CARRÈRE AND HASTINGS' JEFFERSON HOTEL

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Introduction

The Jefferson Hotel of 1895 embodied an ambitious effort to affirm and promote a social and civic role for the hotel in the American city by providing an uncharacteristic richness of form and symbolic content. The young architectural firm of Carrère and Hastings dramatically recapitulated a system of design acquired at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and adapted it to a site in "New-South" Richmond, Virginia, former capital of the Confederacy. While many nineteenth-century American architects were educated at the École, no U. S. firm imposed on their buildings so rigorous and literal an interpretation of French academic practice as did Carrère and Hastings. Their early work is best summed up in the Jefferson Hotel, where the architects were encouraged by the patronage of Lewis Ginter, a philanthropic industrialist determined to improve his adopted city.

The first chapter will provide the European and American contexts for the architects' efforts at the Jefferson. The hotel's form and location will be reviewed in the second chapter. The third chapter will show that the Jefferson Hotel significantly embodies French design principles as expressed in important contemporary French buildings and that the hotel's patron intended that European architectural models, adapted to their location in the American South, should contribute to the enrichment of the city.

Study of the Jefferson is limited by a scarcity of primary sources. Because the office records of Carrère and Hastings' firm are lost, study of their work has been largely based in the buildings themselves and in contemporary publications. Records dealing with

the hotel's construction are scanty. Lewis Ginter's heirs destroyed the personal records of the hotel's principal owner. Fortunately, many of the original annotated working drawings were discovered during a renovation of the hotel and are preserved, together with a collection of historic photographs, in Richmond.[1] Thomas Hastings wrote several articles in which he discussed his general approach to design. The building remains the best source, although a fire in 1901 severely damaged the south section of the hotel, with the exception of the lower exterior elevations. New owners rebuilt the hotel with substantial alterations, but the Franklin Street end of the building remains largely intact, including the Palm Court, the campaniles, and many of the original decorative furnishings.

Previous studies of the building have emphasized the Italian sources of the facades and the Beaux-Arts-influenced plan. They have placed the hotel in the context of the American Renaissance and New-South Richmond, but have not fully recognized the extent of the imprint of the École des Beaux-Arts on this early, major project of Carrère and Hastings.[2] Curtis Channing Blake, author of the principal study of the firm, gave the hotel more attention and provided clear connections with the École and its design philosophy.[3] The literature on hotels, in particular Grand Hotel: The Golden Age of Palace Hotels, An Architectural and Social History by David Watkin et al, and the section on hotels in Nikolaus Pevsner's A History of Building Types, only mention the architects and their Florida hotels in the context of the technological developments they embodied.[4]

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis committee. Richard Guy Wilson has thoughtfully steered the topic since it originated as a term paper for his Later American Architecture survey course. Kevin Murphy and Carroll William Westfall have

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Chapter One- Architectural Context

Although scholars have clearly rooted the history of the development of the modern hotel in large-scale, American buildings dating from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Second-Empire France gave form and detail to the building type. Before the Grand Hôtel du Louvre opened in Paris with the second International Exhibition of 1855, French luxury hotels catered only to the very rich.[5] From that time on, the "Franco-American" luxury hotel embodied academic design principles and increasingly catered to the expanding European bourgeoisie.

American Hotels

Hotels held significant positions in American cities by the early nineteenth century. Their prominence was often expressed through a restricted use of the classical orders. The new American hotel served the city as "more a social center than either a coffee house or a hotel."[6] The Exchange Coffee House in Boston, built to the designs of Asher Benjamin in 1806-1809, initiated the unconventional combination of the elements of ballroom, restaurant, and inn which made up the new building type. Beginning with Isaiah Rogers' Tremont House of 1827-30 in Boston, American hotels borrowed from the monumental forms of public buildings. Rogers' Astor House in New York (1832-36), Jacques Bussière de Pouilly's St. Louis Hotel in New Orleans (1838), and C.H. Reichardt's Charleston Hotel (1839) had extensive reception rooms, fully expressed orders, and central rotundas.[7] The most important city hotels in the U.S. did not, however,

display complex Beaux-Arts-inspired organizational patterns in plan until the 1890s. Even then, McKim, Mead, and White's remodeled Plaza Hotel of 1890 and Sherry's Hotel of 1898, and H.J. Hardenbergh's vast Waldorf-Astoria Hotel of 1890-97 (plate 2) in New York do not show the planning sophistication displayed by Carèrre and Hastings at their early Florida hotels and particularly at the Jefferson.

Many of the most comfortable American hotels of the mid-to-late nineteenth century were architecturally undistinguished, but they served to provide luxuriously furnished environments for those Americans who could afford them. For many city dwellers swept up in the post-Civil War industrial boom, they provided well-managed places for public and private entertainment evocative of aristocratic Europe and the houses of the wealthiest Americans. Indeed, in Henry James' view, American hotels expressed "a social, indeed positively an aesthetic ideal, . . . a synonym for civilization."[8] However, James saw hotels as "islands of alienation and impermanence," where the blight and isolation of modern life was most clearly observed. The only requirements for entrance were an appearance of respectability and the possession of money.[9] This essential "promiscuity," affirmed by "the testimony of the hotel," was leading Americans to "unlearn as many as possible of their old social canons, and in especial their old discrimination in favor of private life."[10]

C.H. Blackall, writing in The Brickbuilder in 1903, provided a sketch of the character and form of late nineteenth-century American hotels. The Jefferson and the Waldorf-Astoria were among the principal hotels used to illustrate his points. He used the Jefferson as an example of good planning on an unusual site: "the effect on entering

the hotel and looking up from the lower court along the axial stairway into the fore court [sic] with its mass of green foliage is extremely interesting and it would be hard to imagine a more successful treatment of so difficult a problem." Blackall began his essay with a trenchant analysis of the building type.

> Everything is subservient to affording opportunity for the guests to see each other and themselves and to have abundant space in which to promenade, to show themselves and to observe. It is assumed to be an attribute of well bred nonchalance to appear oblivious to everything that goes on around one, but as a matter of fact there is no other place where individual curiosity is so tolerated, and so openly encouraged as in a modern hotel. . . . Everything is for show and to carry out the appearance of well bred interested leisure.[11]

He ended by disparaging attempts at a thorough Beaux-Arts treatment as unneccessary for the "so-called public space" of a "modern first-class hotel." In the American hotel financial interests usually took precedence over those of academic design.

> It may be said that the opportunities for systematic planning, such as is shown at the Jefferson . . . are extremely few. Any attempt to plan academically, to balance the parts, to preserve or mark axes is generally wrecked by conditions of site, exposure, or practical requirements. Apparently hotels which are most architectural in treatment are not necessarily the most popular or the best patronized, and the main essentials seem to be a large, monumental, lavishly decorated lobby entered directly from the street, a magnificent, richly appointed dining room, and especially . . . ample circulation.[12]

French Hotels

The Grand Hôtel near the Paris Opéra, built in 1861 to the design of Alfred Armand (plate 1), and the Hôtel Continental, built to the plans of Henri Blondel for the

Paris Exhibition of 1878 (plate 2), played particularly important roles in the development of the luxury hotel.[13] While their self-effacing exteriors blended with the controlled streetscapes of Baron Haussmann's Paris, the hotels' interiors demonstrated a sumptuous appropriation of the styles, rich materials, and systematic planning previously associated with royal and governmental buildings. Charles Garnier, to whom the Jefferson's designers were indebted, provided the Grand Hôtel's interiors. These extended to the luxury hotel his influential and eclectic design philosophy, best demonstrated at the Paris Opéra.[14]

Unlike most of their American counterparts, French hotels followed established Beaux-Arts planning principles. At the Hôtel Continental, in particular, carefully articulated corridors formed a series of interlocking squares. These surrounded glazed courts, one of which served as a carriage entry. A central visual axis extended between the two main entries to the building. The corridors and dining rooms were expressed as grids of pilasters or columns, ceiling beams, and patterned floor treatments.[15] The Grand Salon, with its gilded Corinthian columns supporting paired consoles, was based on earlier models, in particular on the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles as reinterpreted at Garnier's recent Grand Foyer at the Opéra.[16] The Hôtel Terminus, designed by Juste Lisch to coincide with the Paris International Exhibition of 1889, similarly contained a central glazed court, but in this case it was treated as a lobby or "Reading Room" and provided with iron columns (plates 1 and 3).[17] Both the Continental and Terminus hotels were probably models for Carèrre and Hastings' American hotel work, as seen in its complex circulation patterns, column grids, glazed courts, and decorative use of iron.

The Patron and the Architects

The Jefferson Hotel was built for Lewis Ginter (1824-1897), a wealthy tobacco manufacturer who played the role of civic philanthropist (plate 4).[18] The son of a New York grocer and grandson of a Dutch immigrant originally named Guenter, he arrived in Richmond at the age of seventeen, began a career as merchant, and served with distinction in the Confederate Army.[19] He worked for John F. Allen's tobacco company in the 1870s and developed the first mass-produced cigarette. He was able to buy out Allen's interest and by the time his cigarette company merged with three others in 1889 to form the American Tobacco Company, the unmarried Lewis Ginter had accumulated as much as twelve million dollars, a large part of which he spent in projects and charities in Richmond.[20] Dale Wheary has shown that Ginter was a well-informed taste-maker among his peers. In later life he used his vast wealth to achieve personal and civic goals in harmony with the aesthetic movement known as the American Renaissance, both as a patron of artists and architects and as a philanthropist.[21]

Ginter was a leader in a plan which originated as early as 1882 with the city's chamber of commerce, to construct a modern hotel in the western part of the city, augmenting the superannuated accommodation available downtown.[22] The Exchange Hotel, built in the manner of the Tremont House and Astor House to the designs of Isaiah Rogers in 1841, and the Ballard Hotel of 1856 undoubtedly appeared old-fashioned and ugly. Little has been uncovered to date about the plans or public spaces of either building, but neither can have seemed progressive or modern to Major Ginter.

Richmond had made extraordinary economic progress in the years between 1860 and 1890 and had become a leader of the "New South." While tobacco still dominated Richmond's commerce, industrial growth had transformed the city's appearance. The city's population and industrial resources had more than doubled. Expansion of iron, milling, and paper manufacturing had contributed to its economic transformation, in the words of an 1887 editorialist, "from a merely big town to a modern city."[23] Richmond experienced a social transformation as well. Enormously wealthy industrialists, like Ginter, most with impeccable Confederate military resumes, set a conspicuously new and increasingly cosmopolitan tone among the city's elite.

By 1892 Lewis Ginter had personally taken up the hotel scheme, determined to act as a benefactor to his burgeoning adopted city. The project's extraordinary scale, complex plan, and high cost suggest that other factors, including the effective "boosting" of Richmond, outweighed practical profitability among Ginter's intentions. Contemporary literature stressed the city's intention that the hotel attract visitors to the city by serving as an intermediate resort between the North and winter destinations in Florida. Ginter clearly intended much more: to provide Richmond with an urban amenity similar to those in the American North and the capitals and resorts of Europe with which he was familiar. In New York and Boston, the American Renaissance was manifested in an increasingly visible new public architecture. Its patrons and designers intended these highly finished structures to provide "the most permanent expression of the American arrival as a great civilization."[24] With the construction of the Jefferson Hotel, a particularly French version of the American Renaissance appeared in Virginia.

In many ways Ginter was an ideal Beaux-Arts patron: respected and influential, in possession of a large fortune, a collector of art, and determined to contribute to the building tradition of Virginia's capital by applying his wealth and acumen to the creation of monumental architecture. As David Garrard Lowe has observed about New York's Madison Square Garden (1889), this goal was congruent with the Beaux-Arts dictum that "a structure should bring joy and beauty into the urban scene and thus help socialize the populace into civility."[25] It might be inferred that, in building the Jefferson Hotel, the most elaborate and architecturally sophisticated building in late-nineteenth-century Richmond, Ginter and his colleagues intended to provide the city with an elaborate quasi-public stage for the display of wealth and status and the inculcation of standards of taste.[26]

It has long been assumed that the Jefferson Hotel design resulted from a direct commission, but, instead, it appears that the young firm of Carrère and Hastings won a limited competition in 1892 or early 1893.[27] The partners in the New York-based architecture firm selected by Ginter, John Merven Carrère (1858-1911) and Thomas Hastings (1860-1929), met at the École des Beaux-Arts.[28] A multi-lingual American who had grown up in Europe, Carrère entered the École in 1878 and studied in the long-lived atelier officiel then operated by Léon Ginain and formerly by Charles Laisné. He was promoted to the first class early in 1882, but received no credit for first-class concours. Hastings entered the École in 1880 and studied in the atelier officiel of Louis-Jules André, until he achieved success in the first-class concours in 1883. There he apparently came also under the direction of Victor Laloux, later architect of the Gare d'Orsay, who inculcated among his students a strong regard for the plan as the first organizing

principle.[29] André's studio was very popular with American students. He was the principal proponent, within the Ecole, of the synthetic architectural movement represented by Garnier's Opera.[30] None of the student work of either Carrère or Hastings survives. The two architects worked in the office of McKim, Mead, and White for two years before entering into a partnership in 1885 which was to last until Carrère's death in 1911. Their firm achieved great contemporary acclaim, producing over 600 buildings, including dozens of important residential commissions, commercial structures, and public buildings such as the New York Public Library.[31] They were seen by some contemporary critics, together with McKim, Mead, and White, as the most eminent professionals in the field of classical architecture in the period 1880-1910.[32]

Chapter Two- Architectural Form

The rectangular site selected by Lewis Ginter for the hotel occupied approximately one-half of a square or block west of downtown Richmond, between Franklin and Main streets, in what had been the city's most fashionable residential neighborhood for many years.[33] The pressure of postwar industry and commerce in the city's old center sparked new construction in the old residential areas. Franklin Street, which intersected with Capitol Square, had developed as a major axis of power as the city expanded to the west. This trend was continued in 1887 when a broad westward extension of Franklin Street, known as Monument Avenue, was laid out around the site for a monumental equestrian statue of Robert E. Lee. The hotel's site was, however, a constricted one, especially when compared to the landscaped surroundings of the two expansive and innovative hotels previously designed by the Carrère and Hastings in Florida, the Ponce de Leon of 1885-1887 and the Alcazar of 1887 (plate 5), and the resort called Laurel-in-the-Pines of 1890 in Lakewood, New Jersey.[34]

The Hotel's Exterior

The lot might have suggested the massive block-like palazzo format utilized in most urban hotels of the period, but the architects took an alternate approach. The accepted proposal, as published in 1893, shows a strangely bifurcated building, with a three-story north front on West Franklin Street and a six-story section to the south facing West Main Street occupying about two-thirds of the site (plate 6).[35] This awkward

juxtapositioning of facade elements, sometimes noted in the work of Carrère and Hastings, was derived from the emphasis placed on the plan in their French academic education and the subservience of facade to plan in their design philosophy.[36]

The hotel exterior as built (plate 7) varied from the original proposal chiefly in the addition of two high campaniles which functioned as clock towers.[37] The textures of the wall surfaces expressed each floor's position in the building's exterior hierarchy. Upper walls of closely laid, cream-colored brick rose above a brick ground floor incorporating banded rustication. The hotel rested on a low basement of rock-faced granite blocks sunk, on the north, into deep areaways. The walls were richly detailed with ornamental molded terra cotta window surrounds, arcades, cornices, and string courses.

The Franklin Street facade, identified as the "Ladies' Entrance" in contemporary literature,[38] stood back from the street and corresponded in height to the adjacent, three-story Archer Anderson House (enlarged in 1880 and since demolished) and other large Italianate-villa-style houses located along the street (plates 8 and 30). Blake has remarked on the particular care with which Carrère and Hastings fitted their buildings into urban settings, and the Jefferson"s Franklin Street facade, carefully scaled to correspond to adjacent buildings, is no exception.[39] A pair of towers flanked the main entry, topped with belvederes based on those at the Villa Medici (plate 24). Lower wings with deep, bracketed eaves flanked the central portion of the north facade and behind these rose the tall, twin, domed campaniles. The belvederes were provided with an Ionic pilaster order and balconies supported on richly detailed consoles. They formed end pavilions for a U-shaped terrace surrounding the Palm Court at the fourth-floor level and originally

furnished with trellises to form a roof garden. The slender campaniles, topped with terra cotta domes, and visible from across the city, served to carry the hotel's principal chimneys on their blind inner facades.

A triple-arched loggia supported on paired, colored marble columns was located just above the vaulted entry porch (plate 9). The idiosyncratic Corinthian/Composite order at the loggia included a necking band with rosettes and a central cartouche between the oversized volutes. The interior of the loggia, which served the principal bedrooms of the hotel, was provided with a matching pilaster order and inventive, elaborate door and window enframements, all in terra cotta. Hastings carefully and intentionally used tightly laid glazed brick to render parts of the orders, not only at the Franklin Street loggia, but throughout the hotel. The hotel's monogram is incorporated in the ornate window surrounds flanking the loggia (Plate 29).

The recessed loggia, belvederes, and hipped roofs with exposed decorative rafter ends referred not only to vernacular Italian construction and to nineteenth-century French villas derived from it, but to an ongoing American Italianate tradition, embodied in some of the houses along Franklin Street. These architectural forms and details also related to the Mediterranean atmosphere evoked in Florida, sometimes referred to as the "American Riviera," where the architects' successful first hotel projects were built. The campaniles were clearly related to the firm's design for the Alcazar Hotel in Florida (plate 5) but were here topped by much more floridly-detailed arched and domed elements. The towers served to unite the two sections more effectively and called attention to the building's civic

role. Other American features included the cream-colored glazed brick and terra cotta ornament characteristic of some of McKim, Mead, and White's work at the time.

The west side of the hotel (plate 18), facing a secondary street, was centered on a porte cochère which gave access to a corridor near the main elevators (plate 29). Carriages entered and exited through a pair of openings which flanked a central triumphal arch with blocked Doric columns. This west entry, with its projecting semi-circular bays, recalled in plan the ornate imperial and season ticket holders' entries to each side of the Paris Opéra (plate 27). The internal carriage entries at contemporary Parisian hotels and the Waldorf-Astoria in New York were not treated so emphatically nor integrated in so subtle a way (plates 1 and 2). At the triumphal arch the architects eschewed terra cotta in favor of brick wherever possible, in what approaches a brick Doric order.[40]

On the south front of the hotel Carrère and Hastings stacked terra cotta palazzo motifs (plate 11). A plainly detailed ground floor, containing the entry, grill, billiard room, and other men's amenities, supported a long, nine-bay piano nobile, housing the dining room. The architects treated the dining room level like that of the garden front of Versailles, with an applied order (Corinthian here, rather than Ionic) clasping a window arcade (plate 29). The order was more conventional than that at the north loggia, with its odd version of Corinthian and fictive piano nobile. Here the order affirmed, in keeping with classical principles of decorum, that the hotel's functions culminated in and focused on a festive ritual of dining.

The Hotel's Plan

The Jefferson was not unrelated to contempory American hotel design developments. As observed above, many American hotels from the antebellum era, including Isaiah Rogers' Exchange Hotel in Richmond, had appropriated the orders and, in some cases, domed lobbies. In addition, the planners and patron of late nineteenth-century hotels continued an American practice of providing entries, dining facilities, and reception rooms for respectable women and their escorts or families that were separate from those allotted to male travelers.[41] Traditionally, single women did not usually travel alone and, when they did, public rooms serving them were segregated in the larger hotels from the relative coarseness of traveling men. Although Henry Hardenburgh, architect of New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel (1890-1897), would shortly write that the "setting apart of rooms for . . . women is being abandoned," separation of mixed or female groups from exclusively male domains was still important in attracting the approbation of socially prominent families.[42] The Franklin Street front was intended from the start to appeal to an elite clientele of women by its relationships of scale and form to its fashionable residential setting, while the flush Main Street front, which served as an entrance for commercial travelers, responded to the commercial functions located along Main Street and the streetcar line that ran its length.

The Franklin Street Court, Palm Court, or Pompeiian Court (plate 12), as it was variously called in early publications, functioned as a winter garden providing light to the interior of the Franklin Street section. The austere lower lobby, called the "Rotunda," on the original drawings and brightly illuminated by a glass ceiling by day and electric arc

lights by night, served as the center for the masculine lower level of the hotel. The freedom of the two central courts at the Jefferson from any specific functional program permitted a spectacular processional axis from the ladies' entrance and Palm Court, through a dark, arch-covered stair to the Rotunda, with the Dining Room beyond. Contemporary writers noted the dramatic vista from the Rotunda to the Palm Court.[43] The secondary Jefferson Street entrance with its internal porte cochère and three principal elevators established a powerful cross axis midway along the Grand Staircase.

Lewis Ginter intended the hotel to function as a club-like social center for the city's expanding middle and upper classes.[44] A series of dining and reception rooms grouped around the Franklin Street Court served day visitors to the hotel as well as residents. Richmond's social life at all levels was traditionally conducted at home, including balls, weddings, and dinners. Ginter, although himself very private in his habits, may have hoped a more public setting, such as he had experienced in the tourist circuit in Europe, would make Richmond society less insular. The hotel was also designed to attract tourists on their way to Florida, with the provision of all the amenities of a European or Virginia spa, including spring-fed Turkish and Russian baths. A domestic scale at the Franklin Street interior gradually led to the grandeur of the Dining Room on the south. There was to be, according to a contemporary writer, "no suggestion upon arriving in the hall that the Jefferson is a hotel, in the generally accepted sense of the term."[45] Similarly, the Commonwealth Club, designed by Carrère and Hastings and built in 1891, eschewed the opulent classicism of the New York clubs for a restrained Colonial Revival domestic appearance on both the interior and exterior.

The lower, masculine section similarly provided an agreeable public setting for social ritual. A contemporary newspaper piece written by the young James Branch Cabell, placed this description of the lower level of the hotel in the mouth of a comic character:

> "It was the greatest place in Richmond. You could find anything there from applicants for the cradle or the grave. There were gray-headed men who were saving club dues, puffing a cabbage-leaf Perfecto and talking over the very latest scandals. There were young men whose hopes for a moustache were still a far ideal that after playing a game of pool for real money fastened themselves on to the business end of a cigarette and lent back on one of the lounges, each one fancying himself the hit of the piece. It was stupendous."[46]

The Hotel's Interior

The hotel's interior incorporated what was, at first encounter, an eclectic and internally contradictory decorative program. The interior was not characterized by the florid, consistent, and personal decorative treatment typical of the work of Garnier, but is more spare, precise, and derivative. The dual functions implied by the bifurcation into northern and southern sections on the exterior were apparent, architecturally as well as functionally, on the interior. The two courtyards were treated as outdoor spaces, albeit glazed, while the major interiors were each, as in most of Carrère and Hastings' domestic work from the 1890s, adaptations of French classicism appropriate to their function. The Franklin Street suite of reception rooms was detailed as a series of fashionable and lavishly decorated domestic parlors surrounding a Pompeiian peristyle court. A monumental staircase led down to the Rotunda, treated as an enclosed Renaissance courtyard but with the deliberate imposition of cast iron girders and columns. The male activities on the lower

level centered on the oak-wainscoted "Smoker's Hall," bar, and grill, which contrasted dramatically in detail with the reception rooms on the Franklin Street front. Above lay the richly decorated French Baroque Dining Room.

The architectural portion of the interior work was performed by Carèrre and Hastings. Lewis Ginter apparently did not employ one of the prestigious New York or French decorating firms to finish the public rooms.[47] The partners generally provided complete interior drawings for all their projects. Also, unlike many American interiors of the period, the firm's work did not usually involve a series of contrasting styles and finishes, but rather stayed within a carefully controlled, usually French, genre. Hastings' skill in interior design may have been encouraged by his employment for several years, beginning at the age of seventeen, by the prominent New York decorating firm of Herter Brothers, where he worked with the chief designer, Charles Atwood.[48]

Visitors entering on the Franklin Street front found themselves in a central foyer, called the Marble Hall, detailed in the Doric order as was appropriate for an entry. It was provided with rusticated walls and piers of artificial "Sienna marble" and detached corner columns (plates 13 and 31).[49] The Marble Hall gave access to a parlor and library at the west end of the north front and a parlor and "Grand Salon" at the east end, by means of two over-sized, pedimented doorways. Transverse corridors extended to either side of the Marble Hall give access to a formal staircase and reception desk, a women's restroom, and the principal circulation corridor along the west side of the hotel. A central archway opposite the entry gave a glimpse of the Palm Court beyond. The elements of the Franklin Street section, including the library and ladies' parlors, were recognized by C.H. Blackall in

1903 as essential to a modern hotel, but in most hotels they were, he said, "purely show rooms. They are used so little that it is impossible to settle any data as to sizes."[50] The rooms' principal use lay more in their embodiment of taste and establishment of a luxurious setting than as meeting places, and they were undoubtedly sequentially visited as part of a progression made by visitors and new arrivals.

The Grand Salon embodied the most complete example in Richmond of what was called the "modern French style" (plates 14 and 31).[51] The room was laterally divided into three rectangular bays by wall piers and shallow ceiling beams. The Ionic order was expressed in a modillion cornice with an elaborately coffered soffit spanning between free-standing columns in the corners of the two outer bays. The west door and east window in the central bay were located within splayed, coffered arches. The windows and doors and the large panels flanking the central mantel in the south end were set below broad elliptical shells. A large mirror with carved decoration surmounted a restrained marble mantel supported by Ionic pilasters. The decorative elements on the paneled walls included crossed quivers and torches (attributes of Cupid), fruit garlands, and vertical floral guilloche bands.

The Grand Salon and its furniture resembled Louis XVI-inspired domestic interiors in bourgeois Parisian houses of the previous decade. These are exemplified by the "smart Parisian drawing room" of c. 1887, illustrated in a contemporary publication (plate 15).[52] The modern French style was already in evidence in Northern cities, as part of the eclectic collections of styles which made up many American houses of the period.[53] The style of the Grand Salon, accurately described in contemporary accounts as Louis XVI, was the most

popular of eighteenth-century modes because critics perceived it as a neo-classical reaction to the effeminate rococo excesses of the era of Louis XV. However, Carrère and Hastings provided the two small parlors flanking the Marble Hall "for the use of ladies and their escorts" with a contrasting version of simplified Louis XV painted boiserie.

For the form and detailing of the Grand Salon, Carrère and Hastings turned to a standard contemporary source for French classical design, César Daly's Motifs Historiques d'Architecture et de Sculpture d'Ornement, published in several editions from 1869 to 1881. The architects adapted the detailing of the "Grand Salon" in Bordeaux's Hôtel de la Préfecture (plate 16), dating from the reign of Louis XVI, but transformed the whole into an exercise in Beaux-Arts planning.[54] The model lacked a fully expressed order. Carrère and Hastings used a classical grid in the Ionic order to introduce a tripartite hierarchy. In some cases the decorative elements in the original, such as the coffered arches and the shell insets, were split apart to emphasize the triple nature of the more deeply modeled walls.

Carrère and Hastings adapted the form of a Roman peristyle for the central element of the Franklin Street block (plate 17). They detailed the surrounding colonnade in a carefully rendered Pompeiian Ionic order. Although paired columns like those at the Palm Court are not associated with ancient practice, a wide intercolumnation like that at the Jefferson is typical. The paired columns, like those at the north loggia, signal a connection to French buildings descended from Perrault's 1670 east front at the Louvre. The Pompeiian character of the surrounding colonnade was emphasized by the use of patterned floors of colored marbles. Three small parlors opened onto the court through wide glazed

doors on the west side. A "Ladies' Café," also detailed in the Pompeiian manner, was reached through similar doors on the east side of the colonnade.

On the Palm Court's frieze, Carrère and Hastings added molded scallop shells and continuous, flat, strapwork ornament incorporating square and circular elements painted to resemble a variety of inset marbles (plate 32). The central statue of Jefferson by Edward Valentine was surrounded by paths and fountains. Water poured into two narrow rills from low, carved basins at the outer ends and through a series of spray jets lining the rills. The areas between the paths were filled with close-cropped grass supplemented by potted trees and plants on the margins.[55] A mezzanine story, lit by wide thermal windows, supported a pyramidal iron skylight. The architects further extended cast iron into the court's decorative scheme. Remarkable attenuated aediculae of cast iron based on Pompeiian wall paintings surrounded the windows opening into the Palm Court from the first floor rooms on its north side. They survive in a reduced form today (plate 32). The exaggerated slenderness of such models was suited to the use of iron and recalls the use of classically-formed iron supports in mid-nineteenth-century Parisian department stores, libraries, and other buildings.

The tripartite Dining Room (plate 19) at the opposite end of the hotel displayed contrasting features abstracted by the architects from the opulent forms associated with Napoleon III, such as the Reception Room at the Hôtel Continental and its prototypes at Versailles and the Paris Opéra. The gilded oak woodwork included fluted Corinthian pilasters, beams supported on carved consoles, and paired brackets over each pilaster. The Dining Room was divided into three square sections by massive screen walls, which took

the form of inverted triumphal arches in which two arches flanked a smaller trabeated central opening. Large clocks were placed back to back in the center of the screen walls. Hastings' virtuosity as a designer was demonstrated in the piers which flanked the Dining Room clocks. He broke down the Corinthian capitals from the adjacent pilasters into their constituent parts, peeling away the acanthus leaves to reveal a single corner volute, thereby avoiding an awkward juxtaposition with a massive console.

The Dining Room could be reached by a corridor along the west side of the hotel. The kitchens were located on the east side of the Rotunda between the Ladies'Café and the main dining rooms. Further amenities, including laundry rooms, storerooms, and a Turkish bath were found under the Franklin Street section.

A two-story arcade surrounded the large rectangular glazed court known as the "Rotunda" or "Office Rotunda" on the lower level (plate 20).[56] The arcade, surmounted by square mezzanine windows, was unified by an intermediate string course. The rotunda gave access on the ground floor to amenities intended for the hotel's male visitors and residents, such as a bar room, grill, billiard room, and barber shop. These, and the oak-wainscotted "Smokers' Hall," called the "Office Vestibule" on the plan, were furnished with comfortable oak lounges, settles, and armchairs upholstered in dark green leather. Massive oak and marble fireplaces stood on either side of the Smoker's Hall, which served as an entry lobby on the south front.[57]

Carèrre and Hastings' Rotunda recalled the sculpture court of the Palais des Etudes at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, as begun by François Debret in 1820, completed by Félix Duban in 1839, and roofed over by him in 1867 (plate 22). The architects imitated

and elaborated the slender iron colonnettes that supported the gabled glass roof at the École. The pierced iron girders that link them at the second floor level were emphasized at the Jefferson, painted light green, and given more clearly the utilitarian character of iron. Curtis Channing Blake noted that the glazed ceiling and iron supports reinforced the geometric character of the Beaux-Arts planning grid so evident at the Jefferson.[58] A long arched stairway on axis connected the two courts, through which dramatic views of the two levels could be glimpsed (plate 21).[59]

Decorative Program

The École des Beaux-Arts traditionally advocated the use of sculptural and painted decoration articulating or reinforcing the symbolic content of the building. Through its decorative program the Jefferson Hotel took on the character of a major public building. The works of art in the Jefferson, some of which were collected or commissioned by Lewis Ginter, conveyed the theme of civic virtue or by their presence proclaimed the hotel's role as a civilizing institution. The most important large-scale sculptural element in the hotel remains the figure of Thomas Jefferson by Richmond native Edward V. Valentine. By its position in the center of the Palm Court it emulated and rivaled Houdon's statue of Washington in the Rotunda of the Virginia Capitol.[60] Lewis Ginter filled the Grand Salon and the adjoining parlors with an impressive collection of contemporary and antique paintings and sculptures, some depicting genre, Parisian or Mediterranean scenes (plate 23).[61]

Among the hotel's principal fixed decorative elements were the unusual number of large and ornate clocks. According to contemporary accounts, the twenty-four clocks throughout the hotel, including the elaborate French Renaissance timepiece above the Grand Staircase, were regulated by a master clock with a fifteen-foot pendulum in the east campanile.[62] The provision of public clocks and bell towers as civic amenities had long been a function of major public buildings such as courthouses and churches. Here, by their ubiquity and opulence, they proclaimed a regulatory role for the hotel in Richmond's social life.

Chapter Three- Architectural Analysis

The Hotel Completed

The Jefferson Hotel cost about $1.5 million, more than twice what Ginter initially planned to spend. Although Ginter had created an operating fund to bolster the hotel's startup during the first two years, his death in 1897 removed the hotel's primary supporter.[63] It suffered from disappointing receipts soon after it opened. The economic depression of the mid-1890s, while it had not deterred Ginter from completing the building, was undoubtedly a factor in its slump. The hotel was "too large, too costly, too high toned and too high priced to attract business travelers in large numbers," observed a hotel industry publication. Within two years local newspapers reported the hotel to be "semi-closed" during the winter season.[64] Ginter removed the original managers, Ainsley and Webster, brought in from Massachusetts, and replaced them with the chief clerk, Peter Merriwether Fry, son of the well-known operator of the Warm Springs resort in Bath County. By the time of the disastrous fire of 1901, which destroyed the Main Street end of the hotel, it was operating profitably.[65] The enterprise brought a return of $60,000 in 1900.[66] Although they reopened the remaining section after the fire of 1901, Ginter's heirs relinquished ownership in 1905 rather than finance a rebuilding.

The hotel's temporary economic failure contrasted with a glamorous start. Parties connected with the 1895 Charles Dana Gibson-Irene Langhorne wedding were attended by New York architect Stanford White, actress Ethel Barrymore, and other celebrated out-of town guests. Girls made their debuts and women's organizations met in the parlors.[67] The

dining room was a popular location for public dinners. By the end of the century the hotel had assumed a major role in the city. One Richmond editor attested that the Jefferson was "a personality . . . a part of our municipal [social and commercial] life."[68] A writer from outside the city was even more perceptive about the hotel's role in the former Confederate capitol.[69] Henry James, who had based a critique of the contemporary United States in an analysis of the luxury hotel, declared that the Jefferson held "an uncontested priority" as a feature, "a value," in the city's barren and depressing landscape: "the great modern hotel, superfluously vast . . . was a huge, well-pitched tent, the latest thing in tents . . . proclaiming in the desert the name of a new industry."[70]

A strongly worded editorial from the Richmond press soon after the hotel's partial closing in about 1897 expressed the recriminations of one segment of the city's business leadership and the initial disappointment of the hotel's commercial and social pretensions:

> What harm has the Jefferson done to Richmond? In the first place, it has been a standing temptation to many Richmond people to live at certain times beyond their income . . . . and other hotel property ample for Richmond's needs, was made to feel a terrible shrinkage in value. And all for what? Simply to show how gorgeously a rich man can build, give him a passing notoriety, and afford Richmond a butterfly existence in the enjoyment of a luxury which in the very nature of the case she could not afford and is not yet near large enough for.[71]

The Hotel as a Civic Monument

The American Renaissance took as its starting point the systematic application of classical principles as taught by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The designers of the Jefferson

were products of the eclectic and romantic movement which transformed the École des Beaux-Arts after the completion of Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra (plate 28) in 1875.[72] Garnier's influence was particularly strong during the early 1880s, when Carrère and Hastings were at the École. Thomas Hastings later wrote a popular article entitled "Architecture and Modern Life" during the period of the Jefferson Hotel's design and construction. In it he rehearsed the Beaux-Arts principles of plan-based design, citing Garnier and his Opéra as the most recent embodiment of his view of "the law of historic development" in architectural style. "The more the architect knows of classic and Renaissance forms," Hastings asserted, "the more freely he may use them, if only he will use them harmoniously, with unity of design, and in the modern spirit, to meet new ways of thinking."[73] He averred elsewhere that Renaissance classicism was the most recent pinnacle of architectural development. American civilization would eventually produce an architecture of its own, appropriate to its modern and democratic nature, by following the French model, which was the most recent development of Renaissance classicism.[74] As the office matured, Carrère and Hastings' facades, like their interiors at the Jefferson, increasingly turned from the florid and personal expression espoused by Garnier towards the more archaeological classicism characteristic of the American Renaissance.

Sources have suggested that the models for the hotel's north front were the Villa Borghese and the Villa Medici (plate 24).[75] The characteristic recessed, arched, ground-floor loggia of the Italian villa was here, however, raised on a rusticated basement story. Belvedere-topped towers flanked the loggia as in the Villa Medici, but these were supplemented at the Jefferson by very tall campaniles added after the initial design was

accepted. The north elevation, which clearly is intended as the principal facade, draws on Italian Renaissance sources. However, Carrère and Hastings did not directly engage these monuments of Renaissance architecture as objects of imitation. Carrère and Hastings' view of the Italian Renaissance stood in contrast to the more supple one of their former employer, Charles Follen McKim. It was mediated by the examples and precepts presented to students at the École des Beaux-Arts as reformed by Félix Duban and Charles Garnier. It is not coincidental that the Jefferson Hotel had as its nearest models two buildings by those architects who are closely associated with developments in mid-to-late nineteenth-century French academic design, the Casino at Monte Carlo and the structures housing the École itself.

The most direct inspiration for the front would seem to have been the Casino at Monte Carlo by Garnier (1878-79).[76] The Casino (plate 25) served as the social center for daily promenades, gaming, dancing, and concerts at the resort city. Monte Carlo became a popular place of resort in the winter, beginning in the 1860s, when the French bourgeoisie expanded and a large foreign tourist industry grew up in France. Carrère and Hastings were undoubtedly familiar with Garnier's Casino through publications, but were possibly directed towards it by Lewis Ginter himself, who is said to have patterned his program for the hotel on buildings he saw in the U.S., Paris, Germany, and on the Riviera.[77]

The Monte Carlo Casino, like Garnier's Opéra, in its richness of decoration, pride of place, and exuberance of form, emulated or actually displaced traditional local civic and religious monuments.[78] Use of the Casino as a model for students at the École can be seen in all three design projects published from the 1889 Grand Prix competition for "Un

etablissement de bains de mer."[79] The proposed buildings, which were on a sloping site, each emphasized a central casino loosely based on Garnier's design and style. They were flanked in two of the entries by Mediterranean-style lodgings with exposed rafter ends and rooftop loggias. One casino had an internal level-change like that at the Jefferson, suggested by the seaside topography of the site (plate 26). While the projects postdated the important Florida hotels by Carrère and Hastings, they did show the direct application of some of the ideas which would find expression at the Jefferson and their profoundly French sources. The French examples also pointed out the emulation of successful designers which the Beaux-Arts system fostered, a practice followed by Carrère and Hastings with unusual skill and panache in their early work.

Direct parallels between the Jefferson and the Casino at Monte Carlo included a central winter garden called an "atrium," a rusticated base, a triple-arched loggia, twin-domed campaniles, and recessed, two-bay wings. The lower facades were identically composed and the buildings shared more features than either has in common with their original sources in Italy. The casino as a building type might be taken as an appropriate model for a social center for a post-Civil War American city.[80] Each building answered the unprecedented need of a newly mobile bourgeois society for an appropriately splendid public setting. The Monte Carlo casino, built by the holder of a concession granted by the Prince of Monaco, and the Jefferson, with its commercial impetus and ambitious private patron, were local solutions to related problems. It is questionable whether either building actually functioned as a civic institution. Instead, they were commercial enterprises that borrowed the scale and monumental treatment, as codified by the École, of such an

institution.[81] One very obvious way in which the Jefferson Hotel differed from a real public building was in its relative exclusivity and focus on entertainment. Like a club, and unlike the Virginia Capitol, standards of dress and the possession of ready money were prerequisites for entry and enjoyment. In addition, the architects were careful to address the nature of the hotel building type in their architectural treatment. The hotel's form and decoration contrasted with the heavier and more ornate designs of competition entries by the same firm for government buildings during the same period.

Beaux-Arts Classicism at the Jefferson

Taken as a whole, in both plan and elevation, the hotel shows a more thoroughly French architectural character than most other American buildings of its period. Several projects from the mid-1890s, including the architects' Patterson, New Jersey, City Hall (1893-1895) were similar in their uncompromising Beaux-Arts stance. As one critic avers, they showed an "assertive tone that bordered on zealous idealism" in the use of Modern French vocabulary.[82] This tendency may have resulted from a need on the part of several rising young firms to distinguish themselves from the vastly successful McKim, Mead, and White office.[83] Hastings' writings, however, indicate a personal commitment to French principles as the best conduit for the full introduction of classicism to American building.[84]

Carrère and Hastings' early employment in the office of McKim, Mead, and White undoubtedly also exerted a strong effect on the direction the partners took. Charles Follen McKim and Stanford White were the foremost practitioners in the architectural movement known as the American Renaissance, founded on the principles enunciated by the École des

Beaux-Arts. Many parallels may be drawn between the Jefferson and Stanford White's Madison Square Garden of 1889. They include the light-colored brick walls, the richly detailed terra cotta ornament, the dramatic towers, the elaborate roof gardens, and the role both buildings played in civic life. Madison Square Garden (plate 27), as well as the great New York hotels of the same period, exhibited a monumental character based in the Beaux-Arts tradition but less wedded to French planning principles, as is apparent in their screen-like exteriors and lack of hierarchical systems of circulation. It was recognized at the time that Carrère and Hastings surpassed most American firms, including McKim, Mead, and White, at effective and systematic planning.[85]

Like Garnier, Carrère and Hastings effectively distilled and transformed Beaux-Arts planning principles dating from the eighteenth century. The École consistently based architectural design in the plan and its exterior expression. The intersecting circulatory rectangles so characteristic of Prix de Rome plans throughout the century and ultimately expressed in the design of Garnier's Opéra were condensed in their application at the Jefferson. The architects unified the remarkably articulate plan of the hotel, in which circulation worked on multiple functional and symbolic layers, by a regular repetition of interlocking elements. A cage-like grid of piers, columns, and beams, organized in tripartite groupings, has been noted by some observers as characteristic of Carrère and Hastings' work.[86] This manifestation of the Beaux-Arts method of planning extends throughout the Jefferson Hotel. It is even more evident in such French buildings as Henri Blondel"s Hôtel Continental (plate 2). The elaborate imposition of grids in hotel plans may result from an

acknowledgment of the support required below many floors of corridors lined with sleeping rooms.

The Jefferson, like its predecessor, the Ponce de Leon, was unique among American luxury hotels in the insistence of its French academicism. This thoroughness bolstered its claim to be taken seriously as a public amenity, but distinguished it from most of its American counterparts. A contemporary observer, quoted above, suggested that academic planning was unneccessary in hotels, where questions of profitability might override the full development of the plan.[87] Carefully laid out circulation patterns and architectural grids were usually eschewed for elaborate decoration and theatrical effects in hotels like Hardenburgh's Waldorf and Manhattan hotels and McKim, Mead, and White's Sherry's Hotel. In contrast to the architectonic clarity and consistency from floor to floor at the Jefferson, the vast ballroom ceiling at the Waldorf-Astoria invisibly carried as many as fifteen stories of bedroom corridors.[88]

The effectiveness of the design of the hotel became particularly apparent in both plan and elevation in the neat harmonization of the triple requirements of the site: the vertical and horizontal circulation patterns of the upper "parlor" and lower "office" floors, the double-loaded corridors of the E-shaped bedroom floors above, and the change in elevation from the north to the south. The visually unified presentation plan (plate 6) strongly suggests a compact and multi-leveled version of the plan of the Hôtel Continental. A plan of that hotel (plate 2), published by 1892 in Paul-Amédée Planat's Encyclopédie de l'architecture et de la construction, showed similarly articulated circulation corridors and a double court.

The academic focus on plan, clearly visible at the Jefferson, was augmented in the mid-nineteenth century by new developments in design. Garnier, with the guidance of Félix Duban, architect of the École, had elaborated an intuitive, empathetic approach to building in which the traditional principles of architectural decorum were overlaid or superseded by an intensely personal and synthetic style felt by many to be appropriate to the altered conditions of imperial France at mid-century. For Garnier, an essential part of design lay in the creation of architectural tableau, which, in an important civic institution like the Opéra, provided a expansive stage for the gathering of modern bourgeois society.

Carrère and Hastings paid homage directly to Duban in the lower glazed court at the Jefferson, but their debt to him is also apparent in more subtle ways. Duban had demonstrated his free approach to classical propriety at the École, creating an outdoor museum of architectural history in its forecourt and employing a fictive piano nobile on the Palais des Études. Duban's influence on Garnier led him "towards a rethinking of the orders as articulating decoration instead of as the unitary source of architectural form."[89] Duban guided him by encouragement and example to his spectacularly personal and scenographic designs, in which a building's character, once the sole province of the orders, painting, and sculpture, was primarily defined as a sequence of architectural tableaux.

Christopher Curtis Mead demonstrates how the eclecticism of Garnier profoundly influenced the work of students at the École in the later years of the nineteenth century. This can clearly be seen at work at the Jefferson Hotel, with its references to both Garnier and Duban, its compositional and decorative bravado, its scenographic central processional route, and its civic pretensions. Thomas Hastings regarded the orders in a similar light to

that of Garnier: they were "elastic and pliable- the willing and ready servants or instruments in composition."[90] The plasticity and economy of terra cotta allowed Hastings' free use of his ready pencil to compose and balance the myriad orders on each facade of the Jefferson. Just as the paired, colored columns on the Franklin Street facade may be seen as quotations from the principal front of the Opèra, their idiosyncratic capitals, as Mead has pointed out, "suggest an imaginative synthesis of the Corinthian and Composite types" related to those employed by Garnier.[91]

Arthur Drexler observed that "Garnier's problem in adapting a paradigm from the academic genre was to render it buildable, a feat he accomplished by reducing the number of parts and interrelating the treatment of them."[92] Lewis Ginter made it possible in Richmond for Carrère and Hastings to achieve a similar goal at a smaller scale than that of imperial Paris and in the very different conditions of "New-South" Richmond.[93] While Garnier's Opéra incorporated carefully articulated social hierarchies in its circulation patterns based on processional arrival routes, the Jefferson embodied an American division into business and social worlds, expressed, at least superficially, as women's and men's spheres connected by a ceremonial staircase. The Jefferson's principal failure as a design, its awkward exterior massing, chiefly springs from this bifurcation into two parts, essentially American in its origin.

There were, however, several ways in which the hotel departed from the most imaginative modern French practice and displayed a more pedestrian sensibility. Richmond's urban form allowed for few axially placed buildings. Except for the Capitol, churches, government buildings, and commercial structures all occupied conventional lots in

There were, however, several ways in which the hotel departed from the most imaginative modern French practice and displayed a more pedestrian sensibility. Richmond's urban form allowed for few axially placed buildings. Except for the Capitol, churches, government buildings, and commercial structures all occupied conventional lots in the overall grid plan. The symmetrical and monumental aspects of the deeply modeled Franklin Street facade, appropriate for a free-standing civic monument, were largely squandered on the side of Franklin Street. Although the loggias and campaniles formed a picturesque skyline and dominated the view over the rooftops along the street, the design would have been better served by an axial approach or forecourt. The uninflected south front better suits the hotel's undistinguished streetside location and commercial function.

The choice of Duban's accretionary sculpture court, the result of historical circumstance rather than pure architectural composition, for imitation in a hotel, while it suggests that the building was intended to serve as a civilizing institution like the École, seems to defy even Garnier's revised conception of architectural character.[94] The selective application of the principles of architectural decorum in the use of the orders and the hierarchy of materials and textures suggests a more inflexible adherence to traditional Beaux-Arts principles on the part of Carrère and Hastings. In addition, the stylistic disjunctions experienced in moving from section to section and the self-effacing emulation apparent in many features subverts the sense of the personal and theatrical continuity so characteristic of Garnier and his contemporaries in France.

Conclusion

The Jefferson Hotel represents Lewis Ginter's deliberate remolding of post-Civil War social life in his adopted city. His gesture undoubtedly irritated some of the city's leaders, but the scale of his contribution overwhelmed most criticism. In spite of the near critical oblivion into which their effort was subsequently cast, Lewis Ginter and his architects achieved at the Jefferson a remarkably successful architectural synthesis. The complexity and originality of the design grew out of the Jefferson's relatively small scale, generous capitalization, expansive functional program, and the personal direction of its developer.[95] Comparison with contemporary hotel plans in Europe, particularly in France, show some parallels, but no hotel in Paris or New York at this date displayed the same virtuoso combination of hierarchically arranged exterior massing and interior circulation patterns with an eclectic decorative scheme. Few commercial enterprises then or later embodied such an ambitious effort at filling a social and civic role by emulating the architecture of established institutions.

The young firm of Carrère and Hastings evoked the full depth of French academic classicism at this important project in the opening phase of the American Renaissance. The architects synthesized recent French ideas to meet a uniquely American program. The evidence of their loyalty to their French educational backgrounds, allied with the social role of the building, augments current views of the American Renaissance. American architecture was, in this case, less about establishing a connection with the empires and republics of the past, than with an informed emulation of the new-found civic and architectural aspirations of the French bourgeoisie in related American settings.

The Jefferson Hotel represents an early effort of a firm of American Renaissance architects to develop a coherent form of architectural expression appropriate for the American city and an attempt to overlay the commercial aspect of modern urban life with the classical order increasingly visible in European cities. In spite of the effort to correspond to neighboring cornice heights on its Franklin Street front, the hotel loomed on the skyline of Richmond with an uncharacteristic bulk and unheard-of European ornamental splendor. No attempt was made to recall regional building traditions. With the advent of the Jefferson the former Confederate capital turned its back on its antebellum past.

The eclecticism imbibed at the École in the 1880s, far from inculcating an internal coherence like that of the Opéra, led the partners to draw from radically disparate, largely European, models to impose on Richmond an uncharacteristic setting for the city's new social life. In the controlled sense of movement, the scenographic interpenetration of space, and the theatrical use of the disparate themes of Pompeiian antiquity, French kingly magnificence, and Mediterranean splendor, the hotel embodied many late-nineteenth-century French themes. The underlying handling of volume and decor by Carrère and Hastings at the Jefferson made them precocious American heirs of the tradition of Garnier.

Notes

1. Carrère and Hastings, Architects, Jefferson Hotel Drawings, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

2. John Paul Graham, "Carrère and Hastings and the American Renaissance in Richmond, Virginia," Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 1988.

3. Curtis Channing Blake, "The Architecture of Carrère and Hastings," Phd. dissertation, Columbia University, 1976, 261-64.

4. David Watkin et al, Grand Hotel: The Golden Age of Palace Hotels: An Architectural and Social History (New York and Paris: Vendome, 1984) 23; Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Building Types, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976) 183.

5. Watkin, 17-18.

6. Pevsner, 175-76.

7. Pevsner, 175-76.

8. Henry James, The American Scene (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1968) 102.

9. Leon Edel, "Introduction," Henry James, The American Scene (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1968) xiv-xv.

10. James, 102-3.

11. C.H. Blackall, "The American Hotel, Part II," The Brickbuilder 12 (March 1903) 47.

12. Blackall, 53.

13. Watkin, 18-19.

14. Norval White, The Guide to the Architecture of Paris (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991) 160-61.

15. Paul-Amédée Planat, Encyclopédie de Architecture et de la Construction, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Paris: Dujardin, 1888-92) 161-62.

16. Watkin, 18; Christopher Curtis Mead, Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism (New York: The Architectural History Foundation and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991) 81.

17. Watkin, 65.

18. Lewis Ginter was a popular sponsor of several projects to improve his adopted city. At the time the hotel was under construction, he was also the developer of an expansive suburb on the streetcar line to the north of the city. David D. Ryan and Wayland W. Rennie, Lewis Ginter's Richmond, (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1991).

19. Ryan.

20. Edwin J. Slipek, "The Genius of Lewis Ginter," Richmond Mercury (28 May 1975) 11.

21. Dale Wheary, "Ginter's 901 West Franklin Street by Harvey L. Page," unpublished Mss. produced under the direction of Charles E. Brownell, Department of Art History, Virginia Commonwealth University, December, 1993. This paper describes Ginter's philanthropic projects and his sophisticated and understated house in the Romanesque style begun in 1888 some blocks west of the Jefferson.

22. W. Asbury Christian, Richmond: Her Past and Present (Richmond: L.H. Jenkins, 1912) 419, 446; The Advantages of Richmond, Virginia as a Manufacturing and Trading Centre, with Notes for the Guidance of Tourists on the Lines of Transportation Running From Richmond. Richmond: Trade Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club, 1882, 54.

23. Jay Killian Bowman Williams, Changed Views and Unforseen Prosperity: Richmond of 1890 Gets a Monument to Lee (Richmond: privately printed, 1969) 2-3.

24. Richard Guy Wilson, The American Renaissance: 1876-1917 (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1976) 75.

25. David Garrard Lowe, Stanford White's New York (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

26. It may be argued that the selection of the name Jefferson for the hotel, which may have been suggested by its location on Jefferson Street between Franklin and Main streets, was intended to reinforce its connection with civic and political life in the city. Jefferson was an appropriate hero for the commercial New South, unconnected to the more recent Civil War struggles.

27. Carrère and Hastings, Architects, "Perspective View of Main Street Front/ Accepted Design of the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia/ Competitive Design Submitted by Carrère and Hastings, Architects," The Brickbuilder 4 (June 1895) pl. 41-42.

28. Blake, 1-23.

29. Blake, 11; Musèe d'Orsay/Musèe des Beaux-Arts de Tours, Victor Laloux, 1850-1937: L'architecte de la gare d'Orsay (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication/éditions de la Reunion des Musèes Nationaux, 1987) 63-67.

30. Arthur Drexler, ed., The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977) 286-87.

31. Blake, 1-23.

32. "The Work of Messrs. Carrère and Hastings," Architectural Record 27 (Jan. 1910) 1.

33. The lot was formerly occupied by the Joseph R. Anderson House, a temple-fronted Greek Revival dwelling which Lewis Ginter demolished to build the hotel. The site became available in September of 1892, when Anderson died, and Ginter purchased it two months later. Mary Wingfield Scott, Houses of Old Richmond (Richmond: Valentine Museum, 1941) 230-31.

34. Two hotels and two churches were built in Saint Augustine for Henry Flagler, a remarkably similar figure to Lewis Ginter. The rural New York native left home to gain a fortune at the age of fourteen and later in life used his accumulated wealth and acumen to help found the Standard Oil Company. After his retirement he spent many millions of dollars developing resorts along the west coast of Florida and personally overseeing the construction of several grand hotels. Blake, 56-57, 99-113.

35. Carrère and Hastings, "The Jefferson, Richmond, Virginia: Carrère and Hastings, Architects," American Architect and Building News 902 (April 1893).

36. Blake, 26-29.

37. The plan of the hotel underwent several changes from the competition drawing of 1893 (plate 6) to the form as built. The addition of the campaniles accompanied a retraction of the wings on the north front, the abandonment of a pair of curving stairs from the floor of the rotunda to the Dining Room entrance, and the addition of a range of reception rooms and parlors across the entire north front where bedrooms had been previously indicated next to a narrow foyer. The changes suggest an elaboration of a plan for the hotel to function as a club-like social center for the city's elite.

38. "The Jefferson, Ready for Guests," Richmond Dispatch (27 Oct. 1895) 3; "The Jefferson, Its Magnificent and Imposing Splendor."

39. Blake, 53.

40. Charles Brownell, personal communication, 14 October 1994. Professor Brownell has been extremely helpful in pointing out important aspects of the building and its decoration.

41. C.H. Blackall, writing in 1903, described as "a feature of hotel ettiquette that a lady shall enter by a separate entrance, if possible on one side, and that close by the ladies' entrance there shall be a small waiting room, called, by courtesy, the ladies' parlor, which is usually a convenient resting place on the way either to the elevators, which ought to be close at hand, or to the dining room, which should never be far distant. . . . It seems to be unwritten custom that ladies shall

keep out of the lobby. Smoking is generally permitted there, and ladies are supposed to only cross the lobby but not to linger therein. . . . It is usual in hotels of the present day to place the Café and barroom in the basement and reserve the restaurant on the ground floor for ladies alone or with escorts." The plan of the Jefferson included all these features, but added a ladies' registration desk, stairway and elevator off the ladies' entrance in the Marble Hall. The sloping site allowed the male basement region to develop into a separate main-floor area with its own entrance and lobby. None of the important American hotels described or illustrated in Blackall's article provided so comprehensive a division into male and female sections. Blackall, an architect, earlier had used the Jefferson as a model for a proposed hotel (See note 95). Blackall, 47-52.

42. Pevsner, 180-81.

43. "The Jefferson, Ready for Guests," 1.

44. This function was not without precedent. Eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century assembly rooms, taverns, and hotels had served as cultural and social centers in the major cities of the eastern seaboard and the courthouse towns of Virginia, as well as in their English homeland. Indeed David Watkin sees the American luxury hotel as foreshadowed by B. Henry Latrobe's unbuilt neoclassical Richmond Theater of the 1790s, which combined a theater, hotel, and assembly room. The springs resorts of the United States transformed the European tradition of collective recreation and gave it a quasi-civic architectural setting in the early-to-mid nineteenth century. Watkin, 14.

45. "The Jefferson, Ready for Guests," 1.

46. The undated article, written for the Richmond News at about the time of the hotel fire in 1901 by a young James Branch Cabell, put the words in the mouth of a fictional Capitol Square bench-sitter and bar-room philosopher named Theodore. James Branch Cabell Papers, Scrapbook #1, James Branch Cabell Library, Virginia Commonwealth University.

47. A contemporary list of separate suppliers for the hotel includes plumbers (Dalton and Chappell of Richmond), brick masons (T.E. Savage of Richmond), plasterers (P.B. Polhemus), iron-workers (Chamberlayne and Scott), carpentry (Charles E. Langley), kitchen equipment (Duparquet, Knott, and Moncuse Co. of New York, Chicago and Boston), bedroom furniture (Nelson-Matter Co. of Grand Rapids), upholstered furniture (A.B. and E.L. Shaw of Boston), dining room tables (Philip Strobel and Sons of New York), silverware (Meriden Britannia Co. of Meriden, Conn.), carpets (W. And J. Sloane of New York), linen (Shepard, Norwell, and Co. of Boston), chandeliers (Archer Concross Co.), bedroom pictures (W.H. Ketcham of New York), and paintings (T.J. Blakeslee of New York). The general contractor was Peres B. Polhemus of New York. "The Jefferson, Ready For Guests." 1.

48. Blake, 11.

49. "The Jefferson, Its Magnificent and Imposing Splendor" 16. Both the Richmond Times and the Richmond Dispatch published extensive and comprehensive descriptions of the hotel during the week of its opening. Parallels between the structure and terminology of both articles suggest they were based on a text provided by the architects to hotel publicists, and thus, read carefully, may provide a limited idea of the architect's intentions.

50. Blackall, 52.

51. Blake, 53.

52. Thornton, 353.

53. Artistic Houses, being a series of interior views of a number of the most beautiful and celebrated homes in the United States, with a description of the art treasures contained therein. 1883 (New York: B. Blum, 1971). Several of the houses are decorated with different and contrasting styles used from room to room, including "Louis Seize," as well as houses consistently decorated in that manner.

54. César Daly, Motifs historiques d'architecture et de sculpture d'ornement, (2 serie) Decorations interieures empruntées à des édifices français, du commencement de la renaissance à la fin de Louis XVI, vol. 2 (Paris: Ducher et cie, 1880) pl. 16.

55. The architects originally proposed that the statue of Jefferson in the center of the court stand on top of an elaborate marble fountain composed of tiered oval pools and reached by diagonally placed paths, with elaborately carved, curved exedral benches to either side. Carrère and Hastings, Architectural Drawings.

56. The Jefferson of Richmond, Virginia, brochure, c. 1896, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia refers to the "Office Rotunda," while "The Jefferson, Ready for Guests," Richmond Dispatch calls it the "Rotunda." The disjunction between the name and the shape of the room suggests that its name was intended to associate the room in the minds of visitors with other rooms of a circular or domed form. Lewis Ginter may have meant to refer to Jefferson's rotundas in Charlottesville's University of Virginia and Capitol in Richmond or to the domed central halls in many American hotels built since the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

57. "The Jefferson, Ready for Guests," 1.

58. Blake, 263.

59. "The Jefferson, Ready for Guests," 1.

60. The works of art in the Jefferson, prominently featured in most contemporary publications, enhanced the hotel's role as a public institution, while the statue of Jefferson the statesman emphasized the virtues associated with political wisdom and Virginia's past, as detailed in a contemporary newspaper article. "Statue of Jefferson," Richmond Times (3 Nov. 1895).

61. "Les Boules de Savon," an important painting by Elizabeth Gardner, an American who studied with and later married French genre painter Adolphe William Bougeureau, survives in the hotel. It was probably purchased by Ginter where it was exhibited, at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Many paintings were undoubtedly purchased by agents: a contemporary account of hotel suppliers credits T.J. Blakeslee of New York as purchasing paintings in the hotel (see "The Jefferson, Ready for Guests," Richmond Dispatch). A Richmond art dealer remembers that hundreds of paintings were sold by the Jefferson's management in the early 1950s, according to the hotel's Mary Stuart Cruikshank.

62. "The Jefferson, Its Magnificent and Imposing Splendor."

63. Emily J. Salmon, "The Belle of the Nineties: Richmond's Jefferson Hotel, 1895-1995," Virginia Calvacade 45 (Summer 1995) 9.

64. Don Pierce, One Hundred Years at the Jefferson: A History of Richmond's Grand Hotel (Richmond: Page One Inc., 1995) 13-14.

65. Pierce, 14.

66. Salmon, 9.

67. Salmon, 9.

68. Salmon, 9.

69. The hotel seems to have made a small impression on the city's consciousness. Ellen Glasgow, the city's most intense social critic, was quick to condemn or parody urban innovations that she saw as pretentious or false (Monument Avenue became "Granite Avenue" in her books). A cursory examination of her work failed to uncover any deprecatory reference to the Jefferson. She probably saw it, however, as one more example of the new industrialism "that was beginning to prepare the ground for its ultimate triumph," although "the established social order had not [yet] surrendered unconditionally to its Chamber of Commerce." MacDonald, 43-44.

70. James saw the hotel, epitomized by New York's Waldorf-Astoria, and the Pullman car as the most potent evidences of the new commercial and Philistine nature of American civilization. James, 355-56.

71. "The Downfall of the Jefferson," unidentified clipping in Peter Merriwether Fry, Scrapbook concerning Jefferson Hotel (c. 1895-1910) in possession of Elizabeth Dorsey, Richmond, Virginia.

72. Mead, 110-13.

73. Thomas Hastings, "Architecture and Modern Life," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 94 (Feb. 1897) 403.

74. Thomas Hastings, "The Evolution of Style in Modern Architecture," North American Review 191 (February 1910): 197-99.

75. Blake, 66-67; Calder Loth, "Jefferson Hotel," in Charles Brownell, et al, The Making of Virginia Architecture (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1992) 320-321.

76. Drexler, 443-44.

77. Graham, 24. Lewis Ginter took his niece, Grace Arents, on a tour around the world in 1888. He is said to have made thirty trips to Europe and three around the world in connection with the opening of agencies of his tobacco company. Her diary, which unfortunately ended as they entered the European continent, records their viewing of architecture in Chicago, California, Australia, and Egypt. In Chicago, Grace Arents saw several "really wonderful specimens of architecture. One immense structure that looked like a prison was really only a wholesale dry goods house." She recorded the design of several hotels, including the Palace Hotel in San Francisco ("Quite a magnificent building many stories high with a center court open to the top.") and in Monterey ("It is built on three sides of a square with a center wing for the dining room and kitchen arrangements. The architecture reminds one of some of the old English cottages."). Grace Arents, uncatalogued materials, Grace Arents Papers, Box 182, Virginia Historical Society.

78. Marvin Trachtenburg and Isabelle Hyman, Architecture From Prehistory to Post-Modernism: The Western Tradition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986) 449.

79. École nationale des Beaux-Arts, Grands Prix de Rome D'architecture de 1850 à 1900, vol. 2, pt. 3 (Paris: Guernet, [1900?]) pls. 149-50, 151, 152, 354-55, 356-57, 358, 452-53, 454.

80. The nineteenth-century American mineral water resorts shared many features with the European winter resorts such as Monte Carlo or the spas like those at Vichy or Wiesbaden.

81. Carroll William Westfall has called the architecture of such civic institutions "the enduring form given through custom, practice, tradition or law to a principled activity that a group of people undertake in common." This kind of function differs from the commercial purposes of a hotel, most clearly in the degree to which the activity is principled. Robert Jan van Pelt and Carroll William Westfall, Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991) 67.

82. Blake, 65.

83. Blake, 71.

84. Hastings, "The Evolution of Style," 197-99.

85. Blake, 24-27.

86. Blake, 263-64.

87. Blackall, 53.

88. Blackall, 25.

89. Mead, 125.

90. Hastings, 405.

91. Mead, 235-36.

92. Drexler, 254.

93. Nearly ten years later Carrère and Hastings were to execute another hotel in the city, the Hotel Richmond, a large, much more conventional hotel on the Capitol Square, now serving as a state office building. The absence of a client as generous and perceptive as Lewis Ginter resulted in an unremarkable building not unlike most city hotels of the early twentieth century. Graham, 32-33.

94. École designs for art institutions, including Garnier's Prix de Rome project and a later competition entry for a proposed National Academy of Art by Carrère and Hastings, often contained central rooms which emulated the sculpture court as an exemplar of its type.

95. The importance of the building as a departure from American practice may be indicated by its use as a model by other architects. A frankly derivative project was proposed for use in a mountain setting by the Boston firm of Blackall and Newton in 1895 and published as "Design for a Mountain Hotel," American Architect and Building News 998 (Feb. 9, 1895) pl. 22.

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1. Grand Hôtel and Hôtel Terminus, Paris. Source: Paul-Amédèe Planat. Encyclopédie de l'architecture et de la construction (Paris: Dejardin, 1888-92) 160-161.

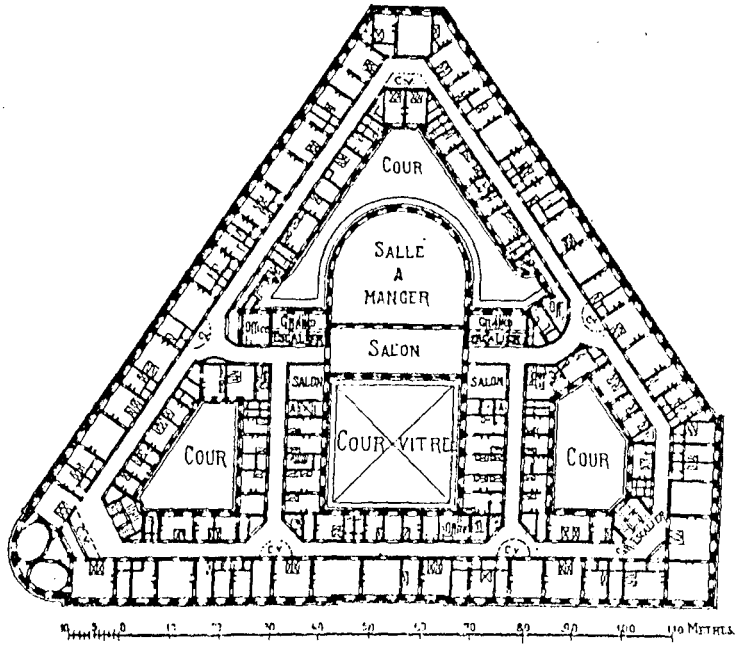


Fig. 6. — Le Grand Hôtel, à Paris.

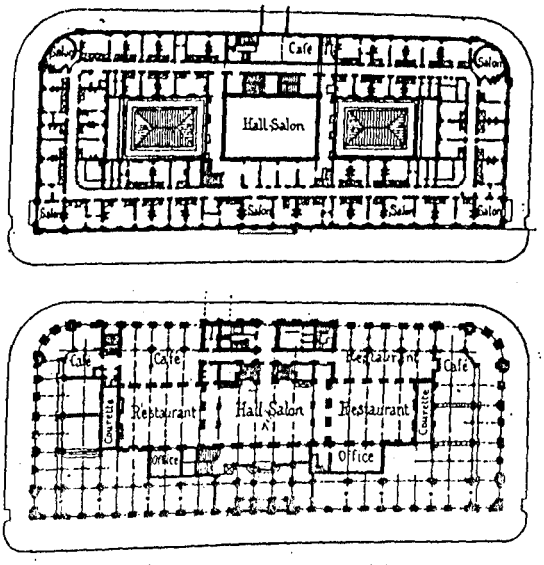
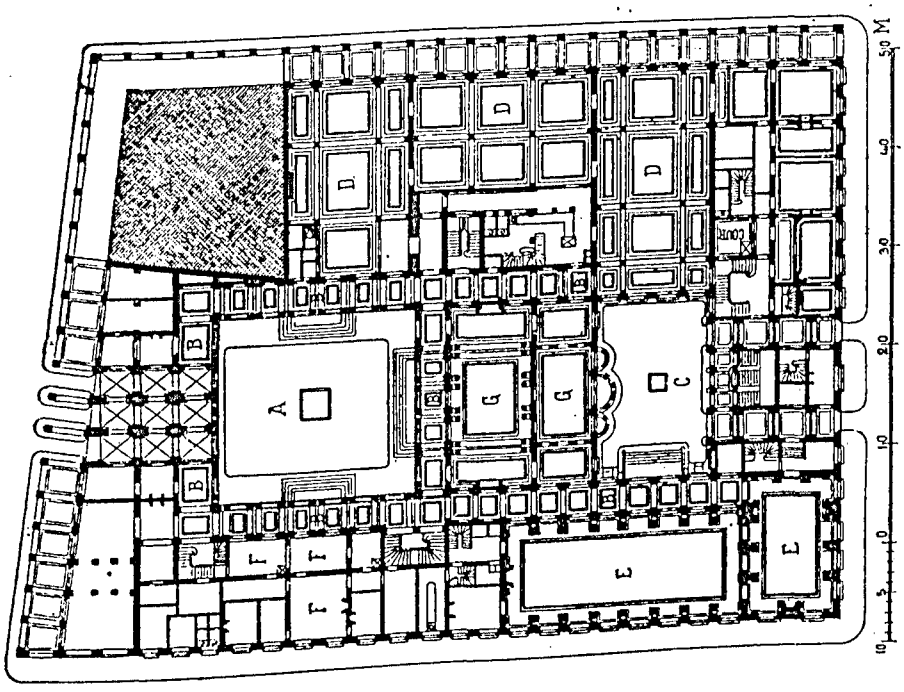
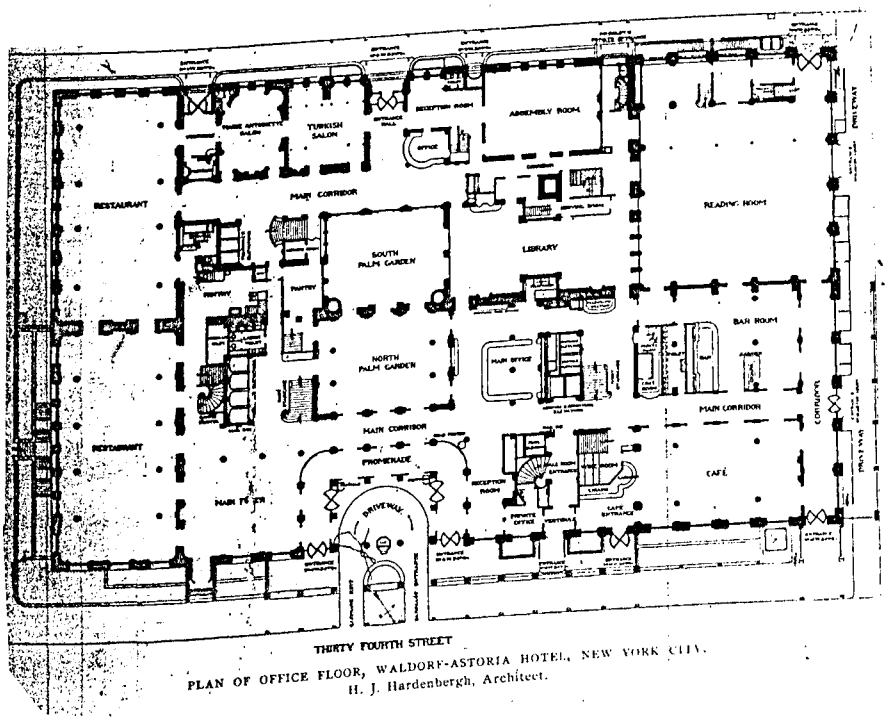


Fig. 4 et 5. — Hôtel Terminus, à Paris.

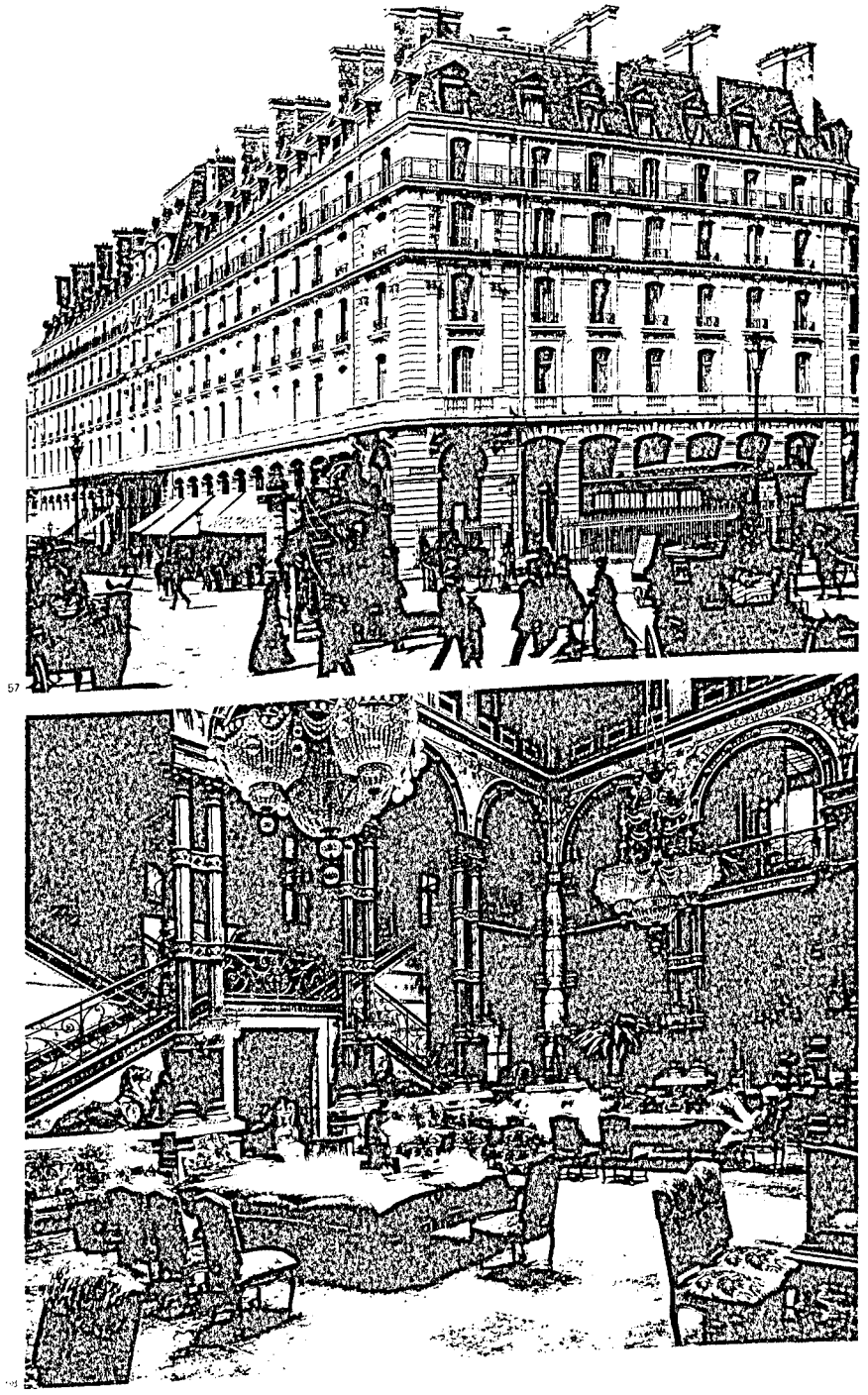
2. Above: Hôtel Continental, Paris. Source: Paul-Amédèe Planat. Encyclopédie de l'architecture et de la construction (Paris: Dejardin, 1888-92) 162. Below: Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York. Source: The Brickbuilder 12 (March 1903) 49.





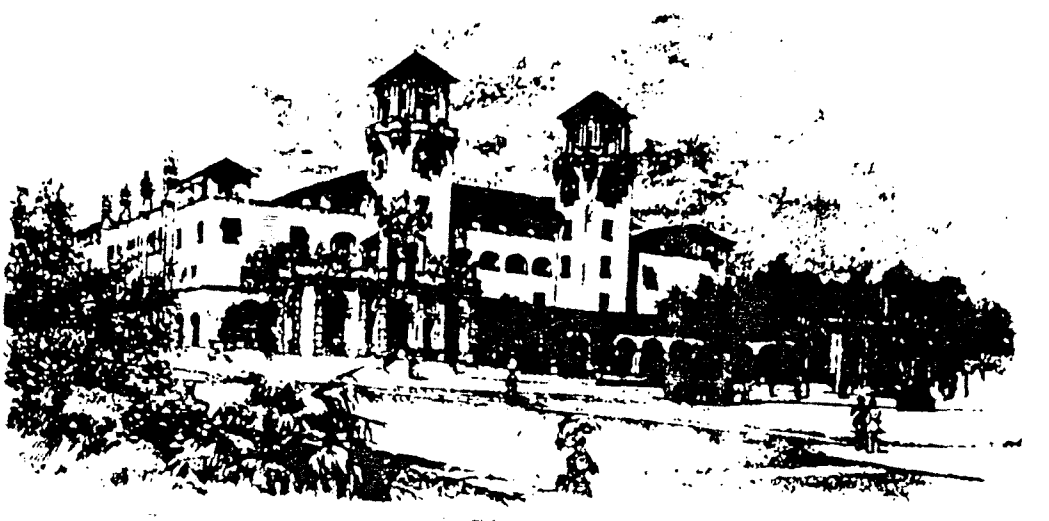
PLAN OF OFFICE FLOOR, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY.
H. J. Hardenbergh, Architect.

3. Exterior and Reading Room of the Hôtel Terminus, Paris. Source: David Watkin et al, Grand Hotel: The Golden Age of Palace Hotels: an Architectural and Social History (New York and Paris: Vendome, 1984) 65.

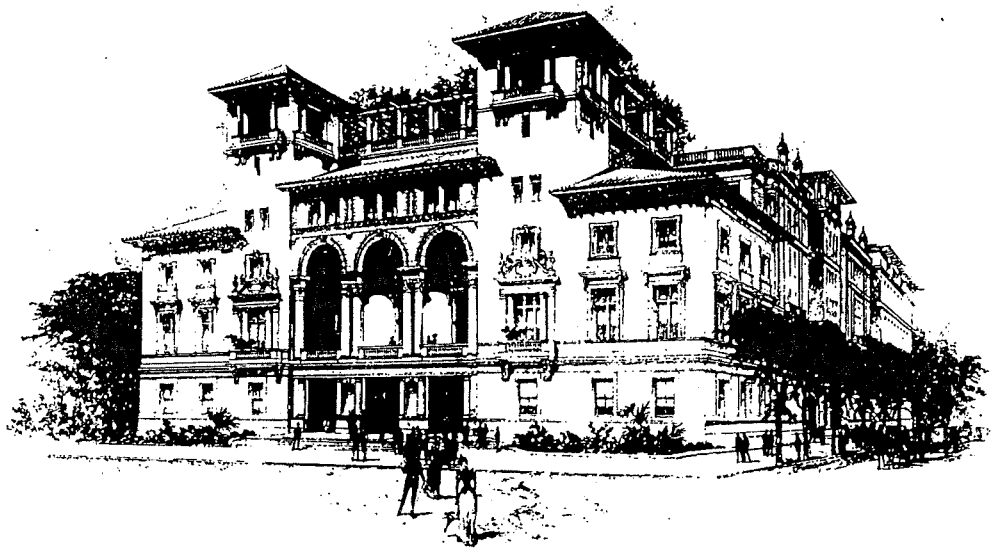


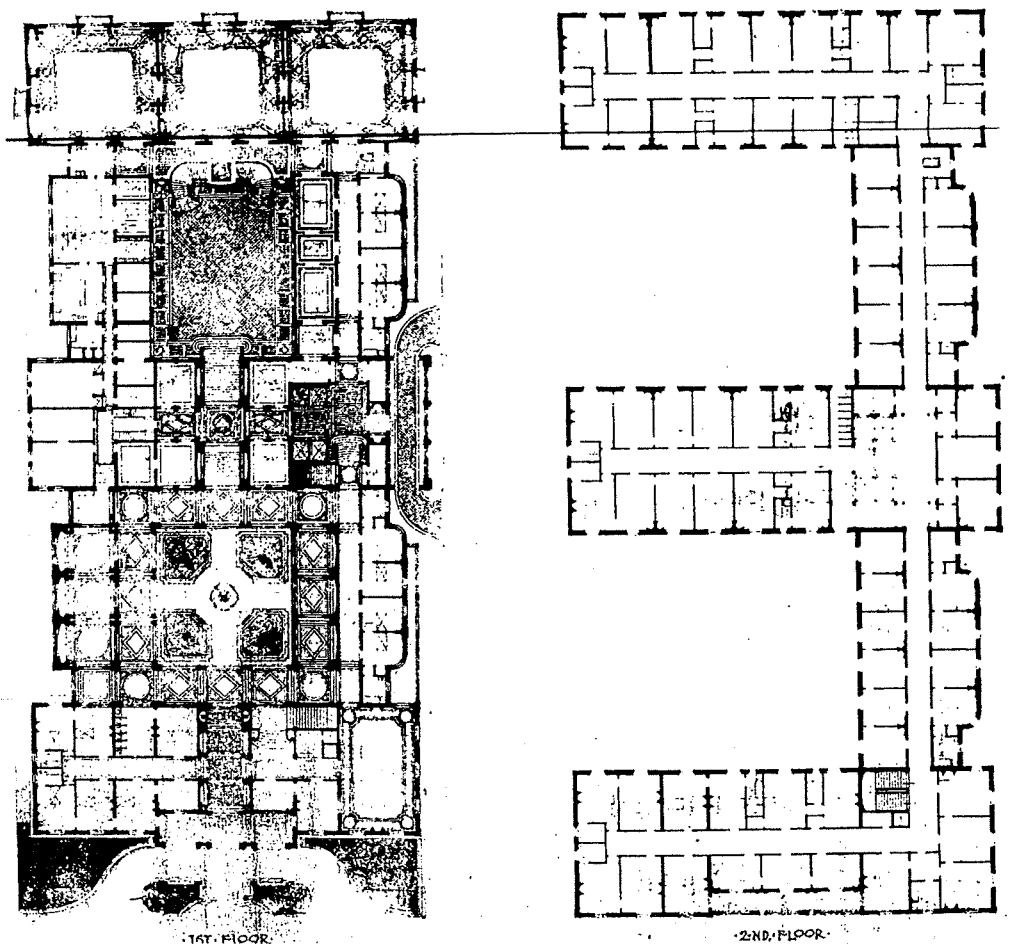
4. Lewis Ginter. Source: Mary H. Mitchell and Robert S. Hebb, A History of Bloemendaal (Richmond: The Lewis Ginter Botanical Gardens, Inc., 1986) 6.

5. Above: Ponce de Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida. Source: Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Building Types (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976) 183. Below: Alcazar Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida. Source: American Architect and Building News 44 (April 7, 1894) n.p.



6. Carrère and Hastings, "The Jefferson, Richmond, Virginia: Carrère and Hastings, Architects," American Architect and Building News 902 (April 1893).

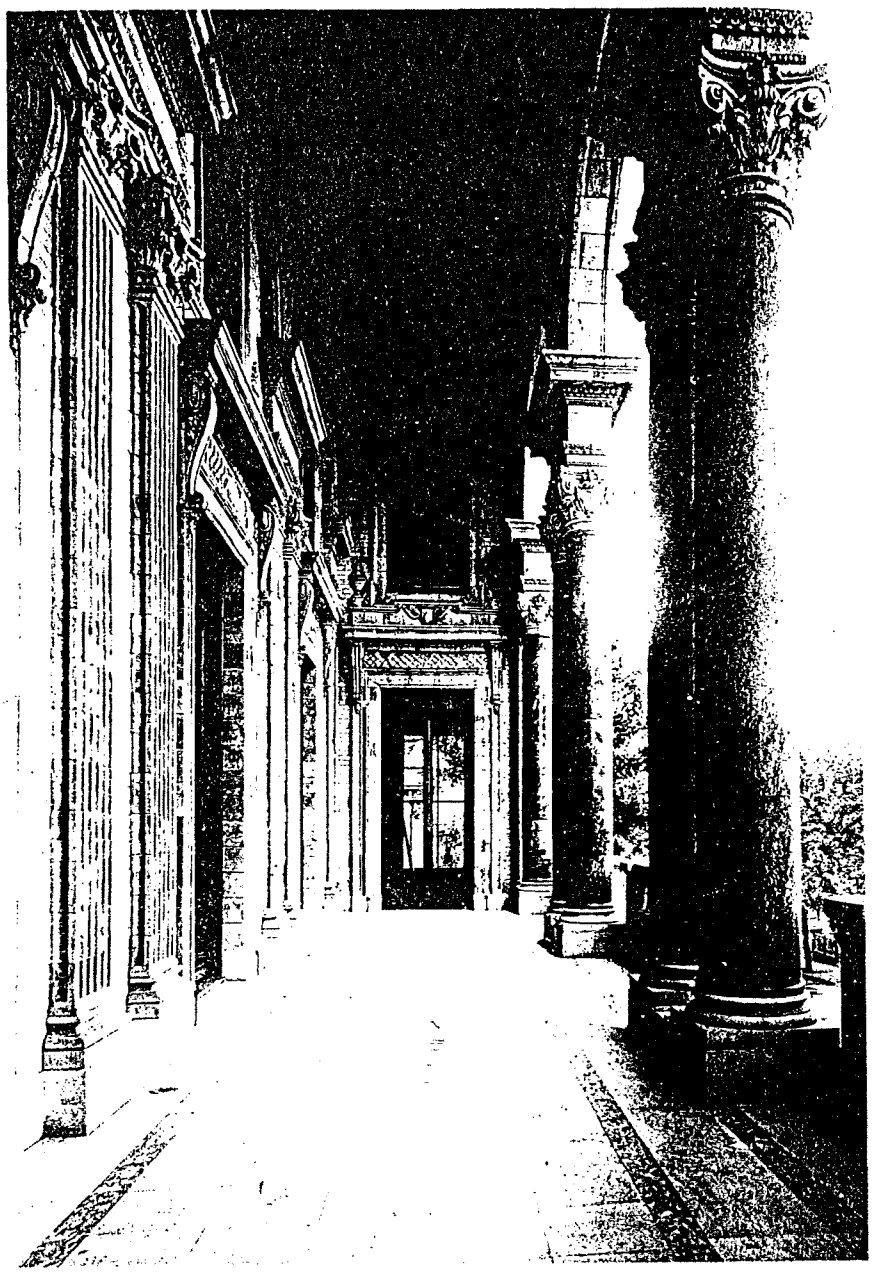




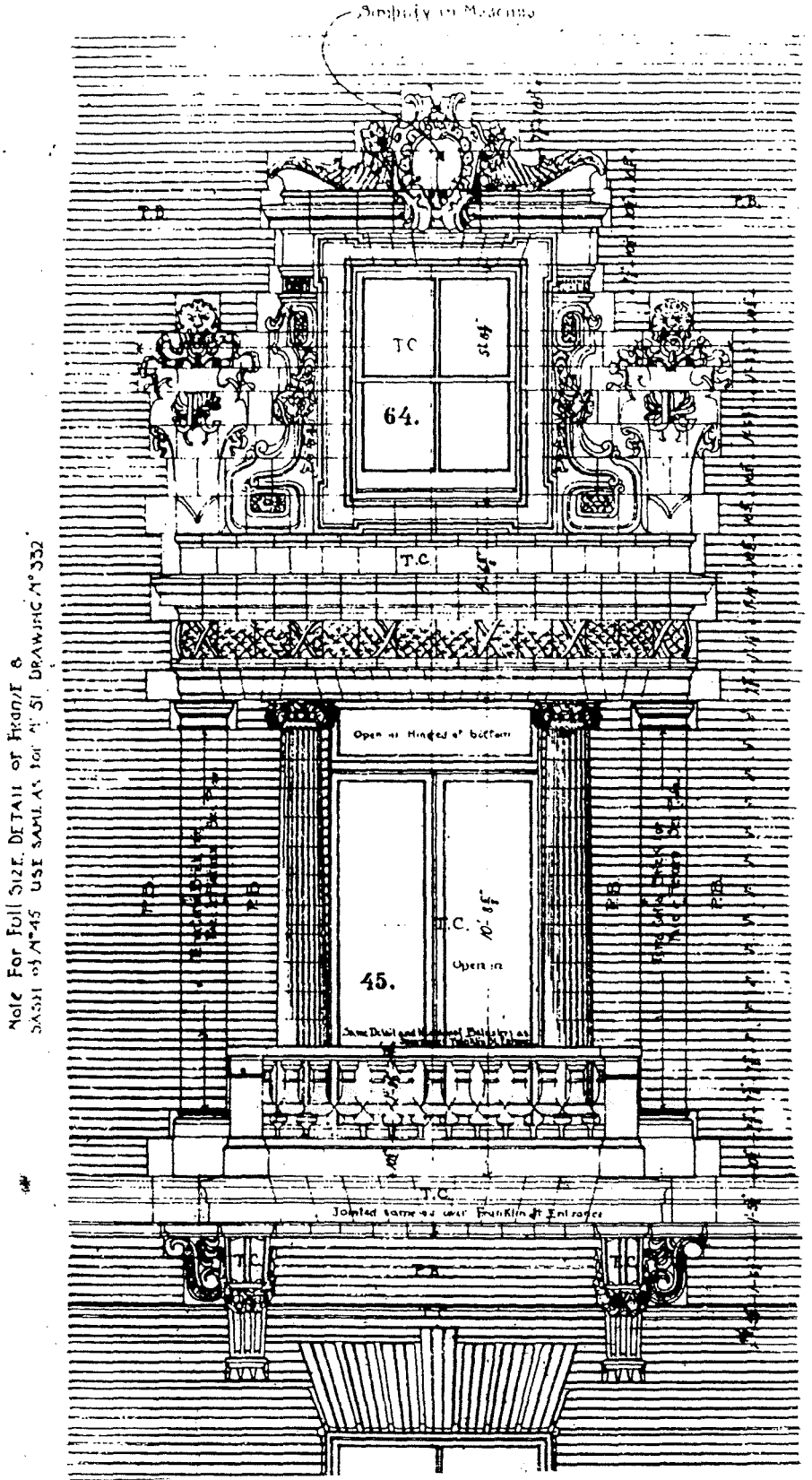
7. The Jefferson Hotel, c. 1898. Source: Valentine Museum, Richmond.

8. The Jefferson Hotel and the Archer Anderson House (in foreground). Source: Calder Loth, ed., The Virginia Landmarks Register (Richmond: Virginia Landmarks Commission, 1979) 80.

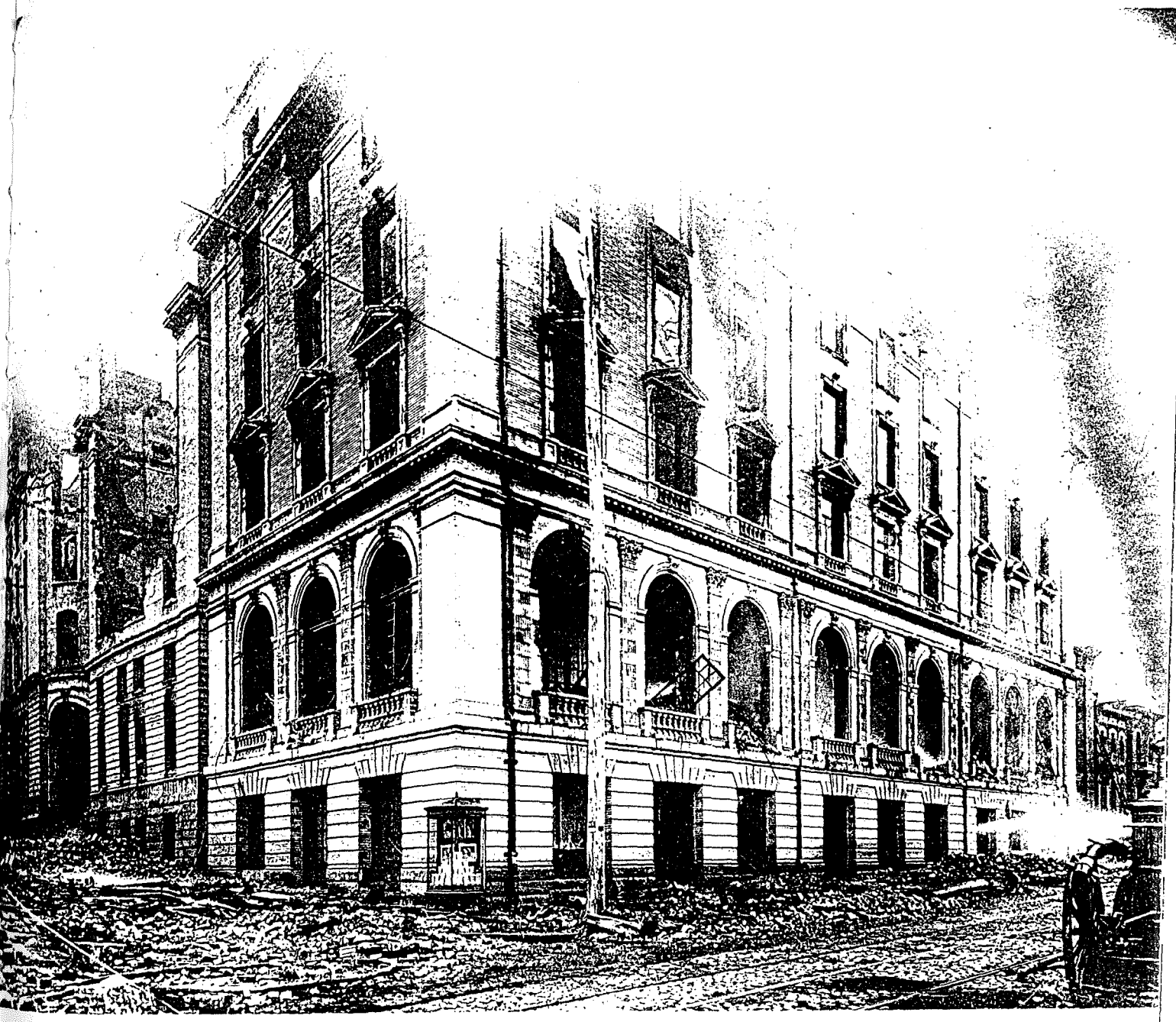
9. Loggia, Jefferson Hotel, c. 1895. Source: Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond.



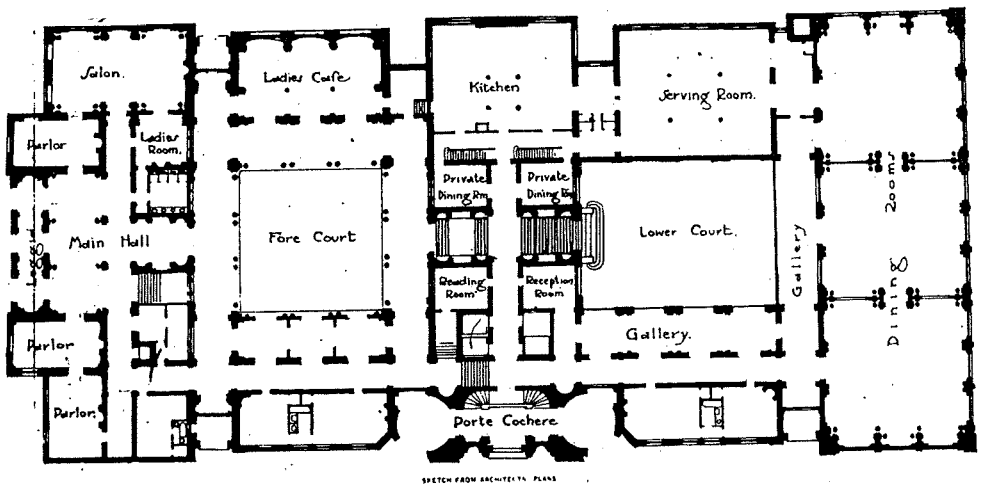
10. Working detail of a Franklin Street window surround. Source: Carrère and Hastings, "The Jefferson Hotel," Elevation and detail drawings, American Architect and Building News 45 (29 Sept. 1894) n.p.



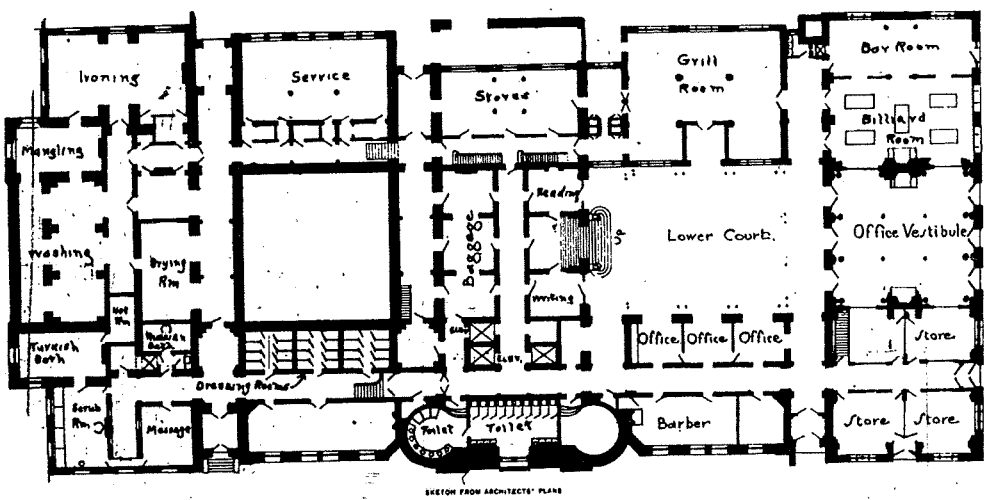
11. Jefferson Hotel During Fire of 1901. Source: Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond.



12. "Sketch from architects' plans: Plan of Parlor Floor, Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia," above, and "Plan of Office Floor, Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia," below. Source: The Brickbuilder 12 (March 1903) 48.

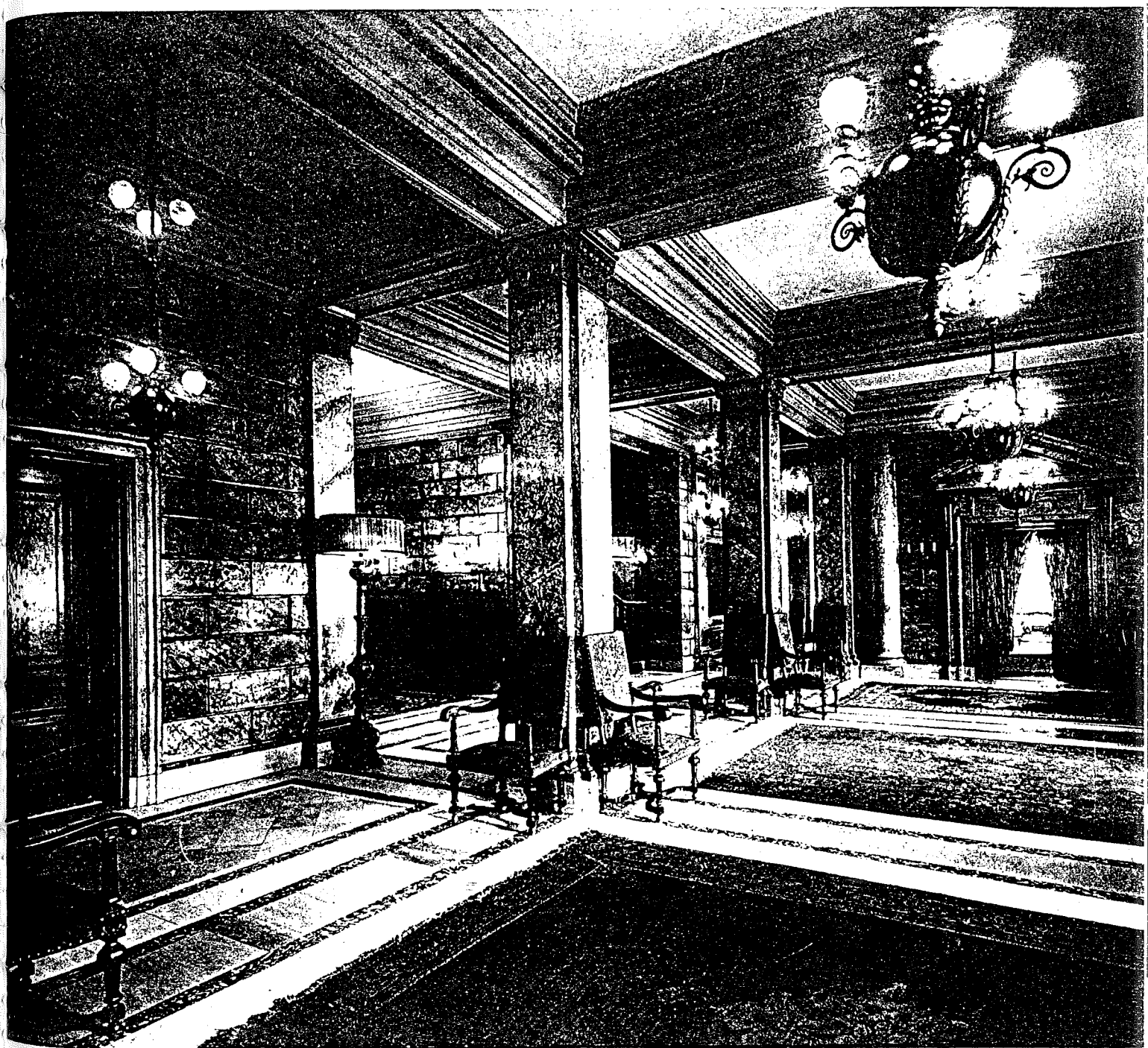


PLAN OF PARLOR FLOOR, HOTEL JEFFERSON, RICHMOND, VA.
Carrère & Hastings, Architects.

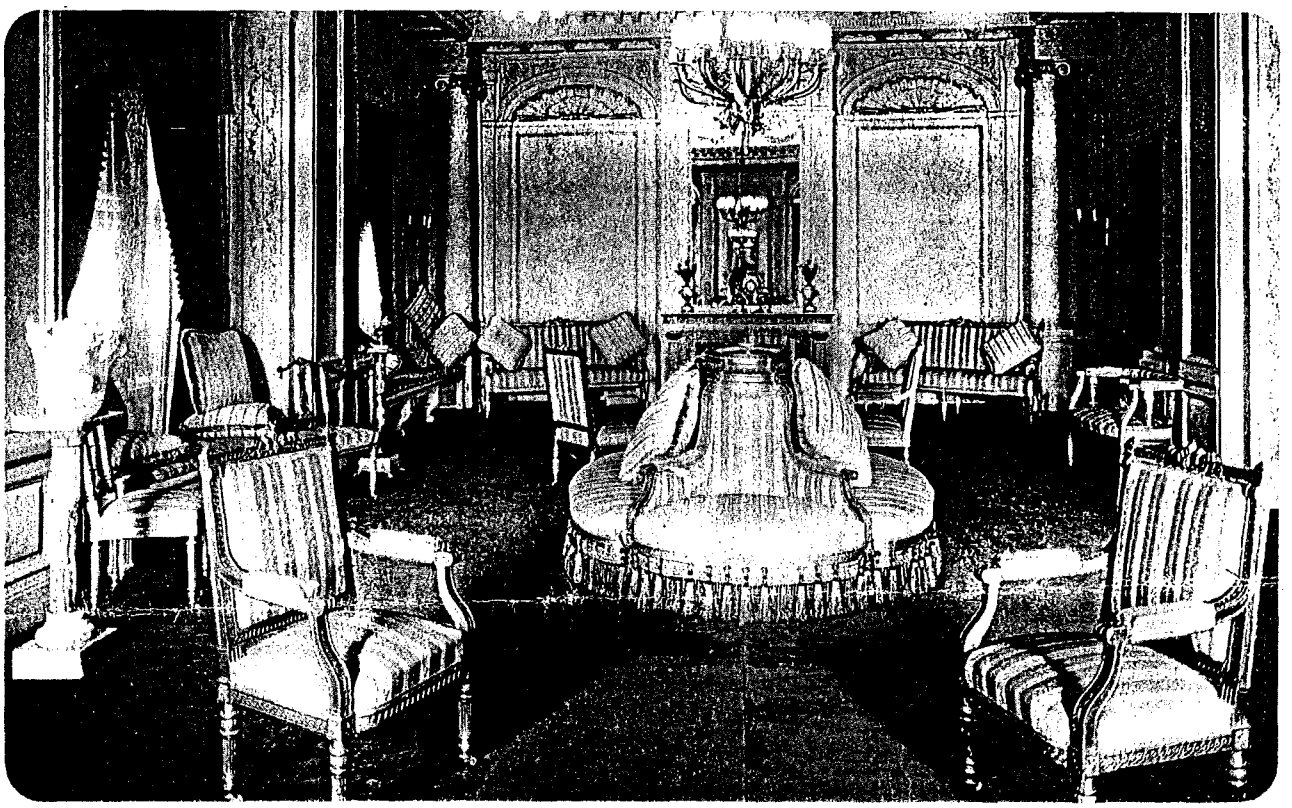


PLAN OF OFFICE FLOOR, JEFFERSON HOTEL, RICHMOND, VA.
Carrère & Hastings, Architects.

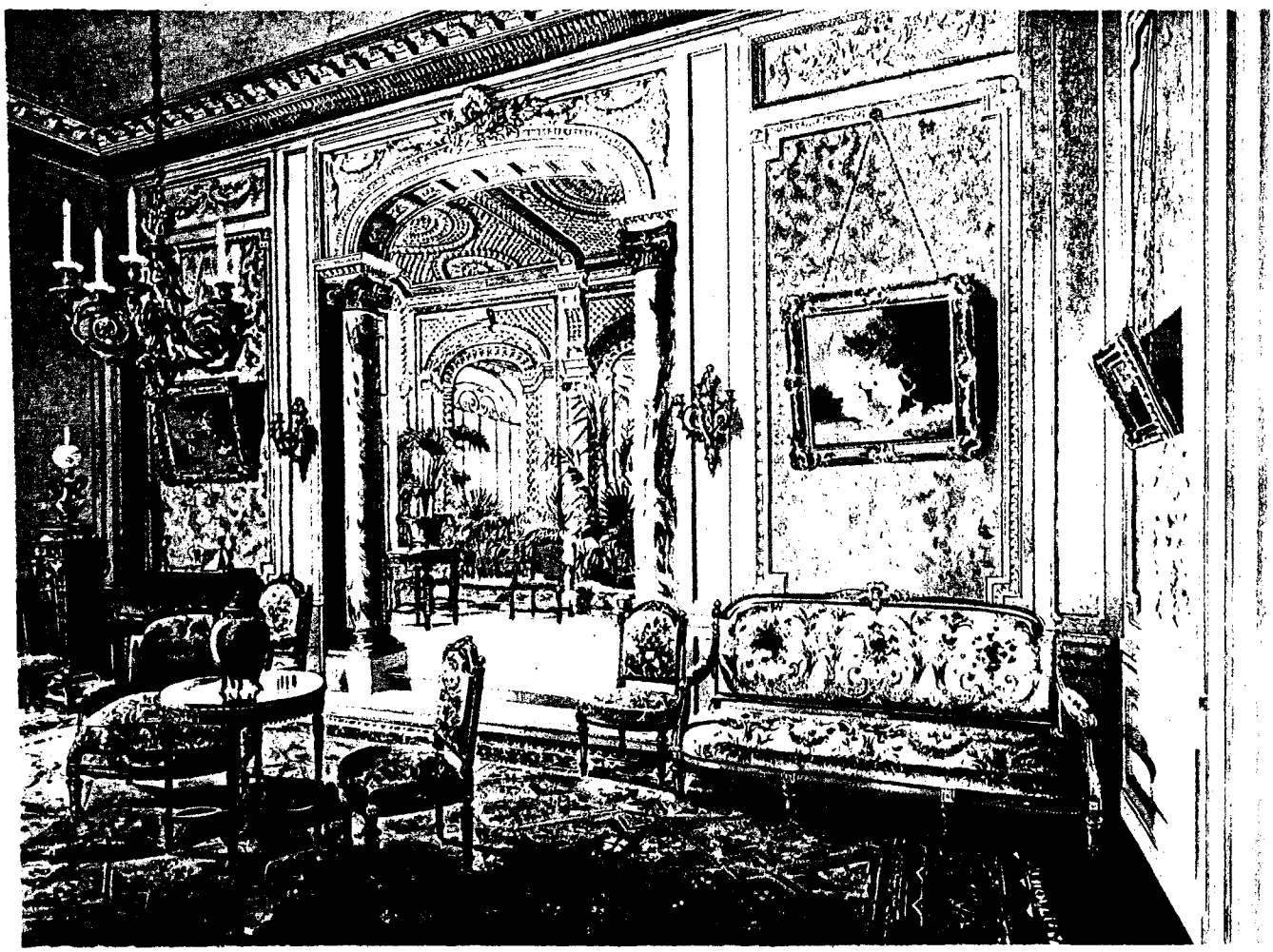
13. Marble Hall, Jefferson Hotel. Source: Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond.



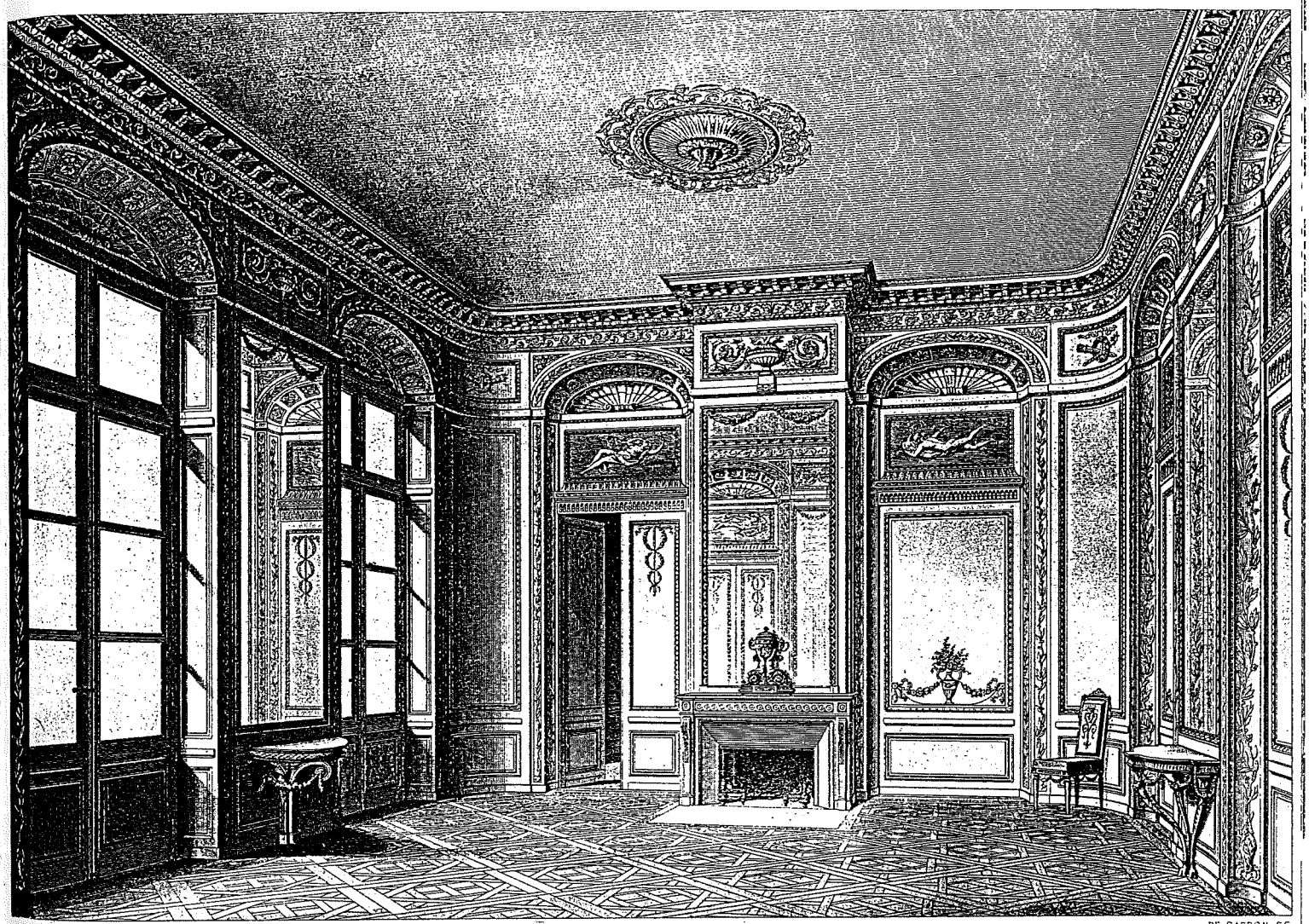
14. Grand Salon, Jefferson Hotel. Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond.



15. "A Smart Parisian Drawing Room," c. 1887. Source: Peter Thornton, Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920. New York: Viking, 1984.

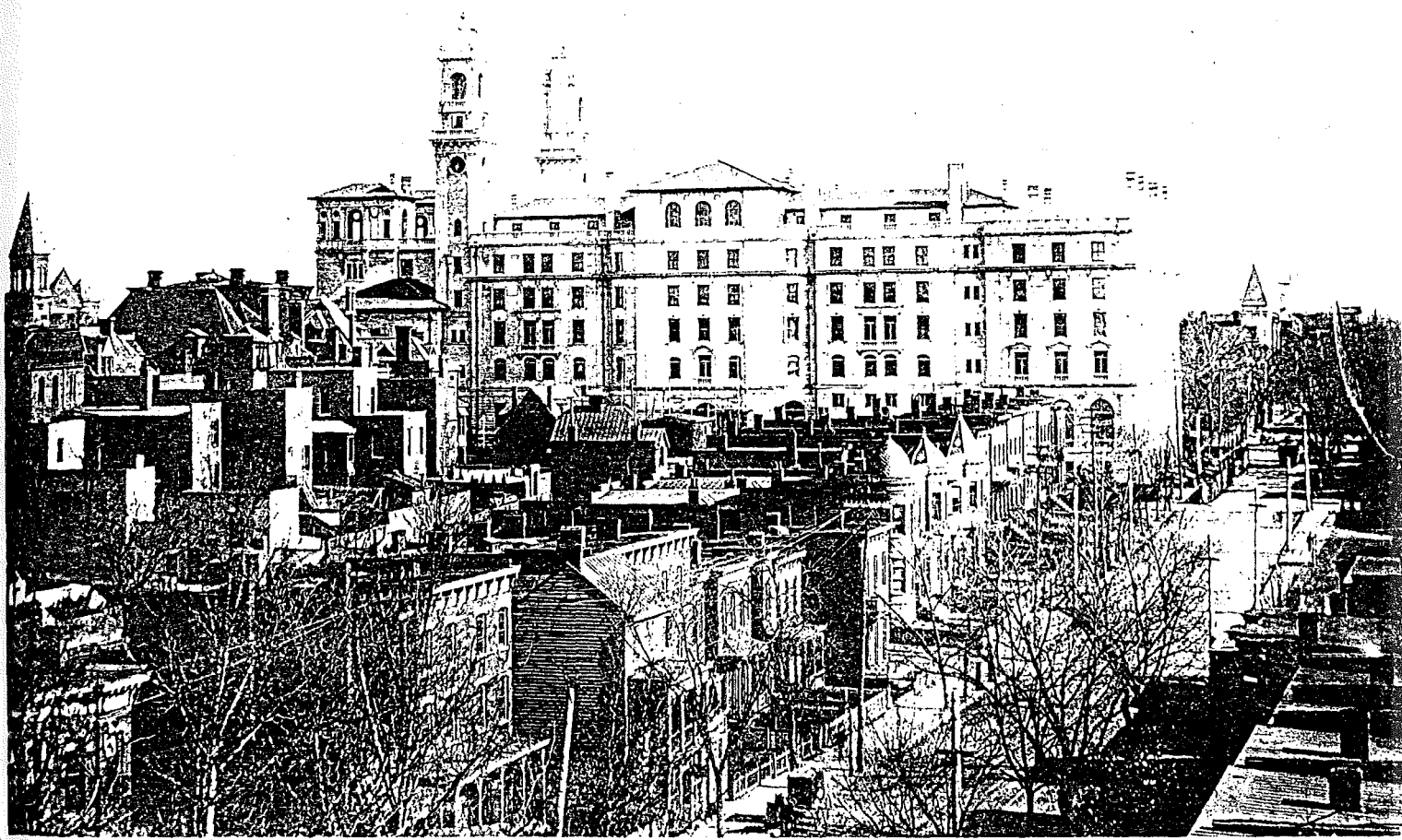


16. "Style Louis XVI: Ensemble du Grand Salon, Hôtel de la Préfecture, à Bordeaux." Source: Cesar Daly, Motifs historiques d'architecture et de sculpture d'ornement (2 serie) Decorations interieures empruntées à des édifices français, du commencement de la renaissance à la fin de Louis XVI, vol. 2, Paris: Ducher et cie, 1880) plate 16.

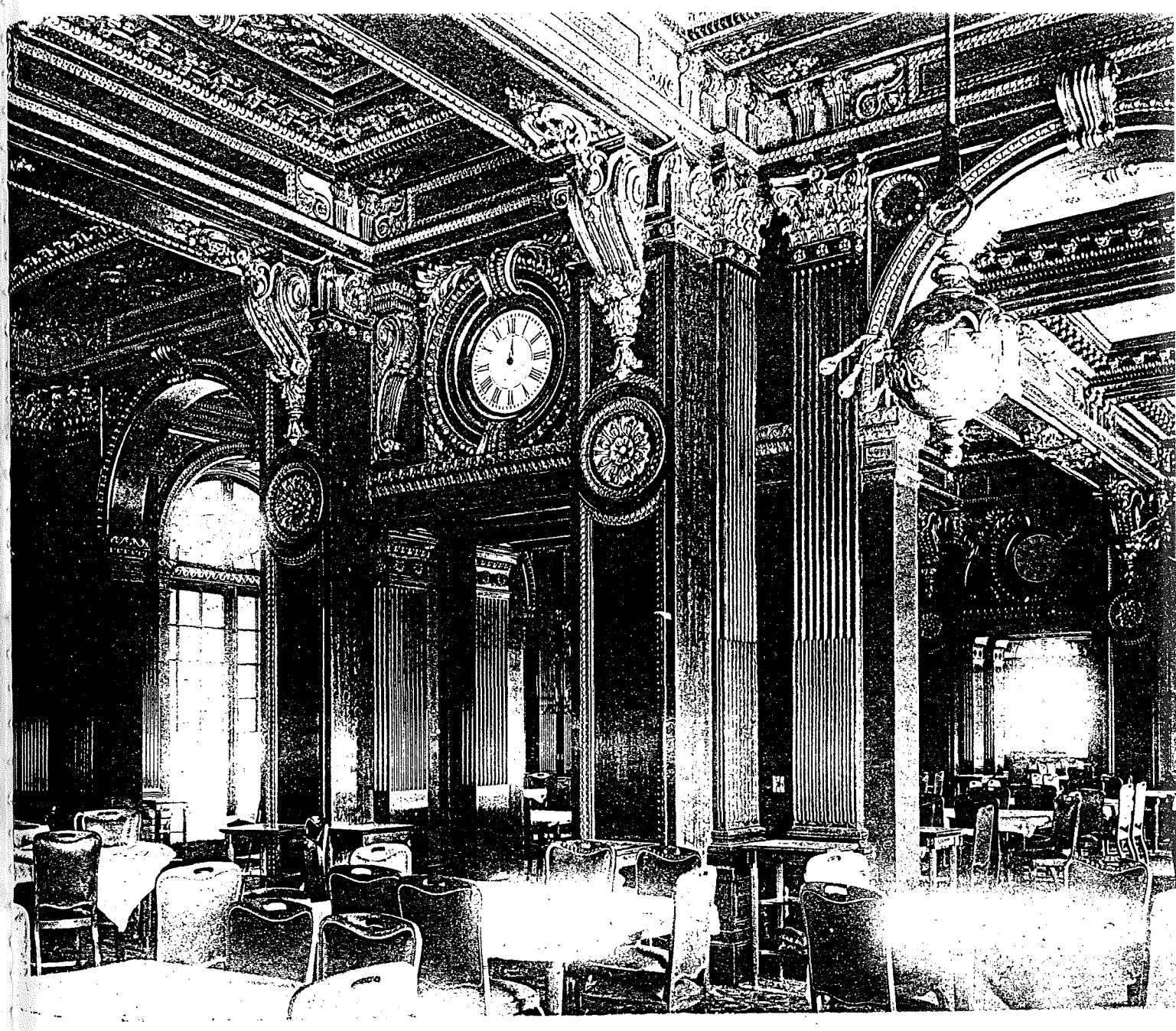


17. Palm Court, Jefferson Hotel, c. 1895. Cook Collection, Valentine Museum.

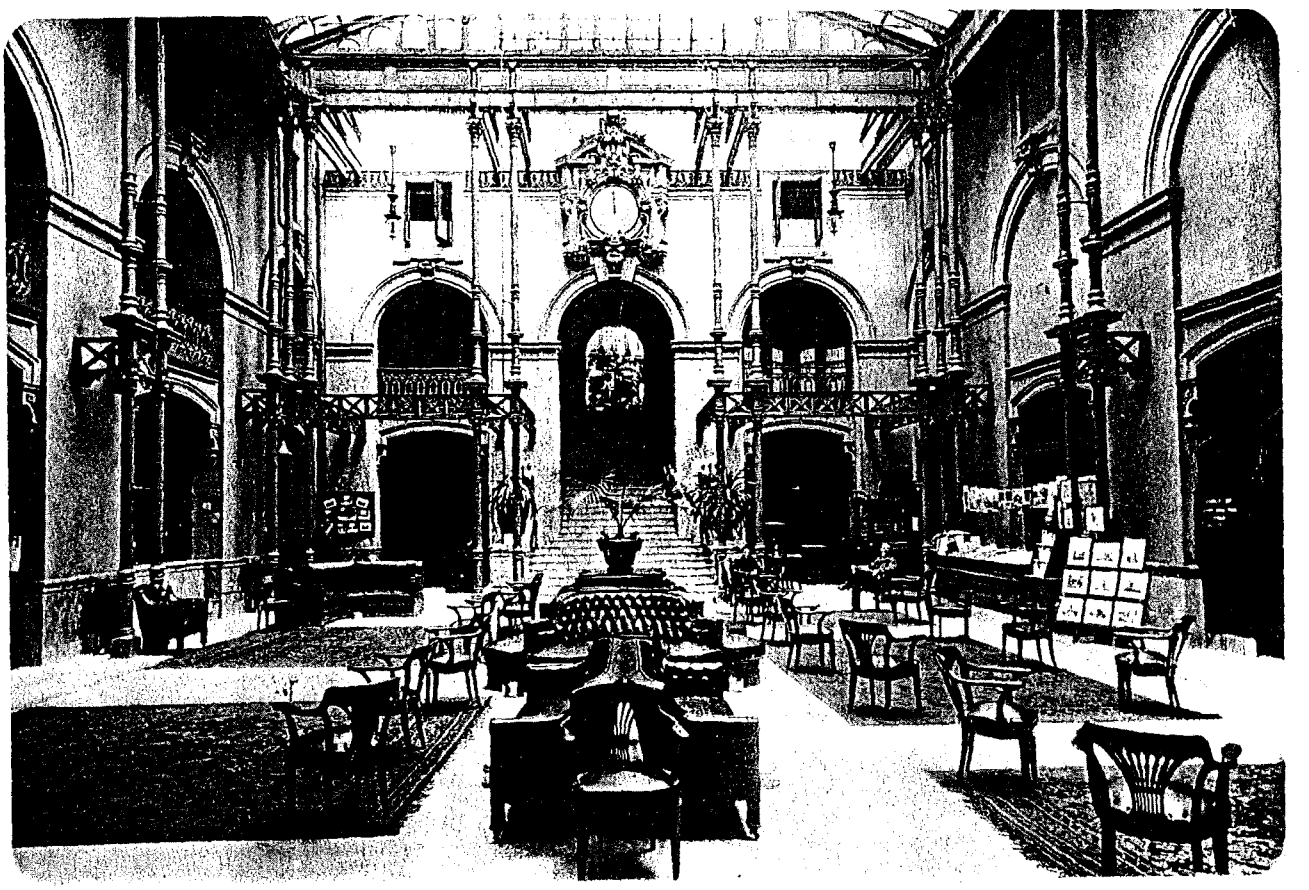
18. West side, Jefferson Hotel. Source, Cook Collection, Valentine Museum.



19. Dining Room, Jefferson Hotel. Source: Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond.

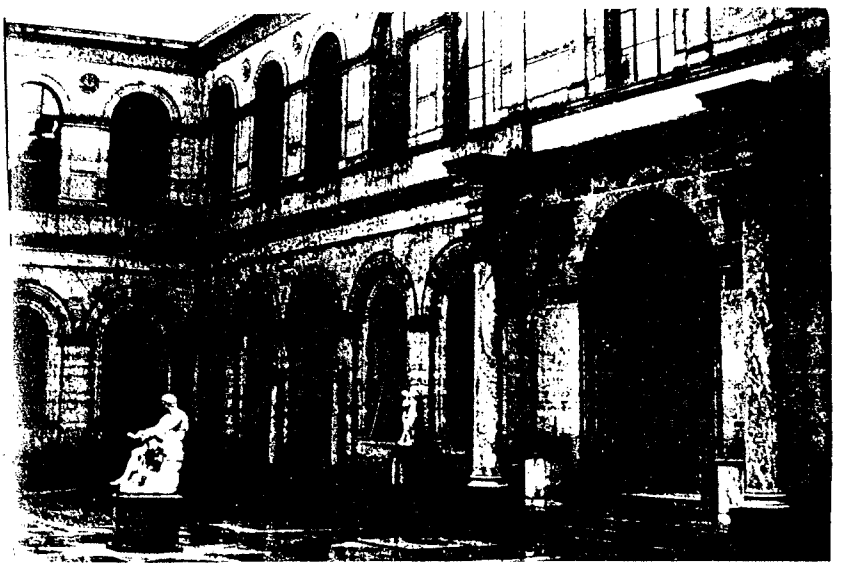


20. Rotunda, Jefferson Hotel. Source: Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond.



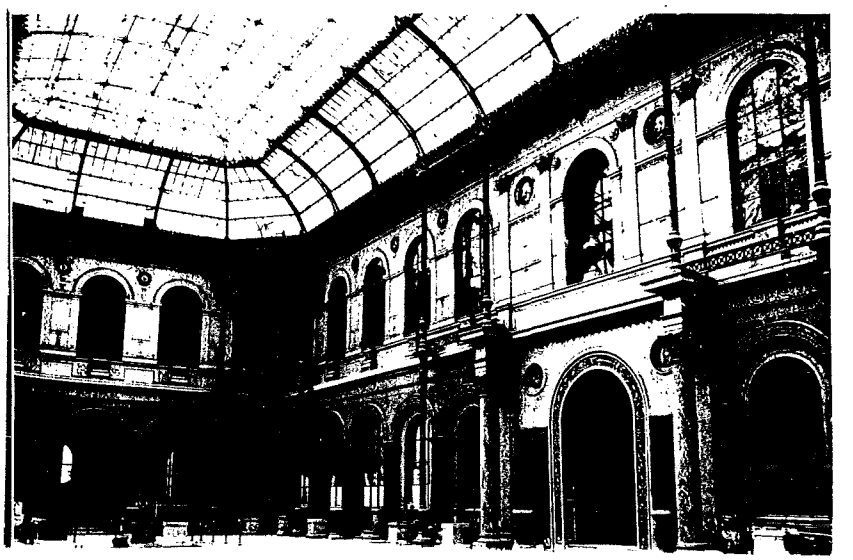
21. Grand Staircase, Jefferson Hotel. Source: "The Jefferson. Its Magnificent and Imposing Splendor," Richmond Times (27 Oct. 1895): 16.

22. Courtyard of the Palais des Études, École des Beaux-Arts. Source: C. Marmoz, "The Building of the École des Beaux-Arts," Robin Middleton, ed., The Beaux-Arts and nineteenth-century French architecture (Cambridge, Masssachusetts: MIT Press, 1982) 135.



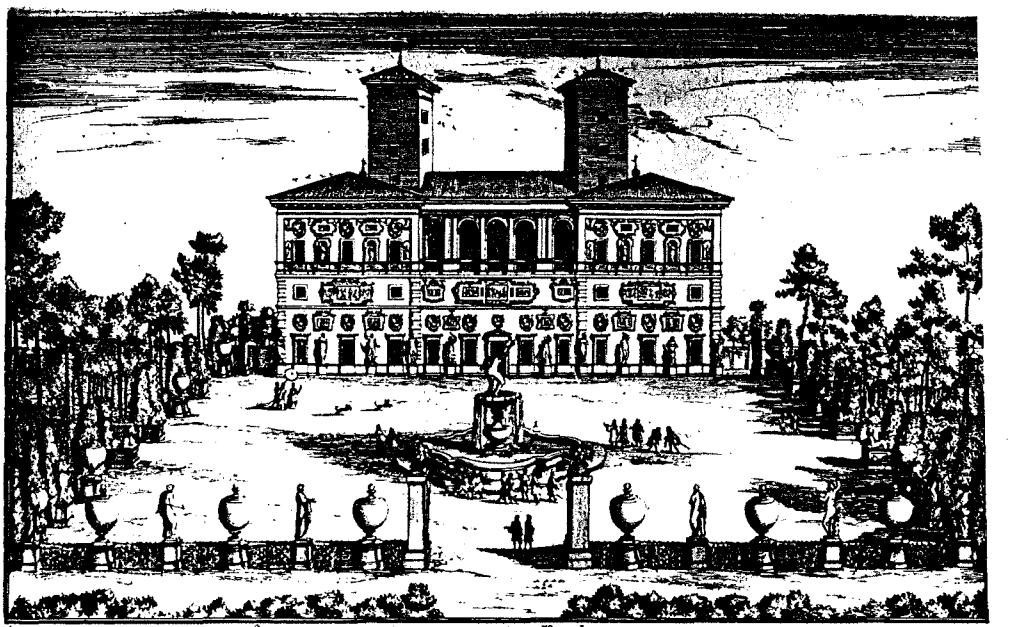
117 E. Duban. Courtyard of the Palais des Etudes as originally built. (Musee Carnavalet, Paris)

118 E. Duban. Courtyard of the Palais des Etudes covered by an iron-and-glass roof, completed in 1867.



23. "Room succeeds room in charming variety," East parlor, Jefferson Hotel. Source: The Jefferson of Richmond, Virginia. Brochure. c.1896. Valentine Museum, Richmond.

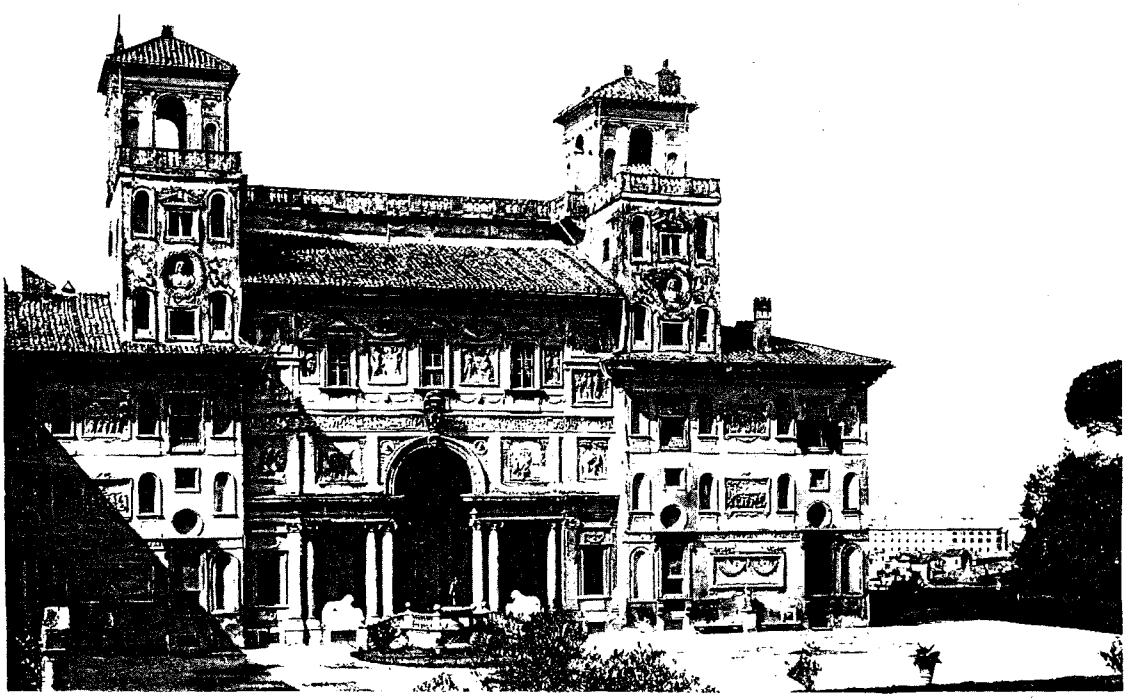
24. Above: Villa Borghese. Source: Paola Della Pergola, Villa Borghese, (Rome: Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1962) 38. Below: Villa Medici, Rome. Source: John Musgrove, ed., Sir Banister Fletcher's History of Architecture, 19th ed. (London: Butterworth's, 1987) 897.



SECONDO PROSPETTO DEL MED.O PALAZZO DELLA VILLA DELL'ECC.MO SIG.R PRENCIPE BORGHESE FVORI DI PORTA PINCIANA

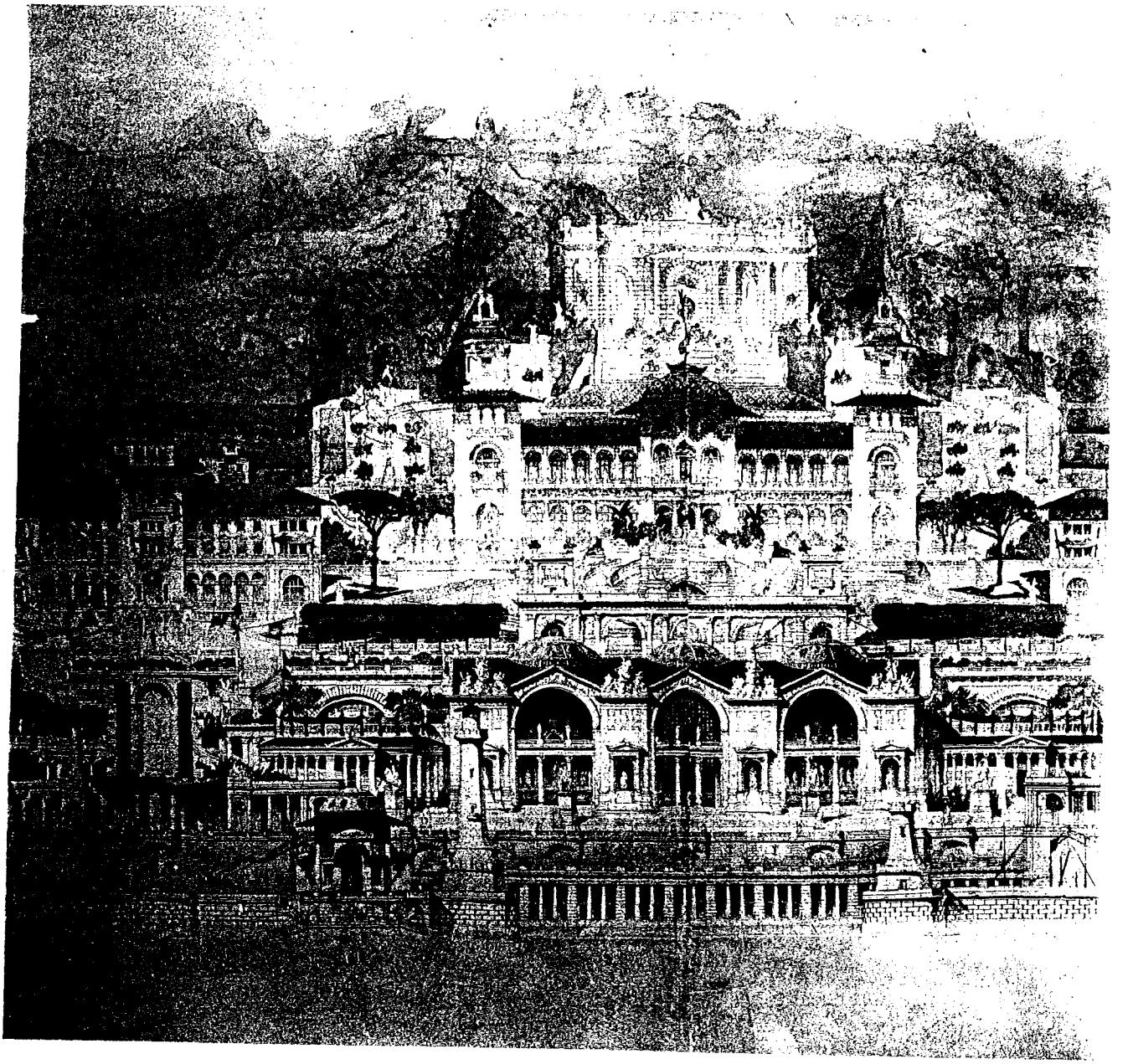
Architettura del med.o avan Sanzio.

1 Fontana detta di Narciso nel Teatro. 2. Loggia con le famose Pitture del Ch.mo Gio Lanfranco.

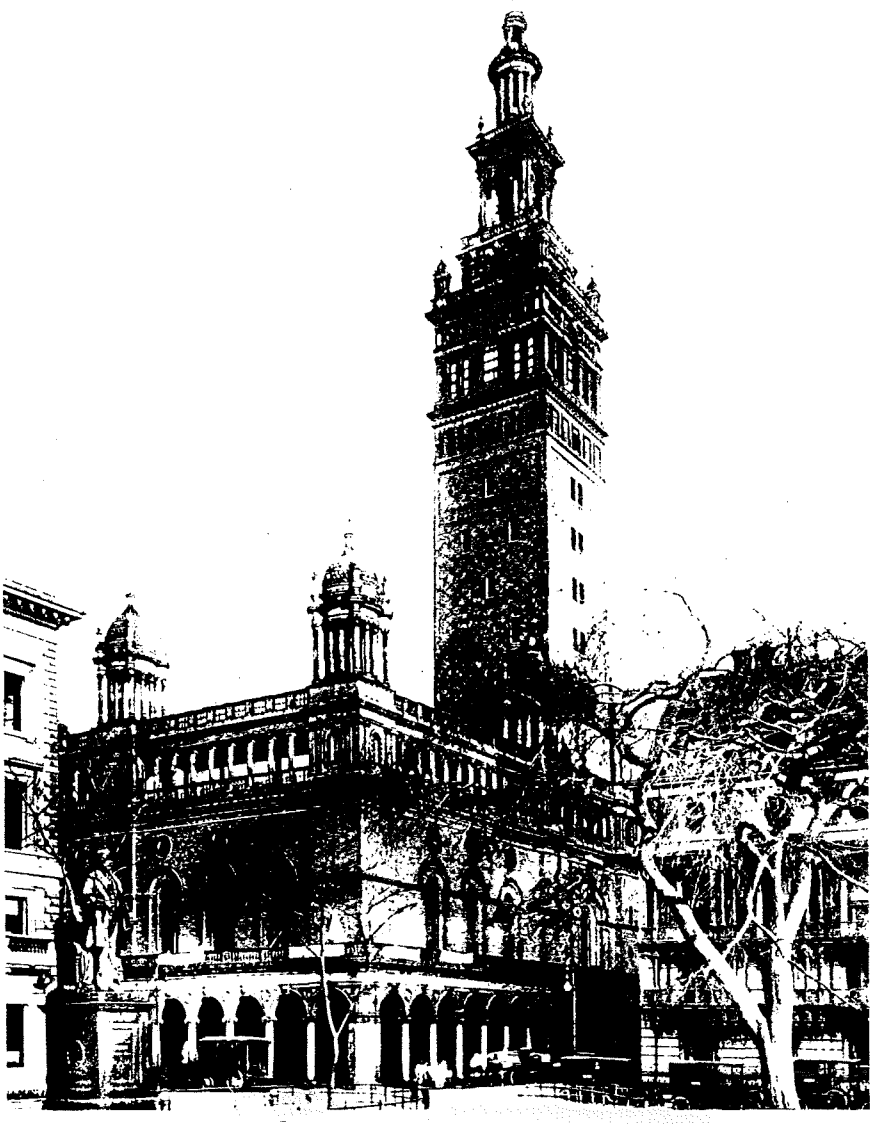


25. Casino, Monte Carlo. Source: Arthur Drexler, ed. The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977) 443.

26. "Un etablissement de bains de mer," Grand Prix de Rome project, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1889. Source: École nationale des Beaux-Arts, Grands Prix de Rome D'architecture de 1850 à 1900, vol. 2, pt. 3 (Paris: Guernet, 1900 [?]) pl. 354-355.

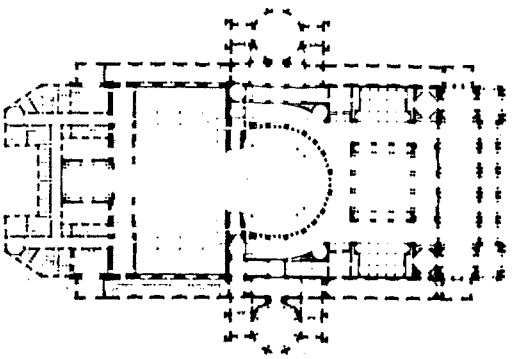


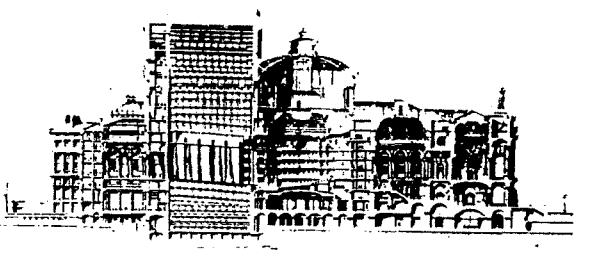
27. Madison Square Garden, New York. Source: Robert A.M. Stern et al. New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism, 1890-1915 (New York: Rizzoli, 1983) 10.

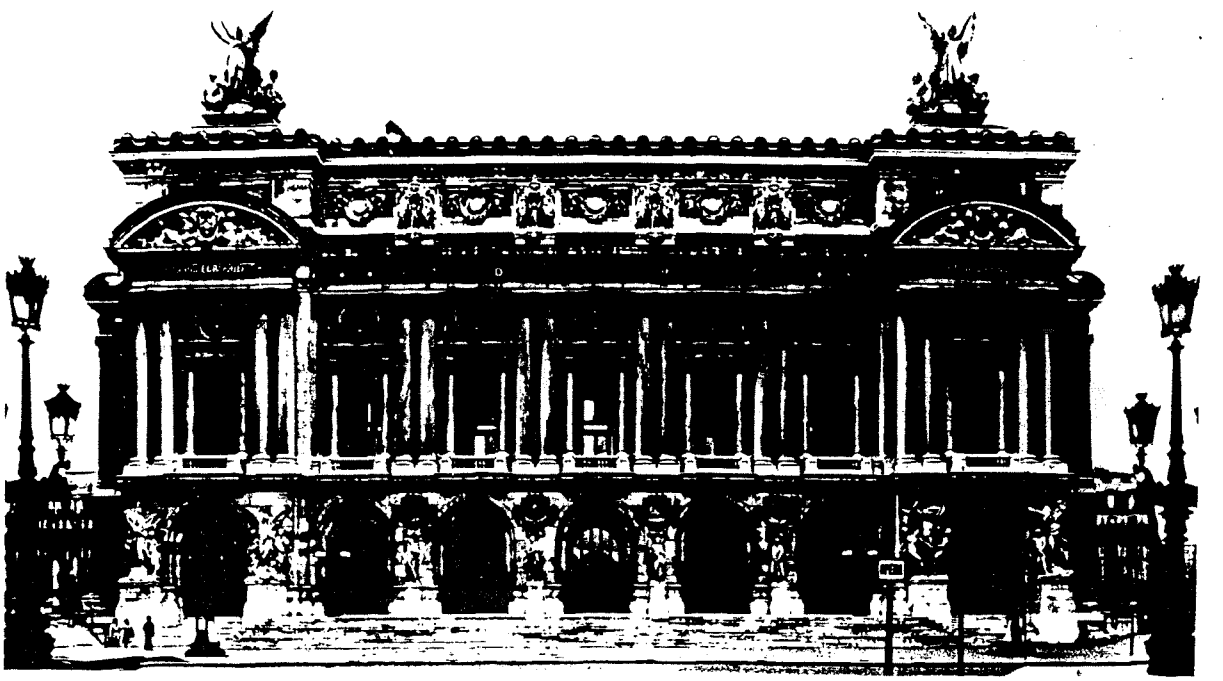


28. Opéra, Paris. Source: Mead, Christopher Curtis. Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra: Architectural Empathy and Renaissance of French Classicism. New York: The Architectural History Foundation and Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1991.

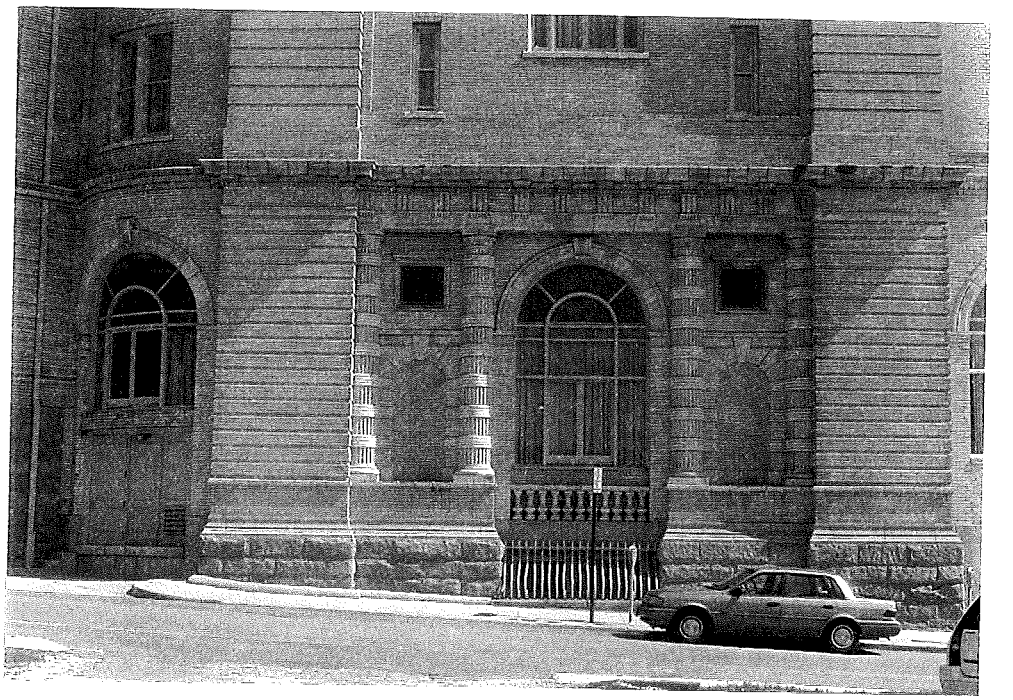
419. *Jean-Louis-Charles Garnier, the Opéra, Paris, plan, 1862–75.*
420. *Jean-Louis-Charles Garnier, the Opéra, Paris, longitudinal section.*
421. *Jean-Louis-Charles Garnier, the Opéra, Paris.*

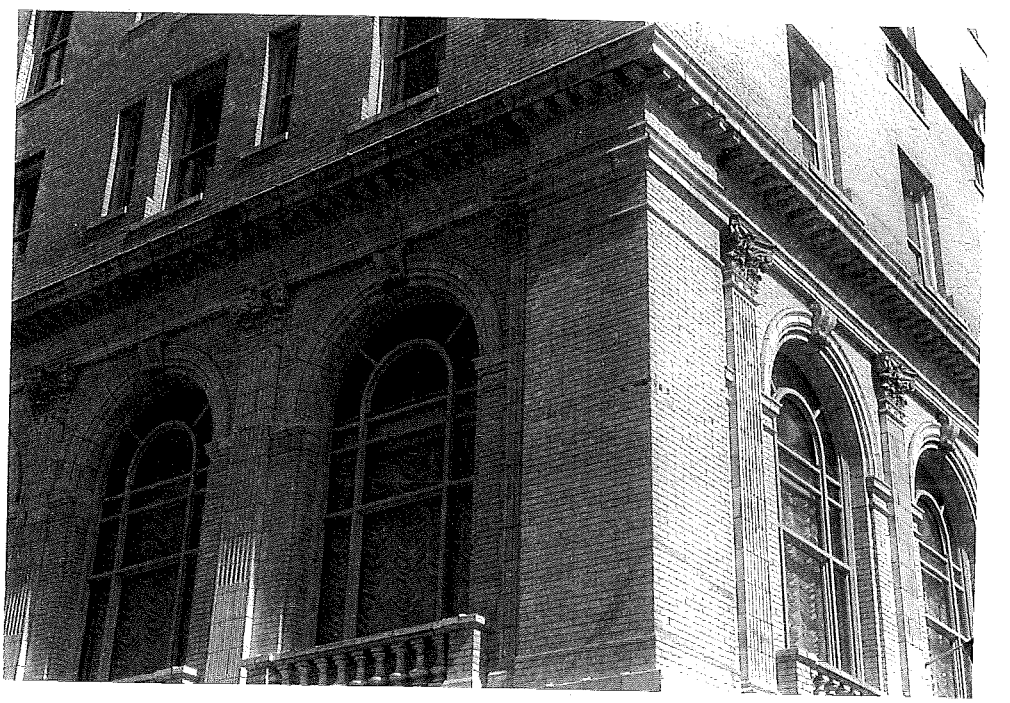




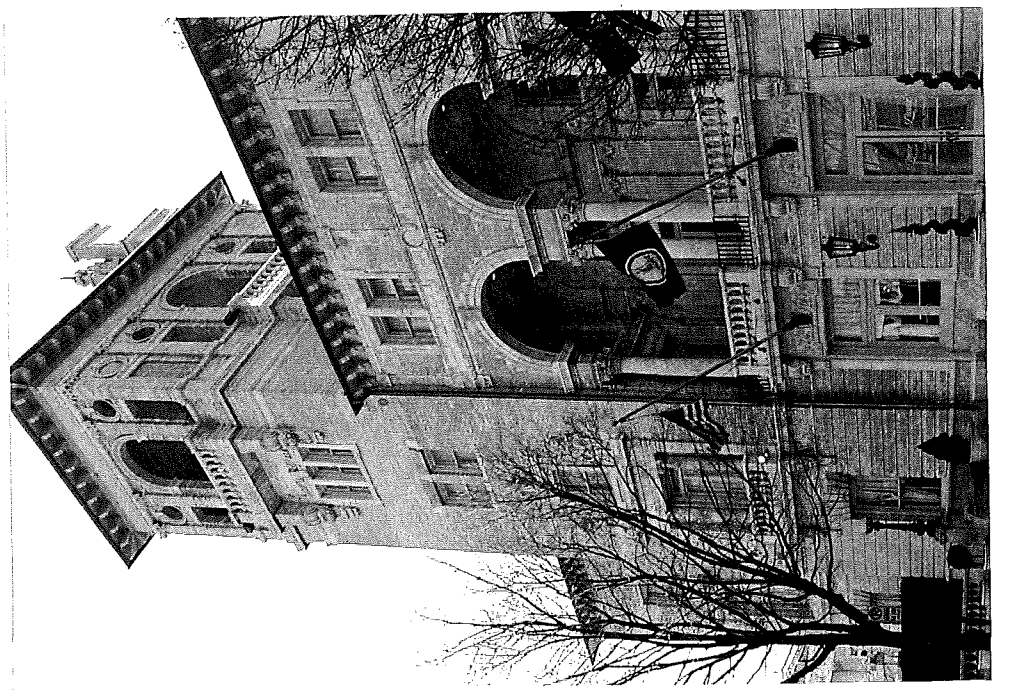


29. Former porte cochère, west facade, above and Dining Room facade, southwest corner, below, Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, 1996. Source: author.

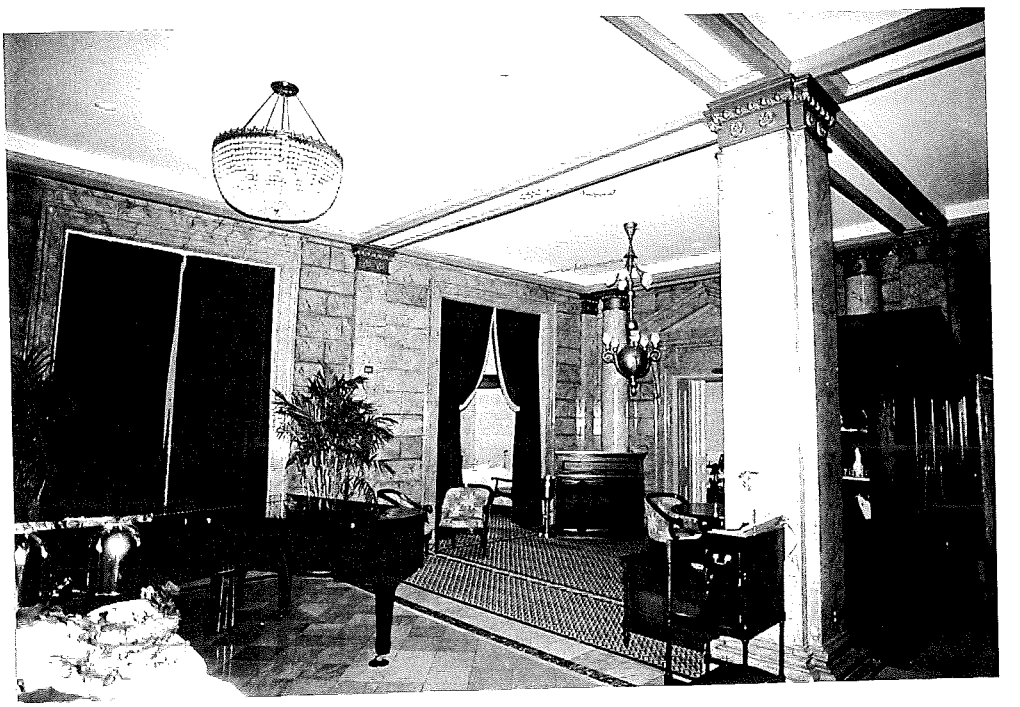




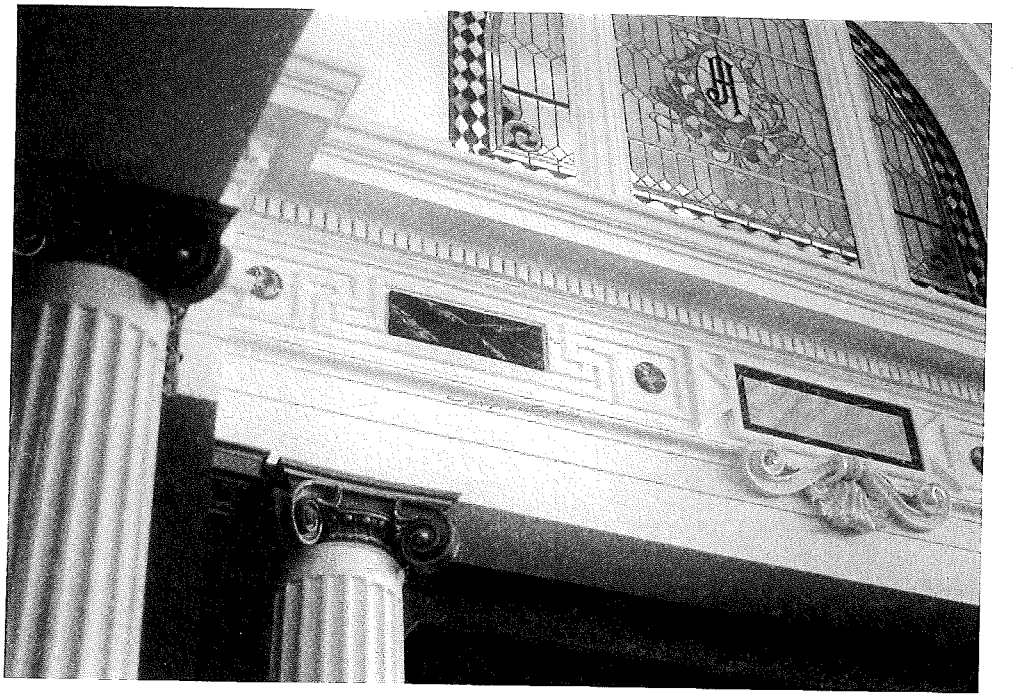
30. Franklin Street facade, above and general view from northwest, below, Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, 1996. Source: author.



31. Interior, Grand Salon, looking southwest, above and interior, Marble Hall, looking northeast, below, Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, 1996. Source: author.

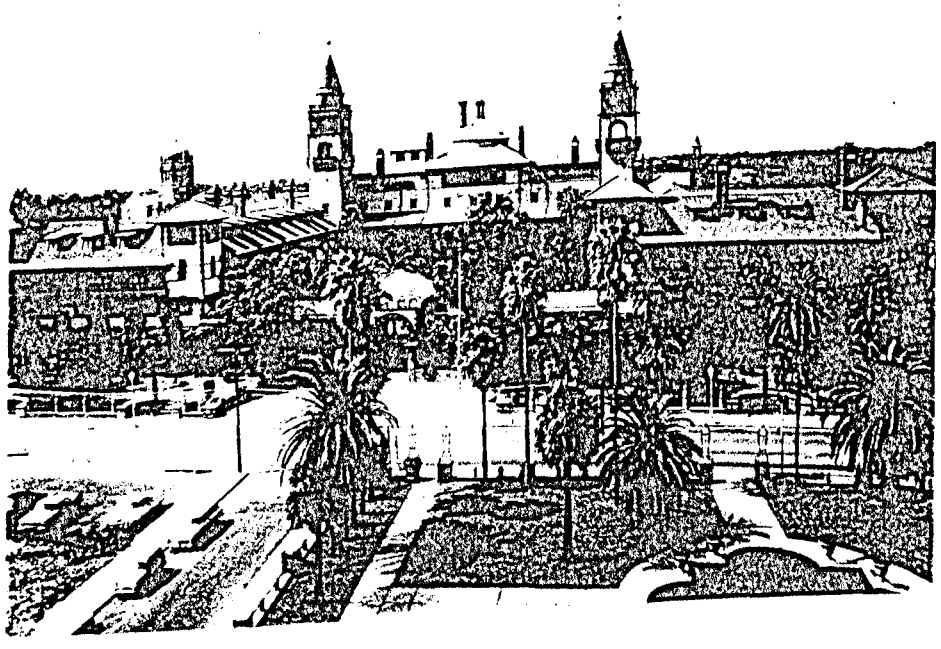


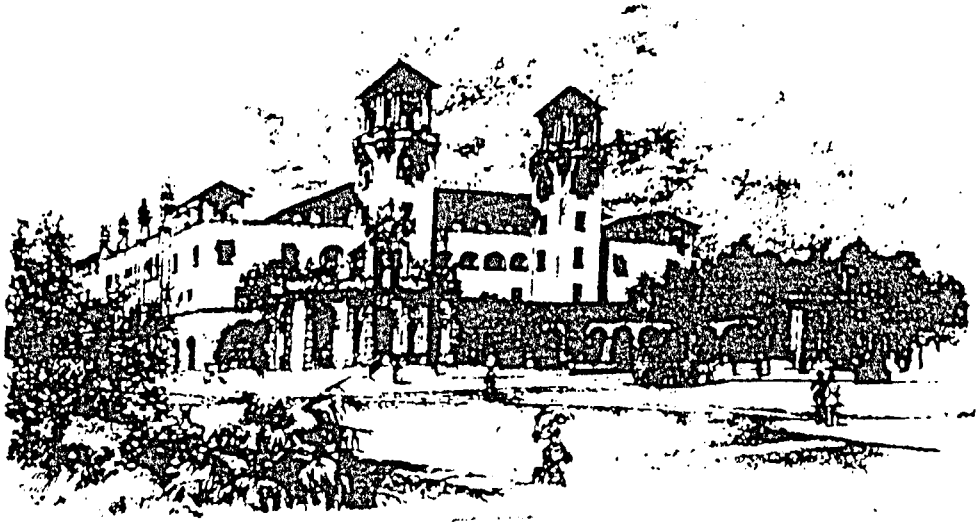
32. Interior, southwest corner of Palm Court, above, and interior, fragment of window surround, north wall, Palm Court, Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, 1996. Source: author.



4. Lewis Ginter. Source: Mary H. Mitchell and Robert S. Hebb, A History of Bloemendaal (Richmond: The Lewis Ginter Botanical Gardens, Inc., 1986) 6.

5. Above: Ponce de Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida. Source: Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Building Types (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976) 183. Below: Alcazar Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida. Source: American Architect and Building News 44 (April 7, 1894) n.p.





6. Carrère and Hastings, "The Jefferson, Richmond, Virginia: Carrère and Hastings, Architects," American Architect and Building News 902 (April 1893).