Fiske Kimball: American Renaissance Historian

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis will show that Fiske Kimball's interpretation of American architectural history was profoundly affected by his education as an American Renaissance architect, as well as calculated to influence the development of contemporary architecture. Kimball was a classicist; his mind and heart were formed by the Beaux-Arts classicism raging through America at the turn of the century, sustained by the academic institutions of which Kimball was a product. As a classicist, his historic writing displays a partiality through which a radical theory of historic architectural development in America is advanced. This theory, clarified by his criticism, is used to justify a contemporary design aesthetic that he himself affirmed in his own architectural practice. Later, as International Style modernism displaced classicism, Kimball assumed a self-imposed exile from American architectural scholarship and criticism.

Among the generation of architectural historians that immediately built upon Kimball's work, he was known as "the Dean of architectural history in America."[1] Kimball stood alone in the 1920s in adapting the methodological technique of scientific objectivity to architectural history. He sought to establish firm historic data secured with

investigative research, a procedure radical for its time yet consistent with the new contemporary ideas in scientific historiography. Once revealed, the evidence was impartially analyzed to attain conclusions considered irreproachable. Kimball's pioneering technique earned the reverential respect of those architectural historians who benefitted from his liberating technique. Needless to say, scientific methodology has, since, become standard practice for historians.

In recent years, Fiske Kimball's extensive work in architectural history has steadily lapsed into a respected but minor role, primarily appearing in footnote acknowledgements.[2] Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (1922) continues to enjoy frequent reprinting, yet qualified descriptions such as "pioneer book" and "early but still valuable," brand it as outdated and a curiosity.[3] The current historiography in architecture, with its emphasis on social context, employs Kimball's research as a data base; factual documentation for broader interpretations. Fiske Kimball's work is unquestioningly accepted as impersonal, objective information that exists independently of its author.

Beyond his reputation as an architectural historian and the Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, it is largely forgotten that Fiske Kimball was, first and foremost, an architect. Graduated from Harvard University, summa

cum laude, with a master's in architecture in 1912, he maintained from graduation a small but active architectural practice that paralleled his principal careers. At present, as many as twenty-nine architectural commissions and projects may be attributable to him, as well as thirteen restorations. Architectural history was understood by Kimball to be a fundamental component of the architect's vocabulary, an attitude directly learned from contemporary architectural ideology. A spin-off from his design work is a substantial body of architectural criticism. Several articles by Kimball analyze contemporary architecture and architects, considering merits of style and function. For Kimball, his profession as an architect was not an accident, or a springboard for more worthy pursuits; architecture provided the foundation and touchstone from which he participated in related disciplines.

The conclusions advanced by this thesis are not motivated by any desire to discredit a major figure in American architectural history. Fiske Kimball sincerely believed that, for the first time in America, he was achieving objectivity in architectural history, and that his resultant conclusions would be identical for anyone who used similar research techniques. Scientific objectivity in itself does not, and probably can never, insure absolute impartiality. In discussing the growth of scientific history in the twentieth century, historian

Merle Curti makes this observation:

> Most of the historians, I suspect, supposed that such views of human nature as they expressed or implied stemmed from the evidence. Few, it seems, were aware of the role of their own experience and assumptions in the interpretation of evidence, in attributing motives, or in constructing synthesis. Nevertheless, judgments of the larger generalizations, especially about national character, rested in part on these personal views and assumptions interacting with social contexts.[4]

One must approach and reexamine the information presented by Kimball with new awareness. And one must approach their own work with a similar understanding.

In a limited study of this type it was necessary to impose some severe limitations. The professional life of Fiske Kimball embraced at least four distinct careers in architecture, architectural history, criticism, and museology, in several of which he published copiously. Eight books and some four hundred articles and reviews represent his formal publications, in addition to which there are approximately one hundred and seventeen linear feet of personal papers spread between three locations.[5] A thesis of this scale cannot presume to competently address this mass of material, and thus, will concentrate on the early phase of Kimball's life until 1928, three years after assuming the Philadelphia Museum directorship. This date marks the publication of American Architecture, Kimball's last influential book on the interpretation of architecture

in the United States. Subsequent to this publication, the relentless advance of modern architecture, with its anti-classical stance, coaxed Kimball into focusing on French architecture, producing in 1943 The Creation of the Rococo. Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver: The Architect of Salem (1940) is actually the result of research begun in 1917 for the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts. Its prolonged production and indifferent quality are indicative of the author's relationship with the subject matter--a classicist's incomplete fascination with colonial craftsmanship. By 1928 Fiske Kimball had made his contribution to American architecture through his historic scholarship, criticism and design practice.

The only significant biographical material published on Fiske Kimball appeared within a few years after his death in 1955. Triumph on Fairmount: Fiske Kimball and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1959) and a 1961 New York Times article by John Canady deal almost exclusively with Kimball's lengthy and concluding career as Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.[6] Such institutional identification has done the most to preserve Kimball's fading reputation. Beyond their biographical background, these publications were of limited importance to this investigation. For the most part, this thesis depends upon Kimball's published work and his manuscript collections at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the University of Virginia. I am very grateful

for the kind assistance that both institutions extended to me. Merle Chamberlain, Archivist at the Philadelphia Museum deserves special credit for her sympathetic guardianship of the Kimball collection, and her open generousity in sharing its contents.

My initial interest in pursuing this topic is due to Richard Guy Wilson, Chairman of the Architectural History Division at the University of Virginia. His guidance on this thesis, and his classroom instruction, gave me a vision I never learned as an architect, and for which I will always be grateful.

CHAPTER 1

ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT AND EDUCATION

Fiske Kimball studied architecture in the academic program at Harvard University, entering that school of architecture in 1909. American architecture at that time was dominated by a renaissance of classicism, re-programmed by a new national mythology. Recent scholarship has identified a complicated weave of political and cultural aspirations, beginning in the 1870s, that modified antique forms into the architectural imagery of the American Renaissance, whose mature and most active period spanned from the late 1880s to 1917.[7] Landmark buildings such as the Boston Public Library (1887-1895), the Court of Honor at the World's Columbian Exposition (1893), and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. (1911-1922) are architectural representatives of the American Renaissance. It was an intensely nationalistic movement, yet, the assignment of European classicism betrayed an insecurity over the value of past national art.

A small but intense countercurrent to the American Renaissance was the Prairie School, a regional response in the mid-west from 1902 that had its greatest influence in domestic architecture.[8] Led physically by Frank Lloyd

Wright, and spiritually by Louis Sullivan, this movement advocated an ahistoric natural design philosophy--pure design inspired by abstracting geometries from nature and rationally correlating them to the functional program. In actual fact, the Prairie School had a direct lineage with the English Arts and Crafts movement founded by William Morris in the 1860s, and championed in America by Gustav Stickley's magazine The Craftsman. By 1900, Morris' original philosophy reappeared in America as dictums for simplicity, honesty of material, and respect for the manufacturing process, attitudes derived from the worship of nature as the source of artistic expression. In concert, these attitudes would inspire a new national architecture, manifestly democratic in spirit. Needless to say, the Prairie School adherents were bitter opponents of the more popular classicism, and actively campaigned against the false replication of dead architectural imagery. An integral part of this attack attempted to discredit academic architectural education. As Louis Sullivan wrote in his Kindergarden Chats:

> I tell you, if ever we are to have a real architecture, not this infernal make-believe, this stupid scholasticism, we must have life, not death, in our architectural schools, or else abandon them utterly . . . The appalling lack of the hour is true education. . . .[9]

An attack upon formal architectural education was not an indiscriminate lashing out, but rather a calculated maneuver to destroy the guardian of American classicism.

The strength of the American Renaissance came from a coalition between public receptiveness and a systemized, readily assessible vocabulary of academic design. This classical standardization was supplied through the example of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. The Ecole's greatest influence was during the nineteenth century when it attracted increasing numbers of foreign students who "returned home to create local varieties of Beaux-Arts curricula."[10] What these students learned was not, officially, a style, but rather a compositional technique that depended upon the plan to prioritize functions. In a 1945 obituary for Paul Cret, Kimball characterized the strength of Cret's education at the Ecole as:

> . . .able analysis of the program of practical requirements of a building, and disposition of its elements in a workable plan, with due emphasis on their relative importance, subordination, connection, and spatial relationships.[11]

Ironically, four years earlier Cret himself noted the limitations of this approach:

> The Ecole believed that the plan, more than all the other features of a design, should show the fitness of a building to its uses . . . From this, in spite of the Professor's protests, it was only too easy for immature minds to conclude that the elevations and sections were relatively unimportant. Thus the Ecole, hypnotized by the search for the "parti" (that is what characterizes a building), soon began to lavish every effort in the plans.[12]

While classicism was not the authorized style used to elaborate the generative plan, its preeminence is unarguable. The character of the elevation may have assumed one of the numerous mutations--French or English Renaissance, Baroque, Neo-Grec, American Colonial--but it remained fundamentally classical.

Between 1890 and 1914 Americans constituted the largest number of foreigners studying architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.[13] The first American to study there, Richard Morris Hunt, returned home in 1855 and soon after established his own private instructional program in New York City. As demand grew, several architectural schools were founded in America, modeled on the Ecole.[14] The Massachusetts Institute of Technology created the first American school of Architecture in 1865, followed by Cornell (1871), Syracuse (1873), Michigan 1876), Pennsylvania (1890), Armour Institute (1895), and Harvard (1895). Academic education in America served to institutionalize the American Renaissance, creating a powerful architectural force.

In light of the above, Fiske Kimball's decision to study architecture in an academic program is significant in understanding his educational exposure. Trust in academic education as the vehicle for success was a paternal inheritance. Kimball's father, Edwin, was a devoted public school teacher, becoming headmaster at Gilbert Stuart School in Dorchester,

Massachusetts in 1909, where he died of a heart attack in 1924. The Kimball family itself was descended from Richard Kimball, an immigrant to Ipswich in 1636.[15]

Sidney Fiske Kimball was born in 1888 in Brighton, Massachusetts, where his father was employed at Bennet School. In 1900 Kimball attended Belcher High School in Milton, and later, in preparation for a career in engineering, entered the Mechanic Arts High School in Boston. In 1905 he began his college education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but for some unknown reason quickly transferred to the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard. Once again he changed schools to attend Harvard College where he graduated in 1909 to enroll in the Harvard Architectural School.

Embedded in Kimball's Harvard memorabilia is a letter from his father on the occasion of Kimball's twentieth birthday in 1908:

> I look to you to accomplish some high and noble service through your disciplined powers--to become a leader in America's renaissance, not only in art but in all civic improvement. If you can discipline your will as well as your intellect, you must surely succeed.[16]

Edwin Kimball displays the philanthropic aspirations peculiar to his age. His charge to his son draws from the confidence of the American Renaissance, its unquestioning believe in the nation's ability to reform social conditions through education and civic redevelopment.[17] Social

progress and national pride are Fiske Kimball's cultural and paternal legacies.

A 1907 article by H. Langford Warren, the director of the Harvard School of Architecture during Kimball's enrollment there, describes the program's professional idealism, coursework, and method of instruction. It begins by citing a 1902 Harvard publication, accepting its directive as a personal mandate:

> In our day and time we are almost without traditions, and, however much we may deplore the fact, we cannot change our circumstances . . . There is only one thing which can be substituted for tradition and prevent our architecture from running, as it so often has, into parrot-like imitation of by gone styles or hopeless and vulgar extravagance, and that is Scholarship.[18]

Only an intense and disciplined examination of the history of architecture, art, and civilization would provide the understanding to creatively manipulate historic forms to solve modern problems. The curriculum required courses in the general history of the Fine Arts, in civilization, and in the evolution of architecture. Simultaneously, technical and compositional information was taught through classes in freehand drawing, architectural design and construction, and aesthetics. Constantly, the student "is taught to avoid on the one hand blind copying, or merely archaeological study, and on the other capricious innovation for the sake of novelty."[19] Respected architectural precedent

must be the foundation upon which the student is free to "attain to such fresh and spontaneous expression as he is capable of and as seems appropriate to the problem in hand."[20] The academic system of examination was a series of short sketch problems and longer concentrated studies, modeled on the esquisses and projets rendus of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Compositionally, the Beaux-Arts system of education created highly organized structures that incorporated a hierarchy of movement patterns and spaces, comprehensible by the user from the elevations. Projects were nearly always monumental in scale and programmatically complicated, lending themselves to the organizational tyranny and heroic massing of classical form. Design proceeded within a highly formalized pattern: primary and secondary processional axis were established, along which spaces were organized relative to their function; from the resultant plan, elevations were composed to reflect the character of the plan spaces. It was essential that the entire building, in plan and elevation, be intelligible to the uninitiated user. The stylistic draping for the building was, of course, classical. Classicism represented tradition, the accustomed style in which all the great past civilizations built. Self-indulgent originality was destined to alienate itself from the people:

> The one-man "original" styles--such as the Sullivan style--have not made headway because they cannot find an audience, the forms being strange to the average beholder, who does not take kindly to them because they are strange--queer--to him.[21]

Fiske Kimball's degree work at Harvard is notable for the many honors and prizes he received.[22] The greater part, if not all of his education, was supported financially by full scholarships awarded by the University.[23] His A.B., from the College, was earned in 1909, summa cum laude, with "highest final honors in the Fine Arts."[24] As he entered the Architectural School that same year, he received the Bowdoin Prize, followed by the Boston Society of Architects' Prize in 1910. While working on his master's in architecture, Kimball won the Sheldon Fellowship which sponsored a year of art study and travel in Europe. Upon his return he was appointed as an assistant to George Chase, professor of architecture, to teach the history of art. In 1912 Kimball graduated from Harvard with a master's in architecture.

The thesis project Kimball prepared for his master's degree is testimony to his competence as an academic architect (illustrations 1-5).[25] Its title, "A Palace for the Governor of Panama and for the Guests of the Nation," is kin to the standard Beaux-Arts monumental projects, and betrays the imperialism associated with the American Renaissance. The plan presents an arrangement that unites

three independent buildings--the central Galleries of State, for formal reception and entertainment, flanked to the left by the Governor's Residence, and to the right by the Guests' Apartments. The grouping is organized upon a principal axis which bisects the forecourt and the Galleries of State along its reception hall, terminating at the Ballroom, and defining this room as the primary space. A major secondary axis laps the principal at the entrance foyer and serves to collect the three independent structures into a related composition. Many additional secondary axes organize rooms within each building, as well as capturing exterior space, by extension, creating courtyards and formal gardens, a typical Beaux-Arts device.

In elevation, the principal axis is articulated by the domed entrance foyer, surmounted by a flag, that visually commands the approach elevation. The major ballroom space is externally expressed by a rhythmical series of large gallery windows alternating with smaller windows that mirror the fenestration of the flanking buildings. A heightened parapet also announces the primacy of the ballroom space. While there are several awkward features to the design (for example, the unarticulated forecourt entrances to the flanking buildings), as a whole it displays a high degree of skill in producing a classical solution along Beaux-Arts design principles. At the completion of his formal architectural education, and at 24 years of age, Kimball

was a very capable architect in the best tradition of the American Renaissance.

As postscript evidence for the similarities between Kimball's architectural philosophy and that of the American Renaissance, there exists a policy statement by Kimball as an architectural instructor at the University of Illinois, one year after his graduation from Harvard.[26] The University of Illinois School of Architecture, more than any other early school, disregarded much of the Ecole system by stressing engineering technology.[27] Kimball expediently praises this distinction while proposing a new emphasis on architectural design, as well as the creation of an atlier system of instruction "as in the Parisian prototype."[28] More revealing is his comparison between the Illinois architectural program and the development of American architecture:

> The problem in the architectural course has been to effect a transformation parallel to the almost miraculous evolution which American architecture has undergone in the last two decades as the crown of a new material civilization. From tasteless copyism, jerry-building, and patchwork, has emerged an architecture of truly classic purity, dignity, and breadth. Those who condemn much of this architecture as imitative and exotic, forget the fundamental unity of our culture with that of Europe, and forget likewise the inevitable fusion of the derived elements in a new whole, already recognizable as characteristically American.[29]

Obvious in this comment are American Renaissance themes of unprecedented capitalistic growth and world power, the

desire for an improved cosmopolitan image, and an architectural solution gained through archaeological interpretation of appropriated European classicism. The borrowing of European imagery was justifiable through a shared heritage and the belief that, through transference, it became a uniquely nationalistic style. In philosophy and design, Kimball was a product of the American Renaissance, nurtured in the Beaux-Arts academic tradition.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF AN HISTORICAL POSITION: THOMAS JEFFERSON AND AMERICA'S FIRST CLASSICAL REVIVAL

Fiske Kimball's early fascination with American architectural history while attending Harvard, binds its development with his academic education as a Beaux-Arts architect. Many notes and several unpublished articles, discovered among his personal papers from this period, address various topics of historic architecture and preservation.[30] The subject that appears first to have engaged his historic sensibility is the architecture of his own Harvard University. Several references by Kimball to Warren and Wetmore's expansion project for Harvard suggests this work as the catalyst to his own research. This research is in the form of historic building profiles and schemes for insuring their preservation in the face of expansion. Regardless of his relationship to Warren and Wetmore's project, the Harvard research records Kimball's early historic excitement and, importantly, demonstrates his uninhibited belief in the significance of historic American architecture. Kimball's uncommon interest in preservation is evidenced by an unpublished article entitled "Civic Activity in Wayland, Massachusetts," dated April 1912.[31] In praising the self-improvement efforts of Wayland, Kimball enthusiastically

endorses the combination of city beautiful concepts with the preservation of historic architecture and craftsmanship.

In 1909 Montgomery Schuyler published, as part of a collegiate series for Architectural Record, an article examining the architecture of Harvard.[32] Among Kimball's papers, in a folder dated "ca. 1901/11," is an unpublished response to Schuyler, taking exception to his criticism.[33] This early confrontation foreshadows the opposing techniques of two eminent architectural critics in their mature work. For his part, the medievalist Schuyler observes in Harvard University a random, confused arrangement of uninteresting buildings, aside from the simple honesty of the colonial structures and the bold innovations of H. H. Richardson. In his dislike for the popular classicism of his own day, Schuyler is anything but subtle: "At any rate, there is nothing, at least, thus far, of the Beaux Arts in the yard. 'For this relief, much thanks.'"[34] The article concludes by advocating the wholesale re-siting of numerous buildings to create order from "chaos."[35] Kimball's defense for the architecture of Harvard is drafted upon the concept of historic contextualism. Each building at Harvard is the response to a set of criteria unique to its time, the understanding of which is obligatory before assessing its success as architecture. Schuyler's ahistoric subjectivism stands in sharp contrast to Kimball's belief in objective

analysis based upon source material.

As previously discussed, Kimball was awarded the Sheldon Fellowship in 1911, which financed six months of European study. Significantly, he had no desire to visit England, home of Ruskin, Morris, and the English Arts & Crafts, but traveled directly to Paris and then on to Italy, Austria, Hungary and Germany.[36] A two-part article for the Brick-builder, beginning in 1912, presents a travelogue description of manor houses that Kimball visited while in France.[37]

At some point during his last two years at Harvard, Kimball served as an Assistant in Fine Arts to George H. Chase, Professor of Architecture.[38] In this capacity, Kimball was responsible for teaching the history of art. Chase's esteem for the scholastic competence of his young assistant was dramatically evidenced by the opportunity he presented Kimball before graduation. In the spring of 1912, Chase was contracted to edit a histories of art series for Harper and Brothers. When Langford Warren, Dean of Architecture at Harvard, proved unable to write the history of architecture, Chase approached Kimball, who enthusiastically accepted.[39] A History of Architecture was not published until 1918, due to the thoroughness and breadth of Kimball's preparatory research, especially in the previously unexamined area of American architecture. Unexpectedly, this investigative research produced related publications in American architecture, including his

seminal work, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, in 1916.

While preparing these early publications, Kimball held positions within the architectural faculties at the University of Illinois, from 1912 to 1913, and at the University of Michigan, from 1913 to 1919. At Illinois he taught architectural design and history, while at Michigan his teaching responsibilities included design, history of architecture, architectural design and freehand drawing.[40] Without fail, the annual terms of instruction were supplemented, and occasionally interrupted, by research expeditions for source material. In 1916, Kimball was awarded the first Sachs Research Fellowship in Fine Arts for "the study of Early American architecture."[41] This award financed the examination of material on Benjamin Henry Latrobe, William Strickland and Robert Mills during a leave of absence from 1916 to 1917.[42] Except for the previously noted article on the architectural program at Illinois, the focus of Kimball's energy during this period was on his work as an architectural historian, and not as an instructor in architecture.

The investigative study in American architecture, required for A History of Architecture, led Kimball to discover several hundred original drawings by Thomas Jefferson at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The recently deceased Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Jr., a Boston Banker, assembled the uncatalogued drawings from

Jefferson family members. Kimball's unbridled enthusiasm in analyzing these documents incited Mrs. Coolidge to finance their publication as a memorial to her husband, retaining Kimball as the author.[43] Thomas Jefferson, Architect was printed in 1916 in a limited folio edition for private distribution. In its format of scholarly interpretations annotating appended source material, this publication crystalized an evolving style consistent with Kimball's affinity for scientific methodology. Subsequent publications by Kimball abound with organizational devices and resource references, including chronological charts, period outlines, annotated building lists, and extensive bibliographies.

Kimball's interpretation of Jefferson's original contribution to American architecture is presented in several articles from 1914 to 1916, in addition to Thomas Jefferson, Architect.[44] This interpretation draws the radical conclusion that Jefferson is the "father of our classical architecture."[45] Jefferson's architectural ability, much less his preeminence in this profession, was not generally acknowledged by Kimball's contemporaries. And the existence of an identifiable American classicism, worthy of fathering, was totally without precedent and in fact violated many contemporary opinions. The strength of Kimball's supporting scholarship in presenting his thesis makes a forceful argument that, superfically,

intimidates opposing viewpoints.

In preparing the groundwork for his thesis, Kimball first establishes Jefferson as an independent architect of considerable ability and influence. Contemporary scholars commonly attributed Jefferson's architectural achievements to a circle of intellectual associates that included the French architect Clerisseau and Benjamin Henry Latrobe.[46] From an extensive investigation of original letters and drawings, Kimball provides evidence to support Jefferson's architectural authorship. To substantiate this documentary evidence Kimball traces a personality profile that characterizes Jefferson as a man controlled by reason and order, intrigued by scientific discoveries yet tempered by a veneration for architectural tradition.[47] In personality, artistic sensitivity, political influence and historical perspective, Jefferson combined all the necessary ingredients to create an architecture appropriate to the birth of a nation.

The Virginia Capitol in Richmond, designed by Jefferson in 1785, is termed by Kimball to be "the first monument of the classical revival in America."[48] In its pure Roman temple form, and the revered governmental function that form enveloped, the Capitol made a bold and original statement toward inspiring a national architecture. And because, as Kimball believed, that statement preceded comparable European developments, the Capitol had

international significance:

> Though impressions of Europe had doubtless accentuated his native classical learning, the fundamental character of the design is not to be ascribed to European influence. Jefferson's provincial insistence on the support of classic authority anticipated by twenty years the attempt of Napolean to gain the same sanction for his own Empire. Not merely in America, but in the development of modern classic architecture as a whole, the Virginia Capitol is a landmark of the first importance.[49]

In his subsequent designs, such as Monticello, Farmington and the University of Virginia, Jefferson created additional variations of the classical model. Even when these buildings sacrificed faithful classical imitation through their use of regional building materials, Kimball endorses the results as affirming the creative impulse of revivalism.[50] Through his example as a practitioner, his influence as a powerful politician, and his intellectual fraternity with prominent contemporary architects, Jefferson was the creative force in America's first classical revival.

Intellectually, Jefferson's appropriation of pure classical forms is explained by Kimball to be nationalistically motivated. The Virginia Capitol design, "the first building to be destined specifically for a modern republican government,"[51] was Jefferson's opportunity to symbolize the young nation's political and idealistic legacy:

> The sophomoric analogy of the young republic with Rome was on the lips of everyone. Encouraged by Jefferson's example its builders adopted the temple form not only for their capitols, but for all other government buildings, for banks, and even for dwellings.[52]

Kimball asserts that Jefferson understood architecture as possessing intellectual content, conveying cultural information through its physical imagery.

In reviewing Kimball's writing on Jefferson, its most obvious contemporary distinction is the concentration given to American classicism as a significant historical movement. Except for Kimball, those writers that did address American architecture focused on its colonial development as the only national style deserving critical attention. "A History of Old Colonial Architecture," written by Montgomery Schuyler, and published in Architectural Record in 1895, is held to be the first professional assessment of historic American architecture.[53] As the title makes evident, this "first history" concerns itself exclusively with America's colonial architecture. Schuyler was an architectural critic, unaffected by the historian's conscience even in its relaxed pre-twentieth century romantic form. "A History of Old Colonial Architecture" is actually a critical evaluation of historic buildings, concentrating on those colonial attitudes and buildings that deserve modern study. Moreover, Schuyler was an ardent anti-classicist, holding

the Italian Renaissance responsible for alienating the craftsman builder from the art of architecture.[54] William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe, editors of a collection of Schuyler's writing, attribute his architectural sensibility to a combination of:

> . . .the Ruskinean ethic of morality in architecture, the Richardsonian disciplining of picturesque irregularities into forcefully simple compositions, and, finally, the structural and functional rationalism of Eidlitz and Viollet-le-Duc.[55]

In "A History of Old Colonial Architecture," Schuyler emphasizes the craftsman, charging him with achieving an architectural expression of subdued refinement. The classical roots of colonial architecture were not absolutes, but rather, guidelines that allowed individual interpretation while guarding against unlawful fantasy until the arrival of professional architects. The subsequent classic revival was the product of the "emancipated and disrespectful provincial carpenter," adopting forms that were estranged from their internal functions.[56]

A similar interpretation of America's classic revival was presented by Harold Donaldson Eberlein in The Architecture of Colonial America, published in 1915, one year before Thomas Jefferson, Architect. Once again, the subject is limited to the colonial period, with concluding remarks on the classic revival. And while Eberlein also dwells on the preeminent position of the craftsman, his stance

is less functionalist than romantic, harping on the "dignity and honest beauty that plainly proclaim how they put their hearts into what they were doing."[57] Eberlein illustrates the inherent deficiency of America's classic revival by its comparison with the colonial Georgian:

> The classicism of the Classic Revival . . . was essentially and unalterably rigid in its adherence to the forms of antiquity and the archaeological manner of applying these forms . . . The strength of Georgian architecture lay in the freedom and elasticity of its classicism and its ready flexibility to adaptation. The weakness of the architecture of the Classic Revival was in its rigidity and inflexible resistance to efforts to adapt it to varied modern requirements.[58]

The contrasting attention Kimball gives to Jefferson and the classic revival in America, was not simply an over-zealous interest in an isolated event. Kimball builds on this event to formulate a radical theory of American architectural development that abruptly calls to task the contemporary preoccupation with colonial architecture. For Kimball, colonial architecture was a watered down, provincial copy of European prototypes, where "not one building before Independence could compete with world architecture":[59]

> Although in its very short-comings, colonial architecture may have been unconsciously superior in frankness of expression, it was, none the less, backward in relation to the stylistic movements of Europe which furnished its received ideals.[60]

Jefferson's introduction of the classic revival filled a national need for large-scale, symbolic representation

expressive of its political ideals. And regardless of contemporary criticism, Kimball holds that the classic revival was enthusiastically received:

> In truth the classic revival was as compelling and universally accepted in its day as great artistic movements of any earlier time. It cannot be questioned, moreover, that it met a real need in American architecture, which the naïve and delicate Colonial style could never have satisfied. For the monumental requirements of a powerful nation and its great capitol the Colonial was unquestionably inadequate.[61]

Kimball's emphasis on American architecture competing internationally cast the Virginia Capitol as the first universal monument of the classical revival. As previously noted, Kimball believed that, with the Capitol, American architecture antedated any comparable worldwide development. For Kimball, international leadership is in itself enough to label the classical revival as America's only authentic national style: "A truly American movement in architectural style appeared only after the Revolution. . . ."[62]

Behind this unique interpretation, Kimball had a pressing reason for correcting what he felt to be the misdirected popular enthusiasm for colonial architecture. By defining the classical revival's intellectual premise and asserting its international importance, Kimball provides the defense for America's "second classical revival," the Beaux-Arts classicism of his own day. Kimball argues that the American Renaissance was not an importation of

foreign models, as maintained by its opponents, but actually the fulfillment of America's only native architectural style. The supremacy of America's contemporary classicism over European examples is evidence of an inherent ability:

> This second classical revival in America, it must be recognized, has little contemporary parallel abroad . . . While the rest of the world is seeking, in one way or another, new forms expressive of the novel elements of modern life, this insistence on the traditional authority of the past can be adequately explained only by the unparalleled heritage of classical monuments from the formative period of the nation. Thus the founders of the Republic might seem for the moment to have achieved their aim of establishing classical architecture as a permanent national style.[63]

Employing classical elements in contemporary architecture was sanctioned by Kimball's research as an historic restatement of nationalistic pride. Not only does Kimball recognize parallels between the two classical revivals in nationalistic content and physical imagery, but also draws romantic associations between their respective founders:

> In all this Jefferson's attitude was almost precisely that taken in the generation just past by the pioneer of our second classical revival, McKim, many of whose methods bear so striking a similarity to those of Jefferson. Of Jefferson as of him, and in the same sense, it may be said, "He stood for a national architecture . . . built on the solid foundation of law, order and tradition."[64]

Kimball himself, presents an ironic similarity with Jefferson. As Jefferson was the first American to break the English domination of native architectural development

through his importation of French forms and theories, so Kimball likewise sought to reaffirm Beaux-Arts sensibilities, obstructing English Arts and Crafts tendencies.

Kimball found in Jefferson the vehicle for designing a revolutionary theory of American architectural history that, happily, appealed to his own Beaux-Arts sympathies. In contrast to contemporary Arts and Crafts interpretations which popularized the simple honesty of colonial architecture, Kimball's theory denounced the colonial as provincial copyism, and introduced the classic revival as natively American and internationally progressive. Only a man of Jefferson's intellectual and political stature could credibly support Kimball's assignation as the movement's sole founder. And only an architect/historian of Kimball's classical perspective could identify Jefferson's unique contribution, and develop upon it a revisionary concept of American architecture--past and present.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

After several years of concentrated research, A History of Architecture appeared in 1918. Even so, Kimball felt inadequate to write the history of Gothic architecture, and enlisted the assistance of George Harold Edgell, a former Harvard classmate who had become an assistant professor of fine arts at Harvard.[65] Medievalism was not a period Kimball felt comfortable with, nor did it incite a similar self-education as did classicism.

The preface of A History of Architecture promises several bold distinctions from accepted texts on world architectural history. Foremost and fundamental is the claim of objectivity: "in the history of art, as in other branches of history, subjective criticism must give way to the impartial study of development--in which historical influence is the criterion of importance."[66] Impartiality allows the authors to examine the architecture of all civilizations as sincere cultural expressions rather than badges of moral health: "the idea of an analogy between the history of styles and the growth and inevitable decay of organic life is now generally abandoned."[67] Likewise, because it too is a sincere expression, modern architecture

receives a thorough presentation in contrast to the contemptuous disdain shown by previous historians.

The importance of Kimball's revisionary historicism can be appreciated when compared with two popular surveys of architectural history contemporary with A History of Architecture: Fergusson's History of the Modern Styles of Architecture, and Fletcher's A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method. James Fergusson's book began to appear first in 1862, and has had such a sustained impact as to attract Nikolaus Pevsner's attention by way of a disparaging critique in 1972.[68] Under the thin guise of history, Fergusson levels a personal assessment of historical styles native to select countries at select times. As such, it is often "laced with the tension of moral anxiety," reflecting the author's ultimate concern for the practice of architecture in his own day.[69] Fergusson's idealistic foundation is culled from Pugin's directive for architectural "truth" upon which Fergusson reprimands contemporary architects for archaeological revivalism:

> It is indispensable that the public mind should be thoroughly disabused of the idea that Archaeology is Architecture . . . Once this error is exploded, and we really set in earnest to elaborate Building with truth into Architecture, there seems no reason why we should not surpass all that has been done up to this time.[70]

Predictably, America's architecture, evolving from colonial to revival, is ill-treated by Fergusson. This

country's buildings are unimaginative reproductions of imported forms, themselves copies from dead civilizations. However responsible the Europeans may initially have been, the Americans deserve harsher condemnation for their failed opportunity:

> . . . whatever faults we have committed in this respect, the Americans have exaggerated them; and the disappointing part is, that they do not evince the least tendency to shake off our errors in copying, which, in a new and free country, they might easily have done, while it must obviously be more difficult for us, where time and association have so sanctified the forms we are reproducing.[71]

Architectural history for Fergusson is the pretext for personal moralizing, expounding on the question of art in nineteenth century England. By 1918, in the new atmosphere of objective observation, Fergusson's value was openly questioned as evidenced by the reviews welcoming Kimball's A History of Architecture.[72]

Another standard text popular at the turn of the century remains to this day the classroom reference for courses on world architectural history. Sir Banister Fletcher's A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, was first published in 1896 and is now in its eighteenth edition, experiencing many changes along the way. Its value has always been as a quick reference manual, especially in its original format. The "comparative method" organization creates a broken narrative, accommodating several lists of influences, characteristics and examples.

A recent review of the eighteenth edition recalls the serious deficiencies of the early editions, limiting their value to the drawings, glossary and index.[73]

While ostensibly impartial in its dry presentation of facts, there still exists much of the same "moral anxiety" that affected Fergusson, an affinity for architectural "truth." The 1905 edition has all of three-and-a-half pages devoted to architecture in the United States. Trailing a mass of data is a familiar indictment:

> In conclusion, it is certain that there is a great future for American Architecture if only the architects will, as much as possible, express themselves in the language of their times. No advance can be made by the copying of ancient buildings, as has been done in certain cases, constituting a retrogressive movement, and showing a sad want of the appreciation of the true value of art.[74]

What little that is written on European post-renaissance styles, is prejudically hostile. The 1905 edition covers Baroque and Rococo architecture with less than a full page, employing choice descriptions such as debased, badly designed, and contorted.[75]

Indicative of the ideological differences between Fletcher and Kimball is a comparison between their introductory remarks on the European Renaissance; Fletcher wrote:

> The Renaissance of the fifteenth century in Italy, and of the sixteenth century in other parts of Western Europe, was a break in that orderly evolution of architecture which is based on the nature and necessities of materials.

> In place of such evolution there was the worship of style, that is, of the past results of the nature of materials as formulated into systems. Such results were worshipped for their own sake, and often to a great extent applied regardless of the materials of their execution.[76]

Kimball wrote:

> The architecture of the period of the Renaissance was, in a greater measure than any other art, veritably a rebirth of the forms of classical antiquity. This involved, however, neither a sharp interruption of the developments of the Middle Ages nor a negation of originality and modernity. Most of the forces which tended to bring about the new era in Europe were already at work in the later Middle Ages and were thus not primarily results of the revival of classical learning.[77]

Implicit in Fletcher's remarks is the medievalist respect for truthful material expression, unhampered by the formal requirements associated with style. The Renaissance was an unnatural cessation of this respect, replaced by a systemized stylistic revival of ancient forms. Conversely, Kimball sees no philosophical disruption between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Humanism in art, politics and philosophy was nurtured in medieval culture and smoothly evolved into the Renaissance, blending medieval concepts of material honesty with ancient inspiration. The resultant creations were original solutions tailored to a unique and highly complex civilization:

> In architecture there resulted an imitation of the Roman vocabulary of architectural forms, employed in part for the translation of ideas

> fundamentally medieval, in part for the expression of ideas essentially novel.[78]

True to its promise, A History of Architecture departs radically from contemporary texts by concentrating on modern architecture. The treatment also rejects the biological model of artistic endeavor, which alternates cycles of health and decay. In consequence, the Baroque period receives an unprecedented critical understanding. Kimball reclassifies this period "Post-Renaissance", and identifies two stylistic tendencies, Academic and Baroque. In contrast to Fletcher, the Baroque tendency was a vital artistic event:

> It was an effort, thoroughly conscious of its aims and studious of its means, to follow to extreme consequences the search for those qualities of molten unity and variety of aspect which were ideals of the period as a whole.[79]

The message was clear to scholars; no longer can civilizations be labeled moral or immoral relative to their interpretation of inherited forms. Playfulness is not a synonym for irresponsibility, but rather the sincere search for creative extensions.

The chapters on modern and American architecture received the greatest critical appreciation from contemporary reviewers. Kimball reduces the complexity of this period to an organized, highly readable presentation, remarkable for its impartial breadth of coverage. The departure Kimball's history makes from contemporary texts

was not lost on critics:

> Especially pleasant it is to read a book wherein the religious and patriotic prejudices, heretofore so frequent, are discarded, and the subject is discussed with scientific precision and freedom from emotional bias.[80]

Besides commenting on its readability, most reviews complement the appended reference tools--chronological lists, period outlines, chapter bibliographies and a glossary.[81]

Praise is especially focused on the American architecture chapter. As one review noted: "there is no better resume of American architecture extant."[82] In this examination Kimball combines the American classical thesis, developed in Thomas Jefferson, Architect, with an analysis of nineteenth century eclecticism and twentieth century modernism, at this time synonymous with functionalism. Much of the Jefferson material is directly repeated from previous publications by Kimball, with the same modern implications:

> By all these designs, the States and the nation were endowed with a tradition of monumental and dignified government architecture which has been continued with but slight interruptions to the present day.[83]

But what is unexpected is the perceptiveness and sympathetic criticism given to counter movements. One reviewer was stirred to declare:

> . . . it warms the critical heart to find justice done to Sullivan, in a very true

> and penetrating analysis of his unique contribution to an architecture of democracy.[84]

Six years before Lewis Mumford's celebration of the Richardson/Sullivan/Wright trinity in Sticks and Stones, Kimball introduces their search for a progressive American architecture. What allows these men to "experiment with novel forms" is the absence of a confining national tradition in architecture, a stance that somewhat contradicts his "second classical revival" thesis.[85] In A History of Architecture, nineteenth century European functionalism inspired Louis Sullivan to create a fresh solution for a unique American problem--the skyscraper.[86] Frank Lloyd Wright, a protege of Sullivan's, is credited with developing a naturalistic regional architecture appropriate for the Middle West.[87] Yet, this modern rationalist movement is seen by Kimball to have "received more appreciation abroad than at home," an astute observation for its time.[88] Kimball displays an unexpected understanding of the Prairie School, its ancestry and its achievements. His subjective preference for classicism was not directed by ignorance, but by choice.

The chapter's concluding sentence abbreviates the status of American architecture to a conflict between evenly matched opponents:

> It remains to be seen whether the wide acceptance and nationalistic basis of the neo-classical

> tendency will enable it to surmount the elements of weakness which aided the downfall of the earlier classical revival, or whether the international forces of functionalism will ultimately cause a wider adoption of modernist forms.[89]

Looking beyond the popular appeal of the American Renaissance, Kimball has a rare appreciation of the threshold upon which American architecture stood in 1918.

In 1919, Kimball became chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Virginia, including the newly created Department of Architecture. For his architectural curriculum Kimball relied upon the traditional Beaux-Arts model, with courses in freehand drawing, architectural drawing, history of art and architecture, and design.[90] At this time, Kimball was invited to give several lectures on American domestic architecture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City, during February and March of 1920. These lectures formed the most persistently popular of Kimball's books, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic, originally appearing in 1922 and still published to this day.

In Domestic Architecture, Kimball presents the investigative facts on American architecture originally drawn from his research for A History of Architecture, and later expanded. The documentation of "nearly two hundred houses between the time of settlement and 1835," with respect to

original form and date of construction, provides the data base for conclusions on the artistic evolution of domestic American architecture.[91] While its format of listed examples displaying individual construction characteristics is impressive for its weight of evidence, it often makes for very dull reading.

Not unexpectedly, the facts prove Kimball's hypothesis, that the early nineteenth century classic revival was a native American creation of international significance. Seventeenth and eighteenth century buildings are demonstrated to be provincial derivatives of English prototypes, transplanted through the medium of architectural handbooks.[92] In contrast, the houses of the early republic are fresh conceptions inspired by Jefferson's revolutionary promotion of the Roman temple ideal.[93] Kimball's revisionist theory did not go unnoticed among the lay public. A New York Times review of Domestic Architecture observed:

> One often hears it said that we have no "American Style." Here is a distinct and authoritative proof that the classic style, as adapted to modern conditions in our early Republic, is the American style. It was then, and is persisting very vitally now. This book will carry it on for many decades; not as Colonial architecture . . . but as Greek and Roman revival architecture, which he demonstrates was well developed in America before it was taken up abroad. This is a significant fact and one not appreciated even among the architectural profession.[94]

The analytical methodology embraced by Kimball, and

fully engaged in Domestic Architecture, protects his conclusions with the appearance of scientific certainty. This same New York Times review declared:

> This work would seem to leave no room for anything further in the way of a comprehensive treatise on the subject. There is an air of incontestable finality about it. Every statement is supported by quotations and often reproductions from authoritative sources.[95]

Kimball's scientific objectivism in architectural history is wedded to the larger, turn-of-the-century movement in scholarship for impartial analysis. Its ideological roots are in the Cartesian revolution and the mid-nineteenth century discoveries in natural science.[96] These events swayed human thought from its belief in absolute laws governing human nature, to relativism--man as a product of his cultural conditioning.[97]

To examine the cultural history of man, scholars desired a methodology that insured the same clinical exactness as developed by the physical sciences. The scientific writing of history was first developed in the German university system in the nineteenth century.[98] By 1900, this methodology was affecting history students in American universities who were being taught either by Americans trained abroad in Europe, or by European immigrants.[99] The new ideal in historical scholarship was to be scientific:

> To be scientific was to be objective. To be objective was to study critically the sources and to ascertain impartially the facts of history, as they actually happened . . . This was done with the same detached mind and in the same manner in which, it was believed, natural scientists observed their phenomena . . . Nearly all of the scholarly history written in the United States in the late nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century was written under the influence of this basic conception.[100]

In addition to the appeal presented by natural science, historians welcomed objectivism in reaction to the nineteenth century acceptance of history as a branch of literature, and its use to teach morality by historic examples.[101]

A product of the new influences in American scholarship was the specialization of study that produced art history and architectural history in the early twentieth century.[102] Kimball's writing is the initial struggle to wrestle architectural history from the criticism practiced by Montgomery Schuyler, and provide the structure for its serious study. In a 1915 address to the Archaeological Institute of America, Kimball gives his first public endorsement for a systematic study of early American architecture:

> . . . architects and artists who have written about our early works of art have been preoccupied with artistic appreciation, rather than with authentic information respecting origins or development. . . .[103]

Because of the investigative and classificatory methodology associated with archaeology, Kimball recognized this

profession as capable of implementing the type of study necessary for historic architecture:

> In this country only the Archaeological Institute of America concerns itself scientifically with the history and monuments of the fine arts. Although it has not hitherto devoted much interest to our own direct heritage of colonial and early republican monuments, it has been for some time gradually taking steps in that direction.[104]

As Lewis Mumford noted, Domestic Architecture "is the first book that has even attempted to cover in a systematic fashion the whole field of early American house architecture."[105] Through his work, Kimball revolutionized the interpretative technique of examining architectural history. The generation of architectural historians that followed employed this same technique, focusing on even smaller units of study. To them, Kimball was their "dean of historians of American Architecture."[106] Yet, the excited enthusiasm for scientific objectivism confused its acceptance with a guarantee against partiality. The juxtaposition in Kimball of his maiden efforts in this technique, and his pet obsession with defending America's "second classical revival," proves one does not exist to the exclusion of the other.

With the publication in 1928 of American Architecture, Kimball consolidated his past theories on the development of historic American architecture with an extensive examination of its modern forces. Once again, colonial

architecture is cast as a provincial copycat, while Thomas Jefferson invokes an original international concept founded on distinctively American requirements. For reviewers, American Architecture makes its major contribution by organizing nineteenth and early twentieth century architecture into a discernible pattern of influences: "He makes an order from apparent chaos and without prophecy leads one to the gateway of our future."[107]

The presentation of an original American contribution to international art is, for Kimball, a personal vindication. Since 1862, Americans lived with the guilt of Fergusson's censure: "there was hardly one single building erected in Northern America which is worthy of being mentioned as an example of Architectural Art."[108] Much of Kimball's motivation in championing the classic revival as internationally innovative was to promote American self-esteem in its own artistic achievements. In the mid-1910's Kimball was made chairman of the Committee on Colonial and National Art in America, an arm of the Archaeological Institute of America. His address at a general meeting in 1915 satirizes this national inferiority complex:

> An apology may seem needed for speaking of a national art of our own, for it is a commonplace that we have none here in the United States . . . It is only our tendency to depreciate our own inheritance, coupled with the nearness to the events, which prevents us from seeing that in the monuments of republican days as well as in those of colonial times,

> we have as valuable and characteristic an index of contemporary civilization as in those of Greece or the Middle Ages.[109]

In hand with these efforts, Kimball actively campaigned for the preservation of threatened historic landmarks. Besides his consultation in numerous restoration projects, including Monticello, Stratford and Colonial Williamsburg, many of his articles appeal to enlightened citizens to guard their architectural heritage from demolition or insensitive remodeling.[110]

The source of Kimball's patriotism was, of course, the same rampant nationalism of the early twentieth century that powered the American Renaissance.[111] By definition, this movement was compelled to discover and represent America's personal identity through an appraisal of cultural history, especially its own. Kimball's self-appointed task was to validate America's architectural heritage for unashamed emulation. The contemporary revival of Beaux-Arts forms became a national fulfillment of its own youthful independence, rather than the plagiarization of European precedents. Critics were inspired by Kimball's reinterpretation:

> One slips with little feeling of guilt from beneath the erstwhile necessity of defending our early styles and laughing at our later ones, to a point where one becomes occupied with the more serious matter of understanding at least the beginnings of our eventuating contribution to the architecture of the world.[112]

Kimball's theory of America's first classical revival cleansed ancient imagery of its European association, and sanctioned its revival during the American Renaissance.

The physical language that most noticeably characterizes America's first and second classical revivals is, according to Kimball, innately shared by all native architects. Richardson, Hunt, Sullivan, McKim and Wright were all endowed with the same "ingrained love of the simple, austere, refined and chastened in architecture," which were Jefferson's bequest.[113] To the point, Kimball judges the predisposition of national architects to be formal rather than intellectual. America's classical heritage has bred in her architects an instinct for plastic modeling in the "classical spirit of unity, uniformity and balance," all devices of three-dimentional form.[114] The nineteenth century introduced a discordant attitude relating architectural art with morality--the veneration of material functionalism. In A History of Architecture, Kimball recognized the disparity, and claimed an opposing critical viewpoint:

> The part of spiritual influences and spontaneous creation in the formation of styles is now emphasized, to balance the one-sided affirmation, by nineteenth-century writers, of the influence of material environment. The raison d'etre of many forms is sought in a purely formal expressiveness, rather than in a supposed structural necessity.[115]

In American Architecture, the Columbian Exposition of 1893 brought to a head the conflict between functionalism and classicism, posing the issue: "whether function should determine form from within or whether an ideal form might be imposed from without."[116] Classicism's "sweeping victory for the formal ideal" was a patriotic blow against organic functionalism--"this formlessness, this scientific observation of nature, this equation of beauty with truth or half-truth."[117] The victory was inevitable; even in the work of native modernists, the American predilection for classical design cannot be disguised by nineteenth century intellectualism. Thus, Goodhue's Nebraska Capitol betrays its "classic spirit of symmetry and uniformity," and despite Sullivan's experimentation with expressive structure, "he did not lose simplicity of mass."[118] Classicism's predestined role as the rightful arbiter of American taste is synbolized by Kimball through it supposed influence on the skyscraper--the former province of organic functionalism. A 1925 article by Kimball most concisely describes the new forces molding skyscrapers:

> The spirit that has come into the design of these new buildings with the structural system of steel, has been the spirit of order and uniformity and balance. That was fostered by Jefferson, the classical revivalist, and then by Wells and McKim and White, the neo-classic revivalists. The great American office building would not be what it is today if it were not for the spirit of form that was developed in the low buildings of traditional

> construction that were erected here in the early days of the Republic and the last years of the nineteenth century.[119]

Kimball writes that "organization of form . . . is the artistic element in architecture."[120] His distinction among contemporary critics in architecture is this love for ideal form, in opposition to the moral intellectualism of nineteenth century writing which stressed material honesty and structural expressiveness. Kimball's uniqueness is the direct result of his Harvard education as an architect. As previously outlined, Harvard taught architecture upon the Beaux-Arts model, appropriating not only its instructional system but also its formal allegiance with classicism. As an architectural student, Kimball comprehended architecture through visual sensation, reading formal impact and relationships; as an architectural student at Harvard, that material vocabulary translated itself as classical. Kimball's deliberate rejection of functionalism, and his proclivity for pure form in classical dress, respond to his conditioning as a Harvard architectural student.

As is well known, classicism did not carry the day into the 1930's. In 1928, even Kimball admitted signs of weakness in the classical movement, the strain of a long and successful reign.[121] Modernism ruled in the aftermath, blending elements of nineteenth century functionalism,

industrial design, and the new International Style. Much of its strength was due to the sympathetic support of architectural critics and historians. Lewis Mumford, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, Vincent Scully, and their numerous disciples, have celebrated the cause of organic architecture, deifying the Richardson/Sullivan/Wright succession. As a consequence, the American Renaissance is a forgotten or ridiculed side show in current historical accounts of architecture, denied its overwhelming popularity during its own day and its historical importance today.[122]

The most direct impact of Kimball's work has been on the subsequent appreciation of Jefferson's role in the development of American architecture. Kimball was the first to publicize the architectural achievements of Jefferson, and to identify the international significance of the Virginia Capitol.[123] His scholarship has, since, affected the interpretation of this building which represents, as one recent history declared, "the first positive step toward American cultural independence."[124] Due to Kimball, Jefferson has become the instigator of the search for a native architectural image; James Marston Fitch, himself a Sullivan devotee, wrote in 1947:

> To a far greater extent than is visible on the surface of its history, Thomas Jefferson was the guiding spirit of American building during these formative years of the new Republic . . .

> he was largely responsible for fixing the attention of the American people directly upon the cultures and buildings of Rome and Greece.[125]

Once his subjectivism is screened, Kimball's work offers rare insights.[126] As historicism discovers the vitality of the American Renaissance, and architecture reexamines its classical roots, Kimball's independent perspective of American architecture will attract fresh interest.

CHAPTER 4

CRITIC AND ARCHITECT

Much of Kimball's critical commentary on contemporary American architecture is integrated with his historical writing, as previously described. In that context, its affiliation with his historical thesis is unmistakable. In the 1920s, Kimball believed America was engaged in her "second classical revival," her inherited destiny. Through several articles on modern architecture and architects, Kimball makes this critical stance even clearer. Tracing these articles through his career, and its passage through the changes in modern architecture, provides a perspective to his original concept and its ability, or inability, to adapt. The results document the gradual alienation of a once powerful historian.

In the early 1920s, Kimball's assessment of modern architecture rings with the confidence of stylistic authority. A 1924 article entitled "What is Modern Architecture?", published in The Nation, attempts to prove the vital immediacy of the popular classicism by rooting it in a larger movement shared by painting, literature and sculpture. Classicism is modernity; indeed, what has mistakenly been considered modern, functionalism, is

actually a dead issue. According to Kimball, this "scientific observation of nature" was a nineteenth century obsession, and expired at the turn of the century.[127] Even the skyscraper, "the citadel of functionalism," is experiencing classical modeling, in its favor.[128] Classicism is the modern reaffirmation of abstract form in reaction to organic formlessness, finding support in the native heritage of American architecture. For Kimball, the fascination with mid-west organic design has run its course, to now be replaced by modern classicism, inspired originally by Jefferson, the southerner:

> Which way is forward at the moment is determined only by the march of events. If the procession turns south, those who still continue westward are condemned henceforth to insignificance. Such a great change of front has taken place in our day . . . In their apparent classicism, the architects are really marching side by side with the modernists in sculpture and painting--alike votaries of a new worship of abstract beauty of form.[129]

Sounding the death knell of functionalism, however appropriate, was of utmost importance to Kimball. At every opportunity he actively propagandized the passing of functionalism as an artistic movement of modern relevance. For these reasons, Kimball labeled Sullivan an "old master" in an appreciative article written for Architectural Record in 1924:

> Instead of the forerunner of the new century, Sullivan, we now see, was the last great leader

> of the old . . . he was within his life-time already an old master.[130]

The article cleverly praises Sullivan's artistic independence while dismissing his buildings and ideology as outdated, wedded to "the scientific school of the nineteenth century."[131] Kimball concludes by redirecting Sullivan's modern impact, claiming that his actual legacy is in the "eternal language of form," as exemplified by the physical unity unconsciously achieved in his skyscrapers.[132]

In 1927, three years after Bertram Goodhue's death, Kimball wrote "Goodhue's Architecture: A Critical Estimate." Once again, but with an uncharacteristic sarcasm, Kimball portrays the resurgence of classicism over functionalism:

> In our day we have seen one such great revolution in the criteria of judgement. From a scientific and moral equation of beauty with truth--"truth" to nature, to convenience, to materials, to construction; "expression" of bathrooms, of skeletons, of the difference between a tabacconist's and a pantatorium--we have come again to believe in the possibility of an abstract and intrinsic beauty of plastic form--of solids, spaces, surfaces, and lines, infused with life by the ardor of the artist.[133]

In his early work, Goodhue produced an architecture of romanticism, "which exalted fantasy, exuberance, "picturesqueness'."[134] From this, he gradually drifted, until his death, toward the organic ideals of functional honesty and material expression; but:

> Paradoxically, yet naturally enough, as Goodhue moved toward "modernism," he moved also toward classicism--the classicism of calm and ordered masses and spaces . . . the force of the classic spirit in the great body of contemporary American work overbore romanticism in his practice.[135]

The evidence of this spirit is in Goodhue's Nebraska State Capitol, with its classical symmetry, unity and formal balance. Yet, in his persistence to align himself with functionalism, Goodhue represents, according to Kimball, a tragic figure:

> His turn to the logic of function, his attempt to express modern material, came a generation after that of Sullivan, Wright and Otto Wagner, themselves not so much pioneers as consummators of a half century of speculation and experiment. In inner consistency their work was far beyond his, which must be regarded as representing not a transition but a tardy compromise. Was the compromise of historic style with "logic" not even, perhaps, a compromise on a dead issue? Must the form be an "organic" outgrowth of function and structure, or was the biological analogy a fruitful suggestion for one generation of creative artists, not a law for all?[136]

Kimball's rhetorical questions are less statements of fact as appeals to reason, betraying his real concern for the continued influence of functionalism on modern architecture. His "critical estimate" of Goodhue is, once again, an attempt to erase functionalism from modern design, representing its advocates as anachronisms, directionless in a new era of classic vitality.

Frank Lloyd Wright proved difficult for Kimball. Wright, of course, did not take kindly to Kimball's

assertions on the death of functionalism and the rebirth of classicism.[137] Yet Kimball, the ambitious opportunist, was not one to make enemies with influential people, at times performing elaborate contortions to pacify, at once, many opponents. In a 1929 article, a collection of correspondence generated by American Architecture, Kimball writes to Paul Cret that "the vital and really 'modern' movement in American architecture is the effort to organize form irrespective of structure," while later he assures Wright that classicism's victory is a "past event," currently "the feet of the conqueror are crumbling."[138]

When directing criticism toward Wright, Kimball adjusts his evaluative measures from those applied to Goodhue. Wright's architectural form is ignored in deference to the spirit of his artistic independence. At times, Kimball's coddling approaches the meaningless:

> One may object that all this [Wright's "law of organic change"] is merely the view of a period--a bygone period--of romanticism, individualism. Alas, for such an objection: if we know anything of philosophy it is that individualism is rooted in the very nature of art itself. What is deeply true of art . . . is that individual creation is of its essence . . . art seeks individual forms, each differing in its synthesis from each other, each constituting a new unit in the possessions of the world.[139]

When this was written in 1932, Kimball's relation with contemporary architecture was experiencing radical changes. Displacing issues of classical form with the worship of

personal creativity not only appeased the powerful Wright, but bought time for assessing the shifting currents. In 1932, the Museum of Modern Art's exhibit on the International Style "named and legitimatized a brand of Modernism that came to dominate American and international developments."[140] Kimball, as a professional historian and critic, was certainly aware of the gathering storm before 1932. But until then, modernist proponents passed on their confusion by relating mid-west functionalism with European Expressionism and the modernism of Le Corbusier.[141] The MoMA exhibit served to organize the International Style for the American consumer; white planar surfaces and articulated structure became "the approved image of the 20th Century."[142]

Kimball could no longer pretend to claim classicism as America's modern artistic endeavor. His position was reduced to that of an observer, timid at first to make any assertion other than to caution Americans against returning to their colonial status; as he wrote in 1933:

> The superficial problem currently posed in architecture is the acceptance of the "international style" based on the initiative of Le Corbusier, Gropius, Oud, and their continental designers, who have lately achieved a position of general leadership in the modern movement at large. Whether American architects can make significant contributions within this international style, or whether by adopting it they would sacrifice an opportunity of re-establishing their own leadership on other lines, is for the future to decide.[143]

After the early 1930s, Kimball completely withdrew from architectural criticism other than the rare occasions when incited to defend America's second classical revival.[144]

One of those rare occasions was the death of John Russell Pope in 1937. Kimball's tact in avoiding stylistic prejudices altogether was to praise universal man's creative spirit, accepting as incidental the particular style in which that spirit sought expression. "As one who values only the creative element in art," Kimball recognized in Pope an independent genius who worked outside the production line classicism to develop designs that were "ripened, matured, digested--transmuting the elements into a work which was his own."[145] Kimball feels it was unfair to dismiss classicism due to the practices of those who used ancient motifs as "handy formulae"; modernists were affected by the same hazards:

> . . . the "international style" of the present, the new form created by a few leaders in France and Germany--form quite as much abstract as suggested by function--is merely parroted and travestied by most adherents and admirers.[146]

Kimball recognized in the International Style an affectation of structural consciousness, actually dependent on abstract form. But it was a form outside of Kimball's sympathies for unity, symmetry and balance. If pressed he may have eventually adapted his intellect and sensibilities to the new forms. But with outlets in museology

and French architectural historicism, Kimball never allowed himself to be cornered in addressing the revolution in modern architecture. When he retreated from the issues in contemporary architecture, he abandoned his own critical work; this must stand as his major failing.

There was an additional reason for publicizing Pope's architectural ability. For years, both men had been working on the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., Pope as designer and Kimball as consultant through his service on the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission. In the mid-to-late 1930s, the Jefferson Memorial became a conflict of great symbolic importance between modernists and conservatives. In this controversy, Kimball rose from his self-assumed exile to serve as spokesman for the conservative position. He fought bitterly against Frank Lloyd Wright, Joseph Hudnut (Dean of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard), and other major figures in modern architecture, bent on stopping Pope's Pantheonic adaptation, "a bumptious replica of that insufferable monument."[147] It was an ironic, yet fitting, conclusion to Kimball's concern for the development of contemporary architecture. Kimball owed his entire professional career to Thomas Jefferson, the "father of American classicism." The debate carried more significance to Kimball than a dispute over stylistic leadership in America, it was a personal debt to his spiritual father.

In its repayment he expended what credible influence he yet carried among professionals.

Kimball's arguments in support of the Pope design are tenuous at best. They clutch at trivialities: a utilitarian purpose proposed by the modernists would compromise the memorialization, the design satisfies the 1901 McMillan plan, and Frank Lloyd Wright, "a close personal friend," says "that it is impossible to build a monument--and indeed it seems to be so under the guiding principles of the contemporary movement in architecture."[148] Kimball was certainly capable of initiating an intellectual dialogue to examine the merits of both competing design ideologies. Instead, he avoided the essential issue. In the end, Kimball simply bared himself to the mercy of the modernists, promising an end to his interference for this one last concession:

> I am very sympathetic with the effort to end the "petrified forest" of columns in Washington, but I feel, in view of Jefferson's own strong feelings about the classic, that the Jefferson Memorial is not the place to begin. Let us carry out the proposal for the Memorial which has the full approval of the President, in a spirit of pious respect for Jefferson traditions, and then let us turn to the task of infusing the architecture of Washington henceforth with modern character.[149]

A short address written for the 15th International Congress of Architects in 1939, concludes Kimball's observations on modern architectural theory, and summarizes his official position:

> The way of modern architecture, as always, would lie along lines of true artistic creation: the imagining of a work in which form, structure, and convenience are integrally fused.
>
> Of the men working in the world today, I cannot help feeling personally that Frank Lloyd Wright is the one who shows us the way along these lines . . . [Like him] we should likewise analyze and feel the possibilities of materials . . . and, steeping outselves also, imaginatively, in the practical requirements of use, should strive to evoke freely a crystalline form to impress on these materials for this use. Only thus will we create works of art worthy of the name.
>
> Along the way of imitation, no more is to be achieved by following "modern" forms, created by others than ourselves, than is to be achieved by following traditional forms. There is no artistic salvation in "styles" whether traditional or modern--the very idea of following any "style" being the antithesis of the nature of art as creation. Thus the current following of the so-called "International Style" is merely a new form of academism, no better than the old.
>
> The only salvation lies in being one's self--in creating con amore personal works of artistic integrity and sincerity, in the knowledge that only a few individuals can rise to truly creative heights, but in the hope, from time to time, of being touched with this divine gift.[150]

The words mirror Wright's words. Isolated from three-dimensional form they are meaningless. Symbolically, they pass the leadership of American architecture to Frank Lloyd Wright. Wright may have been a functionalist, but he was an American functionalist. Kimball could not abide the foreign-born International Style; he was still an American Renaissance nationalist. Between nationalism and classicism, he renounced the latter ("there is no artistic salvation in 'styles' whether traditional or

modern"), and looked to Wright to honor the former. In the face of his decision to absolve himself of responsible inquiry in American architectural ideology, it was Kimball's only choice.

At this time, the subject of Kimball's historical interest had shifted to French eighteenth century artistic developments, a further affirmation of his devotion to things French. His research produced in 1943 The Creation of the Rococo.[151] Of this book, David Watkin writes:

> Conscious of the efforts of German scholars to define Rococo and to separate it from Baroque, he produced a careful and detailed Wolfflinian study in which he deliberately eschewed all attempts at relating the style to a "spirit of the age."[152]

By abandoning the turbulent issues of American architecture in favor of French historicism, Kimball was guilty of what he accused American architects--finding credibility in European styles rather than dealing with a national expression.

In the mid-to-late 1930s, as the Jefferson Memorial controversy effectively terminated his concern for contemporary American architecture, Kimball also completed his last major work as an architect, his own house in Charlottesville, Virginia. Until this time, he enjoyed a small but not insignificant design practice, combining cottage and residential designs with several university building projects, and many restorations. A definitive list of

projects accurately attributable to Kimball has yet to be attempted. Such designs as the Memorial Gymnasium at the University of Virginia, customarily assigned to Kimball, remain clouded by official documents designating Kimball as only one of four architects responsible for the design.[153] It is only necessary for this thesis to point out those design techniques that characterize Kimball's architecture. These characteristics are expected to comment on the unity of Kimball's ideology. Toward this end, an analysis of Scottwood, his first important commission in 1915, and Shack Mountain, his Charlottesville home completed in 1937, provide the boundaries of his practice, and through their similarities suggest Kimball's temporal continuity. It is left for future research to systematically identify and study his architecture.

Scottwood is a suburban community in Ann Arbor, Michigan, originally targeted for middle class professionals. A total of eight residences were organized upon a triangular shaped parcel that formerly was an orchard (illustrations 6-8). Organization is the keyword for Kimball in his approach to the problem. In an accompanying article written for Architecture, Kimball states his overall design concept:

> In the houses here illustrated a fortunate combination of circumstances has permitted unity of artistic control over a group of

> dwellings . . . A single architect [Kimball] has the opportunity of designing all the houses and of carrying certain units and characteristics throughout, while so adapting the buildings to their differing sites and requirements and so modulating their style that each is completely individual.[154]

The unifying elements identical for each residence include a standard window pane size of 8 by 10 inches, uniform story heights, identical door and window head heights, and the "greater number of the houses were made white."[155] The unusual circumstance of being located in an orchard provided a rare opportunity for a classicist:

> . . .pears in regular rows were the only trees in the area; but these offered possibilities of formal grouping and were carefully considered in the location of the houses . . . it was possible, in a number of interior lots, to retain allees of trees parallel to the lot lines, which give symmetrical settings and attractive vistas to the smaller, more regular houses.[156]

In the matter of style, Kimball labeled his effort "a general adherence to motives freely derived from colonial architecture."[157] Kimball's article documents his design concept as the harmonious relation of separate residences whose individuality must be maintained. His organizational parti relies upon a landscape grid established by existing vegetation, standardized building features and color, and a common stylistic reference. Individual distinctiveness is guaranteed by subtle variations within the elements of unification--site orientation, form and style.

Except for the Petrie residence, the house plans are unremarkable variations of the historic central hall, double pile configuration. Notable is the obvious concern to balance individual room fenestration, and a lavish use of fully glazed exterior double doors, an apparent Jeffersonian influence. Photographs of the completed project betray the ineffectualness of Kimball's unifying devices. The undulating topography and substantial house separations, compromise the impact of height standardizations and any advantage gained from an identical window pane size. The orchard alignments are not powerful enough to enforce linkage between the houses. Instead, the elements of individuality read stronger than the organizational concepts, causing the "harmonious residential development" to appear dissimilar and unrelated. The failure of intention occurred between the site plan and the three-dimensional execution. A reliance on axial layout is frustrated by the massing disproportions between building cube and fruit tree, made painfully apparent by the oblique perspectives gained through uncontrolled sight lines from the surrounding streets.

The Petrie house illustrates Kimball's elaboration of geometric form when allowed the opportunity and inspired by the site (illustrations 9 and 10). Upon the central axis, which bisects the triangular plot, is developed a theme of circular segments that find eventual fulfillment in the

completed circle of the dining room. The success and logic of this conception is due to the circle's ability to generate axes in any direction from its center, thus acute flanking axes, determined by the site, form the adjoining living room and kitchen. The unimpeachable authority of the plan geometries create such questionable realities as the configuration of the bedroom above the dining room, and the wisdom of focusing the entire composition upon the dining room. In elevation the result is less successful. The plan forms do not integrate within a three-dimensional whole. The cubic arms and cylindrical center remain individually distinct and independent. In addition, the entrance portico is clumsy and heavy, far too monumental for its charge. A concluding criticism is the lack of connection between the garden facade and the exterior space, which in plan appears united but in reality is disjointed and forbidding.

Kimball's love of geometric form is obvious throughout his work as an architect, and confirms his critical definition of architectural art as "organization of form." An unidentified design, from a file at the Philadelphia Museum dating from Kimball's employment at the University of Virginia, depicts a playful exercise with abstract shapes in plan, layering squares upon the generative octagon and, through extension, embracing exterior space (illustration 11).[158] It proposes a building of

predictable exactness, anchored to its site, and to each of its component rooms, with classical logic. Each room and exterior space is paired with a specific function. Subtle diversification is achieved through variations of the geometric form in unexpected situations, for instance the circular dining room in a square arm. At one extreme, the design's logic and predictability inspire serenity and repose. At the other, the precise functions and form are confining, lacking flexibility and adaptability. Human habitation is forced into unnatural patterns--bedrooms adjoining social space, the kitchen isolated from the dining room. Kimball's design ideology celebrates the beauty of abstract form. In this worship, human interaction must mold itself to the sanctity of the form. Beauty, the product of logic, deserves precedence over the trivialities of functional convenience. The mind rules the body.

Symmetry, balance and unity were Kimball's design tools with which he locked pure geometries into logical sequences. An unpublished 1922 letter to a client interprets the qualities of his design:

> As the merits which I have tried to incorporate into the design include some which ordinarily receive little attention, it may be well to call attention to them in a few words. The effort has been to achieve the greatest beauty of form, without sacrificing convenience. Thus, for instance, I have endeavored to give the rooms themselves beauty and variety of shape--the drawing-room circular, the stairs semicircular, etc. So, too, I have sought to make every room

> and every wall regular and symmetrical, so that wherever you look everything will balance and harmonize. It is hopeless to achieve the finest results in interior decoration without such balance in the openings and wall spaces.[159]

Throughout Kimball's historicism, the litany "balance, harmony and unity" constantly surfaces. They were instruments of the Beaux-Arts system, implanted at Harvard and responsible for Kimball's subsequent view of his physical environment.

Shack Mountain (illustrations 12-15) embodies the Jeffersonian design sensibilities introduced through Kimball's historic research, and developed in his design projects at the University of Virginia. Kimball himself referred to it as an "unexecuted design of Jefferson's."[160] In actual fact, the history of the design of Shack Mountain is a complicated succession of five designs, responding to the changing passions of its architect/owner, and the realities of construction economics.

In 1935, after several frustrated attempts at buying an historic house in Virginia, Kimball wrote to his real estate agent:

> As we know there is no property of this kind, just in the right location, which also has an old house on it, I incline to buying [sic] a tract without a house. I am pretty good at faking an old house myself.[161]

Seven years earlier, his eventual design for Shake Mountain would not have been a "faked old house," but rather, modern

architecture of national inspiration. In the International Style climate of 1935, Kimball saw himself as an outdated curiosity, unwilling and unable to change.

Shack Mountain, as built, is a small residence of six primary rooms on one, grade level, living floor. Its main formal axis runs east to west, bisecting the house through the entrance portico and support wing. The secondary axis runs north to south splitting the living room/dining room ensemble. There are three component masses to the design: the monumental portico with four Tuscan columns supporting a pedimented roof; the public spaces, living room and dining room, in a heightened form whose axis runs perpendicular to the primary axis and is independently defined by its semioctagonal ends and three-sash floor-to-ceiling windows; and the support wing of private rooms, organized about the primary axis, deaccented by a lowered cornice and roof line, and enclosed in an unadorned rectangular box. The approach through the site does not align with the primary north-south axis, but instead agrees with the east-west secondary axis. This is due to unusual circumstances, and does not represent a deliberate orientation for this design.[162]

The three massing components of Shack Mountain are direct responses to the plan. Changes in geometric shape and scale differentiate the individual units, while they

remain linked through common axes and complementing geometries. As in previous designs by Kimball, weaknesses in his compositional technique occur at the interfaces between units. In Shack Mountain, the entrance vestibule between portico and living room is awkward and forced, and the transition between the masses of the living room/dining room unit and the support wing is jarring and unrelated. In plan, these difficulties are not evident, or are expendable for the cause of formal purity. The style of Shack Mountain is blatantly Jeffersonian. Kimball's specifications for the house frequently require the contractor to copy details from particular pavilions at the University of Virginia.[163] In his versatility with any classically founded style--Greek Revival, Colonial, Jeffersonian--Kimball proved himself a true Beaux-Arts architect.

In his design work, Kimball presents several readily apparent characteristics. His designs spring from manipulations of abstract geometric forms. Octagons, circles, squares, ellipses, are all necessary ingredients for plan diversification and hierarchical development. Axes are the unifying device for relating the component geometries. Interior and exterior spaces are bound by axial extensions. This method of composition is most advantageously shown in the plan. Difficulties in Kimball's conceptions appear

when the plan is translated into three-dimensional form, where drawn shapes in the plan must now relate as masses. In this respect, Kimball is less skillful with three-dimensional design. While he shows competence among several stylistic vocabularies, they all originate from classicism. Kimball's design technique depends upon the formal mechanisms unique to classicism, as reinterpreted by the Beaux-Arts system of education.

The design projects that periodically occupied Kimball were solved with the Beaux-Arts constructs absorbed in his education as an architect. At no time did he experiment with novel styles outside his classical experience. The concerns that mattered to him as an architect were equally important as an historian and critic. In each, Kimball proved himself committed and dependent upon his American Renaissance heritage.

Conclusion

As an architectural historian, critic and architect, Fiske Kimball dutifully honored the American Renaissance sensibilities that were his cultural and educational setting. The architectural language instilled by his Beaux-Arts academic education was managed by the ideals and ambitions characteristic of the boosterism of American progressivism. Armed with these values and a passion for historic scholarship, Kimball discovered in America's architectural development a revisionary interpretation that intellectually sanctified contemporary American Renaissance design. As a critic, he employed his thesis to propagandize the outdatedness of functionalist ideology and prove the vital modernity of classicism. As an architect, the forms and compositional technique of Beaux-Arts classicism were the constructs of his design work, sharing both its strengths and weaknesses. American Renaissance nationalism motivated Kimball's promotion of classicism; he was driven to establish America's artistic independence from Europe. Claiming classicism's American origination allowed Kimball to champion its contemporary revival as a national destiny.

The multidisciplined argument that Kimball made for classicism backed him into an inflexible commitment, more

profound than that of fellow architects. Formal characteristics absorbed as an architect were supported by his own intellectual doctrine, challenging functionalist intellectualism with its classical counterpart. As architects succumbed to the International Style, Kimball faced the dilemma of repentance or anonymity. Instead, he chose a third option--complete avoidance of the decision; Kimball redirected his architectural history research upon the French Rococo. His distaste for the International Style, while no doubt aggravated by its ahistoric form and dogma, centered principally on the colonial implications of subjugating American artistic development to the whims of European style. In parting from critical participation, Kimball honored foremost his nationalist instincts by recommending American functionalism rather than European modernism.

While Kimball's interpretation of American architecture is admittedly prejudicial, it does provide counterpoint to the numerous functionalist treatments that have dominated twentieth century architectural history. Lewis Mumford has recently attributed his own early success to the fact that: "there were then no serious competitors, since the most competent of our architectural historians and critics, Montgomery Schuyler, had died."[164] Kimball's writing was extremely popular in the 1920s under the

the authority of the ruling classicism. What alienated Kimball and vaulted Mumford to preeminence was the subsequent success of the International Style. It is largely forgotten that Mumford in the 1920s was more prejudicially medieval than Kimball was classical. Probably unintentionally, Mumford contributes to the distorted practice of recounting earlier periods through the haze of intermediate events.

The attention given to Fiske Kimball in this thesis is, no doubt, part of the contemporary movement in architecture to reappraise its International Style inheritance. Functionalism, as a social instrument and generator of form, has demonstrated, with time, its severe limitations. In the search for a responsive formal language respectful of man's broader architectural heritage, Fiske Kimball offers an immediate linkage between classic formalism and mid-century historic absolution. His unique perspective of American architecture combined the perceptual skills of an architect with the mental reasoning of an historian. Ultimately, the mixture worked to his disadvantage, but due less to any inherent defect than to self-deception. As the American Renaissance reclaims the popular attention that it originally commanded, Fiske Kimball will once again participate in its understanding.

NOTES

[1]Thomas Tileston Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia: 1706-1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946), p. 403.

[2]See William H. Pierson, Jr., American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1976), pp. 286-334; Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 23-46.

[3]Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (1922; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), rear cover notes; David M. Sokol, American Architecture and Art: A Guide to Information Sources (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1976), p. 38.

[4]Merle Curti, Human Nature in American Historical Thought (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968), pp. 107-08.

[5]Marie (Goebel) Kimball Papers, ca. 7 ft., Accession No. 5232, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va.; Fiske Kimball Papers, 68 ft., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.; Fiske Kimball Papers, 42 ft., Fine Arts Library, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Papers at the Fogg Art Museum were selected from the Philadelphia Museum papers and represent Kimball's research material for his publications.

[6]George and Mary Roberts, Triumph on Fairmount: Fiske Kimball and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1959); John Canaday, "Loan Show at Guggenhiem Suggests A Postscript on Fiske Kimball," New York Times, 12 Feb. 1961, Sec. 10, p. 21, col. 1. Shorter biographical treatments include John Canaday, "Fiske Kimball," in Culture Gulch: Notes on Art and Its Public in the 1960's (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1969), pp. 139-143; Frederick Doveton Nichols, Introd., Thomas Jefferson, Architect, by Fiske Kimball (1916; rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), pp. v-x.

[7]See Richard Guy Wilson, Dianne H. Pilgrim and Richard N. Murray, The American Renaissance: 1876-1917 (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1979).

[8]See H. Allen Brooks, The Prairie School (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1972).

[9]Louis Sullivan, Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings (1918; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1979) p. 69.

[10]David Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts From Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," in The Architecture of the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts, ed. Arthur Drexler (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), p. 111.

[11]Fiske Kimball, "Paul Philippe Cret," in The American Philosophical Society: Yearbook 1945 (Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Press, Inc., 1946), p. 364.

[12]Paul P. Cret, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 1, No. 2 (1941), p. 12.

[13]Drexler, The Architecture of the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts, p. 464.

[14]Wilson, The American Renaissance, p. 76.

[15]For family background see Roberts, Triumph on Fairmount, pp. 29-30.

[16]Edwin Kimball, Letter to Fiske Kimball, 8 Dec. 1908, B-2 Student Files, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[17]Wilson, The American Renaissance, pp. 87-92.

[18]H. Langford Warren, "The Department of Architecture of Harvard University," Architectural Record, 22 (1907), 136. Many years later Kimball wrote the introduction to Warren's book on architecture, published posthumously. See Fiske Kimball, Introd., The Foundations of Classic Architecture, by Herbert Langford Warren (New York: MacMillian Co., 1919), pp. vii-xiv.

[19]Warren, "The Department of Architecture of Harvard," p. 138.

[20]Warren, "The Department of Architecture of Harvard," p. 140.

[21]John F. Harbeson, The Study of Architectural Design (New York: Pencil Points Press, Inc., 1927), p. 27.

[22]Fiske Kimball, Resume for University of Kentucky, ca. 1917, Inventory Listing, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[23]Harvard University notifications to Fiske Kimball, B-2 Student Files, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[24]Kimball, Resume for University of Kentucky.

[25]Fiske Kimball, "A Palace for the Governor of Panama and for the Guests of the Nation," 1912, B-2 Student Files, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[26]Fiske Kimball, "The Department of Architecture at the University of Illinois: Development, Conditions, Ideals," University of Illinois Alumni Quarterly, 7 (April 1913), 87-96.

[27]Wilson, The American Renaissance, p. 76, n. 4.

[28]Kimball, "The Department of Architecture at the University of Illinois," pp. 93-94.

[29]Kimball, "The Department of Architecture at the University of Illinois," p. 91.

[30]B-2 Student Files, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[31]Fiske Kimball, "Civic Activity in Wayland Massachusetts," April 1912, B-2 Student Files, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[32]Montgomery Schuyler, "The Architecture of American Colleges: I. Harvard," Architectural Record, 26 (1909), 243-269.

[33]Fiske Kimball, Letter to Architectural Record, B-2 Student Files, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[34]Schuyler, "Architecture of American Colleges," p. 254.

[35]Schuyler, "Architecture of American Colleges," pp. 251-254.

[36]Roberts, Triumph on Fairmount, p. 30.

[37]Fiske Kimball, "Brick Manor-Houses of France," The Brickbuilder, 21 (1912), 295-98, and 22 (1913), 135-38.

[38]Roberts, Triumph on Fairmount, p. 30. Roberts dates this appointment from 1911 to 1912, which conflicts with Kimball's own recollection of 1909 to 1910. See Kimball, Resume for University of Kentucky.

[39]Roberts, Triumph on Fairmout, pp. 30-31.

[40]Kimball, Resume for University of Kentucky.

[41]Kimball, Resume for University of Kentucky.

[42]Roberts, Triumph on Fairmount, pp. 34-35.

[43]Roberts, Triumph on Fairmount, p. 33.

[44]Fiske Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson as Architect: Monticello and Shadwell," The Architectural Quarterly of Harvard University, 2, No. 4 (1914), 89-137; Fiske Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the Origin of the Classical Revival in America," Art and Archaeology, 1 (1915), 219-27; Fiske Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classical Revival in America," American Institute of Architects Journal, 3 (1915), 271-81, 421-34 and 473-91.

[45]Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson as Architect," p. 137.

[46]Montgomery Schuyler, "A History of Old Colonial Architecture," Architectural Record, 4 (1895), 348; see also Fiske Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect (1916; rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), pp. 80 & 84.

[47]Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, pp. 20-21.

[48]Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument," p. 271.

[49]Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument," p. 491. Kimball rejects the importance of the earlier English classical garden temples due to their diminutive size and impractical use. See Fiske Kimball and George Harold Edgell, A History of Architecture (New York: Harper * Brothers, 1918), p. 542.

[50]Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, pp. 82-83.

[51]Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, p. 41.

[52]Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, p. 88.

[53]William B. Rhoads, The Colonial Revival (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), pp. 80-81.

[54]Montgomery Schuyler, "The Point of View," in American Architecture and Other Writings, ed. William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1961), I, 96.

[55]Schuyler, American Architecture, I, p. 16.

[56]Montgomery Schuyler, "A History of Old Colonial Architecture," p. 366.

[57]Harold Donaldson Eberlein, The Architecture of Colonial America (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1915), p. 254.

[58]Eberlein, The Architecture of Colonial America, pp. 170-71.

[59]Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the Origin," pp. 219-20.

[60]Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, p. 19.

[61]Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson as Architect," p. 136.

[62]Fiske Kimball, "Architecture in the History of the Colonies and of the Republic," American Historical Review, 27 (Oct. 1921), 48.

[63]Fiske Kimball, "The Development of American Architecture: III. Eclectism and Functionalism," Architectural Forum, 29, No. 1 (1918), 23.

[64]Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson as Architect," p. 137. Ellipsis by Kimball.

[65]Roberts, Triumph on Fairmount, p. 28; see also Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. xxiii.

[66]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. xxi.

[67]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. xxi.

[68]Nikolaus Pevsner, "James Fergusson," in Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 238-251.

[69]Maurice Craig, "James Fergusson," in Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writer and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner, ed. John Summerson (London: Penguin Press, 1968), p. 145.

[70]James Fergusson, History of the Modern Styles of Architecture, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1873), p. 567.

[71]Fergusson, History of the Modern Styles, p. 512.

[72]Rev. of A History of Architecture, by Fiske Kimball and George Harold Edgell, The Dial, 9 May 1918, p. 454; see also John Beverley Robinson rev. of A History of Architecture, by Fiske Kimball and George Harold Edgell, American Historical Review, 23 (1918), 839.

[73]Alec Clifton-Taylor rev. of A History of Architecture, by Sir Banister Fletcher, Connoisseur, 190, No. 766 (1975), 293.

[74]Banister Fletcher and Banister F. Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 5th ed. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1905), p. 602.

[75]Fletcher, A History of Architecture, p. 496. Fletcher's history has sustained itself, despite these early defects, because of the same highly organized format that inhibits continuous reading. It readily accepts corrections and additions which Fletcher diligently performed from his youth, when he first published the book with his father, until his death in 1953, and is continued today by others.

[76]Fletcher, A History of Architecture, p. 439.

[77]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. 344.

[78]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. 345.

[79]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. 411.

[80]Robinson, rev., p. 839.

[81]Rev., The Dial, p. 454; see also Robinson, rev., p. 839.

[82]Rev., The Dial, p. 454.

[83]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, pp. 546-547.

[84]Rev., The Dial, p. 454.

[85]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. 563.

[86]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, pp. 560-63.

[87]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, pp. 563-65.

[88]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. 565.

[89]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. 565.

[90]Fiske Kimball, Letter to Dean Page, 4 Oct. 1919, Box 43, Accession No. 3505, Edmond S. Campbell Papers, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va.

[91]Kimball, Domestic Architecture, p. xix.

[92]Kimball, Domestic Architecture, pp. 34-35, 50, 53, 60, 141.

[93]Kimball, Domestic Architecture, pp. 145-46.

[94]Welles Bosworth, rev. of Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic, by Fiske Kimball, New York Times, 4 Feb. 1923, p. 10. The rear cover notes for the current 1966 Dover edition of Domestic Architecture advertise the book's contents to discuss "the rise of an independent, American architectural style--the classic." See Kimball, Domestic Architecture, rear cover notes.

[95]Bosworth, rev. of Domestic Architecture, p. 10. In The Shingle Style, Vincent Scully suggests that Kimball was characteristic of the early popular writers on historic American architecture who indiscriminately lumped together all early American styles--Colonial, Palladian, Georgian--while favoring the more picturesque medieval qualities of the Colonial. There is nothing in Kimball's work to support this claim. Domestic Architecture is a work of thorough scholarship, providing precise parameters for each early American style, and blatantly sympathetic for the classical revival in opposition to the colonial. See Vincent J. Scully, Jr., The Shingle Style and the Stick Style (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 38, n. 12.

[96]Curti, Human Nature in American Historical Thought, p. 77.

[97]Merle Curti, "Human Nature in American Thought: The Retreat from Reason in the Age of Science," in Probing Our Past (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), pp. 160-62.

[98]Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), pp. 581-83.

[99]W. Stull Holt, "Historical Scholarship," in American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century, ed. Merle Curti (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 86. It is interesting to speculate on the role of Marie Kimball, and more especially her father, in Fiske Kimball's innovative use of scientific objectivism in architectural history. Marie's father was Professor Julius Goebel, a German immigrant who taught at the University of Illinois.

[100]Holt, "Historical Scholarship," pp. 95-96.

[101]Curti, "Human Nature in American Thought," p. 77.

[102]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, pp. 580-81; see also Merle Curti, "The Setting and the Problems," in American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century, p. 3.

[103]Fiske Kimball, "The History and Monuments of Our National Art," Art and Archaeology, 4, No. 3 (1916), 163.

[104]Kimball, "The History and Monuments," pp. 167-68.

[105]Lewis Mumford, "Early American Architecture," rev. of Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic, by Fiske Kimball, New Republic, 7 March 1923, p. 48.

[106]Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, p. 403.

[107]Edwin Avery Park, rev. of American Architecture, by Fiske Kimball, Architectural Record, 64 (1928), 172.

[108]Fergusson, History of the Modern Styles, p. 498.

[109]Kimball, "The History and Monuments," p. 161.

[110]Kimball, "The History and Monument," p. 161; see also Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the Origin," p. 227; see also Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, p. 17. Kimball's nomination form for Fellowship in the American Institute of Architects cites for particular honor his

professional achievements in early American architecture: "He was largely concerned in the movement for the historical study and preservation of early American buildings, including the raising of funds for such purposes and the securing of research grants for work by other students." See Nomination for Fellowship for Fiske Kimball, 23 Feb. 1939, p. 6, Membership--FAIA, Archives, American Institute of Architects Library, Washington, D.C.

[111]Wilson, The American Renaissance, pp. 12-13, 28.

[112]Park, rev. of American Architecture, p. 171.

[113]Fiske Kimball, American Architecture (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1928), p. 107.

[114]Kimball, American Architecture, p. 163.

[115]Kimball and Edgell, A History of Architecture, p. xxi.

[116]Kimball, American Architecture, p. 168.

[117]Kimball, American Architecture, pp. 168 & 160.

[118]Kimball, American Architecture, pp. 208-09, 216.

[119]Fiske Kimball, "Three Centuries of American Architecture," Architectural Record, "The Classic in the Skyscraper," Architectural Record, 57 (1925), 189-90.

[120]Fiske Kimball, "American Architecture: Correspondence of Walter Pach, Paul Cret, Frank Lloyd Wright and Erich Mendelsohn with Fiske Kimball," Architectural Record, 65 (1929), 431.

[121]Kimball, American Architecture, pp. 203-04.

[122]Popular histories indicative of this treatment include Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries; Leonardo Benevolo, History of Modern Architecture, 2 vols. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1977); Kenneth Frampton, Modern Architecture: A Critical History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[123]While there exist earlier discussions of Jefferson's architectural abilities, they address limited audiences and/or fail to fully understand the significance of Jefferson's work. See John Kevan Peebles, "Thos. Jefferson, Architect," The Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia, 1, No. 3 (1894), 68-74; see also William Alexander Lambeth, M.D. and Warren H. Manning, Thomas Jefferson as an Architect

and a Designer of Landscapes (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913). Both J. K. Peebles and W. A. Lambeth served with Kimball on the Architectural Commission responsible for the design of the University of Virginia gymnasium in the early 1920's; see note 153 below.

[124]Pierson, American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial, p. 297.

[125]James Marston Fitch, American Building, 1: The Historical Forces that Shaped It (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966), p. 51.

[126]During his day, Kimball was of immense influence to scholars in architectural history. For some of the many acknowledgements to Kimball by these scholars see Howard Major, The Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic: The Greek Revival (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1926), p. 14; Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. viii; Thomas Tileston Waterman, The Dwellings of Colonial America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), Dedication; Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, p. 403; Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952) p. xiii.

[127]Fiske Kimball, "What Is Modern Architecture?" The Nation, 30 July 1924, p. 129.

[128]Kimball, "What Is Modern Architecture?" p. 129.

[129]Kimball, "What Is Modern Architecture?" p. 129.

[130]Fiske Kimball, "Louis Sullivan--An Old Master," Architectural Record, 57 (1925), 304.

[131]Kimball, "Louis Sullivan," p. 289.

[132]Kimball, "Louis Sullivan," p. 304.

[133]Fiske Kimball, "Goodhue's Architecture: A Critical Estimate," Architectural Record, 62 (1927), 537.

[134]Kimball, "Goodhue's Architecture," p. 537.

[135]Kimball, "Goodhue's Architecture," p. 538.

[136]Kimball, "Goodhue's Architecture," p. 539.

[137]See Frank Lloyd Wright, "Fiske Kimball's New Book," rev. of American Architecture, by Fiske Kimball, Architectural Record, 64 (1928), 172-73.

[138]Kimball, "American Architecture: Correspondence," pp. 431 & 434.

[139]Fiske Kimball, "Builder and Poet--Frank Lloyd Wright," Architectural Record, 71 (1932), 380.

[140]Richard Guy Wilson, "International Style: The MoMA Exhibition," Progressive Architecture, 63, No. 2 (1982), 92.

[141]Wilson, "International Style," p. 95.

[142]Wilson, "International Style," p. 101.

[143]Fiske Kimball, "The Arts," in A Century of Progress, ed. Charles A. Beard (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933), p. 397.

[144]A review of Kimball's bibliography of publications will quickly confirm his withdrawal from critical writing following 1932. See Mary Kane, A Bibliography of the Works of Fiske Kimball, ed. Frederick Doveton Nichols (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1959).

[145]Fiske Kimball, "John Russell Pope: 1874-1937," American Architect and Architecture, 151, No. 2662 (1937), 87.

[146]Kimball, "John Russell Pope," p. 87.

[147]Joseph Hudnut, Letter, Magazine of Art, 31 (1938), 368; see also Frank Lloyd Wright, Letter, Magazine of Art, 31 (1938), 368.

[148]Fiske Kimball, Letter, Magazine of Art, 31 (1938), 315-16.

[149]Kimball, Letter, pp. 316 & 318.

[150]Fiske Kimball, Address in The Fifteenth International Congress of Architects Report (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects, 1940), I, 204.

[151]Fiske Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo (1943; rpt. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1964).

[152]David Watkin, The Rise of Architectural History (Westfield, N.J.: Eastview Editions, Inc., 1980), p. 37.

[153]See Fiske Kimball, "The New Gymnasium for the University of Virginia," The University of Virginia Alumni Bulletin, 3rd Series, 16 (1923), 153. A letter from Kimball to an assistant documents his input as part of a joint effort, and alludes to individual design entries by each architect on the committee; see Fiske Kimball, Letter to S. J. Makielski, 19 July 1921, Box 22, Accession No. 3505, Edmond S. Campbell Papers, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va. A rendered elevation and plan for a gymnasium project by Kimball and Makielski, is suspected by this author as being Kimball's entry as a committee member. It shows a building of the same basic massing as the final design, but with a lower center section (maintaining a uniform cornice line across the length of the building) lighted by large, arched windows separated by paired columns. See B-2 Architectural Work 1920-24: University of Virginia, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[154]Fiske Kimball, "A Harmonious Residential Development at Ann Arbor, Michigan," Architecture, 38 (1918), 273.

[155]Kimball, "A Harmonious Residential Development," p. 273.

[156]Kimball, "A Harmonious Residential Development," p. 273.

[157]Kimball, "A Harmonious Residential Development," p. 273.

[158]B-2 Architectural Work 1920-24: University of Virginia, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[159]Fiske Kimball, Letter to Edwin W. Savage, 4 Dec. 1922, B-2 Architectural Work 1920-24: University of Virginia, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[160]Fiske Kimball, "Own A Home in Virginia, Preferably Albemarle County," B-2 Shack Mountain, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[161]Fiske Kimball, Letter to H. T. Van Nostrand, Jr., 27 March 1935, B-2 Shack Mountain, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[162]Foundations for a preceding smaller design were nearly complete when Kimball stopped work due to the anticipated cost. This earlier design was conceived to be one wing of a house that would eventually resemble

Monticello with a central hall and salon flanked by support wings. Once completed, the primary axis would have shifted to an east-west orientation, aligning the entrance road with the central hall and salon. When the estimate for the initial wing came in higher than expected, representing equipment cost rather than square footage, Kimball redesigned the wing to enclose more space served by the same equipment, yet confined to the previously excavated foundations. While he did not rule out the possibility of expansion, he felt that "this one would do for good, if it has to." Consequently, the site orientation for Shack Mountain does not represent Kimball's ideal choice for this design, but is a necessary compromise to existing constraints. See B-2 Shack Mountain, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.; see also Shack Mountain Drawings, Accession No. 5232, Marie Kimball Papers, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va. This information refutes William O'Neal's interpretation of the evolution of Kimball's Shack Mountain design; see William B. O'Neal, Architectural Drawing in Virginia: 1819-1969 (Charlottesville: School of Architecture of the University of Virginia, 1969), pp. 130-37.

[163]Fiske Kimball, Specifications for Shack Mountain, B-2 Shack Mountain, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

[164]Lewis Mumford, as quoted in Martin Filler, "Lewis Mumford: The Making of an Architecture Critic," Architectural Record, 170 (1982), 119.

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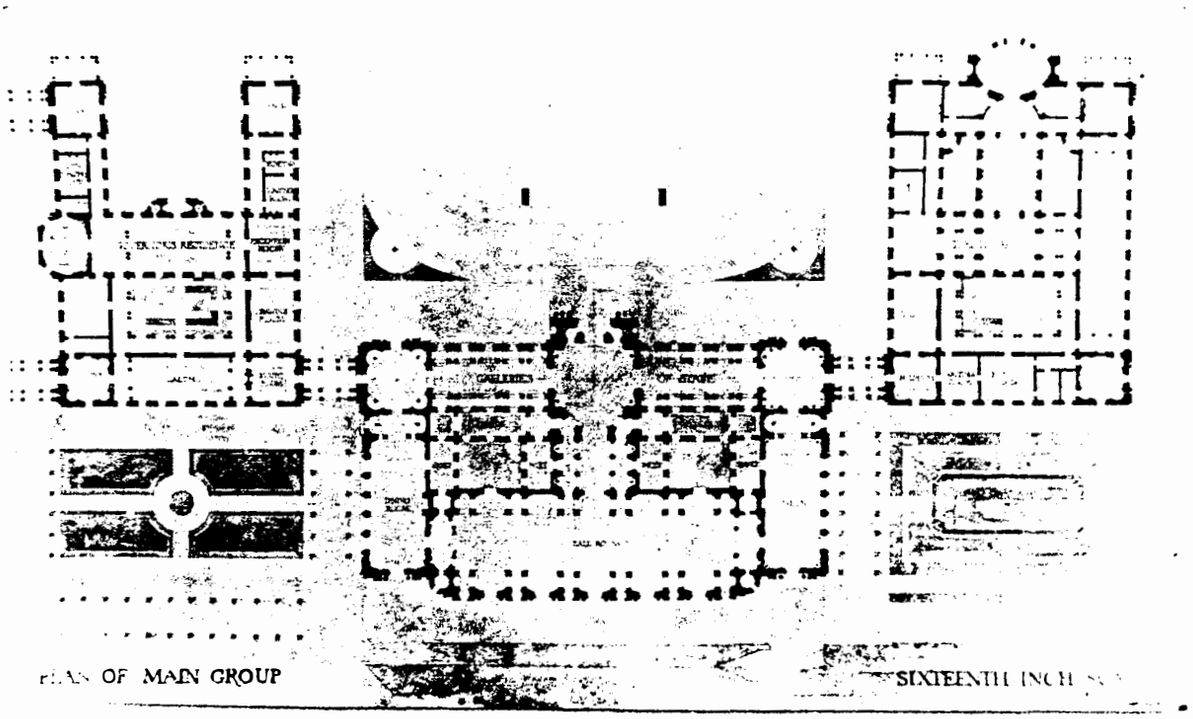
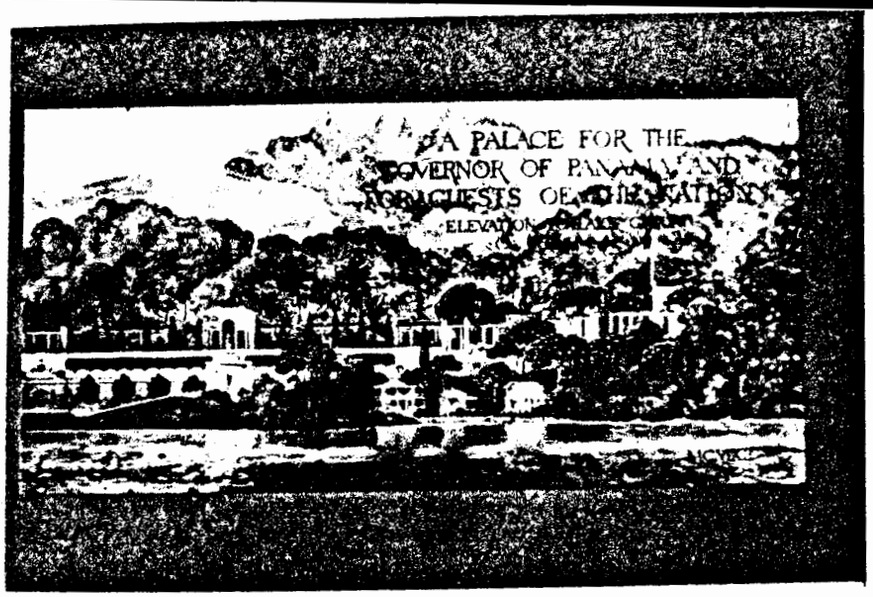


1. Master's Thesis, Plan. 1912.



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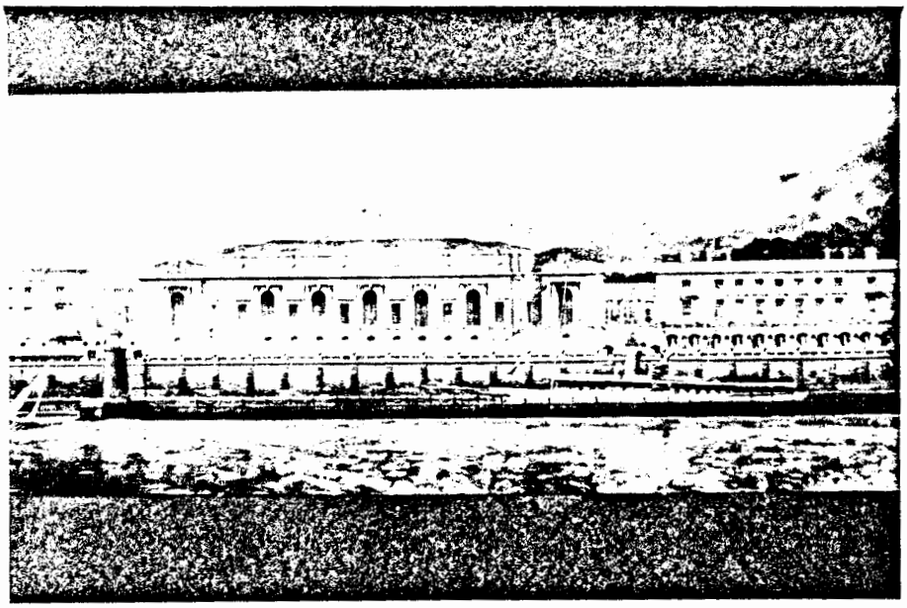
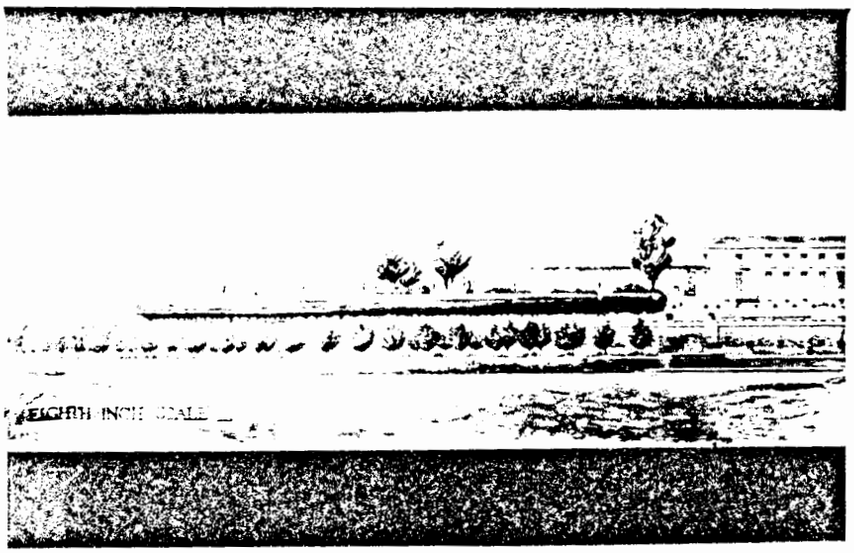


3. Master's Thesis, Center Section of Elevation. 1912.



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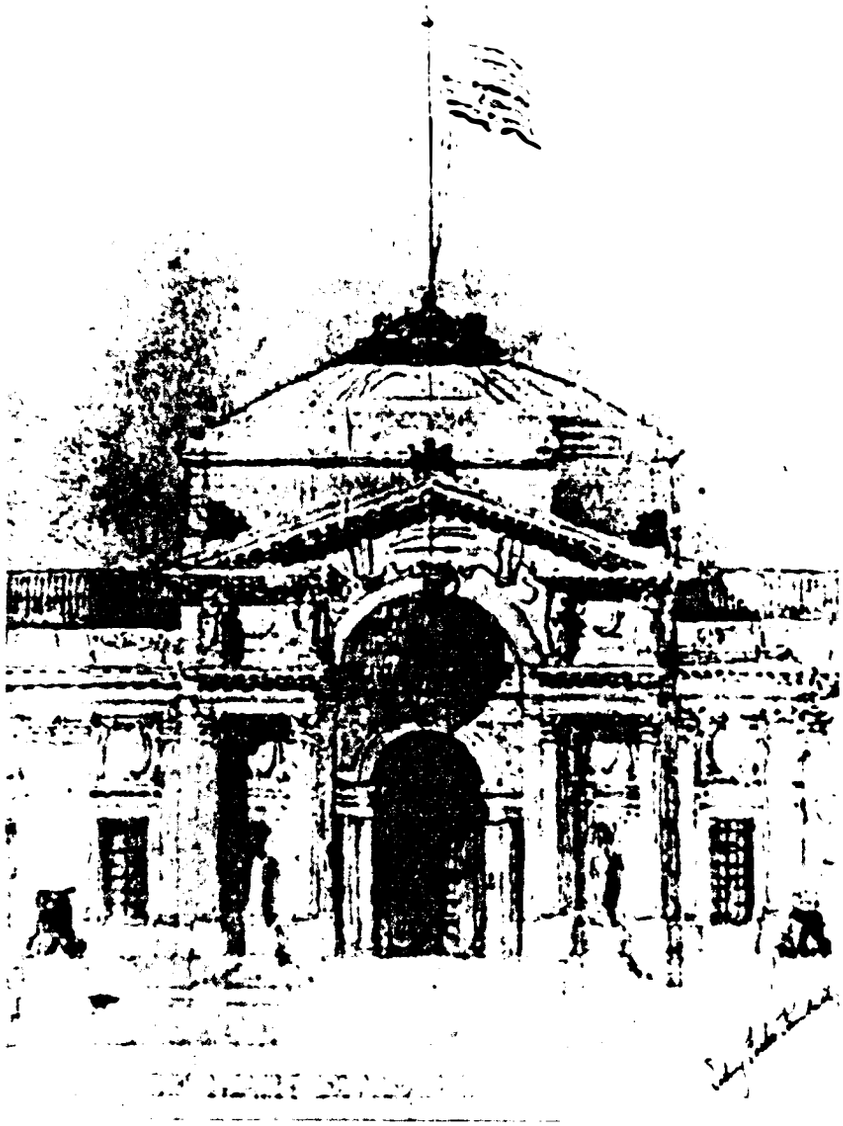
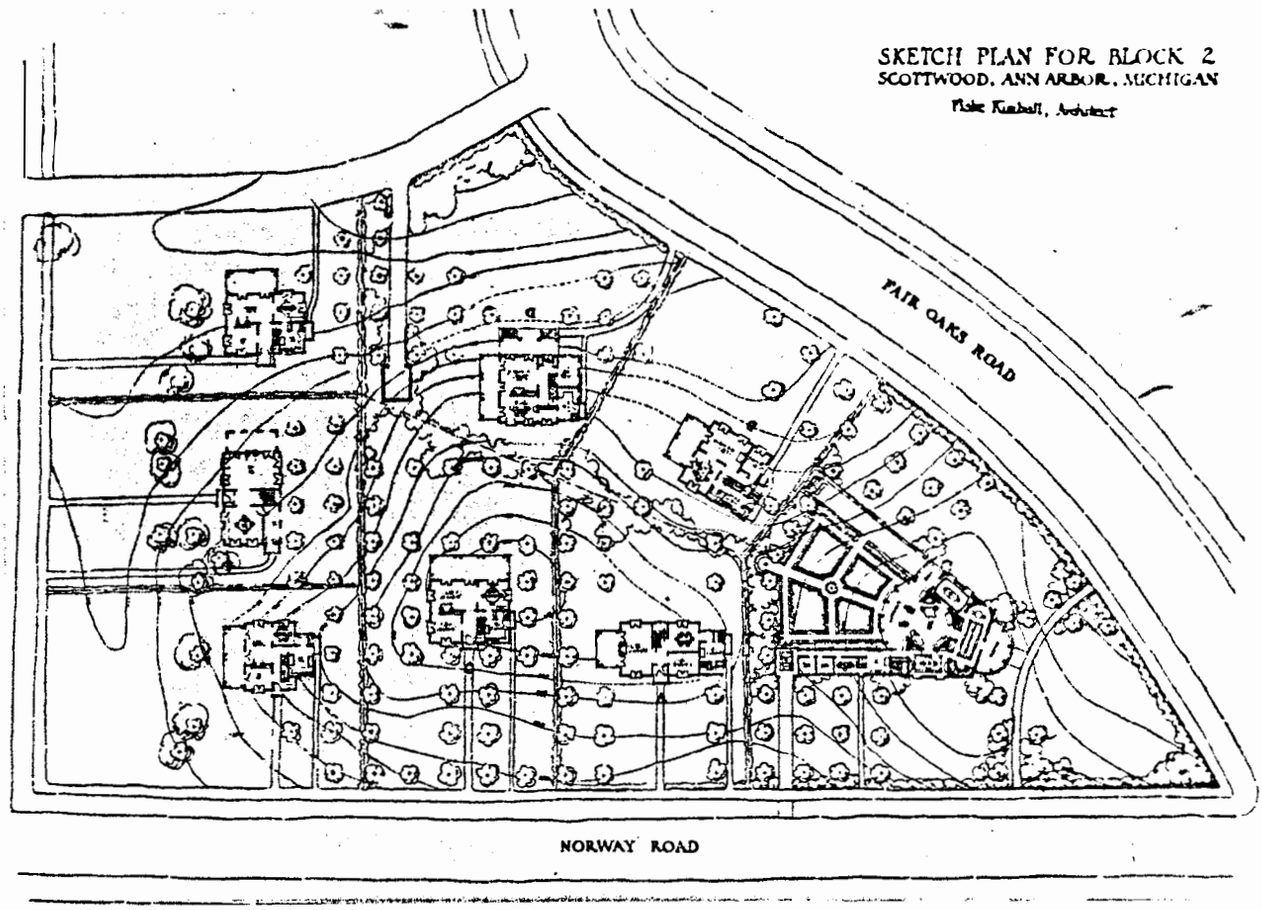


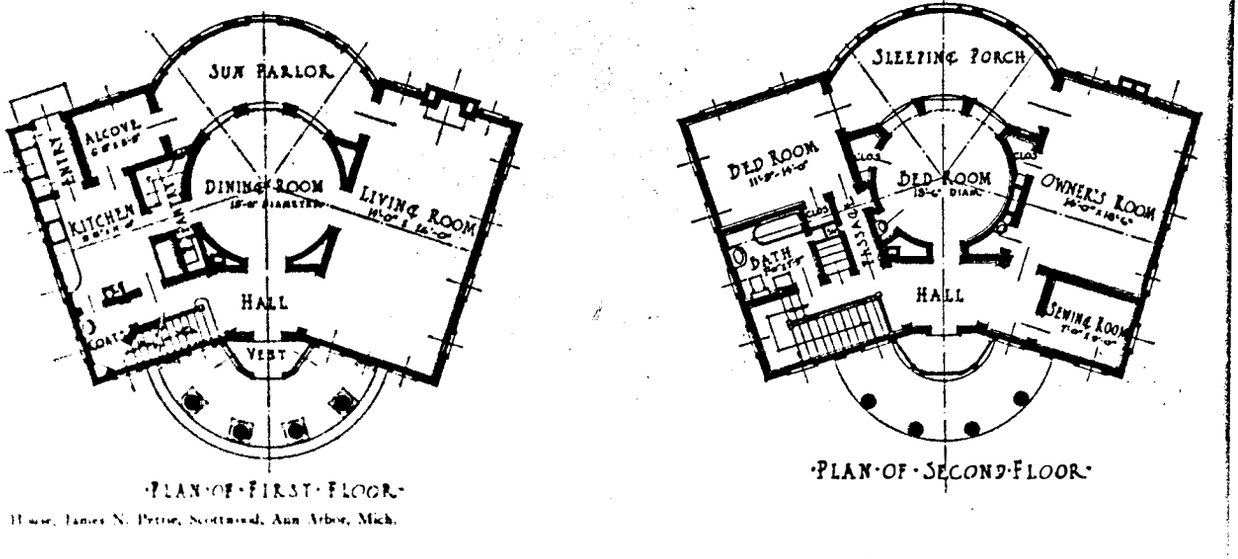
5. Master's Thesis, Elevation Detail of Galleries of State Entrance. 1912.



6. Scottwood, Plan. 1915-1918.

7. Scottwood, Exterior View. 1915-1918.

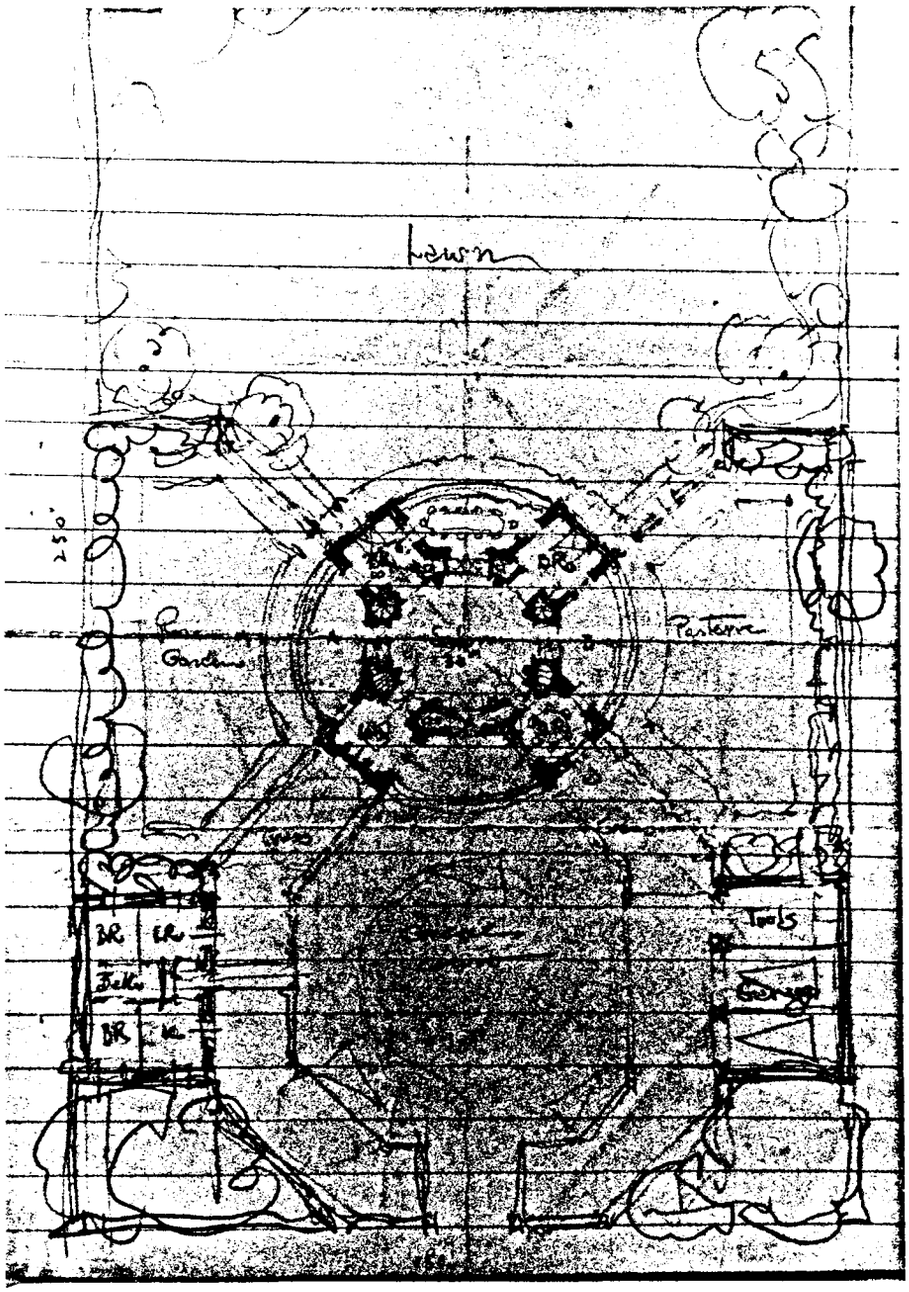
8. Scottwood, Exterior View. 1915-1918.



Plans, James N. Petrie, Scottwood, Ann Arbor, Mich.

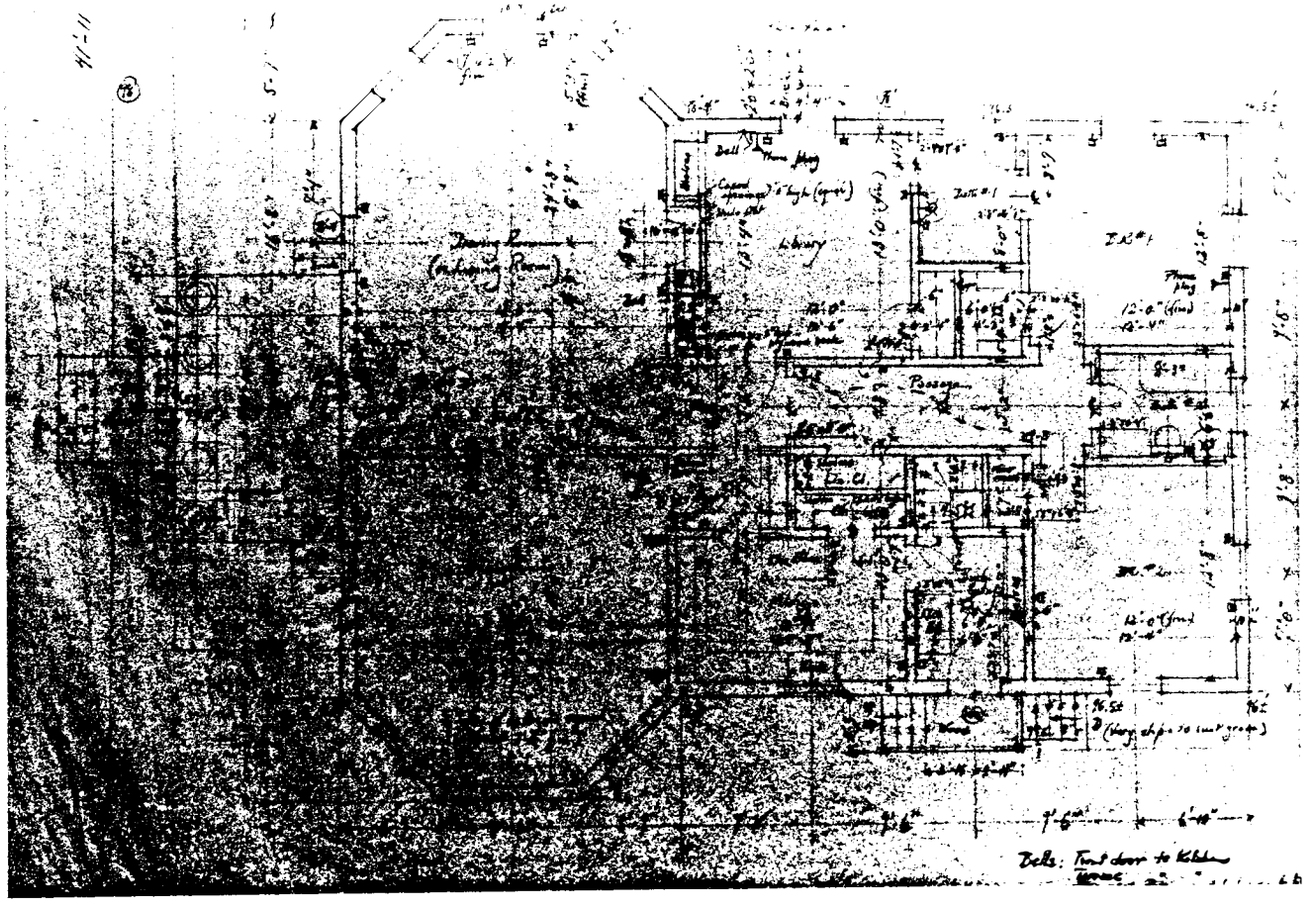
9. Scottwood, Petrie Residence, Plans. 1915-1918.

10. Scottwood, Petrie Residence, Exterior Views. 1915-1918.

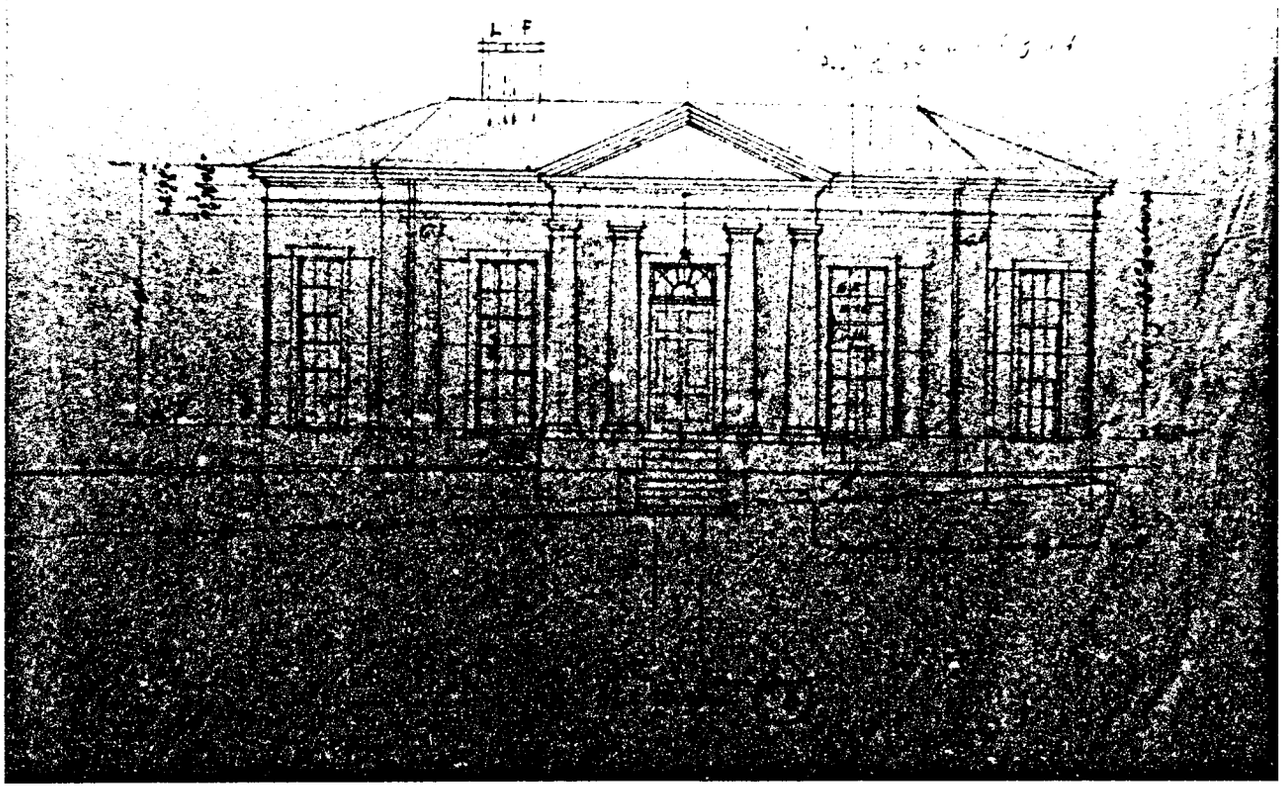


11. Unidentified Design, Plan. 1920-1924.

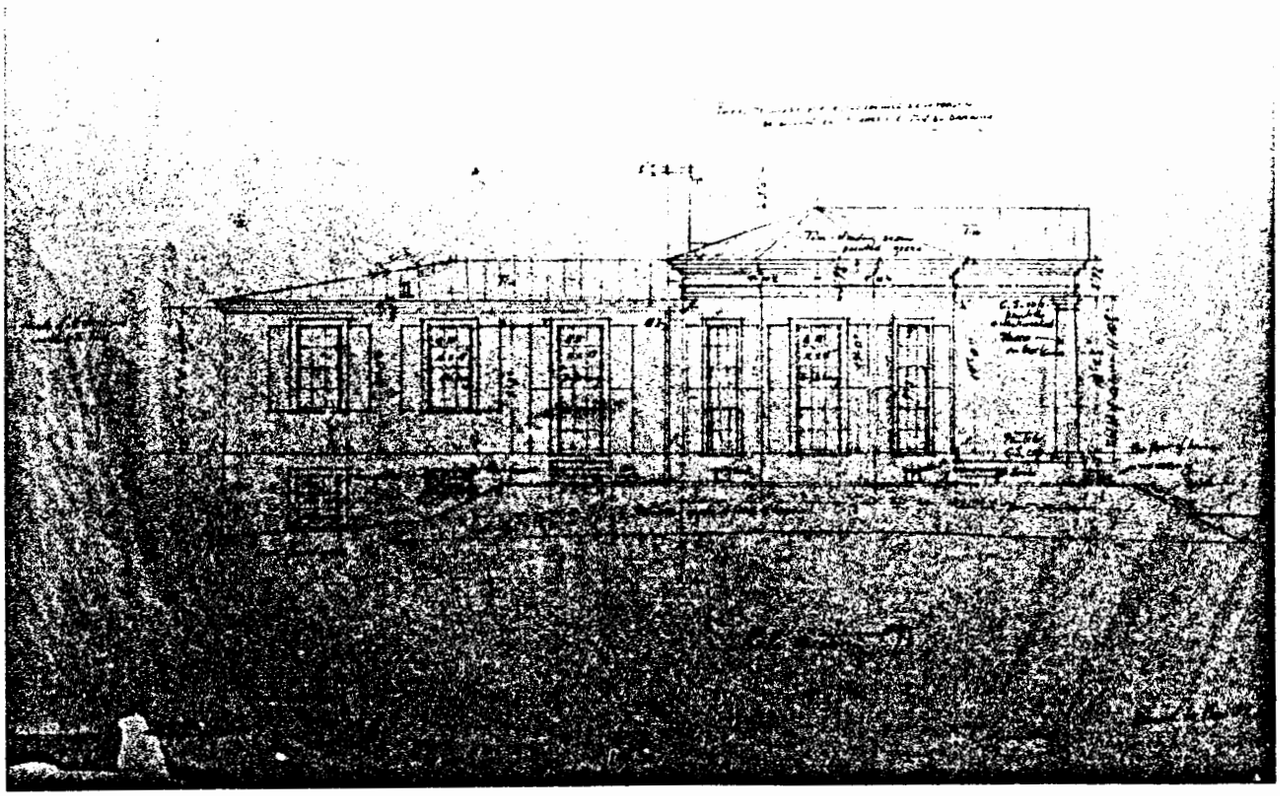
12. Shack Mountain, Exterior View of Entrance Portico. 1937.



13. Shack Mountain, Plan. 1937.



14. Shack Mountain, West Elevation. 1937.



15. Shack Mountain, North Elevation. 1937.