

ABOVE: The west or entrance elevation of the Bennett house designed by Sullivan. The entry is tucked into the stair tower behind the ornament-topped chimney. This elevation appears to show a tendency of Sullivan to carry out his baseshaft-top theory of building design.

COVER: The plans for the Carl K. Bennett house were completed through working drawings. Sullivan designed every item for the house including the ornamental "B" which was engraved on the table silver by Tiffany & Company. The silverware was the only part of the commission to be executed. Photograph by John W. Hasbrouck.

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A detail of the initial engraved on the Bennett Silver Photo by John W. Hasbrouck

From the EDITORS

Ten years. We have completed ten years of **The Prairie School Review**. Forty quarters, thirty nine separate issues (one was a double). In the vernacular of publishing, we are still a ''little magazine'' but in terms of longevity, **The Prairie School Review** is older than at least half the scholarly journals we know.

The Prairie School Review was started for selfish reasons. It seemed like a good way to gather information on a subject of great interest to us, the early modern movement in architecture around the turn of the century. Not much had been published on the 'Prairie School' per se ten years ago, although it was beginning to get a fair amount of attention from graduate students and serious amateurs who began to rediscover the talented designers who worked in the shadow of Sullivan and Wright. These people became the real staff of the magazine since there never has been enough money to pay for articles.

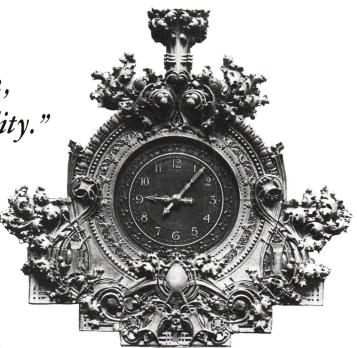
An early and basic policy of the editors has been to publish the work of previously unpublished writers. Nearly all of the major articles in **The Prairie School Review** have been first or early efforts by young authors. Some have written more than once for us and have also contributed to other publications. A few times we have had major established bylines, especially on book reviews. Still, the great majority of our pages have been filled with the work of the knowledgable unpublished writer.

At first, it was difficult to find appropriate material. The wiser heads reminded us that we would soon use up everything available on our esoteric subject. Actually, the opposite has happened, the more we publish, the more offers we get. We have the luxury of selecting the best of the best now. It's remarkable how the mail continues to bring articles by persons unknown to us. All are welcome. Many of our contributors have gone to better things — at least three major grants were made to various authors partially as a result of work first published here. A few of our authors contribute and disappear, but most have become firm friends.

Today, we are a little harder on our writers. We use the editor's blue pencil quite liberally when we feel the article needs it. We check facts, dates and quotations whenever possible. We insist that authors adhere to our style manual "Notes to Contributors". Most people accept the idea of an editor making minor clarifications and we feel that most of what we have published in the last ten years has given us some measure of expertise and judgment insofar as what should be included in our magazine.

Ten years. A long time. We are willing to continue if you, our readers and contributors, want the journal. The Prairie School Review is alive and well at the end of its first decade, and we look forward to the next.

Part II: Louis H. Sullivan, "...an air of finality."





by Robert R. Warn

Louis Sullivan's portrait at left was taken at about the time covered by Mr. Warn in this study. The American Terra Cotta and Ceramic Company's house journal Common Clay published it in September 1920. The clock above, done for the National Farmer's Bank of Owatonna, was published by the same magazine the following month. It was noted that Sullivan ''does not think very well of the design of this clock, yet it is a splendid example of what Mr. Schneider is capable of. . . .'' Sullivan's misgivings about the clock, which was probably detailed by George Elmslie, may have been prophetic. The Owatonna bank was to be the last of his major executed commissions.

The first decade of the twentieth century ended in despair for Louis Sullivan. The Babson House in Riverside west of Chicago was done, and his design for the Bradley House in Madison, Wisconsin was complete with construction underway. Drawings for the Peoples Savings Bank at Cedar Rapids, Iowa were finished the previous August. But the sale of his collection of books and art objects at auction in late 1909 had had disasterous results, the effect of which concerned Sullivan's friend and client Carl K. Bennett deeply.

During 1910 Sullivan had been much on the minds of his friends, especially William Grey Purcell and Carl Bennett, who exchanged several letters concerning him.

It is not known exactly when, but probably some time in 1911 Sullivan was commissioned to design a house for the family of Carl Bennett, at that time Vice-President of the National Farmers Bank in Owatonna, Minnesota. In a letter of April 4, 1910 referring Purcell to a bank prospect at Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, Bennett had said, "I am not referring this or similar inquiries to Mr. Sullivan since he has written me stating that he did not care to follow up small bank prospects and was looking only for strictly commercial work."¹ This was a preference that Sullivan could not long maintain. In another letter of 1910 on November 10 Bennett wrote to Purcell that he had just been to the National Dairy Show² in Chicago and had seen Sullivan a number

1 Letter in the National Farmers Bank file. Purcell and Elmslie Archive, University of Minnesota. All letters referred to hereafter between Bennett and Purcell are from this source unless otherwise indicated.

2 F. Curtis-Wedge: A History of Rice and Steele Counties, by H. C. Cooper, Jr. & Co., Chicago, 1910, pp. 1128-1129. C. K. Bennett was President of the Perfection Churn Co., The Sperry Manufacturing Co., and an owner of the Owatonna Creamery Supply Co. He was also a noted Holstein Dairy farmer. His visits with Sullivan in Chicago were thus probably only a by-product of his normal business traveling.

The author completes his study of the work of Louis H. Sullivan done for his friend and client, Carl K. Bennett. Mr. Warn's research uncovered several previously unknown letters by Sullivan to Bennett which give new insight to the architect's final years. Robert Warn was trained in philosophy and architecture and is now teaching at St. Olaf College while practicing with Architectural Continuity, Inc. at Northfield, Minnesota.

of times. He was with the architect when he received the commission to design St. Paul's Church at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Bennett said he was pleased for Sullivan and confided ''as far as I could judge he was perfectly 'straight', both Millet³ and his draftsman informed me that he had not been drinking at all for sometime. Doubtless this had become a necessity.'' This would be about one year after Louis Sullivan had come under the care of his friend Dr. George Arndt.

The commission for St. Paul's Church was a mixed blessing to the architect. He had won the commission in October 1910 in a competition with twelve other firms including Purcell and Elmslie.⁴ The working drawings were completed in July of the following year but high costs prevented the building from being built. Sullivan resigned as architect for the church in early 1912 and his plans were altered once by a little known "church" architect and then again by George Elmslie. The building was finally built and still stands. Its basic form and plan are Sullivan's, but it is clearly inferior to his original design and must have been cause for deep concern by the already troubled architect.⁵

During this trying period, Sullivan's client and friend, Carl Bennett remained steadfast. Few of the letters to the architect from his client have survived. One fragment, however, which may be typical of their tone, is dated December 7, 1911:

... Certainly when a building or anything else is done right once it is done for always. And I have always considered your buildings to be final in their expression of their use or function. I have often likened your work to that of the great musicians or poets, and have thought of ourselves as though we possessed exclusively... one of the symphonies of Beethoven. This feeling is what led me to write that there is an air of finality to all your works. This is absolutely true.

3 Letter: G. G. Elmslie to W. G. Purcell, October 6, 1944, concerning Sullivan's friends, including "his engineer" Louis Ritter: "A group of them used to lunch together quite often at a French restaurant run by a man they called the Count. Sullivan, Millet, Ritter, Fleury the painter and one or two more. Where Louis sat was the head of the table as it was at the Cliff Dwellers when he was there."

4 Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, The Museum of Modern Art and W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1935, pp. 213-216. Ed. Note: A complete set of Sullivan's completed working drawings for the church, 30 sheets in all, dated July 31, 1911, is owned by W. R. Hasbrouck, FAIA. They are inscribed, "To Daniel H. Burnham with best wishes of his friend Louis H. Sullivan, Chicago, Aug. 25th, 1911."

5 The church was eventually published in *The Western Architect*, Volume 20, Number 8, p. 85, August, 1914, with an editorial titled, "A Sullivan design that is not Sullivan's." There is nothing else for you to do than to try your best to get sufficient work to keep things going. And I fancy that your present predicament is no worse than you have successfully met in the past.⁶

That "air of finality" perceived by Bennett in his architect's work was a personal and architectural struggle for a goal by Sullivan that both the Owatonna bank and the Bennett house project reveal. The architect had written in 1887, 24 years earlier:

... all we see and feel and know, without and within us, is one mighty poem of striving, one vast and subtle tragedy. That to remain unperturbed and serene within this turbulent and drifting flow of hope and sorrow, light and darkness, is the uttermost position and fact attainable to the soul.⁷

In comparing Bennett's letter with Sullivan's writing of nearly a quarter of a century earlier, we gain some insight as to the intensely personal and successful relationship between Louis Sullivan and Carl Bennett. If such a thing was possible, Bennett understood Sullivan. Too well, perhaps?

Bennett wrote again on December 8, 1911 to Purcell:

... I am corresponding constantly with Louis. Financial matters are again giving him great concern. I wish that he were a business manager like you are and then I would consider his troubles in this respect as ended.

Bennett was a perfect client for Sullivan up until this time, but he was not especially akin to the clients of his former student and colleague, Frank Lloyd Wright. In his pioneering study of Wright's clients of the first decade of the twentieth century, Leonard K. Eaton has concluded that typically the client for Wright's bold new houses was an independent, self-made businessman; only rarely was he a professional or academic and most likely he was not a college graduate. He was technologically minded and somewhere in his family there was a developed taste or talent for music, but again only rarely was he a pillar of official community culture. And if many of his neighbors regarded his dwelling as outlandish, he was in no way eccentric in social behavior.8

Actually, Carl Bennett was the epitomy of the community pillar: banker, college graduate, public

6 Morrison Papers.

7 Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats*, Wittenborn & Co., New York, 1947, p. 185: Additional papers.

8 Leonard K. Eaton, Two Chicago Architects and Their Clients: Frank Lloyd Wright and Howard van Doren Shaw, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1969, pp. 25-64 passim. library trustee, city alderman and a trustee of Carleton College in Northfield and Owatonna's Pillsbury Academy. Both Mr. and Mrs. Bennett were enthusiastic musicians, Mrs. Lydia Norwood Bennett having graduated from the Carleton's Music Conservatory as a pianist in 1896.9

The successful bank building of 1908 and personal affinities between architect and client thus led to the house project, despite Sullivan's professed preference for commercial work. The planning of the house must have occupied most of 1911 for it was Sullivan's practice to date all drawings of a set with the same date, in this case February of 1912.

On February 2, 1912 Bennett wrote to G. G. Elmslie about a recent visit to Sullivan in Chicago:

... I am sorry to say that Louis did not seem to be in very good physical condition. He was suffering with a very bad cold and also seemed to have eczema. As you stated to me previously at that time he seemed mentally abstracted. He was preparing an article for the Cornell Era¹⁰ and was much more interested in getting that out of his mind than he was in plans or work for making a little money. I went at his request to go over and decide some details concerning the house plans. I was astonished to notice that he had forgotten some of the details which he had already designed. Altogether to me his condition seemed one to occasion some alarm. But you know him better than I do and possibly this is one of his moods.

The house is coming out much as you saw it in the sketches. I should take pleasure in either sending or bringing the blue prints when the drawings are far enough along to permit of it....

Although the plans are dated February 1912, it was not until August 3, 1912 that Bennett could say in a postscript to a letter to Purcell, "Now have completed blue prints for house." It is likely that the period from February through July was spent in preparing specifications and getting cost figures together, and working with the proposed builder. The costs for the Bennett house were more than three times what Mr. Bennett felt he could spend. Bennett must have been very disappointed even though his letter to Elmslie had indicated his 9 Mr. Eaton expresses a somewhat similar opinion in a letter to the author dated December 13, 1972: "I would think that Bennett generally fitted my profile since he was musical rather like Arthur Heurtley, who was also a banker" (Heurtley was a F. L. Wright client in Oak Park, 1902.)

10 Letter: Cornell University Libraries, July 2, 1973: "We have not located the article mentioned in your reference in the 1912-15 volumes of the *Cornell Era*." This would indicate that the article was either not completed or not accepted for publication.

concern for Sullivan's condition.

It is the opinion of Harold Anderson of Owatonna, whose family was part owner of Hammel Bros. and Anderson, general contractors, that Sullivan's plans for the Bennett house were not put out for bids but that probably only an estimate was given by the contracting firm to the client.¹¹ They had built a residence for Guy Bennett, Carl Bennett's brother, and the National Farmers Bank. According to the architect Richard Hammel of Hammel, Green and Abrahamson, St. Paul, whose family was also part owner of the Owatonna based construction firm, no records survive which would indicate costs or method of bidding.¹²

The client's concern in February must have been only temporary for on May 7, 1912, Carl Bennett had written to W. B. Lear, the cashier of the University Bank at Seattle, Washington:

I have had the privilege of reading your letter to Mr. Sullivan of Chicago and a copy of his answer. From the general tone of Mr. Sullivan's letter I feel impelled to tell you something of our experience with him as an architect. He was always very frank with us as to cost of our building and never misled us in any way whatever. This is not the usual practice of architects. It is usual for them to under-estimate the cost and only disclose the full cost of a project after a client is embarked upon it. Mr. Sullivan is not this way at all and in all our experience with him I have found him to be especially fearless and frank in stating the probable cost of any structure. This trait of his is very commendable and I mention it because the tone of his letter is rather discouraging as far as it applies to the appropriation of \$35,000 which you mention.

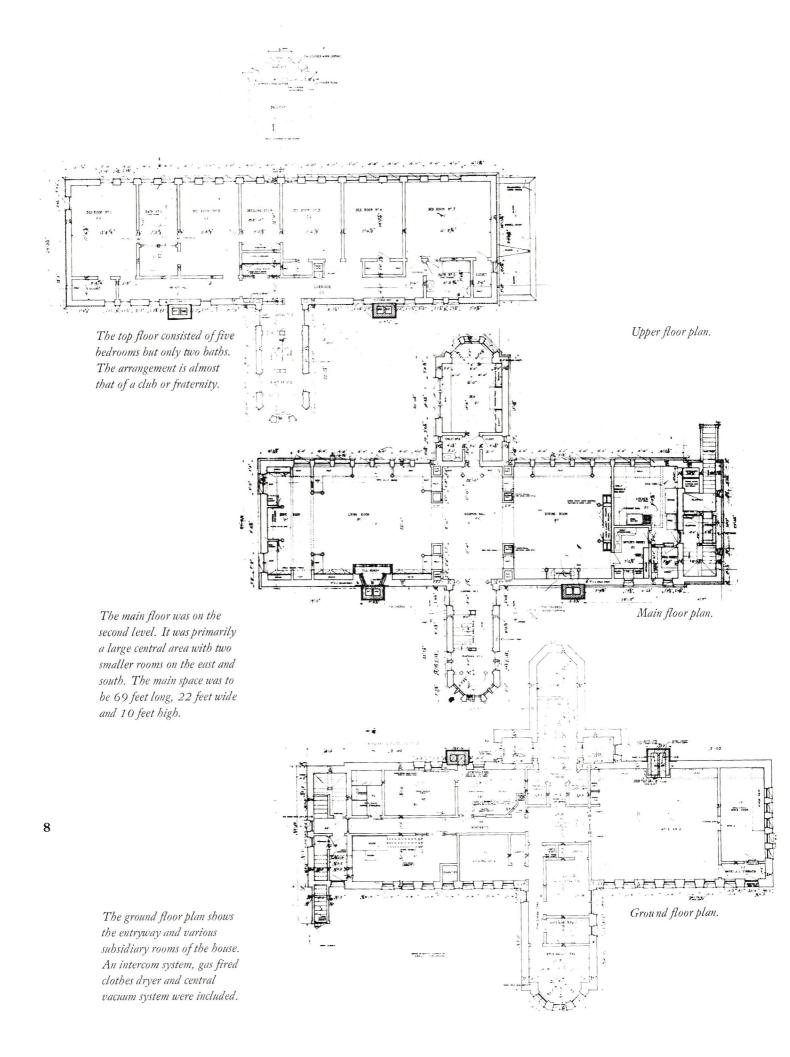
I am sure however that no living architect can distribute costs of the building so harmoniously or make your appropriation go any further than Mr. Sullivan can. It is merely a question for you to determine what you will have and whether you will pay the price for it.¹³

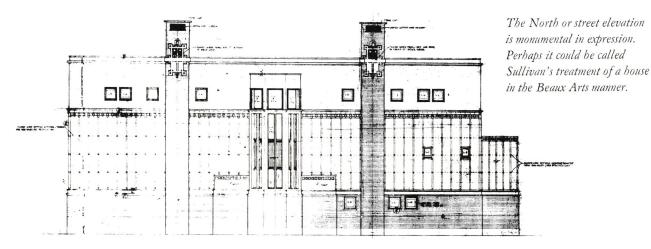
This was a vote of confidence in Louis H. Sullivan if not in all of his competers. There is no record of Sullivan doing any work for Mr. Lear, but he was, of

12 Telephone conversation: Richard Hammel, with author, June 28, 1971.

13 Letter: R. G. Nielsen to author, August 1, 1972: Nielsen is Vice President and Manager of the successor bank. He reports no record of the original letter. The copy is from the Homer Sailor Papers now in the Burnham Library of the Art Institute of Chicago.

¹¹ Telephone conversation: H. W. Anderson with author, June 28, 1971.





course, working on other commissions at this time.¹⁴

Sullivan had had one of his bursts of design energy doing the Bennett house, the Peoples Savings Bank of Cedar Rapids and the St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, also in Cedar Rapids. All were substantial commissions although only the bank was built from Sullivan's design and it is doubtful if Sullivan realized expenses, much less a profit, from the other two. At about this time, Sullivan also gave his doctor, George Arndt, a design for a garage at his home in Mount Vernon, perhaps in a friendly exchange for professional services.¹⁵ Could these professional services have been the source of the energy required for these designs?

14 Ed. Note: Besides the bank and church in Cedar Rapids mentioned earlier, Sullivan also was working at this time on three other small commissions in Iowa. They were the Van Allen Store in Clinton, the Adams building in Algona, and the Merchants National Bank of Grinnell. Oddly enough, he had had no previous commissions in Iowa nor did he have others after these were finished.

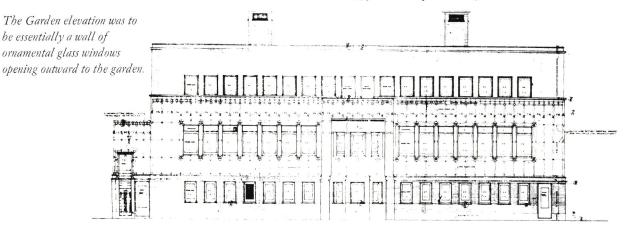
15 Letter: Mrs. Norris Rahming (Mary Arndt) to author, June 3, 1973: "I think the approximate date of the garage which Mr. Sullivan suggested and designed for my father was when I was about 6 or 7 years old — I am now 66 — born September 7, 1906." This would place the design in 1912 or 1913. After completion of the Bennett house plans and the accompanying estimate, the client did nothing with them. The project was, for a time, halted although apparently not completely cancelled. The design was too superb to abandon.

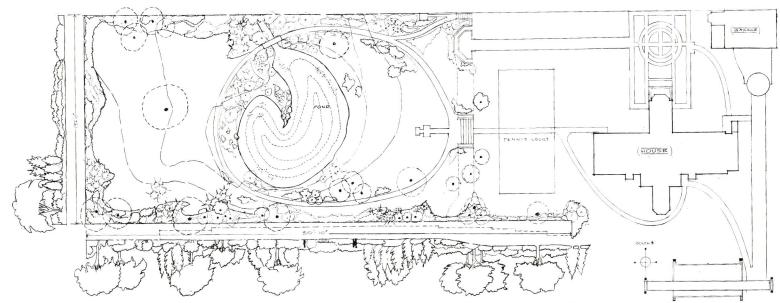
Historian James Marston Fitch says concerning the Bennett house plan by Sullivan:

I'm simply astonished at the Sullivan design. Not only does it not resemble anything else he ever did, it doesn't look like anything any of his contemporaries were doing at that time, either. The straight-forward plan with its excellent orientation is surprising enough. But the sheer severity of the elevations is astonishing especially when one thinks of all the lyrical flourishes he was using on his bank buildings. It certainly suggests a flare-up of creative energy in 1912 which I'd never suspected.¹⁶

Sullivan himself indicates that it was the previously almost unknown Dr. George Arndt who may have made that "creative flare-up" possible.

William Purcell discussed the Sullivan house project in a volume entitled "Work of the 7th Year - 1913" which reviews the work of Purcell and 16 Letter: James Marston Fitch to author, January 16, 1973, (quoted with permission).





Elmslie and is now in the Purcell and Elmslie Archive of the University of Minnesota Manuscript Collection. He wrote:

... in any case it is certainly one of the most remarkable buildings that Mr. Sullivan ever conceived. There is no question but that it is a concept of great originality and vivid imaginative content. As a piece or organized architectural philosophy it is really a tremendous work and in boldness of expression and novel use of materials it will pay extended study.

But it called for an expenditure nearly three times the maximum that Bennett felt he could put in a home for himself. More important, it seemed to be wholly lacking in any feeling for the Bennetts as a living family, for their relation to the community or the relation of the building to its site in a farmers' village. It was much more in the nature of a Club House that would be suitable on a city lot where one could only look abroad upon adjoining buildings. Mr. Sullivan simply had no concept whatever of American family life. The living room floor was the second floor cut off both in spirit and fact from the garden. The great window areas were decorative fields of light that seemed to interpose themselves like beautiful screens between the dwellers and the world. The rooms were formal in character, the plan calling for trained servants and a formal social life.

It must be remembered that the Bennett family would have approved of the preliminary plans and preliminary cost estimates given by their architect before any final plans and specifications were prepared. Sullivan had already impressed Carl Bennett with his candid and accurate cost estimates. However, this time the banker had reason to believe that This plan was drawn by the author from an original now in the Purcell & Elmslie archives. The original was drawn by Lawrence Fournier for Purcell & Elmslie and Harry Franklin Baker, dated November 3, 1914. The house indicated is Sullivan's of 1912 with a garage by Purcell & Elmslie. Another version exists with the P & E house design for the site.

perhaps his old friend was not quite himself. He apparently did approve the plans and ask for the cost estimate. After getting the costs, whether from Sullivan or from a contractor, he must have been shocked. It is not surprising that his letters then took a somewhat different tone. In fact, it appears that he was already seriously considering another architect.

On September 12, 1912, Bennett wrote to Purcell, the "more business-like" architect:

The house matter can wait. I shall not do anything with it at present. Later I shall be glad to avail myself of your suggestions and indeed that is what I hope that I will be able to get.

The "suggestions" apparently concerned methods of bidding and contracting which Bennett hoped would bring the costs down. Was this to be the Cedar Rapids church all over again?

Despite the laying aside of the Bennett house project, Carl Bennett again commissioned Louis Sullivan on September 26, 1913, this time for a landscape design of the property with Landscape Architect Harry Franklin Baker (1872-1961)¹⁷ and

17 Conversation: Miss Martha Baker with author, June 8, 1973. Harry Franklin Baker (her father) was born in Boston and came to Minneapolis in 1883. He was self-taught as a landscape architect and was also a florist and nursery man. Ridgeway Baker is in charge of his fathers papers. H. F. Baker's obituary: Minneapolis Star, December 20, 1961. The successor firm is ''Howard W. Schultz, Landscape Designers,'' St. Paul, Minnesota. drafting to be done by Parker Berry. This indicates that the house design by Sullivan was still being considered over a year after the plans were completed. No plans by Sullivan's office for this commission exist but a final plot plan of the original large site dated November 3, 1914 and titled "Plat of grounds showing lake and planting plan for Carl K. Bennett of Owatonna, Minnesota'', does exist.¹⁸ Its title block lists "Purcell and Elmslie, Architects, and Harry Franklin Baker, Landscape Gardener, in consultation." The plan still shows in outline the 1912 Sullivan house but has a garage designed by Purcell and Elmslie. Bennett had written on January 14, 1914 to them "By the way, did I mention anything about locating and designing a garage? I would rather like to have the building located on the grounds. May possibly build one in the spring."

So, nearly two years after the completion of Sullivan's working drawings, construction of the original house was still assumed although the first World War had started and another architectural firm was involved. A break between architect and client must be assumed about this time, or perhaps earlier in the year. Bennett apparently wanted the Sullivan house and was willing to have Purcell and Elmslie build it for him. No evidence of any sort of formal association of architects exists.

It is difficult to assess just what Sullivan's role was with the plans at this time since Purcell and Elmslie obviously were involved to a large degree. Possibly Bennett felt that Purcell, being "a businessman like you are" could restudy the design and revise it to bring costs within Bennett's budget. Carl Bennett's youngest daughter (born 1913) recalls from family conversations that their regard for Sullivan remained high and the project was scaled down due to the war caused economic conditions.¹⁹

W. G. Purcell wrote about Purcell and Elmslie's work in 1913 and Sullivan's project:

... Mr. Bennett laid these drawings aside and the following year asked us to design another house for the site, which we did.²⁰ Pending the

18 Two ink-on-linen plot plans exist (P & E Archive), one dated June 30, 1914 and a revision of November 3, 1914, with drafting by Laurence A. Fournier (1878-1944), a P & E employee. Both show the Sullivan house design in outline. A third plot plan (blueprint only) is dated December 10, 1918 (or '19) with drafting by G. G. Elmslie. It shows the outline of a Bennett house by P & E rather than Sullivan's design.

19 Mrs. Sid Freeman, conversations with author, 1967-73.

20 Letter: David Gebhard to author, April 27, 1971: Purcell and Elmslie were involved with Carl Bennett in a direct way from 1911 on producing the landscaping for the site of the house; speculative houses, sculpture, light posts, letterhead for the bank, plans for a summer house, a barn, suggested alterations to the bank, a cemetery memorial, etc." construction of this house, we made plans for the landscape work on the very extensive gounds and these were carried out with a complete set of planting....

Only a few trees now remain of the original planting. Writing in about 1953, while helping David Gebhard assemble the Purcell and Elmslie Exhibit at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, Mr. Purcell added:

... a considerable part of this L-shaped property lay behind the houses, which faced along the street adjoining the approach, and our landscape problem was to build the plantings so as to blot out unpleasant backyards, barns and illconsidered rear elevations of common houses. When Mr. Bennett's bank failed in 1930 [actually September 7, 1926], he moved away from Owatonna.

He gave his property to the ____ [left blank; given to the Pillsbury Academy, now the Pillsbury Bible College] the campus of which adjoined it on the west. Mr. Strauel went to see the property in 1936 and reported that the planting had developed beautifully.²¹

The generous plat developed was nearly 444 feet long and 135 feet wide. The residence is placed in the northwest corner of the rectangular site whose major axis runs east and west. Entrance to the house was to be from East Main Street which parallels the site on the north. Thus neither the house design nor the grounds planned by Sullivan were used.

Sullivan apparently did not have a feel for domestic design, as Purcell says, and it is well known that at the peak of his career he turned over his house clients to men in his office such as Frank Lloyd Wright and George Grant Elmslie. However, the Bennett residence was designed during the painful and extended years of the architect's personal and professional decline. Who, then, actually designed the Bennett house? Perhaps Sullivan turned it over to his promising young draftsman, Parker Berry (1888-1918) who had been with the firm since 1909. Elmslie wrote, "The work from 1910 and onward was done by himself [Sullivan] except for the services rendered by a very able young chap who came after me, Parker Berry, who deserves a vote of thanks."22

Mr. Elmslie does not mention another draftsman 21 Letter: Frederick A. Strauel to author, November 1, 1972: "I started with Purcell and Elmslie on May 1, 1913. I doubt that I made that trip of 1936 and any supervising of this work. I am sure this must be an error."

22 Letter: G. G. Elmslie to F. L. Wright, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, March 1961, p. 140.



Homer Sailor (1887-1968) with Parker Berry (1888-1918) presumably after opening their own office in 1917. Photograph courtesy Mrs. Homer Sailor and H. Grant Sailor.

who was also a member of the firm in 1912, architect Homer G. Sailor (1887-1968). He had entered Louis Sullivan's office in 1911 upon graduation from Armour Institute and remained there until 1917 when both he and Parker Berry opened their own offices. Mr. Sailor told the author²³ that "Parker Berry and I did the drawings for the Bennett house based on Sullivan's preliminaries." Mr. Sailor also wrote in a letter of 1967 that:

I believe Mr. Bennett gave Mr. Sullivan a general idea of what kind of house he wanted, the number of rooms, etc., but I am sure Sullivan designed entirely that building that was to be erected.... Mr. Sullivan followed the detailed drawings very closely. He watched every detail carefully. In fact, I learned through his very close scrutiny many lessons that stayed with me through my entire architectural career... Mr. Sullivan did not do any of the final drawings himself.... no perspective drawings of the exterior or interior were ever made. At least I never saw any.... I presume the preliminary drawings were approved by the client or the final drawings would not have been completed.²⁴

23 Telephone conversation: Homer Sailor with author, November 7, 1967.

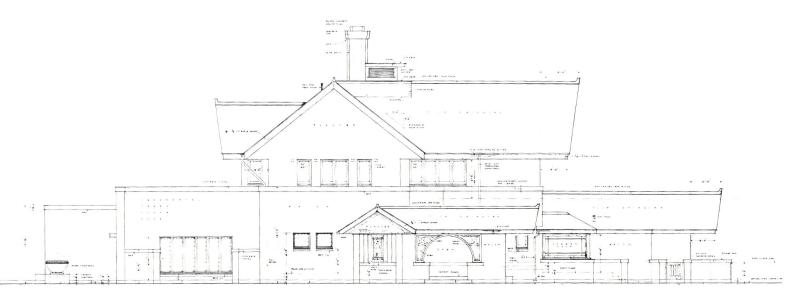
24 Letter: Homer Sailor to author, November 27, 1967.



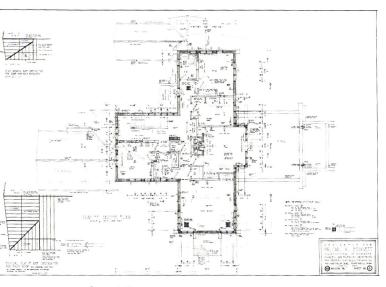
Purcell, Feick & Elmslie's office, summer of 1910 at 440 Auditorium Building, Minneapolis. Those included here are (left to right) George Feick, Marion Alice Parker, Mr. Ireland, Mr. Elmslie, and Paul Haugen. These identifications were made by Mr. Haugen in May of 1972. Photo from P & E archive.

From left to right below are Mr. Feick, Mr. Purcell and Mr. Elmslie in one of their offices, circa 1910. They maintained an office in Chicago in the Peoples Gas Building. Purcell said of his firm's work: "We were especially interested in the mechanics of creative movement within bounded areas, a person's entrance to and exit from units of a plan, ... I made quite a study of the various motions of hands and legs one made in turning of a light. ... Photo from P & E archive.

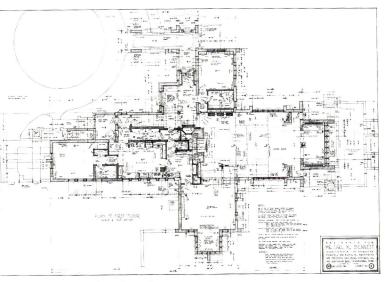




North (entrance) elevation.



Second floor plan.



Main floor plan.

The drawings of the Bennett house prepared by Purcell & Elmslie were much different than those done by Sullivan. Both were located on the same part of the property and entered from the west driveway but the similarity ends there. This project was also shelved. Drawings from the P & E archives.

The plans were completed and were meticulously done. It may be that this very meticulousness of detail was at least partially responsible for the high estimate of costs. If Purcell and Elmslie were asked to try to cut the costs and build the house, they apparently either could not or would not for the plans by Sullivan were "laid aside" and Purcell and Elmslie were retained by the client.

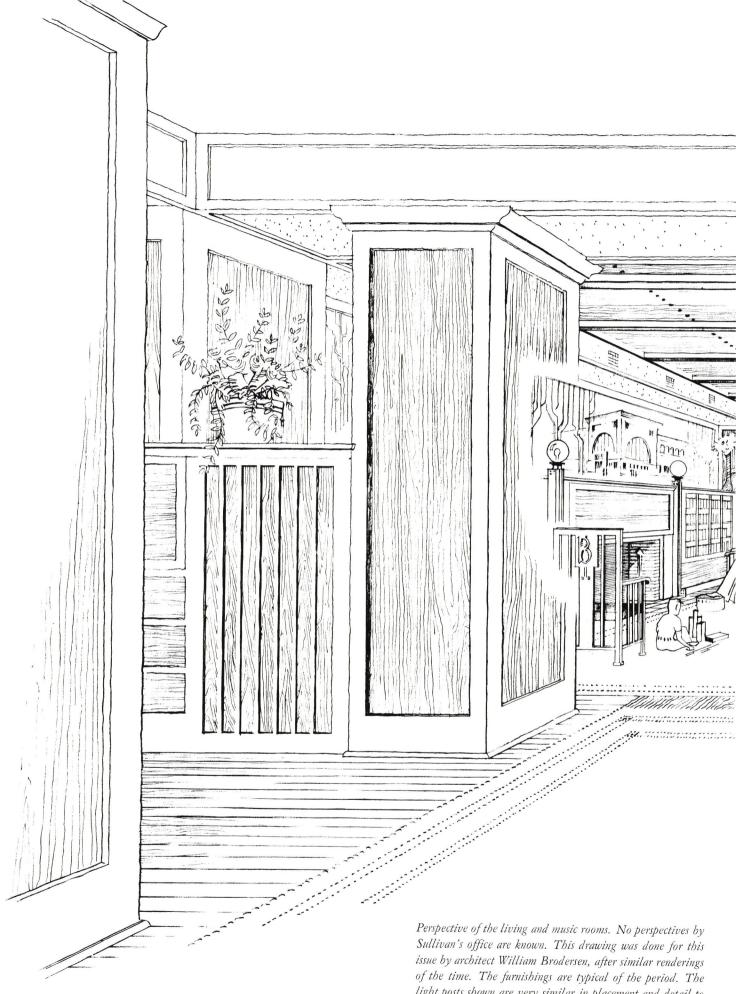
George Grant Elmslie is credited with the design of his firm's Bennett house project. Mr. Purcell writes:

Our house was full of light and sunshine, broad and low, intimately connected with the garden and outdoors and a beautiful and satisfying scheme in every way. Bennett liked it, was ready to build it, but perhaps had a premonition of the gathering economic storm, for he delayed making a start from year to year. The war was on us. 1916 was a bad year for business. After the war business collapsed again in 1919-1920. Then things went along until Bennett's great Owatonna bank blew up very early in the depression. Thus was wrecked a really idealistic banker who sacrificed all that he had in an effort to save the farmer customers with whom his family had grown up since his father was a young man and whose fortunes were, in fact, those of the entire community.²⁵

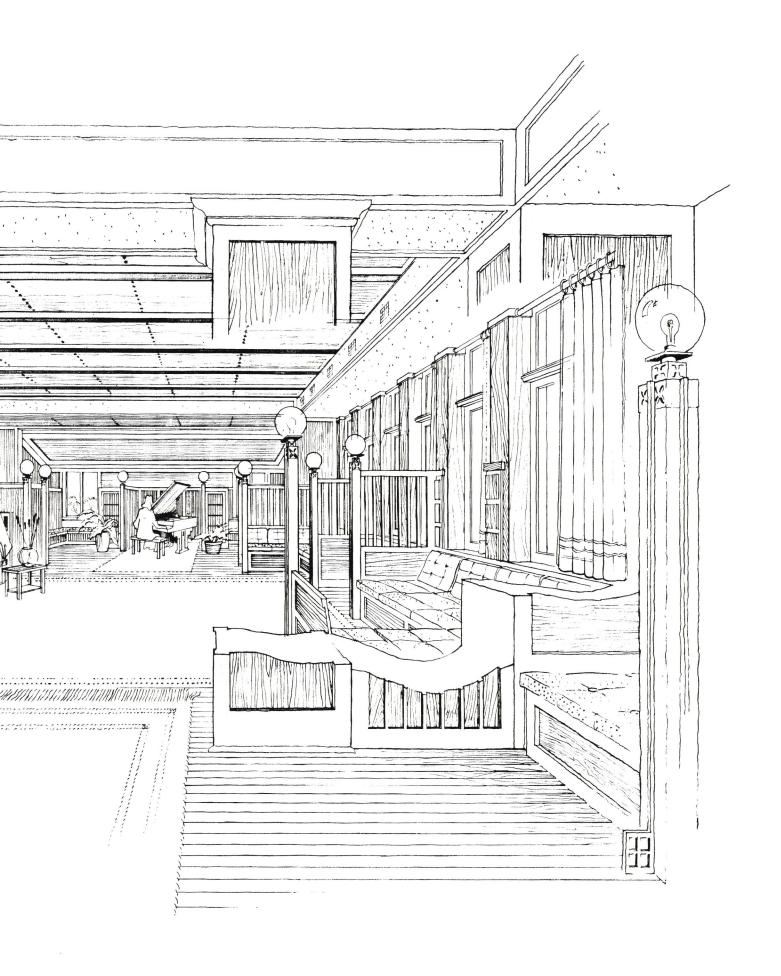
However, David Gebhard says of their Bennett project:

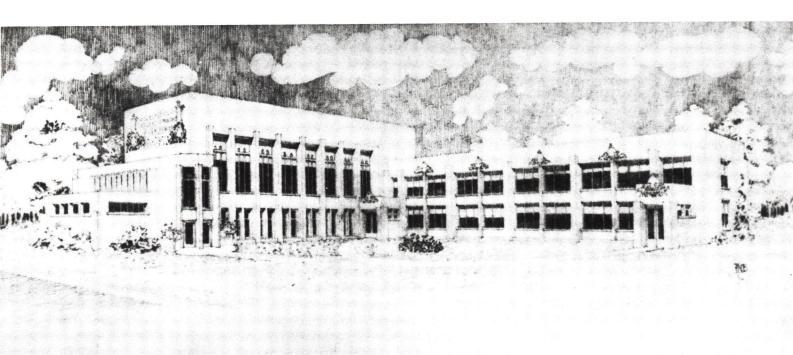
While the firm was able to arrive at a plan which could be constructed within his budget,

25 G. G. Elmslie in P & E Parabiography, Volume ''1910-1914.''



light posts shown are very similar in placement and detail to those indicated in a perspective of the Heller house of 1897 designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.





their solution represented a strange hybrid form of design. It contained many features which look back to the Sullivan and Elmslie Bradley and Babson houses. To these were added a partial flat roof and even a Gothic arched alcove off the living room. The floor plan itself was well reasoned but the detailing inside and the articulation of the exterior elevation represents an encyclopedic confusion of ideas and details. The lack of cohesion apparent in this design would seem to forcast the final break-up of the firm which was to occur a few years later.²⁶

In any case, Sullivan's work in Owatonna was not finished. A final design for that small Minnesota town was still to be done. He received an invitation in 1916 to submit a design proposal for a high school for the Owatonna school district. His invitation came at the instigation of Guy Bennett who was cashier of the National Farmers Bank, president of the Owatonna Board of Education, and an admirer of Sullivan since 1906. He was, as mentioned earlier, Carl Bennett's brother.²⁷

In September 1916 a local paper presented an interview with F. H. Joesting, a member of the board, telling why a new high school and a bond issue for its financing were necessary. Earlier, in March, the Superintendent of Schools, W. B.

26 David Gebhard, *The Architecture of William Gray Purcell and George Grant Elmslie, 1909-1920,* University of Minnesota, doctoral dissertation, 1963.

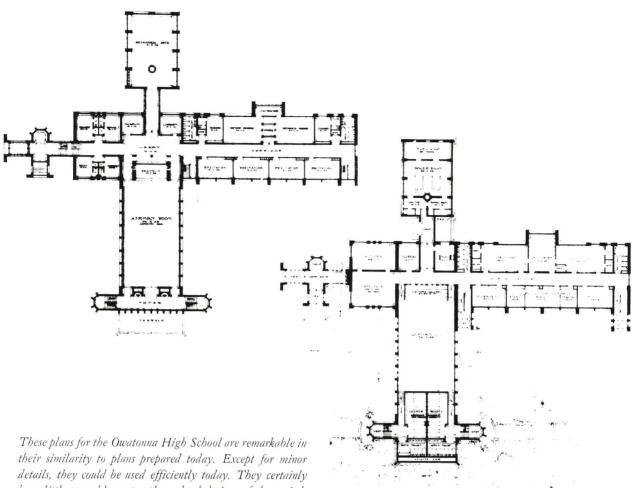
27 Conversation with the late Leonard Niles Bennett (1909-1973), son of Guy Bennett, Owatonna, Minnesota, and the author, August 19, 1972. This is the more elaborate of two renderings done by Sullivan's office for the Owatonna High School building. It was probably executed by Parker Berry who may have had a large part of the actual designing of the building. A.O. Budina, a former Sullivan draftsman, says in a letter of October 2, 1972, 'I can't explain the Oakland Township designation.'' It seems likely that the fictional name was substituted to conceal a bad memory. This drawing and the plans of the school were given to Homer Sailor in March of 1919. Courtesy of H. Grant Sailor.

Thornburgh, had made an inspection of new schools in Missouri. The board met on December 5, 1916 at Sullivan's National Farmers Bank building and adjourned after approving a motion that time for receiving plans for the new high school be extented until January 16, 1917.²⁸ "Twenty architects applied for the contract of designing the building and submitting trial designs" reported an Owatonna paper.²⁹ After "many weeks" of work the twenty submissions were then reduced to four including Louis Sullivan with Parker Berry, and Nels Jacobson of the firm of Round and Jacobson of Chicago.³⁰

Sullivan and Berry traveled from Chicago to Owatonna for the final interview with the school

- 28 Owatonna Journal Chronicle, March 2, 1917.
- 29 Ibid., February 9, 1917

30 Letters: Mrs. David Jacobson to author: (1) October 20, 1971, "I know of no Mr. Rounds with the firm. Jacobsons started business together at the same time having graduated together from the University of Pennsylvania. David graduated from the old [Owatonna, Ed.] High School Building in



bear little resemblance to other school designs of the period. Courtesy of H. Grant Sailor.

board³¹ on April 3, 1917.³² Prior to the final interview, board president Guy Bennett had sounded out the six other members and found them divided 4 to 3 in favor of Sullivan. However, the S. . .

Chicagoan got into a dispute with a board member³³ over some matter unrelated to the school project. When the preference vote was taken, the board split 4 to 3 in favor of Nels Jacobson and his firm. The final vote was unanimous for Jacobson and Round: "Owatonna boy wins award" said a local paper.³⁴ It was about this time that the firm became "Jacobson and Jacobson" with its base in Owatonna and headed by Owatonna raised Nels Jacobson (1891-1947) with David Jacobson (1889-1947).35

Sullivan and Berry returned to their Chicago office. Sullivan's draftsman A. O. Budina recalls the time of his defeat.

My stay there was from about the middle of March to the middle of July 1917. During this period Messrs. Sullivan and Berry made their trip

¹⁹⁰⁷ or 1908... I attended the dedication of the school and both David and Nels were on the stage with the school Board." (2) November 28, 1972, "I'm sorry to say I've destroyed all the records of Jacobson & Jacobson thinking no one could possibly want them." The firm designed the Minnesota Implement Mutual Fire Insurance Co. building, near the Owatonna bank, in 1923 (now Federated Insurance Co.). Its design, detailing, materials and central court show the influence of Sullivan and P & E projects. C. I. Buxton, a P & E house client of 1912-13, was secretary of the company.

³¹ Letter: T. M. Joestling to author, October 19, 1972. The son of F. F. Joesting (1870-1947) reports that his father was a member of the Owatonna School Board in 1917, and he owned a local general store. The son says "I do not recall any incidents concerning the design or building which he related or talked about." Other board members in 1917 were, Paul H. Evans, banker; J. H. Dinsmoor, lumberyard manager; J. M. Schafer; F. A. Dostal, powerplant engineer; and H. J. Miller. The minutes of the 1917 board meeting have not been located.

³² The Peoples Press, Owatonna, April 13, 1917.

³³ op. cit., Leonard N. Bennett. He understood that F. H. Joesting was the board member who had the encounter with Sullivan that cost the architect the school job.

³⁴ The Peoples Press, Owatonna, April 13, 1917, pp. 1 & 3.

³⁵ Letter: Mrs. David Jacobson to author, November 30, 1972.

to Owatonna and on their return Parker Berry told the rest of us in the office of the unfortunate argument that Mr. Sullivan had with one of the members of the School Board.³⁶

Soon both Parker Berry and Homer Sailor withdrew from the almost jobless firm and, while Guy Bennett remained for some time on the Owatonna school board, he later resigned apparently as a result of his disappointment over this incident.

Hugh Morrison's biography of Louis Sullivan in 1935 says "the whole story of Sullivan's personal life from 1895 to his death in 1924 will probably never be known."³⁷ Fifty years after the architect's death we are in a position to know more with glimpses of the architect during the Owatonna School Building design period such as that of the late Edith Gutterson:

During the years 1915-17 I was working at the Art Institute in Chicago and met Karl Howenstein, 38 who eventually I married. He was an Architect (really more interested in men's souls than their dwellings), and a great admirer of Sullivan's ideas and of the man himself. I saw Sullivan possibly six times in this manner. Karl and I would meet him and take him to the Tip-Top Inn, where we would get a table by the window where we would look down on the lights of the city, and off to the darkness of the lake. We would sit there for several hours, eating cheese sandwiches and drinking beer, while Sullivan talked. Karl always felt that his words, spoken, were more fraught with meaning and carried overtones of meaning not possible in the written word, and now I know what he meant. His mind would range from one point to another, from one subject to another, but not rambling. Each thought and point grew organically out of the preceding. I wish I could remember the actual contents of the talks, but it is no use pretending that I recall them, except that I do recall hearing the name of a great number of philosophers

36 Letter: A. O. Budina to author, October 2, 1972. The writer adds: "At that time I saw drawings of the High School for the first time, and then only the floor plans. I never saw the perspective nor any elevations."

37 F. L. Wright, book review: *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture,* by Hugh Morrison, N. Y., W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1935, in *The Saturday Review of Literature,* December 14, 1935: "When Morrison says there is little or nothing known of the late years of Louis Sullivan's life he destroys the great significance of the tragedy of a great life in the time in which and to the people among whom Louis Sullivan, the great creative artist lived."

38 Karl Howenstein was employed at the Art Institute of Chicago as Director, Extention Work, from March 1, 1916 through August 31, 1916. (per Caroline Hurt letter of July 24, 1973.)

mentioned, among them Rudolph Steiner, 39 (It was only later that I personally met Anthroposophy myself) I think the thing I remember best is the impact of his real concern for men, the human being, and his spiritual and emotional needs. There was no patronizing, or feeling that he in any way knew the answer, only a deep desire to share whatever he comprehended. There was nothing of the 'Master' about him, as there was about Wright or Neutra. Of course, Wright called him 'Master', but I have the feeling Sullivan would have accepted this half humourously. I remember his eves, gentle at times, but when really roused, fire would flash from them. He was an essentially kind man, in the way I feel Dr. Steiner was.40 Commenting on his partner, on Louis Sullivan and also on the period being considered, W. G. Purcell wrote:

Mr. Elmslie's ornament seems to me to tend closer to illustration of the idea while Mr. Sullivan's things more often became the thing itself, independent of outside references. I am not speaking of the late Sullivan things of course. . . they fell off badly, but then so do the buildings themselves, aside from the ornament.⁴¹

As noted above, the National Farmers Bank closed its doors September 7, 1926 and went into receivership; the bank had over-extended its loans to the area's farmers. Carl Bennett stayed on for a time to help with the transition during that difficult period. Then Dr. Donald J. Cowling, president of Carleton College in Northfield⁴² came to his friend's assistance (Mr. Bennett was a Carleton 39 Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), Austrian born social philosopher, author of many books and founder of the General Anthroposophical Society, in 1923, with world headquarters at Das Goetheanum, Dornach bei Basel, Switzerland. I gave Frank Lloyd Wright a copy of Steiner's Goethe's World Conception (1897) in November, 1947 and he commented: "No one will ever know how great is my debt to Goethe, for me he is a true world liberator. I know of Steiner, and should know more."

40 Letter: Edith Gutterson to Mr. & Mrs. Paul Allen, May 21, 1955. (Quoted with permission of recipients.) Edith Gutterson was an assistant in the slide department of The Art Institute of Chicago from June 7, 1915 to December 15, 1917. (per letter of July 24, 1973 to author from Caroline Hurt.)

41 W. G. Purcell: "Authorship in Creative Design – the Relatitions of Sullivan to Elmslie," February 2, 1956. P & E Archive.

42 Thorstein Veblen (1856-1929) graduated from Carlton in 1880, having been born on a nearby Nerstrand farm. His first observations on bankers, colleges and architecture, which led to his "Theory of the Leisure Class" of 1899, were made there, thirty miles north of Owatonna. Mrs. Carl K. Bennett (Lydia Honoria Norwood) also graduated from Carleton in 1896, as a student in the music conservatory. trustee from 1920 to 1929) and offered him a position as salesman for Carleton Corporation debentures for the college.43 The Bennetts moved to Northfield in 1929 after the former banker briefly surveyed the stock market in New York City just prior to the time of the crash. They lived in one of the college's houses and later became apartment house managers for income properties the college owned in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Mr. Bennett gradually became incapacitated from hardening of the arteries and died in the state hospital in Hastings in 1941. Mrs. Bennet lived until 1965 staying in her later years with her daughter Lydia and son-in-law in Northfield.44

Upon Bennett's death George Grant Elmslie wrote from Chicago on September 24, 1941:

My dear Mrs. Bennett:

That was sad news that your Arabella conveyed to me 10 days ago. I meant to write you sooner, forgive me. Doubtless in view of his illness it is all for the best. Carl was a man of the real old school and I was very fond of him. His memory will linger with me all my remaining

43 Conversations 1967-1973: Ruthmary Penick, archivist, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

44 Conversations 1967-1973: Mrs. Sid Freeman (Lydia Bennett).

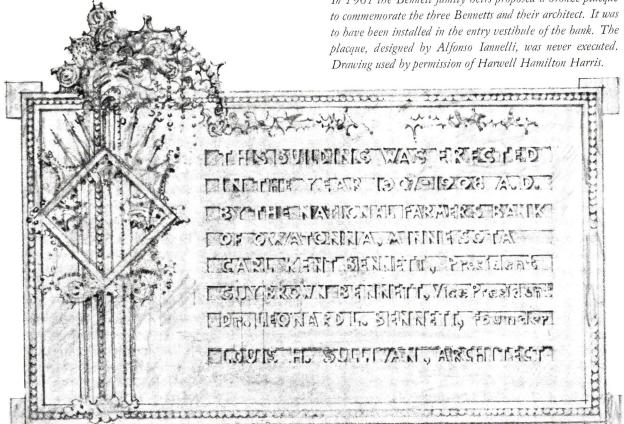
days. Upright, generous to a fault as well as being a very able man. There were few like him. The world is poorer for his absence from the things he could do so well. My sisters join me in sympathy for you in the loss of your Carl.45

> Faithfully your friend, George G. Elmslie

The Purcell and Elmslie partnership ended in 1920. Louis Sullivan died in 1924, George Grant Elmslie in 1953 and William Grey Purcell in 1965.

A final reminder of the essential role of the client in the creation of memorable architecture is from Purcell who sent Mrs. Bennett a tribute, now in her daughter's collection, to Carl Bennett while he was assembling the Walker Art Center's Purcell and Elmslie Retrospective Exhibit of 1953:

I loved and admired that man. He made a great contribution to American life and thought. His imagination and democratic thought generated in a place none would have suspected and few had ever heard of - the actual buildings and new scholarship of which the good works are not vet ceasing. As we talk and write and organize we shall not omit confirming Carl's contribution to all that has come to pass.



45 Letter: In collection of Mrs. Sid Freeman.

In 1961 the Bennett family heirs proposed a bronze placque

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by Marilyn Whittlesey Hasbrouck

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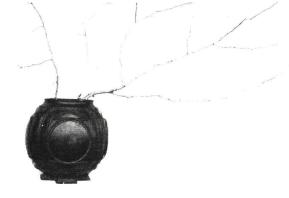
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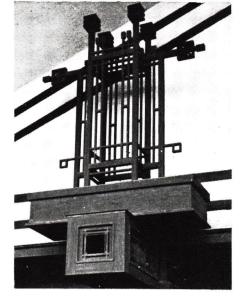
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Book Reviews

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, by Hugh C. Miller. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1973, 38 pp., illus., paper, \$0.85.

The concept of a "Chicago School" of architecture has come a long way since Thomas Tallmadge conceived the term in 1908. Then he meant the domestic work of Wright, Maher, Schmidt, Garden, the Dean brothers, Griffin, Shaw and, as he said, "many others". In the years since architectural historians have constricted or stretched the term to suit their own academic or professional inclinations. Recently I reread most of the books which cover the range known as the Chicago School. I hoped, for a number of reasons, I had seen the last article or book to "cover" the Chicago School. But now the United States Department of the Interior has issued a booklet by Hugh C. Miller called The Chicago School of Architecture, a masterfully concise and digested primer on the various Chicago School histories, which is joined to A Plan for Preserving a Significant Remnant of America's Architectural Heritage a solution to stop what Miller incorrectly says are the "economic forces" which "relentlessly destroy buildings..."

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Between 1880 and 1914 Miller writes "one of the most significant architectural movements since the Renaissance flourished in Chicago." Businessmen, operating "in an atmosphere of laissez-faire," generated an era of "unprecedented economic expansion" which intensified both land use in the city's center and the need for tall buildings. Building innovations and construction methods, discovered elsewhere, were used by architects in Chicago after 1871 and these architects in turn improved on what they learned and added their own devices and processes to the general body of architectural and engineering knowledge. At the same time the city core was growing upward, new transit systems let people move out of the business center thus adding to Chicago's outward growth. The Chicago School, an informal grouping of architects and firms who in their separate ways resolved the centuries old dichotomy between science and romance, by creating a new architecture which joined reason and emotion to sheath ''a vigorous newly industrialized society.'' ''By 1909 the Chicago School comprised more than 30 mature architects producing for every type of design — residences, railway terminals, warehouses, factories, even tombs, parks, subdivisions, and city plans.''

Miller traces the factious goals and motives of these "mature architects" as they sought "to find forms more expressive of the dynamic forces of newworld democracy." Democracy is factious and so is the Chicago School phrase as it is used widely today. Tallmadge's use of the term was legitimate: at least he could refer to a loose movement or organization of architects who had publically declared their mutual intentions and reasons for advocating a set of architectural objectives, although the reasons for those objectives were not always firmly identified. But through the years the Chicago School password has become an unreliable shibboleth. The Chicago and Evanston architect. Francis W. Fitzpatrick (credited with the design of the Newberry Library, old Federal Building and Willoughby Tower), a consulting architect and political progressive, has infinitely more in common with D. H. Burnham than Louis Sullivan, even though no one has gauged Fitzpatrick's importance or campaigned to safeguard his work.

This is one problem. Philosophically there is no Chicago School, but in a practical, from-the-groundup sort of way there is a group of buildings, in this case commercial, which demonstrate the development of the skyscraper. Miller ably lists that development (dates, persons, innovations), but like previous historians he repeats their failure to illustrate the development by showing How Chicago Architecture Works. While this was not his task his narrative shows the great shortcoming of his source material which is a quilt made up of architects and buildings, arranged chronologically and sewn together with terms like masonry bearing walls, floating rafts, isolated piers, concrete caissons, portal wind bracing and staggered joints. How did all this work? If The Way Things Work can explain what makes an electric refrigerator cold, certainly by now architectural historians should be showing us what keeps the auditorium's tower from pulling itself away from the rest of the masonry pile and hitting

Niagara limestone bedrock or the Reliance Building from toppling over in a high wind.

On the other side of the coin is the matter of aesthetic evaluation. Miller did not have time to make an independent judgement of every building he listed, but his *The Chicago School of Architecture* reiterates what previous architectural historians have assessed into bromides: "the foliation at the top of the piers" of the Gage Building is "arbitrarily stuck onto the parapet." Miller's booklet then sums up and underscores, hopefully for the last time, the cliches, the intriguing but unexplained intimations (how was it possible to erect the upper ten stories of the frame of the Reliance in fifteen days?) and inadequacies of his predecessors.

But the booklet's real purpose, in spite of the fact most of the space is devoted to a history of the Chicago School, is to set forth a plan to save the School's work, especially in the Loop. According to Miller the Chicago School grew up in the "atmosphere of laissez-faire," but ironically and tragically the same "economic forces" which nourished the School are, today, "relentlessly" destroying its buildings. It is sorrowfully true that buildings - the finest, sculptured statements housing man the achiever, man the doer - have been and are being ruthlessly vandalized. But "laissez-faire" has taken the blame for these reprehensible wrongs long enough. Even the plan to save "Chicago's architectural monuments" suggests this. Miller writes that the challenge to preservation is in the "high density, downtown area, where economic forces relentlessly destroy buildings that do not use the full development potential allowed their sites by municipal zoning and building regulations." That is not economics; it is politics. And the actual "development rights transfer" concept developed by John Costonis, which serves as one half of Miller's plan for preservation, spells it out clearly as in the case of the Stock Exchange. "The Stock Exchange (now destroyed) exhausts only 13 stories of a possible 40 story zoning envelope, yet occupies a prime, heavily taxed location." Economics might have built a 13 story building in the 1890's (and economics has torn down buildings), but economics did not create zoning and tax policies, subdivide the Loop into a grid, determine that taxes finance public improvements and utilities, prepare a propitious ground for real estate speculators and big league architectural firms, and make its standard of value "public use," often accomplished by emininent domain. This is not an unimportant point, especially for the old Tallmadge Chicago School practitioners.

A consistent method of economic, not political, growth for the city was outlined by a contemporary

of Tallmadge's Chicago School, Ebenezer Howard, who saw environment and location - the city - as a whole (what architect would design a building and not take wiring, plumbing and elevator systems into account?) and advocated a private-enterprise, contractual city; in short, a true private city whose business was manufacturing and servicing environment. Chicago did not develop that way. It developed as a vicious jungle of private enterprise, monopoly utilities, real estate speculators, zoning boards, lorded over by the politicians and their hirelings. And it is this vicious jungle preservationists have accommodated themselves to through the "development rights transfer" weapon whereby the owners of a "landmark" can transfer and sell their political obligation to comply with zoning laws and taxes.

Briefly Miller explains the owner of a landmark, subject to political review, could protect himself from the deadly threats, including "speculative interest," which drive him to build for the full potential fixed by zoning and taxes on his land. The obligation can be sold and transferred to another lot and his building reprieved in the form of lower taxes and other political considerations. Given the political thicket of a great city today, this is a good emergency measure. Miller couples this idea to a "new park concept," a comminglement of private and public interests to create a core historical district in the Loop and also satellite districts like Oak Park and Pullman. Politics, under sufficient pressure, would swing from the bulldozer to the landmark. But the air rights transfer concept can work without the park concept; whether it can work well in the guerrilla warfare taking place in city hall depends on how good preservationists are at pressure group tactics.

Miller's booklet suggests many thoughts. Perhaps the most poignant comes when he mentions Sir Ebenezer Howard who dreamed the Victorian dream of freedom, a dream not unlike that of the old Chicago School. For Howard environment and location, cities, were economic goods and, if kept free of politics, were part of man's "Peaceful Path to Real Reform." A man has a right to tear down his own building just as he has a right to destroy his Titian. But how many of the landmarks which have fallen in Chicago fell because of men exercising this right and economic pressure? Even Howard's Garden City of Letchworth fell as a victim, not to the forces of economics, but the forces of politics. Ultimately it is this force (even including soaring construction and labor costs which have their source in politics) preservationists have to fight.

Reviewed by James Allen Scott

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT'S EARLY WORKS, by Gerald Mansheim. N.I. Associates, Inc., Iowa City, Iowa, 1973, 80 slides plus 21 pp. text. \$150.00 set.

This third set of slides by Gerald Mansheim may be the most important set he has done to date. These slides are basic to the study of the Prairie School. This is the work of Frank Lloyd Wright in his formative and most productive years.

Mansheim has chosen to cover Wright's early work starting with his own house of 1889. He includes 43 houses on 80 slides ending with the Bach house and the A.D. German Warehouse of 1915. Actually, he covers two periods of Wright's work, the formative years prior to 1910 and the great golden age up to the time Wright began the Imperial hotel in Japan.

The coverage is somewhat uneven. The photographer's personal preferences are all too obvious; the Dana house being his favorite gets a disproportionate number of slides, 24 in all. Nevertheless, they are recent and valuable since the house is not open to the public and few have seen its interior. The other buildings are uniformly covered with his usual excellent commentary which can be extracted or used directly in the classroom.

WALTER BURLEY GRIFFIN, Slides of Selected Work in New South Wales, by Richard A. Miller. Available from R. A. Miller, 2338 Bryant Ave., Evanston, Illinois, 1971, 76 slides plus 7 pp. text. \$98.50 set.

The work of Walter Burley Griffin in Australia has never been satisfactorily documented in the United States. Here we have an excellent sample of what the architect was able to do from his earliest efforts at private design in 1915 until his death in 1936.

The collection includes about 15 structures ranging from the Paris Theater in Sydney to several of the houses Griffin designed and built at Castlecrag. Several views of most are shown, both interior and exterior. An attempt, not always successful, is also made to show how Griffin integrated his designs into the existing landscape.

The photographer has included useful information about each of the slides, some of which must be reviewed with the slide on the screen to gain the full import of what is said. The photography is generally excellent, and the serious student will find the material most valuable in preparing lecture material and slide talks.

Walter Burley Griffin's exit to Australia left a void in the development of modern architecture in the United States. His own career continued however, and we have here an opportunity to see where it led.

Preview

The first issue of Volume XI of *The Prairie School Review* will be a study of the work of a little known Chicago School architect.

The editors continue to welcome letters for possible publication. Letters may concern articles published in the *Review* or any other appropriate subject.

The following books will be reviewed:

The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916

Robert Judson Clark, ed.

The Architecture of John Wellborn Root Donald Hoffmann

Articles concerning the Prairie School of architecture are invited from contributors. Those planning a major article should write in advance giving a fairly complete outline of what is proposed. Measured drawings, sketches and photographs are also welcome. Original material will be returned if a stamped, self addressed envelope is enclosed.

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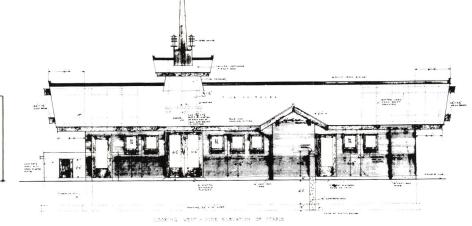
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