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Abstract

The National Register of Historic Places is a resource that identifies buildings that are significant to American history. Yet it currently lacks stories that represent women’s history. The sparse account of female architects within this registry is a prominent example of the suppressed histories of women architects that reveal the gender and class issues they endured in the past. Preservationists are currently attempting to broaden the scope of the past by bringing suppressed histories to light, but they need to produce the textual evidence of these accounts in order to provide an authoritative interpretation of the physical built environment. Historical research is the first step to creating a permanent record of the contributions of female architects, who are often ignored in the official history of American architecture. Such information is crucial if we are to make informed decisions about the future of key structures in the built environment.

In order to better document the historic contributions of women architects, research was conducted on three case studies: Louise Bethune, Josephine Chapman and the firm of Mary Gannon and Alice Hands. These women all practiced architecture at the turn of the twentieth century in the United States and had a personal and/or professional connection to New York State. Their material contribution to the profession ranges from tenements and factories to apartment buildings and residential homes. Through examination of these case studies, this thesis addresses the gaps in stories due to a lack of textual evidence. Toward this end, it reviews the institutional history of the National Register of Historic Places and the historical debates about significance in the archive. After the background of the National Register of Historic Places is established, it presents a critique of the inventory and nomination forms currently used in this registry. The registry was reviewed for documents from each case study. The results of the research and critique conducted in this thesis resulted in a collection of the stories of four women architects and information about the types of resources utilized for women’s history. Another important result of this thesis is that samples were created to illustrate how nominations could include gender and class issues in the writing process. This research will be of interest to scholars from gender studies, women’s history, architecture, urban planning and historic preservation.
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Introduction: The Implications of Suppressed Stories

“Although I have passed through many trying situations, and have had many obstacles in my path, I have never for a moment regretted that I chose architecture as a profession.”¹ Josephine Chapman, the first woman architect to design a building at a Pan-American Exposition, saw the field of architecture as challenging and rewarding. Women architects at the turn of the twentieth century had to overcome adversity, hardship and gender discrimination while forging a path into the profession. These women architect pioneers made many contributions to the field of architecture from tenement models to apartment homes. The fate of what happened to their architectural designs and buildings varies: some designs were merely models and abstract projects; some buildings were demolished; and some of their designs still exist. The remnants of their individual buildings are merely a remainder of what they have achieved and are a part of the history of architecture.²

Currently, the official records for an architectural history of the United States does not include the stories of underrepresented peoples in our society. In 2016, only about 8 percent of the National Register of Historic Places and 3 percent of National Landmarks were associated with women and racial minorities. These low numbers, which are now being addressed by many preservation organizations, reflect what was saved in the past and how narrow the scope has been.³ The narrow scope of preservation in the past has focused disproportionately on the upper classes, on the role of men, and often it has taken an upbeat optimistic viewpoint of historical events. This approach omits the stories of lower and middle-class women.⁴ A major effort to locate and document these omitted stories in the 1970s and 1980s has contributed to the adding of many

women’s stories to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). However, there is more to do. This thesis seeks to move beyond adding new nominations to address how a different interpretation of gender and socioeconomic class within the architectural profession can be used to enable a better search for, and in turn to create a more balanced contemporary story of the past.

Drawing from archives and digital online collections, this thesis constructs and interprets the stories of four women architects: Louise Bethune, Josephine Chapman, Mary Gannon and Alice Hands. These women architects had a personal/professional connection to New York State. Furthermore, this thesis addresses the gaps in stories that result from several factors such as name changes, different interpretations of significance, lack of information in the archive and other roadblocks with buildings research. Next, it examines the history of preservation and reviews the debates that occurred about what types of structures merit preservation. This debate centers around the age-old problems of whether preservation is about history and/or art. Additionally, this thesis analyses and examines omissions found in the National Register of Historic Places in relation to the stories told. It offers samples of how to incorporate gender and class issues into NRHP nominations (Appendix D). Lastly, it highlights the issues that currently surround the definition of significance for women architects. It concludes by reviewing the intangible problems that are brought to light by revealing the stories documented in this study.

The women architects in this thesis are prominent examples of the mutual influences that gender and class exert on professional identity, and thus they were chosen to clearly illustrate the challenges and obstacles that women have faced in the profession of architecture. All four women in the cases found below were chosen to explicitly represent varied experiences in the field of architecture while sharing certain similarities. Louise Bethune was chosen as a case study because she is generally depicted as an exception to the rule that women were excluded from professional

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5 Mary Gannon and Alice Hands established a firm together and are seen as one case study.
6 Josephine Chapman also worked in Massachusetts, Vermont and Washington D.C.
practice. She proved that women could become a competent architect, at a time when women did not routinely practice in the field. A few architectural historians have established her professional success and the vast amount of buildings she designed in the Buffalo area. Bethune built public schools, warehouses, factories, clothing stores, a railroad station at Black Rock, New York and some private residential homes. Bethune also married a co-worker and fellow architect, Robert Bethune. This marriage and the birth of a child did nothing to stop her from running the firm alongside her husband. Bethune worked with many community members of different ethnicities and was able to obtain large scale projects. It is estimated that she built over 200 buildings in the Buffalo area from 1883 to 1905.¹ I consider what role her upper middle-class status likely played in stabilizing her professional success. Unlike many other women who desired to practice architecture, Bethune was able to levy a wide range of resources to ensure her path to greatness.

Josephine Chapman was selected, in part, because her career demonstrates the challenges associated with a woman of working-class origins. She started her career in public buildings and ended her career in domestic architecture. Like Bethune, Chapman is an example of a woman architect who practiced and designed both public buildings and domestic architecture. However, Chapman did not design the large number of buildings that Bethune did. Chapman designed twelve known buildings in her entire career from 1897 to 1925. Chapman also changed to only working on domestic architecture projects by mid-career, whereas Bethune took residential jobs as side projects throughout her career. This difference suggest that Chapman was more constrained regarding which types of commissions she had access to as a result of her relative social position to Bethune. Through her career, Chapman was involved in churches, women’s club, the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition

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and designing private residential homes. This was an admirable career for a woman who had to pawn her some of her possessions in order to start her career.

Mary Gannon and Alice Hands designed mostly domestic architecture buildings during their careers. Gannon and Hands have a total of eight known designed buildings from 1894 to 1897. In one case, Gannon and Hands applied their accumulated knowledge to the design of a model tenement. They even stayed in a tenement to directly observe the spatial challenges that residents faced before creating a set of model drawings. This devotion to tenement design suggests they were social reformers. The limited social roles imposed upon professional women are also apparent in the brief history of this firm. Gannon and Hands stopped practicing around 1900 when Gannon got married and had a child. This event suggests the social choice that many women had to make between becoming mothers and working as professionals in the past.

My interest in the history of women architects stems from the omission of the stories of these pioneers from the National Register of Historic Places. At the turn of the century, women had to possess extraordinary skills and talent in order to open the doors to a field that did not welcome them; unfortunately, this is true for contemporary women as well. These struggles are nearly invisible in the official record, which renders their accomplishments as formally equal to that of their male peers. A reconstruction of the official record more accurately accounts for these hardships, which is one way that preservationists and urban planners can explicitly address the fluid dynamics of professional practice that continue have shaped the past and the present. The polemical orientation of this thesis is relevant to members of everyday communities who have contributed to significantly shaping our built environment, but are still faced with dealing with limited access to

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12 Allaback, 163-164, 175.

13 Allaback, 172, 175.
those who write our official history, and thus must learn how to tackle the issues related to documenting the marginalized past. This research will likely also be of interest to scholars from gender studies, women’s history, architecture, urban planning and historic preservation.

Past and Present Challenges: Stories as a Platform

The stories in this thesis show the resiliency, toughness and drive that nineteenth-century women architects needed to succeed as practitioners. According to the postwar tradition of feminist storytelling, which this thesis engages in, turning the lived social experiences of women into written stories is the first step in collecting data about women’s history. Stories can share knowledge and invoke feelings among readers while addressing the layers of complexity seen in history and the social world. This makes first-person narratives such as the written testimony of women professionals an excellent tool for preservationists and heritage planners. Stories are a compelling way for people to understand other’s viewpoints and will continue to remain a valuable tool in the near future.14

The collective histories of women architects in New York State constitute a story of professional practice that is not addressed in detail in mainstream textbooks or in the official narratives of historical organizations. There are of course some exceptions, such as Louise Bethune who is recognized by an eponymous lectureship by the Western New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and is recognized as a notable first by many figures outside of the region. However, Bethune’s development is rarely contextualized alongside that of her women peers. Their collective stories are powerful since they demonstrate the ubiquitous struggle, competition and injustice that women were forced to face. Examples from the past allow for many more people to share their experiences, gain knowledge on the current state of progress and reach new

14Meeks, The Past and Present Future, 175.
understandings. Stories are an effective way of organizing collective experiences. They demonstrate what is needed for success, or, for that matter, failure and they capture an audience’s attention. This view of the past can aid institutional change and give examples of present and past challenges. This mode of analysis can help decision makers to more equitably set future plans that directly address struggles with inequality.\footnote{Meeks, \textit{The Past and Present Future}, 166.}

The telling of history through stories has been used by feminist activists since the 1960s and 70s as a means of creating a group identity that is more unified. Writers such as Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem articulated the common struggles of many college educated women in the United States, which gave rise to a new form of collective consciousness. Yet a process of further aggregation was still necessary because of the apparent complexity of women’s identity; no one form of ‘feminism’ seemed to be sufficient enough to address the needs of all women everywhere—tactics were conditioned by local contexts. As a result, Second-wave feminists attempted to move beyond suffrage and the issue of women’s work to accommodate this difference. This was dramatically illustrated by the work of scholars such as bell hooks, who responded to the rallying call “I Am Woman” with Sojourner Truth’ question “Ain’t I A Woman” to bring greater recognition to the unique challenges that minorities and subaltern women faced.\footnote{See, for example, bell hooks, \textit{Ain’t I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism} (London and Boston: Pluto Press, 1981)} In this way, the practice of storytelling has brought greater struggles and subsequent accomplishments of women around the world. Stories allow people to see how they fit into their own communities and understand what their own sense of place and belonging is. On the other hand, people have also used official histories to exclude people and to undermine competing notions of national history. For example, for many years the official histories of the National Register of Historic places seen in the preservation record only included upbeat, optimistic and monumental examples of American culture. This resulted in undocumented events and places of minorities in the preservation record. Storytelling can be
harmful when applied in this way as if a clear and accurate account of the past does not also portray
the contributions of marginalized groups. This can led to the suppression of counter-narratives and
complimentary stories from within. This exclusive effect works both ways. The use of historical
stories in activist circles has also, at times, constructed a homogeneous identity that restricted the
official narrative of its membership. Revisionist histories of the Black Panther Party and the Civil
Rights movement, which now include the contributions of women more than ever before, are just
two obvious examples. In this sense, stories are just a tool for advance our understanding of the past
and an aid to identity formation, which is necessary for finding one’s own place in the world. They
are always open to negotiation, contestation and revision.\footnote{Meeks, The Past and Present Future, 16.}

Gaps in Stories

Official state and federal archives in the past privileged the preservation of what is called special
records. Previous generations of state and federal bureaucrats thought a building or historical site
had to be “special” to be saved. Today, we are pushing in the opposite direction of looking at
everyday patterns to present a record of the past that is applicable to broader constituencies in the
nation. As a result of this thematic shift in preservation efforts, current professionals have also
begun to seek out the ordinary spaces of earlier times, even when those who lived through these

Although the telling of stories is a mechanism for understanding the past, gaps exist. One of
the gaps in stories is the lack of information. Work of woman architects did not survive, were not
saved, or women worked under men who took the credit. Therefore, women architects lost their
documentation. Archives only hold materials of those who chose to write and who could write. Although the materials retained can be valuable, they are a narrow view of history based on what was selectively saved. Since not all materials in all archives are catalogued, this can create delays in finding documents. Blueprints, historic building images, personal papers and letters are examples of what was lost.19

The fact that it is difficult to locate information on women architects was discovered when trying to research which case studies to focus on. The four women architects researched for this thesis did leave traces of themselves behind in their floor plans, drawings and writings. This thesis used biographies and autobiographies to construct a contextual narrative of each woman’s career. This model considers more than just the buildings she designed to include a consideration of her social and professional context. Examples of this research were found in two books that cover the history and biographies of women architects: First American Women Architects by Sarah Allaback (2008) and Women of Steel and Stone by Anna Lewis (2014). These books talk about challenges and the accomplishments of women in the field—they are not just a list of women that practiced. Sarah Allaback mentions how she wrote the First American Women Architects in order to collect some of the available resources and biographies of these women. The work of locating these histories for some women architects is in the beginning stages making the data difficult to find. Allaback notes that not all resources were included as further research is needed. Sarah Allaback’s book expands on a large number of women architects that were not addressed in earlier times.20

Another example of the gaps that exist in stories is the difficulty in tracing name changes. Women were more likely to change their names upon marriage, and many women in professional fields did not use their birth names. In some cases, women used their middle name as their given

name. Bethune started to use her middle name of Louise as her formal first name. Her childhood name was Jennie. Other variations include the use of initials. Pseudonyms made their names, and by association their work, less obviously female. This made research difficult for some case studies and was taken into account when deciding which women architects to examine.21

A third example of gaps in stories is problems that occur with buildings research. Buildings research brings its own set of issues. Some buildings bore the name of the architectural firm, not the architect. Many buildings have been modified, demolished or were never built. Historic photographs and proposals can sometimes be found. Women not receiving credit for their own work while practicing architecture is one of the biggest obstacles and hurdles in creating these narratives. The Buffalo History Museum has a Buffalo Architectural Map and Architectural Index Spreadsheet noting some buildings that Bethune was involved in. The Buffalo Architectural Map showing 142 buildings that Bethune was involved in and the Buffalo Architectural Map shows 136. The spreadsheet includes a few buildings that had no known address. The museum notes that the buildings listed had reputable sources from their museum collections in order to confirm and identify them.22 However, another source estimated she was involved in about 205 and some buildings she designed are still unknown.23 Figure 1 shows a diagram that explains the gaps in stories such as name changes, different interpretations, lack of information and buildings research problems.

Even when some buildings can be attributed to a particular architect, additional archival research is still hard to access and is time consuming to locate. Some archives are located in rural areas or small museums. These can be harder to access due to location or difficulty in determining what materials they own. Archives have more valuable information that needs to be uncovered but not all archives have placed their holdings online. The Buffalo History Museum had a collection of

23 Hays and Strueber, 389; Stern, 65.
materials already collected from prior researchers on Bethune. These collected materials were highly useful and made materials about her easily accessible. Meanwhile, Hands had limited materials about her life and was the most difficult one to research for this thesis.24

Archives are valuable and do contain rich materials but they can have a lot of material on one topic and little on another. This creates gaps in history and can change what researchers are reviewing and uncovering about the past. Archives in this sense are a collective memory of the past as they hold what historic preservationists and archivists saw as important at one point in time. Archives are a physical location that can be seen as a “site of memory.” They held certain histories, memories and meanings that were collected by those that saw that information as important at the time. Archives, like other types of social memory, create one set of memory but also can overlook other memories.25

Figure 1. Diagram of Gaps in Stories, This diagram addresses the gaps found in stories including name changes, different interpretations, lack of information and buildings research, 2018, diagram created by Katharine Hewlings and Charles Davis.

24 Hays and Strueber, 389; Stern, 65.
Literature Review

The objective of this literature review is to understand some of the general preservation principles and theories that professionals are dealing with. It will review what should be saved, what stories should be told, how do we tell and interpret those stories and the place of the future preservation movement in today’s preservation field.

Integrity, the 50 year rule and criteria for the National Landmark List are issues that address what should be saved. Many places are not saved due to these regulations. The highway systems of the 1950s and 1960s destroyed areas that would no longer be considered under the integrity rule. The 50 year rule also causes problems for modern day architecture. Preservationists are currently looking at “older” places. Communities could be neglecting places they love due to this regulation. Some of regulations that exist and effect preservation efforts are discussed in this literature review. The criteria for the National Landmark List also causes friction for the preservation community. The National Landmark List, like the National Register of Historic Places, has a set of criteria. How to apply and understand the criteria is often left to consultants due to its complex nature. This thesis will focus on the NRHP criteria.

The kinds of stories that preservationists tell is another dilemma within the field of preservation. It is a moving target as communities change and growth. Along with this change and growth comes new ideas, new stories and new agendas. This can make it difficult for preservation to keep up with changing communities. Today, the preservation field is focused on inclusion and telling a broader story about gender, race and class issues. This thesis addresses the gender and class issues within the broader story framework and focuses on the profession of architecture.

The interpretation of stories or how they are told is yet another debate in the field. Different techniques such as oral history or public art are used. Interpretation of the built environment is an important component for communities and telling a broader story. Many aspects of stories are intangible and rely on interpretation to tell it.
The last section in this literature review discusses the future of the preservation movement. It addresses how preservation can assist communities through adaptive re-use and activism. Many preservationists today see the future of preservation become more people orientated. Preservationists are discussing how the field can turn around communities and include more residents in preservation processes.

What should be preserved?

50 year rule and Integrity Problems

There are many issues such as integrity and the 50 year rule, the criteria for nominations and inclusion of sites that the preservation field grapples with. These rules and regulations set the boundaries and existing framework for what can be preserved. John Sprinkle, Jr. discusses issues these issues in *Crafting Preservation Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation*.26 One of the rules that Sprinkle, Jr. reviewed is the 50 year rule. The 50 year rule states that a property needs to be at least 50 years old to be listed.27 He notes that some preservationists miss the history that is occurring in more recent times due to this regulation. Today, preservationists are taking inventories of what we consider as “old places.” However, Sprinkle Jr. brings up losing sight of the importance of younger modern buildings and their significance. Communities may have a different idea about preservation that is not tied to the age of a place or building itself. Sprinkle Jr. also discusses that another side believes that time itself is needed in order to understand history and its associated context. These two sides to the 50 year rule cause friction about what should be preserved.28

27 There are exceptions to this rule but it is rare.
28 Sprinkle, 111-129.
Another author Max Page addresses many issues in his book on *Why Preservation Matters*. One element that was reviewed is the integrity of buildings. He gives examples of how the preservation laws of the past have stopped some sites or stories from being told. The integrity rule is one that works against certain communities where buildings were demolished and places were partially lost. The integrity rule does not address income inequality and displacements in its decisions about places. This rule has led to certain places being saved over others and has created a history that commemorates the heroes or well-known figures and not the ignored neglected stories.29

**Roadblocks with the Criteria and Significance of Places**

Page Putnam Miller discusses the issues with National Park Service federal policies and criteria for landmarks in *Reflections on Federal Policy and Its Impact on Understanding Women’s Past at Historic Sites*. She addresses the roadblocks that the identified potential sites ran into while working on this project. Some nominations were rejected on the grounds that the owner’s did not want landmark status, the NPS Advisory Committee rejected the application and some park staff did not endorse certain sites based on integrity or disagreements on national significance.30 Page’s work addresses the obstacles seen in the criteria and nomination process between what individuals want listed and what is approved for listing by the state.

Leslie N. Sharp discusses the need for defining what makes a place related to women and where the line is on what makes the place significant. She further explains this dilemma by asking questions about how the criteria relates to women’s history. A few examples of the questions she raised are, “can a property be significant in women’s history even though there is no such area of

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29 Page, 5-19.
significance in the National Register Information System or in the National Register Bulletin 16a:

How to Complete the National Register Form?\(^{31}\) Is also raises the question of how “strong the
association with women’s history” needs to be in order to be considered eligible?\(^{32}\) Sharp’s
questions brought up important questions. However, the fact that women’s history can be one layer
of history at a multi-dimensional site can make research of women’s history difficult within the
National Register.

Preservation and Storytelling

What stories should preservationists tell?

Stephanie Meeks, the President of the National Trust, addresses the lack of diverse stories in
the preservation field as a whole.\(^{33}\) Meeks recognizes that the preservation field was limited in the
past and that the American story needs to be “reframed” in order to include underrepresented
groups. These underrepresented groups tie to gender, race and class. In relation to gender, Meeks
notes that First Ladies were often the only women that made history. This was based on their tie to a
white man through marriage. This narrow viewpoint of history is driving the preservation movement
today.\(^{34}\) *Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles: Gay and Lesbian Heritage* is one example of a story that
broadens the current limited scope of sexuality and gender issues. The author Gail Lee Dubrow
notes how gay and lesbian heritage is omitted, missing and silent in the preservation field. She has

\(^{31}\) Women’s history was not included as a data field for significance within the National Register Information System. This
issue was reviewed by the National Register but no attempt was made to incorporate a separate field for it. The decision
was based on the fact that “most listings are related to both sexes in one way or another” according to Carol D. Shull. Shull
was involved at the National Register at the time of the decision. You can mark the “Other” field to include and note
women’s history.

\(^{32}\) Leslie N. Sharp, “Finding Her Place: Integrating Women’s History into Historic Preservation in Georgia,” in *Restoring
Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (eds.), (Baltimore: John Hopkins

\(^{33}\) “Telling All Americans’ Stories: Women’s History,” *National Park Service*, accessed March 6, 2018,

\(^{34}\) Stephanie Meeks, “A More Perfect Union: Expanding Our Outlook,” *National Trust for Historic
Preservation*, November 1, 2014, https://savingplaces.org/stories/expanding-ouroutlook#.WqCUx-jwbIU, Stephanie Meeks,
worked to save the places and spaces that gay and lesbians see as important. These spaces are often
different than their heterosexual counterparts and have been neglected in the past.\textsuperscript{35}

Another example of broadening the story is based on gender and women’s history. Page
Putnam Miller argues in \textit{Reflections on Federal Policy and Its Impact on Understanding Women’s Past at Historic Sites} that women’s history was just being placed into the current listings and additional
listings on the National Register of Historic Places and National Landmark List. She states that
women’s history is lacking. She saw this as a “limited” and “distorted picture” of women’s history.
She addresses issues with the National Landmark List and notes that homes of notable women,
schools, hospitals and YWCA are missing from the record. Miller beings to address the lack of
women’s history in the National Landmark List by researching and presenting potential sites that
could be added to it. Miller focuses on national landmarks and not the National Register List. The
National Landmark List is meant for national importance and therefore may dismiss local historical
events and/or persons.\textsuperscript{36}

\textbf{How do preservationists tell the story?}

Na Li who wrote \textit{Whose History, Whose Memory? and Preserving Urban Landscapes as
Public History: The Chinese Context} breaks down a specific way to obtain community inclusion into
the story. To her, oral history shows the “psychology of community” even though it is less evidence
based. She would use what was termed a culturally sensitive narrative approach (CSNA) to include
intangible heritage of a place. This CSNA process builds a place based narrative that includes
residents’ memories of their neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{37} Paul Thompson and Joanna Bornat also discuss the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[36] Miller, 318-336.
\end{footnotes}
possibilities of oral history in storytelling and understanding communities. Oral history has become more accepted and Thompson and Bornat “insist that the search for social justice remain central to our work.” They do note the limitations of oral history since some people can confuse events or some may embellish on their own stories.  

Dolores Hayden notes in *The Power of Place Project: Claiming Women’s History in the Urban Landscape* that an individual’s life is only one part of the story. However, these individual stories can tell of struggle, family life, professional life and social and cultural aspects of the time. The author believes that the stories that intersect with gender, race and class should be incorporated into urban design. These stories will define a new culture that can move cities forward in the future. Hayden also identifies that certain buildings are associated with gender, race, and class issues that have been ignored in the past. Some examples are tenements, markets, factories, packing shed and union halls.

Lastly, Hayden wants professionals to work on creative ways to use these building types. Hayden started a non-profit called Power of Place to address issues of urban design and preservation. This non-profit focused on interpretation in the urban landscape based on gender, race and class. Her projects focused on the city of Los Angeles, which has a rich ethnic heritage and a diverse present day population. Pamphlets for a walking tour were made and it highlighted the importance of social history. Some sites already had landmark status but needed to address gender, race and class in their interpretation. Other sites were either vacant buildings or the building no longer existed. These sites were addressed by the use of public art or other designs that exhibit and showcase the importance of the site.

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40 Hayden, 199-213.
The National Trust created ideas for how to interpret women in history in order to tell their stories. The National Trust wrote an article titled “The First Step for Putting Women Back in History.” This article notes multiple ways to incorporate women into history. One example discusses how every existing site should have a tie to women’s history. The National Trust note that historians originally thought that Alcatraz Prison had no ties to women due to its status of being a male only prison. However, they realized that the warden’s family lived there, prisoners had female family members and some victims of the prisoners were also female. Another example is to remember that women are multi-dimensional. A site can interpret the traditional broad patterns of history such as cooking, cleaning and maintaining the house. However, some women also had other hobbies such as writing or were involved in the suffrage movement which fall outside of the mainstream culture and ideas of the home. The article stresses to relook at your site’s history to discover women and understand the different connections and ties that gender can have to a place.41

Social Justice and the Future Preservation Movement

David J. Brown visualizes a preservation movement that involves all United States citizens. He believes the preservation movement needs to move past its former ideals of for architectural beauty alone. He sees a movement about activism and people. Brown wants to use stories to assist marginalized communities so they can maintain the historic fabric in their neighborhoods. He notes how 90 percent of hip bars and restaurants are in older buildings based on data from the National Trust in 5 major cities.42 Andrew Hurley focuses on how preservation can assist struggling communities. Many of these communities have vacant buildings. He sees the future of the

preservation movement using adaptive reuse strategies in order to address the vacancy rate issues and assist struggling communities in the process.\textsuperscript{43}

Max Page, a professor from the University of Massachusetts Amherst, discusses how the preservation movement and preservation laws need to be reviewed as we hit the 50 year mark in \textit{Why Preservation Matters}. Page reviews the preservation field in a broader context that overlaps with urban planning, community sustainability and environmental equity. The overarching themes of \textit{Why Preservation Matters} asks questions on how the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 can be changed in order to assist communities within a broader context.

Preservation in the past was about architecture and beauty. Page argues that preservation must come to terms with the fact that it cannot be about beauty and architecture alone. The field of preservation must look at its relationship to the greater public. The field can make valuable change for its residents and the preservation of today and tomorrow should stand for communities and fight social injustices.\textsuperscript{44} However, Page does not address specifics of how to achieve this. Projects can be stopped for one reason or another due to group conflict, funding and investment issues. There is a lot of opportunity for preservation to be involved in equity and social justice but it’s not without its obstacles.\textsuperscript{45}

Methodology

This thesis uses the feminist tradition of storytelling to create a contextual history that includes the contributions of women architects. I have consulted primary and secondary resources in order to re-create the life stories outlined in the following case studies. Sources were obtained from the Buffalo


\textsuperscript{44} Page, \textit{Why Preservation Matters}, 5-19.

\textsuperscript{45} Page, \textit{Why Preservation Matters}, 5-19.
History Museum for the first case study on Louise Bethune. For the remaining two case studies, online materials were used from sources such as women’s magazines and newspapers. Further secondary research was completed at the University at Buffalo Libraries. It is important to note that the contributions of this thesis are not based on discovering new archival material as these women have been known by architectural historians for some time. My contribution consists of understanding this material in relation to the National Register of Historic Places inventory and nomination forms.

The online method of research has transformed the mechanisms of how researchers obtain information. The review of online resources, with access to a wider audience, has the potential to change what records are reviewed and the manner or access in which records are reviewed and retrieved. This change in how records are investigated and studied introduce new materials to a wider geographic area. Researchers can now conduct and explore more historical topics from the comfort of their own homes. This transformation in obtaining information widens who can research local or regional historical topics and alters who can research local history.

Primary online resources used relied on women’s journals and magazines, newspapers, professional architectural journals and/or news, and architectural books. The information obtained from women journals and magazines are of particular use in the fields of women’s history and architecture. There are two women’s journals that show up repeatedly when research was completed: Ladies’ Home Journal and Success Magazine. The Puritan: A Journal for Gentlewoman, Godey’s Magazine and Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly are also good resources for the field of women’s history.

Women’s journals and magazines were a form of entertainment as well as an educational informant to women. These magazines were marketed towards middle class women. In general, the magazines showcased the best ways to dress, cook, clean, manage the household, and raise children. However, the magazines often highlighted famous authors or well-known women in their
fields of work. The American magazine was able to further its membership base by addressing politics and business topics about poverty, women’s suffrage and specific fields that women were working in.46

Based on its widespread membership, the Ladies’ Home Journal was able to spread information about the field of architecture. The architect Stanford White noted the influence that the editor and business manager of Ladies’ Home Journal, Edward Bok, had on American domestic architecture. The American magazine reflected the views, ideas and cultural context for the social class, gender and domestic architecture field for the case studies completed in this thesis, making it an invaluable resource.47

Besides journals and magazines geared towards women, the New York Times was another source that provided a wealth of information and articles about the women architects in this thesis. Many newspapers had quotes and references to buildings and their professional work. Some newspaper articles were lengthy and gave background on where the architects went to school and what their thoughts were on women in the architecture profession. Other sources such as professional journals in the area of architecture such as Architect and Engineer have articles about specific architects and their design work. Architecture and Building News was helpful in identifying a list of buildings by a specific architect.

For Louise Bethune, holdings were identified on the Buffalo History Museum website. One resource called Louise Blanchard Bethune: America’s First Professional Woman Architect lists books, manuscripts, photographs and postcards.48 In the case studies about Josephine Chapman and the firm Gannon and Hands, the research was obtained through online access. First, primary resources

48 This document can be obtained and reviewed by going to the website http://buffalohistory.org/Learn/Research-Library.aspx and selecting offline collections. Under the offline collections section, the document can be found under the name Louise Bethune. In addition to the holdings document about Louise Bethune, the Research Library has a folder which contains newspapers articles, brochures and other publications for easy reference. This folder can be asked for at the Research Library desk.
were reviewed through the google books search options. Figure 2 shows a diagram that illustrates where the resources were retrieved (online resources versus paper archives), the types of resources found (highlighted in blue) and the type of information found within them (highlighted in green).

![Research Methods](image)

**Figure 2.** Research Methods and Type of Resources Used. This diagram shows where the resources were retrieved (online resources versus paper archives), the types of resources found are highlighted in blue and the type of information found within them in green, diagram created by Katharine Hewlings, 2018.

After primary and secondary resources were conducted, inventory and nomination forms were critiqued for each case study. This critique was conducted to gain an understanding on what information was being included or omitted on the architect. There is a field on the inventory and nomination forms that is labelled architect. This field was reviewed for whether the women were noted. The historical narrative was also reviewed for further details on the women architects.

National Register of Historic Places: Is it about Art or History?

The National Register of Historic Places is a list of historic buildings that have significant meaning to North American history and are used to identify historic resources. This “honorific” list can include places as districts, sites, buildings, structures or objects. This list created a method for understanding
what architectural history and cultural resources America has. The National Register List has grappled with whether it is about history or art since its beginnings.⁴⁹

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 set the criteria for nominating a specific property to its “honorific” list that came to be known as the National Register of Historic Places. The criteria set standards on the national level and were determined by the National Park Service. There are four main criteria used for properties that are accepted. Seven criteria for properties that are not typically accepted and a few exceptions to the criterion rules. The issue of the integrity of a property was also included as a separate rule. This meant that some remains of a building must be present in order for a site to be listed and should “convey its significance.” Many over the years have noted the limitations of both the criteria.⁵⁰

The National Register List requires a written nomination of the place. Any person can nominate a historic place. However, there is a set of criteria that must be followed. According to the National Park Service’s Bulletin No. 15, the criteria are set below⁵¹:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

a. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
b. That are associated with the lives of significant persons in or past; or
c. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
d. That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.


Although the National Register List was the first step in creating and identifying historic places, limitations still exist. From 1935 to 1966, the National Park Service was using criteria similar to what became a part of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Before World War II, the National Park Service had a limited budget and therefore wanted to reduce the number of sites that were considered historic. From 1935 to 1966, a lot of the property listings on the National Register List were military, mansions of prominent individuals and places with colonial associations.52

During the twentieth century, there were two types of categories that the general public saw for why buildings were important. One category was historic. Historic meant historical events, stories and persons associated with the site. The second category was for the buildings artistic traits. Both of these categories had a common ground that the buildings should be used for “patriotic education.” After two World Wars, many buildings were often tied to historical associations, which offered both a place that tied to patriotism and an educational component within its walls. Few places were saved based on their architectural or artistic traits alone.53

The American Institute of Architects criticized preservation as buildings were not saved based on artistic or aesthetic reasons starting in the mid 1920s. They saw buildings as a work of art that should be preserved. Like other forms of art the American Institute of Architects thought buildings should be interpreted to the general public in order to create an appreciation for their beauty. The American Institute of Architects still had push back on this mind-set from preservation in the 1920s and 1930s.54

In the 1940s, the National Park Service began to expand. At the same time, the field of architectural history emerged. The North American Society of Architectural Historians (ASAH) was discussing the changes and developments at the National Park Service at its second meeting in 1941. At the meeting, the architectural historians led by Henry Russell Hitchcock stated they were not

52 John H. Sprinkle, Jr., 32-36.
53 Sprinkle, 72.
54 Sprinkle, 72.
informed about the expansion at NPS. The meeting also discussed that the members of the ASAH should set up the “criteria for selection of the most important sites in American architectural history.” They supported what eventually became known as historic districts, a collection of architectural buildings and individual buildings for preservation. They also questioned what was being saved and as Colonial buildings were favored in the 1940s. The ASAH thought other buildings such as modern ones were being ignored in preservation.55

The field of architectural history pushed for the importance of artistic traits to be equally valued alongside historical events. This broke down the criteria into historical, archaeology and architecture for the preservation of sites. To this today, the field of preservation still struggles with its roots. The field is discussing same problems that Henry Hitchcock and the ASAH did in 1941. The underlying issues surround the age old question of whether preservation should be about art, history or both.56 Figure 3 is a diagram that shows the history of preservation and the debate between history and art.

Figure 3. Diagram of Institutional History of Preservation. This diagram shows the history of preservation and the debate between history and art over time, 2018, diagram created by Katharine Hewlings and Charles Davis.

55 Sprinkle, 72-73.
56 Sprinkle, 78-81.
National Register of Historic Places Inventory and Nomination Form Critique

The NRHP involves the process of filling out forms for identifying and listing historic properties. There are two types of forms that are critiqued for this thesis. The two types of forms are the inventory form and the nomination form. The inventory forms that gathers initial data about a specific property. These forms note historic features, location, materials, architect or builder, other characteristics of the site and brief descriptions of the significance of the property. The forms are used as a way to understand the significance and are a starting point in determining potential eligibility for the building to be listed on the NRHP. If a property is determined as being eligible for the NRHP list, a nomination form needs to be filled out. The nomination form includes information on name, location, the applicable criteria, areas and period of significance and a narrative description which addresses how the site is significant. The National Park Service publishes a bulletin that is 132 pages long and addresses how to fill out the nomination form and what qualifies for the NRHP list.57

The first case study is Louise Bethune. Louise Bethune has at least three known residential homes within the Elmwood Historic District in Buffalo, New York. The homes are located at 41 Lexington58, 45 Lexington59, and 211 Summer Street60. Most of her designs have been demolished and therefore the buildings still standing were selected to review. These homes had an inventory form available from 1979 on the New York State Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS) system61. All three inventory forms had the architect information left blank.62 211 Summer Street is

61 The New York State Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS) is an online database that contains information on state historic buildings, sites and surveys.
an example of how the original owner was focused on in forms from the 1970s and 1980s. Summer has an attachment in order to continue discussing Spencer Kellogg, the original owner of the residence. However, this neglects other historical details of the building that could be significant (Appendix A).

Further review of a 2015 nomination form for these residential homes was completed. The nomination form is a 587 page document and includes 2,405 contributing buildings. Contributing buildings are properties that meet the criteria eligibility and an individual building description is required for each property. This data noted multiple architects including but not limited to Frank Lloyd Wright, Green & Wicks and Backus, Crane & Love. Some known architects are listed with the corresponding property that they designed. Some notable architects such as Esenwein & Johnson and Bley & Lyman are also mentioned in the narrative. Bethune, on the other hand, is not noted in the document. It is recognized that this is a large NRHP historic district and vast amounts of data had to be included. However, 39 years after the inventory form was completed Bethune is still unaccounted for in a recent 2015 document (Appendix A).

Josephine Chapman designed the building presently known as Chapman Arms in the state of Massachusetts. Chapman Arms, historically known as Craigie Arms, was selected to review. Chapman Arms was one of Chapman’s apartment buildings which was built for Harvard University students. It was built early in her career and showcases the classical style that she applied to other building designs. The form available from the Massachusetts database was the inventory form. The inventory form was from 1986. The form has two pages on Josephine Chapman as the architect. It notes her early life, early career and move to New York State. The form is focused on her time in the state of Massachusetts and does not address work in New York State or Washington D.C. The fact

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that only her work from one state was listed may have been due to geographic boundaries and
access to information. Some states may not share information about other historic properties.
Today, we have other ways to access information from other areas due to the internet (Appendix C).

Mary Gannon and Alice Hands designed mountain cottages in the town of Twilight Park,
New York. This nomination was chosen for review because it is the only existing site where they
designed. Twilight Park, New York became a historic district in 2007. The nomination states that a
dozen homes were destroyed by fire or demolished. No records were found that give an exact
address for the mountain cottages that Gannon and Hands built. Further research is needed to
determine the individual building histories and if they still exist. Gannon and Hands designed one
cottage for Misses McWillia and completed alterations and additions for H.L. Lange’s residence in
the 1890s. The Twilight Park historic district focused on the founder of the town, Charles F.
Wingate. Few architects are mentioned in this nomination. The few architects that were noted
designed a public building such as a church. This nomination uncovered the challenges that occur
when building locations are unknown. If buildings were either demolished or have a gap in
uncovering their location, should an architect be noted in that case? (Appendix D).

The review of these inventory and nomination forms shows the challenges of giving credit to
women architects for their designs. One architect, Chapman, got credit throughout the nomination
form while the remaining three architects were not given credit anywhere. The issue of missing data
in inventory and nomination forms has been contested before. There have been discussions and
conflicts about what to include, who to include, why to include it, and how much of it should be
included. Significance of buildings intersect with architectural style, patterns of history as well as the
people associated with it. The issue of significance is not straight forward and the stories of the
women architects will reveal the connections and overlapping areas of history, design and people.

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66 Allaback, 84-85.
Furthermore, the NRHP does not take complex networks and intersecting systems into account. Gender and class issues involve this multifaceted web of occurrences and events throughout an individual’s lifetime. The tangled web of who you know, why they help you and how they help you in certain situations is often hard to fit into the NRHP criteria. Nominations of the past do not discuss the hardships that occurred based on class, gender and the tangled web of relationships. Women can have multiple identities based on gender, race, class and/or sexuality. The NRHP tends to focus on one identity. One example is the story of Chapman. She was highlighted in multiple NRHP nominations. However, it focused on her work and gender. No discussion of class was mentioned despite primary evidence that she had to pawn her clothes and jewellery to continue her work in the field of architecture.68 The intangible aspects of relationships are important to understand in the cases of gender and class.

Four Suppressed Stories

Jennie Louise Blanchard Bethune

Jennie Louise Blanchard Bethune was the first professional female architect in the United States. Bethune also obtained the titles of first woman member of the American Institute of Architects69 (AIA) and the first fellow of the American Institute of Architects. Bethune assisted professional architectural organizations such as the AIA and Western Association of Architects (WAA) with the development of architect licensing70 and the credentials needed to practice which led to standardization of the profession. Women from the first feminist wave consider Bethune as the woman who broke into a male-dominated field when other women at the time were teachers or secretaries. Bethune is referred to as a pioneer in the architectural field as she is one of the earliest

70 Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, (eds.) A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life, (Buffalo: Charles Wlls Moulton, 1893) 81.
females to obtain an apprenticeship. This case study was chosen to review her childhood influences, broad range of building design projects, how her applications and connections opened doors in professional memberships for women and her views of women entering the architecture field. Figure 4 shows a brief timeline and highlights milestones in her life.

Bethune was born in Waterloo, New York to Dalson Wallace Blanchard and Emma Melona Williams Blanchard. She was born on July 21, 1856. Her father was a mathematician and her mother was a schoolteacher. During her childhood, she was known as Jennie to her family. She used her middle name Louise once she started to work professionally. Her parents had two other children but they both died in childhood which made Bethune the only surviving child. Her family was originally from New England. Her grandfather’s fought in the American Revolution and after the war they were

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71 Calverley, 24-35, Lewis, 11.
granted land which moved the family to the New York region. Waterloo, near the Erie Canal, saw growth and prosperity during her upbringing.72

Bethune was homeschooled for 11 years. The fact that both her parents were in the education profession may have already set her apart from her peers and given her an excellent education from early childhood.73 Around 1870, when she was 12, her parents moved to Buffalo in order for her to obtain a better education at the Buffalo High School.74 In high school, she was known as Lulu. There is a story in the A Woman of the Century in 1893 that describes how she was taunted by a male peer. He stated, “Lulu, girls can’t be architects.” Many have suggested that this comment may have feed her determination and drive to succeed further.75 Bethune ended up showing great talent in math, drawing and architectural skills by the time she graduated. Her math skills may have come from her father and being home schooled in her early years. Buffalo High School also had a wide range of subjects from languages, literature, drawing, history and the sciences. This rigorous schooling gave her exposure to many areas that she would later use in her career and was the foundation for learning a strong skill set across the board. She graduated in 1874 from Buffalo High School.76

Bethune had the opportunity to apply for and attend Cornell’s architectural program. She spent a few years studying after high school in order to prepare herself for Cornell. However, despite the chance to attend university, she choose to do an apprenticeship with Richard A. Waite and F.W. Caulkins starting in 1876.77 Louise came of age at a time when Buffalo was expanding at an

74 Calverley, 24-35; Allaback, 45-46, Mrs. John A. Logan, 787-788.
75 Lewis, 11, Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, (eds.), 81.
76 Calverley, 24-35; Allaback, 45-46; Berkeley (ed.), 14-17.
accelerated rate. Architects were moving to Buffalo for work, which was readily available.\textsuperscript{78} This may have played a part in her being able to obtain an apprenticeship. The firm of Waite and Caulkins was well known in the Buffalo area. Louise stayed in the apprenticeship for five years while working long hours\textsuperscript{79} and receiving low pay. She was a draftsman for the firm but also did visits to constructions sites. This background training gave her the groundwork she needed in order to establish her own firm. The Pierce Palace Hotel from 1881 is an example of a design that Bethune was exposed to during her apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{80} Figure 5 shows a drawing of the Pierce Palace Hotel.

![Figure 5. Drawing of Pierce’s Palace Hotel. 1881. Calverley, Susan E., “Pioneering Professional: Louise Blanchard Bethune.” Western New York Heritage 14, No. 3 (2011): 25, Courtesy of Buffalo History Museum.](image)

\textbf{Bethune’s Professional Firm}

During 1881, The 9\textsuperscript{th} Congress of the Association for the Advancement of Women occurred in Buffalo. This was a chance for Bethune to market her new architectural practice with the help of a group that wanted to create more opportunities for women. The Association for the Advancement

\textsuperscript{78} Berkeley (ed.), 17.
\textsuperscript{79} “Woman’s Work,” \textit{Buffalo Daily Courier}, July 13, 1884, 3.
\textsuperscript{80} Calverley, 24-35; Lewis, 11.
of Women focused on women’s work in the professional fields.\textsuperscript{81} She opened her new office at 531 Main Street.\textsuperscript{82} Unlike other women of her time, Bethune opened her architectural practice on her own without a husband or other male relative’s assistance. After opening the firm, she hired Robert Armour Bethune. Bethune and her future husband worked together at Waite’s office and were already acquainted. They decided to get married in December of 1881. The firm changed its name to R.A. and L. Bethune after Robert Bethune joined the firm.\textsuperscript{83} It later would also be known as Bethune and Bethune. Despite the marriage, Bethune still had a legal document made up between herself and her husband which indicated the nature of her work and place in the firm. In 1882, the firm hired William Fuchs who did draftsman work and became a partner in 1890. From 1890, the firm was known as Bethune, Bethune and Fuchs.\textsuperscript{84}

Bethune and her husband had one son in 1883 who was named Charles William Bethune. Their son went on to become a physician. Even during her son’s childhood, Bethune continued to work at the firm as it took on large public building commissions. Marriage and childhood responsibilities did not seem to affect her as it had so many other women architects.\textsuperscript{85}

The firm focused on commercial buildings. Bethune was vocal about the fact that she did not like to design residential homes. She called designing residences the worst paid work for an architect and that designing houses should be “quite out of the question” due to “present rate of remuneration.” Despite these objections, she did design some residences in connection with other commissions. However, commercial buildings remained at the center of the work that the firm achieved.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{81} Berkeley (ed.), 15.
\textsuperscript{84} Calverley, 24-35.
\textsuperscript{85} Calverley, 24-35.
\textsuperscript{86} Calverley, 24-35.
Architectural Organizations and Membership Applications

Bethune first submitted a membership application to the Western Association of Architect (WAA). This organization was based in Chicago and started membership in 1884. Later, the WAA merged with the AIA in 1889. Bethune was the first member from New York State to gain membership in the WAA. She had connections with Daniel Burnham, Louis Sullivan and John Root. These architects were Chicago based at one time and did work in Buffalo. They all supported Bethune’s membership application to the WAA. The support of well-known and established architects of the time were crucial for acceptance to the society.⁸⁷

Her application consisted of seven drawings that were entirely her own work. At the time of application, she had two partners, her husband Robert Bethune and William L. Fuchs. Due to the confusion that can arise from whom completed certain work in firms, the application correspondence noted that the work was hers. The drawings submitted showed the variation in her design work from police stations to a grain evaluator. The number of buildings that she designed was also an asset and testament to her work.⁸⁸

The WAA had discussions on some definitions of an architect. These were reviewed at the 2nd Annual WAA Convention that occurred in 1885. One of the definitions that was deliberated was the use of “man.” Bethune was already a member and therefore the term “man” was changed to “person.” This was the first professional association or society to update this term in America. Bethune saw the profession of architecture as open to anyone who wanted to enter regardless of gender. She made many of her comments about the field towards all architects and focused on skills and qualifications of the person.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Hays and Strueber, 384.
⁸⁸ Hays and Strueber, 384.
⁸⁹ Hays and Strueber, 385.
In 1885, Bethune took on a position on the Committee on Formation of State Associations. By 1886, Bethune formed the Buffalo Society of Architects which was a chapter of the WAA. Besides being a leader in establishing the society, Bethune served in numerous positions for the Buffalo Society of Architects including Second Vice President, First Vice President and Treasurer. After the formation of the Buffalo Society of Architects, she expanded the Society to other cities in Western New York. By 1887 the Western New York Association of Architects was created. Later on, she became the New York State representative for the WAA Standing Committee in 1887. By 1890, she was elected as the WAA second vice president. Other women architects were not holding these types of positions in the architectural society and many other women who came after her were denied membership from architectural state societies. Bethune was unique in her creation of architectural societies and leadership positions. These positions allowed her to influence the future of the field.

In 1888, Bethune applied to the AIA for membership as a fellow and had support from John Root to be included at the fellow status. The AIA which was known for being elitist and exclusive asked Bethune to produce samples of her work. Even though she had seven years as Principal in her practice, she was also asked to apply as an associate member. Associate member is usually reserved for younger architects with three years of experience, which Bethune clearly had more experience than. Another resident of Buffalo, William Carlin applied, had four years of experience, did not submit drawing samples and got admitted as a fellow. Regardless, Bethune obliged and updated her application to state associate and resent it. Bethune applied for membership in any manner that they would allow her too. She still did not see this as gender discrimination but as obstacles that

91 Hays and Strueber, 388.
92 Hays and Strueber, 388.
architects had to go through to enter the profession. She was accepted which made her the first female member of the AIA in 1888.93

A few months after her application to the AIA, the WAA merged into the AIA. This made the AIA the national architectural society and organization. This merger also accepted all fellows of the WAA as fellows of the AIA, a condition that John Root and Louis Sullivan stood up for with the transition. The WAA had already reviewed the definition of an architect and decided in 1885 that qualifications not gender were the requirements. The first membership application to the AIA in 1888 and the merger condition in 1889 led to Bethune holding two national titles in the architectural field. By becoming a member of the AIA, the title of the first professional woman architect in the United States went to Bethune. A year later, she also became the first woman fellow in the United States.94

Her Designs: A Wide Range of Opportunity

Bethune built over two hundred buildings in Buffalo, New York. Her buildings included stores, factories, a prison, a hotel, and her favorite schoolhouses95. She also did some residences and her distain for their design caused her to steer clear of these type of commissions. She focused her attention on the improvement of public buildings, which she achieved by taking an interdisciplinary approach to understanding them. She reviewed design, construction, function, aesthetics and sites for the firm. She had knowledge of many fields which allowed her to incorporate and fuse new ideas from different subjects into her work. Her education and hands on work in her apprenticeship allowed her to redesign buildings for improved function. She also kept her buildings simple with some ornamentation but it was not excessive. This was a part of the new modernism trend that was

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93 Hays and Strueber, 388; Lewis, 14.
94 Hays and Strueber, 65.
95 “Some distinguished women of Buffalo,” in American Woman’s Illustrated World, Scrapbook Collection Ser. 29 Local Biographies, Courtesy of Buffalo History Museum, 1893, 326.
occurring at the turn of the early twentieth century. She had such a variety of designs that this case study focuses on public schools, her favorite types of buildings and Hotel Lafayette, one of her state of the art designs. Figure 6 and Figure 7 show two examples of her work. Figure 6 shows the Buffalo Weaving and Belting Company and Figure 7 shows the Livestock Exchange Building.

Figure 6. Drawing of Buffalo Weaving and Belt Company, date unknown, Calverley, Susan E., “Pioneering Professional: Louise Blanchard Bethune.” Western New York Heritage 14, No. 3 (2011): 30, Courtesy of Buffalo History Museum.

Figure 7. Drawing of Livestock Building, date unknown, Calverley, Susan E., “Pioneering Professional: Louise Blanchard Bethune.” Western New York Heritage 14, No. 3 (2011): 30, Courtesy of Buffalo History Museum.

96 Lewis, 14.
Schoolhouses

Bethune designed multiple schoolhouses throughout Buffalo. Schoolhouses were some of her first commissions. These commissions allowed her to network and build her reputation as a designer. Despite this, Bethune was noted as stating she did not want to be known as only a school designer or architect. She wanted to design all types of buildings and to contribute to the architectural field in a broad manner rather than being an architectural specialist.97

Bethune became well known for her schoolhouses around Buffalo as she was ahead of the times with her approach to the design needs of teachers and students. During the 1880s when she built many schoolhouses, schools in Buffalo were moderate at best. Most of the school buildings in Buffalo during that time did not have the sanitary or engineering conditions seen a decade later. Some of the schoolhouses were rented spaces inside homes, farm buildings and warehouses. Even those that were not rented did not tailor the function of the buildings to the needs of teachers and students.98

The superintendent of Buffalo, James Crooker, wanted to change the conditions of schools at a time when cities attempted to understand what the role of city governments should be in public education. Bethune was chosen to assist with this task. Her connection to her father, who was a teacher and later school principal, helped Louise to network and be chosen for this position. Bethune received these jobs before her firm was well established, which was rare at the time without a connection. Typically, architects were chosen for their reputation. These schoolhouses also set the ground for her later work and projects such as Hotel Lafayette.99

The design of the schoolhouses incorporated contemporary construction and design practices. These included a fire-proof design, understanding sanitary and disease conditions,
accessing the cost of the building and taking the needs of teachers and students into account. She even used lighting and air requirements as well as the number of students to determine the volume of rooms needed. She also showed some interior design skills through her recommendations on paint colors and wood trim. This was recommended in order to further increase lighting in the classrooms. Her designs are still written into present day building code policies and set the standard for current schoolhouses. Her use of sanitary engineering and central heating were cutting edge solutions to health and sanitary issues. Bethune built these schoolhouses before current standards were in place. Her designs, which in the late nineteenth century, were considered plain due to their lack of ornamentation. The structures focused on function such as health and safety instead of the decoration and adornment of the buildings.  

**Hotel Lafayette**

Hotel Lafayette was designed by Bethune and opened on June 1, 1904. It is the French Renaissance style and has trims of semi-glazed white terra cotta. The hotel has 265 rooms. Each room had hot and cold water, a telephone, electric lighting and was fireproof. The rooms also gave complete privacy for guests and were designed to have all the comforts of home. The building included the latest sanitation and ventilation technology which showcased Bethune’s background knowledge of new ideas.  

The hotel was considered one of the 15 finest hotels in the country around the time of its opening. Bethune, who was always based in Buffalo, had her first building that received national attention and was seen as one of her proudest works.  

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100 Calverley, 24-35.
style, and the interior of the lobby are seen in the historic post cards from the early twentieth century. Figures 8, 9 and 10 show images of exterior and interior of Hotel Lafayette.

Figure 8. Exterior of Hotel Lafayette, circa 1904, Historic Post Cards of Hotel Lafayette, courtesy of the Buffalo History Museum.

Figure 9. Interior of Hotel Lafayette, circa 1904, Historic Post Cards of Hotel Lafayette, courtesy of the Buffalo History Museum.
Architectural Competitions

Bethune was candid about her opinion of architectural competitions. Being a businesswoman, she followed the ethical ideals of the AIA done to the fine print. The AIA and many of its other members, who pushed for architectural licensing standardization, saw architectural competitions as unfair since a large majority of them were judged by non-architects. Some of the judges had no knowledge of how to read architectural blueprints, construction and technology methods. Unfortunately putting unqualified judges in place for these types of competitions meant that many winners were the result of politics and favoritism.\textsuperscript{103}

Architectural competitions were well known for paying women less for the design of their buildings and directly posted the amounts when advertising. This raised another issue with architectural competitions in relation to fair pay and prize money winnings. The 1893 Colombia World’s Fair in Chicago was offering $10, 000 for males to design buildings. Women on the other

\textsuperscript{103} Stern, 67.
hand were only able to enter to design the Women’s building and the winnings were $1,000. This difference in pay was another concern that Bethune aligned herself with in the architectural field. Although she contested to other types of architectural discrimination, she did note that women should never accept less money for the same work as a men. Bethune’s objection to the ethical practice of paying women less may have been a product of her business state of mind. She thought everyone should get same pay and that was a business guideline and practice to her.\footnote{Torre, 57.}

**Conclusion**

Bethune who holds two titles, the first female professional architect in the U.S. and the first fellow in the AIA, was also the first female to open a firm. She obtained the most titles for first as a woman architect. Bethune’s firm was successful and had many different types of commissions from police stations to factories over the years. Bethune’s outlook which involved knowing everything about the profession led her to understand areas of architecture that caused building owners issues such as plumbing, heating, air circulation and fire resistant. Bethune’s independent nature and knowledge of business allowed her to forge ahead by learning about aspects of architecture that only men traditionally would have. Bethune did take in projects that she did not always like such as residential homes due to the nature of obtaining work in the architectural field. She realized she needed these to supplement the firm’s income as a businesswoman in order to keep the firm going. It is difficult to determine the exact number of buildings that Bethune was involved in but some sources state she had over two hundred.\footnote{Torre, 57, Calverley, 24-35.}

The field of architecture was difficult and a long path to success for anyone. She was very business savvy and orientated. This shows in every element of her work and responses to questions about women and architecture. Bethune also remarked about how women should be ambitious in
their goals in order to achieve becoming an architect. This is the American dream mentality of work hard and you will receive the benefits of your labor. Unfortunately, being ambitious was not enough for many woman architects and hard work was only part of the equation to break into the field. Although Bethune worked very hard and educated herself in all aspects of architecture and business, she also had luck and personal connections on her side. She was born in the right place at the right time. Her era saw Buffalo boom and brought prominent architects such as John Root and Louis Sullivan to Buffalo in order to build and design the city. She also had the luck of being born to supportive parents who were educators and saw that she got a proper education which allowed her to pursue architecture. Her personal connection to her father who was a school principal also gave her unique insights into schoolhouse designs and may have fostered relationships and commissions her way.106

Despite the diversity in her building designs, Bethune constructed ordinary buildings such as factories, police stations and stores which were not always recorded in history. Unlike other women architects, Bethune was able to design, construct and oversee a vast range of buildings.107 Many other women architects in the late nineteenth century did not have the range of designs nor the volume of buildings that Bethune was able to attain.

**Josephine W. Chapman**

Josephine Chapman had the experience of designing and writing in the field of architecture. Chapman obtained an apprenticeship, which may have been necessary due to her working class background and lack of support from her parents. She created an opportunity for herself at the 1901 Pan American Exposition when she was the only woman to design a building. Her persistence and direct approach got her the job when she asked the men responsible for hiring the architect to

106 Torre, 57, Calverley, 24-35.
107 Hays, 538-540.
review her design. She designed multiple types of buildings from churches, women’s clubs and residential homes. Despite this, she was denied from the Boston Architectural Society, a professional membership for the field of architecture at the turn of the twentieth century. She was accepted by the New York State Architectural Society after she left the state of Massachusetts. Women used writing to stay involved in the field. Chapman wrote articles on interior design and the architecture field while she transitioned from public to residential home commissions. This case study was used to highlight how Chapman was able to have career shifts between public, residential and writing opportunities. She ended her career by building a large residential home for a wealthy woman, a testament to her work on home design. Figure 11 shows a brief timeline and highlights of Josephine Chapman’s life.

Figure 11. Brief Timeline of Josephine Chapman’s Life. Background Portrait of Josephine Wright Chapman, April 19, 1901, Ottawa Free Trader. Timeline created by Katharine Hewlings, 2018.

Chapman had one of the longest careers of the early pioneers and was successful in both domestic and public institutional building architecture. Chapman was an early female architect who got her start in an apprenticeship from 1892 to 1897. She has buildings located in Massachusetts, New York and the District of Columbia. Her completed designs included large homes, a church and women’s clubs. Many of her buildings were designed in classic traditional styles, such as Italian Renaissance and Neo-classical. She noted that her favorite style was English and that she had attempted to sway clients in the use of the classic English styles.  

Besides her design of buildings, she wrote pieces on architecture as a profession and interior spaces in the early twentieth century. Most were published in the magazine Success. She was also seen in other publications of the time for her architectural designs. These publications included Ladies’ Home Journal, Harper’s Weekly, The American Architect and Building News. These publications were highly regarded and read during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They covered a wide range of topics in architecture and domestic life. They also played a role in the spread of architectural information and the education of architects in the nineteenth century.  

Chapman was mentioned as Joseph in the book Symbol and Show from the 1970s as well as a newspaper article from 1901. In all other sources, she was noted as Josephine, even in earlier sources from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whether this was Chapman deciding to shorten her name to Joseph for fair treatment or whether it was the sources that changed it, it introduces the issue that many women architects dealt with in regards to the use of their names. Some changed to the names of their husbands, brothers or cousins, while others used an alias that sounded like a man’s name.  

109 Allaback, 60-61.
111 Allaback, 60-61.
Apprenticeship

Chapman obtained an apprenticeship experience with a man named Clarence Blackwell. In 1897, the first law that required architects to gain an education and then obtain a license to practice architecture was implemented in the state of Illinois. It took several years before other states would follow suit. Before this license was required, many people used the term architect, and there was no formal route to call oneself an architect. Many architects went the apprenticeship route, an informal learning method in an architectural office, to gain experience and understanding of the field before branching out on their own.\textsuperscript{112} Popular architectural journals of the time also spoke about the preference for educational training at American universities.\textsuperscript{113}

Clarence, Chapman’s mentor and supervisor, was educated at the University of Illinois and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, one of the leading architectural programs at the time. Clarence was connected and had studied architecture in Europe, which was a key aspect to success then. He was a member of many of the architectural societies including the Boston Society of Architects and the American Institute of Architects. He was also the founder of the Architectural League of New York and president of the Boston Architectural Club. His reputation made him a respectable and worthy choice to study under and learn architectural practices.\textsuperscript{114}

Her choice to go the apprenticeship route may have been a decision based on finances. Gaining an education was costly and reserved for the upper classes. Josephine came from a lower social class and her parents did not support her goal to become an architect. Her parents disagreed with women working in the architectural field and held conservative views of the workplace and home. Chapman, however, had a single-track mind and forged ahead by locating an apprenticeship with Clarence Blackwell. The late nineteenth century was a challenging time for a woman to gain a spot in an architectural office. Business and architecture were both seen as men’s work and men

\textsuperscript{113} Reiff, 133-135.
\textsuperscript{114} Allaback, 60-61.
were also applying for the chance to have an apprenticeship. The competitiveness and conservative views restricted women from entering the field.\textsuperscript{115}

During her time under the mentorship of Clarence Blackwell, Chapman was exposed to construction and recent technologies of public buildings. A year after she started her apprenticeship, the firm that they worked at—Blackall, Clapp, and Wittemore—was involved in the first steel-frame constructed building in Boston, known as the Carter building, allowing Josephine to see first-hand the cutting-edge technology and practices of the time. Clarence was also known for his theater designs, which gave Josephine more exposure to large public buildings. Theater designs tend to follow classical details and introduced Josephine to complex classical Italian and English styles.\textsuperscript{116}

Chapman described some of the gender differences within an architectural office. Based on her gender, Chapman had to act in certain ways. Chapman spent many nights working while the men were out socializing. Josephine was not allowed to partake in such ventures based on her status as a single woman. Therefore, she spent that time working instead. The \textit{Ladies' Home Journal} in October of 1914 stated that “Before the boys who had entered the office with her were well away from the tracings she was ready to start in business for herself.” This drive toward her goal is one that was required of women architects to make it in the field. They had to work longer hours and comprehend all aspects of architecture and related subjects to prove their knowledge and worth.\textsuperscript{117}

\textbf{Early Career Commissions}

In 1897, she appeared under the title architect and gained her first commission from Harvard University to design one of their dormitories, which was called Craigie Arms and had thirty-six apartments upon its completion. The name was later changed in the 1990s to Chapman Arms to reflect admiration for its designer. The fact that Harvard was so prestigious and that she was


\textsuperscript{117} Chapman, “A Woman Who Builds Houses,” 3.
commissioned for a private dorm speaks for the skills she acquired while at her apprenticeship. It is no small feat that a highly prestigious organization in America hired her, as organizations typically hired males at this time. Women mainly worked with housing that was commissioned by individuals.\textsuperscript{118}

Chapman chose to build a church with a preeminent tower that attracted the attention of viewers and served as the main entrance. The tower has European influences, especially of the gothic Revival style as seen in the tower battlements.\textsuperscript{119} This commission also supplied Chapman with enough money to obtain formal office space in Boston, which was located at 9 Park Street. She originally worked from her home. The commission let her hire draftsman including one that was a woman. Chapman and her team would work on several public buildings.\textsuperscript{120}

One of these buildings was the St. Mark’s Episcopal Church, which built around 1900. This commission involved Josephine’s first female client, Minerva Crocker. Minerva was well known, came from a high status family and was associated with the hometown that Josephine grew up in.\textsuperscript{121} Whether Crocker and Chapman knew each other before the commission is not known, but the hometown connection may have led acquaintances and friends to discuss Chapman’s work where she grew up. Crocker may have hired Chapman based on personal connections and the fact that a designer from their hometown would design the local community church. Money was seen as a man’s business especially with large public building commissions. However, having a female client and a hometown connection may have overcome this typical issue that other women architects faced.\textsuperscript{122}

Besides the hometown connection, women were considered the moral drivers of society and religion was a part of women’s domain. Therefore, a woman building a community-orientated building that was based on moral principles may not have been as farfetched as one would think.

\textsuperscript{118} Allaback, 60; “Josephine Wright Chapman and Tuckerman Hall”, http://www.tuckermanhall.org/chapmanfull.pdf.


\textsuperscript{120} Allaback, 60.

\textsuperscript{121} Allaback, 60.

even though men typically designed churches. Although churches in one sense were considered masculine due to their monumental status in society, there are elements of femininity with the function of churches. The hometown connection and the moral responsibility of women contributed to Josephine’s ability to obtain this commission. Chapman Arms and the St. Mark’s Episcopal Church may have also given her the confidence to enter the Pan-American Exposition building competition.\textsuperscript{123}

**Pan-American Exposition of 1901**

Chapman was the only woman at the 1901 Buffalo Pan-American Exposition to design a building. The Buffalo Pan-American Exposition was unique in the fact that women’s work was put in the same buildings in which men’s work was displayed. Typically, the Pan-American Exposition had a separate building, which showcased only women’s ideas. Women’s organizations brought up this issue with the judgment of women’s work. They believed that women’s work should be directly compared to men’s. Even though other women’s work was directly compared to men’s in many avenues, Chapman was still the only entrant in design and architecture.\textsuperscript{124}

She designed the New England State Building, which was heavily funded due to multiple states contributing money toward it. To design the building and be chosen for this preeminent position, Josephine had to not only have the knowledge of many fields but also had to approach the governor with plans before the competition even started.\textsuperscript{125} She had to be prepared and to understand what type of architecture would show the spirit of New England. However, even though this was a prestigious position, it was not the most highly regarded. The larger main buildings that showcased electricity and technology were all completed by men and held more status than the

\textsuperscript{124} Austin Fox, Symbol and show: The Pan American Exposition of 1901, (Buffalo: Western New York Wares, 2000) 54-55.
state building. These were typically done by men on the Pan-American board; therefore, one needed connections for this and had to be of the male gender. Unfortunately, the Pan-American Exposition event planners noted that the state building section was secluded and visitors could have missed or bypassed this area for unique technology, such as electricity, that was highlighted throughout the rest of the exhibits. At the end of October, there was a fire that started in the New England Building, which caused damage to a portion of it. It was never fixed since the Pan-American Exposition ended in a few weeks and repairs were not worth the limited viewing time left. 

Chapman’s commission from the Pan-American Exposition led the way for her to obtain other commissions and projects especially in her hometown and the New England region. At a time when women could not be financially independent and the practice of accepting and managing money was a man’s job, Josephine was able to achieve success and run her own firm. The Buffalo Pan-American Exposition gave Josephine exposure and her next project, Tuckerman Hall, also drew on the same classical elements and designs as those of the Pan-American. Figure 12 shows the New England States building and its classical elements.


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Applying for Professional Memberships

After her early career commissions and the Pan-American Exposition, she applied to the Boston Architectural Club and the American Institute of Architects in 1901. Both applications were denied. Her former mentor, Clarence Blackwell did not support her application, although she had support from six other architects. Blackwell was the founder of the Boston Architectural Club. The club already had an existing rule that women were prohibited. After review, they decided to follow the policy and not make an exception.128

Others that have researched Chapman’s life have deliberated about why her former mentor and boss did not support her application, with some suggesting a falling out between them. Regardless of whether Blackwell persuaded others in the club or the club did not want women involved, it was a clear message that women were excluded from professional men’s clubs and that architecture was a man’s domain.129 The fact that Blackwell oversaw her apprenticeship and early career training may also suggest that he was fine with women working as apprentices, which is a lower position and still allows men to be in charge and direct final designs. Later, when Chapman branched out in 1897130 and started working on her own, she was directly competing with him, which may have concerned him with his own business practice.

Tuckerman Hall

Tuckerman Hall, which was a Neo-classical design, was put on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980 as part of the Institutional District. The classical design of the building from 1903 is seen in a photograph in Figure 13. This view of the building is from Salisbury Street. It was constructed starting in 1901 and completed in 1902. The building, which was a women’s club until the mid-

130 Allaback, 60-61.
twentieth century, involved women in its conception. The idea of a meeting house, the money raised to construct it, and the architect, Chapman who was hired to design it, was intentional. The women’s club supported women and created opportunities for women to be involved in everything from art to science. Women’s club missions incorporated a sense of equality at their core. These missions allowed women to find actual physical spaces and places where other women would open connections to enhance women’s rights.\textsuperscript{131}

The women’s clubs started out as gatherings to discuss ideas and were held in homes. They were governed, run, and controlled for and by women. At the time, women gathered to talk about the present-day issues and the improvement of their communities was unheard of. The clubs gave women a safe environment to discuss concepts, and fostered a supportive social network.\textsuperscript{132} It should not be a surprise that the conditions of the mid-nineteenth century gave rise to these types of organizations. Membership to these clubs was at its highest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These clubs filled a gap that women needed and as membership grew, they needed larger meeting spaces than individual homes could offer.\textsuperscript{133}

To build new meeting spaces for themselves, women’s organizations turned to fundraising since they already had these skills from helping their communities. Members were typically wealthy and middle-class white women. As women’s club missions were intertwined with assisting women with gaining new opportunities, this support was continued with their trend of hiring women architects. Chapman’s prior work on public buildings, her use of classic designs for Craigie Arms and the Pan-American Exposition and her gender made her a prime candidate to design another classic public building that catered to women. She later designed a second women’s club house in 1909 called the New Century Building.\textsuperscript{134}

Career Shift

In 1905, Chapman made the decision to focus on residences. In the Ladies' Home Journal, she is quoted as stating, "A woman's work is to design houses... hereafter, I am going to design houses." Many popular magazines and journals as well as society were pressing women architects to design houses. The thought was that women had special knowledge of how homes functioned since it was their ‘proper’ place. The fact that her former mentor and boss Clarence Blackwell did not support her applications in 1901 and that her applications were denied may have influenced her. Even if she had interest in designing houses, the shift to only doing houses was a well-thought-out one—one in which she analyzed obstacles and ways to reach success within the current societal framework. At the turn of the century, when Chapman announced this in 1905, suburbs and homeownership were expanding at a fast pace. She may have realized this and decided that she

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could be more financially secure in domestic architecture. For someone who had to sell and pawn her own possessions\footnote{Chapman, “A Woman Who Builds Homes,” 3.} to keep her office going in prior years, this may have seemed like the better option. She also may have decided that she would excel at the design of homes. Despite the reasoning behind it, she acquired high-quality housing projects from mansions to smaller cottages. She also used distinct types of Revival styles in her designs from English, Spanish, and Colonial times.\footnote{“Josephine Wright Chapman and Tuckerman Hall,” http://www.tuckermanhall.org/chapmanfull.pdf.}

**Article Publications**

In 1904 and 1905, Chapman was a contributing author to the magazine *Success*, which published four of her articles, three about interior design and one about the architectural profession and gender. Her writings in interior design showcased improvements to mantels, wall covers, paintings and room arrangements. She discussed colors and materials for interior spaces and gave recommendations on furnishings. These writings started concepts that she implemented in her residences later and she gave detailed descriptions on resolutions and ideas for interior spaces. Her interior design ideas focused on English, Italian or European styles. These types of furnishings were typically found in middle-class or wealthy homes. She discussed how there was a need for someone who understands interior design and spaces when decorating living spaces. People without formal interior design training did not understand the concepts, which leads to rooms and interiors spaces that were mismatched.\footnote{Josephine Chapman, *Success*, (6) December 1903, 764-765.}

Chapman also expressed how interior design could assist renters. Typically, renters do not have control over the exterior of their homes but used interior design to make a place that articulates their sense of style, comfort and fashion. She gave specific examples for each room. This included ideas, such as yellow or brown for the kitchen and how to improve mantels. These colors

\begin{enumerate}
\item Chapman, “A Woman Who Builds Homes,” 3.
\end{enumerate}
for the kitchen were popular at the time. She gave supplemental materials if money was tight.\footnote{Josephine Chapman, \textit{Success}, (6) December 1903, 764-765.}

Interior design was an avenue that was acceptable for women. It used their already existing knowledge of homes, which was considered one area that women could manage. Although interior design was a way for women to work, it confined them to a particular design area.\footnote{Kostof, 280.} Figure 14 and Figure 15 highlight Chapman’s floorplan and fire mantel.

Figure 14. Floorplan of a House Design, 1903, Success, “How to Decorate”, 764.
In line with her plans and announcement in 1905 to work on residences only, the writing that appeared in Success helped to advertise and market her firm toward domestic architecture. Although she already had designed one home in 1903 for the Hayes-Saul family in Arlington, Massachusetts, she did not design another home until 1908. This suggests she may have used writing to promote her knowledge and business. Other researchers have also noted that she had financial difficulties during her career and this timeframe may have been one of them, as she was between commissions when her writing appeared.\(^{142}\)

One of her pieces of writing in 1903 addressed women working in the architecture field. She was aware that women wanted to become a part of this field and she noted that women had reached out to her for advice. Her areas of success for women in architecture included knowledge in business, art, construction. She noted the physical strength needed to do site and building work. She discussed that many women did not have most of these traits except for art and she believed that women architects should be “confined” to working with homes, as women are familiar with this.

\(^{142}\) Allaback, 60-61.
Josephine further clarified that women should be “content” with domestic architectural practice. Although she stated that women should be left to only study one area of architecture, she believed that domestic architects get the same respect as other types of architects.143 In this sense, Chapman seemed to have been conservative and traditional in her viewpoints of women’s work. However, she may have decided the traditional way was proper since she was struggling to obtain a steady income from public commissions that typically went to white males.144

Chapman also addressed gender discrimination in her writing. She pointed out how difficult the field was including how women were considered a “huge joke” in architecture, and that, although change was happening, it was slow. She highlighted examples of where architects did not want to send a woman into difficult environmental elements and that they prefer men’s drawings and think that women talk too much. She also stated that women should not expect pay at first but should try other means outside of the architectural office to make ends meet. This is in line with her own experiences when she had to sell her own possessions to keep going. She later advised other women interested in architecture to follow the American Institute of Architects pay schedule so that they were paid the same as men once they started to receive commissions.145

Although Chapman noted in her writings that she chose to do domestic architecture, there is evidence to show that she may have chosen that path due to the difficulties and obstacles that she faced in her early years. She seemed divided on thoughts of architects, as she encouraged women to enter the profession in one sense, especially domestic and women’s clubs. However, there are other comments she made about gender discrimination and how difficult it is to get that first job in an architects’ office. This suggests that she was pushed down and later took a hard stance of only doing domestic architecture. Thus, while she did choose to shift to domestic architecture, gender discrimination must have been a factor when she made that decision.146

145 “American Architect and Building News 78” (December 27, 1902), 103, plate 1409.
146 “American Architect and Building News 78” (December 27, 1902), 103, plate 1409.
Kitchen Designs

In 1916, Chapman designed an apartment building, which was sixteen stories and located on Park Avenue in New York City. This complex was never built, but its key features, which were mentioned in the *Architect and Engineer Journal*, were white porcelain kitchens. The use of electricity for new appliances, such as dishwashers, refrigerators, and washers were also emphasized. The use of these types of appliances did not become more common until the 1920s and 1930s. Home economics, the germ theory and science were all major topics during this time and each one led to the modern and progressive kitchen that Chapman described.\(^\text{147}\)

Electricity was a major factor, as the 1893 World’s Fair and the 1901 World’s Fair both showcased electricity, and by 1916, it was more common. The electricity in the kitchen would keep the fine porcelain clean in comparison to old fireplaces or stoves that required heat from a flame. This change from fireplace to kitchen appliances was a part of the shifting culture in the early twentieth century toward modern kitchens. Chapman chose to keep fireplaces in the apartment complex, which were key to socializing. This domestic feature in every apartment illustrates the emphasis on the importance for family as a key central part of these spaces. At this time, many older generations would have grown up around open-hearth fireplaces in their own homes and would see this as a sense of comfort and security.\(^\text{148}\)

Kitchens became a product of modern technologies as well as modern ideas about sanitation. A chemical lab with its white walls started to appear in the modern early twentieth-century kitchens as a reflection of the sanitation idea. People wanted to see germs, as the germ theory, which started in the nineteenth century had now become popular and well known throughout communities. Porcelain was a heavily used material, especially in white. This would show any germs in the area, and even pipes underneath the sinks were left open to “see” the dirt.


made it more convenient to clean. After a period of unsanitary cities and flight to the suburbs, the germ theory revolutionized kitchen design. Although a copy of her exact kitchen plan was not located, a newspaper article that discussed the white porcelain she used was described. As Josephine was using other architectural journals and Home’s Ladies’ Journals for other writing and designs, she had knowledge of modern ideas concerning kitchens. Therefore, she followed the protocol of the time from the white porcelain sinks, open pipes, tile flooring, pantries, and rear ground floor location of the kitchen. Kitchens were a simple square shape. The shape of the room did not change much from the late nineteenth century, but the domestic kitchen equipment and the domestic use of the space changed drastically.¹⁴⁹

Besides the germ theory, the industrial revolution played a role with the use of kitchen equipment. Factories started to mass produce appliances and innovative technologies allowed faster and more efficient machines. Chapman also had interior design experience, which was an asset in kitchen design especially for wall colors, tile flooring and built-in china cabinets. The placement of appliances themselves was left up to the woman of the house. Pantries were painted white as well, which allowed for easy determination of any rodent problems. The study of home economics was changing ideas of the kitchen and innovative ideas, such as built-in ironing tables, broom-closets and extra cupboard spaces were being added to new kitchens.¹⁵⁰ The fireplace that was so prominent and a central feature in every home during the nineteenth century was replaced by the electric stove. Electric lights were another new architectural feature of kitchens and could be added as overhead lighting for the first time. The kitchens of the early twentieth century were now tidier and less congested than the kitchens of the past.¹⁵¹

During the late nineteenth century, the middle class had domestic servants and the housewife oversaw the kitchen. By the early twentieth century, housewives became the sole worker

¹⁵⁰ Freeman, 85-88.
¹⁵¹ Gdula, 11.
of the entire kitchen as the number of domestic servants declined and new kitchen equipment allowed for easier management. The early twentieth century organized the kitchen so the most time could be spent in a central location and movement to other parts of the space were reduced. This organized plan was supposed to increase efficiency and decrease time spent in the kitchen.\textsuperscript{152} The use of modern electric in the early twentieth century was a progressive idea. They were featured at Chicago’s 1893 World Fair Exposition, which highlighted new cutting-edge technologies. It still took several years before these concepts entered some homes in the early 1900s.\textsuperscript{153} Although electric refrigerators were not around yet, irons, toasters, mixers, and the first vacuums, called sweepers, came out.\textsuperscript{154} The modern kitchen design that Chapman created in 1905 was progressive. Many homes could not afford the appliances and modern conveniences yet. However, it paved the way for a new type of kitchen. By the 1920s and 1930s, more electric appliances were added and became available for more homes.\textsuperscript{155}

**Hillandale Residence**

The last residence that Josephine built was called one of “America’s last great residences.” The home was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1994. This residence was built over a three-year period from 1922 to 1925 for Ann Archbold of Washington D.C. The home was in a prominent neighborhood at 3905 Mansion Court, Northwest and was also referred to as Hillandale. The Northwest area of the District is still a prominent area and contributed to the preservation of this home. The home was completed in the Italian Renaissance style. The building permit refers to it as an Italian farmhouse. The landscape included seventy acres of forest and landscaped garden grounds. The home itself was located on top of the hill and featured a gatehouse and stable at the

\textsuperscript{152} Plante, 211.
\textsuperscript{153} Plante, 214.
\textsuperscript{154} Plante, 214-215.
\textsuperscript{155} Plante, 214-218.
bottom of the hill. The house had numerous porches and balconies to overlook the picturesque
landscape.\textsuperscript{156}

Ann Archbold, who hired Josephine Chapman to build her residence, was well known in
social circles and had multiple charities and philanthropies to which she contributed. She donated to
hospitals, trained dogs for a seeing-eye institute and later was a social activist against a four-lane
highway going through Glover-Archbold Parkway. Archbold donated land in Glover-Archbold Park
area to the city. Ann’s father was a businessman in oil and Ann was of the wealthy class. She grew up
in Pennsylvania but also went to Italy and France frequently. She was educated in both countries.
Her childhood spent in Italy may have influenced her decision to build in the Italian style. She
married Armar D. Saunderson, who was from Ireland, in 1906. She was well known in wealthy circles
such that President Roosevelt asked for her opinion on her honeymoon trip to Africa, as he was
planning to travel there. Despite her divorce in 1922, she continued to be well established, which is
seen in her Hillandale home. The divorce most likely prompted her to build her own residence and
she also made the decision to move to Washington D.C. from her hometown of Pennsylvania. When
she went looking for an architect to build what would become her last home until her death, it is not
surprising that she chose Josephine based on their common work ethic and knowledge of classic
architecture.\textsuperscript{157}

Chapman’s style of Hillandale differs from the popular Italian villa styles seen during the
1920s. Josephine used ideas from pattern books but also from Ann Archbold herself. The pattern
books authored by Charles Platt and Guy Lowell\textsuperscript{158} were used and some exact replications from
these can be seen. Figure 16 shows photographs of the Italian Farmhouse replications. These
replications came from Guy Lowell’s \textit{Smaller Italian Farmhouses} pattern book. However, both

\textsuperscript{158} Charles Platt, a landscape architect and artist, and Guy Lowell, an architect, made pattern books during the twentieth century. These pattern books showed pictures of particular styles. These styles were then used and constructed by other architects and designers.
women collaborated for the result of the residence based on Chapman’s experience and Ann’s travels in Italy, which led to variations from the traditional Italian style. Chapman used some design concepts that were developed by Charles Platt, who was publishing internationally and was favored even over a prestigious known English architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens.\textsuperscript{159}

![Figure 16. Photographs of Italian Farmhouses, 1916, Guy Lowell, Smaller Italian Villas and Farmhouses, Plate 40.](image)

Conclusion

Chapman started out her career in public buildings in an apprenticeship. An apprentice was one way of entering the architecture field. However, now many journals and magazines were pushing for educational training as a necessary step in becoming an architect. Many architects were fighting for what would define the profession. For Josephine, the decision to do an apprenticeship instead of the

educational route was financial. She did not have the approval of her parents and she left the security of her hometown to pursue architecture. Without the support of her family, Chapman ran into financial issues throughout her career. She left her hometown state of Massachusetts in 1907 and moved to New York. She noted that the move was due to the bad economy.160

The move to New York State worked in her favor, as the New York State Society of Architects approved her membership. This contrasted with her hometown in Massachusetts where she was denied membership to both the American Institute of Architects and Boston Society of Architects based on her gender. With the move to New York, she solely switched to domestic architecture designs. This shift may have been a result of both gender discrimination and an interest in homes. She continued to work on many types of Revival style homes until the early 1920s. Her last home completed at Hillandale was included on the National Register List as well as one of her first buildings, Tuckerman Hall. Many other women architects do not have buildings listed on this prestigious historic list.161

Another interesting factor is that Chapman never married and therefore did not have an interruption to her career like other women architects of the time. She was able to continue her work until she was older, whereas many other women architects’ careers stopped upon marriage. She was unique for her extensive career span and the fact that it started with public building design. As most women architects experienced, Chapman saw and experienced gender discrimination but also found allies in hometown connections, women’s clubs, writing articles and building private homes for women toward the end of her career. Chapman, as well as other women architects, needed determination, persistence and ambition to continue in the field. Chapman is an example of the triumphs and setbacks for women architects that occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.162

Mary Gannon and Alice Hands

Mary Gannon and Alice Hands formed the first female architectural firm in the United States in 1894. Most women worked alone or with male architects. This made the firm that Mary and Alice created the first female firm in the United States unique. Two females decided to undertake a path that only male architects did. The result of the creation of this firm included projects from tenement model drawings, student apartment housing, cottages, and a hospital and Exhibition Drawing for World’s Fair. Their firm was successful within six years through the use of their extensive knowledge and personal connections. Despite the success of their firm, the types of architectural projects they completed were tied to what society saw as feminine during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{163} This case study focuses on how two women collaborated and created their own small firm in New York City. It reviews the domestic role such as marriage and how personal connections influenced their work such as living in tenements. As noted in the Introduction, records of Alice Hands life were limited.\textsuperscript{164}

Biography

Mary Gannon and Alice Hands established the first female architecture firm in the United States. Both of these women decided to enter the New York School of Applied Design for Women (NYSAD) in order to become professional architects. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, women would sit together during class and band together in their male dominated classrooms. Despite this obstacle, the women that meet at university developed close relationships and bonds that continued past graduation. Gannon and Hands were no exception to this. Their relationship brought professional gains and emotional support as both pushed together to break stereotypes

\textsuperscript{163} Torre, 66.
\textsuperscript{164} Allaback, 83-84.
against women. Although universities started to allow women applicants, many were driven to subfields of architecture such as domestic architecture and social reform issues since they were more open to women. Figure 17 shows a brief timelines of the lives of Mary Gannon and Alice Hands.


Mary Gannon was born in Bethlehem, PA in 1867. She was born to Irish immigrants and was the first born child. When she grew up, she found work in an architect’s office in Bedford, PA. After working for the firm, she applied to the New York School of Applied Design for Women (NYSAD) to undertake a formal architectural education. Gannon was a part of the first graduating class from NYSAD. The program she entered had practicing architects from prestigious firms teaching students at NYSAD. The practicing architects also used their students in their own firms later on once students

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graduated. Gannon won design awards during her time at NYSAD for individual drawings as well as work completed for the public. As soon as Mary graduated, she and another classmate Alice Hands opened an office at school.\textsuperscript{166} Gannon’s business partner, Hands studied at the YWCA NYSAD. Unfortunately her early life remains unknown. \textit{The Technical World Magazine} notes that Alice Hands was “making anonymous designs for men architects to use” before she joined Gannon in establishing a firm.\textsuperscript{167}

Mary Nevan Gannon and Alice J. Hands established the firm Gannon and Hands in New York City. This was the first firm of women architects in the United States and was started in 1894. The firm started off by winning a design award for their work on the Florence Hospital located in San Francisco, California.\textsuperscript{168} Gannon and Hands also used first-hand experience as a way to understand architecture and the built environment. When the firm first started, both Gannon and Hands stayed in a New York City tenement for the winter in order to face poverty up close and the issues of housing. Both were members of the Sanitary Investigation Committee and the tenement work was undertaken in NYC’s tenth ward. Through these experiences, the firm built a reputation for building low-cost apartment houses. By 1895, the firm was working a model tenement design.\textsuperscript{169}

Gannon and Hands were praised in \textit{The New York Times} for their work on student apartment house, a model tenement and hotels for women. They appeared in \textit{The New York Times} three times in 1895 and once in 1897. These newspaper articles called them successful, noted awards and showed their versatility in building designs. They were the first women to be recognized by the Architectural League. Their Hospital won second place at Atlanta Exposition for the Women’s

\textsuperscript{166} Allaback, 83-84.
\textsuperscript{169} Allaback, 83-84 and “Successful Women Architects: Sixteen Tenements to be Built on Their Plans – Also a Woman’s Hotel.” \textit{New York Times}, February 25, 1895, 6, 8.
Building category in 1894. *The New York Times* on February 25, 1895 also noted that they won five out of seven competitions where they were competed against men.\(^{170}\)

Gannon and Hands also spoke out about issues within the architectural field. Both women wanted to receive the same pay and credit for their work as men did. Gannon and Hands also noted that women who wanted to be involved in the architectural field should learn math, building technology and construction methods. In a newspaper article in 1894 Gannon noted that women needed to understand and comprehend all the skills related to architecture. This was a trend seen among other women architects and suggests that women had to know everything to ensure success. Despite the norm to be discreet among other women architects, she appeared to be vocal about women receiving equal pay. This shows her awareness of issues related to equal pay and that she directly choose to address it in *The New York Times* newspaper which reached a wide audience in the city. The Gannon and Hands firm oversaw their own building construction on site and both had knowledge of many subjects from their education at New York School of Design.\(^{171}\)

Besides getting an education, women used their personal connections to gain projects. This made small offices standard among women architects. Gannon and Hands were no exception to this rule. Their first office was set up in the school where they graduate from in order to maximize their already existing connections to the school, professors and students.\(^{172}\) Most of the time commissions came from individuals which made personal connections even more important to succeed. Organizations would hire male architects since business was seen as a role for men. Furthermore, women were excluded from business meetings and other political activities were men typically could find clients. This traditional arrangement made it difficult to practice in the field of architecture, which requires business, technical and art skills. Gannon and Hands were able to succeed by taking on individual projects and entering open competitions.\(^{173}\)

\(^{172}\) Torre, 54.
\(^{173}\) Torre, 81.
In 1897, Gannon married John Walp Doutrich. They had one son in 1899. In 1900, the firm moved to 13 West Eighteenth Street from a prior location at 16 East Twenty-Third Street. This move to a five story building shows a successful firm was established by 1900. There is not much knowledge on the firm in the later years but it is most likely that the firm dissolved in the early 1900s after Gannon and her husband moved to Washington when their son was still young. During this time, marriage and having children was the highest priority for a woman regardless of education.174

Gannon, as a single woman, helped to lead the first female women-only architecture firm in the United States but stopped practicing after marriage. Although there is no written evidence of why she stopped practicing after her move, social norms of the early 1900s were very strict for married women. Gannon also had a child when she moved to Washington State which may have been another factor as she was still expected to fill the role of a mother.175

Besides strong social norms for marriage and motherhood, some women challenged society’s norms when they were single but once married they settled into traditional roles. Some women also choose to never marry as they felt like it would end their careers. Like today, many women have opposing views and what you believe and what you do may differ. You can support other women having wider roles and different lifestyles while still holding traditional values yourself.176

Hospitals to Housing

Hospitals in the early American times were often converted homes and females were considered caretakers of families.177 Therefore, the design of hospitals was not that far off from homes and was

174 Allaback, 83-84.
175 Allaback, 84.
a plausible area for a female architect to take on. Hospitals mimicked the comforts and healing in which one would receive in their own homes. Hospitals were seen as places of caretaking, healing and home. This made the switch of the design of houses to hospitals appropriate.\textsuperscript{178}

Architecturally, hospital designs used classical details in order to make the hospital feel like a home. This was a nostalgic look back at when hospitals were actual homes and classical details were among the popular architectural styles of the Victorian period. Both homes and hospitals dealt with issues of light, air and diseases as seen in the tenements. Hospitals did have a higher level of surveillance, different functional departments and a larger number of people to house.\textsuperscript{179} The architects of hospital designs must also look at sociological aspects such as meal preparation and waiting rooms. During the late nineteenth century, it was more common to share rooms unless you had enough money for a private one. Many rooms had multiple beds and the breakout of different types of rooms and diseases had to be understand for good design.\textsuperscript{180}

The modern hospital was standardized to reduce noise and create the use of private rooms for every patient. They were designed based on function of the hospital care teams in order to increase efficiency. The modern hospital no longer emphasized domestic homes but function and use of the building.\textsuperscript{181} The hospital design that Gannon and Hands was pre-modern. Unfortunately it no longer exists but was designed with late nineteenth century and social values in mind.

\textbf{New York City Housing}

Gannon and Hands attempted to answer everyday questions that related to housing and women. These questions revolved around women’s issues. The slums or tenement housing was built fast and cheap during the late nineteenth century as immigrants arrived in the United States. With New York

\textsuperscript{178} Adams, xxiii.
\textsuperscript{179} Adams, xvii.
\textsuperscript{180} Adams, xx, xxi.
\textsuperscript{181} Adams, 121 – 122.
City’s location and its Ellis Island entry point, tenement housing in New York City was found in the Lower East Side around industrial sites. Due to the population growth, public services had difficulty maintaining garage collection and sewage systems were under strain.\textsuperscript{182}

Gannon was the daughter of Irish immigrants. The Irish in the late nineteenth century had higher rates of poverty than other immigrants. Although some Irish did climb the ladder out of poverty, many were still found in poor housing conditions. Also, 73 percent of Irish born women worked outside the home since income was needed to survive. Although Gannon’s mother may have worked, it was mostly likely as a domestic servant which was the highest occupation held for Irish born women. Second generation Irish women usually became teachers. They were expected to work but usually in a female dominated occupation. Irish mothers also made sure that old values from Ireland were passed down. One of these values was obtaining an education and learning everything possible.\textsuperscript{183} Gannon was unique in her mind-set to enter the field of architecture, but her Irish immigrant parents most likely encouraged her to get an education and to learn everything possible. Her Irish background may also have been the cause of her interest in tenement housing since many immigrants lived there.

First, they lived in the tenth ward for a few years to encounter the conditions that women and children had to go through on a daily basis. Gannon and Hands wanted to make homes more comfortable and noted that tenements were not situated for women’s needs. The result of this work was a model tenement was praised in \textit{The New York Times} in 1895 and the drawing was published in Municipal Affairs edition of 1899. Secondly, they also worked on a student apartment house. The issues around student apartment houses stemmed from where women students could live while in university. Most at the time where living in boarding houses or other conditions that were not ideal for study. Both the tenement and student apartment housing are examples of multi-family

\textsuperscript{182} Opdycke, 64.
dwellings. Although Gannon and Hands worked on other projects, multi-family dwellings and housing for women is a trend that shows in their work.  

The early nineteenth century saw most families living in a few rooms. The only exception was the very wealthy who could afford more space. By the end of the nineteenth century, the middle class population started to increase due to the industrial age and new job opportunities. This increase saw a change in the domestic home life from more public to private. Homes were changed to make room arrangements private from other families and from individual family members.

New York City had 50.2 percent of families living in buildings which contained six or more families. In comparison, other large cities such as Philadelphia only saw 1.1 percent living with high concentration of families in the year 1900. Although New York City saw varied types of housing during this time period, Gannon and Hands felt compelled to work with tenements, low cost apartments and hotels for women. The nineteenth century also saw a push for housing reform and Gannon and Hands’ firm created what they saw as the ideal model for tenements and low cost apartments. Both of these architects were involved in reform through their designs and construction. The tenements received remarks from E.R.L. Gould and Jacob Riis, two prominent figures that also tried to address issues with tenements.

Tenements

Definitions of tenements in the nineteenth and twentieth century were vague and sometimes could also prefer to other housing types such as middle class apartments which had better conditions and amenities than tenements did. Tenement is a legal term that defines one type of multi-family

housing option. In New York City, tenements are formally described in the Tenement House Act of 1867. This definition references that tenements were rented out to residents of more than three families that live independently of each other. More than one family also shared common areas such hallways, stairs, yards and water-closets. The most precise definition comes from the December 31, 1862 report in the Superintendent of Buildings office. This states that “a building where the greatest amount of profit is sought to be realized from the least possible amount of space, with little or no regard for the health, comfort, or protection of the lives of the tenants.” Figure 18 is a model that shows the problems with small amounts of space and tenement housing.

Figure 18. Model of Tenement Density in New York City, Andrew S. Dolkart, Biography of a Tenement House in New York City: An Architectural History of 97 Orchard Street. Santa Fe: The Center for American Places, 2006, 76.

Most Tenements were found around neighborhoods where the lower classes could walk to work. New York City was unique since it was surrounded by water and therefore could only grow

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189 Dolkart, 13-14.
north. Most of their tenements were found in the Lower East Side also known as the Tenth Ward.\footnote{Day, 8.} The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw an increase in population from immigration. This issue put a burden on the construction industry in a place where many privileged land owners were unregulated by the state.\footnote{Day, 8, 14.}

With the pressure of more people, buildings were needed that would accommodate more families than private single homes could. It was under these conditions that tenements and middle class apartment housing were created and developed. There were model tenements made by architects in the search to find better conditions for housing and resolve design and construction issues such as lack of light, air and overcrowded rooms.\footnote{Day, 7.} Gannon and Hands attempted to take on tenement issues in their own model tenement plan.

Tenements were known for their harsh living conditions and have been called many names over the years. One name was \textquoteleft firetraps rife with disease.\textquoteright{}\footnote{Day, 7.} The conditions of tenements involved small spaces and unsanitary conditions. Tenements in the Tenth Ward or Lower East Side of New York City were the most crowded conditions. Lower East Side had 523.6 inhabitants per acre while Manhattan was roughly 114 per acre. Another dramatic change was the number of tenements themselves. In 1881, Manhattan’s 22,000 tenements had 500,000 individuals that lived in tenements. Fourteen years later in 1895, there was 40,000 tenements and 1.3 million individuals in tenements. 95 percent of these 1.3 million individuals were immigrants.\footnote{Day, 7.} Figure 19 highlights the exterior of a tenement and the harsh conditions many lived in.

\footnote{Day, 8.}
These conditions lead to social reforms. New York City saw three laws and changes to tenement conditions. The first tenements had two sets of apartments on each floor. Each apartment consisted of four rooms for a total of eight rooms on one floor. The rooms towards the middle of the building received no sunlight since tenements were built as close as possible to the next building and on the edge of the plot. These early tenements also saw another tenement building constructed at the rear of the plot. This type of tenement was also known as the railroad tenement. The use of buildings in the front and rear stopped natural sunlight and caused ventilation issues.\footnote{Daunton, 254.}

The next type of tenement house design uses the length of the plot to maximize space instead of buildings being placed in front and behind. These tenements had a narrow shaft which was supposed to produce more light and air. These tenement designs were known as dumb-bell tenements. These had two units of four rooms on the front and two units of three rooms towards the back of the building. Bathrooms were not provided but water closets were. They could be found
in the hallways and two families were expected to use one water closet.\textsuperscript{196} The dumbbell tenements were the most the popular type when Gannon and Hands started to design their own plans for a tenement.\textsuperscript{197}

The third design came after new regulations were applied in 1901. These new regulations addressed sanitation issues in each apartment and the privacy of each family and of each individual family member. The air shaft from earlier tenements was too narrow to allow light and air to circulate. Interior courts were created to allow more air and light as well as privacy individual apartments. Under these new regulations, tenements had six apartments around a central court. Figure 20 illustrates the old and new tenement laws. Another requirement was no apartment could have a bedroom that led to another room which again increased privacy. During the late nineteenth century, privacy of the home was emphasized and helped to achieve personal development.\textsuperscript{198} Gannon and Hands addressed these in their own design before the law change at the turn of the twentieth century.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure20.png}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{196} Daunton, 254.}
\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{197} Daunton, 254.}
\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{198} Daunton, 254.}
Gannon and Hands designed plans for a model tenement in 1895. Sixteen tenements at 71st Street and Avenue A in New York City where originally commissioned based on their plans. This was considered a breakthrough for tenements as many thought they had solved design issues that surrounded tenement housing. These design issues have perplexed architects for years since tenements were first built in the 1820s and 1830s.\textsuperscript{199}

Their model was six stories high, designed to contain 22 families and had no air shaft. Air and light was supplied instead from the roof. The design of the tenement was simple as they valued function in these plans.\textsuperscript{200} The model indicated that the tenement would be ninety feet long. The building would feature an open court at the interior of the building and each apartment had a balcony. This part of the design addressed issues of no light and air movement. The court and

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure21}
\caption{Drawings of Gannon and Hands Model Tenement Design, circa 1895, James Ford, Slums and Housing, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936) Appendix, plate 7.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{200} Ford, Appendix, plate 7.
balcony allowed light to enter the building. They went even further by adding a roof space that had eight feet hand railings. They added ash chutes and garage receptacles to clear out trash and keep it maintained in one area. The entrance was designed to be tiled and the walls were slated to be made of porcelain. The rent was reasonable for the working class at $2.50 a week and also meet business demands by giving the builder and owner a fair return on their investment. Figure 21 are drawings Gannon and Hands model tenement.

The Gannon and Hands tenement design was praised for allowing more air and light while still allowing developers to build on the standard New York City plot of twenty five feet. Despite the fact that land was purchased to build the tenements at West fifty seven street, they were never built. Their design showcases an interior court and balconies with an Italian patio. The drawings also show planted trees on the front street entrance, large planter pots in the interior court and small plants on the balconies. The design has Italianate features and is elegant. This is seen in its classical details such lentils, arched doorways and interior court space. The finer classical details make the model tenement have a home like and clean atmosphere in relation to other tenements of the time. Many of the features in the drawing are seen in modern day middle to high class apartments and their model tenement plans and drawings were still being reproduced in the 1930s.

Student Apartments

After success with tenement model, Gannon and Hands also worked on a student apartment house. Apartment housing is similar to tenements but they have better sanitary conditions. Apartment houses also have three or more families living under one roof and call for shared hallways and

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201 Miller, 201.
202 Ford, Appendix, plate 7.
203 Ford, Appendix, plate 7.
204 James Ford, 681, 876, 885.
staircases. Gannon and Hands wanted to address the issues with student housing with respect to unmarried women. They wanted women to have a place to live while studying that was comfortable and catered to their needs. Women had trouble finding proper housing in the New York City as housing options were limited and being a single woman attempting to obtain an education went against standards.\textsuperscript{205}

By the 1890s, women were entering universities in many different fields. Although they still had to deal with being an outsider based on their gender, universities started to persuade families to send their daughters to experience campus life. One of the ways in which universities were able to succeed in a growing number of enrollment by women was student housing for women. Student housing for women before 1890 was unregulated and many stayed in boarding houses. Universities started to regulate or recommend boarding houses and also started to build campus purpose housing for students.\textsuperscript{206} Gannon and Hands being women students themselves realized the need for women student housing and designed a student apartment house.

Despite the different types of housing available, the design of the places that women stayed during school typically had strict rules. One room, a parlor, was set aside for when males were visiting and were not allowed in other parts of the residence. By the 1900s, many universities were setting aside their own campus buildings for students instead of relying on boarding houses to cater to women or private apartments.\textsuperscript{207} Even though the universities were starting to market school housing and opening doors to women, women were seen as outsiders in the university world. They were excluded from many groups and therefore established their own. Women had to band together in a place where they were not expected to be.\textsuperscript{208}

\textsuperscript{207} Horowitz, 201.
\textsuperscript{208} Horowitz, 66-69.
Gannon was personally aware of this situation as she notes in a newspaper article in 1895 that many students have to move every 3 to 4 weeks causing problems with their studies. Their fellow students were the ones that approached them about having a permanent residence during terms. Gannon and Hands pushed to have the design of the student apartment house completed so that the women could move in for the next term in the Fall session. Unfortunately, in the end the building was never built.209

Gannon and Hands created a design in response to the pressures and lack of student housing for women. Most of the residents of the student house would be artists, although they did allow other students to live there as well. Gannon ended up taking residence in the apartments herself as well. Hands on the other hand was living at home with her parents and did not need accommodation. Each girl would get their own bedroom. All the bedrooms in their plan would connect to a sitting room for recreation and study. Three bedrooms would share a bathroom and a restaurant was also going to be attached to the building. The demand for this type of housing was high and Gannon also brought up that another additional building may be needed to cater to the women requesting housing.210

Cottages

As their career progressed, Gannon and Hands built seashore and mountain cottages in the late 1800s. Cottages are simple in both construction and style. They typically have informal interiors and exteriors that blend with their surrounding landscapes. Cottages are some of the picturesque images that form in one’s mind when thinking about home and comfort. Cottages tend to also have domestic gardens and pathways outside which were seen as feminine touch to these housing types. By the late nineteenth century, homes that were mansion size were becoming popular. Despite the

210 Horowitz, 66-69.
fact that cottages tend to be a smaller dwelling than the popular mansion sizes, they were still being built especially in the Northeast region.\textsuperscript{211} The seashore and mountain cottages that Gannon and Hands built were a far cry from the tenement housing that they had looked at earlier their career. Even though they were focused on domestic architecture, there was a diversity among the types of housing they constructed and designed.

**Conclusion**

Low income urban housing is an issue that still continues to this day. Gannon and Hands attempted to address their concerns about housing with their work on tenements, student apartment house and women hotels. Model plans for tenements were completed by many architects in the late nineteenth century but Gannon and Hands’ drawings and plans show how they understood that women and children would be spending large amounts of their time in the home. As they had first-hand knowledge of tenement living, their plans address issues by allowing more private space and outside space for everyone’s comfort.\textsuperscript{212}

They applied these same principles in their student apartment houses and understood the need for women to have space for male visitors and private space of their own. Despite the fact, that the tenements were never built they were highly praised in the *New York Times* and by other prominent colleagues such as Jacob Riis and E.R.L Gould. The student apartment houses also were looked by at the Gannon and Hands firm before many universities and colleges decided to build student housing on-campus. This trend of student housing especially for women paved the way for more families to accept sending their daughters to university.\textsuperscript{213}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{211} Sutherland Lyall, *Dream Cottages: From Cottage Ornée to Stockbroker Tudor: Two Hundred Years of the Cult of the Vernacular*, (London: Hale, 1988) 3, 27.
\item \textsuperscript{212} Allaback, 83-84.
\item \textsuperscript{213} Allaback, 83-84, “Successful Women Architects.” *New York Times*, February 25, 1895, 6, 8.
\end{itemize}
Domestic architecture allowed the first wave of women architects to start practicing in the field and outside the home. However, it limited the types of work they were receiving and contained their work to design plans related to domestic work. Gannon and Hands questioned social ideals with their drawings of a model tenement and their student apartment housing. Both types of housing were not ideal at a time when single family dwellings were the standard. They also worked on cottages and a hospital which added to the diversity of their projects despite the continued focus on domestic architecture. Gannon and Hands worked on traditional and nontraditional types of dwellings and made contributions to new types of housing that pushed societal norms to incorporate different types of lifestyles.\(^{214}\)

Challenges and Obstacles

The common themes raise important aspects of the gender dynamics in the field of architecture and are used to address the issues that women faced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The common themes are not comprehensive and other themes may have been present as the experiences of women architects varied. Gender intersects with race, ethnicity, and social class which adds more complexity and variation into the diverse experiences as an architect. The issue of social class is raised with Chapman. She was an exception since she was considered to come from a lower class than the others. Women architects of her time were most often middle-class. Chapman had no help with supporting herself which influenced some of her decisions in the practice of architecture.\(^{215}\)

The commonalities in the experience of women architects stem from societal expectations. Middle-class women were presumed to be wives and mothers and thus took a gamble by entering

\(^{214}\) Allaback, 83-84.
the architectural profession. Indeed, the first women architects in the United States were subject to ridicule for defying such societal norms. Their skills and training were not taken seriously. Women architects were thus not only entering a male-dominated field, but they were working outside the home. Women that were working outside the home were expected to work in an area that was related to the domestic home. Women were considered to have the touch, the moral sense, and understanding of homes. Society in the late nineteenth century believed women would be better designers of homes than men since they knew homes so well. Women knew the smaller details of homes and many saw the female gender as better with colors and fabrics that the home needed.²¹⁶

All of the women in this study had a strong will, passion, ambition, and an unwavering drive to succeed professionally. However, women often tended not to call attention to themselves, to avoid alienating their clients or male colleagues. Bethune was known and praised for her confidence and way of speaking to diverse groups including different ethnicities and the opposite gender without estranging them. Despite these challenges, women still found ways to be a part of the architecture world.²¹⁷

The Study of Architecture

Architecture was recognized as a profession in the United States in 1857. At that time, those interested in working in the field of architecture studied either in Europe or obtained an apprenticeship. Apprenticeships, an informal way of learning, occur in the office of architects. These learning experiences are hands-on and the length of the apprenticeship varied. The apprentice’s goal was to eventually open their own office for work. The apprenticeship was the only means of entering the field in the beginning. Later as Americans studied and returned from the Ecole des

²¹⁷ Torre, 54.
Beaux-Arts in France, formal educational studies and university programs started to become established in the United States.\textsuperscript{218}

The first university in the United States to establish a degree program in architecture was the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1865. It was followed by University of Pennsylvania in 1868, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1870, and Cornell University in 1871. Under the Morrill Act of 1862, states received land to build public universities. States were more interested in gaining land and therefore did not exclude female applicants. Land grant colleges and universities created educational opportunities for white women.\textsuperscript{219}

The first woman to graduate with a degree in architecture was Mary Louisa Page. She received a certificate in architecture in 1878 and her B.S. in Architecture in 1879 from the Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Margaret Hicks received her A.B. in 1878 and her B.S degree in architecture in 1880 from Cornell. Massachusetts Institute of Technology did not admit women in the architecture degree program until 1885. The first woman to obtain an architecture degree from MIT was Anne Graham Rockfellow in 1887. In 1936, the University of Pennsylvania awarded the B.Arch degree to two women, Betty Ray Bernheimer and Halina Leszczynska, sixty eight years after the school first established the architecture degree program.\textsuperscript{220}

The four woman architects had to make personal choices about their route into the architecture field. Women were still limited in the late 1890s to a small handful of universities and colleges, mostly public schools, which would admit them. Gannon and Hands decided to venture on the path of architecture by pursuing their degrees. Gannon had a short apprenticeship in Pennsylvania but decided in the end that education was the right option for her to enter the field. On the other hand, Chapman and Bethune entered the field by apprenticing. Chapman, who came

\textsuperscript{218} Kostof, (ed.), 309-310.
\textsuperscript{219} Torre, 56.
from a working class background, may have chosen an apprenticeship based on monetary issues while Bethune, who came from a middle-class background, had the option of either a degree or apprenticeship.  

Working Environment

The architecture profession did not welcome women in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. One way that women responded to this was by working with husbands, or other male relatives, working alone or working in small firms. Women abbreviated their names or used initials to make their names less obvious. Some female architects complained about having to do secretarial tasks while learning under master architects. Although many of their male colleagues also had to be assistants, some of the women noticed that the males received more prestigious projects and were promoted faster.

Part of this was the establishment of architecture as a distinct field. During the nineteenth century, anyone could claim to be an architect. Architects were still trying to distinguish themselves from other types of builders. The women architects explored in this thesis started on their educational or apprenticeship routes in the 1890s. Men could claim to be an architect with no further questioning or suspicion. Women, on the other hand, were questioned from the start since it was considered a man’s job. Even if one gave a woman the chance, she had to prove her abilities to show that she was an architect. The fact that men had to only claim the title while women had to prove their title shows the power struggle and obstacles that women faced.

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221 Allaback, 45, 60, 83, 92.
222 Allaback, 2.
In addition, women were excluded from events that could only be attended by males such as theatre and tavern events. This lack of network and mentoring made it more difficult for women to retain and cultivate the personal relationships that are the foundation of a field in which commissions are the main form of payment. Women did use their own networks through their parents, childhood connections, women’s clubs, or male colleagues. Unfortunately, women could not join the “old boys clubs” which had the highest paid and most prestigious mentoring and networking opportunities. Bethune used her childhood connections when she was commissioned to build numerous schools for the City of Buffalo. Her father was a school principal and knew City of Buffalo school officials.224

Women found creative ways to break into the field; for instance, by writing about interior furniture, interior design, and home design. Popular magazines such as Ladies’ Home Journal and some architectural magazines published these articles; home design magazines welcomed them. Chapman used her writing skills to discuss home design in early 1900s while she transitioned from public building commissions to home commissions. These writings may have set the stage and built her reputation as a domestic design architect while she searched for work. Writing, which was typically done by the middle and upper classes in the late nineteenth century was one avenue for women to voice their opinions. Anyone with a pen, paper, and will to write could.225

However, this was only a niche in the field. Women who wanted to design in the built environment had to understand building technology, engineering, design, math, and drawing. They had to use and know all the skills well and better in order to get any type of acknowledgment. Louise Bethune noted that women should know all subjects in order to achieve greatness in the field of architecture. She believed this was necessary for entering the field of architecture and that women should further their knowledge of every subject if they wanted to be an architect. Women had to be

224 Allaback, 2-3.
exceptional, motivated, work long hours and comprehend multiple subjects to endure the working environment.\textsuperscript{226}

\textit{Domestic Architecture}

The four women entered the architecture field in the 1890s. Mary Gannon, Alice Hands and Josephine Chapman worked in New York City for all or part of their careers while Louise Bethune worked in Buffalo. The women were working in a decade known for its profound cultural shift. This shift in the way that Americans lived was far-reaching and drastic. Deliberations about education, the workplace, immigration, poor living conditions, and political and social rights of women were seen in New York State. Before the 1890s, the country was conservative in nature, especially in terms of historical narratives that were highlighted from the founding of the country. By the 1890s, writers in particular were changing that scene and addressing wider topics such as gender and race in narratives. Women pushed new ideas about gender roles. They started to ride bicycles, go to college, and enter the middle-class professional labor market.\textsuperscript{227} New York City in particular paved the way in resolving the issue of living collectively in an urban place. Single family homes, converted homes, tenements, apartment houses, and hotels were living spaces that created friction and caused challenges in urban housing.\textsuperscript{228} The ideas about the workplace, immigration, and equal rights were subjects that the women architects had knowledge of and some directly ended up addressing in their design resolutions and work.\textsuperscript{229}

The four women architects, focused on in the case studies, were involved in designing and building domestic architecture during this time of drastic change. The designs for these buildings

\textsuperscript{226} Calverley, 24-35; Allaback, 45-46, Berkeley, (ed.), 14-17.
\textsuperscript{227} Calverley, 24-35; Allaback, 45-46, Berkeley, (ed.), 14-17.
were associated with the home. The home, in turn, is associated with women. Women were expected to work in the home and it was one place where they could take charge and their input was valued. Some have argued that architects were not the ones responsible for change but feminists and reformers were. However, this is a simplistic statement that cannot be applied to all architects. Some architects were neither feminists nor reformers. Others were an architect, feminist and reformer. However, in the three case studies, all the women architects were attempting to design to improve buildings and the built environment. Whether the architects’ end goal was social reform or not, their contributions and ideas about improving buildings was a form of change.230

Women architects had the background for understanding the architectural form and function of homes as well as how women used and thought about their homes.231 The drastic changes seen in the late Victorian period saw many changes the control and organization of rooms in homes. Rituals and norms changed how rooms were used including the relationship of one room to another. This gave women the chance to use the home as a political platform. The home, where women already had a voice, allowed them the place and space to talk about change and why women should be able to pursue certain types of work.232

Interior design and decoration was one area that women used as an explanation for an appropriate occupation for females. The arrangement and decoration of their own homes gave them power. This occupation also did not threaten male jobs and therefore was not contested by others. The interior of homes, which involved the latest fashions of curtains, furniture, and appliances, were tied to other areas were females had already gained recognition. Dress and hair fashions were one arena were women were already working. This made the leap from dress fashion to interior design an easier one for society to accept. In construct, facades and exteriors of homes were unusual in the home journals. Women were placed in the home as a way to protect them from the evils of the

230 Adams, preface.
urban city. Places outside of the home were male dominated and this extended to the exterior facades of homes.\textsuperscript{233} Interiors on the other hand had been socially tied to women since they were responsible for the home.\textsuperscript{234}

The drawings that women made highlighted their own ideas about space. However, the arrangement and decoration of the interior space was seen by many as less technical than the drawings and work that architects and builders completed. Nonetheless, these drawings were seen in many women’s journals and gave women a stage to share their ideas on everyday matters of the home. Women used the drawings to showcase how redesign of the home could benefit them. One complaint that women raised was how rooms were not arranged to function for those mothers with young children. Women who were trying to prepare dinner downstairs could not see or hear their children in the upstairs rooms. Women had to leave the kitchen multiple times to attend to children upstairs. Women used their associations with the home to call for a different design. The first apartment homes where rooms were all on one floor started to appear in the 1890s.\textsuperscript{235}

Josephine Chapman, Mary Gannon and Alice Hands were involved in room arrangement and interior space design during their work as architects. Their gender aligned them in understanding and bringing new perspectives to residential and interior design. Josephine Chapman was involved in writing about interior design from the use of fireplace mantels to appropriate room arrangements seen on floor plans. After these publications on interior design and space, Chapman designed an apartment house which included an important key feature of white porcelain in the kitchen area.\textsuperscript{236}

Like Chapman, Mary Gannon and Alice Hands also worked in domestic architecture. Gannon and Hands were well known for their tenement work, which required the rearrangement of rooms

\textsuperscript{234} Adams, 145-146.
\textsuperscript{235} Adams, 129-131.
\textsuperscript{236} Chapman, “A Woman Who Builds Houses”, 3.
and interior design of spaces. Their model tenement also included elements of landscape architecture, and sanitary measures such as light and air. Gannon and Hands lived in tenements in order to grasp the issues and challenges of the living conditions and spaces. The model they produced looks similar to present-day apartment buildings. Gannon and Hands also designed a student apartment house that catered to women. Their sense of interior design and space was seen in how they arranged the rooms in accordance with social rules. One rule was that male visitors had to stay downstairs and were not allowed in other parts of the house. A parlor room was incorporated so women had a space to socialize when male visitors came. 237

Gender Discrimination

Today, images of what would be called gender discrimination are seen at the turn of the twentieth century. Women were limited while working in the field of architecture from their design projects to networking opportunities. Many female architects were relegated to residential design. Although male architects accepted commissions for residential buildings such as houses or apartments, they often could move on to larger projects like theatres and skyscrapers. 238

   Many women left the workforce after marriage or the birth of their first child. Women were expected to become mothers and caretakers upon marriage. Some women delayed marriage or did not marry at all due to this expectation. Gannon got married and it cut her and Hands’ careers short. It can be easier to continue being an architect when one married an architect. An architect would understand the demands and problems of the field and women could work alongside of their husbands in the practice of architecture. Bethune married an architect and had a set of legal papers drawn about the firm ownership before she officially married. This showcases her business sense and awareness of the legal rights she needed to pursue in order to maintain firm ownership. In a

237 Day, 7.
238 Kostof, 281-286.
time, when women were not allowed to manage money, unless it had to do with the household, this shows her extensive knowledge and understanding of the “man’s business world.”

Another form of discrimination was paying women less for doing the same type of work that men did. At World’s Fair competitions and in more general design competitions, the award amounts for women were significantly lower. The female design winner would receive $1,000 but the male design winner would win $10,000 according to the 1892 Chicago’s World Fair advertisements. Women were also doing more domestic design which was known to be the lowest paid. Public buildings came with the highest commissions and typically were awarded to males. Despite the lower pay, women often entered competitions because the events gave their designs publicity and gave them an opportunity to showcase their talents.

Chapman was involved in designing the New England’s States Building at the Buffalo’s Pan American Exposition in 1901. She is an exception in this case as women were only involved in the Women’s Building at Pan American Expositions. Chapman meet with the men that hired the architect to construct the states building and tailored a design to the specific needs, wants and ideals of the New England states. This direct approach tactic of showing proof of her talent and catering to the design wants of the hiring committee sealed her the spot to design the New England States Building.

Women could not complain about discrimination because discrimination was not illegal. Gender discrimination laws such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights of Act of 1964. Women would be complaining to male bosses, who could assign work or take it away. Some male architects, however, did give women their first chances at an apprenticeship and help them obtain professional memberships. Unfortunately, many men stood in women’s way and did what they could to bar them from memberships and positions. Membership in architectural organizations

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239 Cole, 53.
240 Torre, 70-72.
varied by place. Chapman had issues gaining membership in Massachusetts but was able to gain entry into the New York State Architectural Society once she moved. Bethune had male colleagues that helped her obtain memberships and pushed the way for women to enter the AIA which it officially became the national architectural organization.242

Conclusion

This thesis uses the case studies of Louise Bethune, Josephine Chapman and the firm of Mary Gannon and Alice Hands to outline issues with the selection criterion and standards for significance in the NRHP nomination process in order to suggest a series of reforms in this process. These case studies consist of historical research on each woman’s building designs and contributions to the field of architecture. It reviews the gaps in what I have called stories, or details in the historical narrative such as name changes, different interpretations, lack of information and roadblocks with buildings research. It also addresses the debates that occurred in the twentieth century of whether preservation of the built environment should be about art or history. This debate continues today as preservationists make decisions about what should be saved. Furthermore, the inconsistencies of information in NRHP inventory and nomination forms in relation to the case studies were reviewed and critiqued.

Numerous results came out of this thesis. One result is the formation of a new comprehensive story about each woman architect considered above, which consolidates the personal and professional details of a career from the collection and research of paper and digital archival information. A second result of this research includes new information about the types of resources available for accessing the details of women’s history. The stories constructed about these women architects were made possible by consolidating both archival and digital online research.

This combined methodology demonstrates that women’s magazines such as *Success* or *Ladies’ Home Journal* are a key resource in the field of women’s history.

Perhaps the most important reform that this thesis introduces is a critique of the NRHP nomination process. The review of existing nomination and inventory forms showed that women architects were routinely missing from official records in the cases of Louise Bethune and the firm Mary Gannon and Alice Hands. Josephine Chapman on the other hand was surprisingly highlighted in the inventory form. This indicates that the information on the forms is a selective process. This selective process makes the NRHP inconsistent in the stories told as some voices are heard and others are suppressed. Additionally, samples of how future NRHP nominations can be written to explicitly include a summary of the gender and class issues that women architects faced can be seen in Appendix D. This critique of the NRHP raises issues with our current definition of significance in the built environment and how such standards apply to women architects.

The Significance Problem

The turn of the twentieth century witnessed the increased professionalization of the architect, which effectively narrowed the definition of who an architect is, what they do, and how to they do it. These questions, in turn, emerged as key concerns in debates regarding the “significance” of built work in the NRHP for women architects and their work. These narrow definitions of professionalization have been a continual issue for crediting the contributions of women designers in the past. Carla Blank and Tania Martin note in *Storming the Old Boys’ Citadel* that Mother Joseph Pariseau was one of the first European-American women working in architecture. Mother Joseph was a religious nun who moved to the Pacific Northwest. She oversaw the construction of many school and healthcare facilities. However, she was not registered with the AIA or any architectural association. It was only at an AIA annual meeting that Mother Joseph was officially named as one of the first women architects of the United States based on the architectural standards of the 1950s. Today, Mother
Joseph is not well known outside of the Pacific Northwest.\textsuperscript{243} Omissions of women architects such as Mother Joseph stem from how individuals today view the accomplishments of non-licensed designers and whether the individual’s efforts fit the cultural ideal of the professional architect. In addition to the lack of recognition, there is an issue of comparison based purely on an aesthetic standards. For example, some people have questioned Bethune’s work due to a lack of originality and innovation. Yet Bethune used classical styles coupled with modern invention during her time, which was comparable to the accomplishments of other celebrated architects of her time.\textsuperscript{244} These issues raise questions regarding which women architects should be included in the official record and why.

Many questions from this research project still remain unanswered. How do preservationists begin to answer what, whom, and how much to include? The questions of do we always include the architect, how much information to include and which buildings, built or unbuilt, to include are the tip of the iceberg. The illustration in Figure 22 notes some of these significance issues in relation to adding architects to the NRHP nominations. The vagueness of the word significance itself makes answering these questions unclear. What should be and how much should be considered significant? The Elmwood Historic District was a 500 page document that included large amounts of data but did not include Bethune. The issue of vast quantities of data makes it impossible to add all the details of a property. However, does everything need to be addressed in the NR nomination? Why not highlight women architects and their stories through interpretation? Additionally, shouldn’t stories be told that are not tied to the NR list? Wouldn’t that involve communities to tell stories regardless of a list? As society’s values and ideals are a moving target, would telling stories in the built environment through interpretation address the stagnant nature of the NRHP? Is the intangible that can be told but not seen the real issue?

\textsuperscript{244} Carla Blank and Tania Martin, 14-15.
The Intangible Problem

During the writing of this thesis, the issue of intangible culture kept resurfacing. How much of the past is told versus seen? One cannot see or know that a building was constructed by a woman architect. Once one digs deeper into the complex relationships that surrounded an individual life, details of that person are lost when looking at the tangible building. The issues with Bethune’s distaste for homes\textsuperscript{245}, Chapman’s love of the English style\textsuperscript{246} and Gannon and Hands model tenement\textsuperscript{247} are examples of intangible culture seen in stories. Questions arose on why preservationists are not showing or interpreting the built environment and how preservationists can show the intangible in the built environment.

\textsuperscript{245} Calverley, 24-35.
\textsuperscript{246} Allaback, 60-61.
\textsuperscript{247} Ford, Appendix, plate 7.
Presently, even when the stories of places are told in the NRHP nomination the information does not get disseminated to the general public. Interpretation through historic markers, public art and signage can be utilized in order to highlight stories may be one answer to the intangible problem. These stories could be further showcased on websites and through social media in order to generate interest and knowledge to the general public. Donna Graves notes she sees interpretation as the fourth agenda that preservationists should focus on. The use of historic trails, bike racks, bus stops, train stations and billboards are examples of ways incorporate the past into our everyday lives. Figures 23, 24 and 25 show a few examples of how artists are highlighting buildings today.

Figure 23. Photograph of Historic Images in Windows. This photograph shows how windows were used to highlight historic images. This idea could be applied to the public designs that women architects’ constructed to showcase their work, Photo in Ellwood House Museum, Engaging Places, https://engagingplaces.net/2015/05/07/using-windows-for-interpretation/.

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Figure 24. Photograph of Image Projection. This photograph highlights the use of light projection on the French National Assembly Building. It showcases how images of people can be used and projected onto walls. Photographs of the women architects could be projected onto a wall of their buildings. Created by French artist JR and U.S. filmmaker Darren Aronofsky, accessed May 1, 2018, http://time.com/4128843/paris-standing-march-jr-aronofsky/.

Figure 25. Photograph of Word Projection. This photograph shows how words can be used on the exteriors of buildings. The women architects in this thesis had quotes that could be used in this manner, Jenny Holzer Projections, accessed May 1, 2018, http://legimusmaximus.tumblr.com/post/36168572161.
The intangible also brings challenges for preservationists. For preservationists, the question of how do we balance evidence based history with the need to highlight intangible aspects of life comes up. One way to assist with evidence based history is to create a database of designs for research purposes among preservationists and historians. This database could include built and unbuilt designs. Architectural drawings, floor plans and photographs could be added to the database. The database could act as a centralized place for preservationists and historians to gain access to materials. It is recognized that this is a large undertaking and would require time. However, a centralized database is the first step in collecting information about the intangible and tangible together.

The intangible is the missing component in preservation and is one that should be addressed further. As Randall Mason points out in his article “Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of "Significance" that anthropologists and economists are missing from the preservation field. Anthropologists in particular address intangible aspects of heritage or culture. Preservationists review the built environment and their associated landscapes. The intersection of anthropology and preservation can change the significance and meaning of buildings. The understanding of the intangible aspects of culture could alter the way that significance is viewed. Further research and collaboration between preservation and anthropology is needed in order to understand where intangible memory and tangible buildings intersect.

To facilitate further discussion on the intangible, should preservation be about the evolution of the building(s) or the anthropology of building(s)? In other words, what intangible interactions did humans create at buildings? The NRHP does not address these issues and it is a major component of our everyday lives. The intersection of the intangible and tangible lays at the forefront of the future for the preservation field. The collective use of intangible and tangible can capture the essence of a

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place and unfold its story. The intangible can create a vivid picture of the past and could be utilized to change what significant means in the preservation field.
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Appendix

Appendix A. Examples of the inventory form for 211 Summer Street. The left hand side shows Spencer Kellogg, the original owner was highlighted. The right hand side shows that this form does not mention the architect, Louise Bethune.
In the 2015 Elmwood Historic District nomination, Spencer Kellogg the original owner was noted. However, Louise Bethune is not mentioned and other architects of the time were.

211 Summer Street  ca. 1887, ca. 1957
1887 buildings built for Spencer Kellogg
Property contains two contributing primary buildings and one contributing secondary building

In front  ca. 1887
2 ½-story gable on hip brick masonry house with Romanesque styling; Medina sandstone foundation, asphalt roof. Side entry door with concave hood with wrought iron supports. Windows typically I and 1 I wood sash double hung, some replacements, grouped. Medina sandstone sills and lintels, terra cotta keystones. Contains contributing 2 ½-story gable secondary building (former carriage house) only partially visible from the public right of way.

140 Lincoln Parkway  ca. 1914
Built for Edgar B. Stevens
2 ½-story side gable brick house with Colonial Revival styling. Ashlar stone foundation, brick with 2nd story ashlar stone sill course, slate roof. Lead glass canopy over side entry. Front façade French doors with fanlights opening onto patio with wrought iron balustrade and large concrete piers and urns; Tuscan columns supporting modified hood. 6/1 and 4/1 double hung wood windows with brick and stone keystone lintels elsewhere. 1st story blind arches. Block modillions at eaves. 2 pedimented dormers. Single story side addition. Contains contributing side gable 2-story secondary building (garage); 6/1 double hung wood windows, brick siding, slate roof.

152 Lincoln Parkway  ca. 1911
David Ginsberg House/Buffalo State College President’s House
Architect: Lansing Bly & Lyman
Appendix B. The inventory form for Josephine Chapman’s Craigie Arms Apartment Building had two pages written on her career. It was focused on her time spent in Massachusetts.

- 2 pages total written on her.
- Her career is focused on Massachusetts.
Appendix C. This is the 2007 Twilight Park District Form. It focused on the founder of the town. The architects mentioned in the form were tied to larger scale buildings such as the church.

History of Twilight Park

Henry Greetly, an ardent supporter of agrarian reform and homestead laws, once addressed local farmers discouraged by the rocky soil on the mountain top. Greetly’s response was “mine sheep.” It was a sheep pasture that caught the eye of Charles Wingate in 1887. The founder of Twilight Park envisioned the open slopes he saw from the veranda of the Haines Falls Hotel as an oasis and retreat for individuals and families pursuing amateur athletics and an outdoor life—people interested in renewing and refreshing body and mind. The parcel offered the possibility of fulfilling Wingate’s long planned scheme for a cottage colony, after an unsuccessful attempt in a different location.

Charles F. Wingate was a civil engineer and journalist but his true vocation was as an organizer and promoter. It is likely that Wingate’s interest in developing a cottage colony came from his professional involvement as a consulting sanitary engineer to similar projects at Bay Head, Shelter Island (sometimes reported as Fire Island), and Greenwood Lake, in New York. In 1886, Charles F. Wingate participated in a trip to the Catskills sponsored by the Hudson Society. He represented the Twilight Club of New York, an organization he founded in 1880 composed of business men of all ages and occupations.
Appendix D. This Appendix gives samples of how to highlight gender and class issues in the NR nomination writing process.

Case Study of Louise Bethune: Sample 1

Sample 1, Number 1

Gender and Class Issues: Educational opportunities and choices

Gender Issues: Use of a different name

*‘Brown’ Louise Blanchard Bethune (1894-1919):*

Louise Bethune who holds two titles, the first female professional architect in the United States and the first fellow in the AIA, was also the first woman to open a firm. She holds the rare titles for firms as a woman architect. Bethune had the opportunity to apply for and enroll Cornell’s architecture program. Due to her few years studying after high school in order to prepare herself for college, despite the desire to extend university, she choose to do an apprenticeship with Richard A. Haie and E.F. Cusenii starting in 1896. She spent five years as an apprentice, with low pay and long hours, before she opened her own firm.

Bethune’s firm opened in 1891. Bethune went by Jennie in childhood. By the time her firm opened, she was known as Louise, her middle name. Her middle name was safe-sounding and gave her an advantage in the field. During her
Gender Issues: Fair Pay

Bethune did not compete in architectural competitions. She stated that the difference in prize money between women and men was unfair. Women got paid $2,000 while men got paid $10,000. Bethune was an advocate for fair and equal pay for work in the field of architecture regardless of gender.

Gender and Class Issues: Location

Although Bethune worked very hard and educated herself in all aspects of architecture and business, she also had luck and personal connections on her side. She was born in the right place at the right time. Her son, the Buffalo home and brought prominent architects such as John Root and Louis Sullivan to Buffalo in order to build and design the city. She also had the luck of being born to supportive parents who were educators and saw that she got a proper education which allowed her to pursue architecture. Her personal connection to her father who was a school principal also gave her unique insights into schoolhouse design and is one example of how relationships may have fostered commissions her way.
Case Study of Josephine Chapman: Sample 2

Sample 2, Number 1

Narrative Description

Chapman got her start by gaining an apprenticeship, which may have been necessary due to her working class background and lack of support from her parents. She created an opportunity for herself at the 1901 San Francisco Exposition when she was the only woman to design a building. Her persistence and direct approach of asking the men who hired the architects for the San Francisco job has the job. She designed multiple types of buildings from churches, women's clubs and residential homes. Despite this, she hit obstacles when it came to gaining entry into a professional architectural membership. She was eventually accepted to one in New York State after she left her hometown in Massachusetts.
Gender Ties:
Some building commissions had ties to women’s clubs or female homeowners.

Narrative Description

As most woman architects experienced, Chapman saw and experienced gender discrimination but also found allies in hometown connections, women’s clubs, writing articles and building private homes for women toward the end of her career. She built two women’s clubs including Tuckerman Hall. Additionally, designed Hilliards, the residence of a wealthy woman Ann Archbold.

Gender and Class Issues: Writing Influences

In 1904 and 1905, Chapman was a contributing author to the magazine Success, which published four of her articles, three about interior design and one about the architectural profession and gender. Her writings in interior design showcased improvements to mantels, wall covers, paintings and room arrangements. She discussed colors and materials for interior spaces and gave recommendations on furnishings. These writings started concepts that she implemented in her residences later and she gave detailed descriptions on resolutions and ideas for interior spaces. Her interior design ideas focused on English, Italian or European styles.
Case Study of Mary Gannon and Alice Hands: Sample 3

Sample 3, Number 1

**Gender:** Formed a firm with two females.

**Gender and Class:** Type of work they collaborated on; some reformist work seen.

**Narrative Description**

Mary Gannon and Alice Hands

Mary Gannon and Alice Hands formed the first female architectural firm in the United States in 1944. Most women worked alone or with male architects. This made the firm that Mary and Alice created the first female firm in the United States unique. Two females decided to undertake a path that only male architects did. The result of the creation of this firm included projects from tenement model drawings, student apartment housing, cottages, and a hospital and Exhibition Drawing for World’s Fair.

Sample 3, Number 2

**Gender:** Types of buildings geared towards women’s needs in the home

**Gender and Class Issues:** Living in tenements. Approaches they took to design

**Narrative Description**

Low income urban housing is an issue that still continues to this day. Gannon and Hands attempted to address their concerns about housing with their work on tenements, student apartment home and women hotels. Model plans for tenements were completed by many architects in the late 19th century but Gannon and Hands’ drawings and plans show how they understood that women and children would be spending large amounts of their time in the home. As they had first-hand knowledge of tenement living, their plans address issues by allowing more private space and outside space for everyone’s comfort.

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Both of these women decided to enter the New York School of Applied Design for Women (NYSDW) in order to become professional architects. During the late 19th and early 20th century, women would sit together during class and band together in their male-dominated classrooms. Despite this obstacle, the women that met at university developed close relationships and bonds that continued past graduation. Ganon and Hade were no exception to this as the combined diversity of their work can attest to. Their relationship would have brought professional guidance and emotional support. Although universities started to allow women applicants, they were driven to subfields of architecture such as domestic architecture and social reform issues since they were more open to women.