

THE STORY OF THE BOOK

All over the eastern United States, architects and historians took to the roads in the 1920s and 1930s to document the regional architecture of early America. Energized by the excitement of discovery and goaded on by a sense of impending loss, they produced thousands of photographs, sketches, and measured drawings and published hundreds of books and articles. *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* was one of 154 books on American architectural history to appear in 1936 alone.¹

These researchers were convinced that in the remains of preindustrial America lay clues to the country's character—"the spirit which is implicit in all the characteristic transactions of the time, and which may almost be defined as the sum of its manners, customs, and mode of living," as the Connecticut architect J. Frederick Kelly put it.² If old buildings were monuments to a cultural moment, so—it appears from a vantage point sixty years on—were the books themselves. To appreciate the magnitude of their achievements and to assess their value for modern readers, we need to understand the methods, the motives, and the personalities who created them.

Nowhere is this more true than for *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*, a product of the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey (WPAS). The survey was created by an energetic Pittsburgh architect, Charles Morse Stotz (1898–1985), who took advantage of the Depression-era stagnation in building to transform a leisure-time avocation into a large-scale, systematic research project. In introducing the national architectural passion into Western Pennsylvania, Stotz brought with it characteristic assumptions about American history. At the same time, the distinctive social and physical setting of 1930s Pittsburgh and its environs gave the survey a local cast that was at once idiosyncratic and innovative when compared with similar projects elsewhere. Consequently, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* stands as a characteristic document of a critical period in the formation of an American self-image; yet, in its thoroughness and accuracy, it also remains the most important record of Western Pennsylvania's earliest buildings, many of which have disappeared since the WPAS recorded them.

I

Charles M. Stotz was born at Ingram, Pennsylvania, the third child of Edward and Arminda Stotz (fig. 1). Edward was the son of a wholesale grain and flour merchant who was also an active Republican member of the Select Council. The latter may have had something to do with the twenty-six-year-old architect's first major commission, for the Fifth Avenue High School, awarded after only five minutes' discussion by the school board. The building, the first fireproof school in the city, launched Edward Stotz's long career as an architect primarily of institutional buildings. His closest brush with fame was the publication of his enormous Schenley High School in the *American Architect* in 1917, but he enjoyed a prosperous local practice as the designer of 903 buildings, a founder of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Institute of Architects, member of the city Building Code Commission, and a lifelong Republican, Presbyterian, Mason, and Knight Templar.³



Figure 1. Charles Morse Stotz in his studio at the time of the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey (courtesy Virginia Stotz).

Edward Stotz's son Charles attended Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1916–1917; then, after a year in the army, went off to Cornell's architecture school, where he earned a bachelor's degree in 1921 and a Master of Architecture degree in 1922. At Cornell, Charles Stotz achieved his own moment of national fame through a prank concocted in collaboration with the university president's wife. Disguised in a false beard, he billed himself as Dr. Herman Vosberg, a pupil of Freud's, and gave two psychobabble lectures entitled "Dreams and the Calculus." Accounts of the prank in the Ithaca paper were picked up by the Associated Press and ran in newspapers nationally and internationally. Stotz claimed that Freud himself, on hearing of it, remarked that "'like every inquiry into observations of the human mind, it carries with it an element of danger for gullibles, who are the ready victims of amateur exponents.'"⁴

The episode became, in Stotz's mind and those of his friends and acquaintances thereafter, the characterizing incident of his life. It required considerable erudition and a familiarity with the advanced theories of the day. At the same time, it revealed a mind that was energetically good-humored yet skeptical of contemporary ideas.

In later years, Stotz recalled a boyhood interest in drawing and sketching and, not unnaturally, in architecture. It was at Cornell, however, that he was put in the way of ideas and attitudes that blossomed into the WPAS. On a holiday at Canandaigua Lake in central New York in 1917, he was introduced to the "charm of the simple farmhouses in that region," while Cornell provided him with a framework within which to understand them and a method for studying them. He wrote a master's thesis on Greek Revival farmhouses in the Finger Lakes district of New York, and some of his measured drawings were published in *Architecture* in 1923 and 1924 (fig. 2). Charles M. Stotz had become one of the many men and women combing the American countryside in search of old buildings.⁵

II

The qualities that give *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* its distinctive character—the loyalty to the old and the local in the context of a more general fascination with early American architecture, the romanticization of early rural life coupled with a discomfort with

modern urban civilization, the fieldwork ethos that drove the WPAS architects to comb the countryside for old buildings, and the technique of studying and presenting architecture through precise measured (scaled) drawings—were deeply rooted in longstanding Euro-American cultural values and professional architectural practices. A look at some of the most important of these roots will go a long way toward helping us understand Stotz's accomplishment.

A keen interest in the oldest relics of one's own community, one of the central motives behind *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*, is a venerable English tradition. Since the sixteenth century, monuments ranging from Stonehenge down to obscure local antiquities had been studied, sketched, and interpreted for clues to the English national character. This patriotic antiquarianism made an early and easy transition to America, gaining momentum from the late eighteenth century. In 1793 the Salem, Massachusetts, diarist William Bentley purchased a seventeenth-century chair once owned by victims of the witchcraft trials. Another antique chair was given to the newly formed Massachusetts Historical Society in the same year. Around 1820, Philadelphia antiquarian John Fanning Watson began work on his "Manuscript Annals," two large volumes recording the city's early history through oral testimony, anecdote, newspaper clippings, and colonial documents, as well as views of old buildings and snippets of material culture such as textile swaths and paper money. At about the time Watson began his research, the city of Philadelphia acquired the former state house as a city hall, refurbishing its "Hall of Independence" for Lafayette's visit in 1824, thus commencing a history of nearly continuous restorations of Independence Hall that continues to the present.⁶

The interest in American antiquities evident among these and many like-minded pioneer collectors grew throughout the nineteenth century, but after the Civil War it took a distinctive turn, expanding far beyond the audience of curmudgeons and scholarly eccentrics who had traditionally carried the antiquarian flame. Antiquarianism became a vehicle not simply for reverence for ancestors and patriotic nostalgia, but for local, national, and ethnic pride, aesthetic theory, scholarly curiosity, and the pleasure of the exotic. It served as well as an expression of a grow-

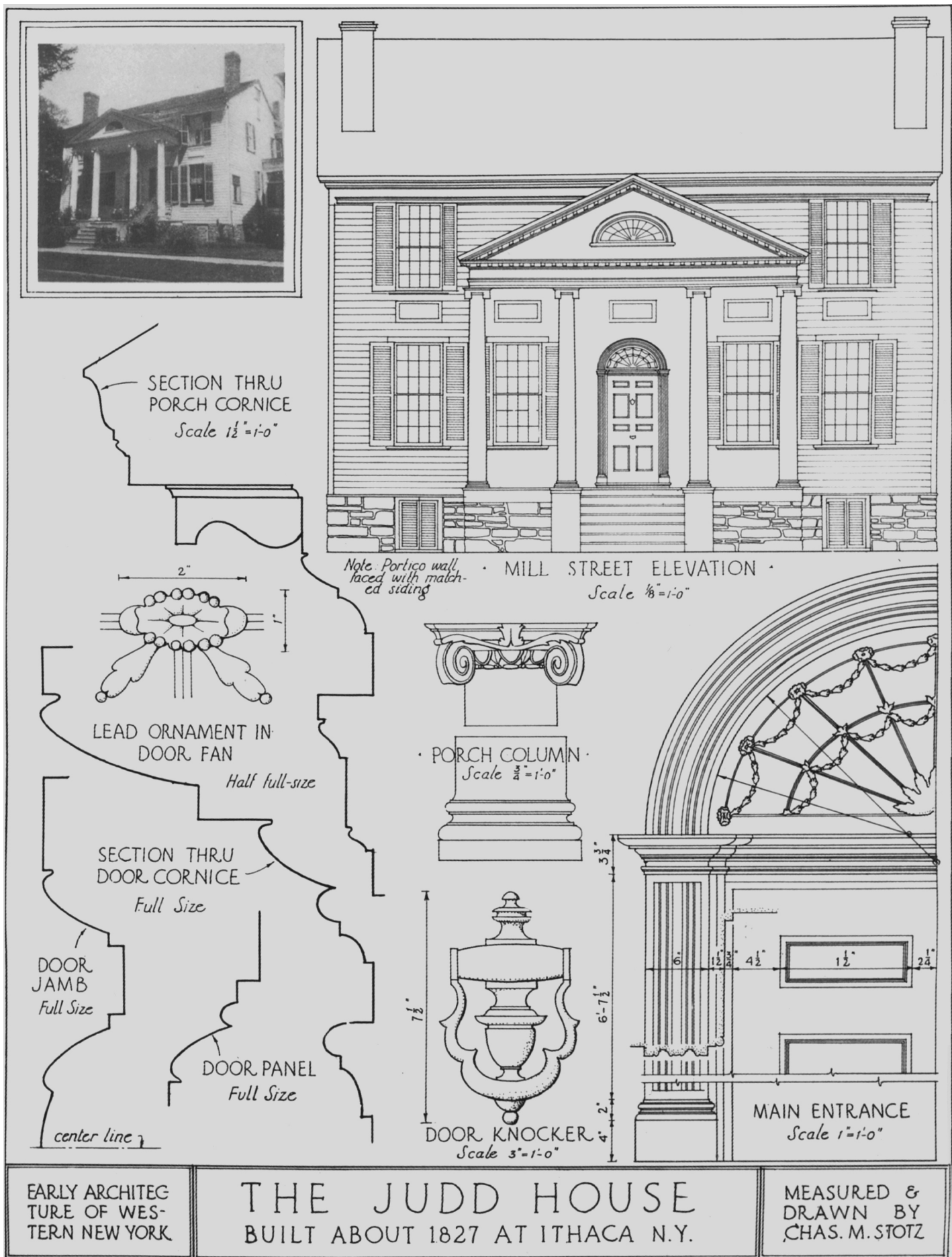


Figure 2. Charles Morse Stotz, the Judd house, Ithaca, N.Y., from "Early Architecture of Western New York," a series of plates derived from his M.Arch. thesis and published in *Architecture* in 1923.

ing, though vague, popular desire for a simpler life, as a reaction against the increased pace, complexity, and corruption of Gilded Age America. The centennial celebrations of 1876 helped to focus this yearning on prerevolutionary America, an apparently purer, more upright time. Historians have called this new variant of patriotic antiquarianism the Colonial Revival.⁷

Colonial Revivalist designers, scholars, and members of the general public shared a fascination with early American life, particularly material life. Colonial Revivalists practiced architectural history, historic preservation and restoration, the design of architecture, furniture, and other decorative arts, painting, antique collecting, tourism, museum building, and even civic instruction and cultural evangelism directed toward recent immigrants. As the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, the era of Colonial Revival interests expanded from the years before 1776 to encompass all the years before the onset of industrialization, which most placed sometime between 1820 and 1840.⁸

It is evident that this long-lasting cultural phenomenon was complex and diffuse. Depending upon whom one consulted, the colonial style testified to the good breeding or the simple determination of earlier Americans, or it certified the civilized origins of remote or provincial neighborhoods. Colonial artifacts, particularly buildings, proved that Americans had matched European standards, or that they had struck out on their own path. They demonstrated the superiority of prerevolutionary design when compared with the “degenerate” state of contemporary work, or they simply provided welcome relief from the clichés of nineteenth-century design. They represented roots or they offered escape. In short, the Colonial Revival had a “remarkable ability to shift its ground and to absorb whatever happened to be the current fashion, whether visual or ideological,” as David Gebhard notes. This flexibility has allowed it to survive in American culture into the present.⁹

Whatever else it may have been, the Colonial Revival was an exercise in American self-definition, an exploration of identity through the manipulation of familiar symbols. The association of the colonial with the country’s founders, for example, made it an appropriate totem of peculiarly American values. According to R. T. H. Halsey and Elizabeth Tower, the new American

Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a collection of furniture, paintings, decorative arts and architectural fragments that opened in 1924, “for the first time made a convincing demonstration to our own people, and particularly to the world in general, that our American arts unconsciously developed a style of their own” and furnished a “setting for the traditions so dear to us.” Colonial design “belonged peculiarly to the nation and had been wrought by long years of experience and effort; of struggle and of trial.” For Joseph Hergesheimer, in fact, the American character sprang from the buildings themselves: “The America they formed was created by their honesty of construction and correct proportion.” Thus the colonial was an appropriate foundation for a national cultural consensus.¹⁰

The colonial style was equally available as an index of regional distinctiveness and an emblem of local pride. Twentieth-century scholars were particularly likely to credit local loyalties as stimuli to their work. In 1922 George Fletcher Bennett wrote a book on the early architecture of Delaware “out of [his] interest in the architecture of his native state,” while Charles Stotz himself was prodded to publish partly by his feeling that “books that treat of the subject, even those of a comprehensive nature, completely ignore our district.” He was particularly annoyed by Boston architect Eleanor Raymond’s *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania* (1931), which “included little beyond the western borders of Germantown.”¹¹

In short, as the Colonial Revival matured, Revivalists came to recognize the complexity of their subject. Thus, while nineteenth-century Colonial Revivalists tended to treat all early American architecture as a unity, most scholars agreed by the 1930s, when the WPAS was undertaken, that the national scene was a pastiche of many local ones that required individual investigation. In that spirit, Thomas T. Waterman and John A. Barrows saw their 1932 study of tidewater Virginia mansions as contributing to a synthesis. The history of American colonial architecture, they wrote, “has countless local phases and mannerisms. Until regional architecture of the United States is examined and catalogued, a comprehensive survey of our early building will be impossible.”¹²

If the colonial encompassed both national values and regional traits, it was obviously locked in

the past as well, the product of a society whose qualities contrasted dramatically with those of contemporary America. In this respect, it appealed to the intense nineteenth-century preoccupation with “otherness,” with playing one’s sense of self off societies that were radically different from one’s own by virtue of their location in a remote time or place. For example, an important strain of Anglo-American thought held up the Middle Ages as a standard against which to judge the present. In *Contrasts or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day* (1836), the English architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin presented a series of paired images of imaginary scenes of 1440 and 1840 that showed industrial England to disadvantage. Pugin’s work inaugurated a long Anglo-American tradition of social commentary on design. His successors, who included the religious Ecclesiologists, the mid-century High Victorians, and the late nineteenth-century Queen Anne and Arts and Crafts movements, disagreed politically and aesthetically, but all followed Pugin’s lead in using some version of the Gothic as a club to beat the nineteenth century with. Following their lead, American architects of the 1870 and 1880s were initially attracted to “American Colonial” because of its perceived similarity with the forms and ideals of English Queen Anne architecture, a romantic pastiche of vernacular and classical elements. The attachment was later strengthened under the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which celebrated handwork over machine production. All three—colonial, Queen Anne, and Arts and Crafts—were understood to preserve the spirit of the medieval and thus to hold promise for the reform of contemporary design.¹³

The medieval past, its differences from modern times emphasized and romanticized, was a powerful tool for defining and criticizing the present. Another was the distant present. Euro-American imperial expansion into Asia, Africa, the Pacific, and the North American West brought indigenous people from all those regions into the public eye. In attempting to expand and systematize knowledge of these populations, the new profession of anthropology helped to whet the public appetite for strange new worlds outside one’s own experience.

The desire to know about others from the past

and from faraway fused with the quest for self-definition in the enormously popular world’s fairs that flourished from 1851 until the First World War. The industrial products of Western nations, arrayed according to elaborate classification schemes, were the centerpiece of world’s fairs, but these were complemented by historical and ethnographic exhibits. At American world’s fairs, for instance, visitors could dine in “colonial” kitchens and visit historical displays mounted in pavilions that were replicas of famous landmarks or even authentic old buildings brought to the site. Nearby, they could see native Asian, African, Australian, Pacific Island, and South American peoples in both “serious” and sideshow-type settings. Both the colonial and the “primitive” exhibits, in other words, served as a context for viewing the manufactured goods of the West. They emphasized difference from modern urban life and offered not simply amusement and escape but lessons in the advantages and disadvantages of Western civilization.¹⁴

A third mirror for urbanites appeared in the half century after the Philadelphia Centennial, as Europeans and Americans discovered that “primitive” populations lived in their own midst. These were people who clung to seemingly preindustrial lifeways. Although they were removed by cultural, rather than temporal or geographical, distance from contemporary life, they were the moral equivalents of medieval peasants or African tribespeople and deserved equal attention. Horace Kephart, writing in 1913, lamented the unknown state of this “mysterious realm” when compared with the attention given “the Filipinos, . . . the Chinese and the Syrians.”¹⁵

Consequently, a curious synthesis formed in the United States as the century turned. Geographical, cultural, and historical distance were conflated. On the one hand, living American “primitives” (such as mountaineers, traditional farmers, and even American Indians) were understood as equivalents of the historical. In this spirit, Henry Chapman Mercer of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, collected old tools, stove plates, and ceramics, but he also collected people—“fellow citizens of a past generation”—whom he thought lived essentially as the makers of his antiques had. At the same time, the living and historical past were imagined to survive in a remote country vaguely equated with rural America, which was still not easily accessible to urban

Americans before World War I. Kephart recalled, "I had a passion for early American history; and, in Far Appalachia, it seemed that I might realize the past in the present, seeing with my own eyes what life must have been to my pioneer ancestors of a century ago." It was possible to do so because "the mountain folk still live in the eighteenth century." They were, in William Goodell Frost's memorable phrase, "our contemporary ancestors."¹⁶

This fusion of remote space, time, and culture created an idealized Other America, a kind of Shangri-La that had its bad points as well as good ones. If urban America was characterized by change and the Other America by stability, for example, the advantage was not one-sided and the present was not to be dismissed lightly. Even the most passionate devotee of old houses was forced to admit, "We must change the kitchen services and add plumbing." In ways small and large, to remain entirely in the past was to be "decivilized," in Kephart's words, to have "no heritage" in "human progress."¹⁷

Nevertheless, the idealized Other America served primarily as a beacon of safety in a storm of changes of several sorts. Among the most conspicuous was the visual transformation of the material world under industrial capitalism. Manufacturing made more goods available more cheaply to more people, and it did so with an ingenuity that seemed marvelous at first. Expensive natural materials could be replaced by cheap artificial ones; inexpensive mechanical decoration could surpass in intricacy the most expensive handwork. Yet as early as the 1830s voices were raised in opposition to these developments. The argument quickly took on moral tones: imitations were "dishonest," a sign of cultural degeneration. By the turn of the century, growing numbers of middle-class Americans increasingly sought renewed contact with the "authentic." One place to find it was in the mores and the material remains of past and contemporary ancestors. Southern highlanders "have retained some of the country traits and graces, some of the amenities which seem to disappear with the coming of extensive machinery and other forms of sophistication associated with material progress," wrote Allen Eaton in 1937. By the same token, their "handicrafts have given character and fascination [to their homes] far beyond what would have been possible had their furnishings been 'store-bought.'" The mountaineer's house—in-

evitably "the log cabin of the American pioneer"—was built of "honest logs. . . . It is what it seems, a genuine thing, a jewel in the rough."¹⁸

The homes of historic ancestors were equally significant touchstones of authenticity. Alfred Easton Poor praised the "simplicity and straightforward plan" of the Cape Cod house, while Joseph Hergesheimer contrasted early houses' "honesty and correctness" with modern houses that "are neither honest in material nor correct in design." To J. Frederick Kelly, "The early domestic architecture of the American colonies . . . was unmistakably pure and virile. The most superficial examination of the period is enough to prove that it was productive of a 'true' style in architecture. Its building is honest, straightforward, devoid of affectation and sham."¹⁹

Authenticity was threatened not only by industrial products, but also by the waves of new workers industry required. The passion for an Other America contained large doses of the nativist, or antiforeign, sentiment, that has infected the United States since the late eighteenth century. In contrast to an urban America whose population was comprised largely of immigrants and their children, the Other America was thought to have been relatively homogeneous. Kephart noted, "The mountains proper are free not only from foreigners but from negroes as well." In the Colonial Revival landscape blacks were little more than comic minstrel-show figures or enslaved accessories of planter elegance while all non-English-speaking people were northern Europeans, fellow members of a superior "Teutonic" (later "Nordic") race.²⁰

The new industrial workers had little appreciation for authentic American values. Halsey and Tower lamented the widespread ignorance of American "traditions" and "principles" and the "tremendous change in the character of our nation, and the influx of foreign ideas utterly at variance with those held by the men who gave us the Republic." During his survey of Ohio architecture, Ihna Thayer Frary was similarly dismayed to find that "great numbers of the old houses have long since been deserted by the original families, and are now occupied by strangers, often of foreign birth, to whom the old names and the old traditions mean nothing. Occupants of my own grandfather's farm were unfamiliar with the family name when I asked permission to photograph the house."²¹

Most dangerous of all the changes was the

sheer scale of urban physical and economic growth, which threatened to engulf the Other America as it pushed into the countryside. Kephart writes, “Suddenly the mountaineer is awakened from his eighteenth-century bed by the blare of steam whistles and the boom of dynamite,” just as for Kimball “the ruthless march of urban ‘improvement’” suddenly replaced the “remote and pastoral places.” Hergesheimer also laments these changes:

Month by month, almost day by day, better roads, laid in concrete, were taking the place of the old country lanes with, in spring, their banks dark with violets. Day by day, it seemed, the cities were reaching out into the country with their hideous and inappropriate houses, suburbs of bungalows and villas. . . . Lovely serene buildings were torn down, to make way for the villas and bungalows, without any faint realization of the fatality that ignoble destruction was bringing about.²²

Yet there was room for optimism, for the Other America contained the seeds of its own defense. A centuries-old Euro-American faith in the power of the physical environment to affect behavior encouraged Colonial Revivalists to believe that contact with the remains of the Other America could teach desirable values. Protecting what survived could preserve the values of the past for modern Americans.

Protection took several forms. One might save individual relics, such as Mount Vernon, as reminders of prominent people. One might collect more widely to save buildings and artifacts redolent more of past lifeways than of specific individuals. Or one might encourage people not to abandon the old ways. Both the latter aims were evident as mountain crafts collectives were set up to encourage the continuation of handicraft traditions, museums collected crafts, and folk festivals performed a parallel function for oral culture. Exurbanites were encouraged to purchase and live in old houses rather than constructing new ones: Stotz noted hopefully, “Many log houses have recently been converted with great success for use as summer homes or as quaint accessory buildings on estates.”²³

The values of the past could also be protected by imitating old forms in new work. On this assumption, schools were established throughout Appalachia to teach “traditional” crafts (some newly invented) as a way of instilling self-

confidence, creativity, and an aesthetic sense in mountaineers who were thought to be demoralized by their isolation. Urban settlement houses were furnished with Colonial Revival furniture to inspire immigrant clients with middle-class ideals of housekeeping, while other immigrants were “Americanized” in special schools located in colonial-style buildings. Most of all, the use of colonial features in contemporary architecture and decorative arts could counteract “the extravagance and crudity of the current building,” in the words of architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler in 1894. After the late 1870s, Colonial Revival buildings, gardens, and town plans formed an ever-expanding component of the American landscape. Turn-of-the-century antiquarians like Henry Chapman Mercer and Wallace Nutting manufactured reproduction furniture as well as new objects designed in the spirit of the old to furnish these reproduced, or revived, colonial settings.²⁴

A last-ditch preservation tactic, but also a precondition for the other defenses, was the intensive study and careful recording of the remains of the Other America before it disappeared. Beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, fieldworkers swarmed over the nation to capture old buildings, Native American ceremonies, folk songs, antique furniture, traditional lore, outmoded technologies, and even the natural landscape itself, in anticipation of the onslaught of urban industrial civilization.²⁵

III

The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania was thus one product of an ambitious, energetic, romantic project devoted to saving the Other America for posterity. These fieldworkers saw themselves as members of a vast disaster-relief army working feverishly in advance of a flood. Architectural publications in particular emphasized the emergency. Fiske Kimball wrote of John Mead Howells’s *Lost Examples of Colonial Architecture* (1931), “To turn these pages is to realize the depth of our artistic and historic loss through the destruction of old buildings by war, by fire, by revolutions of taste, and by the ruthless march of urban ‘improvement.’ . . . Thanks to Mr. Howells’ pious researches, at least the forms and the flavor of these buildings survive for us.” In 1932 Alfred Easton Poor was working “to make a record of these [Cape Cod] houses of our ancestors before time and ‘modern-

ization' take their toll," as was Rexford Newcomb, who recorded the California missions in 1916 "before the last vestige of the buildings themselves had disappeared from the earth." Charles Stotz, too, hoped to furnish future generations with a "graphic record of our civilization" that they would otherwise lack "due to its complete obliteration."²⁶

Yet the architects differed from anthropologists, folklorists, and historians in one important respect. While all shared the larger cultural outlook represented by the quest for the Other America, architects inherited an additional professional obligation. Architectural history had long been indentured to architectural design. Centuries before anyone was interested in architectural history for itself, architects had turned to the past for inspiration and instruction. In Stotz's day, architectural historical research was still expected to have practical value for working architects, a duty that most architect-historians acknowledged. They expressed a desire to be "an inspiration to those who are now building our small houses," to "be of value as architectural material for other American homes," to "assist, in a practical way, the cause of architecture." Stotz was a little more ambivalent, denying that *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* was "intended to encourage a revival of building in the old manner." He conceded, however, that "for those interested in perpetuating local building traditions, this book will for the first time furnish authentic source material," adding his hope that the work might also lead to the preservation of the finest structures depicted in it.²⁷

Along with their professional obligation to advance design, architect-historians inherited a long-established method for conducting and presenting their research: through precise measured drawings based on careful field study of surviving structures. An unbroken fieldwork tradition stretched from Stotz's day back at least to the Renaissance, when the artist Donatello and the architect Filippo Brunelleschi traveled to Rome in 1405 to measure and draw antique buildings. For Renaissance architects, ancient Roman building as described in the only surviving antique treatise, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio's *The Ten Books on Architecture*, was the authoritative historic precedent. However, Vitruvius's book had been passed down without illustrations, and much of his text was ambiguous. Thus, architects

turned to the field study of ancient ruins to fill the gap. The sixteenth-century architect Andrea Palladio is the best known of these Renaissance architects who became historians by default. His *Four Books of Architecture* (1570) featured reconstruction drawings of Roman temples based on his study of their ruins. Palladio noted, "Vitruvius has been a very great help to me; because, what I saw, agreeing with what he teacheth us, it was not difficult for me to come at the knowledge of their aspect, and of their form." At the same time, he wrote, "I make no doubt, but that they who shall read this book, and shall consider the designs in it carefully, may be able to understand many places, which in Vitruvius are reputed very difficult."²⁸

From the Renaissance to Stotz's time, the principles Palladio set forth, calling for the accurate recording of that which survived leading to informed conjectural reconstruction of that which did not, all presented in measured drawings, remained unchanged. Architectural fieldwork boomed after the mid-eighteenth century, as northern European architects—their pockets (or their patrons' pockets) filled by the prosperity of their region and their curiosities piqued by revelations of previously unknown sites such as Pompeii and Herculaneum—swarmed south to examine ancient ruins for themselves. In company with local architects such as Giambattista Piranesi, they made careful measured drawings as well as impressionistic sketches, recording surviving classical architecture both in its romantic ruined state and in technically precise reconstruction drawings.²⁹

If their field techniques were derived from the Renaissance, the purview of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century architect-historians eventually expanded beyond the classical monuments Palladio and his contemporaries studied. Napoleon's engineers made elaborate drawings of Egyptian antiquities. At the same time, stay-at-homes in England and France began to draw their own medieval monuments, so that by the early nineteenth century the architects' professional curiosity had intersected with the older tradition of patriotic antiquarianism.³⁰

These meticulously recorded images of historic buildings were offered to the public in large-format volumes containing elegantly drawn copperplate engravings accompanied by brief commentaries. In addition, some of this archae-

ological information was recycled after the mid-eighteenth century in another kind of architectural publication that made more directly practical use of architectural history. This was the architectural handbook or pattern book, a book of technical advice for architects and carpenters that commonly taught the classical orders using examples taken from archaeological works such as James Stuart's and Nicholas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762–1814). Many handbooks also included brief surveys of architectural history. Formally these handbooks often resembled the archaeological volumes. They were usually a little less sumptuous than the books of antiquities, but they were illustrated with similar engraved line drawings, with a page or two of text added to explain each plate.³¹

A second model for the architectural study of old buildings, in addition to the scholarly measured-drawing expedition, was the informal sketching tour that architects often used to complete their educations. A year or two spent touring the cities of Europe provided the fledgling designer with a sketchbook chock full of images that could be referred to over the course of a long career. By no means invented in the nineteenth century, the sketching tradition may have been given renewed vigor by the work of John Ruskin, whose influential architectural commentaries, particularly *The Stones of Venice* (1851–1853), were illustrated with his own evocative sketches of architectural details.

The first Colonial Revival scholars of old buildings took these two architectural traditions as their models, with patriotic antiquarianism as a constant subtext of their aesthetic investigations. The public debate over the fate of the Hancock house in Boston, residence of the famous signer of the Declaration of Independence, is a case in point. Just before its demolition in 1863, patriotic sentiments prompted architect John Hubbard Sturgis to make the first known measured drawings of an American house. These drawings were used as source materials for a number of Colonial Revival designs by Sturgis and other late nineteenth-century architects. Peabody and Stearns's Massachusetts State Building at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 is the best known of the Hancock house's progeny.³²

When architects set out in earnest to study early American architecture, their first efforts

followed the pattern of the sketching tour. The architectural partners-to-be Charles Follen McKim, William Rutherford Mead, Stanford White, and William Bigelow undertook a "celebrated" tour, as they called it, through coastal New England in the summer of 1877. Mead recalled, "We made sketches and measured drawings of many of the important colonial houses, which still remain in our scrap-book."³³

Although the first students of early American architecture measured as well as sketched, the earliest published works favored sketches as illustrations: they aimed to evoke a mood rather than to provide reproducible details. Even Norman Morrison Isham, whose *Early Rhode Island Houses* (1895) was one of the first books to use measured plans and details as its principal illustrations, included many sketch views and indeed employed a sketchy drafting style for his measured drawings.³⁴

Under the influence of architectural educational practice, however, measured drawings eventually became the standard. It had long been customary to teach architectural history by requiring students to draw great buildings by copying from books. The introduction of French ideas into architectural training in the late nineteenth century reinforced this tradition. After the 1850s, many American architects were trained at the famous École des Beaux-Arts in Paris or by teachers who had attended it and then set up similar programs in American universities. For example, Stotz's Cornell became "one of the strongest adherents of the Beaux-Arts in America" after the arrival of École graduate John V. Van Pelt in 1896, and three years later it added a prolific architectural historian, Arthur C. Phelps, who remained on the faculty until 1937.³⁵

The École had institutionalized eighteenth-century archaeological research. During their five years' stay in Rome, winners of the École's Prix de Rome were expected to produce measured and restoration drawings of a classical monument. Similar projects became possible in American architectural schools in the late nineteenth century, as American Georgian architecture came to be accepted as a subcategory of the Renaissance style and therefore worthy of study. Some architectural instructors then began to assign archaeological drawings of American monuments. William Robert Ware had his students draw Georgian church towers as early as 1874,

while measured drawings of Louisiana architecture were part of the Tulane University School of Architecture's curriculum from its founding in 1907.³⁶

Stimuli outside the architectural profession encouraged this turn to measured drawing. At the turn of the century, the rage for "science" as a mode of understanding many aspects of everyday life permeated American popular culture. Consequently, some architect-historians like Isham, who never went to architecture school, were attracted to "accurate measured drawings" as a technique for "the collection of scientific data" superior to the antiquarian's "vague descriptions."³⁷

Whatever the reason, measured drawings of early American architecture began to appear in professional journals in the 1880s. By the second and third decades of the twentieth century, plates of measured drawings like Stotz's "Early Architecture of Western New York" series (1923–1924) were regular features of most journals, inserted almost incidentally and often (like his) without accompanying text.

Some of the earliest of these journal drawings were brought together at the end of the century in a major serial publication, *The Georgian Period*, edited by William Rotch Ware and issued in twelve parts between 1898 and 1902. Through *The Georgian Period*, architects like Charles Stotz (who considered it the first work of the type and an important precedent of his own work) awoke to the variety of early American architecture. *The Georgian Period* also inspired a host of similar publications, notably the *White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs*, another of Stotz's acknowledged sources, which commenced in 1915 and was published every two months until 1940. Publications like these not only taught American architectural history but also codified the pattern-book type of plate as the standard mode of illustration.³⁸

Stotz complained, however, that only one of the hundreds of plates of *The Georgian Period* illustrated a Western Pennsylvania building. The issue was not simply seaboard chauvinism. The first American architectural historians worked at sites in or near the large coastal cities and resort towns that were easily accessible by public transportation. Many of the riches of early American building remained hidden in the Other America beyond the reach of any but the hardiest of travelers.³⁹

All that changed around World War I, as the historians knew. For those working in the 1920s and the 1930s, the automobile epitomized the ambivalent relationship between modern America and the Other America, the double orientation to past and present that characterized the Colonial Revival. As Charles Stotz commented, "The excellent modern roads which made the Survey trips possible likewise spelled the speedy end of many of these structures, in opening sections of the country which had laid dormant since early times."⁴⁰

On the one hand, that is, the automobile was the single most frequently cited agent of change in the countryside. In 1931 Fiske Kimball blamed the car for killing the riverboats that had given life to the colonial houses that Waterman and Barrows studied, while for Joseph Hergesheimer the spread of the city was heralded by "better roads, laid in concrete." Stotz offered the most detailed description of the process in his introduction to the reissue of *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* in 1966:

The unprecedented road building programs of the past thirty years have brought the widening and realignment of almost all country roads. Turnpikes and throughways have cut ruthlessly through farmland tracts and rural communities. The streets of once unspoiled villages and towns have been widened and lined with the commercial buildings of a modern age; trees have been removed and existing buildings altered or demolished. Stores and service stations occupy prominent corner sites once graced by stately homes. Shopping centers and used-car lots have cut great swathes through a once tranquil scene.⁴¹

On the other hand, Stotz and his colleagues recognized that the automobile that was destroying the Other America also gave them new access to it. I. T. Frary began his 1936 study of early Ohio houses "as a byproduct of outings in the family automobile," while Eleanor Raymond's survey of eastern Pennsylvania (1931) depended on "a trusty Ford." As Kimball was forced to admit, "The automobile has made its own amends, bringing roads and a new accessibility by land, a new opportunity for patient and prolonged study."⁴²

It was thus with a sense of the urgency of witnesses to a evanescent scene that the automobile historians ventured into the countryside.

But it was also with a taste for high adventure, informed by a feeling for the exoticism of the Other America. They saw themselves, as much as any eighteenth-century European in Tahiti or twentieth-century urbanite in the North Carolina mountains, as explorers of a romantic territory and agents of civilization. All emphasized the arduousness of their task, the miles they had driven, the remoteness and inaccessibility of their quarry, the excitement of discovery. George Fletcher Bennett made “innumerable journeys” to “penetrate to out-of-the-way villages and country by-ways often closed to the stranger,” while Eleanor Raymond left the task to her “field scout” Ruth Crook. Raymond explains:

[Ruth Crook performed the] arduous task of hunting down most of the material I have used, and of photographing and measuring much of it. It has taken over five months of constant searching to find these buildings, which lie scattered over the eastern part of Pennsylvania from Harrisburg to Philadelphia. While the material is prolific, much of it is hidden away where a less zealous hunter than Miss Crook would have failed to find it.

Waterman and Barrows’s Virginia quarry had likewise “remained inaccessible to the hurried architect of the industrial world.” As researchers seek them out, “a whole province of great mansions . . . is rediscovered. The background of a vanished civilization is exactly set forth.” Even John Mead Howells, whose 1931 book was simply a collection of photographs of demolished buildings had, said Kimball, devoted “seven years of loving labor . . . to track[ing] down the buildings shown.”⁴³

At the same time, these expeditions were obviously less arduous than a trip up the Congo River, and some of the language of discovery was offered in a spirit of fun. In the 1930s Samuel Gaillard Stoney and his colleagues explored the [South] Carolina Low Country in the company of rambunctious parties of men, women, and children:

Everyone worked; the men with grandiloquent gestures of machetes clearing underbrush grown second story high, the women with soon toughened thumbs pressing the ends of tapes to crumbling walls, the children clearing trash and rubbish so that buried corners could be found and lost partitions located. Thus we uncovered houses and churches in fair order,

and buildings only piles of earthquake rubble, gardens in full glory, and gardens hidden under scrub pine and snaky briar patches; all were measured and their plans delineated. Probably the workers enjoyed the ruins most, because each could speculate gloriously on the details that were hopelessly lost.⁴⁴

Field trips on the WPAS, on the other hand, had more of the quality of a boys’ night out than a family picnic. The surveyors loved to tell the story of Stotz, cigar in teeth and head concealed under the canopy of a view camera, besieged by an enraged bull. “The chairman became entangled in the equipment, setting fire to the cloth with the cigar, and only obtained a successful picture when the sympathetic farmer took the situation in hand.” When the brothers Mario and Raymond Celli measured the second story of the Isaac Meason house (pp. 60–67, 162), they were forced to wade through the waist-high loose wool that filled the rooms. After long days of such high jinks, Stotz felt obliged to tip his hat to “the long sufferance of the ‘survey widows.’”⁴⁵

However lighthearted the effort, the intention was a serious one, and the payoff was a direct encounter with authenticity. These labors brought the scholar a pleasing sense of the immediacy of history. For Waterman and Barrows, the Virginia byways they traveled had “a feeling of remoteness that brings the past very near.”⁴⁶

The quest for authenticity mixed romantic imagery with the language of science, and, in the spirit of Isham, the interwar historians assured their readers that these fragments of vanishing early America had been brought back alive. J. Frederick Kelly acknowledged that his book’s “chief value” lay in “the accuracy with which it was done. It has been [my] sincere endeavor throughout, therefore, to avoid speculation and to make no generalizations which were not backed either by personal observations in existing work or by authentic documentary evidence.” Careful measured drawings were one way to assure precision. So were photographs, and after World War I photography replaced sketching among those who wished to be thought serious scholars. As Thomas T. Waterman wrote of Frances Benjamin Johnston’s work, which he used in his 1941 publication *Early Architecture of North Carolina*, Johnston’s photographs were “absolutely literal.”⁴⁷

The books produced by scholars between the wars were of several types, all relying to some extent on the traditions of eighteenth-century archaeological publications and nineteenth-century pattern books (in which the interwar historians were intensely interested). One strain was represented by J. Frederick Kelly's *Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (1924). Kelly was a protégé of Norman Isham, and like Isham he chose to rely on drawings to convey his message. His photographs were incidental to his argument. Kelly's text broke the house down into its components, including plans, structure, decorative details such as doorways, window frames, moldings, paneling and mantels, and materials. He was uninterested in historical background, preferring to stress visual qualities instead. In 1937 Antoinette Forrester Downing, another Isham protégé, produced a less technical, more art historical book on early Rhode Island, also weighted toward text, as did I. T. Frary for Ohio houses. Frary's 1936 book, illustrated entirely with photographs, combined Kelly-type architectural commentary with notes on the family histories of individual houses.⁴⁸

The majority of interwar books, however, followed the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century folios much more closely. They included little narrative other than a brief preface, often written by reigning colonialists Fiske Kimball or John Mead Howells, that established the rationale for the work and served something of the purpose of blurbs now printed on dust jackets. An equally brief introduction described the scope of the work, while a paragraph or two of historical or architectural observation on each building completed the text. Sometimes even this minimal commentary was omitted, for to architects trained in the classical mode the images themselves were the "documents" to be studied. As Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, Jr., observed in their 1927 study of Charleston, their "vista of the evolution of taste" could be "visually enjoyed without the distractions of literary comment." Thus, the books relied for their impact on plates containing photographs and detailed measured drawings large enough to be examined closely and even copied.⁴⁹

John Mead Howells's own *Architectural heritage of the Piscataqua* (1937) is a good example of the genre. A brief Howells preface and a few pages of rambling, nearly random comments con-

tributed by the Colonial Revivalist and society architect William Lawrence Bottomley, entitled "Memoranda on an Early Portsmouth Builder and of Possible Architects and Design Sources," introduce the book. A series of photographs of New Hampshire and Maine buildings, each captioned with a sentence identifying the original owner, comprise the body of the work. Interspersed among the photographs are plates of measured drawings, mostly illustrating interior details but also depicting exterior elevations and floor and site plans.

Howells in turn contributed a preface to Stoney's *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, which combined prefatory essays on "The Country and the People" and "Architectural Trends," with a remarkably large proportion of measured drawings among the plates. Each major building was discussed in a historical and architectural summary accompanied by a floor plan, which was by no means standard in works of this sort. The measured drawings in these large books were visually busy but carefully conceived productions; Stoney's were exceptionally elegant. A single plate might show sample balusters, moulding profiles, and even whole stairs or walls of panels in an array that recalled the pattern books but was equally strongly influenced by the disciplined, artful sheet layout stressed in École-type architectural education, where presentation was a major criterion for the judgment of student work.⁵⁰

Publications such as Howells's and Stoney's were the products of centuries of architectural practice, colored by the cultural values of the American Colonial Revival and the quest for the Other America. Such works in turn offered models from which Charles Stotz could work when he turned to study Western Pennsylvania.

IV

After Cornell, Stotz moved to New York to serve his architectural apprenticeship in the offices of Welles Bosworth, Cass Gilbert, and Delano and Aldrich. All three firms designed large buildings in historic styles for wealthy public and private clients, and their work showed an intimate familiarity with architectural history. After World War I, Bosworth had helped restore the war-damaged Reims Cathedral and the palaces at Versailles and Fontainebleau. Cass Gilbert was the architect of such monuments as

the classical Detroit Public Library and New York's Gothic Woolworth Building, while Delano and Aldrich were well-known builders of country houses and of urban houses in a Georgian Revival style. Armed with this experience, Stotz left New York after two years to join his father's office.⁵¹

The Pittsburgh to which Stotz returned in 1923 was very different from the Ithaca of his college days or even the New York of the elite architectural offices in which he had worked. The city had grown from a relatively small place, with a population under 100,000 in 1870, to one of nearly half a million people, eighth largest in the nation, by the eve of World War I. Most of this growth was the result of immigration. Italians, Hungarians, and other eastern Europeans formed over half the foreign-born population in Pittsburgh in 1910 and the foreign-born in turn accounted for over 40 percent of the working-class population.⁵²

The dire condition of Pittsburgh's immigrants and native working class during the years immediately preceding World War I prompted a group of social scientists led by Paul U. Kellogg to undertake a pioneering "social survey" of the city in 1907–1908, and their efforts were issued in six volumes over the next few years. The Pittsburgh Survey complemented the study of the *Other America*. Like the architectural historians and folklorists, its researchers wished to understand the effect of industrialism on America's environment and social values. For example, Margaret Byington focused on the lifeways of industrial workers in her classic Pittsburgh Survey study *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town*. Byington distinguished "the sturdy Scotch and Welsh and German of the early immigration, the sons of Yankee 'buckwheats,' and the daughters of Pennsylvania Dutch farmers," the descendants of the builders of the *Other America*, from the "Slavs" and African-Americans. Concentrating in particular on the house, its furnishings, and its household organization, Byington chronicled the deleterious effects of wage cuts, industrial strife, dangerous working conditions, and corporate irresponsibility on the workers' domestic life. She also noted the baleful influence of popular culture, and she recorded as well hopeful signs that genteel cultural institutions such as the Carnegie Library might convert these workers to the middle-class ideals she cherished. In short,

while the sociologists' subject matter was less overtly romantic than the Colonial Revivalists', the two groups shared a vision of a true America undermined by modern changes. The work of the Pittsburgh Survey revolved around the paradox of the wonderful feats of human ingenuity that had created Pittsburgh's enormous industrial enterprises but had also destroyed the environment and immiserated many of its residents. Conditions had reached such a crisis point that one critic described the city during the years of the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey as a "scene so dreadfully hideous, so intolerably bleak and forlorn that it reduced the whole aspirations of man to a macabre and depressing joke."⁵³

As architects who specialized in institutional buildings, constructing the hospitals, orphanages, schools, and factories required by the industrial city, the Stotzes, father and son, were familiar with the Pittsburgh depicted in the survey. Edward Stotz's Fifth Avenue High School, for example, had been built in a ward populated entirely by immigrants. Undoubtedly they were also acutely aware of the changes that had shaped Pittsburgh in the two decades after 1910. Immigrants' children helped raise the proportion of native-born population as the city's growth slowed. This did not signal an amelioration of social conditions, however. After 1920, nearly a decade before the onset of the national Depression, Pittsburgh's economy began to decline, owing to the city's overcommitment to a few large, relatively inflexible industries. Unemployment soared to nearly 10 percent of the work force during the 1920s.⁵⁴

It was not an auspicious climate in which to launch an architectural career, so it is probably not surprising that throughout the 1920s Stotz's energies were directed toward social and educational pursuits. "Robust and handsome," reports Tally McKee, with "a kind of bumpkin, hayseed quality about him that, while charming, belies his Cornell master's degree," Stotz worked in the late 1920s on the *Spectator*, *Pittsburgh's Smart Magazine*, where he wrote a feature that imitated the *New Yorker's* "Talk of the Town" column. "Unquestionably the most literate of Pittsburgh architects," according to a contemporary, he was one of the leading lights behind the Pittsburgh Architectural Club's *Charette*, a magazine that between the wars devoted rather more space to chummy gossip and amateur liter-

ary efforts than to professional issues. Most important, while the firm was building such works as the Coraopolis Junior High School (1925), the National Tube Company's research lab (1927), the Monongahela National Bank (1928), and the Ellwood City Hospital (1929), Charles Stotz undertook a study tour of Europe and, after his return, devoted much of his leisure time to a search for the Other America.⁵⁵

Stotz published romantic sketches of Pittsburgh reminiscent of those nineteenth- and early twentieth-century architects drew on their sketching tours. These made broken-down corners of the industrial metropolis appear to be picturesque remnants of a medieval European town such as Mont Saint-Michel, the subject of a Stotz article in the *Architectural Forum* (fig. 3). At the same time, he began to explore the region around Pittsburgh in the company of fellow architects Robert W. Schmertz and Rody Patterson. He organized an architects' tour to Plantation Plenty, the Isaac Manchester house that was later featured prominently in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*. He provided an itinerary, with accompanying sketches, for a self-guided automobile tour of Washington and Fayette counties, again featuring buildings that would reappear in the book. And he became enamored of the architecture of the Harmony society's villages at Harmony and Old Economy.⁵⁶

In the mid-1920s, the Stotz circle began to make measured drawings, including several of Harmony, in the name of the Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments and Sites, of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Institute of Architects. This committee, charged with the oversight of local landmarks, was founded in 1906 but had been moribund for twenty years. It seems to have interpreted its task as providing unspecified support for officially owned landmarks. Since the Pittsburgh region contained nothing except Old Economy (state property after 1919), "The field of activity is very small, unless a good private residence or a good type of log cabin could be considered an Historical Monument." Year after year, the chair reported to the chapter that the committee had "held no meetings and done nothing." In 1920 the committee did sponsor measured drawings of Old Economy, but these were soon lost. A year later, it stirred itself to suggest that Carnegie Tech might place "more emphasis upon this character of

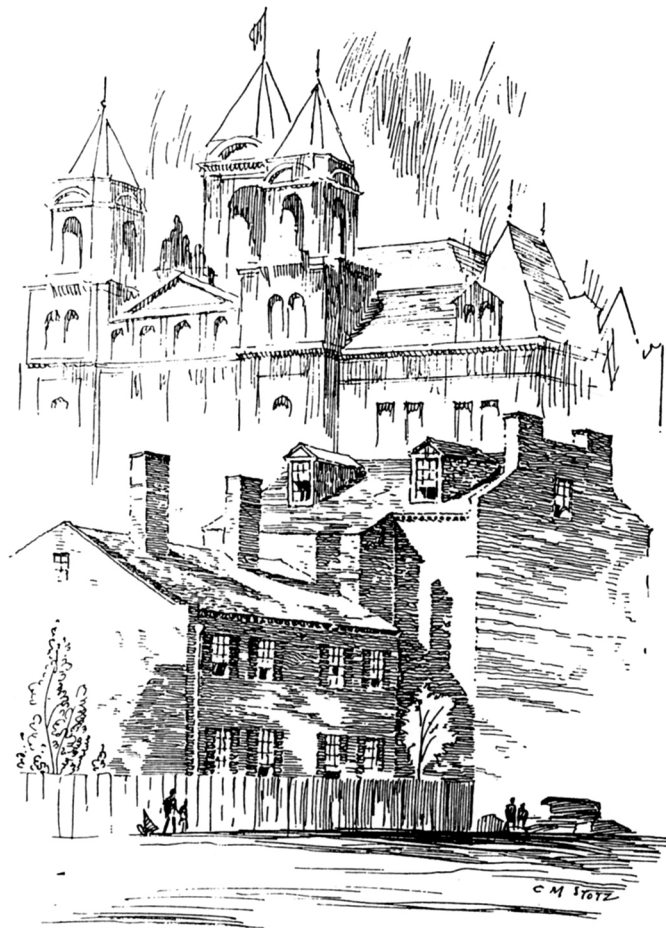


Figure 3. Charles Morse Stotz, drawing of downtown Pittsburgh from an article in the *Pittsburgh Record*, April-May 1932 (copy in Charles Morse Stotz Papers, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania).

work" than the one measured drawing problem per year then assigned. The arrival of Stotz and his friends on the scene signaled the beginning of the committee's active life. They joined it formally in 1930, with Stotz as chair. It was to be the platform from which the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey was launched.⁵⁷

V

The Depression was an economic disaster, but to those who were interested in the Other America it also provided an opportunity. In Stotz's words, "An unprecedented economic depression was made to yield dividends which are not measured in material worth but by their spiritual value." Armies of highly skilled men and women were available to work in the cause of preservation, which no longer need be the "hobby," as Stotz called it, of a few people. In the 1930s, these underemployed professionals contributed to a massive reinvigoration of the quest to document the Other America. They took photographs

of urban and rural life, inventoried historic documents, made watercolors of examples of American design, collected folk songs, and interviewed ex-slaves, creating archival resources that are still widely used. Among the first such projects were those mounted by architects, and among the architects' projects the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey was the largest nongovernmental undertaking.⁵⁸

Stotz claimed both priority and originality for the WPAS, but the situation was more complicated than that. Other efforts preceded and coincided with his, although none was quite like it. At about the time Stotz began his formal survey, a committee of New York architects led by William Lawrence Bottomley and John Mead Howells formed the Architects' Emergency Committee to purchase drawings of important colonial monuments from jobless draftsmen. Between 1932 and 1937, they employed 110 different men and published the results in the two volumes of *Great Georgian Houses of America*. A year after Stotz began, National Park Service architect Charles E. Peterson proposed a similar, national project to be conducted as a joint venture of the Park Service, the Library of Congress, and the American Institute of Architects. Regional directors for the new Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), organized in December 1933, were recruited by the American Institute of Architects from among practitioners already interested in the field, such as Louisiana restorationist Richard Koch, Boston architect Frank Chouteau Brown, and Stotz. HABS drawing projects were to emphasize structures in danger of demolition, but otherwise the selection was left to the local directors' discretion.⁵⁹

In his own view, Stotz's work differed from these. He was adamant that the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey was "in no sense a relief [or] welfare" project. It was strictly a scholarly work with no ulterior motives, for which draftsmen were chosen "purely on the basis of producing the highest quality of results." In fact, he claimed that had HABS existed before he began work, it would not have been possible to accomplish the WPAS. Stotz's lifelong insistence on this point is curious and probably says more about his political views than his architectural views.⁶⁰

More important, neither the Architects' Emergency Committee project nor HABS was a sur-

vey in the sense of a comprehensive inventory of the architecture of a specific locality. *Great Georgian Houses* presented a relatively small number of famous buildings drawn from the entire east coast, while HABS recorded endangered gems. However, at least one survey did precede Western Pennsylvania's. The Kentucky chapter of the American Institute of Architects decided in 1925 to make "a survey record of Old Kentucky Architecture" and arranged for University of Illinois architecture professor Rexford Newcomb, in conjunction with another architect and a photographer, to undertake the project. Although the work was completed in 1925–1927, the results appeared only in 1940, in a large-format, minimum-text book of the familiar type. It is not clear how systematic the Kentucky survey was, however, or even whether it was originally conceived as a comprehensive inventory. At any rate, Stotz never cited it as an antecedent. In his account the WPAS was organized simply because "it was obviously a waste of time and money to grope about in search of early buildings without some reasonably complete knowledge of their numbers and locations," but there was "no precedent which was known to the Survey Committee for the exhaustive survey of a territory as large as that of Western Pennsylvania." It is tempting to think that, in the home of the Pittsburgh Survey, the idea if not the methodology of a survey may have come to Stotz from that quarter. At any rate, a comprehensive survey is certainly consonant with the concern for "science" and authenticity that both shared.⁶¹

Stotz and Schmertz made a number of reconnaissance trips through Western Pennsylvania "which encouraged the desire to make a general survey and record" of its architecture. An application to the Buhl Foundation in early 1932 produced a grant of \$6,500 for the survey and writing. Stotz formed a small survey committee drawn from his fieldwork companions of the 1920s, and work began.⁶²

The first step was to solicit information about potential candidates for the inventory. In addition to radio and newspaper announcements, a four-page brochure was prepared and 2,500 copies mailed throughout the region. The brochure argued the need for such a project—the pride in local buildings and the threat to them—as well as the architects' right to undertake it as a matter of professional interest. It called for help from

anyone knowing of standing buildings erected before 1860, a date that marked “practically the disappearance of those building characteristics peculiar to the so-called ‘Colonial’ and ‘Greek Revival’ styles and their more or less local variations.” Anything of later date would “not receive any consideration in this project.” A form was sent to likely informants requesting basic information about the building’s location, material, owner, and type. These elicited 600 replies. Throughout the course of the survey, the initial collection was supplemented with other forms and follow-up letters designed to fill in missing data.⁶³

Among other information, the follow-up letter asked for “Origin of design, stories, traditions etc,” which might include the popular name of the building, stories about how it came to be built, or rumors of other structures that may have inspired the builder. Although the survey committee emphasized their desire for historical accuracy based on rigorous documentation, they were willing to take leads of any sort. In fact, it is evident that in some cases the informant’s word was deemed adequate without verification. Alice Manchester, owner of the Manchester house (pp. 78–83, 158, 163) was asked the birthplace of Isaac Manchester and the original covering of the flat roof deck, not information that most lay people would know. Similarly, the account of early Pittsburgh architect John Chislett was based on both local documents and conversations with a descendant.⁶⁴

Mailed-in tips were compiled in fifteen loose-leaf binders that the committee used when selecting buildings to visit. However, most of the sites surveyed were discovered through road traverses, that is, by driving across each county on its principal roads in search of old buildings, rather than through informants’ advice. The second phase of the survey consisted of a series of twenty-nine car trips of one to four days’ duration during 1932 and 1933. Stotz and Patterson, occasionally accompanied by other members of the committee, visited 3,000 sites, sometimes as many as twenty a day. They recorded 542 sites in photographs and mapped every structure on USGS topographical maps.⁶⁵

The travelers’ “thrilling adventure of discovery” was tempered by their mixed reactions to local residents shaped by the architects’ social class bias, their views of country people, and

their visions of the Other America. On the one hand, much of their correspondence was directed to local notables and the descendants of the early Western Pennsylvania elite, whose information and interpretation of local history they treated with deference. For example, Stotz assured one correspondent that they sought information on Dr. William A. Irvine “with a sincere interest to record for posterity the remarkable work of this citizen who did so much to advance the culture of our early days.”⁶⁶

On the other hand, the surveyors’ stance toward the ordinary people was more ambivalent. As a part of the Other America, Western Pennsylvania was a treasure trove of early architecture and a place where some of its more engaging qualities survived. A Butler County farmer with fourteen children invited Stotz and Patterson to dinner, since “two more would make little difference,” and urged them to spend the night and take part in the local Fourth of July festivities the next day. Yet while the region formed the upper end of the much romanticized Appalachia, complete with the requisite log houses, it also had long been industrialized. Thus it combined some of the evil effects of both rural isolation and industrial disruption: benighted rustics, disadvantaged immigrants, and demoralized industrial workers, many of whom failed to treat the old buildings as anything special and made alterations of which the surveyors disapproved. Typical was one old house occupied by “three Polish families and eight coal miners” who had cut a stovepipe hole in a fine mantel.⁶⁷

The locals were equally ambivalent about the surveyors. Some were simply amused, remarking that they would rather have a coal mine or a load of manure than an old house. A few would have nothing to do with people they did not know. The Butler County farmer’s neighbor turned away the fieldworkers as “‘city fellers,’” and indeed wherever they went, the surveyors were recognized as familiar representatives of urbanization. The fieldworkers carried “an impressive large yellow official survey questionnaire” with which to overawe their informants, but few were mystified by it. Instead, to their frustration, the country people classed them with the Fuller brush men, real estate agents, and “antique fiends” who had infested the countryside for years.⁶⁸

Lacking patience for those unable to see the survey as the altruistic contribution to the public

good that the architects intended, committee members were often short with recalcitrant farmers. In a shakily written letter, the owner of a log house near Sewickley (pp. 36, 38) told the surveyors, "You are taking up quite a bet [sic] of my time. If there is anything in this for me I would be very glad to give you some information about the old log cabin." Stotz snapped back, "This is not a money-making or commercial survey. I give my time and so do the other members of the Committee. . . . We have interviewed or written to over 1200 persons in Western Pennsylvania . . . and so far you are one of the very few who has demanded anything for the little we ask."⁶⁹

The third phase of the survey, after the collection of data and the initial fieldwork, was to select sites for further study and to inaugurate a program of measured drawings. Ostensibly these sites were chosen after evaluation of the 3,000 structures surveyed, but a large proportion of the buildings drawn had already been singled out in Stotz's *Charette* pieces of the 1920s. Twenty-eight draftsmen and architects were hired, mostly from among the committee's circle of friends and employees. For example, Raymond Celli, one of Stotz's employees, in turn hired his brother Mario to assist him. Stotz assigned buildings according to his assessment of individual capabilities, and Mario Celli believes that the brothers' assignment to three of the high points of the survey—the Meason house, the Manchester house, and the Dorsey house at Brownsville (pp. 52–56, 171)—was a tribute to his brother's drawing skill. However complex their assignments, the draftsmen were paid a flat rate of \$80 per finished sheet.⁷⁰

After the committee made an initial appointment, the workers were on their own to record the buildings as they saw fit, although they were required to work on 8½ × 11-inch paper for ease of filing. The draftsmen's field drawings were personal, utilitarian things that ranged from careful scaled sketches on graph paper such as the Celli brothers produced to rougher work like Raymond McGrew's or Stotz's own (figs. 4, 5). After a day or two in the field, it was back to the drafting room, where the situation was much different. There, control was much more centralized, so that "the finished work would constitute a true and authentic document" and the drawings as a group would form "a uniform collection"

after a careful final drawing was produced on 23 × 30-inch paper supplied by the survey office. Each drawing was submitted in pencil for approval of the sheet layout before being inked: in the Beaux-Arts tradition, presentation was paramount. For reasons of consistency of style again, one draftsman was appointed to do all the lettering.⁷¹

Ultimately 106 drawings were produced, of which 81 were used in the finished volume (fig. 6). In style and format, these drawings closely resembled those of western New York State that Stotz had published a decade and a half earlier. They are somewhat simpler and less packed with details than similar plates in contemporary works, but stand with any in their elegance and visual appeal. While the draftsmen were instructed to record evidence of alteration to the structures, the finished drawings show the buildings as the WPAS thought they had appeared when first constructed. In silently restoring the works, they chose an older approach to measured drawings, one stretching back to the time of Palladio, over the method favored since the establishment of HABS, of showing struc-

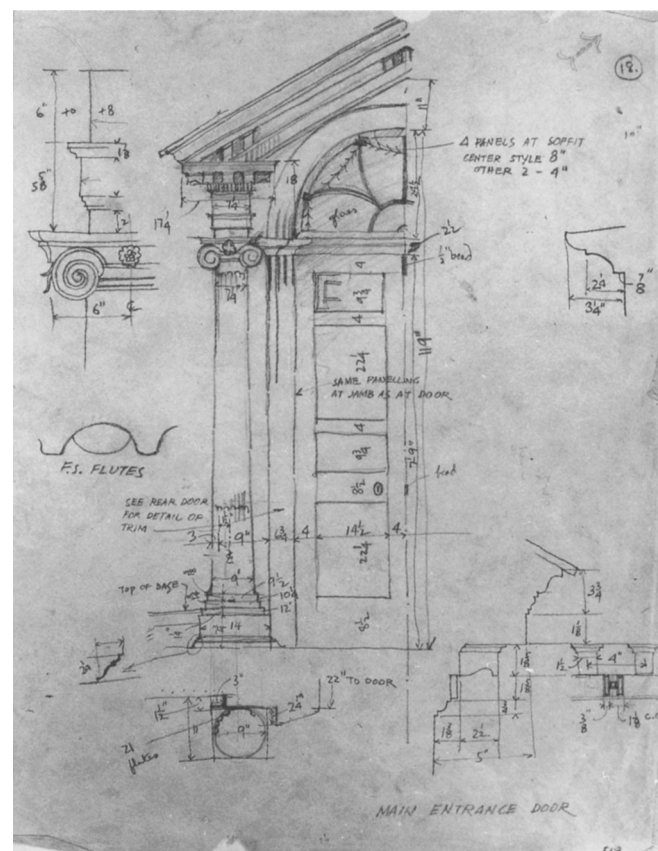


Figure 4. Mario C. Celli, field notes of Meason house doorway, ca. 1933 (Carnegie Library, Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey files).

background in architectural history. His fundamental historical assumptions derived from his Cornell education. In commencing the work with a freestanding “background” chapter inserted as a prelude to a subsequent, essentially visual architectural discussion and in assuming the importance of style as a way of understanding the architecture of Western Pennsylvania, Stotz revealed his debt to Banister Fletcher’s *History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, first published in 1896 and the standard architectural history text for forty years. Each of Banister Fletcher’s chapters was preceded by a section of “influences” that contained the same sorts of information that Stotz’s first chapter does. One of the most striking illustrations in later editions of Banister Fletcher was a plate entitled “The Tree of Architecture,” whose roots were labeled *geography, climate, religion, social, history*. Greek, Roman, and Romanesque architecture formed the

trunk, while the branches blossomed forth with national styles. In 1920s editions, the uppermost tip of the tree, at the center, represented *American architecture*. Stotz was clearly thinking of this plate when he described architectural history as “tree of which the roots are represented by Greece, the trunk by Rome, . . . and a terminating offshoot by America.”⁷³

This conception of history as, in Alan Gowans’s phrase, a “line of progress” of stylistic development shaped an influential work on American architectural history that appeared in 1922. Fiske Kimball’s *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* told the story of the advance of architectural sophistication in America. Kimball’s analysis drew on earlier work on U.S. architectural history, but it was recast with such force and consistency that the book remains the standard interpretation of early American architecture. According to Kimball, the first English architecture in North America was crude, improvised building that gave way to the “medieval” holdovers of the seventeenth century and ultimately to the increasingly sophisticated classical architecture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In his eyes, architecture improved to the extent that it came to conform to contemporary European practice. Aesthetic growth was promoted by the importation of European craftsmen and most of all by the dissemination of European architectural handbooks. As a book-derived architecture, “the ideal of the Colonial style remained always conformity to English usage.” With the appearance on the postrevolutionary scene of men like Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Henry Latrobe, men who understood and could use the new ideas in an original rather than an imitative way, came a “truly American contribution to architectural style.”⁷⁴

To most of his contemporaries, Kimball’s account was authoritative, and, more than any other source, it shaped *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*. Whereas Kimball’s New England began with pioneer huts and wigwams, the story of Stotz’s Pennsylvania commenced with a brief look at log building, “the architecture of the forest.” The next, postcolonial section is the longest in the book because that period represented, on the one hand, “the Indian Summer of Colonial architecture” (p. 16), and on the other, the triumph of civilization, the introduc-

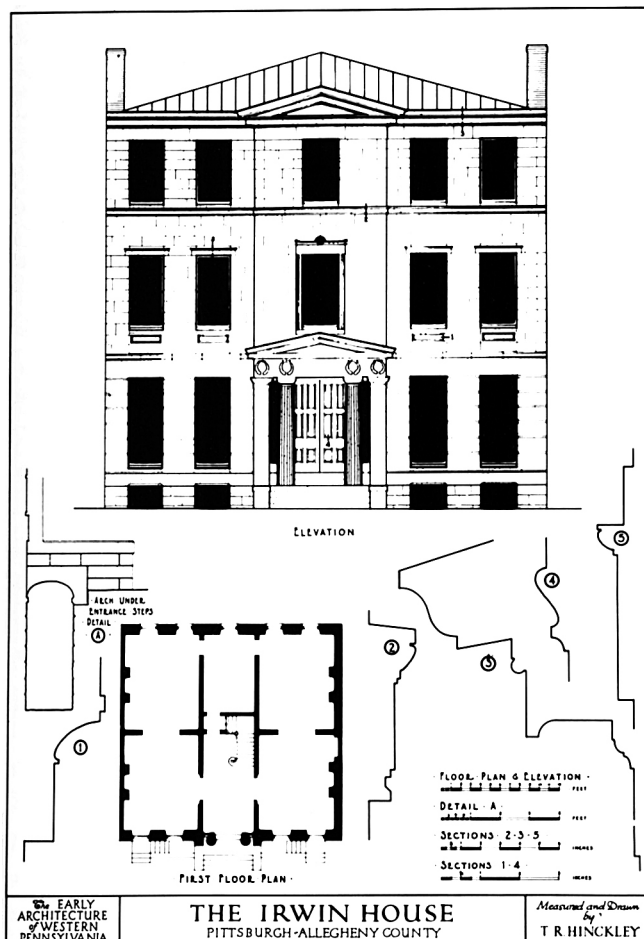


Figure 6. T. R. Hinckley, measured drawing of the Irwin house, “Burke’s Building,” Pittsburgh, ca. 1933, a Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey plate not used in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* (Carnegie Library, WPAS portfolio 1, qo 720.9748 W56d).

tion of European styles into the wilderness, and the era of “America’s really characteristic achievement in architecture,” as Kimball put it. This was the time when Western Pennsylvania’s architecture was most distinctive; but even then, owing to the constant influx of immigrants from many parts of the country, there was little chance for the region to develop “a distinctive local style such as occurred in Annapolis, Germantown, and the James River district” (p. 43). This opportunity was completely closed off by the arrival of the Greek Revival, “our first distinctly national style.” It was national because it was a book-based phenomenon, a “gigantic exhibition of architectural archaeology,” as Stotz says, quoting Harold Eberlein (p. 108). The rise of the handbook and of the professional architect became an important subtheme of the works of the post-Kimball era, and Stotz devoted an entire chapter to the subject. The notion that aesthetic progress depended on the expertise and the writings of architects obviously appealed to architect-historians and to those, like Kimball and Stotz, inclined to understand progress as the work of the elite.⁷⁵

Stotz’s third chapter discusses craftsmen, engineers, building technologies, laws, costs, and materials as well as architects. In this respect, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* was informed by professional interests and by a respect for preindustrial building technology that was a legacy of the late nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts Movement. In broaching these and other topics, Stotz departed from the routine line-of-stylistic-progress account, crosscutting and even undercutting it. These parallel inquiries made the book conceptually lumpy but also more interesting and more prescient than most of its sort.⁷⁶

Some of Stotz’s alternate agendas arose simply from his powers of observation. For example, standard style histories were based mostly on houses and a few public buildings. Although these formed a large portion of *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*, Stotz knew that there were also houses that did not fit the style sequence. He called them “buildings without traditional style” (p. 17); now we call them vernacular buildings. Working buildings of various sorts were also difficult to fit into the march of styles, but Stotz was determined from the first to include them, as the initial flyer reveals:

Of fully equal interest are public buildings such as churches, court houses and schools, also taverns, barns, mills, manufactories, furnaces, bridges, canal structures, toll houses and fortifications. Some attention will also be paid to examples of early craftsmanship such as hardware accessories. The survey further hopes to present some drawings, rubbings, or photographs of tomb stones, memorial plaques and the like, while landscape treatment will likely also be given some consideration.

Stotz’s interest in such disparate buildings and artifacts was a legacy of nineteenth-century antiquarianism, which was similarly catholic in its purview, but paradoxically it also looked forward to more recent material culture studies, which stress understanding objects in their total contexts. The broad net cast by the survey is one of the reasons *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* remains such a valuable resource.⁷⁷

Other innovative aspects of Stotz’s interpretation arose out of his sensitivity to his location. Despite the influence of the Other America myth on Stotz, he knew that early Western Pennsylvania was not a colonial Arcadia but a trading and manufacturing hub. Stotz recognized that its location at the nexus of major transportation networks—“one of the pivots of [America’s] great system of internal improvements,” as the nineteenth-century visitor Michael Chevalier put it—had shaped its architectural and economic history. This reinforced his view of the region as one engulfed in national architectural currents, and it stimulated his interest, as well, in kinds of buildings that did not usually attract the attention of Colonial Revivalists—the bridges, furnaces, tollhouses, and other relics of early American economic growth. The decision to include them did not please all his readers. In a review in the *Art Bulletin*, Columbia University architectural historian Everard M. Upjohn wrote,

The tendency today appears to be that the house and the church do not alone present the architectural ensemble of any region—which is true. In order to get “total recall,” commercial and industrial architecture must be included. To question the desirability of this inclusion is impossible. At least one sees what is there. Nevertheless some danger may lurk in stressing such material. A few quite excep-

tional stores or arcades make a real contribution, but let us realize that the bulk of industrial or even commercial building is architecturally negligible; . . . to admit that a woodshed, a foundry chimney, or an outhouse is architecture is absurd.⁷⁸

Stotz's catholicity of interest has left us, in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* and especially in the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey on which it is based, a remarkably wide-ranging record of Western Pennsylvania's surviving architectural legacy. Nevertheless, his interpretation of this legacy differs somewhat from the ways in which contemporary scholars might approach the topic. We need to examine these differences briefly, not from any sense that Stotz ought to have done things that no one thought of until decades after he wrote, but to highlight how his intellectual milieu helped shape the book and to suggest, as well, how modern scholarship might build on and refine Stotz's ground-breaking research.

Stotz's assumptions about the primacy of style left him uncertain how to treat log houses: "It may seem questionable to speak of log architecture as a style, or, in fact, to consider it as architecture at all" (p. 12). Log buildings were "symbolic of the pioneer's primitive mode of life" (p. 34), but there was little else to say about them. Because the section on log buildings is consequently the shortest in the book, an important, ubiquitous tradition in Western Pennsylvania building is relatively underrepresented in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*. Current scholars treat log architecture as a problem in building technology and spatial form rather than style. In that spirit, the folklorist Henry Glassie made an (unpublished) survey of log building in Washington and Greene counties in the 1970s. His studies of log building looked closely at their structural systems—how the corners were notched, or joined, in particular—and their plans—how the spaces inside them were arranged and used.⁷⁹

This type of study casts light on the routes over which log building made its way across America and on how people lived their lives in log houses. From these materials, in addition, scholars have had success in elucidating an issue that Stotz grappled with less conclusively. Not surprisingly in a region whose population was so

disparate, Stotz was obsessed with ethnic origins during the original survey. Although much of this material was omitted from the published book, Stotz's worksheets included space for recording the birthplace and "extraction" of the original owners, which he assumed affected architectural appearance. Thus, since the builder of the Alexander Johnston house at Greensburg was born in Ireland, Stotz categorized the building as "Irish Georgian," although there is little to distinguish it visually from other houses in the survey. Building on the work of 1930s Swedish ethnohistorian Sigurd Erixon, however, contemporary historians have shown building technologies and plans to be more sensitive clues to the ethnic origins of builders and owners than a building's appearance.⁸⁰

A more significant difference between contemporary and 1930s architectural history relates to the issue of inclusiveness: what is interesting? Although Stotz acknowledged more freely than many of his contemporaries the need to "see what is there," his vision, like any historian's, was limited by his preconceptions. His net was cast wide, but the buildings he ultimately chose to include in his book were more limited. As a consequence of the omission of most log buildings and of the preponderance of large stone and brick buildings in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*, Stotz's portrait of the region is skewed toward the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy. The size and elaboration of masonry building and its tendency to survive the passage of time makes it conspicuous in the modern landscape, but throughout antebellum America, masonry buildings always comprised a minority of the total architectural scene.

Stotz's sharp distinction between the architectures of pre- and postindustrial America is perhaps the clearest mark of the era in which he wrote. In pushing the "fatal decline" of industrialism forward to 1860 (and indeed by including a Gothic Revival church in the book), Stotz was more liberal than others in his assessment of American building, but once the border had been passed, there was no turning back. The surveyors were more than once disgusted to chase down a lead only to discover "a horrible example" of Victorian architecture.⁸¹

Stotz's hard line between pre- and post-Civil War buildings, when combined with his understanding of Western Pennsylvania's early eco-

conomic history, lend a certain ambivalence to his treatment of the industrial landscape before 1860. Even as he acknowledged early industrialism, Stotz shared his contemporaries' and his predecessors' scorn for its consequences: "We, who have substituted the craft of the machine for the craft of the hand, live in a new world of totally different architectural problems, and what we have gained in sophistication we have lost in directness." The engineer's role was discussed, but no specimens of advanced engineering were illustrated. There were stone bridges but none of iron, for example. Overall, the industrial relics included in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* were seen through very rosy lenses that create a strange disjunction between the landscape depicted in the book and that from which it was distilled.⁸²

Urban historians have noted that the city of Pittsburgh succeeded very early in its history in subjugating its hinterland as an adjunct of its economy. Coal was being taken from the region before the end of the eighteenth century. By the 1830s, when many of the buildings in the book were constructed, the city was engulfed "with a dense, black smoke which, bursting forth in volumes from the foundries, forges, glass-houses, and the chimneys of all the factories and houses, falls in flakes of soot upon the dwellings and persons of the inhabitants. It is, therefore, the dirtiest town in the United States." Coal mining was soon followed by the production of iron and coke, carrying into the countryside with them the same cloud of foul air, so that by the time Stotz began traveling in southwestern Pennsylvania, it had become a landscape "ugly by day with banks of coke ovens, tipples, sidings, and fields gnawed to the rock with strip-coal operations; luridly beautiful by night when the glare of the ovens paints the sky and works magic with headframes and sooty buildings." Casting his eye over this landscape, Stotz nevertheless decided that "originally the civilization of Western Pennsylvania was chiefly rural." He omitted most urban buildings from the book and at the same time represented rural civilization through structures like the Meason house, singled out in Fiske Kimball's introduction as the jewel of the region but built by one of the men who began the industrialization of the countryside. The power of the Other America was such that while Stotz in-

cluded pieces of industrial Pennsylvania, he saw the landscape as a whole in a very different light from the "glare of the ovens."⁸³

Nevertheless, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* remains the standard work on the subject, and for very good reasons beyond its singularity. It is a thorough and accurate overview of a critical region that still has not, any more than in his own day, received the study it deserves. Stotz's book brought early Western Pennsylvania architecture into the regional and national consciousness and provided the Western Pennsylvania material for Talbot Hamlin's *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (1944), still the standard survey of the period. Subsequent chronicles of the region's architecture, notably Walter Kidney's *Landmark Architecture: Pittsburgh and Allegheny County* (1985), are no longer squeamish about post-Civil War architecture, but for the most part Stotz's history of the earliest architecture of Western Pennsylvania stands unchallenged as the authoritative account. In addition, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* is the only record of many important structures lost to development or neglect during the past sixty years.

And a fine record it is. It says much about the quality of the WPAS that it is possible to ask questions of *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* that did not occur to the surveyors. The book's plates provide more information than the text takes into account, thus allowing us to infer more than Stotz says. For example, there are manuscript charts in Stotz's papers showing that he attempted to arrive at a systematic understanding of house plans, but never could. Yet because Stotz presciently insisted that plans of all buildings be drawn—a policy rare in the 1930s and one of which he was justly proud—it is possible to see that most of the houses are versions of the central-hall, two-room-deep kind of dwelling that historians now call the Georgian-plan house. Its ubiquity confirms Stotz's assessment that early Western Pennsylvania was governed more by national popular culture than by regional peculiarities.⁸⁴

VII

The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania appeared in December 1936 to uniformly good notices. Even Everard Upjohn's cranky re-

view grudgingly admitted that the work was good of its kind. However, Stotz was proudest of Fiske Kimball's introduction endorsing it, as well as a follow-up letter calling it the "finest and most complete book on the architecture in any region in America."⁸⁵

It had been a prodigious effort, one that required the efforts of many people. The informants, the members of the survey committee, and particularly the draftsmen helped to create a much more comprehensive regional overview in a much shorter time than one or two people working on their own in the traditional manner could have done, as a comparison of the number, variety, and geographical distribution of the buildings illustrated in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* with any similar work of the period makes plain. Rody Patterson, the committee secretary, was involved particularly closely, and the texts of his annual reports to the Pittsburgh chapter during the years that the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey was under way contain early versions of many of the central theses and characteristic anecdotes of the book. Reading these makes it possible to see the book coming together, as the committee refined their conception of early and present Western Pennsylvania. Even some of the language of the book comes directly from Patterson's reports and from committee letters to informants and supporters.

Nevertheless, it is clear in retrospect (as it was to his contemporaries) that Stotz's was the central intelligence and the driving energy behind the project. Consequently, when the Historic American Buildings Survey was founded in December 1933, Stotz was the obvious choice for district officer, even though the WPAS was still under way. Between January and April 1934, he supervised four teams totaling eighteen men who made ninety-seven sheets of drawings of eight structures, including the Pittsburgh Arsenal, the Croghan house in Pittsburgh, and the Washington and Jefferson College administration building. After a lapse, the project was revived in the winter months of 1935. Stotz abruptly resigned in January 1935 or 1936, owing to an "unexpected turn in personal circumstances," but it is clear that he was never happy with HABS. He was contemptuous of its status as "a government relief project" and he objected to the division

chief's suggestion that sites previously drawn for the WPAS be redrawn in HABS format. It was always his position that the survey had already dealt with the important buildings of Western Pennsylvania, although he acknowledged condescendingly that HABS had been useful in recording the second-rate sites that the WPAS had been too busy to cover. On some level Stotz seems to have viewed HABS, even under his own direction, as an intruder into his territory, an impasse that the Washington office had tried to avoid through its diplomatic policy of seeking out those already working in the "historic field" as local directors.⁸⁶

The publication of *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* marked an important turning point in Stotz's career. It appeared in the same year that Edward Stotz retired from the family firm, leaving it to Charles and his brother Edward, Jr. Stotz's sense of having passed a significant milestone is apparent in his decision to use all three of his names on the title page. When Cleveland publisher J. H. Jansen wrote to thank Stotz for the gift of a copy of the book, he added, "For a long time I wondered what the middle initial represented in your name. It was not until I saw a copy of *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* that you blossomed forth with the flossy middle name. The book can carry it very well."⁸⁷

Indeed 1936 was a milestone, for the visibility the book brought Charles Morse Stotz led to his emergence as the reigning preservation architect and local architectural historian in Western Pennsylvania. He restored many of the buildings included in *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*, among them George Washington's grist mill at Perryopolis, the Erie customs house, and most important of all, Old Economy at Ambridge, the work of over twenty years beginning in 1939. The interest in military architecture evident in the book grew throughout his later life. As one of the designers of Point State Park in Pittsburgh, Stotz undertook the restoration of the Fort Pitt blockhouse there as well as the reconstruction of two bastions. He was also the architect of the ambitious reconstruction of Fort Ligonier, begun in 1946.

In addition to his restoration practice, Stotz continued to write. A 1973 article reported on the Harmonists and the restoration of their vil-

lage and another one of about the same time recorded the Fort Ligonier work. There was also a second book, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, that summarized his decades-long study of early military building.⁸⁸

In these activities, the course of Stotz's career after 1936 followed a pattern common among other fieldworkers of the interwar era. As a result of their work for HABS or as authors, most enjoyed a reputation as the primary historic architectural experts in their regions and built up lifelong practices of restoration and new design in historic styles as a result. Men like Norman Isham in Connecticut and Rhode Island, J. Frederick Kelly in Connecticut, George Fletcher Bennett in Delaware, Thomas T. Waterman in Virginia, and Richard Koch and Samuel Wilson, Jr., in Louisiana enjoyed a preeminence sometimes approaching monopoly of this work.

Yet restoration and research remained, for the most part, a sideline for Charles Stotz. He estimated in 1965 that only one-tenth of his practice lay in restoration; the field was simply too small to support an entire firm. Even as *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* was taking shape, Stotz won an Allegheny County Better Housing Competition with a project derived, significantly enough, from buildings included in the survey. The firm went on to produce nearly 150 houses during his career. Other work included the design of buildings in Colonial Revival styles that did not make use of Western Pennsylvania sources. The Fox Chapel Presbyterian Church (1962), for example, was based on colonial New England; its steeple was modeled directly on Boston's Old South Church (1729).⁸⁹

Most of the firm's work, however, remained in the area of institutional building, as it had during the days of Edward Stotz, Sr. Such structures as the Mellon Institute laboratories at Bushy Run, the U.S. Steel Corporation research center at Monroeville, and Weirton Steel's quality control laboratory at Weirton, West Virginia, paid

the bills. Although his historical work was firmly rooted in an antimodern tradition, Stotz the architect of hospitals and laboratories had more complex views of his position as a twentieth-century architect. "Having been born in the past century and trained in the last days of the Beaux Arts system," he wrote in a 1965 letter to former WPAS draftsman Lawrence Wolfe, "I have participated in the gamut from the 'twisted column' to the 'Mexican hairless' styles. It is a very dull architect who has not understood and participated in the emergence of new styles but a still duller one who turns his back on those styles in which the historic forms are rooted." He took on restoration work only "as a matter of course and having tolerant partners." Yet he admitted that "it is in many ways the most interesting and rewarding because these buildings, curiously enough, will be cherished and preserved after many of the later modern buildings have been discarded."⁹⁰

The historian's most difficult task is to study a topic no one has ever tackled. When starting fresh, the work seems impossibly vast, and any predecessor, however inadequate, is a godsend, for at least it offers something to play off. Otherwise, the scholar must solve every problem anew. Where does one begin? What are the important issues, the key landmarks? What is the appropriate research strategy? Like many of his contemporaries in American architectural history, Charles Morse Stotz faced this daunting blank slate. Like them, he filled it, and he did so with a breadth of interest and a systematic approach that none of the others quite matched. If today we have new questions to ask of the early architecture of Western Pennsylvania, we can ask them in large part because he answered so many fundamental ones so well.

DELL UPTON
Berkeley, 1995

Notes

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2. J. Frederick Kelly, *Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924; rpt. New York: Dover, 1963), p. 1.
3. The story of Edward Stotz's career has been compiled from an anonymous publication, *Pittsburgh of Today*, published ca. 1931, and other ephemera contained in the Charles Morse Stotz Papers, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania [CMSPW]; Tally McKee, "Charles Morse Stotz," *Charette: Pittsburgh's Journal of Architecture*, November 1948, p. 11; a history of Edward Stotz's firm and its successors, *In Detail: The Celebration of a Century of Architecture* (Pittsburgh: MacLachlan, Cornelius and Filoni, 1989); "Schenley High School, Pittsburgh, Pa., Mr. Edward Stotz, architect," *American Architect* 111, no. 2146 (February 7, 1917): 93-94 and plates; Walter C. Kidney, *Landmark Architecture: Pittsburgh and Allegheny County* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, 1985); and Franklin Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986).
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11. Joseph L. Copeland, introduction to George Fletcher Bennett, *Early Architecture of Delaware* (n.p.: Historical Press, 1932; rpt. New York: Bonanza books, n.d.); Charles Morse Stotz, "Obsolete Text and Data" notebook, ca. 1935, CMSPW, ser. V, box 19; Gebhard, "American Colonial Revival," p. 134; Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Preservation Press, 1981), p. 439. In fact, Raymond's book concentrated on the traditional Pennsylvania German heartland from Philadelphia west to the Susquehanna River.
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13. Scully, *Shingle Style*, pp. 19-33.
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George Washington Slept Here, pp. 89–91; Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, “Curious Relics and Quaint Scenes: The Colonial Revival at Chicago’s Great Fair,” in *Colonial Revival in America*, ed. Axelrod, pp. 184–216; Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), esp. pp. 235–36; Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

15. Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders: A Narrative of Adventure in the Southern Appalachians and a Study of Life among the Mountaineers*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1922; rpt. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), pp. 13, 16.

16. Peter B. Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), pp. 145–46; Bucks County Historical Society Publications Committee, *The Mercer Mile: The Story of Dr. Henry Chapman Mercer and His Concrete Buildings* (Doylestown, Pa.: Bucks County Historical Society, 1972), p. 5; Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, pp. 29–30, 18; Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), pp. 261–63, xiii–xiv, 119.

17. John Mead Howells, introduction to Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1938; 7th ed. [1977], rpt. New York: Dover, 1989), p. 6; Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, p. 18; Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, p. 118.

18. Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p. xv and passim; Allen H. Eaton, *Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937; rpt. New York: Dover, 1973), p. 38; Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, p. 261; Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, pp. 314, 316. Although only a few chroniclers of the Other America attacked capitalism directly, most criticized industrialism or “commercialism” in some way.

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25. As examples: Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, eds., *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986); Arthur Kyle Davis, Jr., ed., *Traditional Ballads of Virginia, Collected under the Auspices of the Virginia Folk-Lore Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929); Irving Whitall Lyon, *The Colonial Furniture of New England: A Study of the Domestic Furniture in Use in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891); Samuel Adams Drake, *A Book of New England Legends and Folk Lore, in Prose and Poetry*, rev. ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1906; rpt. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1971); Henry Chapman Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters’ Tools, Together with Lumbermen’s, Joiners’ and Cabinet Makers’ Tools in Use in the Eighteenth Century*, 5th ed. (1929; rpt. New York: Horizon Press for the Bucks County Historical Society, 1975); Hales, *William Henry Jackson*.

26. Kimball, introduction to Howells, *Lost Examples*; foreword to Poor, *Colonial Architecture*; Rexford Newcomb, *The Franciscan Mission Architecture of Alta California* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1916; rpt. New York: Dover, 1973), p. v; Stotz, draft introduction to EAWP, CMSPW, ser. V, box 19, folder 1, p. 30.

27. Dell Upton, “Architectural History or Landscape History?” *Journal of Architectural Education* 44 no. 4 (1991): 195–96; Dell Upton, “Outside the Academy: a Century of Vernacular Architecture Studies, 1890–1990,” in *The Architectural Historian in America: A Symposium in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Society of Architectural Historians*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), pp. 199–213; foreword to Poor, *Colonial Architecture*; Howells, introduction to Stoney, *Plantations*, p. 6; Newcomb, *Franciscan Mission Architecture*, p. v; Stotz, EAWP, p. 9. For a discussion of this central aspect of the architect-historian’s agenda, see Keith N. Morgan and Richard Cheek, “History in the Service of Design: American Architect-Historians, 1870–1940,” in *Architectural Historian in America*, ed. MacDougall, pp. 61–75.

28. Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), p. 272; Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (London: Isaac Ware, 1738; rpt. New York: Dover, 1965), pp. 79–80.
29. A good, brief account of eighteenth-century architectural recording can be found in Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750–1950* (Montreal: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1965), pp. 70–95.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–05.
31. On the function and format of these handbooks in early nineteenth-century America, see Dell Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800–1860,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 19 (1984): 114–20.
32. Upton, “Outside the Academy,” p. 200; Margaret Henderson Floyd, “Measured Drawings of the Hancock house by John Hubbard Sturgis: A Legacy to the Colonial Revival,” in *Architecture in Colonial Massachusetts*, ed. Abbott Lowell Cummings (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1979), pp. 87–111.
33. Scully, *Shingle Style*, pp. 29–30; Marling, *George Washington Slept Here*, p. 88.
34. Floyd, “Measured Drawings,” p. 100; Norman Morrison Isham and Albert F. Brown, *Early Rhode Island Houses: An Historical and Architectural Study* (Providence: Preston and Rounds, 1895).
35. Morgan and Cheek, “History in the Service of Design,” pp. 62–63; Rhoads, “The Discovery of America’s Architectural Past, 1874–1914,” in *Architectural Historian in America*, ed. MacDougall, pp. 23, 27; Arthur Clason Weatherhead, “The History of Collegiate Education in Architecture in the United States,” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1941, pp. 34–35, 92–94.
36. Weatherhead, “The History of Collegiate Education,” pp. 161–63; Richard Guy Wilson, “The Great Civilization,” in Wilson, Dianne H. Pilgrim, and Richard N. Murray, *The American Renaissance 1876–1917* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1979), pp. 45–46; Rhoads, “Discovery of America’s Architectural Past,” p. 23; Samuel Wilson, Jr., “The Survey in Louisiana in the 1930s,” in *Historic America: Buildings, Structures, and Sites*, ed. C. Ford Peatross (Washington: Library of Congress, 1983), p. 24.
37. Wilson, “Great Civilization,” pp. 57–60; Isham and Brown, *Early Rhode Island Houses*, pp. 5–6. On science in architectural history, see Upton, “Outside the Academy,” pp. 202–4.
38. Rhoads, “Discovery of America’s Architectural Past,” p. 29; Gebhard, “American Colonial Revival,” pp. 110–11; Stotz, “Obsolete text and data” notebook; Charles Magruder, “The White Pine Monograph Series,” *JSAH* 22 no. 1 (March 1963): 39–41.
39. Stotz, “Obsolete text and data” notebook.
40. Stotz, draft introduction, p. 8.
41. Kimball, introduction to Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Colonial Architecture*, p. xi; Hergesheimer, introduction to Wallace, *Colonial Houses*; Charles Morse Stotz, *The Architectural Heritage of Western Pennsylvania: A Record of Building before 1860* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966), p. xii.
42. Frary, *Early Homes of Ohio*, p. xiii; foreword to Eleanor Raymond, *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania* (New York: William Helburn, 1931; rpt. Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Ltd., 1977); Kimball, introduction to Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Colonial Architecture*, p. xi.
43. Copeland, introduction to Bennett, *Early Architecture*; foreword to Raymond, *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania*; Kimball, introduction to Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Colonial Architecture*, p. xi; Kimball, introduction to Howells, *Lost Examples*.
44. Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, p. 7.
45. Stotz, draft introduction, p. 15; interview with Mario C. Celli, Pittsburgh, January 8, 1992; *EAWP*, p. 282.
46. Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Colonial Architecture*, p. xii.
47. Kelly, *Early Domestic Architecture*, p. ix; Waterman, quoted in Fay Campbell Kaynor, “Thomas Tileston Waterman, Student of American Colonial Architecture,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 20 (1985): 143.
48. Antoinette Forrester Downing, *Early Homes of Rhode Island* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937); Frary, *Early Homes of Ohio*.
49. Joan Draper, “The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The Case of John Galen Howard,” in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 211; Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, Jr., eds., *The Early Architecture of Charleston* (New York: American Institute of Architects, 1927; 2d ed., Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), p. 5.
50. Draper, “Ecole des Beaux-Arts,” p. 232; Weatherhead, *History of Collegiate Education*, p. 163.
51. Biographical information from the sketches in Mark Alan Hewitt, *The Architect and the American Country House 1890–1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 267–68, 271–72.
52. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 41; Blake McKelvey, *American Urbanization: A Comparative History* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1973), p. 77.
53. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 98–99; Margaret Byington, *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910; rpt. Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1974), p. 3; Zane L. Miller and Patricia M. Melvin, *The Urbanization of Modern America: A Brief History* (2d ed. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), p. 189.
54. Toker, *Pittsburgh*, p. 236; McKelvey, *American Urbanization*, p. 77; Miller and Melvin, *Urbanization of Modern America*, p. 189.
55. McKee, “Charles Morse Stotz,” p. 11; Kidney, *Landmark Architecture*, pp. 82–83. Comments here and elsewhere on the Edward Stotz firm’s commissions are

based on a job list kindly supplied by MacLachlan, Cornelius and Filoni, the successor firm.

56. Charles M. Stotz, "Old Houses and Odd Corners," *Pittsburgh Record*, April/May 1932; Stotz, "Mont-Saint-Michel," *Architectural Forum* 53 no. 1 (1930): 91-94; "Plantation Plenty: the Pittsburgh Architects' Pilgrimage to the Manchester House, West Middletown, Pa.," *Charette* 8, no. 7 (1928): 3-4; Stotz, "What Price Brownsville?" *Charette* 9, no. 8 (1929): 1-5; Stotz, "The Harmonites," *Charette* 10, no. 6 (1930): 7-9.

57. "Report of Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments and Sites, 1906-1937," folder, CMSPW, ser. V, box 20, folder 11, reports of October 30, 1914; October 27, 1915; January 18, 1921; 1927 (no specific date); Stotz, draft introduction, p. 3.

58. Stotz, draft introduction, p. 2. In the published version, Stotz changed the text to read "dividends that may be measured in both material and spiritual values" (p. 280).

59. Architects' Emergency Committee, *Great Georgian Houses of America* (New York: Editorial Committee of the Great Georgian Houses of America for the benefit of the Architects' Emergency Committee, 1933, 1937; rpt. New York: Dover, 1970), 2:8; Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 1053; Charles E. Peterson, "The Historic American Buildings Survey: Its Beginnings," in *Historic America*, ed. Peatross, pp. 7-21; Wilson, "Survey in Louisiana," pp. 23-24; "Historic American Buildings Survey" folder, CMSPW, ser. V, box 20, folder 13.

60. Rody Patterson, "First Annual Draft Report," January 16, 1934, "Report of Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments and Sites" folder, CMSPW. The organizers of the Architects' Emergency Committee hired any willing architectural draftsmen and trained those with no experience in making measured drawings.

61. Foreword to Rexford Newcomb, *Old Kentucky Architecture: Colonial, Federal, Greek Revival, Gothic, and Other Types Erected Prior to the War Between the States*, 3d ser. (New York: William Helburn, 1940; rpt. New York: Bonanza books, n.d.); Stotz, draft introduction, pp. 7-8.

62. A second Buhl Foundation grant of \$10,000 provided for preparation of the manuscript and an initial print run of *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*.

63. Charles M. Stotz, announcement of the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey [WPAS], a project of the Pittsburgh chapter—American Institute of Architects, 1932, CMSPS, p. 1; Stotz, draft introduction, p. 8; "Information Blank," CMSPW; WPAS follow-up letter form, CMSPW.

64. WPAS follow-up letter form, CMSPW; Stotz to Alice Manchester, Avella, Pa., April 8, 1935; Stotz to John R. Chislett, Pittsburgh, June 28, 1935, both in CMSPW, ser. II, box 1, folder 2.

65. Survey compilation form, CMSPW; Stotz, draft introduction, pp. 10-11.

66. Stotz to Miss E. L. Newbold, Irvine, Pa., January 8, 1935, CMSPW, ser. II, box 1, folder 2.

67. Stotz, draft introduction, p. 14.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 14-15; Patterson, "First Annual Draft Report," p. 5.

69. Karl George, Baden, Pa., to WPAS, February 4,

1935, WPAS manuscript file and supplement, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh [CLP]; Stotz to George, February 6, 1935, CMSPW, ser. II, box 1, folder 2.

70. Stotz, draft introduction, p. 20; Celli interview. Stotz said there were thirty draftsmen, but only twenty-eight signed the existing drawings. In addition to those whose work appears in EAWP, there are unpublished drawings by Lamont H. Button, T. R. Hinckley, J. F. McWilliams, Jr., Elmer B. Milligan, and J. Vernon Wilson.

71. Celli interview; "Instructions for Draughtsmen Working on Measured Drawings for the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey," CMSPW; Stotz, draft introduction, pp. 20-22.

72. The plates not included in EAWP depicted Burke's building and the Church house, both in Pittsburgh; the Muse house, Versailles; the Ferry house, near Sharpsburg; the Armstrong County courthouse and the McCartney house, both in Kittanning; the Barclay office and the Bedford County courthouse, both in Bedford; the Baker house, Altoona; the Passavant house, Zelienople; and a church doorway and headstone at Harmony. There was also an additional drawing of the Way house, Sewickley. All the original drawings are contained in two large volumes in CLP, which also holds the rest of the WPAS materials except for drafts of the manuscript and ephemera contained in CMSPW.

73. Banister Fletcher and Banister F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur*, 6th ed. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1921), p. iii; EAWP, p. 15. Banister Fletcher's tree is also illustrated and discussed by Alan Gowans in *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), p. x.

74. Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922; rpt. New York: Dover, 1966), p. 141. On Kimball's importance to early American architectural history, see Upton, "Outside the Academy," pp. 205-06; Lauren Weiss Bricker, "The Writings of Fiske Kimball: A Synthesis of Architectural History and Practice," in *The Architectural Historian in America*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990), pp. 216-18, 222-23.

75. Kimball, *Domestic Architecture*, p. 141.

76. Upton, "Outside the Academy," pp. 200-01.

77. Stotz, announcement of the Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey; Upton, "Outside the Academy," p. 201.

78. Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in America: Letters on North America* [1836], ed. John William Ward (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961), p. 168; Everard M. Upjohn, review, *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 107-08.

79. Fred B. Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), pp. 159-81; Glassie, "The Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," in Jan H. Brunvand, *The Study of American*

Folklore: An Introduction, 3d ed. (New York: Norton, 1986), pp. 529–62.

80. CMSPW, ser. V, box 19, folder 1; Sigurd Erixon, “The North-European Technique of Corner Timbering,” *Folkliv* 1 (1937): 13–60.

81. Patterson, “First Draft Annual Report,” p. 7.

82. Charles Morse Stotz, draft preface, EAWP, CMSPW, ser. V, box 19, folder 1.

83. Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics*, p. 166; Muriel Earley Sheppard, *Cloud by Day: The Story of Coal and Coke and People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947; rpt. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), pp. 1, 30–32; Stotz, draft introduction, p. 8; EAWP, p. 270.

84. Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 49, 54–55.

85. Fiske Kimball to Stotz, January 4, 1936[1937], CMSPS.

86. HABS annual report, January 1935; Stotz to John P. O’Neill, National Park Service, January 17, 1935[6?]; Stotz to O’Neill, April 11, 1936, all in CMSPW, ser. V, box 20, folder 13; Peterson, “Historic American Buildings Survey,”

p. 8. Stotz’s resignation letter to O’Neill is dated January 1935 but internal evidence suggest that this might be a typo.

87. MacLachlan, Cornelius, and Filoni, *In Detail*, p. 13; J. H. Jansen, Cleveland, to Stotz, February 27, 1937, CMSPS.

88. Charles Morse Stotz, “Threshold of the Golden Kingdom: the Village of Economy and Its Restoration,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 8 (1973): 133–69; Stotz, “The Reconstruction of Fort Ligonier: The Anatomy of a Frontier Fort,” *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 6, no. 4 (1974); Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire: The French and the English in Western Pennsylvania: Their Armies, Their Forts, Their People, 1749–1764* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press/Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 1985).

89. Stotz, “Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania,” p. 239; John Golightly, “Charles Morse Stotz, Renowned Architect,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* obituary [1985], CLP artist files.

90. Stotz to Lawrence Wolfe, Pittsburgh, September 22, 1965, CMSPS.