 1902.

26. CG, entry for May 7, 1896, Diary 1895-96, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 1 (LC/MSS).

27. TGH to CG, November 4, 1897; CG to TGH, November 13, 1897; and G.E. Walters (for MMW) to CG, Nov. 22, 1897, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 44 (MHS).

28. CG to THA telegram, February 1903, in CGC, MSC, Bx: 7, F: 13/#108 F-G (N-YHS).

29. CG to CS, January 18, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS). For more information on Guastavino vaults, see George R. Collins, "The Transfer of Thin Masonry Vaulting from Spain to America," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 28 (October 1968): 176-201.

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30. SH (for CG) to TGH, November 24, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

31. CG to MMW, December 10, 1895, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS).

32. CG, entry for Washington, D. C. visit on trip to East coast cities, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 1, Diary/1895 (LC/MSS).

33. CG to Lucien Swift, September 2, 1897 and Swift to CG, September 3, 1897, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 44 (MHS).

34. CG to R. P. Beecher, April 13, 1898, CGC, MSC-LB 1897-98 (N-YHS).

35. CG to G.(?) E. Norcross, August 4, 1898, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB 10/97-7/98 (N-YHS).

36. Hitchcock and Seale, 219. Some of the pavilions at the Chicago fair were composed of plaster and staff.

37. The original blueprint drawing, "Location of Building [and] Arrangement of Grounds with the Necessary Grades," [drawing #3 of 6], can be found in RG: State Planning Board, SR: Maps, Charts, Graphs, [54.G.3.3 (double oversize)] (MHS). See also Gary Phelps, History of the Minnesota State Capitol Area (St. Paul: Prepared by the author for the Capitol Area Architectural and Planning Board, St. Paul, July 1985), 5-6.

38. Fowble & Fitz to BSCC, April 24, 1894, as quoted by Phelps, 5-6.

39. The original announcement of Gilbert's selection as architect of the new capitol also made no mention of any plan for approaches to the capitol [See "Cass Gilbert Wins," Minneapolis Journal, October 31, 1895, copy in CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 75 (MHS).] This article was accompanied by the schematic pen and ink reproduction of Hawley's presentation drawing. This drawing portrayed only the semi-circular drive and central exterior stair leading to the southern entrance, as in Hawley's depiction.

The original contract was developed in November and December 1895 [See CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 76 (MHS)] and was approved by the Board of State Capitol Commissioners, September 15, 1897 whereby the Butler Brothers were appointed as the main contractors [Ibid.]. The contract for the MSC steps and terraces was added later in the summer of 1898 [CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 46 (MHS)]. The specifications for the terraces, entrance steps and balustrades surrounding the building were completed by May 1901. By July, eight contractors had bid on the project and the job was awarded to the Butler-Ryan Company [CG to BSCC, May 7, 1901, CGC, MSC-LB 2/01-2/02 (N-YHS)]. A copy of the signed contract of 20 January 1896 was approved by the Attorney General in the following month and amended 7 May 1901 [RG: State Capitol

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Commissioners Board, SR: Construction bids and contracts (MHS)]. The granite and bluestone for the steps and terraces were delivered in August 1901 but the Butler-Ryan Company delayed completion of the sub-contract and progress through the summer was slow [GHC to CG, August 15, 1901; E. S. Hall to CG, August 16, 1901; and Hall to CG, September 17, 1901; GHC to CG, September 21, 1901; CG to BSCC, Sept. 24, 1901; MSC Daily Report, October 1, 1901; GHC's report, October 21, 1901; CGC, MSC-LB 2/01-2/02 (N-YHS); re: delay--Gilbert to Butler-Ryan Company, August 17, 1901, and Walter Butler to CG, August 26, 1901, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 53 (MHS)].

40. CG to J. E. Goldreich, January 11; CG to Prof. H. Langford Warren, April 4, 1896, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS). Although Minneapolis architect, Victor Cordella, was interested in making such a model, Gilbert referred the matter to the capitol commissioners [CG to Victor Cordella, April 16, 1897, CGC, MSC-LB 1895-97 (N-YHS)]. Months later, Gilbert again declined the offer of John Lacmier, a Chicago craftsman, to construct a model [John Lacmier to CG, November 8, 1897, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 44 (MHS)].

41. Phelps, 7.

42. Roth, 150-151; Richard Guy Wilson's entry on the Rhode Island State House for Christopher Monkhouse and William Jordy's Buildings on Paper: Rhode Island Architectural Drawings, 1825-1945 (Providence, R.I.: Brown University/Rhode Island State Historical Society/Rhode Island School of Design, 1982), 115-118; and Hitchcock and Seale's Temples of Democracy.

Hawley's presentation drawing and MMW's drawing of the approach to the state house are located at the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations/Rhode Island State Archives. A reproduction of both can be found in Monkhouse and Jordy, 116 and Richard Guy Wilson, McKim, Mead and White, Architects (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 170 and colorplate after p. 12.

43. Rhode Island State House on Smith's Hill [and] Grand Boulevard (Providence, R.I.: The Public Park Association of Providence, ca.1890), in Rhode Island State House file, Bx: M-10, 1968 Coll., MMW Archive (N-YHS).

44. CG, entry for December 21, 1895, Diary/1895, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 1 (LC/MSS).

45. This plat may correspond to the list of lots and selling prices, n.d., entitled "New Capitol Site" [RG: State Capitol Commissioners Board, SR: Construction bids and contracts, Bx: 1 (MHS)] and the tabulation of square footage to be acquired [legal sheets, undated, CGC, City Planning--Stack 4, small folder (N-YHS)].

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46. "A Site for the New Capitol," in the "Second Biennial Report of the Board of State Capitol Commissioners Appointed to Construct a New Capitol for the State of Minnesota," dated January 1, 1897, (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1897), in CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#3, F: 6/Memo (N-YHS).

47. GHC to CG, December 24 and 28, 1901, CGC, MSC-LB 2/01-2/02 (N-YHS). The tunnel was constructed by Benjamin Aronson in late 1901 at a cost of $65,000. Construction photos of the power house tunnel, dated April 28 through November 18, 1902, can be found in CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#1, F: 5 and 6 (N-YHS).

48. "Capitol Hill Residents Want New Capitol Smokestack Suppressed," St. Paul Globe, February 18, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 75 (MHS); and Anne Lyons to CS, July 2, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#2, F: #108-L (N-YHS).

Gilbert also independently supported a smoke ordinance bill that was prepared by Dr. Justus Ohage, Department of Health Commissioner. Ohage asked for Gilbert's advice when he prepared a draft of the legislation. Gilbert supplied a letter in favor of the legislation, and in it, emphasized his interest in protecting the capitol building from smoke damage. Secondarily, Gilbert was concerned about health problems stemming from smoke inhalation. Gilbert also pointed out that the new mechanical plant, contrary to newspaper accounts, led in the efforts to prevent excessive smoke conditions [Ohage to CG, February 8, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905/#1 of 4, F: #189/St. Paul; copy of February 17, 1905 letter of support in CGP-LB 6/04-3/05; "Architect's Smoke Views," St. Paul Dispatch, February 20, 1905, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS)].

49. MSC Report by JRR, October 11, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 3/Daily Reports (N-YHS). Colonel Graves, a member of the Board of State Capitol Commissioners, authorized Gilbert to make this change on the smokestack for $1200 or less.

This 40 foot x 110 foot lot at the southwest corner of Park and University Avenues, however, was found to be too small as the powerhouse plans developed. Another larger and better situated lot located at Aurora Avenue, east of Cedar Street, was later purchased and used [Koch, op. cit., p. 101/fn. 26--Minnesota Board of State Capitol Commissioners, Sixth Biennial Report, January 1, 1905, p. 10].

50. The original drawing can be found at in the MSC drawings (N-YHS) was exhibited in the exhibition, "Minnesota 1900: Art and Life on the Upper Mississippi 1890-1915," held at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1994. A photographic reproduction of it from Gilbert office is located in CGC, MSC photos, Bx: 1, F: 3 (N-YHS).

Even though discussions concerning the approaches were beginning to take place by this time, official renderings of the MSC included only terraced steps and no other treatment, as in John K. Daniels' butter model of the capitol shown at the Pan-American Exposition of 1901 in Buffalo. For a

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reproduction of this image, see The Bread and Butter State at the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo, N.Y.: 1901), n.p.

Gilbert's draftsmen, Thomas R. Johnson, probably completed this drawing at the end of December 1900, under the guidance of Thomas G. Holyoke. In a letter that includes one of the earliest references to the capitol approaches, Holyoke promised Gilbert he would have the watercolor and gouache rendering of the approaches ready for a meeting in early January, although Seabury had recently notified the St. Paul office that it would not be needed until February [TGH to CG, Dec. 31, 1900, CGC, MSC-LB Jan. 1899-Nov. 1900 (N-YHS) and CGPprs, Bx: 3, F: 6 (MHS). Also see St. Paul office staff correspondence to CG, February 9, 11, 19, and 20, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1887-1901, F: 11 (N-YHS) re: delivery of the watercolor drawing of the approaches to Gilbert's St. Paul office].

For more information on Thomas R. Johnson, see Irish, pp. 626-629; and "Monographs on Architectural Renderers, V. The Work of Thomas R. Johnson," The Brickbuilder 23 (May 1914): pp. 110-112. This information, however, is confusing in light of the fact that Johnson, and not Holyoke, signed the rendering. Since no other color drawing of the approaches exists from this time, it is likely Holyoke was referring to the same drawing.

51. City Planning/Stack 4 (small folder and oversize folder), CGC (N-YHS). Plans of the Piazza Popolo and ramps of the Pincio in Rome, the Ringstrasse in Vienna, and New York City's Riverside Drive may also have been sources that Gilbert collected as study material for this early work on the approaches. Gilbert was also enamored with things Roman and owned numerous publications on Roman architecture and perspective views of public space in Rome [see correspondence re: personal library and loose stack of images, filed with scrapbooks (N-YHS)]. It was common practice for architectural firms to collect such images for use in designing projects.

52. CS to CG, February 25, 1901, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#3, F: 6-B (N-YHS).

53. Ibid.

54. Koch, 58-71. Also see Gilbert to Board of State Capitol Commissioners, March 14, 1903 re: Minnesota Representative, J. A. Shephard's letter of March 12, 1903 (attached); (Shephard was a member of the investigative committee); CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#7 of 9), F: 15 (N-YHS); CG to Ed Weaver, March 16, 1903, CGC, MSC-LB 1902-02 (N-YHS); and "Capitol Commission Handsomely Endorsed," St. Paul Globe, March 14, 1903, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 75 (MHS).

55. CG to CS, January 4, 1900, CGC, MSC-LB 1/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

56. CG to JFG, April 5, 1900, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 6 (LC/MSS).

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57. Ibid.

58. The role of the Women's Civic League will be addressed in the next chapter.

59. MSC Report, March 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#8, F: 5 (N-YHS).

60. [Cass Gilbert], "Estimate of Amount Necessary to Complete the new Minnesota State Capitol," July 29, 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 6 (N-YHS). Also see CS to CG, July 30, 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#4, F: 5 (N-YHS) re: Seabury's request for an estimated figure of what was necessary for completion of the building. Seabury wanted the estimate to include the costs of finished tile over the terraces as well as the low granite wall, balustrade, and sidewalks and roadway around the entire grounds. For general information about the appropriations, see Koch, 60.

It is also interesting to note that even in 1903, when Seabury was humiliated about having to go before the state a second time, Seabury fully supported Gilbert's estimates for completion of the capitol [as reported by JRR to CG, February 7, 1903, CGC, MSC-LB 1902-1903 (N-YHS)]. In a news article of February 1903, Seabury made the following statement: "Mr. Gilbert had an office force of fourteen or fifteen skilled men (he can use no others) constantly employed for several years after this work commenced, and still maintains a large force in this city, for this building alone, having no other work here. We have stored in a room adjoining our office in the Endicott building a pile of drawings pertaining to the new capitol that, if unrolled and placed edge to edge, would paper the walls, ceiling and I believe the floor also of the present house of representatives. His mechanical engineer was about two years in preparing the drawings for the heating, ventilating, lighting, plumbing and electric plant for this great building. Stop for a moment and think what it means to plan out a system of pipes to be buried under the floors that must heat, light and ventilate it perfectly, to say nothing of the plumbing--each one large enough, and none too large. Suppose they fail after the building is done--anathemas on he architect. If perfectly designed and successful, does not the skill involved merit reward?" ["Seabury Justifies Cost of the New Capitol," St. Paul Daily Globe, February 29, 1903, from CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#11, F: 8 (N-YHS)].

61. E. G. Routzahn to CG, August 8, 1902, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (Box 5 of 9), F: C-2 (N-YHS).

62. 13th Census of the United States: Population Reports of the United States, Alabama - Montana, vol. 2, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1910), 978.

63. Kara Marie Korsgaard, "'The Meeting Adjourned and Tea Was Served,' The Organizational Lives of Elite Women in Late 19th Century St. Paul" (M. A. thesis, Hamline University, 1988).

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64. The Women's Club of Minneapolis, it is interesting to note, requested Gilbert to speak about his school architecture. See Francis A. Chamberlain to Gilbert, December 9, 1909, CGC, Bx: Misc. #103 (1909), F: #103 A-C (N-YHS).

65. Fanny Earl Kennish, "The Women's Clubs of Minnesota," Midland Monthly 5 (January 1896): 20-21.

66. Korsgaard, 22. The New Century Club of St. Paul, established in 1894, joined at that time the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This national organization was founded before the state's chapter, the Minnesota State Federation of Women's Clubs, which was established in 1895.

67. "Woman's Auxiliary Board to the World's Fair Commission of Minnesota," see Korsgaard, 25-28. Metcalf's first name is unknown; in the 1900 Minnesota Census she is referred by the initial "M." She was also a member and officer of the Minnesota State Art Society from 1903-1912 and the St. Paul Institute of Arts and Sciences from 1912-1914 [Marcia Anderson and Patty Dean, MHS database. I am indebted to Patty Dean at MHS for checking the database for this information.] At the Women's Civic League, Metcalf served on the Board of Directors [Women's Civic League Calendar, "Executive Council," listing, n. p. ].

Metcalf was a member of the New Century Club and the Women's Civic League. She also was active in the St. Paul Institute of Arts and Sciences by serving on the art department board of directors, the lecture committee, and the Fine Arts Executive Committee [St. Paul Institute of Arts and Sciences, Report of the President, n.p.].

68. CG to Mrs. William E. Thompson, November 13, 1902, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (Box #7 of 9), F: 16 (N-YHS).

69. Korsgaard, 80-83. In footnote 115, Korsgaard cites The Women's Record (October 1890) as the source of her information, although this reference has not recently been located. Korsgaard and I believe that the materials were re-housed under a different name when MHS moved to its new home.

70. Korsgaard, 94.

71. TGH to CG, April 2, 1901; TGH to Miss Chislett, April 9, 1901; and TGH to LAH, May 1, 1901, CGC, MSC-LB 2/01-2/02 (N-YHS). Lenora Hamlin was the head of the Committee on Arts and Crafts; Miss Chislett was the main correspondent involving the arrangements.

72. Women's Civic League Program Calendar for Nineteen Hundred and Two Devoted to a Study of the Arts and Crafts with Casual Attention to the Methods of the Artful and Crafty with illustrations by Olive M. Long and Ellen Wheelock, Verses by Anybody (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Printing Co., 1901).

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73. Cass Gilbert, Jr. "The 'Capitol Approach Plan: A Boulevard for St. Paul by Cass Gilbert, Architect,'" The Park International, (May 1921): 219.

The 1902 calendar also includes plates done in Arts & Crafts wood-block style of the League's general interests. Regarding municipal improvement and the efforts of the St. Paul city engineer, see the plates for January, "How the Women Help Claussen keep the Streets Clean," and the city's health commissioner's work, see the entries for June, "View of Spotless Town;" July, "Life on Ohage Island;" and October, "Rx."

Earlier accounts of the Women's Civic League describe the organization as extending into every ward in the city. Webster Wheelock reported in 1899: "Though it has only had a brief career it has been so efficiently conducted that its influence has been felt in every branch of the city government that has anything to do with the sanitary condition or the external aspects of the city. It has established a system of sanitary inspection to supplement that of the health department; it has procured the better enforcement of garbage contracts and of the ordinances regulating nuisances of various kinds; it has procured the amendment of several other ordinances, and is conducting agitations for several reforms that will make St. Paul a more healthful and comfortable place in which to live" [Webster Wheelock, "Municipal Progress in St. Paul: Tests in Efficiency," Municipal Affairs 3 (September 1899): 499].

74. Women's Civic League Calendar, n. p.

75. For broad discussions of municipal reform and the City Beautiful movement, see Mel Scott, American City Planning Since 1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969): 47-109; William H. Wilson The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978); Richard Guy Wilson, "The Great Civilization," in The American Renaissance 1876-1917 (New York: The Brooklyn Museum and Pantheon, 1979), 9-72; Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," Journal of Urban History 2 (August, 1976): 415-435; Thomas Hines, Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner (New York: Oxford, 1974); Mario Manieri-Elia, "Toward an 'Imperial City': Daniel H. Burnham and the City Beautiful Movement," in The American City from the Civil War to the New Deal (London: Granada, 1980); Harvey Kantor, "The City Beautiful Movement in New York," New-York Historical Society Quarterly 57 (1973): 149-171; M. Christine Boyer, Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983).

76. Also see Phelps, 9-10 and Millett, 24-25 for a summary of these events.

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77. CG to KDM, October 29, 1902, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS). Although the League's original invitation has not been found, Gilbert refers to it in his correspondence with Katharine Deane MacLaren, Secretary and Third Vice President of the League.

78. CG to KDM, November 14, 1902, CGC, MSC-LB 1902-1903 (N-YHS).

79. Miss K. Clark to CG, September 13, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 10 (N-YHS); Korsgaard, p. 132.

80. Korsgaard, 129-130 and 120. MacLaren also was a member of the Art Worker's Guild of St. Paul [Courtesy of database compiled by Marcia Anderson, 1906 Report of the Guild, (MHS)].

81. See Murphy, M. A. thesis, 116, 118, 96, and Figure 87. The family name, MacLaren, is referred to as "McLaren" in the St. Paul City Directories and in some of Gilbert's correspondence.

82. Daily Report, November 13, 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 3/ Daily Reports (N-YHS). The plat, "Study of Approaches," November 13, 1902, Inventory #374, is available as a half-size whiteprint copy as well as the original 75" x 42" ink on linen drawing (MHS).

Boyer, incidentally, had started out in Gilbert's office in 1900 as a student whose work was respected. By 1909, however, his relationship with Gilbert had deteriorated, probably because Gilbert did not think well enough of Boyer's talents to transfer him to New York.

Although Gilbert did not need any more draftsmen in 1900 when Boyer first approached the architect, he allowed Boyer to work in his office as a student. By the summer of 1903, Boyer left the office with the understanding that he would attend school somewhere; but, by the fall of that year, Boyer was again working in the office. Gilbert thought well of the young Boyer's work in these early years; although he did not think enough of his talent in 1907 when Boyer asked to be transferred to Gilbert's New York office. In a letter to Boyer, Gilbert explained that he believed Boyer's drafting ability was not as good as that of Ward or Culver, and encouraged him to stay another year in the St. Paul office. (A couple of years later, Boyer's pay, incidentally, was still not more than that of the secretary in the office.)

Boyer remained with the St. Paul office until 1909, when he gave little notice of leaving. Gilbert had some problem with him at this time. Carsley, in charge of the St. Paul office, wrote to Gilbert about Boyer continuing to come to the office even though he had terminated his relationship with the business: "It would seem improper for any one not connected with the office, and particularly one of Mr. Boyer's temperament and vague notions that he should be trusted with access to the office at any time . . . . (¶) Mr. Boyer's

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actions since leaving have been rather strange, and certain statements that he has made to Mr. Holyoke are of a very peculiar nature; for instance, he assumes that it was [a] perfectly proper thing for him to come into the office at any time while he was working for me . . . .The more I find out about his sort of think the more I am convinced that he would not be satisfactory in your New York office . . . ." [CG to MB, December 18, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 11/00-11/01; CG to MB, July 1, 1903, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03; E. S. Hall to MB, July 2, September 3, October 2, November 2, December 2, 1903 and each month in 1904, CGC, CGP-LB 5/03-4/04 (all at N-YHS); CG to CG, Jr., March 2, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1904 (LC/MSS); GHC to CG, June 6, August 11, and October 3, 1905, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB 2/05-4/06; THA to MB, May 31, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 11/06-6/07; CG to MB, July 22, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07; THA to MB, January 31, March 31, May 4, July 1, September 1, 1908, CGC, Misc. LB 1/08-8/08; THA to MB, January 2, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09; and THA to MB, March 2, 1909, CG to THA, May 20, 1909, GHC to CG, June 3 and July 7, 19, and 26, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (all N-YHS)].

83. "St. Paul's Duty to the New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 14, 1902, p. 2.

84. CG, November 12, 1902/Daily Report, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 3/Daily Reports (N-YHS).

85. "St. Paul's Duty to the New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 14, 1902, p. 2. An avenue in New Bedford, Mass. and gardens in Lenox, Mass. were among the American views that he presented.

86. Lantern slide collection, CGC, (N-YHS). Gilbert's hand-written illustrations list in CGPprs, Box: 18 (LC/MSS), incidentally, cites many of the same images that are on his typewritten (N-YHS) slide lists. Although many of these slides are currently missing, the slide lists comprised over two hundred images.

87. CG, Daily report, November 13, 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 3/Daily Reports (N-YHS). The St. Paul Jobber's Union included the Goodyear Rubber Company; Griggs, Cooper and Co.,; Tibbs, Hutchings and Co.; and Farwell, Ozmun, Kirk and Co. See James G. Nielsen, The Book of Minnesota: Development, Resources, Enterprise and Beauty of the North Star State (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1903).

88. Gilbert was a member of the Chamber of Commerce until he resigned in June 1902, when too many professional engagements made it impossible for him to take an active part in the organization's activities. See CG to BFB, June 23, 1902, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS).

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89. CG to KDM, November 14, 1902, CGC, MSC-LB 1902-1903 (N-YHS).

90. BFB to CG, December 4, 1902, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 57 (MHS). The representative from the Jobber's Union remains unknown.
Taylor was a real estate and loan agent with the firm Smith and Taylor in St. Paul and, as Secretary and Treasurer of the Manitou Island Association, also previously knew Gilbert from discussions in 1900 about a clubhouse for this association [CG to O. L. Taylor, May 2, 1900, CGP-LB 12/99-4/09 (N-YHS)]. Taylor later became director of the Real Estate Exchange of St. Paul, an organization to which Cushing also belonged [The Book of Minnesota, n.p., photo #19].

91. CG to Mrs. Mary H. Edgerton, December 22, 1902, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS).

92. Regarding MacLaren's appointment to the committee, see CG to KDM, December 20, 1902, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS).

93. CG to KDM, December 20, 1902, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS).

94. [CG], November 13, 1902, Daily Report, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 3 (N-YHS).

95. CG to KDM, December 20, 1902, op.cit. MacLaren was planning to be away from St. Paul at this time, but the committee went ahead with its plans.

96. BFB to CG, November 14, 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 6/#108 (N-YHS).

97. CG to KDM, November 14, 1902, CGC, MSC-LB 1902-1903 and also in Chron., Bx: IV. 1899-1903/#4, F: D-10 (N-YHS).

98. Ibid.

99. CG, "Extract from Daily Memorandum Book," November 26, 1902, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 57 (MHS).

100. CG to GB, November 14, 1902, CGC, MSC-LB 1902-1903 and Chron., Bx: IV. 1899-1903 (#4 of 9), F: D-7 (N-YHS) and also AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR1, Bx: 22; F: 8 (AIA). This letter followed up a telegram Gilbert sent to Brown, November 13, 1902, CGC, Chron., Bx: IV. 1899-1903 (#4 of 9), F: D-7 (N-YHS).

101. TGH to CG, December 16, 1902, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 10 (#35) and also in MSC-LB 1902-1903 (both N-YHS).

102. July-December, 1903 news clippings, in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

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103. "All Want Large Price for Property," (unknown source), September 29, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

104. "All Want Large Price for Property," (unknown source), September 29, 1903, and "Land Near Capitol Worth $150 Foot," St. Paul Globe, October 2, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). Reports of the average rates paid out can be found in late October 1903 clippings, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

105. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Nov. 4, 1903 reported Klein's initial offer. The Capitol Commissioner's offer is reported in MSC Report, December 11, 1903, p. 6, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#8, F: 2/Memo (N-YHS).

Payments were made November 5, 1903 with the stipulation that tenants could remain on their properties until April 1, 1904. These prices also stirred up some controversy in smaller towns of Minnesota [see Mapleton (Minn.) Enterprise, Hastings (Minn.) Gazette, Mankato (Minn.) Free Press, New Paynesville Press, and Litchfield News-Ledger, November 1903, in MSC-SB, 1903-1905]. In December 1903, the buildings on each of the purchased lots were sold to the highest bidder in accord with the condemnation proceedings [St. Paul Globe, December 1, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS)].

106. "Each an Expert," St. Paul Dispatch, October 1, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

107. "More Ground at Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press; "Price Too High but is Allowed," St. Paul News; "Fix Value of Lots Wanted for Capitol," St. Paul Globe; all November 3, 1903; and "Pay for Land," St. Paul Dispatch, n.d. (ca. November 4, 1903); clippings found in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS); and MSC Report, December 11, 1903, p. 6, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#8, F: 2/Memos (N-YHS). Klein received $29,544 for his 3-story frame house and his large plot of land which was located between Central and Aurora Avenues.

For a photograph of Klein's home and others on Central Avenue, see FM6.145/p1, MHS/Photo coll. In the background, the dome of the Capitol is being constructed. Also see "Land and Buildings Taken by the State for an Approach," St. Paul Dispatch, November 4, 1903, in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS) for other photographs of the area at this time.

108. "Pay for Land," St. Paul Dispatch, (undated, ca. November 4, 1903), CGC, MSC-LB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). Klein considered appealing the court decision about compensation for damages, believing that his land was still worth more than what he was paid for it.

109. "Says his Property was Damaged," St. Paul Globe, September 4, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS); and CS to CG, September 8, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#1, F: #108/Board (N-YHS).

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110. For example, A. S. Young received only $19,997 (for lots 1 and 7/auditor's subdivision #10 including 3 buildings); F. J. Warne $13,425 (lots 2 and 6 including 2 buildings); G. Seamer $7,423 (lot not listed); C. Blackman $8,475 (lot 5 including one house); and C. Albrecht $7,003 (lot 3 including one frame building) [See newsclipping enclosed with corresp., Seabury to Cass Gilbert, November 5, 1903, in CGC, MSC Bx: 1, F: #108 Board (N-YHS); and "Accept the Awards: Capitol Commission Approaches work of Appraisers," St. Paul Globe, November 4, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS)].

John C. Richardson, Will C. Read, and John H. Watson were appointed as appraisers of these lots. The frame houses which remained on the condemned lots were purchased possibly by Gilbert for an nominal fee [CG?, December 1, 1903, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 62 (MHS)].

111. "More Ground at Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 4, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

112. CG to JAW, December 9, 1903, CGC, MSC-LB 1903-1904 (N-YHS).

113. "Report of the Capitol Approaches Commission to the Common Council of the City of St. Paul," St. Paul: Pioneer Press Printing Co., 1906. Andrew Wright Crawford and Frank Miles Day, eds., The Existing and Proposed Outer Park Systems of American Cities: Report of the Philadelphia Allied Organizations, (Harrisburg, Pa.: Mt. Pleasant Press/J. Horace McFarland Co., September 1905). Gilbert's plan, as presented in the Philadelphia report, was reviewed in "Revealing the Minnesota Capitol," Architectural Record 18 (December 1905): 480-481; in Glenn Brown, ed. Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the AIA (1904/1905), 141-143; and in Werner Hegemann's and Elbert Peets' The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art, 1922 ed. reprint (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), Figure 658, p. 155.

Correspondence between Crawford, Day and Gilbert concerning the St. Paul plan began in 1904 [see Crawford to CG, March 2, May 27, October 12, November 1 and 22, and December 7, 1904, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1904 (#1 of 2), F: 15/#103C; Day to CG, January 16, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905 (#3 of 4), F:17/#142; Day to CG, January 24, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905 (#4 of 4), F: 5/#117 American; and Crawford to CG, September 7, 15, 20, and 25, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905 (#1 of 4), F: 15/Misc. #103[II]]. A copy of the Philadelphia booklet can be found in City planning--stack 4, small folder: MN #6 (N-YHS). Crawford continued to send Gilbert annual reports of the City Parks Association of Philadelphia through 1914 [Crawford to CG, ca. February 3, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1914, F: #103/A-C (N-YHS)].

Gilbert likely kept the Philadelphia park report for reference as he also probably did with The Grouping of Public Buildings, comp. Frederick L. Ford, (Hartford, CT: Municipal Art Society of Hartford, 1904), in CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 10

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(N-YHS). This report couched in historical terms the opportunity that Hartford, Connecticut had before it, by looking at work elsewhere in the United States (Providence, Rhode Island; Springfield, Mass.; and Cleveland, Boston, and Washington, D.C.) as well as in Europe (Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Budapest, and Moscow).

114. For a brief early history of the approaches plans, see "St. Paul has Plans for Spacious Approaches to State Capitol," (Little Rock,) Arkansas Gazette, ca. November 25, 1910 (sent to Gilbert by "G.H.W." on that date, CGC, SB-1907-1910, n.p. (N-YHS).

115. Wheelock, op.cit. Lowell A. Lamoreaux, a representative of the Minneapolis Lumber Exchange, also inquired early on about working with Gilbert on the construction of the cathedral. Gilbert responded that although he enjoyed cordial relations with Archbishop Ireland, he would not approach Ireland about the project. Gilbert was not even sure he would enter a competition, even if he were invited to participate [CG to LAL, May 14, 1903, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#7 of 9), F: 9 (N-YHS)].

116. Webster Wheelock, quoted in "St. Paul has Plans for Spacious Approaches to State Capitol," n.p. Gilbert was later urged to develop another soldier's monument using the Arc d'Triomphe as a model. D. L. Wellman, a citizen from Frazee, Minnesota, sent Gilbert clippings of the Place d'Etoile for Gilbert's development of this memorial, which would have positioned a triumphal arch at the main entrance to the capitol. Wellman's rationale was that the monument's new form and new location would lend itself to rapid construction and a better public profile [D. L. Wellman to CG, April 22, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 71 (MHS) and Wellman to CG, April 11, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 10 (N-YHS)].

117. Ibid.

118. CG to CG, Jr., March 1 and 13, 1903, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 10/1903 (LC/MSS).

119. Phelps, 10-12. The development of the soldier's monument needs further study. Gilbert had been thinking about some sort of soldier's memorial since at least 1899, when he requested the state to obtain Spanish canons from the federal government. Gilbert hoped to place these canons "'. . . at some point on the south front of the Capitol, forming part of the adornment of the main approaches, in commemoration of the noble and efficient service of the Minnesota troops during the Spanish-American War'" [Gilbert to the Commissioners, July 24, 1899]. Gilbert's deferral to Seabury is referred to in CG to Edwin S. Chittenden, September 21, 1903, CGPprs (MHS), as quoted by Phelps.

After discussion about locating the soldier's monument at

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Park Place, there was at least one proposal of 1906 by the surveyors, Fowble & Fitz, which suggested placing a such a memorial on Summit Avenue, near the new cathedral. Later drawings of 1907 to 1909, however, developed the original idea for a park to be located mid-way on the Seven Corners approach ["Would Improve Cathedral Site," St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 18, 1906; also see N-YHS drawings, ca. 1907-1909 re: Park Place development].

120. Manning was extremely familiar with City Beautiful ideas and would soon publish "The History of Village Improvement in the United States," The Craftsman 5 (February 1904): 423-432.

121. See WM to CG, October 15 amd telegram October 22, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#1, F: #108 (N-YHS).

122. WM to CG, October 26, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#1, F: #108 (N-YHS).

123. CG to C. Howard Walker, Oct. 6, 1903 and CG to E. M. Wheelwright, October 6, 1903, CGC, Chron., Bx: IV 1899-1903 (#3 of 9), F: 1 (N-YHS).

124. C. Howard Walker to CG, October 10, 1903, CGC, Chron., Bx: IV 1899-1903 (#3 of 9), F: 1 (N-YHS).

125. Ibid.

126. "Million for a Capitol Vista," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 14, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

127. "Mint of Money," St. Paul Dispatch and "Lecture by Mr. Manning," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 13, 1903; "Million for a Capitol Vista," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 14, 1903; CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). Manning may have been referring to the Lookout Mountain located in either southeastern Tennessee, where a ridge of mountains extends into Georgia and Alabama, or in western Idaho, where a peak rises 9893 feet above sea level.

128. "Million for a Capitol Vista," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 14, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

129. Ibid.

130. "Approach to the Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 14, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). Also see "Widening Park Avenue," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 15, 1903, as cited in Koch, p. 102/fn 27. The exchange of land along Park Avenue was later negotiated between the state and the city. In return for giving up a portion of Park Avenue, the city received from the state the first powerhouse lot. The city was also held responsible for widening Park Avenue.

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131. Redwood Falls (Minn.) Gazette, December 18, 1903; also see New Paynesville (Minn.) Press, December 17, 1903; both in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

132. "Visionary Undertaking," St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 2, 1903, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

133. Phelps, 11. Wheelock also reportedly believed the implementation of the southeast approach was possible with not more than $500,000 in bonds. He urged citizens to influence their legislators, although Gilbert did not want to have the project funded by the state.

Hughson Hawley, in late December, also wrote Gilbert about putting all of his other work aside so that he could devote his efforts to a large drawing for Gilbert. Hawley dramatically added, "By the way I dreamt of that drawing all night, I shall either make it my greatest success or commit suicide." This drawing, however, was probably not the 1903 ideal plan. The ideal plan was not produced in Hawley's typical style of a perspective rendering. And, since Gilbert had already submitted the ideal plan to the Park Board by the date of Hawley's letter, Hawley wouldn't have been given the ideal plan to work on. The only instance in which the drawing in question might have been the ideal plan is if Gilbert wanted Hawley to make changes to the plan after consulting with the Park Board [HH to CG, December 30, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 6/#108-D Memo (N-YHS)].

134. CG to JAW (President of the Park Board), December 9, 1903, MSC-LB 1903-1904 (copy in Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#3 of 9), F: 1 (N-YHS); and reported in "Setting Worthy of a Gem," St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 12, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

Many of the ideas in the quoted text were also reported in "Is it Merely a Dream?" St. Paul Dispatch and "Propose Elaborate Capitol Approach," St. Paul Globe, December 12, 1903, both in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

135. This same month, general news of the city plan was being touted by regional architectural publications, such as Western Architect, which hailed the Park Board and other citizens for their efforts to give the new capitol suitable approaches. The project finances were to be spread over a number of years.[Western Architect, December 1903, in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS)].

Although Koch identifies the four drawings presented as those shown in "Setting Worthy of a Gem," St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 12, 1903, I believe that Gilbert presented the drawings depicted in the 1905 Philadelphia report, since the latter more closely corresponds with his written descriptions.

Gilbert later referred to plans A through E in a December 6, 1904 Memo regarding the approaches [CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 10/#35; Bx: MSC/#11, F: 6/#108; MSC-LB 6/04-3/05 (N-YHS); and CGPprs, Bx: 10, F: 66 (MHS)]. It is interesting to note that

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Gilbert, in this memo (and hardly anywhere else), refers to his first plan to place the capitol on the center axis of Wabasha St., which was located about 1/2 block further north and 1 block further west than where it was constructed. Gilbert had to place the capitol on this other site because nearly all the property for it had been purchased and the conditions for building were in place. The result, however, was that the capitol was not on the axis of any important street and the south front had a very asymmetrical outline. Gilbert explained further how the building was "conspicuous from a distance but not visible from the main streets of the city. The development of the site brings with it the probability of the construction of high buildings in the neighborhood, which would seriously detract from the importance of the structure and obscure it from view."

136. See "Fit Setting for Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, and "Will Address Board on Capitol Approaches," St. Paul Globe, December 10, 1903; "Discuss Capitol Approach," St. Paul Pioneer Press and St. Paul News, December 11, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

137. MSC Report, December 11, 1903, p. 7 in CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#8, F: 2/Memo (N-YHS).

By early 1904, the press was reproducing approach plans concentrating on the Cedar/Wabasha Mall, conceptually related to the schemes later published in the Philadelphia report. See "Civic Progress in St. Paul," No. 1 and No. 3 in St. Paul Dispatch, January 30, 1904; and February 13, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). Wheelock's role as Park Board President will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

138. KDM to CG, December 118, 1903, CGPprs (MHS), as cited by Koch, p. 100/fn 24.

139. Ibid.

140. "Capitol Approaches," St. Paul Dispatch, December 12, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS). The editorial in the Minneapolis Journal, December 14, 1903, along with many others, also supported the project.

141. "Civic Progress in St. Paul," St. Paul Dispatch, January-February 1904, as collected in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

Incidentally, when Gilbert declined Archbishop Ireland's invitation to participate in a competition to design the Cathedral, he realized that he might be taking the matter "too seriously." But he strongly believed that no great work should be subject to the tenuous conditions of the competition system, where each individual architect stood little chance of success [CG to Ireland, November 4, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 20, F: 1904-1905 (MHS)].

Gilbert later wrote to his wife about turning down Archbishop Ireland's invitation, and he included a sketch of

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what he might have designed if he had accepted [CG to JFG, January 22, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1905 (LC/MSS)]. Gilbert's sketch specified his debt to Romanesque monuments, citing Clermont-Ferrand as the primary source for the apse, Constances for the towers, and Arles for the porch. Gilbert further explained, "The ideal side of the subject impresses me too deeply to allow me to 'speculate' upon it. And it must come to me as an ideal thing in an ideal way or not at all." Not many days passed, however, until Gilbert was convinced that he had made the right decision [CG to JFG, January 27, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1905 (LC/MSS)].

142. WHM to CG, March 9, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905 (#1 of 4), F: 15/#103 [II] (N-YHS).

143. The official St. Paul exhibit committee, composed of Mayor Robert A. Smith, Honorary Chairman, and Dr. Rudolph Schiffman, Executive Chairman, also appointed Joseph A. Wheelock and Cass Gilbert to work on the exhibit. Wheelock and Gilbert, with the help of the executive chairman, were "'empowered...to chose a third commissioner, who shall be a landscape architect of experience and repute; that this commission of three be instructed to formulate and prepare a city plan which shall provide for a suitable setting and approaches to the new capitol building, and a combination of such approaches with the park and boulevard system of the city. Also that this committee be instructed to secure estimates of the probable cost of improvements recommended and to report the plan with such estimates to this committee on or before January 1, 1904.'" ["Fit Setting for a New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 9, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS)]. Wheelock's role is addressed in the latter part of this chapter.

This plan, or "chart" as it was referred to elsewhere, was to be included in the parkway exhibit of the Twin Cities at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. "Capitol Approach Chart," St. Paul News, October 9, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

For general reference to Manning's proposals being included in the exhibit, see St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 13, 1903, Ibid.

144. Hamlin, along with J. M. Underwood and Theodore L. Hayes, was appointed by the government in January 1903 to serve on the Minnesota Board of Managers for the Exposition. C. S. Mitchell was selected superintendent [Minutes and Memoranda, 1904; and Report of the Minnesota Board of Managers (St. Paul: Minnesota Board of Managers for the World's Fair, 1905), 9-10 (MHS)].

145. The engraving that was included in the book closely resembled Hawley's drawing of 1896 with later design changes [Condé Hamlin to CG, March 20, 1902, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 54 (MHS); and Nielsen, .

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146. Minutes of the Minnesota Board of Managers for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, from the October 15, 1903 meeting, Minutes and Memoranda, p. 9 [State Archives (MHS)]. The minutes read: "Letter from Alvin E. Pope, Supt. of Section Social Economy received, read and ordered filed. Secty [sic] was instructed to send copy of same to Mr. Leavitt, President of the Board of Control, Mrs. Condé Hamlin of St. Paul and W.G. Nye of the Commercial Club of Minneapolis." No correspondence between Gilbert and Leavitt or Nye has been found.

147. "Parted by Women's Clubs," (source unknown), n.d. (ca. October or November 1905?), newsclipping, HAPprs, Bx: 1, F: clippings (MHS). This article also cites Mrs. Hamlin as "one of the best informed persons on the fair grounds on the subject of municipal improvement."

148. Richard Guy Wilson, "The Great Civilization," 68.
The model city/street occupied an area immediately facing the Manufacturers' Building [E. P. Overmire, "Impressions from the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," Western Architect 3 (July 1904): 5]. This site was near the entrance to the fair off Debaliviere Ave [See CGC, PC, Bx: LPE/#3, F: 1903/Memo and Bx: 2, F: January-December 1903 (N-YHS) for a map of the Exposition buildings].

149. The Universal Exposition: Beautifully Illustrated Official Publication (St. Louis: Official Photographic Co., 1904), n.p.; Mark Bennitt, comp., History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing Co., 1905). The New York City building, like the Minneapolis/St. Paul building, contained municipal exhibits. A town hall was also contributed by Boston and Buffalo, N.Y. School buildings, a hospital, and restaurants were also placed along the street.
The Department of Social Economy was in charge of the model international children's playground, the most popular feature of their display, and nursery (Bennitt, pp. 554, 557, and 800).
Also see the Commercial Club of St. Paul/Report of Civic Committee, BFB 1897-1928, F: 1 (MHS). Secretary Beardsley notes: "A prominent site in the model city has been secured for the building near one of the main entrances, and negotiations are pending with Albert Kelsey, Supt. of that section for a building in keeping with the other splendid buildings of the model city, and one that will add dignity and importance to the splendid exhibit being prepared" (pp. 2-3). Howard J. Rogers was chief of the Department of Social Economy.

150. Ibid. The current status of the cyclorama is unknown. The Civic Committee of the Commercial Club and a similar committee of the Women's Civic League were appointed to work together on the Twin City Municipal Exhibit. St. Paul

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procured $2500 from the mayor's contingent fund of the prior year, $5000 from the mayor's then-current contingent fund, and $5000 from the tax budget approved by the Common Council. Minneapolis arranged for matching funds, resulting in $25,000 budget available for the exhibit. Additional monies were to be spent on contributions made by various other departments and boards, thus making the approximate cost of the display closer to $30,000.

Also see undated documents in Beardsley's Papers that outline information about Group 141, and various classes of information in the display.

Notably, Beardsley first had contact with Gilbert in 1901 when he asked the architect to participate in the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce convention in Washington, D. C. Gilbert, however, was too busy at the time and declined the invitation [CG to BFB, November 25, 1901, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS)].

151. LAH to CG, November 18, 1903 (typescript), CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: 7/#108 Misc. (N-YHS); and CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 62 (MHS).

152. "Refused the Model," St. Paul Dispatch, December 2, 1903; "Not a Job for Boys," Pioneer Press, December 3, 1903; both in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

153. Stuart F. Patterson to CG, January 29, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#14, F: #108-P (N-YHS).

154. LAH to CG, November 18, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: 7 (N-YHS) and CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 62 (MHS).

155. Record of the award has not been found in LPE publications but can be found in later newspaper reports. John Rockart coordinated the modelmaking effort, supplying the firm with city maps from Hamlin and blueprints and elevations of the capitol from Gilbert [Patterson to CG, January 29, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#14, F: #108-P; CG to EW, January 30, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 11/03-7/04 (N-YHS)].

Altrock and Schlesinger had to rent a special studio to complete their work. Because they believed "[i]t would be quite impossible to do work of this kind in an office building on account of the dust and dirt it would necessitate," they rented a space at 240 West 10th Street in Manhattan [For events surrounding the production of the model, see correspondence to Cass Gilbert, January-March 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: LPE/#1, F: #86/Memo 1904 (N-YHS). Rental information is noted in Schlesinger to Gilbert, February 10, 1904, Ibid.] Although no photographs of the museum's interior or of the model exist, correspondence between Gilbert and John Rockart, Gilbert's trusted assistant in charge of coordinating the production of the model, describe what was included in the approach scheme. Made for a mere $900, the model displayed a southwest avenue of the same length, angle, and garden

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treatment as the one between Cedar and Wabasha. [The model's cost is cited in Hamlin to Seabury, June 5, 1905, State Capitol Commissioner's Board, Letters received from Gilbert, Bx: 3, F: May-December 1905). LPE Memo from JRR, February 26, 1904 and March 5, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: LPE/#1, F: #86/Memo 1904 (N-YHS)]. The actual size was not documented.

The model was constructed during the winter and spring of 1904. By February, the ground plan of the model was ready for inspection. When Rockart and Gilbert went to see it, they found that the proper grades had not been established. Gilbert also had to have the contour of the proposed new buildings corrected in order to bring it closer to the correct scale. After Gilbert modified the layout of the buildings as shown in the preliminary studies, he put Rockart in charge of the work, although he still made adjustments to the model as late as April [February 23 and 26, 1904, PC, Bx: MSC/#14, F: #108-S 1904 (N-YHS)]. When some of the surrounding buildings proved to be too high, Gilbert instructed the modeler to trim their height by reducing the basement level of the capitol. He also experimented with tinting the plaster, but it is unclear whether or not the model was exhibited in this fashion in St. Louis [JRR Memo, April 12, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#8, F: 2 (N-YHS)].

156. "An Error Corrected," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 16, 1904; and an untitled editorial, St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 15, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

157. CG to JRR, March 1, 1904, Ibid.

158. BFB to CG, April 22 and 27, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#14, F: #108-B (N-YHS). Glass cases were an option at a later date.

159. E. P. Overmire, "Impressions of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," Western Architect 3 (July 1905): 5. Overmire noted the exhibit in only the most general terms, and said nothing about Gilbert's model for the approaches.

160. LAH to CG, n.d. (before March 28, 1904), CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#2, F: #108-H (N-YHS). Hamlin requested either the model or a good-sized photograph of it as well as Gilbert's plans for the Capitol approaches. Hamlin's address in Boston was c/o Mr. Chandler, Secretary, 20th Century Club, 2 Ashburton Place. No further information has been found concerning this club.

161. ca. October/November 1905(?) newsclipping, HAC, Bx: 1, F: clippings (MHS).

162. LAH to CS, June 5, 1905, BSCC/LR, Bx: 3, F: May-December 1905 (MHS). At this time, Hamlin served as Chairwoman of the Exhibition Committee for the Municipal Museum of Chicago at the Chicago Public Library. Hamlin mentioned that although

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the model needed cleaning and "tinting" (suggesting perhaps that either the plaster had been colored for greater effect and had faded) it was still in fairly good condition. She also encouraged Gilbert to do more modelling on it and to "extend the west approach from the capitol to the site of the new cathedral [so that] the plan would be even more suggestive than it is."

163. CG to LAH, June 10, 1905; and CG to CS, June 10, 1905, SCCB/LR, Bx: 3, F: May-December (MHS). To Seabury, Gilbert added: "If this can be done I would suggest that it be stored in some place in the basement of the building until such time as a demand might be made for its use or a place found to set it. I do not know that there is anything else I can do regarding the model, nor do I care to give it any more time and expense than I have already given to this matter unless there is some public opinion likely to be aroused which would make it seem desirable."

164. Seabury initially regarded Mrs. Hamlin's request as a novel idea and reserved immediate judgment since he had not seen the municipal display in St. Louis [June 3, 1905, SCCB/LR, Bx: 3, F: May-December 1905 (MHS); and GHC Report, July 6, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 1 (N-YHS)].

165. "Parted by Women's Clubs," (source unknown), n.d. (about October or November 1905?), newsclipping, HAP, Bx: 1, F: clippings (N-YHS). It was reported that friends of the couple generally knew that Condé and Lenora were "not congenial." They sided with Mrs. Hamlin and were not surprised by the couple's subsequent divorce. No further explanation was offered.

166. Ibid. Also see LH to CS, June 5, 1905, SCCB/LR, Bx: 3, F: May-December (MHS). She planned to remain at Hull House throughout the winter. Reference to date of marriage in 1892 can be found in 1900 Minnesota Census, under the listing for Condé Hamlin. It appears there were no children from this marriage.

167. The divorce was finalized sometime in 1905. In the 1905 Census under Condé Hamlin's name, there is no mention of Lenora [Soundex, Roll #147, schedule sheet #31, E.D. #29, line 36; also see St. Paul City Directories and Dual City Blue Books, 1889-1917 (MHS)]. In fact, between 1905 and 1911, no record exists of Lenora Hamlin's whereabouts. Condé Hamlin moved in 1907 from 24 South Saint Albans Street, their former home, to the Aberdeen, a St. Paul luxury hotel located at 350 Dayton Avenue. (Governor John A. Johnson and St. Paul cathedral architect Emmanuel Louis Masqueray also lived at the Aberdeen [Larry Millet, Lost Twin Cities (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 210-211; and Robert E. Hoag, Saint Paul Hotels (St. Paul: n.p., 1975)]. In 1908, Mr. Hamlin left for New York City.

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168. St. Paul City Directories and Dual City Blue Books, 1889-1924.

169. She stayed with a friend at a 9-unit (boarding?) house at 593 Laurel Avenue in St. Paul. Except for Hamlin's correspondence with Gilbert, no other information on the St. Paul City Club has been found.

170. The Associated Charities, according to Korsgaard, was established in 1892 as part of the Charity Organization Movement. Followers of this movement believed that privately organized benevolence was the answer to helping the poor. The St. Paul Associated Charities group "'sought to promote cooperation between public and private charities; to provide a central registration office for the work of charities; and to let the public know about the work being done.' Early case records from the Relief Society were incorporated in the new Associated Charities records" [Korsgaard, 78-79, quoting from "1893 Minutes, Associated Charities," in Associated/United Charities Papers, 1892-1917," (MHS)]. The fourteen charities represented at the group's inception included many which were affiliated with specific churches: the Women's Auxiliary to St. Paul Relief Society, Mitford House, St. Luke's Hospital, Free Medical Dispensary, the Women's Work Exchange, and the Home for the Friendless [Korsgaard, 79-80, information from Associated Charities in Family Services of St. Paul Records, 1892-1972, (MHS) p. 13].

In 1912, Hamlin also moved to 615 South Saint Albans Street with two relatives, possibly her brother and sister. She continued to live at this address until 1917.

171. Marcia G. Anderson, "Art for Life's Sake: The Handicraft Guild of Minneapolis," in Minnesota 1900: Art and Life on the Upper Mississippi 1890-1915, ed. Michael Conforti (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press and London and Toronto: Associated University Presses in association with the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1994), Appendix, 190-191.

172. By 1923-24, a Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Austin was still listed at the South St. Albans Street address--presumably her brother and his wife, since her father--the former governor, had died November 8, 1905. As late as 1934, Lenora Hamlin was either living at or at least visiting 149 Newbury St., Boston [HAPprs (MHS)].

173. Korsgaard, 92-101. Korsgaard emphasizes that one of the most important aspects of the late 19th-century women's movement was the network established through organizations like the New Century Club and many others, including the Women's Civic League. A major difference exists, however, in comparing the general model discussed by Korsgaard and the case of Lenora Hamlin. Whereas St. Paul's elite women began to escape from the safety and restriction of the home and church with caution, Hamlin moved out of the traditional

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spheres of women's work with much more drive and ambition.

174. As reported by Wilson, op. cit., p. 409/fn. 27, interview between Quintus Charles Wilson and Adolph Sterk, a former employee of the St. Paul Department of Parks. Also see fn 141 of this chapter for further information about the scope of duties of the exposition commission.

175. Women's Civic League Calendar, "Executive Council" listing, n.p. and Korsgaard, p. 146. Kate Wheelock also belonged to the Home for the Friendless, the Ladies Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, the Schubert Club, and the Women's Work Exchange. Kate Wheelock knew Cass Gilbert's wife, Julia, as well, from their joint work on the Art Loan Committee for the Harvest Festival.

176. "Fit Setting for a Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 9, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS). This group was asked to report their conclusions about the plan by January 1, 1904.

177. Koch, 117-118.

178. "Approach to State Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, February 10, 1906 and "The Capitol Approach Commission," St. Paul Pioneer Press, February 11, 1906, as cited by Koch, p. 117. These examples represent only a few of the many editorials that supported Gilbert's plans.

179. Richard Benjamin Eide, North Star Editor: A Brief Sketch of Joseph A. Wheelock and his Policies as Editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press (Morningside Heights, N.Y.: King's Crown Press, 1944) and Quintus Charles Wilson, "Joseph Albert Wheelock: A Study of his Life and of the Impact of his Editorial Direction in St. Paul, Minnesota and the Northwest" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1953) for biographies on Wheelock.

180. CG to JAW, October 31, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: [unmarked] (N-YHS).

181. CG to Charles P. Noyes, November 17, 1906, CGC, CGP-LB 11/06-6/07 (N-YHS).

182. Koch, 118.

183. See biographies by Eide and Q. C. Wilson.

In 1883 and 1884, Wheelock travelled widely in England, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and France. He was especially intrigued by medieval urban spaces. In an editorial of 1884, Wheelock observed: "All this nonsense of which the museums are full sets me to thinking that the men who made history, as it is written by the chroniclers, are not the men who made civilization. . . . I turn from these glittering baubles and

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the graver monuments of feudal and state power, . . . to ramble--where I am never tired of rambling--in the green (sic) old, narrow, crooked streets--the squares and the market places, and mysterious courts of these old cities with their quaint remains of Medieval German architecture" [Q. C. Wilson, 307-308, as noted in St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 13, 1884]. Wheelock was particularly impressed by the well-preserved old public squares at Nuremburg and at Schaffhausen.

184. Q. C. Wilson, as noted from Wheelock's diary, according to his daughter Ellen Wheelock, p. 86/fn. 77.

185. Q. C. Wilson, chapter 5. Wheelock's publications from this period include Minnesota: Its Place Among States Being the First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics for the Year Ending January 1st, 1860 (Hartford, Conn.: Lockwood & Co., 1860); and Minnesota: Its Progress and Capabilities: Being the Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics, for the Years 1860 and 1861, a pamphlet distributed in December 1861 designed to stimulate immigration to the state.

186. Q. C. Wilson, 450.

187. Eide, 10.

188. Q. C. Wilson, chapter 4.

189. Eide, 37.

190. Eide, 45.

191. Q. C. Wilson, 401; and Lloyd Peabody, "History of the Parks and Public Grounds of St. Paul," Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society 15, (n.d.): 609-630.

192. Q. C. Wilson, 400.

193. Q. C. Wilson, 401. The other commissioners were General H. H. Sibley, Samuel Calhoun, W. P. Murray, and J. C. Burbank.

194. Peabody, 615-619.

195. Nielsen, "The Parks of St. Paul," The Book of Minnesota, 96.

196. Frederick Law Olmsted, "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns," printed for the American Social Sciences Association, (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1870). Also see Albert Fein, Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City rev. ed. (New York: Van Nostrand, 1981; Laura Wood Roper, A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

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197. The landscape architect Horace William Shaler Cleveland was involved in the early stages of planning of the St. Paul park system.

198. Q. C. Wilson, 403, as noted in St. Paul Pioneer Press, August 28, 1887.

199. Peabody, 615-630.

200. Q. C. Wilson, 406-407, fn. 14.

201. Q. C. Wilson, 412-413, fn. 36, as cited in Report of Chairman, St. Paul Park Board, December 31, 1905, City Park Commission Offices, City Hall. Earlier news articles, however, discussed this appointment, including "Park Affairs," St. Paul Dispatch; "Cass Gilbert Named," St. Paul Pioneer Press; "Gilbert to Advise," St. Paul Globe; and (untitled article), St. Paul News; all October 20, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). In these articles, the Board was reported to be interested in planting plans for Como Park, bids on boats and launches for Lake Phelan, railroad terminal plans and road straightenings for the park. Gilbert was mainly responsible for giving his advice (unofficial at that point) on artistic matters concerning proposed improvements for the parks.

202. JAW to CG, June 7, 1905, CGC, Chron., Box: 1905/#1, F: 7/#188/Mannheimer Fountain (N-YHS).

203. JAW to CG, August 17, 1905, with an accompanying illustration from the St. Paul Pioneer Press of McLeod's winning design, CGC, Chron., Box: 1905/#1, F: 7/#188 Mannheimer Fountain (N-YHS).

204. Frederick Nussbaumer to CG, February 5 and March 3, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#7, F: 7 and Lexington Ave. Bridge drawings (N-YHS). Instead of choosing a design from the three sketches sent to him, Gilbert submitted to Nussbaumer his own his own proposal for a steel arch bridge, not heavily ornamented, that would serve the needs of the railroad.

205. Martin Warnke, Political Landscape: The Art History of Nature (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 115-126.

206. W. H . Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement, 75-95 and an earlier version of this discussion in W. H. Wilson, "The Ideology, Aesthetics and Politics of the City Beautiful Movement," in A. Sutcliffe, ed. The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1890-1914 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 171-176. Also see Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920.

207. Q. C. Wilson, 430.

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208. Q. C. Wilson, 449.

209. Q. C. Wilson, 451.

210. Q. C. Wilson, 289. This characteristic was especially apparent after 1875 when the Pioneer merged with the Press.

211. Q. C. Wilson, 454. A few editorials were written by Wheelock's colleague, Driscoll. These editorials, however, are markedly different from Wheelock's work because they are choppier, and more staccato-like in style.

212. Q. C. Wilson, 275.

213. MSC Report, May 6, 1901, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#8, F: 5 (N-YHS).

214. CG to JAW, August 8, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: II. 1899-1903/#1, F: 11-2 (N-YHS).

215. Gilbert was also interested in erecting a fountain or a bronze tablet in honor of Dr. Justus Ohage, Department of Health commissioner to be located on Harriet Island. Ohage had donated this island to the city of St. Paul in 1900. It was located in the Mississippi River across from St. Paul's business district [CG to JAW, August 8, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: II. 1899-1903/#1, F: 11-2 (N-YHS)]. Also see the entries for July, "Life on Ohage Island," and October, "Rx" in the Women's Civic League Calendar for 1902 concerning the group's acknowledgement of Ohage's efforts.

216. "More Ground for the Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 17, 1905; "New Capitol Park," St. Paul Dispatch, May 17, 1905; "Park at New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 23, 1905; CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

217. CG to GB, October 19, and November 5, 1903, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR1, Bx: 24, F: 8 (AIA).

218. CG to JAW, October 31, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: [unmarked] (N-YHS). Gilbert wrote: "While, of course, that project is vastly larger and more extensive than contemplated here, all of which you know, the principle involved is the same, and you may find the statement contained in the circular [about city improvements] of interest in advocating the development here [in St. Paul]."

219. Koch, 118, cites the Pioneer Press as the forum where this idea was generally expressed. But the idea was undoubtedly Wheelock's.

220. CG to JAW, December 9, 1903, CGC, MSC-LB 1903-04 and also in Chron., Box: IV. 1899-1903 (#3 of 9), F: 1 (N-YHS).

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221. Ibid.

222. "The Proposed Approaches to the Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 13, 1903, p. 6.

223. "The Proposed Capitol Plaza and Approaches Thereto," St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 20, 1903, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). Although this article was unsigned, it was probably written by Wheelock.

224. Ibid. Wheelock seemed to be suggesting the economic strategies that Haussmann had carried out in Paris although he did not specifically cite them.

225. Koch, 105-114. Even by 1907, according to Koch, with the passage of Senate file number 789, which provided for the extension and beautification of the Minnesota State Capitol grounds and for the charter commission of 1906 to acquire land for this purpose, the matter was out of the hands of the state.

226. Koch, 102. Gilbert's preparation of approach plans included a lengthy memo that served as the basis for Crawford and Day's "American Park Systems."

227. CG to Charles S. Gilbert, February 1, 1905, CGC, CGP-LB 12/99-4/09 (N-YHS). Ironically, Gilbert never actually retired as such, working on the George Washington Bridge in New York City and the United State Supreme Court in Washington, D. C., in the final years of his life.

228. Drawing No. 96 (Inventory #209), "Plan Showing Layout of Grounds in Contract for Grading, Paving, and Sodding," of the MSC can be found at MHS, 100/ov3-4. Dated September 1904, this plan includes notations about the temporary wood walks. Bulletin No. 1, October 3, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#4, F: 4 (N-YHS) and CG to Barber Asphalt Co., October 4, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 7/04-9/05 (N-YHS) include further information about the paving and grading of the capitol grounds. Bids were requested from Barber Asphalt Company, Nelson Brothers Paving Company, and Portland Stone Company [October 4 and 5, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 7/04-9/05 (N-YHS)].

Gilbert favored preparation of the permanent walks before the heavy frost, but Seabury and the other commissioners did not agree with him. For newspaper accounts of the walks, see "Plank Walk for the Capitol," St. Paul Dispatch, October 11, 1904; "Were Bidders Shut Out of Competition?" St. Paul News, October 11, 1904; "Price is More than the City Pays," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 12, 1904; "Walks will be Wooden," St. Paul Dispatch, October 12, 1904; and "Capitol Walks are Delayed," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 13, 1904; all in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

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229. "Says St. Paul is Dead: Architect Cass Gilbert is Disgusted with It," St. Cloud (Minn.) Journal-Press, October 12, 1904. Gilbert had hoped that "'some method could be found for the gradual acquirement of the property and the gradual development based upon a definite and established design, and that the burden of taxation could be spread over many years, so that the burden would not be felt. We are now, however, developing the capitol grounds, but must do so without any definite scheme of approaches outside of the site itself.'" Also see "Wishes New Capitol was Located in Minneapolis," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 12, 1904; "Wanted: A Leader," St. Paul Dispatch, October 13, 1904; editorial, Minneapolis Tribune, October 13, 1904; all in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS)]. The Atwater (Minn.) Regional(?) Press also got into the act, claiming that if the capitol had been built in their town, the county would have donated the necessary land for approaches without any question [Atwater (Minn.) Regional(?) Press, October 14, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS)].

230. "Beautify Site of New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 7, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

231. The blueprint can be found in CGPprs, Bx: 10, F: 66 (MHS); a description of the walks can be found in MSC Report, October 11, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 3/Daily Reports (N-YHS); and the cost is cited in "Walks will be Wooden," St. Paul Dispatch, October 12, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS) and in GHC (for CG) to James Forrestal, November 2, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 7 (N-YHS). Another view of the walk, showing the area around the main entrance, can be found in "Famous Sidewalk Shocks Visitors," Minneapolis Times, November 20, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-105 (N-YHS). This article claimed that the wood walk approach "would serve as a good cow path."

This stopgap measure may have been suggested by L. W. Rundlett, St. Paul city engineer of the Department of Public Works, although he vigorously denied having done so. Rundlett was cited as the planner of the walks in "Famous Sidewalk Shocks Visitors," Minneapolis Times, November 20, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 1903-05 (N-YHS); but he claimed that he had no part in it in "Engineer Enters Denial," St. Paul Dispatch, October 13, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS). Two months later, curiously, Rundlett's budget was cut. Perhaps this action was a retaliatory measure for Rundlett's involvement with the wood walks ["Seabury Continues his Fight for Park," St. Paul Globe, December 13, 1904, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS)].

232. "That Plaza in Front of the Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 13, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS). Another article, "Get Gem Before You See It," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 13, 1904, Ibid. includes two figures of the plaza area--one with an overlay of Gilbert's plan on the existing street pattern (including the location of the soon-to-be-demolished Madison High School--located in the triangle of land between Park and Central Avenues), and the other of a

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more elaborate rendering that illustrated what the plaza would look like after the changes were complete.

The problem posed by the displacement of students was later addressed when N. P. Rogers of the St. Paul school board suggested that the city trade the properties on which Mechanic Arts High School and Madison High School had been located for the old capitol. Since the state needed the school grounds for the plaza area in front of the capitol, and the schools needed to relocate, Rogers thought the solution was viable ["Trade School for Old Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 5, 1905, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS)].

233. "That Plaza. . . ," Ibid.

234. "Misplaced Criticisms," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 14, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS). Although this article was also unsigned, it probably was written by Wheelock. Gilbert, in articles found in smaller papers, agreed that the attack on his work was focussed on a lack of public interest in the practical aspects of the subject of beautification [Editorial, Winona (Minn.) Republic and Herald, October 14, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS)].

235. This caricature, from Minneapolis Times, October 13, 1904, and another from the St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 13, 1904, can be found in CGC, MSC-SB (N-YHS). The latter caricature portrays a picture of the MSC, entitled "The Finest State Capitol Building in the Country," framed by cast-off pieces of wood, old bottles, and pots and pans. The caption reads, "I Don't See Nothing the Matter with that Frame."

Photographs of the actual walks can be found in "Board Sidewalk Remains Sole Approach to the New Capitol: Famous Sidewalk Shocks Visitors," Minneapolis Times, November 20, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS), and Photography Collection (from the Gilbert Collection; MHS) #FM6.142/r24 probably depicts the construction of the walks by James Forrestal Co. of St. Paul. Photo #FM6.142/r23 shows a similar scene. [See Forrestal to CG, October 21, 1904, attached to October 1904 plat, CGPprs, Bx: 10, F: 66 (MHS)].

236. "Not Dead, But Sleeping," Minneapolis Times, October 14, 1904; also see (untitled article), Minneapolis Times, October 15, 1904, both in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

237. "The Sleep of the Glutton," St. Cloud (Minn.) Journal-Press, October 13, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

238. "St. Paul and the Capitol," St. Paul Dispatch, October 15, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

239. Editorial, Le Sueur (Minn.) Sentinel, October 22, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS). The Nicollet (Minn.) Leader, October 22, 1904 sarcastically added their opinion to the debate, by writing: "The state capitol commission has decided

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that plank walks are good enough for around the new edifice at present. Next summer they will let the weeds grow and then the surroundings will be just lovely."

240. (Editorial), Glencoe, MN Register, October 21, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

241. See Granite Falls (Minn.) Tribune, October 18, 1904; Taylors Falls (Minn.) Journal, October 20, 1904; Clear Lake (Minn.) Times, October 13, 1904; Anoka (Minn.) Union, October 19, 1904; re: popular support concerning Gilbert's plans. Also see Belle Plain (Minn.) Herald, October 19, 1904, which criticized St. Paul's lack of recognition of Gilbert's "genius"; the Red Wing (Minn.) News, October 15, 1904; the Faribault (Minn.) Republican, October 12, 1904, which criticized the "stingy capitalists" of St. Paul as acting in a "hoggish" manner concerning the capitol approaches; the LeSueur (Minn.) Sentinel, October 22, 1904; the Nicollet (Minn.) Leader, October 22, 1904; and the Redwood Falls (Minn.) Reveille, January 6, 1905; all in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

242. Some papers even vigorously called for state and not civic support ["State Should Meet the Cost," St. Paul Dispatch; and "Puts It Up to the State," St. Paul Globe; both October 18, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS)].

243. "Get Gem Before You See It," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 13, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

244. "Get Gem Before You See It," St. Paul Pioneer Press, October 13, 1904; and also editorial, Hastings (Minn.) Gazette, October 14, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

245. Webster Wheelock, "Recent Municipal Progress in St. Paul: Tests in Efficiency," Municipal Affairs 3 (September 1899): 491-505.

246. WW to CG, November 29, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905/#4, F: 3/#108 (N-YHS).

247. Ibid.

248. Ibid.

249. Ibid.

250. Ibid. Gilbert also urged Wheelock to print in the St. Paul Pioneer Press an article about fair compensation for the supervisory architect of the Treasury, Gilbert's former architectural partner, James Knox Taylor. Gilbert sent Webster Wheelock a copy of the editorial from the September 1, 1906 issue of the American Architect which he wanted reprinted. The editorial argued that Taylor's compensation as

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Supervisory Architect of the Treasury should be at least $4500 a year [CG to WW, September 6, 1906, CGC, CGP-LB 1/06-2/07 (N-YHS)].

251. WW to CG, n.d., ca. January 22, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#7, F: 5/#108-W (N-YHS).

252. Ibid.

253. Ibid.

254. WW to CG, January 27, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#7, F: 5 (N-YHS).

255. Ibid.

256. Ibid.

257. CG to WW, February 2, 1906, CGC, CGP-LB 1/07-2/07 (N-YHS).

258. Koch, p. 116, as mentioned in "Better Setting for a New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, February 2, 1906.

259. Koch, p. 116, fn. 62, as cited in St. Paul, Proceedings of the Common Council, 1906, p. 39.

260. "Approaches to the Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, February 10, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 10/#35 (N-YHS). Betz, it is important to note, was a member of the Commercial Club and may have been familiar with the early 1902 discussions about the approaches [Listings of club membership, professional portraits (MHS)].

Copies of the "Report of the Capitol Approaches Commission to the Common Council of the City of St. Paul," (St. Paul, 1906) can be found in the CGC, Misc., Bx: 1904-1905, F: Board/1905; City Planning/stack 4 (N-YHS); and St. Paul Planning and Economic Development Department Papers (MHS).

261. Betz to CG, March 6 and 22, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 10 (N-YHS).

262. Betz to CG, November 29, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#7, F: 14 (N-YHS).

263. CG to WW, April 9, 1906, CGC, CGP-LB 1/06-2/07 (N-YHS).

264. Koch, 130 and 128-129. Koch points out that the format of the document was most impressive. The report was well-illustrated on quarto-sized sheets, with about 2/3 of the space devoted to photographs, sketches, and maps. Illustrations included multiple views of the Champs Elysees in Paris, the Vasin of Latona and the Basin of Neptune at

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Versailles, and views of Berlin and of Dresden. Sketches of American projects included the Washington, D.C. plan, Fairmount Parkway in Philadelphia, the St. Louis group plan, and the comprehensive plan for Cleveland. Photographs depicting "before" and "after" improvements of Kansas City were also part of the report.

265. Koch, 122-127 and 152. Koch notes that the St. Paul Pioneer Press significantly raised the public interest in the matter of the approaches, but he does not dwell on the specific contributions made by either Joseph Wheelock or his son, Webster.

266. Koch, 131.

267. Betz to CG, November 28 and December 8, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#7, F: 14 and "A Club to Push a City Plan," clipping (source unknown), CGC, MSC-SB 1907-10 (N-YHS).

By this time, Gilbert's St. Paul approaches plan had intrigued civic leaders in other cities. Milo R. Maltbie, Assistant Secretary of the Art Commission of the City of New York, asked Gilbert to present a slide lecture about the plan, an invitation that Gilbert appears to have declined [Maltbie to CG, February 11, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905/#4, F: 23 (N-YHS)]. Although James William Patterson of the Municipal Art League of Chicago was more interested in the building and the mural decorations by Pyle, Volk, and Millet, one of his colleagues from the Municipal Museum of Chicago requested information from Gilbert about the approach plans. The material was to be used as an illustration in Charles Zueblin's new book and for a slide for Mrs. Hamlin [J. W. Patterson to CG, April 21, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905/#4, F: 23 (N-YHS); and E. Routzahn to CG, July 13, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 70 (MHS)].

268. Webster Wheelock, "Re-Setting Minnesota's Capitol," Charities & Commons 19 (February 1, 1909): 1545-1547. This article also reproduced the 1903 schematic plan that was initially published in the Capitol Commission Report. Edward H. Bennett and Daniel H. Burnham referred to this article in their Plan of Chicago, reprint of 1908 ed., (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993), 28. The 1909 plan depicts the land that would have to be acquired in order for the approaches to be built.

269. For recent master plans, see Capitol Area Architectural and Planning Board, Commemorative Works in the Capitol Area: A Framework for the Initiation, Evaluation, and Implementation of Commemorative Works in the Capitol Area of St. Paul (St. Paul: Capitol Area Architectural Planning Board, May 1993); David T. Mayernick, Thomas N. Rajkovich, and Partners for Liveable Places, Minnesota's State Capitol Mall: Minnesota's Front Yard--A Potential Unrealized (Washington, D.C.: Partners for Liveable Places, March 1990); and David T. Mayernick and

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Thomas N. Rajkovich in association with Hammel, Green and Abrahamson, Inc., Schematic Design Prepared for the Project for the Completion of the Capitol Mall, St. Paul, Minnesota (St. Paul: Mayernick and Rajkovich, February 12, 1988).

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# CHAPTER IV

## GILBERT'S EARLY CAMPUS PLANS

The comprehensive university and college campus plans that Cass Gilbert completed during the middle of his career developed out of his experience with City Beautiful ideas and out of changing developments in American higher education in the early twentieth century. As several historians have noted, this new "campus beautiful" concept, as it became known, was shaped by changing ideas about curriculum, specialized study, and the educational institution's relationship to society.[1] By 1910, Gilbert's mind was "running in the direction of educational buildings," as he explained to a potential client.[2] Indeed, by this time, Gilbert had developed a fair amount of experience with campus plans, as will be addressed in the following chapter. Gilbert's later plans for the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, the University of Texas at Austin, and Oberlin College in Ohio, all transcribed the visual features of the Beaux-Arts orientation of the architectural projects of the City Beautiful onto the form of a campus master plan. The three subsequent chapters will examine these projects and how they developed.

Gilbert, as well as other architects, readily made the transcription from city plan to campus plan. In Gilbert's work, the development of each of his university and college plans, particularly at the University of Minnesota, was guided by the efforts of campus figures who shared the hope that

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their institution would incorporate a more specialized and complex curriculum and, in so doing, become more viable in the years that lay ahead. They acted in a parallel fashion to their municipal counterparts in St. Paul, as was discussed in the previous chapter. Like the development of the Minnesota State Capitol Approaches Plan, the campus commissions were all subject to the political nature of the committees and university representatives that guided the master plan discussions. At the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, these figures included Lewis S. Gillette and Frederick Clifford, and also Gilbert's St. Paul representative, George Hollis Carsley. With respect to later proposals, Colonel Edward M. House of Austin and Henry Churchill King of Oberlin were key contributors. Gilbert's proposals for the institutions that these men represented illustrate an application of Beaux-Arts oriented ideas often associated with the City Beautiful movement to the comprehensive campus plan. Furthermore, in these three projects for Minnesota, Texas, and Ohio, Gilbert maintained complete control of the design process, in contrast to other campus proposals where his participation was limited.[3] [See Appendix VI.]

## The Beaux-Arts Tradition and Early Theories about College Planning

The Beaux-Arts tradition that became prevalent in campus design in the early twentieth century provided important contributions to American campus planning, as has been

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surveyed by architectural historian Paul V. Turner. Comprehensive university and college plans that were developed in this period--including Gilbert's work--reflect characteristic Beaux-Arts features often related to City Beautiful projects planned on a monumental scale. These features, as manifested in a typical Beaux-Arts plan by Ecole theorist Julian Guadet, include symmetry, axiality, focal points, controlled vistas, hierarchically arranged buildings, and overall unity of design (Figure 26). As is illustrated by Guadet's plan, the most important area of these campus plans, both administratively and architecturally, included the largest and most prominent building, or cluster of buildings. This arrangement is similar to Gilbert's own prominent placement of the Minnesota State Capitol in the comprehensive St. Paul plan. This grand building, as well as those featured in his campus plans, provided the visual and programmatic centerpieces of their respective plans. Often, as will be demonstrated, these central areas are reinforced by subsidiary clusters of smaller and less important buildings.

Besides the Beaux-Arts contribution to the hierarchical arrangement of the plan, the theoretical training method offered a significant contribution to campus planning with respect to the *parti*, or the traditional sketch that portrayed the general, unified concept of the plan.[4] The distinguishing feature of the American campus *parti* was that it usually employed open space at the core of the plan.[5] As early as 1636, American campuses such as Harvard University, made use

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of this idea instead of drawing upon the European cloister model, as embodied by British universities at Cambridge and Oxford.

By 1900, campus planning had begun to be discussed in American periodicals.[6] Writers generally were interested in how the unified design typical of the Beaux-Arts ideal could be used in a university or college plan. The late nineteenth-century art critic, Ashton Willard, for example, noted that the traditional American campus was composed of isolated, unrelated buildings.[7] Within the first decade of the century, critics such as A. D. F. Hamlin and Claude Bragdon went so far as to advocate more unified, comprehensive plans.[8]

The most important conceptual aspect of the discussion in these early years focused upon what was called the "group plan." Between 1906 and 1907, Alfred Morton Githens, an accomplished renderer who had once worked for Gilbert, wrote a five-part series about this idea.[9] Githens discussed how a group of buildings could be arranged according to different functions and needs, such as those required by colleges, universities, and hospitals. He began with the examination of the reworked design of the Carnegie Technical Schools' master plan, a simplified version of an earlier competition proposal. (Cass Gilbert, incidentally, had participated in the 1904 competition, but he had lost to the architectural firm of Palmer and Hornbostel.)[10] Githens outlined several compositional variations that were used in the new Carnegie plan and, in a subsequent article, examined these and other

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variations in more detail. Githens' aim was to compare and to analyze many group plans since American architects had not yet agreed on any fixed type to use as a model for institutional growth.[11]

Githens was intrigued that no distinct type of college, university, or school plan existed in America, unlike those in France and England, where the cloister tradition had developed and persisted. He claimed that Americans "have attempted far more pretentious and monumental architecture. . . We Americans are architectural libertines and have no restraining traditions . . . .[12] The main thrust of his argument, however, was that the unity in composition, whatever form it assumed, should be the most sought-after planning goal. Gilbert was familiar with this idea, not only because Githens had worked in his office, but also because the two men had corresponded about planning questions and other topics well into the teens. Gilbert had collected in his scrapbooks many of the images that Githens had used as illustrations in the article about college and university planning. These illustrations included plans of the American College in Madura, India and the Canton Christian College in Honglok, China.[13]

A comprehensive planning scheme and the selection of the building site, according to early theorists, were the two most important aspects of the group plan. John B. Pine, a Columbia University trustee and also Gilbert's friend, noted the importance of the World Columbian Exposition as a moment in

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American architectural and cultural history that impressed both city and campus planners. The great fair's most influential lesson was that its plan for "an extensive group of buildings as one consistent whole, symmetrical in arrangement and harmonious in design," provided a fine example of the unified effect that could be achieved with the group plan.[14] Pine believed, for example, that Princeton University had demonstrated the symbolic representation of the university ideal through its adoption of a comprehensive plan that unified its architecturally unrelated buildings. This new orientation had transformed the university into one of the country's most beautiful and dignified institutions in higher learning.[15]

Ralph Adams Cram was as convincing as Pine in an address that Cram delivered to the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1912. Cram, an architect best-known for his Gothic revival, European cloister design for the Princeton University Graduate School, explained that the American college was in a unique situation:

> almost every college has begun in open country, as an original foundation. We have nothing like Oxford or Cambridge, partly because of this fact and partly because each college is with us a unit; we have no gathering together of many and independent foundations, loosely knit together for administrative purposes; we have instead self-contained units, sometimes of enormous size, and each new benefactor founds not a new college, but a dormitory, a library, a school of law or medicine or forestry or--[even] journalism.[16]

Like Pine and other early theorists of the period, Cram advocated comprehensive plans for the American collegiate environment. Using the example of the Princeton University

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campus before he redesigned it, Cram explained that it "looked like it 'just growed' without rhyme or reason subject to the most vacillating fashion and the quaint whims of emancipated individuals, and the results were generally shocking."[17] A comprehensive master plan, however, would avoid such results and could offer long-term benefits for an institution.

The other great virtue of the master plan lay in its potential for creating an environment that would nurture students' moral values. This general issue of noble symbolism in the American campus was not new. A. D. F. Hamlin, in a 1903 essay about campus architecture, characterized then-recent developments in college architecture in contrast to the "triumphant materialism" of commercial building.[18] Hamlin, however, was not interested in the more particular aspects of how the environment might affect one's growth and development. Pine, on the other hand, eloquently expressed the idea of moral value when he wrote:

> The value of beautiful surroundings as a refining and educational influence can scarcely be overestimated as an element in the life of the student, and since the university can also make its strongest appeal to the sentiment of its alumni and to local or state pride through a commanding situation and the dignity and beauty of its buildings, the trustees may well afford to strain its resources to the utmost in order to secure the most desirable site. . . .[19]

This link between natural beauty and the development of moral character, in fact, was encouraged by Gilbert, who had read a draft of Pine's article, even before Pine had secured a publisher.[20]

After reading the draft, Gilbert suggested that Pine

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strengthen his argument concerning site selection and "fine architectural effect." Gilbert reminded Pine to consider the perceptions of students as well as those of the alumni and the public:

> The young people at college are at a most impressionable age. The influence of beautiful surroundings is strongly felt by them and is of great educational value. They will carry such an influence through their lives, and wherever they have a part in developing cities, public buildings or educational buildings, this good influence will be felt. In other words, I believe that the architecture of the college has as important [an] educational value as any other feature and that you cannot enforce the argument too strongly.[21]

For Gilbert and Pine, the campus surroundings and the overall plan became an important value-laden resource in the development of young minds. They believed that the environment played an integral role in shaping the moral character of the those who studied at the university and college. Gilbert was so enthusiastic about Pine's discussion of this point that he encouraged Pine to develop his argument into a book.[22] Pine rationalized, somewhat dismissively, that although "it had always been a pet theory of mine that environment is one of the most potent of influences," he had simply neglected to emphasize this aspect of the article. He did not, however, follow Gilbert's advice to write a full-length study of the subject.[23]

Gilbert's university and college plans rely, also in part, on precedents in campus planning that had been established before the turn of the century. Charles Follen McKim's 1894 master plan for Columbia University's new home in Morningside Heights (Figure 27), after it had outgrown its

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midtown location at 49th Street, provides a clear example of Beaux-Arts principles as applied to the changing form of the American university.[24] The centrally located library, which memorializes Seth Low's service as university president, was both the physical and the symbolic heart of the Columbia campus. This campus epitomized the new type of research-oriented institution that was emerging in America in the late nineteenth century. The Columbia group plan was organized around this significant building, marking the first time that Beaux-Arts principles were applied thoroughly to the American university plan. This model was significant to Gilbert's contemporaries, including Cram; he cited McKim's work at Columbia as "the height of serene nobility" in the midst of a wide range of architectural styles being applied to American college buildings.[25]

More important prototypes were offered by Thomas Jefferson's plan for the University of Virginia (developed 1804-1817 and built 1817-1826; the library was added--at Benjamin Latrobe's suggestion--in 1817 and built 1823-1826; Figure 28), and Joseph-Jacques Ramée's 1813 proposal for Union College in Schenectady (Figure 29). The plan of Jefferson's school, however, presented a more pared-down version of the Beaux-Arts ideal than that which was often celebrated by other university and college architects. This was due to the singular axis and simple format of the University of Virginia's open mall area, which was anchored by a library (a significant model for McKim's Low Library at Columbia

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University), and flanked by classroom and residential buildings.[26]

Gilbert's Early Involvement with the Campus Planning Ideal

Gilbert was no doubt familiar with the group plans of both Columbia University and the University of Virginia. He was also well-versed in the layout of many other universities and colleges. Through his extensive travels, Gilbert became knowledgeable about several European precedents, including schools known as models for the monastic, medieval ideal of the university. Gilbert made a special effort to see the university buildings at Cambridge, although it is unclear whether he visited the University of Edinburgh in 1880, during an early European trip, when visiting a professor associated with that institution.[27] Years later, on more than one occasion, Gilbert visited Oxford University, including its several colleges and libraries.[28]

Closer to home, Gilbert was intimately familiar with McKim, Mead & White's New York University campus originally located in Fordham Heights. As part of his work on the Minnesota State Capitol, Gilbert examined the Guastavino dome construction in the library there and also in the library at the University of Virginia.[29] Gilbert also made special trips with Walter Cope, of the Philadelphia architectural firm, Cope and Stewardson, to visit Bryn Mawr College and Princeton University while Gilbert's firm and theirs both worked on the competition plans for Washington University. While at

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Princeton, Gilbert executed several drawings of Cope and Stewardson's dormitories, including Little Stafford Hall and Blair Hall. These dormitories exploited the linear arrangement of living quarters that Cope and Stewardson had developed in their work for Bryn Mawr College five years earlier.[30] In a note to his wife, Julia, Gilbert exclaimed of all the buildings at Princeton, "the best were by Cope and Stewardson--perfectly bully."[31] Gilbert was also familiar with master plans for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard Medical School, and the War College, at Fort McNair in Washington, D. C., all of which were prominent projects in campus planning in the early twentieth century.[32] Even late in his career, Gilbert maintained his interest in campus planning and history, as is suggested by his collection of images as diverse as a mid-nineteenth-century engraving of Harvard College and articles concerning the planning and construction of Charles Z. Klauder's Cathedral of Learning (ca. 1925) at the University of Pittsburgh.[33]

Gilbert certainly was also familiar with the international competition for the University of California at Berkeley, beginning in 1896. This fact is not surprising, given the circumstances of this event. First, the competition was fully funded by philanthropist Phoebe A. Hearst, who spared no cost in the program's development. In her mind, this competition was to yield the finest comprehensive plan possible for the University of California. Second, both Hearst and the regents held lofty goals for the competition.

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In her earliest correspondence with the board, Hearst explained her hopes that the adopted plans should be worthy of the great university; that they should harmonize with the beauty of the building site; and that they should inevitably reflect upon the state "whose culture and civilization are to be nursed and developed at its University."[34] Even more eloquently, in the preliminary prospectus of August 1897, these goals were explained as such:

> It is the desire of those who have charge of this enterprise, to treat the ground and buildings together, landscape gardening and architecture forming one composition, which will never need to be structurally changed in all the future history of the University. It is thought that the advantages of the site, whose bold slope will enable the entire mass of buildings to be taken in at a single *coup d'oeil*, will permit the production of an effect unique in the world, and that the architect who can seize the opportunity it offers, will immortalize himself.
>
> . . .In fact, it is a city that is to be created--a City of Learning--in which there is to be no sordid or inharmonious feature.[35]

In addition to these noble goals of fusing landscape and architecture together in a magnificently grand composition, another circumstance contributed to the widespread knowledge of the competition. Both the preliminary prospectus and, later, the final program (both printed in three languages--English, French, and German) were extensively distributed in the American and European architectural community.[36] In 1899, the designs of the first-place winner of the competition, Emile Bénard, and those of the ten other finalists, were published in a commemorative volume. This volume, including one of the most well known images of Bénard's perspective view of the campus (Figure 30), was purchased by Gilbert and used

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in his office as a reference.[37]

Before the competition was advertised in 1897, however, on the heels of Mrs. Hearst's initial letter of intent, Gilbert wrote to the AIA and to J. B. Reinstein, chairman of the University of California Board of Trustees. Gilbert suggested that the AIA intercede in order to assure the proper development of competition guidelines. He additionally had first-hand contact with developments in the competition, when he informally met with a group of Swiss and German travellers, who were on their way to California for "the great University competition."[38] These travellers included Professor F. Bluntschi of Zurich, who was one of the finalists.[39]

Gilbert, himself, perhaps harbored early ideas about submitting a design in the University of California competition. In January 1898, after the program was published in its preliminary and final forms, Gilbert developed a sketch plan reminiscent of Bernard Maybeck's early proposal for the project (Figures 31 and 32, respectively).[40] Gilbert's project, like Maybeck's, made use of a central administrative building linked to the main plaza by two terraced areas. Like Maybeck, Gilbert also proposed a roughly symmetrical plan in which the buildings of the campus were connected by colonnades. The semi-circular cluster of buildings, shaping the eastern boundary of the campus in Gilbert's sketch, also echoes Maybeck's plan. Gilbert's project, however, did not propose the use of two such arms, as Maybeck did in his plan. Gilbert thus stopped short of creating a Baroque-oriented

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space in the 17th-century tradition exploited most notably by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in his reorganization of St. Peter's Plaza in Rome.

The contributions of draftsman, Thomas G. Holyoke, as suggested in the previous chapter, are noteworthy. Once the competition program had been received in the office, Holyoke explained to Gilbert:

> I have just begun to think a little on this great problem, and hope, before you return, to have several plans and schemes for the various groups of buildings included in the program studied at the given scale, in accordance with what I remember you suggested before you left St. Paul.[41]

This reference to Gilbert and Holyoke's discussion (made before Gilbert left for Europe where he completed the University of California sketch), is highly suggestive. Although no evidence indicates that Gilbert entered the university competition, it appears that, early on, he entertained the possibility of doing so.

Gilbert's first major attempt at developing a campus master plan, that of Washington University in St. Louis, was not successful. In June 1899 (during the same year that the Hearst competition was held), Gilbert entered this campus competition. He, along with five others, all distinguished American architects of the period, were invited to compete for the commission. Besides Gilbert, these competitors included the firms of McKim, Mead & White and Carrére and Hastings, both of New York; Cope and Stewardson of Philadelphia; Eames and Young of St. Louis; and Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge of Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis. The competition was also open

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to other architects from St. Louis, but they were not compensated for their efforts as were the firms who had been invited.[42] The competition had developed as a response to the growing needs of the university, which was becoming increasingly crowded at its original downtown site. The earliest recommendations, made by the landscape architectural firm of the Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts in 1894-95, were incorporated into the guidelines published with the competition program.

Gilbert, like the other competitors, was invited to participate in the competition in early June by Washington University president, Robert S. Brookings. Soon after this invitation, he was asked to visit the campus in order to study the new site that had been acquired northwest of the city in Forest Park.[43] Gilbert and the other architects met at the site in late June and were given until October 15, 1899 to complete their proposals. In late October, the jury unanimously selected Cope and Stewardson's proposal as the winning design.[44]

Gilbert's proposal reflected his firm's early familiarity with the block plan, a feature that had been a requirement as advertised in the competition circular.[45] In his plan, Gilbert followed the Olmsteds' basic *parti*--the general formal arrangement of buildings (Figure 33). Like his landscape architectural predecessors, Gilbert chose to establish a long east-west axis, terminating the western end with dormitories, a free-standing chapel, and a running track--all elements that

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the Olmsteds had incorporated in their own scheme. (Their plan also had accompanied the competition program of 1899.)[46] At the eastern end, Gilbert defined the space with a U-shaped administration building that was to be named for then-president, Robert S. Brookings. As architectural historian Sharon Irish has noted, Gilbert showed special skill in his use of Beaux-Arts principles, particularly his hierarchical arrangement of buildings and his use of axial tension along the minor axes to unify the composition. The buildings to the north and the south of the central part of the plan, for example, are linked by this tension across the open court.[47]

What has not been examined before, however, are the specific contributions to this plan by two of Gilbert's closest associates in his St. Paul office: Samuel-Stevens Haskell and Thomas Gannett Holyoke. Both Haskell and Holyoke were central figures in the design process of the Washington University proposal, especially as the deadline for the United States Custom House competition was closing in. Haskell, who had recently returned from his three-year stint at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, revealed to Gilbert that his great strength was in the composition of the plan.[48] Gilbert recalled this talent and also Haskell's

> usual bumptious persistency to have his own way, which drives one to drink but arising as it does from his real conviction of the merits of the case, it is a most valuable quality when controlled.
>
> Steve in plan and [in] general conception of a scheme is really a very able man. He is at his best there, and will certainly make his mark. . . . All these [F]rench-trained men can "plan" wonderfully but they can't "design" worth a row of buttons.[49]

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Haskell even borrowed Henry Hornbostel's entry for the University of California competition in order to study the idea of the group plan. Hornbostel's proposal, however, provided only a general reference, since the terms of the St. Louis project were different.[50]

Although Holyoke was supposed to work on the elevations, evidence of his contributions links him to the competition plan. While Gilbert was working in New York about one month before the St. Louis project was due, Holyoke was involved in the general layout of the buildings. Holyoke explained to Gilbert that he had placed the running track outside of the campus, near the gymnasium and the football field. This change in placement had also allowed him, he explained, to place the observatory closer to the campus and on the highest natural grade of the axis of the site. Holyoke commented:

> The scheme now seems to me logically and simply arranged in two quadrangles, the first and larger one devoted to educational buildings; and the second and narrower quadrangle (with the exception of the observatory) devoted to the dormitories, commons, and chapel.[51]

This general layout corresponds to the final drawings as they appear in photographs, the only extant images of the competition proposals.[52]

Holyoke's contribution to the design also extended to his recommendations about the use of landscaping, in rendered form and also in practical aspects. With regard to unsightly railroad tracks that ran through the site, Holyoke suggested to Gilbert that they minimize the effect in the rendering with forms of vegetation. He also suggested that Gilbert request

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the use of elm trees for the central approach. The "zig-zag form" that they had discussed for this area, however, was not endorsed by Holyoke because of the gentle slope of the site. He offered, instead, that this Beaux-Arts device should be used only for the walks to either side of the entrance, "for the decorative effect of landscape gardening."[53]

Even as Gilbert awaited news of the outcome of the United States Custom House competition, Holyoke was very much at work on the Washington University plans. He described to Gilbert that he was perfecting the plans of various buildings on tracing paper and that he had made a significant change to the scheme they had studied before Gilbert left for New York. Holyoke had changed the plan of the Busch chemistry building:

> In studying the chemical laboratories at the State University, Minneapolis, last Monday, and in accordance with the suggestion of the Professor of Chemistry (who had been in Edinboro [sic] and in a famous university in Zurich) I decided the dumb-bell shape of plan provided better lighted rooms in the buildings for the laboratories. The scheme as [George Hollis] Carsley and I have blocked it out, I think is exceedingly well-adapted to the conditions. In this connection I would [also] say that I have heard that the chemical building of Harvard is one of the best equipped chemical laboratories in the country, and I have written one of the officers of the University for data regarding that building.[54]

In the same letter, Holyoke urged Gilbert to make the gymnasium a more prominent feature by placing it on the central axis in back of the observatory, with the running track thrown off axis.[55] Although the lack of detailed drawings makes it difficult to assess the early placement of the gymnasium in relation to the observatory, it is clear that Gilbert did not follow Holyoke's suggestion to move the

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running track off axis. Whatever changes may or may not have been made in the course of the Washington University competition plans, Holyoke was a clear contributor to the design process.

The elevation, section, and plans of the Brookings Building (Figure 34) suggest that Gilbert (or those working on the competition drawings in his St. Paul office) were not as successful in developing a cohesive design for it as they had been with the overall plan. The administration building, which was located in the eastern quadrangle of the general plan, combined Italianate, Roman revival, and Beaux-Arts elements for an odd, disjunctive effect.[56] This outcome may reflect Gilbert's complaint about the ability of French-trained architects who, as he had said, "could not 'design' worth a row of buttons."[57] And, although Haskell had tried to enlist Ernest Hébrard's skills in the preparation of the elevation, Gilbert was adamant that this job was to be done by Holyoke.[58] (Gilbert had brought Hébrard from France to work on the Custom House renderings, and later, during World War I, pressed for his release as a prisoner of war so that he could return to the United States). Other draftsmen supplemented the efforts of Haskell and Holyoke, including Horace B. Collins and a Mr. Bennett and a Mr. Carlson. Frederick Lincoln, too, worked on the project and hoped that after his brief stint he would be allowed to enter Gilbert's employ as one of the "'hoboes' of the office force."[59]

In the months after the competition, the Washington

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University plan was widely exhibited. The Architectural League in New York, the Chicago Architectural Club, and the St. Louis Architectural Club each presented the plan as part of more extensive exhibitions. The perspective, however, according to Gilbert, was not in good enough condition to travel to such displays.[60]

The hurried, uncohesive character of the perspective can be linked to several circumstances. First, the timing of the Washington University competition coincided, as has been mentioned, with Gilbert's concurrent work on the United States Custom House competition.[61] The intensity of his work and the controversy that developed surrounding that competition took time and energy away from the St. Louis project. As the September deadline for the Custom House approached, much of Gilbert's writings for the New York project take on an urgent tone. No doubt the New York competition was more important to him and to his office than a competition for a university in the middle of the country.[62]

Gilbert's somewhat neutral attitude about the Washington University competition may also have been linked to his great respect for Cope and Stewardson's work. The selection of Cope and Stewardson's proposal as the winning entry was not surprising, given the fact that the firm had honed its planning skills at Bryn Mawr College (1886-1904), the University of Pennsylvania (1894-1900), and Princeton University (1895-1897). Although John Stewardson, one of the original partners had unexpectedly died in 1896, Walter S.

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Cope and Stewardson's brother, Emlyn, the firm's engineer, continued their work. By 1899, they "were in supreme command of a perfected campus-planning vocabulary."[63] Ralph Adams Cram, a contemporary of Gilbert and a Gothic revival architect, singled them out as "geniuses of no inferior order" who generated several inspiring collegiate Gothic designs.[64]

Gilbert's own admiration of this accomplished firm may have conflicted with his perceptions of his own abilities as a campus planner. Even before it was announced that Cope and Stewardson had won the competition, Gilbert confided to his wife that Cope's work "is most charming. Nothing outside of England [is] equal to it. Nobody in this country can touch it. If I were Mr. Brookings I'd [have] given him the Washington University and have done with the nonsense of a competition."[65] Gilbert also maintained a close working relationship with Cope, which included travelling with him to see the firm's university work in the summer of 1899.[66]

After the competition had been decided, Gilbert offered his most sincere congratulations to the firm. He exclaimed:

> This is perfectly bully! and I am delighted. I know the work will be a success in every way and I congratulate the University in having selected your firm. They couldn't have done better.
>
> Believe me this is from the heart and without the first shade of regret for my own defeat. I am glad for you and glad for them and for architecture.[67]

Although Gilbert was not familiar with Cope and Stewardson's competition design, judging from what he knew of the firm's other work, he was sure that their entry was first-rate. Gilbert even confided to his colleague, Frank Bacon, the

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pleasure and delight that he felt concerning Cope and Stewardson's success.[68]

The enthusiasm that Gilbert expressed regarding his own Washington University entry in early October (after the Custom House drawings had been submitted), in contrast, seemed to strike a false note of optimism. Perhaps he was trying to convince himself that the implausible might occur:

> The Washington University is coming on stunningly. Got a bully thing. Boys are working nights on it now. *En charette* again, confound them. Wouldn't wonder if we'd win again . . . . Wouldn't it be fun if we'd win the University--Hurrah! I believe we will, I know it! It's sure![69]

The blustery note of assurance in Gilbert's letter to Julia is not all that convincing, especially in light of the fact that only a few days earlier, Gilbert had requested an extension for more time--a request that was not granted.[70] Coupled with his great admiration of the work of Cope and Stewardson, Gilbert's optimism might suggest that he was overestimating the degree to which his own skills as an architect had developed.

Gilbert was also unsuccessful with his competition entry for the Carnegie Technical Schools (1900-1904) in Pittsburgh (now Carnegie-Mellon University). This project was funded by Andrew Carnegie, who set aside a large budget of $6 million for the construction of the new school. The school was developed for the technical education of industrial workers in approximately 70 areas of study. Both men and women from public schools were recruited as students for the new institution's programs. Organized by Philadelphia architect

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Warren P. Laird, the competition required a group plan for buildings covering 32 acres and accommodating 4000 students.[71] Six architectural firms were invited to submit designs: Cass Gilbert, Carrére and Hastings, Howells and Stokes, George B. Post, all from New York; and Frank Miles Day and Brother from Philadelphia. Other architects could also submit proposals, but, as in the Washington University program, they were not reimbursed for their efforts. Gilbert spent a total of $2378.95 to produce his drawings, but received only $1000 for his participation in the competition. Given Gilbert's financial loss in this competition, one can imagine how such circumstances as this contributed to his long-standing criticism of the competition system.

Interestingly, although Palmer and Hornbostel were awarded the first prize in the competition, and Gilbert's own designs did not even figure in the top five awards, a representative from Inland Architect wanted to publish the latter architect's drawings in the March 1905 issue of the magazine. Gilbert, however, was not interested. In a handwritten note to his secretary, he wrote a curt, schematic comment of how his reply should be written: "Appreciated the courtesy but see no reason for departing from usual custom of not publishing unaccepted competition drawings."[72]

Taking these early experiences into account, it is fair to say that Gilbert brought a great deal of knowledge and background to his three most significant group plans for the University of Minnesota, the University of Texas, and Oberlin

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College. What makes the designs of these schools markedly different from Gilbert's earlier attempts is the extent to which he was aided at each institution by key administrative and institutional officials. With the efforts of these people, Gilbert was able to develop grandly scaled proposals that addressed the problems of the growing university and college. In these three schools, too, in contrast to Gilbert's earlier experiments with the concept of the master plan, at least part of each plan was realized in some form as the institutions developed in later years.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

| | |
|---|---|
| AMG=Alfred Morton Githens | JFG=Julia Finch Gilbert |
| GB=Glenn Brown | AS=Alfred Stone |
| JBP=John B. Pine | TGH=Thomas G. Holyoke |
| JRR or JRJ=John R. Rockart | SSH=Samuel Stevens Haskell |
| or John Rachac, Jr. | THA=T. H. Anderson |
| CS=Channing Seabury | C&H=Carrère & Hastings |
| RSB=Robert S. Brookings | WSC=Walter S. Cope |

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. For general historical discussions of the history of American higher education, see Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History, rev. ed., (New York: Alfred S. Knopf, 1968) and Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds. American Higher Education: A Documentary History, 2 vols., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). For an overview of the history of American campus design, see Paul Venable Turner, Campus: An American Planning Tradition, rev. ed., (New York: Architectural History Foundation and Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990).

2. CG to Rev. James Dobbin at the Shattuck School, January 27, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS). By this time, Gilbert was familiar not only with the idea of the group plan but also with developments in building fireproof dormitories, as was being done at Princeton University.

3. Although Gilbert worked on other projects such as the Montana State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in Bozeman, and the Montana State University in Missoula, his participation was limited. On these projects, Gilbert served as consultant to George Hollis Carsley, the architect in charge of the master plans. Gilbert's work on several high schools also do not relate to the group of institutions that are addressed in this chapter. Although Gilbert's Hotchkiss School master plan indeed might qualify as a "campus" to be included in this chapter's discussion, the school's status as a high school should be discussed in relation to Gilbert's plans for George Junior Republic School in Litchfield, Connecticut, Madison High School in Madison, Wisconsin, and the Shattuck School, in Faribault, Minnesota. Gilbert's plans for these schools have not been studied in depth.

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4. For background on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, see David Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," and Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," in The Architecture of the Beaux-Arts, ed. Arthur Drexler, 2nd ed., (New York: Museum of Modern Art and Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983), 110-323 and 60-109 respectively. Also see Robin Middleton, ed., The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982).

5. Turner, 188.

6. Ibid., 186.

7. Ashton R. Willard, "The Development of College Architecture in American," New England Magazine (July 1897): 513-534.

8. A. D. F. Hamlin, "Recent American College Architecture," The Outlook 74 (August 1, 1903): 790-799; Claude Bragdon, "Architecture in the United States, II. The Growth of Taste," Architectural Record 25 (July 1909): 38-45.

Montgomery Schuyler also produced a 10-part series on college architecture, Architectural Record, vols. 26-31 (October 1909-May 1912). In this series, Schuyler regionally surveyed the buildings of the following campuses: Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, New York University, Union Theological Seminary, City College of New York, General Theological Seminary, University of Pennsylvania, Girard, Haverford, Lehigh, Bryn Mawr, Dartmouth, Williams, Amherst, Brown, Bowdoin, Trinity, Wesleyan, William and Mary, St. John's, University of Georgia, University of North Carolina, Davidson, Wake Forest, South Carolina, University of Virginia, Vanderbilt, Maryville, Rollins, Atlanta Baptist, All Saints, Union College, Hamilton, Hobart, Cornell, Syracuse, Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith.

9. Alfred Morton Githens, "The Group Plan. I. A Theory of Composition; The Carnegie Technical Schools," The Brickbuilder 15 (July 1906): 134-138; "The Group Plan. II. The Elemental Types of Composition," The Brickbuilder 15 (September 1906): 179-182; "The Group Plan. III. Hospitals," The Brickbuilder 16 (September 1907): 154-157; "The Group Plan. IV. Hospitals," The Brickbuilder 16 (October 1907): 185-187; "The Group Plan. V. Universities, Colleges and Schools," The Brickbuilder 16 (December 1907): 219-224. For more information about Githens, see "Monographs on Architectural Renderers, II. Alfred Morton Githens," The Brickbuilder 23 (February 1914): 26-29; and Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 645.

10. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 602-603.

11. Alfred Morton Githens, "The Group-Plan. I. A Theory of Composition; The Carnegie Technical Schools," The Brickbuilder 15 (July 1906): 137-138.

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12. Githens, "The Group Plan. V.," 219.

13. Githens, for example, was interested in borrowing Gilbert's copy of Burnham's volume concerning the improvement of Chicago. At a later date, he requested Gilbert's help concerning an article for The Brickbuilder about competitions [AMG to CG, August 21, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), F: E - G; JRR to CG, January 7, 1916, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1911-1918), F: Memo (1916); and AMG to CG, September 23, 1916, CGC, Misc., Bx: Misc. II. (1916), F: #103 E - L [1] (N-YHS)]. Gilbert's 1907-1909 scrapbook includes the reproductions of the drawings, "The American College, Madura, India," an August 1907 rendering, and the "Birdseye View of the Projected University at Honglok, Canton, China--Trustees of the Canton Christian College, New York," both master plans that had been designed by the New York firm of Stoughton and Stoughton. This firm's plan for the Canton Christian College was also reproduced in Githens' article.

14. John B. Pine, "Notes of the Building of a University," The American Architect 106 (December 2, 1914): 333-340; reprinted in Educational Review (March 1915). Pine expected that a campus master plan would be carried out by several architects. While Gilbert, no doubt, was aware of the practical implications of realizing a comprehensive plan during the course of several years, he probably would not have agreed with Pine on this point. Furthermore, Pine considered the cost of realizing ambitious projects such as these, and suggested that building design allow for flexible use. Buildings then would not become outmoded when their uses changed over time.

15. Pine, 339.

16. Ralph Adams Cram, "Recent University Architecture in the United States," Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects 19, 3rd series, (May 25, 1912): 503-504. Cram personally believed that large campuses of 4000-6000 students needed to be broken up into small units of approximately 200 students who would live and work together.

17. Cram, 503.

18. A. D. F. Hamlin, "Recent American College Architecture," The Outlook 74 (August 1, 1903): 790-799.

19. Pine, 333.

20. Gilbert and Pine knew one another as early as 1912, when Pine was collecting financial subscriptions for a memorial honoring their mutual friend, Frank Millet [CG to GB, June 25, 1912; CG to JBP June 23, 1912; CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS)].

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21. CG to JBP, December 20, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS). Gilbert added that architectural style might have to be "intimate" rather than "imposing," depending on the location and the climate. For buildings placed in or around a large city, Gilbert recommended that the style be imposing and monumental, whereas for a country setting, he believed the buildings should be "simple, picturesque and almost domestic" in character. Gilbert also suggested that Pine include illustrations that would serve as object lessons of good taste, in contrast to some of the "dreadful examples such as Yale and Harvard."

22. Ibid. Gilbert sent Pine examples of his own work, including master plans of the University of Minnesota, the University of Texas, and Oberlin College. Only the Texas plan was published as part of Pine's article.

23. JBP to CG, December 24, 1913, CGC, Chron. (1913), Bx: 2, F: #103 M-P (N-YHS).

24. Turner, 177; also see Francesco Passanti, "The Design of Columbia in the 1890s, McKim, and His Client," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 36 (May 1977): 69-84.

25. Cram, 501-502.

26. For a period discussion of the campus at the University of Virginia, see "The University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, architect," Indoors and Out 3 (December 1906): 102-113.

27. Letter of introduction to Sir William Turner, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 2; and August 11, 1880, CGP, Bx: 2, F: 5 (LC/MSS).

28. Journal entries June 26 and 27, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 2 (LC/MSS); CG to SH, December 28, 1900, CGC, Misc. [CGP?]-LB 10/99 - 12/00 (N-YHS). The latter correspondence documents Gilbert's visit to Oriel College at Oxford.

29. CG to CS, January 18, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

30. Buford Pickens, "Background: Planning Precedents, Issues, and Alternatives," in Buford Pickens and Margaretta J. Darnall, Washington University in St. Louis: Its Design and Architecture (St. Louis: Washington University, 1978), 21.

31. CG to JFG, August 20, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 4 (LC/MSS); also see Journal entry, August 19, 1899, Journal (1899-1909), CGC (N-YHS); and CG to JFG, August 20, 1899, CGP, Bx: 6, F: 4/1899 (LC/MSS). The Princeton drawings portray several dormitories, besides Stafford Little Hall and Blair Hall. See ADE 11-A-Gilbert 7-11, all dated August 19, 1899 (LC/P&P).

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32. "Connected Buildings Arranged in Harmony with the Ideal Location," and aerial view and plan of MIT, in SB (oversize), pp. 61 and 72 (N-YHS); "Plate of Harvard Medical School by Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge," and plate of War College Building, SB(#103) (1907-1909), n. p., all CGC (N-YHS). For further information about the War College, see Leland Roth, McKim, Mead & White, Architects (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 280-283.

33. CGC, oversize-SB, p. 48: New York Herald Tribune, (November 16, 1924) and Christian Science Monitor (November 12, 1924), the latter article regarding cost, specifications, program and relationship of the Pittsburgh tower to the university's master plan.

34. Phoebe A. Hearst to the Board of Regents of the University of California, October 24, 1896, as quoted in The International Competition for the Phoebe Hearst Architectural Plan for the University of California (San Francisco: Trustees of the Phoebe A. Hearst Architectural Plan for the University of California, [1899]), 6.

35. August 31, 1897 prospectus, as quoted in The International Competition, 8 and 10.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid. and T.H. Anderson for Cass Gilbert to G. Broes van Dort, n. d. (probably between February and March 1900), payment made for competition program, CGC, Misc. [CGP?]-LB 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS). Although this receipt may have been misfiled and may represent payment for only the (earlier) competition program, the approximate date suggests that it documents Gilbert's purchase of the summary volume of 1899.

38. CG to AS, November 10, 1896, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 11, F: 7; CG to AS, March 13, 1897, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 12, F: 6 (AIA); CG to J. B. Reinstein, October 11, 1897, CGC, Misc. [CGP?]-LB 10/97-7/98 (N-YHS); and "Proposed Plan for State University Buildings at Berkeley," San Francisco Examiner, vol. 62 (April 30, 1896), which Gilbert enclosed with his November 10, 1896 letter to Stone.

39. CG to Edward Spiess, December 20, 1899, CGC, Misc. [CGP?]-LB 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS). Gilbert also met with a Mr. Hoffmann from Franfurt am Main.

40. University of California sketch, dated January 14, 1898, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 2 (1897-1898) (LC/MSS); compare with Maybeck's perspective as shown in San Francisco Examiner 62 (April 30, 1896).

41. TGH to CG, January 18, 1898, CGC, Misc. [CGP?]-LB 10/97 - 7/98 (N-YHS).

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42. Margaretta J. Darnall, "Campus Planning in the 1880s and 1890s, the Olmsted Contribution, and the Competition for Washington University," in Pickens and Darnall, Washington University in St. Louis: Its Design and Architecture, 34. Also see Buford Pickens, "Background: Planning Precedents, Issues and Alternatives," in Ibid., 1-23 and Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 337-340 for background information. Compensation noted from W. S. Chaplin to CG, October 27, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#6 of 9), F: A-9 and CG to Chaplin, October 30, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

43. JRJ to CG, June 12, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#8 of 9), F: #3; RSB to CG, June 17, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#6 of 9), F: A-9; telegram from JRJ to CG, June 19, 1899, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#8 of 9). F: #3; and CG to SH, July 7 and 10, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#8 of 9), F: #3; all (N-YHS).

44. W. S. Chaplin to CG, telegram, October 27, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#6 of 9), F: A-9 (N-YHS). In contrast to the other proposals, Cope and Stewardson's design was conceived so that the plan would appear complete after the construction of the seven buildings for which the university had raised subscriptions.

45. Darnall, in Pickens and Darnall, 36.

46. TGH to CG, August 10, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#8 of 9), F: #2 (N-YHS).

47. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 339.

48. Ibid., 620.

49. CG to JFG, October 10, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 4 (LC/MSS).

50. SH to Henry Hornbostel, November 23, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

51. TGH to CG, September 19, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#8 of 9), F: #2 (N-YHS).

52. The original drawings have not been located in either the Washington University Archives or any other Cass Gilbert archive. They are only documented by photographs that were taken at approximately the time of the competition. The St. Louis Builder, which was interested in publishing the designs, may have arranged for the photographs to have been made. Gilbert gave his permission to have his plans published only if all of his competitor's plans would also be published. [Darnall, p. 39; F. W. Choisell to Cass Gilbert, October 18 and 27, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#6 of 9), F: A-7 and A-9 respectively; Cass Gilbert to F. W. Choisell, October 30, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00; all (N-YHS)].

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53. TGH to CG, September 19, 1899, Ibid.

54. TGH to CG, September 25, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#8 of 9), F: #2 (N-YHS). Perhaps Gilbert was referring to the Zurich Polytechnicum (also known as the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule) that was designed by Gottfried Semper from 1858 to 1864.

55. Ibid.

56. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 339.

57. CG to JFG, October 10, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 4 (LC/MSS).

58. Ibid.

59. SH to Horace B. Collins, October 28, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00; THA to CG, September 25, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#8 of 9), F: #2; Frederic F. Lincoln to CG, October 18, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#6 of 9), F: A-Z; CG to Lincoln, October 19, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00; and Lincoln to CG, November 6, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#6 of 9), F: A-2; all (N-YHS).

60. CG to Clarence Hatzfeld, February 27, 1900; SH to Frank B. Bufford, March 5, 1900; and SSH to CG, March 5 and 6, 1900; CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).60.

61. See Irish's M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation for more background.

62. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 256-297; and Sharon Lee Irish, "Cass Gilbert's New York Custom House, Bowling Green" (M. A. thesis, Northwestern University, 1982). Also see Robert Allen Jones, "Cass Gilbert, Midwestern Architect in New York" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1976).

63. Pickens, 21.

64. Cram, 504.

65. CG to JFG, August 20, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 1899 (LC/MSS). Gilbert also appreciated Cope's easy manner and sense of humor, as he explained to Julia, "Cope is a delightful fellow. I wish you knew him: full of enthusiasm and enjoyment like a boy, so simple and modest, and yet always analyzing things in a whimsical sort of way that is quite his own--."

66. See previous footnote and also Cope and Stewardson, June 30, 1899, and WSC to CG, telegram, August 18, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#9 of 9), F: E-19 (N-YHS). Gilbert referred potential employees to the firm, especially concerning the talents of renderers, including Hughson Hawley,

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an independent contractor, and Arthur Smith, of Ernest Flagg's office [CG to G. E. Merrill, July 2, 1900; and CG to WSC, August 14, 1900; CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS)]. They continued to work together in later negotiations concerning the Louisiana Purchase Exposition that were to be made part of the campus [WSC to RSB, December 17, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1901-1902, F: 2 (N-YHS)].

Gilbert's relationship with the other competitors was more formal or non-existent. When Carrére and Hastings, for example, wanted to lobby for changes in the competition requirements for the renderings, Gilbert did not respond -- perhaps because of their embroilment in the Custom House controversy. Carrére and Hastings had wanted to include in the east elevation of the Brookings Building references to the nearby Cupples and Busch Buildings. They also wanted to complete their renderings with shadows accurately cast and washed in [C&H to CG, August 19, 1899, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903 (#9 of 9), F: E-19 (N-YHS)]. Judging from the final proposals, the firm was successful on both counts.

67. CG to WSC, October 27, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

68. CG to Frank Bacon, November 9, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 12/99-4/09 (N-YHS).

69. CG to JFG, October 10, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 4 (LC/MSS).

70. CG to RSB, October 3, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 12/99-4/09; CG to RSB, October 15, 1899, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS). Gilbert had also asked his wife to persevere a little longer, and sacrifice time from their personal life, so that he could return to work on the St. Louis competition [CG to JFG, October 1, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 3 (LC/MSS)].

71. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 602-603; "Architectural Competition for the Buildings of the Carnegie Technical Schools, Pittsburgh," Engineering Record 49 (June 11, 1904): 739; Alfred Morton Githens, "The Group Plan. I. A Theory of Composition; The Carnegie Technical Schools," The Brickbuilder 15 (July 1906): 134-138; and "Accepted Layout for the Carnegie Technical Schools, Pittsburgh, Pa." and "Plan of Group I: Carnegie Technical Schools, Pittsburgh, Pa.," American Architect and Building News 87 (February 25, 1905): n.p. Also see Chron. corr., Bx: 1904/#1 of 2, F: 4/#164 Carneg. Inst. (N-YHS) and Turner, 181, as well as other sources cited by Irish.

72. Handwritten note on letter from L. Muller to CG, February 25, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: (1905) #3 of 4, F: 4 (N-YHS).

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# CHAPTER V

## CASS GILBERT'S UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA MASTER PLANS

By the early twentieth century, the University of Minnesota had grown into a large institution that offered several specialized programs, including those offered in the School of Agriculture, the College of Mechanic Arts, the College of Law, the Medical School, and the School of Mines. Founded as a state university in 1851 by Governor Alexander Ramsey, the University of Minnesota was one of the early land grant institutions that resulted from the Land Grant College Act of 1862. This legislation allowed each state to purchase government lands in order to establish a college for agricultural and mechanical education.[1] After the first university buildings were constructed on the campus when it was founded, a building boom occurred in the late 1880s and mid-1890s in response to the rising numbers of students attending the institution and the increase in programs offered by the school. This phase produced several massive masonry buildings that were constructed on the site in the style of Henry Hobson Richardson. Some of these buildings, in rough-hewn stone, were designed by LeRoy S. Buffington, a Minneapolis architect who is better known for his early skyscraper designs.[2]

The second building phase began in 1907 when Cass Gilbert was first approached by members of the university's Alumni Building Committee on Buildings and Grounds, perhaps because of his work on the capitol. Gilbert worked on the

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university's plans well into the 1920s, but to understand how his master plan developed--ultimately changed over the years--it is important to retrace key events from the early years of his contact with the university.

After Gilbert was informally engaged by the institution to develop a campus expansion plan, the university decided to hold a competition. Gilbert won this competition in 1908.[3] He and his office staff produced spectacular renderings for this competition, but they encountered several obstacles over the next few years in their dealings with the Board of Regents. Gilbert's negotiations can be characterized as nothing short of a great struggle, one that is worthy of close examination.

Milton O. Nelson, a St. Paul journalist of the period, commented in a newspaper article upon this development of the campus in its early years, indicating that the expansion of programs directly correlated with the university's need for new buildings. Nelson also compared the programs at Minnesota with those of several other institutions across the country. In so doing, he developed the idea that the state university of Minnesota was coming into its own as an institution to be respected and, more importantly, to contribute greatly to the future of the developing region of the upper Midwest.[4] Nelson inferred that Minnesota had a unique opportunity, especially since few American schools had adopted a plan that would "observe unity and classic construction." These features, Nelson believed, were integral to a well-established

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educational institution and what he believed were physical aspects of civic improvement.[5]

Minneapolis journalist, Frank A. Carle, also found this perception important as is indicated in his editorials for the Minneapolis Tribune. Carle, however, was more concerned with how Minneapolis and St. Paul were developing as cities and noted Gilbert's contributions to their growth. He saw Gilbert's proposals for the Minneapolis campus as an extension of the work the architect had done at the state capitol in St. Paul:

> Our park system is closely connected with that of St. Paul and the enlarged and rebuilt campus will fit into it as the capitol approaches will fit into theirs.
> . . . and the whole of it is to make a Twin City Beautiful of the future.[6]

This "Twin City Beautiful" was part of the changing perception of Minneapolis and St. Paul as grander and more pivotal centers than they had constituted in the past when they were perceived as pioneer towns without the sophistication, cultural activities, or educational opportunities offered by larger cities.

In Gilbert's proposals for the University of Minnesota, completed from 1907 to 1910, and for the University of Texas, completed from 1909 to 1910, Gilbert transformed the single-axis campus design of the Jeffersonian model into a more complex design--a transformation typical of Beaux-Arts principles and techniques.[7] In a perspective rendering of the final Minnesota competition plan, the mall and a large public space to the south were flanked by subsidiary buildings

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(Figure 35). Farther south, a French formal landscape was used to provide a transition from the constructed setting of the campus to the natural setting of the Mississippi River. As Turner has aptly pointed out, this section represents "the most authentically French Beaux-Arts plan for an American campus," with the exception of Emile Bénard's celebrated plan for the University of California at Berkeley.[8] Bénard's plan responded to the visionary idealism of the prospectus of 1897 (Figure 30). His so-called "City of Learning" proposed a formal, axial arrangement of at least 28 buildings, all rendered in a classical style and placed in tiered fashion on the steep, hilly site.[9]

By the turn of the century, it was typical for wealthy donors--among them Leland Stanford and John D. Rockefeller--to fund institutions on an unprecedented scale.[10] In contrast to these philanthropists' respective contributions to Stanford University and to the University of Chicago, donors were scarce for Gilbert's projects. The Minnesota and Texas university master plans developed by Gilbert were encouraged by college administrative officials who hoped to transform their schools into grand projects before major sources of funding had been secured. Thus, Gilbert's plans for the University of Minnesota and the University of Texas were not representative of the general philanthropic trend in early twentieth-century campus design.

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## Gilbert's University of Minnesota Plans of 1907

Certainly Gilbert was familiar with the university campus before he was approached in 1907 to work on the comprehensive plan. As a local St. Paul architect, it is very likely that he was aware of the existence of the eclectic group of nearby buildings in the Victorian, classical, and Richardsonian Romanesque revival styles. Without any overall unified plan, these buildings were loosely grouped along meandering paths and were located south of the Great Northern Railroad tracks and University Avenue (Figure 35). By the turn of the century, Gilbert had visited the campus to attend the unveiling ceremony of Daniel Chester French's bronze statue of John Sargent Pillsbury, a former governor and university regent, popularly known as "the father of the university."[11] A few years later, Gilbert also made suggestions to then-Governor Samuel van Sant about a monument to be constructed on the campus in honor of the Minnesota soldiers who had served in the Spanish-American War, an act that clearly indicates Gilbert's familiarity with the site.[12]

Gilbert's ideas for a comprehensive plan for the University of Minnesota were greatly influenced by the efforts of local citizens. Minneapolis attorney Lewis S. Gillette and businessman Frederick W. Clifford (a founder of the Cream of Wheat Company), were instrumental in encouraging Gilbert to produce grand plans for the growing campus even before the official 1908 competition took place. Although the Board of Regents had no official alumni representatives until February

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1908,[13] Clifford and Gillette were interested, active, and successful mediators in helping Gilbert navigate through many difficulties. They were apprised of each phase in Gilbert's negotiations with the University of Minnesota Board of Regents. The question remains, however, why they both were informed at every stage of the development of the University of Minnesota project when neither of them served as an official regent. For one, Clifford, in particular, was very appreciative of having the chance to work with him. Upon receiving one of Gilbert's watercolors of Wells Cathedral, Clifford wrote that his association with the architect was one that already had "disproportionately rewarded [his] very minor part" in contributing to the public good.[14] Clifford's humility aside, I would argue that the efforts of Clifford and Gillette, together with those of Carsley, played a major role in the development of Gilbert's plans. The reasons for their efforts are unclear, but they might be explained in the following manner.

What is so intriguing is the keen perspective that both Clifford and Gillette maintained in viewing the events from 1907 to 1910. When, for example, Gilbert and the Board were embroiled in a controversy about the issue of compensation, Clifford assured Gilbert,

> [e]verything connected with this project. . . is entirely beyond the range of their previous experience. They may have even yet but a vague comprehension of the magnitude or value of this plan. They don't know how to begin to realize such a plan. . . . but these men have it in their power to make certain the completion of a very remarkable group of buildings. No other American university has such a site or such an opportunity.[15]

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As Clifford suggested, the two Twin Cities citizens were especially aware of this great opportunity that lay before the University of Minnesota regents. As the first major undertaking for the school and for a city that was still somewhat isolated by the turn of the century, Gilbert's project presented a means by which to vault the institution into the mainstream in higher education and also to the forefront of the discussions of planning.

Clifford and Gillette were clearly interested in the aesthetic and programmatic terms of Gilbert's work. They both served as part cheerleaders, part negotiators, and part conduits for information from which Gilbert could benefit. Clifford was especially convinced that Gilbert's campus plan for Minnesota would create "one of the noblest groups of buildings in the world."[16] He also proved himself to be the main participant in several stages of Gilbert's negotiations with the Board of Regents.

Clifford's interest and motivation may be explained by his particular familiarity with City Beautiful ideas, especially after Clifford's business, the Cream of Wheat Company, in 1904 decided to build new headquarters in downtown Minneapolis at Fifth Street and First Avenue North (Figure 37). This building (which was demolished in 1939) was designed by Minneapolis architect Harry Wild Jones and originally was noted for its formal classical restraint and its beauty. The company headquarters stood six stories high and provided a large garden for use by the company's

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employees. This garden was intended to provide an uplifting environment for the company's workers.[17]

Clifford, Gillette, and Gilbert also shared similar interests and moved in the same social and intellectual circles. As early as 1908, for example, Clifford and Gilbert vacationed together and had ample opportunity to discuss the potential developments of the University of Minnesota project.[18] Gillette, Clifford, and Gilbert were also united in the fight against Pierce Butler, the regent responsible for almost single-handedly thwarting the success of Gilbert's proposed program. As late as 1913, Clifford still harbored harsh sentiments towards Butler. Clifford stated then that:

> [t]here never was an Irishman so mentally twisted by hate as to waste his time in attempting to reach his enemy in so thin-blooded and piffling a fashion. To harass with the pin pricks of petty malice a great artist whose work will live and whose fame will increase long after we are all forgotten is small business for grown men.[19]

These bitter words resulted from their years of wrangling with Butler, as is described in the following discussion.

Although Clifford was the chairman of the Alumni Committee on Buildings and Grounds (the committee that requested Gilbert to design a master plan for the campus), it was Gillette who, as a member of the same committee, first contacted Gilbert in May 1907 about producing such a plan.[20] Evidence of his enthusiasm can be found in the fact that Gilbert was excited about the prospect of the new project. When the Board of Regents members expressed their keen interest in securing World Columbian Exposition architect and administrator Daniel H. Burnham to work on the project,

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Gilbert willingly agreed to work with him. Before the ultimately unsuccessful realization of the Burnham/Gilbert collaboration, Gilbert described to Gillette what he believed should be the goals of a campus plan:

> . . . I can say with confidence that upon that site could be planned one of the most effective and noble groups of educational buildings to be found anywhere. The last few years have brought me very much in contact with matters of this kind, . . . .
>
> . . . It is not necessary that University buildings should be ponderous and monumental, but is essential that they should be well-ordered, well-grouped, well-arranged, and well-proportioned and that they should leave a definite and ennobling impression upon those who might visit or use them.[21]

Gilbert's goals to create a noble environment echoed his essay on the plan of Washington, D.C., which resulted from his early Beaux-Arts oriented training at MIT as well as from the influence of his New York employers, McKim, Mead & White, and contact with Glenn Brown, a professional colleague. (See Chapters I and II for a discussion of these issues.)

By the end of the summer of 1907, Gillette and Clifford were supplying Gilbert with necessary information for the architect's early plans.[22] Although Gillette claimed it eventually would be covered over, the most significant feature of the site that any design had to take into account was the deep cut in the landscape for the Northern Pacific Railway tracks.[23] Gillette made arrangements for Gilbert to visit the grounds first and then to meet with Benjamin F. Nelson, Chairman of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, and Board of Regents President James T. Wyman. This meeting was scheduled for mid-September, after which Gilbert unanimously

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was recommended by the committee to lay out the new grounds of the campus extension.[24] By late October, Gilbert had produced six studies for the university[25] (Figures 38-43). This series represents the typical Beaux-Arts fashion in which Gilbert and his staff worked out ideas, experimenting with various formal arrangements and *parti*. Preliminary studies such as these would then later be worked out in more detail to present the final idea to the client or patron.

Each of the preliminary designs for Minnesota recalls the campus plans of the University of Virginia (Figure 28) and of its descendant, Columbia University (Figure 27).[26] Most notable, however, is Gilbert's plan to greatly increase the number of buildings on campus and to organize the building groups into a comprehensive scheme. His project was truly grand in scale and program and it represented a response that perhaps the university did not expect.

These preliminary designs all featured, to the south of Washington Avenue, a new large building that would serve as a symbolic and physical focal point of the mall area which extended to the north. The mall was defined by the systematic placement of eight buildings, four on each side of the open space. Farther north, the existing campus buildings from the late nineteenth century were left as a separate section of the campus. The early schemes differ, however, in the treatment of the central area of the south campus. The large building is rendered in various arrangements of a modified Greek-cross plan with curving arms that extend from the façade facing the

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mall (Figures 39-43). Many of the studies include a semi-circular ring of smaller buildings that extend south of the large building (Figures 41-43). The studies reflect Gilbert's experimentation with the location of the track and field oval as well as his articulation of modified quadrangles in the European cloister tradition for the eastern area of the plan. These schemes also portray his interest in varied proposals for formal landscape plans on the mall itself and in the area leading down to the river to the south.

By late October 1907, the Board of Regents (through Gillette) arranged for Gilbert's compensation for having produced these drawings. Gilbert gave the Board two options concerning fees: either $3500, to cover the cost of the drawings and his travel, plus additional expenses; or $4500 as an all-inclusive fee to cover the entire cost of the project.[27] This issue was to become one of the most problematic and crucial junctures in the development of Gilbert's relationship with the Board in the coming years.

Gillette and Clifford served as liaisons between Gilbert and the Board of Regents. They provided Gilbert with information about what was going on behind the scenes and also served as sounding boards for the architect throughout his development of the campus plan. Their efforts were evident at nearly every stage of Gilbert's involvement with the university regents. As Gillette expressed his and Clifford's strong support of the architect's work, he explained:

> We will be glad to serve as rooters, hoping thus to furnish the executive committee with sufficient

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> enthusiasm to keep up the good work. We will personally see Mr. Nelson and Mr. Wyman at the earliest opportunity and express our satisfaction and approval of your proposition. Rest assured [that] we will be ready at any time to help you present this matter properly.[28]

This vote of confidence was to be heard many times during the next couple of years.

When Clifford, Gillette, and Gilbert discussed compensation, Gilbert defended his fee structure by explaining that his final plan would be on par with the scale, the effect, and the quality exhibited in Bénard's University of California competition drawings. Most important, Gilbert was concerned with that his presentation drawings be presented tactfully to the regents and to the legislative and public authorities. These presentation drawings, Gilbert explained to Gillette, "might have the effect of frightening them with the idea that it would involve an immediate and vast expenditure of money far beyond the needs or the resources of the University."[29] Gilbert advised Gillette that one or two simple drawings, which showed the schematic development of the campus after five, ten, and more than ten years, should be developed to avoid this perception. Gilbert was concerned especially with presenting a general plan that would be "so elastic that it [could] be modified in parts while maintaining the same general scheme."[30]

During these early stages of discussion about the campus plan, Gillette and Clifford met directly with each member of the board to press Gilbert's and their case. They each spent two or three hours with the individual regents to review the

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preliminary plans. Regarding the six studies, Gillette told Gilbert that "[t]hey have been quite an eye-opener to a number of members of the board."[31] By mid-December 1907, the Board reported to Gilbert that although they unanimously had agreed that Gilbert's general scheme should be carried out, one board member did not support Gilbert's appointment.[32] Despite the fact that Gilbert contacted the Board president to prompt a decision, the matter was tabled until the January 1908 Board of Regents meeting.[33]

The university regent who opposed Gilbert's plan was Pierce Butler, a St. Paul attorney who later in his career went on to become a Supreme Court justice. He joined the Board of Regents in June 1907, filling a position that had been vacated by Eugene W. Randall.[34] Butler became Gilbert's chief adversary between 1908 and 1910. Gilbert believed that the shift from the informal 1907 gentleman's agreement to the problem-ridden 1908 competition could be traced back to Butler.[35] Gilbert elaborated on the shift in power that took place after Butler had joined the Board of Regents: "As soon as Mr. Butler took office he argued against the consummation of the [informal] agreement with me and insisted upon a competition being held."[36]

Butler harbored deep-seated resentment against Gilbert for several reasons. His main criticism was based on financial concerns, since Gilbert's request for $10,000 in compensation after the close of the competition in May 1908 exceeded the Board's original agreement with the architect.[37]

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Butler pointed out that Clarence H. Johnston, the university architect authorized by the State Board of Control, charged only 3% of the gross net cost of the project. Thus, Butler did not think it was fair for Gilbert to charge a higher rate.[38]

Although Gilbert's and Butler's differences seemed ostensibly monetary, Butler's personal enmity, according to Clifford, was "the only real obstacle" that he, Gillette, and Gilbert faced.[39] Deep-seated personal reasons were at the root of this enmity. Gilbert explained that this hostility went back to a conflict he had in 1906 with the contracting firm owned by Pierce Butler's brother, Walter. At the time, Gilbert was supervising the design and building of the Suffolk Savings Bank in Boston. When Walter Butler's firm failed to complete its contract on time, Gilbert insisted that the delay had caused his client to suffer material damages, and he recommended that the firm be assessed a penalty of $6000. As a result of this confrontation, Gilbert was convinced that Pierce Butler's behavior concerning the development of the University of Minnesota project represented retaliation for how Walter had been treated in Boston.[40]

## The 1908 University of Minnesota Competition

When the Board met in January 1908, Gilbert's relationship with the members underwent a radical change. The group decided to hold a competition, even though Gilbert had been led to believe that he would soon be officially engaged

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as the planner of the new university campus.[41] Architects Daniel H. Burnham of Chicago, Walter Cook of New York, and William H. Kenyon of Minneapolis served as the jurors of the competition.[42] The Board of Regents received twenty entries before it awarded first prize to Gilbert's proposal.[43]

During this phase of the project, Gilbert again relied on Gillette and Clifford as his inside supporters in order to navigate through myriad problems. The difficulties were numerous under the new conditions. Gillette explained to Gilbert his perception of what had developed:

> I have been hoping from week to week to be able to write you announcing the consummation of our deal with the Regents. Added to the determination of certain members of the Board to annoy you and make you trouble, we now have internal dissensions, in fact a rupture, over the election of one of their members as Dean of the Agricultural College. There is blood on the moon.
>
> After a conference at a lunch given by Mr. Pierce Butler at Carlings, some ten days ago, [those] present [included] Lind, Nelson, Clifford, Butler and Gillette; men, methods, and contracts were cussed and discussed. Nothing was arrived at further than that Mr. Butler agreed to revamp the contract in such a way that it would be thoroughly satisfactory to me. The result was, to put it mildly, not what was promised and was essentially a renewal of the original [contract]. When I came back to read it I was amazed to find that we were back at the starting post.[44]

Gillette believed that this shift in orientation was due to internal politics of the Board (although he did not name Butler as the instigator) and he urged Gilbert to come to Minneapolis.

Although the Board believed their actions were fair in offering Gilbert the opportunity to compete, it is clear that Gilbert thought otherwise. He was frank in his response to Gillette about the abrupt change in conditions. Gilbert

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claimed that normally he would not take part in such a competition, but that he was duty-bound to continue his work:

> I promptly and heartily responded to the request of gentlemen that called me into the matter and gave freely of my time (at no little expense) in an effort to help forward a public enterprise. If committees and individuals could only realize the expense to architects in the preparation of sketches and drawings they would as businessmen be the first to discountenance such competitions. Unfortunately, . . . it leaves me in the view of some of your Regents as an architect seeking a "job" which is quite unjustified, and yet I cannot well refuse to enter the competitions without abandoning the work I have already done on it.[45]

Gilbert was critical of the unusual situation he was in--especially in light of the Board's argument that this new arrangement was "fair." As he saw it, the goal should have been "to provide a plan for the University and not a lottery for architects [his emphasis]."[46] Gilbert opposed an open competition system because he believed that the process demeaned his status as a professional. Nevertheless, as he explained to the President of the Board of Regents, James T. Wyman, he had decided years earlier never again to enter an open competition but had made an exception in the case of the University of Minnesota.[47] In this transitional phase of his relationship with the university, Gilbert was also concerned that his preliminary drawings from the previous fall would be shown to other architects who might use his ideas, so he took great pains to copyright the images.[48]

Despite his dissatisfaction with the new terms, Gilbert was familiar with the competition program before it was formally published and before it was released to the other competitors. When Gillette sent Gilbert a draft of the

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guidelines in early January, Gilbert seemed most interested in the provision that assured the winning architect of future employment on the project.[49] (This provision was struck from the later official version.) Clifford and Gillette who were vacationing in Palm Beach, Florida, were presumably not able--even if they had so desired--to prevent changes such as this from being made.[50] Clifford also alerted Gilbert as to who the architect's other potential competitors might be. The list, Clifford believed, was a curious one which contained "some surprises," including nationally-known architects, such as Delano and Aldrich, as well as locally-established architects, such as Clarence H. Johnston, L. A. Lamoreaux, and Edwin H. Hewitt.[51]

At the time of the competition, Clifford tried to assure Gilbert that his plans would receive increased support since the Board was engaged in the process of electing its first alumni representatives. One of the representatives was ex-governor, John Lind, a political figure who, in previous years, had greatly supported Gilbert's Minnesota State Capitol plans. After his election to the Board, Lind became the new president of the Board of Regents in 1908, and thus wielded influence with the regents as one of Gilbert's supporters. Butler, however, as Lind's political aide, exerted his own influence upon the ex-governor, thus causing Lind to withdraw some of his support for Gilbert's proposals.[52]

Other problems that Clifford and Gillette also helped Gilbert to deal with involved issues of compensation.

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Although Clifford advocated fair compensation for the jury's time and labor, he applauded its members for accepting their appointments to serve without any compensation.[53] Clifford explained to Gilbert that "[a] certain responsibility for civic improvement and higher public education standards is in every profession one of the penalties of conspicuous achievement."[54] Despite the discouraging conditions under which the jury had to work, Clifford greatly appreciated the high sense of public duty that Walter Cook and the other members of the jury maintained as they were drafted without the promise of due compensation. Low payment for the winning design was the other problem that plagued Gilbert for the next two years of his involvement with the university.

Gilbert, in late April, submitted to the Board his competition drawings, a general plan (Figure 44), and a combined bird's-eye view and cross-section (Figure 35).[55] This scheme accommodated already-existing buildings for the departments of mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, and the school of medicine; it also presented a plan for the phasing in of new buildings while old structures were still in use. As in Gilbert's preliminary plans, this newly detailed plan was composed of three distinct parts: the monumental building group south of Washington Avenue, the mall area extending north, and the existing buildings located farther north.

This plan, as Gilbert perceived it, was practical, suitable, and dignified in manner.[56] The monumental group

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consisted of a large academic hall, placed conspicuously on the site in order to overlook the river. The southeastern façades of the hall were surrounded by a semi-circular "esplanade" of faculty residences. This great hall, along with a hospital and medical museum to the west, and a library and art museum to the east, formed the boundaries of a large civic plaza. Women's and men's dormitories (arranged in the tradition of the medieval English quadrangle), fraternity houses, and engineering buildings were located to the east and northeast of this plaza.

The mall, north of the monumental group, accommodated buildings for the several professional schools of the university. This "more strictly collegiate section," as Gilbert identified it, was to be constructed first. To the west and northwest of the mall were subdivisions of the medical school (for departments of homeopathy, anatomy, surgery, and so on). The main buildings of the medical school were connected by corridors and underground passageways. University Avenue, the street that ran parallel to the mall in this western section, was conducive to the planning of memorial gateways at three entrances. At the northern edge of the new mall, the Northern Railroad tracks were covered, thereby forming a tunnel that extended from 17th Street to Prospect Street. Gilbert placed a local station near the track and field area, which he believed would attract great crowds.[57] This station was to contain two tracks--one for passenger trains leading to the campus and the track, the

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other for coal delivery to the university heating plant. (This latter track established a connection with the power house and also the mechanical engineering building, where it was proposed that laboratory experiments on the trains would take place.)

A new area that Gilbert had only briefly outlined in his preliminary drawings lay to the southeast, where he envisioned a sunken garden in the location of an old quarry. The sides of this garden were to be defined in a manner similar to that of the plan of the Orangery at Versailles. Also, the garden was to be connected to the nearby River Road/Parkway for public access. West of this area and south of the great hall, Gilbert envisioned a formal landscape developed on the main axis of the mall. This entire area was planned as a park that would be cut into the hillside. The form of zig-zag stairs across a sloped hillside (which could be used as a promenade) would lead down to the river where a boat house and marina would be placed. This formal feature referred to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts preoccupation with the similar arrangement of walkways and stair at the 2nd century Roman Imperial Sanctuary of Primigenia at Praenaeste (now Palestrina), Italy. Clearly, Gilbert had combined several of the ideas that he had experimented with in his preliminary plans, which were completed several months earlier--the monumental group, the mall, and the general as well as specific arrangement of building groups.[58] He therefore was unsure about how best to arrange the axes of the plan, located the buildings, and

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establish a distinctive orientation to the river.

This plan was made to conform to the existing street pattern of Minneapolis (see Figures 44 and 45). Gilbert believed that the mall's axial orientation, lying perpendicular to the main thoroughfare of Washington Avenue, would present to students and visitors "successive vistas [that] opened up to the right and left like the aisles of a cathedral."[59] He concluded his lengthy description of the plan by stating that the most important colleges and universities made practical and also symbolic use of a grand court.

Gillette and Clifford were delighted with this competition scheme. After receiving photographic reproductions of Gilbert's drawings, Clifford wrote to Gilbert, saying:

> we are as delighted with the beauty and dignity of the composition as we are impressed with the thorough and comprehensive provision that has been made for the present and future needs of the University. I believe that Mr. Gillette and I realize, as much as laymen can, the peculiar embarrassments of your position in this competition, but I will not now repeat what we have already told you of our personal regret and chagrin that it was not possible to carry out the original purpose, or our appreciation of the spirit in which you have continued to work with us for the good of the University, [in] spite of the changed conditions.[60]

Clifford and Gillette's constant support of Gilbert's work was unmatched. Clifford advised Gilbert as to how he might best present these plans to the Board of Regents.[61]

## Gilbert's University of Minnesota Studies, 1908-1909

In the months following the announcement of Gilbert's award as first-prize winner of the University of Minnesota

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competition, the Board of Regents continued their discussion concerning the arrangement of the main axial orientation of the campus. Regent Henry B. Hovland initiated the idea of further proposals, and Board President Lind elaborated on the idea. Gilbert, aided by draftsman, W. J. Smith, further experimented with various planning schemes (Figures 46-49).[62] These plans, completed between June and July 1908, represent variations on the building group arrangements that had been proposed in the earlier competition schemes. These plans also made use of a new arrangement of buildings that was to become prominent in Gilbert's later proposals.

It is possible that Gilbert was well aware of the building group arrangement of Hornbostel and Palmer's 1908 winning design for the Western Pennsylvania University (now the University of Pittsburgh) (Figure 50). Both Gilbert and the Pennsylvania school designers made use of a monumental administrative group, to the north of which extended most of the campus. Similarly situated on a precipitous site, the Minnesota and Pennsylvania campuses also employed formal terraces south of the main building group. One notable difference is that the Minnesota plan included a formal garden in this area. The Pennsylvania plan, in contrast, proposed that the area be utilized for additional campus buildings. As historian Agnes Lynch Starrett explains, the arrangement created "a sort of Greek acropolis as an intellectual center for Pittsburgh."[63] Likewise, McKim, Mead & White's earlier design for Columbia University had contributed to what became

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known as the "Acropolis of New York." Gilbert's similar intentions for the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis carried on this tradition.[64]

George Hollis Carsley, a key employee in Gilbert's St. Paul office, also influenced the architect's work to a lesser extent. Carsley served as a significant liaison between Gilbert, Gillette and Clifford, and the Board of Regents. Like Gillette and Clifford, his efforts extended beyond those of what were expected of him. Carsley was responsible for alerting Gilbert to an alternative solution to the configuration of the campus. This idea was illustrated in small photographs that Carsley had obtained in July 1908 from the office of the Boston-based landscape architect, Warren Manning. Carsley outlined Manning's proposal to Gilbert, explaining that

> there were a number of points about it which appealed to me as having considerable merit, and particularly would appeal to some of the regents of the University who object to the moving of large quantities of earth. I have made a rough sketch from memory showing some of the essential features of this scheme, which I thought might interest you.[65]

This sketch, also referred to by Carsley as "Manning's scheme" (Figure 51), transformed Gilbert's understanding of potential solutions for the campus plan.

The most important change proposed by the sketch was the new central location of the library, the assembly hall, and the chapel. These buildings, now placed north of Washington Avenue (as opposed to south of this thoroughfare near the river bluffs), formed the core of the new group plan. The new

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medical school would be located in the northeast area of the campus, incorporating the few then-existing medical buildings. A new mechanical engineering building would be located near a railroad spur, as Gilbert previously had envisioned. South of Washington Avenue, in the former location of the assembly hall, a monument was proposed to give symbolic and physical focus to a new plaza area. This new scheme thus reversed the positions of the central assembly hall and plaza in the previous plans of 1907 and 1908 and became the standard arrangement of Gilbert's later plans of 1909 and 1910. Carsley, in the following passage, further described the features of the new plan and relayed to Gilbert the general opinion about its new orientation:

> one of the essential features of the whole scheme is that much of the ground at the south at the bend of the river is left more or less developed, and a heavy retaining wall is placed not very far south of Washington Avenue in order to avoid the very steep grade and curve in the two streets which cross it, with a monument as a central feature. The river boulevard runs around below this wall. The buildings are grouped on each side of the two deflected streets, which forms a large court, and are developed as minor groups off from this. . . .
>
> It seems to be the opinion that bending the court around in the form of a circle would be objectionable and that the same object could be accomplished by shortening it up, preserving the general direction and angularity of the streets and also the vistas.[66]

Carsley's proposal to shorten the plaza axis in line with the assembly hall became the other central feature of proposals developed later in 1909.

Nearly all of Gilbert's 1909 and 1910 drawings were based on the general conception of his earlier competition drawings. In early 1909, Gilbert made tracings of the competition

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drawings in order to proceed with his development of the campus plan.[67] Gilbert also spoke freely about the new orientation of concentrating campus development south of Washington Avenue. He called Lind's attention to the fact that

> the University property in 25 years would be entirely surrounded by factories, and . . . would be an undesirable place for a University. From this I argued that the direction of the University [development] should be distinctly to the south of Washington Avenue and up on the hill above the boulevard drive, in all of which he agreed.[68]

This long-term vision for the site remained extremely important to Gilbert in later years as well. Gilbert also encouraged Lind to travel to the East Coast to visit various universities and colleges in the region, including the University of Virginia. This trip, however, did not occur as planned.[69]

In the transitional months between the 1908 competition and Gilbert's even more formal presentation drawings of 1910, Clifford, Gillette, and Carsley continued to serve as a significant liaisons between university regents and Gilbert. Carsley not only interviewed faculty and staff, he also met with university students as to their needs and requirements for an expanded campus.[70] Clifford and Gillette were apprised of developments in discussions about Gilbert's relationship to the Board. For instance, when the Board resolved to set August 1, 1909 as the deadline for the completion of work as outlined by Gilbert's second contract, they were notified as promptly as Gilbert was.[71]

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By the spring of 1909, Gilbert was still reworking the axial arrangement of the campus (Figures 52 and 53). These studies were completed by William P. Foulds, a talented draftsman in Gilbert's New York office. Foulds had studied--with his employer's financial support--at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from 1904-1906 and had returned to Gilbert's office two years later.[72] The March 31, 1909 study represents Gilbert's (and Foulds') first formal presentation of the change in location of the administrative building to the north end of the campus (Figure 52). Warren Manning's idea, as previously mentioned, became the hallmark of nearly all the presentation drawings completed after this date, with the exception of Foulds' study of April 15, 1909 (Figure 53).

Gilbert's experimentation can be explained, in part, by the lack of a resolution concerning the covering of the Northern Pacific railroad tracks. Gilbert alluded to his frustration with this matter when he wrote to Lind in the spring of 1909:

> the Northern Pacific Railway tracks crossing the campus form such an important element in the general plan that unless we ignore them entirely it is impossible to make much progress until that matter is definitely adjusted one way or the other. I have had draughtsmen working continuously on the designs since my contract was signed and would be able to put before the Board a number of tentative drawings but all of them are . . . dependent upon the adjustment of the Northern Pacific Railroad location.[73]

Lind soon made other suggestions about the placement of campus buildings closer to these railroad tracks. Gilbert, however, explained that he wanted to create a "little formal space at what might be called the 'head of the plan'. . . so that the

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central building would have greater dignity and the plan would be emphasized at that point." Practically speaking this placement, as Gilbert explained, would also have reduced any vibrations from the railroad that might affect the structural integrity of nearby buildings.[74] (These tracks were eventually covered over in the early 1920s.[75]) Lind soon agreed with Gilbert and also offered advice about placing the engineering building north of the new anatomy building that was to be part of the medical school complex.[76] (Discussion of the expansion of the medical school, as well as other negotiations, follows in a separate section of this chapter.)

Foulds continued to study the 1908 competition scheme and completed presentation drawings in October 1909, including a formal plan and section of the campus (Figure 54).[77] The 1909 scheme, like the 1908 plans, was arranged along a primary north to south axis. The 1909 plan, however, was distinguished from the earlier plans by reversing the position of the auditorium and the elaborate plaza south of the mall. The auditorium, designed to accommodate 6500 people, was the crowning feature of the building group; it was flanked by a library to the west and a museum to the east. Gilbert would later describe this central spine of the campus as "a great platform" which would extend over the Mississippi River and the woodland territory beyond it. This platform, Gilbert believed, could be used for open-air assemblies and would permit a spectacular vista of the outlying area.[78]

The upper campus area located west of the mall contained

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chemistry and biology buildings; to the east of the mall was the engineering group with laboratories. South of the mall, near the river bluffs, Foulds and Gilbert proposed to transform the site with a botanic garden southwest of the mall and an amphitheater southeast of the mall, both areas carved out of already-existing quarries. This lower campus area also consisted of the astronomy building (to the west), and several unassigned buildings to allow for future university expansion. Opposite this area on the eastern portion of the lower campus was the medical school complex. Promenades led from the south edge of the lower campus to a small boat basin, marked by pavilions to the east and to the west, ultimately connecting the site with the river.

The botanic garden and amphitheater were new features that first had begun to be discussed more than one year earlier. The botanic garden was initially proposed to Gilbert by Carsley when the St. Paul associate was collecting information about the department of botany and its need for a greenhouse on campus.[79] In contrast, discussion about amphitheaters appears to have been initiated by Lind when he suggested that the old stone quarries should be used for campus amphitheaters.[80] After this discussion was pursued by Lind in the summer of 1909, when he advocated locating an open-air theater in the curvature of the cliff near the site of the new hospital, Foulds was instructed to work further on revising the drawings of the general plan.[81] Although these features were considered by Gilbert to be "somewhat remote

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propositions," he nevertheless included them in several drawings that he submitted to the Board of Regents in the fall of 1909, after further negotiations (as described separately below).[82]

Foulds also developed plans for a campus-wide sewer system and terraces and grades of the proposed buildings (Figures 55 and 56, respectively).[83] Since Carsley found no other sewers (except those under University Avenue), the former plan was extremely useful for the long-term vision of development of the site.[84] The drawing, which portrays terraces and grades, also clearly identifies both then-existing and proposed buildings of the campus, a useful supplement Foulds' plan. These plans also suggest Gilbert's interest in long-term development and how the most imminent individual building projects might fit into a larger practical scheme.

In late 1909, Thomas R. Johnson, another employee in Gilbert's office, completed two presentation drawings showing perspective views of the Medical Group and of the view along Washington Avenue (Figures 57 and 58).[85] In "The Medical Group, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota," Gilbert presents the view looking south from the intersection of the south side of Washington Avenue with the east campus sidewalk (refer to Figures 57 and 54).[86] At the end of the vista, Elliott Memorial Hospital closes in the quadrangle formed by the other buildings. The other Johnson drawing uses the same vantage point as that which is described above, and

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presents the view looking west (refer to Figures 58 and 54). The first building on the right in the Washington Avenue drawing represents the Drawing Building of the Engineering Group, and the others depicted, in sequence, on the same side of the road include the Electrical Engineering, Chemistry, and Botany Buildings. The left edge of Johnson's drawing also portrays a slight reference to the northern section of the medical school buildings.[87]

Birch Burdette Long, a free-lance renderer who was known for his panoramic renderings of campus plans, completed bird's-eye views of this new scheme at the same time Foulds completed his work (Figures 59 and 60).[88] The major difference between these two aerial views is that in one version, the auditorium is represented by a gabled, rectangular temple structure (Figure 59) in contrast to a centrally-planned domed structure in the other (Figure 60). The only other substantive difference lies in the location of the astronomy observatory: it is placed south of Washington Avenue and west of the mall in the gabled auditorium version, whereas in the domed auditorium version, it is placed on the central axis of the plan between the botanic garden and amphitheater. Aside from these variations--and the fact that Long was paid $250 to color one of the versions (presumably the gabled version, given the heavier shading in photographic reproductions)--Long's two bird's-eye views of the campus represent virtually the same general plan and arrangement of buildings.[89] Certainly both proposals reflect Gilbert's

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reliance on the models of Rameé's Union College and Jefferson's University of Virginia. They all create a mall in which one central academic building is the focus, with subsidiary campus buildings skirting the edges of the central area.

The University of Minnesota campus plan plaster model of 1909-1910, completed by the New York City firm of Klee-Thompson (Figure 61), was based on Foulds' October 1909 plan (Figure 54). Gilbert first suggested to Lind the construction of a plaster model that would depict the contour lines of the site and of the proposed development. He reasoned that the University of Minnesota should produce such a model since the University of California had done so for its 1899 competition. Gilbert also believed that it would help the Board of Regents, as well as himself, to visualize the work at each stage of the project.[90]

## The Issue of Compensation, 1908-1909

Concurrent with the development of these many plans, which were completed between 1908 and 1909, was the intensified conflict concerning Gilbert's post-competition fee. Gillette and Clifford again served as significant liaisons, as did Carsley, in negotiating an agreement between Gilbert and the Board of Regents.

The questions of a fair honorarium was first raised by Lind after the Board's June 10, 1908 meeting, when Lind suggested payment of $4500 to Gilbert for his work. Gilbert,

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however, believed payment between $5000 and $10,000 (as well as the authority to design the first building on the campus according to the new plan) was more appropriate under the new conditions determined after the competition of 1908.[91] Thus, Gilbert and the Board were, from the start, in disagreement about the terms of payment and how these terms would be stated in the contract that resulted from the competition. By August, the debate had intensified.

The essential problem lay in the Board's belief that they could pay Gilbert $4500 according to the 1907 terms of their informal agreement. This fee had been Gilbert's offer before the competition and included his travel, drafting, and incidental expenses in the development of a comprehensive campus plan. Later, however, Gilbert felt that this fee represented the expenses that he had incurred for the completion of only the 1907 series of preliminary studies. He believed that Lind and the other regents did not realize the amount of work or expense that had gone into his 1908 competition drawings. Convinced that the regents misunderstood the general nature of competitions, Gilbert wanted to negotiate a new agreement.[92] It is hardly surprising that Gilbert was incensed by this turn of events and felt that he was entitled to a new contractual agreement.

As the debate became drawn out, Frederick Clifford stepped in as an even more active advisor to Gilbert than he had been before. Gilbert met with Clifford (just prior to his two meetings with Lind and the Board) in late August, and

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Clifford offered to make up the $5500 difference between the two parties' estimates, if Gilbert could not come to a satisfactory agreement with the Board.[93] This offer was made with the understanding that Clifford would eventually be reimbursed by the state. When Gilbert was pressured to accept the $4500 payment, he again turned to Clifford for help.[94]

To convince the Board of the unfairness of their offer, Gilbert cited the expenses that had been incurred by others in similar competitions, such as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. The first-place winners, Carrère and Hastings, had been paid $10,000 for their St. Louis work, a modest sum in contrast to their actual costs of $15,000. Gilbert encouraged the Board to verify these figures, see the resulting work, and travel to St. Louis, New York, and Chicago to see comparable projects. Emphasizing that the sum the Board offered was "ridiculously small," Gilbert detailed the amount of work that was necessary for the preparation of the drawings. This process included the possibility of changing the locations of sewers, building tunnels and retaining walls, and lighting the campus grounds. Gilbert's argument concluded that $20,000 was none too large a sum to be paid for the services that they requested. The reaction to Gilbert's new proposal was reported by Carsley: "Nothing was said for a few seconds and it seemed to impress those present that the work was more important than they at first thought. . . ." Gilbert confronted the Board by asking if they wanted his services, or if, in fact, they had someone else in mind.[95]

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Significantly when, in early September, Gilbert was on the brink of legal action, he turned to his peers to make inquiries about the situation. Gilbert initially contacted Clifford about wanting to consult an attorney, and eventually contacted the legal firm of Kellogg and Severance to protect his interests.[96] Besides offering financial support in this difficult and tense stage of the negotiations, Clifford served as an active mediator who successfully dissuaded Gilbert from taking the legal action that would have irreparably damaged his working relationship with the Board.[97]

Gilbert also consulted Carsley at the time of this pending legal action. In the face of these difficult financial negotiations, Gilbert wrote to his St. Paul associate and discussed his on-going contact with Clifford and Gillette:

> I have made up my mind to fight this thing through and written a long letter to Mr. Clifford on this subject. I feel that difficult and exhausting as it may be, I cannot afford to lie down under such attacks. . . . Clifford and Gillette [have requested] that I should not take legal action until all other means are exhausted. They seem still hopeful that an adjustment can be made. I doubt it.[98]

Gilbert's lack of assurance that his problems with the Board could be smoothed over is reflected in his willingness to apply to the courts for an injunction until the case was heard. In the meantime, Gilbert had also conferred with Walter Cook about the subject of fair compensation. Cook had been in charge of the Johns Hopkins University competition, and he related that this competition stipulated that $5000 be set aside for general plan development as well as 60% of all

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drafting expenses. Given the scope of the Minnesota project, Cook believed that $45,000--or ten times the rate that was proposed--was a fair price, if paid in addition to drafting, travel, and 60% of the office expenses. Cook also believed that the $20,000 fee Gilbert suggested was "entirely inadequate" and offered to testify if the case went to court.[99] This evaluation was corroborated by Gilbert who later estimated the cost of the university project at $10 million. According to the AIA 5% fee schedule, this estimate would have resulted in $50,000 compensation for the completion of extensive drawings, subterranean work, and detailed studies of the future needs of each university department.[100]

Clifford was adamant that Gilbert avoid legal action. He strongly urged the architect not to fight simply in order to win the case on principles alone, because "to win such a case would be a barren victory. . . . [and] [t]o receive a fair compensation for a set of drawings that could never by carried out would be but a minor satisfaction."[101] Clifford advised Gilbert to have the "patience of Lincoln" as he continued discussions with the Board in a dignified manner. The main problem, as Clifford saw it, was that the regents simply lacked knowledge of the size of the project and the necessary work to accomplish it. Clifford elaborated by saying, "Even if they [the Board] were told that the working drawings for the Capitol, for instance, would paper every wall in the building, they would have no basis for estimating what that would mean in [the] actual outlay to the architect,

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independent of his own services."[102]

As with the Minnesota State Capitol Approaches Plan, the university regents wanted a major American university campus developed, but like their counterparts at the capitol, they did not want to pay for it. Nor did they understand the complicated process by which such a project might be developed. As journalist Frank Carle noted in one of his many editorials about civic improvement in general: "the idea of a plan for a city is so new, that the people are loath to spend money for something as intangible as a sketch . . . ."[103] More particularly, in relation to the university project, the following statements that Clifford made to Gilbert describe the gulf that existed between the Board and Gilbert. Clifford's own position is also revealed:

> If I do not dwell upon it, you will nevertheless understand how fully Mr. Gillette and I share in the disgust and indignation that this situation provokes. It is not now, however, simply a question of money. . . .It is more a question of how to arouse the members of the board to a just appreciation of the opportunity and a proper sense of their individual responsibility to it, . . . . It may look like a large order, but it is far from impossible.[104]

Gilbert appreciated his friend's advice and vote of confidence and soon backed away from his litigious orientation. It is fortunate that Clifford's mediation between the two angry parties was so successful.[105] However, it is evident that Gilbert did not dismiss the option entirely of pursuing legal matters since he later contacted William H. Lightner, a St. Paul friend and attorney, just in case he needed legal advice and representation in the coming months.[106] Eventually,

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though, as the fall wore on, Gilbert left the matter in Clifford and Gillette's capable hands.[107]

In the meantime, the Board made a formal offer of $4500 for thirteen drawings plus the option for Gilbert to develop a model and formal report concerning the campus plan. Gilbert, in this arrangement, would serve as the architect preparing the general plan and also the working drawings for the realized project.[108] Gilbert's response to this offer was a repeated request for $20,000 in payment. He reminded the regents that they were developing a long-term plan that might take fifty years to implement: "[n]o other American university has such a site or such an opportunity as is now presented at Minneapolis, and a false start would be most unfortunate."[109] Gilbert implied that his fee would not only pay for the draftsmen and engineers whose skills were needed to develop the plan, but it would also allow for the costly production of drawings. Furthermore, noting that the American Institute of Architects recommended a fee schedule for fair compensation of 5% on the gross cost of the project, Gilbert argued that his request was not unreasonable. Regarding the recommended AIA charges, Gilbert wrote:

> I do not want to fix, nor do I ask maximum rates, or to name a rate of compensation that is prohibitive or extravagant. I want to help in a great public enterprise, but I feel that I should have a minimum commensurate to the importance of the work and its probable cost to me.[110]

He therefore wanted compensation commensurate with the scope of his project.

For Gilbert, the problematic issue in the fall 1908

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contract was its indefinite description of the work that had to be performed for the university. The work, as Gilbert perceived it, was unlimited, a feature that greatly worried him.[111] Although Clifford tried, once again, to intercede on Gilbert's behalf, this financial and political hurdle seemed insurmountable. Gilbert believed that Butler was the main instigator in presenting the vaguely outlined contract. As Gilbert explained to Clifford:

> It is a shame that a great University should be so ill advised and should set such small value upon intellectual effort. If the matter is allowed to drift along, the Committee will make a mess of the whole thing.[112]

Gilbert hoped to counter this internal political block by developing a campaign of public education in order to shape how the public might perceive the grand campus plans. He asked Clifford to relay the appropriate information to various journalists, particularly Frank Carle at the Minneapolis Tribune. Gilbert, himself, made plans to speak with Joseph A. Wheelock, editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press.[113]

These problems with the university regents coincided with Gilbert's increasing reputation as a New York-based architect. During a visit with university regent Henry Hovland, Carsley stressed the importance of having a trained architect, like Gilbert (in contrast to a young, inexperienced designer), lay out the big scheme. He explained to Gilbert the importance of his being on campus, readily accessible to the regents. Though the board members wanted Gilbert close at hand as the project developed, Gilbert was unwilling to compromise on this issue, especially after successfully moving his business to

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New York in 1899.[114] Gilbert did not wish to neglect the responsibilities of his practice, nor did he want to take time away from his other projects.

With customary flair, Gilbert met this latest criticism by enumerating Carsley's superior skills as the architect's St. Paul representative. Carsley had extensive training, knowledge, and experience as the superintendent of the Minnesota State Capitol project and he was familiar with Gilbert's office. Carsley's understanding of the goals of Gilbert's practice and how it functioned as a business made him an ideal liaison when Gilbert was in New York. Gilbert's main defense, however, was that the profession and practice of architecture did not allow any architect to spend time exclusively upon one project. To drive home his point, Gilbert used an extended metaphor, comparing the demands of his work to those of a physician. Both professionals, he believed, had several responsibilities and commitments that took them away from a particular task. The architect's job, as he explained to Carsley, was a particularly demanding one:

> it is physically impossible for me or any other architect to be an expert in the last sense of the word as a designer of machinery, of electrical appliances, of mechanical devices, of structural engineering in all its phases, or the economics of the problem; of the great theories of the design with a knowledge of historic style and ornament, with a knowledge of the composition of plan, with an intimate knowledge of every possible and conceivable building material at my fingers' ends and at the same time a superintendent of construction and a business man [sic] in charge of contracts. In short, it is impossible for me in my own personality to be a Sir Christopher Wren, a LeNotre, [a] Lord Kelvin and a dozen other geniuses rolled into one and it is folly for me to pretend to any such pose. I am an architect in the American sense of the word and absolutely competent for

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my work.[115]

Gilbert was determined that he should not be expected to handle every detail of a single project. He also reasoned that if the government and his several other clients could accept the conditions of modern practice and trust him to handle their work, then, the Board of Regents should, too.[116]

Later in the fall of 1908, Clifford and Gillette's "alternative position" to provide $5500 of their own funds to supplement the Board's $4500 payment to Gilbert was accepted by the Board. The only stipulation was that the Board was expected to request from the Appropriation Committee of the House and Senate legislatures enough funds to repay Clifford and Gillette at a later date.[117]

Before the Board made its decision to accept Clifford and Gillette's offer, Carsley had consulted with selected regents to try to sway their decision. He met with Dr. William J. Mayo, who, with his brother and father had founded the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. Mayo agreed that the fall 1908 contract "looked as though it were made for the purpose of preventing any self-respecting man [from] signing it;" he also agreed that the Board offered inadequate compensation. Although one member of the Board, according to Carsley, wanted to hire local architect, Edwin H. Hewitt, most of the group wanted to employ an architect with a great deal of experience and a national reputation.[118] Carsley was unable to persuade Mayo, however, into taking a leading role in advocating Gilbert's cause. Instead, Carsley advised the architect to

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meet with former university president Cyrus Northrup (and regent *ex officio*), who Carsley believed could be impressed with the architectural merit of Gilbert's plans. Carsley wrote: "What we need is some man to be stirred up sufficiently to be your champion of the Board, and while it may make one enemy, or perhaps two or three, that would be all."[119]

Gilbert's strongest concern, which he expressed to Gillette, was that Butler should not be permitted to draw up the final version of the contract. Since Butler was deeply committed to following the terms of the first draft of November 1907, Gilbert offered to make up a alternate version of the contract himself.[120]

Gillette and Clifford were permitted to make their financial contribution to Gilbert, although it took many years for them to be reimbursed by the state. Despite the Board's intention to repay Clifford and Gillette quickly, the two citizens were not reimbursed until late 1914--and only after much difficulty with the Board of Regents. This delay appears to have been an extension of Butler's enmity against Gilbert.[121] Clifford was particularly angry about the protracted repayment process, as he explained later to one of the regents:

> Do Butler and Lind suppose that the prolonged withholding of this money causes us any anxiety or arouses any emotion other than the mild contempt and disgust that any citizen must feel upon discovering that the Honorable Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota can stoop to such littleness, such petty revenges? The amount we advanced, including interest, to make possible this project, is about the price of a picture or a motor car, but I cannot hope again to obtain for the same expenditure an equal amount of moral and intellectual

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satisfaction.[122]

Clearly, Clifford and Gillette's were proud of their contributions to the negotiating process, although later on, they became resentful of the strong political influence of Butler. The negotiations continued to be difficult through 1909.

## Further Discussions about Program Expansion and Financial Negotiations

After the 1908 competition was completed, Cass Gilbert, Clifford, Gillette, and the Board of Regents were faced with further negotiations concerning the expansion of the university's programs. Board President John Lind, for example, by the fall of 1908, had received several pleas from school superintendents across the state urging him to consider the formation of a department for specialized teacher training in conjunction with the College of Education. The School of Mines was also concerned about securing a permanent place in the structure of the university.[123] Most departmental plans for expansion revolved around the need for more classroom space. The College of Science, Literature and the Arts, for example, was in dire need of more room because its departments of animal biology, botany, and geology were all housed in the cramped quarters of Pillsbury Hall. Facilities for laboratories and a museum were also badly needed, especially since enrollment in animal biology was higher than that at any similar department at institutions elsewhere in the country.

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Harvard University, for instance, had recorded only 251 students in animal biology, whereas the University of Minnesota boasted nearly two times that amount, with a total college enrollment that was half the size of Harvard. The College's departments of Economics and Politics, and English and History, also suffered from lack of space. Although each had an enrollment of 500 to 800 students, five instructors for each of these two departments had to share only two classrooms. The dean of the college observed: "The classrooms are not only crowded beyond their reasonable capacity, but one big class follows another in each room until it becomes foul from want of ventilation."[124]

The medical and engineering schools, soon after Gilbert's official engagement as campus planner, contacted the architect about their own schools' need for new facilities.[125] Frederick S. Jones, for example, like his counterparts at the medical school, wrote to Gilbert early on about the expansion of the engineering department. Jones listed their many requirements, including the need for administrative offices, an assembly room, one or more detached buildings, and even an engineering laboratory that would perform experiments with the railroad locomotives that ran through the campus.[126] Since these specific requirements were suggested well before the issue of Gilbert's compensation for his "picture plan" was settled, Jones' foresight must be seen as admirable.

Through most of 1908, however, progress was slow regarding the expansion of the university's medical

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facilities, even though discussions had begun approximately one year earlier. (Harvard University, again, served as the standard by which Minnesota's programs were evaluated, with Harvard's Anatomy Building serving as the model for a similar building on the Minneapolis campus.) After the August 1908 board meeting, at which he expected to discuss matters of compensation, Gilbert met some of the medical school faculty at the Minnesota Club. At this meeting, the doctors expressed frustration at the fact that there was no hospital in either St. Paul or Minneapolis "that could be considered first-class or modern," and they informed Gilbert that they hoped he would design one.[127]

Originally, William Kenyon had been appointed in 1907 to design a new hospital for the college which would be named the Elliott Memorial Hospital. But after approximately two years, Gilbert was appointed advisory architect on this building which was to be located at the foot of Church Street.[128] Carsley, who continued to be an important liaison between Gilbert and various university representatives (including those from the medical school), was the first to relay to Gilbert that the medical staff was displeased with Kenyon's design and that they wished to replace Kenyon with Gilbert. Described as being "entirely unsatisfactory," Kenyon's plans were not what the medical staff had hoped for. Instead, the doctors were interested in seeing plans based on information that they had obtained from Harvard Medical College, which very likely included visual and analytical references to the

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Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge Harvard campus design that had been published in December 1907.[129] The pressing need to develop a hospital in Minnesota was heightened by a national trend for fewer, but better, medical schools. Coupled with this trend was the increasing tendency on the part of students to attend medical schools close to home. To prevent losing students to other institutions--and ultimately to other states--the University of Minnesota physicians felt that their institution had to improve.[130]

In February 1909, after the Board authorized $100,000 for the building of the permanent hospital, Gilbert travelled to St. Paul briefly in order to assist Carsley with extensive interviews with representatives of the various university departments. Gilbert and Carsley met with Lind who offered suggestions regarding the location of the new hospital and building materials for it. The discussion about location was to become one of the most debated issues regarding the hospital. Lind suggested that it be placed east of the university's current property line (which meant that the building was to be located east of the central axis of Gilbert's plan and south of Washington Avenue). Kenyon was willing either to work with Gilbert or to step aside--so long as the university paid Kenyon the balance of his fee plus a 2 1/2% commission. University physicians preferred that Kenyon step aside, as they were now interested in having Gilbert design the hospital.[131]

Throughout 1909, Carsley relayed to Gilbert questions

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about finished sketches, models, interior plans, and other features of the new hospital. Meanwhile, Gilbert's negotiations continued to develop around financial, political, and legal issues.[132] By June 1909, Gilbert had proposed that the south façade of the new hospital be placed on the center line of Essex Street, in order to clear the nearby cliffs (refer to Figure 42).[133] Foulds' October 1909 plan (Figure 51), however, caused the medical faculty some concern. Feeling that it would be disastrous to block the growth of the hospital buildings to the north if two laboratories were constructed in accordance with the 1909 plan, the staff advocated development to the east across Union Street or else to the South near the bluffs. The staff felt that even if expansion were possible, the new medical pavilions would not conform to the arrangement of the E-shaped laboratory buildings. Dr. Thomas G. Lee explained their position to Gilbert:

> I shall deeply regret it if I have to give up the proposed site for the Anatomical Building as it is quite an ideal one from the standpoint of freedom from dust, noise and the distraction of the students' attention which would be involved with the building located on Washington Avenue. But nevertheless, it would be incumbent on me to vacate this site if there is no other way in which we can provide for adequate hospital development.[134]

By the end of that year, Gilbert had revised the location of the hospital and other ward buildings anticipating that, in the future, land might be acquired between Union and Harvard Streets in the surrounding Minneapolis neighborhood.[135]

Financial negotiations also continued throughout 1909.

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In sample contracts, Gilbert outlined what the Board of Regents would receive for the $10,000 that he was requesting. The results that he envisioned included the development of a general plan and the hiring of a supervising architect who would oversee the development of the grounds, the drafting of specifications and contracts for building construction and topographical changes, and the production of shop drawings.[136] Gillette took great care in explaining to the antagonistic Butler how this new contract transpired out of Gilbert's first agreement in 1907 with the Board.[137]

Butler, nonetheless, was unconvinced that the work promised in the new document was substantively different from that specified in the September 8, 1908 offer, in which Gilbert quoted a $4500 fee that could be supplemented by the contributions of private individuals. Butler was also critical of the fact that the new contract was too "loose and indefinite," and left the Board "exposed to the will of the architect" to such an extent that he deemed any attempt to modify it as wholly useless.[138] Butler's continued antagonism precluded the smooth resolution of any problems concerning Gilbert's compensation. Indeed, Carsley confided the following to Gilbert: "Just how long the others will put up with this from Butler [we] cannot tell, but [we] hope it will work itself out. . . ."[139] It also appeared to Carsley that some of the Minnesota Capitol contractors were antagonistic to their boss. Carsley explained that it appeared that "the Butlers are circulating these old stories to bolster up the

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opposition. . ." But, Gilbert's appointment as campus designer was assured by Clifford and Gillette, "or else there will be a show-down which will make the opposition sit up and take notice," Carsley wrote.[140] Internal political problems with Governor Johnson and his advisors, who wanted to use the University as "political spoils," further complicated matters.[141]

Butler did not attend the January 19, 1909 board meeting when the regents authorized Gilbert's new contract.[142] Although his schedule prevented him from attending this meeting, Butler did register his complaints with another regent, Judge Thomas Wilson, and also with John Lind. Butler told them both that he did not believe the new contract should be signed and that the Board should look elsewhere for the required services.[143] According to Carsley, however, Butler did not wish to oppose ex-governor Lind, who presided at this meeting as continuing board president and wished to accept Gilbert's fee proposal. Clifford and Gillette submitted their formal offer to supplement Gilbert's fee and Lind promised Gilbert that every effort would be made for Gilbert to secure the contracts for the design and furnishing of the new Engineering Building at a 5% commission, "in order to fix the type of architecture to be allowed for subsequent buildings."[144] This proposition to "fix the type," or as Gilbert later wrote, to "set the type," was attractive to the architect. He believed that if he could design at least one building in the style that he envisioned for the campus,

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architects and administrators would design subsequent buildings accordingly, in order to create a harmonious, unified effect.

It is interesting to note the ambivalence of Lind's early 1909 position regarding the issue of compensation. Although Lind generally supported Gilbert's work, he also appears to have been influenced, in part, by Pierce Butler's desire to replace Gilbert. By February 1909, even though Lind had promised Gilbert, Clifford, and Gillette that the Board of Regents would request a legislative appropriation to reimburse the latter two men's $5500 supplement, Lind changed his mind. He declared that legislative appropriations should be used for foundation work, research, and scholarships--and not as "contributions for pure material advancement."[145]

Another problem of the 1909 negotiations, unconnected to Lind, had to do with a legal conflict. A local architect had already been appointed by the State Board of Control to draw up plans for the university. This architect, Clarence H. Johnston, was one of Gilbert's oldest friends from MIT.[146] Johnston was authorized to prepare plans and to supervise the construction of all state buildings, including those of the university. When Gilbert received misreported information from a local newspaper which indicated that he would work jointly with Johnston, he later scrawled over a report, "I made no such agreement."[147] At this juncture, Gilbert again was quick to turn to one of his closest allies, Lewis Gillette.

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Gilbert discussed with Gillette the comments and ideas of ex-Governor Lind. Lind had hoped that as consulting architect, Gilbert would "set the type" of building design for the new campus, and thus provide a stylistic model that could be followed by subsequent architects. Gilbert, however, felt that this idea could not produce effective results. Once again comparing his professional role as an architect to that of the physician, Gilbert explained:

> Dr. Mayo can perform a delicate and intricate surgical operation and 'set the type' but no one can do it in the same manner exactly. The difference between my work and someone else's is the difference, that's all there is to it.[148]

Gilbert extended this metaphor--that no two professionals could work in the same manner--to argue that he and Johnston were being thrust into an embarrassing (and unnecessarily competitive) situation. Johnston had been authorized to plan and build campus buildings while, at the same time, the Board of Regents had hired Gilbert to lay out a new campus.

Gilbert was convinced that any buildings resulting from the new plan would be "inferior," such as the Richardsonian-styled Folwell Hall.[149] As this problem became more convoluted, Gilbert became convinced that his work would never extend beyond the preparation of the sewer, tunnel, terrace, and bird's-eye-view plans that his 1909 contract had called for. Lind, in conference with Carsley, believed that the Board could ameliorate the positions of both parties by giving Johnston the authority to work on so-called "inconsequential" buildings (such as the powerhouse and the women's building),

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and by giving Gilbert absolute design control over the rest of the new buildings.[150]

When Gillette was informed of this turn of events, he was distressed. He immediately wrote to Gilbert that as the architect's representative, he had no intention of "lying down and being idle."[151] Gilbert also reported to Clifford the outcome of the May 1909 meeting. The Board had seen several schemes for campus development, discussed false news reports; and left unresolved questions concerning hospital development (viz. William Kenyon) and also concerning the removal of the Northern Pacific tracks.[152] Gilbert especially bemoaned the fact that Lind seemed unable to understand the risk that might be incurred by allowing Johnston to design even a few buildings. He felt that although Lind had the best intentions, he regarded these various buildings--particularly those that were to be assigned to Johnston--as "political plums." Gilbert furthermore believed that it was folly for Lind to think that he could dispense these projects to Johnston as a means to make the Board of Control amenable to the suggestion that Gilbert "set the type" by designing at least one other building. Convinced that designing only one structure would embody the downfall of his entire plan, Gilbert was not optimistic about the outcome.[153]

Although Gilbert had hoped to send the Board of Regents his finest drawings, he remained convinced that his lack of complete artistic control would render thoroughly unsatisfactory results. Thus Gilbert was caught in a legal

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dead-end. The Board of Control could not turn over its authority to oversee the design and construction of state buildings to the Board of Regents. Likewise, the Board of Regents could not allow Gilbert to develop his plans further. Clifford tried to remain optimistic about the situation, which seemed to him more encouraging at this stage than it had been at several earlier junctures:

> The delay in actual construction has resulted not only in a broader appreciation on the part of both faculty and regents of the meaning and value of a sound general plan but [also] in a higher standard for each building.[154]

Clifford was convinced that this higher architectural standard was illustrated by the medical faculty's lack of interest in Kenyon's plan and by their vote of confidence in Gilbert's work. Clifford also believed that Lind no longer seemed to be on the fence, so to speak, since Lind was "prompted not only by his intention to keep faith with us" but also by his determination that the plan which Gilbert had developed "shall not be butchered as it would be if executed by the Board of Control."[155] Oddly, Clifford was unconcerned about the legal restrictions involving the Board of Control. On the contrary, he believed that these problems would sort themselves out.[156]

In June, when offered the opportunity to work with Gilbert and Kenyon on a three-man advisory architectural board, however, Clarence Johnston flatly refused to be part of such a group and would not relinquish the rights of his own contract with the Board of Control. Setting his earlier friendship with Gilbert aside, Johnston believed that Gilbert

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ultimately would usurp his role as architect for the Board of Control.[157] It is revealing that Gilbert's relationship with Kenyon was much more cordial than it was with Johnston, since Gilbert routinely corresponded with Kenyon, making frequent suggestions about certain details of Kenyon's hospital design.[158] At this meeting, Johnston, Gilbert, and presumably Foulds (who had prepared several studies based on the 1908 competition drawings as discussed above), reviewed the new studies, cross-sections, and plans for the campus that had been completed to date.

Meanwhile, with regard to building materials, Gilbert maintained a strong position in wanting to use stone, and not brick, for a unified effect in the campus design. During the same summer that he attempted to develop the architectural advisory board, Gilbert seemed more concerned about ensuring the continuity of materials in campus construction than experimenting with axial orientation of the main building groups. To this end, Gilbert boldly recommended to the Board that the university not only use stone but also obtain its own quarry to control the supply.[159] The question of building materials even informed many of his discussions with Johnston. But, as in his earlier discussions, Gilbert wanted to work with Johnston only if he could do so on his own terms. Gilbert believed that using brick would be "hazardous" because of the material's variations in color, shape, and size. He, instead, advocated the use of a "simple Roman Renaissance" style, without modillions (brackets under the cornice), or

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elaborate carving or ornament.[160] Gilbert also wanted to establish a uniform cornice height in each of the buildings on campus. By doing so, he hoped to ensure a harmonious design, similar to the effect that had been achieved in various Exposition and university building groups.

Brick was chosen the favored material, however, because of its low expense, as Johnston was quick to point out. First-quality Bedford stone, for example, cost $1.10 per square foot in contrast to various types of brick that were one-fourth that price.[161] When the university regents voted to use the cheaper material, they chose Harvard brick and, as an alternative, the similar Danville brick.[162] Strangely, at this late stage in their negotiations, Lind believed that Gilbert would adopt a "colonial" or "Tudor" style, two styles quite unlike the Roman Renaissance revival style that Gilbert was advocating.[163] It is even more curious to note that Kenyon believed Gilbert would execute buildings in a "modern treatment of Tudor," when the architect had made no such claim. In fact, Gilbert believed such a stylistic hybrid would have been "entirely out of harmony" with the project.[164] In response to Lind and the Board of Regents, Gilbert emphatically stated that he thought it was inevitable that any resulting scheme as a whole would "lose dignity and importance and will not gain in any other respect."[165] Gilbert therefore was disappointed at their decision to use brick, especially since the project was to be so comprehensive. If it had been smaller, Gilbert conceded, the issue of building materials

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would not have mattered to him as much.[166]

By late fall, after Foulds, T. R. Johnson, and Long had completed their presentation drawings, and as the demands rose and complications increased regarding Gilbert's proposals, the architect considered the University of Minnesota project a lesser priority than he had years earlier, in 1907.[167] Ironically, at the time of this decision, Carsley reported to his employer that the Board was more interested in having Gilbert rather than Johnston carry out their plans. And, Johnston, who was working at a rate below that which was recommended by the AIA, could not afford the expense of revising his designs, as would be necessary for a project of this magnitude.[168]

The changing membership of the Board was also of some concern to Clifford and Carsley. They were especially interested in a Board member from St. Paul who was scheduled to resign in April 1910, a situation which they convinced Gilbert would contribute very materially to his interests. Although they did not name the offending character, Clifford and Carsley were referring to Pierce Butler.[169]

## The Proposals of 1910

Throughout 1910, Butler's opposition to Gilbert's proposals made the negotiations between the architect and the Board increasingly difficult. Butler was singled out and publicly named by other regents and informed parties as Gilbert's hostile opponent. In March, Regent Benjamin Nelson

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explained to Gilbert that the conditions on the Board were "very discouraging." [170] In an attempt to convince Governor Adolph O. Eberhardt that he should not reappoint Butler to the Board of Regents for another term, the editor of the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune identified the incumbent as

> detrimental, if not fatal, to the establishment of the [UM] plans which have been adopted but which any inimical influence can change. That is a disposition to bring his private likes and dislikes into his action as a member of the Board of Regents.[171]

Frank A. Carle, a Minneapolis journalist, was also eager to identify Butler as the culprit in the protracted negotiations. In a March 1910 editorial, Carle equated the state's interest in creating a beautiful state capitol building with the general goals of university extension. He also commented upon the problems that the latter project faced:

> Execution of the project has been mysteriously delayed by an influence that seems to emanate from St. Paul. The St. Paul member of the Board of Regents, otherwise always to be relied upon for sympathetic and energetic co-operation in every plan for the betterment of the university, has enlisted opposition to campus extension in the board more proportionate to his high general standing as a member than to the merit of this particular attitude.
>
> This attitude provoked strong opposition in Minneapolis and throughout the state to the re-appointment of Mr. Butler to the Board, which was abated on the authoritative report that he had assured the governor that he would no longer be an obstruction to large plans for campus extension favored with more or less sincerity and energy by nearly every other member. Now the earnest zeal of many persons in Minneapolis and the state for the project causes them to do Mr. Butler the injustice of doubting his fidelity to that pledge.[172]

Butler's efforts to thwart Gilbert's work therefore were common knowledge.

Nevertheless, Butler was reappointed. Gilbert

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commiserated with Carsley by saying, "I think we understand what this may mean without making comment on it."[173] What it meant, of course, was that Gilbert realized he would never design more than the general plan for the University of Minnesota. As he considered the future of the project, Gilbert was quick to realize that his days were numbered in the face of Butler's continuing opposition. In fact, after Butler's reappointment, Gilbert markedly distanced himself from the project, communicating with Clifford through Carsley, almost *pro forma*, instead of contacting Clifford directly.[174]

During this phase, Clifford continued to be one of Gilbert's staunchest supporters. As in the earlier stages of the negotiations, Clifford at this later date wanted to prepare Gilbert for his official meeting with the regents. With Clifford's help (and additional suggestions from Carsley), Gilbert devised a strategy to present the Board with the drawings from late 1909, new presentation renderings, and the plaster model depicting the proposed campus plan.[175]

In May 1910, during the final phase of his contract with the university, Gilbert submitted a series of ten drawings. To Carsley, Gilbert enthused that these drawings were beautifully rendered, and were probably "the finest drawings ever turned out of this office."[176] In a similar vein, Gilbert boasted to Lind that the drawings had "received expressions of high praise from various experts and connoisseurs" who had examined them.[177] Indeed, Gilbert's colleagues were duly impressed with the architect's work. Warren P. Laird, from the

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University of Pennsylvania, noted that the images as portrayed in photographic reproductions, illustrated the "group composition in its best estate;" that the drawings were of "equally high standard;" and also that the perspective views particularly gave a "remarkable illusion of reality."[178] Before shipping the drawings to the Board in late April, Gilbert even held a private viewing of the works in New York. This exhibition was well-attended by such luminaries as A. D. F. Hamlin, Columbia University professor of architectural history; artist Edwin H. Blashfield; sculptor Daniel Chester French; and other important figures.[179]

Gilbert organized the series of drawings in a sequence that did not correspond with the order in which they were completed.[180] This sequence illuminates how Gilbert presented the new plans to the university regents and how, as a group, they might have perceived the project. Beginning with the general overall plan, moving on to the mechanical features of it, and then on to the specific views, the series unfolded in gradual fashion. The final images that the regents were left with were those rendered in spectacular form, including certain sections of the campus. Together, these drawings represent Gilbert's attempt to produce a complete package that would influence the regents to proceed with the project. More important, one can see Gilbert's own thinking about how the project might have been realized, since the drawings provided a template from which he could work.

Drawing #1--Foulds' 1909 general plan served as the

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foundation for the entire project (Figure 54).[181] The second drawing in the sequence constituted two versions of an elevation from the south (Figures 62 and 63) that correspond to Birch Burdette Long's two aerial views of the campus (Figures 59 and 60, respectively).[182] The former elevation depicts Long's rendition of a gabled central building; the latter offers a centrally-planned domed structure in the same location. Both depict a roughly symmetrical layout and striking compositional balance, although in order to connect the river promenade with the lower campus, terraced steps are positioned to the west in contrast to straight steps to the east. The composition and rendering style in these grandiose elevations recall Palmer and Hornbostel's south elevation for the Western Pennsylvania University competition (which eventually resulted in today's University of Pittsburgh). When published in 1908, these designs may have influenced Gilbert's developing perceptions about the University of Minnesota project (Figure 64).[183] Gilbert's elevations, as well as Hornbostel and Palmer's, make use of a dramatic site. Both firms used terraces to accommodate monumental building groups to irregular terrain and, in so doing, created the effect of a Greek Akropolis interpreted in American terms.

After this grand introduction to the overall plan, the sequence turned to more practical features necessary for the expansion program. Written comments provide the only clues regarding Drawing #3, "Plan Showing Figured Locations of Buildings and Roads," since drawing has not been located.

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These accounts suggest that this third item in the sequence was probably closely related to Drawing #4, "Sewer and Water Mains, Heating and Power Tunnels," (Figure 55) and Drawing #5, "Terraces and Grades" (Figure 56). This trio of illustrations addressed sanitation concerns that were as much a part of the City Beautiful movement as monumental building groups oriented according to Beaux-Arts principles.

The last portion of the sequence emphasized the dramatic views that would be made possible by Gilbert's plans. Two versions of Drawing #6 had been developed in late 1909: the "large" perspective, as Gilbert dubbed it, of an auditorium with a gabled roof, and the alternate version of the main building as a domed structure, which was probably a library (Figures 59 and 60, respectively). Thomas R. Johnson executed the perspective views of the medical group, as shown in Drawing #7 (Figure 57) and the view along Washington Avenue, Drawing #8 (Figure 58). When the Dean of the College of Engineering had recommended that the school produce a pamphlet, illustrated with color plates of all of these drawings, this idea surely must have appealed to Gilbert given his interest in 1906 for a similar project for the Minnesota State Capitol Approaches.[184]

Foulds' plan incorporated already-existing campus buildings as a component of the larger improvement scheme.[185] These buildings, located at the northern edge of the campus, included Folwell Hall, Pillsbury Hall, Millard Hall, and nine other buildings.[186] The locations of the existing Main and

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Experimental Buildings functioned as the core of Gilbert's proposal for the newer part of the campus. These buildings clearly determined the placement of the new Engineering buildings that were to be located east of the mall.

Also located in this eastern area, Elliott Hospital, the Anatomy Building, and Millard Hall were arranged in accord with the ideas presented in earlier 1909 plans for the medical complex. Gilbert, however, proposed that the hospital be placed at a new (third) location which would reduce building costs that might be incurred by the construction of heavy retaining walls and excavation. Furthermore, he was convinced that this new arrangement would create a better opportunity for enlarging the building at a future date.[187] The site was situated just east of the northern extension of the Anatomy Building. Proposed to be the same size as the ward buildings to the north and south, the new hospital was to form part of the medical quadrangle, and not serve as the southern-most centerpiece of the complex, as suggested in the previous plan.[188] Governor Lind, however, decided it was too late to make such a dramatic change. The hospital plans were well underway and the medical school staff was eager to proceed with the project as previously planned.[189]

In response to Gilbert's concern about adequate space for future medical school expansion, Lind reasoned that the hospital could move eastward or additional land could be acquired later through the condemnation process. Gilbert continued to advise Kenyon on the local architect's plans for

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the hospital, and he offered several suggestions for refining Kenyon's design. Yet, despite the suggestions, Gilbert generally believed that Kenyon was "making a mighty good hospital building" which was going to bring great credit to the local architect.[190] By April, ground was broken for the Elliott Memorial Hospital.[191]

Other problems arose concerning the employment of additional architects who might be hired to complete various campus buildings. Gilbert continued to argue for retaining control over the type of architecture to be used throughout the entire university campus. The regents, however, had other ideas and began considering the construction of a $400,000 Men's Building, to be designed by Long, Lamoreaux and Long and to be dedicated to regent and university president, Cyrus Northrup. These discussions began at the behest of the Dean of Women, Ado Comstock. Comstock argued that male university students were at a disadvantage, compared to their female counterparts. As men, they lacked the necessary skills for making a home and thus could not maintain a comfortable living environment for themselves. Comstock wrote: "A girl can turn a little 8 by 10 room in a boarding house into a home, where she is content to spend her leisure hours." Yet, very few boys, he noted, had this ability.[192] In reflecting upon the common attitude of the period about the gender split between the skills of young women and men, Comstock elaborated upon the bad influences that could affect the latter group:

> the boys, scattered through so many colleges, have far less opportunity to feel the general influences of

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> university life--especially the good influences. In my opinion, such deplorable conditions as this widespread habit of cheating grew up because there is so little chance for the best sentiment to make itself felt. In a mob the lowest element rules. In a well-organized community the better sentiment is at least known and respected. . . so far as the general student life goes the men of this university are hardly better than a mob. And a mob they must remain. . . until they have a center in which to plant their colors and organize their forces.[193]

Comstock's interest in shaping public behavior, by way of an improved environment, thus paralleled the similar ideas of Gilbert and other advocates of the City Beautiful.

Carsley explained to Gilbert the situation about the hiring of other architects, providing him with newspaper articles that discussed the appointment of an architectural firm that would design the Men's Building. Carsley also contacted Clifford, Gillette, and the university staff in order to stress the undesirability of employing Long, Lamoreaux, and Long.[194] Gilbert commented that this firm's design for the men's quarters was "certainly stupid enough to make it objectionable anywhere in the neighborhood. It will be a great pity if it should be executed. . . . It is almost hopeless to expect to educate public opinion on those matters."[195] Clearly, Gilbert wanted his plan, as presented by Foulds, to be realized.

Although this plan did not incorporate Gilbert's proposal for a new location for the hospital, it did contain two other significant changes in regard to the location of an astronomy observatory and an assembly hall. Gilbert tried to convince Lind that these changes were necessary. The architect

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believed that the astronomy observatory should be moved off the center axis, "so that the vista across the river would be uninterrupted."[196] The new location, as noted on Foulds' plan, was positioned west of the center axis near the edge of the cliff, about halfway between Washington Avenue and the southern boundary of the university property. Gilbert felt that this location isolated the building well enough to allow for a sweeping view of the sky and for the observatory to be "sufficiently distant from the street car tracks as well as from the railroad tracks to avoid vibration."[197]

Also included in Foulds' 1909 design was Gilbert's proposal that the Board of Regents provide a large assembly hall to be placed on the center axis just north of the Northern Pacific Railroad tracks. Until then, Gilbert had been instructed to include a library building on campus. However, information that he received from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and the experience from his own work on the University of Texas master plan led him, instead, to plan for a large assembly hall.[198] Although Gilbert formally was not authorized by the Board to include these changes (even though Lind informally agreed with his ideas), he continued to develop the general plan by incorporating these two latter changes. In fact, Gilbert developed drawings for the north central building to serve as both library and auditorium.[199]

After Gilbert submitted the drawings and the plaster model, his relationship with the Board of Regents began to show signs of significant strain. Even though the College of

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Engineering found Gilbert's service as advisory architect to be "most desirable," further Board opposition--especially from Butler--prevented the architect from continuing his work. By late May 1910, Gilbert was instructed to pass on his plans for the engineering building group to the State Board of Control architect, Clarence Johnston.[200]

In an attempt to ensure that his original plans would be carried out, Gilbert actively promoted his 1909-based designs in several local and national newspapers and magazines and also in exhibitions across the country. He was eager to comply with various publications that were interested in reproducing images from his sequence of presentation drawings. This maneuver also appeared to be an extension of his desire to educate the Twin Cities public at large; Gilbert presented them with proposals (in stunningly beautiful form) that would transform their local university campus. Robert Craik McLean, editor of the Minneapolis-based periodical Western Architect, even offered to be Gilbert's "press agent" in this endeavor. McLean offered to supply various local newspapers with photographs of the architect's University of Minnesota work and to publish the drawings in his own magazine.[201]

Other publications, such as the Minneapolis Tribune, the Minneapolis Journal, the St. Paul Dispatch, the Christian Science Monitor, Architectural Review, Architectural Yearbook (1912), The Brickbuilder, and the Journal of the AIA also expressed interest in Gilbert's work.[202] In addition, Gilbert's office contacted the respected late nineteenth- and

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early-twentieth century American architectural critic, Montgomery Schuyler who wrote for Architectural Record, to see if he would be interested in publishing these images.[203] Gilbert's drawings, however, although sumptuous and beautiful, suggested a scale and an expense that would have been daunting to any local citizen, let alone to the Board of Regents. When the St. Paul Dispatch emphasized that the project would take 50 years and $10 million dollars to implement, it is not surprising that Gilbert's relationship with the university regents deteriorated as much as it did, especially in the face of Butler's continuing opposition.

Nevertheless, well-known planners and other individuals continued to express interest in the final stage of Gilbert's University of Minnesota plans. Edward H. Bennett, consulting architect of the Civic Commission of Minneapolis (who with Daniel Burnham had developed a plan for Chicago and other cities), also wished to see these university plans. Iowa State College professor, A. T. Erwin, requested such information from Gilbert, too.[204] When Gilbert sent Erwin a blueprint and a copy of the Western Architect article, he explained that although the plan had been developed in response to "particular conditions," it easily could be adopted to the needs of other institutions. Not surprisingly, Gilbert offered to meet with interested parties from the Iowa school.[205] Likewise, several exhibition organizers were interested in Cass Gilbert's presentation drawings. Photographs of six of them (including Drawings #2, #6, and #8)

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and one elevation (probably the version with the gabled auditorium) were exhibited at the Architectural League in New York, the Chicago Architectural Club, and the T-Square Club in Philadelphia.[206]

It is also noteworthy that Gilbert's University of Minnesota plans received international recognition. Sir Charles Reilly (1874-1948), head of the School of Architecture at the University of Liverpool, expressed interest in Gilbert's campus plans as early as 1909.[207] Reilly was introduced to Gilbert by two colleagues. Sir Aston Webb, architect of the East Wing of Buckingham Palace, and a mutual friend of Reilly and Gilbert, and Mervyn McCartney, editor of the British publication, Architectural Review, each provided the English architect with a letter of introduction. Gilbert happened to be working on the last phase of University of Minnesota drawings when Reilly first visited the United States in order to study civic improvements and town planning.[208] In fact, Gilbert gave the Liverpool school a collection of photographs and reproductions of his work. Reilly found this collection to be especially useful for teaching students about the monumental building type, a form not widely represented in English architecture at the time. Particularly impressed by such monumentality, Reilly was careful to note that the sympathies of his school were "with the larger aspects of monumental architecture rather than the petty domestic work" to which most of the other English schools were devoting their energy.[209]

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In addition, Reilly's interest in Gilbert's work reflected the English architect's broader admiration for American Beaux-Arts classicism. Reilly, dissatisfied with the then-existing University of Liverpool buildings (which were generally modest in scale, irregular in layout, and Gothic revival in style) believed that these features should be reformulated. In fact, both he and his students produced ambitious drawings for grandly-scaled classical university buildings that they had based on American models such as McKim, Mead, & White's Columbia University and Gilbert's University of Minnesota.[210] In 1912, in fact, the re-design of Liverpool University was the subject of the Lever Prize.[211] The winning design proposed a grand complex of classical buildings arranged along a processional axis. The exhibition at which this plan was presented was described in American Architecture and Building News as follows:

> It is, in fact, evident that the United States furnishes either the model or the inspiration for the composition, and even detail, of nearly every essay in design. . . . From a tentative following of American practice has followed a close adherence to the manners of individual masters, amongst whom Charles Follen McKim, [Henry] Hornbostle, Cass Gilbert, and Van Buren Magonigle are the chief favorites.[212]

That Gilbert was named in the company of his former employer, McKim, Mead & White, and other prominent American architects of the period, was high praise indeed.

When Gilbert sent Reilly a set of photographic reproductions of the official 1910 designs, two of the images were included in the start-up issue of The Town Planning Review, a British journal edited by Reilly and his colleagues.

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Reilly thought Gilbert's work would be "a fine lesson" for his readers, which included city council members as well as architects and students.[213] A few of the 1910 drawings of the Minneapolis campus, including the bird's-eye-view (depicting the gabled auditorium); the Foulds' plan; and Johnson's views looking down Washington Avenue (Figures 59, 54 and 58, respectively); were presented in the inaugural issue, which focused on town planning in America. (Notably, this issue also included a synopsis of the work of Burnham and Bennett's 1909 plan for the city of Chicago.) The south elevation study of the campus was included as the frontispiece for an issue which appeared a few months later (Figure 62).[214] All of these works far surpassed Reilly's expectations, as he expressed in a 1910 letter to the American architect:

> I am beginning to think that it is only given to [an] American to conceive such magnificent schemes as it certainly is only given to them to carry them out. You almost disharten [sic] us to [the] splendor and magnificence of your operations and when any of us here would be glad to give up a lifetime to [do] such work, you add a postscript. . . to say you have got another University to build for Texas?. . . I think the detail of these buildings is delightfully simple and fine. . . .[215]

Gilbert's work represented a paradigm for the British professional, one which he both admired and envied.

Reilly's interest in and praise for Gilbert's work was not an isolated occurrence in Great Britain. Charles Robert Ashbee, a leader in the English Arts and Crafts movement, also expressed interest in Gilbert's proposal for the University of Minnesota. He was collecting data on recent educational projects both in Europe and America on behalf of the Hungarian

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Ministry of Education, which, in 1911, was considering the construction of new universities.[216] Gilbert supplied Ashbee with seven photographs of the Minneapolis project, and later supplied him with reproductions of the University of Texas plans. The latter images were published in Ashbee's report to the Hungarian government.[217] Similarly, Charles Holden, a representative of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) who was collecting data on university planning, similarly expressed interest in Gilbert's work. Gilbert sent Holden his general plans for the University of Minnesota, as well as for the University of Texas and Oberlin College.[218] Unfortunately, this extensive publicity was not enough to develop broadly-based support for Gilbert to continue in his position as consulting architect for the University of Minnesota.

Developments in Late 1910 and After

By early summer 1910, the Board of Regents was actively courting the Minneapolis architect, Edwin Hawley Hewitt, as a replacement for Gilbert. Hewitt insisted that before he would take on such a project, the Board's obligation to Gilbert had to be terminated. Hewitt also questioned the extent to which the Board, and the consulting architect, might be duty-bound to carry out Gilbert's plans. By this stage, Gilbert had realized that his relationship with the Board of Regents was seriously imperiled, and he contacted Clifford to discuss possible strategies for future action.[219]

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Intriguingly, allegations arose that Hewitt had jeopardized Gilbert's attempt to be reappointed as advisory architect to the university. Although it remains unclear as to the exact allegations against Hewitt, it was suggested that he had attempted to overturn the award of the competition for university expansion.[220] Regardless of when this attempt had occurred, Hewitt's application for membership to the AIA in 1912 was temporarily delayed. Gilbert, himself, took these rumors very seriously. He presented a confidential communication to the AIA requesting that Hewitt's application be delayed until it was made clear if, in fact, the Minneapolis architect had made such an overture.[221] But in 1913, Hewitt's name was cleared by Lowell A. Lamoreaux, one of the candidate's original endorsers, and Hewitt subsequently was elected to the AIA.[222]

In August 1910, Gilbert was dismissed by the Board of Regents and Hewitt was hired to carry out the general plan for the greater university. The Board regarded the submission of Gilbert's 1910 plans as fulfillment of the services for which he had been hired.[223] However, despite Hewitt's appointment, Gilbert was contacted by a representative of the state's commercial organizations and asked to provide photographs of the improvement plans for the University of Minnesota. These photographs were needed for a presentation to former U. S. President Theodore Roosevelt, who had been brought to the campus as a university presidential candidate.[224] One might surmise that the primary reason Gilbert (and not Hewitt, or

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even the State Board of Control architect, Clarence Johnston) was asked for this information was that Gilbert's ten-drawing sequence provided a complete and compelling vision of the project.

The state, not surprisingly, continued to rely on Gilbert's ideas, even after the architect's appointment with the university was terminated. Another reason for this unusual situation may have been linked to Theodore Roosevelt's visit to St. Paul. As Gilbert's associate, Thomas Holyoke, excitedly describes, Roosevelt and his entourage came around a bend near Selby Avenue just as the sun had broken through clouds to "set off the capitol in a beautiful light."[225] Given the prominence of Gilbert's Minnesota State Capitol in St. Paul, and Roosevelt's view of the building under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the architect's university work was requested for the candidate's perusal. Ultimately, four photographs of Gilbert's campus plans were given to the former U. S. president: the plan showing the terraces and grades (#5); the bird's-eye view with the gabled auditorium (#6); the medical group (#7); and the view along Washington Avenue (#8).

Gilbert, meanwhile, harbored his own opinions about the university's interest in Roosevelt. He was resentful about the way in which his own dealings with the school had been handled, as he explained to Holyoke:

> I think it is great nonsense to ask [Roosevelt] to accept the presidency of the University because I cannot imagine he would be willing to do so, particularly if he knew the outrageous ways in which they treat people, [like] my own

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relations with that enterprise.[226]

To the Iowa professor who had been interested in Gilbert's work, Gilbert, in a similar vein, summed up his experience with the University of Minnesota: "I am not in politics but it sometimes looks as though political conditions govern in matters of this sort."[227] Such political conditions, which surely had worked against Gilbert's interests, were the cause of the architect's own enmity towards the institution.

By October, Gilbert had written to Edward A. Purdy, managing editor of Western Architect, in order to ascertain if the magazine would publish an account of the problems that he had faced. Purdy sympathized with Gilbert's plight. He informed the architect that he knew several colleagues who had "been disgusted with the action of the Board of Regents." A little more of Butler and his ilk," said Purdy, would "certainly make a mess of things." Nonetheless, Purdy was not willing to publish Gilbert's criticism of the university in the pages of Western Architect, possibly because he did not wish to jeopardize his own personal friendship with Hewitt.[228]

Clifford and Gillette met with Board president Lind and discussed the possibility of an appeal to the Board of Control to retain Gilbert on the project; but, Lind could hardly go to the regulatory group himself without a conflict of interest. Clifford and Gillette went before the Board of Control alone to present their request and, although the group on principle seemed willing to hire Gilbert as of January 1, 1911 (the date

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of expiration of their contract with Clarence Johnston), they ultimately did not agree to do so--for fear that such a decision would reflect badly upon the Board of Regents. Clifford and Gillette then tried to convince the Board of Control to agree to a statement that absolved them of their responsibility, but to no avail.

Determined to keep trying, Clifford and Gillette met with Lind a second time, hoping to influence the Board to re-instate Gilbert. Lind agreed to support Gilbert but only if the matter came to a tie vote; he further qualified his position stating that he "would not lock horns with Butler on this matter."[229] Clifford and Gillette tried to remain optimistic that the support shown by regents Hovland, Northrup, Rice, and Smith would continue. They hoped that the other regents would become increasingly disenchanted with the dominating tactics of Butler and Lind. Clifford and Gillette also suggested a strategy for campaigning against Butler in his bid for a state Senate nomination. The pair believed that they should avoid a direct attack on the Board for its poor treatment of Gilbert. Rather, they felt that they would reap greater results by planning a more broadly-based negative campaign that targeted the administration and the Board's improper disbursement of state funds.[230]

The Board, at its December 13, 1910 meeting, resolved to comply with its early 1909 agreement with Gilbert and it discussed offering him the opportunity "to draw plans for all buildings to be erected" on the university campus. Butler,

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however, revised the resolution so that Gilbert could design only one or two buildings, in order to merely suggest the architectural style for the campus.[231] With this development, Gilbert became thoroughly disenchanted with the Board. In the following letter, he expressed his frustration to George A. DuToit, one of the Minnesota State Capitol Commissioners:

> The treatment that I received from that University of Minnesota Board of Regents was outrageous. You probably have heard of it. Pierce Butler's persistent enmity and intrigue have been practically effective and I have become so disgusted that I do not want any more of it. I would be proud to serve the state of Minnesota, but I do not think I will be allowed to in this case, and I do not want to under the conditions that exist.[232]

In no uncertain terms, Gilbert was through with even wanting to negotiate, let alone pursuing the project further.

The following January, Walter N. Carrol, president of Western Architect, took up Gilbert's cause. Carrol was one of three subcommittee members appointed by the General Alumni (the formation of the subcommittee perhaps resulted from the efforts of alumni Clifford and Gillette). This committee hoped to bring a bill addressing the issue of Gilbert's appointment before the legislature which was in session that winter.[233] Gilbert, however, no longer was willing to enter into a controversy with the Board of Regents about his appointment. He was adamant that his work for the university would have to be carried out on his terms, with the development and the "perfecting" of the designs and working drawings to be completed in his office, with representatives dispatched from his firm for local supervision. As Gilbert explained to Purdy, this method of doing business was common.

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He pointed out that all large works were usually handled at a distance by architects whose practice was like his own, "sufficiently extensive to enable them to maintain an organization fitted to carry on important work of this character. . . ."[234] Clearly, Gilbert did not expect to work on a project on which he would have to devote nearly all of his time. Furthermore, in contrast to his earlier position not to publish the semi-personal and political details of his ordeal, he later advised Purdy to contact Clifford and Gillette to obtain such information in order that it might be published.[235]

The aftermath of Gilbert's conflict with the Board was also a time of reflection for the architect's closest supporters. Clifford and Gillette believed that they had made an incontrovertible mark on the planning of the university in their unwavering support of Gilbert's proposals. They recognized the value of both the monetary and the emotional support that they had extended to the architect. The two businessmen considered themselves to be responsible for the several buildings after 1910 that were built "with order and harmony and with due regard for permanent economy instead of with the former extravagant, helter skelter mixture of sites and styles." They also believed that their advancement of funds made it possible for the University to employ a talented architect who prepared "a general plan to govern the development of the University for the next fifty years . . . [and] who, to use Pierce Butler's phrase, [was] without a peer

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in work of that character."[236] (Butler, paradoxically, had admired Gilbert's work greatly, despite his personal opposition to the architect.)

Clifford and Gillette, however, despite their optimism, felt that they had failed in their attempt to implement their goal of realizing a comprehensive university expansion plan. As they explained:

> The key to the whole situation, so discreditable to the University, is the lodged hate that Pierce Butler bears Gilbert, which has by opposition become so fixed and unreasonable that he cannot think straight or with any sense of proportion. . . as a lawyer he should be the first to recognize that no man should act on a committee or cast a deciding vote in any matter in which he has such bitter prejudice and complete bias. He has, moreover, been able to force John Lind to act with him in this matter, notwithstanding the shame which Lind has explicitly confessed to us concerning the whole transaction. . . .
>
> . . . By some extraordinary perversity, and reckless-[ness] of the public interest [our offer to help Gilbert] fed fat his ancient grudge to a contest for years and finally to defeat the continued employment by the University, at no greater cost than the state now pays, of the loyal and devoted service of the master[-]mind of American architecture--a contest from which Gilbert would have withdrawn in disgust at its beginning but for our insistence.[237]

Not only were they resentful of Butler's intrusion upon their own success, but they viewed Gilbert as a master whose skills would elevate the campus design to new heights.

Of course, no matter what the efforts of Frederick Clifford and Lewis Gillette, the opposition of Pierce Butler proved to be Gilbert's major downfall. Butler even went to great lengths amongst members of the legislature to impugn the architect's character.[238] After Gilbert's service to the university had been terminated, Gilbert wrote that Butler had

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been opposing him "in the most insistent and malicious manner with bitterness and acrimony" which Gilbert found difficult to swallow.

Despite Clifford, Gillette, and Gilbert's attempts to unseat the regent, Butler did not relinquish his membership on the Board of Regents until September 1924. Butler's reappointment in 1911 met the general approval of St. Paul businessmen and other Republicans who were eager to shut him out of the Senatorial race.[239] Other political changes included the death of Governor Johnson (who had been unsupportive of Gilbert's work) and the election of Governor Adolph O. Eberhart in 1909. Carsley explained to Gilbert that this new Republican governor, "was a man of intelligence, [who] would be favorable to your ideas."[240] These later political changes were a moot point, however, since Gilbert's own university appointment ended in 1910. Significantly, more than twenty years after Cass Gilbert had begun to pursue discussions with university representatives, the institution's President L. D. Coffmann contacted him to study the general problem once again. Gilbert, however, was not interested and cordially declined.[241]

Although Gilbert's grand plans for the University of Minnesota were not fully realized, his general conception for the campus was used as a template for later architects' work. Clarence H. Johnston, as architect for the State Board of Control, constructed buildings on the mall that struck a chord with Gilbert's ideas, and a ten-year plan commenced in 1919.

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This decade-long plan followed the overall concepts of Gilbert's 1909-based designs. For example, James H. Forsythe, university professor in the architecture department, produced perspective drawings that feature a campanile in the lower campus that paid homage to Gilbert's earlier work.[242] Development of the overall campus continued through the 1920s, with adherence to Gilbert's ideas.[243]

Besides Clifford and Gillette, other local citizens, such as Joseph A. Wheelock contributed to Gilbert's mixed success. (For a discussion of Wheelock's support of Gilbert's capitol project, see the previous chapter). Wheelock, in fact, envisioned a comprehensive system of parks that connected the scheme of the Capitol Approaches plan and the University of Minnesota plan. Although not realized, Wheelock's proposal was the most ambitious emblem of the hopes and dreams of municipally-minded citizens. Most importantly, such citizens as Gillette and Clifford, in their extensive work with Gilbert, had a great impact on the development of the University of Minnesota designs. These two men worked outside of the institutional framework of City Beautiful organizations, in contract to figures like Lenora Hamlin, who led the Women's Civic League to support Gilbert's Minnesota State Capitol Approaches Plan. As members of the university alumni committee, Gillette and Clifford integrally worked with the official Board of Regents and became invaluable advisors to Gilbert. They, like capitol supporters Joseph A. Wheelock, his son, and Hamlin, not only shared Gilbert's comprehensive

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vision for transforming and re-forming the urban and educational environment of the city, but they also participated actively in the process of developing grand City Beautiful-related projects for both Minneapolis and St. Paul.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

FWC=Frederick W. Clifford
LSG=Lewis S. Gillette
GHC=George H. Carsley
EW=Eugene Ward
DHB=Daniel H. Burnham
FLO=Frederick Law Olmsted
BoR=Board of Regents
JTW=John T. Wyman
WHL=William H. Lightner
CS=Channing Seabury
THA=T. H. Anderson
JL=John Lind
WJF=William J. Foulds
BBL=Birch Burdette Long
OB=Olmsted Brothers
GEV=George E. Vincent
PB=Pierce Butler
TGL=Thomas G. Lee
CHJ=Clarence H. Johnston
WK=William Kenyon
JRR=John R. Rockart
CHR=Charles H. Reilly
GB=Glenn Brown
EHH=Edwin H. Hewitt

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. J. G. Nielson, The Book of Minnesota: Development, Resources, Enterprise and Beauty of the North Star State (St. Paul, Minn.: Pioneer Press, 1903), 29; James Gray, The University of Minnesota, 1851-1951 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), 32 and 55ff; and Turner, 140. The land grant act, also known as the Morrill Act, was first presented to Congress by Senator Justin Morrill in 1857. Although its implementation varied from state to state, the early land grant schools shared basic goals, including the promotion of practical education, the right of education for all social classes, and the freedom of students to choose their own courses of study.

2. David Gebhard and Tom Martinson, A Guide to the Architecture of Minnesota (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 48-49.

3. Patricia Murphy, "City Planning and City Beautiful," Cass Gilbert: Minnesota Master Architect (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1980), n.p.; Charles Buchan, "Minnesota Builds," The Minnesota Technolog (February 1949): 183-184; Samuel Sutherland, "Our Future Minnesota," The Minnesota Technolog (April 1922): 9 and 14; and Report, Campus Extension (Minneapolis: Western Architect, 1909), 1-3.

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4. Milton O. Nelson, "University Must Build for the Great Future that is Held Out to Minnesota," St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 3, 1908, pp. 1ff, found in CGC, SB-1907-10, n. p. (N-YHS). Nelson compared the size, projected building costs, and the enrollment of the University of Minnesota with each of the following schools: University of Illinois, University of Chicago, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, University of Virginia, Washington University, University of the South and University of Pennsylvania.

The University of Minnesota at this time also was beginning to discuss the creation of an architectural department, an issue which received editorial comment in the regional periodical, Western Architect. Urging the university's Board of Regents to establish an architectural school with its $250,000 allocation for an engineering building, the editorial stressed the importance of the University of Minnesota to keep pace with other similar institutions. It felt that this was especially timely since Minnesota's rapid growth demanded the design and construction of a variety of public and private buildings: "The state therefore owes its citizens that every advantage is given to the youth to become proficient in the art of architecture." ["An Architectural Department in the University of Minnesota," Western Architect 12 (July 1908): 1].

5. Nelson, 1.

6. Frank A. Carle, "The Twin City Beautiful," Minneapolis Tribune, n.d.[ca. May 30, 1908], in CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

7. Turner, 191 and 196.

8. Ibid., 196.

9. Turner, 180-182. Bénard's plan of the late 1890s followed Frederick Law Olmsted's plan of 1866, a plan in which Olmsted applied his ideas for land-grant colleges to the Berkeley site. His proposal, to establish a park-like setting for the university within a suburban community that encouraged the development of civil and moral values, was not realized. For more information on this plan, see Turner, 140-143.

10. Turner, 169-172.

11. GHC (for CG) to Johnston, July 7, 1900 and TGH to CC, September 13, 1900, CGC, Misc. [CGP?]-LB 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS); also see Gray, 25-54 re: Pillsbury's contributions to the development of the university. These letters also contain Gilbert's critique of French's design. The statue stands facing the old library building, now Burton Hall.

12. MSC report, March 1, 1904, CGC, PC, MSC Box: 8, F: 8 (N-YHS).

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13. See "Representation is Question of Debate," Minneapolis Tribune, and attached letter from Carsley to Gilbert, February 19, 1908, CGC, PC, Box: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

14. FWC to CG, July 27, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1911 (1909-1910), F: 1909-1910 (N-YHS). It is unclear when Gilbert and Clifford became friends.

15. FWC to CG, September 18, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

16. FWC to CG, September 17, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

17. Larry Millet, Lost Twin Cities (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 278-283. Jones arrived in Minneapolis in the 1880s. He was trained at Brown University and at MIT, and had worked with Henry Hobson Richardson before heading west. Jones also designed a Tudor revival home for Clifford on Groveland Avenue in St. Paul.

Other City Beautiful-oriented structures in Minneapolis included Gateway Pavilion and the Great Northern Railroad Station (both begun 1914-1915). The depot, in particular, was considered to be a vital monument in the rebuilding of the decayed downtown area near Bridge Street [Ibid., 292-293].

18. 1908 Diary, Bx: 1, F: 2 (LC/MSS) notes their camping trip to Clifford's house at Heron Lake. Gilbert maintained his contact with Clifford at least through 1919, when Gilbert was interested in gathering more information about the Northwest National Bank and the Federal Reserve Bank projects in Minneapolis [CG to EW, December 10, 1919, CGC, CGP-LB 4/13-12/33 (N-YHS)].

19. FWC to Frederick Snyder, February 10, 1913, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

20. Gilbert referred to Gillette's initial letter in his correspondence with his associate in the St. Paul office, George Hollis Carsley. In this note, Gilbert asked about Gillette's background [CG to GHC, May 21, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 11/06-6/07 (N-YHS)]. Carsley must have responded quickly to Gilbert's inquiry since Gilbert accepted Gillette's invitation soon after, on May 27, with a telegram followed by an extended letter.

Interestingly, Gillette had served on the Pillsbury statue alumni committee, but Gilbert was not acquainted with him before 1907.

21. CG to LSG, May 27, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 11/06-6/07 (N-YHS).

22. FWC to CG, and LSG to CG, July 25, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS); and CG to FWC, July 30, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS). The most pressing need included plans for a

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new medical building and a new engineering building [LSG to CG, July 25, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS)]. Gillette also mentioned the necessity of a heating and power plant to be located along the lines of the railroad that ran through the campus. No appropriations were made for this plant, in contrast to those made for the new medical and engineering facilities.

At this time, in late summer 1907, Gilbert contacted Daniel Burnham himself, although their potential collaboration was not realized because of Burnham's ill health. Burnham, however, strongly urged Gilbert to recommend Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to the Board. Gilbert, in his response to Burnham, was full of praise for the landscape designer's work on the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, the McMillan Commission of 1902, and the Boston metropolitan park system.

Gilbert then conferred with Gillette about when to ask Olmsted and how to present the matter to their best advantage to the Board of Regents. Gilbert assured Gillette that Olmsted's name and reputation "carries so much weight that I am sure no mistake would be made in connecting him with the [UM] work." He also reminded Gillette that Olmsted's father was "practically the dean of the profession of landscape designers" [Oct. 2 letter]. (Gilbert soon contacted Olmsted, later asking permission from Gillette to do so.)

Despite these machinations, the Board was primarily interested in having Burnham work on the project, no matter how well Olmsted was recommended. [C. D. Marshall to CG, September 24, 1907 and DHB to CG, September 25, 1907; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS); CG to DHB and CG to LSG, October 2, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS); CG to FLO, October 11, 1907, and CG to LSG, October 15, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS)].

Burnham was later asked to be a member of the advisory committee to judge the competition, but he declined due to his uncertain schedule for that year [See DHB to JTW, February 10, 1908, OVP/BA, F: 1907-1908 (UM/UA)]. William M. Kenyon, meanwhile accepted Wyman's invitation to serve on the jury. Kenyon had already been appointed consulting architect for the University of Minnesota hospital [William M. Kenyon to JTW, February 12, 1908, OVP/BA, F: 1907-1920 (UM/UA)].

23. LSG to CG, July 25, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS).

To the south of the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge was the Washington Avenue bridge. Tucked under this latter structure, on the west bank was built one of the largest river flat settlements in the Twin Cities which existed from 1860s until 1963. In 1900, the area was home to at least 1200 people, including a mixed population of Slovak, Czech, Irish, Norwegian, German, Austrian, Danish, and Russian immigrants. Most of the residents were evicted by 1931 to make way for a municipal barge terminal. By 1963, the last 14 homes were demolished [Millet, pp. 82, 83].

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24. UM Report, September 14, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS) and LSG to CG, September 11, 1907; B. N. Nelson to LSG and JTW to LSG, September 14, 1907; LSG to CG, September 24, 1907; and LSG to CG, October 22, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS). With Gillette, Gilbert visited the grounds on September 11 and they conferred with engineering professor Frederick S. Jones and Dean of the Law School Pattee, both supporters of the idea for a new plan. Gilbert's first meeting with the Board of Regents probably took place on September 18, 1907, when the group had its regular Executive Committee meeting.

At this early stage, Warren Manning's office also entertained the possibility of collaborating with Gilbert. Their argument emphasized their skills and abilities in landscape planning; they believed they could bring more to landscape design than Gilbert could [G. H. Ramsdell (for Warren Manning) to CG, September 23, 1907, CGC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS)].

25. These six studies were probably produced in this sequence, from October 17th to 29th, 1907, although some of the drawings are undated.

26. Gilbert encouraged University Board of Regents President John T. Wyman to join him in studying universities such as Columbia and Princeton in the East [CG JTW, (extended letter) November 7, 1907, (MHS and N-YHS)].

27. JTW to CG, October 26, 1907; LSG to CG; and LSG to JTW, October 30, 1907; JTW to CG, October 31, 1907 CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS); CG to JTW, November 7, 1907, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); and CG to JTW, November 7, 1907 (an extension of above letter of same date), CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS) with copy in CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS). In the November 7 correspondence, Gilbert enclosed a copy of the Hearst competition publication and his six preliminary studies. He recounted his own experience with regard to planning and asked the Board to come East to visit Columbia University, Princeton University and elsewhere. In addition, Gilbert emphasized his interest in three stages of project development: general plan, working drawings, and architectural services for design and supervision. Clearly, he was interested in a long-term relationship with the University regents [Also see JTW to CG, November 11, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS); and CG to JTW, November 14, 1907, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS) with copy in UM/UA].

28. LSG to CG, November 11, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS).

29. CG to LSG, November 8, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS), with copy in OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

30. Ibid.

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31. LSG to CG, December 9, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS). They also admitted that their goal was to get Gilbert's appointment confirmed so that it would be impossible for the regents "to locate any buildings on the Campus without Gilbert's sanction." Clifford and Gillette visited Pierce Butler, Judge Thomas Wilson, Daniel R. Noyes, Benjamin F. Nelson, Sidney M. Owen, and three other unnamed members.

32. LSG to CG, December 9 and 19, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS); and CG to LSG, December 21, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS). In this latter correspondence, Gilbert urged Gillette to suggest that the six drawings be exhibited at the university commencement and to undertake "a campaign of education," so that a discussion of the plan could take place amongst members of the public and of the legislature. Gilbert wrote: "The general dissemination of the idea by means of the student body would be one of the most effective means of getting it approved throughout the state, so that when it would come before the legislature a pretty general knowledge of the project would exist."

33. CG to JTW, December 21, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 and JTW to CG, December 30, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4, both (N-YHS); CG to LSG, and CG to JTW, January 3, 1908, CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS).

34. BoR card file (UM/UA). Butler remained a university regent until September 1924. He served as a justice for the U. S. Supreme Court between 1923 and 1929. Ironically, towards the end of Butler's term, Gilbert had begun to design a new building for the court.

35. CG to WHL, September 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS).

36. CG to WHL, September 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS).

37. Butler initially agreed with Gilbert that his early offer of payment of $4500 was too low for the work that was done. Butler, however, did not wish to increase the offer since the Board of Regents had voted to authorize only that amount [UM Report, August 19, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS); CG to FWC, August 27, 1908 telegram, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS)].

38. CG's UM Report, August 29, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS).

39. FWC to CG, September 11, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS). Clifford added, "but for that [Butler's hostility towards Gilbert], there is no doubt that a fair and reasonable contract would have been made promptly upon the award of the competition commission." Lind, at first, as ex-governor and political associate of Butler, sided with Butler.

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40. CG to WHL, September 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS). Interestingly, before the conflict of 1906, both Pierce and Walter Butler had revered Gilbert's work. In 1904, for example, Walter confided to Channing Seabury, the Vice Chairman of the Capitol Commissioners, that Pierce had hoped Gilbert would design the new Cathedral. Walter apparently also intimated to Seabury that Pierce probably could be named to the Cathedral building committee in order to exert some influence in the selection of the cathedral architect [CS to CG, November 12, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1904 (LC/MSS). Also see GHC to CG, January 27, and February 8, 1908, CGC, CGP-LB 11/07-4/08 (N-YHS) concerning Carsley's meeting with Walter Butler about bids for the St. Louis Public Library, with no hint of hostility from the bank project].

41. C. S. Decker to CG, January 14, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 (N-YHS), with copy in OVP/BA, Fldr: 1907-20 (UM/UA). The first prize premium was set at $1000; the second at $500.

42. "Conditions of a Competition," ca. January 25, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS). William S. Eames of St. Louis was part of the original jury but declined to serve. Also see Cook, Kenyon, Burnham to BoR, May 22, 1908, OVP/BA, F: 1907-1920 (UM/UA). Kenyon, incidentally, was engaged as the architect of the medical building, the first structure to be built in the expansion [FWC to CG, June 2, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS)].

43. FWC and LSG to CG, June 1 and 2, 1908 telegrams, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS); CG to Frank Miles Day, June 2, 1908, AIA Ofc. files, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 38, F: 1 (AIA); C. D. Decker to A. B. Lacey, November 19, 1908; CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908 (#3), F: #117 T-Square (N-YHS); and Report: Campus Extension (1909), p. 1 (UM/UA).

44. LSG to CG, January 2, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS).

45. CG to JTW, February 1, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 (N-YHS). Gilbert immediately dispatched George Carsley to find out more about the changing developments and to gather additional data about the existing campus, university enrollment, and the future needs of the institution [GHC to CG, February 4, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4, with copy in CGP-LB 11/07-4/08 (N-YHS)].

46. Ibid. After Gilbert was awarded first prize, he telegraphed to Burnham: "I entered the competition with much reluctance and only after refusing it several times. I seriously think that we must all throw our influence against the growing evil of the competition system. It is a serious tax on the profession" [CG to DHB, June 2, 1908, CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS)].

Clifford additionally alerted Gilbert about the Governor's new appointees in February 1908 at the time of the

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competition. Clifford thought that the new members "would be in full sympathy with our aims and practically assure full developments of any adequate plan. . . ." [FWC to CG, February 21, 1908 telegram, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS)].

47. Ibid.

48. JTW to CG, January 17, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: [3] (N-YHS); CG to Decker, January 21, 1908, CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS), with copy in OVP/BA, Fldr: 1907-20 (UM/UA); and Decker to CG, January 25, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS). Gilbert submitted to the Library of Congress photographic reproductions of his later competition drawings for copyright [Thorwald Solberg to CG, May 13, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS)].

49. Compare typescript versions of "Conditions of a Competition," ca. January 25, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS). Printed versions of the official program can be found in CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS), with copy in MEI C75 (UM/UA); CG to FWC, March 3, 1908, CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 and C. D. Decker to CG and other competitors, March 6, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 30 (N-YHS).

50. FWC to CG, February 15, 1908 and JTW to CG, February 8, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS). The minor changes included a change in scale of the general plan to be submitted (from a 200 ft/inch to a 50 ft/inch scale), the deletion of the working drawings clause, and an extension in the deadline from March 1 to April 30.

The scale change was problematic as Gilbert pointed out to President Wyman. Since the 50 foot scale would result in a drawing with the dimensions of 64" x 80," this conflicted with another stipulation that no drawings could be larger than 48" x 48" [CG to JTW, February 28, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3, with copy in Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS); JTW to CG, February 29, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 and CG to JTW, March 3, 1908, CGC, Misc. LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS)].

The deadline extension resulted from James Wyman's concern over leaving his position as president in March 1908. He wanted to allow some lead time for the incoming president to become familiar with the project.

51. FWC to CG, March 7, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

52. "Representation is Question of Debate," Minneapolis Tribune, February 19, 1908, and accompanying letter from GHC to CG, of the same date; and FWC to CG, February 21 and March 7, 1908; all from CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

53. There would be no compensation for the advisory judges, and the winner would receive only $1000 compensation for his efforts. With regard to one problem, Walter Cook felt it was his duty to serve on the jury. He believed the Minnesota

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project represented "a matter of public importance and of great interest to the members of my profession" [Walter Cook to James Wyman, March 2, 1908, OVP/BA, Fldr: 1907-1908 (UM/UA)]. Initially, Cook was offered a mere $100 for his services, in contrast to his normal fee of $1000 to $1500. But, as he explained to Gilbert, $100 seemed to him an undignified sum to accept for such important work [Walter Cook to Gilbert, February 29, 1908, CGC, PC, Box: UM, Fldr: 6 (N-YHS)].

54. FWC to CG, March 7, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

55. CG to BoR, April 27, 1908, CGC, Misc-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS); CG to BoR, April 28, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 (N-YHS). The competition drawings were published in "University of Minnesota Competition," Western Architect 12 (July 1908): 9-10; Report, Campus Extension, 26-27; and Architectural Review (August 1908).

These drawings were exhibited in 1909 at the Minneapolis Architectural Club. This club's exhibition offered the first comprehensive view of improvements to be held in Minneapolis; it was also scheduled to visit Chicago. Gilbert sent the two competition drawings as well as a photo of the recently-completed U. S. Custom House in New York, a watercolor perspective of Festival Hall (a building that he had designed for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904), and stations designs for the New Haven, Hudson River Railroad ["Progress Towards Civic and State Commissions," (editorial), Western Architect (March 1909): 26; G. E. Wiley to CG, February 21; March 4, 25, and 31; April 6, 9, 1909; and exhibition program; CGC, Misc., Bx: (#103) 1909, F: M-P and M-N (N-YHS)]. The competition drawings were also published in "First Prize Design, Competition for Rearrangement of the University of Minnesota Campus, Cass Gilbert, Architect," Architectural Review 15 (1908): 129-132.

Unsuccessful attempts to produce the 1908 competition drawings include those made by the Bates & Guild Publishing Company and the T-Square Club of Philadelphia. Although Gilbert gave his permission to publish the plans in a second volume of American Competitions, to be edited by Adin Benedict Lacey and published by the T-Square Club of Philadelphia, by late 1908, Gilbert advised Lacey to drop the matter, presumably because of the difficult negotiations that were developing. (A prior volume of the same name had contained Gilbert's proposals for the Allegheny County Soldier's Memorial, Union Theological Seminary in New York, and the Connecticut State Library and Supreme Court.) [Frank C. Bacon to CG, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS); and Adin B. Lacey, November 13, 20, and 21, 1908, CGC, Bx: Chron. 1908 (#3), F: #117 (N-YHS)].

56. CG to BoR, April 28, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 (N-YHS). This ten-page letter explains in detail the features of the 1908 competition scheme.

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57. Ibid.

58. On a technical note, the bird's-eye view of the new campus plan was developed with the aid of photographic views taken from numerous vantage points along the bluffs that skirted the property, and also along both sides of the river [CG to GHC, March 31, 1908 and THA to GHC, April 9, 1908; both in CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08; GHC to CG, April 4 and 7, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 and 7 respectively, both in (N-YHS)].

59. CG to BoR, April 28, 1908, Ibid.

60. FWC to CG, May 14, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS). Gillette and Clifford's support was especially crucial at this time, since Gilbert was worried about his reputation after he had won the competition. Gilbert related his concern to William H. Lightner, an attorney and close friend for whom the architect had built a home in 1893 on St. Paul's Summit Avenue. Gilbert wrote to Lightner: "The case is somewhat similar to that of the Wisconsin Capitol where, as you know, I won the competition, and was legislated out of it through political intrigue. This is another case of political intrigue of gross character and I am sure would not be approved by the Board of Regents if it could be gotten to their attention. . . ." [CG to WHL, September 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS)].

61. GHC report, June 11, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS) and CGP, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS). According to Carsley, Clifford advised Gilbert to speak with authority, conveying his ability to instruct the regents (and presumably the public) as to why legislation might be necessary for funding the project. He also advised Gilbert to consult Lind with regard to the architect's conference with Butler.

62. GHC report, June 11, 1908; GHC to CG, June 12, 1908; and E. S. Hall to CG, June 25, 1908; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS). Smith had studied a large-print contour map of the university as well as a small-scale city map of Minneapolis in order to prepare these drawings. At this time, the regents formed a special expansion committee to address the questions of the new plan. This committee consisted of John Lind, Albert E. Rice, Benjamin F. Nelson, Henry B. Hovland, and Pierce Butler ["Greater Campus Plans Accepted," St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 11, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS)].

63. Agnes Lynch Starrett, Through One Hundred and Fifty Years, the University of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1937), 218-219. In December 1907, the Board of Trustees of the University of Pittsburgh arranged to purchase a hillside site that had been part of the Schenley family property. Sixty-one architects submitted drawings; first prize was awarded to the firm of Palmer and Hornbostel. The winning designs were later published in Werner Hegemann

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and Elbert Peet's The American Vitruvius (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1922), Figures 527-528.

64. Francesco Passanti, "The Design of Columbia in the 1890s, McKim, and His Client," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 36 (May 1977): 69-84. The other monuments besides Columbia University which contributed to this popular reference were Grant's Tomb and the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine.

65. GHC to CG, July 10, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

66. Ibid.

67. GHC's report, February 6, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS); GHC to CG, February 11, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS); CG to GHC, February 15, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); C. D. Decker to CG, February 18, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS); and CG to GHC, March 12, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS). Gilbert wanted to keep the competition drawings secure, as he explained to Carsley, "[t]hey are not to be shown to anybody without my consent." Also see Neg. #36999 (N-YHS) of a blueprint of the University of Minnesota "Plat of University Grounds and Surrounding Area," dated February 13, 1909.

68. CG's report, February 5, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS).

69. CG to GHC, February 15, 1909, and March 23, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); and CG to John Lind, March 23, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

70. GHC to CG, February 8, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS). Carsley interviewed students who were preparing a thesis concerning the power plant, tunnels, and mechanical equipment of the greater campus plan. He told them that this equipments would probably be among the last areas to be developed according to Gilbert's plan and referred them to contractors, such as the Northern Heating and Lighting Company, who had completed the tunnel system for the MSC.

Also see GHC to CG, February 11 and 17, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS), re: the departments of chemistry, engineering, the library, the Colleges of Science, Literature, and the Arts; Dentistry; Law; Pharmacy; and Education. The departments of astronomy, the gymnasium, and the Graduate School were contacted soon after the other schools submitted their requirements [F. P. Leavenworth to CG, February 20, 1909; and H. T. Eddy to CG, February 23, 1909; and CG to GHC, March 4, 1909; CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

Also see L. J. Cooke to CG, March 12, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS), GHC to CG, March 15 and 24, 1909; and GHC to representatives of the College of Homeopathic Medicine and Surgery; Chemistry; the School of Mines; the College of

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Science, Literature, and the Arts; Engineering and the Mechanical Arts; and Agriculture; March 18, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS). Many of their replies of March 19, 1909, can be found in CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

Carsley's correspondence continued well into April 1909. See GHC to CG, March 26, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS); a synopsis of the Engineering College's requirements is provided in memo, March 29, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-9/10 (N-YHS), with copy in CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS). For information about the departments of biology, sociology and anthropology, astronomy, chemistry lab, dormitories for men and women, the chapel, assembly hall, post office, among other areas of development for the campus, see GHC to CG, April 3 and 22, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-9/10, with copy of the former in CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1911 (1909-10), F: 1909-10 (N-YHS). The biology department was especially interested in Princeton University's biology and geology building, a project which itself had drawn upon the precedents of similar work completed across the country [CG to GHC, April 6, 1909; and Frederick E. Clements to CG, April 12, 1909; CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS)].

71. C. D. Decker to LSG and FWC, May 20, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); Decker to CG, May 20, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS). Gilbert was not agreeable to this deadline, because of the delay he had experienced in collecting data from several departments of the university and also in notification that the railroad tracks would remain on the site. However, Gilbert was ready by June to supply the Board of Regents with the location and grades for the buildings that were proposed for construction in 1909: the Engineering Building, Elliott Memorial Hospital, the Anatomical Building, Physiology Building, the Women's Dormitory, and the power house [CG to C. D. Decker, June 7, 1909; and CG to JL, June 7, 1909; OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

72. Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 643-44. Foulds also worked on the Union Theological Seminary competition. Significantly, Foulds was in charge of Gilbert's extensive library of books, illustrations, and photographs. These resources would have given Foulds a great range of visual information to draw upon when he worked on various group plans and other presentation drawings for Gilbert [See CG to Haskell, December 28, 1900, CGC, Misc. [CGP?]-LB 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS)].

73. CG to JL, April 27, 1909, OVP/BA, Fldr: 1907-09 (N-YHS).

74. CG to JL, May 14, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS), with copy in OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). A bill was introduced in the 1909 legislature requiring the Northern Pacific tracks to be covered through the university campus [See L. T. Chamberlain to CG, January 26, 1909, OVP/BA (UM/UA), copy in CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS)]. At the February 1909 meeting, one solution, suggested by Gilbert, was to re-route the tracks to north of the university grounds, near where the Great

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Northern Railroad crossed under University Avenue [see CG's report, February 5, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS) and Carsley's similar suggestion, GHC to CG, February 20, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS).]

75. Although the legislature passed a law in 1909 requiring the Northern Pacific Railway to lower its grade and cover these tracks, which separated the old campus from the new, a few years passed before the law was enforced. The Attorney General, in early 1913, had to be enlisted by the Board of Regents to ensure that the railroad would take the proper steps to comply with the legislation. For more information, see Laws and Regulations Governing the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931), 456-62; campus views of Minneapolis (before 1922--when contract drawn up between university and railroad for track removal) (UM/UA); MN University Comptroller Papers/Removal of Railroad tracks, Photographic album (ca. 1912?), F: 3 and documents in same, F: 1 (UM/UA); and JL to Northern Pacific Railway, March 14, 1912, JLPprs, Bx: 3, F: 1912 (MHS).

76. JL to CG, May 19, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS).

77. This image corresponds to Inventory drawing #17, or BG 373 #1 (UM/UA). A similar drawing, without the dramatic wash contrast and with a compass included, was reproduced in Western Architect (August 1910). The general building groups and features of the two plans are the same.

78. CG to Charles R. Ashbee, February 6, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS). Although this spine might suggest that the entrance to the campus should be located to the south, near the river, the actual entrance to the campus would be marked near the street car lines at the northern boundary and center of the site.

79. GHC to CG, February 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6, with copy in CGP-LB 11/07-4/08 (N-YHS). Also see CG to Frederic E. Clements, October 16, and December 4, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS); Clements to CG, October 21, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: Misc. 15 (N-YHS).

80. GHC's report, June 11, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

81. CG's report, June 29-30, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS).

82. CG to JL, September 29, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). Gilbert sent to the Board several blueprints of plans which he labelled schemes "A" through "D." "A" was a 100 foot scale general campus plan. "B" was an elevation from the south, including the astronomy building, open air theater, and botanical garden with two adjacent buildings that were

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undesignated as to function. The chemistry and engineering groups were portrayed in "C." And, "D" was a bird's-eye-view of the campus.

For additional information about the fall 1909 campus plans, see the UM sketch included in Gilbert's notes for a AIA speech he delivered at the Portland, Oregon Architectural Club. The astronomical observatory is portrayed at the lower left, and the amphitheaters and terraces are included in the lower half of the drawing. To the lower right, a building group (perhaps the medical school complex?) is shown [CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS) and CGC, ADE 11 - A Gilbert 179 (LC/P&P)].

83. Foulds' rendering, "Plan of Sewer and Water Mains and Heating and Power Tunnels," dated October 1909, corresponds to Drawing #4 of BG 373 (UM/UA); his "Plan Showing Terraces and Gardens," corresponds to drawing #2 and #16 of the same drawing group (also UM/UA).

84. GHC to CG, July 17, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS); GHC to City Engineer Benecke, July 17, 1909; GHC to CG, July 26, 1909; and GHC to Geology Professors Winchell and Bass, July 26, 1909; CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS). Also see F. H. Bass to GHC, July 27, 1909; Benecke to GHC, July 19, 1909; GHC to CG, May 15 and July 26, 1909; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS).

When Gilbert consulted Winchell about the composition of the strata of the proposed site, he referred the architect to the description of Hennepin County in the Final Report of the United States Geological Survey, vol. II. The strata included layers of sandy loam, gravel and boulders, till (a mixture of the above materials and clay), Siluvian green stone, Siluvian limestone, and St. Peter's sandstone, in descending order [N. H. Winchell to CG, July 31, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS)].

85. "View on Washington Avenue," corresponds to BG 373 drawing #12 (UM/UA). Reproductions of this image can be found in VF (N-YHS); it was published in Western Architect (August 1910).

Thomas R. Johnson, a Canadian draftsman who came to work for Gilbert in 1900, studied abroad before working on the University of Minnesota drawings. By 1910, Johnson had also completed drawings of general plans for the University of Texas at Austin. For further information on his career, see Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 626-629; and "Monographs on Architectural Renderers, V. The Work of Thomas R. Johnson," The Brickbuilder 23 (May 1914): 110-112.

86. Photographic reproductions of the medical group drawing can be found in RG 815, Bx: 12, F: oversize UM (AIA); CGC, VF, UM (N-YHS); and BG 373 #13 (plus two other unmarked photo-mechanical reproductions (UM/UA).

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87. May 16, 1910 memo attached to Report on Gilbert Plans by College of Engineering, May 19, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). For reference, this document also includes Gilbert's January 1909 contract, which lists the requirements of his work for the Board of Regents.

88. Figure 55 corresponds to drawing #8 of BG 373, originally mounted on board marked by "6" at the upper right. This view, with the gabled roof auditorium at the north end of the campus, was reproduced in Western Architect (August 1910). Figure 56 corresponds to drawing #5 of BG 373 (UM/UA), with its domed auditorium was also reproduced in photographs that can be found in CGC, VF (N-YHS). Both of these views are marked by Long's characteristic block initials that can be seen in the lower left of photographic reproductions in the CGC, VF (N-YHS) [Regarding Long's drawings, see WJF (for CG) to GHC, October 22, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS), with copy in CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS)]. This letter, however, makes no distinction between the version with the gabled roof or the domed roof, but the gabled roof version corresponds to Foulds' general plan of this date.

Although the title block in Johnson's studies are dated 1910, they, along with the studies by Foulds and by Long, were copyrighted in late 1909 at the Library of Congress [THA to Library of Congress, October 28, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS)].

For more information about Long's career, see "Monographs on Architectural Renderers, X. The Work of Birch Burdette Long," The Brickbuilder 23 (November 1914): 274-276. Long began his career as a draftsman in Chicago. For a short time, he worked for Frank Lloyd Wright, where he was influenced by pen and ink technique with flat washes of color. After winning the Chicago Architectural Club's Travel Prize, which he used to travel to Europe, he began a practice in New York as a free-lance renderer. He was known for his wide-ranging ability to work using various media and achieving consistently fine results. His work was noted to set such a high standard that he was "more than any other one man, responsible for the excellent pictorial quality of American perspective rendering" ["Monograph," p. 274]. Birch Burdette Long was well-known particularly as a renderer of bird's-eye-views, dramatically showing group plans and improvement schemes such as Gilbert's proposal for the University of Minnesota campus.

89. THA (for CG) to BBL, December 22, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS).

90. CG to JL, February 5, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-1920 (UM/UA). Although Lind's response was to request an estimate, he was concerned about where such a model might be stored [JL to CG, February 8, 1909, CGC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS)].

Gilbert soon obtained estimates from several model makers on the East Coast. Boston model maker, James W. Baston, who had completed a model for Chicago's Grant Park, was

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recommended to Gilbert by the Olmsted Brothers. Gilbert also contacted George Carroll Curtis, another Boston model maker who had experience with large-scale projects such as the McMillan Plan model for the redevelopment of Washington, D. C. The New York City firm of Klee-Thompson and Company was contacted, too. Gilbert requested information from these firms for two types of models at a 100, 50, and 20 foot scale. One model was to represent the university property and the location of existing buildings and streets; the other was to represent the same information in addition to the proposed buildings of the new campus [OB to CG, February 20, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS); CG to James G. Baston, March 2, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS); James W. Baston to CG, March 8, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS); CG to Klee-Thompson, March 9, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); Klee-Thompson to CG, March 10, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS); CG to Curtis, March 17, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); and Curtis to CG, March 18, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F:5 (N-YHS)].

Each of Curtis' two models for the Washington, D. C. project had been constructed in 6-foot by 4-foot sections that were later assembled to form a 17 foot long by 10 foot wide panoramic view [see Frederick Gutheim and W. E. Washburn, The Federal City: Plans and Realities (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, National Capital Planning commission, Commission of Fine Arts, 1976), for views of this model in the 1902 exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art].

Gilbert persuaded the Board of Regents to sign a contract with Klee-Thompson for the project, although the firm's bids were neither the lowest nor the highest of the estimates. Curtis, who submitted bids that were approximately seven to ten times the figures submitted by Baston, tried to convince Gilbert that he would need the highest quality product that was available, stating that "If you want the 'any old thing' sort of work you will find makers legion, but if you desire a first-class job, one you can depend on and one which will attract the general public by the quality of naturalness, and good art, it will be well to consider our past experience" [Curtis to CG, March 22, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS)].

Curtis' estimates for the two types of models at 100 foot scale were $1500/$1800; for the 50 foot scale $2300/$2800, for the 20 foot scale $7000/$7800. In contrast, Baston bid $225/$324 for the 100 foot scale, $285/$400 for the 50 foot scale, and $600/$775 for the 20 foot scale. Klee-Thompson submitted bids closer to Baston's, at $260/$330 for the 100 foot scale, $480/$590 for the 50 foot scale, and $1200/$1400 for the 20 foot scale [See Curtis to CG, March 22, 1909; and Baston to CG, March 18, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS); and Klee-Thompson to CG, March 10, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS)].

The firm's experience, however, did not influence Gilbert enough to make the architect chose Curtis [CG to Curtis, March 23, and May 4, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); and Curtis to CG, April 27, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS)]. Klee-

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Thompson's work was more attractive to Gilbert primarily because of their location in New York. In May 1909, the Board ordered 50 foot scale model to be produced by Klee-Thompson, but Gilbert decided to wait until the general plan was finalized [CG to JL, April 19, 1909, JLPprs, Bx: 2, F: 1909 (MHS); JL to CG, May 19, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS); GHC to CG, May 20, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS); and CG to JL, May 21, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS)].

Gilbert also emphasized to Lind that the buildings in this model would not be articulated fully. Rather, they would be raised at 1/8" height [CG to JL, June 12, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)]. By September 1909, Gilbert was still waiting for the general plan to be finalized [CG to JL, September 29, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)].

91. GHC report, June 11, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS); CG memo, June 10, 1908 and JL to CG, August 4, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 and 6 respectively (N-YHS); copy of August 4, 1908 letter in CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS). Also see JL to CG, August 7, 1908 telegram, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 (N-YHS). Attached to this correspondence is Gilbert to Lind, November 7, 1907 in which Gilbert offered two financial options -- $2000 for the cost of drawings and travel, plus additional fees for expenses and labor, or a $4500 lump sum to cover all costs. The Board at that time expressed interest in the second option.

92. CG to FWC, August 19, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

93. CG to FWC, and CG to JL, August 19, 1908, CGC, Misc-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS); CG's report, August 22, 1908 and GHC report, August 28, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS). Gilbert met Clifford an hour before meeting with Lind on August 22, 1908. The matter was not raised at the Board of Regent's meeting on August 28, as Gilbert had expected it would be. Instead, Lind had questions about the details, materials, and location of the new hospital. Concerning this issue, Gilbert recommended the procurement of a quarry or brick factory and clay beds, so that consistent materials would be available for the hospital and later building projects. Dean Westbrook apparently supported the location of the hospital to the south of Washington Avenue, but Lind did not want further construction in this location. Lind and Gilbert also discussed Gilbert's potential design of the Engineering Building and a few other buildings, as well as land acquisition and sales.

94. CG to FWC, August 27, 1908 telegram, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS). Gilbert told Clifford that he would decline the offer since he could not fulfil the conditions of the contract without a serious loss. Butler and Lind wanted Gilbert to sign; Nelson, however, believed as, Gilbert did, that the Board's offer was unfair.

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95. GHC report of August 28th meeting, August 29, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS).

96. CG to FWC, September 2, 1908, CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS); and CG to GHC, September 9, 1908, CGC, SLPL-LB [sic] 6/07-12/08 (N-YHS); and CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS). Gilbert's inquiry to the St. Paul attorney, William H. Lightner, for whom he built a home on Summit Avenue, provides a good description of Gilbert's interpretation, as previously cited [CG to WHL, September 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS)].

97. FWC to CG, September 11, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS). By 1911, however, Clifford's patience had run out. Disgusted with his poor relations with the regents and the Board's slow payment for Gilbert's services, Clifford wished Gilbert "had brought suit long ago" [FWC to CG, November 1, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1911 (1909-10), F: II. 1911 (N-YHS). It appears that Butler also held up approval of Gilbert's bills to the university, since $1500 of Gilbert's final payment was still outstanding in 1912 [See correspondence between October and November 1911, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA) and Misc., Bx: II. 1911 (1909-10), F: II. 1911 (N-YHS)].

98. CG to GHC, September 9, 1908, CGC, SLPL-LB [sic] 6/07-12/08 (N-YHS), and copy at CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS).

99. Ibid.

100. CG to WHL, September 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS).

101. FWC to CG, September 11, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

102. Ibid.

103. Frank A. Carle, "Minneapolis Civic Improvement," Minneapolis Sunday Tribune, editorial attached to R. C. McLean to CG, March 8, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: (1910) #2, F: #103 Misc. M-P (N-YHS).

104. Ibid.

105. CG to FWC, September 14, 1908 telegram, CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS).

106. CG to WHL, September 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS). This letter provides a clear summary of the events leading up to the financial negotiations of 1908-1909. Also see WHL to CG, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS).

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107. FWC to CG, October 21 and 22, 1908, telegrams, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS); CG to FWC, October 23, 1908, CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS).

108. JL to CG, September 8, 1908, OVP/BA, F: 1907-1920 (UM/UA), copy in CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 3 (N-YHS). The drawings were to include a block plan on a 100 foot scale, a general plan on a 20 foot scale, a longitudinal section through the entire university group on a 20 foot scale, two bird's-eye views--one on a 20 foot scale and the other approximately 36" x 50" in size, and three perspective drawings. The working drawings were to comprise a topographical map showing contour lines of the site at the completion of the proposed improvement, a drawing or plan showing the elevations of the water table and the building floor lines referred to in the general design, a drawing showing the location, size and elevation of all sewer and water mains, a drawing of the location elevation of all tunnels and pipes in relation to future heating plans, and a general lighting plan for the grounds.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid. He also thought it was unwise to include working drawings in a contract at such an early stage of a general plan's development. In a later letter to John Lind, Gilbert emphasized this position, claiming that the general plan and the allowance of growth for several departments should be the primary concerns of the regents. [See CG to JL, September 30, 1908, JLPprs, Bx: 2, F: 1908 (MHS)].

111. CG to JL, October 5, 1908, OVP/BA, F: 1907-1920 (UM/UA).

112. CG to FWC, October 15, 1908, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS). Also see GHC to CG, October 13 and 15, 1908 telegrams, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

113. Ibid.

114. See studies by Sharon Irish, Gail Fenske, Robert Allen Jones, and William Morgan that have been cited previously in this project. For Carsley's correspondence with Gilbert see GHC to CG, October 16, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS). Gilbert was careful not to appear too solicitous or open to negotiation with the university regents. Rather, he believed that if he stood firmly on the merits of the case, especially on the advice of his counsel, he would ultimately occupy a stronger negotiating position and the board would come around to his terms.

115. CG to GHC, October 19, 1908, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS).

116. Ibid.

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117. LSG to CG, October 24, 1908; and FWC to CG, October 24, 1908; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 and 7 respectively (N-YHS); CG to GHC, October 30, 1908, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS). Lind and the Board also agreed to the deletion of the requirement for a 20 ft. scale drawing and promised Gilbert that he would become architect of the Engineering Building, for which Gilbert would receive a 5% fee. In addition, the Board agreed that they needed to be given drawings of the levels and water tables of all the proposed buildings, as well as the landscape, general sewage, and water plans.

118. Although Gilbert was appreciative of Carsley's visit to Dr. Mayo, Gilbert reminded his associate that he should not appear too eager to negotiate. Indifference, Gilbert told him, "is a position in which we may well maintain a dignified but receptive attitude" [CG to GHC, November 7, 1908, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS)].

119. GHC to CG, October 31, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

120. CG to LSG, November 4, 1908; and CG to GHC, November 7, 1908; CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS); LSG to CG, November 7, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

121. See JL to LSG, December 9, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (N-YHS); LSG to JL, December 8, 1911, JLPprs, Bx: 3, F: 1911 (MHS); Fred B. Snyder to GEV, February 17, May 27 and November 11, 1913; FWC to Snyder, February 10, 1913; and GEV to Snyder, May 13, September 19, and October 22, 1913; GEV to FWC, July 3, 1913; G. H. Hayes to S. G. Iverson, September 12, 1913; Iverson to Hayes, September 7, 1913; LSG to GEV, October 21, 1913; all from OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). Although the Board promised to pay Clifford and Gillette in two installments, August 1913 and 1914, the first payment was delayed several months, after which Gillette requested reimbursement of at least the interest on their original contribution. See related correspondence, October 22, 1913-January 22, 1915, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

122. FWC to Fred B. Snyder, February 10, 1913, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

123. A. N. Farmer to JL, September 29, 1908; Conrad G. Selvig to JL, September 29, 1908; and W. R. Appleby to JL, November 24, 1908; JLPprs, Bx: 2, F: 1908 (MHS).

124. John F. Downey (Dean of College of Science, Literature and the Arts) to BoR, November 27, 1908, JLPprs, Bx: 2, F: 1908 (MHS). The College of Science, Literature and the Arts boasted a total enrollment of 1,585 students, of which 416 were students in animal biology. Downey also advocated the building of a chapel and assembly hall on the site of the old Mechanic Arts Building and the then-present heating plant.

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Also see Henry F. Nachtrieb (Professor of Animal Botany) and Frederic E. Clements (Professor of Botany) to JL, December 3, 1908, JLPprs, Bx: 2, F: 1908 (MHS).

125. F. F. Westbrook (Dean of Medical School) to CG, November 12, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS). Westbrook believed ultimately that the medical school would consist of a series of buildings that were all connected by covered corridors or underground passageways. But he was also concerned about the initial outlay of money for the administrative building alone. Kenyon, in the meantime, had been appointed by the Board of Regents as the architect of the new hospital.

126. Frederick S. Jones to CG, November 15, 1907; and LSG to CG, November 26, 1907; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS); and CG to Jones, November 18, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS). Jones, incidentally, at a later post as Dean of Yale College, offered to held Gilbert's son, Cass, Jr., during the boy's freshman year [Jones to CG, January 16, 1914, CGC, Personal/Chron., Bx: January 1913-June 1914, F: A-J (N-YHS)].

127. CG's report, August 22, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS). For more information about the new hospital, new out-patient building, and expansion of the college of medicine and surgery, see Report to BoR, December 8, 1908 and related correspondence in JLPprs, Bx: 7, F: UM (MHS).

Pierce Butler, incidentally, was an early advocate for the development of the College of Homeopathic Medicine and Surgery, believing that the university needed a separate building with its own laboratory that could serve the state as well as the school. Butler also believed that the "old-school" departments of medicine (including anatomy, among others) should be divorced from the new medical school, and that the university hospital should include staff from the homeopathic medical school [PB to JL, September 26, 1908, JLPprs, Bx: 2, F: 1908 (MHS)]. The other "old-school" departments included histology and embryology, pathology and bacteriology, and chemistry.

128. J. G. Moore to CG, January 20, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS), copy in CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS); "Gilbert is Chosen: Famous Architect to Supervise University Work," St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 20, 1909, in 1907-09 SB (N-YHS); CG to GHC, January 21, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS). The project's budget was $100,000.

In the early stages of hospital planning, local physicians had hoped to open a small temporary hospital in nearby condemned buildings. The most pressing problem by early 1909, however, was the location of the new building [Dr. Charles L. Greene to CG, January 21, 1909, CGC, Bx: CGP (1909-10), F: G-L (N-YHS); GHC to CG, January 21, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS)].

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129. GHC to CG, January 23, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS); "The New Harvard Medical Schools, Boston, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge," American Architect and Building News 92 (December 1907): 203-210.

130. Dr. Charles Greene to CG, February 1, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); and Greene to CG, February 6, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS).

131. CG's report, February 5, 1909 and GHC's report, February 6, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS). Also see announcement re: hospital authorization, Engineering Record, February 6, 1909, in 1907-09 SB (N-YHS). At this time, Gilbert also met with Frank A. Carle of the Minneapolis Tribune.

Also see other lists, memos, and correspondence, such as Memo, March 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS) which contains probably the earliest sketch of Gilbert's new Minnesota medical school plan, with E-shaped buildings, situated east of the proposed campus and south of Washington Avenue. (Since the sketch is not labelled, however, it also may represent yet another scheme for the campus proper.)

132. TGL to GHC, June 11, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS). Gilbert stressed to the medical school representatives that, as the university architect, he had not been hired to design individual buildings. Rather, he had been requested to prepare comprehensive bird's-eye-views and a general perspective drawing of the general plan of the university. Kenyon, as Gilbert understood, was still the architect of the university [CG to TGL, June 18, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); TGL to CG, June 21, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS) and copy in (MHS)].

133. CG's report, June 29-30, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS); and CG to JL, July 9, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). The Elliott Memorial Hospital was shifted twenty five feet farther north so that the rear wall of the hospital was placed on the center axis of Essex Street.

134. TGL to CG, November 29, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS).

135. CG to TGL, December 29 and 30, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/03-1/11 (N-YHS).

136. Draft, November and December 3-4, 1908; and CG to LSG, December 5, 1908; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS); copy of December 5 letter in CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS). Gilbert also sent his attorney, William H. Lightner, a draft of the December contract [see CG to WHL, December 5, 1908, CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS); and CG to GHC, December 7, 1908, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 32 (MHS)].

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137. Gillette explained to Butler that Gilbert had adapted the language and general terms of the first contract with the new terms agreed upon by Lind [LSG to PB, December 23, 1908, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)].

138. PB to JL and PB to LSG, December 28, 1908, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); also see FWC to CG, December 22 and 23, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS).

139. GHC to CG, December 31, 1908, CGC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS).

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid.

142. Benjamin Nelson made the resolution for the adoption of the contract and it was signed. GHC to CG, January 4, 15, and 19, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS); FWC to CG, January 19, 1909, telegram, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 7 (N-YHS); copy CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); C. D. Decker (BoR Secretary), Minutes, January 19, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); "Gilbert is Chosen: Famous Architect to Supervise University Work," St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 20, 1909, 1907-09 SB (N-YHS); JL to CG, January 9, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS), with copies in MUC, Fldr: Architects Duties B and OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

After this contract was signed, the Colleges of Science, Literature, and the Arts; Engineering; Medicine and Surgery; Dentistry; Education; Law; Pharmacy; and the School of Chemistry; all pursued their plans for expansion. See January 1909 memo, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS).

Gilbert was also not trusting of Butler, after discovering that of the two signed copies of the second contract that he had given Clifford to give to Lind, only one copy was in the possession of the Board of Regents. Gilbert asked that C. D. Decker, the Secretary of the Board of Regents, to ask Butler about the missing copy. Butler apparently never supplied the documents [CG to GHC, February 15, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS)].

143. PB to Wilson, and PB to JL, January 18, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). On the same date, Butler submitted a more lengthy letter to John Lind, outlining the history of the negotiations. Butler also complained to Governor John A. Johnson concerning the same issues [PB to Johnson, January 18, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)].

144. JL to LSG and FWC, January 7, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). Also see FWC to JL and LSG to JL, January 7, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 4 (N-YHS), with copies of each in OVP/BA (UM/UA).

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145. "Regents Caught in Unpleasant Place: Accepted Proffered Money but Cannot Replace It," Minneapolis Tribune, February 12, 1909, CGC, SB-1907-09 (N-YHS).

146. Murphy, M. A. thesis, 7 and 28.

147. "Agreement Reached in Campus Matter: Johnston to Draw Up Plans, but Will Consult Cass Gilbert," Minneapolis Tribune, May 8, 1909, in SB-1907-09 (N-YHS).

148. CG to LSG, May 8, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS).

149. Ibid.

150. GHC to CG, May 10, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS), with copy in CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS). Gilbert became further aggravated by Johnston's avoidance of discussion of the issue. Johnston, however, later told the Board of Control that he had tried to see Gilbert but was unable to do so [Charles B. Cheney to CG, May 19, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS)]. Johnston and Gilbert tried to meet in July to discuss this issue, but Johnston was defensive from the beginning [see CHJ to CG, June 3 and 10, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS), with copy of the former in OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); CG to CHJ and CG to JL, June 7, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); "Buildings are Delayed," St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 11, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS); P. M. Ringdal to JL, June 11, 1909 and Johnston to JL, June 14, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); JL to CG, June 15, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (UM/UA); and CG to JL, June 17, 1909 telegram, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS) and letter of same date, OVP/BA 1907-20 (UM/UA)]. Gilbert was particularly concerned, too, about the reports in several news articles that gave the impression that he was unwilling to cooperate with the Board of Control [CG to CHJ, June 17 and 25, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); CHJ to CG, June 23, 1909 (two letters), in CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS) and OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)].

151. LSG to CG, May 14, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS).

152. CG to FWC, May 18, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

153. Ibid.

154. FWC to CG, June 9, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS).

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. WJF's report, June 27-30, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS). Johnston was suspicious of Gilbert's contract, and he believed that his own role was jeopardized. Gilbert, however,

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assured Johnston that he did not want to work for the Board of Control, especially since Johnston received only 3% commission on buildings that cost less than $50,000 and only 2% commission on buildings that cost more than that figure. Johnston and Gilbert stated unequivocally that it would be impossible for them to work together, although they each agreed to review each other's work [see CG's report, June 29-30, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS); CG to JL, July 13, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); CG to CHJ, July 13, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); CHJ to CG, July 14, 15, and 21, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS)].

Oddly, the Board of Regents Secretary claimed that Gilbert recommended the Colonial architectural style for the campus, not "Roman Renaissance" [C. D. Decker to PB, July 2, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)].

Those in attendance at this meeting included university regents Northrup, Lind, Schulz, Nelson, and Hovland; State Board of Control representatives included Holverson and Ringdal.

158. For example, see CG to Kenyon, July 12, 1909, OVP/BA 1907-20 (UM/UA), in which Gilbert stressed the need for "simple, well-built structures" for the medical building group, designs that would be characterized by high quality and practicality. Gilbert's suggestions to Kenyon included details about the exterior treatment of the building, the use of large-scale stone, the change the grades of the hospital floors, and the interior disposition of rooms [also see Kenyon to CG, July 16, and October 1, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS); and Kenyon to CG, September 17, 27, and 29, 1909; and CG to Kenyon, September 29, and October 5, 6, and 21, 1909; CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS)]. Gilbert became most concerned that Kenyon work out the hospital design on a module of ten or twelve feet, so that the building would be on the same scale as those designed by Gilbert for the central group [CG to Kenyon, October 5, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS)].

159. As Foulds explained in his report of the June 30, 1909 meeting at which this idea was presented, "brick would eventually vary greatly in color due to change in the source of supply or method of manufacture, hence spoiling the effect of unity so desirable in the buildings . . . ." [WJF's report, June 27-30, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS)]. This meeting was attended by Johnston, five regents, and two members of the State Board of Control. Foulds also recalled that Gilbert recommended avoiding the style of Folwell Hall advocated instead, the use of a simple, classic and economic style, of Tuscan or Doric origins.

160. CG to CHJ, July 13, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS). Gilbert called the Board's attention to cheaper Indiana limestone, but realized that they might wish to consider only native Minnesota stone. Gilbert had also conferred with Geology Professor N. H. Winchell in 1895 regarding the merits

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of different types of stone, presumably as preparation for the architect's work on the MSC [1895 Diary, n. p., CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 1 (LC/MSS)].

161. CHJ to JL, August 6, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). Johnston cited the costs of Danville, Coon Creek, and Harvard brick.

162. BoR Minutes, August 7, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA) and JL to CG, August 10, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS).

163. JL to CG, Ibid.

164. CG to Kenyon, September 29, 1909, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); and Kenyon to CG, October 1, 1909, CGC, Bx: UM, F: 6 (N-YHS). Gilbert, however, believed that the Tudor style might be able to be used for women's dormitories and other buildings near Folwell Hall at the northern edge of the campus. But he felt strongly that the style should not be adopted for either the medical group or the new mall area of the campus [CG to JL, September 29, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)].

165. CG to JL, August 12, 1909, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

166. Gilbert preferred Bedford limestone from Indiana, but the Board's main objection--that it was from out of state--was a moot point since Danville brick was manufactured in Illinois.

167. CG to JFG, October 27, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1909 (LC/MSS).

168. GHC to CG, October 9, 1909; and E. S. Hall to CG, October 22 and 23, 1909, CGC, Bx: UM, F: 8 and 2 (N-YHS).

169. Ibid. It is interesting to note that Gilbert, during his term as AIA President in 1909-10, oversaw the development of the publication, "Circular of Advice Relative to the Principles of Professional Practice and the Canon of Ethics." It is likely that he worked on this publication in response to his difficult negotiations with the University of Minnesota Board of Regents, and specifically, with Pierce Butler.

170. B. F. Nelson to CG, March 26, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

171. Robert Craik McLean to Governor A. O. Eberhart, March 5, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: #103 Misc. M-P (N-YHS).

172. "University Campus Extension," Minneapolis Tribune, March 21, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

173. CG to GHC, March 12, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (N-YHS).

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174. CG to GHC, March 22, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

175. GHC to CG, March 18, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); GHC to FWC, March 25, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS).

176. CG to GHC, March 22, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

177. CG to JL, March 31, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

178. W. P. Laird to CG, April 7, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS). Laird had the photographic reproductions mounted for preservation.

179. CG memo, n.d., CGC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS). Other attendees included Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Thorne, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence C. Buel, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Underwood Johnson, and Mr. and Mrs. William H. Boardman.

180. CG memo, Drawing List for the University of Minnesota, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS). Gilbert applied to the Library of Congress for the copyright of all 10 drawings on the same date that he shipped them to Minnesota [CG to LC, April 21, 1910; THA to Warren P. Laird, April 29, 1910; CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); and WPF to CG, May 7, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS)].

181. By mid-March 1910, Gilbert was ready to submit all of his presentation drawings for the general plan of the University of Minnesota group, but was delayed in presenting them to the Board until May [see CG to JL, March 2, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); CG to BoR, March 171, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA), with copy in CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); and CG to GHC, March 22, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); CG to JL, March 30, 1910; and Robert Craik McLean, April 5, 1910; and CG to JL, April 20, 1910; CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); CG to JL, March 31, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA)].

Although Gilbert showed general references to possible planting schemes in this new general plan, he was quick to point out to university botanist Frederick E. Clements that horticultural plans had not been included in this stage of working out the design [Clements to CG, January 18, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 and CG to Clements, January 21, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS).

A modified version of Foulds' 1909 plan was published as "Plan of Main Campus and Future Buildings," ca. 1910 in Charles Z. Klauder and Herbert C. Wise, College Architecture in America, and Its Part in the Development of the Campus (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 36.

This general plan was followed by later architects, such as Forsythe, who proposed that a campanile be located at the center of the south campus plaza. See Pat Murphy's catalog for a perspective view of this campanile, and also "Plan No. II University of Minnesota: Cass Gilbert Plan 1910," dated 1939 (UM/UA). These later plans were published in "UCampus

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Plan, Like Topsy, 'Just Growed'," The Minnesota Daily (April 9, 1943), pp. 1 & 5; "This is the University that Might have Been," The Minnesota Daily, (February 26, 1965); and "Campus Development Shows Adherence to Original Cass Gilbert Proposals," The Minnesota Daily, (April 14, 1966), p. 9. According to Gilbert's drawing of 1910, however, the campanile idea was not part of them.

182. These two elevations are location in NWAA. The first, with the gabled, temple-like building at the head of the mall, has been reproduced in photographs that can be found in CGC, VF, UM (N-YHS) and BG 373 #11-2b (UM/UA). The second version, with the centrally planned domed building as the crowing feature, corresponds to photographs in CGC, VF, UM (N-YHS) and BG 373 #11-2a (UM/UA).

183. "Competition for the Western University of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.," Architectural Review 15 (July 1908): 117. Palmer and Hornbostel's prize-winning plan and elevation were also published in Hegemann and Peets handbook on civic art.

184. May 16, 1910 memo attached to Report on Gilbert Plans by College of Engineering, May 19, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). The dean's request, however, was not realized. The Engineering School also greatly supported Gilbert's role as advisory architect, even though Gilbert was experiencing great difficulty with the Board of Regents.

185. "Plan Showing Terraces and Grades," 1910 blueprint, BG 373 #10 (UM/UA) denotes then-existing buildings in dark outlines.

186. The other buildings included Physics, Chemistry, Medical Sciences, Electrical Engineering, Library, Mechanical, Heating Plant, and Pathology and Anatomy.

187. CG to JL, January 4, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). The blueprint denoting the proposed arrangement is located in OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

188. CG to William M. Kenyon, January 4, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, Fldr: 33 (MHS); also see blueprint attached to March 17, 1910 correspondence, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). Gilbert apparently sent Dr. Thomas G. Lee colored drawings to supplement this blueprint plan, although these drawings have not been found [TGL to CG, January 8, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS)].

189. Kenyon to CG, January 15, 1910; and JL to CG, January 19, 1910; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

190. CG to Kenyon, January 17, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS). The refinements that Gilbert suggested concerned the pier, window, and molding design (Gilbert hoped that the

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stringcourses and cornices would be constructed of cut stone).

Likewise, Dr. Thomas G. Lee, Director of the Institute of Anatomy, made extensive suggestions to Gilbert about the interior arrangement of the lecture and laboratory space in the Institute's building. Lee and other university physicians looked to laboratory buildings at Harvard University Medical School for their implementation of the "unit system," or modular, idea. Gilbert reminded Lee that, as consulting architect he could not contribute much to the layout of the medical school buildings. Thus, although Gilbert freely gave advice to Kenyon, Gilbert tried to distance himself from advice given to him. He clearly did not wish to become too embroiled in the details of hospital construction [TGL to CG, February 24, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 5 (N-YHS); CG to TGL, March 2, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS)]. For a plan of the medical school by mid-1910, see "Proposed Buildings of the Engineering and Medical Groups of Greater Campus," dated April 1910, O. S. Zelner, delineator, in JLPprs, Bx: 3, F: 1910-12 (MHS).

191. JL to CG, April 9, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS). When Gilbert was informed that the Board decided to use Menominee and not Danville brick, Gilbert was both disappointed and confused that he had not received official notifications of these developments [CG to B. F. Nelson, May 21, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS)].

192. "Launch Northrup Memorial Boom," St. Paul Pioneer Press, February 27, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

193. Ibid. This article also contained a drawing of the proposed English classical revival structure planned by Long, Lamoreaux, and Long.

194. GHC to CG, March 2, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); GHC to CG, March 7, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS); and "Launch Northrup Memorial Boom," St. Paul Pioneer Press, February 27, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

195. CG to GHC, March 4, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS). By March 1910, however, the discussion of a building to honor Northrup turned from naming a men's building for him to a assembly hall. See F. A. Carle, "A Noble Memorial Nobly Planned," Minneapolis Tribune, attached to R. C. McLean to CG, March 8, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: (1910) #2, F: #103 Misc. M-P (N-YHS).

196. CG to JL, January 4, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

197. Ibid.

198. CG to JL, January 4, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (N-YHS).

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199. JL to CG, January 19, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS) and CG to JL, January 21, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS).

The plaster model of the Foulds plan was not constructed until the Board of Regents approved Gilbert's plans [CG to JL, January 21, and March 2, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); CG to BoR, and CG to Klee-Thompson, March 17, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); and JRR to CG, March 17, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 2 (N-YHS)]. Gilbert, after first considering the production of two models, one before and the other after improvement, decided only the model showing proposed changes to the campus was necessary.

The model, due to be complete by May 15, 1910, was delivered to the Board in late that month. Klee-Thompson was paid $590 for the project, as per their estimates [CG to Klee-Thompson; Gilbert to C. D. Decker, April 6 and June 24, 1910; CG to JL, April 14, 1910; CG to JL, May 18, 1910; THA to Decker, June 22, 1910; CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); Klee-Thompson to CG, April 7, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-1920 (UM/UA), Klee-Thompson to CG, April 28, May 12, May 24, June 23, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS)]. Another view of the model, photographed at an angle instead of head-on, is located in CGC, VF, UM (N-YHS).

By 1949, the model hung in the Main Engineering Building, in the south stairwell between the third and fourth floors. See Buchan, 184. Its current location is unknown.

200. Dean of College of Engineering to BoR, May 19, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA); and B. F. Nelson to CG, May 21, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

201. R. C. McLean to CG, April 8, and May 9, 1910 CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); and see "Mr. Gilbert Completes his Work for the U. of M.," Western Architect 16 (August 1910): 78-81.

202. GHC to CG, April 11, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); CG to City Editor of Minneapolis Journal, May 5, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); telegram of same date; Leroy Boughner to CG May 7, 1910; and Minneapolis Tribune to Gilbert, May 5, 1910 telegram; CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); CG to Minneapolis Tribune, May 9, 1910; and THA to CG, May 15, and June 21, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); St. Paul Dispatch to CG, May 16, 1910 telegram, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); THA to Christian Science Monitor, May 19, 1910, CGPprs, Bx: 4, F: 33 (MHS); CG to St.Paul Dispatch, May 16, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); Will S. Bowers to CG, May 17, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); and CG to Bowers, May 19, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); E. S. Hall to CG, May 23, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); Frank Chouteau Brown to CG, May 26, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); CG to F. C. Brown, May 27, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS). Also see "University of Minnesota to Spend Millions," Christian Science Monitor, (May 27, 1910), in CGC, SB-1907-10 (N-YHS); John C. Baker/Architectural Yearbook (1912), to CG, February 16, 28, and August 9, 1912; CG to Baker, March 21, 1912, CGC, Chron.,

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Bx: 1912/#1, F: #103 A-D (N-YHS); Russell G. Whitehead/The Brickbuilder to CG, April 27, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1914, F: #103 A-C (N-YHS).

Two sets of photographic reproductions were circulated to the various publications mentioned in the text [CG to GHC and THA to Minneapolis Tribune, June 21, 1910; Anderson to Western Architect, July 9, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); GHC to Edward A. Purdy, June 27 and 29, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-8/10 (N-YHS); Purdy to GHC June 28, 1910 and Purdy to CG, June 30, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

For a reproduction of the south elevation of the campus that was requested by Brown, see RG 815, Bx: 12 oversize, F: UM (AIA).

203. THA to Montgomery Schuyler, April 11, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

204. E. H. Bennett to CG, November 29, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS). Gilbert, however, did not even bother to reply to Bennett's inquiry for the plan which Bennett was going to include in his report to the Civic Commission. Likely Gilbert was too disgruntled with the problems he had experienced by this date. These problems are outlined at the end of the chapter.

205. CG to A. T. Erwin, September 15, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS).

206. THA to Architectural League, November 18, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11; and CG to W. S. Budsworth & Sons, February 14, 1911; WPF to Horace C. Ingram, March 8, 1911; all in CGC, CGP-LB 2/11-6/12 (N-YHS). The works were published in the Architectural League's catalog that accompanied its exhibition. Gilbert also loaned to these exhibitions watercolors of several European sites and a perspective view of his proposal for the School of Industrial Arts, Trenton, New Jersey.

207. Leonardo Benevolo, History of Modern Architecture, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985 (1960), p. 348. In 1909, the world's first School of Civic Design was founded at the University of Liverpool.

208. Sir Aston Webb to CG, March 17, 1909; Mervyn Macartney to CG, March 13, 1909; and CHR to CG, April 5, 1909; CGC, Bx: CGP (1909-10), F: R-Z (N-YHS). During this trip, Gilbert arranged for Reilly to benefit from guest privileges at the Century Club, one of the many clubs to which Gilbert belonged [CG to the Century Club, April 6, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS); and CHR to CG, April 8 and 29, 1909, CGC, Bx: Misc. II (1909-10), F: 1909-10 (N-YHS).

For Gilbert's advice to the architecture students at the University of Liverpool, see CG to CHR, April 23, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

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209. CHR to CG, October 13, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), F: R - T (N-YHS).

210. I thank Joseph Sharples, Assistant Curator of Fine Art at the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool, for illuminating these reasons for Reilly's interest in Gilbert's work.

211. The Lever Prize was an annual competitive award for Reilly's Architecture and Civic Design students.

212. Mr. Sharples kindly referred me to the source of this quotation, "Annual Exhibition of the Liverpool University School of Architecture," The Architects' and Builders' Journal 36 (July 10, 1912): 36-38.

213. CHR to CG, May 30, 1910, CGC, Chron. Bx: (1910) #2, F: [Misc.] (N-YHS); also see CG to JRR, March 22, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: (1910) #1, F: #231 Memo/#171/#119 (N-YHS); "The University of Minnesota," Town Planning Review 1 (July 1910): 151-152.

214. The bird's-eye-view and other 1910 drawings were published in Town Planning Review 1 (April 1910); the south elevation was published in the same journal, (July 1910), n.p.

Gilbert, in Reilly's April issue, claimed that "[m]y love of the picturesque would have impelled me to design a romantic group of buildings, and to have followed as nearly as I could the beautiful examples of Gothic architecture in Oxford and in Cambridge, but they were so little adapted to the modern American needs that I could not consistently do so." If American needs had been more "adaptable," the streamlined classicism of the University of Minnesota designs might have might have been replaced by a Gothic revival vocabulary.

215. CHR to CG, May 30, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: (1910) #2, F: [Misc.] (N-YHS). On the reverse of this letter, there is a sketch of a rectangular, arcaded building in back of which stands a high tower. This image may represent one of Gilbert's early ideas for the Texas university plan.

By 1912, although Gilbert had not visited the School of Architecture at Liverpool as he had promised earlier, he kept in contact with Reilly about a possible visit in the future. [CG to CHR, December 18, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS)].

216. C. R. Ashbee to CG, January 20, 1911, CGC, Chron., Bx: (1911) #1, F: #103 (N-YHS).

217. Gilbert, upon sending Ashbee the Minnesota plans, was careful to comment upon his choice of style: "As University work in America is now so largely in the line of scientific investigation, it is necessary to provide buildings with a maximum of light. In other words, where microscopic work,

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laboratory work, etc., are done, natural light is regarded here as an essential element. It is therefore impracticable to adopt the more picturesque forms of design [CG to Ashbee, February 6, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS). For correspondence regarding Ashbee's interest in the Texas plans, see Ashbee to CG, February 29, 1911; and Ashbee to CG, March 22, 1911, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1911/#1, F: 1 and Misc., respectively (N-YHS).

218. Charles Holden to CG, May 12, 19, and September 2, 1913, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1913/#1, F: #103 E-G [sic] (N-YHS).

219. Gilbert sent to Clifford copies of his 1909 agreement with the Board on July 1, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: (1910) #1, F: #231/#171/#119 (N-YHS); THA to FWC, July 5, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS).

220. I thank Patty Dean for alerting me to Hewitt's delayed application.

Hewitt applied for AIA membership in late 1912. The original allegation against Hewitt appears to have been made from Allen D. Albert, Associate Publisher of the Minneapolis Tribune. Glenn Brown attempted to bring Albert's letter of criticism to the Board at its August 18, 1913 meeting [See GB to EHH, November 5, 1912; February 18, and June 28, 1913; Edwin H. Brown to GB, February 13, and June 23, 1913; and EHH to GB, February 20, 1913; AIA/Ofc. files, RG 803, Bx: 225, F: 39; and GB to CG, June 19, 1913, AIA/Ofc. files/Sec., RG 801, SR 4, Bx: 1, F: 7, GB to Allen D. Albert, July 23, 1913, AIA/Ofc. files, RG 803, Bx: 225, F: 39 all (AIA). Allen's original letter has not been located].

Action on Hewitt's application was postponed until late summer 1913, after Glenn Brown had asked Gilbert if his objection to Hewitt could be relayed to those who had endorsed the Minneapolis architect.

221. GB to Lowell A. Lamoreaux, August 30, 1913, AIA, Edwin Hawley Hewitt deceased file (AIA). Lamoreaux was one of Hewitt's endorsers. Gilbert, in 1913, was still active in the institutional structure of the AIA. Also see Exec. Comm. Minutes, June 16, 1913, pp. 636, 644, and August 18, 1913, p. 649, AIA Minutes (1908-13) (AIA).

222. GB to EHH, October 24, 1913, AIA/Ofc. files, RG 803, Bx: 225, F: 39 (AIA); although no mention was made of this action in the October 21, 1913 Board Minutes. Lamoreaux also was one of the partners of the firm that was to design the Men's Building for the University of Minnesota.

223. Hewitt, in the early years of his career, had worked in Gilbert's St. Paul office. For reference to the Board's interest in Hewitt, see EHH to JL, June 21, 1910, JLPprs, Bx: 3, F: June-Dec. 1910 (MHS); Improvement Bulletin, August 13, 1910, in SB-1907-10 (N-YHS); and JL to CG, October 3, 1910,

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CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

224. J. George Smith to CG, September 6, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS); and CG to Smith, September 16, 1910; THA to Smith, September 12, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS).

225. TGH to CG, September 7, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

226. CG to TGH, September 12, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS).

227. CG to Erwin, September 15, 1910, CGC, UM-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS).

228. Purdy to CG, October 4, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS). Clifford and Gillette, however, had advised Gilbert to refrain from publishing details of his dealings with the Board of Regents until a more timely opportunity presented itself: "If published now, the matter would be largely forgotten before the assembly of the Legislature. To be most effective, publication should be coincident with the action of the Legislative Investigating Committee. You will readily appreciate what must be the effect of such an investigation by a Legislature to which the Regents must come to ask for further supplies of money and by which also Butler's appointment by the Governor must be confirmed, if he is to continue to hold his seat as Regent" [FWC to CG, September 23, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS)].

229. FWC to CG, October 27, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 1 (N-YHS).

230. Ibid. In this plan, Clifford also wanted to secure his own membership on the (Senate?) Ways and Means Committee to make the negative campaign more effective.

231. BoR Minutes, December 16, 1910, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). For the Board's December 13th decision, see December 14, 1910 memo to Butler, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA).

232. CG to George A. DuToit, December 15, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

233. Edward A. Purdy to CG, January 6, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1911, F: #231 Memo (N-YHS).

234. CG to Purdy, February 1, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1911, F: #231 Memo (N-YHS).

235. Ibid.

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236. FWC to F. B. Snyder, February 10, 1913, OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). Clifford was later recommended by Gilbert as a potential donor to the American Academy in Rome [CG to Wm. R. Mead, November 10, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS)].

237. Ibid.

238. CG to E. E. Corliss/MSC Custodian's Office, February 6, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS). Gilbert asked that Corliss not believe everything he heard at the Capitol.

239. "'U' Regents Named: Governor Eberhart Reappoints Pierce Butler, B. F. Nelson, and C. A. Smith," St. Paul Dispatch, March 9, 1911, CGC, SB/1907-10 (N-YHS).

240. GHC to CG, October 9, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: UM, F: 8 (N-YHS).

241. Gilbert's notation, November 17, 1930, 1930 datebook, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 5 (LC/MSS).

242. American Architect, May 21, 1919, CGC, oversize-SB, p. 238 (N-YHS). This plan included ground-breaking for the new administration building and new storage facilities and shops.

For a depiction of Forsythe's campanile, see Murphy, Cass Gilbert: Minnesota Master Architect, n.p.; BG 373 #18; BG 373 (no #) "Section on Main Axis," [with domed auditorium], by J. H. Forsythe, November 10, 1919; and drawings probably also by Forsythe, although unsigned, including BG 373 #6 "The New Campus, University of Minnesota: A General View Showing Ultimate Development," [with domed auditorium] (UM/UA). This latter drawing is reproduced in a photograph in RG 815 (AIA), and in a brown print of a similar drawing [with a gabled auditorium] (UM/UA). It is similar to BG 373 #3 and #9 "As We Will See the University of Minnesota Fifty Years Hence--The Cass Gilbert Plan," with selected notations and fewer areas emphasized by ink wash.

All of these drawings feature the campanile on the lower campus, located between the botanic garden and amphitheater features of Gilbert's 1909-based plan. The bell tower, however, is not shown on any of Gilbert's 1907-1910 drawings. For further information about Forsythe, see "Notes by J. H. Forsythe as Advisory Architect," in MUC, F: Advisory Architects Duties B (UM/UA); and G. H. Hayes to J. H. Forsythe, February 12; Forsythe to Hayes, March 18; Hayes to PB, March 22; and PB to Hayes, March 27, 1920; OVP/BA, F: 1907-20 (UM/UA). By 1920, sketches of the upper campus mall and Northrup Auditorium, as executed by Forsythe or Clarence Johnston, were completed. Drawing BG 373/KC 159s is probably not by Gilbert if the date on the drawing is correct.

243. "Mall Development at University in New Building Plan," Minneapolis Journal, December 8, 1922, CGC, oversize-SB, p. 267 (N-YHS).

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# CASS GILBERT AND THE IDEAL OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL:

# CITY AND CAMPUS PLANS, 1900-1916

by

BARBARA SNOWDEN CHRISTEN

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# CHAPTER VI

## GILBERT'S CITY BEAUTIFUL IDEAS CONTINUED: THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Like the architect's projects in Minnesota, Cass Gilbert's comprehensive plans for the University of Texas and Oberlin College also followed certain City Beautiful concepts. Gilbert used similar visual, formal, and programmatic devices like the ones he had employed in the earlier projects, and, as had been the case in the past, these projects were the result of municipally-minded citizens in each locale who strongly supported Gilbert's concept of planning. In particular, Colonel Edward M. House and Sidney E. Mezes from Austin and Henry Churchill King from Oberlin propelled Gilbert's recommendations into advanced stages of development.

My goals in the next two chapters are, first, to describe the key junctures in the development of each project by establishing a chronology for Gilbert's designs, and second, to highlight how, in each project, Gilbert was spurred on by institutional representatives. These campus plans for Texas and for Oberlin were partially realized, in contrast to the architect's proposals for St. Paul and Minneapolis, projects which were almost entirely conceptual.[1] With this common denominator, the master plans for Texas and Oberlin became subject to a greater degree of scrutiny on a practical level.

Gilbert's role with respect to the University of Texas and his development of general plans for it fall into two categories, each of which will be outlined in the following

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discussion. During the Mezes years, when Sidney E. Mezes was president (1908-1914), Gilbert received substantial cooperation and support for his campus plans. In these years, Gilbert fixed the location of the Library, developed Library designs, and pursued further plans after 1910. Second, in the years after Mezes' tenure (1914-23), during the presidency of William J. Battle (1914-16) and his successor, Robert E. Vinson (1916-1923), Gilbert faced a more difficult time in which his attempts at a grand plan were defeated.

## The University of Texas Campus Plans

Gilbert was appointed university architect for the University of Texas at Austin from 1910 to 1922. He developed a series of comprehensive master plans for the school and constructed, as part of these plans, two buildings--the Library (1909-10, now known as Battle Hall); and the Educational Building (1915-16, now known as Sutton Hall). Gilbert had a great deal of experience in designing the former building type, since by this time he had produced libraries in St. Louis (1908), Beverly, Massachusetts (1911-1913), New Haven (1908-11) and he would soon complete another in Detroit (1921).[2] During this period, while working with the regents on the two buildings that would exemplify the beginning of his comprehensive plan, Gilbert also had the opportunity to work on plans for a gymnasium, a stadium, an athletic field, dormitories, and other campus buildings.[3] These many other projects suggest the extent to which Gilbert was involved in

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the planning of the entire campus, not just the small part of it for which he is best known today. Gilbert's ideas served as a foundation for the master plans developed in the 1920s and 1930s by Philadelphia architect, Paul Philippe Cret, a subject that has been examined closely by architectural historian, Carol McMichael.[4]

Programmatically, conceptually, and chronologically, Gilbert's plan for the University of Texas represents an extension of several of the ideas that he had developed for the University of Minnesota. In fact, Gilbert and his associate, Charles Greely Loring, who was involved in the early stages of the project, supplied the Board of Regents with sample forms and reports of the Minnesota project for the Board's review.[5] As with his experience at Minnesota, Gilbert's tenure for the university in Austin was fraught with obstacles that hampered his progress over many years. As at Minnesota, too, several of his master plans provided the core idea for his most important successor. In this case, Gilbert's successor was Cret who developed a comprehensive plan for the campus in subsequent years.

Most important, however, is that Gilbert's work for the University of Texas at Austin combined aspects of the architect's experience from his work on both the St. Paul Capitol Approaches Plan and the University of Minnesota campus plan. Because the Texas campus was located so close to the state capitol (refer to Figure 65), Gilbert was able to create in this project a hybrid of respective city and campus

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proposals for St. Paul and Minneapolis. Although Gilbert's placement of the new central building was somewhat determined by the already-existing Old Main Building and the street grid of Austin, the architect's work brought a new dimension to the way the two areas would thereafter be related.

Sketches on city maps from Gilbert's office suggest that Gilbert was interested in developing approaches from the state university to the capitol square. One such map shows two boulevard-like approaches connecting the sites--one along an extension to University Avenue and the other drawn in the blocks extending south from Magnolia Avenue, between Lavaca and Colorado Streets (Figure 66). At the end of this latter boulevard, Gilbert envisioned a small, centrally-planned structure on the block between Mesquite and Mulberry Streets.[6] This layout invites comparison between the Austin capitol approaches and those of the Minnesota State Capitol. Both projects establish a bold, axial connection between the capitol building and surrounding area. Yet, in Austin, this link to the nearby university campus suggests a merging of the City Beautiful with the "campus beautiful."

The unusual combination of institutional needs for a site so close to a state capitol was a feature of the town's plan from its earliest beginnings when the city was founded in 1839. At that time, forty acres were set aside for development of the University of Texas campus, a site that was located north of the downtown area and initially known as "College Hill." The plot, which eventually was to be bounded

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by Guadalupe Street to the west, Lampasas Street (now known as the Speedway) to the east, and 21st to 24th Streets to the south and north respectively, commanded a beautiful view of the city proper and its vicinity.[7]

In 1858, the state legislature made financial provisions for the university, and, by 1882, construction on the site had begun.[8] The High Victorian Gothic structure that was known as the Old Main Building, designed by Frederick E. Ruffini, was built in three stages and completed in 1899 (Figure 67). This building was located on the highest point of the campus, and was placed at the center of the north-south axis and just north of the east-west axis of the forty-acre site, a location that necessarily established a direct relationship between the capitol and the university.

Because Gilbert's Austin buildings developed after other architects had begun adding to the campus, it is important to consider the building traditions that existed before his own work was considered. These include Brackenridge Hall (1890), the men's dormitory, and Frederick M. Mann's University Methodist Church (1907) (the latter is depicted in Figure 68). (It is noteworthy that, at this time, Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson were designing for Houston's Rice Institute several Spanish-revival style buildings that were similar to Mann's Methodist Church. Nearly all of the Rice buildings were constructed of Italianate masonry and red-tiled roofs.[9]) The style of Mann's church and its Mediterranean regional appropriateness were to become important in early discussions

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about a comprehensive plan. (Gilbert's Oberlin proposals of roughly the same period also relied heavily on this mode of regional architecture.) In addition, Mann's comprehensive plan (Figure 69) provided an important precedent for Gilbert's own designs.[10]

The University of Texas at Austin, as did the University of Minnesota, experienced marked growth in the early years of the century. Between 1906 and 1908 alone, enrollment increased by nearly twenty-five percent. The expansion of and increase in specializations included the development of doctoral programs which meant that students would not have to leave their home state in order to receive an advanced degree. The most marked gains were in the disciplines of education, English, German, history, and political science.[11]

Furthermore, as it became clear in the years after Gilbert's library was completed, the university also wanted to compete with other schools. At that time, the university president claimed that the new building compared "extremely favorably" with other schools' libraries in its convenience, aesthetics, and solid construction.[12] By the late teens, university representatives were discussing the need for campus buildings to include facilities for architecture and engineering, chemistry and physics, botany, zoology, psychology, geology, home economics, museums (for history, science, and the fine arts), an outdoor auditorium, and several other specialized structures.[13] By 1921, the Board of Regents had agreed that at least twenty-four new buildings

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would be required to meet the rapidly changing needs of the university.[14]

Gilbert's work was also influenced to a great extent by Colonel Edward Mandell House, a local banker and politician who, early in his career, was a Texas gubernatorial candidate and in later years served in Woodrow Wilson's presidential administration. House was concerned greatly with questions of future university development. As Gilbert described, House had sufficient means to be a patron of the arts and to participate actively in reform efforts, particularly "in the development and advancement of the University of Texas and [also] in the agricultural development of that state."[15] Throughout Gilbert's work for the University of Texas, House was often apprised of key developments, even as late as 1916, when designs for the Education Building were being considered.[16]

House first contacted Gilbert sometime prior to June 1909 (before any university representative had done so), and asked Gilbert to consider developing a comprehensive plan.[17] House was to remain one of Gilbert's closest advisors during the architect's long relationship with the university, and House's brother-in-law, Sidney Edward Mezes, as President of the University of Texas, also became instrumental in supporting Gilbert's work during its development. House, Mezes, and Gilbert were to become life-long friends.[18] House's admiration for the architect's skills and talents was evident several years later, when, after Gilbert's death in 1934,

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House wrote to Gilbert's son: "he has left you a noble heritage. . . .He was the greatest genius in the world in the line of his work and his memory will have a permanent place in the history of his profession."[19]

Gilbert greatly revered Mezes as he did House. Gilbert later remembered that it was Mezes who was the main instigator in the development of a campus-wide development proposal, as he described the increasing resistance that he faced from the later president and Board of Regents:

> it is pretty obvious that they have neither the power nor [the] spirit to carry on the great development project which under President Mezes's inspiration was at one time contemplated.[20]

Clearly, Mezes was the most important figure in Gilbert's several proposals for a grand campus plan; his strong support and cooperation with the architect was without comparison, according to Gilbert.

## The Mezes Era (1908-1914): Early General Campus Plans

Gilbert's advice had initially been sought in 1909 by the newly-appointed university President Sidney E. Mezes, because the St. Louis architect, Frederick M. Mann, had encountered difficulty in revising his campus designs for the school.[21] Since Mezes was House's brother-in-law, it is not surprising that the architect's work attracted the attention of President Mezes. Mezes seemed to grasp immediately some of the problems of creating new university buildings with the changing membership of the Board over the course of several years. The president also understood what Gilbert's services could do for

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the institution by way of producing a monument of excellence that would symbolize the growth and influence of the state university.[22] Mezes wanted the school to develop into a prominent institution, but he was also aware that it would be easy to make mistakes such as uncontrolled, rapid growth that "would result in serious complications"[23]

By this time, Gilbert had established a national reputation, having gained wide recognition as one of the foremost architects in the United States, a fact that did not go unnoticed in Austin.[24] Gilbert, himself, in urging the regents to trust his judgments on work for the Education Building, pointed out his extensive experience by highlighting the fact that he had built "between forty and fifty million dollars worth of buildings."[25] Gilbert at this point in time was noted for his designs of the Minnesota State Capitol, the U. S. Custom House in New York, the St. Louis Public Library, and his remodelling of the Arkansas State Capitol.[26]

Gilbert's selection was "greeted with joy because of the name he ha[d] as an architect," as one journalist noted.[27] Mezes praised the architect's membership in several societies, marvelling that such a list contained "the larger part of the alphabet."[28] Indeed, when the university library was nearing completion, it was described by one of Gilbert's superintendents as an "exquisite piece of work," whose hallmarks were beauty and grandeur, and it was expected to become known as another of Gilbert's noteworthy public buildings in America.[29] In addition, Gilbert had recently won

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the 1908 competition for the University of Minnesota (as discussed in Chapter III).

In January 1908, the Board of Regents had resolved to secure a building plan for the University. The group was straightforward about its desire to develop a comprehensive scheme that would serve as a foundation for development in future years:

> If such a plan were secured, architecture of a slightly educational nature might be assured, and considerable expense due to the disturbance of walks, water and heating arrangements, and to unwise locations could be avoided. Such a plan should be provided before any other building is planned and before any further permanent work is done on the grounds.[30]

As such, the Board was looking ahead to the long-term benefits that could be achieved with a master plan.

After their June meeting of the same year, the Board initially contracted St. Louis architect, Frederick M. Mann, to develop a perspective view of the proposed development.[31] It appears, however, that both Gilbert and Mann initially were contacted at about the same time to develop a general plan for the original forty-acre university site. Mezes corresponded with Mann, and House appears to have contacted Gilbert as early as February 1909. Gilbert's first sketch of the mall, dated February 15, 1909 (coincidentally the same day that Mezes wrote to Mann about the kind of complex that he was to create) portrays a terraced arrangement of buildings, culminating in a massive structure at the top of the hill (Figure 70). In the lower left of the drawing, a plan illustrates Gilbert's early interest in the axial orientation

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of the main building in relation to the downtown capitol, with the east-west cross axis marked by an arrow. Mezes opinion about Mann's work (and his later preference for Gilbert's) also may have figured into this decision to court both architects. Although Mezes generally approved of Mann's perspective, he did not agree with the architect's placement of the Education and Chemistry Buildings, nor did he like the close grouping of shops on Lampasas Street that Mann proposed.

The most immediate question to Mezes was the general architectural appearance of the campus, especially since a heating and power plant and the new library were going to be needed in the near future. This question was particularly important to Mezes. He confided to Mann that his own taste was inclined in favor of the style that Mann had chosen in the design of the Methodist Church, a building that had been completed on the campus in 1907. Mezes explained:

> I have never known the proper name for that style, and have myself thought of it vaguely in terms of its place of origin along the shores of the Mediterranean. The general idea would be generously hanging eaves; broad simple lines, which, as far as possible, coincided with lines of structural importance, and the absence of minor ornamentations. Possibly it would be desirable eventually to run arcades along the inner lines of buildings, thus giving a means of protection from one building to another protected from rain in winter and from the hot sun in summer.[32]

Mezes was referring to a vernacular style that would be most suited to the warm climate of central Texas. Significantly, it was Mezes who suggested the use of a "southern style" for the buildings, a style that reflected a regionally appropriate architecture with its broad projecting eaves and connecting

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arcades.[33] Whether Mezes, through House, had given Gilbert the same instructions before Gilbert completed the February 1909 sketch is unclear. But it appears unlikely, since this early terraced scheme and other drawings of this date did not exploit the southern style.

In these early months of discussion, Gilbert also offered proposals for different stylistic versions of the main building that would have replaced Ruffini's ornate Victorian structure. The sketch referred to above, for example, portrays axially-aligned buildings, north to south, terraced on the hilly site. Like the University of Minnesota mall, this area for the Austin campus culminated in a grandly situated main building. McMichael compares this main structure to Bramante's early-sixteenth century centrally-planned remodelling of St. Peter's. The sketch, like the remodelling, provides a strong physical and symbolic focus for the building group. Extending to the east and to the west of this building, concave wings terminate in tower-like forms, which McMichael aptly links to the Baroque features of Francesco Borromini's Sant' Agnese. Gilbert further develops this motif by combining it with a more grandly monumental late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century idea.[34]

This grand structure was influenced by McKim's design for Low Library at Columbia University and contrasts markedly with the Spanish Colonial revival buildings of the rest of the campus. Other sketches for this main building include those depicting University Hall (ca. 1909) as a rendition of the

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Parthenon (Figure 71). This sketch can probably be dated earlier because of three factors: the proposal depicts a design similar to Gilbert's auditorium for the University of Minnesota (1908-09), it shows an exaggeration of the topography of the site (which suggests that Gilbert had not yet visited Austin), and it also portrays a lack of Mediterranean proportions and ornament that were prominent in Gilbert's later designs for the campus.[35] The drawing of the temple-like hall, in fact, was probably completed before Gilbert had visited the site and before he knew of Mezes' interest in a southern Mediterranean architecture.

Another preliminary perspective of University Hall, dated November 22 [1909?], depicts the Parthenon-like version in a more refined state: a long horizontal mass is articulated by a temple-like central portico (Figure 72). Extending above and in back of the main entrance was a gabled space, perhaps denoting a domed area within.[36] Both of these buildings, characterized by arched windows and tiled roofs, were the subject of Gilbert's studies, which explored the idea of an appropriate architecture for the southwestern region.

In the spring of 1909, Mann proceeded to prepare a design for the new heating and power plant for the university, an addition which was placed at the northeast corner of the grounds.[37] In the meantime, Gilbert corresponded with House by outlining his position in a pair strongly-worded letters, both dated June 1909. Gilbert's experience with the University of Minnesota was instructive not only because of

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similar design questions with respect to the University of Texas (as an expanding institution with a need for several specialized buildings and a central mall area with subsidiary malls and plazas), but also because Gilbert had been so frustrated and disappointed in his protracted, and ultimately unsuccessful, negotiations with the Minnesota regents.

Gilbert wrote to House that the matter was difficult to discuss. Although Gilbert did not identify Minnesota, he implied that his experience had taught him:

> . . . the importance of a perfectly clear understanding as to the architect's duties and obligations and the duties and obligations which should be assumed by those in charge of the work towards him. No architect can carry to success any important work without the full sympathy and co-operation of his client. . . . it is not easy to make it clear to others who may have regarded architects as mere manufacturers of plans or the agents through whose technical skill the ideas of the owner are put in form. It is not my view that the architect should work independently of his client--far from it--each however has his own function and each should be respected for it.[38]

In addition to these concerns about being treated as a professional, Gilbert was interested in "how to look at the project as a whole and consider the relation of each building to each other building in its largest sense."[39]

Gilbert, thus, at this early stage, wanted to develop a university building group in which the constituent parts were properly related in terms of proportion, style, color, material, texture, and location. The buildings that he envisioned would not be individual, unrelated units. In fact, Gilbert's early versions of a courtyard portray that it is the relationship between the buildings that is of utmost

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importance to the architect. In one version, also dated February 1909, a plaza is surrounded by a castellated arcade; in another version, a similar scene shows a non-castellated, more Mediterranean space (Figure 73).[40] This latter image probably portrays an early version of the library in relation to a nearby structure composed of similar proportions and style.[41] As McMichael points out, this sketch also portrays a quiet place separate from the mall areas where most of the campus traffic would have circulated. In still another version, the lush vegetation, comprising native plant materials, created an exotic, yet modest and intimate corollary to what Gilbert might have achieved at the University of Minnesota quadrangle proposals (Figure 74).[42]

Gilbert further argued that comprehensive planning required that the patron (or in this case the regents), "should be in thorough sympathy, even to the point of re-adjusting individual opinion if necessary."[43] Gilbert insisted upon complete control in all matters of design and construction, and he suggested that a general design should be fixed by the university officials in advance of any new construction. Again, without naming the University of Minnesota (but by implicating the institution directly), Gilbert referred to a situation where an architect

> having been selected by the Board of Regents of a certain University to design the general plan of the University and presumably its buildings, now finds that the state law requires that the erection of the building be conducted by a Board of Control (an entirely separate body) and be designed by such architect as the latter Board may select; while several individual donations, such as a hospital and a women's dormitory, are to be

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> designed by local architects, each having his individual point of view. It is highly improbable that a consistent or dignified group of buildings will result.[44]

Gilbert obviously wanted the University of Texas to trust his artistic judgment completely and not to question his decisions about conceptual and practical matters. The Minnesota experience probably was still fresh in his mind, and he might have been aggravated by the on-going negotiations with that institution.

Gilbert also offered House financial advice about how to secure support that would allow a successful building campaign to be realized. In suggesting that a permanent fund be established by law, Gilbert hoped that the University could do its work without constantly having to request money from the state legislature. He proposed a fixed, ten- to twenty-year tax levy that would result from the university's issuance of certificates of indebtedness, figured at 3 1/2 to 4 1/2% interest against the levy. He felt that this arrangement would increase neither annual taxes nor the state bonded debt. Gilbert cited the Minnesota State Capitol proposal which allowed $4.5 million (made available over the course of several years), and he thought that a similar arrangement could be made in Texas, with land set aside for the purpose of university development.[45]

Gilbert furthermore advised House that the university should acquire enough land to allow for growth "for all time to come." This was especially important, Gilbert believed, since the growth of the university could not be predicted. He

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felt that the site should constitute an elevated location, "so as to get plenty of light and fresh air and have commanding views and so it would never be closely surrounded by other buildings."[46] As a case in point, Gilbert cited an opportunity from several years earlier (one that had been supported by University of Minnesota president William Watts Folwell). The University of Minnesota had been urged to purchase land located 15 miles away at Lake Minnetonka, an area that had not been heavily developed, but the institution had not pursued this opportunity. The existing site in downtown Minneapolis, however, was cramped by railroad tracks, grain elevators, lumber yards, and commercial properties.[47] To avoid a similar situation, Gilbert recommended that the University of Texas purchase 160 to 200 acres, which would allow for ample growth and diversification of buildings (including dormitories, fraternities, professor's housing, athletic fields, and private residences in addition to various university buildings). He explained that a university town inevitably became an educational center, with other institutions gathering around it.[48] Gilbert also offered advice about making the medical school an important part of any general plan and felt that the choice of building materials should be decided in advance, since the visual harmony of the group was dependent upon this issue. "One needs only to visit Oxford and the new buildings at Princeton [by Cope and Stewardson] to realize how important this is," Gilbert wrote to House.[49]

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In addition to this diverse advice, Gilbert admonished his potential clients about the careful choice of an architect. He advised that instead of holding a competition, or even a limited competition in which a few, select architects would be pitted against one another, the university should select the architect on the basis of his training, experience, and general standing in the profession.[50] Gilbert was also concerned about the question of salary, especially with respect to a state law that prevented more than a $2500 payment to an architect. This potential obstacle, however, did not apply to Gilbert's situation, as Mezes assured the architect.[51]

House forwarded these many comments of Gilbert's (from the June 1909 letters) to President Mezes, who was greatly impressed by their depth and breadth. Mezes hoped to speak with the architect at greater length, since there were several points of interest that coincided with the university's plans.[52] Surely, university representatives found in Gilbert a kindred spirit and a fitting candidate for their work--an architect who had been working in the exact style in which they were interested in the course of another campus planning project. (Gilbert was developing such a plan for Oberlin College, where he had been impressed particularly by the long, low southern Mediterranean style of one of the existing buildings.)

Gilbert was interested in meeting with Mezes, too, although the architect was adamant that he was only concerned

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with the project if all legislative and political problems could be resolved. Gilbert genuinely hoped that the prospect of carrying out the design along "proper lines" was possible.[53] By late fall 1909, Gilbert suggested that Mezes meet with a representative of Gilbert's office, Charles Greely Loring, who was fully informed about the project. After the summer passed without their meeting, Gilbert and Mezes eventually conferred in St. Louis in late September, although by this time Mann had been instructed to prepare general plans for the campus.[54]

Mann had already submitted to the Board of Regents a sketch of the general appearance of the campus, with the general use of a southern European/Northern Italian style. Mezes told Mann that the existing Women's Building (located in the northwest quadrant), would have to be included in any proposal. He also was resolute that a "practice school" not be included in the general plan--because large numbers of children would interrupt the activities of the campus and also because the school would require large playground areas nearby. Mezes concluded in his discussions with Mann by saying that other buildings (including those for chemistry and painting), had to be moved to new locations, so as to reserve the north portion of the campus for the departments of science and engineering.[55]

By October 1909, Mezes visited Gilbert in New York where he was favorably impressed with the architect's work. At the Board of Regents meeting the following month, the university

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president recommended that a new general campus plan be developed and that an established architect be engaged to carry out the work. Mezes recommended in the late fall of 1909 that the University of Texas should, like the best schools across the United States, establish a position for a University Architect, and "that the best- equipped architect, or firm of architects, in the country that can be secured be appointed to the position."[56] Mezes felt that it was an opportune time to advocate a general plan, one that would provide an overall, comprehensive concept for campus building in the years to come.

Interestingly, Mann was still considered to be a potential architect of the campus as late as December 1909, and, in fact, he did not submit his finished drawings until March of the following year.[57] Mann's proposal, however, was un-sophisticated and his advice to the regents was vague. In short, as is suggested in Mann's correspondence with Mezes, Frederick Mann's proposal could not compete with Gilbert's keen interest and grand vision.[58] Nor were Mann's skills and experience any match for those of Gilbert. In fact, Gilbert expanded upon his goals for the project after his first general plan was approved in early 1910. He explained:

> I believe we are all together starting a group of buildings which must have a most important influence on the architecture of the Southwest. I therefore want to [make] them models of their kind and I want plans of the individual buildings as well as the group plan of the whole University to be so well considered and so adapted to their purpose both in general arrangement and in architectural design that they would be worthy of the place.[59]

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From the start, Gilbert had very definite ideas about the comprehensive nature of the project. When his completed library building was cited for its "simple elegance" and its "air of massiveness,"[60] Gilbert surely must have hoped that someday he would create an entire complex that would garner such words of praise.

After the fall 1909 Board meeting, Gilbert submitted a library design to the Board of Regents; and the following January he was recommended unanimously for employment as the University Architect. Moreover, his library proposal (a preliminary sketch that was marked "Exhibit A") was accepted with a budget of $210,000 with an 8% fee.[61] Despite financial constraints, the board essentially hoped for a building that would be worth more than $40,000 over what they could pay Gilbert. What they were asking Gilbert to design would have cost approximately $250,000.[62]

The architect was instructed to complete the working drawings and specifications by March 1, 1910. His contract with the Board of Regents suggests that they had understood and agreed to the stipulations for artistic control (as outlined by Gilbert), and they allowed him to prepare and supervise work in person or by deputy. Since this latter detail had been a sticking point with the regents of the University of Minnesota, Gilbert probably felt that this contract represented a small victory.[63]

In the early months of his discussions with the University of Texas, it is clear that Gilbert maintained a

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strong interest in the comprehensive plan. For example, in an early sketch on the reverse of another drawing dated January 2, 1910, Gilbert proposed the idea of creating four building groups in the form of quadrangles, with one quadrangle located in each quadrant of the campus (Figure 75).[64] (Gilbert had used a similar technique in the southeast portion of the Foulds 1909 plan of the University of Minnesota.) Most notable is his placement of the library and another campus building opposite the library which was positioned parallel to the main building (an issue which will be addressed in further detail below). The biaxial symmetry created in the plan also provided a clear connection to the capitol building downtown.

Gilbert may have produced this sketch in preparation for, or in response to, his meeting in Washington, D.C. with the University Building Committee, which was composed of regents George Washington Brackenridge, Alexander W. Terrell, and Hampson Gary.[65] (This meeting took place sometime before January 10, 1910, when he met with the Board of Regents in Austin.) It is unclear whether this committee was referred to Gilbert by Colonel House, but as a group they were fully aware of Gilbert's national reputation as a noted architect of public buildings. They were impressed by his portfolio as well as by his high-profile administrative experience as President of the American Institute of Architects.[66] Although Mezes was not one of the original Building Committee members, he was enthusiastic about the Board's choice.[67]

In the early stages of Gilbert's association with the

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university, the architect also produced a Second-Empire-like version sketch, dated January 2, 1910 (Figure 76). This drawing, as McMichael points out, calls upon such diverse models as Greek temples, Roman baths, the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century classical works of Friedrich Gilly and Leo von Klenze, Charles Garnier's Paris Opera (1862-1874), and the Bourse in St. Petersburg (1801-04). The lower half of the drawing portrays a more neo-Palladian orientation, with a central mass flanked by subsidiary wings.[84] These proposals for the main building were not the most pressing issue to be resolved in early 1910. Rather, it was the placement of the library that would occupy negotiations over the course of that year.

The Mezes Years: Fixing the Location of the Library

Concurrently with the university's interest in a general campus plan was the impetus to replace the existing library with another expanded facility. By 1900, it became apparent that the university's library facilities were becoming increasingly inadequate. Between 1904 and 1908, circulation at the library increased from 15,696 to 23,727 volumes, and total accessions increased from 40,490 to 57,929 volumes.

By early 1912, the number of accessions had reached a total of 78,409--nearly twice what it had been in 1904.[85] Phineas L. Windsor, University Librarian, in his 1907-08 report, briefly referred to the need for a fireproof building with adequate space for study, book stacks, and administrative

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needs, explaining that "the need was so generally recognized as to [require] no special mention."[70] As the numbers of students attending the university increased, so did this need for assembling collections that adequately would serve them.[71] Discussion began at this time concerning these requirements as well as those for a future comprehensive university plan and the employment of an established architect.[72]

By February 1910, after having visited the site, Gilbert had second thoughts about the placement of the library building according to his initial campus plan. What resulted was his pulling the library farther away from the central building so that it would occupy a site to the southwest of the university hall. The library, as in previous plans, was balanced by a museum building, likewise placed so as not to be parallel to the main building, and placed southeast of the central plaza.[73] As Gilbert explained to George H. Wells (one of his associates), he was greatly concerned with this question:

> I have been much worried about the location of the building and its relation to the rest of the group. The building itself is not difficult but to place it with a view to present and future structures is so important that I want it just right.[74]

Gilbert claimed that he needed extra time to study the problem, but Gary insisted upon seeing the architect's drawings for the new building so that the university would not lose its appropriation for the library or incur criticism from the state government.[75] Gary felt that any delay might jeopardize the project, especially since university

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appropriations were made only on a biannual basis.

Gilbert was anxious to make this work a distinguished success. He argued that the design of a campus was fundamentally different from that of a commercial building. The success of the former, he believed, required more time to work out the complicated program and could not be "rushed through" as the latter project could.[76] Gilbert, indeed, did not with to be rushed into any singular group plan before settling on what he believed to be the "right position." Gilbert explained to President Mezes:

> I found on laying it out that it would not do to place the building so close to the main building as suggested when I was in Austin partly for the reason of appearance and partly because it would crowd that section of the grounds and interfere with the free circulation of the air currents. It has therefore appeared to be better to locate the building a little to the southwest of the central building and I am so arranging it.[77]

In another letter to Mezes, Gilbert emphasized the seriousness of the project that lay before them, explaining that it was not simply the question of the location of the library that was at stake but also that:

> [T]he University of the future and, in fact, of today is not simply an assemblage of buildings but an assemblage of buildings properly organized, properly balanced, correlated and connected and that it is of the highest importance that this should be done. . . Austin should become a great educational center and we must look many years ahead.[78]

Thus, the decision of where to place the library was only one component of the broader proposal that he was hoping to build.

Gilbert experimented with several general schemes for the university grounds, including a block plan (Figure 77). Because of the location of the library (pulled away from its

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close proximity to the central university hall), this sketch (although undated) was probably produced during this period in early 1910. The graphite drawing shows Gilbert's reliance on the Beaux-Arts technique of developing a *parti* (or general arrangement of parts) before working on more detailed aspects of the plan. Gilbert employed an axial arrangement of buildings, north to south, as he had developed effectively for the University of Minnesota in the 1909 Foulds plan. This feature is clearest in the Texas plan at the lower central portion of the sketch, where a mall area is vaguely outlined south of the Main building.[79]

This sketch clearly relates to the March 19, 1910 block plan (Figure 78).[80] This latter, more finished plan illustrated Gilbert's incorporation of existing buildings (the Women's Building, Chemistry, Engineering, Power and shop facilities, and Brackenridge Hall--shown in blue in the original document) as integral to his new scheme. Most important, this presentation drawing represents the first record, in formal terms, of the new position of the library in relation to the main building, and in relation to the museum building as its mirror image to the southeast of the main building. According to the Austin Daily Statesman, these three buildings were to form "a sort of court or quadrangle, with the opening to the south," while the new main building would be set further back on the campus than its predecessor.[81] As new, similarly-styled buildings soon replaced older, out-of-date structures, Gilbert's general plan

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would "in point of convenience, serviceability, and architectural beauty, . . . stand among the first in the land."[82] Certainly, in contrast to Mann's plan (Figure 67), the southeast quadrangle is a more self-contained unit. Mann's proposal for the same area depicts a space that is interrupted by the extensions of the buildings that run from north to south.

William P. Foulds produced at least one of these plans, probably the more elaborate block plan--a fact that is not surprising given his experience with the University of Minnesota plans.[83] Final plans for the library were submitted in April, and the building was constructed early that summer by James A. Stewart & Company.[84] (Stewart's representative, J. S. Jacobs, a University of Texas alumnus, was very proud to have received the award to work on the project.[85]) The job was superintended by Sanford N. Mapes, a highly experienced member of McKim, Mead & White's office who had overseen the construction of Pennsylvania Station in New York.[86] Ironically, Mann submitted his plans to the Board of Regents at the same time that the building was constructed (in April 1910), as fulfillment of his contract with the university. In response, Mezes merely told Mann that his plans "were found interesting and helpful, and the excellent draftsmanship was commented upon" at the Board's meeting of that date.[87]

The general layout of another block plan, which was a further preliminary proposal, was approved by mid-April.[88] Less than one year later, in March 1911, Loring completed this

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plan (Figure 79) and a corresponding bird's-eye view (Figure 80). In preparation for this latter drawing, Loring studied University of Minnesota drawings that Gilbert had sent to his Austin representative (presumably the sequence of drawings generated by Foulds' 1910 plan, as described in the previous chapter.)[89] Indeed, Loring's role in the planning process should not be underestimated since he was responsible for the day-to-day contact with the Board of Regents about the university campus projects and about the development of the group plan. It is also likely that Gilbert instructed Loring to contact city authorities about their interest in a suitable approach from the downtown area to the campus.[90]

The main features of this new plan (and the later perspective) was the pulled-away location of the library and the symmetrical relationship between the library and the museum, placed south of the main building, as Gilbert had depicted in earlier sketches such as the aforementioned Figure 78.[91] Gilbert, in this proposal, was also able to incorporate six existing structures (except for the Old Main Building) into his comprehensive scheme. Classroom and dormitory buildings were grouped around a courtyard in each quadrant and were connected by colonnades similar to those at Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia.[92] This basic idea of establishing a visual and symbolic focus, as he had done with the Northrup Auditorium in his University of Minnesota proposals, was extended to the central building at the University of Texas. The idea of connected buildings was not

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new to Gilbert: his 1891 designs for the Hill Seminary in St. Paul proposed a connected group of campus buildings (dormitories not included).[93]

In both of Loring's drawings, Gilbert made use of the Old Main site as the center of the campus, but he planned to replace the High Victorian Gothic building with a structure of his own design.[94] In the sketch and in the more developed preliminary plan and bird's-eye view, the campus was divided into four quadrants with four axial walkways extending from the center point of the Main Building. Gilbert's subdivision of the campus into these quadrants combined an axial orientation with the quadrangle form--two key traditions in the history of campus planning.[95]

As Mezes explained to Gilbert, the layout of the three central buildings--the university hall, the library, and the museum--drew the Board's primary attention; other features were not given such careful consideration. The regents generally approved of the four sub-groups of buildings placed in accordance with the northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest quadrants. The regents were also impressed by Gilbert's skillful inclusion of existing buildings into his new plan.[96]

Gilbert, himself, was pleased that these designs had met with approval, as he elaborated to Mezes:

> You were quite right in regard to the group plan. As presented to you by Mr. Wells it was considered chiefly from the point of view of the three central buildings and the grouping of the other structures so as to make practically four sub-groups and at the same time not interfere with the existing structures. Of course, at a

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> later time, the existing structures may possibly be modified or brought into relation with the new design but that can be taken care of when the time comes.[97]

Gilbert clearly had other ideas for the existing buildings that did not fit his comprehensive plan--he intended to modify or demolish the buildings if they did not fit in. (Another city plan, augmented by a graphite sketch, shows a similar boulevard approach along University Avenue, and also shows the placement of the library and museum south of the Main Building, with the four quadrants blocked out.[98])

Gilbert was careful in the 1910 Loring plan to allow for south breezes to circulate around the Women's Building, a consideration that accommodated Brackenridge's concerns regarding the living conditions of women students.[99] Gilbert sent the regents a small model depicting the buildings and the topography of the site.[100] It is worthwhile to note that the Education Building did not figure in the discussions of the overall plan. Rather, it was implied that the museum and the university hall would be constructed after the completion of the library.

Gilbert, delayed in preparing the more finished drawings and the model because of sickness and overwork, found himself constantly changing the general plan. Once the proposal was complete, however, he was sure that he had produced a fine result. As he explained to Hampson Gary, what troubled him was his fear that the regents would not approve of his change of location for the library, particularly after he had made such a forceful initial recommendation to place it parallel to

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the main building.[101]

As for the key feature of his new plan--to replace Ruffini's High Victorian structure--Gilbert advocated the removal of the building as soon as it was deemed possible. "It is positively a fire trap as it stands and dangerous to the lives of those occupying it," Gilbert wrote to Gary. In the same letter, Gilbert elaborated on this point as follows:

> If this group of three central buildings could be completed with their terraces it would give a great impulse to the whole University and would fix for the future a definite architectural type and establish a scale of development which would be in harmony with the real interests and use of the University.[102]

Gilbert thus was persistent in his attempts to urge the university to consider long-term development, a strategy which he pushed throughout his several years of work for the Austin institution.

## The Mezes Years: Gilbert's Library Designs

During Gilbert's decision about placement of the library, the architect also addressed questions about the building's design. Thomas R. Johnson's perspective rendering of April 1910 represents the results of a long development in the building's design (Figure 81).[103] A proposed design development can be pieced together from examination of correspondence and the dozens of studies that Gilbert and his office staff produced for the project.

The earliest phase of design development most likely included the series of flat-roof library sketches (Figures 82 and 83). These drawings date to late 1909, before the library

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proposal was finalized and accepted by the Board of Regents.[104] This approximate date is suggested by the fact that Mezes, by 1910[?], stipulated the use of Spanish Colonial revival style, a style which Gilbert employed in his final designs. In these flat-roofed building sketches, Gilbert probably was not considering the designs for the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library, which was built according to proposals by Charles A. Coolidge, Desire Despredelle, and Guy Lowell, and later Horace Trumbauer (ca. 1911-1915).[105] In contrast to Widener Library's twelve columns, Gilbert's sketches propose the use of eight or ten columns across the central façade. The similarly long, low horizontally-oriented format, however, cannot go unnoticed.

The comparison of two sketches in Figure 83 provides a possible connection between the flat-roofed designs and Gilbert's later more Mediterranean versions of the same building. The upper portion of this figure presents a transitional work, one in which the flanking wings have been subsumed into the block shape of the building, with the inset wall niches serving as a remnant of the previous, flat-roofed designs. The hip-roofed version, in its compact, horizontal, multi-bay format, most likely served as the basis for Gilbert's nine-bay designs. This second phase of development occurred before budgetary constraints limited the size of the building that the university could afford.[106] The drawings produced during this stage (Figures 84-87 included) represent the proposal Gilbert developed for the Board of Regents after

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he received the directive from Mezes.[107]

The watercolor presentation drawings of the nine-bay design are also likely to have been among the series of five drawings that Gilbert presented to the Board of Regents in January 1910 (Figures 85-87). They all depict the south elevation of the building--the façade that would face the south mall of the University Building. This façade emphasized smooth masonry, ornamental terra cotta designs, carved soffits and brackets under the eaves, and a pattern of wrought iron balconies and lanterns.[108]

The seven-bay designs, representing a third phase of development, appear to have emerged between late March and early April 1910. In this new form, Gilbert reduced the size of the library so that the regents could still obtain a exceptional building within the confines of their budget.[109] These designs offer several stylistic versions ranging from Renaissance-inspired window treatments (Figure 88) to a Roman-revival hybrid (Figure 89) and a more resolutely Mediterranean form--with and without connecting arcades (Figures 90 and 91). At least two presentation drawings, probably executed by Charles Loring, offer very polished representations of the basic seven-bay form (Figures 92 and 93). They differ only in that the former presentation drawing presents more elongated proportions in the height and width of the windows on the ground and second stories. The latter (a proposal that most closely represents the design as it was constructed) presents a more compact design with slightly wider second story windows

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and a ground floor that appears to be more connected to the landscape.

At the urging of President Mezes, all of Gilbert's nine- and seven-bay designs were based on models of Spanish-Mediterranean architecture. Nearly all of these sketches and presentation drawings made use of such a style, while also reflecting the influence of Renaissance revivalism. In many of the drawings, the *piano nobile*, or main floor, is articulated by large arched windows (five to nine in number) and placed above a shorter ground story that features a central entrance and rectangular or square windows.[110]

Certainly, Gilbert relied on the Renaissance-revival Boston Public Library (1887-95) that was designed by his former employers, McKim, Mead & White (Figure 94). The Boston library, itself, was based on the work of Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (1838-50) (Figure 95). Both works, as well as Gilbert's design, rely on the palazzo form, a long rectangular block in which the *piano nobile* is articulated by double height-arched windows and topped by a heavy cornice. Other American civic buildings, such as Atlanta's U. S. Post Office and Court House (Figure 96), harkened back to these models.[111] Gilbert surely knew of this design since his former St. Paul partner, James Knox Taylor (who later became Supervising Architect of the Treasury) had produced this work. Indeed, from its earliest beginnings, the library, according to Mezes, was planned to be "comparatively ornate, and . . . by its size and dignity [indicative] of the

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importance of the library in a modern university."[112]

William J. Battle, classics professor and acting president between 1914 and 1916 (and also the person for whom the library eventually was named), claimed several years later that Gilbert had gotten his ideas to use big windows and broad eaves from the Merchants' Exchange of Saragossa, Spain (Figure 97).[113] Gilbert was also influenced strongly by Mezes' stipulation that the architectural style for the campus be regionally appropriate. There is little doubt that Gilbert synthesized the form and style of the Exchange with American and Renaissance models and with his own design for the School of Industrial Arts at Trenton, New Jersey (ca. 1909). This technique was practiced often by Gilbert in other projects in which he melded several references into one coherent design. (Significantly, at this time, Gilbert was collecting information about Carrère and Hasting's New York Public Library, which opened in early 1908.[114]) This building, too, carried Renaissance ideals into the civic realm.

Gilbert's interior plan of the library relied heavily on Beaux-Arts elements of procession, or *marche*, which dictated the relationship of spaces to one another.[115] Indeed, the "Main Floor Plan" (Figure 98), illustrates the clarity of the building's form and design as shown in T. R. Johnson's perspective view. The reading room on this floor, in its general composition and placement just behind the main façade, recalls both Bates Hall at McKim, Mead & White's Boston Public Library and its predecessor at Labrouste's Paris library. In

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contrast to the palazzo form of the Boston library and the compact rectangular block of the French model, Gilbert's library makes use of an expanded T-shaped plan. This form allows Gilbert, at the core of the building, to place service areas such as the cataloguing room, a delivery room, and the librarian's quarters, with stacks extending to the rear.[116]

## The Mezes Years: Gilbert's campus plans after 1910

The location for the library, once fixed at a site west of the south plaza mall (near the proposed University Hall), was crucial to Gilbert's later development of general campus plans. After 1910, for example, the architect's thinking changed with regard to diminishing the scale and style of University Hall. According to McMichael, a sketch of the central plaza, which was developed after the Library designs were accepted shows Gilbert's orientation toward a more modest scale. McMichael writes:

> The contrast between pre-and post[-]library schemes for the central composition, then, is telling. In the former, he created a coherent core by designing a monumental central building, which held the composition together by its sheer plastic force. In the latter, he used gentler Palladian linking devices like loggias to mediate physically between the masses.[117]

Indeed, the later drawings employ a more scaled-down set of proportions. An early 1911 sketch shows the central grouping and more defined quadrangles as compared to earlier plans (Figure 99). The southeast quadrant, in particular, compared to Loring's 1910 plan, is opened up. The existing Law School building is removed from the southeast quadrant, and other

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areas are articulated by more loosely clustered buildings than their counterparts in Loring's scheme.

Gilbert, in conjunction with the revised general plan, was asked to develop designs for an education building, a chemistry building, small cottages and dormitories, and a practice high school.[118] Of these projects, only the architect's plans for the education building were realized. Since so many buildings were required as the university grew, Mezes had his own strategy to convince legislators of the needs of the school:

> As to the building needs, the difficulty of making these plain arises chiefly from the inability of the average legislator to believe what he does not see with his own eyes. When he is told that the university is inadequately supplied with classrooms, offices and laboratories, the statement makes little impression upon him. A far better way of convincing him would, I am sure, be to erect plainly temporary structures and to show them to him actually in full use and operation. The University now needs more room for work in Chemistry and more room for its Department of Education.[119]

As a result, Mezes recommended the construction of three buildings for the departments he mentioned, buildings that would be "as simple and as inexpensive as is consistent with safety" at roughly a cost of $1000 to $1500 each.[120] (The three buildings, however, ended up costing closer to $11,000, according to estimates made by resident architect, George A. Endress.)

As Mezes reported to the Board of Regents in 1913, it became apparent that permanent buildings would be constructed the following year. He was then instructed by the regents to contact Gilbert about the re-development of the general

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plan.[121] In the meantime, three new temporary buildings (such as those shown in Figure 100), were authorized to be built for the Department of Extension, the School of Journalism, and the School of Business Training (the latter which included the Department of Education).[122] The needs of the growing student population became more acute, and three more temporary structures (for the women's gymnasium, the zoology and geology laboratories, and for manual training) were constructed less than one year later.[123] Mezes lamented to the Board his regret that

> . . . there are now so many on the campus that three more will not appreciably add to its unsightly appearance. On the other hand, it is impossible without them to conduct the work of the divisions concerned without even approximate efficiency. . . .[124]

In Mezes' mind, by 1914, the lack of appropriate campus facilities had reached almost crisis proportions.

Also, at approximately the same time, Gilbert prepared preliminary plans for a gymnasium that was to be located east of the forty-acre site on Lampasas Street and in line with the east-west axis of the central university hall. This building was to boast "large high rooms with great windows" and a "running track at the gallery level" among other features. On the east façade, a broad terrace was planned to overlook the nearby athletic field; under this terrace Gilbert placed locker rooms, shower areas, and other service spaces. On the exterior, this terrace was to be connected to low pergolas or colonnades that would lead to a future stadium and two small buildings for team use.

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Gilbert chose stucco, trimmed with stone (as opposed to limestone) for the facing of the new structure. Like the new library, the new gym was to be articulated by broad eaves and a tile roof. A balustrade or parapet wall for the terrace was planned to be made of brick or of stone and terra cotta. Significantly, these new facilities were only planned for the male students. Gilbert believed that it was "undesirable to combine men's and women's facilities," and he suggested that a special provision be made for women's sports.[125] Gilbert, however, was hesitant to pursue discussions about the construction of even the men's complex before conferring with House because Gilbert felt that the colonel was still "so familiar with matters" at the university.[126]

Although Gilbert had terminated his association in February 1914 with the Boston architect, Charles Loring, he brought back Loring four months later to work on the general plan proposal.[127] Loring and Gilbert's plan of August 1914, as drawn by E. J. S. Phillips (Figure 101),[128] opens up many of the loggias that had been part of Loring's 1910-11 preliminary plan and bird's-eye-view. Some loggias, however, are retained; these features screen views of existing buildings that Loring and Gilbert proposed to incorporate into their plan. These buildings included the Ayres Law Building (1908) located to the southeast, and the Women's Building (1903) located in the northwest area of the campus.

The arcades also frame views from the west and south malls of the University Building that Gilbert hoped would

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replace Ruffini's Old Main. The design of the 1914 south mall, although influenced by Jefferson's University of Virginia plan and McKim, Mead & White's Columbia University plan, diverges from these earlier highly symmetrical and hierarchical plans. Gilbert incorporates many of the existing buildings and creates the illusion of order and symmetry. The L-shaped form of Mann's Power House, located to the southeast, is duplicated at the three other corners of the forty acres. They also proposed that a wing should be added to the law school in order to balance a classical studies building which already was situated across the mall.[129]

When, in late 1914, Mezes was offered the post of president at City College of New York (CCNY), he deliberated for a short while but then soon accepted. Mezes told the Board of Regents that his decision to leave Texas was a difficult one, and that if he had considered the issue on sentiment alone he might not have left at all. As Mezes explained to Gilbert:

> I leave the largest and potentially the greatest of our states to go to the largest and potentially the greatest of cities. I leave one institution dedicated to the service of the people and deriving its strength from their support for another institution with the same democratic inspiration and the same assurance of popular supervision and wholesome development.[130]

Gilbert, himself, considered this move to be "a great loss to Texas but a corresponding gain for New York."[131] Nevertheless, the architect was also duly apprehensive about how this change would affect his and Loring's work for the university.[132]

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The Years After Mezes (1914-1923)

After Mezes left Austin, Regent William C. Hogg, a University of Texas alumnus who was a socially well-connected businessman and attorney in Austin and Houston, replaced Mezes as one of Gilbert's most stalwart supporters. Throughout his career, Hogg served on several civic committees and philanthropic charities.[133] As early as 1911, Hogg's own agenda for the enlargement and extension of the campus dovetailed with Gilbert's.[134]

Hogg's greatest contribution to the University of Texas was his own service to the central committee of the Ex-Students Association, which challenged Governor James E. Ferguson's attack on the institution in 1914. At a Board meeting on April 25, 1916, he moved

> 1) That all new buildings of a permanent character at the Main University shall be placed and built in such material, color, style and proportions as will harmonize with and carry out the general plans submitted by the University Architect in the year 1910.
> 2) That the next building to be erected out of the University funds shall be a building for the Department of Education.
> 3) That the building committee. . . prepare and present at the next meeting of the board a preliminary scheme together with an estimate of cost for the Education Building of such size and arrangement as will provide for the probable needs of the University for the next twenty years in the field of the science and the art of teaching.[135]

Gilbert's plans, in particular, were those that Hogg wanted to resurrect--both wanted to give new attention to comprehensive planning. Hogg wanted "to plan big and . . . offer the public within a year a comprehensive scheme" for the Austin campus.[136] When Loring followed up on these matters, Gilbert

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was most encouraged by Hogg's desire that the entire plan "should go through at one time" and that "a sufficient amount of money, say two and a half to three million dollars, should be appropriated for it."[137]

University of Texas Acting President, William James Battle (1915-1916) was strongly supportive of Hogg's efforts to realize the Education Building and the general removal of the many temporary buildings that had been used as a stop-gap measure. As he explained to the Board of Regents:

> The most obvious need of the University now is buildings. The presence of the shacks is a slap in the face to everybody who enters the campus. "Get rid of the shacks!" is the universal cry. The task is more formidable than would be generally thought.[138]

Battle cited the need for construction of not only an Education Building, but also of buildings for Domestic Economy, Physics, Biology, Administration, Men's Gymnasium, Architecture, an Open-Air Theater, and dormitories, at a cumulative estimated cost of $2.8 million. Battle was also concerned about how campus buildings should be imbued with value. He tried to reason with the regents by asking:

> . . . is it not the part of wisdom to follow a general plan in all that we do, so that, however slowly we may go, our buildings shall stand in harmonious relation and progress towards beauty, [and] be constant? Surely the day of cheap and haphazard building is past; surely the great state of Texas (an empire already in extent, and an empire at no distant day in population and in wealth) desires for its University a body to match the nobility it would have the soul to attain![139]

Citing the Greek ideal, Battle deemed it important to provide not only for a student's mental and intellectual education, but also for his or her physical education. Since Battle,

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himself was a classics scholar, this view is not surprising.

Another issue also contributed to the hiatus between approximately 1912 and 1916 in Gilbert's work on the general plan. The Ferguson controversy, as it became known, arose as a result of several allegations made by James E. Ferguson, a self-made politician, against the university and its faculty and administrators, and temporarily thwarted Gilbert's building plans until 1916-1917. Ferguson had been elected governor of the state of Texas in 1915, on the heels of Mezes' resignation to take the CCNY position. Between 1915 and 1917, Ferguson was hostile toward the university, primarily because he felt that the institution was creating--and perpetuating--an upper, aristocratic class of constituents who surpassed him in education and academic learning. Ferguson was resentful and distrustful of the university, given his background as one who had risen from obscurity. When the 1915 budget for the university was passed by the state legislature, Ferguson criticized the fact that the contingent costs were not itemized.

The governor also called for the removal of six faculty members and made other demands that increasingly alienated the students, faculty, and other state politicians. The university and the legislature fought back, accusing Ferguson himself of many financial improprieties. The table was turned on the governor when, in the culmination of the controversy, he was impeached on account of the accusations that had been made against him. Although Ferguson's claims dealt a harsh

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blow to university development in these years, Will Hogg's efforts effectively quashed the attack and, in the long term, produced a positive effect for the discussion of campus development.[140]

In contrast, Battle and his successor, Robert E. Vinson (1916-1923) proved not to be especially supportive of Gilbert's comprehensive plans. Battle was critical of Gilbert's work to the extent that Gilbert became irritated by the frequency and the tenor of the acting president's suggestions.[141] Significantly, Battle became increasingly involved in the Faculty Building Committee, which had been formed in 1919. When he became chairman of this group, Battle gained increasing influence in the architectural decision-making process.[142] This change represented an important shift in the way potential building projects were considered.

This new dynamic between Gilbert and university representatives became apparent with Battle's consideration of the design and construction of the Education Building (Figure 102).[143] Gilbert's design from the start did not include a first floor that was made of stone, and upper floors made of brick. Rather, the architect intended to use stone for the entire exterior of this and all other the University of Texas buildings.[144] The question of materials had become especially important in the architect's earliest decisions. When one of the regents, George W. Brackenridge, made a 400-acre donation in 1910 to the university, the question of materials came to the fore.[145] Gilbert's office associate Thomas R. Johnson

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discovered a "very promising" limestone quarry on the tract, a quarry that potentially could provide the university with high-quality building material in large supply.[146] Some critics claimed, however, that the overall use of limestone in the library alone--especially at ground level--would create a great deal of glare in the bright Texas sun and would not weather satisfactorily.[147]

Nonetheless, Gilbert was pleased with the cost, color, and appearance of the stone that was to be used from a quarry in Cedar Park, north of Austin. He even compared the material to Caen and Chassignelles types of stone.[148] To counter the criticism that glare would reflect off the stone, Gilbert proposed a broad cornice, deep window embrasure, and balconies and awnings that would introduce shadow onto the building.[149] (In several of his preliminary sketches for the library as well as for the Education Building, Gilbert employed similar devices.) Gilbert also offered recommendations about using native plant materials, such as eucalyptus, and deciduous and cypress trees. He was not averse to Mezes' proposal that vine plantings should be used to mitigate the glare even further. In addition, Gilbert advised the university to develop avenues of trees, planted in arrangements that would alternate rapid- and slow-growing varieties, so that the rapid growth could provide much-needed shade and eventually be removed after the slow growth had matured.[150]

In the process of preparing "some very tentative sketches," which probably culminated in the June 1916 design

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with large expanses of windows in the front façade, Gilbert had to compromise in using a combination of stone and brick.[151] At the very least, however, Gilbert told Building Committee Chairman, David Harrell, that the design had to have "strong, simple corners and broad plain wall spaces."[152] Gilbert also explained to Harrell that his committee should bear in mind that the university was being built for the future as well as the present, and that they were therefore obliged to

> accomplish standards of good taste and sound construction. The real economy [should be] to build plain, strong, well-proportioned buildings which will endure. There should be no sham construction, no galvanized iron imitating stone, no imitative materials at all, and everything so far as it goes [should be] the real thing.[153]

Gilbert's sentiments thus sounded like those of Frank Lloyd Wright, who also emphasized an honest use of building materials.

Neither Gilbert nor his staff believed that this façade design was satisfactory. The elevation depicts a three-story structure in which the upper stories would give way to vast areas of glass.[154] Battle was more concerned with the overall style of the building, however, than with the façade composition. This concern stemmed from the fact that it would determine the appearance of the whole quadrangle in the southwest quadrant of the campus. He also made several suggestions about the interior of the building (stating that it needed to be flexible), the delineation of excavation details, and also the structure's relationship to other

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buildings in the quadrangle.[155]

By July, Gilbert produced another preliminary sketch elevation which substantially changed the fenestration of the previous proposal, to one in which five bays of three small windows each were grouped together on the second and third stories. He also wrote about his attempt to relate the structure to the rest of the quadrangle (which he hoped would be built at a future date) so that the area would invoke an effect similar to that which had been achieved at Columbia University.[156] Gilbert continued to refine this design by including porches that extend to the covered passageways. He envisioned that these loggias would be connected to future adjacent buildings.[157] In later presentation drawings, one version, probably by Loring, shows modified sash windows (Figure 103), and another more dramatic version, by Hugh Hawley, shows more traditional double-hung windows (Figure 104). These views closely resemble the way in which the building ultimately was constructed.[158]

Indeed, in the materials debate, Battle had gained increasing influence in the architectural decision-making process. This especially was true as the Faculty Building Committee, a group which he chaired, had made more headway in university building discussions.[159] This development did not please Gilbert; he looked upon Battle's contributions and comments about the Educational Building design as meddlesome and intrusive. Although he agreed with some of Battle's suggestions about the entrance loggia, the end porches, and

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other exterior details, Gilbert was greatly embarrassed by the Acting President's comments about the use of materials, as he states in a letter dated September 8, 1916:

> I want to please you but that should not be my main object. I am carrying the entire design of the campus in my mind and looking into the future a long way as to the effect of the whole group of buildings. The brick samples were so much better than I anticipated and really very interesting that I hope the building will come out well, but speaking with entire frankness I believe it will be detrimental to the group. The most quiet, simple, and dignified effect would be obtained by using stone of the same color and texture as [that of] the Library. The introduction of brick in the group will ultimately be unsatisfactory. . . .[160]

Gilbert was concerned fundamentally with the aesthetic result of the new building in relation to its neighboring structures. He continued to explain his position as follows:

> It is not a question of personal preference or whether you or I "like" one material or another. There are already several kinds of brick used in the University buildings and the introduction of yet another will only detract from the quiet, substantial, dignified effect, which should characterize these buildings. I must say to you frankly, as I said to you here, that you ought not to interfere in questions that are so purely matters of design, so entirely questions of art if you can bring yourself to this point of view and influence the other authorities of the University likewise I will take the artistic responsibility, and I assure you that it will be better than [if] I tried to please you.[161]

At the heart of Gilbert's criticism was his desire that Battle leave such design questions to a trained professional. In a letter to his associate, Loring, Gilbert confided that although Battle was amenable on some issues, he did not seem to understand that designers had

> some responsibility to the artistic side of the question. His constant insistence upon brick and his fussing over whether there shall be iron balconies or not is wholly unnecessary and embarrassing. He means well but he does not seem to get the idea that he must leave these matters

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alone.[162]

Questions about the design, type, and size of windows for the Education Building lingered well after Gilbert's conflict with Battle.[163]

After the bids had been submitted and the contractors chosen, Gilbert still lobbied for the use of stone in upper floors of the building.[164] He was convinced that they would all "regret it" if brick were used, and offered to sacrifice some other features in the design, in order to keep the stone.[165] Gilbert also lobbied to revive the discussion of general university plans, as he explained to David Harrell:

> As I frequently pointed out to President Mezes in his time there and as I have pointed out to Dr. Battle in our conference, it is highly important for the University to have a definite general plan for its future development. . . . I mean a plan which will show [the] location of buildings, grades, roads, sidewalks, sewers, tunnels for heat, light and power, water supply, fire plugs, lighting fixtures for the grounds, tree planting, finished grading and other accessories. . .[166]

Of special interest to Gilbert was the fact that money could be saved in the long run. He considered how the main heating and plumbing systems would necessarily connect with the Education Building; thus with this broader view in mind he placed the single structure within the larger context of the entire campus. He was also insistent that this type of program would require the services of "special expert knowledge and training," since such a process would need a combination of architectural and engineering services to secure "the best results."[167]

Gilbert thus was under pressure both to pursue a process

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that would take at least several months (if not years) to complete and to cope with discord on account of his not being a local architect. This latter problem conspired against Gilbert's long-term relationship with the university. Olle J. Lorehn, President of the Texas State Association of Architects, for example, voiced his group's disapproval of the university's hiring of a non-Texan architect.[168] Contributing to Lorehn's sentiments, a strong perception persisted that the university architect should be readily available as work progressed (a perception that had become pivotal at the University of Minnesota in its dealings with Gilbert). At Texas, resident architect, George Endress, and other university representatives collected data about campus building at colleges across the country. They found that each institution felt that a campus architect should be on hand as projects progressed: the design, construction, and maintenance, should be overseen by "a university architect located at the plant, and not by an architect in a distant city."[169]

This viewpoint changed in early 1920. Gilbert had become disgruntled with his relationship with the university. Gilbert expressed his frustration to his associate, Charles Loring, by stating that the matter of future work was "either dead or sleeping," and that it was

> likely to be off the program for quite a long time, perhaps permanently. . . .
> The past arrangement with the University of Texas has been somewhat disappointing and unsatisfactory, and frankly I would like to be free to either act upon it or drop it, . . . .[170]

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Despite Gilbert's reticence to continue his dealings with the university, he became interested in the institution's later proposition that it change Gilbert's status from university architect to that of consulting architect. Gilbert then agreed to produce another general campus plan and corresponding model.[171] Soon after this agreement, Gilbert created sketches for the university hall, the south plaza, and the university hall tower.[172]

In the general plan sketches, Gilbert depicts the location of the biology and chemistry laboratories in the northwest corner of the main campus although he had hoped that these buildings would in the future be adapted for reuse. He intended, too, for new laboratories to be constructed on the eastern portion of the campus, balancing the academic group of buildings lying to the west.[173] In addition to these plans, Gilbert also considered proposals for a 500-acre site near the Colorado River, hoping that the university would move the entire campus to land that was unencumbered by previous buildings.[174] Gilbert was especially enthusiastic about this latter possibility since, for him, it symbolized "much greater freedom to design the great group of University buildings untrammeled by existing buildings and streets. . . ."[175] Moreover, Gilbert insisted that the development of the grounds and the principal buildings could more easily and quickly be carried to completion, and he urged President Vinson to "take a long step toward the ideal university which we all have in mind."[176] When Gilbert was asked to submit a salary estimate

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for work that would be done over the next five years, he declined, for fear that any figure he might suggest would put them off.[177] Even though the university regents could not be certain as to how much Gilbert's fee ultimately would be, Gilbert's continued employment was approved in April 1921.[178]

By early 1922, however, the tides had changed and once again Gilbert's frustration and discouragement had escalated. He bemoaned the fact that several projects, including those at the University of Texas, had been either postponed or put off all together.[179] It became clear that the Board of Regents was not interested in maintaining its relationship with Gilbert since it actively sought out eight Texas architects, with the thought that one of them would replace Gilbert.[180] Ultimately, Herbert M. Greene, a Dallas architect and AIA Texas chapter member was selected on April 18th of that year as university architect. The Board relieved Gilbert of his duties, claiming that "on account of certain local conditions and the tremendous pressure" put upon the Board, it had no other choice.[181] Although Battle had stepped down as Acting President in 1916, he continued to serve on the Faculty Building Committee, which had secured some influence. The function of this group ultimately changed in 1923 when instead of serving an advisory purpose, the committee became a full-fledged liaison between the Board of Regents and the newly-appointed Dallas architect.[182]

The University of Texas project obviously meant a great deal to Gilbert. Even in the final stages of his contract

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with the university, Gilbert reiterated what he understood the Board's objectives to be. As stated, he had hoped to create a cohesive group of buildings that would have imbued students with respect and pride for the institution. He explained his perception of what the Board wanted as follows:

> That it is your wish that the plan should have those elements of dignity, of practical usefulness and convenience essential to the working functions of the University and at the same time should have that beauty and dignity which will provide a noble and distinguished group of buildings. That such a group of buildings would be a source of just pride to the State of Texas and would provide for the students an environment which would tend to elevate their taste and inspire them with love and affection for their Alma Mater. In short, that this group of buildings should, so far as possible, have the same psychological value upon all connected with the University that is so much a part of the great universities at Oxford and Cambridge and of the great universities in our own country. It is now and long has been an accepted fact among cultivated people and in university circles that the impressionable minds of the younger generation are affected by the beauty of their environment and that such beauty is a most valuable asset in their education and development. That a beautiful design and orderly plan tends to the cultivation of the taste of the entire community and that it should be one of the functions of the state to give to its own citizens these great advantages.[183]

Gilbert's commitment to forming a general plan was indisputable. This plan would have far-reaching implications in the way students and laypersons alike would have perceived the university.

Practically speaking, however, Gilbert felt that he had not received fair compensation for such important work as well as for the dozens of studies and plans that he had prepared--including those for buildings that were not realized. He appealed to President Vinson by saying that "The amount of money involved is so large that I cannot ignore it from a

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business standpoint . . . . and if I sent a bill upon the same business basis that is customary, it would, I fear, be so large that the Board would gain the impression that I had a mercenary point of view."[184] Vinson agreed with Gilbert that it was fair to discuss some kind of financial adjustment, but despite his meeting with Gilbert in July, it appears that Gilbert was not paid any extra fee.[185]

Although Gilbert did not remain employed by the school, his fundamental plan for the University of Texas was realized largely by Philadelphia architect, Paul Philippe Cret, who was appointed in 1931 to take on the task of creating a more unified campus.[186] Although Cret praised Gilbert's general concept of the plaza that was placed south of the Main Building (and the south approach leading to it), he was critical of the proportions Gilbert had chosen for the plaza and mall areas. He believed that they were too wide in relation to their lengths and that the buildings were placed too far apart for an economic and practical approach to grading the site and connecting the elements.[187] Cret also found Gilbert's master plan lacking in any understanding of the topography of the site; he was especially critical of Gilbert impractical use of colonnades on such a steep slope.[188]

Cret's criticisms were not allayed by the fact that Gilbert and Cret had known each other professionally since approximately 1910.[189] Although Gilbert seems to have respected Cret in professional terms, Gilbert was reluctant to

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endorse the Philadelphia architect when, in 1932, he was nominated by Alpha Rho Chi for the position of Master Architect. (Alpha Rho Chi was a Greek letter fraternity that held chapters at architectural schools in the Midwest.) Gilbert, himself, had been inducted as Master Architect in May 1924, and seemed protective of this rare honor. When asked about whether Cret should also be honored with this title, Gilbert responded on a discouraging note. He explained that although he admired Cret's work, he had some doubts about whether the Philadelphia architect should be elected--instead of "a number of other men of at least equal ability and reputation who have created at least equally important works, or who have rendered even greater service of an ethical character to the art that we serve . . . ."[190] Gilbert felt that Cret's election to such an elite post was not warranted, especially since the title, Master Architect, seemed to be reserved for elder statesmen of the profession. (Gilbert himself by this time was 73 years old.) In addition, Gilbert felt that the fraternity should have no more than one such architect bestowed with that designation. One also wonders if Gilbert's strong reaction may have been tinged with resentment since Cret had been appointed university architect at Austin just one year prior to this nomination. Since Gilbert had coveted the university position for several years, it would not be surprising if he was indignant that one of his colleagues ultimately had replaced him.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

| | |
|---|---|
| EMH=Edward M. House | HG=Hampson Gary |
| SEM=Sidney E. Mezes | GHW=George H. Wells |
| GWB=George W. Brackenridge | AWT=Alexander W. Terrell |
| NAS=Nathan A. Stedman | BoR=Board of Regents |
| DH=David Harrell | WJB=William J. Battle |
| SNM=Sanford N. Mapes | GAE=George A. Endress |
| FMM=Frederick M. Mann | REV=Robert E. Vinson |

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. For further information about these buildings constructed in Austin and Oberlin, correspondence, contracts, construction photos, and even material samples give a complete history of their development (N-YHS).

2. In a 1912 drawing, for example, Gilbert shows a compendium of his institutional designs including those for libraries in Texas and New Haven. (This panoramic technique was one which he employed widely by the middle of his career, as is manifested by several drawings in LC/P&P, such as ADE 11-A-Gilbert 36, which is described above.)

Gilbert was also requested to consider work on a Carnegie Library in Memphis, Tennessee, a project which he did not pursue [W. A. Johnson to CG, April 8, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#2, F: #103 (N-YHS)]. Although Gilbert solicited work on a new library for the Crerar Library Association, it was never constructed [CG to P. S. Grosscup, May 27, 1912, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1907-1912, F: #164 (N-YHS)].

3. CG to REV, May 13, 1922, POR, VF 15/DA (UT/CAH); copy in CGC, UT-LB 1/17-8/22 (N-YHS). Gilbert also worked on plans for a Chemistry Building, a Sociology group, the Main Building, and a monumental entrance, none of which were realized.

In addition, Gilbert completed extensive renovation work on the Women's Building. This renovation included the addition of an exterior iron staircase on the west side of the building along with necessary roofing, new doors, and a trellis as part of this project. The cost of these renovations of $411.86 was not included in the Library contract which was awarded at roughly the same time. The poor quality of existing construction caused several problems in this renovation [SNM to CG, July 30, 1910; J. Wattinger to CG,

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August 1, 1910; CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Mapes [2] (N-YHS); several letters in Ibid., F: Women's Bldg. (N-YHS) and Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#2, F: Roof tiles (N-YHS); Chron., Bx: 1910/#1, F: #246 (N-YHS); and POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH)].

In the late teens, Gilbert was asked informally to design a church in Austin, a proposal that was never finalized [CG to D. Harrell, November 8, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

4. Carol McMichael, Paul Cret at Texas: Architectural Drawing and the Image of the University in the 1930s, catalog for exhibition marking the centennial of the University of Texas, March-May 1983, (Austin: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery and the College of Fine Arts at the University of Texas at Austin, 1983). The basis of this catalog (hereafter cited as PC at T) was Carol Louise McMichael's master's thesis, "Paul Philippe Cret at the University of Texas: A Study of Style, Patronage and the Communication of the University's Image in the 1930s" (M. A. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1979). For other general discussions of UT's history, see Margaret C. Berry, The University of Texas: A Pictorial Account of its First Century (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980).

5. January 25, 1908 (including reproduction of Gilbert's winning design of that year), UM Report, Campus Extension Supplement; and 1908 Report; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH). Also see Charles G. Loring to Mezes, October 13, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH) for information that Loring submitted to Mezes, including figures pertaining to the total area of the Minneapolis plan, the size of the buildings, their estimated cost, recommendations about building material, and a listing of similar projects that Gilbert had worked on. Loring had worked for Gilbert on the Texas project while maintaining his office in Boston.

Later in his career, Loring worked on a design for Waltham (Mass.?) Library. This design was reviewed by Gilbert who declared that, although it was a "charmingly simple scheme," the scale of the windows was too large for the main façade and the entrance pediment had to be simplified [CG to CGL, August 3, 1914, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS)].

6. It remains unclear as to whether Gilbert or one of his staff made these sketches.

7. Drury Blakely Alexander, introduction to PC at T, 13-14.

8. Walter Prescott Webb, ed. The Handbook of Texas, vol. 2, (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1952), 821-823.

9. Alexander, PC at T, 13.

10. Although undated, this plan probably was produced in March 1910, according to correspondence between Mann and university representatives.

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11. January 31, 1908, Minutes of the Board of Regents: The University of Texas [hereafter cited as MBR], vol. C, 369 (UTBR).

12. SEM to W. M. Burges, May 23, 1913, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH).

13. "Committee on General Building Program of the University, Minutes," February 14, 1919, BP, 2K 244 (UT/CAH).

14. January 5, 1921, MBR, vol. E, 427-428 (UTBR).

15. CG to Adams Committee/Century Association, January 7, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS). Colonel House had previously been interested in architectural matters, having retained Brooklyn architect, Frank Freeman, to build a residence for him in 1891, which was described by a recent critic as "one of the few great Shingle-style houses in Texas" [Alexander, PC at T, 18.] Freeman is perhaps one of Brooklyn's best-known architects.

16. CG to EMH, August 4 and 6, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS). This represents just one of many examples when House was contacted by Gilbert or one of his associates with respect to university business.

17. As early as February 1909, House may have contacted Gilbert, given the date of the architect's earliest drawing for the project. House's original correspondence with Gilbert has not been located, however, which suggests their discussion of the project may have occurred informally when they both were in New York.

18. House rose to political prominence initially because of his contact with Indiana Senator O. H. P. T. Morton, through whom he gained the opportunity to meet several influential New York and Washington, D. C. politicians. As organizer of Governor J. S. Hogg's 1892 re-election campaign, House was commissioned with the title of colonel, a designation that accompanied him throughout his life. His political skills were honed on several campaigns and by 1911, he was drawn into Woodrow Wilson's circle of advisors. When Wilson was elected President, for the next seven years, House was one of Wilson's closest political advisors, although he did not hold any official appointment in the national cabinet. House was also later appointed one of the five commissioners at the 1919 Versailles Peace Conference [HT, vol. 1 (A-K), 842].

House and Gilbert socialized extensively in the mid- to late teens, especially during World War I [EMH to CG, December 3, 1913, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1913 (LC/MSS); CG to EMH, December 8, 1913 and July 15, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS); EMH to CG, September 21 and 25, 1915, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 1915 (LC/MSS); CG to EMH, May 20, 1916, CGC, CGP-LB 12/15-10/16 (N-YHS); CG to EHM, CG to EHM, February 6 and April 28, 1917, CGC, CGP-LB 10/16-7/17 (N-YHS); CG to EHM January 2, 1918 and

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July 6, 1919, CGC, CGP-LB 4/13-12/33 (N-YHS); August 19, 1918, CGC, CGP-LB 8/17-8/18 (N-YHS); and October 13, 1918, PP, Misc., Bx: 1915-33 (LC/MSS); and JFG to Mrs. House, October 18, 1918, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 1918 (LC/MSS)].

19. EMH to CG, Jr., May 18, 1934, CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 7 (N-YHS).

20. CG to CGL, February 21, 1920, CGC, UT-LB 1/17-8/22 (N-YHS).

21. Alexander, PC at T, 30.

22. SEM to GWB, March 16, 1911, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH).

23. SEM to NAS, March 27, 1911, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH). Mezes made this statement to Nathan A. Stedman, an incoming regent in the fall of 1911 who would soon become the chairman of the Building and Grounds Committee.

24. "Ground Broken for New Library Building," Dallas News, May 13, 1910, CGC, 1907-10 SB (N-YHS).

25. CG to DH, October 4, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS).

26. "Cass Gilbert Becomes University Architect," Galveston Daily News, January 12, 1910, CGC, 1907-10-SB (N-YHS).

27. "Society Officers: Elected by Two University Organizations [sic]," Houston Daily Post, January 12, 1910, CGC, 1907-11-SB (N-YHS).

28. SEM to CG, January 25, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#1, F: #246 M-P (N-YHS).

29. Quotation from SNM to CG, August 21, 1911, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Mapes (N-YHS); and "New Library Building Nearing Completion," The Daily Texan, July 15, 1911, pp. 1 and 3 in 1905-12-SB (N-YHS).

30. January 31, 1908, MBR, vol. C, 373-374, 376 (UTBR).

31. June 8, 1908, MBR, 401.

32. SEM to FMM, February 15, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

33. FMM to SEM, February 27, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

34. McMichael, PC at T, 106-107.

35. McMichael, PC at T, 128-29.

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36. McMichael, PC at T, 128-29. Also see drawing #124.03 (N-YHS), "Section on Line below Library," dated November 15 (also probably 1909, by "C.G.L.," Charles Greely Loring. This preliminary sketch shows a septa-style porticoed university hall with projecting wings. It also portrays the new buildings (the library, university hall, and others), with red roofs in contrast to the blue roofs of the existing Brackenridge Hall, which was located southeast of Ruffini's Main Building.

37. FMM to SEM, February 24; March 6 and 20, 1909; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

38. CG to EMH, first of two letters dated June 22, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

39. Ibid.

40. Drawing ADE 11-A-Gilbert-22 (LC/P&P).

41. This version with more Mediterranean features is ADE 11-A-Gilbert 142c; also see ADE 11-A-Gilbert 155, another perspective sketch of a similar scene and the March 1910 sketch (LC 1.1.30/ADE 11-A-Gilbert-26) which offers a view of one of the courtyards with one-story loggias.

42. McMichael, PC at T, 107.

43. CG to EMH, first letter of June 22, 1909.

44. Ibid. Gilbert also cited group plans that had been carried out at the following schools: New York University, Columbia University, City College of New York, Stanford University, University of California at Berkeley, University of Virginia, Carnegie Technical Schools, Western University of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, and University of Wisconsin.

45. CG to EMH, second letter dated June 22, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. CG to SEM, January 29, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS); CG to SEM, second letter of January 29, 1910, POR, VF 3, Ba (UT/CAH).

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52. SEM to CG, July 5, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

53. CG to SEM, July 13, 1909; SEM to CG, July 20, 1909; and CG to SEM, September 24, 1909 POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

54. SEM to CG, September 30, 1909; and SEM to Manager, Manufacturer's Record, September 30, 1909; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH). Loring's other duties included collecting information for Gilbert about possible work for the Reed Institute (now known as Reed College) in Portland, Oregon. Loring did research on the backers of the Institute and advertised Gilbert's services and his experience with other campus planning projects. He sent Reed representatives copies of Gilbert's bird's-eye-view drawing for the University of Minnesota and also drawings of the University of Texas work. The representatives, however, explained that they were more interested in local talent, even though Gilbert was working on the Spaulding Building, located at Third and Washington Streets in downtown Portland. Loring also made inquiries for Gilbert about the status of the Portland Public Library project, since Gilbert had experienced much success with such buildings elsewhere [Loring to CG, March 9, 1910; Loring to T. L. Eliot, March 8, 1910; "New Head of Reed Institute Visits Eastern Colleges to Gain Ideas," Morning Oregonian, August 31, 1910 and related correspondence; CG to William T. Foster, August 29, 1910; Reed College Record, no. 1 (March 1911); "Reed Institute President Back," Portland Oregonian, December 16, 1910; and W. T. Foster to CG, December 20, 1910; all in CGC, Misc., Box: II. 1911 (incl. 1909-10), Fldr: #164 (N-YHS)].

Early in 1914, Loring left Gilbert's employ, but four months later discussed with the architect a possible renewed cooperative effort [CGL to CG, February 12, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1914, F: #103 (N-YHS) and CG to CGL, June 13 and 22, 1914, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

55. SEM to FMM, July 6, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

56. "University Architect," November 24, 1909-January 11, 1910; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH); also see BRM, vol. C for the dates within this period (UTBR).

57. SEM to FMM, December 4; and FMM to SEM, December 9, 1909; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH). In January of the following year, after Gilbert had been contacted, Mann requested information for the drawings he had been preparing.

58. Mann's drawings of the buildings and grounds (including plan, general view, and several elevations), were sent to the University of Texas after late February 1910 [Mann to SEM, January 15, 1910 and FMM to SEM, February 24, 1910, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH)]. Mann, it is interesting to note, later went on to the University of Minnesota where he taught in the architectural school [see CG to FMM, August 3, 1916, CGC, CGP-

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LB 6/16-3/17 (N-YHS)].

59. CG to SEM, second letter of April 27, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

60. Austin Daily Statesman, November 27, 1910, CGC, 1905-12, p. 11 (N-YHS).

61. Alexander, PC at T, 18 and 30; and January 11, 1910, MBR, vol. D, 14 (UTBR).

62. Nevertheless, cost overruns for equipment came to over $79,000, although Gilbert's accounts claim that the building cost a total of $255,341.70 [April 6, 1911 and September 20, 1911, MBR, vol. D, 134-35 and 177-181, respectively; CG to AWT, January 9, 1911; NAS to SEM, June 12, 1911; and NAS to CG, September 21, 1911, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Bldg. Committee (N-YHS); and "Miscellaneous Statistical Data," for UT (n.d.) coll. 214, SR 2, Fldr: 5 (NMAH)].

63. January 11, 1910, MBR, vol. D, 14 (UTBR).

64. ADE 11-A-Gilbert 25 verso (LC/P&P).

65. January 10, 1910, MBR, vol. D, 12 (UTBR). Brackenridge was a successful local businessman and benefactor of the university. Terrell was an attorney who practiced law in Austin and Houston. He later served as a state senator and state representative before serving as an ambassador to Turkey. Gary was a banker who eventually had to resign from the Board of Regents in late 1910 in order to avoid a conflict of interests when he was appointed to a Federal position of Bankruptcy Referee [HT, vols. 1 and 2, 202 and 725, respectively; SNM to CG October 1910 and HG to CG, October 15, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910, F: M and #246 respectively (N-YHS)].

66. For reports about the January 1910 meeting and Gilbert's appointment, see newspaper clippings such as "University Y.W.C.A. Meet," Austin Daily Statesman, January 11, 1910; "Cass Gilbert Becomes University Architect," Galveston Daily News, January 12, 1910; "Regents in Session," Austin Daily Statesman, January 12, 1910; "Society Officers," Houston Daily Post, January 12, 1910; "University Improvements," Dallas (?) News, January 26, 1910; all in CGC, 1907-10-SB (N-YHS); CG to SEM, March 17, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH).

67. Evidence also suggests that Gilbert and Mezes shared books and photographs freely in the development of the UT plan [CG to SEM, February 19, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH)].

68. McMichael, PC at T, 128.

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69. Circulation accounts, as of March 31, 1908, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH); and Librarian's report, as of March 31, 1912, POR, VF 11/ D (UT/CAH).

70. 1907-08 Library Report, May 4, 1908, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH).

71. June 8, 1908, MBR, vol. C, 389 (UTBR).

72. Alexander, PC at UT, p. 18.

73. CG to GHW, February 2, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS); also see graphite sketch on city map in VF-UT (N-YHS).

74. CG to GHW, February 11, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

75.CG to GHW, February 18, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS); CG to GHW, March 11, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 3/09-1/11 (N-YHS); HG to SEM, March 27 and April 4, 1910, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH).

76. CG to SEM, February 24, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

77. CG to SEM, February 24, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

78. CG to SEM, February 2, 1911, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH) and copy in CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

79. McMichael, PC at T, 112-13.

80. Drawing #124.01 (Negative #59037) is signed with a name that could be Fischer, Foulds, Fuches, or Fuicts (N-YHS).

81. Austin Daily Statesman, November 27, 1910, p. 24 news clipping, CGC, 1905-12-SB (N-YHS).

82. Ibid.

83. WPF to GHW, April 8, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

84. "New Library Building: Plans Arrived Yesterday and Architect Wells is Here to Meet with the Board," Austin Daily Statesman, April 13, 1910; "Library is Located: Site Southwest of Main University Picked," San Antonio Express, April 15, 1910; CGC, 1907-10-SB (N-YHS).

85. JSJ to CG, May 10, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH); SNM to CG, June 6, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: #103 (N-YHS) and CG to HG and CG to AWT, July 1, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

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86. Mapes was released by McKim, Mead & White to go work for Gilbert on the Texas buildings and tried to line up additional work for himself as designer of an auditorium and swimming pool complex in downtown Austin, and a state cemetery memorial that would be dedicated to Stephen Austin, the founder of the city. Terrell approached Mapes and suggested the memorial be designed after the one honoring George Washington at Mt. Vernon. With Gilbert, Mapes also hoped to superintend the construction of a 5-story, 100-room hotel and health resort, replete with a plunge pool, Turkish baths, and music hall, that was to be situated near the new dam that had been constructed on the Colorado River. Gilbert apparently completed sketches for this hotel, which was to be made of concrete and include cantilevered balconies, but the drawings have not been located. For unknown reasons, the project was not pursued [Re: Penn Station employment, see Austin Daily Statesman, November 27, 1910, CGC, 1905-12-SB, p. 11 (N-YHS); re: downtown hotel, see SNM to CG, August 20, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Mapes [2] (N-YHS); re: memorial, see SNM to CG, September 22, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11, F: Mapes [2] (N-YHS) and obituary of SFA (1793-1836) in Austin Daily Statesman, October 20, 1910, CGC, 1905-12-SB, pp. 79-80 (N-YHS); re: health resort, see CG to CGW, November 25, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910/#4, F: Mapes [2] (N-YHS); SNM to CG, September 16, 1910 and SNM to CG, October 15, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#1, F: #164 and #246 respectively (N-YHS); correspondence in Ibid. through December 1910].

Mapes worked for Gilbert for three years as superintendent in charge of work in the southwest. He left Texas in late 1911 and possibly returned to New York before working for Gilbert on the Union Central Life Insurance Building (1915) in Cincinnati. Mapes went on to work in Montreal and then Calgary. He may have returned to the U. S. in the mid-teens, when he was recommended for work in San Francisco with Lewis P. Hobart and in Detroit with Albert Kahn. His position at the University of Texas was taken over by resident architect George Endress when the Education Building was completed in 1916-1917 [CG to SNM, October 27, 1911, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Mapes [2] (N-YHS); CG to SNM, July 9, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13; August 12, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 2/11/6/12; and October 1, 1912, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1912/#2, F: #103/F-H (N-YHS); Lewis P. Hobart to CG, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1914, F: #103 (N-YHS); Albert Kahn to CG, January 31, 1916, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911-18, F: #103 I-L (N-YHS); and CG to SNM, July 21, 1916, CGC, CGP-LB 6/16-3/17 (N-YHS)].

For bid information, see CG to AWT, July 18, and August 29, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Bldg. Comm. [2]; and also VF (N-YHS). Although the schedule called for the completion of the building by January 1911, delays were experienced from the start, ranging from problems with railroad transportation of materials, to on-site accidents and a general failure to supply equipment and materials on time [CG to Bldg. Committee, August 22, 1910; and SNM to J. Stewart

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& Co., September 8, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#2, F: Progress (N-YHS). For a general chronology of the construction of the building, see Report of Building Committee Chairman, AWT, January 9, 1911, BRM, vol. D (UTBR)]. The cornerstone of the building was laid November 2, 1910 [SNM to SEM, October 11, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11, F: Bldg. Comm.; and also VF-UT (N-YHS)]. The terraces of Gilbert's general plan were not immediately constructed, as can be seen in construction photographs, in VF-UT (N-YHS)].

87. SEM to FMM, April 15, 1910, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

88. Loring's plan and perspective drawing have been linked to this stage of discussions given evidence in correspondence. See CG to SEM, April 14, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/11-6/11 (N-YHS). The original drawings at UT/CAH show subtleties in the delineation of the plaza area and formal plantings that do not show up in the reproduction.

89. Gilbert first began to discuss the production of the bird's-eye-view in April 1910, soon after the general block plan was approved by the Board of Regents. Gilbert, however, was convinced it would take several months for his office to produce this drawing. The 1911 perspective is a green print, in OP-32 UT Campus (UT/CAH). [For other references, see CG to Will L. Vining, April 20, 1910; and CG to CGL, March 3, 1911; CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS)].

90. CG to SEM, February 6, 1911, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH). Besides Figure 66, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, another city plan depicts this approach. See VF-UT (N-YHS).

91. In early 1911, Loring made sketch plans of these three buildings [CGL to THA, February 24, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: #103 K (N-YHS)].

92. It is interesting to note that the University of Texas, like the University of Virginia, also had no president for its first twelve years [Berry, 6].

93. December 24 and 25, 1891, CG Diary 1895, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 1 (LC/MSS). Gilbert also continued this idea of using connecting arcades and a Mediterranean revival vernacular style in his plans for Oberlin College, as discussed in the next chapter.

94. CGL to CG, January 7, 1911, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11 (N-YHS) re: blackprint, with names of buildings noted, that corresponds to the drawing of the preliminary sketch plan. Although Figure 76 does not reveal subtleties of the layout, the actual drawing suggests formal planting plans as well as a south plaza, elliptical in shape and marked by two flagpoles. Gilbert's extensive use of arcades is also noted

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on this plan.

95. Turner, 163-213.

96. SEM to CG, April 18, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH). Also see "Library Building Architect," Galveston News, February 12, 1911, CGC, in 1907-12-SB (N-YHS) re: the central building group.

97. CG to SEM, April 27, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

98. See CGC, VF-UT (N-YHS).

99. Brackenridge was a staunch supporter of university co-education.

100. CG to SEM, April 27, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS); SEM to CG, May 17, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (N-YHS); and "Patrons are Honored," Austin Daily Statesman, January 15, 1911, CGC, 1905-12-SB, p. 11 (N-YHS). The model has since been lost.

101. CG to HG, April, 27, 1910, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS). A design for a gateway to the main entrance to the grounds was considered by university representatives. Gilbert, however, was reluctant to make recommendations about such a matter before the larger general scheme was fixed by the regents [SNM to CG, October 4, 1910; JRR to SNM, October 10, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910, F: Mapes (N-YHS)].

102. CG to HG, May 21, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS). As Gilbert's new library was being constructed, progress photographs were taken from the vantage point of the upper stories of Ruffini's building. See VF-UT (N-YHS).

103. This drawing was reproduced in "New Library Building Nearing Completion," The Austin Daily Texan, July 15, 1911, pp. 1 and 3 in 1905-12-SB and in "Ground Broken for New Library Building at University of Texas," Dallas Morning News, May 14, 1910, p, 2. It also appears in a photographic reproduction in VF-UT (N-YHS); and a cropped version is portrayed in McMichael, PC at T, Figure 9, p. 19. Also see CG to SEM, April 7, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH); CG to George T. Of, April 14, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS). This view, along with a drawing of the School of Industrial Arts in Trenton, may have been exhibited at the Architectural League in 1910 and included in such publications as The Builder (London), American Architect (ca.1912?), and The Brickbuilder [T. H. Anderson to B. W. Morris, November 7, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS); CG to E. A. Purdy, January 29, 1912 and CG to Rogers and Manson, May 27, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 2/11-6/12 (N-YHS)].

Mezes believed that this perspective was "extremely attractive," while also praising the design's simplicity, its ornamentation, and treatment of the eaves and the balcony [SEM

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to CG, April 18, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH)].

104. These designs probably date to this period, as suggested by correspondence between Gilbert and the university and designs presented in other drawings at the N-YHS. These works include an elevation of University of Texas Library (?) with a deca-style Ionic portico (#124.09) and a flat-roofed library (also show front and side elevations, #124.20, and in section, #124.07). Another drawing, showing an elevation for a flat-roofed library with twelve columns on its façade, also illustrates an eclectic university hall (#124.20) in which the parts of the building do not seem to fit together stylistically. The building includes elements of the French Renaissance and American Federal style building, among other stylistic references. Drawings #124.19 and #124.20 have "VOID" scrawled across them, leading me to think that they were produced before Gilbert had an in-depth conference with Mezes.

105. William Bentick-Smith, Building a Great Library: The Coolidge Years at Harvard (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Library, 1976), 28 and 50; Bainbridge Bunting, Harvard: An Architectural History, completed and edited by Margaret Henderson Floyd, (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985); "$2,500,000 Gift is Expected for a New Harvard Library," The Boston Herald 30 (October 12, 1911), p. 10; Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library," The Brickbuilder 24 (1915): 51 and pl. 106-111; "Editorial Comment," The National Architect 6 (August 1915): 51 and pl. 13-19. For a period description of the Gothic revival Gore Hall (built 1841), which was replaced by Widener Library, see Moses King, Harvard and Its Surroundings, second rev. ed., (Cambridge, MA: Moses King, 1878), 4 and 24-26.

106. CG to SEM, April 1, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH).

107. One of these drawings is dated March 19, 1910. Related to this group is ADE 11-A-Gilbert 157 recto (LC/P&P).

108. McMichael, PC at T, 109.

109. CG to SEM, April 1, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH).

110. McMichael, PC at T, 109.

111. The Atlanta Post Office and Court House design was published in Western Architect, a journal with which Gilbert was very familiar.

112. Mezes to Manager, Manufacturer's Record, September 30, 1909, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

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113. As cited by Alexander, p. 20, "Spur Railway to Campus May Carry Building Material," Daily Texan, September 23, 1926. Battle sought out the Exchange on a 1926 summer European tour that included visits to Spain, Tunis, Algiers, and France.

114. New York Daily Tribune, January 12, 1908, pp. 1-8; New York Tribune Illustrated Supplement (n.d., approximately the same date?), pp. 15-16, in CGC, 1907-10-SB (N-YHS).

115. For more information about the interior displacement of spaces, see Alexander, PC at T, 18-20.

116. University of Texas Librarian, Nathaniel L. Goodrich, who replaced Phineas L. Windsor in 1909-10, had substantial input with respect to the planning of the interior spaces of the building. These spaces included the stacks, study and delivery areas. Goodrich was well-versed in how other university libraries, such as the John Hay Memorial Library at Brown University and several others, organized their work areas [SEM to CG, January 19, 1910; and SEM letter of introduction for NLG, June 17, 1910; both in POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH); for a lengthy memo about several items concerning interior organization--SEM to CG, March 17, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH); also CG's drawing plan of April 1, 1910 and CG to SEM, April 14, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS)].

Apparently, Goodrich's suggestions tested Gilbert's patience. Gilbert explained to one of the regents some of the problems that he had experience: "Worn out, tired, and sick as I was, I could not work effectively and found myself constantly changing the general plan. Then a lot of little conditions of detail as to the interior arrangement of the Library which were insisted upon by the Librarian nearly drove me to despair. . . .[but]the difficulties are now solved and I am sure [that] the Library is going to be a satisfactory building [CG to HG, April 27, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS)]. In 1912, Goodrich went on to a position at Dartmouth College and was succeeded by John E. Goodwin [POR, VF 11/D (UT/CAH) and NLG to SNM, March 20, 1911 and SNM to CG, March 22, 1911, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Bldg. Comm. (N-YHS)].

The interior of the reading room was decorated by muralist Elmer Garnsey, a painter who Gilbert had employed to design the interior murals at the Minnesota State Capitol and who had also designed several works for the interior of the Library of Congress. Gilbert praised Garnsey as "a man of unusual charm and cultivation" [CG to SEM, May 10, 1911, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH)].

117. McMichael, PC at T, 109.

118. Gilbert studied George B. Post's designs of the Chemistry Building, also known as Baskerville (so named for the Chemistry professor who contributed to the design), at City College of New York. The department at Texas was enthusiastic

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about the CCNY building, and Loring attempted to procure plans and photographs of it for them [Charles Baskerville to CG, April 14, 1911; and CGL to CG, May 25, 1911, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1911/#1, F: #103 A-D (N-YHS); and CG to CB, May 25, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 2/11-6/12 (N-YHS)].

Owing to the lack of student housing on-campus, students had to rely on rooming houses in the area, which were known for their unsanitary and disorderly conditions. Of the several small sketches of cottages and dormitories that Gilbert prepared for Mezes, four included different schemes for a single dormitory and two included the extension of a single dorm into a small group with a dining hall connecting to the living quarters. Some buildings' designs included an outdoor patio. These sketches proposed plans for groups of a few students to live together. These proposals, which have not been located, were not pursued by Gilbert or by Mezes [CG to SEM, May 10, 1911, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH); SEM's report to the BoR, June 12, 1911, MBR, vol. D, 169-70 (UTBR)].

The practice high school was an issue that was discussed in the early stages of Gilbert's negotiation with the university. Gilbert's office developed a set of interior plans for the school, but its placement on the campus remains unclear. Some debate existed as to whether it should be placed somewhere on the forty-acre site or at another location, since it was not an academic building and children from the school would not fit into the university environment [GHW to SEM, August 24, 1911, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

119. October 17, 1911, SEM report to BoR, POR, VF 2/Ba (N-YHS). In preparing designs for the Chemistry Building, Gilbert and Loring collected information such as the College Mercury, Chemistry Number, (March 19, 1909) from Charles Baskerville, the Professor of Chemistry at City College of New York. Baskerville contributed very directly to the development of the CCNY Chemistry Building. Also see Charles Baskerville to CG, April 14, 1911 and CGL to CG, May 25, 1911, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1911/#1, F: #103 A-D (N-YHS); CG to Baskerville, May 25, 1911, CGP-LB 2/11-6/12 (N-YHS). For a general discussion of George B. Post's Gothic revival CCNY buildings, see Engelbert Neus, "The Architecture of Our New Buildings," City College Quarterly 3 (December 1907): 185-197.

120. SEM to BoR, June 9, 1913, MBR, vol. D, 322 (UTBR).

121. SEM to BoR, June 9, 1913, MBR, vol. D, 322 (UTBR); and CG to CGL, July 8, 1913, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS).

122. SEM to BoR, June 9, 1913, MBR, vol. D, 322 (UTBR); SEM to J. D. Sayers, June 12, 1913, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH).

123. SEM to BoR, April 28, 1914, MBR, vol. D, 365 (UTBR).

124. Ibid.

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125. CG to SEM, May 28 and June 6 and 24, 1913, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS). No drawings for the gymnasium have been located, but Gilbert claimed to have completed preliminary studies for this building. The approximate dimensions of it would have measured 120 feet x 68 feet, with the general cost set at about $150,000.

126. CG to CGL, August 25, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS); also see CG to CGL, September 24, 1912, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS) re: Loring's contact with House about possible future building at the university.

127. CG to CGL, June 13, 1914, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS); CGL to CG, February 12, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: II.1914, F: #103 (N-YHS).

128. Drawing #AS.88.6.141; Neg. #59142/Photo Collection (N-YHS). Although the drawing is only signed "Phillips," one might surmise it was E. J. S. Phillips since a draftsman by that name was associated with the office at this time. In 1916, when Mr. Phillips was stationed in Texas, he was questioned about the use of drafting instruments that had been left behind by one of his colleagues [CG to EJSP, July 26, 1916, CGC, CGP-LB 6/16-3/17 (N-YHS).

Phillips' drawing was published in John B. Pine's "Notes of the Building of a University," American Architect, 106 (December 2, 1914): 336. For correspondence with respect to this article, see JBP to CG, December 10 and 13, 1913, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1913/#2, F: #103 M-P (N-YHS); E. J. Rosencrans to CG, August 4, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1914, F: 103 (N-YHS); and CG to EJR, August 5 and 12, 1914, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS). Pine respected Gilbert's opinion enough to ask the architect for his advice about the article and submitted a draft to him for review. But before Gilbert submitted the drawing to Pine, Gilbert first checked with House as to the university's interest in having it published [CG to CGL and CG to JBP, July 7, 1914, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

129. McMichael, PC at T, 112-13.

130. SEM to F. Cook, November 11, 1914, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH).

131. CG to SEM November 17, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13 (N-YHS). Mezes, one year before, however, had turned down in 1913 an invitation from President Woodrow Wilson to become commissioner of education. See HT, vol. 2, 186.

132. CG to CGL, November 16, 1914, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS); "New Chief to Bring City College to Plane it Should Occupy," New York Evening Mail, November 17, 1914, oversize-SB, p. 158 (N-YHS). City College had been searching for an administrator and an educator who was progressive but not radical. Mezes looked forward to his new position [SEM to CG, November 23, 1914, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1914 (LC/MSS); SEM to F.

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Cook, November 11, 1914, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH)].

Mezes, incidentally, later offered Gilbert a seat on the CCNY Board. Gilbert, however, declined this offer [SEM to CG, December 1, 1918, CGC, PP/Misc., Bx: 1915-33, F: 1 (N-YHS)].

133. "William C. Hogg," HT, vol. 1, 824.

134. October 28, 1911, MBR, vol. D, 199-200 (UTBR).

135. Will C. Hogg to Board of Regents, April 25, 1916, MBR, vol. D, 571-72 (UTBR); and POR, VF 2/Bb (UT/CAH). Loring was appraised of Gilbert's meetings with university representatives, especially as developments of the general plan seemed imminent [CG to CGL, May 22 and 25, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

136. WCH to WJB, June 19, 1915, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH).

137. CG to CGL, July 13, August 16, and October 7, 1915, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS). Gilbert was also trying to meet with House as well as with Mezes in this period of negotiation.

138. WJB's report to BoR, October 26, 1915, MBR, vol. D, 514 (UTBR).

139. Ibid.

140. Acting President Battle was one of the faculty members that Ferguson wanted to remove from the university. See WJB to F. W. Cook, October 7, 1916 and March through May 1917, BP, 2K 253 (UT/CAH); and news clippings in CGC, oversize-SB, pp. 229, 267-268 (N-YHS).

For more detailed information about the Ferguson controversy, see William S. Sutton, "The Assault on the University of Texas," Educational Review 54 (November 1917): 390-409; "Ferguson's War on the University of Texas, A Chronological Outline, January 12, 1915 to July 31, 1917, Inclusive," (University of Texas: Ex-Students' Association, n. d.); Cortez A. M. Ewing, "The Impeachment of James E. Ferguson," Political Science Quarterly 48 (June 1933): 184-210; Sharron E. Montgomery, "The Role of Will Hogg in the Impeachment of James Edward Ferguson," Touchstone 7: 25-32; "Proceedings of Investigation," pamphlet, Texas Ex-Students' Association, ca. 1917; and "The People's University: Shall It Be Destroyed?" pamphlet, (Austin: University Citizens' Committee, n.d. [ca. 1917]).

141. Battle's papers include a collection of photographs and drawings of the University of Virginia, Bryn Mawr College, Harvard, University of North Carolina, Yale, Indiana University, Vanderbilt, Washington University, Williamsburg College and several other schools (UT/CAH).

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142. Alexander, PC at T, 22.

143. Named for William Seneca Sutton, the first dean of the School of Education, this building is also based on Italian, Spanish, and Mediterranean sources. See Alexander, PC at UT, pp. 20ff.

144. CG to Fraser-Johnson Brick Co., January 27, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

145. "University to Receive 400 Acres of Land: Gift From George W. Brackenridge, A Regent," Dallas(?) News, n.d. [ca. January 26, 1910], in CGC, 1907-10-SB (N-YHS).

146. SEM to GWB, January 28, 1910, POR, VF 2/Ba (UT/CAH); CG to SEM, January 29, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS). Johnson visited the quarry with a Mr. Burchard, who was considered an "expert" of the Treasury Department.

147. SEM to CG, May 3, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#1, F: #246 M-P (N-YHS).

148. Of the two quarries inspected, Cedar Park stone (as opposed to the limestone from a Round Rock quarry), was chosen. This former material had been used for the Presbyterian Church located on 22nd and Guadalupe Streets, nearby the campus [JRR to GHW, July 13, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS); SNM to CG, July 30 and August 4, 1910, CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11/#4, F: Mapes (N-YHS); also see Austin Daily Statesman, November 27, 1910, p. 24 as noted in clipping found in CGC, 1905-12-SB, p. 11 (N-YHS) for a report with respect to Gilbert's use of materials native to Texas, including Cedar Park limestone, granite from Llano, Texas-made brick, and also wood from the state].

149. Also see THA to W. L. Vining, February 21, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS). Gilbert additionally included an elaborately carved door jamb for the entrance, a stylistic feature that would have broken up the smooth limestone ground floor, as it similarly does in his Cox Administration Building at Oberlin College. In this, he may have been influenced by his former employers, McKim, Mead & White, who designed Beacon Rock in Newport (1891). For a detailed, as-built view of the Texas library entrance, see VF-UT (N-YHS).

150. CG to SEM, May 18, 1910, POR, VF 3/Ba (UT/CAH). Also see G. H. Wells to CG, November 24, 1910; and CG to GHW, November 25, 1910; CGC, PC, Bx: II. UT 1910-11, F: Mapes (N-YHS)].

151. This drawing is dated June 9, 1916; the plans for the Education Building were approved soon after this date [See "Regents Approve Plans," San Antonio Express, June 13, 1916, in CGC, oversize-SB, p. 268 (N-YHS)].

As costs for this building increased, Gilbert was quick

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to remind the Building Committee that this project was to be "not a school house, but a permanent building for the state" [CG to DH, September 22, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

152. CG to DH, June 10, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS). Gilbert also considered the use of concrete or a combination of concrete and brick for the building, in order to fulfill the requirement of designing a fireproof building. But these options were not pursued.

153. Ibid.

154. JRR to CGL, June 20, 1916 and CG to Harrell, June 22, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS). These letters do not specify the details with which Gilbert and his staff wanted to change.

155. WJB to CG, June 28, 1916, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

156. GAE to REV, August 22, 1916, POR, VF 15/Db (UT/CAH).

157. CG to WJB, September 1, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS).

158. Judging from correspondence, the Hawley drawing was probably completed after September 1916. This dramatic perspective was the image published in the Austin American, ca. November 20, 1916 [CG to AA November 20, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)]. The arcades in both the Loring and Hawley drawings were not completed.

159. Alexander, PC at T, 22.

160. CG to WJB, September 8, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS).

161. Ibid.

162. CG to CGL, September 9, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS).

163. CG to DH, September 14, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS); E. J. Matthews to CG, September 22, 1916, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH); W. R. Hendrickson to BoR, October 20, 1916, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH). Battle and resident architect, George Endress, wanted Gilbert to use sliding sash; a Dr. Ellis advocated Simplex type window.

164. Bids on the Education Building were opened October 1916; also see DH to REV, October 19, 1916, POR, VF 2/Bb 7 (UT/CAH). Gilbert was particularly pleased that the university had secured good contractors at a low price, for a total bid of $232,000 [CG to DH and CG to EMH, October 25, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

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The construction of the Education Building also caused some concern when Gilbert could not be consistently available on the site. These concerns were similar to those expressed by the University of Minnesota Board of Regents in relation to new buildings for their Minneapolis campus [CG to CGL and CG to DH, October 20, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS)].

165. CG to DH, October 31, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS).

166. CG to DH, October 31, 1916, CGC, UT-LB 7/11-12/16 (N-YHS).

167. Ibid. When the cornerstone of the Education Building was laid in 1917, Building Committee chairman, David Harrell, expressed his hope that at least one building would be built per year, over the course of the next seven years [Austin American, February 9, 1917, p. 2, in CGC, oversize-SB, p. 267 (N-YHS)].

168. REV to OJL, February 2, 1917; F. W. Cook to E. J. Matthews, January 30, 1917; REV to F. W. Cook, February 1, 1917; POR, VF 2/Bb (UT/CAH).

169. GAE to REV, April 18, 1919, POR, VF 15/Db (UT/CAH).

170. CG to CGL, February 21, 1920, CGC, UT-LB 1/17-8/22 (N-YHS).

171. CG to REV, September 10, 1920, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH). One reason for this change in status was a new law that was passed in 1920. This law that stipulated that all plans and specifications for building had to be produced by the architect's division of the State Board of Control.

The school also considered the construction of a monumental gateway that had been funded by regent George W. Littlefield. This gateway would have been positioned at the southern central portion of the original tract, thus creating a connecting element to University Avenue that linked the campus with the downtown capitol area. Gilbert was hesitant to recommend to Morrison and Walker, the architects selected to design the gateway, that working drawings be developed since the whole general plan was "in a very fluid state." [REV to CG, August 30, 1920; and CG to Morrison & Walker, December 10, 1920; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH)].

172. For the hall and south plaza, see ADE 11-A-Gilbert 70. The university hall tower, noted in an October 1920 sketch (N-YHS) invites comparison with the Oberlin College tower that was painted by Chesley Bonestell at about the same date.Also see ADE 11-A-Gilbert 145 [Tower entry flanked by arcades]; ADE 11-A-Gilbert 152; ADE 11-A-Gilbert 171 recto (has neg.); and ADE 11-A-Gilbert 171 verso (no neg.); all in (LC/P&P). By the beginning of the following year, Gilbert was still producing

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sketches of this main building, including one that appears to be a hybrid of International Gothic style and Siamese architecture [ADE 11-A-Gilbert-71, dated January 30, 1921]. Gilbert may have been looking at this type of work, as shown in photos that were sent to him by A. P. Ingersoll, January 3, 1918, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 1918 (LC/MSS).

173. This division seemed natural to him because he believed that the new boiler plant should be built in the valley east of the Speedway and near the science buildings. In a transitional general plan, Gilbert still hoped for a roughly symmetrical arrangement of buildings, with the chemistry building to the northeast, the gymnasium and athletic field to the southeast, and an auditorium balancing the gym at the southwest side of the campus. North of the main building, he hoped to place new women's dormitories [CG to GAE, October 21, 1920; and CG to REV, October 22, 1920; CGC, UT-LB 1/17-8/22 (N-YHS)].

174. REV to CG, November 16 and December 4, 1920; CG to REV, December 3, 1920; and Building Committee to REV, November 6, 1920; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

175. CG to REV, December 28, 1920; and also see CG to REV, January 24, 1921; CGC, UT-LB 1/17-8/22 (N-YHS).

176. Ibid.

177. REV to CG, January 7, 1921 and CG to REV, two letters dated January 24, 1921, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH). Gilbert was reluctant to enter into such an agreement for fear that it was too exclusive. He was also concerned that the Board would find his salary request prohibitive.

178. H. A. Wroe to REV, April 11, 1921, POR, VF 2/Aa (UT/CAH).

179. CG, January 13, 1922, CGPprs, Box: 1, Fldr: 3 (LC/MSS).

180. REV letter to eight firms, February 25, 1922, POR, Bx: VF 15/Db (UT/CAH).

181. REV to CG, April 20, 1922, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

182. McMichael, M. A. thesis, 16-17. See "Report of the Special Building Committee," 29 January 1919, 2K 249; "Faculty Building Committee's Functions," 25 May 1923; and "System Recommended for preparing Plans for New buildings," 15 March 1924, 2K 244; (Battle Papers, CAH). As McMichael notes, the increasing strength of the Faculty Building Committee during the 1920s and 1930s was due to its chairman, William J. Battle (1870-1955). Battle had joined the Committee in 1920 and served as its chairman from 1922 to 1948. He first came to Austin in 1893 in order to teach classics. He quickly advanced to become a professor, Dean of the College of Arts,

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Dean of the Faculty, and, in 1914, Acting President after Mezes left to take a post at City College of New York. Between 1915 and 1917, however, he became involved in the Ferguson controversy, causing him to resign as Acting President in 1916. After a stint as President of the University of Cincinnati, Battle returned in 1920 to the University of Texas, and subsequently he joined the building committee. It was Battle who was the sole individual responsible for building developments on the campus during subsequent years.

183. CG to REV, October 6, 1920, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

184. CG to REV, May 13, 1922; also see CG to REV, June 9, 1922; POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH); copy in CGC, UT-LB 1/17-8/22 (N-YHS).

185. REV to W. H. Folts, May 19, 1922, POR, VF 2/Aa (UT/CAH); Vinson and the Board reviewed the early history of the university's agreement with Gilbert (especially November 1909 through June 1916), as illustrated in the notarized documents of June 28, 1922, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH); and CG to REV, August 18, 1922, POR, VF 15/Da (UT/CAH).

186. Alexander, PC at T, 22; McMichael, M.A. thesis, 34-35. In between 1918 and 1931, ten buildings were constructed and two more master plans were submitted to the Board of Regents. The buildings, mostly classrooms, were designed by Herbert M. Greene and later Greene, LaRoche and Dahl. The two plans, of 1923 and of 1926, were created by James M. White of the University of Illinois.

More recently, the architectural firm of Danze and Blood has been hired to design the university's first master plan in more than thirty years, paying homage to both Gilbert's 1910 plan and Cret's plan of 1933 [Lisa Wormser, "Big Plans on Campus: Universities Learn to Weave Preservation into Master Planning," Historic Preservation News (December 1994/January 1995): 28-9].

187. As cited by McMichael, PC at T, 34, f.n. 8, in Paul Philippe Cret, "Report Accompanying the General Plan of Development," 1933, bound typescript, 9-10 (UT/CAH); and McMichael, M.A. thesis, 16.

188. Alexander, PC at T, 18.

189. As early as 1910, after he had decided to remain at the University of Pennsylvania instead of accepting a position at Washington University in St. Louis, Cret referred interested candidates to Gilbert and to the University of Texas with respect to a faculty vacancy at the school of architecture [William Ward Watken to CG, June 20, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: #103 (N-YHS); CG to SEM and CG to WWW, June 21, 1910, CGC, UT-LB 1/10-6/11 (N-YHS). The two architects had

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planned to travel together to San Francisco in 1914 [CG to PC, March 28 and April 13 and 17, 1914; CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS)]; and in 1915, they corresponded about the war and their attempts to obtain the release of Ernst Hébrard, one of Gilbert's former associates. Hébrard was eventually traded for a German prisoner of war [CG to PC, August 3, 1915, CGP-LB 12/14-12/15 (N-YHS); and several letters about Hébrard in CGP-LB 12/14-12/15 (N-YHS).

190. Gilbert to Dwight P. Ely, representative of Alpha Rho Chi, February 2, 1932; also see Ely to Gilbert, January 22, 1932; both in CGC, PP, Bx: 1916-34, F: 3 (N-YHS).

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# CHAPTER VII

## GILBERT'S CITY BEAUTIFUL IDEAS CONTINUED: THE OBERLIN COLLEGE MASTER PLANS

Gilbert's work at Oberlin College in northern Ohio, like his proposals for the University of Texas, developed over the course of several years. His work was influenced by pre-existing conditions as well as by the strong interest in and commitment to campus development that was demonstrated by representatives of the college. Like his Texas counterpart, Sidney E. Mezes, Oberlin College President Henry Churchill King encouraged Gilbert to develop a comprehensive plan. Gilbert's most significant plans for the college (in 1907, 1912, and 1915) provided solutions to the problem of campus planning for this small college. In contrast to his grandiose university schemes, Gilbert's small college proposals, while taking cues from their university counterparts, addressed issues particular to the more intimate scale of the small liberal arts institution. The focus of this chapter will be to examine these three phases of planning for Oberlin and to review how Gilbert's early buildings for the campus fit into each of these plans. The development of these buildings, including Finney Chapel (1907-08), Cox Administration Building (1911-12), and the Allen Memorial Art Museum (1914-17), helped shape Gilbert's plans as comprehensive proposals.

Later buildings, such as the Theological Seminary, Allen Memorial Hospital, and several unbuilt proposals will not be examined since Gilbert's son, Cass, Jr., was put in charge of

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these projects in the 1920s.[1] This shift in supervision reflects certain issues in Gilbert's own developing career. By the late teens and early twenties, he was busy with many major projects, including the largest armed services supply terminal on the Eastern seaboard, the United States Army Supply Base in Brooklyn (1918-1919), and prominent civic projects, such as the George Washington Bridge (1928-1931), and the United States Supreme Court in Washington, D.C. (1927-1935)--the last monumental project of Gilbert's career. Gilbert was extremely proud of these later projects, and their importance to him overshadowed the waning prospects of his comprehensive plans for Oberlin ever being realized. Certainly, by the 1920s, Oberlin had become less of a priority to him than it had been during the mid-point of his career.

No examination of the three phases of master plans for Oberlin College would be complete without a discussion of the role played by Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College (1902-27), in campus development. King thought that Gilbert was "the best thing Oberlin ha[d] seen in architectural lines," and under King's leadership, plans for the campus flourished.[2] Historian Geoffrey Blodgett has examined King's relationship with Gilbert, but further work remains to be done in studying their interaction and its relation to Gilbert's many drawings and his design process.[3] Thus, this chapter also will include an examination of King's contributions to this end.

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## The Olmsted Brothers' 1903 Master Plan for Oberlin College

From the earliest days of his tenure as college president, Henry Churchill King envisioned the college, and by extension the town, as a center of culture. The college chapel at the southwest corner of Tappan Square had burned down on January 25, 1903. Afterward, the need for a new meeting place for religious and secular activities became acute. Since 1854, the old building had served as a central feature of the college and of the community (Figure 105). The sense of urgency to replace the structure was expressed in period accounts. As one editorial noted, "[t]he destruction of the building [made] imperative the construction of a new chapel at once."[4] Frederick Norton Finney, President of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway Company, decided to donate substantial funds for the construction of a new chapel that would honor his father, former Oberlin College president and evangelist, Charles Grandison Finney. The site that was chosen was the Finney homestead, which was located just opposite the northwest corner of Tappan Square.[5]

When King rejected architectural proposals made by architects from Indianapolis and Boston, he turned to Finney for advice. The railroad financier gave King the names of two architects who might be interested in building the chapel: "Kim," which referred to Charles Follen McKim, of the firm McKim, Mead & White; and Cass Gilbert, who was noted as "a very artistic fellow."[6] In the meantime, King assured the community that no plan would be adopted until "the very best

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advice to be had in America" was sought out.[7]

Gilbert's early proposal for the Chapel hinged upon the plan that had been produced by the Olmsted Brothers, the landscape architects. The firm was managed by Frederick, Jr. and John Charles Olmsted, stepbrothers who were carrying on the legacy of their father, the renowned Boston-based landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. The Olmsted Brothers had been engaged to work on a campus plan for the project only a few months before King contacted Gilbert, and they outlined their recommendations in a detailed, 31-page report that was accompanied their elaborate proposal (Figure 106).[8]

The Olmsteds' report was significant for its prophetic recommendations, many of which were realized over the following decades. Most important was the stepbrothers' suggestion to secure the early Oberlin campus of Tappan Square as an open space that was free of buildings. The most notable difference between a 1902 campus plan (Figure 107) and the Olmsted plan is that the former includes three buildings on Tappan Square (notations #8 Society Hall, #9 French Hall, and #3 Spear Library), whereas the latter does not. The landscape architects recommended that this square ought to be kept "as a spacious and beautiful pleasure ground" that, while owned and controlled by the college, would serve as a public park. The brothers were concerned with vistas across this open space, particularly at the southeast edges of the square, where college buildings might be positioned strategically one

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day in order to screen out commercial buildings. Clearly, however, the architects believed that the campus was integral to the town, an issue that Gilbert later confirmed in his own campus plans.

The Olmsteds' other recommendations were geared toward the spatial organization and the upkeep of the campus. With respect to the former, the Olmsteds suggested that a campus master plan be developed, with the most important school buildings facing Tappan Square and dormitories being placed on the periphery. Their master plan thus advocated moving existing buildings on Tappan Square to other locations. For example, it was felt that Spear Laboratory should be moved to a location east of the Square (notation #35 on Figure 106). They also identified specific locations for the many new buildings that were needed by the college. The Olmsted Brothers also wanted to create an interior campus quadrangle; however, Gilbert took issue with this strategy in his own early plans, as discussed below. In addition, the Olmsteds made recommendations about the general site and maintenance of the landscape, including the thinning of trees, soil grading, and the formation of a system of walkways.

Most importantly, their basic rectilinear plan around Tappan Square and the east-west orientation of the existing campus served as significant organizing features of Gilbert's own later grand plans. The axial orientation was marked on the west edge of Tappan Square by the exedra form of Joseph Lyman Silsbee's Memorial Arch (1903), which provided a

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directed focus to the east (Figure 108).[9] The arch did not, however, provide a clear axial link to the west, where the massive, Richardsonian building, Peters Hall (1887) stood, immediately to the west of Tappan Square (Figure 109). This building was to become a real point of contention with Gilbert, as he from early on had hoped to remove it entirely from the campus.[10]

Placement of Finney Memorial Chapel and Gilbert's Long-Term Plans

According to the Olmsted Brothers report of 1903, the Finney Memorial Chapel was to be placed on "an excellent site."[11] In fact, by the time King first contacted Gilbert in late 1903 (asking him to submit competitive plans for a new chapel that would seat 1500 to 1800 people and would cost approximately $80,000-90,000), the location of the chapel had been all but fixed opposite the northwest corner of Tappan Square.[12] Gilbert was very interested in the project, partly for sentimental reasons, because his own father, Samuel A. Gilbert, had been a student at Oberlin College.[13] Coincidentally, although Gilbert had produced studies for Finney several years earlier, the architect was concerned about how large a structure he could design within the allotted budget. Also, Gilbert did not wish to contribute any plans on a traditional, competitive basis; instead, he expressed his hope that the college would select one architect to produce several alternative designs rather than collecting

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many designs from various architects.[14] Gilbert's concern about the budget is not surprising given his penchant for designing costly buildings constructed that utilized fine materials and craftsmanship. As with most of his other projects, Gilbert did not want to take cost-cutting measures. He wanted to create a superior building.

In April 1904, the college officially engaged Gilbert to undertake the project. His assignment had changed from what it had been during the early stages of discussions with King. Gilbert now had to design a dual-purpose and acoustically superior structure--a chapel for 1600 people as well as an auditorium that could seat between 2200 and 2300 people, a choir of 300 to 400, an orchestra of 60 to 75, and faculty of approximately 100. This was no small project, considering the earlier conditions for a building that was to be about two-thirds this size.[15] Despite the demanding conditions, Gilbert set to work preparing the chapel/auditorium studies. He did so with the help of supplementary materials, including the Olmsted Brothers' plan, town plats, and photographs of existing buildings, that were sent to him by King's office.[16]

Although King and college alumnus, Lucien Warner, advocated the use of a Gothic exterior (a style also favored by some of the faculty), Gilbert convinced them that a hybrid of southern Romanesque and Renaissance classicism was more appropriate. This choice was due in large part to his own admiration of Warner Gymnasium, a partially completed, massive masonry building that was being constructed west of Tappan

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Square (Figure 110).[17] Designed by Chicago architect, Normand Patton, Warner Gymnasium was held up by Gilbert as a model, first for the chapel and later for other buildings.[18] Gilbert praised this structure as "the only building of architectural merit" on the campus.[19] The other buildings seemed to Gilbert "fussy or stupid, and not of a style that would be well to continue."[20]

Gilbert selected the gymnasium because he believed that it was at once "serious, quiet, and not extravagant."[21] These qualities, particularly the lack of extravagance, provided a worthy solution to the budgetary constraints of Finney's memorial gift. Furthermore, Gilbert explained that the style of the Warner building, inspired by the architecture of southern France and northern Italy, was extremely suitable for construction out of local Ohio stone. The simple, practical form of the building would thus not require excessive construction costs.[22] The only major difference between the gymnasium's style and Gilbert's proposed treatment for the chapel was in Gilbert's wanting to create a richer, more coloristic effect in his chapel stonework than what Patton had done in his own building. For the chapel columns at the main entrance, Gilbert had hoped to use several colors of local sandstone combined with bands of Indiana sandstone and another densely colored stone, such as marble or granite.[23] He likely envisioned later buildings that would be treated in a similar fashion.

Gilbert began early sketches of the chapel in October

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1904, producing several studies with which he inexplicably was dissatisfied.[24] Among these drawings were the "Studies for Finney Chapel," including elevations, plans, and an interior view (Figures 111-113).[25] Notably, this general proposal did not include a tower positioned to the south of the building, a feature that later became part of the final design. Instead, Gilbert chose to articulate the southern corner as a mirror image of its northern counterpart so that the ends of the building would give the viewer an indication of the double-height nave, flanked by single-story side aisles, that lay within. This early proposal also made more overt references to southern Romanesque architecture with its variegated masonry, as suggested by stripes of shading in the façade (Figure 111).

During the following month, Gilbert prepared a new set of studies, including the November 24, 1904 perspective rendering of the new chapel, which is related to a later March 1905 study (Figures 114 and 115, respectively).[26] This chapel proposal--with the tower--served as a touchstone for the finished design, and was actively advocated by King.[27] The tower, positioned at the southern corner of the façade, and the other new features (such as a large rose window and a bolder, tripartite entrance), all became prominent components in the chapel design that was realized (Figure 116).[28] Such proposals were so widely admired that they attracted the attention of other colleges. Officials from Smith College, for example, contacted Gilbert about designing a similar hall

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for their institution.[29]

This decision to include a tower with the chapel was significant in light of Gilbert's ideas for an overall campus plan. During the fall of 1904, Gilbert had produced an general plan which he felt was so important that he put it "into the hands of one of his best draughtsman," Lawrence F. Peck.[30] Peck offered several options for the placement of dormitories in the general plan. He was critical of the Olmsted Brothers' practical recommendations to relegate the student quarters to the periphery. Concerned that these buildings would be too dispersed from the center of campus, Peck reminded Gilbert of the social disadvantages of such placement away from the main area of activity. "Cases in point at Harvard," he explained to Gilbert, "have become standing college jokes."[31]

In one sketch, Peck placed dormitories on either side of the campus, even though he still believed that the buildings were located too far away from the heart of the campus. Other options, such as placing a row of dormitories "with the expanse of 900 feet of campus in front," were considered to be too cheerless and too cold an arrangement for a small college.[32] Hence, Peck laid out in other proposals the plans for separate "enclosures" as he called them--features that were modelled after the standard English quadrangle.[33] In all of these plans, the massive Peters Hall (mentioned above), was not to be included in the group of existing buildings that were to be left intact.[34] In fact, over the next several

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years, Gilbert objected strenuously to this building's being part of his plans. (Ironically, it has since become an important symbol of the college.) By the beginning of the following year, Gilbert and his staff completed at least 50 new drawings of the chapel.[35]

Although the location of the chapel was fixed, designing a space that was to serve two distinct functions--as chapel and auditorium--proved to be a challenge for Gilbert. When Finney did not approve of the architect's early designs, Gilbert explained:

> It is not difficult to make a design for a chapel or for a music hall, but it is difficult to make a design for both chapel and music hall in one, in which the chapel shall not be submerged in the music hall. Of course, if one is quite regardless of the expression of religious sentiment in the exterior of the building the matter assumes a different aspect, but for me it has always seemed that a place of worship should assume the ecclesiastical aspect which bears out the association of long usage and tradition, all of which means that a church should look like a church and not like a place of amusement.[36]

The dual conditions that Gilbert's design had to meet were also complicated by the discrepancy between Finney's budget and Gilbert's desire to create a building of high quality. Finney's objections to the style, composition, and layout of the building were plentiful. Among his many criticisms was what he called the "old Spanish Mission order" of the exterior, with its low tower and heavily buttressed front façade.[37] Gilbert answered Finney's objections, point by point, and even threatened to quit the job altogether. President King, however, claiming that the college did not want any other architect except Gilbert, urged him to

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persevere with the negotiations.[38]

The fact that Gilbert, with King's strong support, intended to use Finney Memorial Chapel and Warner Gymnasium to form the core of a general plan was an early sign of both men's interest in broad-range, comprehensive plans for the college. These two buildings were meant to serve as reference points that would influence later buildings. This goal was met with some degree of success since the Carnegie Library (and later the Cox Administration Building and the Allen Memorial Art Museum) were designed to be consonant with this early core of buildings.[39] Deliberations about the size, proportions, and most important, the placement of the library reflect King and Gilbert's cooperative efforts to realize a comprehensive college plan. With foresight, Gilbert responded to King's inquiries by stating that the library might be suitably designed if it could be incorporated as a feature of an overall group plan.

Vital to Gilbert was the fact that the new building had to have proportions that correlated to those of the chapel and to Patton's earlier building, the gymnasium. Gilbert believed that if the library were placed in back of the chapel, it would help form a quadrangle and thus mark the beginning of a grand scheme.[40] The new building also had to conform in color and texture to those of the chapel and gymnasium, as Gilbert persistently advised King:

> It would not do to interpose a jarring note at this point and however fine the design might be in itself, it would be hurtful rather than helpful if it is too individual in design. . . .If the Library is to be low, say not higher

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> than the Gymnasium it might go well on the corner directly opposite the Chapel, but it would be . . . much <u>better</u> if [it were] made part of the proposed quadrangle. If the Library has to be a high or a conspicuous structure, i.e. with towers or peculiar features, I would then place it away from the general group and not even on the corner diagonally opposite the Chapel, and in short, give it an individual setting.[41]

In other words, if the library had to be distinctly different in design, Gilbert advised that the building be isolated, so as not to mar the building group near the chapel that he had hoped to develop.

Gilbert was convinced that in order to continue negotiations with King, it was imperative that the college adopt a general plan that would provide a foundation for subsequent growth. King agreed to take up the issue with the Trustee Committee so that Gilbert and the college might be assured proper placement of the library.[42] Although Patton and Miller also agreed that a general plan was necessary, the final location at the northeastern corner of West Lorain and Professor Streets (diagonal from the chapel) was somewhat removed from the area that had originally been under consideration.[43] With Gilbert, Patton and Miller discussed the potential for establishing a harmonious group that would represent "a good start" for the campus plan.[44]

Despite King's support, Gilbert had a difficult time working with Finney. The donor was sometimes petulant and often inconsistent, and although he strongly lobbied for what he wanted, Finney did not understand the problems faced by the architect or by the college. Gilbert strove to placate the fault-finding donor by trying to incorporate some of Finney's

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suggestions, such as the inclusion of a widened central hall and more narrow side aisles. Gilbert even abandoned the separate apse that he initially had envisioned for the organ. Furthermore, instead of marking off a separate transept as he had done on the Fall 1904 plans, he redesigned the interior to create an auditorium that was one large room. Gilbert enthusiastically endorsed these early 1905 designs by stating that:

> It is just the kind of building [that] I would like to build. It is quiet, serious, and strong. It will be impressive by its simplicity. The interior, of course, should be enriched with color, but I will frankly show the construction of the interior, using a special color of brick in the piers and arches, and decorating the woodwork in simple, rich, dull colors, without going in for an elaborate scheme of mural decoration.[45]

Gilbert was satisfied with his chapel plans and planned features of the building's interior decoration as well as its exterior composition and general layout.

Although Finney had wanted Gilbert to place the tower of the façade on the opposite end of the chapel (closer to West Lorain and Professor Streets), Gilbert was emphatic that this asymmetrical feature be placed at the south corner. This decision reflects Gilbert's consideration of a broader general plan that Finney did not fully comprehend.[46] Gilbert hoped that the chapel would become the most important building of the campus group; he envisioned later buildings taking their cue from the characteristic features of the chapel exterior so that the group of buildings would "compose harmoniously <u>toward</u> the center instead of <u>away</u> from the center of the group."[47] For Gilbert, such details were not matters of chance or whim.

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As such, Finney Memorial Chapel, Warner Gymnasium, and the Carnegie Library were to become the core group of the new plan. Although willing either "to leave off the tower [and] make the building as plain as a warehouse" made of brick or to reduce the overall size of the project, Gilbert did not wish to be held responsible for the end result.[48]

The Prudential Committee, the college governing group, supported Gilbert's chapel-with-tower proposal, believing that the structure should be the college's most monumental building, rather than a "mutilation" of another design. The committee also supported Gilbert's proposal by promising to find the necessary funds for the tower and other features that they and Gilbert felt were necessary to the design.[49] As cost estimates rose 50% to 150% above the available $100,000 budget, this promise became increasingly difficult to fulfill. Various features such as exterior details (including the architectural frieze and figural sculpture on the façade), expensive building materials, and the hall's high seat capacity eventually were omitted from the contract.[50] Thus, although King and the Prudential Committee fully backed Gilbert's plan, certain compromises had to be made when the building was constructed.

Understandably, Gilbert was irritated by Finney's insistent criticisms, which extended to changing the entire shape and form of the chapel so that it would be more centrally planned and square. Gilbert successfully defended his position and choice of design, due largely to his own and

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King's vision for what the campus might become.[51] Privately, however, Gilbert expressed his frustration to the college president about Finney's persistent inquiries. The architect explained to King that "[q]uestions of proportion, ornament, and detail must be left to me, or my services will be of no value, . . ."[52] Clearly, Gilbert was motivated by his own vision for the campus, and also by his own long-standing desire to be respected as a professional designer whose judgments would not be questioned repeatedly. King's allegiance was clear. While explaining to Gilbert that he had a difficult task trying to satisfy both Finney and the Trustees, King sided with Gilbert.[53]

Finney, even after Gilbert reasoned with him, wanted to build for the present, not for what might occur "several generations" hence. The railway president understandably pressed his position, admitting he did not at all understand Gilbert's comprehensive plan. In particular, Finney did not believe that some of the buildings that Gilbert wanted to demolish--Peters Hall, the Conservatory of Music, and Talcott Hall--would ever be torn down.[54] Clearly, Finney did not believe that Gilbert's plan was feasible. Finney tried to change the building plan even in the later stages of negotiations, suggesting that Gilbert design an interior with three-tiered space and an elaborate proscenium stage.[55] Finney thus persisted in trying to obtain a spatially complex building while he was not prepared to supply the necessary funds for it. Gilbert, expressing his frustration about the

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changing conditions of the project, explained to King that if they could not hope to seat 1800 for $100,000, then they certainly could not seat 3000 people (or much less 4000) for the same amount of money.[56] By 1907, upon giving up hope for a concert hall/chapel, King rightly went so far as to say that Finney would "plainly never be satisfied" with the later plans for a reduced building program.[57]

From a practical standpoint, it is understandable that Gilbert was considering long-term plans. As he worked on the chapel proposals, he discovered that the college had temporarily received its heat, electricity, and gas from a private plant that was located about one-half mile from the campus. Since he was interested in a group plan, which was to be developed further in the future, Gilbert was concerned about the cost and inconvenience of going some distance to an outside supplier for utilities. If other buildings were to be added, the relationship with the outside supplier would probably become more complicated and more expensive.[58]

Although it took several years for many of Gilbert's Oberlin buildings to be realized, certain details associated with the chapel (and later with the Administration Building) allude to the architect's long-term vision for the campus. Specifically, Gilbert took great pains in including lamp standards in these building designs. His proposals for these elements are detailed in sketches that were sent to New York marble merchant, Rafaello Batelli (Figure 117). These fanciful columns, with bases depicting lions, were realized in

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more sedate form (Figure 118). When the standards were complete, they enhanced the slight terraced effect near the front entrance.

With these columns Gilbert had hoped to create a rich, coloristic effect similar to that which he had wanted to create in the façade stonework. Although this effect was not achieved (the white Carrera marble of the capitols and bases of the lamp standards were not "stained to an antique color" and combined with red Verona marble shafts), the built columns nevertheless conceptually set off the chapel from the rest of the campus. They provided a link between the chapel and Tappan Square.[59] Although these chapel fixtures were taken down sometime after 1946, those for the Administration Building similarly provide a transition from the outlying area to the building's entrance (Figure 119).[60] Street furniture such as these standards were common features in City Beautiful schemes, providing significant connections between architectural elements and open space.

## Placement of the Administration Building and the 1911-12 Master Plan

By the time the chapel contractor, George Feick, was hired in 1905, Gilbert and King had pursued the notion of adding more buildings to the campus. Gilbert clearly hoped to contribute to this effort, stating that he wanted to design more buildings "in the architectural style of the chapel so as to make the group more complete."[61] At issue was the planning

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and building of a new administration building that was dedicated as a memorial to General Jacob D. Cox (a distinguished Oberlin College alumnus who had once served as governor of Ohio) and his wife, Helen Finney Cox, (daughter of Charles Finney, former president of the college). Their grandsons each contributed: Jacob supplied the funds for building construction and Kenyon designed the interior lunette murals.[62] Two closely interrelated factors influenced the development of the administration building: its location and its relationship to the other buildings on campus by the means of connecting arcades. These factors both reflect Gilbert's commitment to a comprehensive plan and the interest of the college in such a plan.

When Gilbert began working on the Oberlin project, he was advised that the Olmsted Brothers' recommendation to place this new building at the southeast corner of Professor and College Streets (building #36 on Figure 106) was somewhat outmoded. By 1904, the new line of thinking was to place it somewhere near the chapel.[63] In the years after the construction of the chapel, however, the administration building project had been farmed out to Chicago architect, Joseph Lyman Silsbee, who had also developed a rudimentary campus plan for Tappan Square (Figure 120). Silsbee's plan placed the Administration Building in a quadrangle that was located on axis with his Memorial Arch. This central position was emphasized by a screen of proposed buildings that flanked the quadrangle to the north and south. Diagonally-oriented,

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slightly winding paths (reminiscent of late eighteenth-century picturesque tradition), led to the central complex in the square. Hence, owing to its prior commitment, the college was not at liberty to give the job directly to Gilbert. Rapid progress also was not possible because of a lack of funds for the new building.[64]

The location of the Administration Building was not fixed until June 1912. Leading up to that decision, several events transpired, illuminating some of the practical difficulties that Gilbert faced in his attempt to realize his and King's grand plan. It is instructive to understand the circumstances under which this site was selected. A 1908 plan illustrates the campus as it existed before the final decision was made (Figure 121).[65] Tappan Square still held French and Society Halls (buildings #17 and #18) and Spear Laboratory (#27). The rest of the main campus buildings lay largely to the west and to the north, creating a fairly concentrated, albeit disparately styled, group of buildings.

In May 1911, although Gilbert was asked to develop plans for the new administration building, the trustees were still concerned about their obligations to Joseph Lyman Silsbee.[66] The college's previous agreement with the Chicago architect proved to complicate the question of where the new building would go and how the college could get Gilbert to design it. In early sketches of the building, Gilbert considered developing the uncompleted Warner Gymnasium

> into a central feature of the grounds by building a tower next to it on axis with the Memorial Gate and the

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> Administration Hall as a balancing wing. By doing so, the central structure [the new hall] would not be as insignificant as if constructed by itself. . . .[67]

In other words, Gilbert planned to create a hierarchical, symmetrical arrangement of buildings, as shown in his master plans of 1911-1912 with the main axis running east to west (Figure 122).[68] In these plans, the gymnasium (and its complement) were screened by two similar buildings located just to the east: an unidentified building and its mirror image, the administration building. The administration hall in both of these plans is set far back from Professor Street, and made secondary to the north and south anchor buildings of the street block: Warner Hall (not to be confused with the gymnasium) and Finney Memorial Chapel. The most obvious aspect of the central part of this plan is Gilbert's omission of the massive Peters Hall, the existing building that literally would have stood in the way of his new buildings.

Initially, King was not enthusiastic about placing the new hall between the center of campus and the Memorial Arch. King's opinion may have been connected to his reluctance to demolish the Richardsonian-oriented Peters Hall. Whatever the reason, Gilbert adamantly argued that the land near the chapel and the west of Tappan Square would become more valuable in the future and that the new building should not be carelessly placed elsewhere.[69] By June 1911, Gilbert sent three rough sketches to King that depicted the administration building in relation to Silsbee's so-called arch (Figure 123), the new building grouped with the gymnasium and possible memorial

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tower, and a preliminary plan for the new building. The following month, when Gilbert was finally appointed college architect, King was confident that the college was "on the eve of a large forward movement" in deciding where to place the new building.[70]

Gilbert continued to prepare sketches, though he was worried about the obligation that the college felt Silsbee was due. Gilbert, himself, contacted Silsbee and also suggested that the trustees do so as well.[71] Gilbert was most concerned with how the new building would serve as a significant element in the overall plan that he had developed since the time of his initial consultation with members of the college. Gilbert did not wish to impinge upon Silsbee's turf, and he was particularly conscious of wanting to avoid any situation that might be misconstrued as a violation of the AIA Code of Ethics.[72]

After he and Silsbee conferred and discussed Silsbee's previous plans, they agreed that they had several options.[73] Gilbert officially recommended that Silsbee be retained as architect of the Administration Building, but King asked Gilbert for his final recommendation about the location of the new structure.[74] Gilbert gave the college a choice of either the location near the chapel or the site at the corner of Professor and College Streets, where a civic monument stood.[75] In November, the trustees voted to elect Gilbert as General Architect both for developing a group plan and for designing individual buildings as they might needed during the term of

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his appointment. The committee unanimously agreed to adopt Silsbee and Gilbert's joint proposal that Silsbee retire from his work for the college, thus allowing Gilbert free rein to pursue his own general plan.[76]

By January of the following year, there was still some question as to where the new building would be placed. Limited funds would determine the building's size so that it "might not be sufficiently important for the prominent position in the central group."[77] While the faculty had tried to encourage Gilbert and King to place the administration building near the Tappan Square location of French Hall, King was not swayed, having more faith in Gilbert's sense of the overall plan.

In the meantime, Gilbert believed that the building should be placed at the southwest corner of the campus. (The Art Building, as explained below, was to be placed in the northwest corner of the campus in a corresponding location.)[78] The revised blueprint, dubbed "M 2," was sent to King in early March, in order for him to distribute it to the trustees (Figure 124).[79] Delays occurred, however, since the proposed location of the new building "ran into" French Hall at the southwest corner of Tappan Square and thus eliminated existing classroom space.[80] Because the question of location still had not been settled by the following month, the floor plans and working drawings were also held up.[81] These delays made King increasingly anxious to settle the location after "a final wrestle with the question of the General Plans."[82]

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King also faced other obstacles, including trying to mediate between the different opinions held by the trustees and by the faculty. Several of the trustees, for example, wanted to keep nearly all of the buildings away from Tappan Square. Others were concerned about the proposed demolition of older buildings, such as Talcott Hall, Baldwin Cottage, and Spear Laboratory. Faculty, in contrast, generally supported Gilbert's plan as it was proposed in the blueprint.

Complicating the situation further were various splinter groups that questioned the placement of buildings in a portion of the March 1912 plan. One group of trustees and faculty, for instance, was critical of Gilbert's placement of two buildings to the east of Warner Gymnasium and its proposed twin. Another group questioned the provision that had been made for non-science departments to use the building cluster around Warner Gymnasium. Presumably, these departments were concerned about getting a share of space and facilities that would be comparable to those suggested in the plan for the science quadrangle in the northwestern section of the campus. Noted in the New York Globe and Commercial Advertisor as one of the most important features of the plan, this quadrangle was situated where there would be "four large laboratories to house the departments of geology, physics, zoology, and botany" as well as "a series of fully-equipped greenhouses."[11] No doubt the non-science departments wanted to receive equal accommodations. Still another dissenting voice was heard from one trustee who objected to any closed quadrangle building

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groups. This unnamed trustee also expressed the feeling that the plan "was too much like a city plan, and not sufficiently adjusted to the country situation."[84]

Discussion about the location of the Administration Building was clouded further by differing opinions concerning other aspects of the plan. Thus, the location of the Administration Building represented only one aspect of a difficult situation. More than one year after the debate had begun, the location was settled with the choice of the site just south of the chapel, as Gilbert had advocated early in his proposals to King.[85] King was at least able to rejoice "in the happy solution of the location of the Administration Building."[86]

The other issue of discussion was Gilbert's long-standing interest in using arcades to connect the Administration Building and other campus buildings. Development of this feature probably arose from his similar treatment of the group plan in his 1909-10 proposals for the University of Texas. By 1912, this strategy was a consistent element in his work, in this and later phases of Oberlin's expansion.[87] Noteworthy in this regard are two perspective sketches. The first rendering, dated July 22, 1912 and drawn by William P. Foulds, portrays arcades extending directly north and south of the building (Figure 125). Referring to the sense of enclosure that these arcades would create, Gilbert called them "cloisters." The second rendering, drawn in April 1913 by Birch Burdette Long, portrays a design close to the as-built

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form of the structure (Figure 126).[88] The front façade is articulated by two arched windows that flank the entrance. This perspective also depicts arcades that extend south in a curved fashion and which correlate to the curved elements shown in the later 1914 plan (refer to Figure 122). It appears that Gilbert was flexible about the orientation of the arcade extending from the south edge of the Administration Building, since in one drawing it extends south and the other drawing it extends west. As for the northern arcade, Gilbert seems to have suggested only one basic proposal for connecting the new building to the chapel, as shown by further studies (Figure 127).[89]

These arcade proposals might represent Gilbert's architectural response to Silsbee's exedra in Tappan Square. In addition, the arcades may have reflected Gilbert's favorable impression of Theodate Pope's design for Westover School in Middlebury, Connecticut. Upon visiting the school in August 1912, Gilbert recommended Pope's work to a colleague as "beautifully designed and beautifully planned," and characterized by "very refined and scholarly" details and admirable proportions. Gilbert also felt that her design was "a rather extensive one forming four sides of a large quadrangle or cloister" which was refreshing in its charm and simplicity.[90]

The Administration Building was realized without these connective elements (Figure 128). Almost immediately after the question of location was decided, cost-cutting measures

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were required.[91] Gilbert, in fact, was "very much embarrassed" by the studies that his associates had prepared since the drawings revealed that the design requirements exceeded the available appropriation.[92] King was quick to note that the connecting arcades were not immediately required. In order to reduce building expenses, he recommended that these elements were not to be built at the south corner .[93] Today, the rear of the Administration Building serves as a modest reminder of Gilbert's proposal for a more grand cloister that would have connected the architect's second building with the rear of his first, the chapel (Figures 129 and 130).

Although the arcades ultimately were not realized, both Gilbert and King were optimistic about future college building plans. As the Administration Building was constructed, Gilbert pressed on for the development of the general plan. He was forced to consider practical issues of how to connect the mechanical systems of the single building with those needed for the rest of the college. He had to resolve how the electricity, lighting, and plumbing of the Administration Building might relate to the utility systems of future buildings. As such, Gilbert was concerned with long-term economy, made possible only if the general plan were further developed. In particular, in addition to his architectural plans, Gilbert was interested in proposing an in-depth study of the power plant and sewage system.[94]

King did not allow Gilbert to study these issues

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extensively, but he did assure him that he would have another building to work on as soon as the plans for the Administration Building were complete.[95] As the next section explains, Gilbert's new project involved the design of the Art Building and where he would place it in his master plan. This further expansion was greatly anticipated. One newspaper account linked the development to progress, when it stated that "Oberlin is moving on, and everybody is glad to see the spirit of progress that governs and keeps up the growth of the greatest college in the land."[96] Thus, a sense of boosterism was apparent by the mid-teens, as the college considered even grander prospects for its transformation into a "campus beautiful."

## The 1914-15 Oberlin College Master Plan, the Art Building and the Auditorium

The master plan of 1914-15 represents a refinement of the 1912 plan (Figure 131 and 122, respectively). The most notable differences in the new proposal include the formal landscaping of Tappan Square (none had been noted in the earlier plan) and the embellishment of the proposed auditorium with buildings to the north and south (in the 1912 plan only the Auditorium had been proposed). This new building group, east of Tappan Square along Main Street, was to be composed of several buildings and was subject to various phases of development as described below.

The new Art Building was the most pressing project, as it

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had been discussed for several years prior to the 1912 plan. But a new hotel, town hall, and high school were also part of this eastern campus proposal. The town-oriented function of these buildings launched the 1914-15 plan into the realm of a mini-town plan, or at the very least, an augmentation of the existing town. (The buildings in this area east of Tappan Square included the college's Stewart Hall, the town's Methodist Church, Town Hall, and a small hotel.) By crossing over the boundaries between campus and town planning, this master plan by Gilbert addressed the needs of the growing college as well as those of the town--both required much-needed facilities for several different functions.[97]

Compositionally, the east side development of the Art Building and the Auditorium also emphasized the east-west orientation of the 1914-1915 plan which visually terminated in a towering structure at the core of the campus, the Memorial Tower. As a 1913 sketch suggests, this unifying function was extremely important to Gilbert, where he depicted in schematic terms the components of the building groups east and west of Tappan Square (Figure 132). It is useful to examine the phases of development of the 1915-16 plan, since like its earlier master plan counterparts, it reflects some of the vagaries and obstacles with which Gilbert was faced.

The Art Building project had been underway for several years, dating back to the Olmsteds' recommendation that such a structure be placed on the northeast corner of East Lorain and Main Streets.[98] Discussions continued in early July 1905,

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on the heels of bids being accepted for the Finney Memorial Chapel. The primary impetus was the lack of appropriate storage or display space for a fine art collection that had been given to the institution. Touted as "the best in Cleveland," this collection represented a valuable acquisition for the college, but one which exposed the college's lack of a museum. Gilbert was instructed to develop plans for a $65,000 museum that could be enlarged in the future.[99]

Gilbert's work on the chapel had come to the attention of Cleveland physician and Oberlin alumnus, Dr. Dudley P. Allen. Allen praised Gilbert's efforts with the early project, in spite of the many limitations that Gilbert had faced; he was "all the more gratified" that Gilbert "should have been able under somewhat adverse conditions to have completed a building which is at once so satisfactory from the standpoint of service and at the same time so beautiful to look upon."[100] Allen continued to be interested in Gilbert's architectural plans for the college, but the art building was "indefinitely postponed" because of a shortage of funds.[101]

By 1909, Gilbert remained hopeful that the potential building group still might be realized. He expressed this interest to President King:

> Every time I think of one of these buildings for Oberlin I am more and more impressed with the desirability of having a general plan where the building could be located so that they can be co-related to one another. I should keep them all in the style of the Finney Memorial [Chapel] though, of course, they would vary in design and I think we could make a most interesting group if we did so.[102]

Even before the Administration Building plans had been fixed,

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Gilbert was thinking about the long-term potential of relating several buildings to his first project for the college. At this time, Gilbert and King continued their discussions about the Art Building for the campus. To King's credit, the president was as interested in the Art Building's location as he was in its cost, and he urged Gilbert to develop another general plan.[103] He explained to the architect that the college trustees were considering this idea, and that they respected Gilbert's work more than any that had been produced by other architects.[104]

Gilbert was especially critical of Silsbee's design of the plans for the Men's Building (now known as Wilder Hall), stating that he believed that the design was "commonplace, "bad" and "illiterate," and suggesting that King ask Silsbee to restudy the project (Figure 133).[105] No doubt Gilbert was most distressed with the building's heavy proportions and lack of refinement in terms of its details, although the rugged masonry was somewhat characteristic of the treatment that he wanted to create in his own new Oberlin buildings.

Especially eager to obtain Gilbert's recommendation about the Art Building, King did not wish to become engaged in a long controversy about the building's placement.[106] He also warned Gilbert that the trustees, by this time in 1913, were committed to keeping the historic campus of Tappan Square free of buildings.[107] King proposed two options to Gilbert: to locate the new building on the northeast corner of Main and East Lorain Streets (on the block opposite the First

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Congregational Church), or north of the Methodist Church on Main Street (Figure 134).[108] King was eager to push for the development of this plan so that fund-raising could influence potential donors to give substantial funds toward the project.[109] By December 1913, Gilbert thought he had "hit upon a plan" for the Art Building that would meet the conditions of cost, space, and need for additions at a later date.[110]

Although the 1912 plan served as a foundation for discussion about campus planning at Oberlin, Gilbert nevertheless experimented with other ideas of placing the new buildings in the northeastern section of the campus. In early 1914, King began wondering if this sector of the campus might include a town hall, a modest hotel, possibly a high school building, and one or two other buildings. He argued, that such a plan "no doubt is looking a long way ahead, but it would give suitable use to that end and still bring that whole side of the campus into our general scheme."[111] Gilbert believed that these were excellent ideas; and, at the bottom of this letter from King, he developed a sketch with buildings at the four corners of Tappan Square (Figure 135). Although Gilbert's sketch does not denote the function of the corner buildings, it suggests that the architect was not entirely confident about where to place the Art Building and the other new proposed buildings. In fact, when Gilbert was advised by King and Allen that he should place the Art Building opposite the northeastern corner of Tappan Square (where it eventually

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was constructed), Gilbert admonished them:

> You must realize that if the Art Building alone is placed on that site it will have no relation to the other College buildings and will be that much deducted from what might go to make up an impressive group plan.[112]

Gilbert, however, believed that if the entire east side of Main Street (east of Tappan Square) were used, this isolation of the Art Building could be mitigated.

Gilbert also was quick to realize that King's plan for such a complex building program was not practical. Funds were so limited that the college could not afford even to remove poorly-constructed existing buildings, or what Gilbert referred to as "bad architecture."[113] Gilbert thus encouraged the development of a row of several buildings, explaining that

> Of course, as you know, I have always advocated the occupation of the Campus forming, as you once expressed it, a screen to enclose the Campus and to some extent mask the common and uninteresting structures that surround it, particularly on the east and the south. It would leave the whole center of the Campus free and would make it look larger by closing down the perspective to some extent.[114]

With this January 1914 letter, Gilbert submitted a sketch of the eastern building group (Figure 136), and later he sent to King a more finished drawing, showing the screen of buildings that he had in mind (Figure 137).

In both drawings, the new Auditorium was placed at the center. This focal point was flanked by the Art Building to the north and, according to the 1915 plan, the town hall to the south.[115] In between and in back of the arcades that connected the flanking buildings were secondary unidentified structures. Gilbert reasoned that these subsidiary buildings,

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placed in back of the arcades, "would help the composition besides giving greater justification for the destruction of existing structures."[116] Gilbert surely was thinking about the demolition of the Methodist Episcopal Church (which stood on land in this eastern area) as well as that of Peters Hall (which stood just west of Tappan Square), since both buildings were located near the central, unifying axis that he envisioned.

Before pursuing such a grand project, Gilbert wanted to make sure that he had the approval of the Trustees. King repeatedly advised Gilbert not to approve of the two subsidiary buildings, thinking that the east plan was better without them.[117] Although he did not explain why, King presumably was concerned with additional costs. Gilbert, nevertheless, decided to include the buildings, as illustrated in his correspondence to King and in the plans that the architect presented to the college from 1914 to 1915.[118]

In August 1914, Gilbert submitted to the college two preliminary sketches for the Art Building, Schemes "A" and "B" (Figures 138 and 139, respectively).[119] These sketches reveal Gilbert's use of Italian Renaissance villa elements, including a multi-bay loggia complemented by subsidiary wings.[120] Gilbert also submitted Schemes "C," "D," and "E" which presented variations on these formal features.[121] King, however, did not want the Art Building and the Art Department to overshadow the strengths of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music. He explained to the architect that although the new

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building should be "one of the most beautiful" on the campus, it was meant to house a department that would merely carry "modest courses" in art and art appreciation, courses which would rely on the collections housed in the new museum.[122] The trustees and faculty did not support either exterior perspective, but they did favor two floor plans. One plan portrayed the whole building designed to be the same height (in contrast to having added height in the exhibition area); the other depicted a two-story building, with one-story wings extending beyond the court.[123] Gilbert preferred Scheme "A," on account of its lower estimated cost and its adaptability to the plan that was being discussed (Figure 138).[124]

The overall horizontal composition of Gilbert's early plans was pared down to a simpler, more compact visual and functional form as suggested by Birch Burdette Long's rendering of ca. 1914-15 (Figure 140).[125] The building, as it was constructed in 1916-17, closely resembles Long's presentation drawing, and suggests the dignified, stately character that Gilbert had in mind for the entire east campus development (Figure 141).[126] The final design details had to address practical issues, such as land acquisition.[127]

Concurrently in 1913 with the development of the Art Building, the college and Gilbert pursued discussions pertaining to the auditorium. The need for such a structure was becoming increasingly apparent, as the issue kept resurfacing in discussions between King and Gilbert. In April, King asked the architect if he could design an

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auditorium structure as "economical as possible" at the cost of approximately $8000. King was interested in a basic structure, simple and spare, and he suggested to Gilbert that he use such basic materials as asphalt and concrete.[128]

During early 1914, King was eager to show this new plan, (including the screen of buildings to the east) to Charles M. Hall, an Oberlin College alumnus and substantial donor to the college.[129] Hall had made his fortune by discovering the process for the industrial manufacture of aluminum. He was a trustee of the college from 1905-14, and upon his death, Hall left Oberlin College $800,000 of which $500,000 was earmarked for Auditorium construction.[130] His will stipulated that the college could use three-quarters of this donation for the construction and maintenance of a new auditorium. This large influx of funds stimulated discussion about the development of the eastern campus, and it ultimately produced the blueprint master plan that Gilbert presented to the college in February 1915 (refer to Figure 131).[131] Ironically, however, the auditorium project became a complicated venture which was not realized until 1953, according to the designs of Wallace K. Harrison, of the firm of Harrison & Abramowitz.[132]

Before his death, however, Hall had asked King to consider a Gothic style for the auditorium, a style that King did not advocate. Hall believed that this style "would be far more beautiful and satisfactory" than the southern Mediterranean style of Finney Memorial Chapel, and he referred King to George B. Post's City College of New York Auditorium.

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King briefly considered such a choice, and thought that if the auditorium were to be made in the Gothic mode, then the Art Building should also follow suit. This consideration was short-lived.[133] Gilbert agreed with King's inclinations not to use Gothic, explaining that while he appreciated the medieval style for some buildings, it was more important for him

> to consider the College as a unit rather than as a series of individual units. For that reason I have been endeavoring to keep the buildings all of one general architectural style. One of the most serious criticisms that can be made of College groups in this country is that, with few exceptions, no consistent scheme as to the style of buildings or as to general plans has been carried out.[134]

Gilbert felt that campus planning, as it had been manifested thus far in the early twentieth century, justified his decision. In his mind, to adopt a single Gothic building would have been a "mistake."[135]

By early 1915, land acquisition for the auditorium caused the displacement of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[136] Initially, Gilbert had proposed renovating the building with a new façade, but he later pronounced that it was "impossible to produce good architecture with such a start unless the changes were more radical and costly than would be justified."[137] Since the church's property overlapped the area where the Auditorium was slated for construction, Gilbert's ultimate hope was not to remodel the old church but to build an entirely new one. His solution was "to get the church out of that section altogether and rebuild it in some other part of town."[138] As a result, Gilbert pleaded with

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King to spend substantial funds to remove the church, claiming that the time was ripe for such preparation. If the college took no action, Gilbert argued, the poor land planning would become apparent immediately after the east campus buildings were erected around the existing church and would "always be a subject of grave regret [Gilbert's emphasis]."[139] Gilbert pursued the Auditorium project for several years, submitting sketches of the proposed building to King beginning in mid-1915 and continuing through early- to mid-1930s.[140] All of these later proposals relied on Gilbert's other major contribution at Oberlin--that which constituted his several memorial tower proposals of 1916.

Tower studies

Throughout much of Gilbert's career, the multi-story tower form was a significant feature in his designs. The importance of this form in Gilbert's *oeuvre* cannot be overlooked, primarily because of its potential in commercial projects such as New York's West Street Building (1905) and the Woolworth Building (1911-13), as suggested by the subject of recent studies by architectural historians, Gail Fenske and Sharon Irish.[141] In the realm of Gilbert's campus plans, the tower was also a common image, not only in the central tower for the University of Texas (Figure 142) but also for several related Oberlin projects . In these tower proposals, Gilbert capitalized on the commercial form with which he had much experience, and translated it into a powerful campus symbol.

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Before turning to the Oberlin proposals, it is helpful to consider how important the image of the tower was to Gilbert on a personal level. The architect, for example, in 1899 portrayed the form in a playful context when he corresponded with daughter, Elizabeth. Next to the sketch of a towering skyscraper, Gilbert noted that the buildings in New York were not high enough to suit him:

> The highest is only 33 stories. Now mine will look something like this [referring to his sketch]. You see it is a good deal higher than the moon. It's so high that the people going along the street don't look bigger than grass by comparison. . . .[142]

Gilbert's romance with the skyscrapers of New York was no secret. In other letters to his children, Gilbert eloquently described his view of the city from a ship that he had boarded. As the boat pulled out of the harbor, he described

> the most picturesque thing in architecture in all the world. As we went farther and farther away it seemed to swim in the atmosphere like a dream city of towers and pinnacles--Its color was fascinating and its silhouette enchanting. These are masses seen nowhere else and [they are] possible under no other conditions. If I had time I would like to spend a week in the harbor sketching and painting them.[143]

The building type thus carried particular appeal for the architect. As noted in the opening chapter, later in his career, Gilbert typically presented compendiums of his work in panoramic drawings of the American landscape that depicted only his projects. Drawings such as "Some of the Buildings Built or Designed by Me" depict many tower projects in the fantasy landscape, including one of Gilbert's design for the Oberlin College Memorial Tower (refer to Figure 1).[144]

This later work for Oberlin, like his later work for the

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University of Texas, relied heavily on the tower form. His Memorial tower (1916) (Figure 143) as well as later works, such as the Graduate School of Theology (1916-30ff) and the Recitation Quadrangle (ca. 1930), make use of a multi-story tower that would have served as the focal point for the entire campus and the town. Joseph Lyman Silsbee's designs (Figures 144 and 145) served as a precedent; Gilbert was probably quite familiar with these designs through his close working relationship with Silsbee and with Henry Churchill King. Gilbert may also have been acquainted with these proposals since Silsbee was a cousin of one of Gilbert's close associates, Thomas Gannett Holyoke.[145]

Gilbert's extensive travels in Italy and Holland provided another source for the development of these tower designs. Prominent in his personal correspondence and sketchbooks from these sojourns are views of tower forms from monasteries and hill towns.[146] His scrapbooks also include clippings and representations of towers from diverse American sources, ranging from the well-known Madison Square Garden (1891) in New York by McKim, Mead & White, to lesser-known examples such as the apse campanile of the Church of the Incarnation in Dallas, Texas and the Tower Hotel in St. Augustine, Florida.[147]

By 1912, concurrent with the development of the master plan and the discussion of where to place the administration building, $20,000 to $30,000 was set aside for a clock or bell tower.[148] Charles W. Williams, King's assistant, asked

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Gilbert to have Foulds make an elevation portraying the dramatic feature that was to be placed in front of Warner Gymnasium in a cluster of symmetrical buildings (refer to Figure 143, which corresponds to the plan shown in Figure 122).[149]

This idea was embellished in later proposals. One sketch, dated June 11, 1913, portrays the imposing vista of the tower as seen from between the Administration Building and Finney Memorial Chapel (on the left and right, respectively in Figure 146). Corollary to this sketch, Gilbert's presentation drawing, emphasizes the dramatic effect created by the massive, compact anchor buildings and subsidiary towers that flank the single looming form of the memorial tower (Figure 147).[150] By 1915, King had requested from Gilbert a perspective sketch of the tower, the semi-circular arcade, and one of the new recitation buildings, as seen from the east. This sketch would have corresponded with Gilbert's plan of the central tower and the two subsidiary towers as seen from the west.[151] Gilbert prepared these drawings in late November 1915. Employing a strategy to save time and maintain spontaneity in rendering, he made a small sketch that could be photographed and enlarged. As he pointed out:

> [i]f a large <u>drawing</u> is made it requires so much study of detail that it takes a long time and loses much of the spirited quality of the sketch unless it is highly developed.[152]

Gilbert also lobbied for the binding of a series of "very interesting picturesque sketches of the <u>new Oberlin</u> [Gilbert's emphasis]" into a volume with text and possibly cost

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estimates.[153] Hopeful that further campus development could be pursued, King endorsed this idea.[154]

Some months later, Gilbert exploited the technique of producing several small sketches for the memorial tower, and he ranked them in a series. This series, which Gilbert identified as Schemes "A" through "G," provided an imposing array of the possibilities for Oberlin's long-term development (Figures 148-154).[155] Gilbert wanted the three-hundred foot tower to "dominate the entire landscape and be visible for miles around. It should be simple, vigorous, and impressive," he wrote to King.[156]

Gilbert, himself, preferred Scheme "A", which he described as "vigorous," "colorful," and "grander" than Finney Chapel, with its Italian-style campanile and "free picturesque round arch." His next preference was for either Scheme "B" or "C," claiming that these designs would be rendered in a less Gothic and more Italian mode if they were chosen. Schemes "D," "E," and "F," were not as highly recommended because of the great cost that each would have entailed. Scheme "G" also fell into this category and, in addition, needed revision, according to Gilbert.[157] Of particular interest to the architect was Magdalene Tower at Oxford, England, a building that he considered to be a noteworthy model of smaller dimensions. The British tower, however, neither was "a commanding feature in the landscape," nor did it "dominate the entire College," as he hoped his own designs would.[158] Since Gilbert continued to produce tower studies well into the

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1920s, for not only the Memorial Tower project but also the Theological Seminary, it is clear this building typology remained foremost in his mind.[159]

Over the course of their many years of work together, Gilbert and King greatly respected one another's cordiality, sense of fairness, and talents in developing future plans for the college. When Gilbert, for example, acknowledged receipt of a pamphlet geared to future campus needs, he noted that he found King's optimism and faith as expressed in the pamphlet "just what I needed."[160] The architect also praised King's foresight in urging him to place the Art Building at the southeast corner of North Main and East Lorain Streets. Although initially skeptical of King's recommendation, Gilbert applauded the college president for looking at the plan "in a bigger way" than he had. Gilbert also urged King to "take the next step, [and] clear the ground for a really fine effect" by developing the Auditorium plans.[161]

The Auditorium ultimately was not realized by Gilbert, despite the fact that he worked on designs well into the 1930s. But the buildings that the architect did realize at Oberlin remain a singular testament to his desire to create a comprehensive campus plan. Finney Memorial Chapel, the Administration Building, and the Allen Memorial Art Museum each represent a different phase of the successive master plans developed for the college. These master plans, like Gilbert's other city and campus plans, incorporated City Beautiful ideas of hierarchically-arranged and axially-

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oriented building groups that comprised a coherent, unified composition.

Gilbert's efforts were carried on by his son, Cass, Jr., through the 1920s and 1930s, with the construction of the Theological Seminary (now known as Bosworth Hall), and the Allen Memorial Hospital (which has since been engulfed by a more modern and expansive structure). Although Gilbert did not pursue the development of comprehensive campus plans or tower studies after 1916, his buildings at Oberlin provide a glimpse of the effect that he was attempting to achieve. In contrast to his several other projects in St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Austin (where his ideas were not implemented under his artistic control), Cass Gilbert's Oberlin proposals and buildings represent his most fully realized conception for the City Beautiful ideal brought into the realm of the college campus.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

| | |
|---|---|
| CG=Cass Gilbert | LFP=Lawrence F. Peck |
| HCK=Henry Churchill King | P&M=Patton & Miller |
| OB=Olmsted Brothers | TGH=Thomas Gannett Holyoke |
| FNF=Frederick Norton Finney | RB=Rafaello Batelli |
| TC=Thornton Carson | JLS=Joseph Lyman Silsbee |

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. The seminary, now known as Bosworth Hall was begun in 1919 and completed in 1930-31; Allen Memorial Hospital was begun in 1920 and completed in 1924-25.

The unbuilt proposals include facilities for athletic fields and grandstands, boiler house, auditorium, alumni building, College Inn, Recitation Building, First Methodist Episcopal Church, the Memorial Tower, and the Women's Department and Gymnasium. See the CGC presentation drawings (catalog #123.01-123.62) and VF photographs (N-YHS) for representations of many of these projects.

The Seminary began to be discussed in late 1915, with the consideration of eight potential sites for the new complex [1915 ff. correspondence, P-KC, Bx: 31 (OCA)]. March 1916 sketches D2 and D3 by E. Ward portray the dormitories in front of the site that was selected and the classrooms and chapel to the rear--an arrangement that was ultimately reversed for the project as it was built [These drawings are located at AMAM]. April 1916 preliminary sketches for the seminary include an elevation and a view through the cloister [CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29, F: Memos (N-YHS)]. Additional finished presentation drawings were published in American Architect 117 (April 28, 1920).

The hospital represented perhaps the longest-running project at Oberlin, since discussions began in late 1915 and it was not completed until 1925. Early negotiations were not made easy because the Oberlin Hospital Board had engaged an architect other than Gilbert to do the work, and because Gilbert was interested in designing both the exterior and the interior of the building. The Board, however, initially proposed that he design only the exterior [CG to HCK, December 1 and 4, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA)].

2. HCK to CG, August 6, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-191/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS).

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3. King's contributions to the campus development process have been illuminated by Geoffrey Blodgett in several articles and talks. For a general survey of Gilbert's architectural work as a function of his politics, see Geoffrey Blodgett, "The Grand March of Oberlin Campus Plans," March 1995, lecture, typescript from the author; Geoffrey Blodgett, "Cass Gilbert, Architect: Conservative at Bay," Journal of American History, 72 (December 1985): 615-636; and with respect to Gilbert and King, Geoffrey Blodgett, "President King and Cass Gilbert: The Grand Collaboration," Oberlin College Observer, in two parts, February 4 and 18, 1982, 3-4 and 5-6 respectively. A different version of this essay may also be found in Oberlin College Alumni Magazine (Winter 1983): 15-19. For a general overview of architecture at the college and in town, see Geoffrey Blodgett, Oberlin Architecture, College and Town: A Guide to Its Social History, Oberlin: Oberlin College and Kent State University Press, 1985; and Geoffrey Blodgett, "Oberlin College Architecture: A Short History," pamphlet, (Oberlin: Oberlin College Office of Communications, 1992).

4. "Oberlin's Need of a Large Auditorium," ON, May 12, 1903, p. 4; also see "College Chapel Burned," ON, January 27, 1903, p. 1 for an account of the damage due to the fire. "A Chapel Memorial," ON, March 3, 1903, p. 4 suggests the preservation and restoration of the chapel entrance, an idea that was not realized.

5. "In Memory of Finney," ON, June 22, 1908, pp. 2 and 4 provides a report of the dedication of the new building. For background on Finney's role as railroad magnate before the firm was turned over the firm to Minnesotan James J. Hill, see newsclipping, November 28, 1906, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1906 (OCA).

6. Geoffrey Blodgett, "President King & Cass Gilbert: The Grand Collaboration," Oberlin Alumni Magazine, (Winter 1983), pp. 15-19. Another version of this article appeared originally in two parts in The Oberlin College Observer, (February 4, 1982), pp. 3-4 and (February 18, 1982), pp. 5-6.

7. "With Reference to the Placement of College Buildings," ON, May 1, 1903, p. 4.

8. On his copy of the Olmsted plan, Gilbert made notations about existing buildings on the campus. Also see OB to HCK, June 20, 1903, BT, Bx: 10 and blueprint of map (1903) (OCA); copy of letter in CGC, PC, Bx: 1903-19, F: 1903-04 King (N-YHS); original drawing with Gilbert's notations (AS 88. 6. 23) filed in CGC, Schools/Presentation Drawings (N-YHS). Also see "With Reference to the Placement of College Buildings," ON May 1, 1903, p. 4; and "Encouraging Outlook for Oberlin College," ON, November 20, 1903, p. 1.

9. The 1902 plan does not indicate the Memorial Arch since it was not yet complete.

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10. This question is explored below.

11. OB to HCK, June 20, 1903, BT, Bx: 10 (OCA); copy CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-1919/#1, F: 1903 (N-YHS).

12. HCK to CG, December 15, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04/King (N-YHS), and copy in P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1903 (OCA); and CG report, March 16, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS).

13. CG Report, March 16, 1904; and also see CG to HCK, December 19, 1903, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04/King, (N-YHS).

14. CG to HCK, December 19, 1903, Ibid.

15. HCK to CG, April 19, 1904, and GHW report, April 2, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS). Finney later suggested that Gilbert design a semi-circular, oblong auditorium that could seat 2000 to 2500 [FNF to CG, April 7 and 20, 1906; HCK to CG, April 19, 1906; CGC, PC, Bx: 1903-19/#1, F: 1905-06 (N-YHS)].

16. Some of Gilbert's earliest sketches for the FMC are from April 1904, including the elevation and plan on the reverse of CG to HCK, April 20, 1904 notes. These sketches are also reported in CG report, April 21, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS). The April 20 elevation shows that from the start, Gilbert considered the option of including a tower to the south of the building, in contrast to the more balanced aisle-oriented design.

17. The southern portion of the building was completed in 1904; the northern section was finished in 1912.

18. CG report, April 21, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS).

19. CG to P&M, March 22, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

20. Ibid.

21. CG to FNF, January 18, 1905, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1905 (OCA).

22. CG to FNF, April 8, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

23. CG report, May 8, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

24. Gilbert produced blueprint sketches of a section, two elevations, and a plan, for example, October 8, 1904 [CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (sic) (N-YHS); and CG to HCK,

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October 17, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS)]. The general plan of 1904 has not been located.

25. The date of these drawings is suggested from their marked similarity to the blueprint sketches of October 8, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (sic) (N-YHS).

26. The chapel perspective as shown in Figure 113 was published in American Architect and Building News 92 (October 5, 1907): n. p. and in ON, June 20, 1908, p. 1. The original was given by Gilbert to the National Academy of Design upon his election as a member.

The other design as depicted in Figure 114 was not fixed, however, until late spring, since in May 1905 Gilbert was producing alternative studies that portrayed the front elevation of the chapel with and without a tower. These studies illustrate Gilbert's continued interest in a more severe, simplified Romanesque style. For more information about these OC sketches, see drawings filed with presentation drawings/FF (N-YHS).

27. HCK to CG, April 20, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS). Gilbert was instructed to develop working drawings soon after he submitted to the college the chapel design with the tower. The only substantial stipulation, in terms of the design, was that he was asked to include a semi-circular apse [CG report, May 8, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS)].

Bids on the project can be found in GHW, July 5, 1905; and 1906 chart of bidders, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 and 1905 respectively (N-YHS). As a tangential note, Butler Brothers, the building firm operated by the brother of University of Minnesota regent, Pierce Butler, bid on the project but was not awarded the contract [HSK to CG, July 28, 1905, Butler Brothers to CG, August 12, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS)].

28. One of Gilbert's photographs of the FMC, taken soon after the building's completion, was exhibited at the 1913 Chicago Architectural Club's 26th Annual Exhibition [see notation on photograph, FF/presentation drawings (N-YHS)].

29. Although President L. C. Seeleye and Gilbert corresponded about the project for several months, the potential for new work ended abruptly when Seeleye requested that Gilbert supply drawings before being officially hired. Gilbert's quick response was that he did not send out drawings "as a factory sends samples 'on approval'" [CG to President Seeleye, September 15, 1908, CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS). Also see Miss Annie P. Kellogg to CG, July 2 and August 21, 1908; President L. C. Seelye to CG, October 1, 1908; Mr. Perkins to CG, September 14 and 16?, 1908, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1907-08, F: New Business (N-YHS); CG to Miss Kellogg, July 3, 1908; CG to President Seelye, August 19, 1908; in CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09

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(N-YHS) and CG to Miss Kellogg, September 3, 1908; and CG to President Seeleye, September 9(?) 1908; in CGC, Misc.-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS).

30. CG to HCK, October 17, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS). Gilbert gave some of the work to Thornton M. Carson, who worked in his office and had produced drawings for details of the Essex County Courthouse, Newark, NJ [TC to CG, October 22, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1904 (N-YHS)] and also to H. K. Culver and Maxime Boyer [Time record, November 7, 1904, CGC, Chron., Bx: LPR 1904 (sic), F: St. Paul (sic) (N-YHS)].

31. LFP to CG, October 19, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1904 (N-YHS).

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid. Peck produced at least four sketches. The drawings, however, have not been located.

34. Ibid.

35. CG to FNF, January 18, 1905, Ibid.; also see early sketches from November 24, 1904, in CGC, FF: Dwr. 3 (N-YHS).

36. CG to HCK, January 18, 1905, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1905 (OCA).

37. FNF to CG, January 5 and 6, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

38. CG to FNF, January 18, 1905 and HCK to CG, January 30, 1905, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1905 (OCA); FNF to CG, January 24, 1905 and CG to FNF, January 30, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

39. Although the library was not designed by Gilbert--but by Patton of Patton and Miller in 1908--it served as a rallying point in the early discussions about a comprehensive plan for Oberlin.

40. CG to HCK, February 18, 1905, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1905 (OCA).

41. Ibid.

42. HCK to CG, February 29, 1905, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1905 (OCA).

43. Also, in some of the building details, Patton tried to complete the library so it would harmonize with the chapel. For example, he took care in selecting the same roof tile that Gilbert had used in the earlier building [NSP to CG, June 22, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1907 (N-YHS)].

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44. CG to P&M, March 22, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

45. CG to HCK, March 22, 1905, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1905 (OCA).

46. CG to FNF, April 8, 1905 and FNF to CG, March 25, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

47. Ibid. Finney also criticized the tiny window designs on the first floor and the rose window above, which he compared to a windlass on a ship. Gilbert believed that the former features were practical elements that would filter light into the vestibule/narthex. With respect to the latter criticism, Gilbert and Finney wrangled for several years about the design and shape of the window [FNF, HCK, KC, and CG letters in PC, OC correspondence (N-YHS); and Geoffrey Blodgett, "The Changing Functions and Appearance of Oberlin's Finney Chapel," talk given at Society of Architectural Historians conference (Philadelphia, 1994) for session, "Political Uses of Built Space."

For further reference to Finney's suggestions about how to change the design, see CG and HCK correspondence from March through May 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905-06 (N-YHS) and P-KC (OCA).

48. CG to HCK, March 31, 1906, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1906 (OCA).

49. HCK to CG, April 25, May 12 and 22, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905-06 (N-YHS).

50. GHW to FNF, August 15, 1905, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1905 (OCA); FNF to CG, August 18, 1905 and HCK to CG, October 6, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: 1903-19, F: 1905-06 (N-YHS); Miranda to CG, August 8, 1905, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1904-05, F: Sc. 1905 (N-YHS); Modifications list, February 6, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1907 (N-YHS). Construction was also delayed until 1907, in part, to avoid the high building costs of the previous year [HCK to CG, May 5, 1906; FNF to HCK, April 30, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905-06 (N-YHS); CG to HCK, May 7, 1906, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1906 (OCA)]. Some proposals suggested the omission of the side galleries and the reduction of the height of the side walls, but these were rejected [CG to HCK, June 2 and 9, 1906, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1906 (OCA); WFB to G, June 13, 1906, and HCK to CG, June 19, 1906 CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905-06 (N-YHS)].

51. FNF to CG, March 25, 1905 and CG to FNF, April 8, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

52. CG to HCK, April 1, 1905, CGC, Chron, Bx: 1905/#3, F: Misc. (N-YHS).

53. HCK to CG, July 6, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903019/#1, F: 1905-06 (N-YHS).

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54. FNF to CG, April 10, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS). Despite his many criticisms of Gilbert's chapel design, Finney thought well enough of Gilbert's work to invite the architect to submit a proposal for a railroad depot in Denison, Texas. Gilbert accepted the invitation, not surprisingly, given his experience working for the Northern Pacific Railroad in the 1890s. Gilbert probably felt confident that he could get the job; however, citizens in Denison prevented the job from being realized, for reasons which remain unclear [FNF to CG, May 26, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905/#3, F: 14 (N-YHS); FNF to CG, March 17, 1906, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1906, F: New work (N-YHS)].

Finney's somewhat unreasonable demands also included the designing of an auditorium that would garner such praise as "the best on the continent." In contrast to his many early critiques of Gilbert's work, by September 1905, Finney changed course to insist upon Gilbert's production of a fine acoustical space, no matter "how it looks outside, if it is only in good taste. . . . " [FNF to CG, September 12, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS)]. This change of heart probably was due to the protracted financial negotiations about the design.

Finney was not without suggestions for the interior, however, as he tried to convince Gilbert to use brick, and not plaster, for the interior walls. Finney quickly capitulated to Gilbert's choice of materials, based on the argument that brick might be detrimental to the acoustics [FNF to CG, September 16, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS)].

55. FNF to CG, April 11, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS). Gilbert, while holding off Finney on this suggestion, had some particular ideas about the design of the interior. Gilbert wanted to recreate the rich color of the Florentine tradition, as embodied for example, by the early Renaissance chapel, San Miniato al Monte [CG Report, May 8, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS)]. For a drawing depicting this idea, see AMAM 82.74, published in "Building Utopia: Oberlin Architecture, 1833-1983," a series of related essays in Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin 41 (1983-84), 63.

56. CG to HCK and CG to FNF, March 31, 1906, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1906 (OCA).

57. HCK to CG, April 24, 1907, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1907 (N-YHS).

58. CPD to CG, July 20, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

59. Early photographs of the chapel, through ca. 1940 illustrate the lamp posts that Gilbert designed for the small plaza in front of the building. Batelli furnished the

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columns, which Gilbert completed between late 1907 and early 1908 [RB to CG, December 19, and 27, 1907; January 27 and 30?, April 17, and May 1908; HCK to CG, January 2, 1908 (sketches included); CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1907-1908 (N-YHS); CG to HCK, December 24, 1907 and January 6, 1908; CG to RB, January 8, 1908; P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1907 (OCA)].

60. King was concerned that these lamp posts be "properly designed and suitably placed" [HCK to CG, December 13, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915-18/#2, F: Art Building 1915 (N-YHS) and copy in P-KC (OCA). As a model, King suggested the design of lamps on Orange Grove Avenue in Pasadena, California, where he often spent winter vacations. Although Gilbert generally agreed with King with respect to the need for outdoor lighting, he was cautious in his recommendations because of concerns about economy and appropriateness, as he explained: "[I]n a town of this kind it seems to me that light in excess of that which is actually needed to secure safety and to reasonably illuminate the lines of travel is undesirable." Aside from these concerns about overlighting the area, Gilbert initially recommended the use of cast iron posts (in contrast to those made of cement) and suggested a design for Washington, D. C. lamp standards that had been developed by his colleague, Francis D. Millet. This design had been adopted by several other cities [CG to HCK, December 24, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA); sketches in CGC, PC, Bx: 1912-29, F: General memos (N-YHS)].

61. Handwritten note from CG to GHW on GHW memo, June 21, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905-06 [sic] (N-YHS).

62. Kenyon Cox, in fact, revered Gilbert's opinions so much that he asked the architect to look over his designs, for he did not wish "to do anything in the slightest" to displease Gilbert [KC to CG, February 25, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: D (N-YHS)].

63. GHW report, April 2, 1904, accompanied by the 1903 OB plan, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1903-04 (N-YHS).

64. HCK to CG, January 23, 1908 and July 6, 1909; CG to HCK, June 22, 1909; P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1908 (OCA).

65. "Trustees Approve of a Group Plan and Determine the Location of the New Administration Building," ON, June 19, 1912, p. 1ff.

66. HCK to CG, May 13, 1911, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1911 (N-YHS). At the same time, the trustees and faculty committee wanted Gilbert to become the general architect of the college, in order to develop a general campus plan, but a quorum was not present at their meeting. Thus, Gilbert's ideas for the college carried some weight by the time the administration building was well underway.

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67. CG to HCK, June 2, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 2/11-6/12 (N-YHS) and copy in P-KC (OCA).

68. This plan dates to ca. November 1912, as suggested by the following correspondence: WPF to HCK, November 22, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1912 (OCA) and HCK to CG, December 10, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS). This date is also suggested since Gilbert sent this plan in early 1913 to Hi-O-Hi, the campus yearbook [CG to HCK and CG to John W. Love, March 20, 1913, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS)].

69. CG to HCK, June 12 and 20, 1911, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA).

70. HCK to CG, July 14, 1911, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA). During the following month, Gilbert became very interested in salvaging the stonework from Henry Hobson Richardson's Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce Building, which had burned many months previously. Gilbert was particularly impressed by the beautiful quality of the materials that Richardson had chosen, stating that "the arches are richly carved and beautifully proportioned," and could easily be taken down and re-used since it was "in perfect condition along with the other stonework" [CG to HCK, August 9, 1911, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA)]. Gilbert's letter includes several vivid sketches of proposed re-uses of the stone, although the material ultimately was not utilized in the buildings. These sketches also relate stylistically to Gilbert's proposals for the University of Texas Library, a project on which Gilbert was working at the same time.

71. CG to HCK, September 12 and 26, 1911, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA).

72. CG to JLS, n.d. [ca. late September 1911], P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA).

73. CG to HCK, October 18, 1911 (also see JLS to CG, October 30, 1911, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA). Their first option was that Silsbee could go ahead in the design of the Administration Building and adapt the design to the general features of Gilbert's proposed group. In particular, if the Administration Building were to be a semi-detached structure, as in Figure 120, it would be connected to the chapel to the north by means of an arcade. If this option had been chosen, Silsbee would have had to make his building design conform closely to Gilbert's proposal. The second option was for Silsbee to accept payment for his services and retire from his work for the college. The third option was for Silsbee and Gilbert to work together [CG to HCK, October 18, 1911 (also see JLS to CG, October 30, 1911), P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA).

74. HCK to CG, October 17, 1911, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1911 (N-YHS).

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75. CG to HCK, October 19, 1911, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA).

76. HCK to CG, November 18, 1911, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1911 (N-YHS); CG to HCK, November 20, 1911, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1911 (OCA); and HCK to CG, February 27, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS). Gilbert was instructed to go ahead with the building plans, a task which he gladly accepted. Matters were tied up with Silsbee by the following February.

In 1912, Silsbee appears to have wanted to take advantage of his prior contact with Gilbert. Silsbee unsuccessfully to obtain through Gilbert a superintendent's position for his son, Ralph [JLS to CG, April 30, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS); CG to JLS, May 4, 1912, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS)].

77. CG to HCK, January 19, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1912 (OCA). Several other buildings were needed by the college, as King stressed to Gilbert. These included an astronomy observatory, Faculty Club, classroom buildings (for foreign languages and social sciences), a lecture hall for 500 to 700 people, a vivarium, botanical garden and athletic facilities (such as fields and a gymnasium for women's sports, a running track and a swimming pool) [HCK to CG, January 16, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS)].

For this plan, Gilbert was supplied with maps of town property, location of streets, sewers, grades, and water mains, in order to develop an accurate general plan that took into account Plum Creek on the Homer H. Johnson property [CPD to CG, February 26 and 28, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS); WPF to HHJ, March 2 and 5, 1912; WPF to CPD, March 4, 8, 15, 1912; and CPD to CG, March 4, 1912; CGC, OCLB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS)].

78. CG to HCK, February 8, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1912 (OCA); General Faculty Meeting Minutes, January 23, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS).

79. WPF to HCK, March 5, 1912; and CG to HCK, March 6, 1912; CGC, OC-LB 3/12/11-15 (N-YHS).

80. HCK to CG, March 13, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-19/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS).

81. HCK to CG, April 15, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1912 (OCA).

82. HCK to CG, April 20, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS).

83. New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser, May 7, 1912, p. 7, in CGC, oversize-SB, p. 180 (N-YHS). Also see Springfield, Massachusetts Republican, May 10, 1912, Ibid.

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84. HCK to CG, April 20, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS).

85. CMH to HCK, June 20, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS). Hall also recommended that the college appoint "a high-class landscape and part expert" to contribute to improvement plans and made a report about such improvements. King responded by wondering if the college or Gilbert might approach Frederick Law Olmsted to renew his work for Oberlin [HCK to CG, July 1 and August 13, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS)].

Gilbert agreed that Olmsted was a good choice, since Gilbert, himself, did not feel qualified to propose a planting scheme and was busy with other projects. When Gilbert met with Olmsted in Washington, D. C. on August 9th, Olmsted was interested in the project but was involved with several other engagements and thus declined to collaborate with Gilbert, despite his entreaties that Olmsted take the job. King was very disappointed that the accomplished landscape architect was not able to work for the college, but wondered if Andrew Auten, a local landscape architect who had been a pupil of Olmsted's, could direct the project [CG to HCK, August 8 and 15, 1912 and CG to FLO, August 15, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1912 (OCA); FLO to HCK, September 26, 1912 and FLO to CG, September 27, 1912 and HCK to CG, October 3, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS); CG to FLO, December 27, 1912, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS)].

Olmsted changed his mind and visited the campus in January 1913 for a preliminary consultation and by the following month, had agreed to take on the project [FLO to CG, and FLO to HCK, January 16, 1913; OB report, January 25, 1913; and HCK to CG, February 3, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS)].

86. HCK to CG, July 1, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS). Less than one month later, King apparently asked Gilbert to prepare extensive drawings with respect to the location of the many new buildings. Gilbert balked at this idea, feeling that he had fulfilled the terms of his agreement with the college. Gilbert claimed that he would need additional compensation for such work. He suggested that he would need approximately $5,000 for another general plan, an elevation, and bird's-eye-view. For $1,000, he could develop a preliminary general plan. It remains unclear as to whether Gilbert received any or part of these estimated fees [CG to HCK, August 8, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1912 (OCA)].

During the following fall, King also became concerned about the question of the development of the athletic fields. Gilbert explained that this new question had to be addressed in relation to the entire general plan. In the meantime, Director of Athletics, Charles W. Savage, was eager to present the plan to alumni in order to gather support for the project. In March 1913, Gilbert sent Savage grandstand sketches which generally pleased the athletics director. Savage wanted

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Gilbert to emulate Yale University's stadium as a model for the Oberlin project, and he sent a bird's-eye-view to the architect to this effect. In asking Gilbert to produce a similar drawing, Savage explained that he wanted a drawing in this perspective so that people might perceive the Oberlin project as if they approached the stadium "in the future in their airships." Gilbert sent the requested drawing, which was probably completed by the talented renderer, Hugh Ferriss. For the grandstands, Savage and Gilbert's associate looked to models at Ohio State University, and Ebbets Field, in Brooklyn. Savage chose a scheme with the grandstands only on the west side of the field, as opposed to having them on both sides [HCK to CG, October 1, 1912 and CG to HCK, October 7, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 20, F: 1912 (OCA); also see WPF report, November 7, 1912, and George M. Jones to HCK, November 19, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-17/#2, F: Misc. (N-YHS); George M. Jones to CG and also HCK to CG, January 24, 1913; OB to CG, March 4, 1913; and CWS to CG, March 22, April 5 and 21, 1913; CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS); CG to CWS, April 22, 1913, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS); HF to RDR/CG, April 23, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS); CG to HCK, April 29, and May 9, 1913, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS), CWS to CG April 30, and May 10, 1913 and HCK to CG, May 2, 1913 and CWS to CG, July 17, 1913 CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS)].

By 1916, Gilbert and the Olmsted Brothers had published their presentation drawing, "Bird's-Eye-View of Athletic Grounds," which depicted a grand gateway to the stadium and formal plantings [published in Views of Buildings and Campus no. 116 (Oberlin: Oberlin College, February 1, 1916), n. p. A drawing dated June 10, 1920 shows a different proposal for the athletic fields (AMAM)].

87. Gilbert used the arcade or "cloister" form in his seminary designs and later memorial tower/recitation building designs for Oberlin College.

88. This perspective, although undated, can be linked to correspondence between King, the Olmsted Brothers, and Gilbert [CG's note on reverse of OB to CG, January 30, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS); CG to BBL, April 26 and May 16, 1913, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS); CG to HCK, May 6, 1913, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS)]. The renderer, Long, was paid $60 for this project. A photographic reproduction of Long's drawing can be found in VF, OC (N-YHS).

89. King was eager to receive this drawing so that he could use it to drum up financial support for a class memorial. King thought that if this small part of the plan could be realized, then the public and the alumni both would have a better idea of what the general plan might look like [HCK to CG, September 26 and November 2, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS); CG to HCK, September 30, 1914, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS)]. "Proposed Cloister for Finney Chapel and

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Cox Administration Building" is another drawing that depicts Gilbert's arcades (AMAM), as published in "Building Utopia," Figure 26.

90. CG to Warren P. Laird, August 26, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS). Gilbert's letter to Laird was prompted by Pope, herself [CG to Theodate Pope, August 26, 1912, Ibid.]

91. HCK to CG, July 26, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS). By late 1913, the Administration Building contracts of October 1913 estimated that the work could be done for $69,469 [Memo, October 27, 1913, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1913 (OCA).

92. CG to HCK, October 3, 1912, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1912 (OCA).

93. HCK to CG, December 10, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS); also see WPF to HCK, December 12, 1912, CGC, PC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS).

94.CG to HCK, April 2, 1913, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS).

95. HCK to CG, April 18, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS). Although Gilbert did not study the question of a campus-wide sewage system, he had some input with respect to the boiler house construction [James R. Severance to CG, June 17, July 22 and 30, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS); and EW to CG, October 29, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-17/#2, F: Misc. (N-YHS)].

96. "Still Growing," ON, July 5, 1911, p. 4; "Placing of Future Buildings," ON, May 19, 1911, p. 4.

97. In one set of drawings, Gilbert envisioned the college hotel/inn as a Craftsman-inspired design [see AMAM holdings and CGC, VF, OC (N-YHS) for a photographic reproduction of one of these drawings]. For information with respect to the need for a new high school, see ON 1915-16 editorials.

98. Building #38 on the OB plan. Later reports on the need for the Art Building include "A New Building for Oberlin College," ON, January 14, 1914, p. 1; "Gift of $165,000 for Art Building is Made by Mrs. Dudley Peter Allen," ON, June 16, 1915, p. 1; "New Art Building Formally Dedicated," ON, June 13, 1917, p. 1.

99. GHW report, July 5, 1905, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#1, F: 1905 (N-YHS).

100. DPA to CG, July 3, 1908, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1908 (N-YHS).

101. HCK to CG, July 6, August 21, and September 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1909 (N-YHS).

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102. CG to HCK, September 10, 1909, P-KC, Bx: 30, F: 1909 (OCA).

103. The proposed cost was $65,000 to be funded by Allen and by other pledges [HCK to CG, April 18, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS).

104. CG's report, April 7, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1903-19/#2, F: 1909 (N-YHS).

105. CG's report, April 7, 1909, CGC, PC, Bx: OC I. 1914, 1925 [sic], F: Prel. 1907-33 (N-YHS).

106. HCK to CG, June 7, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS).

107. Ibid. Donor Dudley P. Allen, a Cleveland physician, contacted Gilbert in early 1913 to see if the architect would be able to design the Art Building with provisions made for future additions [DPA to CG, March 24, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS). Allen also requested Gilbert's sponsorship at the exclusive Century Club, suggesting their close social connections, as noted in CG to DPA, March 27, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS)].

108. HCK to CG, June 13, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS).

109. HCK to CG, October 11, 1913 and December 10 and 31, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS).

110. CG to HCK, December 20, 1913, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1913 (OCA).

111. HCK to CG, January 9, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS). Soon after King made these suggestions to Gilbert, he also mentioned the need for a gathering place for women's clubs and other organizations. This space, King suggested, might include facilities for public restrooms [HCK to CG, March 9 and April 16, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS)].

In addition, King proposed the reduction in the number of east-west walks on Tappan Square in favor of an increased number of diagonal walks to unify the open space [HCK to CG, March 9, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS)]. Gilbert worked with the Olmsted Brothers, who initially recommended covering the walks with a bituminous macadam, topped by gravel, and later suggested the use of brick because of its appearance and ease of repair. Their plan met with King's approval in early 1914, although they suggested that the diagonal walks slightly deflect and curve around irregularities on the grounds, such as large trees [HCK to CG, March 20 and April 14, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS); WPR report, March 3 and 4, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-

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17/#2, F: Misc. (N-YHS); FLO to CG, March 14, 1914 and OB to HCK, May 8, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: M-P (N-YHS); CG to HCK, April 21, 1914, CGC, OC-LB 3/12/11/15 (N-YHS)]. The Olmsteds continued to work on a improvement plan that addressed the need for better soil drainage, the installation of water pipes, and the restoration of the plantings of double rows of trees at the edge of the campus. Gilbert was also concerned that their plantings contribute to clear vistas of the campus [FLO to CG, March 14, 1914 and CG to HCK, March 20, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: M-P (N-YHS)].

112. CG to HCK, January 16, 1914, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS).

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid.

115. The civic center proposal for the northeast corner of Main and College Streets included a hotel, town hall, engine house, trolley waiting room and ticket office, and a general waiting area. Gilbert considered designing the town hall after a small European model of a town hall, with loggia, in Peterboro, England. Gilbert presented King with a sketch of this building, but the idea was not pursued since the full-scale eastern development of the campus was not realized [WPF report, March 3 and 4, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-17/#2, F: Misc. (N-YHS)].

King, however, had suggested to Gilbert in mid-1914 that this southern building might be designated as the museum, so that it would be close to the civic features of the plan and attract visitors to the town who might gravitate toward the commercial areas on Main Street [HCK to CG, April 16, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS); also see WPF to HCK, April 17, 1914, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1914 (OCA)].

116. CG to HCK, January 16, 1914, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS). For other sketches illustrating this building arrangement, see one version, dated ca. February 28, 1915 (ADE 11-A-Gilbert 238 recto) and another later version, dated November 29, 1915 (ADE 11-A-Gilbert 43), both from LC/P&P.

117. HCK to CG, January 22, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K; and HCK to CG, February 9, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1914, 1925, F: 1914 (N-YHS).

118. CG to HCK, February 3 and 5, 1914, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS); WPF report, March 3 and 4, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-17/#2, F: Misc. (N-YHS).

119. M. L. Fowler to CG, August 10, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS).

Gilbert may have drawn upon his own ideas for the Helena, Montana Carnegie Library proposal. The similarity of this

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design with that of his proposals for the Allen Memorial Art Museum attests to his reliance on a common visual vocabulary. See sketch dated August 23, 1908, Misc.-chron., Bx: 1908, F: St. Paul (sic) (N-YHS).

120. Another sketch [or photographic reproduction?--call AMAM] synthesizes the hip-roofed pavilion idea shown in Figure 133 with the seven-bay format depicted in Figure 134.

121. Scheme "E" offered a one-story alternative that was preferable to Scheme "C," which proposed a two-story format with the studios and the gallery on the second floor [WPF report, March 3 and 4, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-17/#2, F: Misc. (N-YHS)]. During the following month, the Art Building elevation and general plan of the east campus were received by the college.

122. HCK to CG, August 1 and November 13, 1914 respectively, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS).

123. HCK to CG, June 27 and August 1, 1914, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1914 (OCA).

124. CG to HCK, July 2, 1914, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS).

125. Also see ADE 11-A-Gilbert 292 recto (LC/P&P) for a perspective view of AMAM.

126. WPF was involved extensively in the interior planning of the Art Building [HCK to WPF, April 1, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS)]. The building estimate of $165,000, after Dr. Allen's death, was approved by his widow and her brother, J. L. Severance. [CG to HCK, May 18, 1915 and HCK to CG, June 2, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA)]. Drawings of the Art Building were published in American Architect 108 (October 6, 1915): n.p.

The interior design, in concordance with City Beautiful ideas, included a vault for the electric transformers which eliminated the need for unsightly electric poles and fixtures outside the building [EW to HCK, September 29 and October 4, 1915 and CG to G. R. Harlow, October 7, 1915, CGC, OC-LB 10/14-12/15 (N-YHS); HCK to CG, November 8, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915-18/#2, F: Art Building 1915 (N-YHS); EW to HCK, November 11, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA)].

127. CG to HCK, November 19, 1914, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1914 (OCA); and HCK to CG, November 25, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS). The college, for example, had to acquire property at the rear of the Baptist Church. This church was located at mid-block on East Lorain Street; other property on North Main Street near this area also had to be acquired. Gilbert was so interested in redesigning this church in an architectural style compatible with that of his campus development that he described, in detail, his experience with

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designing other churches from several denominations [CG to HCK, October 7, 1915, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS)]. King was disappointed to learn, however, that the Baptists had decided "to go ahead with a very poor Cleveland architect, when they could have gotten superior service" from Gilbert. King hoped that Gilbert "might succeed better with the Methodists" [HCK to CG, October 11, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915-18/#2, F: 1915 (N-YHS), copy in P-KC (OCA); CG to HCK, October 13, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA)].

128. HCK to CG, April 29, 1913, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS).

129. HCK to CG, February 25 and March 11, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS).

130. Newsclipping from New York Sun, January 13, 1915, CGC, oversize-SB, p. 180 (N-YHS); "Will of the Late Charles M. Hall," ON, February 24, 1915, p. 8; and "Complete Text of President's Address on the Bequest of Charles M. Hall," ON, June 23, 1915, pp. 1-2, in CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915-18/#2, F: Art Building 1915 (N-YHS).

131. HCK to CG, January 28, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915-18/#2, F: Art Building 1915 (N-YHS); and CG to HCK, January 29, 1915, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS).

132. "Will of the Late Charles M. Hall," ON, February 24, 1915, p. 8. [Add reference about OCA essay about the history of the Hall will]. Also see HCK to CG, January 28, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915-18/#2, F: Art Building 1915 (N-YHS).

133. CMH to HCK, March 10, 1914 and HCK to CG, March 19, 1914, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1914-25, F: K (N-YHS).

134. CG to HCK, April 18, 1914, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS).

135. Ibid.

136. "President King Announces Gift," ON, January 13, 1915, p. 1; "Negotiations on the Buy Town Hall," ON, February 24, 1915, p. 1. The college owned most of the property that it needed--except for the land on which the Methodist Episcopal Church and the old town hall stood. The plan included moving the Methodist Episcopal Church to a new site on the northeast corner of North Main and East Lorain Streets. The college paid $60,000 for the old church property and an additional $9250 for other lots that were needed at the eastern edge of the campus [HCK to CG, January 3, 1916 and CG to HCK, January 6, 1916, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1916 (OCA)].

Gilbert soon produced sketches of a new building for the congregation. See VF, OC (N-YHS) for "Study of Art Building and Methodist Church Showing Respective Positions," dated January 22, 1916; and "Sketch for Methodist Church," dated

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February 9, 1916. AMAM also holds January 29, 1916 drawings, A1 through A3--plans which illustrate the basement through the second floor of the new building. Officers of the church were eager to see these new proposals, after the old property changed hands. The cost of the new building (without the Sunday School addition but with the lower tower) was estimated at $65,000 to $99,000; a more simplified design was estimated to cost approximately $58,000. Since the college barely had $50,000 available, these estimates precluded any real progress on the project. Gilbert, nonetheless, hoped that the new building could be realized, especially in relation to the nearby Art Building. As he explained to King, "the beauty of all Oberlin would be enhanced by keeping these buildings in the same general style though each one will have its own individual character" [CG to HCK, February 11, 1916, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1916 (OCA)].

For other information, see "College to Take Site of Church," ON, February 17, 1915, p. 1; and "Bids Submitted for Town Hall," ON, December 6, 1916, p. 1; and general correspondence from 1916ff, in P-KC, (OCA).

137. CG to HCK, July 21, 1915, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS).

138. Ibid. For photographic reproductions of Gilbert's proposals for the new church, see OC file, VF (N-YHS). This building would have been located on the northeast corner of Main and East Lorain Streets, directly opposite the Art Building.

139. Ibid. Some difficulty arose, however, in securing a satisfactory new site for the church [WFB to CG, July 24, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915/#1, F: FMC [sic] (N-YHS) and copy in P-KC (OCA). The decision to remove the building was put off until the fall of 1915 [WFB to CG, August 1, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx; I. OC 1915/#1, F: FMC (N-YHS); and HCK to CG, September 24, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915/#1, F: FMC (N-YHS) and copy in P-KC (OCA)].

140. EW to HCK, June 7 and 17, 1915, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS). Also see "Best Site Suggested for a Great Building," ON, March 1, 1916, in CGC, oversize-SB, p. 180. Later auditorium proposals include an Italianate version, ADE 11-A-Gilbert 98, dated January 11, 1925 (LC/P&P); Romanesque versions, dated January 1929 [VF, OC (N-YHS)], and "Study for Auditorium" from a large 1933 presentation drawing (AMAM L80.1.2).

141. Fenske, "The 'Skyscraper Problem' and the City Beautiful: The Woolworth Building" (Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, 1988); Irish, "A 'Machine that Makes the Land Pay': The West Street Building in New York," Technology and Culture 30 (April 1989): 376-397.

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142. CG to Elizabeth Gilbert, February 26, 1899, CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 3 (LC/MSS).

143. CG to Emily and Cass Gilbert, Jr., October 8, 1912, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1912 (LC/MSS).

144. ADE UNIT -2547 no. 1 (B size) Neg. LC-USZ62-80421. Other OC tower sketches include elevations (ADE 11-A-Gilbert 46, dated December 6, 1915), perspective (ADE 11-A-Gilbert 44, dated December 15, 1915), several AMAM tower sketches (83.132.15, 83.132.3, 83.132.2, 83.132.16, 83.132.5, 83.132.7), and possibly ADE 11-A-Gilbert 24/verso (LC/P&P).

145. TGH to CG, April 15, 1901, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1887-1901, F: 1 (N-YHS).

146. For example, see CG to CG, Jr. and Emily Gilbert, March 1898; CG to Elizabeth Gilbert, March 7, 1898; CGPprs, Bx: 6, F: 2 (LC/MSS); LC/P&P sketchbooks; and "Italian Landscape with Bell Tower [Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello] 1898 watercolor (CA), as listed in Charles D. Lay and Theodore Bolton, The Works of Art, Silver, and Furniture Belonging to the Century Association (New York: The Century Association, 1943), 24; and A. Hyatt Mayor and Mark Davis, American Art of the Century (New York: The Century Association, 1977), 142. Also see Gilbert's sketches of towers from the Cathedral at Utrecht; Enkhuisen, Holland; San Francesco Romano, Rome; San Marco, Venice; and the Cathedral in Pistoia; as discussed in CG to American Architect, July 1915, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1914-15/#2, F: #103 Memo (N-YHS).

147. CGC, SB (N-YHS).

148. C.W. Williams to CG, July 12, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS).

149. CWW to CG, August 8, 1912, CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1912-29/#1, F: 1912 (N-YHS).

150. This sketch is filed in CGC, PC, Bx: OC 1913-33, F: 1913 (N-YHS).

151. HCK to CG, November 15, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915/#1, F: FMC [sic] (N-YHS), and copy in P-KC (OCA). King wanted to use these sketches in order to secure gifts from alumni. Gilbert may have produced ADE 11-A-Gilbert 46 and ADE 11-A-Gilbert 44, dated December 6 and 15, 1915 respectively, in response to King's request (LC/P&P).

152. CG to HCK, November 16, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA).

153. Ibid. CG to HCK, November 16, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA).

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154. HCK to CG, November 19, 1915, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1915 (OCA) and copy in CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915/#1, F: FMC (N-YHS).

155. Photographic reproductions of the labelled images can be located in VF, OC (N-YHS). Most of the original drawings in the sequence are housed in the AMAM collections. Scheme A is AMAM 83.132.7, Scheme B 83.132.15, Scheme D 83.132.3, Scheme E 83.132.5, Scheme F 83.132.2, Scheme G 83.132.16.

156. CG to HCK, June 9, 1916, P-KC, Bx: 81, F: 1916 (OCA) and copy in CGC, OC-LB 11/16-5/24 (N-YHS). Six of these schemes (probably A, B, D, E, F, and G since these are the drawings held at the AMAM), were sent to King on this date.

157. Second letter, CG to HCK, June 9, 1916, P-KC, Bx: 31, F: 1916 (OCA). Scheme G was a stylistic hybrid, since it relied on features of both the municipal tower at Verona and the cathedral tower at Utrecht.

158. Ibid. On Gilbert's visit to Oxford in 1905, he was particularly impressed by the architecture and grounds of the university campus and also the village, calling the latter "one of the loveliest places I have ever seen" [Diary, June 25-28, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 2 (LC/MSS)].

159. Among these studies are renderings possibly by Chesley Bonestell's, ca. 1923 [VF, OC (N-YHS)] and Bonestell's 1923 painting of the Proposed Recitation Quadrangle [OCA]. A photographic reproduction of this painting, with a September 30, 1925 graphite study on top of the photo can be found in VF, OC (N-YHS). Bonestell (1888-1986) probably completed these studies and paintings when he was based in London, where he worked as a commercial designer. His more well-known work includes paintings depicting the nuclear holocaust as well as other works portraying scenes in outer space.

160. CG to HCK, March 10, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS).

161. CG to HCK, July 21, 1915, CGC, OC-LB 3/12-11/15 (N-YHS). King also had the foresight to include a ramp so that people in "wheeled chairs" could have access to the programs held in the auditorium [HCK to CG, September 21, 1915, CGC, PC, Bx: I. OC 1915-18/#2, F: Art Building 1915 (N-YHS) and copy in P-KC (OCA)].

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# CHAPTER VIII

## CONCLUSION: COMING FULL CIRCLE

Cass Gilbert's campus and city plans represent a significant chapter in American architectural and planning history. As demonstrated in this dissertation, Gilbert was attuned to city planning questions initially through his Beaux-Arts oriented training at MIT and his experience as a young draftsman at the firm of McKim, Mead & White from 1878-80. This experience was enhanced by his exposure to the visual and harmonious architectural order that was presented at the 1893 Chicago World's Exposition. By 1900, when Gilbert was urged by Glenn Brown to participate in the AIA Annual Convention to discuss proposals for the federal core of Washington, D.C., Gilbert was ready to develop his own planning ideas in more concrete form. He did so by applying the visual and theoretical aspects associated with the City Beautiful movement that he had absorbed from his earlier experiences. Specifically, these aspects included the grand axial orientation of his plans, the architecturally-bounded space constituted by his building groups, the hierarchical arrangement of the component parts, as well as the belief that these ordered, classically-inspired spaces would elevate the human spirit by providing a noble and dignified environment.

In each of Gilbert's city and campus plans between 1900 and 1916, his vision was also aided by the committed efforts of local citizens who shared the common goal of wanting to create more beautiful and more liveable cities. In such

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efforts, citizens represented an important element of City Beautiful-related projects across the country. After Gilbert had achieved national prominence with his 1896 design for the Minnesota State Capitol, he proposed a series of elaborate approaches that were designed to be appropriate to his great civic monument. The idea for these approaches was initiated and encouraged by the activities of the St. Paul Women's Civic League, which was led by Lenora Austin Hamlin and Katharine Deane McLaren. Journalist, park board member, and municipal leader, Joseph Albert Wheelock, and his son, Webster Wheelock, also advocated the acceptance of Gilbert's plans for approaches to the new capitol building. This project, which was to claim his attention for nearly his entire career, was a proving ground that paved the way for his attempts in many other planning-oriented projects, especially several campus plans in subsequent years.

At the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Gilbert's attempts at a "campus beautiful" were aided by the efforts of Lewis S. Gillette and Frederick Clifford. Their enduring support of Gilbert's several university plans, from pre- to post-competition, unfortunately was thwarted by the actions of University of Minnesota Regent, Pierce Butler. In a similar project at the University of Texas, Gilbert was supported by the president of the school, Sidney E. Mezes, as well as an interested local party, Edward M. House. Although neither plan was fully realized, the concepts of these two university plans were effectively observed by later architects. In

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Minnesota, this work was completed by Clarence H. Johnston and others; in Texas, Paul Philippe Cret carried out Gilbert's ideas.

At Oberlin College, the efforts of President Henry Churchill King provided substantial backing for the planning and building that transpired over many years. Gilbert's work at Oberlin College stands apart because it was at this institution that the architect was able to realize the greatest number of buildings in relation to his master plans. Although these buildings--a chapel, an administration building, and an art museum--represent only portions of three phases of planning discussions, they are bold reminders of Gilbert's great vision of the future campus.

Examined as a group, these master plans illuminate Gilbert's contribution to the national application of certain City Beautiful characteristics such as of highly ordered, unified enclosures of public space. This issue involved late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century architects, planners, and designers alike in a common quest. Although Gilbert kept his distance from institutional groups such as the American Park and Outdoor Association and the American Civic Association--which championed the City Beautiful cause--his work in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota; Austin, Texas; and Oberlin, Ohio reflects the visual and programmatic influence of beautification ideas.

Gilbert's work with the landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and their publication, Report of the New

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Haven Civic Improvement Commission (1910), represent the culmination of Gilbert's experiments in earlier master plans. In Gilbert's mind, the New Haven project represented a model for urban development. Gilbert came to this project after producing several station designs for the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, including those for Morris Park (1907), Pelham Manor (1907), Bartow (1909-10), and Hunt's Point (1909-10), all located in the Bronx, New York.[1] Concurrently, in late 1907 as president-elect of the AIA, Gilbert delivered to a Yale School of Art audience a lecture entitled, "The Grouping of Public Buildings," one of a series of six lectures that addressed the topic of civic improvement. In this talk, Gilbert revisited many of the same topics he had addressed in his 1901 essay (including unity in composition; building scale, height, and proportion; and color and texture in materials). Most of all, he promoted the cause of beauty, although in language that stressed the need for economy and efficiency.

Furthermore, during his presidency at the AIA, Gilbert worked with Glenn Brown on the topic of railway development. The organization published the volume, The Relations of Railway to City Development (1909), which compiled papers that had been delivered by railroad executives and architects at the 1909 AIA Annual Convention in Washington, D.C.[2] These papers discussed the many potential benefits in railway development, by discussing some of its historical, economic, environmental, and social parameters. Both the New Haven plan

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and the earlier stations were noted in this report.

The New Haven plan, like Gilbert's St. Paul approaches plan, made use of a wide, axially-oriented boulevard to connect key municipal centers (Figure 154).[3] Gilbert's 1908-09 proposal for this grand boulevard would have connected two of the most vital areas of the city, the transportation and municipal centers. His proposals for the New Haven Railroad Station (1918-19), the Ives Memorial Library (ca. 1908-11), the Hall of Records, and the courthouse were all part of this master plan, and they merit further study.[4]

As in his other projects, Gilbert was aided by the efforts of a municipally-minded citizen, George Dudley Seymour, a local attorney and philanthropist, who was the driving force behind the project. Seymour actively promoted City Beautiful projects, such as Gilbert and Olmsted's, for the municipal reform of New Haven. Seymour, in turn, was aided by George B. Watrous, local improvement committee chairman.

Gilbert's national service on the Commission of Fine Arts (1910-16) conceptually brought his ideas almost full circle. Along with such illustrious members as Daniel H. Burnham, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Daniel Chester French, Francis D. Millett, Thomas Hastings, and Charles Moore, Gilbert was appointed to the first commission. This group was charged with reviewing the design and proposed location of all federal projects (including buildings, fountains, statues, monuments, and parks) that would affect the appearance of Washington, D.C.[5] In contrast to Gilbert's rather aloof status with

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respect to City Beautiful organizations, Gilbert was deeply committed to this position and prided himself on his active involvement in the commission.

The Commission's first major project was to review the design and location of the Lincoln Memorial, which had been the centerpiece of the 1902 Park Commission plan. In 1911, the Commission of Fine Arts recommended that the Lincoln Memorial Commission follow the 1902 plan, also known as the McMillan Plan. This earlier project was inspired by the ideas of the AIA Annual Conference in 1900, an event that had been coordinated by Brown. It was Gilbert's presentation at this conference that became the conceptual foundation for the McMillan plan. Gilbert was so pleased with the Lincoln Memorial Commission's final recommendation to follow the 1902 plan that he called it "the greatest triumph" of the Commission. Gilbert's promotion of this influential earlier plan reflects his continuing interest in the ideas that he had broached in his own plan of 1900 for Washington. Thus, over a decade after his first forays in comprehensive planning with his plan for Washington, D.C., Gilbert witnessed the same issues re-emerge in discussions about the federal city. These issues, embedded in certain aspects of the City Beautiful movement, continued to guide his own architectural and planning work throughout the rest of his career.

Even in the last project of Gilbert's career, in a sketch design for the United States Supreme Court (Figure 156), Gilbert kept in mind the formal and conceptual building

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arrangements that had captured his attention in his early twentieth-century Washington, D.C. and St. Paul, Minnesota plans. Specifically, he planned the court (marked by "S.C." in the sketch) and its corollary, the Library of Congress, as part of an approaches scheme not unlike his Minnesota State Capitol Approaches of several years before (refer to Figures 14 and 20). With sweeping boulevards extending radially from an unidentified area (a park or monument perhaps), the court building, the library, and the nation's capitol formed the mainstay of his plan. Gilbert thus revisited the formal features that he had proposed in 1902, and even earlier, in 1900, when directly east of the nation's capitol, he had envisioned two buildings that would anchor the architectural symbol of democracy (refer to Figure 2).

Indeed, these ideas regarding a symbolic building group constituted a fundamental component of Gilbert's thinking. It was one that he had implemented in several campus and city plans during the peak of his career. In all of these designs, by following the Beaux-Arts formal principles and reform-oriented concerns of the City Beautiful ideal, Gilbert exhibited his strong interest in and commitment to the project of creating more ordered, coherent, and appealing built environments that he believed would offer a better way of living.

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Endnotes

1. Howard Frederick Koeper, from Appendix B, "The Gothic Skyscraper: A History of the Woolworth Building and its Antecedents," Ph.D. dissertation; also see "Along the 'Harlem River Branch,'" Architectural Record 24 (December 1908): 417-429; and the Pelham Station as noted in Guy Kirkham, "Cass Gilbert: Master of Style," Pencil Points 15 (November 1934): 551; and photographs of the stations in Photo album, "N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co./The School of Industrial Art, Trenton, N. J." (AAAL).

2. See "Station at Hunt's Point, New York City, for New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co.," and "Station at Port Morris, New York City, for New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R. Co., Cass Gilbert, Architect," The Relations of Railways to City Development, Papers Read before the American Institute of Architects, December 16, 1909, New Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., ed. Glenn Brown (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1910), plates between pp. 52-53.

3. This plan was published in Brown, ed., The Relations of Railways to City Development, plates between pp. 48-49.

4. For photographs of the Ives Memorial Library design, see photo album, "Ives Public Library, New Haven/New Haven R. R. Station" (AAAL).

5. For general historical background on the Commission, see John W. Reps, Monumental Washington, The Planning and Development of the Capitol Center (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 153-56; Sue A. Kohler, The Commission of Fine Arts: A Brief History, 1910-1976, with additions 1977-1984, rev. ed., (Washington: The Commission and U. S. Government Printing Office, 1985); The Commission of Fine Arts, 1910-1963; a Brief History by H. P. Caemmerer; Secretary of the Commission, 1922-1954, with later Revisions and Additions (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964); Sally Kress Tompkins, A Quest for Grandeur: Charles Moore and the Federal Triangle (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993); Glenn Brown, "Bill for a National Advisory Board on Civic Art and a Plea Showing the Demand and Necessity for such a Board," (Washington, D.C., 1906); Glenn Brown, "The Development of Washington; with Special Reference to the Lincoln Memorial," December 13, 1910 address, (Washington, D.C.: B. S. Adams, 1910); and Cass Gilbert, "Roosevelt and the Fine Arts: A Forward," American Architect, 116 (December 10, 1919): pp. 709-10. Also see the in-depth study of the Lincoln Memorial, Christopher A. Thomas, "The Lincoln Memorial and its Architect, Henry Bacon (1866-1924)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1990).

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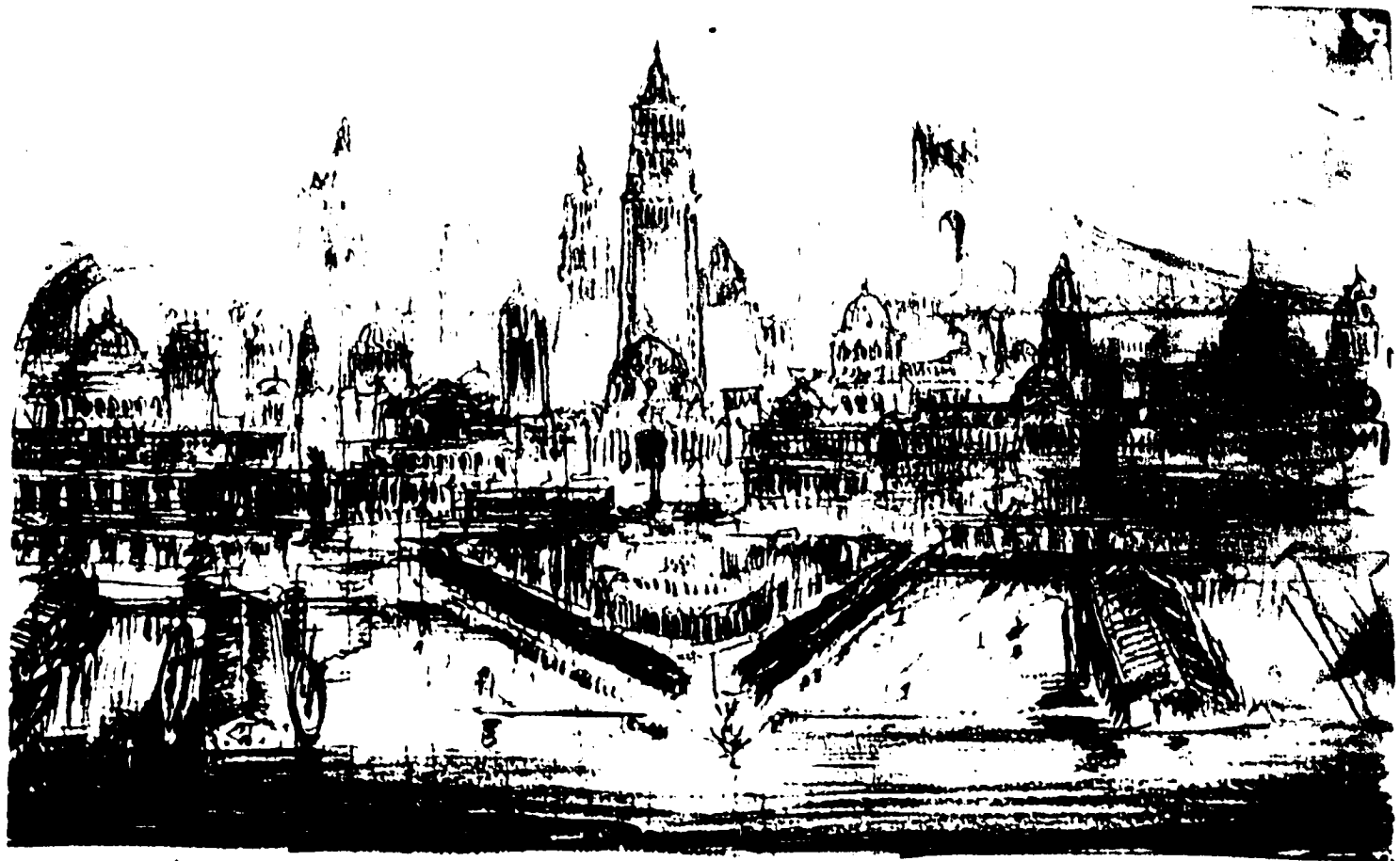


Figure 1. Cass Gilbert, "Some of the buildings built or designed by me, Add to this a lot of smaller bldgs. for railroad co's, manufacturers, private enterprises, &c. &c., small churches, clubs &c., the Supreme Court &c.," August 1928 (LC/P&P). The Woolworth Building is located at the center of the composition. The first dome to the right represents the Minnesota State Capitol; farther right lies a sketch of the University of Minnesota buildings. To the left of the central tower, near the first dome (representing the Arkansas State Capitol) are references to the University of Texas and Oberlin College buildings.

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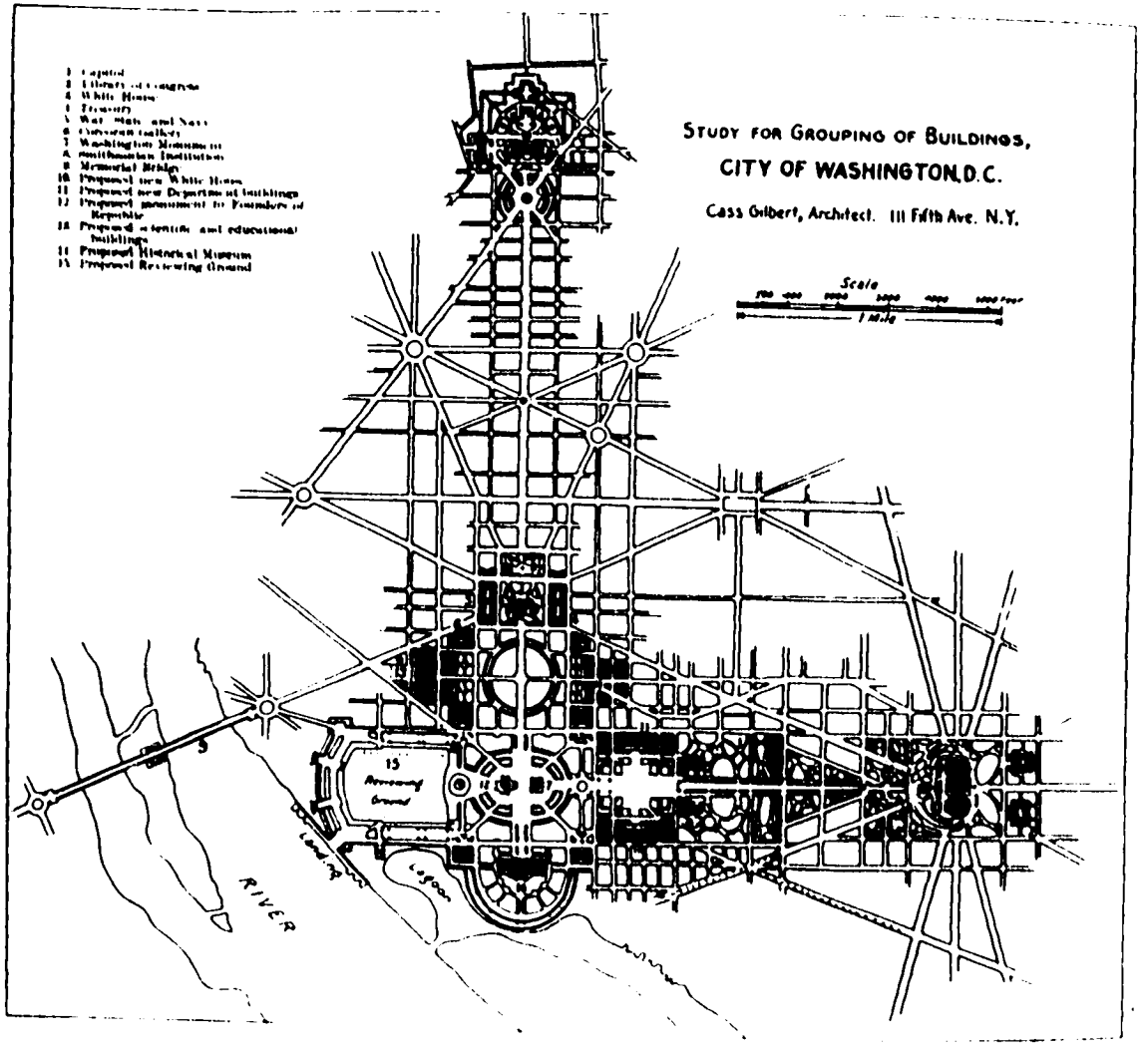



Figure 2. Cass Gilbert, "Study for the Grouping of Buildings, City of Washington, D.C." 1900, from Glenn Brown, comp. Papers Relating to the Improvement of the City of Washington, District of Columbia (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1901).

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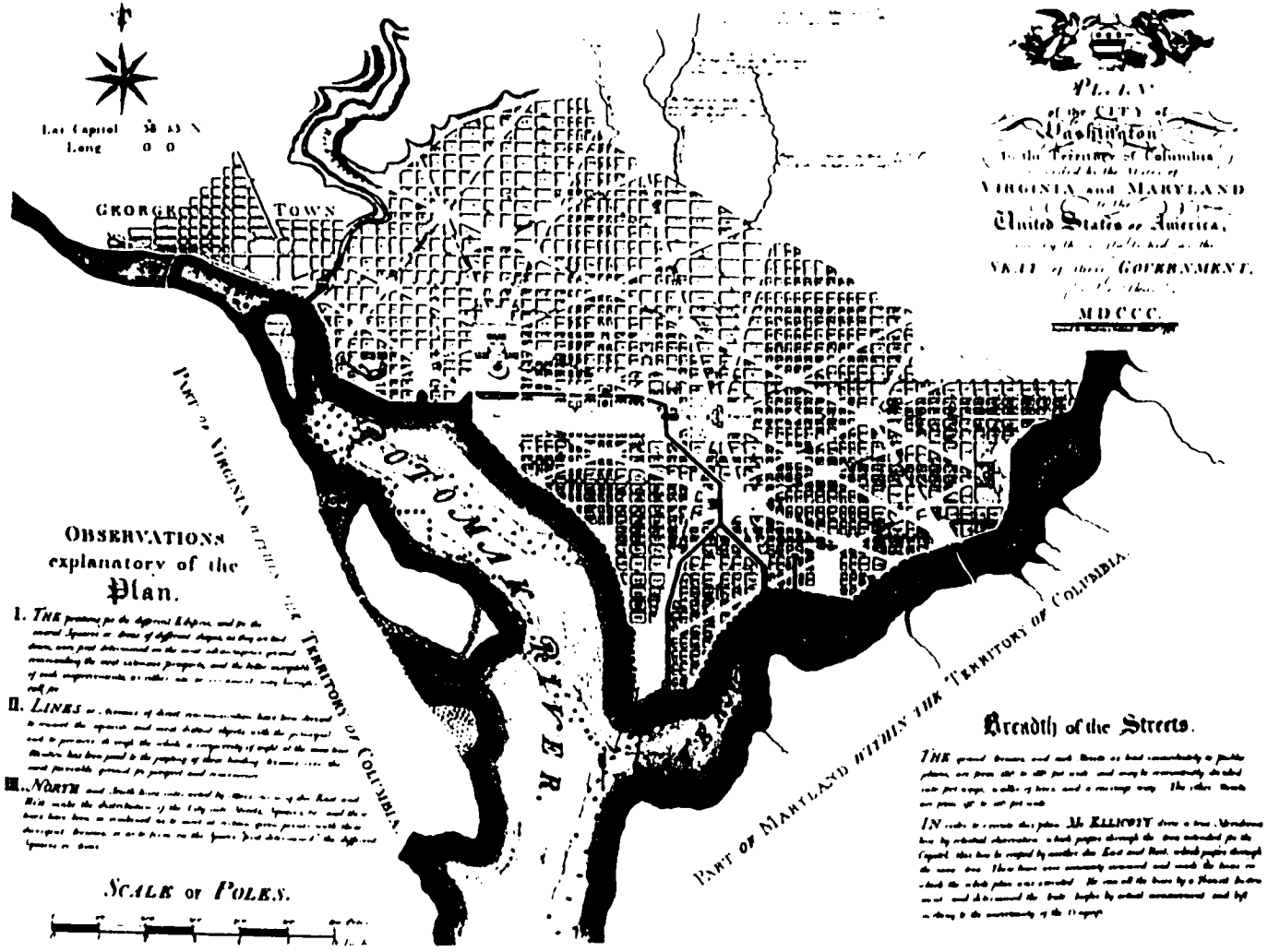



Figure 3. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, "Plan for the City of Washington in the Territory of Columbia," as depicted by Andrew Ellicott 1792, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Commerce, Coast & Geodetic Survey, 1966 fac. of 1921 fac.) (LC/G&M)

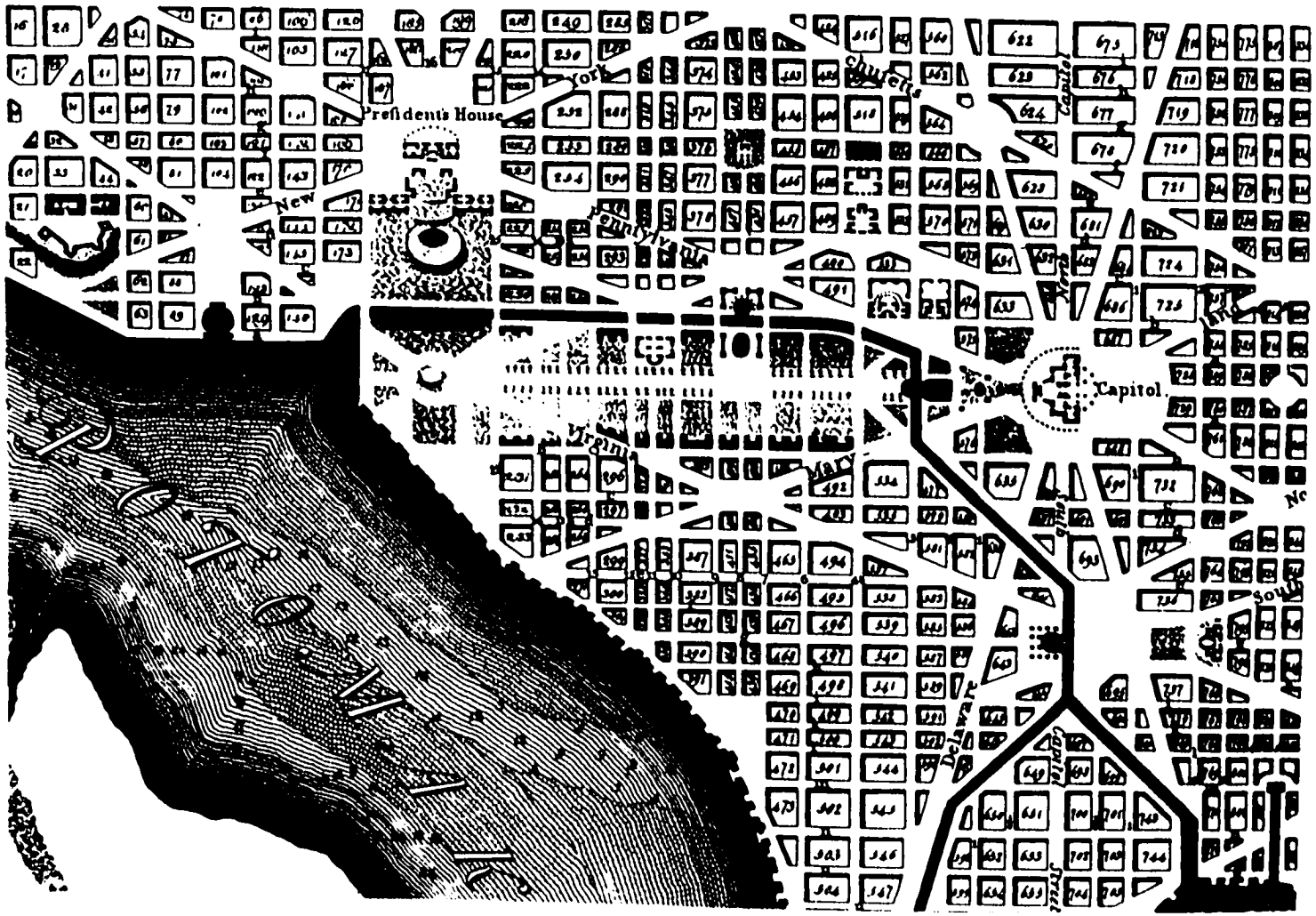



Figure 4. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, "Plan of the City of Washington in the Territory of Columbia," detail, as depicted by Andrew Ellicott 1792, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Commerce, Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1966 fac. of 1921 fac.) (LC/G&M)



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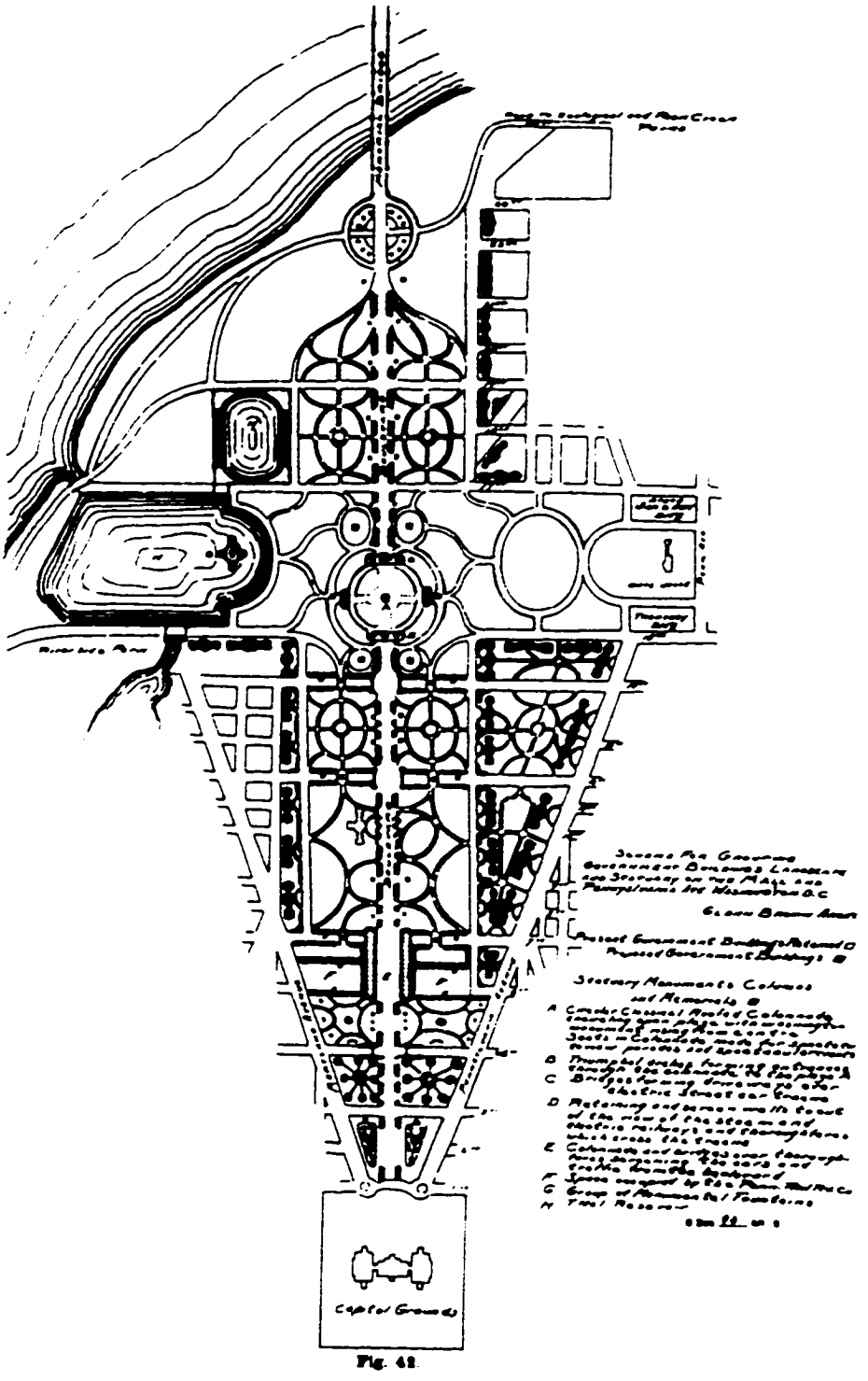


Figure 5. Glenn Brown, "Scheme for Grouping Government Buildings, Landscape, and Statuary on the Mall and Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C.," 1900, from Glenn Brown, comp. Papers Relating to the Improvement of the City of Washington, District of Columbia (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1901).

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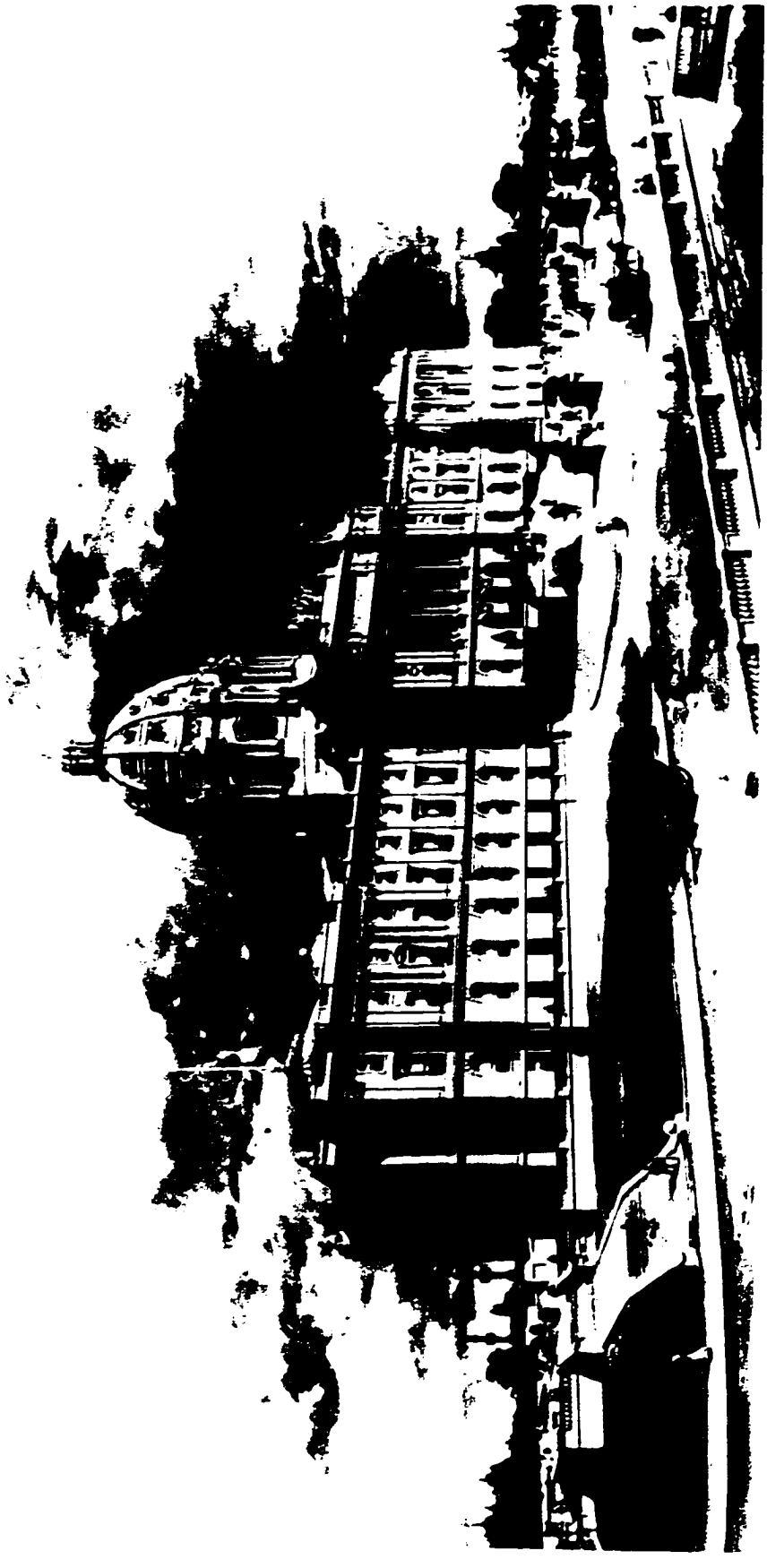


Figure 6. Cass Gilbert, [Minnesota State Capitol], Hughson Hawley, del., St. Paul, Minn., 1896 (N-YHS)

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Figure 7. McKim, Mead & White, Accepted Design for the New Rhode Island State Capitol, Hughson Hawley, del., Providence, R.I., n.d. [ca. 1895] (Rhode Island State Archives, M-195)

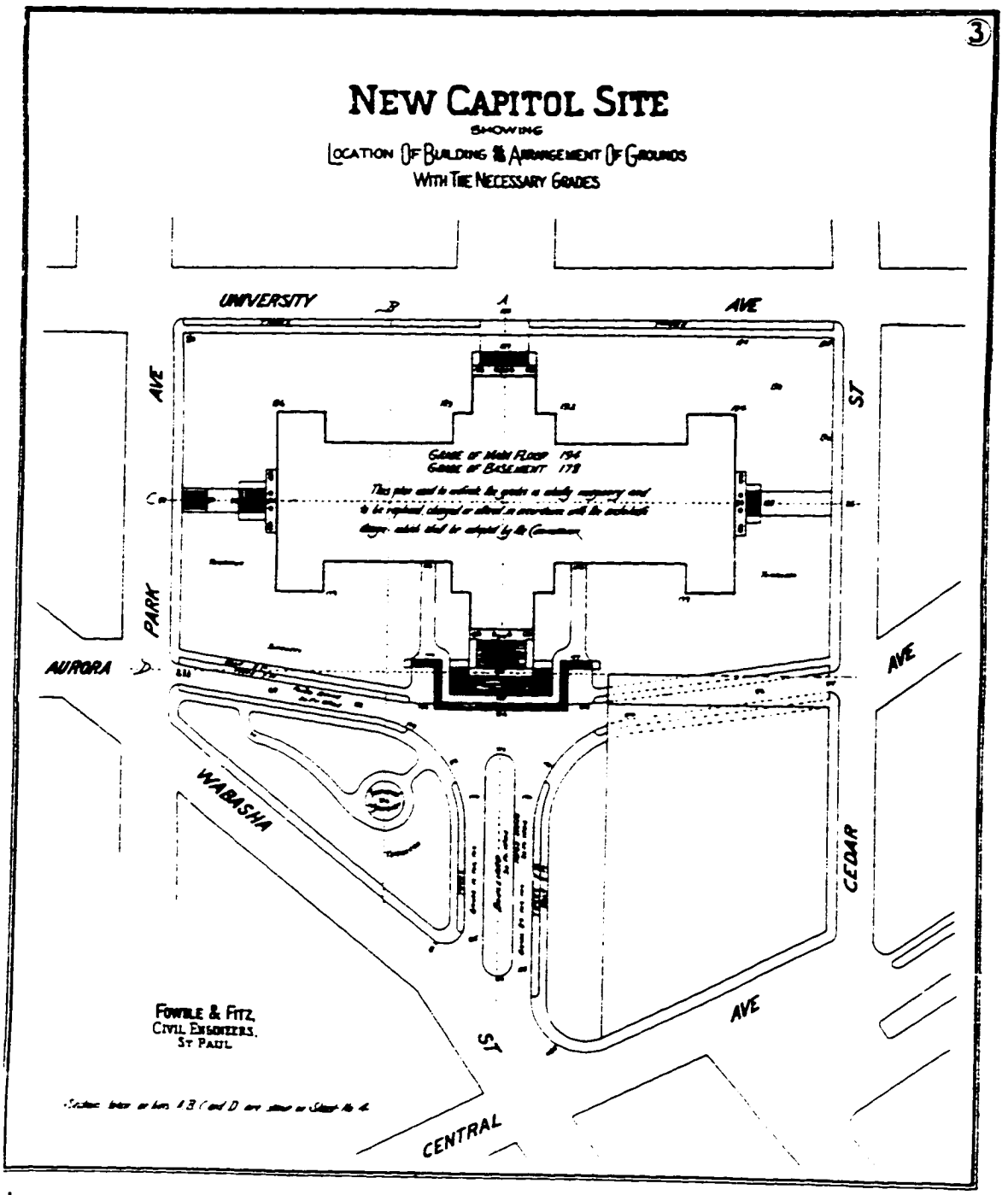



Figure 8. Fowble & Fitz, [Minnesota State Capitol] "New Capitol Site Showing Location of Building and Arrangement of Grounds with the Necessary Grades," site plan, St. Paul, Minn., 1894 (MHS)

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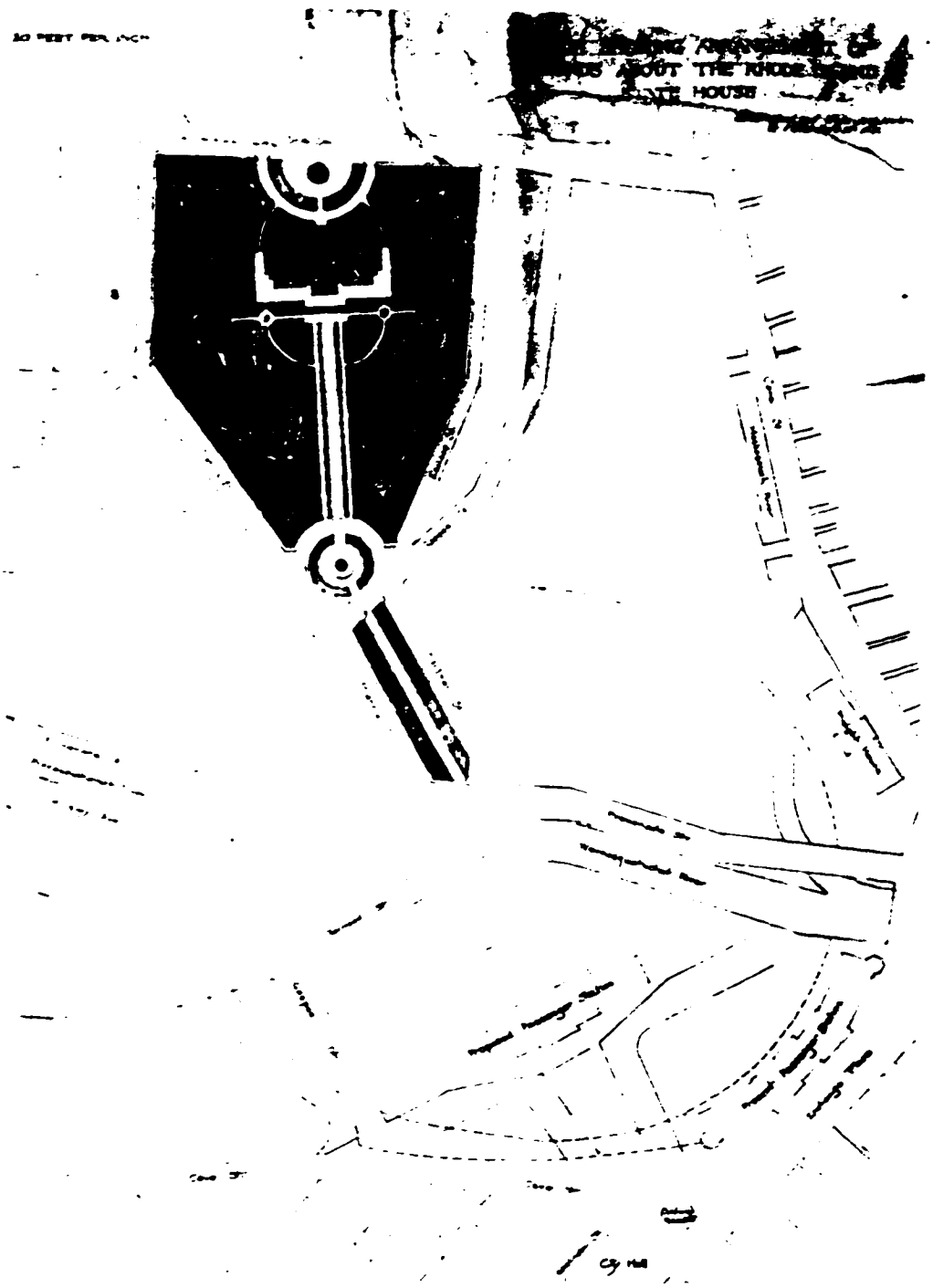


Figure 9. McKim, Mead & White, "Sketch Showing Arrangement of Grounds about the Rhode Island State House, Scheme No. 2," n.d. [ca. 1895-1900] (Rhode Island State Archives, C#00364/M-165)

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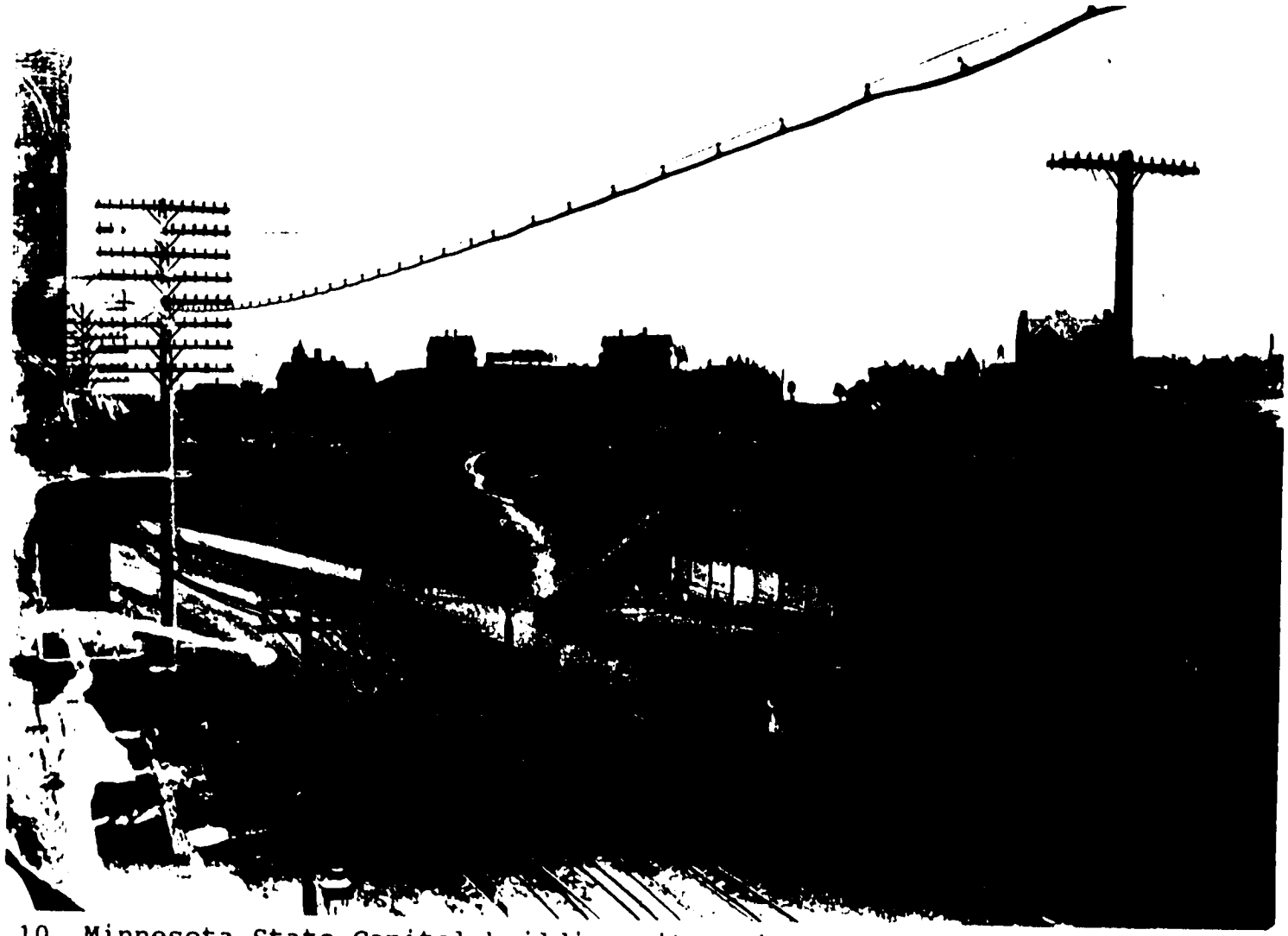


Figure 10. Minnesota State Capitol building site: View to the North Looking Toward Merriam House, St. Paul, Minn., May 4, 1891 (MHS)

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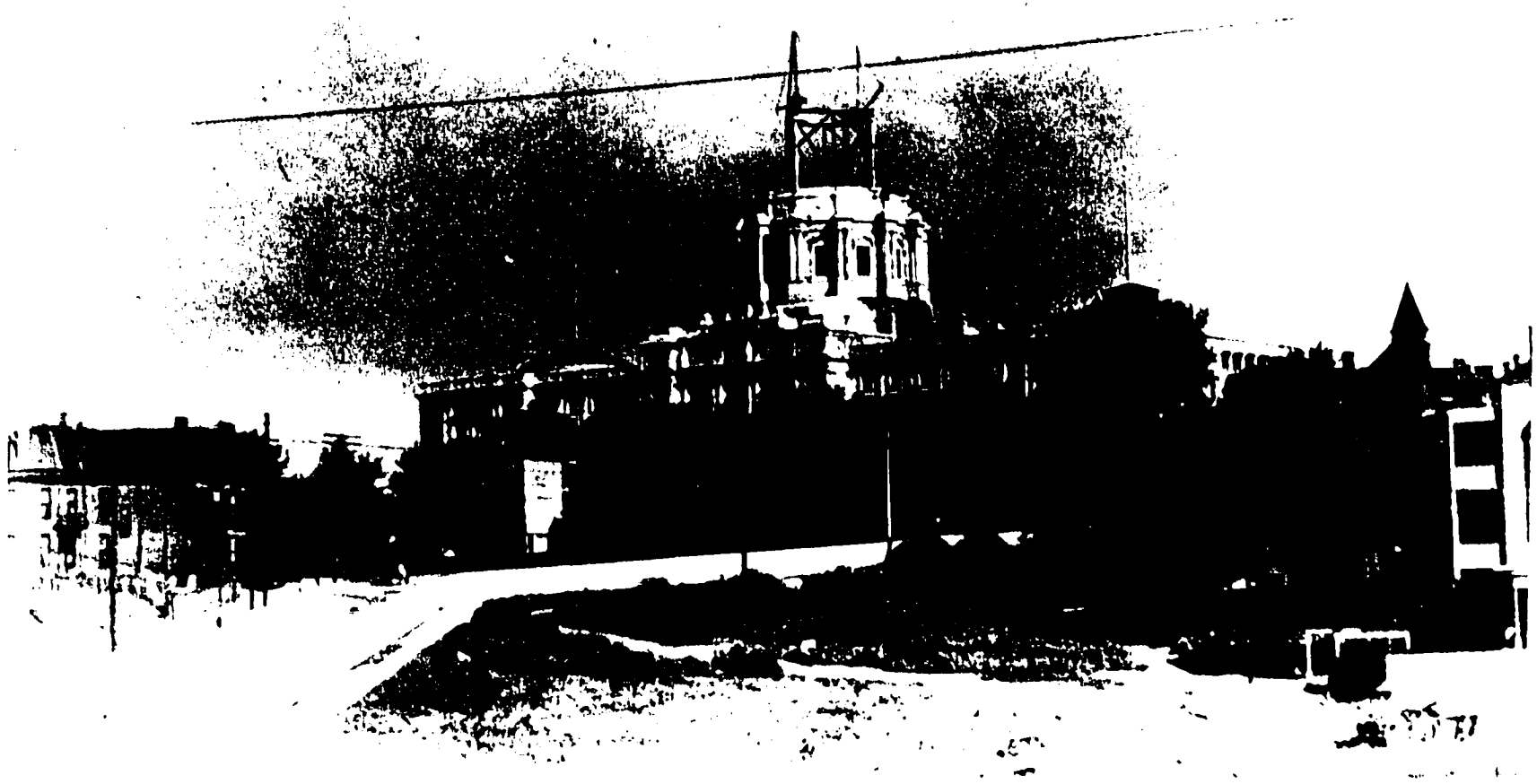


Figure 11. "State Capitol under Construction, Looking up Cedar Street," St. Paul, Minn., 1900 (MHS)

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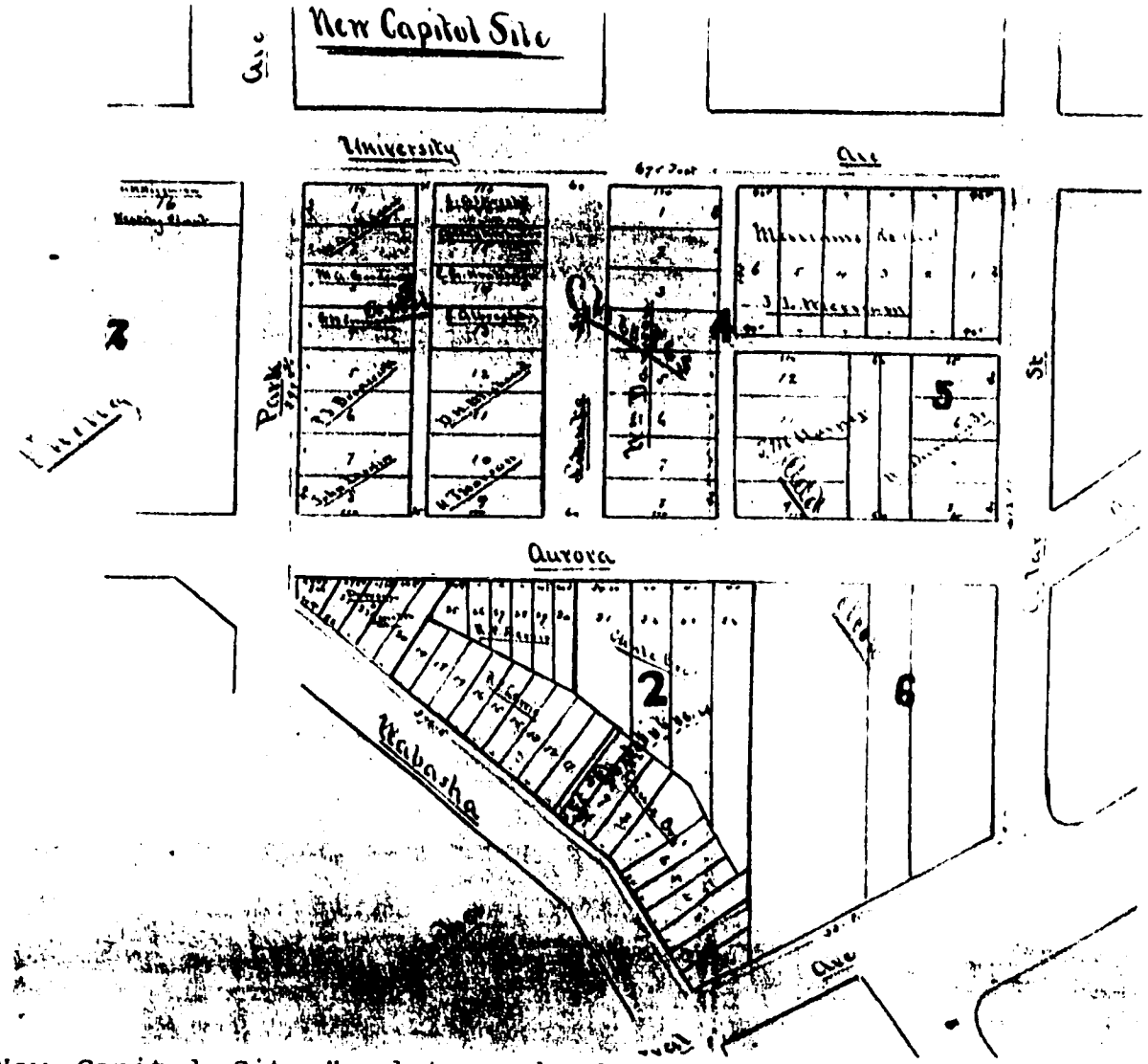



Figure 12. "New Capitol Site," plat, n.d. [ca. 1896] (BSCC, SR Construction Bids and Contracts, F: Abstract Site, Minnesota State Archives/MHS)

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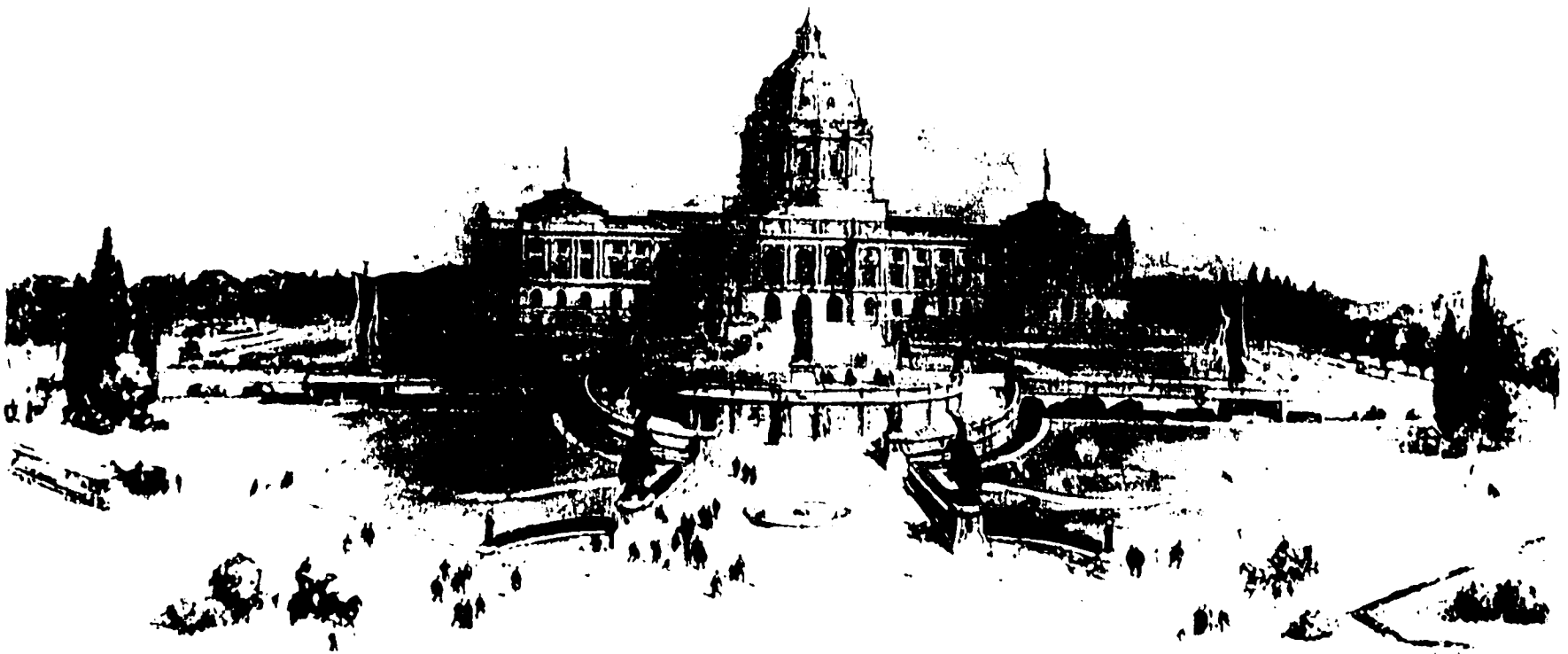


Figure 13. Cass Gilbert, [Minnesota State Capitol], T. R. Johnson, del., n.d. [December 1900] (N-YHS)




Figure 14. Cass Gilbert, "Study of Approaches: Capitol at St. Paul, Minn.," plat, November 13, 1902 (MHS)

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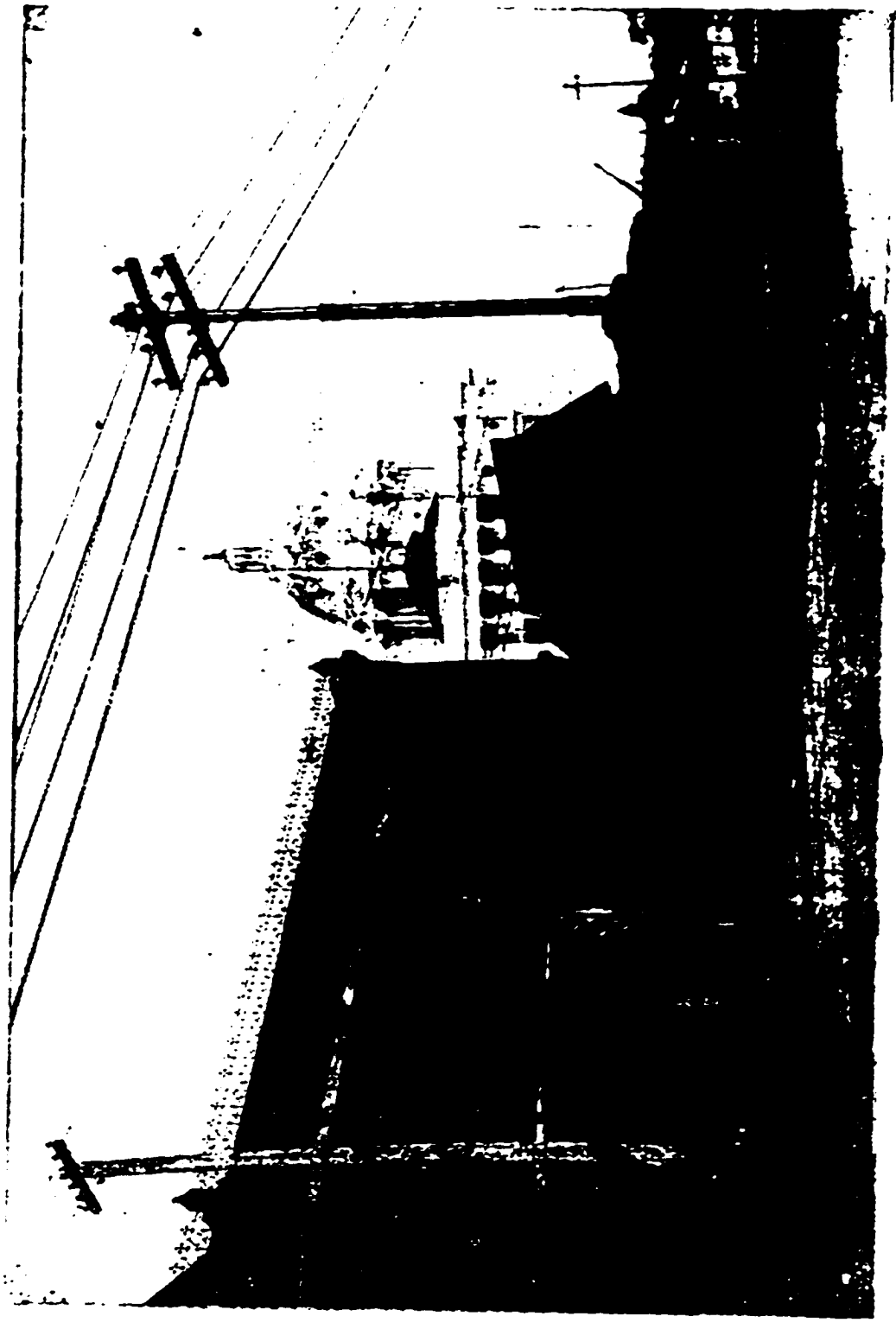


Figure 15. "Close View of the Magnificent Capitol: Minnesota's New State House as seen from Wabasha and St. Peter Streets," as published in "St. Paul's Duty to the New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 14, 1902, p.2.

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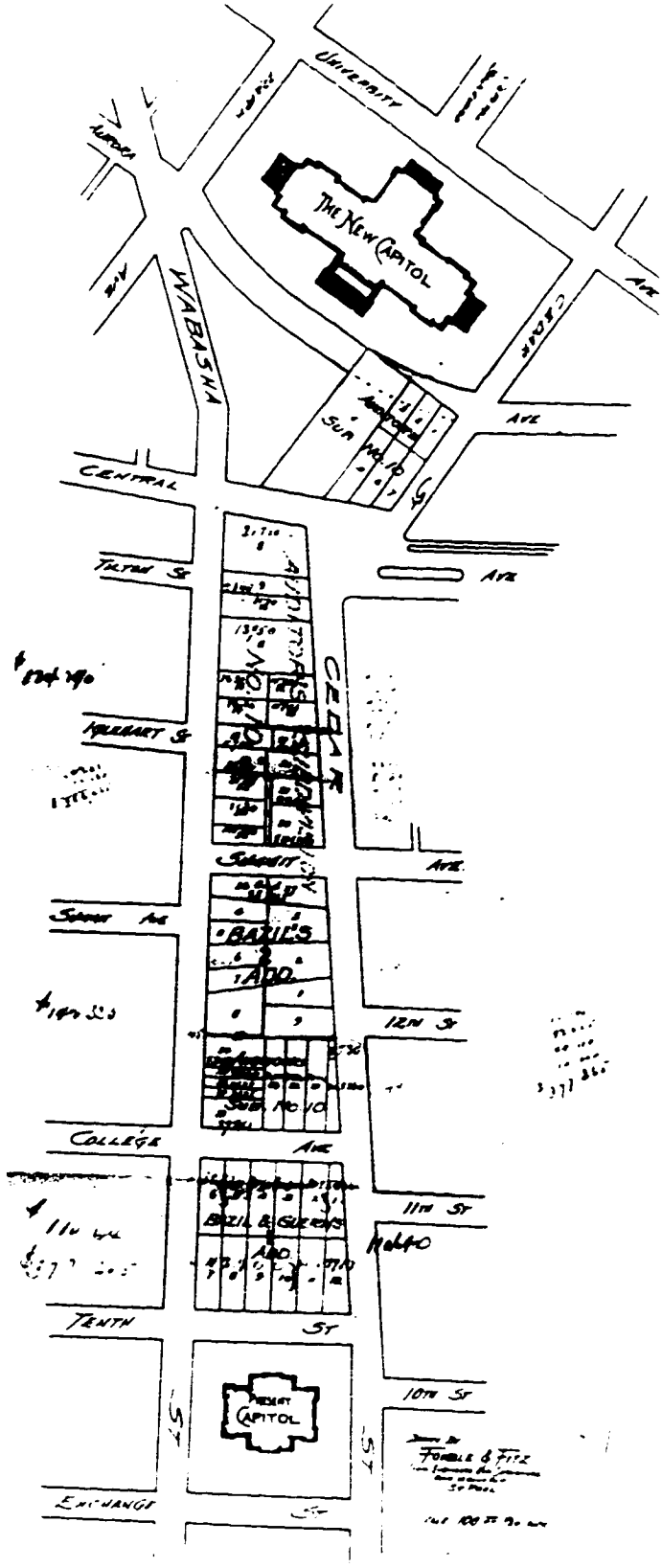



Figure 16. Fowble & Fitz, [Plat of the Minnesota State Capitol area], n.d. [ca. December 18, 1902] (N-YHS)

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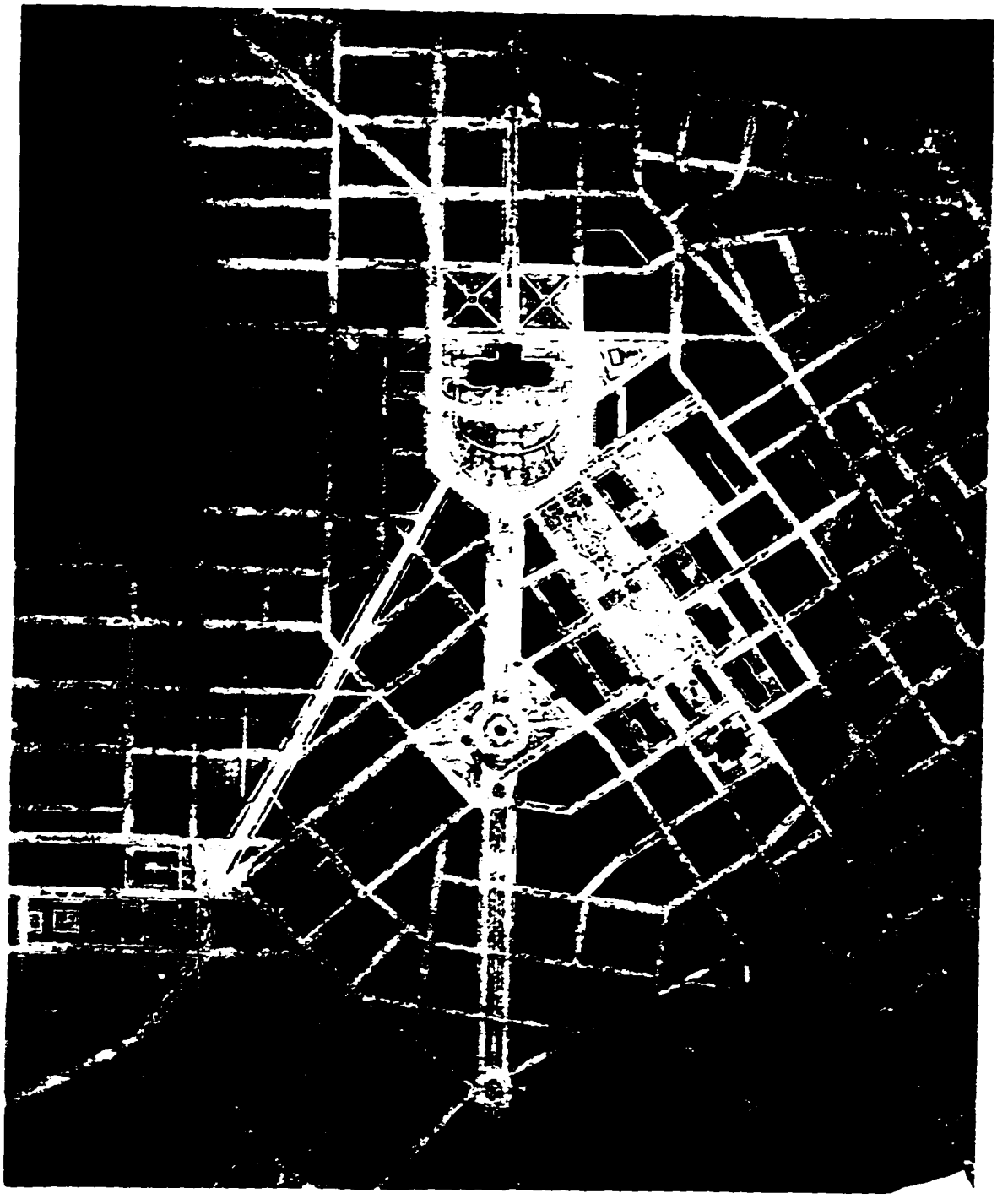


Figure 17. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "B," "City of St. Paul: Plan Showing a Comprehensive Project for Future Development," published as "Original Ideal Group Plan," 1903, in Report of the Capitol Approaches Commission to the Common Council of the City of St. Paul (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, ca. 1906), plate opposite p. 1.

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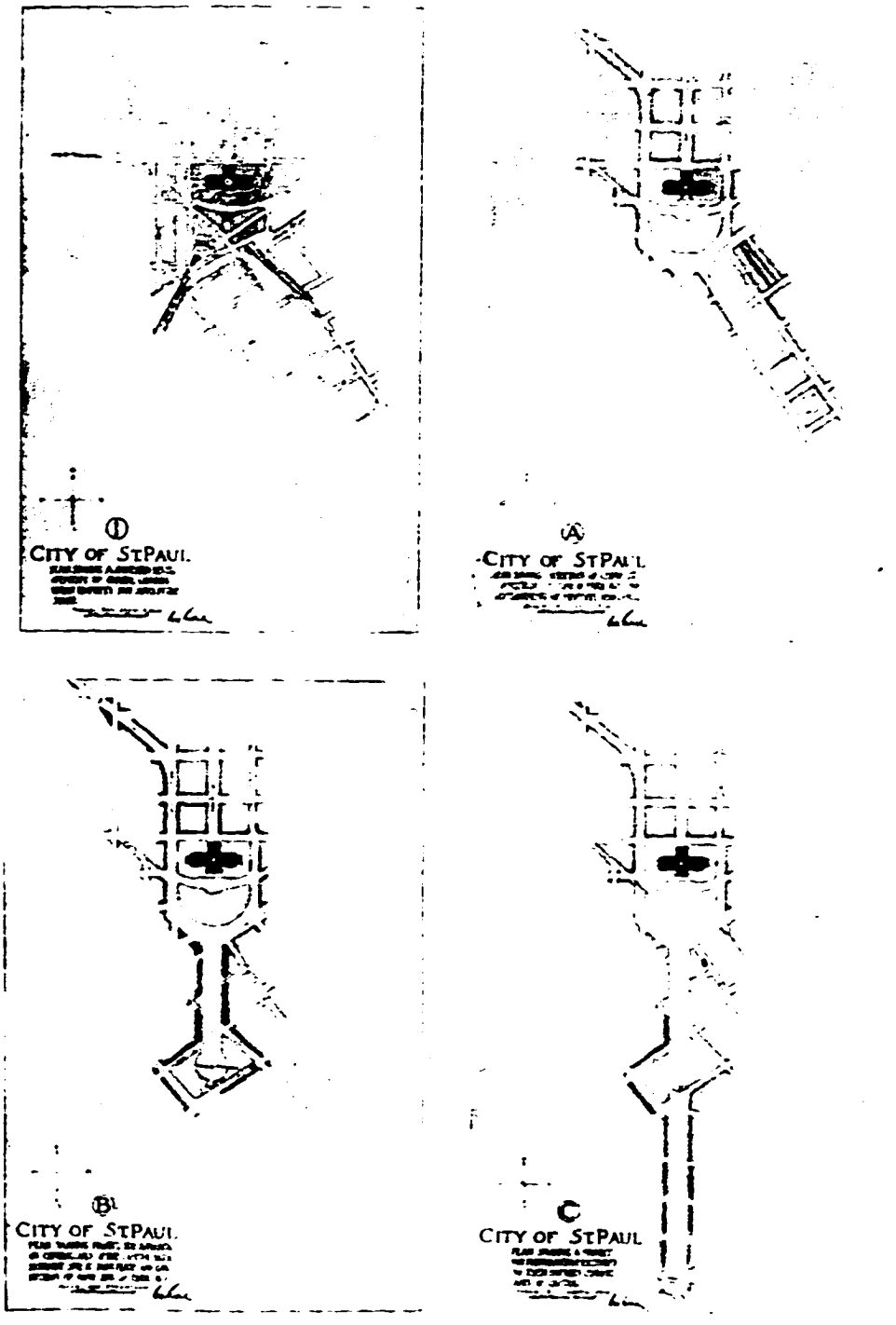



Figure 18. Cass Gilbert, "City of St. Paul: Schemes 1 and A through D," and published with the caption, "The Existing Situation and the Steps by which it is proposed to work out the Group Plan of St. Paul," in Andrew Wright Crawford and Frank Miles Day, The Existing and Proposed Outer Park Systems of American Cities (Harrisburg, Pa.: Mt. Pleasant Press/J. Horace McFarland Co., September 1905), appendix plate.

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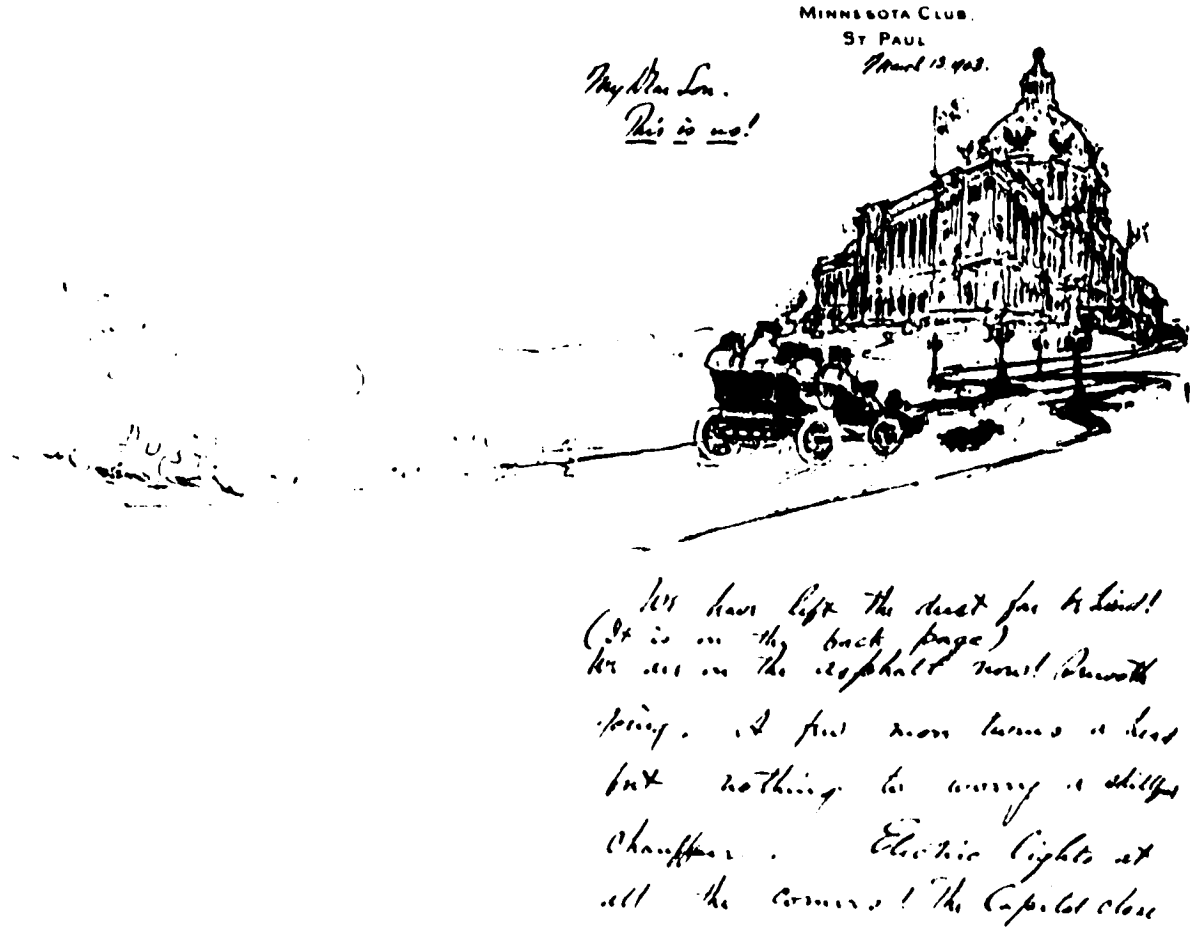



Figure 19. Cass Gilbert, [Sketch of Automobile Approaching the Minnesota State Capitol], as depicted in correspondence from Gilbert to Cass, Jr., March 13, 1903 (LC/MSS)

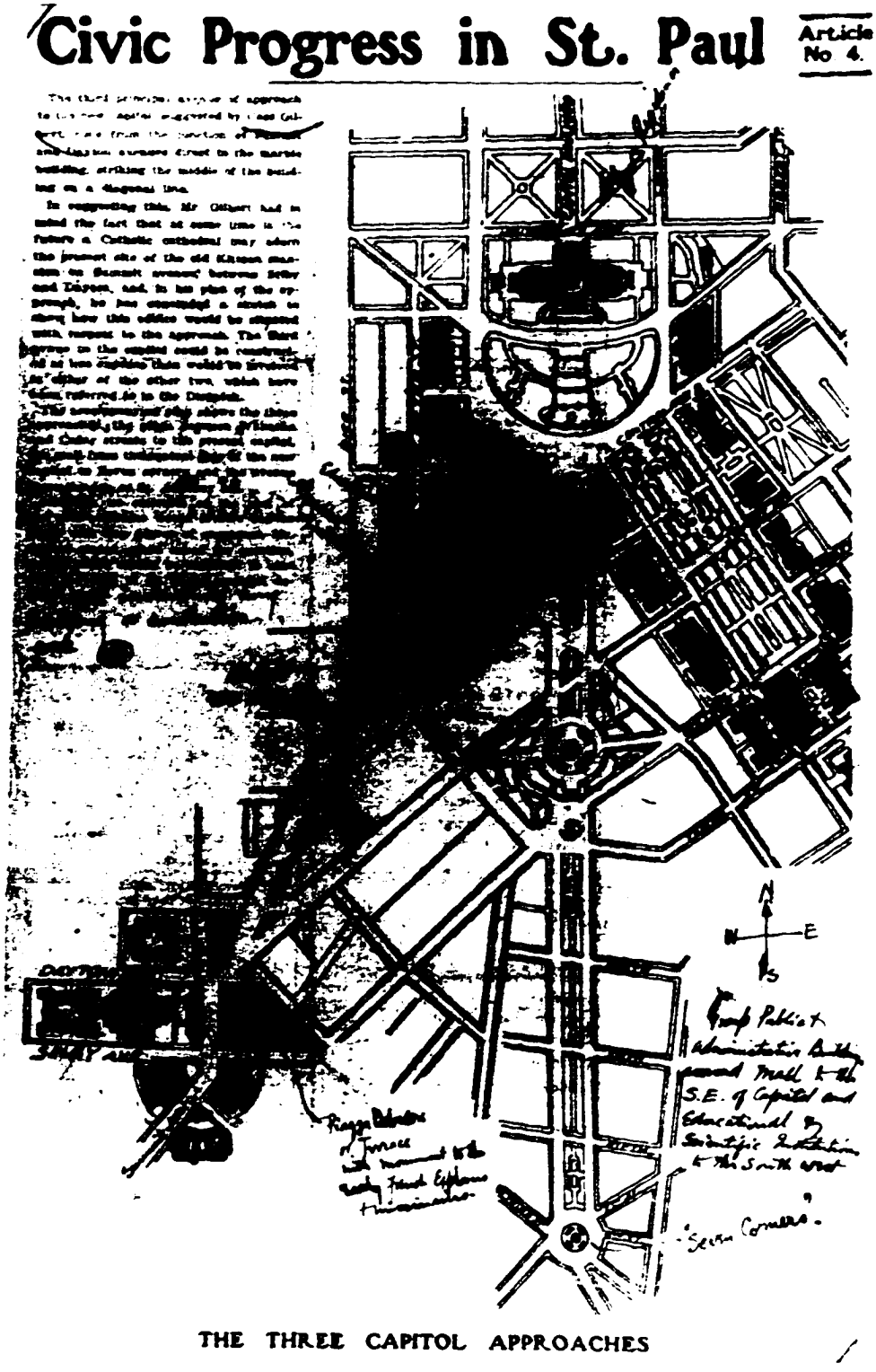



Figure 20. Cass Gilbert, ink notations made on diagram from "Civic Progress of St. Paul," St. Paul Dispatch, February 20, 1904 (N-YHS)

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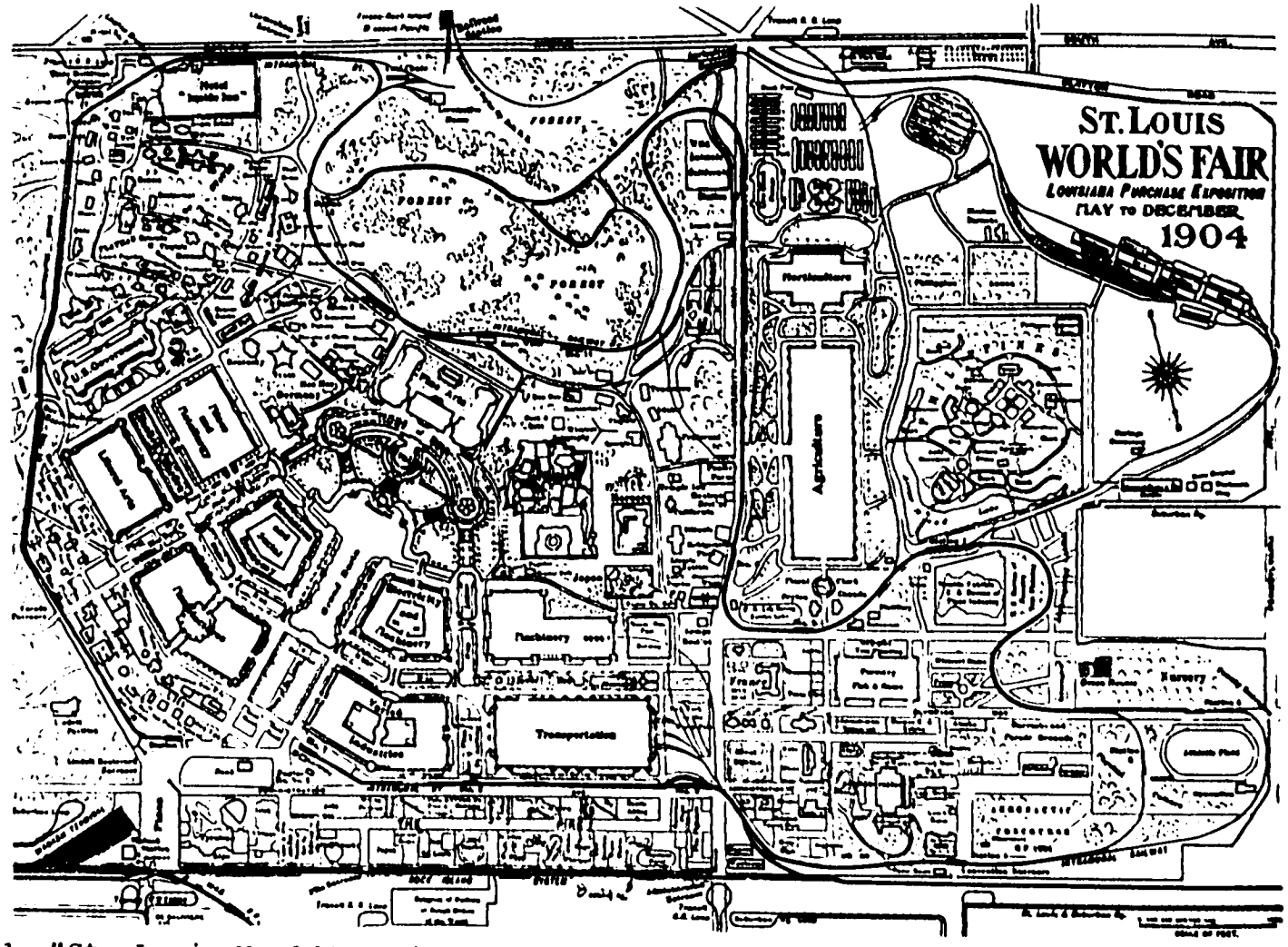



Figure 21. "St. Louis World's Fair, Louisiana Purchase Exposition," 1904. The Model City can be noted in the lower left area of this plan.

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Figure 22. "Looking Down the Model Street," from Mark Bennitt, comp., History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing, 1905), 553.

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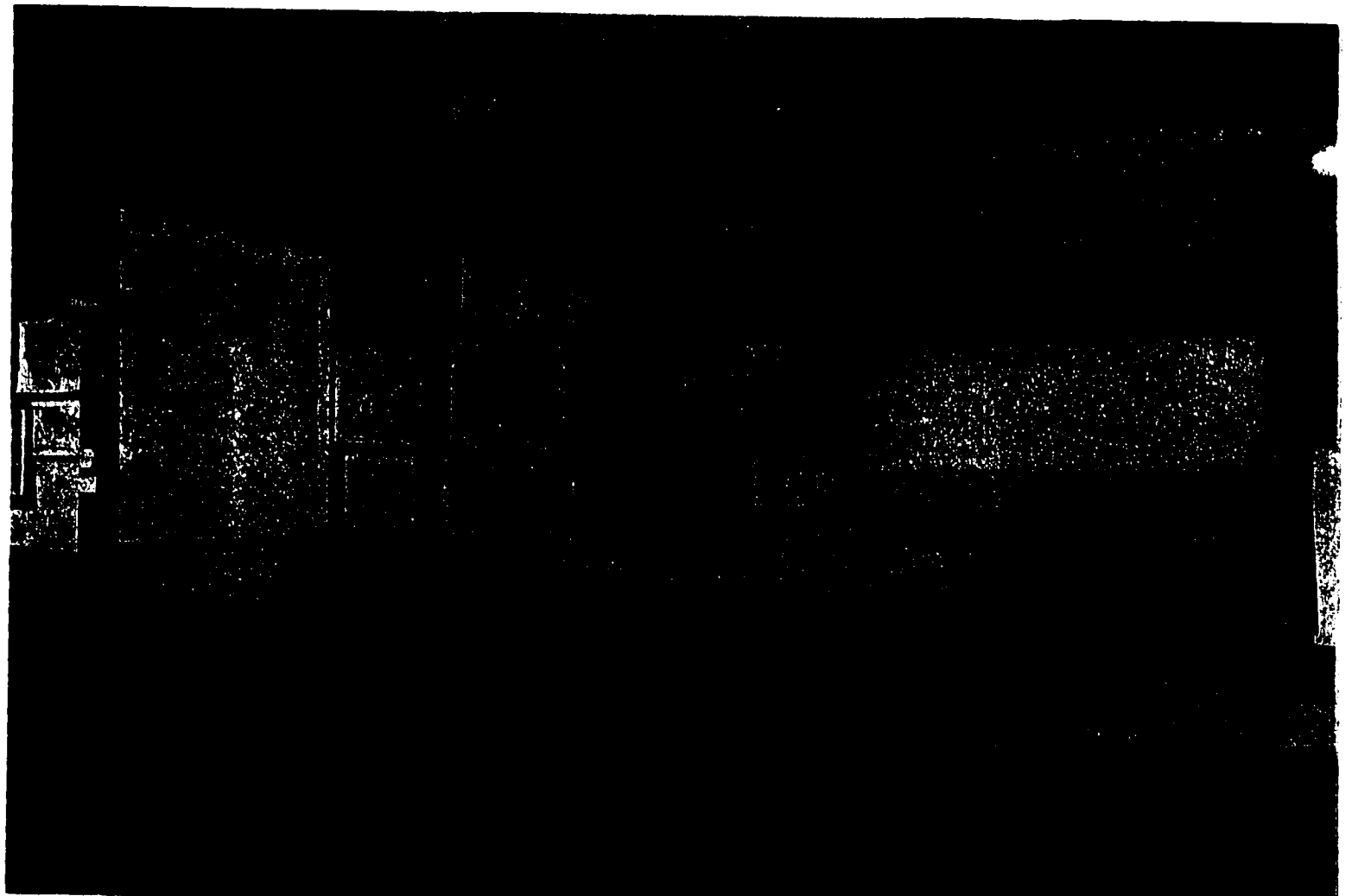


Figure 23. "Model of Minnesota State Capitol, Proposed Approaches, and Panorama of the Twin Cities," as exhibited at the Municipal Museum of Chicago, n.d. [ca. 1904] (BSCC, Minnesota State Archives, MHS)

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Figure 24. Cass Gilbert, "Plat Showing Layout of New Temporary Walk, Minnesota State Capitol," blueprint, sheet no. 79, October 1904 (CGPprs, F: 66, MHS)




Figure 25. "A Matter of City Pride," caricature from Minneapolis Times, October 13, 1904, p. 6.

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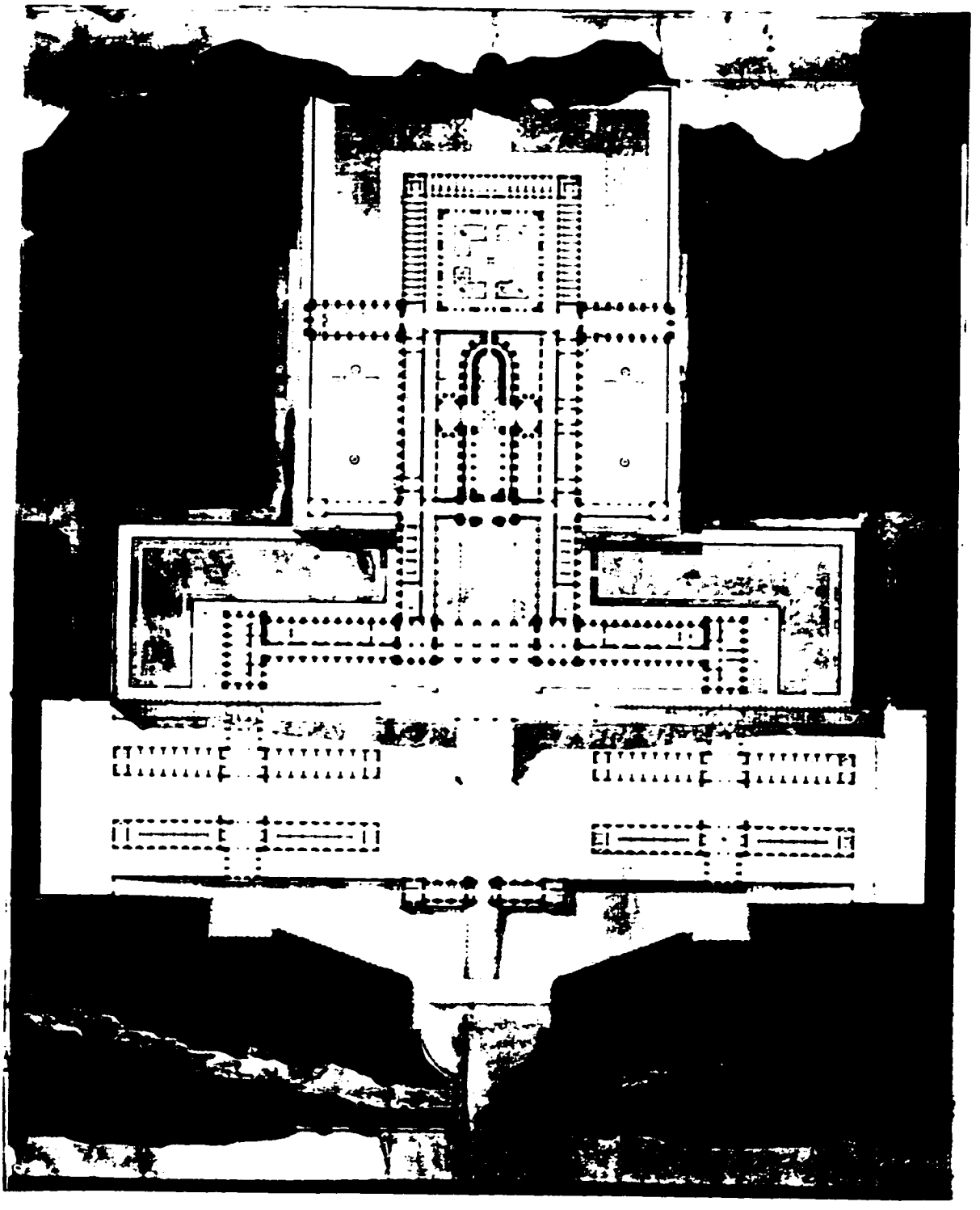


Figure 26. Julian Guadet, "Un Hospice dans les Alpe [A Hospice in the Alps], First Grand Prize Plan, 1864, as published in The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, ed. Arthur Drexler, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), 255.

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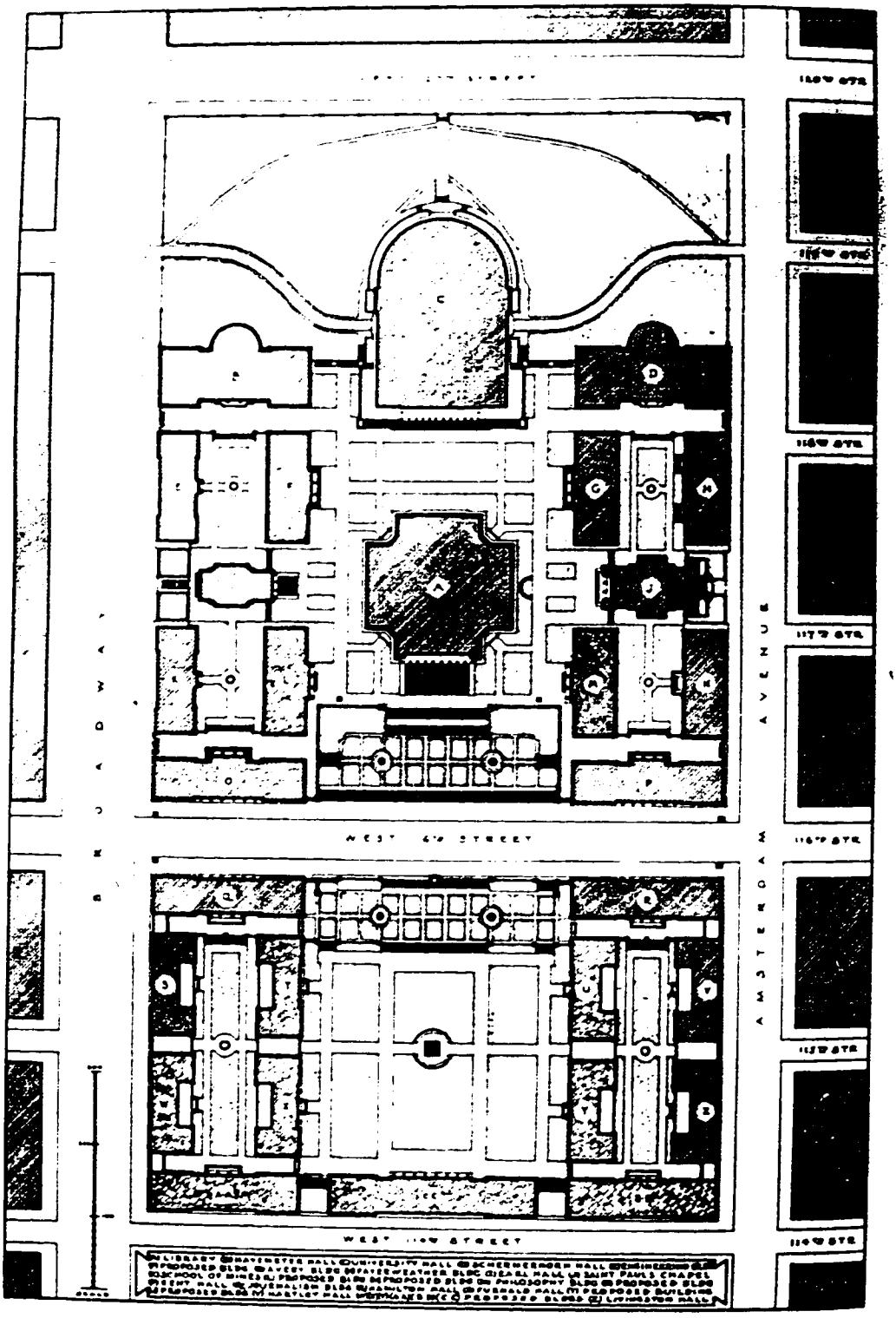


Figure 27. McKim, Mead & White, Columbia University Block Plan, 1893, as published in The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White in Photographs, Plans and Elevations, reprint of 4 vol. ed. of 1915-1920, (New York: Dover, 1990), plate 47.

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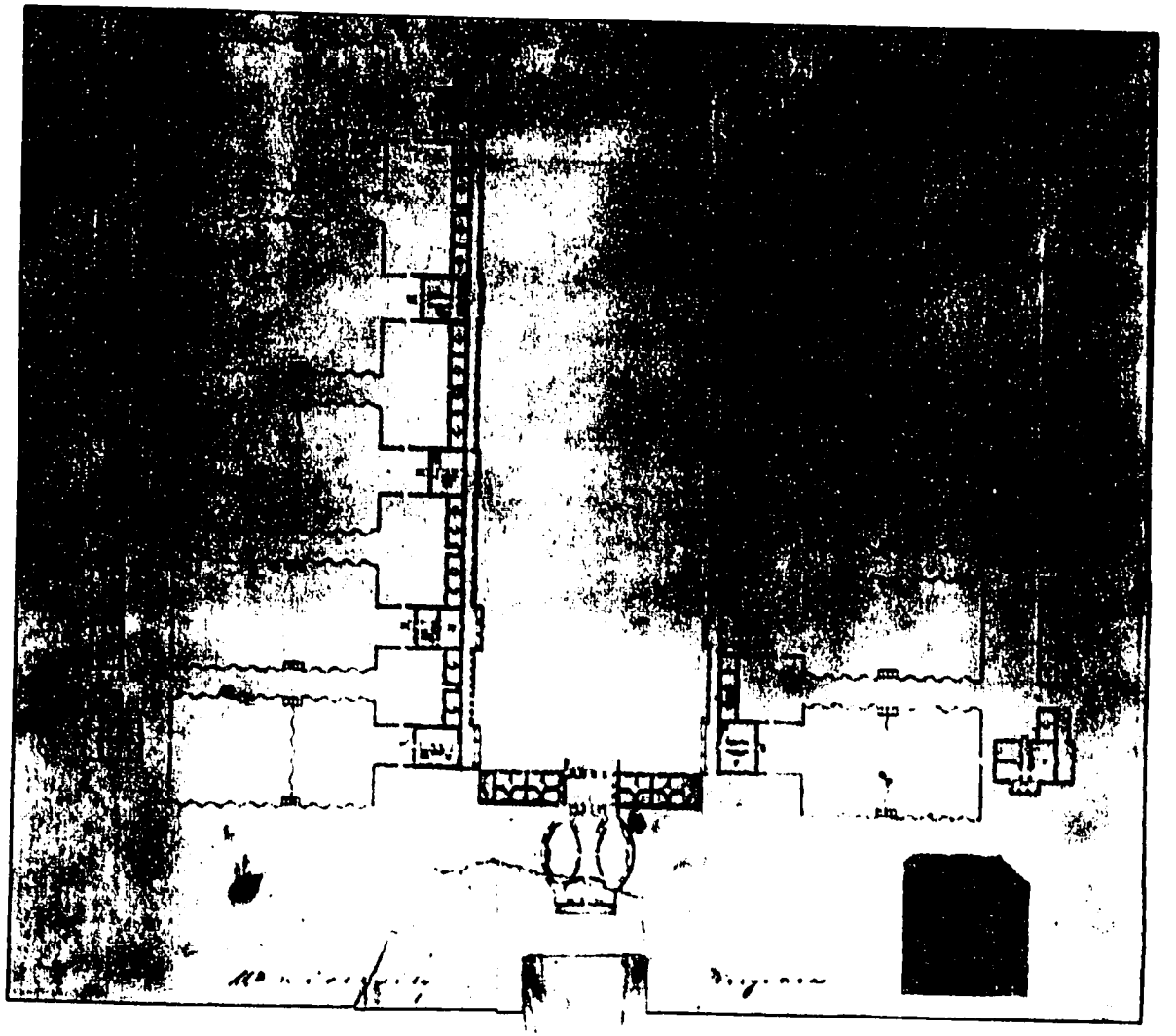


Figure 28. Thomas Jefferson, "University of Virginia: Study for 1822 Maverick Engraving, with Overlay of Library Room" (Massachusetts Historical Society)

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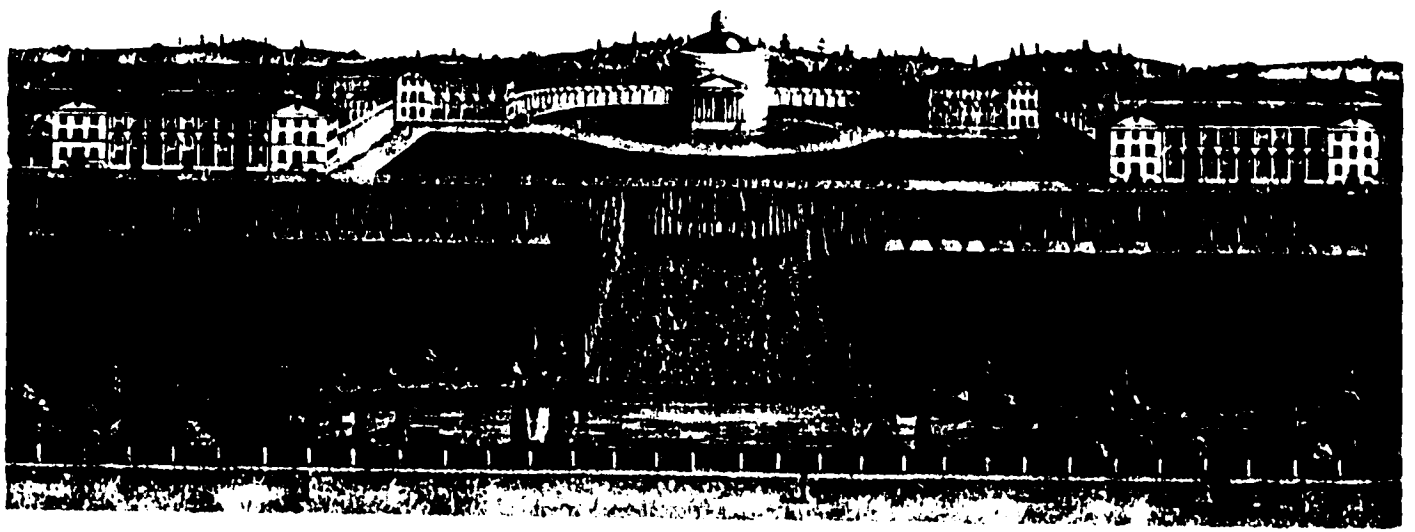


Figure 29. Joseph-Jacques Ramée, Union College, engraving by J. Klein and V. Balch, ca. 1820, (Shaffer Library, Union College, Schenectady, New York)

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Figure 30. Emile Bénard, "University of California: General Perspective," August 1899, from The International Competition for the Phoebe Hearst Architectural Plan for the University of California (San Francisco: Trustees of the Phoebe A. Hearst Architectural Plan for the University of California, 1899), 45.

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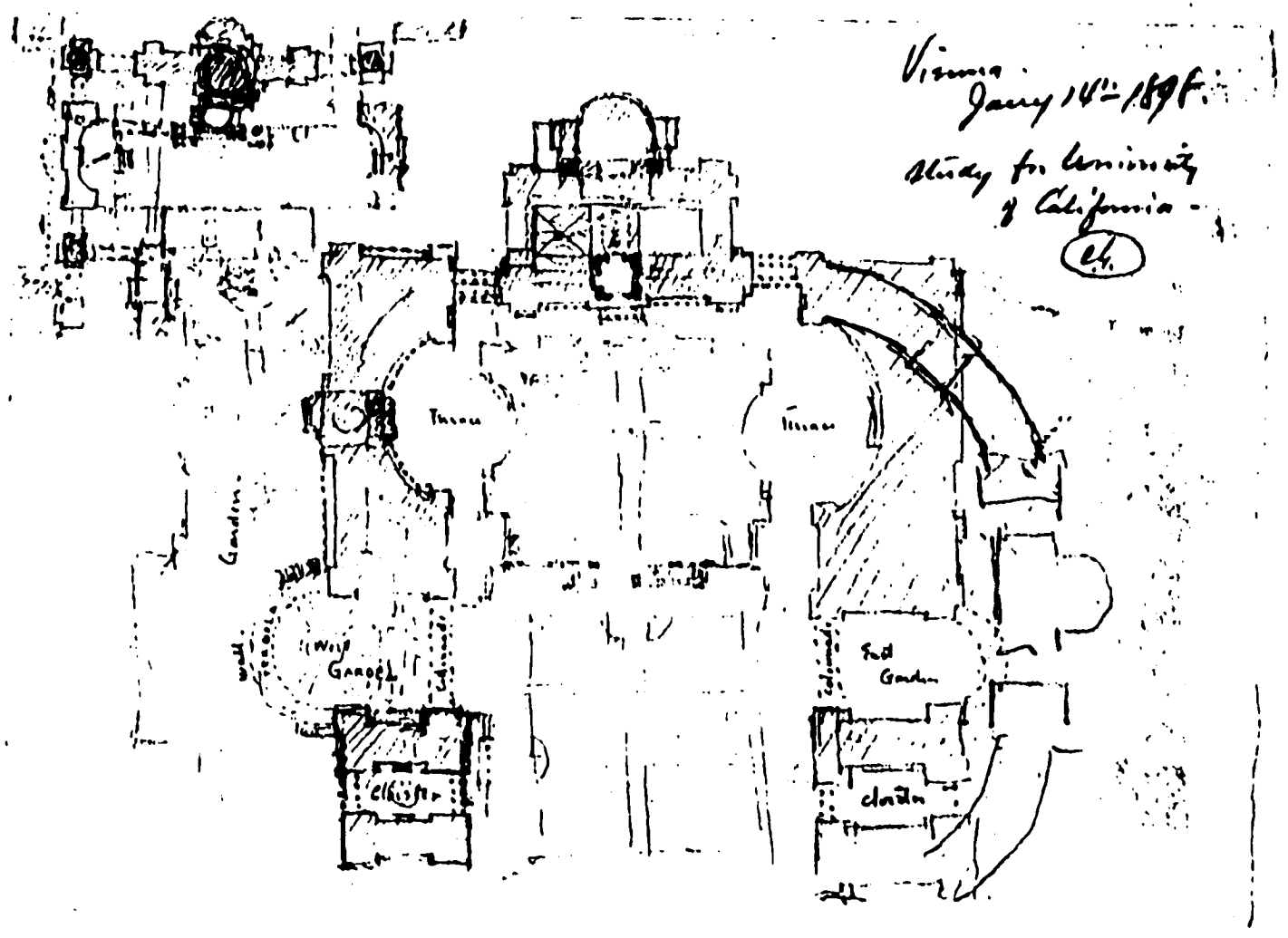



Figure 31. Cass Gilbert, "Study for the University of California," January 14, 1898 (LC/MSS)

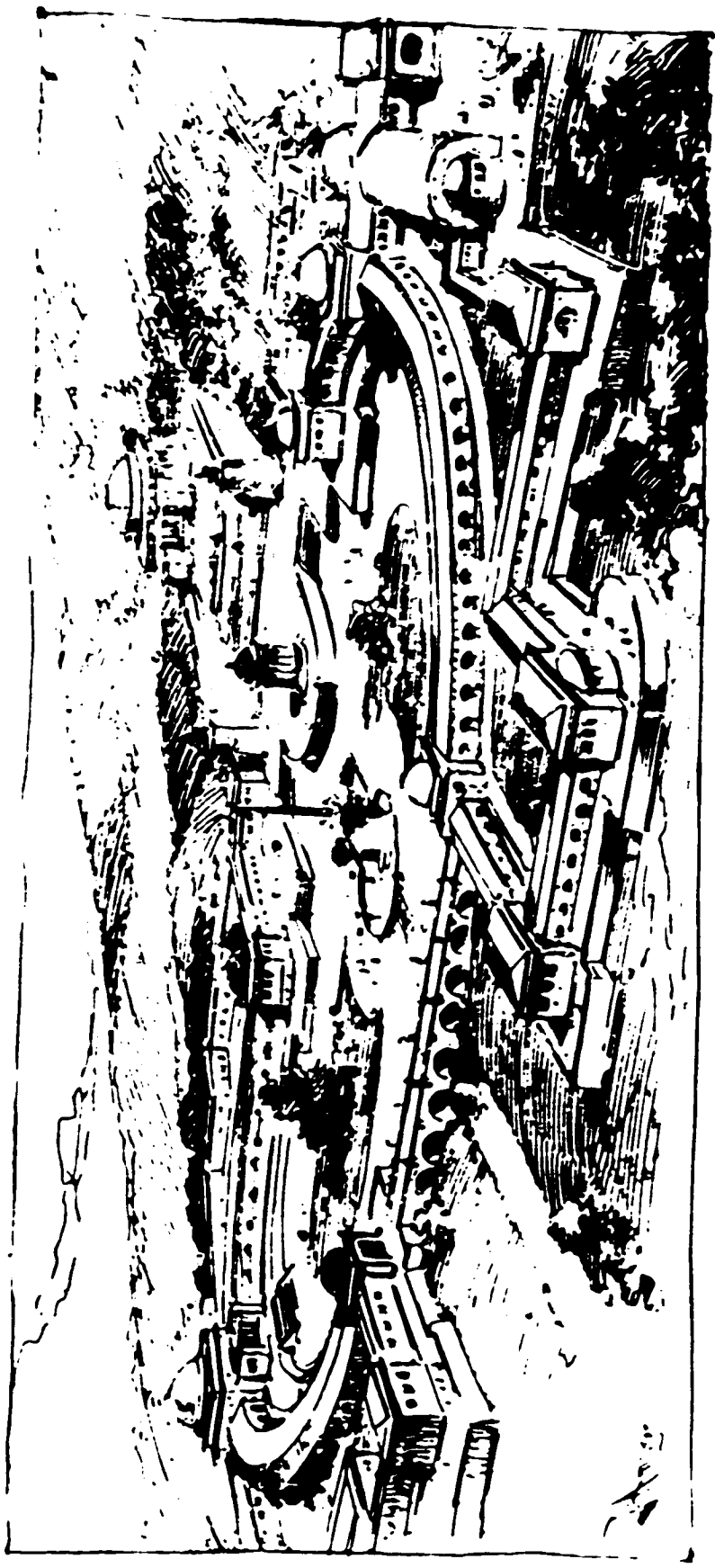


Figure 32. Bernard Maybeck, [Perspective sketch: University of California, Berkeley], 1896, from San Francisco Examiner, April 30, 1896.

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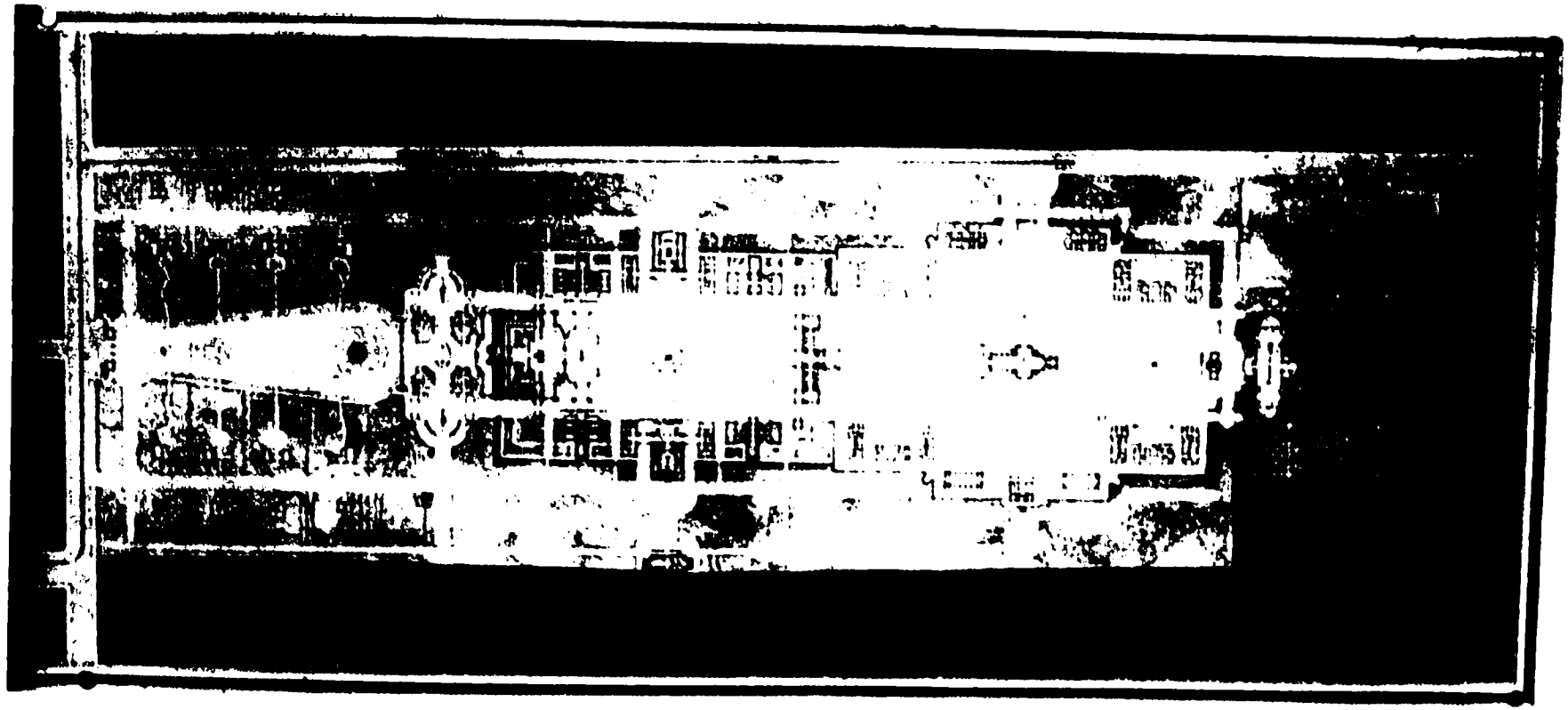


Figure 33. Cass Gilbert, "Washington University: Block Plan," 1899 competition (Washington University Archives)

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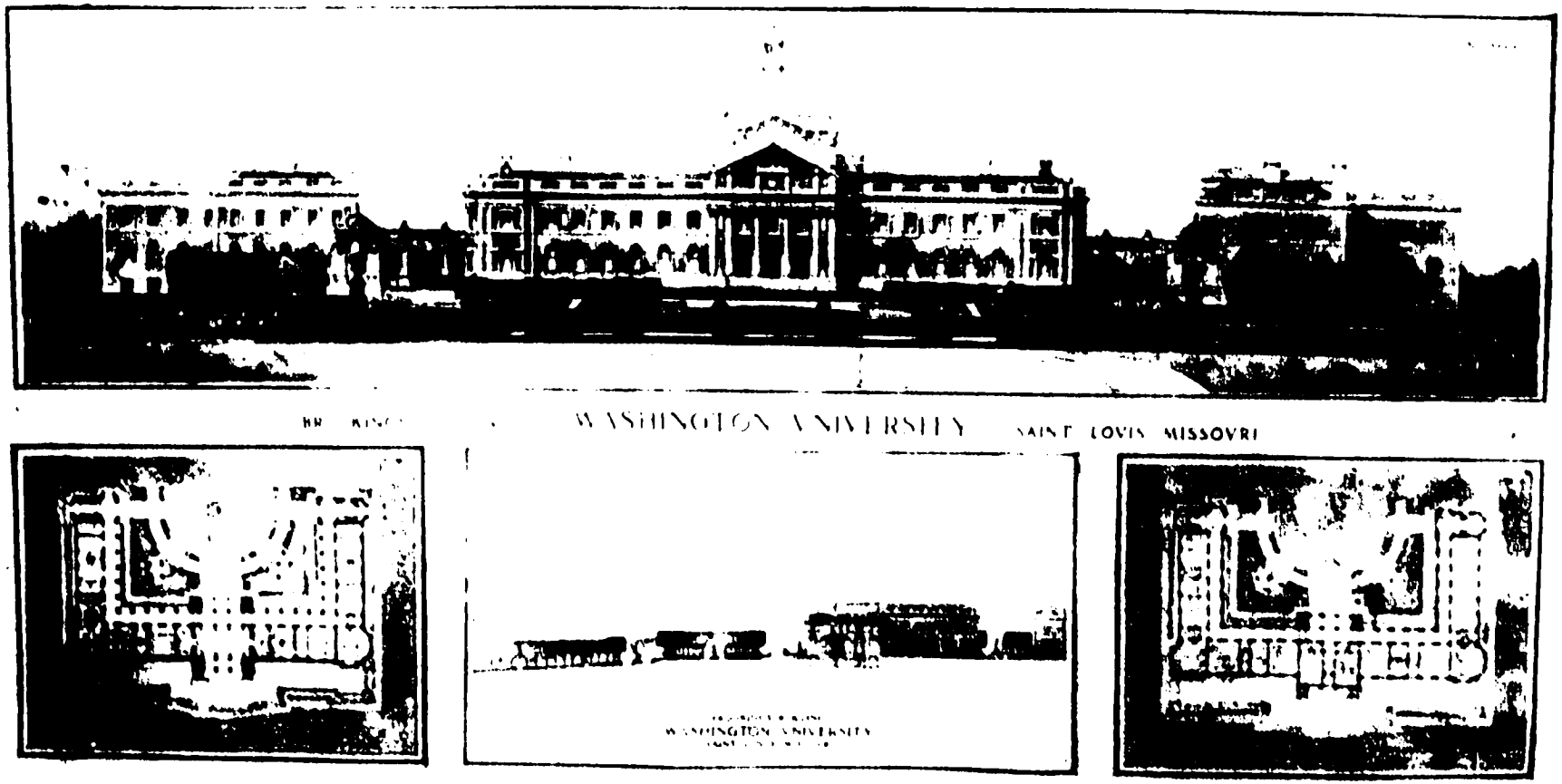



Figure 34. Cass Gilbert, "Washington University: Elevation, Section, and Plan of the Brookings Building", 1899 competition (Washington University Archives)

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Figure 35. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota: Perspective and Section," 1908 competition, Minneapolis, Minn., as published in Western Architect 12 (July 1908): n.p. and Architectural Review 15 (August 1908): n.p.

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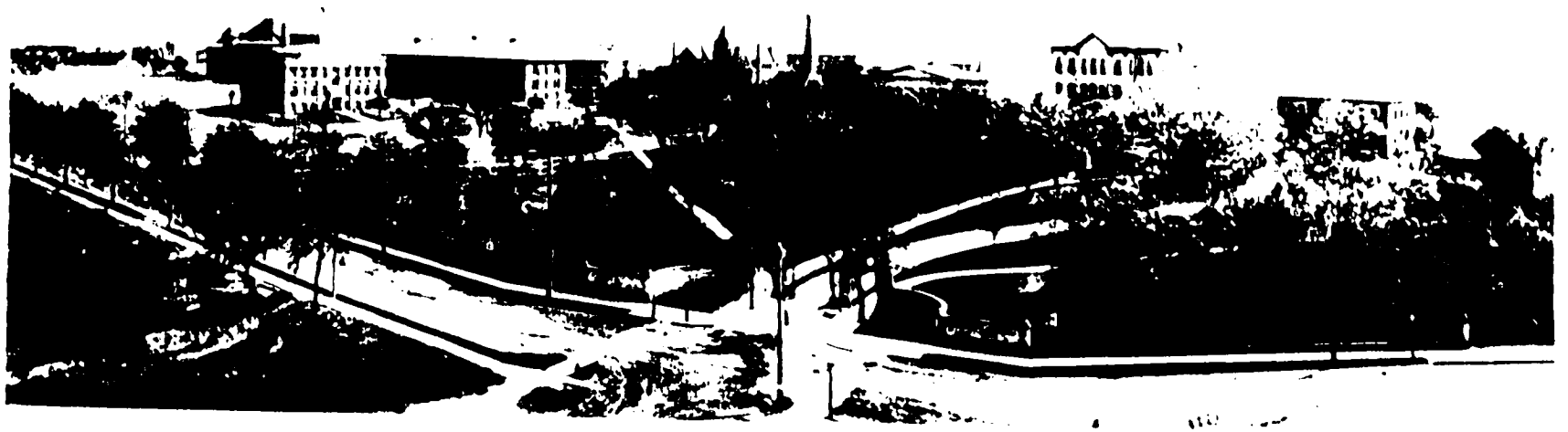


Figure 36. "University of Minnesota," panorama, photographic reproduction by H. W. Wilson Co., 1904 (UM/UA)

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Figure 37. Harry Wild Jones, "Cream of Wheat Building," southeast corner, 5th Street and 1st Avenue North, Minneapolis 1904 (dem. 1939) (MHS)

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Figure 38. Cass Gilbert, "Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," October 17, 1907 (N-YHS)

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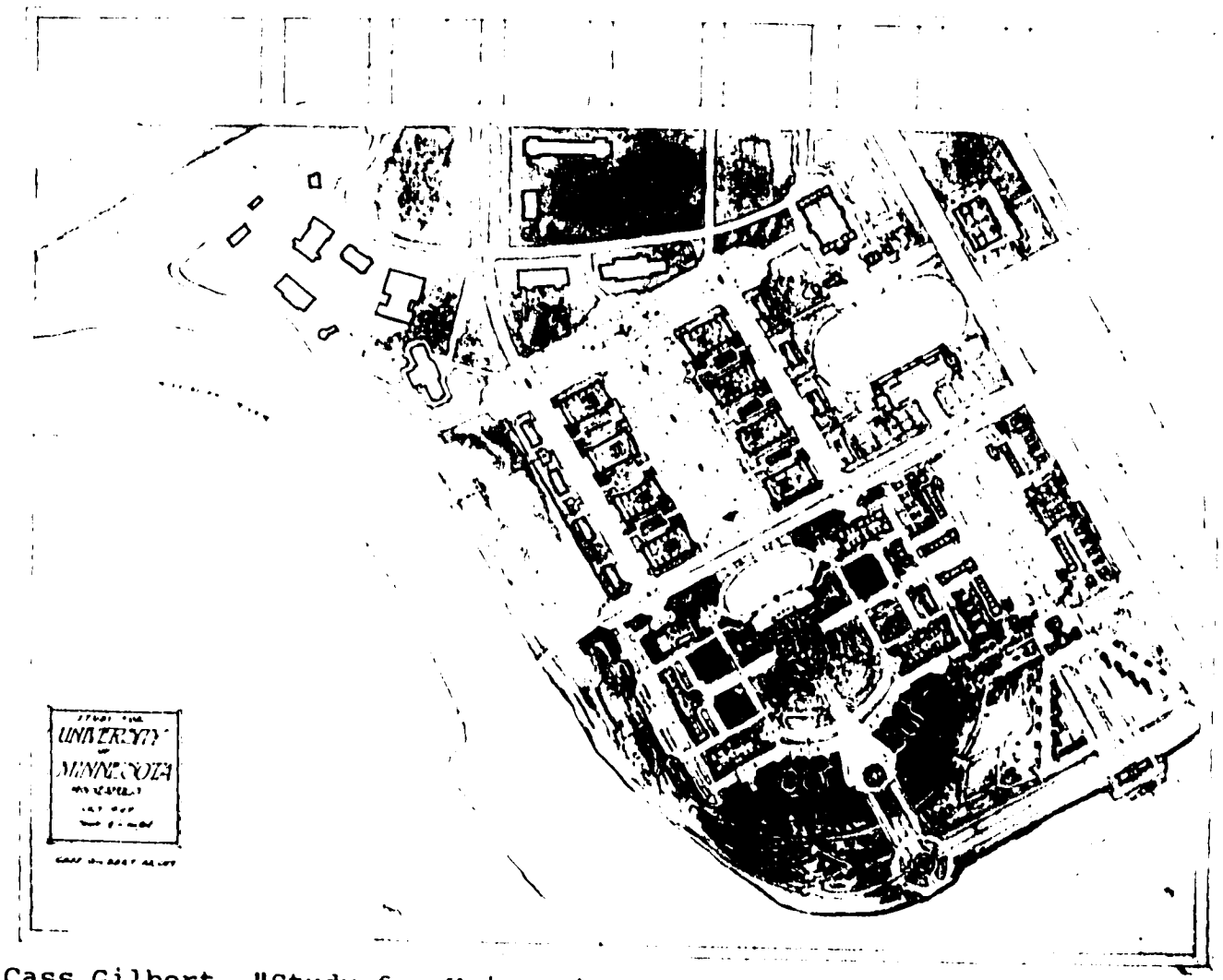



Figure 39. Cass Gilbert, "Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," October 19, 1907 (N-YHS)

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Figure 40. Cass Gilbert, "Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," October 23(?), 1907 (N-YHS)

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Figure 41. Cass Gilbert, "Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," n.d. [before November 30, 1907] (N-YHS)

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Figure 42. Cass Gilbert, "Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," n.d. [before November 30, 1907] (N-YHS)

Figure 43. Cass Gilbert, "Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," October 29, 1907 (N-YHS)

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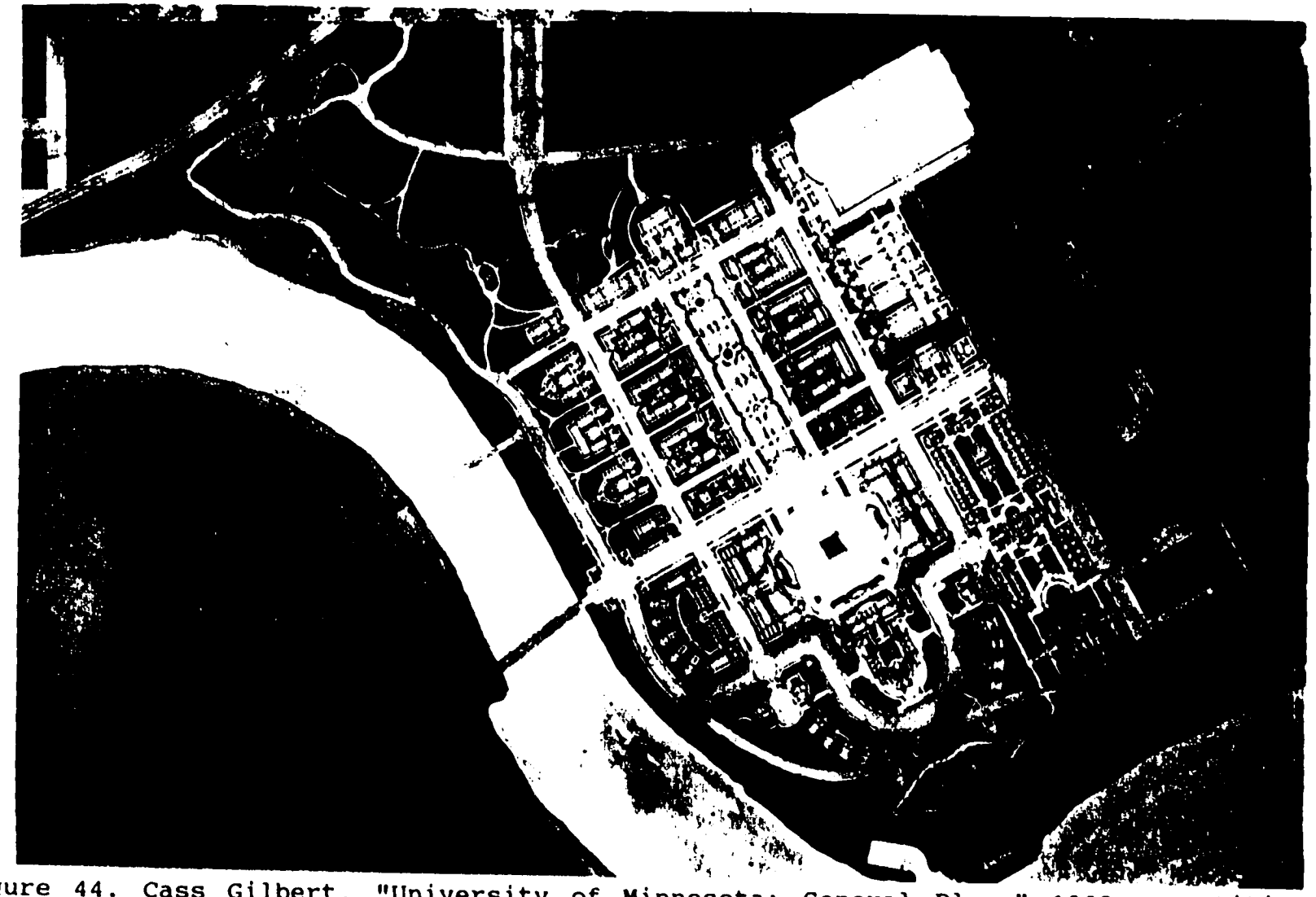


Figure 44. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota: General Plan," 1908 competition, as published in Western Architect 12 (July 1908): n.p. and Architectural Review 15 (August 1908): n.p.

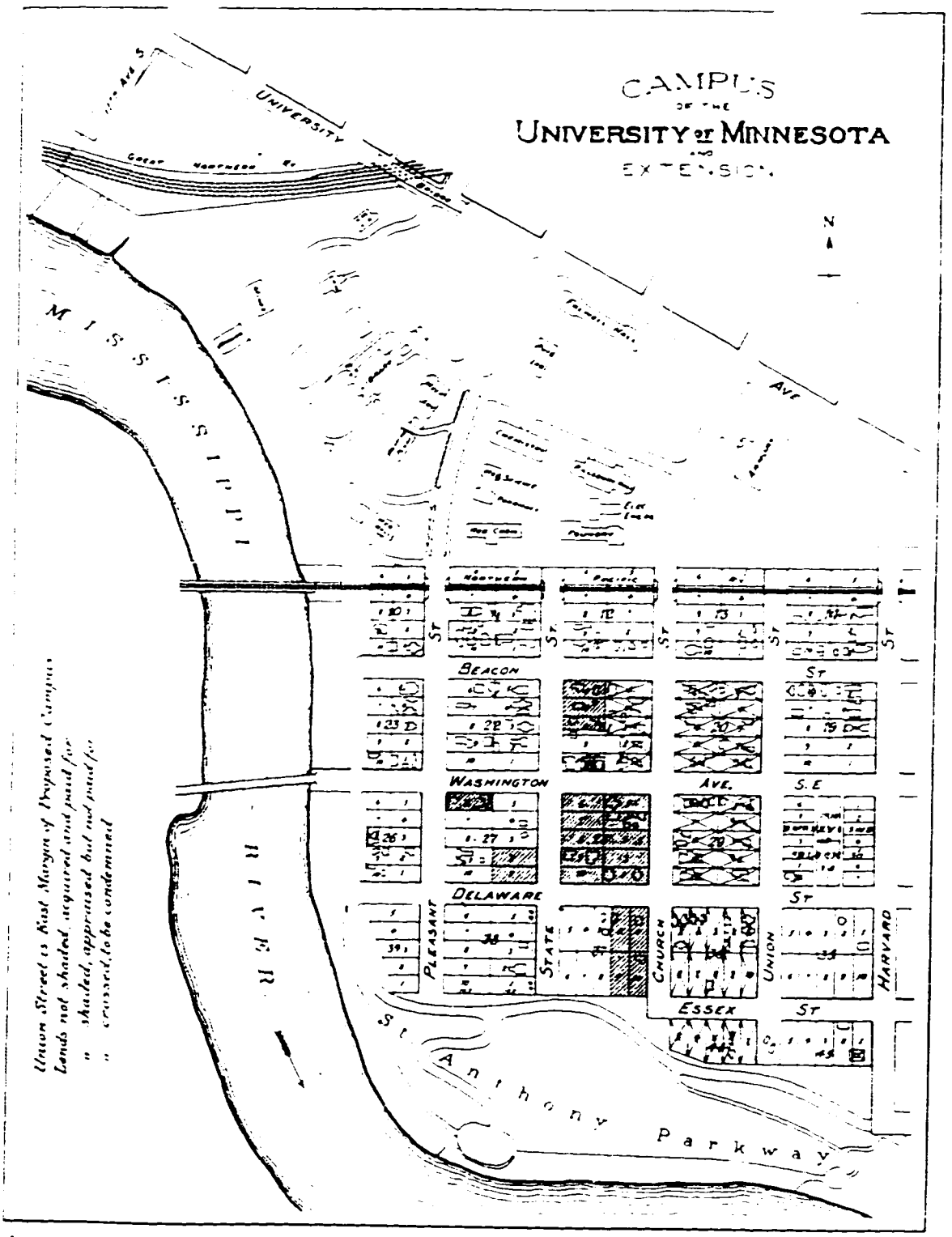



Figure 45. "Campus of the University of Minnesota and Extension," from Report, Campus Extension, Supplement to the Regent's Annual Report, 1908 (Minneapolis: Western Architect, 1909), 28.

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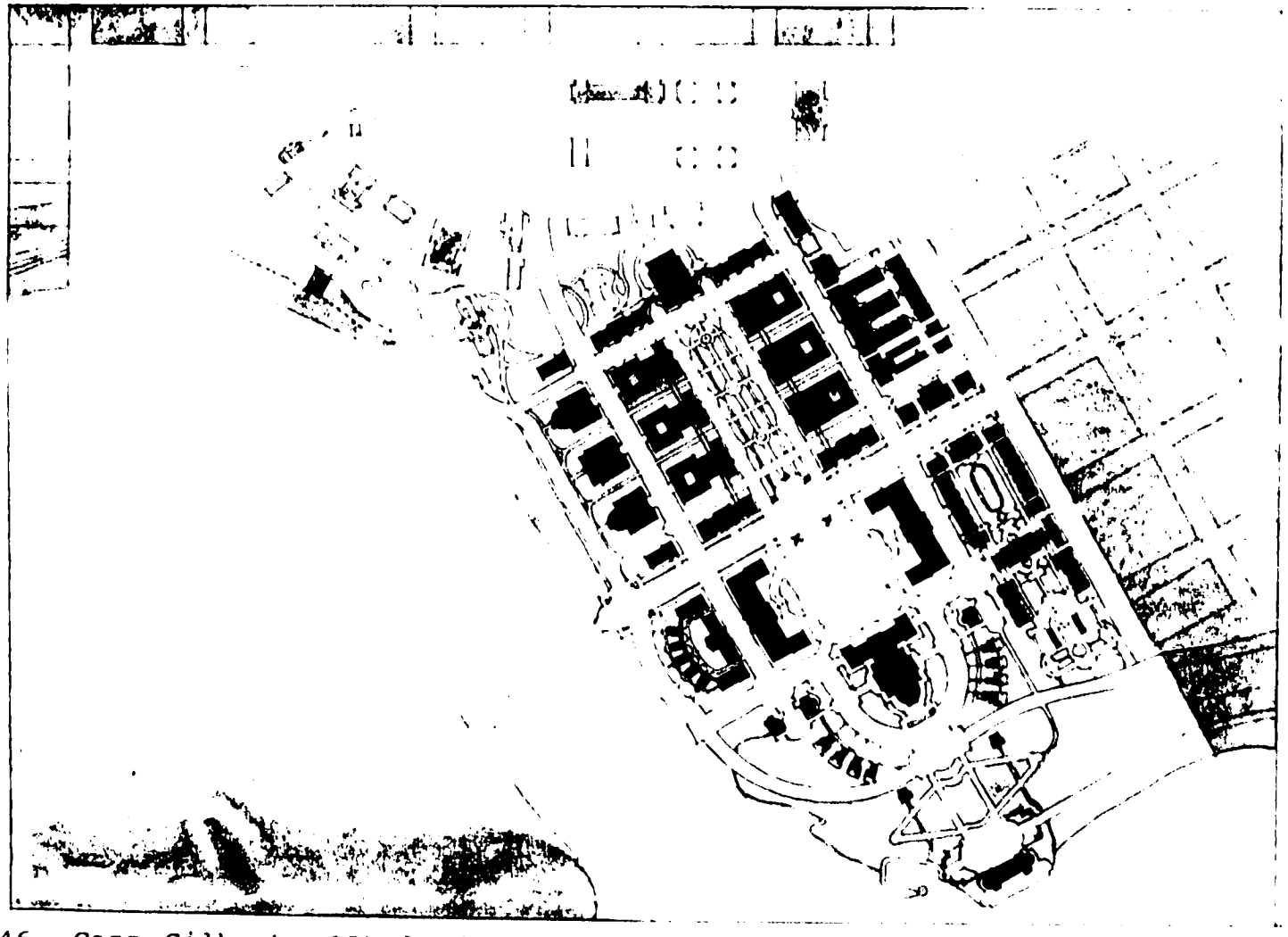


Figure 46. Cass Gilbert, [Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis], W. T. S.(?) [William T. Schuchardt?], del., June 1908 (N-YHS)

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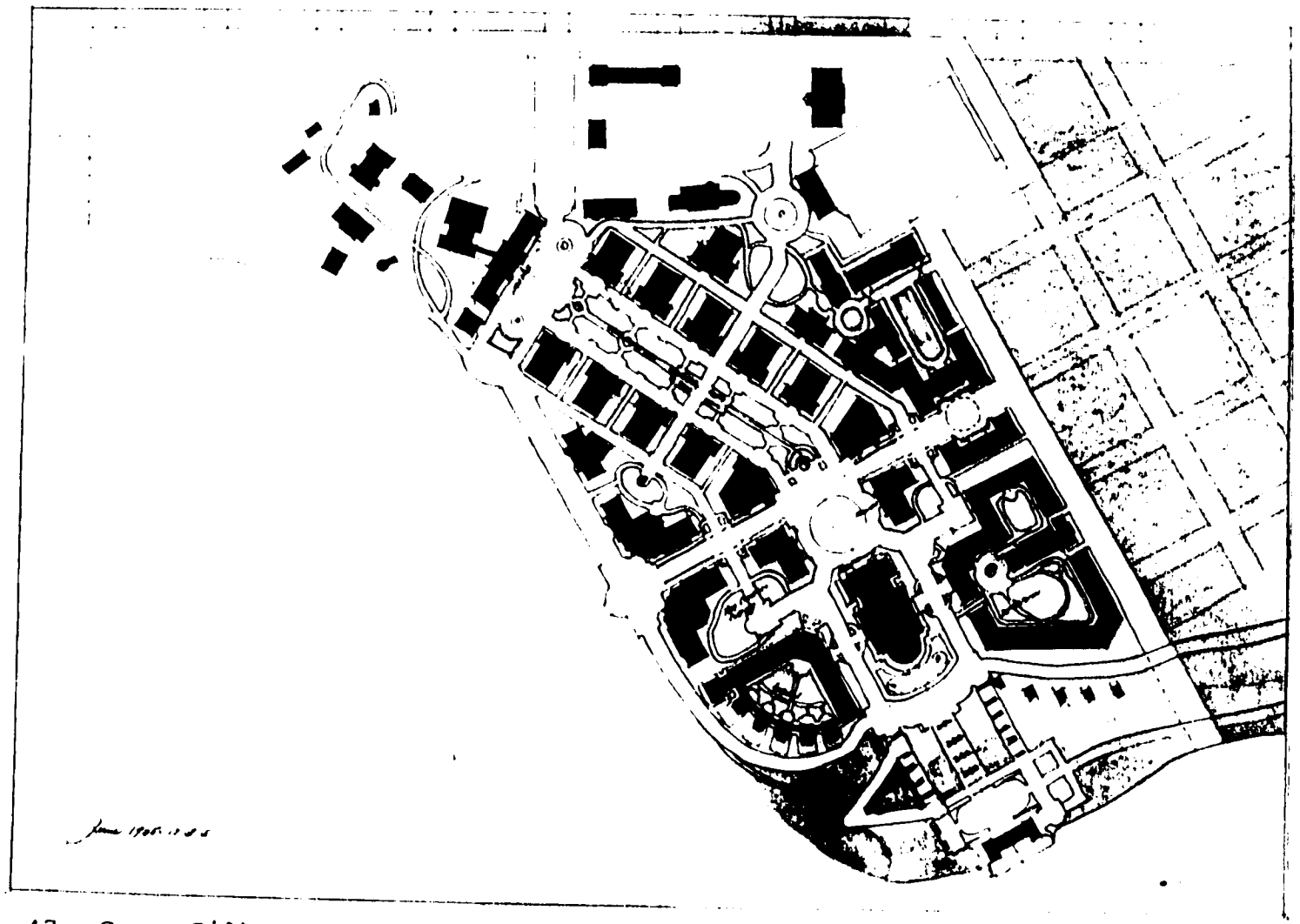


Figure 47. Cass Gilbert, [Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis], W. T. S.(?) [William T. Schuchardt?], del., June 1908 (N-YHS)

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Figure 48. Cass Gilbert, [Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis], W. T. S.(?) [William T. Schuchardt?], del., July 1908 (N-YHS)

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Figure 49. Cass Gilbert, [Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis], W. T. S.(?) [William T. Schuchardt?], del., July 1908 (N-YHS)

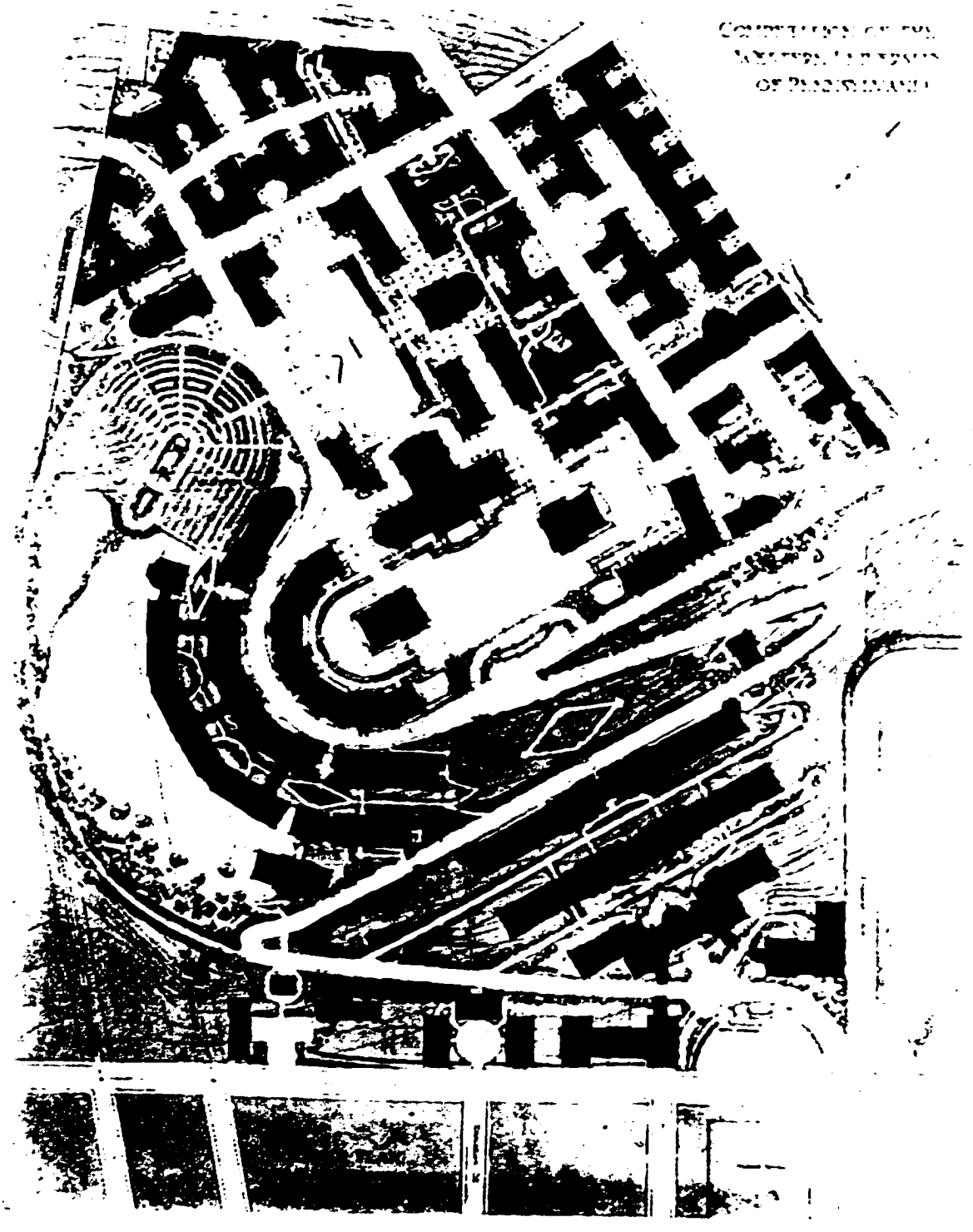


Figure 50. Palmer and Hornbostel, "Competition for the Western University of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Group Plan," first prize design, as published in Architectural Review 15 (July 1908): 117.

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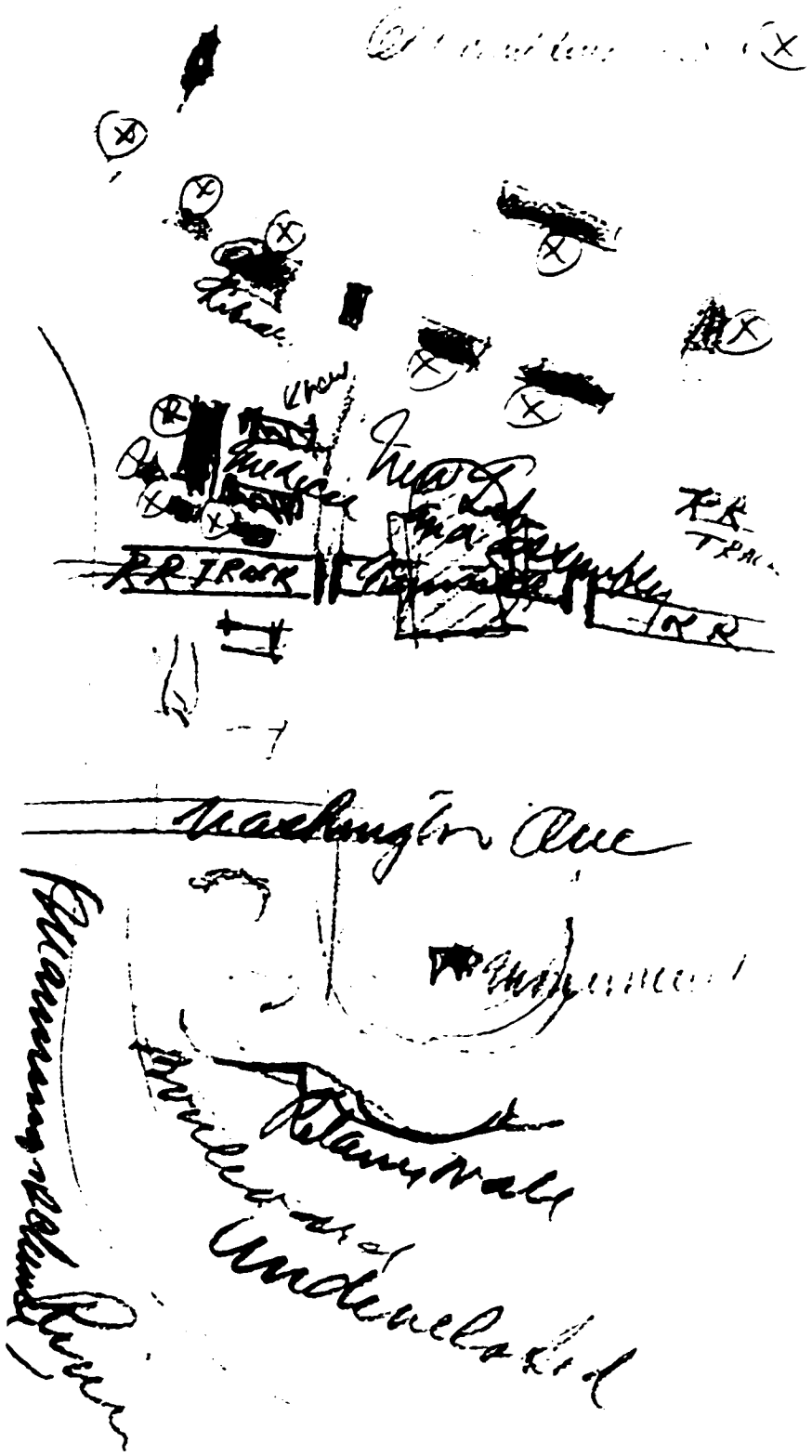



Figure 51. George Hollis Carsley, [University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: sketch plan], July 10, 1908 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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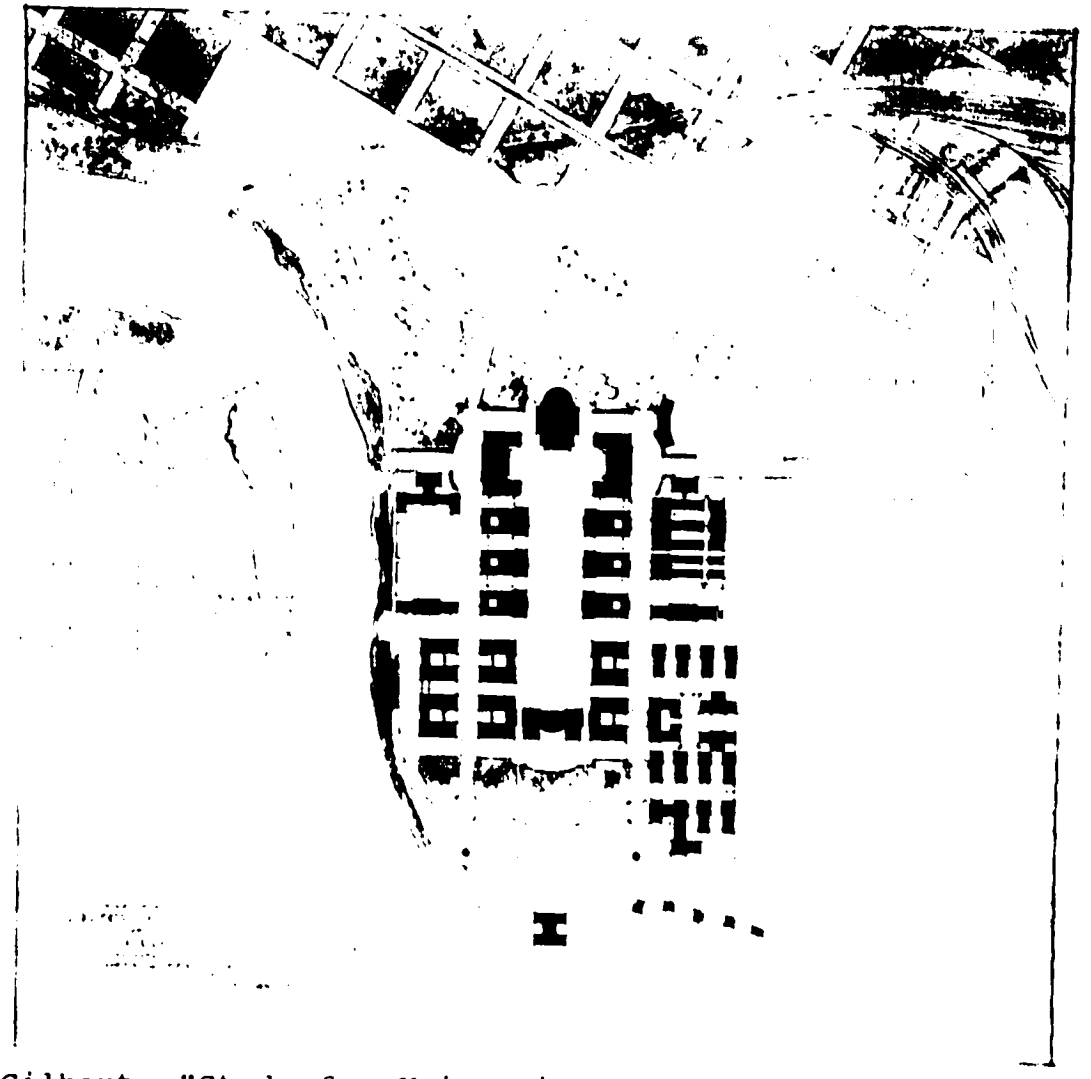


Figure 52. Cass Gilbert, "Study for University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," W. P. Foulds, del., March 31, 1909 (N-YHS)

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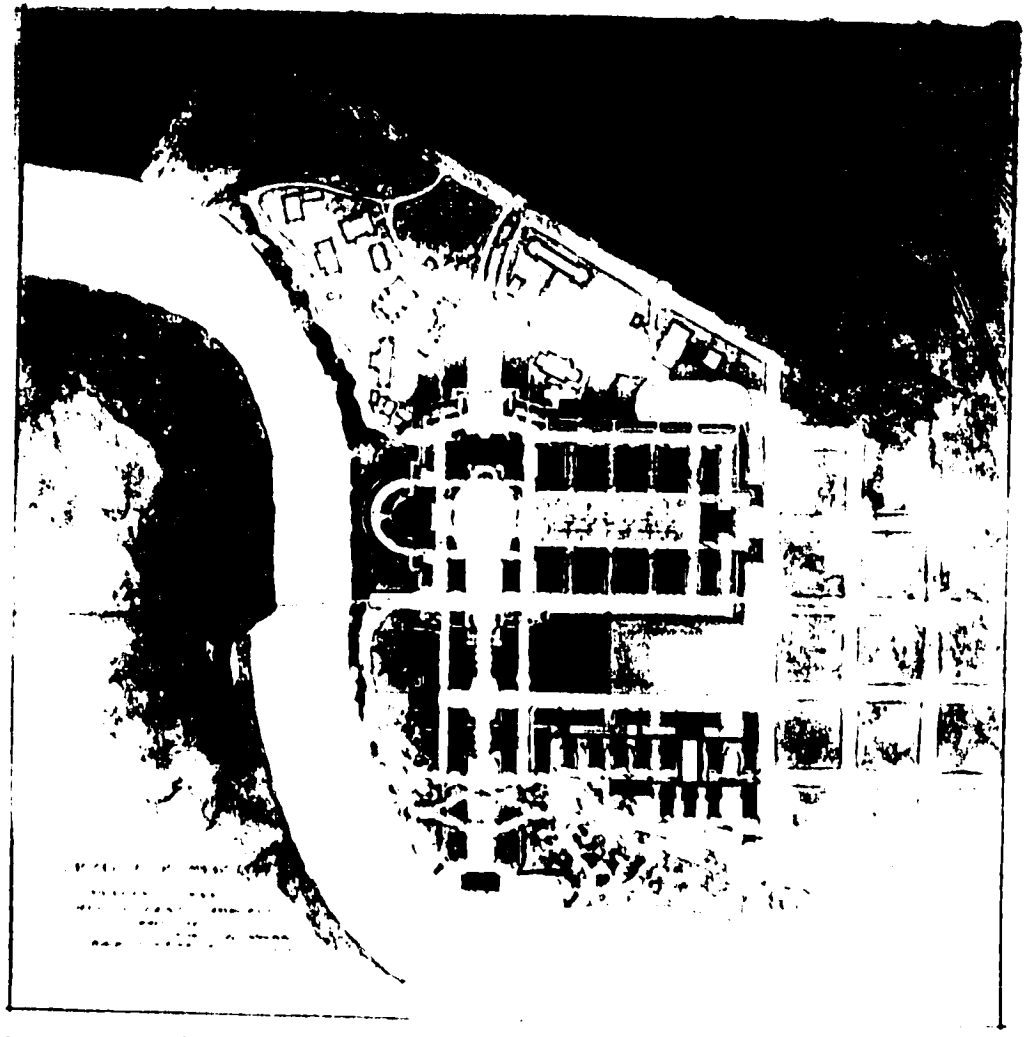


Figure 53. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," [W. P.] Foulds, del., April 15, 1909 (N-YHS)

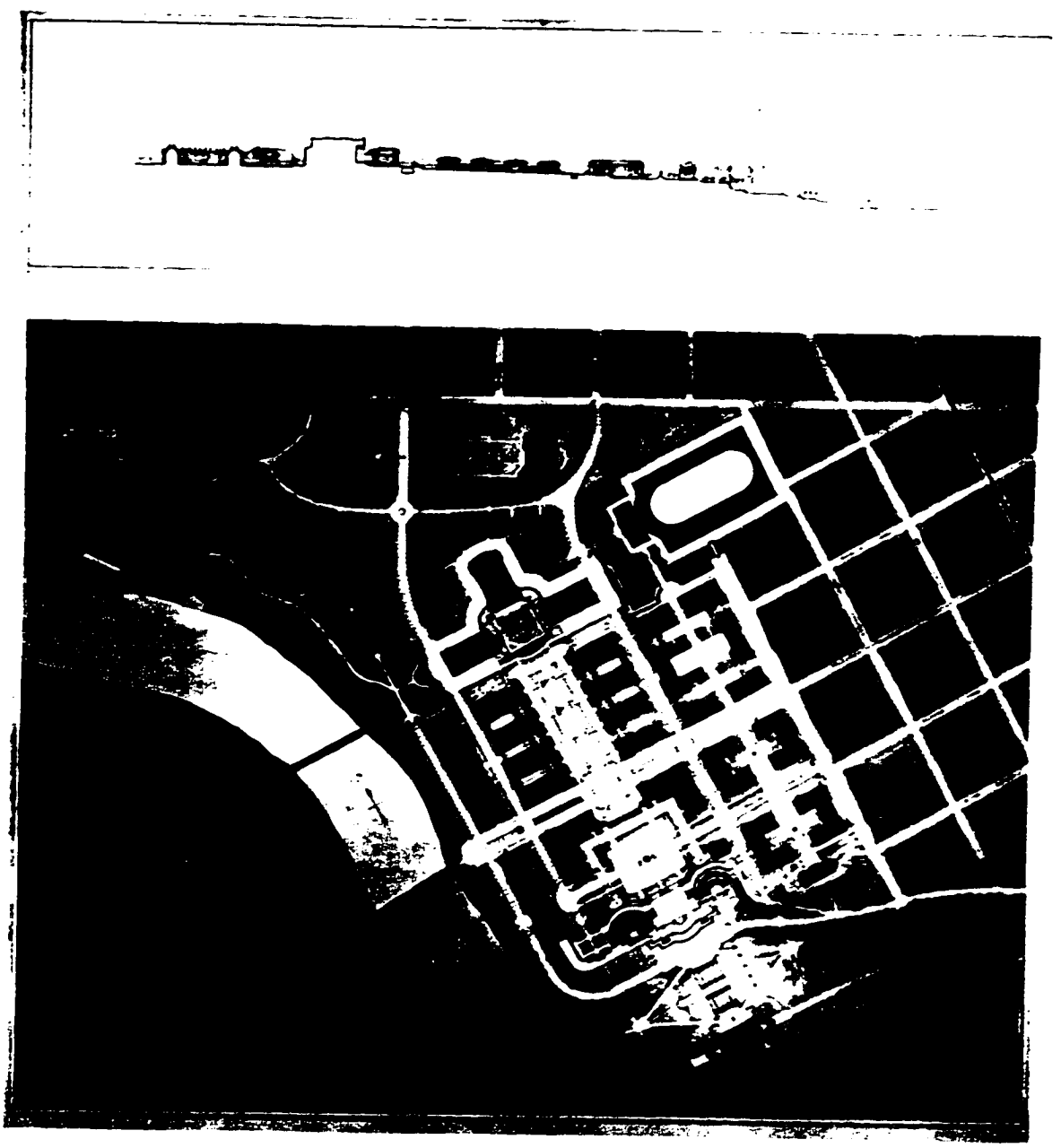


Figure 54. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: Plan and Section," [W. P.] Foulds, del., October 1909 (UM/UA)

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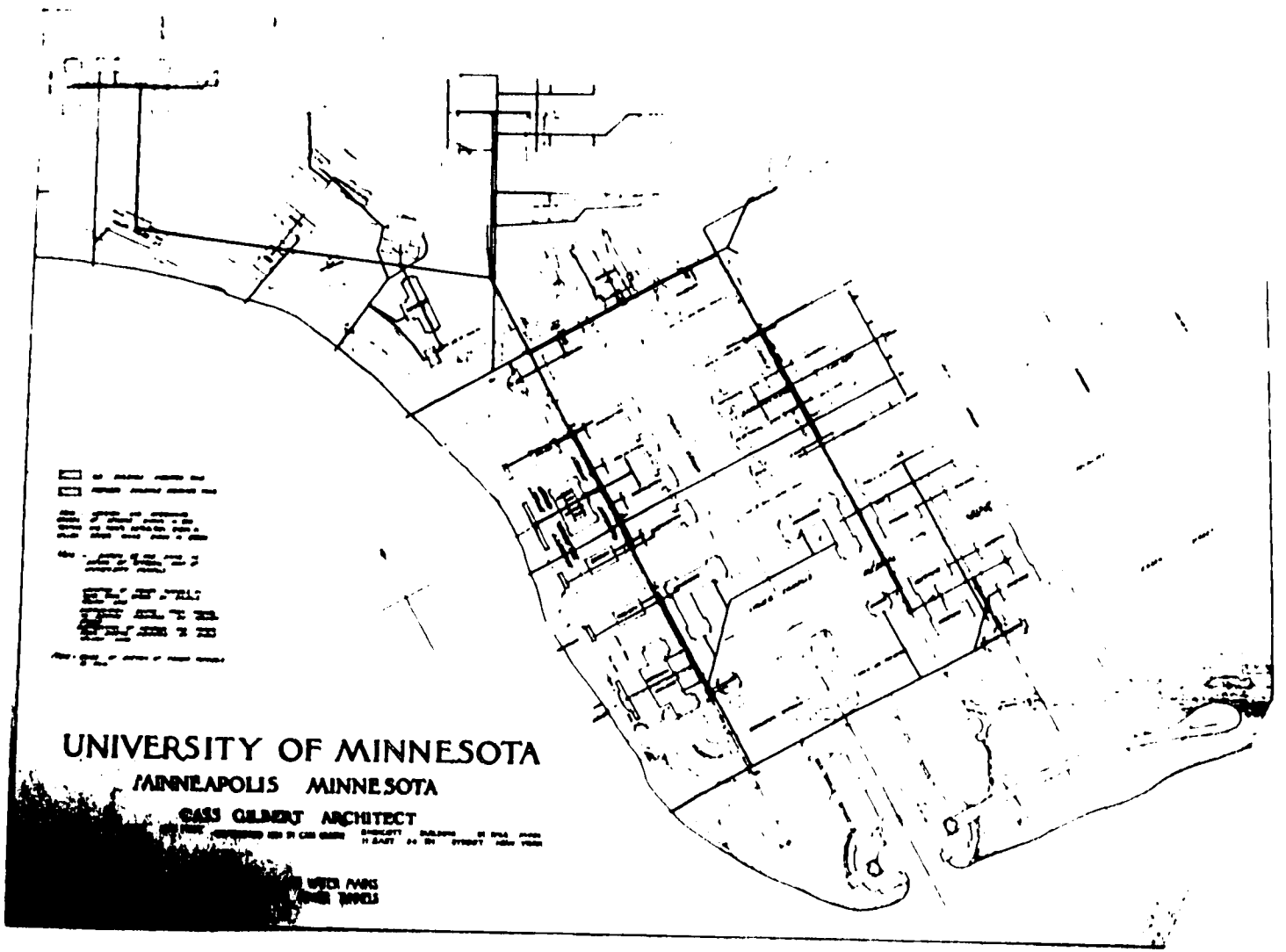



Figure 55. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: #4--Plan of Sewer and Water Mains and Heating and Power Tunnels,", [W. P.] Foulds, del., October 1909 (N-YHS)

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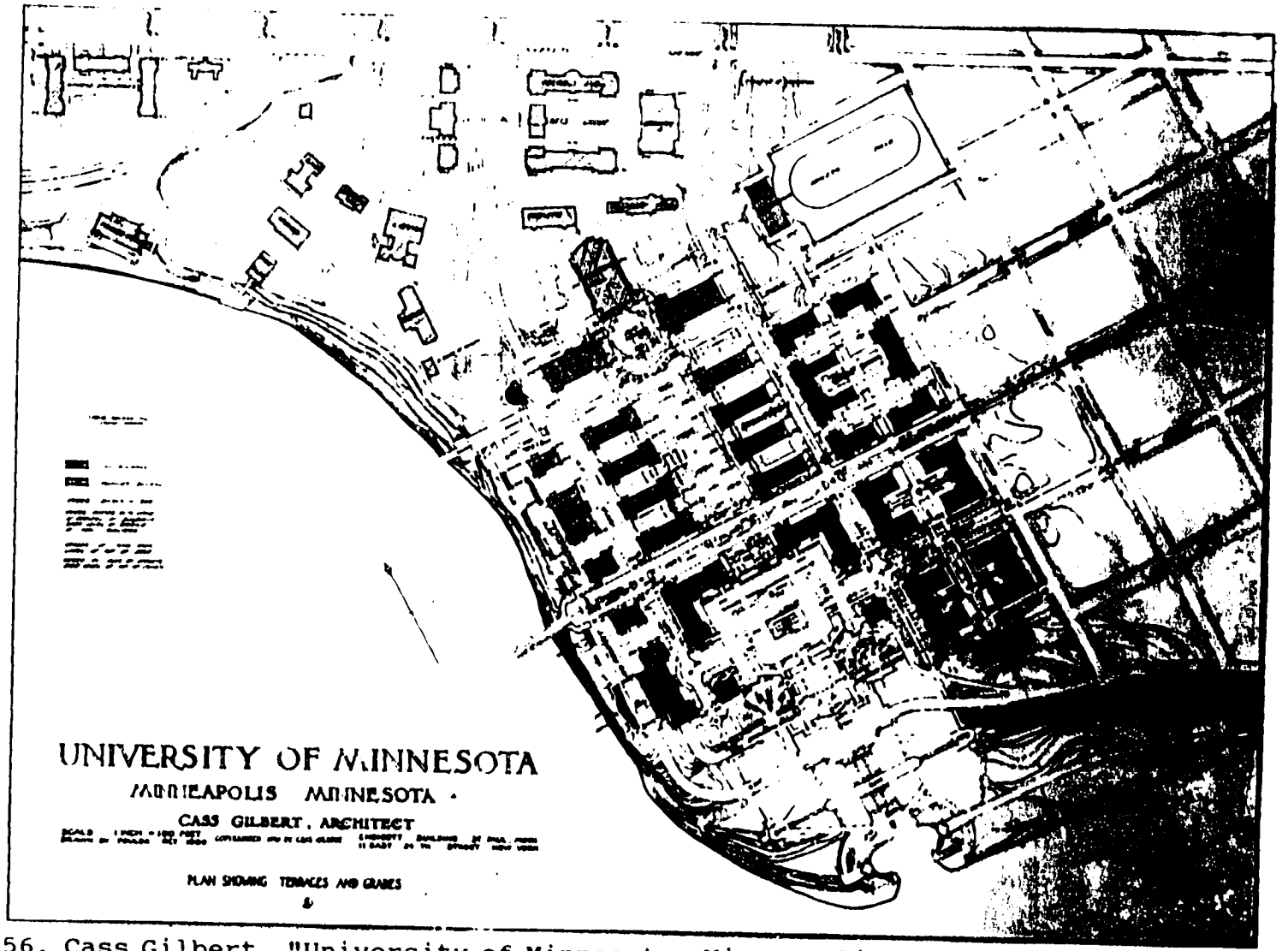



Figure 56. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: #5--Plan Showing Terraces and Grades," [W. P.] Foulds, del., October 1909 (N-YHS)

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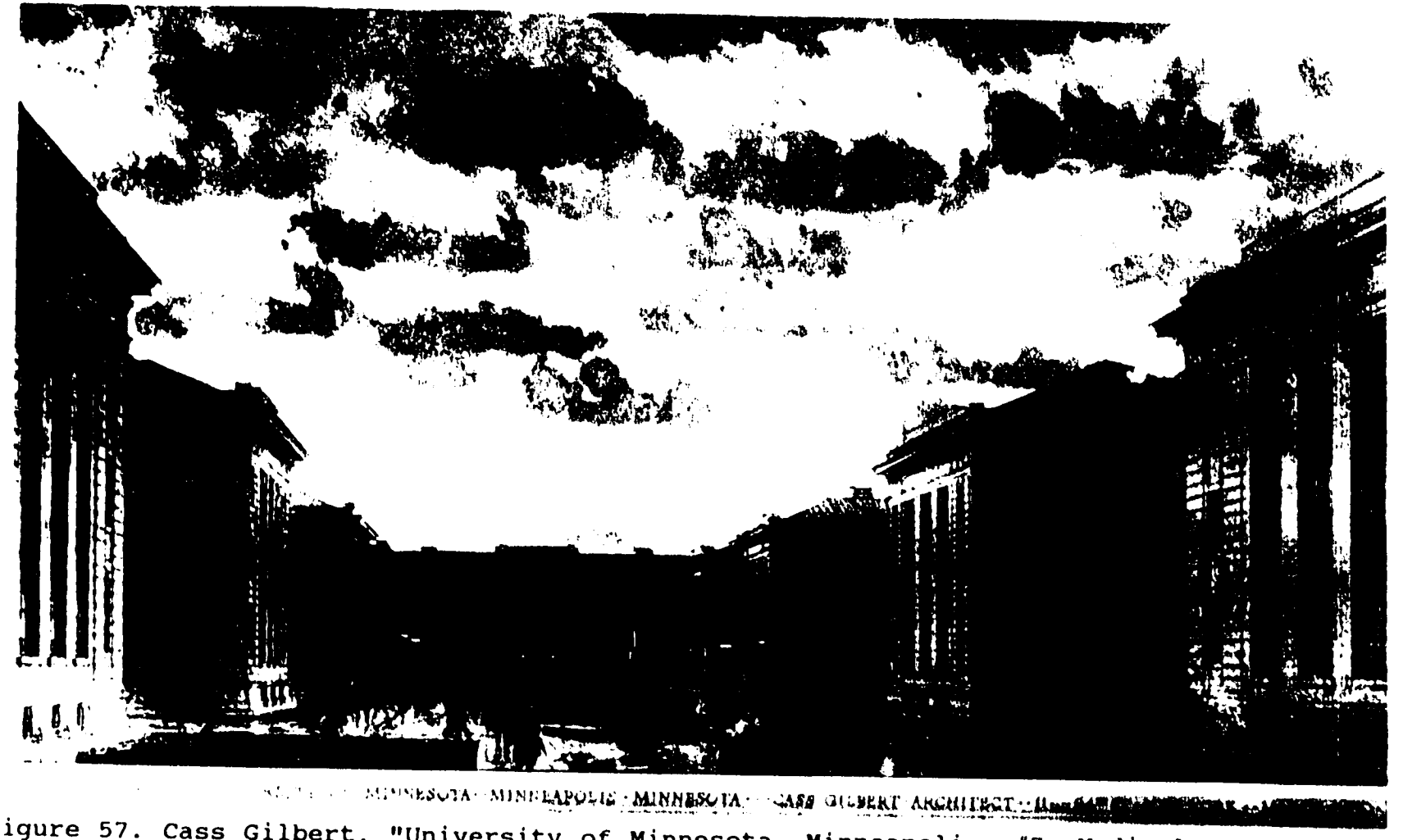


Figure 57. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: #7--Medical Group," T. R. Johnson, del., 1909 (UM/UA)

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Figure 58. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: #8--View on Washington Avenue," T. R. Johnson, del., 1909 (UM/UA)

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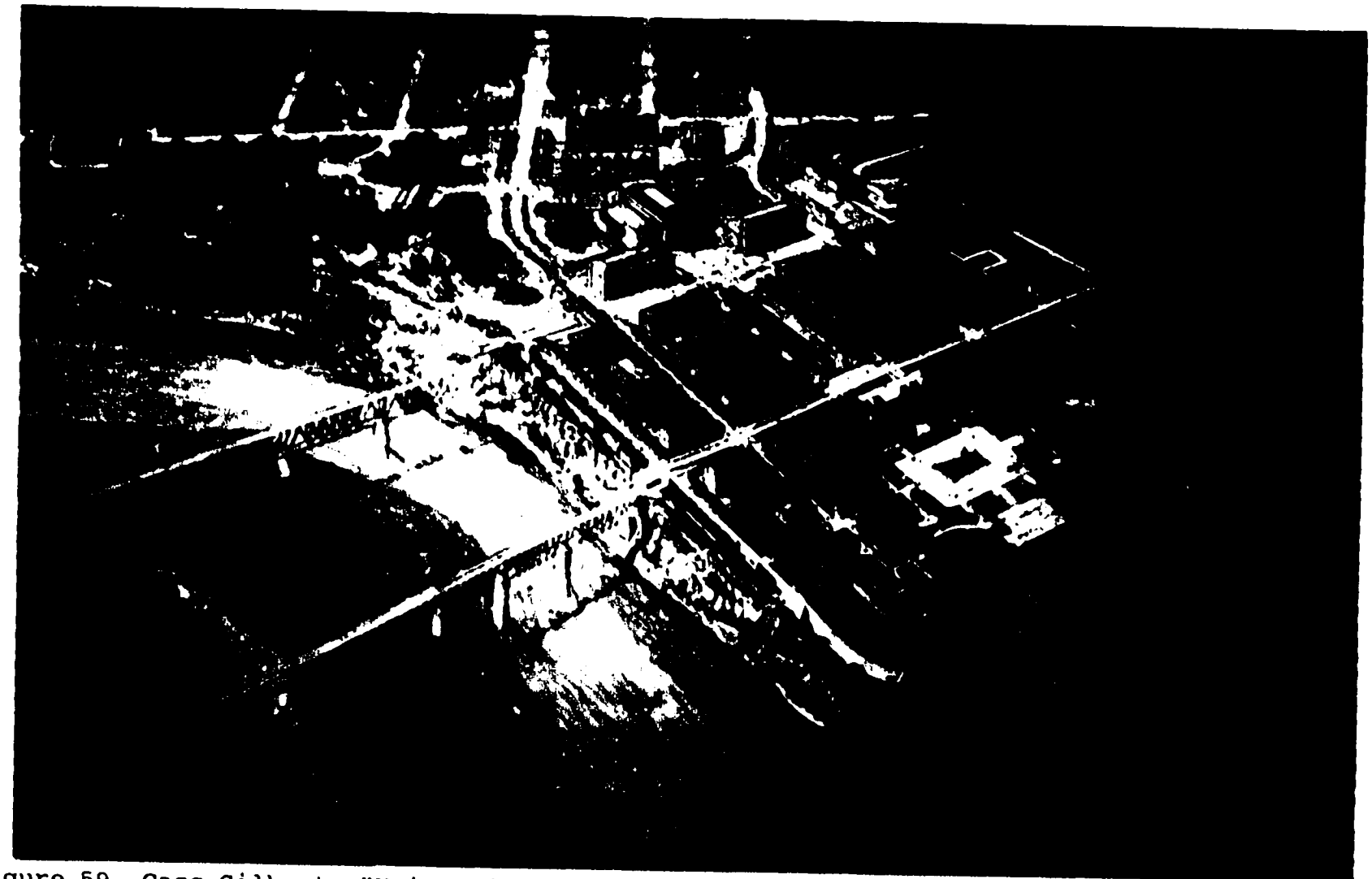


Figure 59. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," [bird's-eye view depicting gabled auditorium], Birch Burdette Long, del., October 1909 (UM/UA)

Figure 60. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis," [bird's-eye view depicting domed auditorium], Birch Burdette Long, del., March 1910 (UM/UA)

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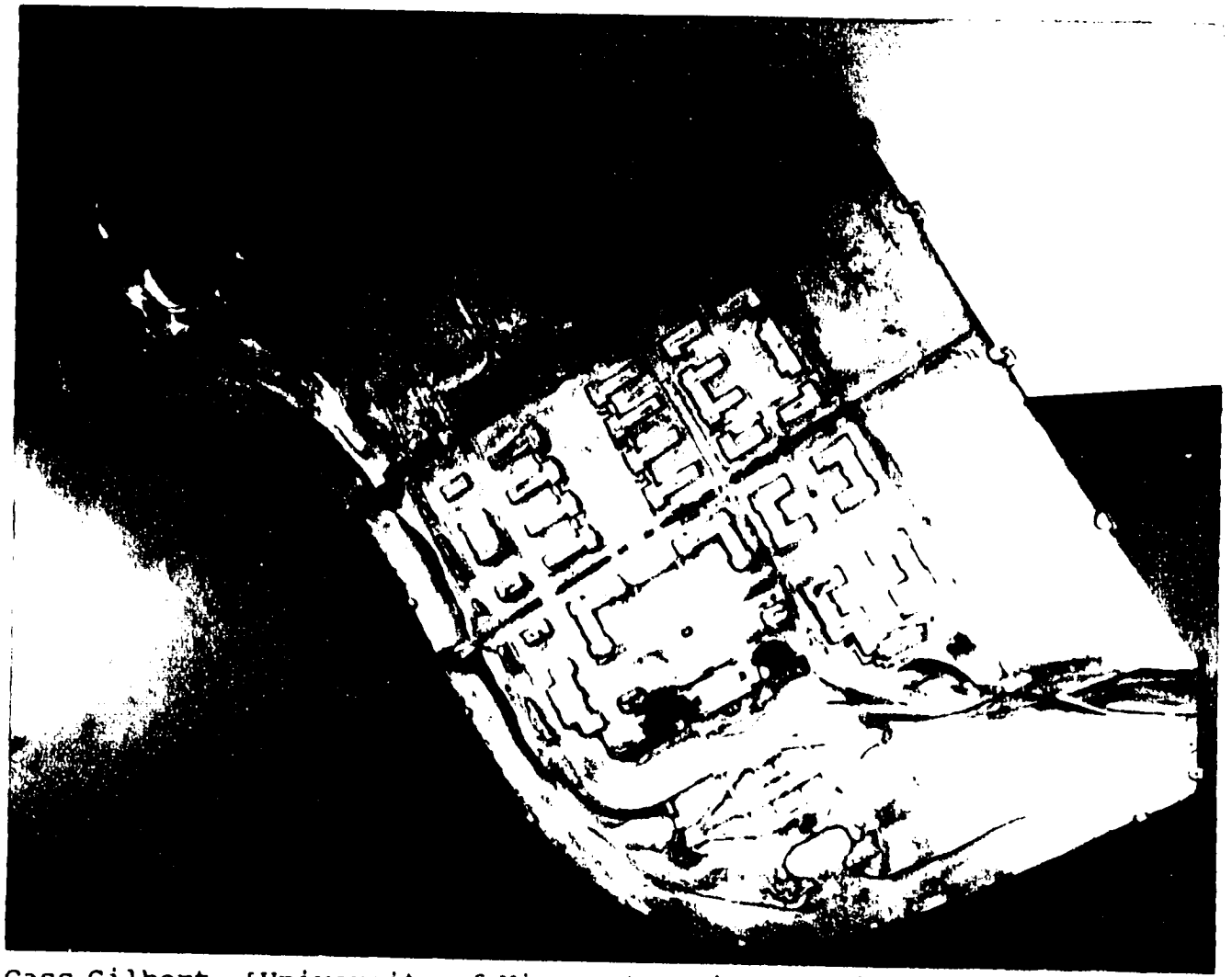


Figure 61. Cass Gilbert, [University of Minnesota, Minneapolis], Klee-Thompson plaster model, completed May 1910 (UM/UA)

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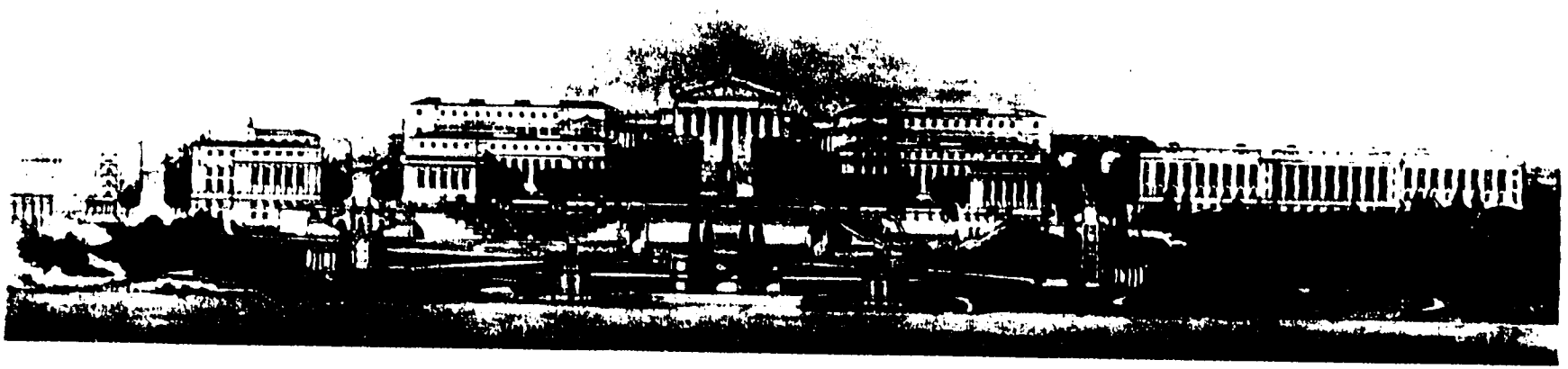


Figure 62. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: View from the South," [depicting gabled auditorium at the center], March 1910 (UM/UA)

Figure 63. Cass Gilbert, "University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: View from the South," [depicting domed auditorium at the center] (UM/UA)

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Figure 64. Palmer and Hornbostel, "Competition for the Western University of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Principal Elevation from the Southeast (Bayard Street)," first prize design, as published in Architectural Review 15 (July 1908): 117.

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Figure 65. View of the Texas State Capitol, with Ruffini's Administration Building at left and Gilbert's Library at right, n.d. [ca. 1911], Battle Papers (UT/CAH)

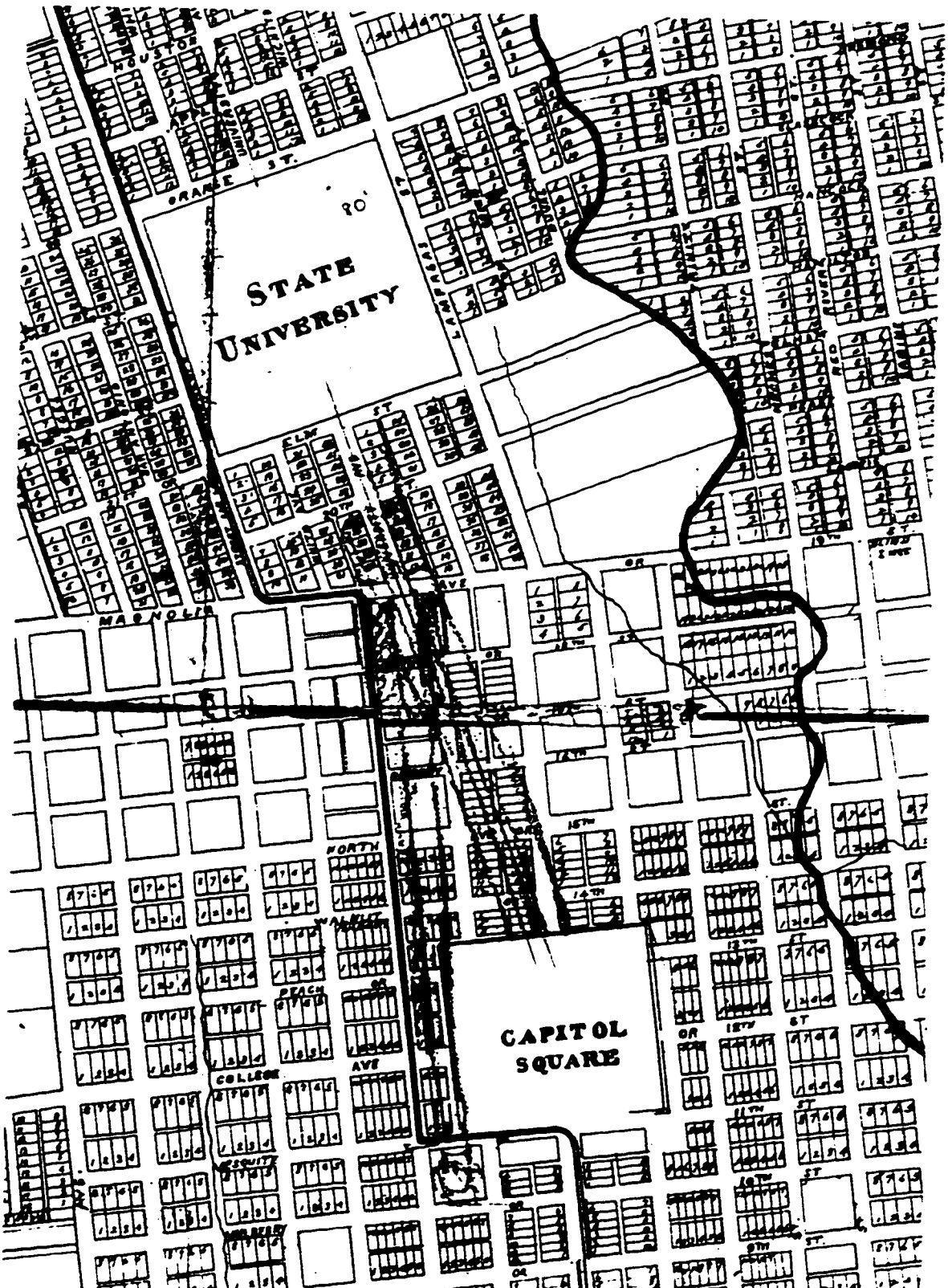



Figure 66. Cass Gilbert, attr., City Map of Austin [detail] with graphite notations depicting boulevards between capitol area and state university tract, n.d. [ca. 1909] (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection in the N-YHS)

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Figure 67. Frederick E. Ruffini, University of Texas: Administration Building, Austin, Texas; 1882-1899 (dem. 1935) (UT/CAH)

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Figure 68. Frederick M. Mann, University Methodist Church, Austin, Texas; 1907 (neg. #CO1331; Austin History Center, Austin Public Library)

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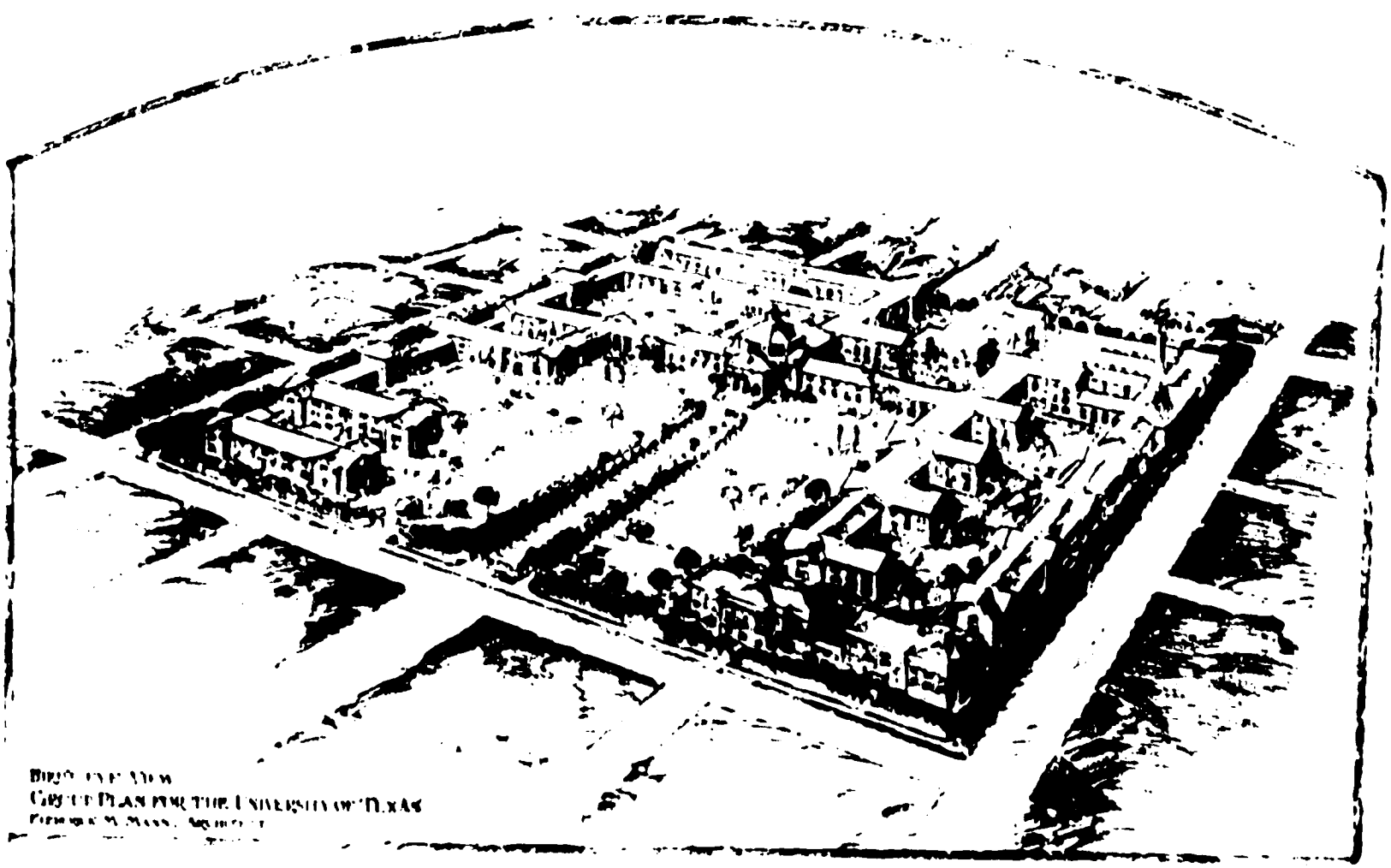


Figure 69. Frederick M. Mann, "Group Plan for the University of Texas: Bird's-Eye View," n.d. [ca. March(?) 1910] (UT/CAH).

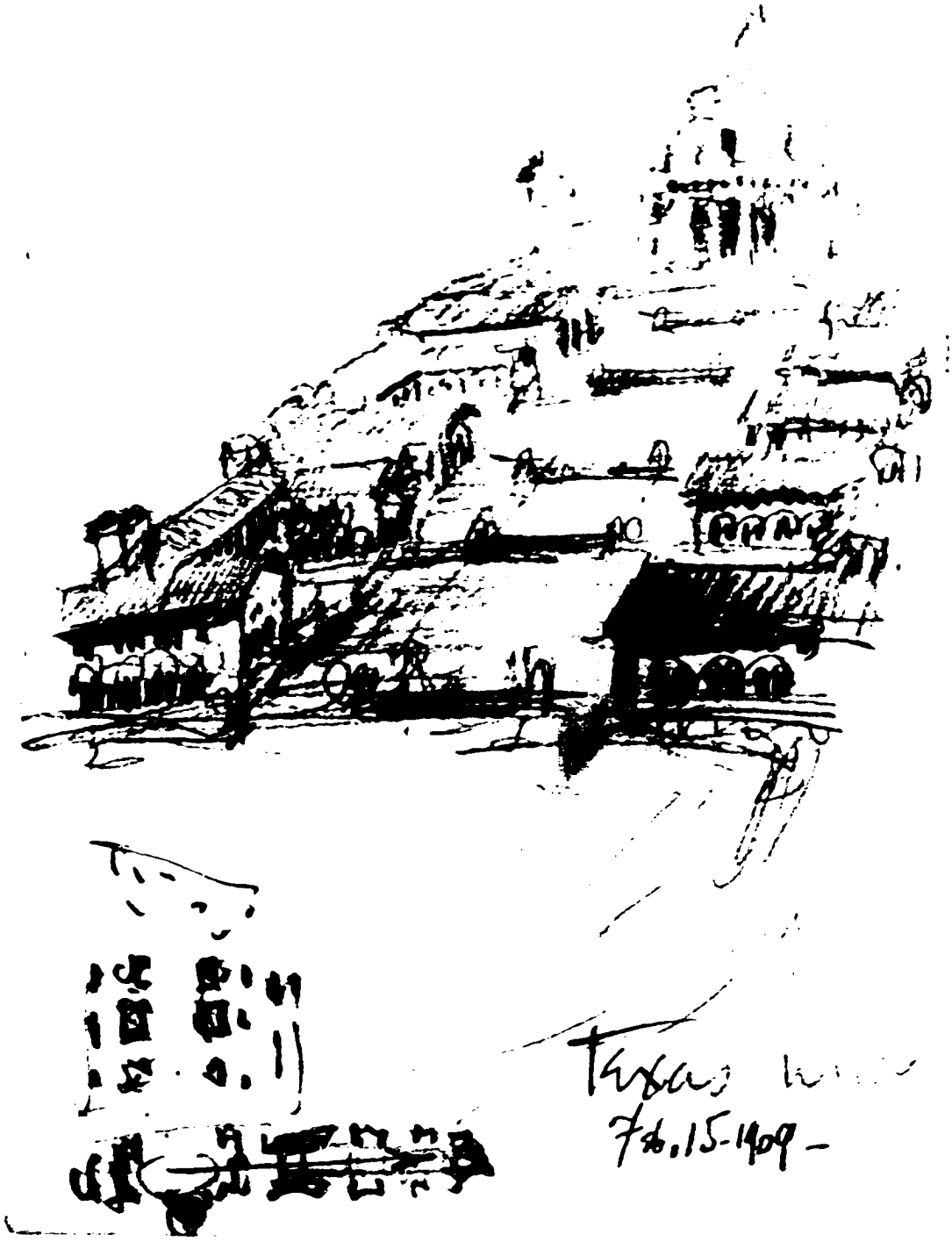



Figure 70. Cass Gilbert, "Texas University," [University of Texas, Austin: Central Mall], plan (at lower left) and perspective, February 15, 1909 (LC/P&P)

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Figure 71. Cass Gilbert, "Texas Univ.," [University of Texas, Austin: University Hall], perspective, n.d. [ca. 1909?] (LC/P&P)

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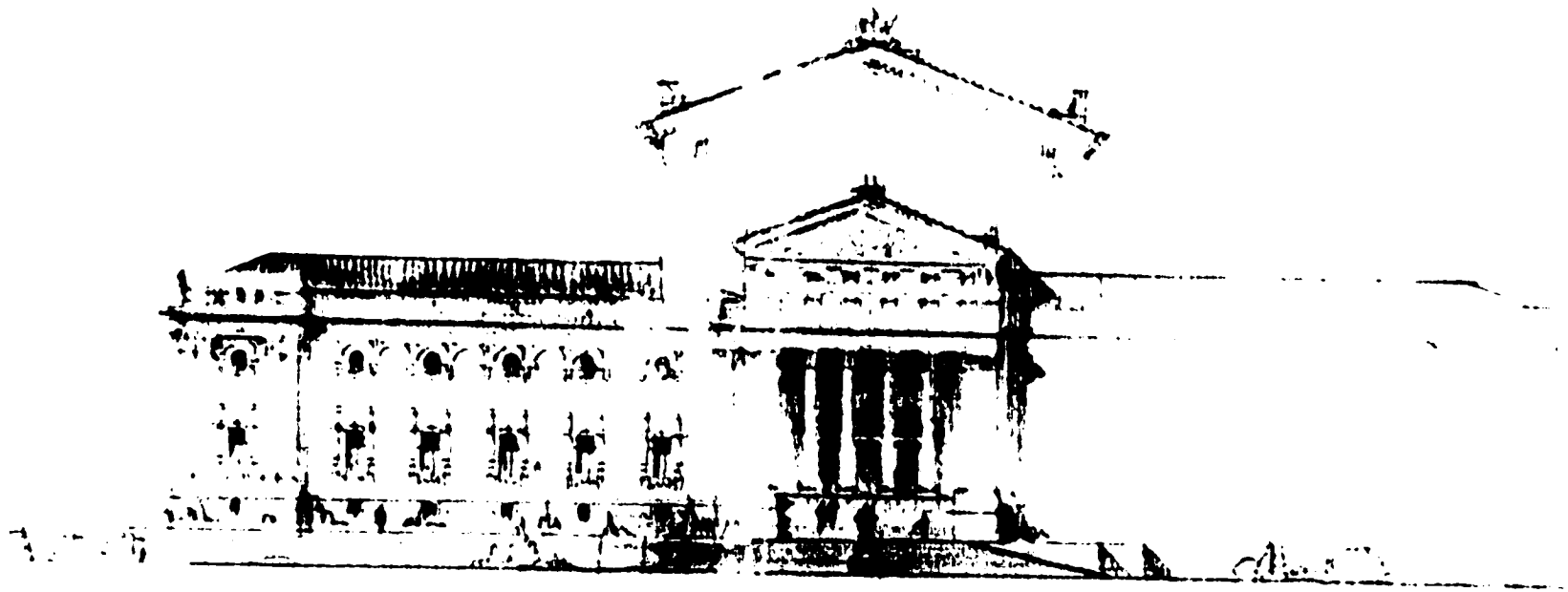


Figure 72. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: University Hall], south elevation, November 22 [1909 or 1910] (N-YHS).

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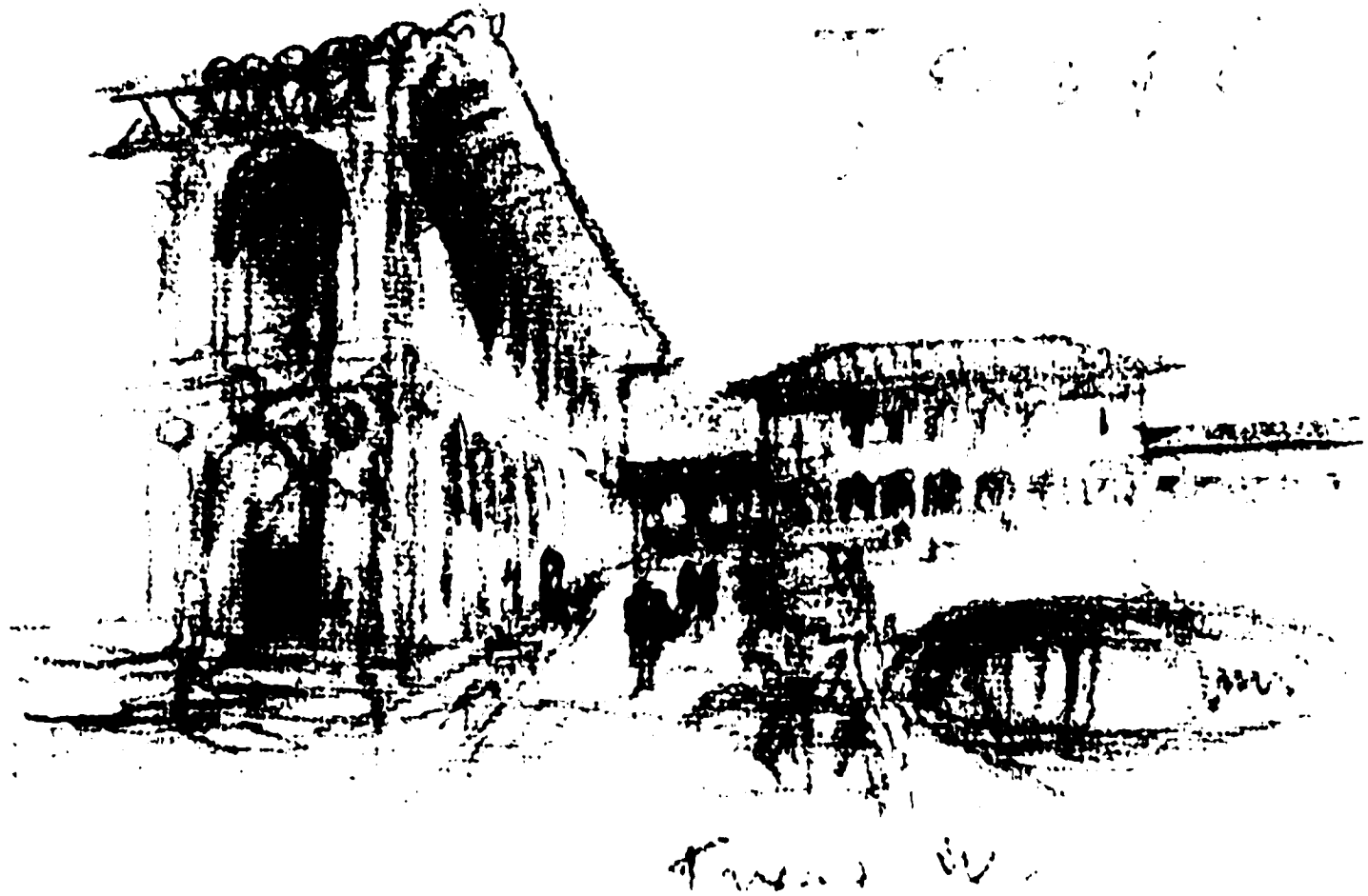


Figure 73. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: courtyard], perspective, n.d. [ca. 1910] (LC/P&P)

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Figure 74. Cass Gilbert, "Texas University," [perpective sketch of courtyard], March 1910 (LC/P&P)

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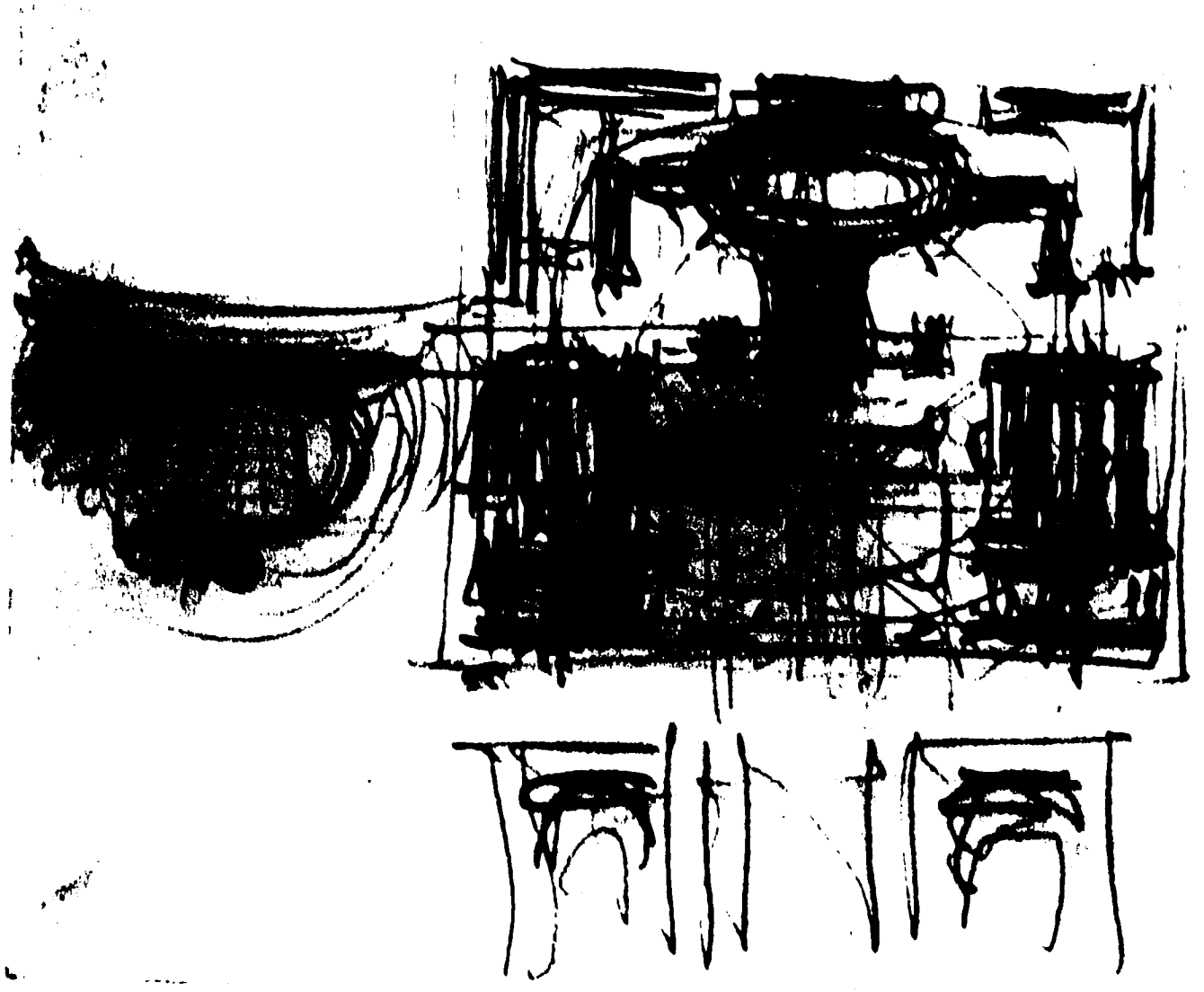


Figure 75. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Block plan], sketch, n.d. [ca. 1910] (LC/P&P)

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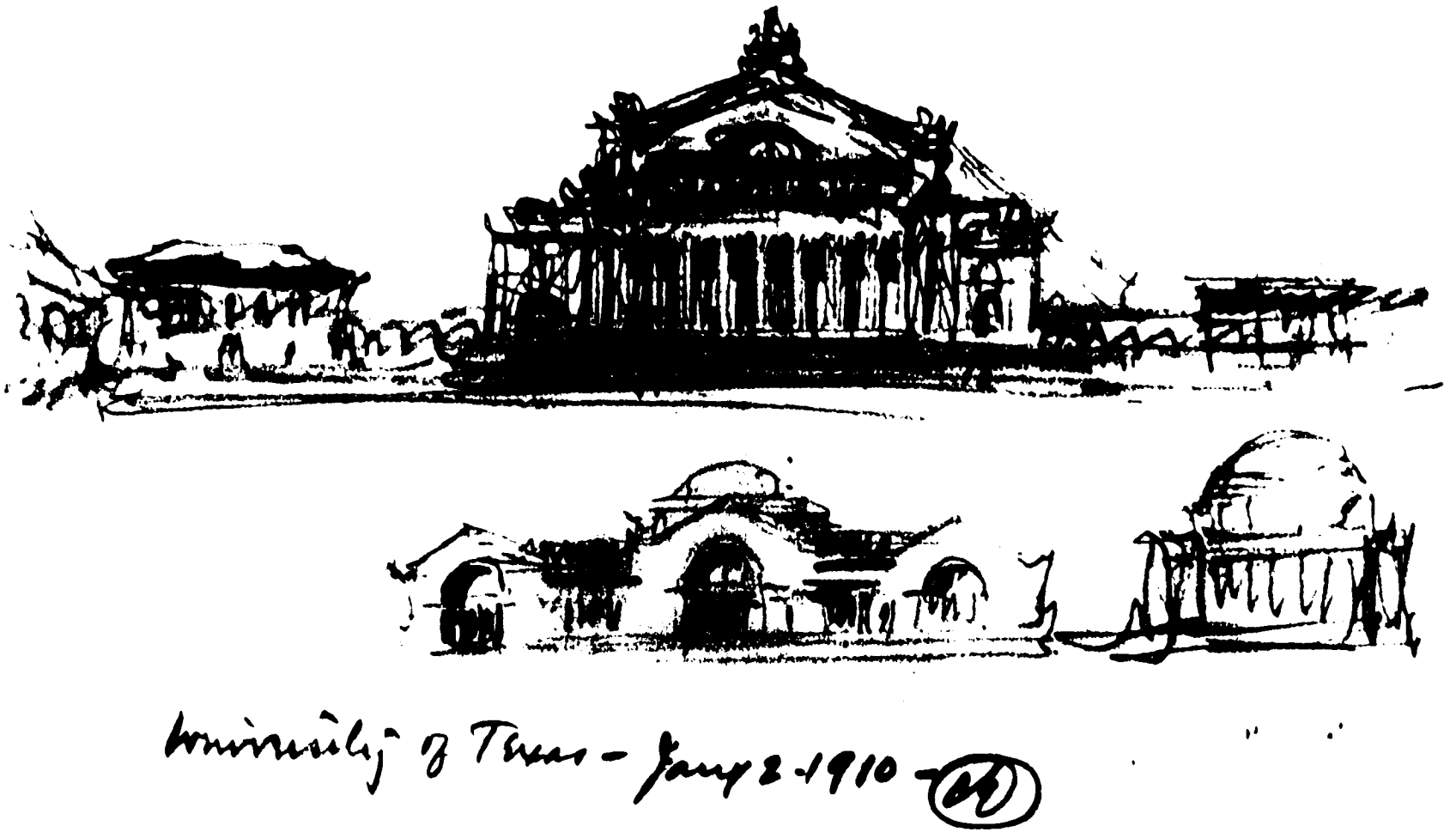



Figure 76. Cass Gilbert, "University of Texas," elevation sketch of University Hall flanked by Library and unidentified building, January 2, 1910 (LC/P&P)

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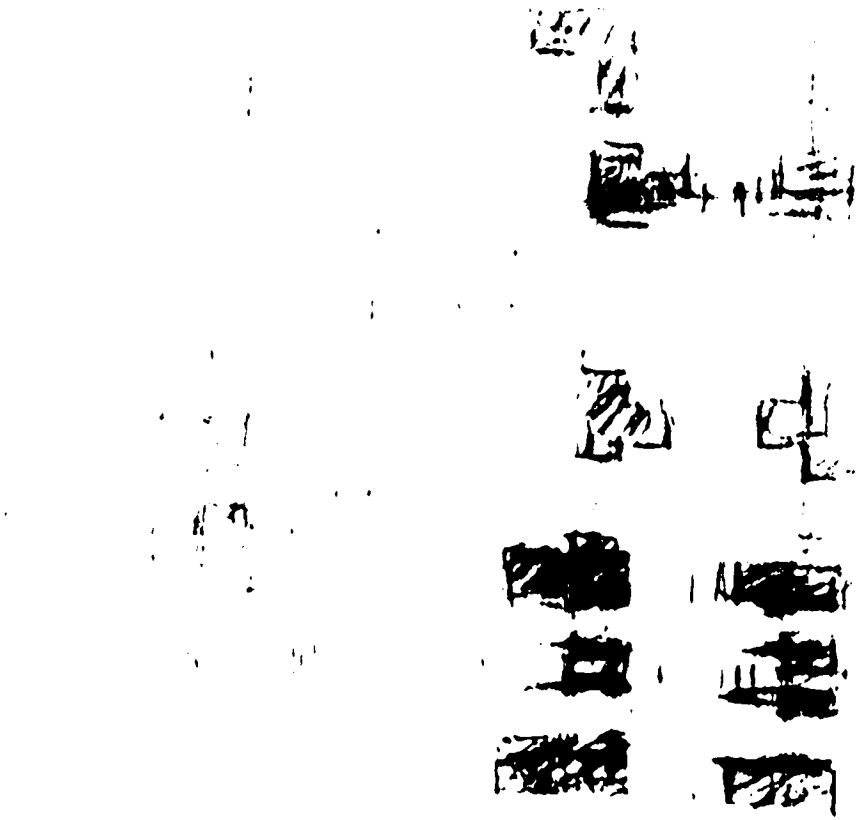


Figure 77. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Block Plan], sketch, n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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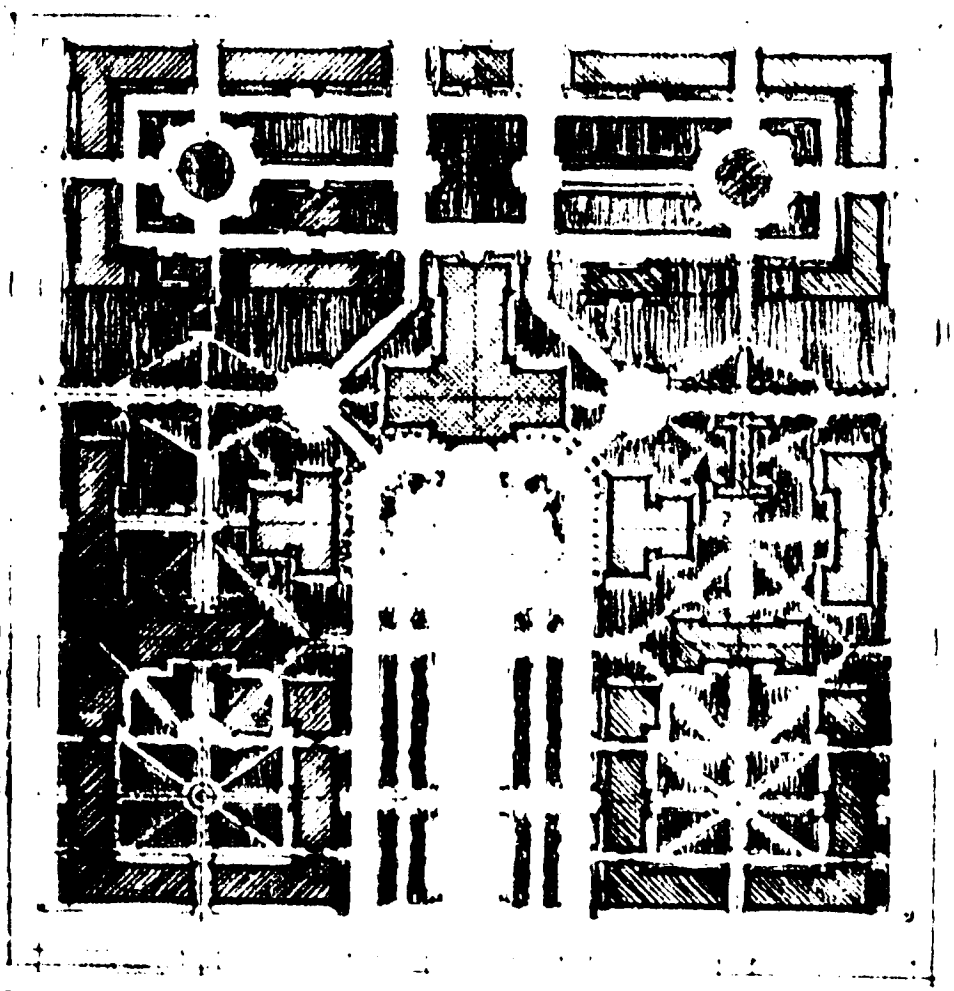


Figure 78. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Block Plan], W. Fuicts(?)/W. Fischer(?)/W. Foulds(?), March 19, 1910 (N-YHS)

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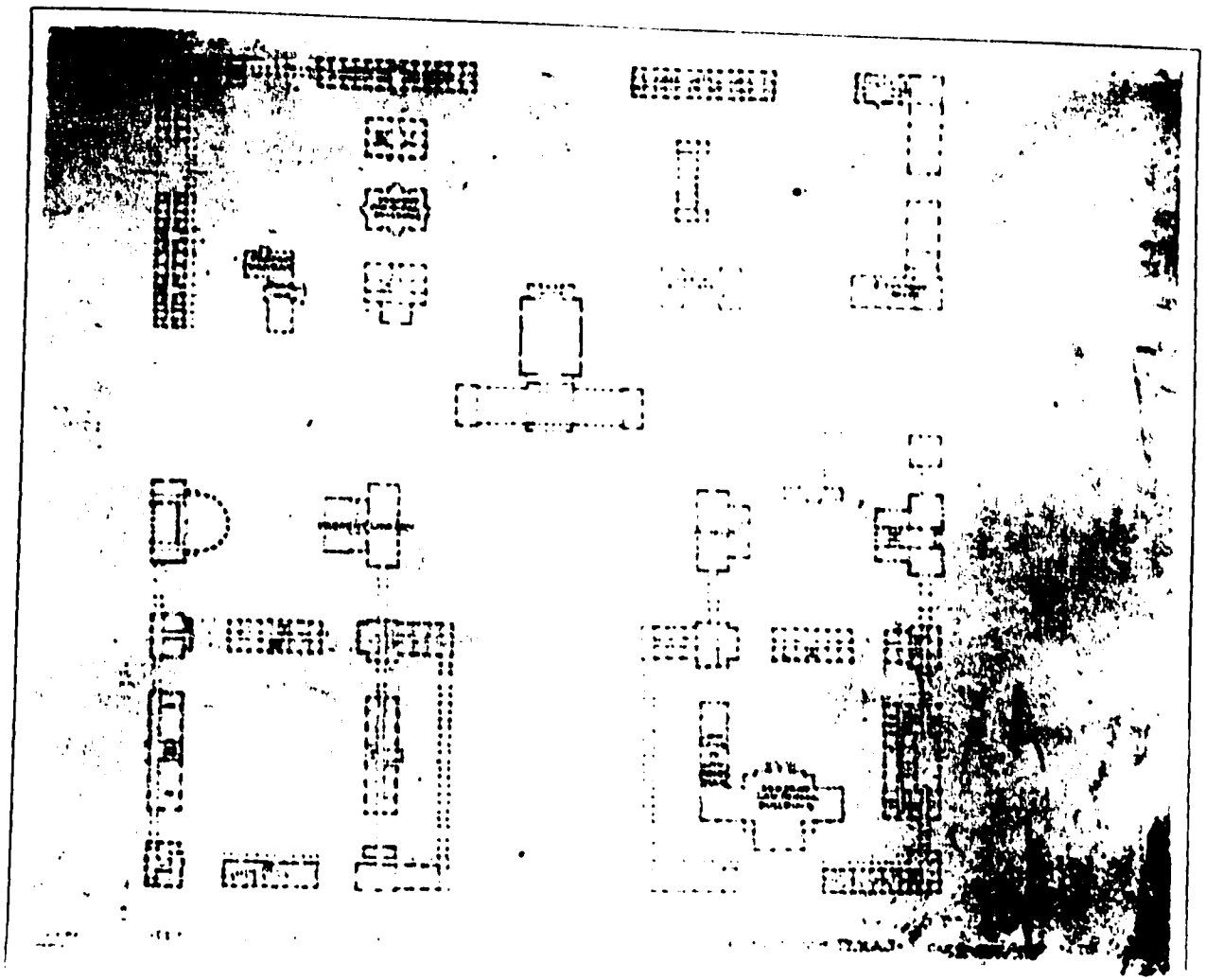


Figure 79. Cass Gilbert, "University of Texas, Austin: Preliminary Sketch Plan," Charles G. Loring, del., n.d. [ca. 1911] (UT/CAH)

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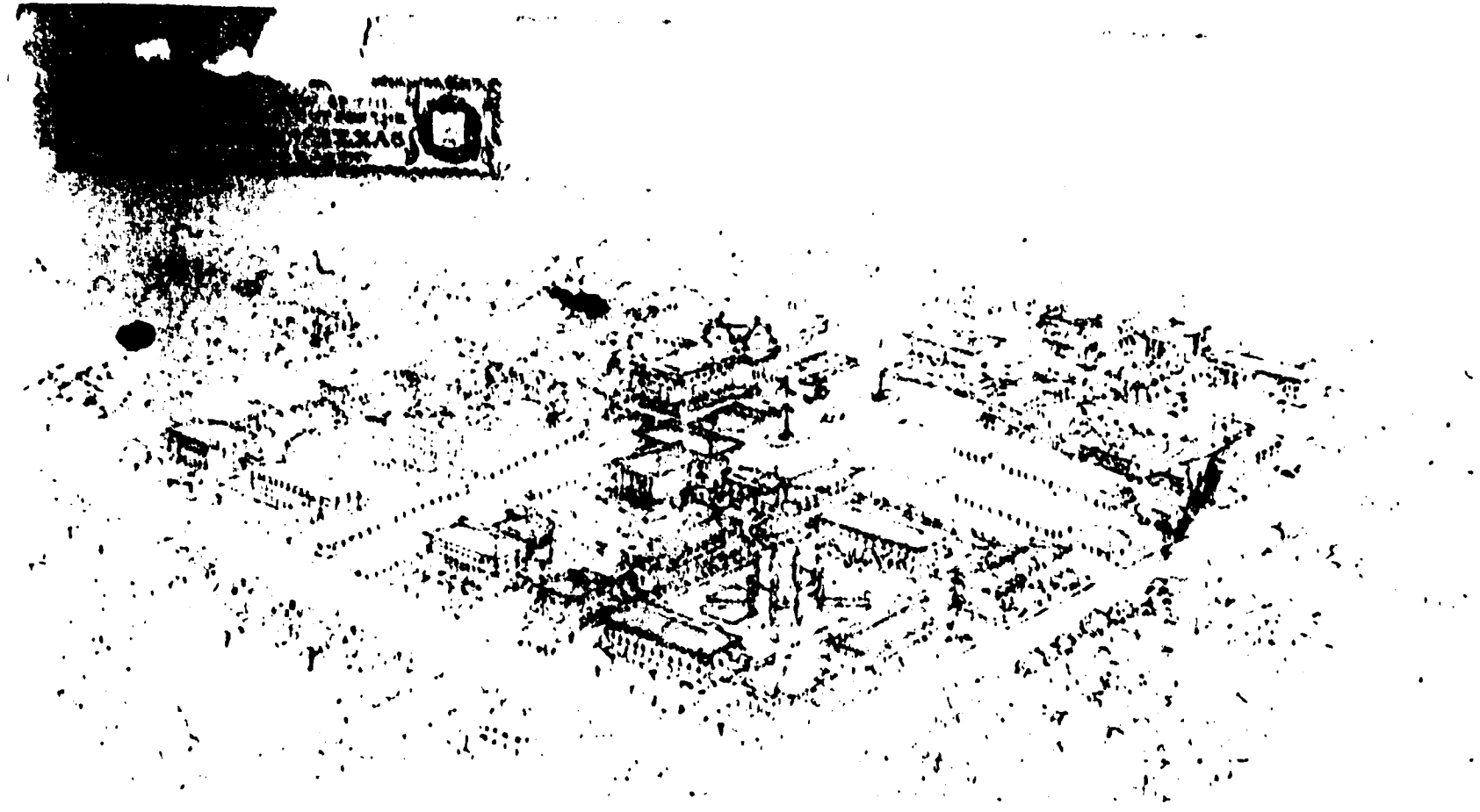


Figure 80. Cass Gilbert, "Bird's-Eye View of the Proposed Layout for the University of Texas," n.d. [ca. 1911] (UT/CAH)

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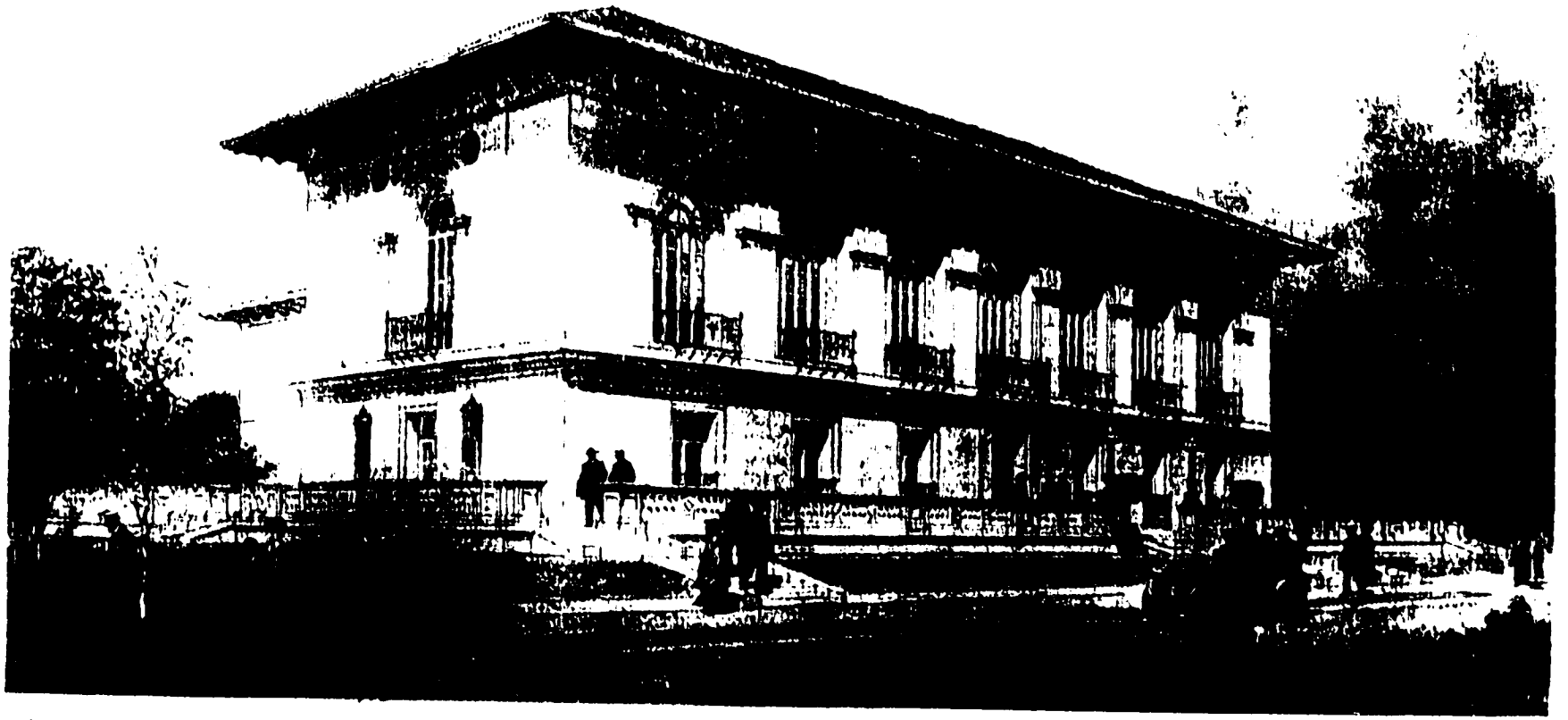


Figure 81. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library], perspective, T. R. Johnson, del., n.d. [ca. 1910] (photocopy reproduction from photograph in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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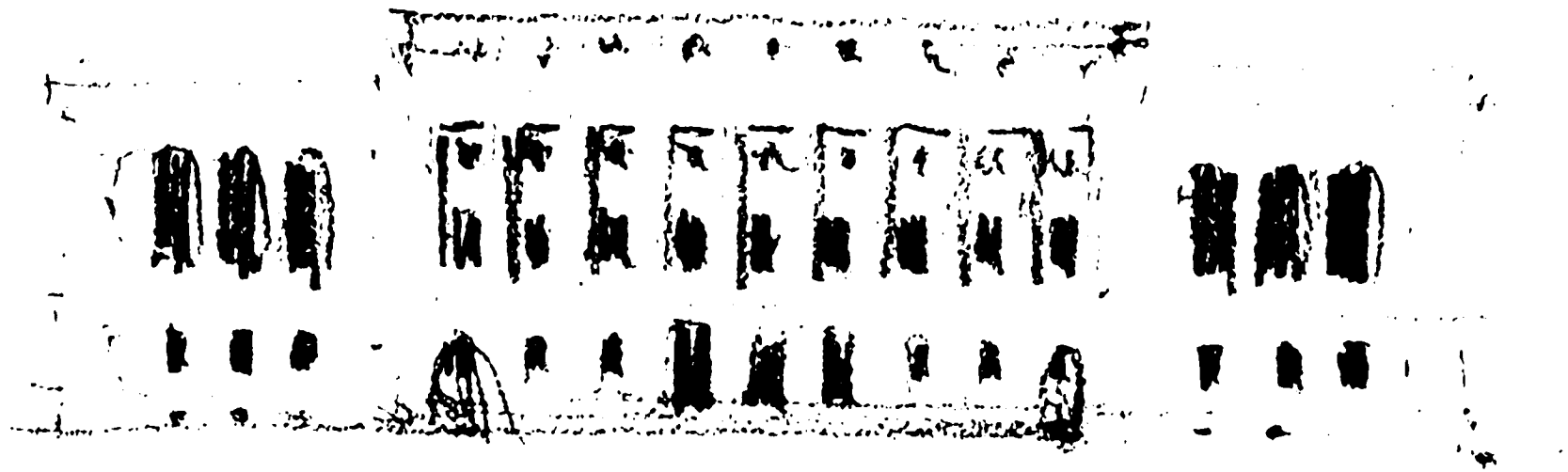


Figure 82. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--Flat-roof proposal], n.d. [ca. 1909] (N-YHS)

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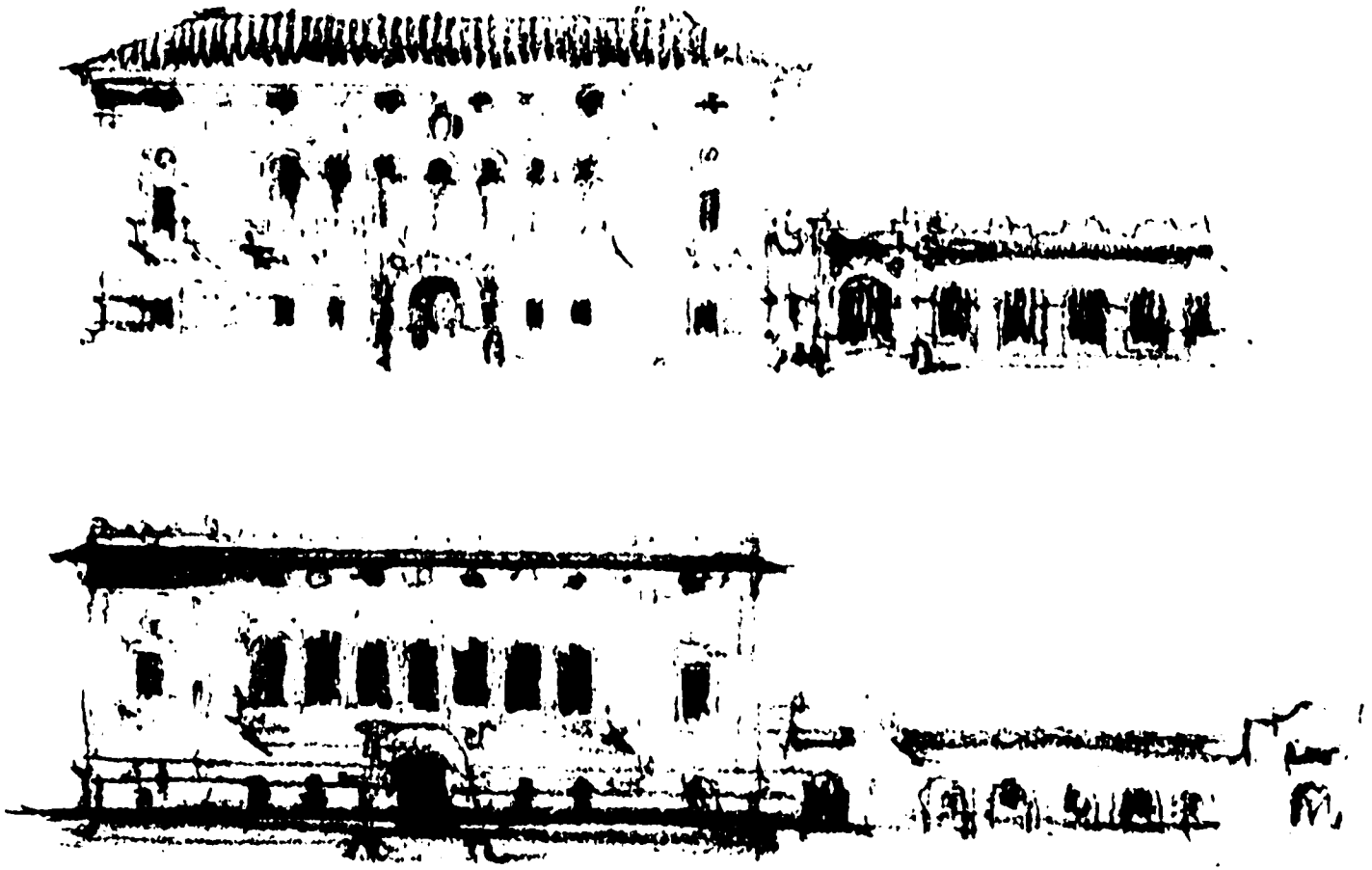


Figure 83 a and b. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--hip roof and flat roof proposals], n.d. [ca. 1909] (N-YHS)

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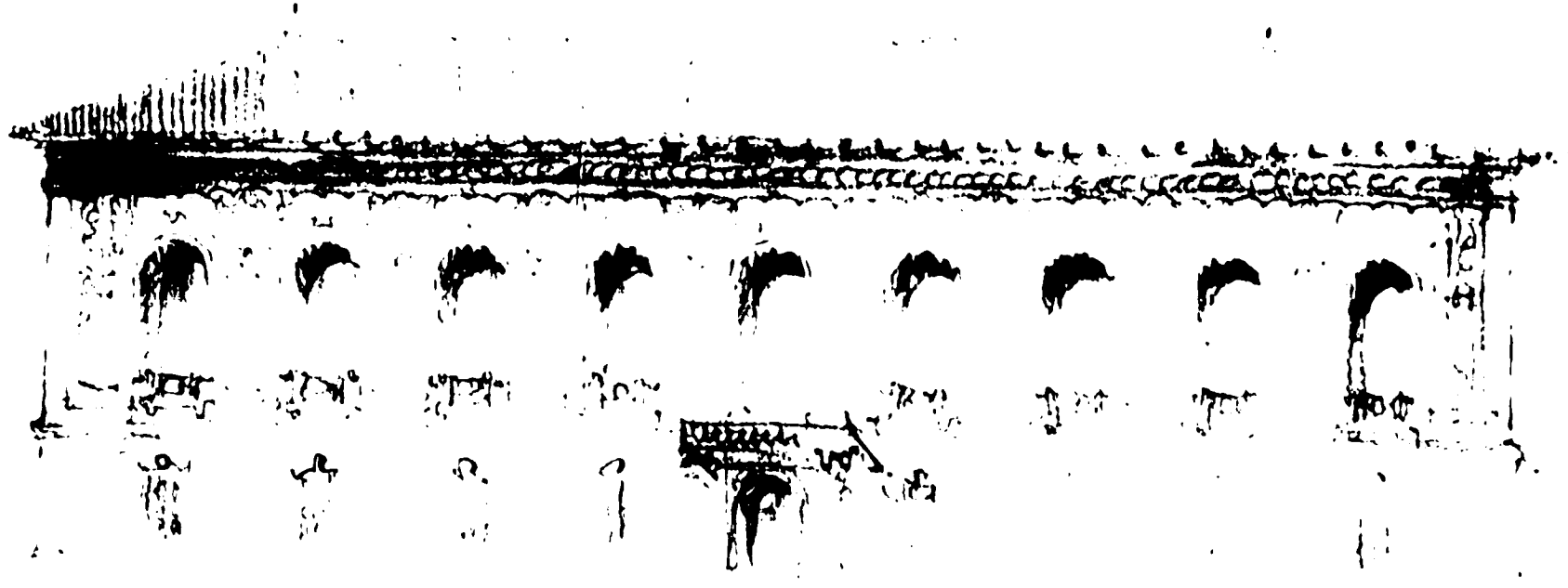


Figure 84. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--nine-bay elevation], n.d. [ca. 1909-10] (N-YHS)

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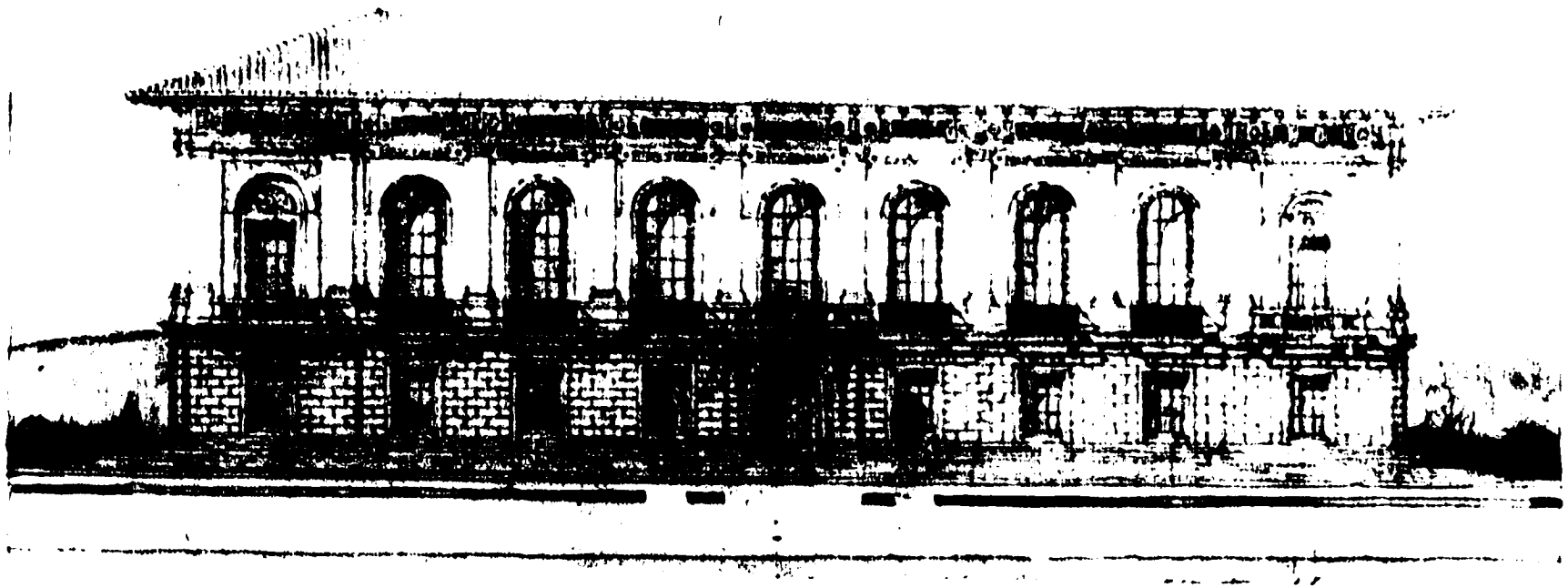


Figure 85. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--nine-bay elevation], Charles G. Loring, del.(?), n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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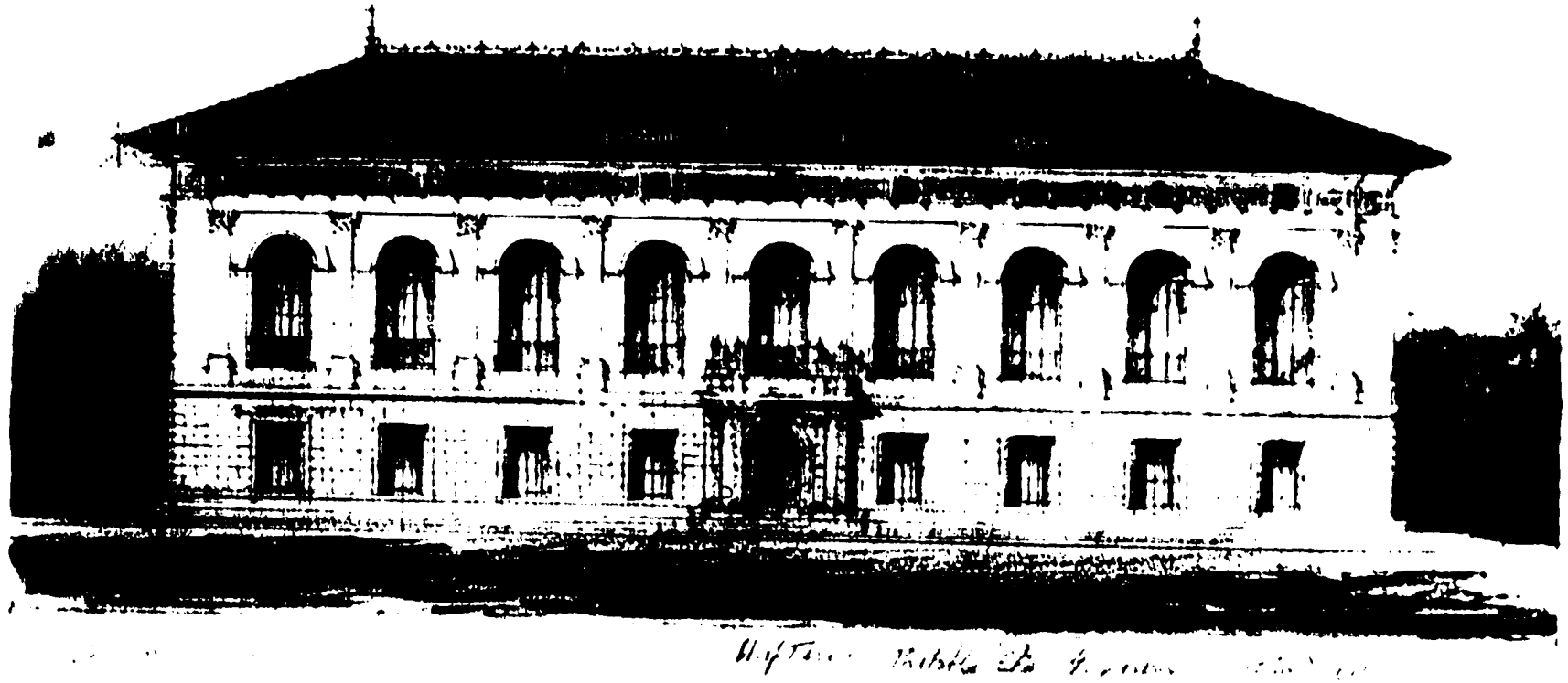


Figure 86. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--nine-bay elevation], Charles G. Loring, del.(?), n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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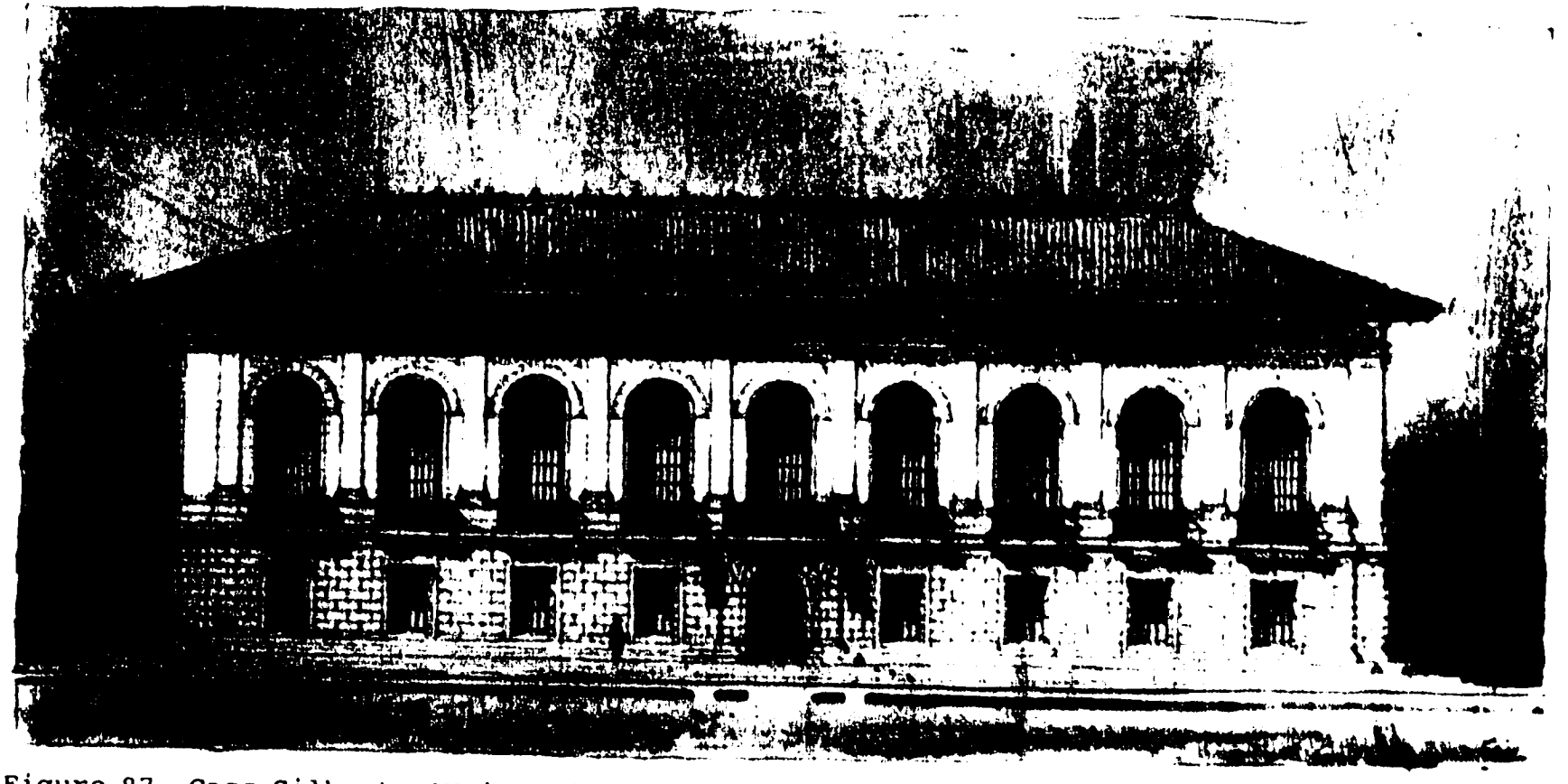


Figure 87. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--nine-bay elevation], Charles G. Loring, del.(?), n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

Figure 88. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--seven-bay elevation], n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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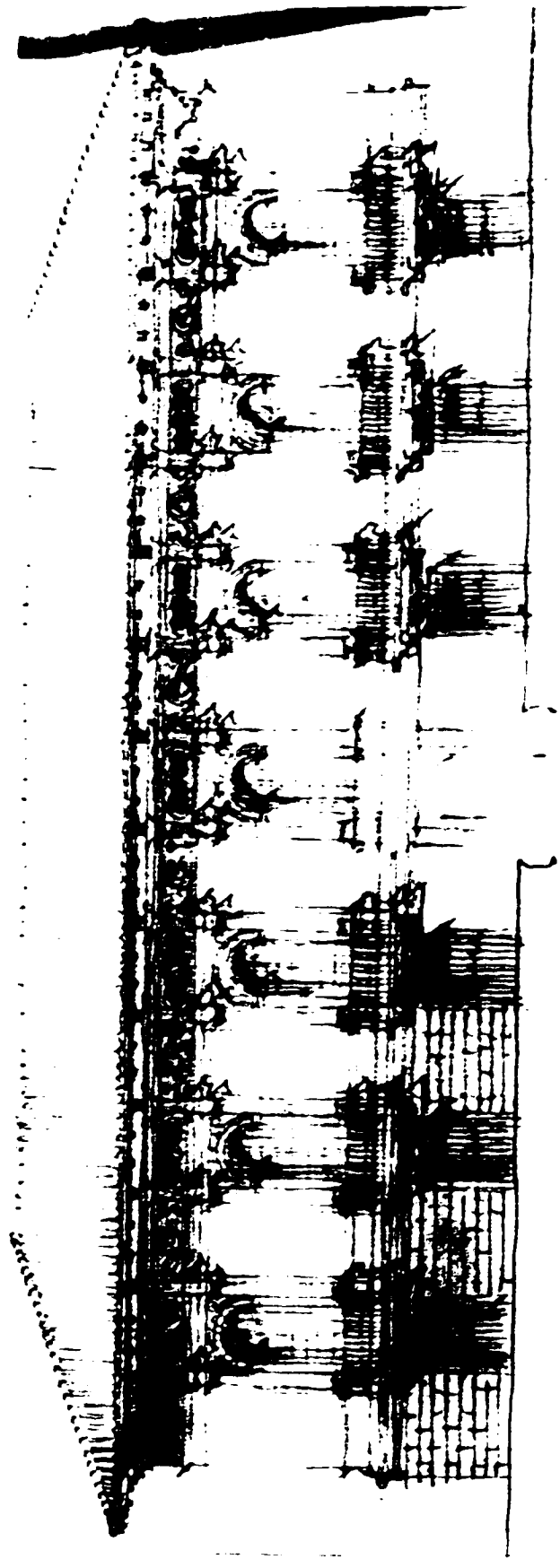


Figure 89. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library--seven-bay elevation], n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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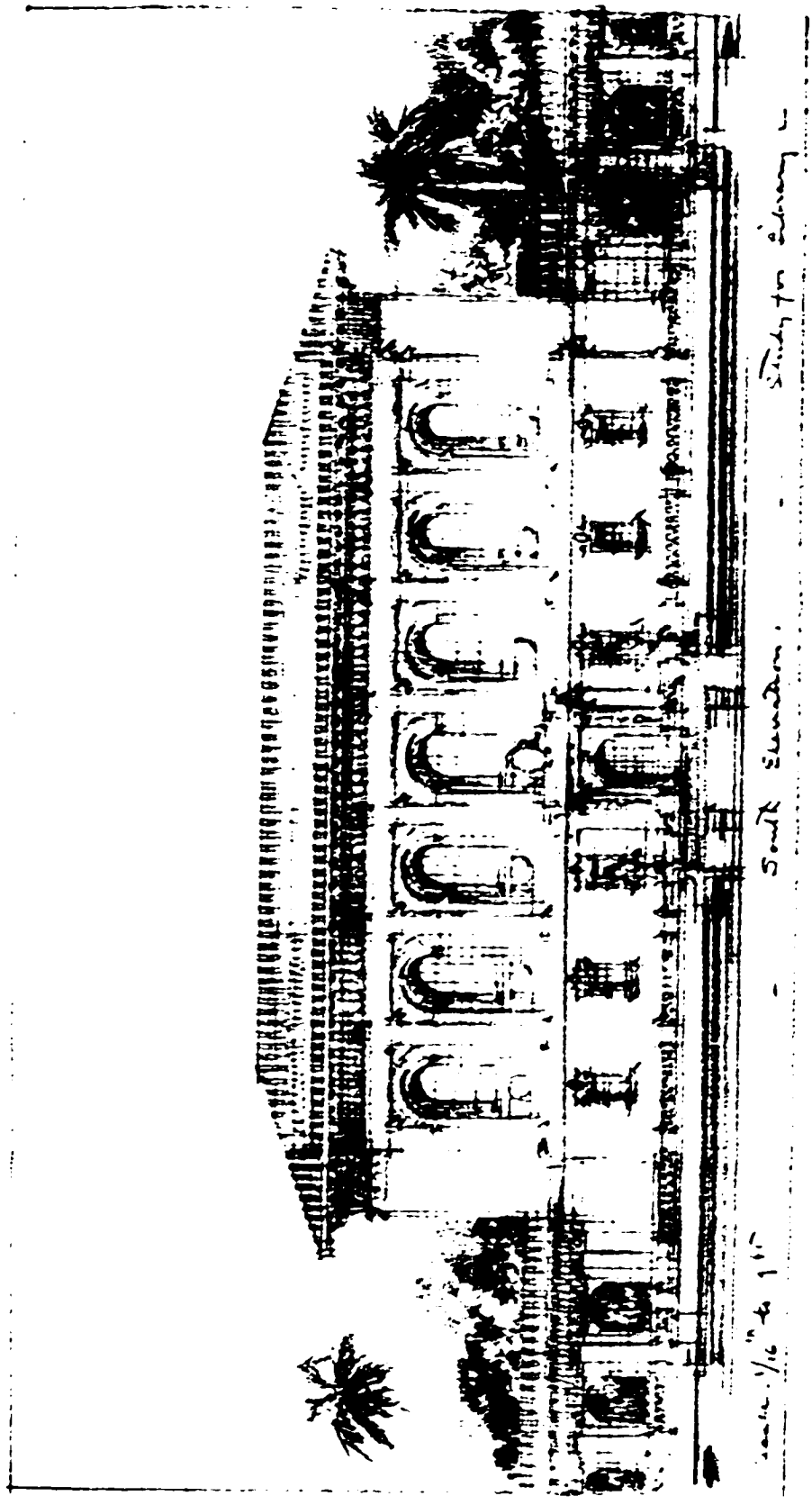


Figure 90. Cass Gilbert, "Study for Library: South Elevation," n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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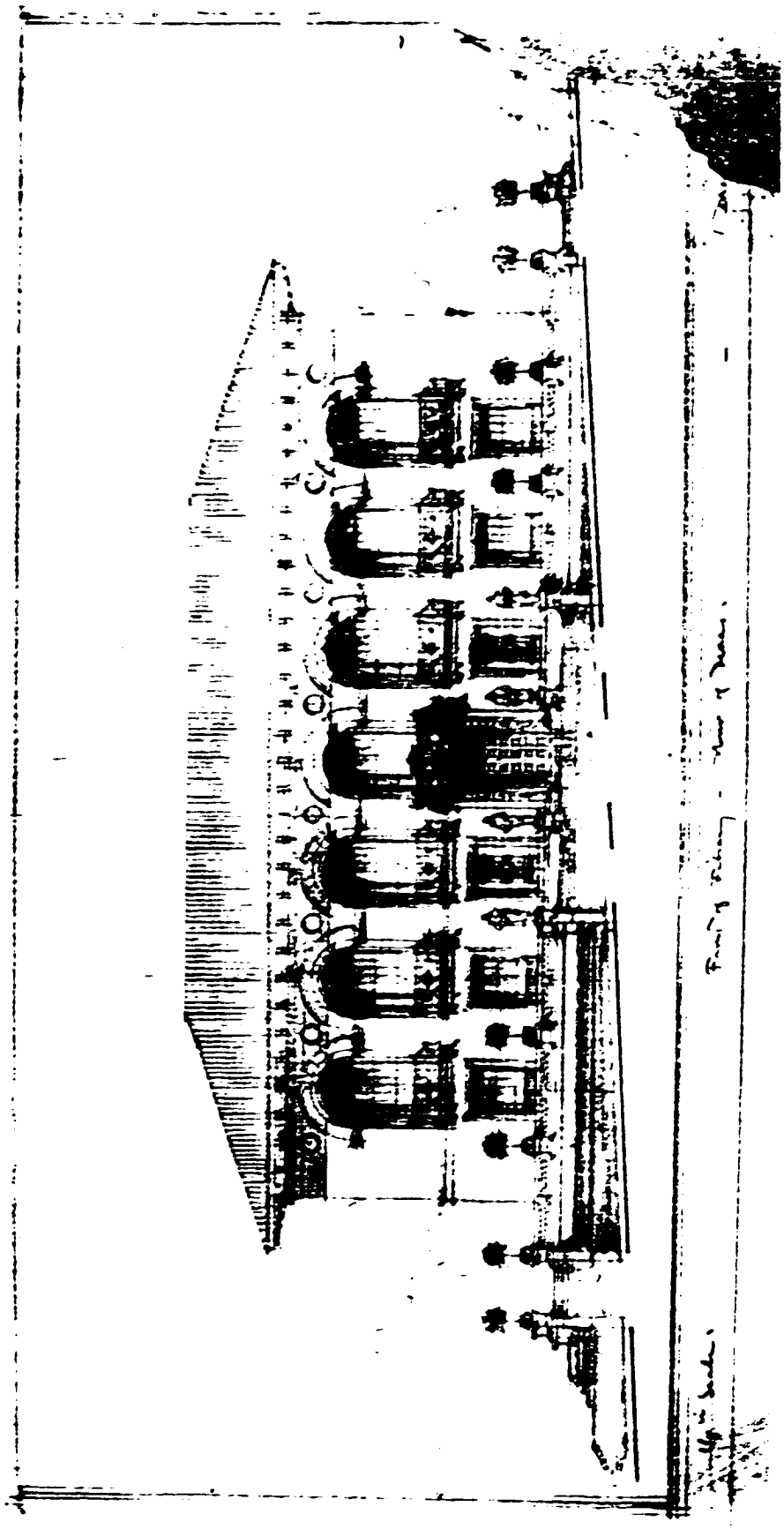


Figure 91. Cass Gilbert, "Front of Library, Univ. of Texas," n.d. [ca. 1910; at lower right, "Ma. . ."] (N-YHS)

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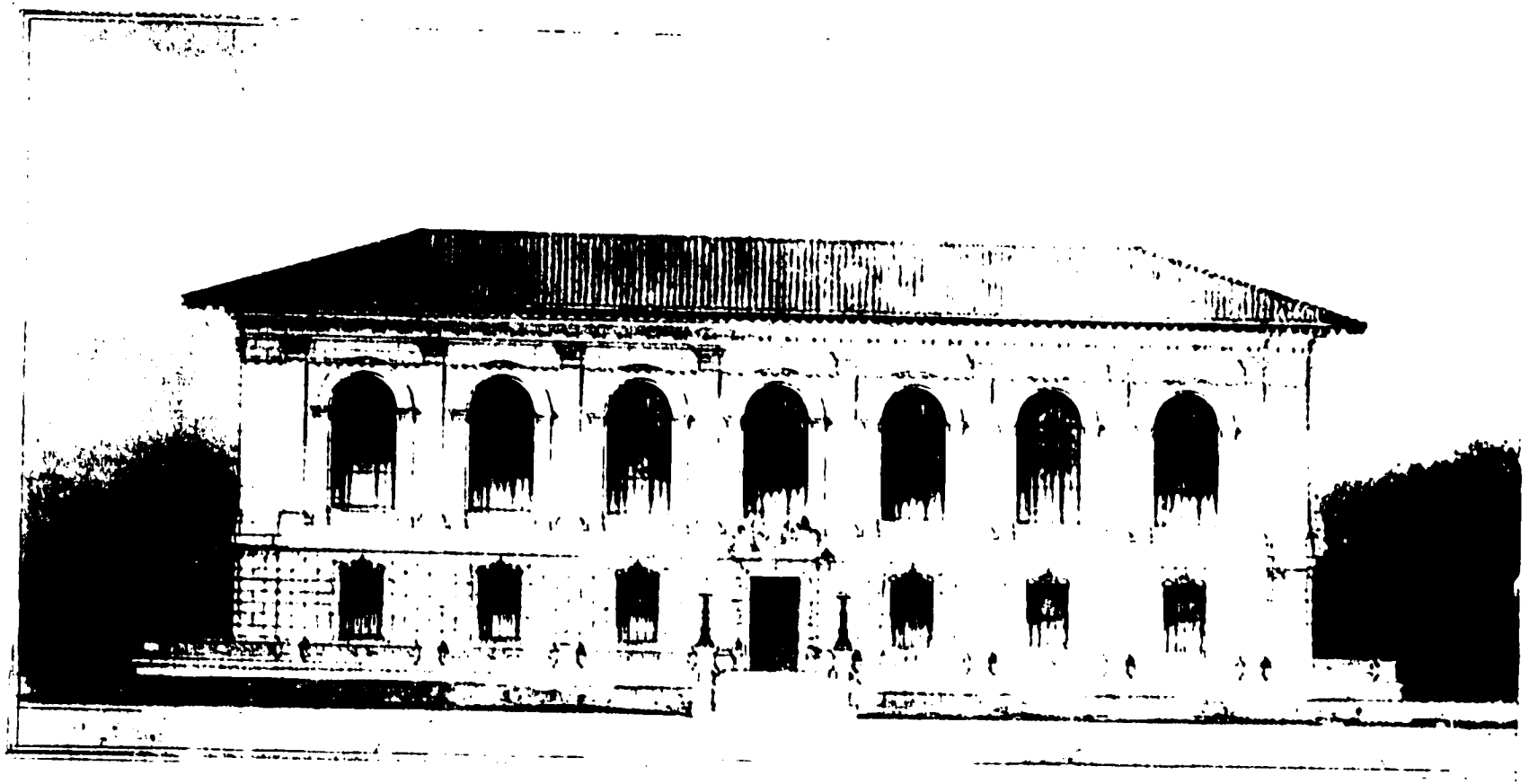


Figure 92. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library], n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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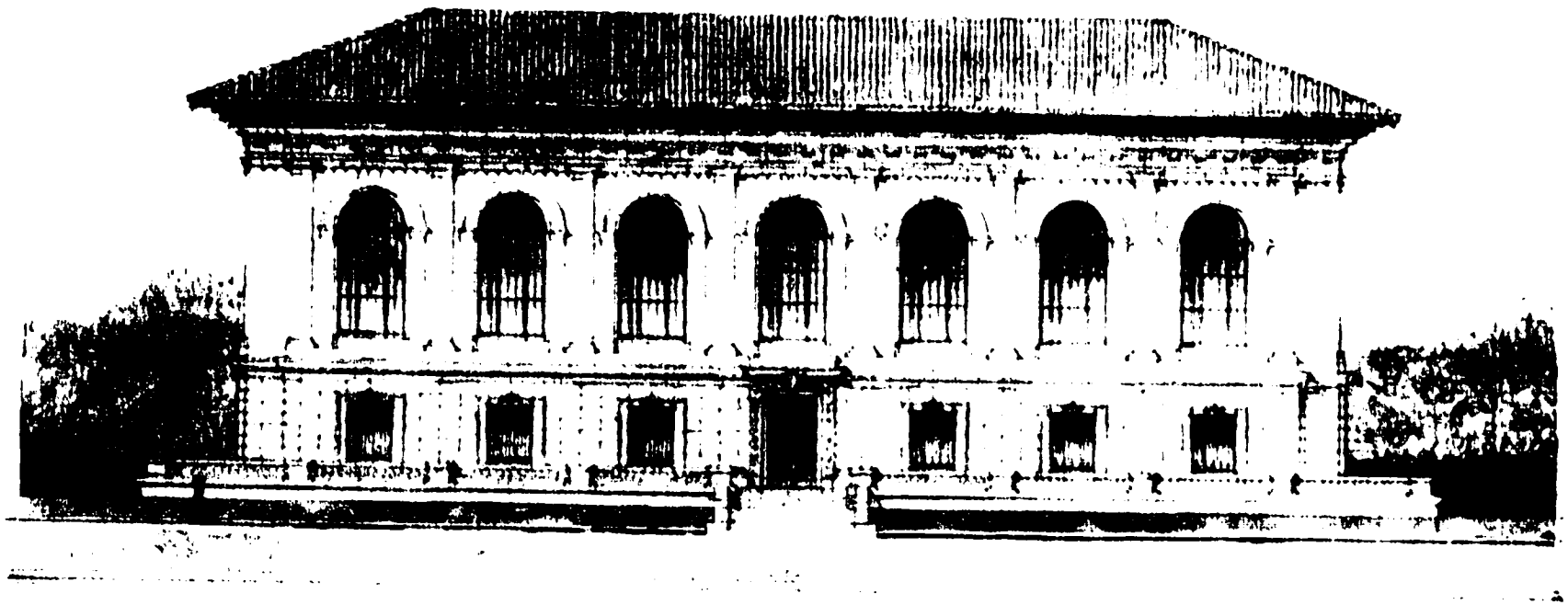


Figure 93. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Library], n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)

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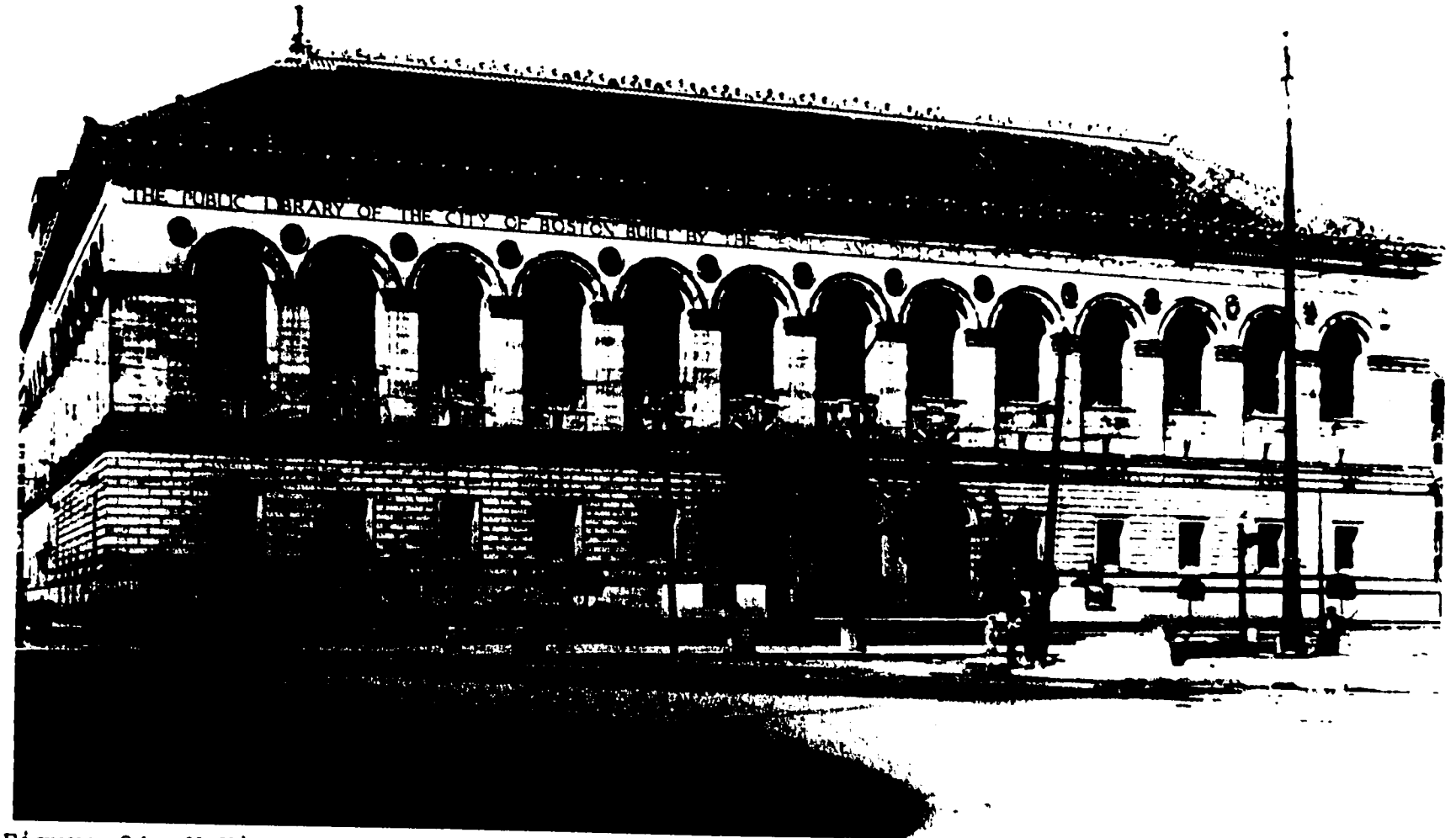



Figure 94. McKim, Mead & White, "The Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.: Façade Facing Copley Square," 1898, as published in The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White in Photographs, Plans and Elevations, intro. R. G. Wilson, reprint of 1915-20 ed., (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), plate 100.

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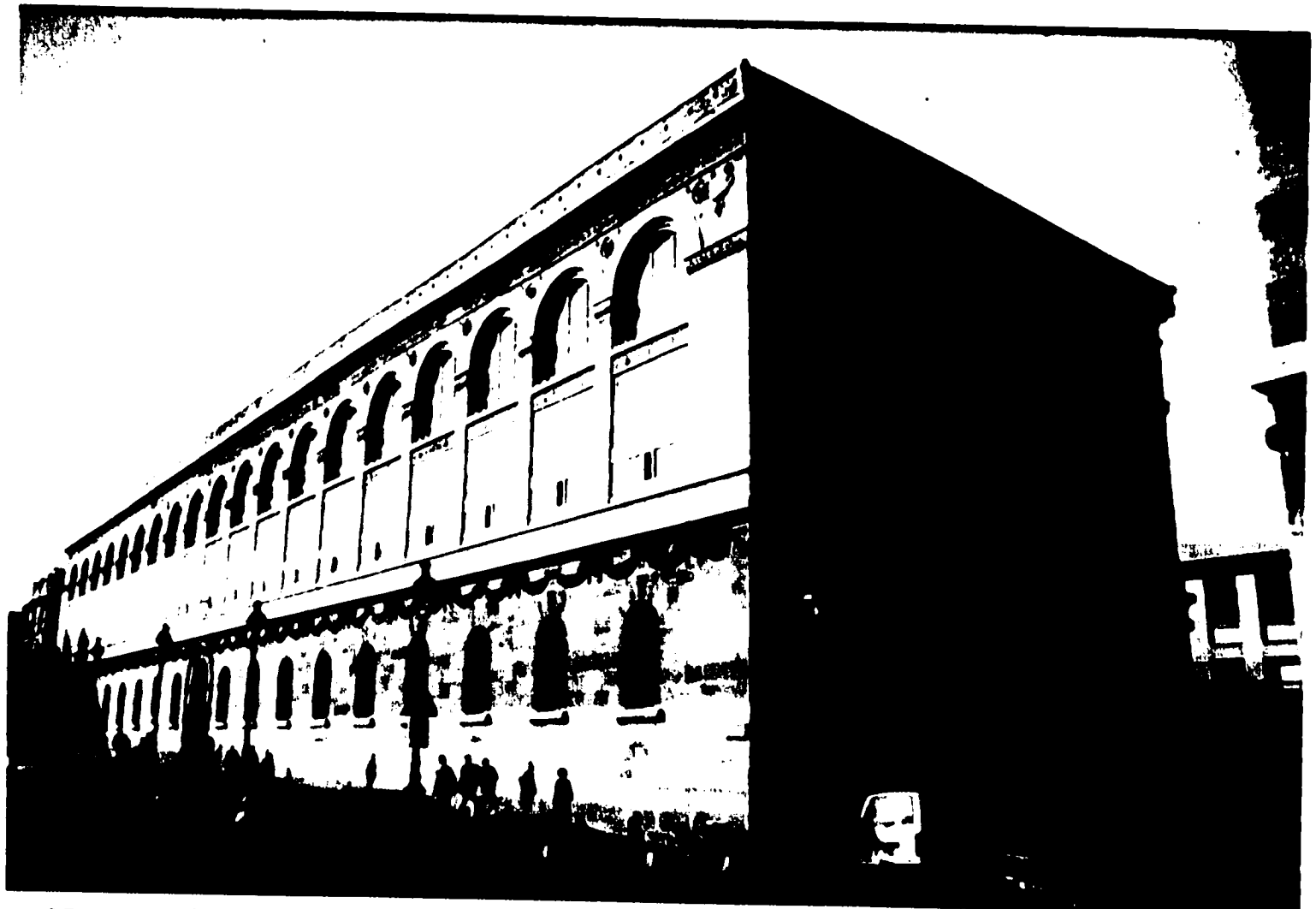


Figure 95. Henri Labrouste, Bibliotèque Sainte-Geneviève, front façade, 1838-50; 1986 photograph (author)

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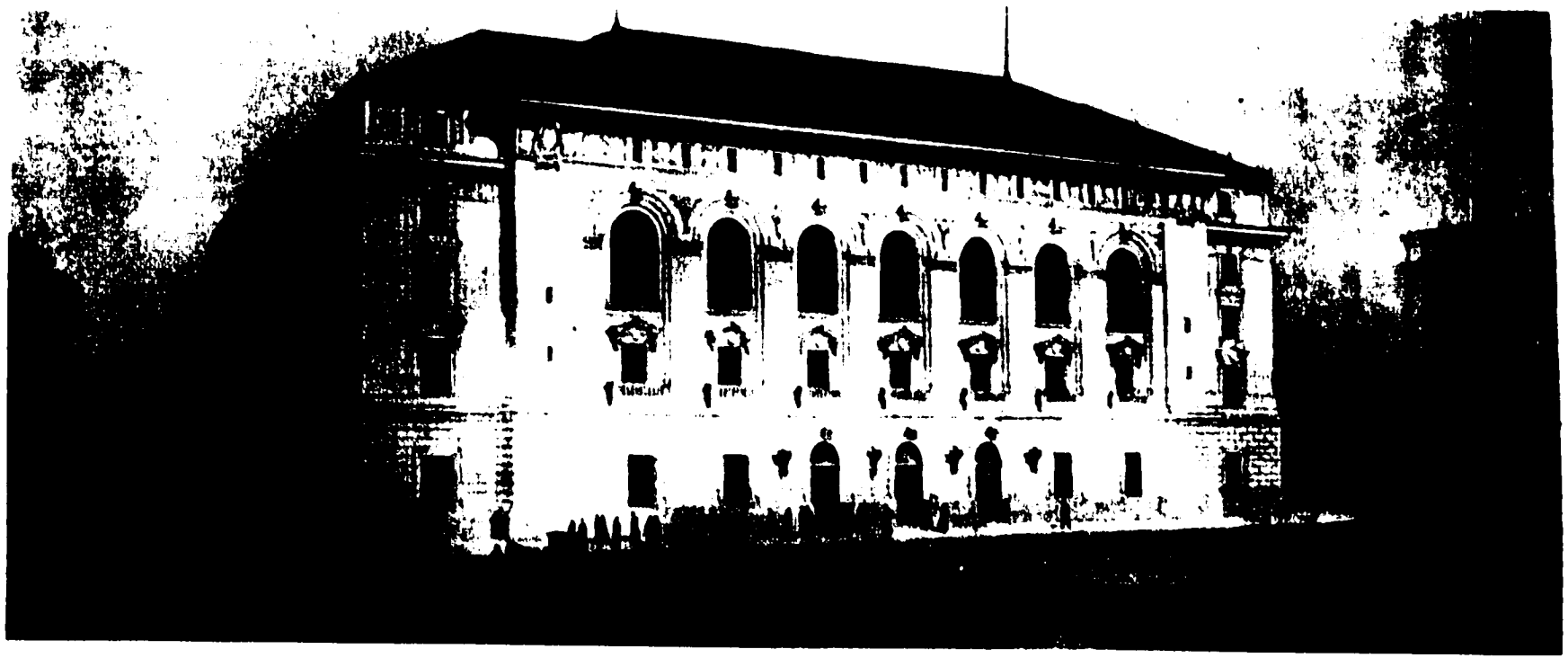


Figure 96. James Knox Taylor, United States Post Office and Court House, Atlanta, Georgia, n.d. [ca. 1908], as published in Western Architect 12 (August 1908).

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Figure 97. Merchant's Exchange, Saragossa, from José Camon Aznar, La Arquitectura Platersca, vol. 2, (Madrid: S. Aguirre, 1945), Figure 541.

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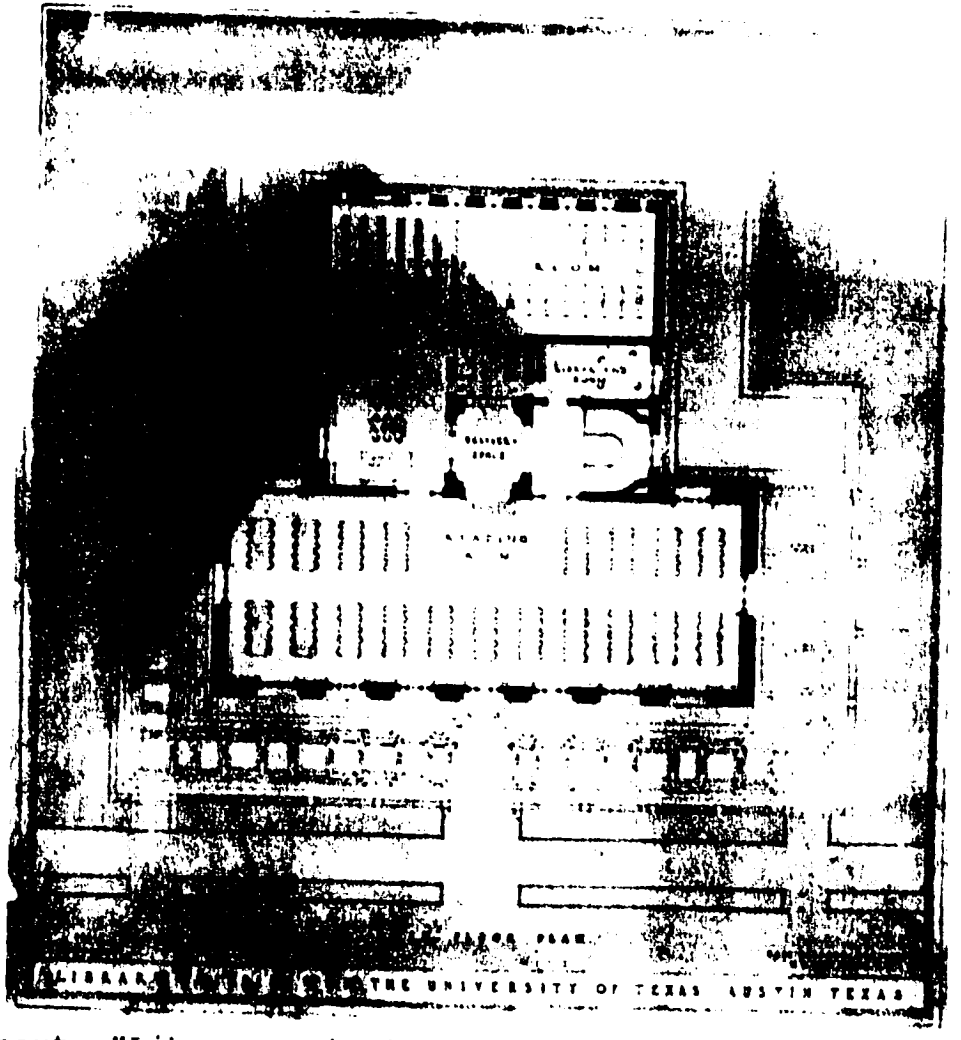



Figure 98. Cass Gilbert, "Library Building for the University of Texas, Austin: Main Floor Plan," n.d. [ca. 1910] (N-YHS)




Figure 99. Cass Gilbert, "Plan Texas University," n.d., on verso of correspondence between Cass Gilbert and Samuel Gilbert, January 14, 1911 (LC/MSS)

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Figure 100. "Texas University Shacks at Austin," August 4, 1913, Battle Papers (UT/CAH)

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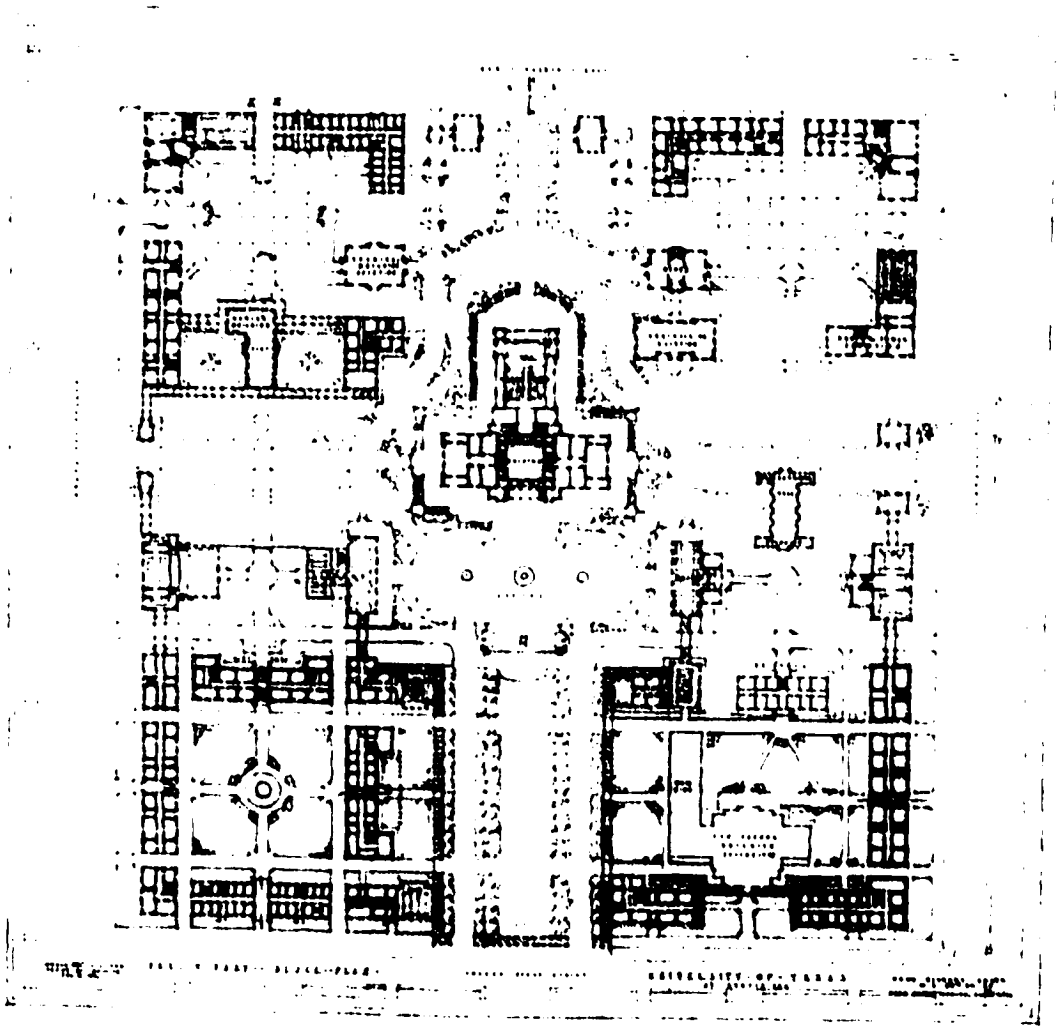


Figure 101. Cass Gilbert, "Preliminary Block Plan: University of Texas at Austin," Phillips, del., August 15, 1914 (N-YHS)

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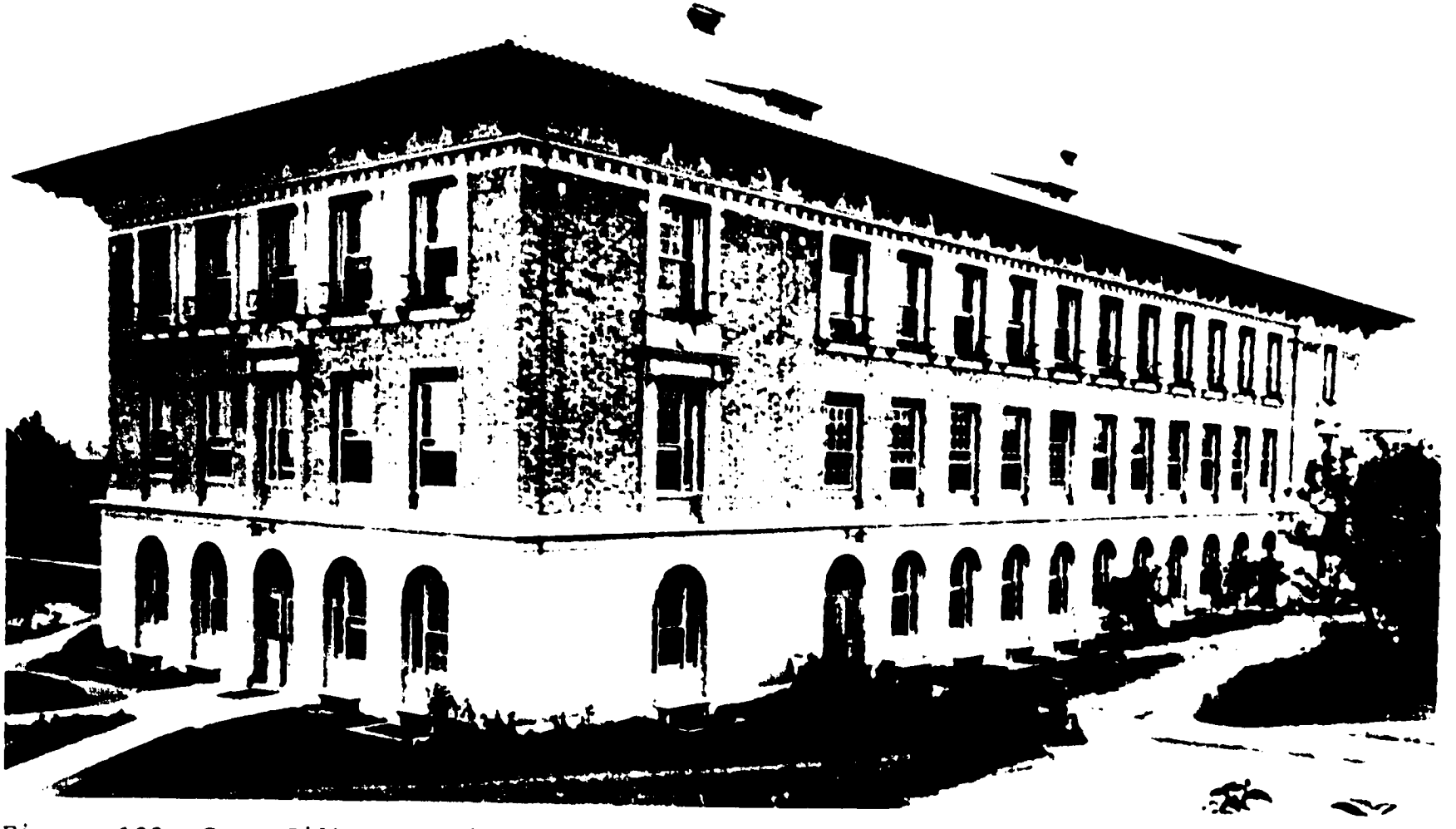


Figure 102. Cass Gilbert, University of Texas, Austin: Education Building--view from the northeast, 1916, as published in McMichael, Paul Cret at Texas, 21; original (#CO6204; Austin History Center, Austin Public Library).

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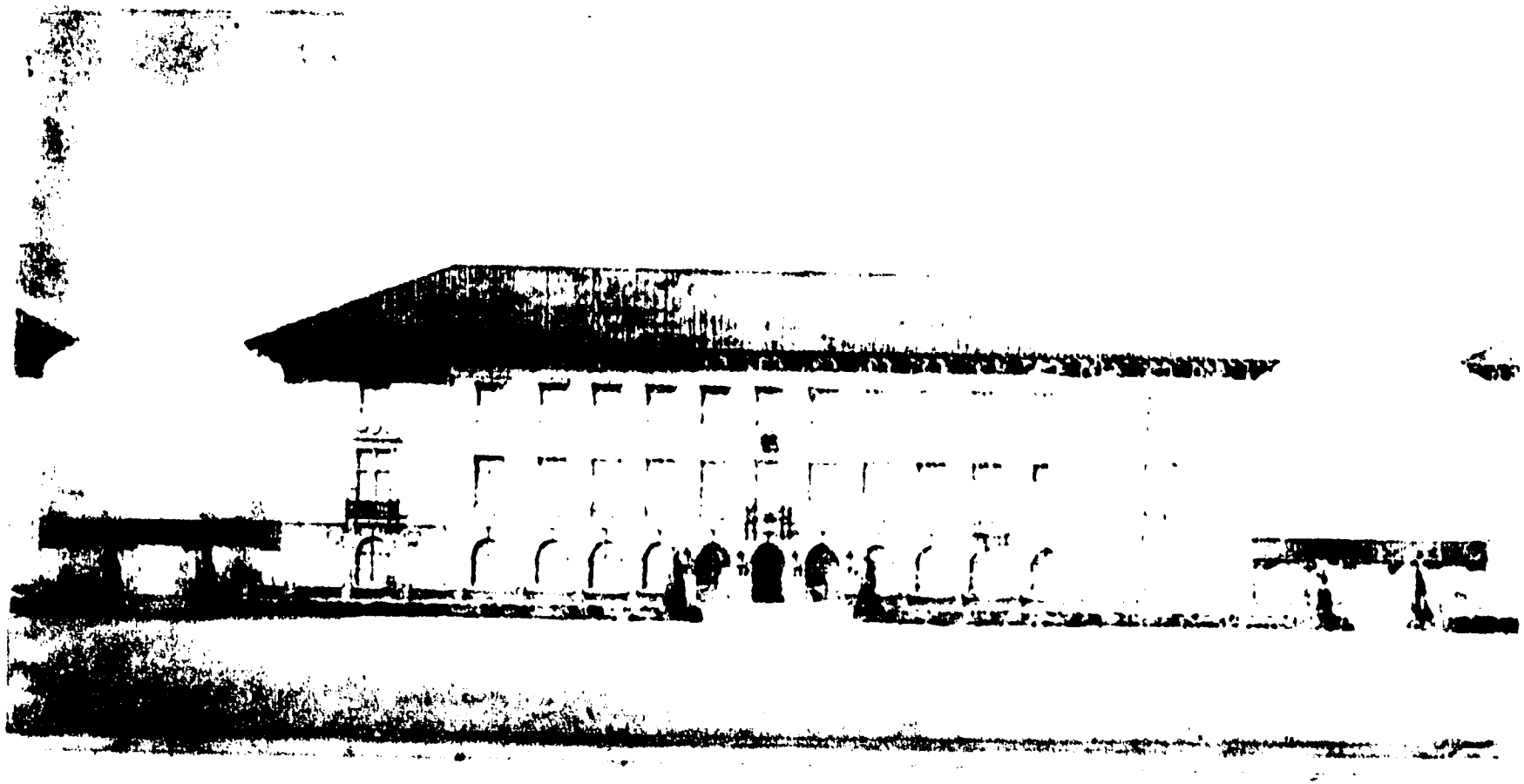


Figure 103. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Education Building], n.d. [ca. 1916] (N-YHS)

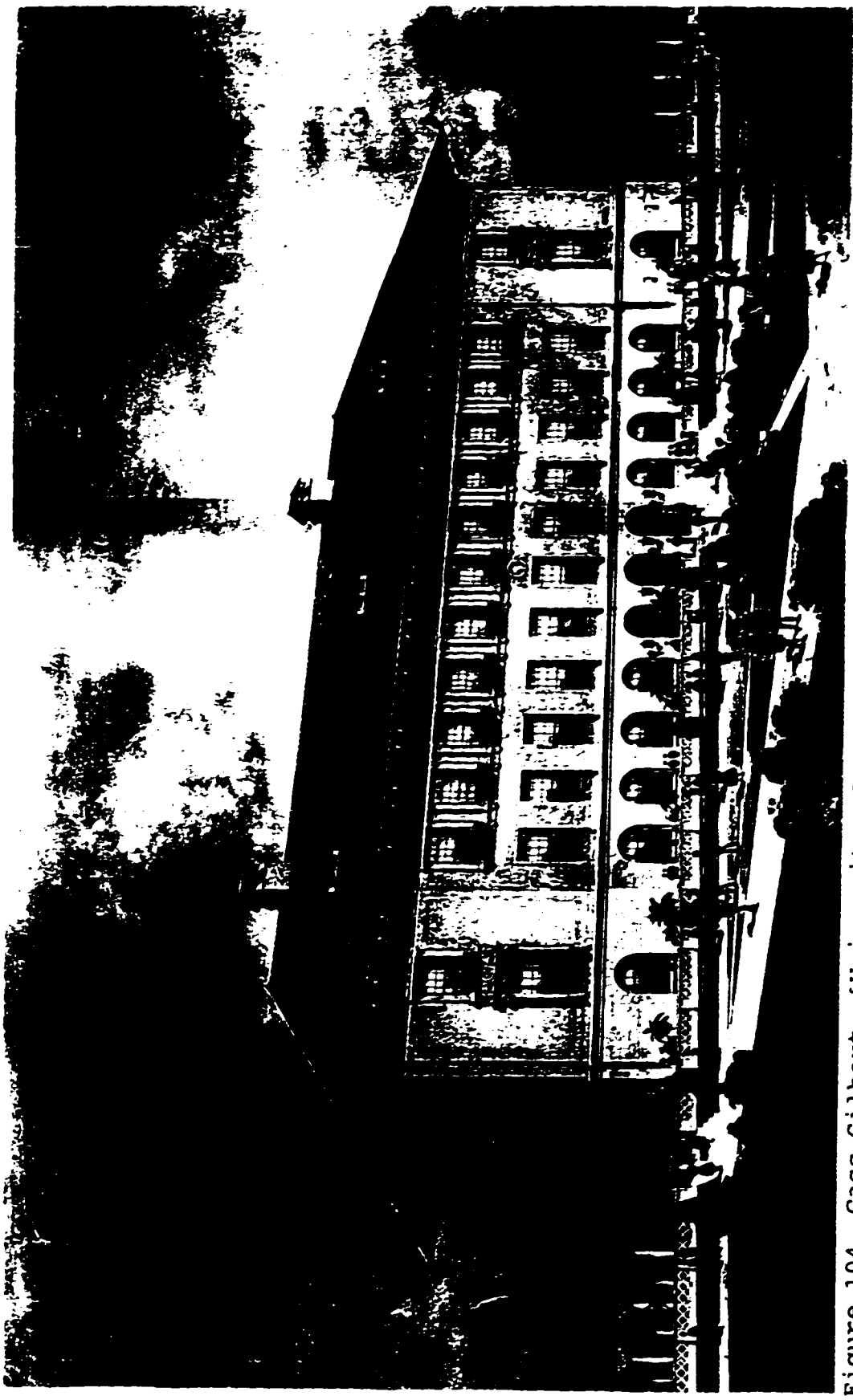


Figure 104. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: Educational Building], perspective, Hughson Hawley, del., 1916 (photocopy from original photograph in the Collection of the N-YHS); original drawing (UT/Architectural Drawings Collection)

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Figure 105. Oberlin College Campus, ca. 1875, 1=College Chapel; 2=Tappan Hall; 3=Council Hall; 4=First Congregational Church (OCA)

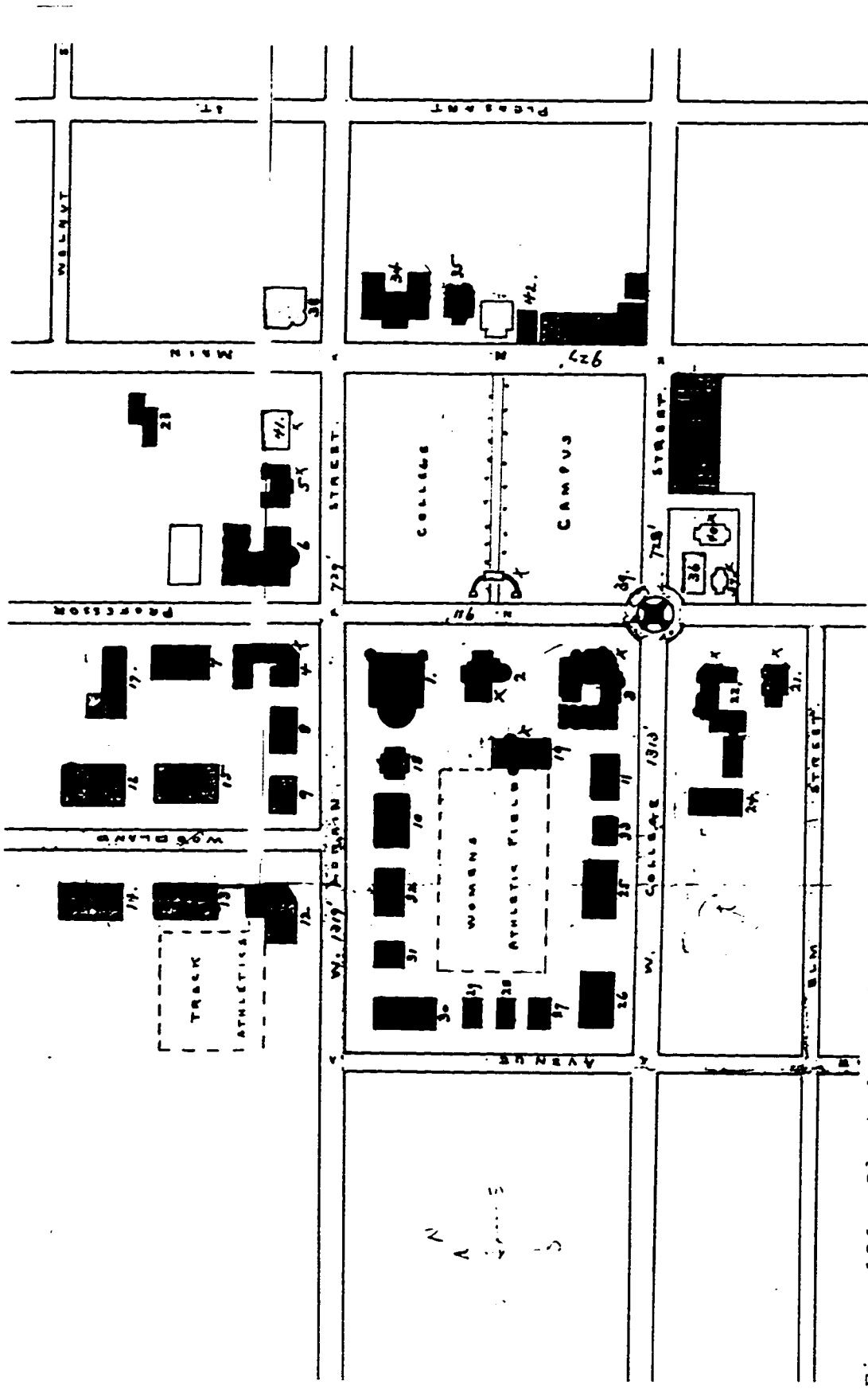



Figure 106. Olmsted Brothers, [Oberlin College Campus Plan: detail], n.d. [ca. 1903] (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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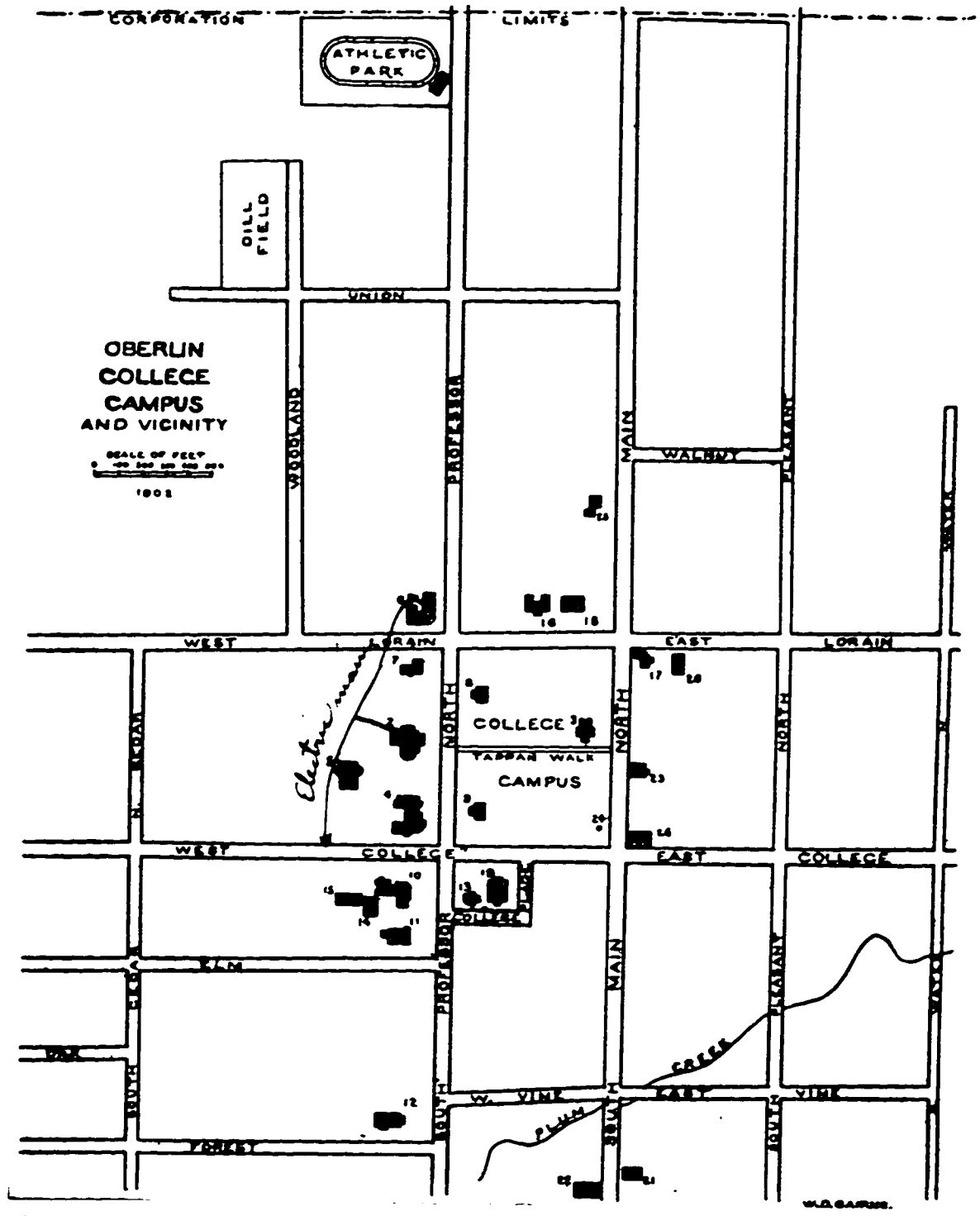



Figure 107. "Oberlin College Campus and Vicinity, 1902" (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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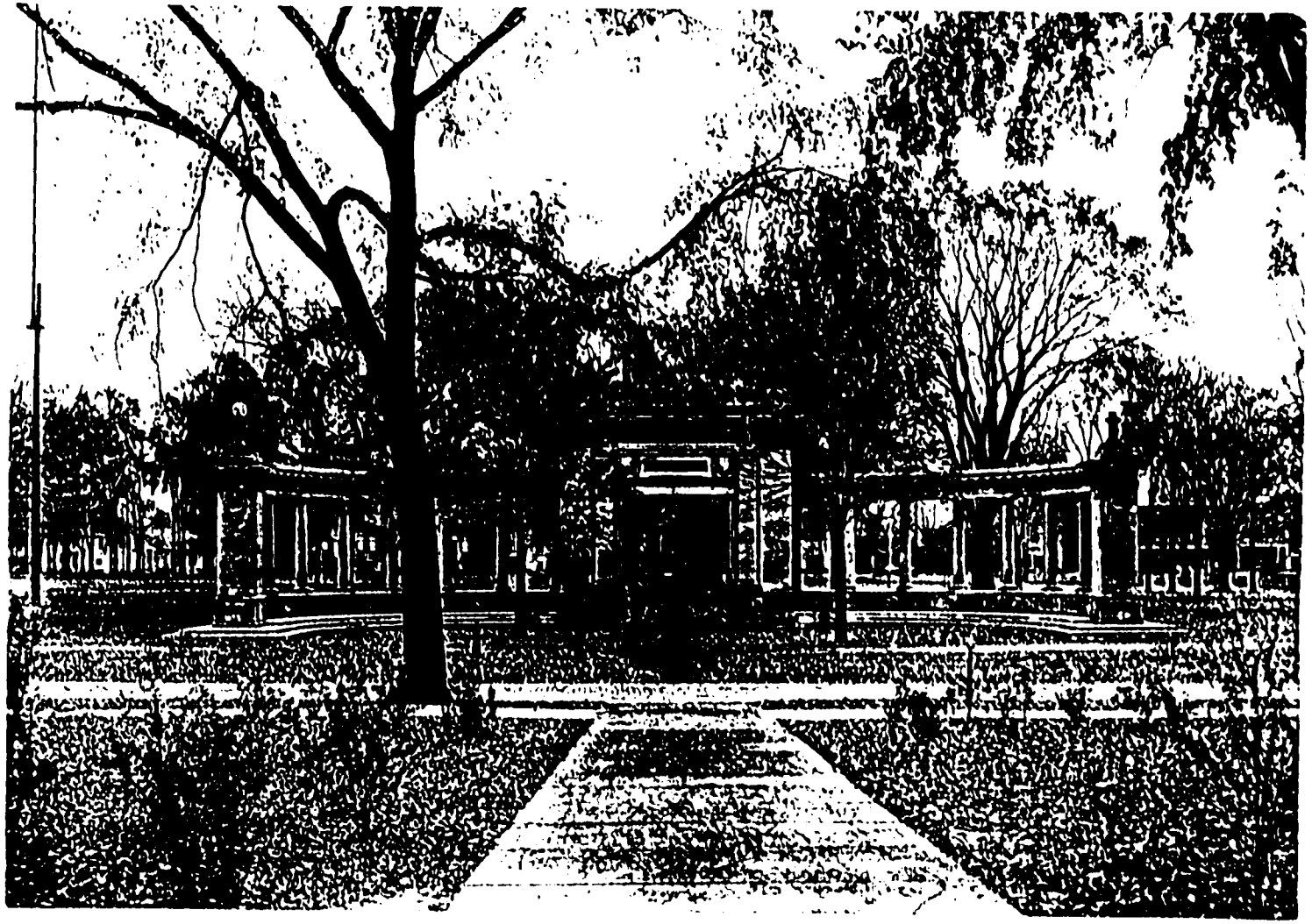


Figure 108. Joseph Lyman Silsbee, Memorial Arch in Tappan Square, compl. 1903; photograph ca. 1912 (OCA)

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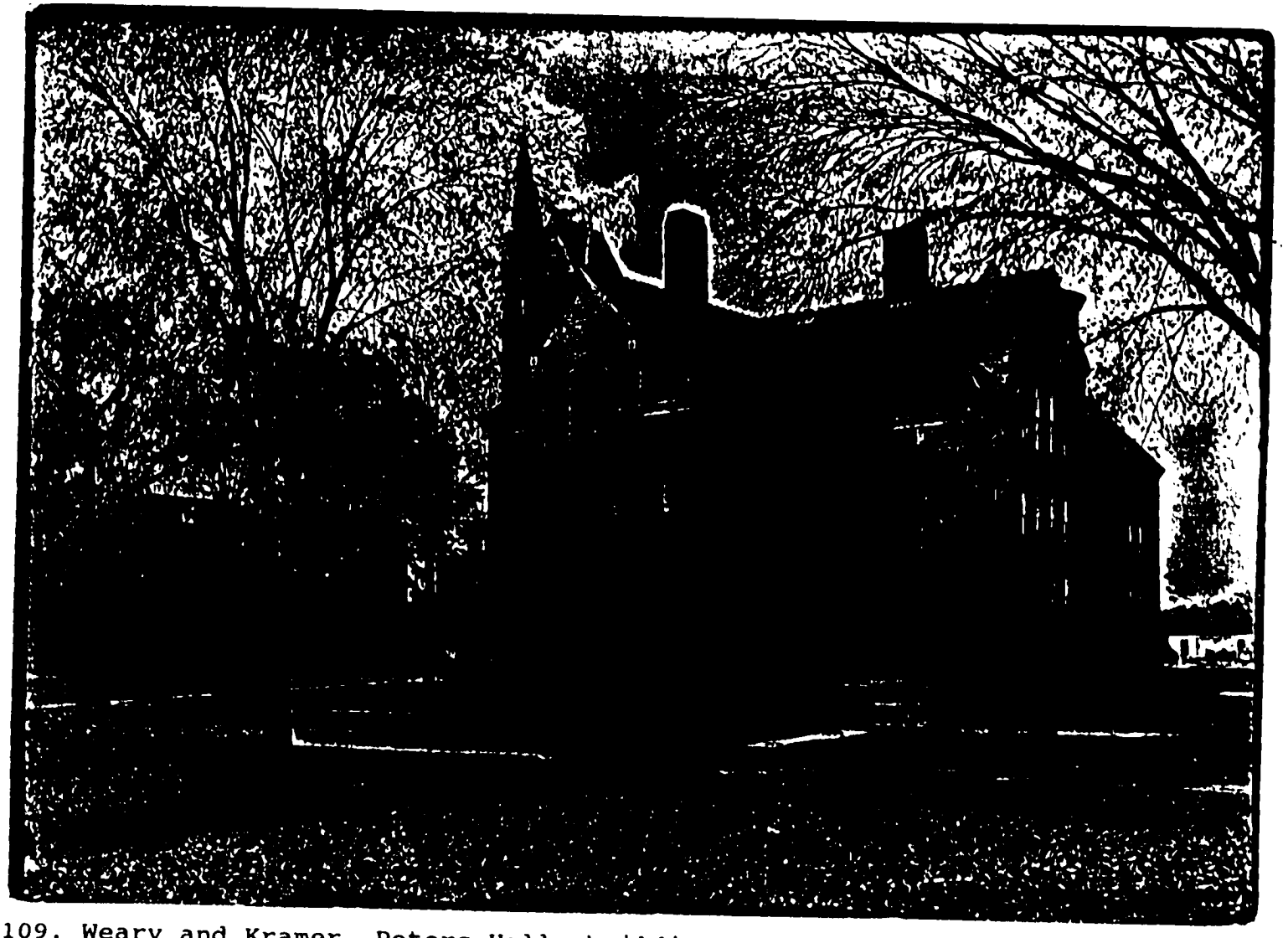


Figure 109. Weary and Kramer, Peters Hall, building compl. 1885; photograph ca. 1912 (OCA)

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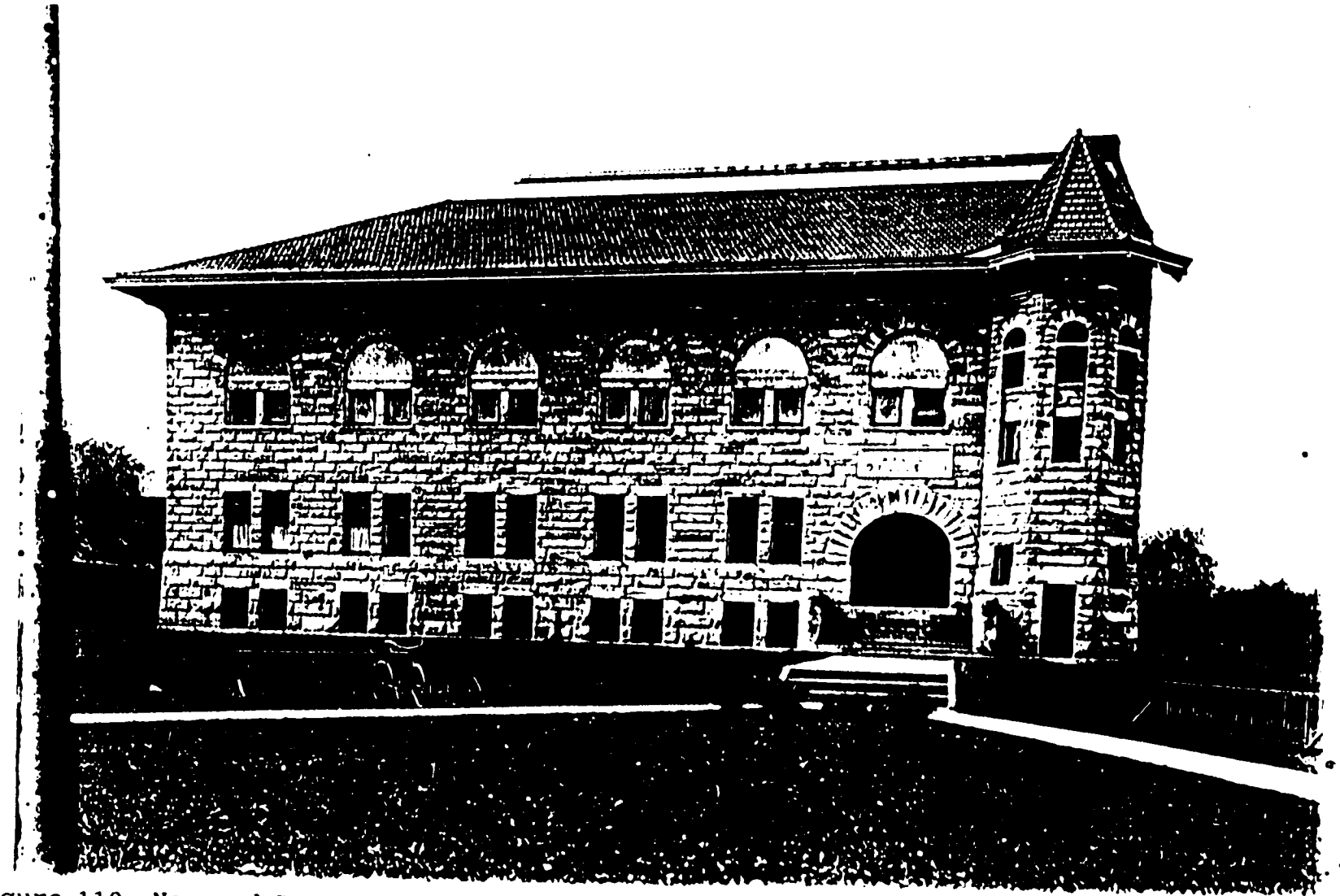


Figure 110. Normand Patton, Warner Gymnasium, northern section compl. 1901 (shown); southern section compl. 1912 (OCA)

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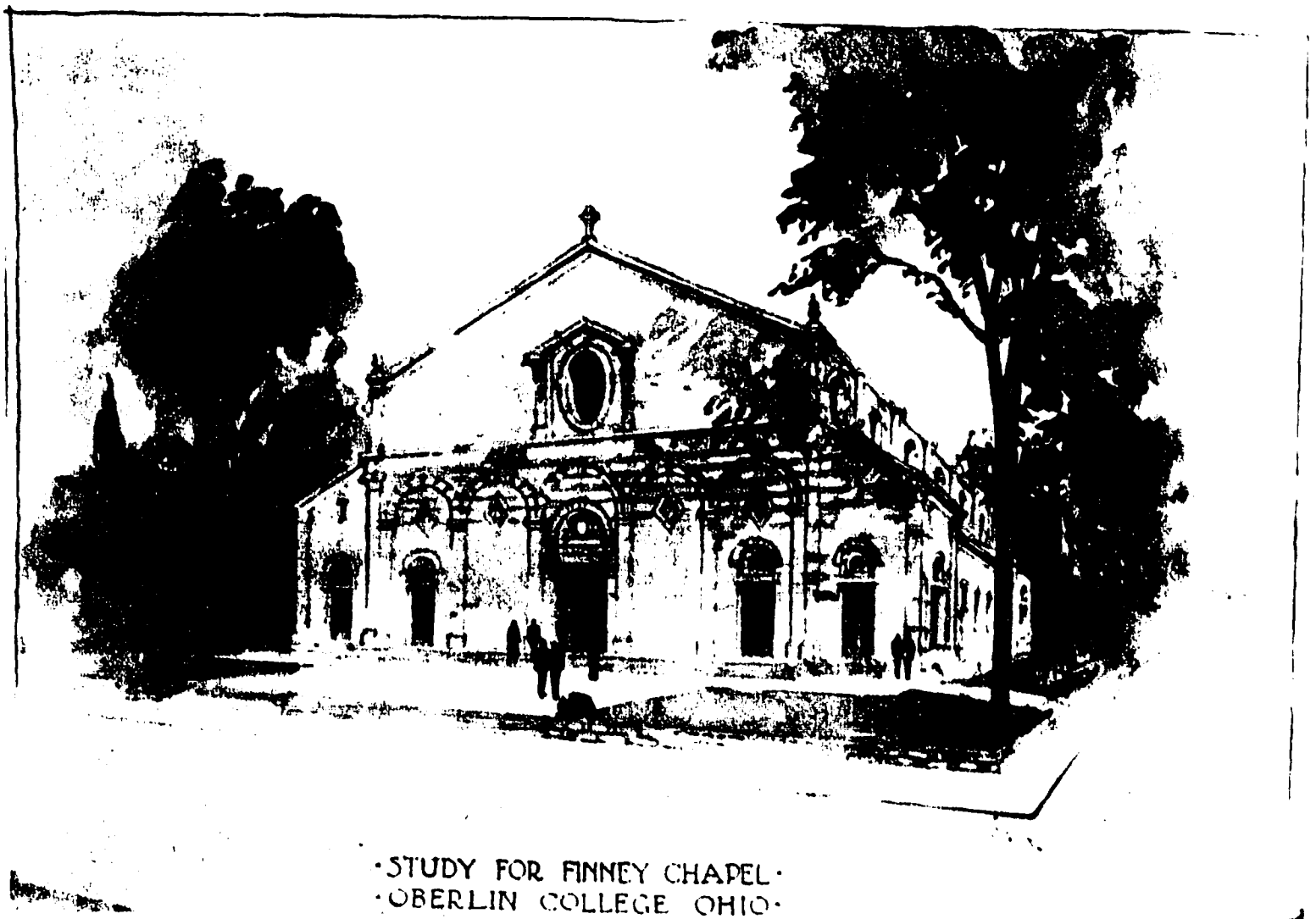



Figure 111. Cass Gilbert, "Study for Finney Chapel, Oberlin College, Ohio," n.d. [ca. October-November 1904] (N-YHS)

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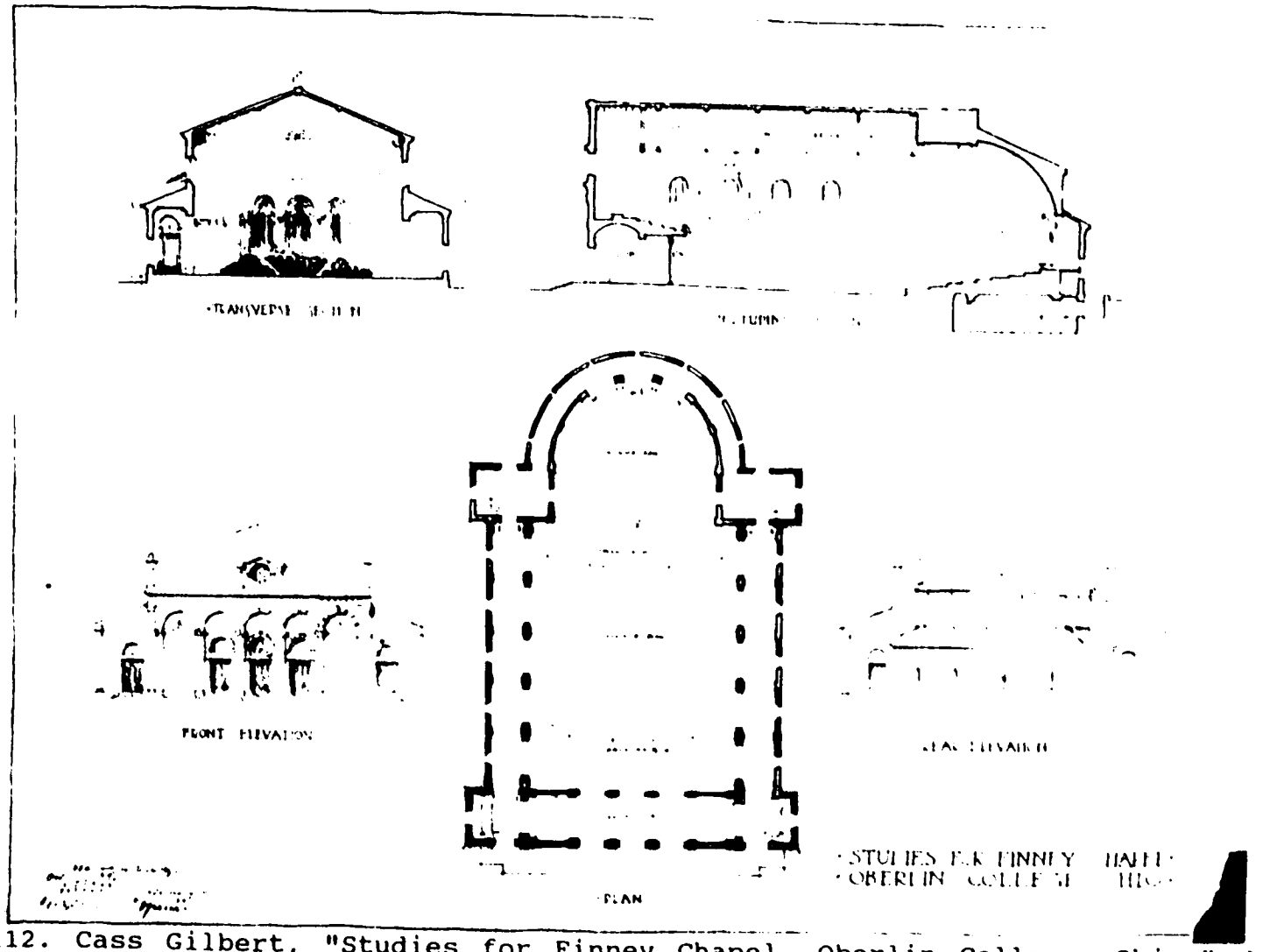



Figure 112. Cass Gilbert, "Studies for Finney Chapel, Oberlin College, Ohio," depicting transverse and longitudinal sections, front and rear elevations, and plan, n.d. [ca. October-November 1904] (N-YHS)

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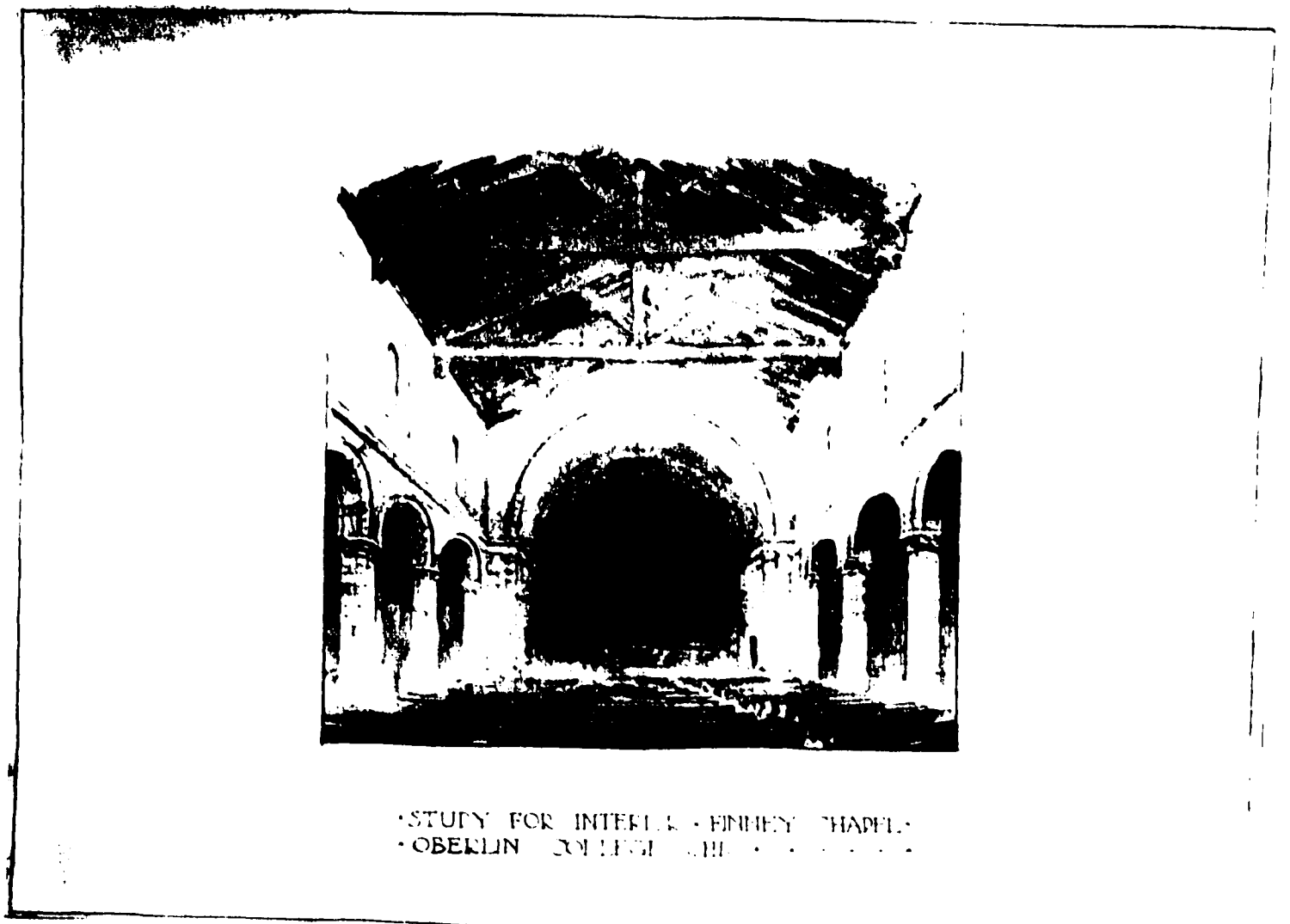


Figure 113. Cass Gilbert, "Study for Interior of Finney Chapel, Oberlin College, Ohio," depicting section, n.d. [ca. October-November 1904] (N-YHS)

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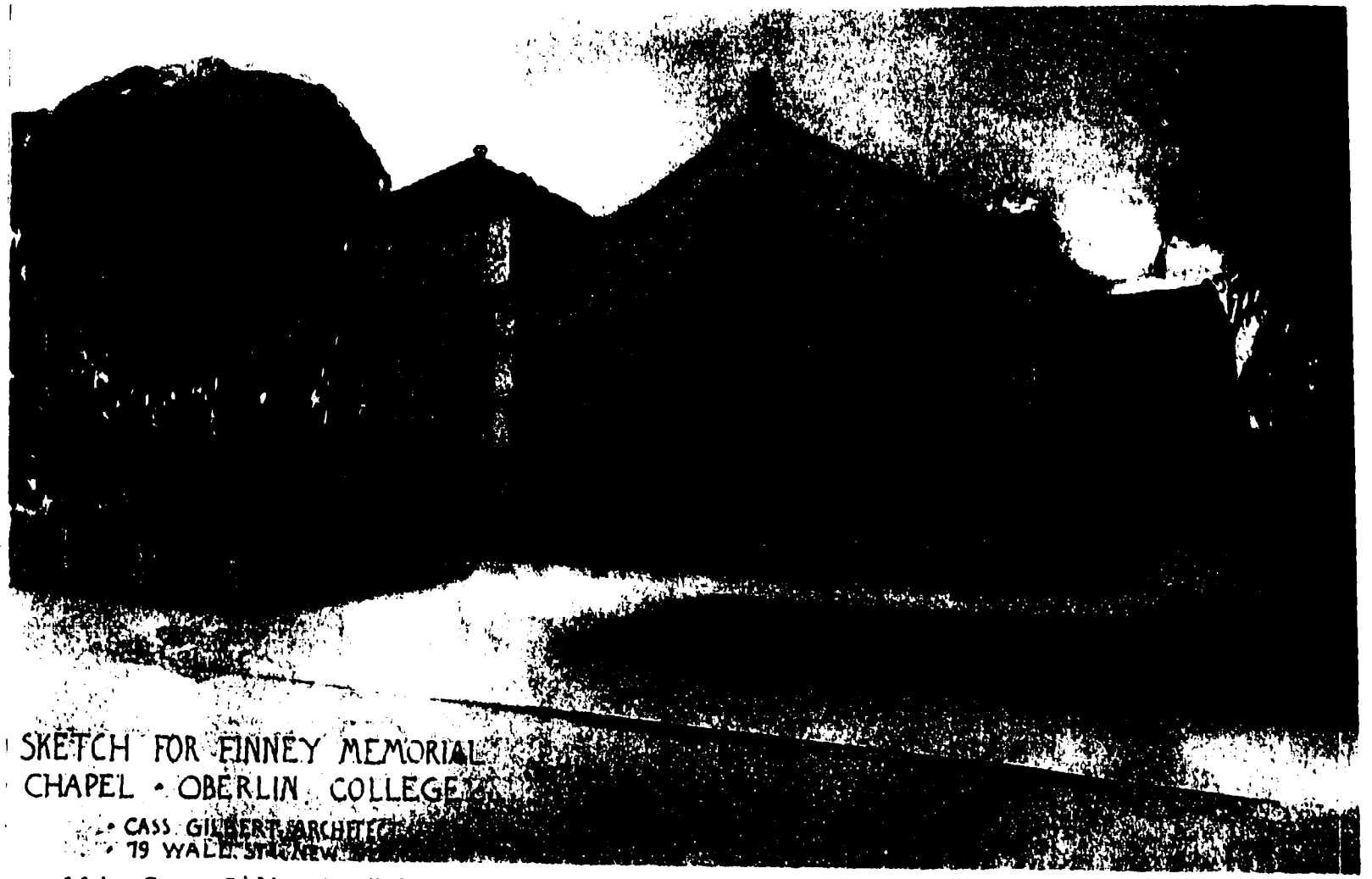



Figure 114. Cass Gilbert, "Sketch for Finney Memorial Chapel, Oberlin College," as published in American Architect and Building News 92 (October 5, 1907), plate after p. 108.

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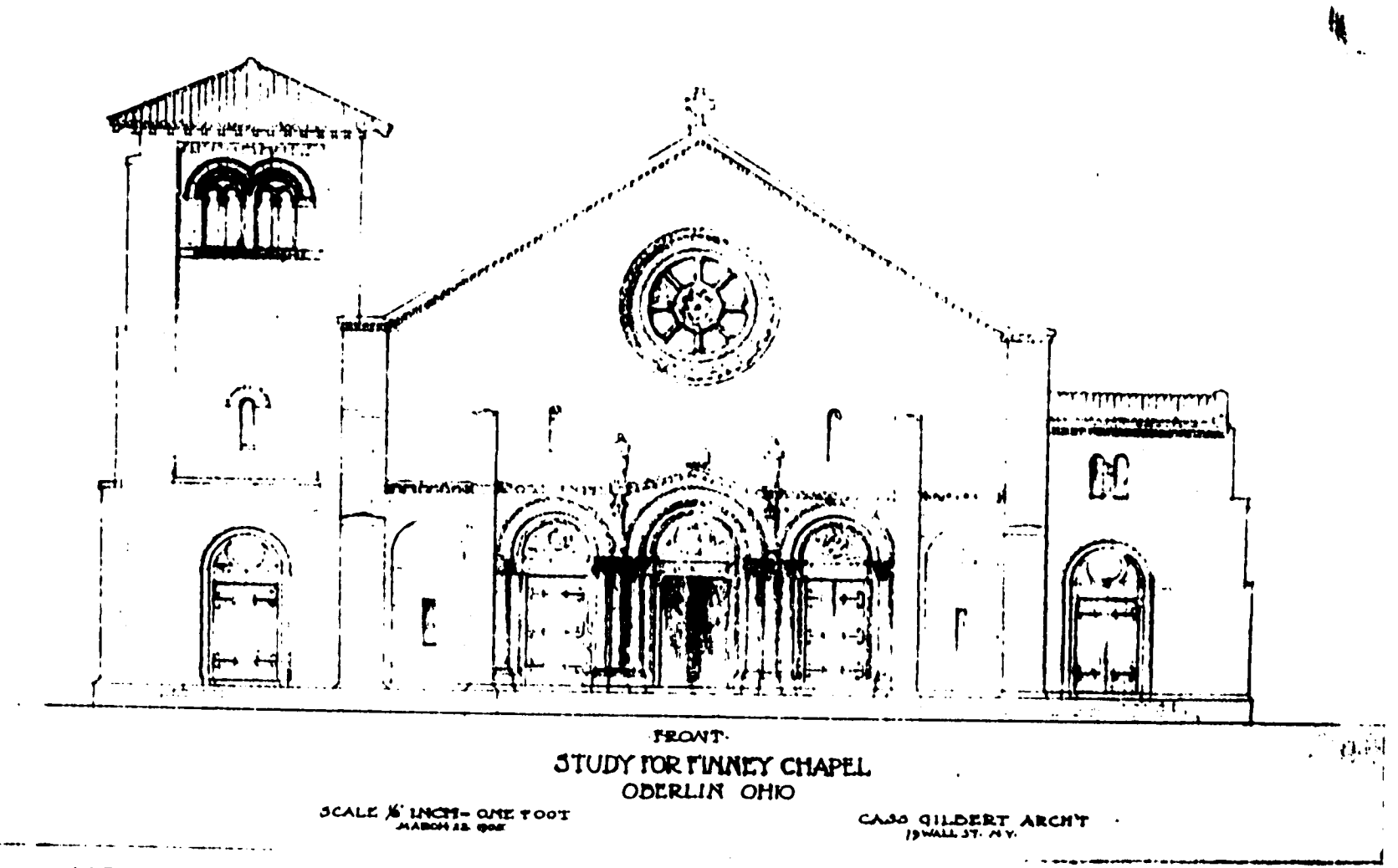



Figure 115. Cass Gilbert, "Study for Finney Chapel: Front, Oberlin, Ohio," March 22, 1905 (N-YHS)



Figure 116. Oberlin College: Finney Memorial Chapel, n.d. [ca. 1910] (OCA)

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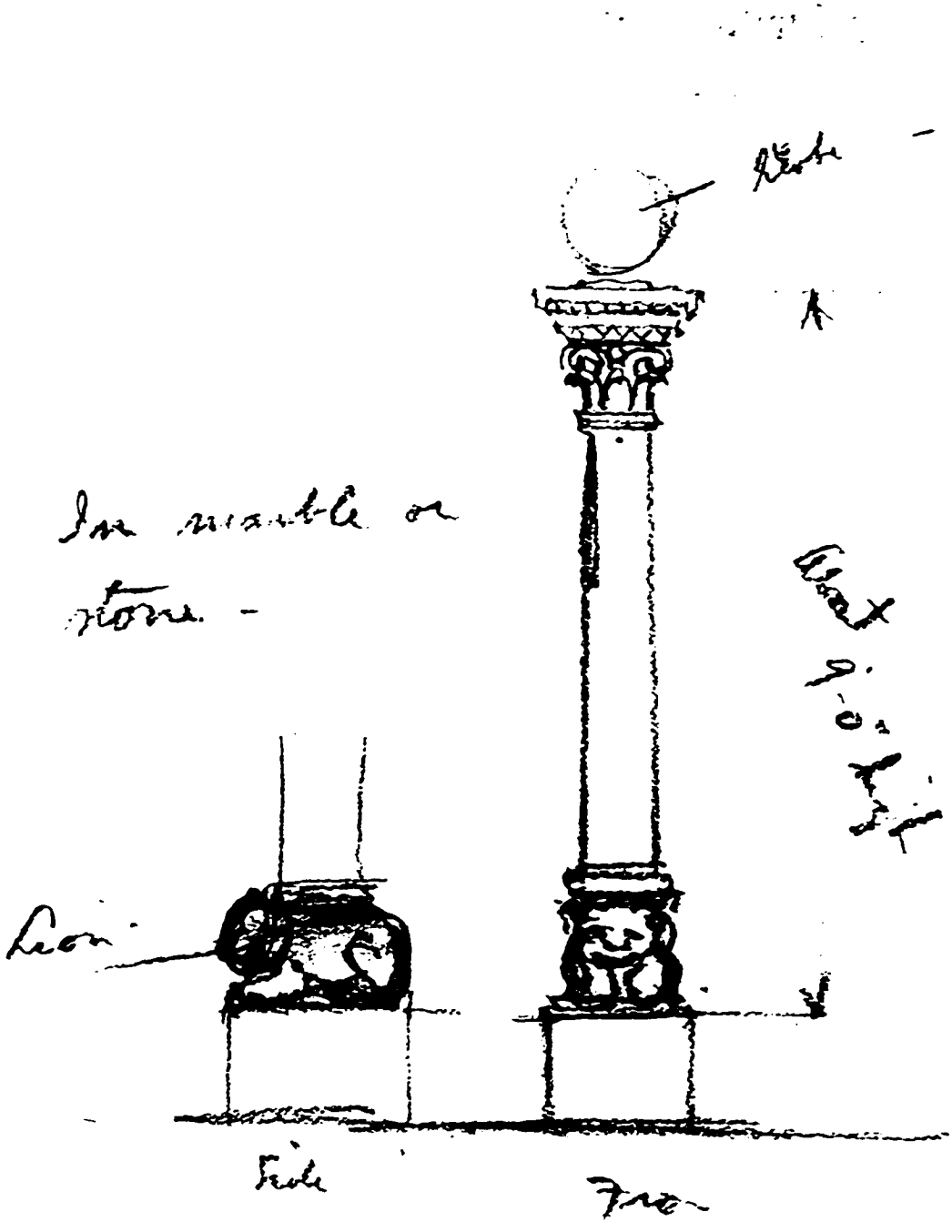


Figure 117. Cass Gilbert, [Sketch of Lamp Standards for Finney Memorial Chapel], December 19, 1907 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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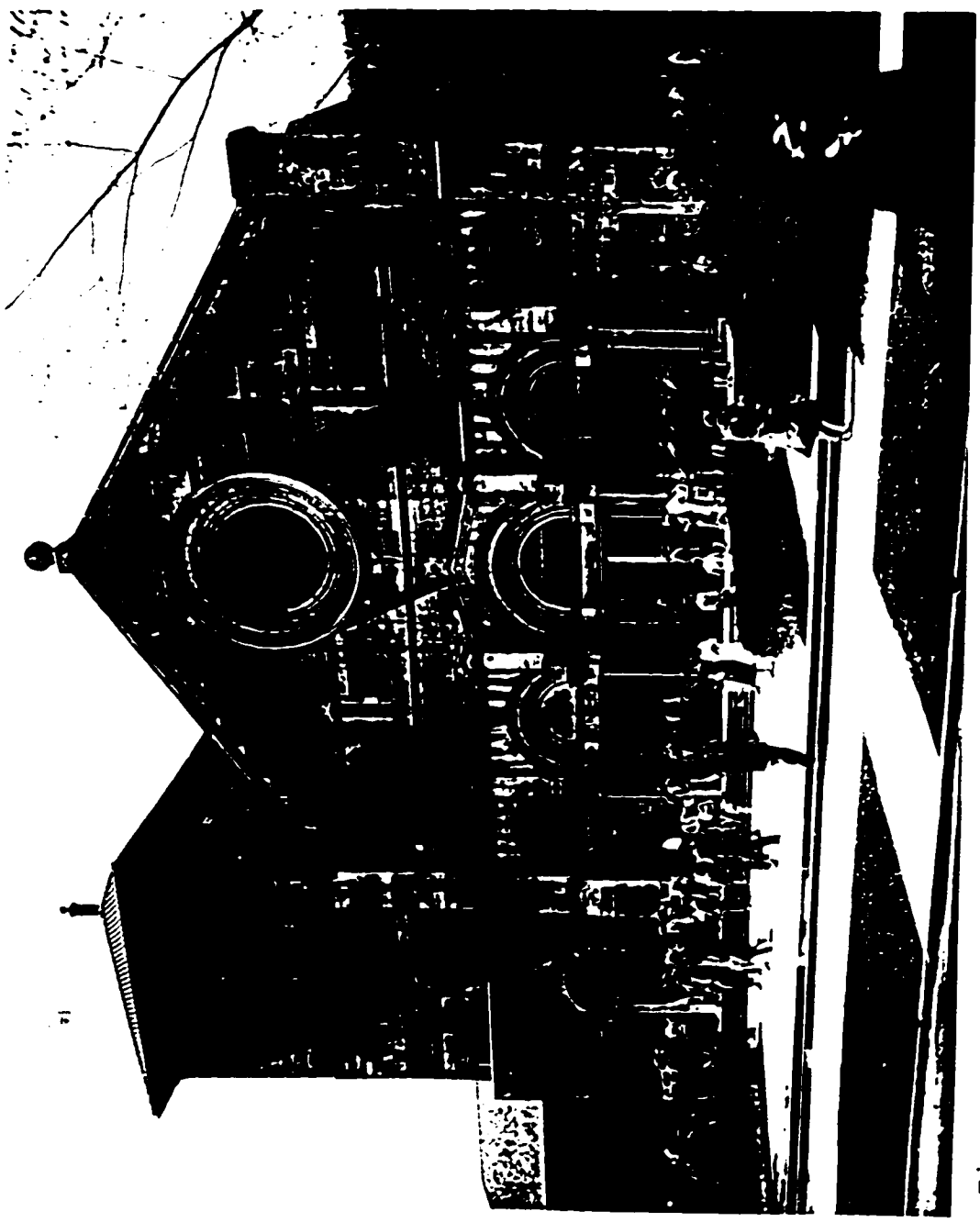


Figure 118. Finney Memorial Chapel, before ca. 1940 (OCA)

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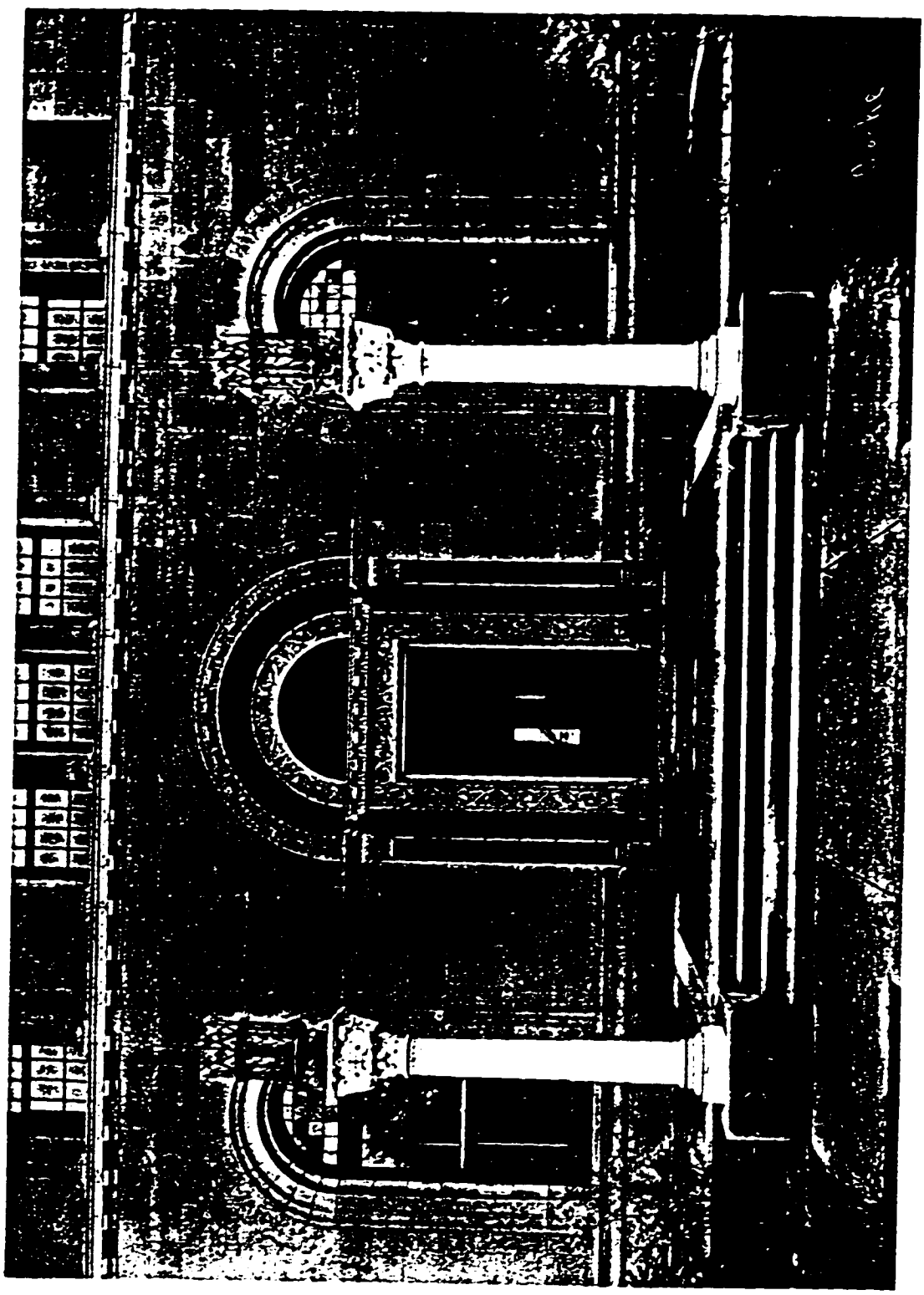


Figure 119. Cox Administration Building: detail of lamp standards (OCA)

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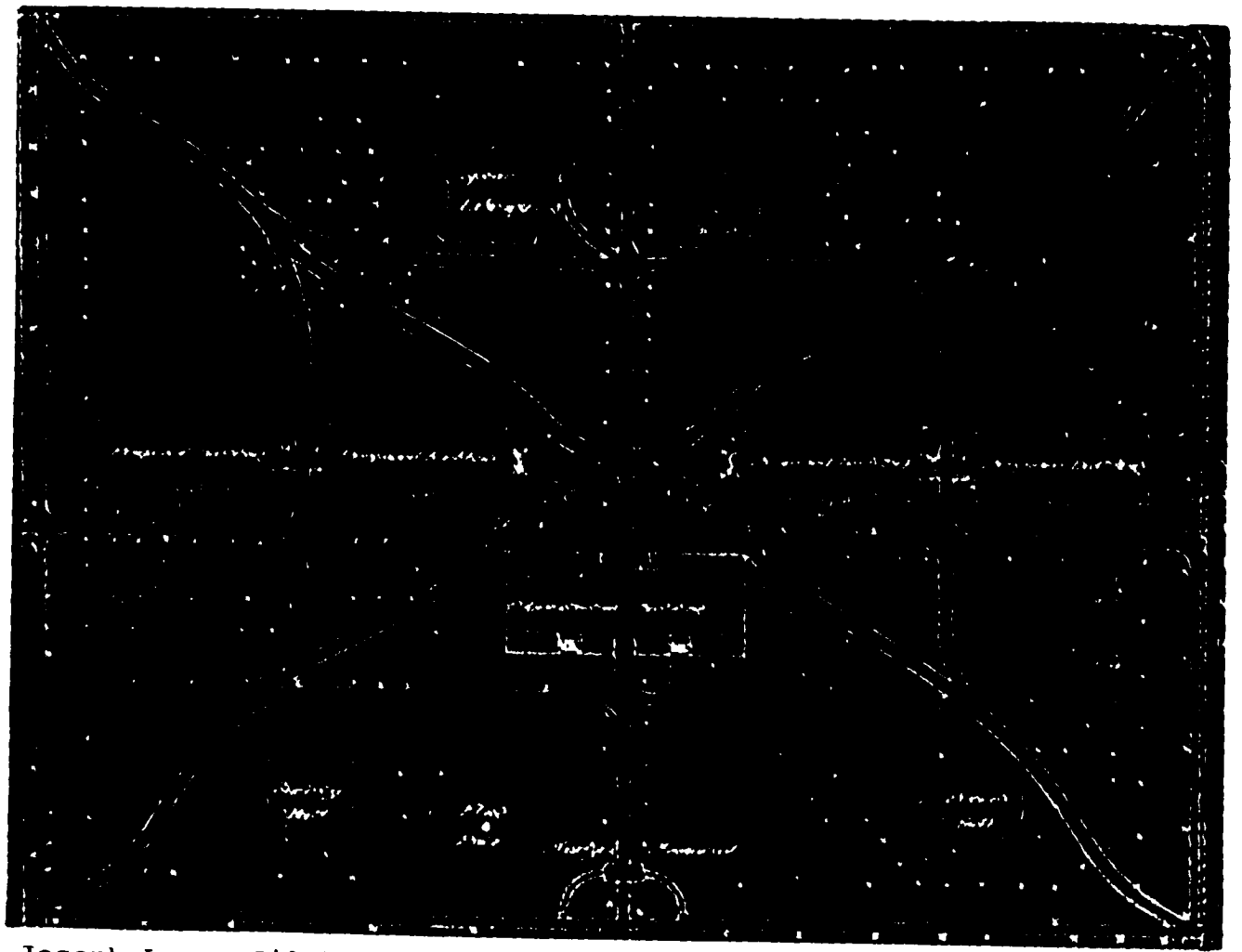


Figure 120. Joseph Lyman Silsbee, "Proposed Arrangement of Walks and Buildings," 1907 (OCA)

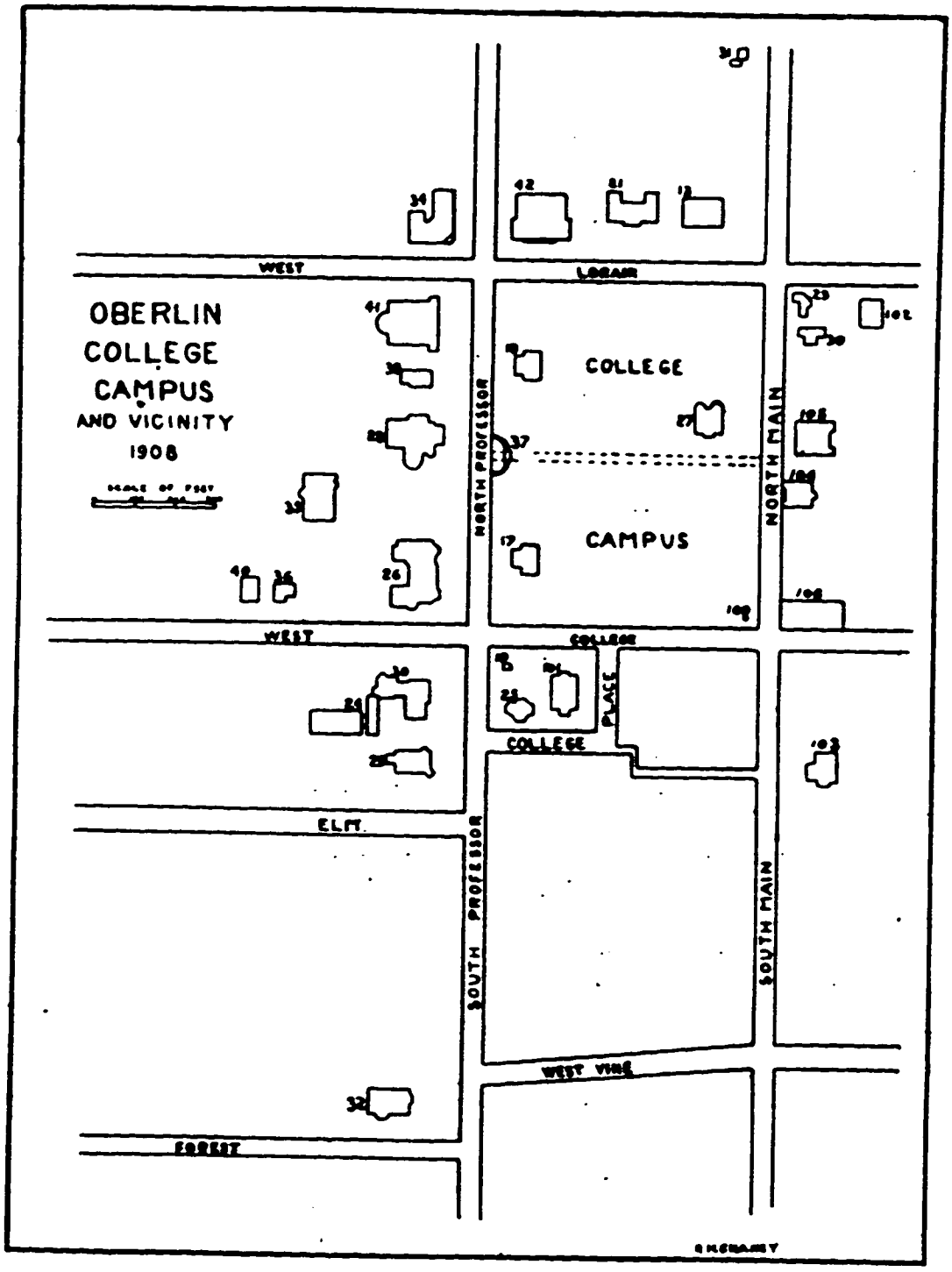



Figure 121. "Oberlin College Campus and Vicinity, 1908," [detail] as published in General Catalog of Oberlin College, 1833-1908 (Oberlin, Ohio: O. S. Haskell, 1909), Int. 67.

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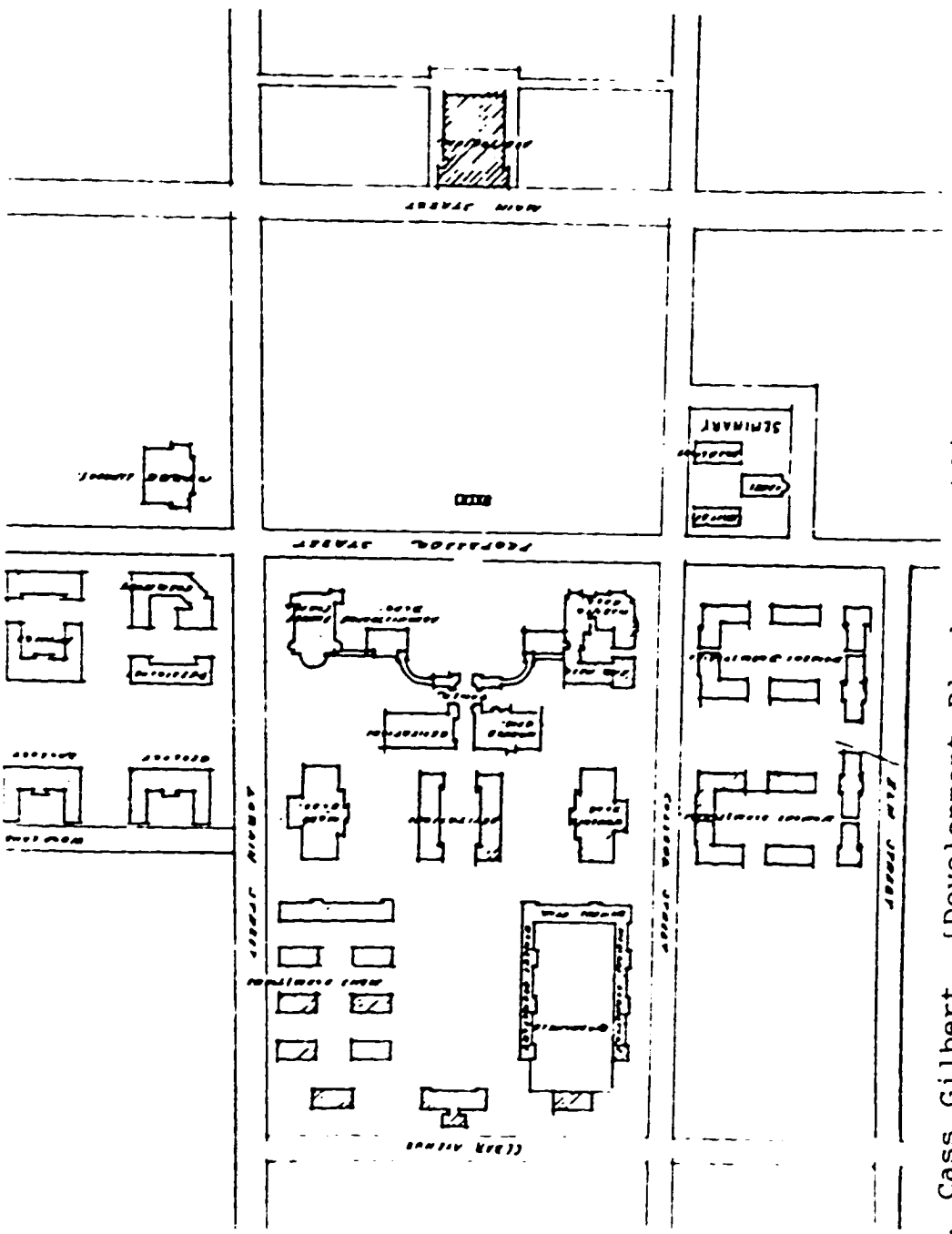



Figure 122. Cass Gilbert, [Development Plan], as published in Hi-O-Hi (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1914).

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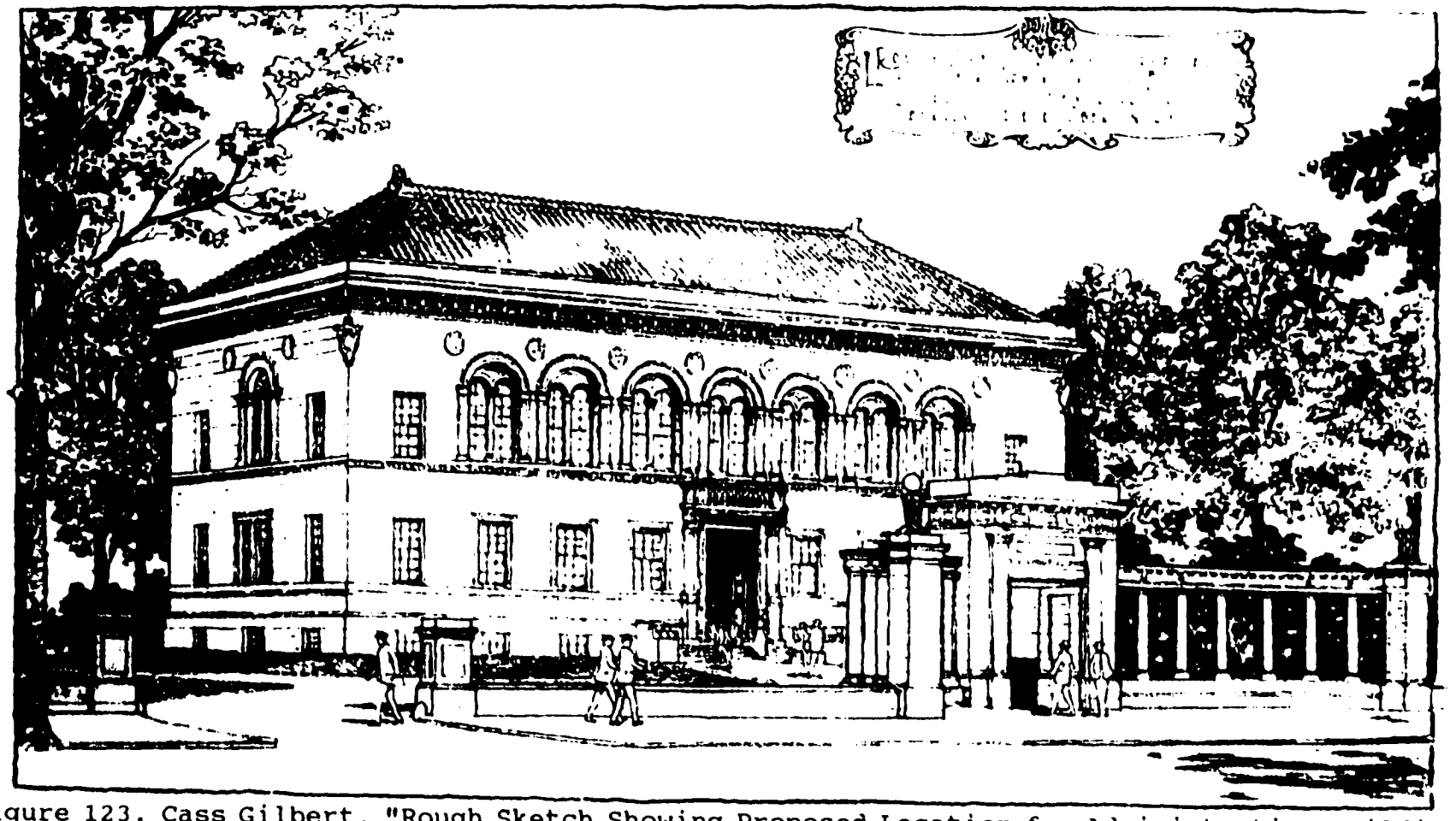


Figure 123. Cass Gilbert, "Rough Sketch Showing Proposed Location for Administration Building in Relation to Memorial Arch, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio," n.d. [ca. June 1911] (N-YHS). Note: Silsbee's Memorial Arch is inaccurately depicted, with its curved façade extending in the opposite direction than in the way it was built. The renderer may have either taken liberties with this detail or he may not have been familiar with the site.

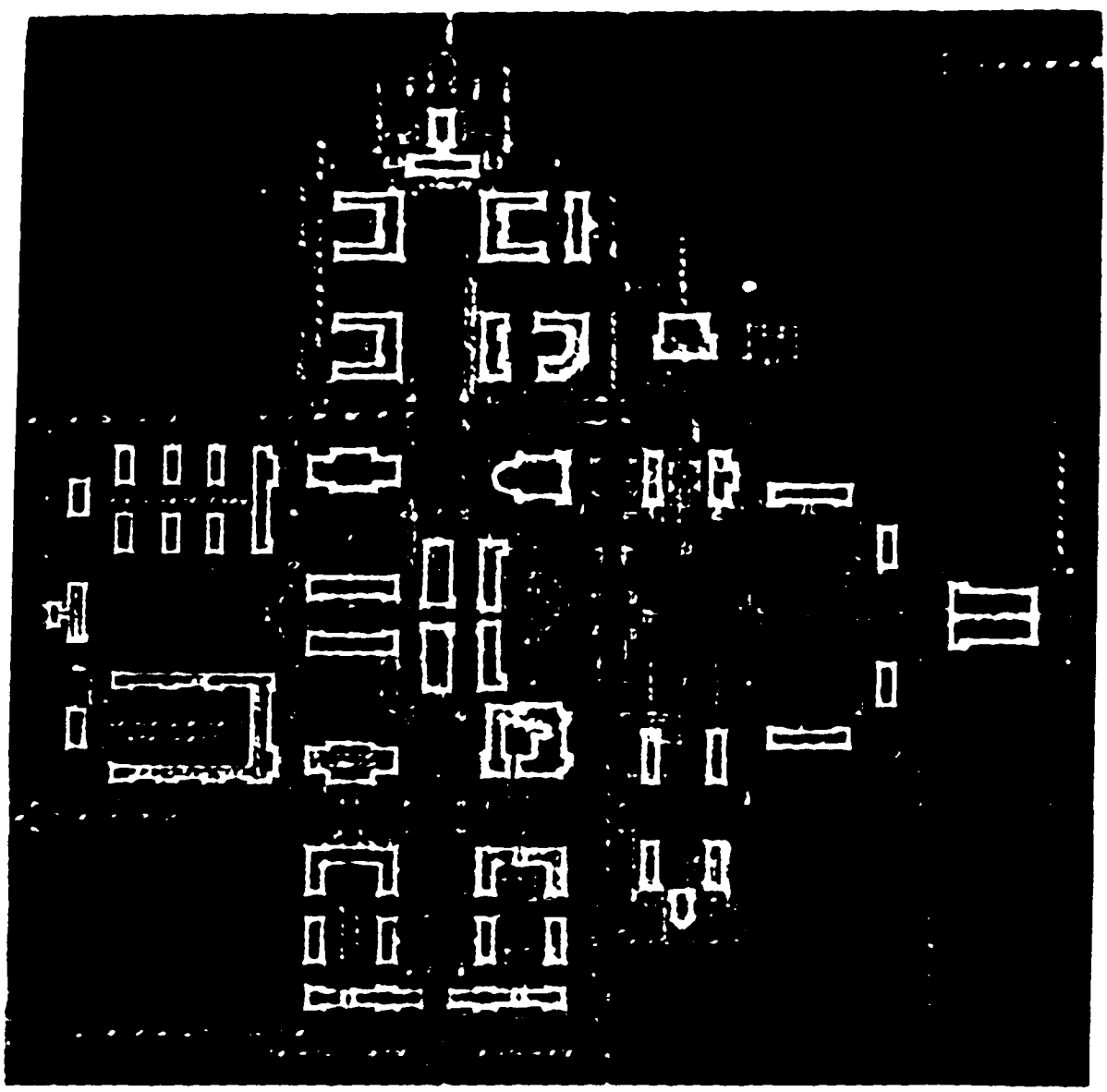


Figure 124. Cass Gilbert, Oberlin College Master Plan: detail, 1912 (OCA)

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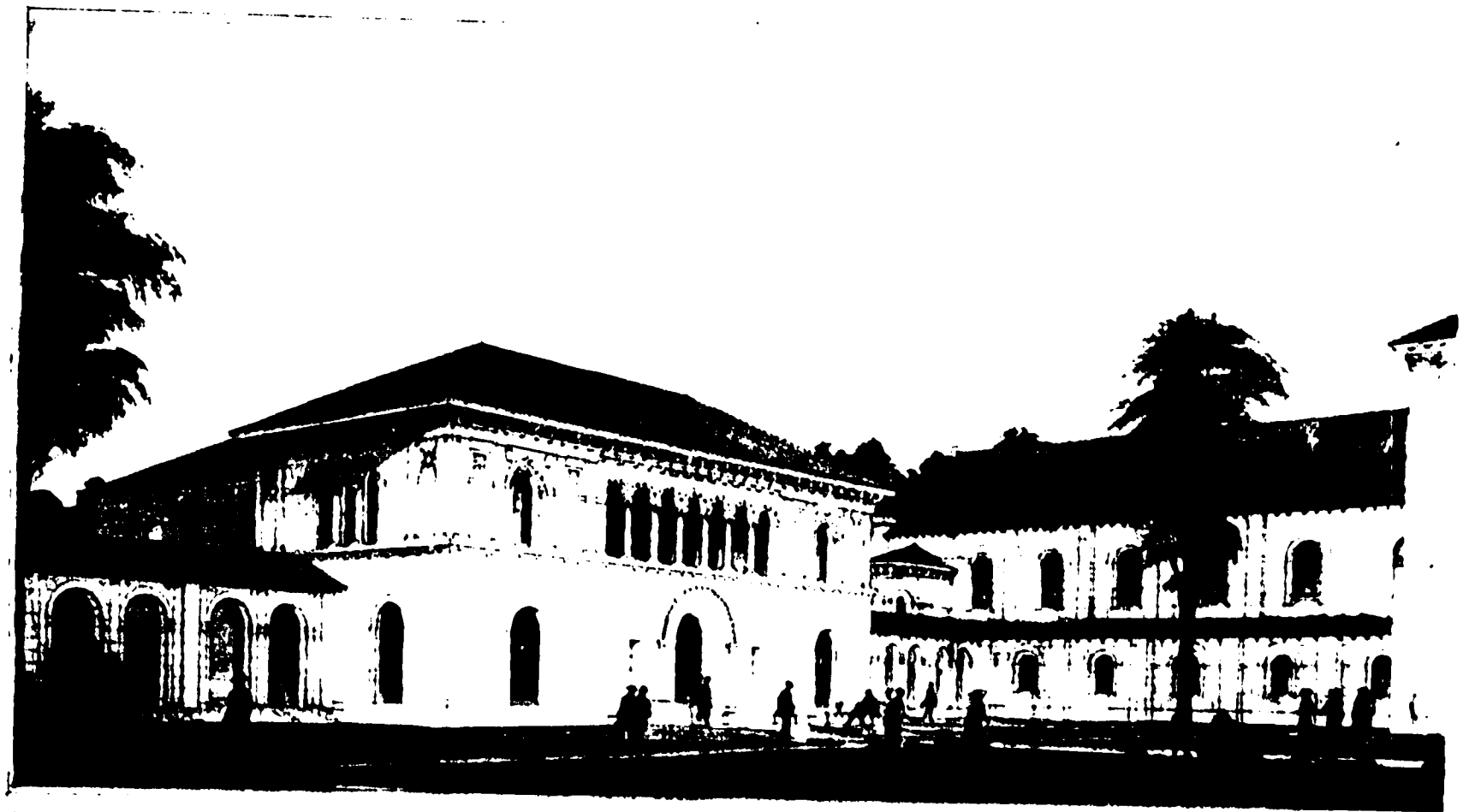


Figure 125. Cass Gilbert, "Administration Building, Oberlin College," [W. P.] Foulds, del., July 22, 1912 (N-YHS)

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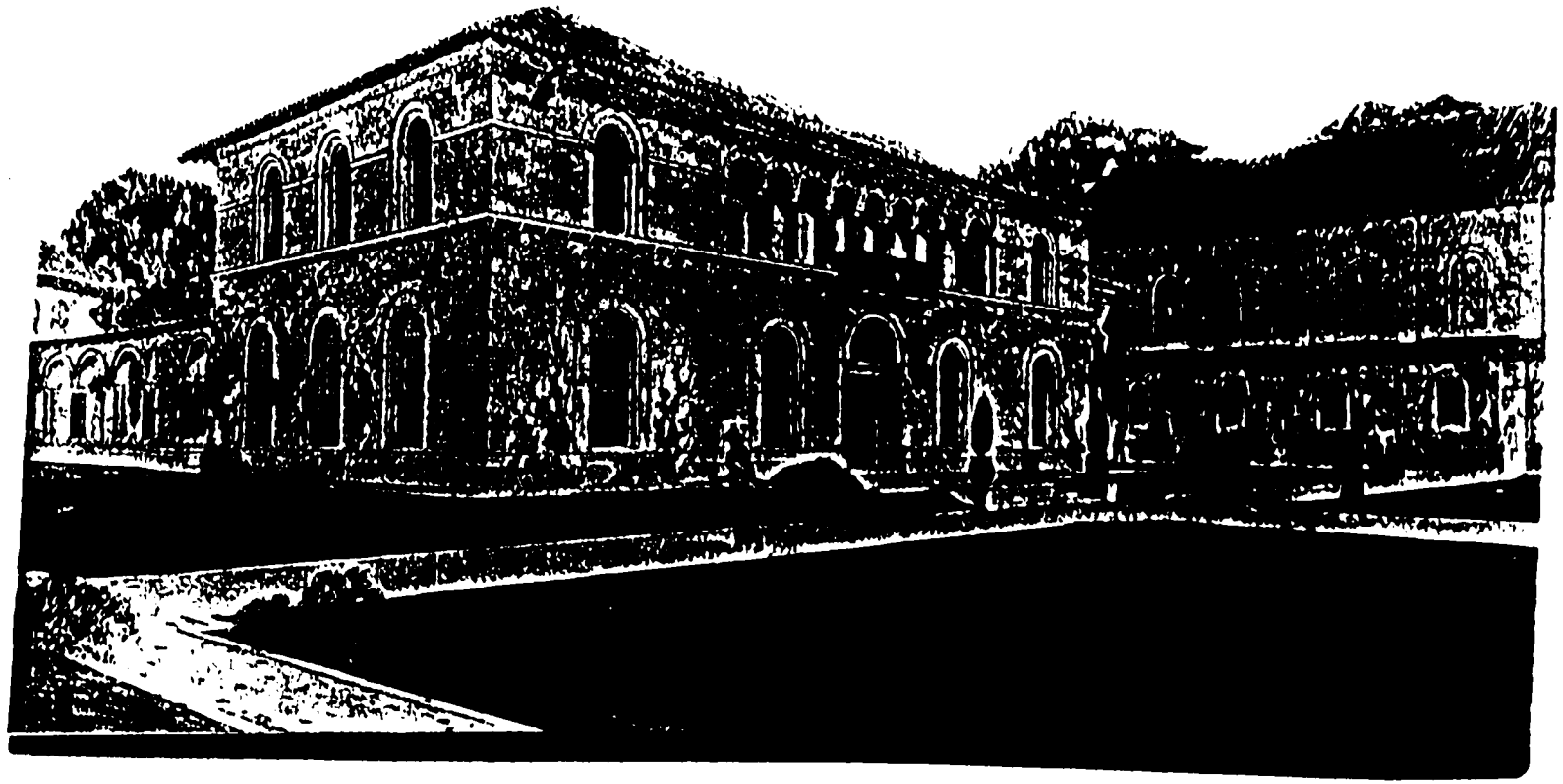


Figure 126. Cass Gilbert, [Cox Administration Building in relation to Finney Memorial Chapel], Birch Birdette Long, del., n.d. [ca. 1912] (OCA)

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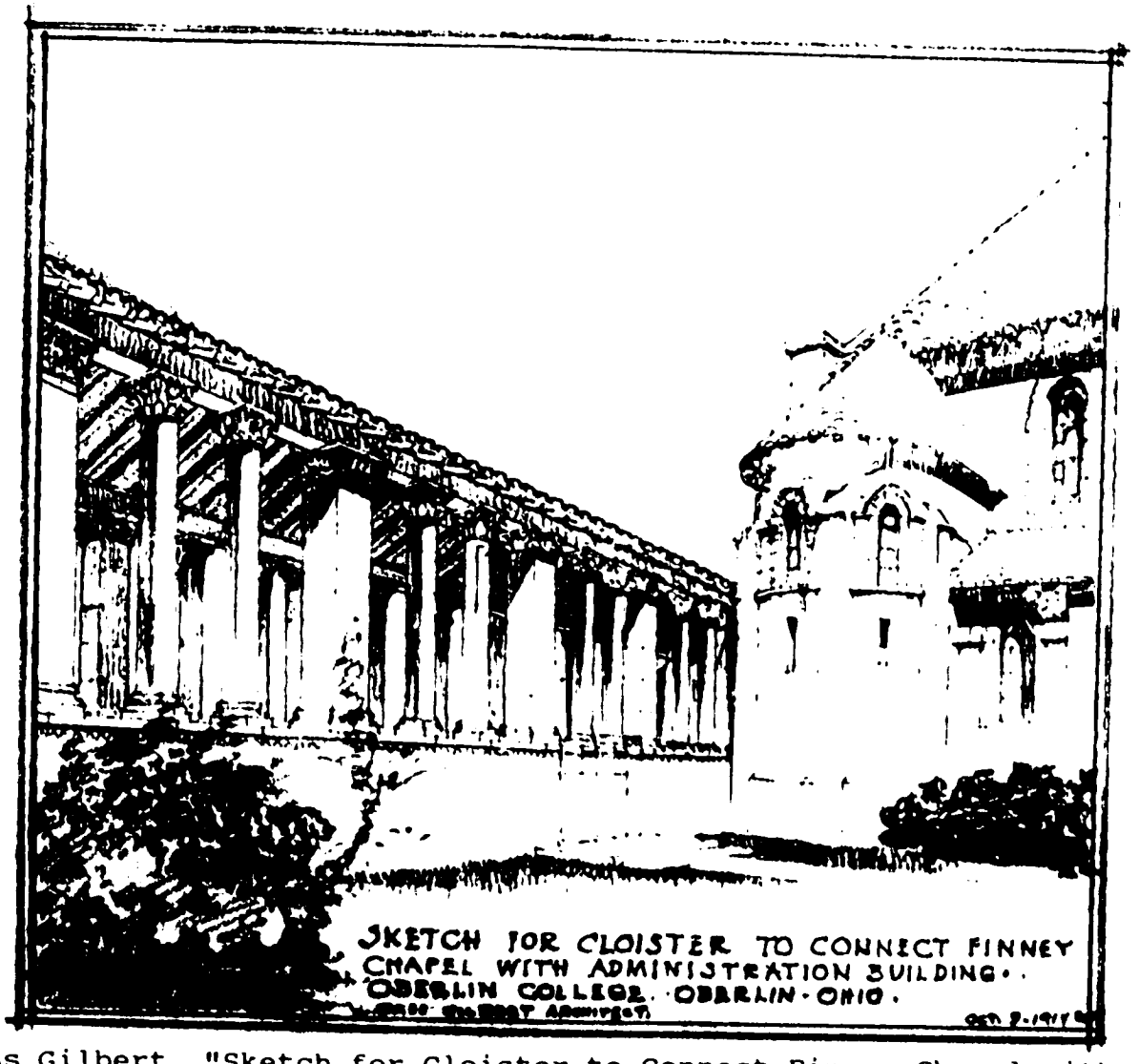



Figure 127. Cass Gilbert, "Sketch for Cloister to Connect Finney Chapel with Administration Building, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio," E. W.[Ward?], del., October 9, 1914 (N-YHS)

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Figure 128. Administration Building in relation to Finney Memorial Chapel: front view, n.d. [before ca. 1926) (OCA)

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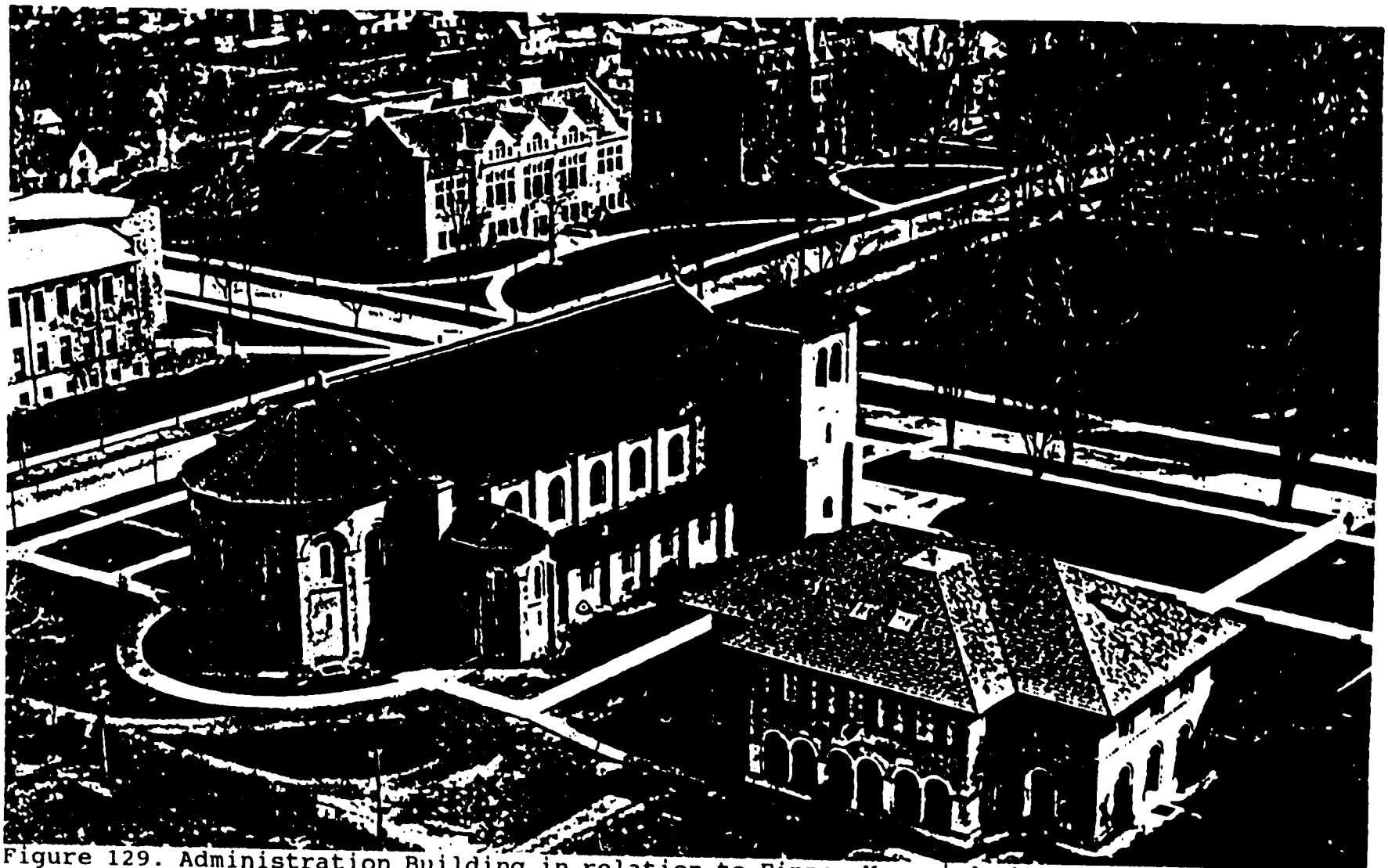


Figure 129. Administration Building in relation to Finney Memorial Chapel: rear aerial view, n.d. [before ca. 1926) (OCA)



Figure 130. Administration Building: detail of rear arcade, n.d. (OCA)

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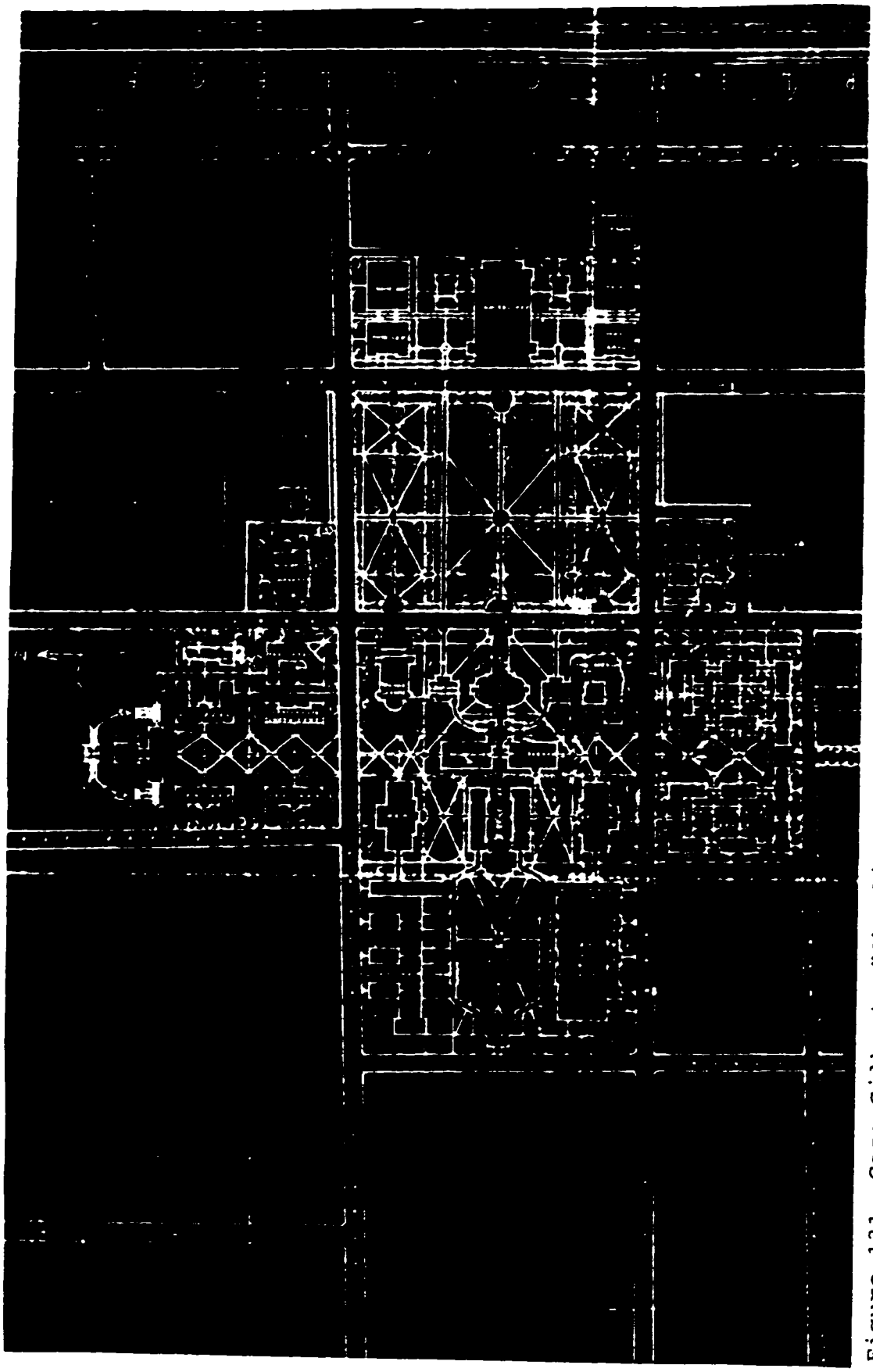


Figure 131. Cass Gilbert, "Oberlin College," [detail], February 8, 1915 (N-YHS).

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Figure 132. Cass Gilbert, [Sketch plan of Oberlin campus], n.d. [ca. March 1913] (N-YHS)
At the right, the east side development is depicted. To the left stands a U-shaped building group near the chapel (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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Figure 133. Joseph Lyman Silsbee, Men's Building: proposal, building compl. 1911 (OCA)

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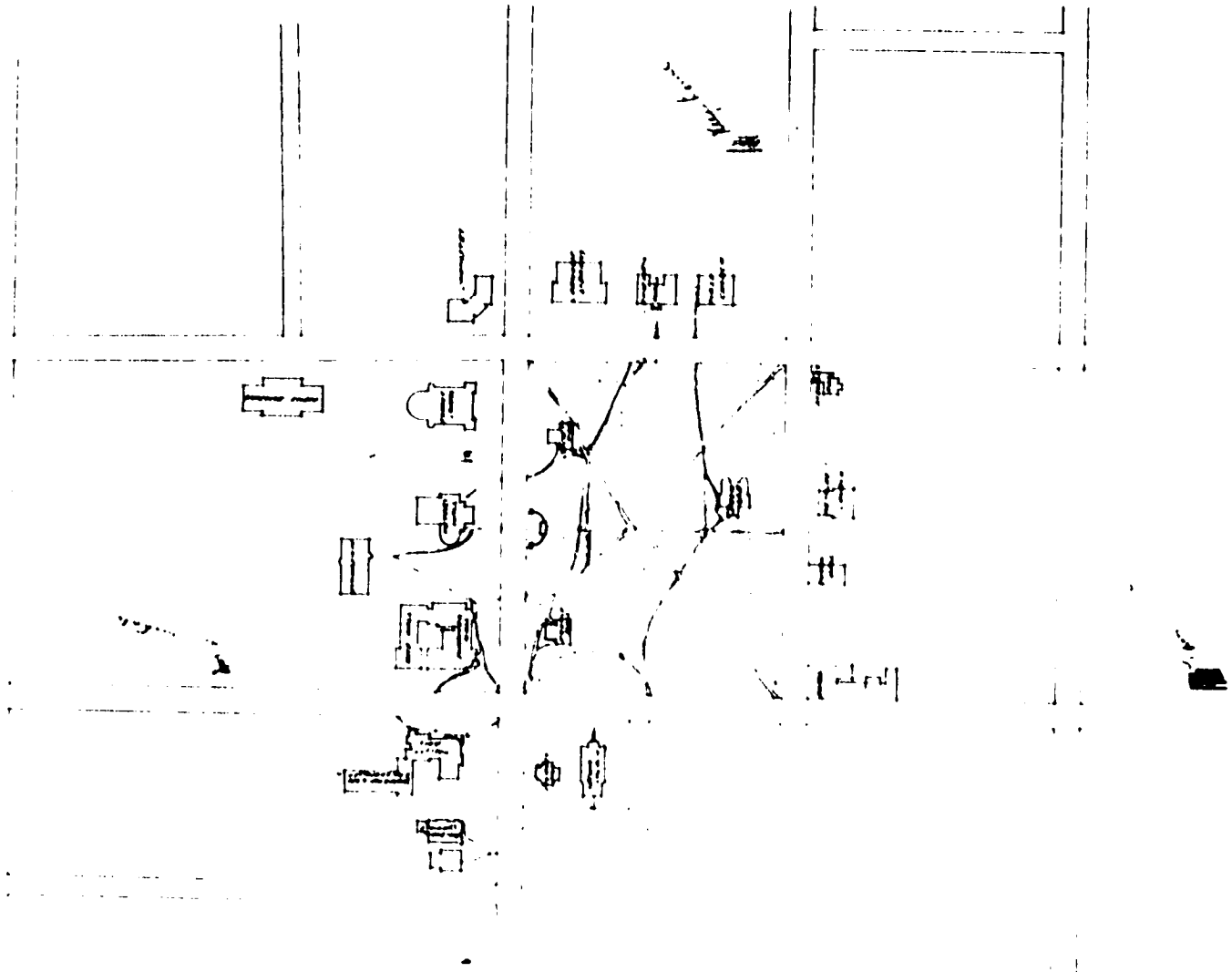


Figure 134. Cass Gilbert(?), [Oberlin College Campus], n.d. [ca. 1913-15]. On the east edge of Tappan Square stand Stewart Hall, the Methodist Church, Town Hall, and a hotel (N-YHS)

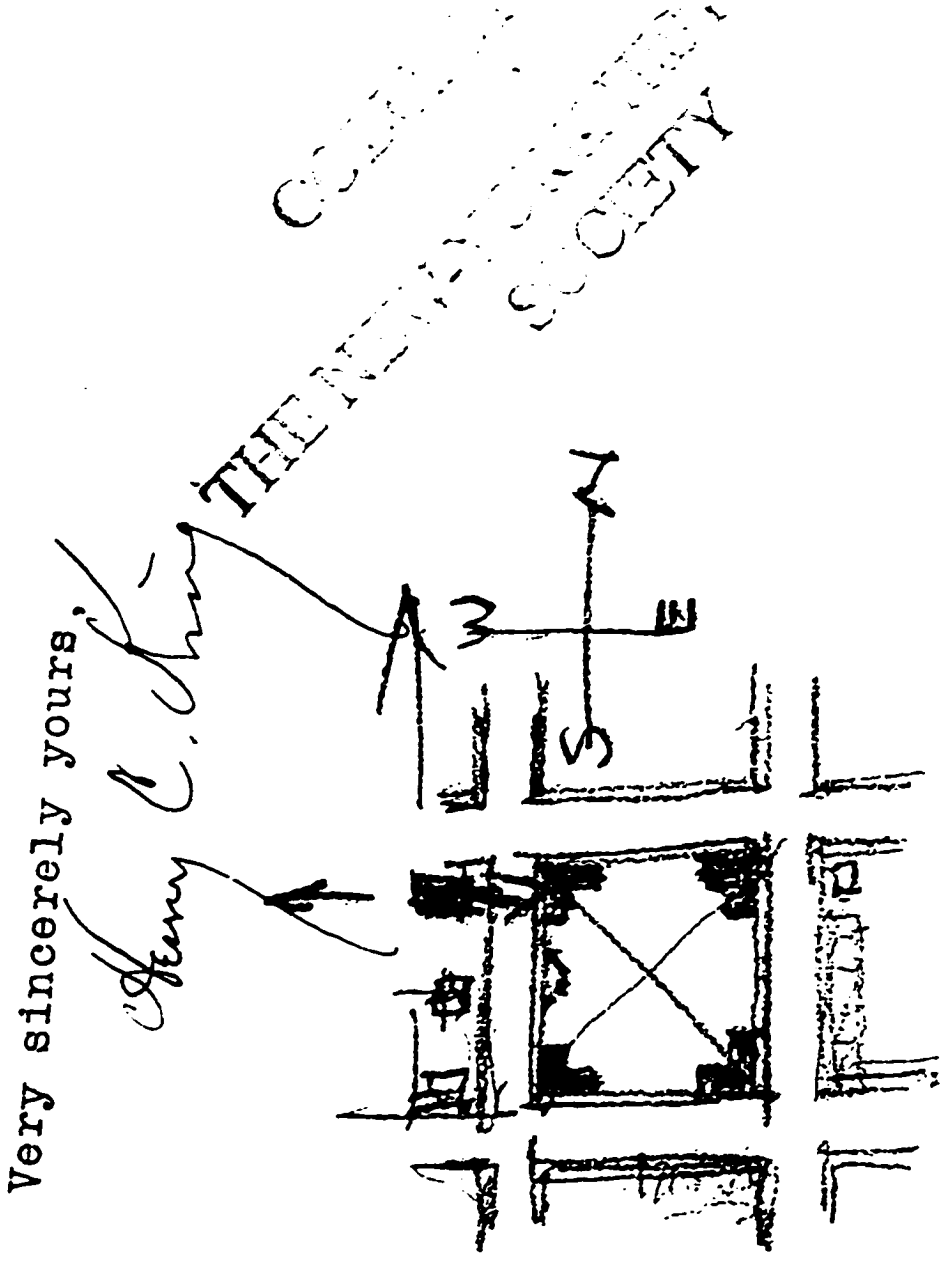



Figure 135. Cass Gilbert, [Sketch plan of Tappan Square, with buildings marking each corner], January 9, 1914 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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fornia for Mr. Hall to see.

I agree with you in thinking that the two other buildings would help the plan. I am afraid there is not much chance of removing Peters Hall soon, but I would like to get, as I said, the reaction of Mr. Hall on your whole letter.

Very sincerely yours,

Henry C King.



Figure 136. Cass Gilbert, [Sketch plan of proposed development for area east of Tappan Square], January 16, 1914 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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Figure 137. Cass Gilbert, "Elevation of Proposed East Sector of the Oberlin College Campus," n.d. [ca. January 22, 1914] (Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio; source unknown)

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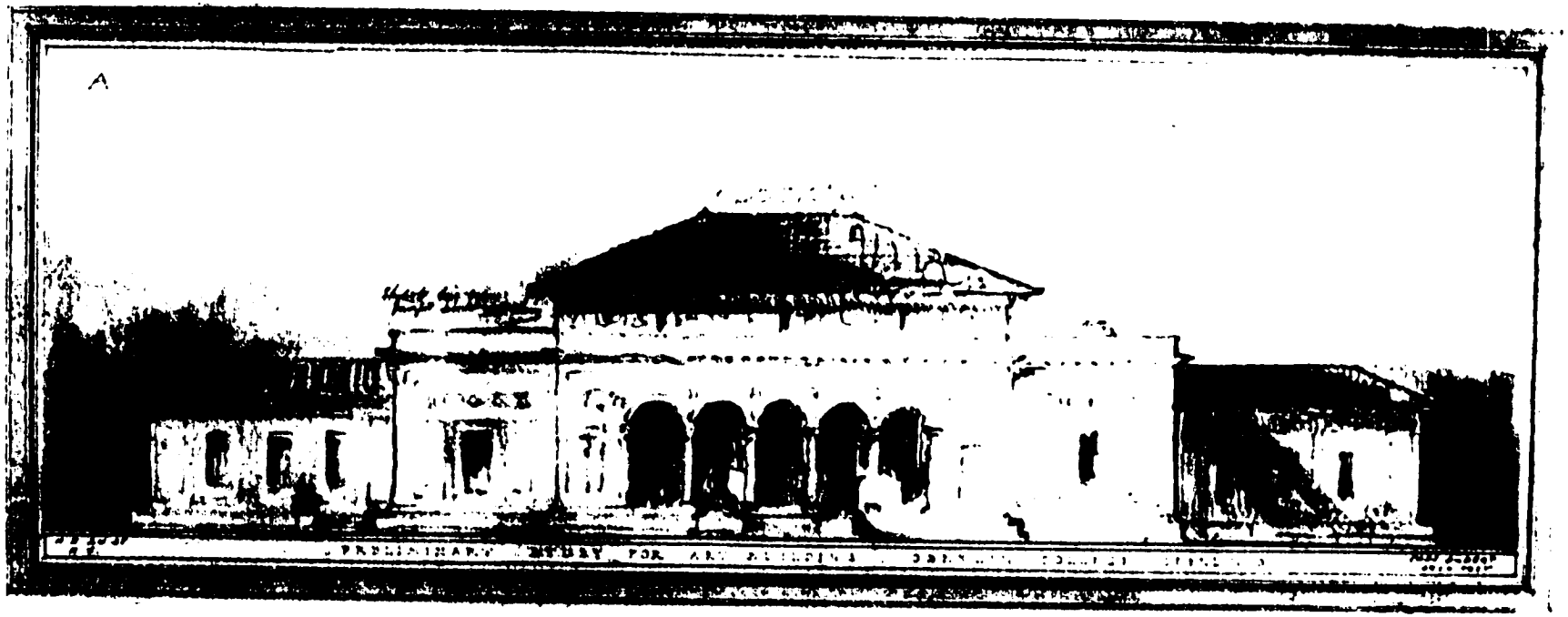



Figure 138. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "A," "Preliminary Sketch for Art Building, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.," n.d. [ca. 1914] (N-YHS)

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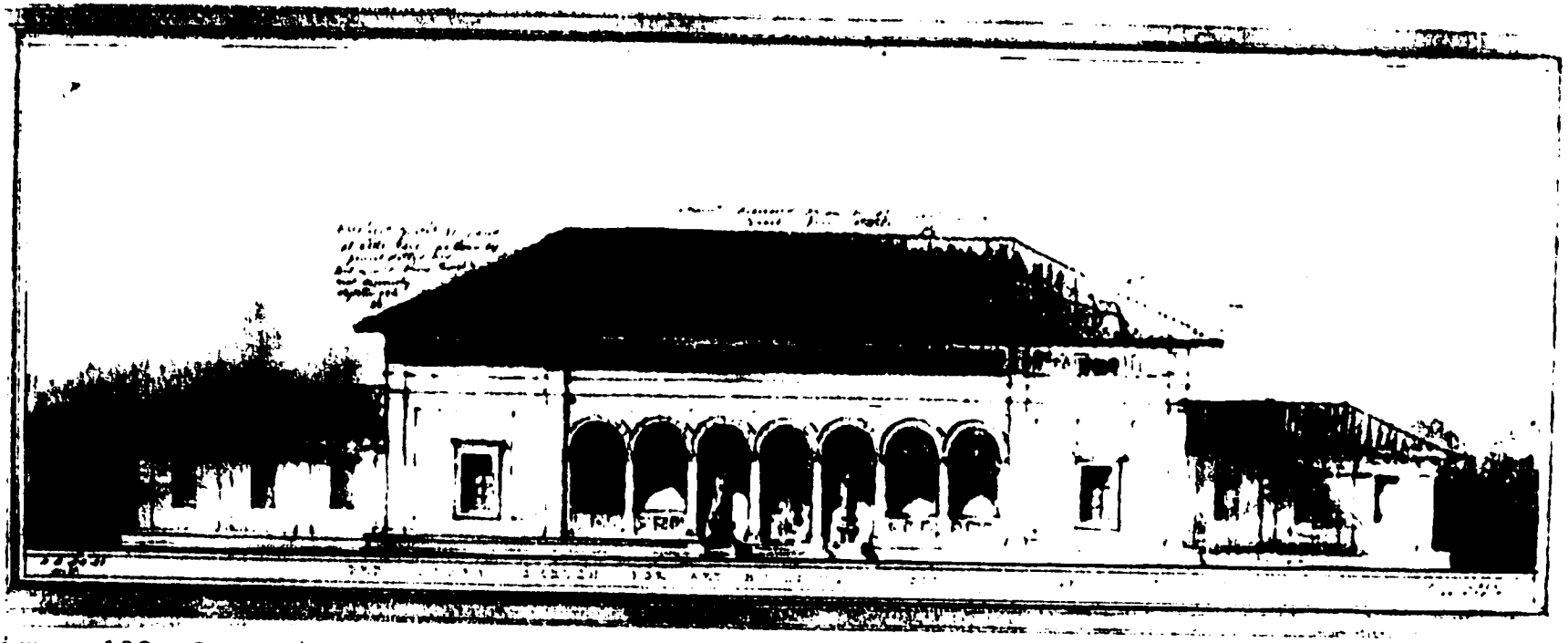


Figure 139. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "B," "Preliminary Study for Art Building, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.," n.d. [ca. 1914] (N-YHS)

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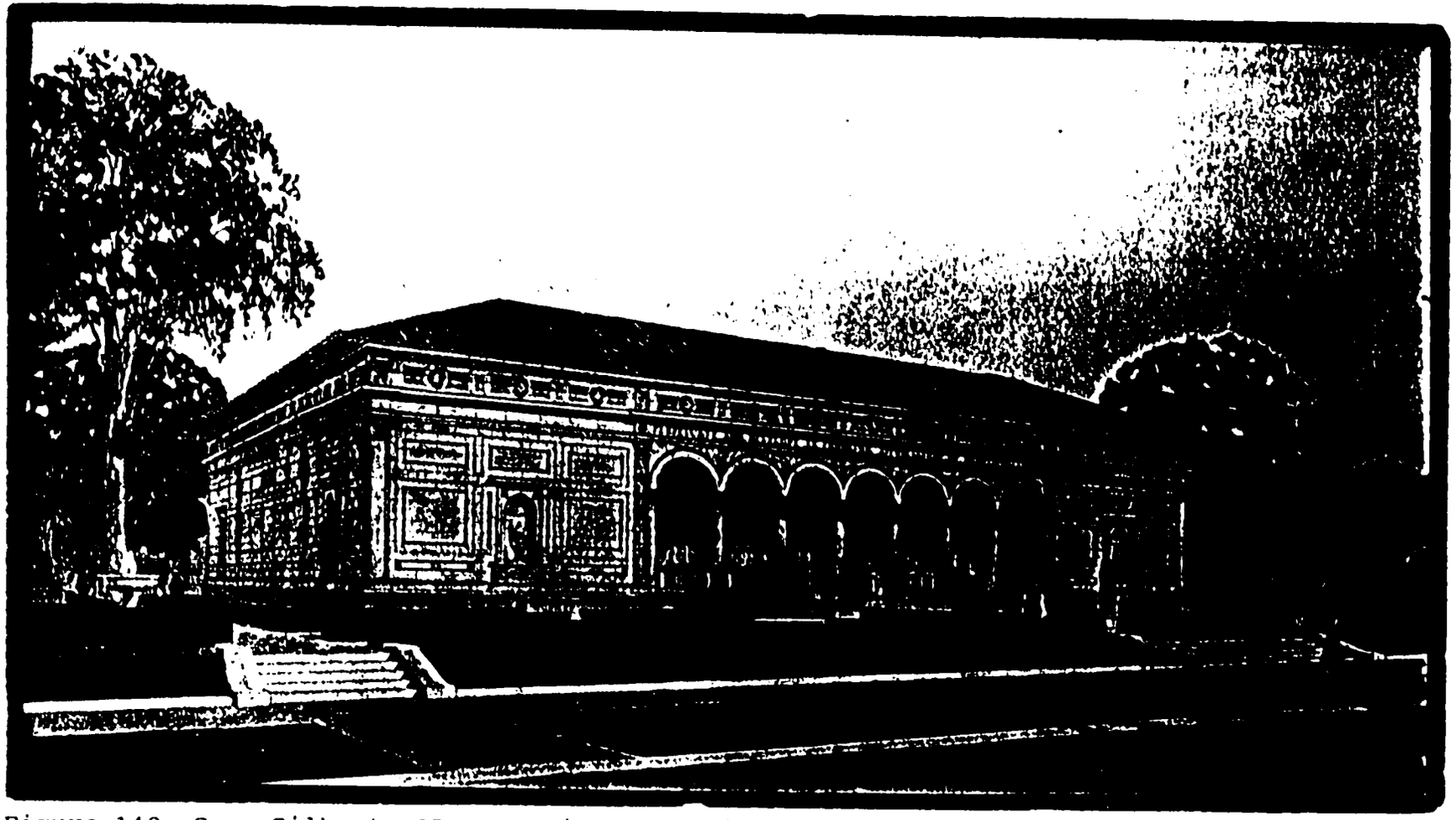


Figure 140. Cass Gilbert, [Perspective rendering of Art Building], n.d. [ca. 1914-15], (OCA)

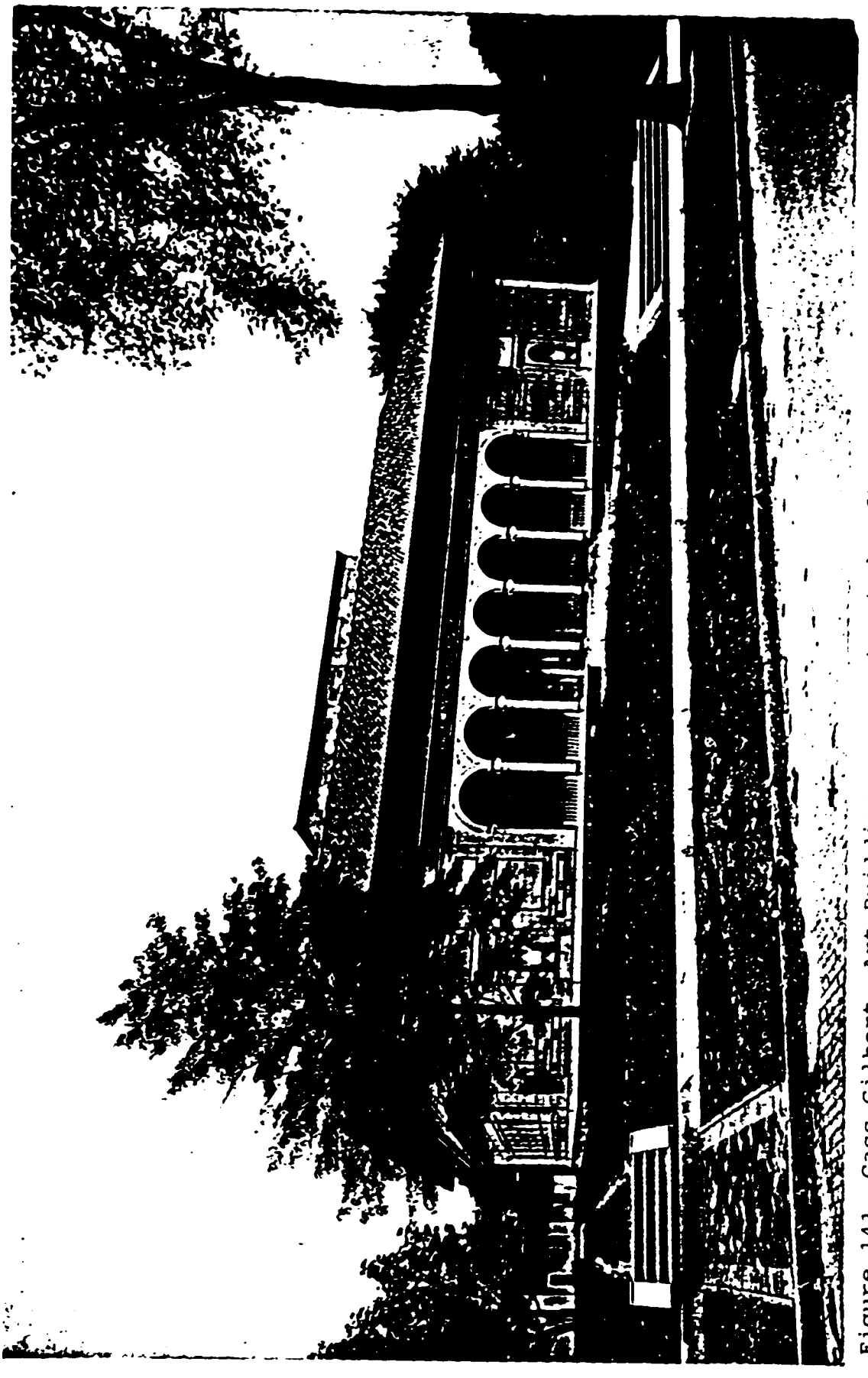


Figure 141. Cass Gilbert, Art Building: as constructed, after 1915 (OCA)

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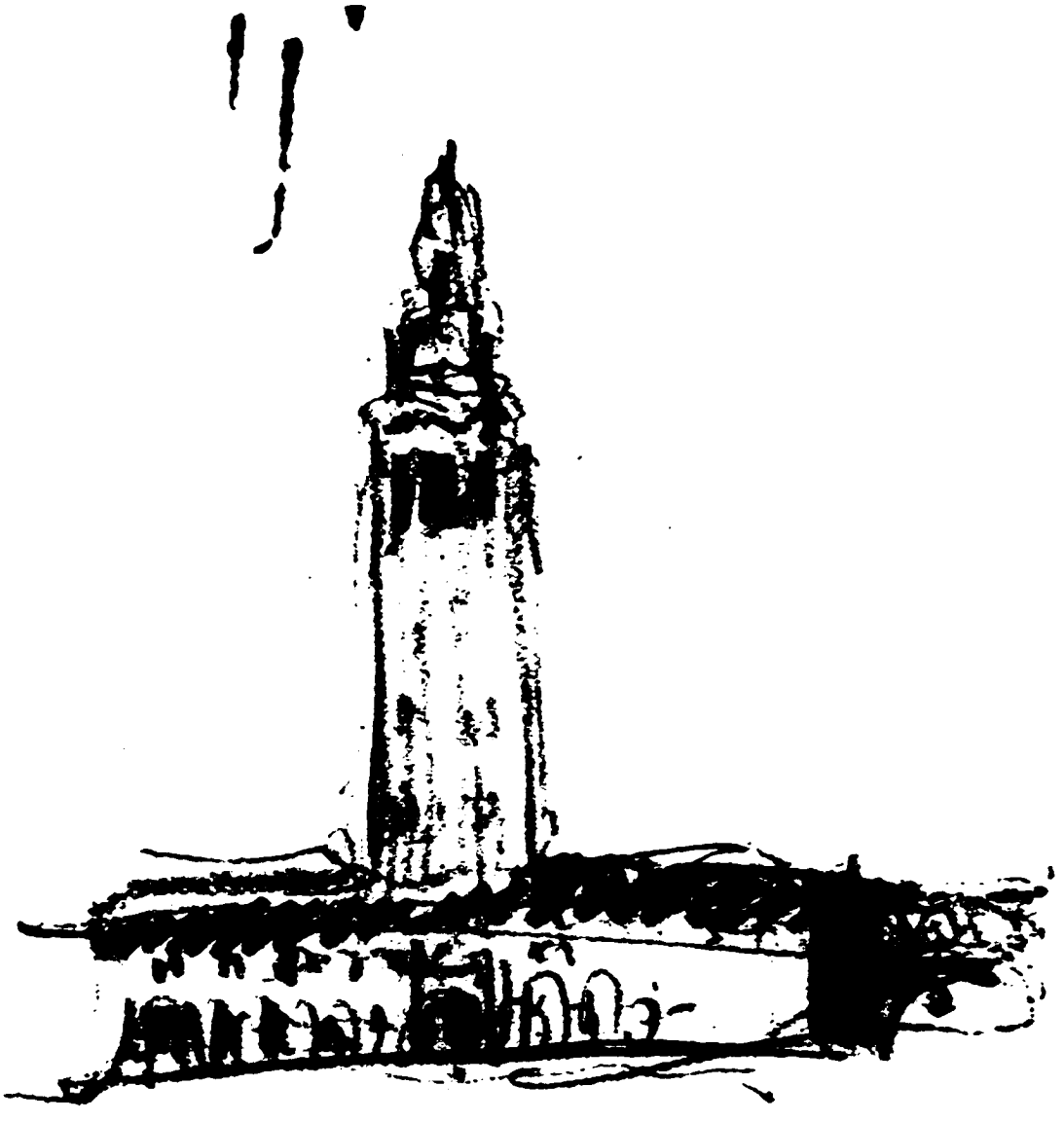


Figure 142. Cass Gilbert, [University of Texas, Austin: central tower, elevation sketch], October 1920 (N-YHS)

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Figure 143. Cass Gilbert, [Oberlin College Administrative Group, with Tower], n.d., [ca. 1915] (N-YHS)

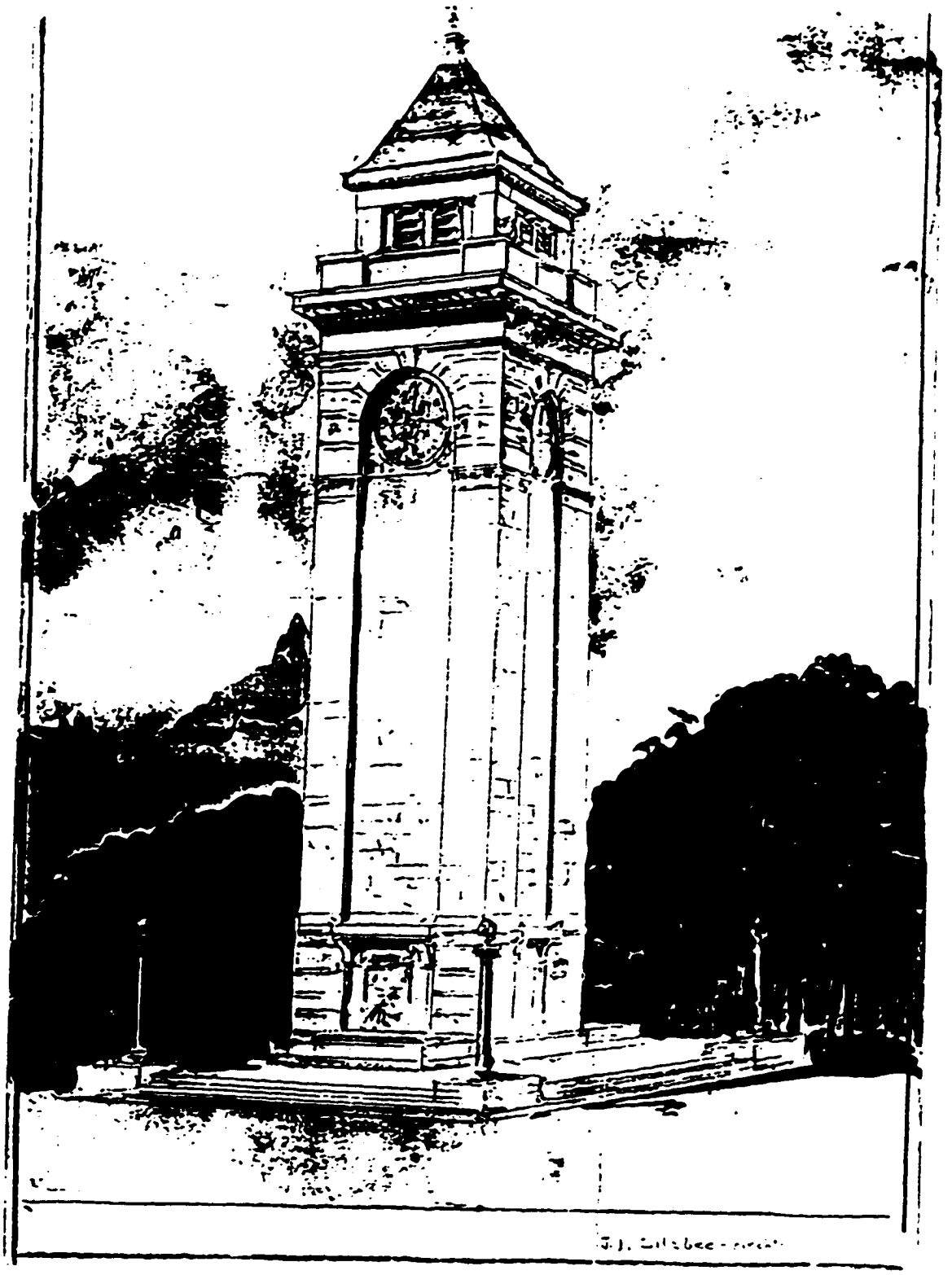


Figure 144. Joseph Lyman Silsbee, [Oberlin College Tower], n.d. (OCA)

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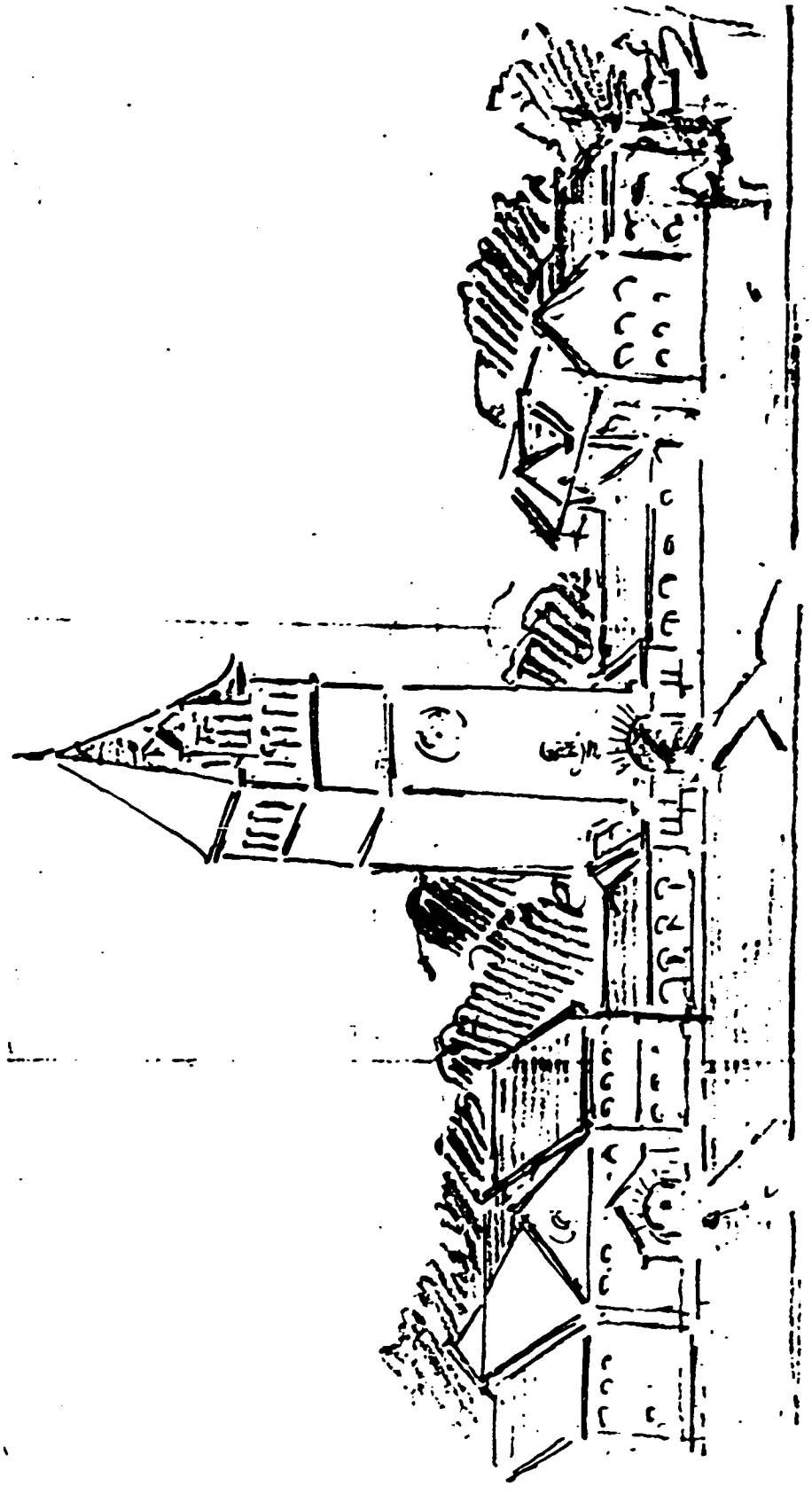


Figure 145. Joseph Lyman Silsbee, [Oberlin College Administrative Group, with Tower], n.d. [ca. 1907?] (OCA)

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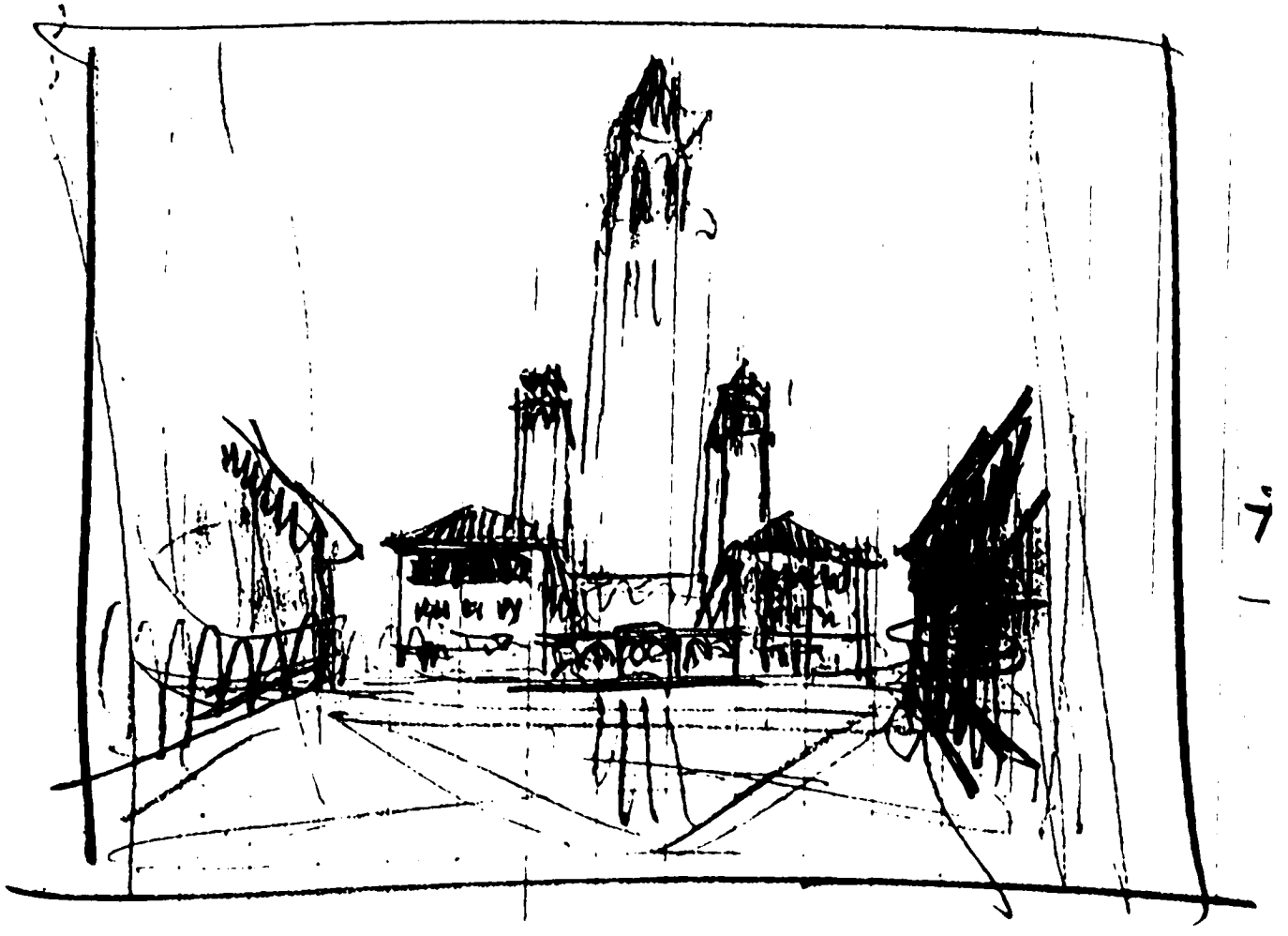


Figure 146. Cass Gilbert, [Preliminary elevation of Administrative Quadrangle], June 11, 1913 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)



Figure 147. Cass Gilbert, "Study for Quadrangle, Oberlin College, O.," June 14, 1913 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection in the N-YHS)

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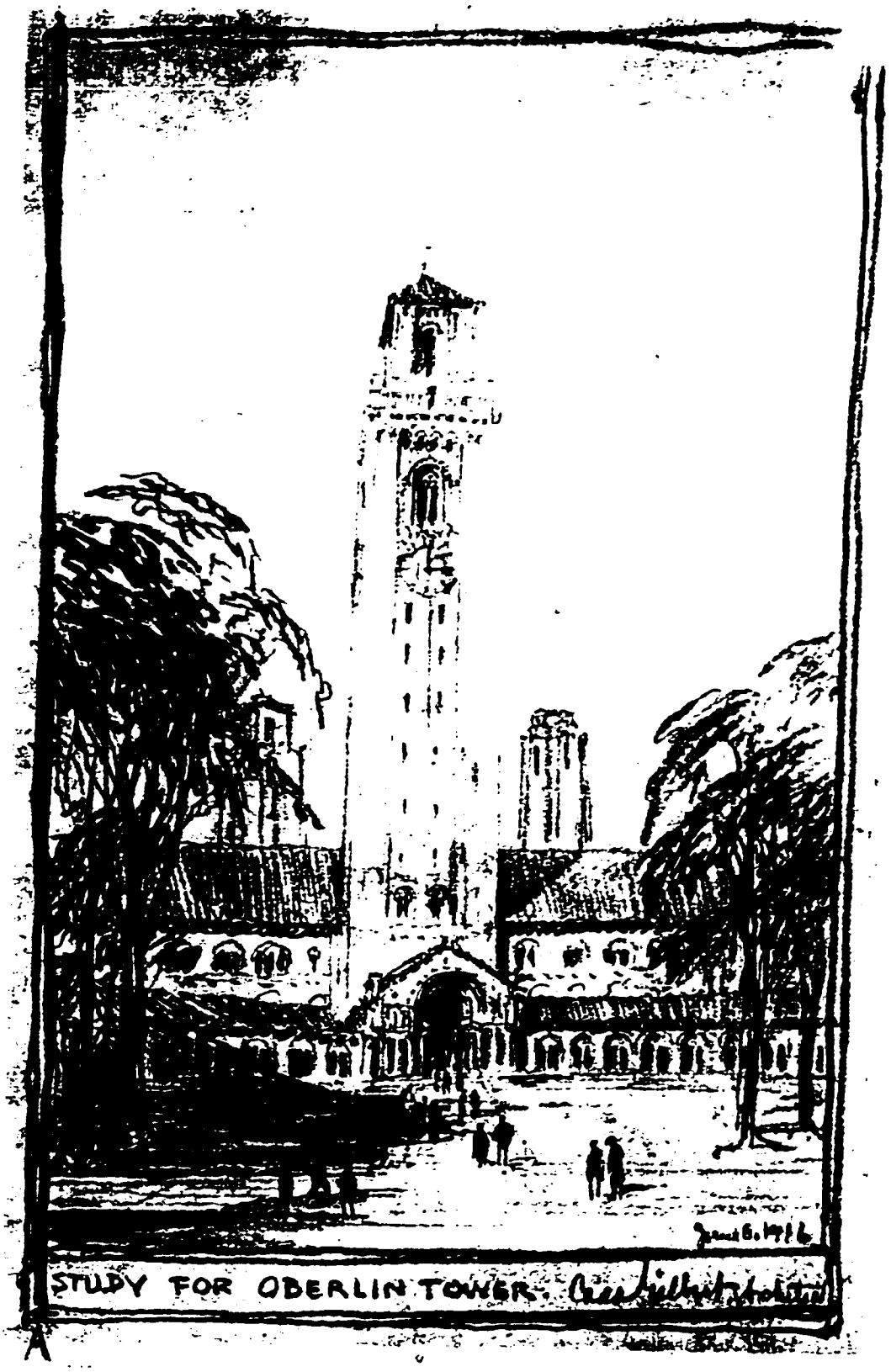



Figure 148. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "A," "Study for Oberlin Tower," June 8, 1916 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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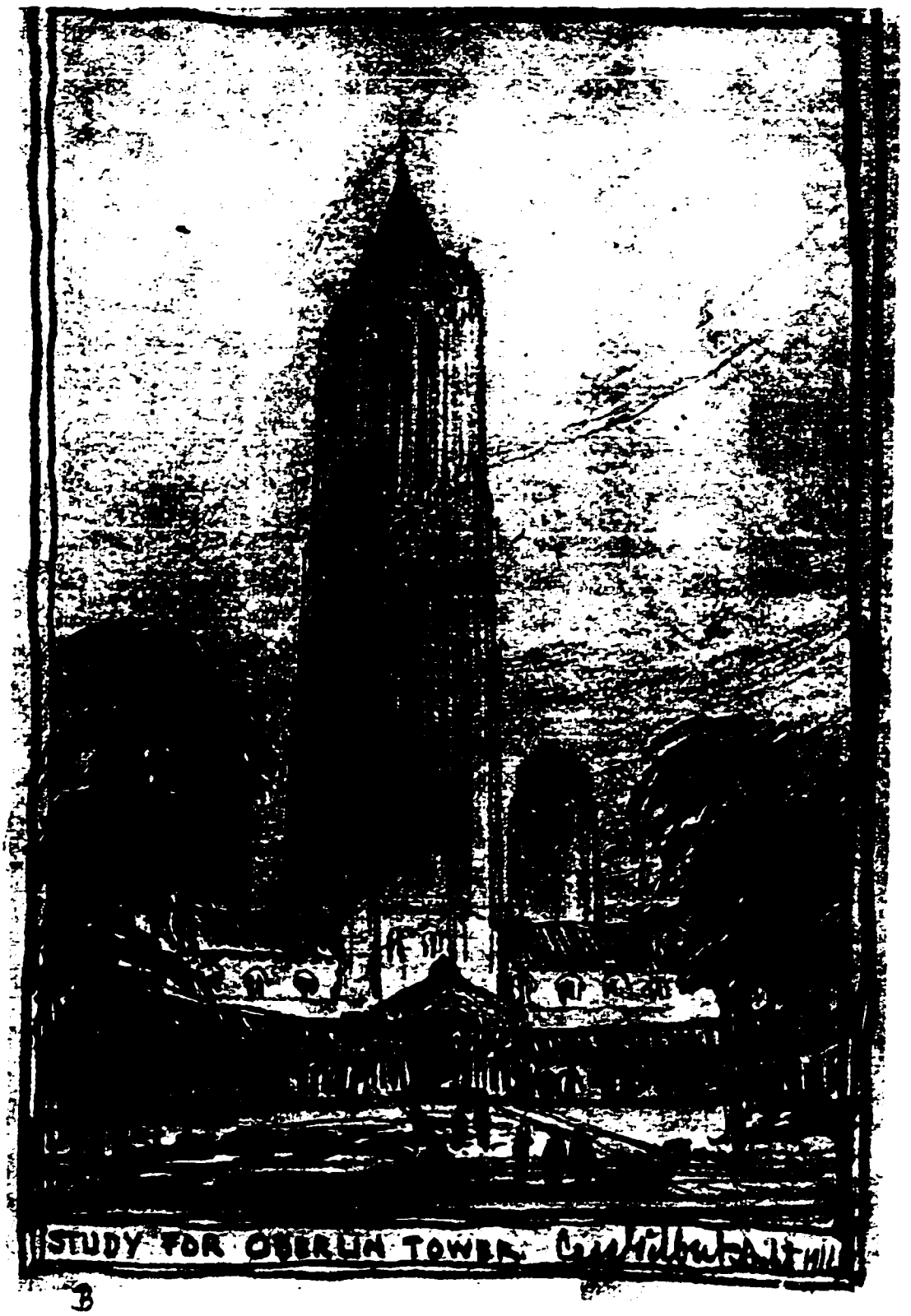



Figure 149. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "B," "Study for Oberlin Tower," 1916 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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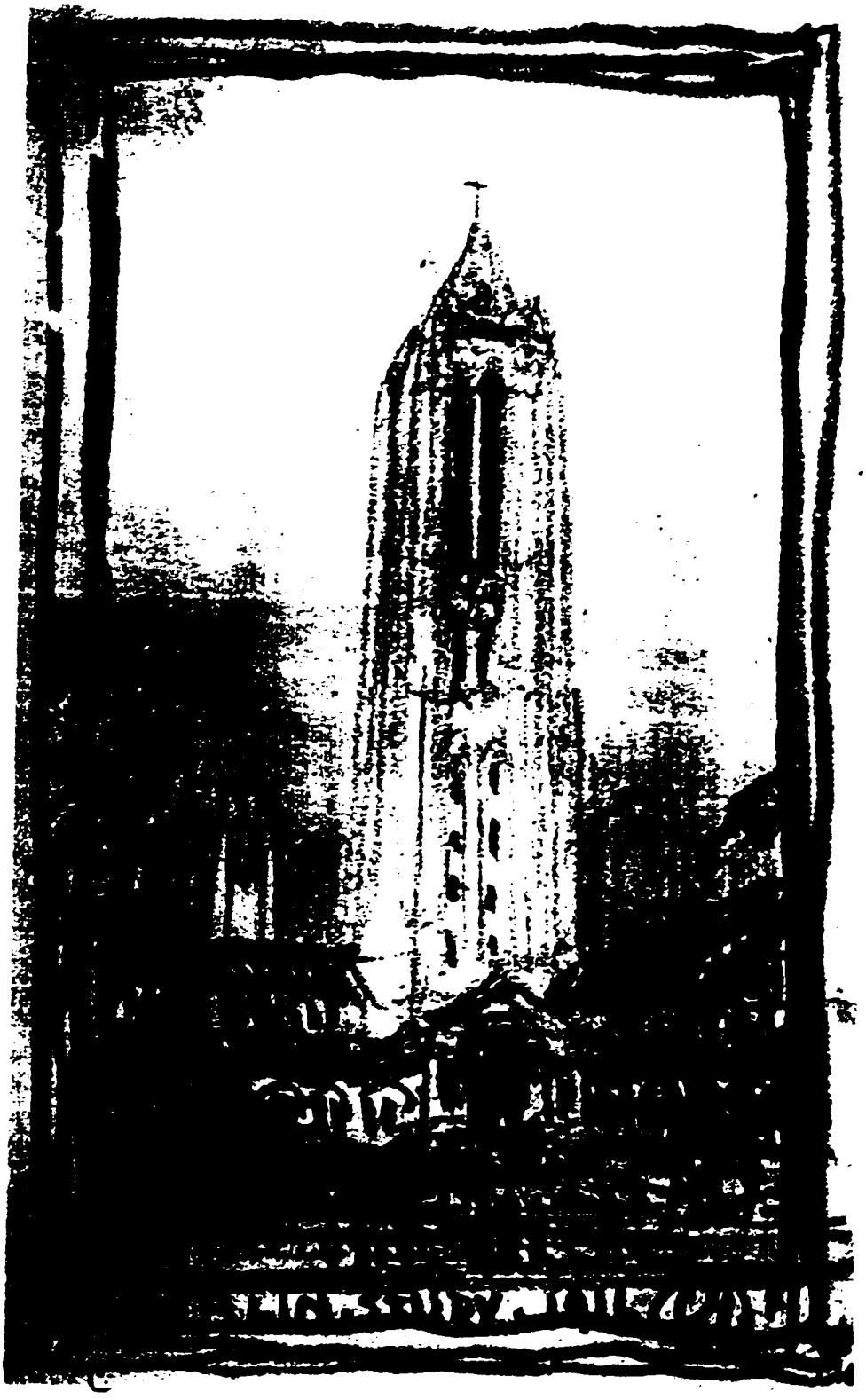


Figure 150. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "C," "Oberlin Study," 1916 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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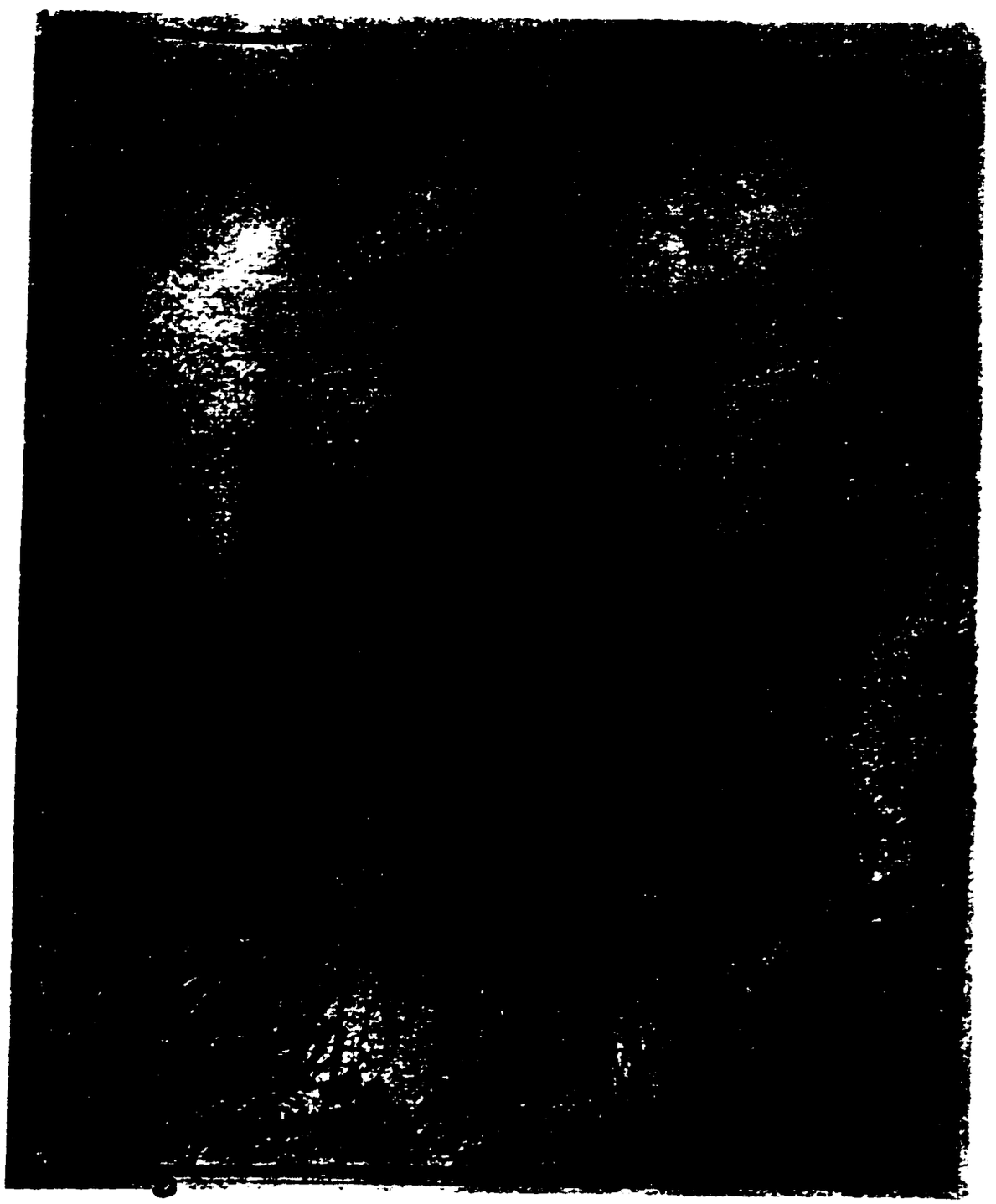


Figure 151. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "D," "Study for Oberlin Tower," 1916 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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Figure 152. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "E," "Study for Oberlin Tower," January 22, 1916 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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Figure 153. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "F," [Study for Oberlin Tower], 1916 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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Figure 154. Cass Gilbert, Scheme "G," "Study for [Oberlin] Tower," 1916 (photocopy reproduction from original in the Collection of the N-YHS)

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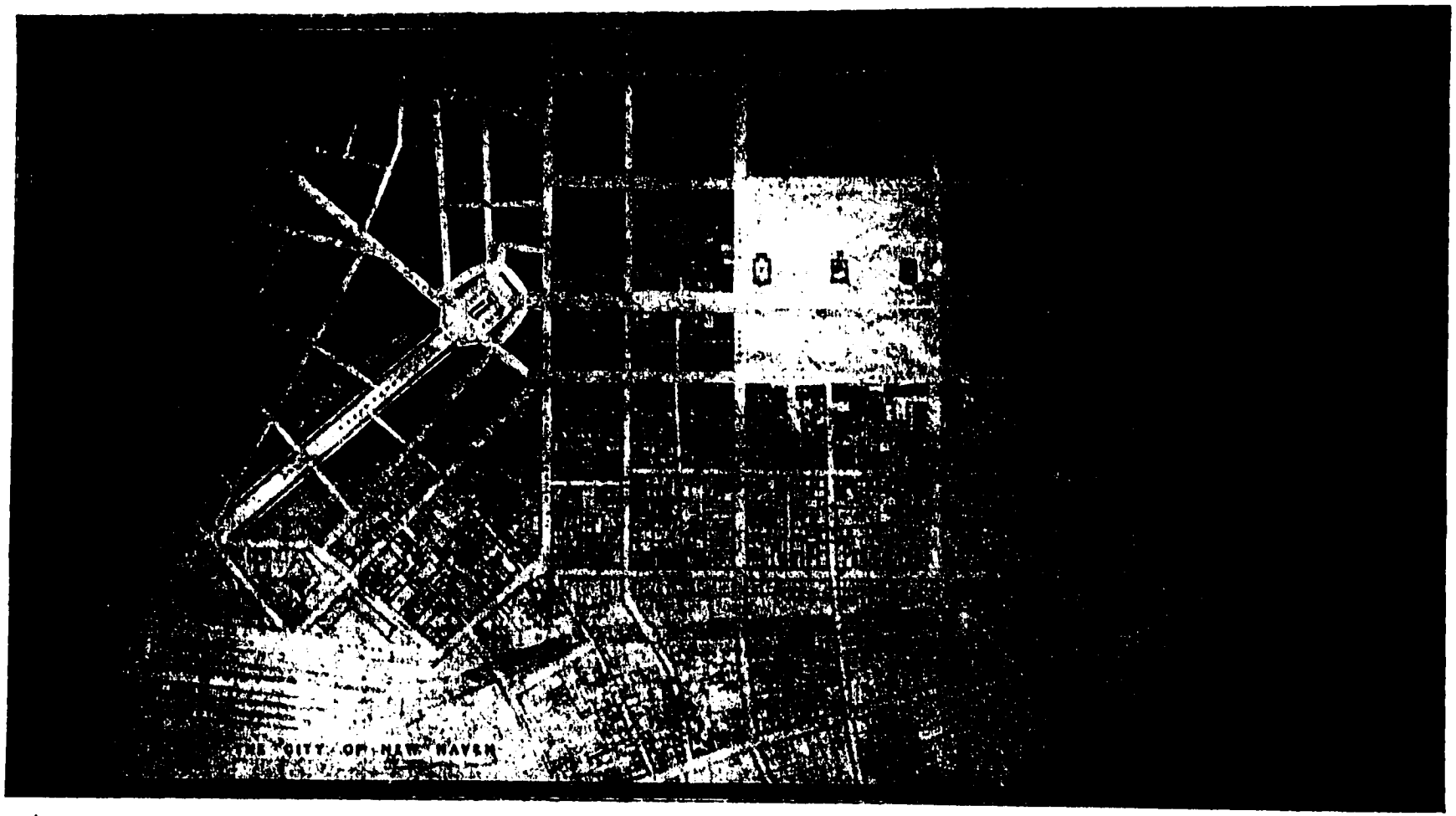



Figure 155. Cass Gilbert and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "Preliminary Plan, Improvement for the City of New Haven," n.d. [ca. 1910], as published in Glenn Brown, ed. The Relations of Railways to City Development (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1910), plate after p. 48 and also in Report of the New Haven Civic Improvement Commission (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Co., 1910), plate between pp. 59-60.

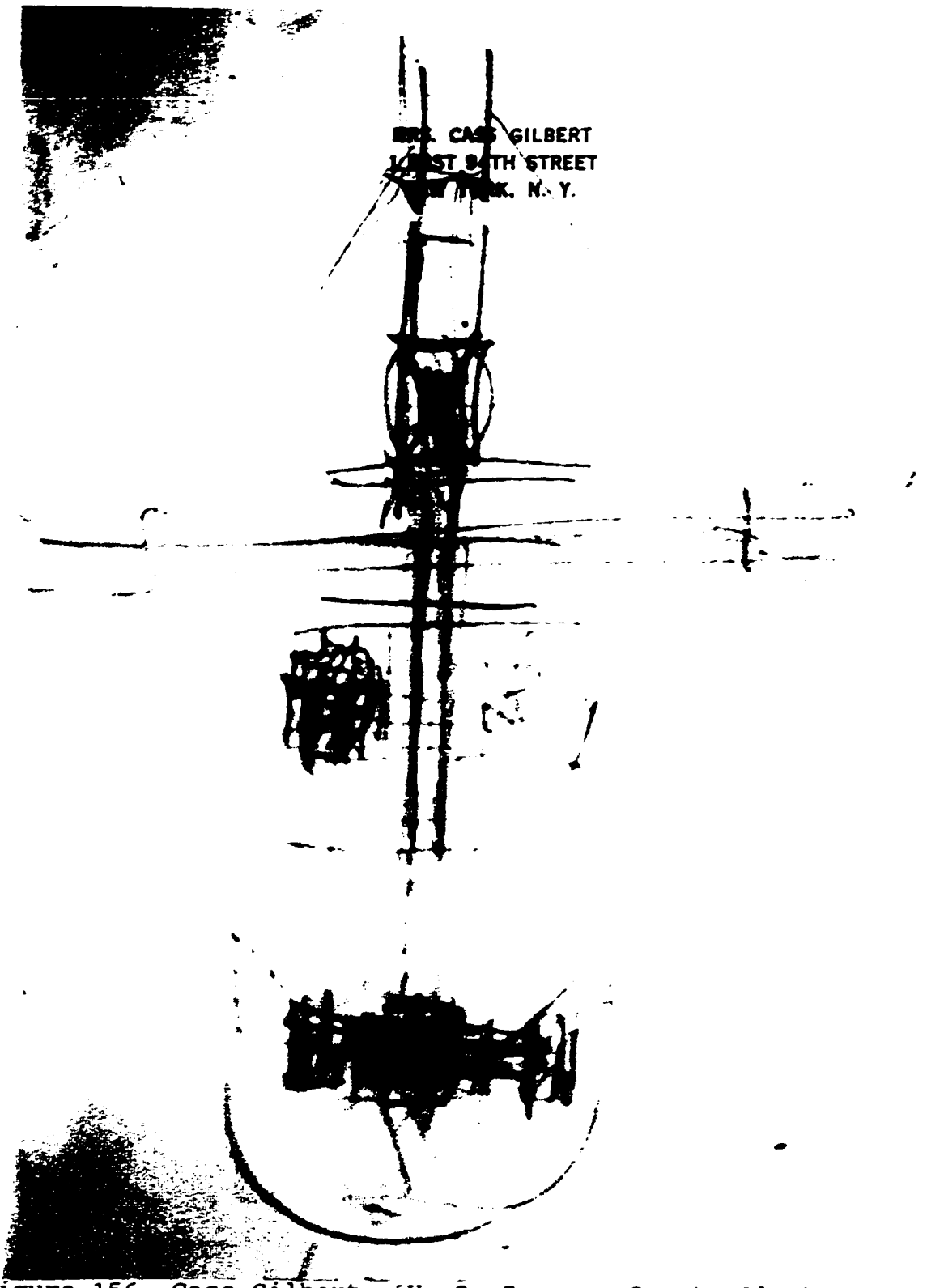



Figure 156. Cass Gilbert, [U. S. Supreme Court: Block Plan], n.d. [ca. 1930] (LC/P&P). The court, denoted at left by "SC," is balanced by the Library of Congress ("Library"), each building flanking the central axis between the U. S. Capitol and an unidentified park or monument east of the Capitol.

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# APPENDIX I

## CHARITIES THAT WERE SUPPORTED BY GILBERT

The charities that Gilbert financially supported can be broken down into the following three groups:

I. Those groups to which he had a direct family or professional connection,

II. Charities that helped children, and

III. Those comprising a wide range of other groups.

This information, which suggests Gilbert's attempts in several instances to help those in need (one of the key goals of the Progressivist platform of the City Beautiful movement), has been gathered from CGC, PP/Chron./Misc./and CGP-LB (N-YHS) and CGPprs (LC/MSS) for the years listed below. The years noted in parentheses denote when Gilbert contributed to the particular cause.

(In chronological order)

I. Geographically and related to his family:
--Zanesville, Ohio Church Organ Fund (1905)
--St. Paul, Minnesota
    --Church Fund (n.d.)
    --Society for the Relief of the Poor (1901-02)
    --School for Crippled Children (1903)
    --Young Men's Christian Association (1905)
    --St. Paul Home for the Friendless (1906)
    --Minnesota Soldiers' Home (?)
--Ridgefield, Connecticut
    --Roxbury Tutorial School (1914)
    --Ridgefield Baseball Club (1914)

Through professional connections:
--Metropolitan Parks Association (1906-09; and later under the Parks and Playground Association of New York (1910-14, 1926)
--Simpson Fund (1906)/Hunt and Hunt
--Draftsmen's relief (G. Gelert loan)
--Architectural Review (1912)
--C. T. Hubbs gift (Hubbs, having contracted tuberculosis, had to abandon architectural work for C. B. J. Snyder) (1912)
--A. E. Clark (1913)
--J. P. Ripley loan (1913)
--Architects' Auxiliary to the Hospital Saturday and Sunday Association (through McKim, Mead & White) (1913-14)
--F. Garber (1914)

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--Honor Roll Relief Fund of the Police Department of the City of New York (1914)
--Charities related to the war effort (beginning 1914)
    --AIA Relief Fund (1914)
    --Relief Fund for Families of French Soldier Artists (1914)
    --Industrial Christian Alliance (1915)
    --Venetian Gondoliers (1916)
    --Professional Classes War Relief Fund (1917)

Individual cases, as advertised in local papers through Charity Organization Society (1896, 1906, 1908, 1913)

II. Charities that helped children:
--New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1901-04, 1906, 1910-12, 1915-16)
--Boys Club (1902-1907), Gilbert supported local but not national group
--St. John's Guild: Floating and Seaside Hospital (1905-06, 1909-11)
--LIFE'S Fresh Air Fund (1907-16)
--National Kindergarten Association (1907-12, 1914-16, 1926)
--National Child Labor Committee (1908)

III. Other groups
--New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor/Fresh Air Fund (1906-09)
--School Art League (1911)
--Isidor and Ida Strauss Fund (1912)
--(MIT) Technology Christian Association (1912)
--Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks (1913)
--Prison Association of New York (1913-14)
--Jefferson-Monticello Association of America (1914)
--Richmond Hill House (1914)
--New York Dispensary (1914)
--Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (1915)
--New York State Prison Council (1916)

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# APPENDIX II

## CHRONOLOGY OF GILBERT'S AIA SERVICE

The following references have been collated from AIA Secretary's files, outgoing correspondence, 1891-1918, Proceedings... [cited below as Proc.], Annuaries, and other documents noted below.

A Director's term lasted three years; all Standing Committee (StC) appointments were for one-year as were Special Committee appointments (SpC).

National:

1892 January: One-year term as Director of the AIA [Annuary listing in 1891 Proc., also D. Adler to Gilbert, Dec. 1891--with typo reading two years. Gilbert, however, served only one year as Director.]
October: application for becoming an AIA Fellow.
December: official notification of his appointment as Fellow.

1893 Gilbert did not serve on any standing committees or special committees [Annuary at end of 1892 Proc.]

1894 Director (1894 through 1896)[1893 Proc.].

1895 StC/Committee on Publication and Library [1894 Proc.].

1896 StC/Committee on Publication and Library [1895 Proc.].

1897 StC/Committee on Education [1896 Proc.].

1898 Director (1898 through 1900) [1897 Proc.]

StC/Committee on Education
StC/Committee on Publication and Library [1897 Proc.]

1899 StC/Committee on Publication and Library [1898 Proc.]

1900 Annual Convention of the AIA: Gilbert served as discussant; essay on same topic later published in Papers Relating to the Improvement of the City of Washington, District of Columbia, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1901).

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Gilbert did not serve on any committees [1899 Proc.]

1901 No record of AIA service [1900 Proc.]

1902 Gilbert nominated President of AIA at Annual Convention in Washington, but declined in favor of Charles Follen McKim. [Edgar V. Seeler to Gilbert, August 16, 1907, see notes at bottom of page, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1907, (LC/MSS)]

Director (1902 through 1904) [1901 Annuary]

StC/Education and Publication Committee

Declined appointment to SpC/Committee on Competitions but accepted election to Executive Committee.

1903 Gilbert nominate President of AIA. Daniel H. Burnham and Robert S. Peabody also on the ballot of the Annual Convention at Cleveland. But the three of them withdrew and Eames was elected. [Edgar V. Seeler to Gilbert, August 16, 1907, see notes at bottom of page, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1907, (LC/MSS)].

StC/Education and Publication Committee
StC/Judiciary Committee

SpC/Committee on Competitions
SpC/Committee on Securing Funds for the Purchase of the Octagon [1903 Annuary]

1904 StC/Judiciary Committee
StC/Education and Publication Committee

SpC/Committee on Government Architecture
SpC/Committee on Competitions
SpC/Committee for Securing funds for the Purchase of the AIA [1904 Annuary]

1905 Second Vice-President

StC/Education and Publication Committee

SpC/Committee on Government Architecture
SpC/Committee on Competitions
SpC/Committee for Securing Funds for the Purchase of the Octagon [1905 Annuary]

1906 At the Annual Convention in Washington, Gilbert nominated President from the floor by Robert Stead. Frank Miles Day was the official candidate and Gilbert declined to allow his name to be used. Day

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was elected. [Edgar V. Seeler to Gilbert, August 16, 1907, see notes at bottom of page, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1907, (LC/MSS)].

First Vice-President
(Delegate to 7th Annual International Congress of Architects, July 1906)
(Alternate representative in case George B. Post cannot attend dedication of American Engineering Societies' building) [March 27, 1907 notice]

SpC/Committee on Arrangements for the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the AIA, Vice-Chairman)
SpC/Committee on Octagon Fund, Chairman? [1906 Annuary]

1907 SpC/Committee on Endowment Fund
SpC/Committee on the Relation of Architects to the Contracting System
SpC/Committee for Advocating the Development of Cities [1907 and 1907-08 Annuary] Serves on Committee with J.L. Mauran and Robert D. Andrews.

1908 President of the AIA

StC/Committee on Finance, Chairman

SpC/Standardization Committee [1907-08 Annuary]

1909 President of the AIA

SpC/Committee on the Conservation of Natural Resources, Chairman [1909 Annuary or Proc.]

1910 Director (1910 through 1912)

Declined appointment as chairman of SpC/Committee on Government Architecture [AIA Ofc. files, Sec., RG 801 SR 4, Box 1, Folder 6]

SpC/Committee to Consider Relations to Chapters, Chairman
SpC/Committee on the Conservation of Natural Resources, Chairman [1910 Ann. or Proc.]

1911 SpC/Committee to Consider Relations to Chapters
SpC/Committee on the Conservation of Natural Resources
SpC/Committee on International Congress of

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Architects

1912 SpC/Committee on the Conservation of Natural Resources
SpC/Committee on International Congress of Architects

1913 Gilbert no longer held office of Director, but did serve on the following committees:

SpC/Committee on the Conservation of Natural Resources
SpC/Committee on International Congress of Architects

1914 January - March: SpC/Committee on Schedule of Charges, Chairman. In March, however, Gilbert resigns from this position [AIA Ofc. files, Sec. corr., RG 801 SR4, Bx: 1, F: 7]

1915-18 Not a member of any of AIA committees.

1919 Cass Gilbert resigns from the AIA.

Local Chapters of the AIA: (all information either from Annuaries or Proceedings)

(1892) Minnesota Chapter organized by Gilbert's early partner, James Knox Taylor (and others?) [1897 Proc., 19]

1893 Gilbert, Vice-President of MN Chapter [1893 Proc., p. 82)

1894 Gilbert's status unclear. No listing of officers in Proc. except for Secretary, but report tells of slight increase in membership and regular meetings that combined "social enjoyment and professional work" [1894 Proc., 23, 24, 200].

1985 Gilbert's status unclear. No listing of officers, except for Secretary [1895 Proc., 18, 19, 124)

1896 Gilbert gives paper, "Municipal Art" at MN Chapter [1896 Proc., 22].

1897 Gilbert's status unclear. No report given by MN Chapter [1897 Proc., 19].

1898 Gilbert's status unclear. No report given by MN Chapter [1898 Proc., 20].

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1899 Gilbert's status unclear. MN Chapter did not hold any meetings for the past two years. A letter from former Sec. Pardee says they are taking measures to re-organize for more active work [1899 Proc., 26].

1900 Gilbert's status unclear. No report given [1900 Proc., 23].

1901 MN Chapter says it "has no creditable report his year." In the early years, the chapter was thought to be useful to the profession and to architects. But with onset of depression, it was difficult to maintain spirit of the groups and its activities: "Four years ago the apathy from this and other causes was so great that it thought best to discontinue meetings until better times." In more recent months, the subject of "rejuvenation" had also been discussed.

1902 No report filed by MN Chapter [1902 Proc., 28 and 208]. No listing available for the New York Chapter.

1903 Gilbert listed as a Fellow of the MN Chapter, but is not hopeful about reorganizing the old chapter. In a letter to Glenn Brown, he wrote: "I do not believe that there are enough architects interested in either St. Paul or Minneapolis to form a chapter that would be able to maintain its existence, and the experiment of having a state chapter with alternate meetings in St. Paul and Minneapolis was proved to be a failure. ¶While I would be glad to see it done I do not believe a chapter could be successfully organized at this time or for some time in the future" [CG to GB, March 6, 1903, CGC, Chron. Bx: 1899-1903/#7 of 9, F: 15 (N-YHS)]. Gilbert is also listed as belonging to the New York Chapter.

1904-09 Gilbert a member of both Minnesota and New York Chapters.

1910-19 Gilbert associated only with New York Chapter.

1919 Gilbert's resignation from national AIA cancels his local membership.

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# APPENDIX III

## GILBERT'S OTHER PROFESSIONAL INVOLVEMENTS

### The Committee for Advocating the Development of Cities

Gilbert's most significant connection in terms of planning issues in the years succeeding the Convention of 1900 was his involvement with the Committee for Advocating the Development of Cities from 1906 to 1908. Gilbert's experience with this committee again suggests that his interest in planning came largely through Brown and his institutional connections. Brown initially corresponded with Gilbert concerning his own ideas about the study of city development. Gilbert responded:

> I have long thought you were exceptionally equipped for work in this direction. I recall that a number of years ago (long before the park Commission was organized) you broached the subject of the development of the mall in Washington and the recurrence (sic) to the L'Enfant plan in that City. It was you who obtained the attention of the American Institute of Architects to this important subject at its convention in Washington in 1900, which led to congressional action and to the appointment of the Park Commission. In short, you started the movement in Washington which has been succeeded by projects for the development of so many cities in our country.
>
> I believe that the study of city development as suggested by the statement accompanying your letter would be of great value to the world, and I know of no one better fitted to undertake it than yourself. You can, of course, refer to me fully and I shall be please if I can be of any assistance.[1]

After Brown was unsuccessful in his application to the Carnegie Institution, the AIA Board of Directors formed the Committee for Advocating the Development of Cities to see if his goals could be met by another route. The committee consisted of chairman John L. Mauran, the St. Louis architect,

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and of Gilbert and Robert D. Andrews of New York.[2] Gilbert made some suggestions to Mauran. Instead of writing personal letters of entreaty to each of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institute, Gilbert thought it would be more appropriate and effective for the AIA to set forth the recommendations of the committee, request further consideration of their application, and ask to present the committee's case to the Carnegie Board in person.[3] Gilbert also stressed in his letters to the Institute that Brown's study would be of great public value.[4]

It was not until early 1908 when Gilbert was serving as President of the AIA that he pressed Brown's case more urgently with the Carnegie Institute. In mid-January, Gilbert and Mauran met with Dr. R. S. Woodward, president of the Carnegie Institute. Brown had made initial contact with Woodward and then allowed AIA President Gilbert to come to the fore.[5] The committee was told that most research projects funded by the Carnegie Institute came from within the organization and that other general difficulties would have to be resolved. Gilbert followed up this interview with a strongly worded letter that placed Brown's project in the context of other improvement efforts.

From another vantage point, Gilbert argued for the need of information compiled on other cities, including European examples, so that the AIA could serve as an up-to-date resource center for legislative purposes, for American city and university planning, and generally for "projects of development necessary to meet the modern conditions of civic

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life."[6] More importantly, Gilbert highlights the significance of the group plan which had received so much attention from American architects:

> No university, college or public institution comprising a series of buildings is undertaken without some effort in this direction, but so far as I know there exists no compilation of general information on his subject and certainly nothing accessible to the general public or to the authorities in charge of such matters. We feel that the matter should not only be approached from the aesthetic side as to more or less symmetrical and beautiful 'group plans' but should be far deeper and broader in its scope and cover if possible the whole subject of city development.[7]

This entreaty to Woodward proved unsuccessful. Woodward's letter acknowledging receipt of the AIA's application was not hopeful. Indeed, when the Executive Committee considered the application, they did not offer funding even though they approved of the project in principle.[8]

The Executive Committee believed that the scope of Brown's project was better suited to an institution with greater finances. Furthermore, they felt that the plan was too large for implementation by one person. Instead, they suggested that the information be compiled by an entire corps of investigators. They then referred the AIA Committee to the Russell Sage Foundation in New York, since the project seemed more in keeping with their goals of civic improvement.[9]

Less than a week after Brown's project did not receive funding, Gilbert wrote a memo regarding goals for the proper use of an endowment fund at the AIA. These goals included research concerning civic improvement (such as the study of building laws pertaining to improved buildings and their

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relation to one another, tenement housing, public buildings, office buildings, factories, residences, public baths, recreation grounds, parks "and in fact the whole subject of the planning and construction of cities") and the maintenance of a central headquarters that would include a Bureau of Information. This bureau, he hoped, would serve as a resource for school planning. Gilbert cited inquiries made by the University of Western Pennsylvania, Carnegie Technical Schools, Johns Hopkins' University, University of Minnesota/Minneapolis, and the University of California--many projects with which he had first-hand experience.[10]

As an independent architect, Gilbert may not have exuded the enthusiasm and deep commitment to city and campus planning that Brown exhibited, but these instances of his involvement with the AIA and consequently his contact with Brown, suggest that Gilbert was not only familiar with some of the main issues of civic improvement but also that he held a more than passing interest in the subject. In addition, Gilbert was contacted by Brown concerning the activities of city planning groups. For example, Brown asked Gilbert to speak about town or city planning at a 1910 American Federation of Arts meeting. Brown explained, "The indications are that Brunner, Carrère or Day will be asked if you dont [sic] undertake it. This I would like to avoid and I urged you as the best man."[11] Throughout the middle years of his membership, Gilbert was periodically asked to participate in town planning conferences and related events.[12]

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The International Congress of Architects (ICA)

A few years after the Washington convention, Gilbert's international activities increased. As an extension of his domestic institutional involvements, they provide information as to how his institutional connections developed across the Atlantic. In 1903, for example, fellow-respondent from the 1900 convention, George O. Totten, Jr., invited Gilbert to become a member of the American Committee of Patronage of the International Congress of Architects (ICA) which was meeting in Madrid that year.[13] Totten, ICA secretary, later asked Gilbert to serve as a member of the same committee for the VIIth ICA meeting to be held in London, July 1906. Gilbert, who held the position of AIA First Vice-President that year, served as one of the three AIA delegates to this ICA meeting and was also asked to give a paper at the conference.[14] At the following ICA gathering held in 1908 (when Otto Wagner, among other European architects joined the group) Gilbert again served on the patronage committee.[15] He considered sending examples of his own drawings for the exhibition that year and offered his interpretation of what might interest ICA organizers:

> I would also like to send some drawings of my more monumental work, but I fancy from what Mr. Francis R. Allen [a member of the Permanent Committee of the ICA] said that the committee probably referred only the class of work that would be considered distinctly 'American,' by which I understood he means 'skyscrapers' and structural steel or reinforced concrete buildings. My own view is that we should send American work as we ourselves see it; that is to say, take the best that has been done, whether it be of the so-called monumental type or of the other kind.
>
> So far as I know no action has been taken by the New

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> York chapter, but I fear the time is getting so short that unless it is pushed forward but little will be done.[16]

Gilbert decided not to send actual drawings and instead submitted for exhibition five framed photographs of the U.S. Custom House, the West St. Building, the Broadway/Chambers Building, the Art Building for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and the Essex County Courthouse Rotunda.[17]

Gilbert continued to remain active or interested in ICA activities. He served on the Committee of Patronage for the IXth ICA meeting held in Rome in 1911.[18] By 1912, Gilbert was elected a member of the Permanent Committee of the ICA. Although his office was busy with many projects, he still maintained contact with Totten.[19] Although Gilbert paid his annual dues in 1913, that year was otherwise uneventful.[20] In 1914, however, Gilbert expressed interest in attending the general reunion of the Permanent Committee of the ICA in Paris, but he received information too late to make the trip.[21] Nevertheless, he kept his membership up to date, and maintained close records of correspondence concerning the program of the reunion and meeting that year.[22]

In the mid-teens, Gilbert maintained a careful distance from the group. On the one hand, Gilbert offered advice to Totten concerning the Xth ICA meeting in 1915, scheduled for St. Petersburg, Russia. Gilbert responded to Totten's initial ideas as well as suggested some of his own. Specifically, Gilbert wanted to add to the program a discussion concerning the AIA policy that prevented architects from serving as their

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own contractors in contrast to the South American tradition which allowed architects to function in both capacities. He believed this topic to be especially important since American architects likely would have increasing contact with South America after the recent opening (in 1914) of the Panama Canal. Yet, in contrast to these suggestions, and perhaps because of his own experiences with projects in South America, Gilbert did not want to take part in the discussion nor did he wish to be known as the proposer of the topic.[23]

Gilbert and other professional groups, including the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the British architectural community

Gilbert was involved with many other professional groups throughout his career. Concurrent with his later membership in the AIA, for example, Gilbert was active in the National Academy of Design, beginning with his membership in 1908 and still later, he was involved in the American Academy of Arts and Letters, beginning with his membership in 1914.[24] More significantly, in Gilbert's mind, was his involvement with the New York Architectural League, an organization which he was very proud to have helped found in 1881. Gilbert's pride about being connected with this latter organization is related in the following passage:

> I have always felt that we young fellows in founding the League on broad principles of good fellowship, high ideals and artistic endeavor irrespective of ethical, political or business questions, had adopted a very wise and farsighted program and one which implied no rivalry of the Institute or any other organization, but which covered a field all its own. The inclusion of members practicing other arts of painting and sculpture and later

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> of the decorative arts and of crafts, all tended toward its large development, and in common with all of the members of the League I have perhaps a pardonable pride in its unquestioned prominence and success.[25]

A year or so after Gilbert and three or four young draftsmen formed this latter group,[26] many of the members left the New York area for other jobs and the League dwindled in number and influence. When the group further languished and the founders were relegated to non-resident status, Gilbert and the other original members resigned in 1886. When Gilbert returned to New York in 1899, however, he rejoined the League and became somewhat active in the organization.[27]

Among his various activities for the League, Gilbert served as Chairman of the Committee upon Municipal Improvement in 1900.[28] In June of that year, instead of presenting a formal report to the League, Gilbert offered the following suggestions of how the Committee could be most effective:

> In many of our Cities there are organizations having similar objectives in view, Civic Leagues, Municipal Improvement Societies, and the like. Communication should be established with these societies and co-operation secured. It is believed that the League as a national body can work more effectively through local societies already established than by independent effort, and in return can give moral support and effective aid and direction to the effort of such societies. I recommend that we seek the co-operation of labor organizations, as we find in them a great body of citizens who would most directly share in the benefits of the movement we favor, both in the works incident to the improvements, and in the enjoyment of them afterwards. . . .
>
> A special effort should be made to encourage the development of Municipal improvements (sic) in cities of moderate size; . . . . This might be done by inviting the special study of the plans of such cities with papers and plats or sketches, showing what might be done within a reasonable expense; how the natural beauties could be preserved, how focal points of interest could be created, how development could be intelligently wrought out on a

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> general plan along the lines of the natural growth of the place in question; and to this end that a number of papers, plats and sketches be prepared by different person's working separately on the problem under similar conditions.[29]

These ideas were informally reported at the League's convention, held in Chicago in June.

Emil Lorsch, corresponding secretary, informed Gilbert that these ideas had met with general approval. Lorsch then related to Gilbert further suggestions made at the convention. Primary among them was to expand the Committee on Municipal Improvement to include a representative from each city who would act as a liaison with local organizations. When Gilbert received this information, he wrote to Lorsch, stating that he had undertaken the position on a temporary basis and therefore needed to resign.[30] Although Gilbert did not continue to work with this committee, his involvement suggests two things. First, Gilbert's initial efforts took place before the AIA Convention in December, thus suggesting that he was generally aware of improvement issues. Second, even before his work on the Minnesota State Capitol Approaches plan (begun 1902), Gilbert was considering ways in which information about improvement could be presented to citizens in order to promote its goals.

Gilbert highlighted the achievements of the New York Architectural League as well as those of the AIA in later years. He believed that these two organizations, in particular, were instrumental in making great strides in the field of architecture.[31] (Still later in his career, Gilbert

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served as President of the National Academy of Design (1926-1930) and also the National Institute of Arts and Letters (1919-1920).)[32]

In contrast to Gilbert's somewhat limited activities with the Architectural League and some of the other American professional groups, Gilbert became fairly active in British architectural circles. By 1906, his contact with British architects and British architectural organizations, especially the Royal Institute of Architects (RIBA), had increased. Perhaps Gilbert's earliest contact with Sir Aston Webb, the noted English architect who had served as RIBA President, occurred in 1906 when Gilbert toured England and sought out not only cathedral towns but also Webb's buildings. On this occasion, Gilbert socialized with Webb by attending a RIBA banquet where he offered a toast to the organization and its efforts.[33]

As a tangential note, Webb became a close friend of Gilbert's after 1906. Their acquaintance began from their professional association, with each entertaining the other in grand style during their respective visits abroad. Gilbert discussed some of his professional ideas with Webb, including, in 1908, a collaborative venture in which British and American architects would exchange drawings for a special exhibition.[34] As another example, in 1909, Gilbert discussed with Webb the AIA's ideas about developing a Commission of Fine Arts.[35] (Gilbert and his wife, Julia, even wanted to vacation with Webb and his wife to Egypt in 1911. Gilbert had long wanted

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to make this trip and explained to Webb: "I am now back at the office working over the skyscrapers, college buildings, libraries, etc., that make up so much of my life just now, and only hope that I may not grow to have, as Stanford White once said of himself, 'That hunted look which all New Yorkers get after a week in the city.'"[36]) Gilbert's and Webb's friendship developed further during the war as they exchanged letters of great personal concern for one another's families, although Gilbert did not openly discuss politics with Webb.[37]

In 1907, after Gilbert's involvement with the VIIth International Congress of Architects, Gilbert was named an honorary corresponding member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).[38] He continued to take part in celebratory occasions of RIBA, from 1908 on.[39] As late as 1915, on behalf of RIBA, Gilbert helped coordinate a U. S. lecture tour made by the Belgian architect, Victor Horta.[40]

It may have been the case that Gilbert developed his social and professional connections through RIBA and through Webb to increase his visibility abroad. In this matter, one must look at his relationship with Francis S. Swales, an American architect and critic based in London, who was active in RIBA meetings and corresponded at length with Gilbert. They initially met through a mutual friend, John Calvin Stevens, at the 1901 convention of the Architectural League. Several years later, in 1909, after living in England for six years, Swales was "amazed to discover how very little the European architects--especially the English--know of their

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American confrères."[41] Swales asked Gilbert if he, Swales, could write an article about Gilbert as part of a series on several American architects to be published in the weekly Builder's Journal.[42]

Gilbert was enthusiastic about the prospect, although somewhat guarded, because of problems with previous writers' unreliable accounts. He sent Swales extensive biographical material--including an in-depth description of Gilbert's family lineage--and a lengthy work history.[43] Swales assuaged the architect's worries by sending Gilbert a detailed letter with samples of his other articles as well as suggestions of public and private buildings Gilbert might want to include. In this letter, Swales also explained what he thought English architects were looking for:

> To give perhaps a clearer idea of what I should like I must indicate the kind of public I am writing to. The average English architect seems to regard his American confrère as a kind of 'bloated millionaire' who builds commercial buildings of incredible height, and cost, of imitation marble, terra cotta and stamped galvanized iron and that all he knows of architecture is what he is able to 'copy' from Paris or London. This is an impression which I hope to--at least partly--eradicate. I think the Englishman is interested only in the kind of work such as he finds opportunity to do himself; hence one may say, in domestic and public buildings almost exclusively. "American Gothic" is anathema at the present time but work influenced by the Italian and French styles, and that which is of no particular style but is suited to its purpose, is well received.[44]

Swales concluded that English architects would be most interested in small house designs, such as those that Gilbert had completed in the St. Paul and Minneapolis area in the early part of his career.

Gilbert continued to play an active role through 1911 in

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the development of Swales' essay. After sending many photos and drawings to Swales for review, Gilbert convinced the critic not to publish the entire batch of them over the course of an expanded four article series. Although Swales believed the images would be "a revelation to a great many people on this side [of the Atlantic]," Gilbert thought that if Swales published all the images, they would surfeit the English architectural public and they would never want to hear of Gilbert again.[45]

Later that year, Swales sent to Gilbert his own recent articles about Gilbert's Woolworth Building and about McKim, Mead & White, with a reference to Gilbert's early years in the office.[46] Gilbert, however, was quick to correct a false claim in the latter article regarding his influence on McKim, Mead & White: "The literal fact is . . . . I was simply one of a dozen or more draftsmen in the office and my own work was negligible." Gilbert further clarified that he owed more to Stanford White regarding White's understanding of the picturesque, proportion, color, and use of material than he could ever repay. He also singled out the importance of Joseph Wells and William R. Mead on the work of all the draftsmen.[47] Swales reply to Gilbert about any omissions in the article was to point to yet other articles in which he had addressed some of these issues. For example, Swales had written about the importance of Mead in the McKim, Mead & White office, because:

> . . . in England it has become necessary to make it clear that there are a few American architects <u>still living</u>, &

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> for the present that is the principal point to establish. The impression is unnecessarily strong that either McKim, or White--Mead is quite ignored by English critics!--was the author of all present-day architecture in the U. S., either directly or through some satellite.[48]

Swales also contested Gilbert's claim that Gilbert and his draftsmen colleagues in McKim, Mead & White's office had no influence on the partners' work. Swales wrote:

> I doubt that anybody--especially an artist--can fail to be influenced by the personalities of his environment. The relative influence may have been overstated--I knew I was putting it strongly and I did so deliberately--because I knew that prejudice would discount it anyway.[49]

Swales continued to publish articles about Gilbert and his work, even after he moved to Montreal and to New York in late 1911 and then later to Vancouver, British Columbia and ultimately to Washington, D.C.[50]

In addition to his associations with Webb and Swales, Gilbert had other contact with the British architectural community through his associations with additional British artists and architects of note. Gilbert initially met Charles Robert (C. R.) Ashbee at a gentlemen's social club and later corresponded with him concerning Ashbee's publication of The Building of Thelema.[51] Whether or not Webb was instrumental in their meeting is not clear. However, Webb was directly involved in introducing Gilbert to Raymond Unwin on the English architect and planner's visit to New York in 1911. Gilbert and Unwin maintained their professional contact for many years thereafter.[52]

More connected to the official institutional structure of RIBA, the RIBA Town Planning Conference of 1910 was an event

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that also solicited help from Gilbert. The conference, as a response to the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, was organized to study architectural problems concerning the improvement and growth of cities. The program included an exhibition of drawings, plans, models, lantern slides and literature on the subject as well as papers to be given by leading authorities. The organizers asked Gilbert to exhibit his city plan for St. Paul, Minnesota and invited him to participate in the conference itself. He accepted the invitation, but when the date of the conference changed from July to October, he was unable to change his schedule in order to attend the event.[53]

Requests for help with organizing the Anglo-American Exposition, held from May to October 1914, further suggest the extent to which Gilbert's ideas and opinions were respected by his international colleagues. This exposition celebrated the 100th anniversary of peace and progress in the arts, sciences, and industries in the U.S. and the British Empire. British organizers contacted him to help develop the architectural committee for the exposition. Gilbert submitted a list of names of American architects, ranging from William Rutherford Mead to John Galen Howard. As a result, Mead, as well as William A. Boring, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue and John Lawrence Mauran accepted the invitation to serve on the architectural committee.[54]

In addition to his membership with RIBA, Gilbert was an honorary member of the Architectural Society of the University

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of Liverpool (see chapter 3 re: Univ. of Minnesota regarding his connection to this group) and was an honorary foreign member of the Royal Academy of Arts.[55]

Gilbert as President of the AIA

Although Gilbert's role as President of the AIA in 1908 and 1909 needs further study and cannot fully be addressed here, the respect which he gained as a leader of the institutional group must be recognized. His official statements to AIA members also illuminate his public persona as president of the group.

Upon his nomination to the presidency of the AIA in the fall of 1907, Gilbert felt the unqualified support of his colleagues. Gilbert's predecessor, Frank Miles Day of Philadelphia, wrote: ". . . all the members, and especially those who know you best, will look forward to an administration not merely brilliant but one crowned with solid achievement."[56] Gilbert was expected to do great things during his administration. Chicago architect, M. B. Mundie, confided to Gilbert: "[w]ith the Convention in the West[,] had your name not headed all the rest there would have been an eruption."[57] After his election at the November convention, Frank D. Millet congratulated Gilbert, "'At the Battle of the Nile I was there all the while' ran the old song, But at Chicago there was not a sign of battle. . . ."[58] Clearly, Gilbert came into the position of president in 1908 with the strong support of his professional colleagues.[59]

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Gilbert lived up to these high expectations. The most notable contributions during Gilbert's tenure included not only aiding Brown's efforts to develop the city of Washington in accord with L'Enfant's historic precedent but also helping Brown assure the preservation of the White House and securing the Octagon as headquarters for the AIA in Washington, D.C.[60]

For Gilbert, surely the AIA's concern for increasing professionalism piqued his interest to work for the Committee for Advocating the Development of Cities--which later became the Endowment Fund committee. In his address to the AIA Annual Convention of 1908, Gilbert emphasized how far the Institute had come in being recognized as a legitimate group:

> Then it was with difficulty that we obtained a hearing from either the public or the Government. To-day we are welcomed in the councils of all those who sincerely desire to do well in matters within the sphere of our profession. Our great and growing cities, our states and the National Government itself, all call upon us for professional counsel, . . .
>
> . . . Several of our cities have official consulting architects to advise as to the best methods of procedure and to guide their officials in all matters of design.
>
> Civic associations and municipal authorities are calling the members of our profession to assist in the study and betterment of civic conditions, the designs of streets, parks, bridges and public monuments, and I need not add the members of the Institute have responded cordially in assisting in these endeavors for the general good.[61]

Professionalism, thus, was not the only issue at stake. Rather, Gilbert's official statement to the membership of the AIA spoke to some of the very issues with which City Beautiful architects and municipal groups across the country were concerned.

Gilbert's official duties as AIA President included

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speaking at various chapter meetings. On some occasions, he was intrigued by the drama of public speaking. In a letter to his wife, Julia, concerning his trip out West to visit AIA groups there, Gilbert wrote:

> The architects are gratified at the recognition of having the President of the Ins.(titute) at their meetings and I begin to feel like a theatrical troupe making one night stands, for I always am called on for a speech & so far have managed to hit it off pretty well, for me.
>
> My topic is usually to tell them what the Ins.[titute] is doing and to urge upon them the idea of good comradeship among themselves. I made a speech for an hour before a mixed assembly the first night in San Francisco. Then at the Greek Theater at the University of Cal. at Berkeley on the 20th and on the evening of the same day an after dinner speech before the San F.[rancisco] Arch'[itectura]l Club . . . of course I had a bully time.
>
> . . .It is a good thing for the Ins.[titute] that Pond and I came. There will be no breaking away from it out here now. Couldn't pry them loose with a crow bar.[62]

Gilbert obviously enjoyed the public aspect of giving speeches, while also being concerned about long-standing internal conflict between the erstwhile Western Association of Architects and the East coast AIA. As he observed in 1909, the West coast group was finally comfortable with the consolidation that had originally taken place with the AIA in 1889.[63]

On the same trip in 1909, Gilbert delivered to the local AIA chapter in Seattle a talk entitled, "The Civic City," in which he underscored that city's need for a civic plan. This talk recalled some of the ideas of his official 1908 convention address:

> You ought to have in this city a civic plan; you ought to have some definite scheme. And when you come to doing that, remember that the name, the city beautiful, if there is one thing more than another that will kill it in

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> the eyes of practical men, it is the title, the city beautiful. What you want is a city improvement [sic], good streets, good sidewalks, well lighted, well sewered, well guttered. You want good buildings. You need a civic city. Make it conform to broad lines and it will be beautiful. Recognize your plans for transportations [sic] and natural growth. . .[64]

Gilbert also reinforced the importance of the Seattle chapter of the AIA in the planning process. He not only emphasized the need for the city to capitalize on its commercial origins by expanding business and transportation sectors, but also underscored the need to entrust a civic plan to trained specialists.[65]

Gilbert's official convention address of December 1909, in contrast to that of 1908, emphasized, among other issues, Brown's ideas for the formation of a council or commission of fine arts. This commission, as Gilbert (and Brown) envisioned, would represent the government's first step to organize a bureau of artists and architects to serve as the arbiter of taste for Washington's public space.[66] This subject was one with which Gilbert had personal experience. Early that year, on January 19, 1909, President Roosevelt created the Council of Fine Arts and appointed Gilbert as a member. After the council was dissolved and the subsequent Commission of Fine Arts was established, Gilbert served for six years, from 1910 to 1916, under the Taft and Wilson administrations. His involvement with the Commission will be addressed in the last section of this study.

Gilbert's tenure as President of the AIA included working with Benjamin Marsh and the Committee on Congestion of

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Population in New York. Marsh, a former religious fund-raiser, had organized the so-called "Congestion Show" at the American Museum of Natural History in 1908. This exhibition presented a variety of documents in order to depict the social and economic costs of overcrowding.[67] One year after this exhibition, the committee (in conjunction with the Municipal Art Society) presented another exhibition, the "City Planning and Municipal Art Exhibition" with the aim to stimulate the formation of a permanent city plan commission. Although Gilbert participated, it is unclear what documents he contributed for this public improvements display.[68]

The Committee on Congestion of Population in New York also organized a city planning conference to be held in Washington in 1909, soon after the New York exhibition. Gilbert, as President of the AIA, was contacted for his and the AIA's institutional support of the invitation that was issued to potential participants.[69] After both Gilbert and the AIA endorsed the invitation, Marsh requested that the AIA President deliver a talk on subjects ranging from planning accomplishments in New York to foreign city planning. Gilbert, however, was unable to comply with Marsh's requests because of other professional commitments.[70] After the conference, Marsh even asked Gilbert to serve on a committee to make arrangements for the National Conference on City Planning the following year; but, Gilbert was unable to do so and referred the matter to the AIA.[71]

While Institute president, Gilbert also initiated

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discussion about the role of railways in civic development. At Gilbert's suggestion, Brown began conversations with Daniel H. Burnham on this subject with the hope that it would be included in the slate of talks at the next convention. Gilbert explained to Burnham what such a topic could do for the Institute:

> I suggested this subject to our Committee for a number of reasons. . . I feel that the Institute should always be progressive and should deal with the problems of the present and the future and not always those academic questions which relate to the past. No project of civic development is possible without a full recognition of the importance of the lines of transportation whether they be intra-mural or transcontinental. I hope the Institute will deal with the matter in the largest sense although there is room for some discussion of details. I hope that there will be papers and discussions giving a general review of what has been done in railway planning and railway business in Europe as well as in America and that they will deal not only with the suburban station but [also] with the metropolitan terminal problem. I expect to invite some of the leading railway men to be present and to bring to the councils of the Institute men of the highest standing in railway matters.[72]

Clearly, Gilbert was interested in the AIA addressing the issue of civic development writ large.

Several factors may have influenced Gilbert's interests. No doubt Gilbert was very familiar with Burnham's work as an architect and planner; in fact, he had recently received a copy of Burnham's Plan of Chicago in July 1909 and was deeply impressed by it.[73] The topic of railway development also may have stimulated Gilbert's own orientation, earlier in his career, as a designer of railroad offices and depots. He had represented McKim, Mead & White in the West, from Minnesota to Washington state, working with Henry Villard of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Moreover, Gilbert, in his own practice in

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1909, was working with Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad on the improvement plan for New Haven which included provision for a new railroad station. Gilbert probably realized the value of such discussions in relation to this project. That he invited Yale University President, Arthur T. Hadley, to participate in the discussions suggests Gilbert was not unaware of how he could directly benefit. Some of these issues were also not far from Gilbert's mind when he consequently drummed up support for the project from within the ranks of the AIA. He wrote to his St. Louis colleague, William S. Eames, emphasizing that these discussions "will widen the interest and influence of the Institute and perhaps secure for us some good friends in powerful circles [while] at the same time being a topic of great architectural interest."[74]

The papers read at the Annual AIA Convention of 1909 and later published as The Relations of Railways to Civic Development (1910) addressed many facets of railway planning and design. Frederic A. Delano, President of the Wabash Railroad Company, spoke about railway terminals and their relation to city planning. Freight house design was the subject of the talk given by M. A. Long, architect for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. M. V. Richards, Land and Industrial Agent of the Southern Railway, addressed how railways were connected to the conservation of natural resources. Two talks addressed the problems of terminal stations--one by J. Vipond Davies with J. Hollis Wells and the

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other by George Cary. Philadelphia architect, Albert Kelsey, in another talk, focussed upon street trolley stations and traffic. Most related to Gilbert's work, however, was the talk given by John R. Rockart, architect and I. D. Waterman and C. W. Lord, engineers, for the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. Rockart worked as an associate in Gilbert's office and was one of Gilbert's most trusted advisors.[75] This presentation addressed the topic of buildings in relation to their surrounding context and liberally quoted examples from Gilbert's own projects for New Haven and its environs. Among the examples were Gilbert's and Olmsted's New Haven Improvement Plan as well as Gilbert's plans for suburban and metropolitan railroad stations.[76]

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

| | |
|---|---|
| GB=Glenn Brown | SH=Stevens Haskell |
| JLM=John L. Mauran | AK=Albert Kelsey |
| RSW=R. S. Underwood | AW=Sir Aston Webb |
| AC=Andrew Carnegie | FSS=Francis S. Swales |
| IKP=Irving K. Pond | FMD=Frank Miles Day |
| GOT=George O. Totten, Jr. | TR=Theodore Roosevelt |
| RUJ=Robert U. Johnson | BM=Benjamin Marsh |
| HG=Howard Greenley | DHB=Daniel H. Burnham |

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. CG to GB, September 5, 1906, CGC, CGP-LB 1/06-2/07 (N-YHS). Also see CG to JLM, August 28, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS): "Mr. Brown's idea was that he should himself take up this work and with the aid of the Carnegie Institute fund, and that he should devote his time to it for several years. He would be an ideal man for the work in view of his experience in preparing the History of the national Capitol (sic) and his present knowledge of the project for the development of Washington. However, all of this is but a detail of the general idea."

2. Brown notified Gilbert, Mauran and New York architect, Robert D. Andrews of their appointment to the Committee for Advocating the Development of Cities in March 1907. The AIA Board of Directors had appointed this group "after discussion of the subject of (sic) Secretary of State being urged to take up the study of this subject in various countries through our own counsels." [The meaning of this passage is unclear.] After Brown made application to the Carnegie Institution, the AIA Board formed the committee to see if these goals could be met [GB to CG, March 20 and 22, 1907, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 37 (AIA)].

3. CG to JLM, July 22, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS).

4. CG to JLM, July 22 and August 28, 1907, CGC, CGP-LB, 2/07-12/07 (N-YHS).

5. GB to CG and GB to RSW, January 9, 1908, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 40 (AIA). After these initial letters to Gilbert and Woodward, no correspondence from Brown has been found from late January through November 18, 1908.

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6. Ibid. He cites requests for school or city development improvement information that had recently been made to the AIA by representatives of Western University of Pennsylvania as well as citizens of San Francisco, Baltimore, St. Louis, Cleveland, St. Paul, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, and Springfield.

Western University of Pennsylvania, incidentally, invited Gilbert compete for the commission [Ofc. of Secretary to CG, February 7, 1908, CGC, Misc., Bx: #164 (1907-08), F: [6] (N-YHS)].

7. Ibid.

8. RSW to CG, January 25 and February 19, 1908, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908/#2, F: 5 (N-YHS). Also see JLM to CG, January 30, 1908 in the same location, regarding the AIA's wait for the official decision from the Carnegie Institute. Mauran did not think the AIA could do anything else to press their case.

9. CG to RSW, March 4, 1908, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 38, F: 3 (AIA); and the Carnegie Institute's response, March 6, 1908, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908/#2, F: 5 (N-YHS).

10. E. R. S. Gould (sp?) to CG, February 24, 1908, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908/#2, F: 5 (N-YHS). Gould's reproduction of Gilbert's memo includes the following: "Inquiries as to methods of procedure in the construction of public buildings for State, County and City governments are constantly being made. Such work is nearly all in charge of commissioners who are personally ignorant of proper methods of procedure, and as they are usually quite lacking in knowledge or taste, however well intentioned, the result is deplorable. And it is the exception rather than the rule that a public building meets either the practical end for which it is intended or is a structure of architectural merit. In fact it may be truly said that with rare exceptions American public buildings are neither useful nor beautiful. If an authoritative and disinterested source of information could be established, it would vastly better present conditions." Gilbert then apparently appealed to Andrew Carnegie concerning this endowment. Carnegie's response is unknown [See CG to AC, April 15 and May 20, 1908, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 38, F: 1; and GB to CG, June 7, 1907, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 38 (AIA)].

Although the project was not funded, somewhat related to his plan to gather information about cities as well as his earlier interests concerning the fairness of the competition system, Brown planned to send out questionnaires to various city mayors, AIA chapter officers, and possibly AIA members. He sent a sample form to Gilbert for his input; the form included questions about buildings erected in the United States over the previous twenty years and requested information concerning the amount spent in municipal vs. private (corporate) buildings, what proportion of work had been awarded to the

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architect by competition, and general estimates about the amount of work done by competition in the nearby counties [GB to CG, August 22, 1908, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908/#2, F: 2 (N-YHS)].

11. GB to CG, April 1, 1910, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: [Misc.] (N-YHS). I have not been able to find Gilbert's answer to Brown's request.

12. AIA President Irving K. Pond in January 1911 asked Gilbert if he would serve as (AIA) delegate to the Civic Federation convention. If he declined, Pond was going to ask Arnold Brunner [IKP to CG, January 9, 1911, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1911/#1, F: [Misc.] (N-YHS)]. Gilbert's response has not been found.
Gilbert's contact with city planning issues is also suggested by his contribution to the AIA library, which Brown acknowledged, of the Delhi Town Planning Committee report concerning the Imperial Capitol [CG to GB, December 11, 1913 and GB to CG, ca. December 1913, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 4, Bx: 1, F: 7 (AIA)].

13. CG to GOT, July 22, 1903, CGC, CGP-LB/Gen. corr. 11/01-8/03 (N-YHS); Memo, February 11, 1904, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903/#6, F: A-9 (N-YHS).

14. GOT to CG, November 9, 1905, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905/#4, F: #117 International/[8] (N-YHS); GB to CG, February 28, 1906, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vol. 33 (AIA). CG to Peter B. Wight, May 24 and June 30, 1906; CG to GB, June 29, 1916; CG to Sec. of VIIth ICA, June 30, 1906; CGC, CGP-LB 1/06-2/07 (N-YHS). Gilbert delivered a paper about the use of burned clay products.

15. Minutes/Board of Directors, January 14, 1908, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1907-1908/1907-1909/1908/#1, F: #117 AIA/[7] (N-YHS); CG to GOT, February 20, 1908, CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS).

16. CG to GOT, March 26, 1908, CGC, CGP-LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS). On the same day, Gilbert wrote to D. Everett Waid, Secretary of the New York Chapter of the AIA, to ask advice about how he, Gilbert, should respond to Totten's inquiries.

17. CG to GOT, March 31, April 2, 1908, CGC, Misc.LB 1/08-8/08 (N-YHS); CG to GOT, April 10, 1908; telegram May 18, 1908; CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS). Related correspondence about the items shipped can be found in CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908/#2, F: 2, 3 and 5; and CGC, Chron., Bx: 1907-1908/1907-1909/1908/#1, F: 7 (N-YHS).
Gilbert also turned over to the AIA the lithograph portrait of Otto Wagner that he had received from the Viennese architect [GB to CG, May 26, 1908, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1908/#2, F: 1 (N-YHS).

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18. CG to GOT, August 3, 1911; and CG to GOT, August 28, 1911; CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS).

19. CG to GOT, August 8, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS).

20. CG to GOT, January 13, 1913, CGC, CGP-LB 7/12-10/13 (N-YHS).

21. CG to Georges Hammond, June 10, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS). Gilbert had just returned from California when he found out the reunion had taken place.

22. CG to GOT, March 11, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS). For program notes and documents, see: ICA Secretary J. M. Poupinel to CG, May 7, 12 and June 7, 1914, and 1914 ICA program of the Permanent Committee of the French Section, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1914, F: #103 F-L (N-YHS).

23. CG to GOT, January 16, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS).

24. RUJ to CG, November 18 & 23, 1914, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1914 (LC/MSS).

25. CG to Greenley, April 28, 1921. In another letter from Gilbert to Charles Dana Gibson, April 13, 1922, Gilbert wrote further about what he admired in the organization: "There is generally a tendency of such organizations to drift into the extreme Bohemian or vulgar form of association and thereafter to become radical or 'Bolshevik' in art, manners and point of view. If such a tendency exists in the Architectural League I do not know and I doubt if it exists there at all. It is a danger to be avoided. It can best be avoided by starting right and maintaining high standards and being careful in the nominations for officers and especially in the admission of new members [CGC, PP, Bx: ISD, F: 3/speeches (N-YHS)].

26. CG to HG, April 28, 1921, CGPprs, Bx: 17/Articles (LC/MSS). Gilbert wrote: ". . . our principal aim was to encourage the best development of the tastes and talents of the young men, to give mutual and moral support to their endeavors for artistic success and to meet upon terms of friendly cooperation and friendly competition. The society was purely architectural." The group's statement of purpose which was published in The Critic 1 (January 29, 1881) was submitted by Gilbert, William A. Bates, D. W. Willard, Edward H. Clark, C. H. Johnston, and Charles Howard Walker. Gilbert, however, claimed the original founders were Pierce P. Furber, Clarence Blackall, Clarence H. Johnston, himself, and possibly James Knox Taylor. In 1923, Gilbert tried to get the original group together for an Architectural League meeting [CG to Blackall, et. al. January 8, 1923, CGPprs, Bx: 17/Articles (LC/MSS)].

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27. At this time, Gilbert began (again?) to contribute to exhibitions held by the League. For example, he sent a photograph of a drawing of the Broadway/Chambers Building, a watercolor of the Agricultural Building for the Omaha Trans-America (check proper name) Exposition, the model for the Minnesota State Capitol dome, and obtained Daniel Chester French permission to exhibit French's models for the Minnesota Capitol in the League exhibition to be held in January 1900 [SH/CG to Fred L. Metcalf, December 12 and 29, 1899, SH to Edgar A. Joslyn, January 5 and 15, 1900, and CG to French, January 11, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99 - 11/00 (N-YHS).

Beyond loaning drawings and watercolors for League exhibitions, Gilbert was not especially active in the organization after rejoining the group in 1899. As with many other professional groups, he kept his efforts and involvements to a minimum in order to have more time to devote to his own practice. From 1902 to 1905, he was nominally involved. From 1906 to 1912, although he paid his dues regularly, he declined to serve on various League committees because of other business commitments [see CGC, CGP-LB 11/01-8/03, 1/06-2/07, 12/07-2/09, 2/09-5/10, 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS)].

28. AK to CG, May 16, 1900, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903/#9, F: E-10 and CG to AK, May 17, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

29. CG to Henry W. Tomlinson, Secretary of the Architectural League, June 6, 1900, CGC, Misc.[CGP?]-LB 10/99-12/00 (N-YHS).

30. Emil Lorsch to CG, August 6 and 16, 1900, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1899-1903/#9, F: E-1; CG to Lorsch, August 14, 1900, CGC, CGP-LB 10/99-11/00 (N-YHS).

31. Draft of article, March 31, 1925, CGPprs, Bx: 17/Articles (LC/MSS). This draft also refers to the profession's great strides in the planning of public buildings, institutional groups, colleges, and universities, as well as city planning in general. Gilbert mentions not only the Park Commission's plan, which was foreshadowed by his own earlier scheme, but also comments on the characteristics of a good city plan. He furthermore considers what is needed to run a successful architectural office, stressing the architect's ability to coordinate the efforts of many other specialists.

32. The New International Yearbook: A Compendium of the World's Progress for the Year 1934, s.v. "Gilbert, Cass," (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1935), 276-277.

33. RIBA Secretary W. Locke to CG, August 1906 and November 7, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1906 (LC/MSS).

34. CG to GB, May 25, 1908, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 38, F: 1 (AIA).

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35. AW to CG, March 7, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1909 (LC/MSS). Webb also thanked Gilbert in this letter for sending him a bear skin rug.

36. CG to AW, August 29, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS).

37. Neither letter from CG to AW, January 10 and February 27, 1916, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 1916 (LC/MSS) was sent, but Gilbert explained in the latter: "P.S. I could not bring myself to criticize my own country to a foreigner. It has been a bitter experience to have Wilson (a socialist-pacifist) in the White House at this time. His Secretary of War (Becker) pacifist his Secretary of Navy a jackass."

Also see H. Austen Hall, A/A War Relief Fund to CG, May 1916 re: Webb's contribution to the war relief fund, AW to CG, September 12, 1916 and May 27, 1917; and CG to AW, June 20, 1917, all from CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 1916 and 1917 (LC/MSS). Regarding this war correspondence, additional correspondence from Webb to Gilbert can be found in: April 23, 1916, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1916/#1, F: [Misc.] [1] (N-YHS); and extensive correspondence between AW and CG, 1916-1919 in CGC, CGP-LB 4/13-12/33 (N-YHS).

38. RIBA Secretary W. Locke to CG, January 8, 1907, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1907 (LC/MSS).

39. For example, he often was called upon to respond to toasts given at the 1908 banquet [Secretary Ian MacAlister to CG, June 18, 1908, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1908 (LC/MSS)].

40. RIBA President Ernest Newton to CG, August 30, 1915 (including synopsis of Horta's proposed six lectures), CGC, Chron., Bx: 1915/#2, F: #103 R-T (N-YHS); Newton to CG, October 7, 1915, CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 1915 (LC/MSS); Newton to CG, October 14 and November 25, 1915, AW to CG, November 25, 1915, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1915/#2, F: [Misc.] 7; Newton to CG, October 25, 1915, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1915/#2, F: #103 M-P; and Newton to CG, November 12, 1915, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1915/#2; F: #103 R-T (N-YHS)] . Gilbert took Horta to lunch at the Century Club December 22, 1915, soon after the Belgian architect arrived in the U. S. About a month and a half later, he arranged an informal dinner party in order for Horta to meet Gilbert's colleagues in New York. Attendees included Ripley Hitchcock, McDougall Hawkes, Daniel Chester French, John Russell Pope, Edwin H. Blashfield, Thomas Hastings, and a Mr. Bunker and a Mr. Stillwell [Invitation and list of attendees for February 7, 1916 dinner party, in CGPprs, Bx: 9, F: 1916 (LC/MSS)]. Gilbert's specific involvement is unclear since his personal letterbooks for these years are not accessible.

41. FSS to CG, September 9, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), F: R, S, and T (N-YHS).

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42. Ibid.

43. CG to FSS, September 24, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1909 (LC/MSS); and CG to FSS, October 5, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

44. FSS to CG, October 24, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103, F: R, S, T (N-YHS).

45. FSS to CG, January 25, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F:#103 R-T (N-YHS) and CG to FSS, February 6, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS).

46. CG to FSS, April 5 and May 4, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS) and FSS to CG, June 5, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: #103 R-T 1911 (N-YHS).

47. CG to FSS, June 20, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS).

48. FSS to CG, July 8, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: R-T (N-YHS).

49. Ibid. Swales took up this point again in later correspondence. In 1912, he wrote to Gilbert: ". . . I believe I am right in my contention that some of the early work produced by yourself and Carrère, was more scholarly than what McKim, Mead and White had done, did influence them--or their organization--towards a type of work which was more simple and direct (and better architecture from my point of view than what they had been producing. . . (¶)Perhaps it was a mere coincidence that several of the men who began doing good work at about that date did things which might have been made from the same rubber stamp. I have sometimes thought it possible that a good Samaritan in the guise of a book-agent armed with several copes of "Letarouilly" had done more than any given architect towards the movement that put the influence of Richardson and national nervousness out of business. I think in saying, 'I suppose we all influence one another more or less' you admit in principle what I have contended. Can you give me an instance of a building designed by McKim, Mead and White prior to the time of the Endicott Building that is conceived in the broad simple style of the Bramante period of the Italian Renaissance--bearing in mind that, as far as it went, I drew attention to the Villard House?" [FSS to CG, March 1, 1912, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1912; 1916, F: #103 R-T (N-YHS) in response to Gilbert's correspondence with Swales, February 27, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS). Gilbert's letter was sparked by Swales' articles in the Builder (January 12, 1912) and in the Architects & Builders' Journal (January 10, 1912)].

50. FSS to CG, September 10 and 18 and October 9, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: #103 R-T (N-YHS). Swales published articles on Gilbert in Architectural Review (January 1912),

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The Builder (January 12, 1912) and (February 1912), Architects & Builders Journal (January 10, 1912), among others.

Gilbert also tried to propose Swales for AIA membership in late 1911. Swales, however, was neither eligible for regular membership since he was living outside of the U. S. nor was he eligible for corresponding membership, a category only open to allied artists and not architects [CG to FSS, October 23, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 and FSS to CG, October 27, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: #103 R-T (N-YHS)].

Swales set up temporary residence in New York in November of the same year, in order to qualify for membership in the local New York Chapter of the AIA and hence national AIA membership [FSS to CG, November 8, 1911, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1911, F: #103 R-T and CG to FSS, December 9, 1911, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS)]. This plan, however, did not work since the New York chapter membership committee refused his application. Gilbert presumed it was because Swales maintained only a temporary office in New York [CG to FSS, June 25, 1912, CGC, CGP-LB 6/11-6/12 (N-YHS)].

For Swales' successive moves to Vancouver, B. C. and Washington, D. C., see Charles S. Frost to CG, February 5, 1916, CGC, Misc., Bx: II. 1916, F: #103 E-L [1] (N-YHS) and W. E. Guerin to CG, August 30, 1918, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1917-1918, F: #103 U-Z 1918 (N-YHS) respectively.

51. CG to Merwyn Macartney and CG to C. R. Ashbee, October 15, 1908, CGC, CGP-LB 12/07-2/09 (N-YHS). Gilbert gave Macartney a letter of introduction to Ashbee who Gilbert had met several years before. But Gilbert could not remember if he had met Ashbee at either the Cosmos or the Century Club. Although Ashbee sent Gilbert his book, Gilbert sent it back to the Englishman for his autograph [CG to J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., October 13, 1910, CGC, 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS)].

52. Mrs. G.(?) Unwin to CG, undated, and Raymond Unwin to CG, May 30, 1911, CGC, Chron., Bx: 1911/#1, F: [Misc.] (N-YHS). His professional contact with Unwin continued into the 1920s, when Gilbert spoke at a Committee on the Regional Plan of New York luncheon at the Century Club, a meeting that Unwin also attended [undated, ca.1928? CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#9, F: 15 (N-YHS)]. As late as 1933, Gilbert noted in his diary/datebook for that year that he had met Unwin for lunch at the Architectural League [December 8, 1933, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 5/Diary 1932-34 (LC/MSS)].

53. RIBA President Ernest George to CG, February 24, 1910; RIBA Secretary General John W. Simpson to CG, August 1, and October 5, 1910; Raymond Unwin to CG, August 9, 1910; and Leonard Stokes to CG, October 31, 1910; all in CGC, Chron., Bx: 1910/#2, F: #103 Misc. R-T (N-YHS); CG to RIBA Secretary Ian McAlister, March 11, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS); T.H. Anderson to CG telegram, June 27, 1910; and CG to Simpson, November 9, 1910; CG to Simpson, November 9, 1910; all in CGC, CGP-LB 5/10-6/11 (N-YHS);

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Gilbert also wrote McAlister a long letter concerning the AIA's policies and his own thoughts about advertising done by architects [See CG to McAlister, March 11, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS)].

54. Imre (sic) Kiralfy to CG, February 13, 18, and 21, 1914; Albert E. Kiralfy to CG, March 11, 1914, CGC, Misc., Bx: 1914, F: #103 A-C [2 and 3] (N-YHS); and CG to I. Kiralfy, February 17 and 20, 1914, CGC, CGP-LB 12/13-12/14 (N-YHS). Gilbert suggested the organizers invite: William R. Mead, Ernest Flagg, William A. Boring, Whitney Warren, Bertram G. Goodhue from New York; Glenn Brown, George O. Totten, J. Rush Marshall from Washington; Robert S. Peabody from Boston; John M. Donaldson from Detroit; John Galen Howard from San Francisco; and John Lawrence Mauran from St. Louis.

55. "Cass Gilbert Dead: Eminent Architect," New York Times, May 18, 1934, p. 23.

56. FMD to CG, September 9, 1907, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1907 (LC/MSS).

57. M. B. Mundie to CG, September 10, 1907, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1907 (LC/MSS).

58. Frank D. Millet to CG, November 24, 1907, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1907 (LC/MSS).

59. AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1 and AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1 (AIA) should serve as a starting point of further study.

60. See memo re: preservation of the White House, CGPprs, Bx: 7, F: 1908 (LC/MSS) and TR to CG, December 19, 1908, CG to GB and CG to TR, December 23, 1908, concerning President Roosevelt's desire to leave the White House as a historical legacy. The original letter along with photographs of the White House and the President were framed by Gilbert; the entire work is held by the AIA Archives.

As for the history of the purchase of the Octagon, see correspondence regarding Gilbert's early 1907 efforts [GB to CG, January 15, 16; March 29, June 4, 28; July 30; August 1, 1907, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1.1, vols. 36-39 (AIA) as well as Brown, Memories, 573.

61. Galleys for the Proceedings, in CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS); also see Glenn Brown, ed., Proceedings of the 42nd National Convention (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1909), 8-13. In this address, Gilbert also mentioned issues concerning ethics, fairness in the arranging the schedule of charges as well as competitions, and the guidance of younger architects.

62. CG to JFG, October 27, 1909, CGPprs, Bx: 8, F: 1909 (LC/MSS); notes of speeches given on this tour are located in Bx: 16, Ibid.

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63. For further background on the consolidation process between the Western Association of Architects and the AIA, see Henry H. Saylor, The A.I.A.'s First Hundred Years, Washington, D. C.: The Octagon, 1957, pp. 16-21.

64. Cass Gilbert, "The Civic City," October 1909, typescript, CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS).

65. Ibid., p. 2.

66. Cass Gilbert, "President's Address, American Institute of Architects," December 14, 1909, typescript, CGPprs, Bx: 16 (LC/MSS). The other issues of this address included brief statements about practical matters, such as the contracting system, the Committee on Competition and a code of ethics for competition, the Schedule of Charges (and the announcement of a new rate of 6%), a celebratory note about the financial solvency of the AIA, and a statement about the AIA continuing to hold two successive conventions in Washington and a third convention in another city.

67. Mel Scott, American City Planning Since 1890: A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners (Berkekey: University of California Press, 1971), 84-92.

68. Lewis F. Pilcher to CG, April 9, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), F: R, S, T (N-YHS); Marsh to CG, June 22, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), F: M-N (N-YHS).

69. BM to CG, April 14, 20, 23, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), Folder: M-P (N-YHS) and CG to BM, April 19, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

Marsh also requested Gilbert to contribute the plans for the St. Paul Capitol Approaches and New Haven development, but these plans were not available at the time [BM to CG, April 27, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), F: M-P and CG to BM, May 1909 (otherwise undated), CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

70. BM to CG, April 24, 27, and 28, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103 (1909), F: M-P (N-YHS) and CG to BM, May ? (undated) and 12, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS).

71. BM to CG, June 1, September 4, and November 29, 1909, CGC, Misc., Bx: #103, F: M-N (N-YHS); CG to BM, August 12, 1909, and CG to GB, October 1, 1909, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 6 (AIA); BM to CG, September 21 and 28, 1909, AIA/OFSI, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 5 (AIA) and CG to BM, December 1, 1909, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR1, Bx: 42, F: G/1909 (AIA).

72. CG to DHB, August 12, 1909, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 6 (AIA). Also see CG to GB, same date, Ibid.

Gilbert's interest in transportation questions of the future also extended to airplane travel. Gilbert not only

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invited airplane pioneer, Wilbur Wright, to attend the AIA convention banquet in December 1909, he hoped the pilot could be induced to speak at the convention. Gilbert compiled detailed notes from his visit with the pilot during which time they discussed, among other topics, the plan of Washington, D. C.[Memorandum, dictated by CG, October 5, 1909, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 7 and related correspondence, CG to GB, October 5, 1909, Ibid, F: 7 (AIA)]. This memo has been reprinted in Cass Gilbert, "Notes and Documents: Cass Gilbert and Wilbur Wright," Minnesota History 22 (September 1941): 302-305.

73. CG to DHB, July 25, 1909 and CG to the Commercial Club of Chicago, July 26, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS). In the July 25 correspondence, Gilbert told Burnham: ". . .I wish to express my sincere admiration for the great project you have inaugurated and for you courage and farsightedness in carrying it this far on toward realization."

74. CG to William S. Eames, August 30, 1909, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS). For further information about the development of the railway talks, see correspondence from CG, December 2-20, 1909, AIA/OFSO, RG 801 SR 1, Bx: 41, F: 7 (AIA).

75. For more information on Rockart, who was originally known as Rachac and Rohac, see Sharon Irish, Ph.D. dissertation, 629-631.

76. Glenn Brown, ed., The Relations of Railways to City Development (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1910), 45-53.

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# APPENDIX IV

## GILBERT'S OTHER CAPITOL DESIGNS

Cass Gilbert's other capitol designs were not as comprehensive as those for the St. Paul approaches. In two cases, however, the Arkansas State Capitol (1909-14) and the West Virginia State Capitol (1924-32), Gilbert was interested in site planning and creating some kind of master plan.

The Wisconsin State Capitol is not included in this group, since Gilbert's 1905 design (which won an initial competition before George B. Post was awarded the project) represented merely a design for the building. The early history of the Madison, Wisconsin building, however, figures in Gilbert's fight for professional treatment of architects, since through the AIA Judiciary Committee Gilbert brought charges against the architects whom he believed were responsible for preventing his employment.[1] Nor does this record include the several capitols where Gilbert was interested in designing only the building, such as capitols for Montana (1898); Muscogee, Indian Territory (1903); or Missouri (1911). Gilbert's proposal for the Parliament Building, Regina, Saskatchewan (1907) was not part of a more complex building group either. Clearly, Gilbert was considered to be a respected authority in the area of capitol building; he served as a consultant to capitol competitions in Puerto Rico (1908), Idaho (1908), and South Carolina (for additions to the capitol) (ca. 1908-10). These latter projects likely were an outgrowth of his duties as President

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of the AIA.

Arkansas State Capitol, Little Rock (1909-14)--Gilbert took over the Arkansas State Capitol project from St. Louis architect, George R. Mann, who had been fired for mismanagement and building a potentially unsafe structure. Revising the plans and proposal for the upper part of the building, Gilbert completed the building and pursued studies of how the site around it might be developed. He studied city maps of Denver, Colorado; Seattle, Washington; and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition; presumably because he believed that the building groups noted on these plans were comparable to those which he envisioned for the Little Rock capitol area.[2]

West Virginia State Capitol, Charleston (1924-32)--When Charleston won out over Wheeling to serve as the home of West Virginia's capitol, Gilbert had hoped that his new complex would become part of a formal building group. He developed a series of drawings that depicted the grounds and surrounding gardens, in addition to developing plans for the capitol building itself.[3]

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Endnotes

1. The actions of the Wisconsin architects, Ferry & Clas and H. C. Koch & Co., were examined by the AIA Judiciary Committee, and the matter was cleared up before Gilbert's election as AIA President. See correspondence (N-YHS), (MHS), (LC/MSS), and (AIA/Judiciary Committee); and photo album (AAAL).

2. Eldon Hauck, American Capitols: An Encyclopedia of the State, National and Territorial Capitol Edifices of the United States (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1991), 15-19; correspondence (N-YHS); drawings (LC/P&P).

3. Hauck, 271-77; Gilbert, "The Greatest Element of Monumental Architecture," American Architect 136 (August 5, 1929): 141-44; drawings (LC/P&P); drawings and correspondence (N-YHS); photo album (AAAL).

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# APPENDIX V

## NOTES ON PLANTINGS AND LAMP STANDARDS AT THE MINNESOTA STATE CAPITOL, 1905-1906

Gilbert held more than a passing interest in the landscape. His diaries reflect someone who looked at plant materials carefully and closely. Some of Gilbert's most vivid responses to changes in the natural environment occurred late in his life, but this sensibility was probably also apparent at earlier times in his career. In one such response, Gilbert waxed poetic about the change of seasons:

> The blossoms are out--the young leaves on the oaks are brilliant red. The willows golden green. The pools resonant with the spring call of frogs. The birds are already singing in the forest. The streams run bank-full. The hillsides are decked with violet, blood root and spring flowers--How beautiful are these days.[1]

These are the words of a man inspired by natural beauty and the change of seasons. They also suggest Gilbert's familiarity with various wild and domestic plant types.

Concurrent with the critical fallout about the wood walks at the Minnesota State Capitol were early discussions about plantings in the area around the new building. Wheelock, as an important member of the Park Board, may have had some discussions with Gilbert on these matters, although no sources document this idea. It is interesting to note, however, that Gilbert had a very clear notion of wanting to use native plant materials for the site, and thus was probably in close contact with the Park Board. After the capitol commissioners authorized Gilbert to recommend plantings for the site, Gilbert received information from the Minnesota Horticultural

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Society about the ornamental trees and shrubs suitable for use in Minnesota.[2] In a cost estimate submitted by the L. L. May & Co., Gilbert listed the materials in which he was interested. Initially, he asked for the approximate cost of elm trees for the rear of the site, but later decided to substitute Lombardy poplars. Other trees for the front and rear of the site included American arbor vitae, colonial blue spruce, Savin juniper, and cut-leaf birch varieties. Bay trees in tubs and yucca were planned to supplement these groupings of trees, with the bay trees to be placed along the corridors to the capitol and around its entrances.[3] Gilbert, at this time, also collected landscape gardening references such as Guy Lowell's American Gardens.[4]

Gilbert gave up any hope of planting trees on the site in the fall of 1904. Except for a few small shrubs placed in front of the building and two groups of trees located at the east and west ends of Aurora Avenue, the commissioners did not look favorably upon Gilbert planting plans. They especially disagreed with Gilbert's choice of poplars as the mainstay of the plantings. Gilbert defended his choices in a letter to Channing Seabury:

> I feel that the "picture" needs to be framed in, so to speak, and that it is really necessary for us to get a strong vertical line at the two extremes of [the Aurora Avenue] roadway. . .
>
> If cypress trees would grow in Minnesota they would exactly fill the requirements, but [they] are not hardy enough . . . . The close-growing cedars such as [those] found in Vermont and along the Hudson River would likewise be admirable for the purpose, but it seems they do not bear transplanting and there is some question about their being hardy enough for the dry climate of Minnesota. Moreover, they are not tall enough. . .

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> The only tree that I know of which will produce anything like this effect [shown in Gilbert's watercolor of 1902] and grows naturally and hardily in Minnesota, with sufficient scale and height to count against the impressive height of our building, is the Lombardy poplar, and I very much [think it] wise to use a few of these trees in combination with juniper, cut-leaf birch and lesser shrubbery. . . . I do not know of any other tree that will give the effective composition which, from my standpoint, is imperative at these particular locations.[5]

Gilbert was emphatic that these trees not be looked upon as individual items, but as elements, instead, in an overarching scheme. He believed the plantings should be added to enhance the effect of the capitol. He wrote:

> In my judgment there is no finer tree in existence than the American elm when fully developed, but if we planted elms at this point the effect would be wrong, because they have not the vertical movement which we need; and their wide-spreading branches would obscure too much of the building when seen from the southeast or the southwest.[6]

Most important, Gilbert was inspired by the opportunity to create a picturesque vista, which, if his approach plans were followed, would present the capitol in a dramatic setting.

After sodding of the site was completed,[7] the city of St. Paul appropriated $25,000 to acquire land one block west of the capitol. (This allocation was made in addition to the 1903 appropriation of $20,000 for a 55-foot strip of land along the western edge of Park Avenue, which was purchased to widen and straighten that roadway.) This plot, bounded by Park and University Avenues and St. Peter and Wabasha Streets, was to be transformed into a park for the plaza area that had been advocated by Wheelock. The plot also contained buildings that, when removed, would:

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> open up the view of the splendid west facade of the capitol across a pleasant park or plaza, thus adding to the charming foreground to that end of the noble edifice. This little park will form also a fitting nucleus for the fine parkway which it is the intention of the park board to construct from the new Capitol along Park [A]venue to Como [A]venue and thence to Como Park -- and before many years to connect with a series of parkways west of Como Park terminating at the university campus in Minneapolis.[8]

These small contributions formed the sum total of the city's efforts toward beautification of the western approach to the capitol.[9] City councilmen visited the capitol to see first-hand what was at stake and Seabury wisely arranged for them to view the outlying dilapidated area from inside the capitol building.[10] Seabury believed the rest of the funding would have to come from the state. Some newspapers, including the Minneapolis Journal, lobbied for the state to match St. Paul's appropriations in order to complete the renovation of the area.[11] The buildings in this area, according to Gilbert, were accompanied by unsightly clotheslines, woodyards, and piles of garbage.[12] This land that needed to be cleared was placed under the care of the park board.

After these arrangements had been made for the purchase of the park plot, Gilbert expressed his regret about calling St. Paul a "dead" city. He confided to Seabury:

> The fact is the public has awakened to the importance of a suitable development around the capitol grounds, and it is a matter of comment even to casual visitors to the City. As an example of this I met Mr. George Moffitt, a prominent capitalist, on the street car [in New York] a few days ago and found that he had recently been in St. Paul and was enthusiastic in praise of the Capitol, but commented inquiringly upon the development of the grounds and as to why we had not set the build[ing] facing the principal [s]treet instead on an angle with the [s]treet, i.e. Wabasha Street. I told him that if the development

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> now proposed was carried into effect, as I thought it would be, this defect would be overcome.[13]

Addressing this "defect" in December 1904, Gilbert produced a drawing entitled, "New Capitol Grounds and Vicinity," that included the area west of the capitol with the triangular block that was purchased by the city for the formation of a park. This drawing also depicted Gilbert's ideas for the plaza immediately south of the capitol.[14] On the central axis, Gilbert envisioned patterned brick and cement tile work on a wide path leading to the entrance of the building. The southwest and southeast approaches were also lightly sketched in, however, the central axis with its inclusion of lamp standards was the main focus.

A later drawing, dated March 30, 1906, entitled "Details for Approaches Sidewalks, Etc.," elaborated upon this idea.[15] A patterned brick and cement tile walk located directly to the south of the capitol entrance steps was enhanced by as many as seventeen lamp standards. Grass plots were inset within terraced stairs that lead from Aurora Avenue down to the lower level of the irregularly-shaped property between Wabasha and Central Avenues and Cedar Street and also on steps near Wabasha Avenue.

When the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works submitted cost estimates of $2000 for each of sixteen lamp standards, four of the standards were subtracted from the proposal. The decision about the location of these four lamps was delayed until the fall of 1906.[16] Tetzlaff, a representative for Flour City, submitted to Gilbert for review, three more designs for lamp

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posts, which by then had dropped down to twelve in number.[17] At the time of his original request, Gilbert stated that he wanted nothing more complicated than a common street lamp, at a cost of approximately $50 each. Flour City, however, quoted that a minimum cost of $125 each, even with an eight-foot high plain post.[18] Even after Gilbert submitted new drawings, however, Flour City was unable to meet Gilbert's request. The firm revised their estimate to $250, arguing that the price was "extremely low considering the elaborate construction and difficult castings required," but one which would make a handsome fixture in keeping with its surroundings.[19]

Concerning the plantings, by the spring 1905, Gilbert wrote one of his most vivid memos. With pen and ink sketches illuminating each of his points, Gilbert outlined his proposal. He first stressed the need for vertical massing at the east end of Aurora Avenue, with each group including cut-leaf birch, cedar, poplar, and savin juniper trees supplemented by spirea, coerius, siberica, and cornus paniculata. He then explained the need for low-growing masses of foliage (including small specimens of blue spruce, cut-leaf birch, savin juniper, and white pine trees) and vine growth near the main terrace walls. Third, Gilbert outlined the use of large, broad areas of low, dark, rounded masses of evergreen shrubs at each end of the driveway to the capitol. His final part of the plan was to include eight to ten bay trees, placed in large terra cotta pots, on each side of the main south entrance. Emphasizing the need for appropriately

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arranged plantings to present the capitol in a suitable setting, Gilbert wrote: "The whole planting is a matter of design not of whim and must relate to the architecture or it will be worse than useless and a waste of money."[20] These recommendations, along with Gilbert's specific request for twelve Lombardy poplars for four groups of three in the plaza area, were back unanimously by the capitol commission.[21] Word of Gilbert's plans for the plantings spread such that a Chicago landscape architect, A. Phelps Wyman, who taught at the University of Illinois, became anxious to study Gilbert plans for the surroundings of the capitol.[22]

George Hollis Carsley, Gilbert's representative in the St. Paul office when Gilbert was in New York, also served as a liaison on the plantings. Carsley periodically took black and white snapshots of the landscape work to let Gilbert know how that aspect of the project was progressing. A few problems arose in the early stages of this work. When the Lombardy poplars did not do well, willows and Carolina poplars had to be added to fill out the groupings by late spring 1905.[23] The low-lying growth at each end of the semi-circular drive also needed another year's growth to be put in shape.[24] The other practical problem in this first season of growth was the installation of the bay trees in their pots, since heavy wind conditions, at times, toppled the trees over.[25]

The bay trees caused considerable consternation, not only because of the practical questions of installation, but also because of their position in relation to the capitol and their

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replacement when they died. Gilbert wanted to group three large bays on either side of the platform at the base of the south entrance steps. Supplementing these groups with smaller bays placed along the balustrade at the terrace line, Gilbert had a specific effect in mind that he wanted to create.[26] E. W. Reid, however, a representative of the nursery supplier of the trees and of other plants, complained that the landscaping, in general, was not receiving the proper care.[27] As a result, an experienced gardener was put in charge of the capitol grounds. Within one week of this gardener's starting work, Carsley and others noted the improved appearance in the area.[28] This improvement did not last long, however. By the end of the summer of 1905, Carsley urged Gilbert to visit the site to see the declining conditions for himself. The Carolina poplars placed along the balustrade were "undesireable," and some of the cut-leaf birch and evergreens had died. Other trees were deemed to be too small; the border plantings had also been left for future work.[29]

Through that winter the bay trees remained a problem. One nursery, Bobbink & Atkins Importers, advised that they be placed inside and used for interior decoration. The nursery advised that as long as the trees were not subject to freezing temperatures and kept well-watered, the trees would grow until the following spring.[30] Bobbink & Atkins also advised that the trees be sprayed by hand with a syringe each week.[31] The original supplier, L. L. May & Co., however, disagreed with these recommendations. They had originally recommended that

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the trees be placed in a sunny, well-ventilated greenhouse, not the dark interior of the capitol or some other storage space.[32] But in late November, after examining some of the plants that had been placed indoors, Reid cautioned Carsley to remove the trees from the building at once since "they [would] not be worth carrying to the ash barrel" if they were left ten or twelve days longer. Reid was particularly disappointed that six large bay specimens had been allowed "to go to wreck," and that these trees would have to be replaced the following spring.[33]

Additional problems plagued the evergreens at the ends of the circular drive and below the terraces at the capitol. Since they nearly all died in August 1906, and other plantings had been lost during an unusually harsh previous winter, many of the specimens had to be replaced. Gilbert's office struck a deal with the L. L. May Company, so the landscapers would not be penalized because of the harsh weather conditions.[4] Planting discussions continued through 1906, with particular attention paid to getting the specimens planted before the season became too busy.[35]

The wide range of plant specimens used by Gilbert and the capitol commissioners, as it has been closely documented, also suggest other questions beyond those concerning Gilbert's preferences or the economics of the project. Gilbert perhaps was predisposed to use various plant types because of their broader sociological or psychological associations of the period, an area requiring further study.

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Endnotes

Key to correspondents' names (in order of appearance):

JR=John Rockart

CS=Channing Seabury

GHC=George Hollis Carsley

EWR=E. W. Reid

ET=Eugene Tetzlaff

A key to the abbreviations used below to denote collections and institutions is located on the first page of the bibliography.

1. April 29, 1922; also see April 30, 1922 entry; 1922 diary, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 3 (LC/MSS).

2. MSC report by JR, October 12, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 2 (N-YHS). The Minnesota State Horticultural Society correspondence includes A.W. Latham to CG, October 20, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 10, F: 66 (MHS); acknowledged by CG to Latham, October 21, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 7/04-9/05 (N-YHS).

3. L.L May & Co. to CG, October 31, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 10, F: 66 (MHS). The cost of these materials was $2420.13, which included the use of elm trees at the rear of the site. When Gilbert later changed his mind about substituting poplars for the elms, the figure was revised to $2684.13. The L. L. May & Co. confirmed in early November that their services would be rendered [E.W. Reid for L.L. May & Co. to CG, November 9, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 10, F: 67 (MHS)]. The placement of bay trees along the corridors to the capitol is discussed in E.W. Reid/for L.L. May & Co. to CG, January 9, 1905, CGPprs, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: 68 (MHS). These plans were not yet carried out, since Vice Chairman Seabury had not ordered them to be implemented yet.

4. E.S. Hall/CG to Bates & Guild Co., November 4, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: 5 (N-YHS).

A few years later, Gilbert also planted a formal garden at his home in Ridgefield, Connecticut. He was very specific in his planting plans, wanting to use four to four and one half foot high purple and blue delphiniums and lower growing bulbs and herbaceous plants. He also wanted to use pink and yellow rose trees, paeonia, "Judas" trees, iris and lotus flowers, and persudo and apple trees. He took great pleasure in this garden [June 1, 1909 and March 17, 1910, CGC, CGP-LB 2/09-5/10 (N-YHS); June 10 and 18, 1922, 1922 diary, CGPprs, Bx: 1, F: 3 (LC/MSS)].

5. CG to CS, November 11, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 7/04-3/05 (N-YHS).

6. Ibid.

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7. Sodding was completed south of Aurora Avenue by November 1904, at the cost of $517.18, by the L.L. May & Co [MSC Report GHC, November 16, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 3/Daily Reports; MSC Report by GHC, November 26, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 7/04-9/05; MSC report, December 1, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 7/04-2/05; MSC report, December 2, 1904, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 2; and Memo, December 27, 1904, MSC-LB 6/04-3/05 (N-YHS)].

The following spring, L.L. May & Co. was worried about the sodded area, subject to school children traipsing across a short-cut from Cedar to Wabasha Streets. May's representative, E.W. Reid, asked that Gilbert either inform the capitol watchman to scare them off or post a trespassing sign [EWR to CG, December 12, 1904, CGPprs, Bx: 10, F: 67 (N-YHS)].

8. "St. Paul's Contribution to the New Capitol," St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 18, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

9. Information about the $25,000 appropriation is also cited in "The Capitol Surroundings," St. Paul Globe, November 18, 1904; "Capitol Approach," St. Paul Dispatch, November 18, 1904; "Capitol Approaches," St. Paul Dispatch, November 26, 1904; and the Elk River, MN Star News, November 24, 1904; all in CGC, MSC-SB 1903-1905 (N-YHS).

10. "City Fathers See Capitol," St. Paul Dispatch, December 13, 1904; "Council will Vote Money for Capitol Approach," St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 14, 1904; and "St. Paul Discovers the Capitol," Minneapolis Times, December 15, 1904; CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

11. "Injun Giver," Minneapolis Journal, December 12, 1904, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

12. "Seabury Continues his Fight for Park," St. Paul Globe, December 13, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 1903-05 (N-YHS).

13. CG to CS, November 21, 1904, CGC, MSC-LB 7/04-3/05 (N-YHS).

14. A similar drawing was reproduced for the MSC album (AAAL). The details of both the MHS drawing and the AAAL reproduction portray brick and stone treatments in the plaza area, with the placement of lamp standards sketched in.

15. Inventory #214 (MHS).

16. ET to CG, April 5, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 72 (MHS); MSC Report by GHC, July 6, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 1 (N-YHS); and GHC to CG, July 28, and September 21, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#2, F: #108/St. Paul (N-YHS).

17. ET to CG, October 24, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 72 and sketches in F: 77 (MHS).

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18. ET to CG, November 30, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 72 (MHS).

19. William Burns to CG, December 7, 1907 CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 72 (MHS).

20. CG memo with sketches, April 9, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 69 (N-YHS).

21. "Twelve Poplars for Capitol Lawn," St. Paul News, April 25, 1905, CGC, MSC-SB 1903-05 (N-YHS); E. S. Hall to CG, April 20, 1905, CGC, Bx: MSC/#11, F: 1 (N-YHS).

22. A. Phelps Wyman to CG, October 1, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#5, F: 3 (N-YHS).

23. GHC to CG, May 12, and June 7 1905, CGC, Bx: MSC/#11, F: 1/#108-St. Paul (N-YHS).

24. GHC to CG, June 10, 1905, CGC, Bx: MSC/#11, F: 1/#108-St. Paul (N-YHS).

25. L. L. May & Co. to CG, June 20, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 70 (MHS); with copy in CGC, Bx: MSC/#12, F: 9/#108-L (N-YHS). Rather than using bronze fixtures to hold the pots in place, Carsley and others discussed a cheaper alternative [MSC report by GHC, August 11, 1905, CGC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 1 (N-YHS)].

26. MSC report by GHC, July 6, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 75 (MHS); copy in CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 1 (N-YHS).

27. EWR to CG, July 15, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 70 (MHS).

28. EWR to GHC, August 4, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 70 (MHS); and MSC report by GHC, August 11, 1905, CGC, Bx: MSC/#6, F: 1 (N-YHS).

29. GHC to CG, September 18, 1905, CGC, Misc [CGP?]-LB 2/05-4/06 (N-YHS).

30. Bobbink & Atkins to CG, November 9, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 71 (MHS); copy in CGC, Chron., Bx: 1905/#1, F: 26 (N-YHS).

31. Bobbink & Atkins to CG, November 27, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 71 (MHS).

32. EWR to GHC, October 13, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 71 (MHS).

33. EWR to GHC, November 25, 1905, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 71 (MHS).

34. GHC to L. L. May & Co., August 7, 1906, CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#8, F: 6 (N-YHS); L. L. May & Co. to GHC, August 9, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 72 (MHS); complete listing of almost eighty plant types purchased by the State Capitol Commissioners in

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CGC, PC, Bx: MSC/#7, F: 8 (N-YHS); EWR to GHC, September 29, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 71 (MHS).

35. EWR to CG, February 3, 1906, CGPprs, Bx: 11, F: 72 (MHS).

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# APPENDIX VI

## OTHER CAMPUS PROJECTS BY GILBERT

Gilbert's comprehensive plans for preparatory high schools and college campuses both pre- and post-date his more well known projects in Minnesota, Texas, and Ohio. He was invited to serve on several juries for campus competitions, including those for Northwestern University (1910-11) and the University of Nebraska (1909), but accepted such invitations sparingly. Although he was also requested to prepare group plans (including buildings and landscape plans) for Macalester College in St. Paul (1902-04), the Western University of Pennsylvania (ca. 1907-08), and the Presbyterian College for Women, Charlotte, North Carolina (1912), no such drawings for these projects have been located. For further information about these projects and other listed below, see drawings (if extant), correspondence, and other materials at N-YHS, LC/MSS, and NMAH.

Hill Seminary, St. Paul (1891-92)--For this school, a small building group was planned, including an administration building, dormitories, main chapel, assembly and dining halls, and other subsidiary campus buildings.

Shattuck School, Faribault, Minnesota (1903-10)--Gilbert designed the Armory (1907) and the Memorial Library (ca. 1910) for the small campus.

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College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts of the University of Montana, Bozeman (1916-1917)--Gilbert served as consultant and advisory architect on this Montana project. He advised George Hollis Carsley, who earlier had worked as Gilbert's associate in St. Paul, who had been appointed the main architect. Gilbert's sketches for this project suggests a hybrid of the Minnesota State Capitol and university plans for Minnesota and Texas. These sketches depict grand, axially-oriented spaces that are defined by symmetrically arranged building groups.

Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Connecticut (1915-1929)--Gilbert's plan and bird's-eye-view (1915) of this campus recreates a more modest rendition of his Minnesota and Texas university plans. His other proposals included a Memorial Tower (1920); Dormitory "B" (also known as Memorial Hall) (1922-23) and Dormitory "E" (1926-27); and garden and campus studies (1924-29). This latter group of studies examined the prospect of connecting the central building group with subsidiary structure by means of arcades, as Jefferson had employed at the University of Virginia.

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