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# Accounting for the past: historic house museums and America's urban Midwest

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Dissertation

# ACCOUNTING FOR THE PAST:

# HISTORIC HOUSE MUSEUMS AND AMERICA'S URBAN MIDWEST

by

**REBEKAH BEAULIEU**

B.A., George Washington University, 2003
M.A., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2005
M.A., Columbia University, 2007

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Approved by

First Reader

William D. Moore, Ph.D.
Director of American & New England Studies Program and
Associate Professor of Material Culture

Second Reader

Keith N. Morgan, Ph.D.
Professor of History and Art & Architecture and of
American & New England Studies

Third Reader

Marla R. Miller, Ph.D.
Director of Public History Program
University of Massachusetts-Amherst

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**REBEKAH BEAULIEU**

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2017

Major Professor: William D. Moore, Ph.D., Director of American & New England Studies Program and Associate Professor of Material Culture

ABSTRACT

Although a sizable subcategory of the nonprofit museum sector, historic house museums have received limited attention in discussions of best practices, most notably in topics of administration, funding, and risk management. Historic house museums serve as a cornerstone of American and international cultural tourism for their accessibility and low, or free, attendance costs. This research argues for historic house museum operations, rather than its period of restorative preservation, as the focus of inquiry. The subjects of this research are three sites that were the products of late nineteenth-century industrialization in the American Midwest, a region under-studied in current literature.

Past scholarship on historic houses has been dedicated to preservation methodology and interpretation. No study of house museums attends to business and legal concerns as well as architectural history and preservation. Utilizing archives, interviews, and financial documents in the analysis of three case studies, I argue that historic house museums provide an illuminating lens onto issues of professional practice facing museums in the twenty-first century.

This dissertation focuses on three historic house museums constructed after the 1876 Centennial and before the turn of the twentieth century. Chapter One offers the

history of the Pabst Mansion in Milwaukee, a German Renaissance Revival structure built in 1892 for brewing magnate Captain Frederick Pabst, and provides a discussion of community funding and post-recession heritage tourism. Chapter Two details the story of the Driehaus Museum in Chicago, a Renaissance Revival mansion built in 1883 for banker Samuel Nickerson and now funded primarily by investor Richard Driehaus. This chapter illuminates the issues of single-donor funding, the problematization of definitions of the historic house museum, and modern development of private art collections. Chapter Three is dedicated to the Samuel Cupples House in St. Louis, a Richardsonian Romanesque residence constructed in 1890 for manufacturing magnate Samuel Cupples and now owned by Saint Louis University, and delves into topics of institutional stewardship and university management of cultural resources. The conclusion proposes a diversification of scholarship concerning historic house museums that embraces financial management to ensure operational sustainability.

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# INTRODUCTION

## The State of the Historic House Museum in the Twenty-First Century

The historic house museum is one of the most underestimated museum types in America. Widely considered to be quaint passion projects, valiantly served by corps of volunteers and funded by history-buff donors, historic house museums are overlooked as a source for the study of nonprofit best practices and funding paradigms. Current conversations about historic house museums led by academics and practitioners alike often treat operational sites as completed projects, their rescue from bulldozers, land-hungry developers, and inattentive urban planners the happy ending to their story of preservation. The protection of historical houses from destruction is not the comprehensive story of preservation, however, for that is only one phase of the life of historic buildings, especially for those that experience a second phase as a museum. Preservation of historic structures is the vital lynchpin between their past and future existence but should not be celebrated as assuring their future. In this study, I argue for the need to shift the conversation of the historic house museum story from one of lauding preservation as an autonomous undertaking to an examination of administration, funding, and stewardship in order to encourage sound management practice and future sustainability.

For too long the preservation dialogue has been based wholly in the past, positioning historic house museums in service to history and with little relevance to the future of museums. I argue that modernizing our view of historic house museums to see beyond their historical relevance and to understand them in relation to standards of museum best practices, risk management, and financial solvency better situates such sites for stability and continued operation. The expansion into operational analysis is not a new perspective in the cultural sector: art museums and theater companies, for example, do not consider their designation as 501(c)3 organizations the resolution of their efforts to organize, but rather the start. I argue for a paradigm shift regarding preserved and publicly-accessible historic buildings in which we consider each site as an opportunity for a study of site management that contributes to the future of these structures.

**Issues of Interpretation and Administration**

Much of the current scholarship on historic house museums has focused on visitors while ignoring administration. Topics such as authenticity, interpretation of contested histories, and collective memory are regular and well-trod subjects in the field. To be clear, such conversations regarding engagement are necessary and mindfulness of cultural shifts and educations standards is, and should remain, a priority of house museum administrators and scholars. Yet concurrent with the value placed on the educational role house museums serve, we must attend to issues of management and finance as I assert in this study. If such topics are not addressed, we may not have operational sites to which to welcome visitors in the first place.

The challenge of incorporating administration and funding with interpretation is apparent in the specific texts that analyze historic house museums. Valuable scholarship is contributed in works such as Patricia West's *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (1999), which astutely focuses on the political context of historic house museum development and highlights the integral role of women in the preservation movement.[1] West demonstrates that historic house museums can illustrate the stories of those who founded and operated them as fully as the individuals and history they honor, and in this way serves as an important precursor to this study. Unlike West, or Jennifer Eichstedt and Stephen Small in *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (2002) for that matter, this study is not concerned with ethics or ideological constructs but instead places regionalism at the heart of its narrative as a means of understanding the motivations for preservation, its process, and its impact.[2]

Other recent texts that address the historic house museum field include *Lost in the Museum: Buried Treasure and the Stories They Tell* (2007) by Nancy Moses, which artfully balances art pieces within their cultural and political contexts.[3] That same year, Donna Ann Harris released *New Solutions for House Museums: Ensuring the Long-Term Preservation of America's Historic Houses*, a practical sourcebook for adaptive reuse methods and preservation techniques.[4] For Harris, sustainability is justifiably a top priority, and her text is useful in the context of applicable preservation methodology. This study, however, challenges assumptions of operational and financial sustainability rather than that of physical preservation science.

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1. Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1999).
2. Jennifer L. Eischstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution, 2002). While slavery is necessarily a regional economic concern of plantation museums, the focus of Eischstedt is ideological and not economic in its grounding of preservation activity.
3. Nancy Moses, *Lost in the Museum: Buried Treasures and the Stories They Tell* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2007).
4. Donna Ann Harris, *New Solutions for House Museums: Ensuring the Long-Term Preservation of America's Historic House Museums* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007).

The most recent addition to the canon of texts regarding historic house museums is *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (2015) by Franklin D. Vagnone and Deborah E. Ryan.[5] Irreverent in tone and with numerous "rants" about historic house museums, Vagnone and Ryan's *Anarchist's Guide* is brilliantly marketed from the "Anarchist" perspective, challenging the stereotype of the elderly volunteers commonly assumed to run house museums. Vagnone and Ryan are some of the most progressive of the field in their discussion of assessment. While mainly interpretive in scope, *Anarchist's Guide* provides a refreshing perspective that encourages historic house museum professionals to enact innovative thinking and employ new techniques whenever necessary and possible.[6]

Perhaps most akin to my approach in this study is the text edited by Max Page and Randall Mason, *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (2004), which provides case studies of preservation efforts, positioning each case in a contextual discussion of time and place.[7] The contextual model of analysis serves as a template for this study, as does their approach to preservation as an ever-evolving and continuing activity, rather than one to be completed and then celebrated. While we are similar in our prioritization of context, Page and Mason focus on

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5. Franklin D. Vagnone and Deborah E. Ryan, *Anarchist's Guide the Historic House Museums* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2015). Vagnone and Ryan developed *Anarchist's Guide* out of the eponymous blog Vagnone published on LinkedIn and Facebook. In 2015 and concurrent with the publication of the book, Vagnone launched Twisted Preservation, a cultural consulting firm based in New York City.
6. Susan Lee, "An 'Anarchist's' Plan to Reinvent the Historic House Museum," *Curbed*, October 21, 2015, http://curbed.com/archives/2015/10/21/historic-homes-old-house-museum-tour-new-york.php.
7. Max Page and Randall Mason, eds. *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

historicization, while I argue for an understanding of regionalism and the socioeconomic climate before, during, and after the preservation of a historic site has been formalized.

While some have attended to issues of operation and administration, they tend to focus on interpretive models and distance themselves from operational analysis, or even responsibility.[8] Sherry Butcher-Younghans, for example, offers in *Historic House Museums: A Practical Handbook for Their Care, Preservation, & Management* (1993) only the most rudimentary discussion of management, such as housekeeping and how to place ads for docents in local newspapers.[9] In Donna Ann Harris's *New Solutions for House Museums: Ensuring the Long-Term Preservation of America's Historic Houses* (2007), she argues for outsourcing management (such as accounting) to outside contractors.[10] The belief that historic house museums are money pits, impractical larks, or simply too cumbersome and expensive to manage internally, is common, so much so that scholars of the field do not even encourage administrators to be responsible for site management, but to willingly give control to outside organizations. In fact, the story of selling a site once preservation has been completed and it proves burdensome to manage is unusual, though not unheard of; look at the 2014 sale of the Carter's Grove plantation by Colonial Williamsburg for an example.[11] If the solution to the challenges faced in

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8. Sherry Butcher-Younghans, *Historic House Museums: A Practical Handbook for Their Care, Preservation, & Management* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Butcher-Younghans does not acknowledge financial management or strategic planning, but instead focuses almost wholly on fundamental collections care.
9. Ibid.
10. Outsourcing certain tasks such as tax preparation or payroll distribution is standard to ensure a system of checks and balances. Simple operational tasks, however, can and should be handled within the organization.
11. Susan Svrluga, "Colonial Williamsburg Sells Carter's Grove Plantation After Bankruptcy" *The Washington Post,* September 19, 2014. Carter's Grove was built for Carter Burwell in 1755

historic house museum management is to simply sell the sites to the highest bidder or close them altogether, we are ignoring our charge as museum professionals to ensure their permanence, both for historical documentation and for experiential learning purposes.

This study is a timely one, and not just because it fills a gap in scholarship of the American historic house museum. Since the financial downturn of 2009, many in the field consider house museums to be in a period of crisis.[12] Small historic house museums are threatened due to increasing preservation and capital concerns, poor staff and volunteer training, meager budgets, and decreasing visitation. Unfocused board members without a grounded understanding of nonprofits, hastily devised capital campaigns, and unchecked operational expenses further complicated the already alarming condition of many house museums. Declining visitation figures have also caused concern, as John Dichtl, President and CEO of the American Association for State and Local History lamented in 2016.[13] Speaking of the decrease in house museum attendance almost a decade earlier, Cary Carson of Colonial Williamsburg explained that we need to "rethink

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and after the death of the last resident, acquired by Colonial Williamsburg through a gift from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1969. After years of operation, the site was closed to the public in 2003 and sold to CNET founder Halsey Minor as a private residence in 2014, the sale contingent upon a conservation easement. Minor declared bankruptcy later that year, and Colonial Williamsburg resumed ownership of the estate at another auction. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation transferred ownership of the site to Samuel M. Minkoff, again for use as a residence, in a private sale in 2014.

12. The Great Recession began in 2008 and concluded in 2009. Throughout this study, I will use the date of 2009 in reference to the recession.

13. John Dichtl, "New Report Reveals Each Generation Less Likely to Visit Historic Sites Than the Last," *AASLH News & Views*, February 22, 2016, http://blogs.aaslh.org/new-report-reveals-each-generation-less-likely-to-visit-historic-sites-than-the-last/.

historic house museums for the new century."[14] While these matters are a cause for concern among those in the public history field, they also provide an opportunity for discussion of the major issues facing historic house museums today. This project offers a contribution to the necessary discussion of historic house museum administration and stewardship.

**Preservation in the East Coast and Midwestern Regions**[15]

Unique in content as well as methodology, the focus of this study concentrates on three historic house museums in the Midwestern region of the United States, which is virtually unprecedented. Much research concerning historic preservation and specifically house museums emphasizes the activity along the East Coast, in communities including Boston, New York, and Washington, DC. This regional attention is understandable to a certain extent, as much early preservation took place in the area. Early activities such as the 1858 preservation of George Washington's Mount Vernon by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, the 1908 restoration and subsequent opening of the Paul Revere House, and the establishment of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities by William Sumner Appleton Jr. in 1910 are all significant in the history of American preservation. Such early projects occurred surrounding the 1876 Centennial of the founding of the United States of America, which was not coincidental.

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14. Cary Carson, "The End of History Museums: What's Plan B?" *The Public Historian* 30, no. 4 (Fall 2008), 12.
15. This study focuses on preservation activity in the Midwest in the context of the East Coast-based dominant narrative of American preservation, though preservation advocacy and projects are widespread throughout the country. While projects in the southern and western regions of the United States are not addressed herein for the purposes of this study, the argument for studies of preservation based in regional socio-economic development is worth attention on a broader scale in future scholarly work.

The Centennial of the United States coincided with an era of increasing socio-economic and ethnic diversification of the country, due to both technological innovation as well as a surge in immigration. Industrialization precipitated the rise of the modern capitalist economic system, which for the first time, created opportunities for those savvy in business to elevate themselves in wealth and status, breaking the traditionally impenetrable divide between the upper classes and the lower.

Given such a turbulent context at the end of the nineteenth century, the promotion of patriotism during the Centennial produced the Colonial Revival cultural movement. The era is generally recognized in architectural scholarship as the period in which Georgian and Neoclassical forms were embraced in architecture, decorative arts, and landscape design.[16] Yet the Colonial Revival signified more than simple trends of the time, it asserted the dominance of the white, Anglo-American, Protestant social structure that was in place until the diversification of the late nineteenth century. The formation of historical and genealogical organizations, including historic house museums, sought to define a dominant history of America that was white and upper class. This created a climate of exclusion in which only those born to a lineage based in the United States for a certain period of time could be called "true" Americans. In this way, patriotism and acts of preservation functioned as a form of ancestor worship and nostalgia performance. The narrative of preservation in the Midwestern region is entirely different, and in fact is

16. Karal Ann Marling, *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876-1986* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); William Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival* (New York: Garland, 1977); and Noah Sheldon and Richard Guy Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2004) provide an overview of the Colonial Revival movement in architecture and culture.

based primarily in the very period of industrialization of American history that East Coast preservationists rejected.

**Before and After the Rust Belt: Three Cases**

The American development of the Midwest commences in the nineteenth century, and solidifies with the mid-century spread of industrialism and the rise of manufacturing.[17] The populations of the Midwestern region, consisting of those very same immigrant populations spurned by East Coast elitists, embraced manufacturing and technology for the economic benefits and opportunities provided in such work for all involved, not just the highest class. By the turn of the twentieth century, the upper class in the Midwest included not just those who were born wealthy but also those of entrepreneurial spirit and savvy who achieved social prominence. Many of these well-to-do individuals did not have names found in the social registers of the East Coast, nor would they be welcome in the historical organizations that had arisen to promote and preserve the ancestry of white, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial society. Rather, these individuals were self-made, earning their fortunes rather than inheriting them, and owed their success to the economic and social developments that alarmed the traditional East Coast elite.

This regionalism is integral in the rise of an upper class that built magnificent homes as showcases for their earned wealth at the end of the nineteenth century. It is also vital to our understanding of the sites preserved, and their subsequent trajectory as

17. The National Park Service Midwestern Region serves Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. See the National Park Service: Midwestern Region Office: https://www.nps.gov/nhl/contact/mwro/MWRO_NHL_Map.jpeg.

historic house museums. Each museum selected for this study was originally commissioned by an entrepreneurial client of wealth and status as a private residence between 1876 (the American Centennial) and 1900, located in the Midwest region of the United States, underwent a period of restoration, and is extant and open to the public as a site for historical interpretation.

The Pabst Mansion, an 1890 German Renaissance Revival Structure located on Grand Avenue in Milwaukee, is the focus of the first chapter. The house was the first collaboration between apprenticeship-trained architect Alfred Charles Clas (1859-1942) and MIT-educated architect and critic George Bowman Ferry (1851-1918), who later designed the Milwaukee Public Library in 1898 and the Wisconsin State Historical Society Building in Madison in 1900. The house was designed for Captain Frederick Pabst (1836-1904), who founded Pabst Brewing Company in 1888.[18] Pabst descendants sold the house in 1908 to the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in Milwaukee, who used the house as the home of the archbishop of Milwaukee for the next sixty years. Facing demolition in 1975, the mansion became a community preservation project, opening to the public in 1978 and officially achieving National Historic Landmark status in 1979. Since then, a small full-time paid staff has maintained the Mansion, and a dedicated cohort of volunteers contributes to regular tours, site maintenance, and management of the collections, much of which is original to the site and has been donated by Pabst family members. Of the three sites, the Pabst Mansion tells the most common preservation story: a grand site that fell into disrepair, was saved and has since been

18. Pabst was the third owner of the brewery, which was built in 1844 as the Empire Brewery and later became Best & Company; it was sold by Jacob Best to Pabst in 1888.

maintained by a handful of staff and ongoing community efforts. The chapter provides an argument for diversification of funding streams, a strong understanding of community participation, and the importance of strategic planning aligned with the mission of an organization.

The second chapter is dedicated to the 1883 Samuel Nickerson House, also called the Marble Palace, located just off the Magnificent Mile in Chicago, Illinois, and now known as the Richard Driehaus Museum. Scholars consider architect Edward Burling (1819-1892), who designed the house for Samuel Nickerson (1830-1914), to be one of the first professional architects in the Windy City.[19] He was best known for his design of the First National Bank building, of which Nickerson became president in 1867. Burling was commissioned in 1879 to create Nickerson's home along with his junior partner, the University of Göttingen-trained Francis Meredith Whitehouse (1848-1938). A number of highly skilled craftsmen under Burling's direction achieved an impressive level of detail and elaborate decoration. The Renaissance Revival house cost $450,000 to build and was the largest private residence in Chicago, according to an 1879 *Chicago Tribune* article.[20] Following his move to Massachusetts in 1900, Nickerson sold the house to Lucius George Fisher, who died in 1916. In 1919, one hundred Chicagoans pooled funds to purchase the house for the American College of Surgeons, which ultimately relocated in 1965 but retained ownership of the property and leased it to a variety of tenants. Richard

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19. David Garrard Lowe, *Lost Chicago* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1975). Archival materials related to Burling's architectural work in Chicago can be found in the Ryerson & Burnham Archival Image Collection, Art Institute of Chicago Archives, and the Chicago History Museum.
20. "Something New in Houses – A Fire-Proof Residence," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 27, 1879.

Driehaus, a wealthy investment advisor, purchased the site in 2003. Following an extensive period of (Driehaus-funded) restoration from 2003 to 2008, the mansion opened to the public as the Richard H. Driehaus Museum. The Museum serves as an opulent backdrop for Driehaus's personal collection of decorative arts and thus serves the purpose of promoting the Driehaus collection. The Driehaus Museum is the philanthropic endeavor of a single individual. While the Museum is a tax-exempt organization operated for educational purposes, and ostensibly via public support, the financial contributions of Driehaus allows for opulent decoration, upscale private rental events, and expensive projects such as self-published full-color, hardcover books on exhibitions and the history of the restoration. The mode of house management, in which the preservation of a structure is privately funded, provides an avenue for discussion of the benefits and challenges of single-funder preservation, the role of the founder-collector, and the necessity of post-benefactor financial and administrative planning.

From 1888 to 1890, St. Louis-based architect Thomas B. Annan (1839-1904) designed the Cupples Mansion, the topic of the third chapter. Annan is best known for the Second Merchants Exchange Building in downtown St. Louis, designed in 1875 with then-partner Francis D. Lee. Samuel Cupples (1831-1912), a successful businessman in the production and sale of wooden utensils, was a regular patron of Annan following his establishment as an independent architect in 1876.[21] For Cupples's residence in midtown St. Louis, Annan adopted the style of Henry Hobson Richardson, and the house remains one of the few examples of Richardsonian Romanesque architecture in St. Louis, along

21. Cupples funded Annan's construction of the Cook Avenue Methodist Church in 1884 and the Methodist Orphans' Home in 1895, both located in St. Louis.

with Theodore Link's 1894 Union Station. Family members occupied the House until 1919, when they sold it to the Brotherhood of Railroad Telegraphers. Ownership of the house was transferred to St. Louis University in 1946 where it functioned as a student union and a classroom building.[22] Reports of potential demolition circulated in the early 1970s, precipitating intervention by Professor Father Maurice McNamee who spearheaded preservation efforts. Today, the house serves as a gallery for the University's collection of early twentieth-century decorative arts. The history of the Cupples House provides for a discussion of the institutional intervention in the history of a site, both potential destruction and preservation, and the dual role the House serves as both home of Samuel Cupples and university art gallery. While institutional support may prove generous initially, museums stewarded by non-museum parent organizations must advocate for resource allocation and adequate administrative funding, needs that are often threatened by competing interests.

**The Life Cycle of Urban Midwestern Historic House Museums**

This case study-based approach calls for pertinent discussions of greater issues, such as the history of each city and its urban development, the rise of the Gilded Age and enterprise, and relevant business, economic, and consumer history. Unlike sites chosen for early preservation of the East Coast that valorized colonial history and saluted the forefathers of America, many, if not most, of the sites in the Midwest honor the rise of industrialism and the era during which the manufacturing economy was dominant, a span

22. Deserving of further research is the as yet-unsubstantiated claim that Cupples, an ardent Methodist, specifically stated in his will that the house was never to fall into the hands of the Jesuit St. Louis University; if it was to be acquired by a college, Washington University in St. Louis would have been his choice.

of approximately 100 years, between 1870 and 1970. After 1970 and the rise of the service economy, much of the industry that had propelled the Midwestern economy shut down, and the economy suffered.

As this study illustrates, many urban Midwestern house museums follow a life cycle, a pattern that precedes and follows the period of preservation. Each museum began as a residence designed and constructed in the late nineteenth century. Following its domestic use by the initial resident, ownership was transferred to an institution in the early twentieth century. In the era of changing domestic culture, American upper classes downsized from the massive residences reliant upon live-in staffs to smaller — though no less opulent — and more manageable homes. The grand residences of even thirty years prior were outmoded and such properties, while not appealing to individuals, were suited to the needs of businesses and institutions. Each site in this study faced a period of adaptive reuse as offices. The structures were not viewed as historically relevant, but were perceived as functional space to be simply maintained. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 formalized avenues for historic designation at a time when preservation activity and advocacy formed in reaction to the urban development of the time, much of which physically destroyed undesignated properties of historic significance.[23] This was a transitional time for the Midwest, as local urban economies suffered when the manufacturing industry declined. Though a national trend, the waning

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23. See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1961), Frederick Gibberd, *Town Design* (London: The Architectural Press, 1955), Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, France, 1780-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), and William Hollingsworth White, *The Last Landscape* (New York: Doubleday, 1968) for additional history of urban planning.

of the industrial economy greatly impacted the built environment of Midwestern cities, sprawling urban centers that over the preceding century had become centers of manufacturing. As these centers of production declined, the urban landscape deteriorated, and properties were abandoned or razed for lack of an alternative.

The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act came at an opportune moment for the rapidly devolving urban climate of the Midwest. As collective consciousness grew to save buildings of architectural and cultural significance, as is the case with the three sites discussed in this study, structures were saved, restored, and opened to the public. Grand residences in the Midwest, of which these three sites are examples, were not preserved to assert a culture of ethnic or social superiority — as with much of East Coast preservation — or to document the founding of each city, but rather to serve as emblems of the region's economic success, progress, and prosperity. In this way, Midwestern historic preservation is inextricably linked to its regional identity, as well as to the rise and eventual decline of industrial America. This study of the Pabst Mansion, Driehaus Museum, and Cupples House together serve as a contribution to the dialogue surrounding the preservation movement in the United States, and the importance of regional contextualization.

**Definitions of the Historic House Museum**

The very definition and categorization of what constitutes a "historic house museum" is disputed. The complication and potential misunderstanding of the term is not limited simply to discussions of visitor engagement, and is in fact one that museum professionals have struggled with for decades. In 1993, Sherry Butcher-Younghans presented an initial classification of historic house sites into three broad categories: documentary museums, which showcase the life of a person or place of historical or cultural significance in which the space contains the original objects; representative house museums that illustrate a style, epoch, or way of life in which settings are reconstructed with objects that are not original and potentially of no direct relation to the site; and aesthetic house museums, in which private collections that have nothing to do with the house or its occupants are displayed.[24] This delineation is problematic in a number of ways, not least of all because many historic house museums do not simply fall into one category. For example, the Driehaus Museum and its mixture of original structure, including furnishings, and a wholly separate collection could arguably exemplify every one of Butcher-Younghans proposed subcategories. The complexity begs the question of interpretive boundaries of period or original objects and reproductions that could qualify as inauthentic or misleading.

Professionals at the Genoa Conference in 1997 revisited the topic of the historic house museum and saw the need for further classification.[25] Rosanna Pavoni and Ornella Selvafota presented a taxonomy based on the following subcategories: royal palaces,

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24. Sherry Butcher-Younghans, *Historic House Museums: A Practical Handbook for Their Care, Preservation, & Management* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 36.
25. Rosanna Pavoni and Ornella Selvafolta, "La diversitá delle dimore-museo: opportunitá di una riflessione," in *Abitare la storia*, ed. L. Leonicini and F. Simonett (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1998), 32. In November 1997, a conference of forty historic house museum professionals gathered in Genoa, Italy, to discuss the international state of the historic house museum. The group formally asked the International Council of Museums (ICOM), represented at the conference by ICOM Italia, for an international committee dedicated solely to the work of the historic house museum. In 1998, the ICOM International Committee for Museology of Historic Sites was established. Giovanni Pinna, "Introduction to Historic House Museums," *Museum International* 53, no. 2 (April-June 2001), 4-9 provides information on the conference proceedings.

houses dedicated to illustrious men, houses created for artists, houses dedicated to a specific style or era, collectors' houses, historic houses as a setting for contents, family houses, and houses with a specific socio-cultural identity.[26] With these proposed options, the pendulum swung in the other direction, so to speak, in the direction of specificity. Of course and unsurprisingly, the structure is based upon a European model of historic house museums, many of which are irrelevant to the American sector, such as royal palaces. Additionally, the delineation is not wholly based on tangible qualifications, such as the inclusion or exclusion of original objects. Instead, its segregation is subjectively based on the dominant narrative of the house at any given time, sanctioned by government and/or institutional leaders, which does not easily allow for the presentation of multiple histories.

The United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) provided another formal examination of historic house museums and their unique qualities in 2001.[27] In a discussion of the International Council of Museums-commissioned International Committee for Historic House Museums (DEMHIST), founded in 1998, the Committee concluded that historic house museums constitute a separate category of museums that was newly inclusive.[28] The DEMHIST proposal forwarded the following tenets for qualification as an historic house museum:

1. Compliance with specific museological standards and concerns.

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26. Ibid., 33.
27. United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), "Historic House Museums," *Museum International* 53, no. 2 (2001).
28. DEMHIST is the formal abbreviation of the International Committee for Historic House Museums and is derived from the French term *demeures historiques* (historic houses).

2. The consideration that such museums can be of any scale or means, from humble dwellings to royal palaces.

3. The spaces are used to conserve, exhibit, and reconstruct real atmospheres and places.

4. The recognition that a combination of objects and furnishings may require a corresponding variety of conservation methods.

5. Limited or no possibility of changing the interior space.

6. Recognition of the value placed not on individual objects but on objects in relation to each other and to the house.[29]

The DEMHIST guidelines provided a major step forward in its comprehensive approach to structures and the foundation of conservation and exhibition priorities, highlighting the unique relationship between object and audience singular to historic house museums. Yet the DEMHIST project was only a work in progress and provided no formal register of historic house museums.

Six years later, a subcommittee of DEMHIST convened with the goal of creating categories of historic house museums applicable to all members on a global scale.[30] Perhaps the most valuable function of the subcommittee was its casual use of a simple though apt definition of a house museum, that which "is distinguished from other types of

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29. Adapted from UNESCO, "Historic House Museums," 4.

30. Julius Bryant and Hetty Behrens, "The DEMHIST Categorisation Project for Historic House Museums: Progress Report and Plan," International Council of Museums, 2007, 1, http://demhist.icom.museum/shop/data/container/CategorizationProject.pdf.

architectural museum by its residential function."[31] Furthermore, the group proposed a more effective and pertinent categorization of house museums:

1. Personality houses (writers, artists, musicians, politicians, military heroes, etc.)
2. Collection houses (the former home of a collector or a house now used to show a collection)
3. Houses of Beauty (where the primary reason for a museum is the house as a work of art)
4. Historic event houses (houses that commemorate an event that took place in/by the house)
5. Local society houses (house museums established by a local social cultural facility that may reflect its own identity, rather than for an historic reason)
6. Ancestral homes (country houses and small castles open to the public)
7. Power houses (palaces and large castles open to the public)
8. Clergy houses (monasteries, abbots' houses and other ecclesiastical buildings with a former or current residential use, open to the public)
9. Humble homes (vernacular buildings such as modest farms valued as reflecting a lost way of life and/or building construction).[32]

Though there have been no updates provided on the categorization project since 2007, it remains the best standard for discussions of historic house museums. It allows for overlap between categories and does not overstate one subtype over another, allowing for

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 1–2.

the inclusion of sites small in size and stature. For the purposes of this study, all sites discussed are understood to function as historic house museums. To see the definition presented by DEMHIST is to provide support for such a designation, even though it may not be preferable to the staffs of the sites themselves. For the purposes of this research, I define historic house museums as formally incorporated, tax-exempt educational institutions that function for the purposes of historical interpretation that are housed in structured that were originally designed and used as domestic spaces. The definition of the historic house museum and the affiliation of the different cases presented in this study offer an introduction to the struggle many house administrators face to define the house museum in relation to the public, a donor base, and institutional stewards.

**Conclusion**

Both as a valuable topic of intellectual study and worthy participant in the American and international arts sector, historic house museums warrant a new reading. Dynamic conversations regarding interpretation, audience development, and preservation methodology have been in place for decades. Yet arguably more essential to the sites are their formalization as tax-exempt nonprofit organizations, and such sites must be managed according to best practices and in such a way that honors their mission while ensuring their sustainability. As long as fundamental operating support is solicited from earned and contributed sources, as is the case for all nonprofit organizations, the advancement of our understanding regarding how these funds are allocated in relation to stewardship models, funding paradigms, and the communities they serve is vital.

In this study, we will observe a number of themes. Preservation is only one component of the existence of a historic site and to give a house museum proper attention is to examine their current operation and discuss solvency. Regionalism, as motivator for preservation and a tool for success, is pertinent to the construction, preservation, and mission of house museums. Moreover, those sites based in the Midwest are emblematic not of discrete ethnic ancestry but of a collective era of prosperity. Sites tend to follow a pattern of domestication, institutional adaptive re-use, preservation, and operation. Finally, the stewardship and funding of historic sites define their future, and are intrinsically linked to their donors, mission, and administration.

The central argument of this project is that scholarly researchers should embrace the "story" of cultural sites beyond that of successful preservation and interpretive potential, but rather as opportunities to better comprehend their relationship to their constituents via analysis of each site's history, operation, and oversight. This study questions current assumptions regarding historic house museums: that they are quaint and un-professionalized, and make an unremarkable contribution to our scholarly understanding of public history and museums. Instead, I assert that historic house museums are complex institutions that provoke professional and academic inquiry and evaluation of the professionalism, management, and very definition of these sites. This study raises valuable questions of ideology, arts management, and how to institute a better dialogue between museum professionals, academics, and the public that more fully communicates shared concepts, priorities, and needs. Ultimately, this study utilizes case study analyses to provide the impetus for further examination into the role of historic house museums in discussions of history, museums, nonprofit management, and American culture.

# CHAPTER ONE

## The Pabst Mansion: The Historic House Museum and Its Community

Community patronage and funding comprise the most common and well-understood model of historic house management. Long before crowdsourcing as a form of support was found online, historic houses and other preservation projects of local significance sought support from members of the community, including financial support from residents and businesses, as well as municipal backing from lawmakers. The community model of funding of, and advocacy for, historic house museums is reliant upon a strong relationship with local community members, and essentializes the engagement of a regional community with its history and heritage. In this chapter, I offer the Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion as an example of a model of sustained community support for preservation through operation as a non-profit and mission-based organization.

Imperative to keep in mind, and as I argue in this chapter, community engagement is not a singular transaction that takes place during the preservation period of the museum, but must be fostered to ensure continuation into the operational phase as well. The organization of a group of citizens in the advocacy to save a historic structure is the dominant means by which preservation is enacted; in this chapter, we observe that such assembly can positively impact the site for decades after preservation as well. Furthermore, regional identity and community participation is necessary for any historic house museum to enjoy success in preservation and perseverance as a cultural site open to the public and dependent upon proceeds received via earned and contributed income streams.

The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, benefits from such a support structure. Milwaukee has a self-cultivated affiliation with the beer industry that is based in the nineteenth-century influx of German immigrants and the skills many brought with them in the brewing of beer in the traditional European style. That early brewing activity and its subsequent economic impact on the national industry has since evolved into an ideological construct of Milwaukee as "brew city," one that is embraced on a citywide scale and acknowledged internationally. Speaking of the Pabst Mansion, Sarah Kimball, former Wisconsin Heritages, Inc. (WHI) president said in 1999: "This is the nexus of what Milwaukee represents to the rest of the world. It was built by one of the founders of our brewing industry. It's a glimpse into a way of life, a kind of craftsmanship, we could never duplicate."[33] As a site representative of Milwaukee's identification with the brewing industry, the Pabst Mansion embraces such a distinction to foster its programmatic and financial relationship with the citizens, businesses, and municipality of Milwaukee in order to build a foundation of community support.

## Historic House Museums After the Recession

Especially relevant to a discussion of community funding of historic sites is the impact of widespread economic decline, as happened in the 2009 American recession.[34]

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33. Whitney Gould, "Mansion's 'Rebirth' a Work in Progress," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, March 22, 1999.
34. The recession, as understood for the purposes of this study, officially began in the third quarter of 2008 and concluded in the second quarter of 2009. For the sake of ease, I will refer to it as the 2009 recession. The sources for this data period is from the Office of National Statistics,

Many tourist destinations, whether nonprofit or commercial, experienced a decline in visitation as many consumers viewed leisure activities and expenses as discretionary and fiscally irresponsible during an economic downturn. Local tourism, however, including historic sites and smaller museums and other arts organizations, actually experienced a surge of activity during the recession and in the years directly following it.[35] Travelers recognize that local tourism, including heritage sites such as the Pabst Mansion and other house museums, is more cost efficient than long trips that require expensive transcontinental air travel. Between 2008 and 2010, the demand for international travel to European countries shrank, and some hotels even dropped the word "resort" from their names to distance themselves from public backlash against luxury travel.[36] Meanwhile, there was a stabilization or increase in North American travel to Mexico, Canada, and within the United States. Smaller historical sites, such as the Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, benefitted and continue to benefit from increased traffic caused by this upsurge.

Recent studies and articles published between 2010 and 2015 have explored facets of the increased activity in local travel during periods of economic decline.[37] Professor of Hospitality Management at California State University, Long Beach, Yun-ying Zhong spearheaded a study that utilized the input-output model of economics to

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"Gross Domestic Product Quarter on Quarter Growth," *Office of National Statistics* (London), July 1, 2016.

35. Yun-Ying Zhong, et al., "Quantifying the Impacts of the 2007 Economic Crisis on a Local Tourism Industry and Economy," *FIU Hospitality Review* 31, no. 1 (May 2013): 2

36. Ibid.

37. See J. R. Brent Ritchie, Carlos Mario Amaya Molinar, Douglas C. Frechtling, "Impacts of the World Recession and Economic Crisis on Tourism: North America," *Journal of Travel Research* 49, no. 1 (2010). Ritchie, Molinar and Frechtling determine "local" travel as that within a specific region of the continent such as Canadian provinces or American regions (East Coast, Southeast, Midwest, etc.).

illustrate that as the national GDP fell, so did the rate of travel to Asian and European countries.[38] Simultaneously, American domestic travel to metropolitan Orlando remained stable and increasingly profitable.[39] While certain sectors such as construction and that of finance and insurance experienced decreased activity by $520 million and $370 million respectively, Orlando experienced a growth of $1.98 billion in the area of arts, entertainment, and recreation, as well as accommodations and food service.[40] Furthermore, the arts and entertainment sector actually increased its number of employees, while industries of capital development and financial management decreased. While infrastructural development slows during a time of economic instability, as does international travel that can be viewed as exorbitant, domestic travel destinations can benefit from reduced recreational budgets. The study also notes that while financial and development industries are interdependent and thus more vulnerable to market inconsistencies, arts organizations are somewhat self-contained, and the decline in other industries has a minimal negative impact.[41]

In relation to the recession, it is only as late as 2015, roughly six years after the conclusion of the recession, that tourism figures can be analyzed. As residents remained

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38. In economics, the input-output model is a quantitative analytical tool that measures the interdependencies of different sectors of a regional or national economy. The San José State University Department of Economics provides a basic overview online. Thayer Watkins, "Input-Output Analysis and Related Methods," San José State University Department of Economics, http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/inputoutput.htm.
39. Zhong, "Quantifying the Impacts."
40. Ibid., 4.
41. Ibid., 8. While contributed income is presumed to reflect any economic downturn, this data is in reference to the concept presented in the aforementioned input-output model of analysis. For instance, a decrease in real estate development will have a direct impact on a number of industries such as construction and financial management, while there is no direct corollary to the arts industry.

closer to home during the recession of 2009, eschewing expensive distant travel in order to patronize local sites and other more financially viable leisure activities, the local economies benefitted. Journalist Scott McLeod of North Carolina's *Smoky Mountain News* wrote in September 2015 of recession and post-recession increases in tourism to the Smoky Mountain area.[42] As municipal governments avoided recession-era capital investments, and instead funded the tourism and arts industries, visitors flocked to the region.[43] The influx of visitors resulted in new jobs, residential tax savings, and tax revenue from accommodations and food service taxes levied on the vacationers. McLeod quotes Adam Sacks, an economist specializing in leisure and tourism, who explains, "attracting visitors who discover the quality of life amenities in a community often leads to investment in other sectors."[44] While many may assume that capital expenditures, such as large-scale construction, are the effective method for increasing employment and earning potential, investment in the arts and other visitor-focused activities can prove just as essential for short- and long-term benefits.

Paralleling the trajectory of the Smoky Mountain Region and echoing a point made by Zhong, a report by Robert F. Salvino about South Carolina indicates the resilience of the arts during an economic decline.[45] By 2011, South Carolina was at 95% of its pre-recession tourism and entertainment activity, while the construction and development sector was only at 70% of pre-recession work. Because of the arts and

42. Scott McLeod, "Tourism Figures Point to a Post-Recession Economy," *Smoky Mountain News* (Waynesville), September 2, 2015.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Robert F. Salvino, "The Economic Impact of Tourism on the Grand Strand," BB&T Center for Economic and Community Development (May 2012), ii.

tourism industry's relative autonomy, the sector provides better recovery from a recession or a depression.

Museum professionals understand that the museum business requires stability, as well as strategy and innovation to survive. Old Sturbridge Village, for instance, ended the 2009 fiscal year at a profit for the first time in a decade.[46] Indeed, museums and historic sites were prepared for battle, so to speak, when the recession occurred. The National Trust for Historic Preservation even issued an article entitled, "How Cultural Tourism Organizations Can Beat the Recession," a resource for strategies during times of economic challenge.[47] Audience analysis, leveraging of anniversaries and other celebrations for press coverage, and direct appeals to the local community all were recommended and are tools employed at the Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion.

## The Midwest and the Rise of Industrialism

As discussed in the introduction, industrialization in the late-nineteenth century transformed the United States' economy, population, and culture. Due to increasing diversification and urbanization, as well as the recent 1876 Centennial, domestic architecture reacted to these changes. Colonial Revivalism, especially in New England, was a return to stylistic forms popular in the late seventeenth through early nineteenth centuries, such as Georgian and Neoclassical designs. Many of these designs drew upon English and Western European precedents and identified the buildings' inhabitants with

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46. National Trust for Historic Preservation, "How Cultural Heritage Tourism Organizations Can Beat the Recession," *Preservation Leadership Forum*, accessed November 20, 2015, http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/economics-of-revitalization/heritage-tourism/survival-toolkit/.
47. Ibid.

the "original" populations of the United States.[48] Historic house museums gained popularity as a way to honor early Anglo settlers as true patriots and acted a means to assert the continuing dominance of the ethnic group.

Yet concurrently, Americans embraced the era as one of progress and technological advancement in other areas of the country, including the Midwest. The American economy expanded to include transportation and business opportunities based in the Midwestern portion of the United States. In northern Midwestern states such as Wisconsin, residents understood themselves as being different from people on the eastern seaboard, and their heritage was based broadly in concepts of the pioneer. Though not widely studied academically, the pioneer component of Wisconsin's settlement was, in fact, lionized in state histories following its formal induction as a state in 1848 and continuing into the early twentieth century. Examples of such texts include *A Merry Briton in Pioneer Wisconsin,* written by a traveler known simply as "Morleigh" in 1842 and later published by the Wisconsin State Historical Society; *Rambles in the Enchanted Summer Land of the Great Northwest* published in 1882 by the Chicago and North Western Railway Company; and *The Story of the States: The Story of Wisconsin* and *Wisconsin: the Americanization of a French Settlement* both by Reuben Gold Thwaites and published respectively in 1891 and 1908.[49] These narratives focused on the evolution

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48. Joseph A. Conforti, *Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 203.
49. Morleigh. *A Merry Briton in Pioneer Wisconsin* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1950); *Rambles in the Enchanted Summer Land of the Great Northwest* (Chicago: Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, 1882); Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Story of the States: The Story of Wisconsin* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1891); Ibid., *Wisconsin:*

of the area from wilderness to civilization, and the inhabitation of Wisconsin by settlers of ingenuity, ambition, steadfastness, and curiosity.[50]

Such characteristics of a pioneer settler paralleled those essentialized in successful immigrant entrepreneurs of the late nineteenth century who were pioneers in their own right, navigating the new industrialized economy in America and heralding the advent of a new economic era. These figures, such as Frederick Pabst, embraced architecture as a practice that physically expressed the advance of culture and technology. Indeed, Milwaukee-based architect George B. Ferry explained "modern communities mark their advance from pioneer stage to culture by developing from the purely utilitarian to the beautiful and graceful."[51] The Pabst Mansion exemplifies late nineteenth-century socioeconomic development in Milwaukee, its history and current operation based on strong ethnic heritage, a regionally identified industry, and community integration and participation.

**Milwaukee: A Nineteenth-Century Boomtown**

The first settlers in southeastern Wisconsin were French Catholic missionaries, and the earliest economy was the fur trade between the French and native populations. Agriculture became important in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[52] In 1846

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*The Americanization of a French Settlement* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908).

50. Though the area of Milwaukee was urbanized by predominantly German settlers by the end of the nineteenth century, the state of Wisconsin, including the southeastern portion where Milwaukee would eventually grow to be, was settled by an array of ethnic groups, including French, Norwegian, and Irish populations, who emigrated to Wisconsin beginning in the late eighteenth century.

51. George Lounsbury, "The Architect—His Work and Mission," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 17, 1887.

52. Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), 52.

Milwaukee was incorporated, and its population grew to include a high percentage of immigrants, the majority Germans.[53] While the area was originally agricultural, that changed in the latter part of the century. In 1873, two of three Wisconsinites lived on a farm and fewer than 20 percent resided in an urban setting; by 1893, the rural population had increased one third and the urban population tripled.[54] Both farming and lumber industries benefited from technological advancements such as mechanization, and were increasingly commercialized and capitalized.

By the 1870s, transportation growth had driven business westward from the East. Unlike more southern areas such as Chicago, waterway development did not prosper in Wisconsin as the rivers were too shallow to allow for reasonable excavation of their sedimentary bottoms.[55] Railways, however, became successful in both Wisconsin and Minnesota. Rail lines had been planned previously, but stopped when the Panic of 1857 halted production. By 1870, two lines had resumed construction and controlled almost all Wisconsin rails: the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Line (CM&StP) and the Chicago and North Western Line (C&NW). This development served to monopolize Wisconsin political and economic power until 1900 and to centralize business activity in Milwaukee, where CM&StP president and Marine Fire and Insurance Company president Alexander Mitchell was based.[56] Nearby areas of early industrial development such as Chicago and

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53. Ibid., 79.
54. Robert C. Nesbit, *The History of Wisconsin Volume II: Urbanization and Industrialization, 1873–1893* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1985), 1–2. This data specifies an urban population as one of 2,500 inhabitants or more in 1893.
55. Ibid., 89.
56. Though ostensibly an insurance company, the Marine Fire and Insurance Company is widely considered Milwaukee's first bank. It printed its own money and, according to Mitchell's

Michigan benefited Milwaukee, as did its Lake Michigan port that provided access to resources not readily accessible in Wisconsin such as coal and ore.

Serving as a geographical and economic locus of activity at the edge of Lake Michigan, Milwaukee enjoyed a period of booming development between 1875 and 1900. The agricultural base continued to flourish as other sectors, such as milling and meatpacking, contributed to the growing economy. Yet the prominent German population instigated much of the new business of the time. Germans not only controlled flour milling in the area, they also had a stronghold in the leather tanning and currying, foundries, and machinery manufacturing businesses. Germans similarly contributed to the malting and brewing industries.

Many German immigrants had received professional brewery training in the European tradition before relocation to the United States.[57] An influx of Germans to Milwaukee followed the 1848 revolutionary volatility in Germany, and by 1900, the city was approximately 72 percent German.[58] Their presence greatly impacted the architectural character and culture of the city, as noted by Captain Willard Glazier in his 1884 book, *Peculiarities of American Cities*:

> No one who visits Milwaukee can fail to be struck with the semi-foreign appearance of the city. Breweries are multiplied throughout the streets, lager beer saloons abound, beer gardens, with their flowers and music and tree or arbor-shaded tables, attract the tired and thirsty in various quarters. German music halls, Gasthausen, and restaurants are found everywhere,

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granddaughter Ruth Mitchell, "the Mitchell bank was the only one in the middle West which paid 100 cents on every dollar" during the financial panics of 1857 and 1873, as well as the crash of 1893. Ruth Mitchell, *My Brother Billy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1953), 13.

57. Still, *The History of a City*, 331.

58. H. Russell Zimmerman, *Magnificent Milwaukee: Architectural Treasures 1850–1920* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1987), 89.

> and German signs are manifest over many doors. One hears German spoken upon the streets quite as often as English.[59]

Milwaukee prided itself on being a "German Athens," a significant center of German culture in America, and served as the center for German heritage economies, such as sausage-making and traditional European brewing.[60]

Brewing in Milwaukee realized spectacular growth and was the city's principal industry by 1890, largely due to Milwaukee's proximity to other cities with large German populations like Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul.[61] Though breweries such as Minneapolis's Yoerg Brewery (established 1870) and Chicago's Schoenhofen Brewery (established in 1878) served a number of Midwestern cities, Milwaukee-based breweries were able to supply regional demand and make sizeable profits given the short distance to these hubs of German settlement. So immediately lucrative did brewing prove, in fact, that many of the early banks in Milwaukee were funded with support from individuals associated with the industry, such as Valentine Blatz, Joseph Schlitz, and Frederick Pabst.

**The Story of Pabst: The Man and the Company**

Born in Nicholausreith, Germany to a family of farmers, Frederick Pabst and his parents emigrated from rural Germany to Chicago in 1848, when Pabst was 12.[62] He

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59. Ibid.
60. Peter C. Merrill, *German-American Urban Culture: Writers & Theaters in Early Milwaukee* (Madison: Studies of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2000), 96. The Wisconsin area was popular among German immigrants for its expanse of farmland, in short supply in Germany due to a population surge as well as *realerbteilungsrecht*, the partitioning of property to all heirs rather than a single heir, which led to land shortages. See Kathleen N. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).
61. Nesbit, *The History of Wisconsin*, 159.
62. Neither Nicholasreith nor its state, Thuringen, are on modern maps of Germany. The area was historically part of modern-day Saxony and located in the westernmost area of Germany.

spent his early years working as a busboy in hotels and restaurants and at fourteen, served as a cabin boy on a steamer that serviced Chicago, Two Rivers, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee. After he obtained his maritime pilot's license, Pabst became a steamer captain and in this role became acquainted with frequent passenger Phillip Best and his daughter, Maria. Jacob Best, Phillip's father, had started Milwaukee's first brewing company in 1844 after emigrating from Rhinelander, Germany, where the family had enjoyed a life of means.[63] Their fortune grew with the brewing endeavor, and Phillip Best inherited the business, which he renamed the Phillip Best Brewing Company. Frederick Pabst and Maria Best were married in 1862 and following the pair's minor injuries in a violent steamer wreck in 1863, Pabst's father-in-law insisted the pair move to Milwaukee, and Pabst joined the family business.[64]

In 1864, Pabst purchased a half interest in Best Brewing and in 1866 Best's other son-in-law Emil Schandein, a Bavarian immigrant, purchased the other half. With his company fully in the hands of his sons-in-law, Best retired, and in 1866 with two years of experience, Frederick Pabst became the president of the Phillip Best Brewing Company.[65]

Pabst and Schandein proved to be an effective team. Schandein was skilled in sales and Pabst in logistics, and both were attuned to the operational needs of the business while sharing a goal of national distribution. In 1873, the two incorporated the company

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63. The second major Milwaukee-based brewery, Miller Brewing Company, was established in 1855. Other early breweries in the state include Minhas Craft Brewery in Monroe (1845), Potosi Brewery in Potosi (1852), and Stevens Point Brewery in Stevens Point (1857).
64. John Eastberg, "Frederick Pabst: From Sea Captain to Beer Baron," Max Kade Institute Friends Newsletter 16, no. 2 (Summer 2007), 1.
65. Ibid.

as a partnership with capital of $300,000 and set the business on an upward trajectory for the next fifteen years. Following Schandein's death in 1888, Pabst renamed the business to reflect his sole ownership: the Pabst Brewing Company. By 1889, the company had grown to such an extent that it could advertise itself as "the largest lager beer brewery in the world."[66] In 1890, it was valued at $10 million and the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Jana Weiss has described the firm as "the epitome of a successful national shipping brewery.[67]

Frederick Pabst's success as a businessmen and his vast wealth were widely recognized by the 1890s — known in Milwaukee as the "Pabst Decade" for his popularity and presence.[68] Along with brewers such as Frederick Miller, Joseph Schlitz, and many others, Pabst established Milwaukee as the center of world beer production. The brewers' establishments were not limited to the breweries themselves but extended to beer gardens, saloons, and restaurants, all of which comprised the "relaxation and entertainment" industry, as it was then known [fig. 1.1].[69] Each had various "tied houses," which were taverns sponsored by single breweries; the Pabst Brewing Company had approximately 600 nationwide.[70] Frederick Pabst himself was also active in real

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66. Zimmerman, *Magnificent Milwaukee*, 89. Zimmerman cites Thomas C. Cochran, *The Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business* (New York: New York University Press, 1948).
67. Jana Weiss, "Frederick Pabst," in William J Hausman, ed., *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute). Available from http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=25.
68. John C. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion: An Illustrated History* (Milwaukee, WI: The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Inc., 2009), 47. See Hannah Heidi Levy, *Famous Wisconsin Artists and Architects* (Madison, WI: Badger Books, 2003), 247.
69. Jennifer Watson Schumacher, *German Milwaukee* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 71.
70. Ibid., 106.

estate development and established hotels and restaurants in areas such as Chicago, San Francisco, and New York, where he built Pabst Harlem Music Hall and Restaurant, advertised at the time as the largest restaurant in the world [fig 1.2].[71] Not only was his foray into real estate a savvy method of diversifying his portfolio but the methodical placement of Pabst restaurants and taverns throughout the country offered an opportunity to generate interest in Pabst by increasing exposure to the brand.

As one of Milwaukee's wealthiest residents, Pabst considered it his duty to participate in the city's arts and business communities, and to develop capital projects to benefit the local area. Pabst commissioned Solon Spencer Beman of Chicago to design the Pabst Building, which housed the Brewery's corporate offices and was the tallest building in Milwaukee at sixteen stories upon its completion in 1891 [fig. 1.3].[72] This building also housed the Wisconsin National Bank, of which Pabst served as the first president in 1892. Perhaps the most popular location Pabst developed in the Milwaukee area was the Pabst Whitefish Bay Resort, which operated just north of the city from 1889 until it closed in 1914. The Resort was designed by architect Charles C. Hoffman and

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71. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion,* 179. The Pabst Harlem Music Hall and Restaurant was located at 241 West 124th Street in Harlem, near the active 125th Street corridor, and was designed to increased Pabst's brand visibility in New York, where he had already established two restaurants. The building was demolished in 1930. See Brenda Magee, *Brewing in Milwaukee* (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 80-81.
72. Solon Spencer Beman (1853-1914) was born in New York and trained formally under Richard Upjohn. He began is own practice in 1877 and in 1879, designed the company town of Pullman in Chicago for American engineer George Pullman. He designed a number of residential commissions for Chicago industrialists such as Marshall Field, Jr. in 1884 and W.W. Kimball in 1890, as well as civic projects such as the Studebaker Fine Arts Building in 1884 and several buildings for the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. For the Pabst corporate offices, Pabst's choice of Beman showed his interest in creating a national business identity that could compete with those in Chicago.

served as a site for leisure activities such as dinners, concerts, and amusement attractions like a Ferris wheel and a merry-go-round [fig. 1.4].[73]

Pabst also actively patronized the arts. He served as the director of the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition Association, which promoted Milwaukee's industries and encouraged appreciation of the arts through an annual fine art exhibition, to which Pabst regularly contributed financial support.[74] In 1895, Pabst purchased the Grand Opera House and hired architect Otto Strack to oversee a massive renovation of the site into a German Renaissance Revival opera house (including interior murals by Weimar art school-trained artists Otto von Ernst and Carl Gehrts), which reopened as the Pabst Theater that same year [fig. 1.5].[75] Pabst supported the Layton Art Collection (the

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73. Schumacher, *German Milwaukee*, 105. Little is known of the construction by the architect Charles C. Hoffman of the Pabst Whitefish Bay Resort, and Schumacher alone cites him by name. Situated just north of the city and on the shore of Lake Michigan, the Pabst Whitefish Bay resort was well known for its idyllic surroundings and available leisure activities. As discussed in C.N. Caspar's 1904 *Guide to the City of Milwaukee (Sixth Edition)*, "Prospect Avenue and Lake Drive – so called from their locations along the edge of the grass-covered bluff – following the lake, turning slightly to the right, becomes one of the most beautiful drives of our great country, following the shore for over five miles, giving glimpses through the trees of the limpid water and by turns embowered by the great arching oaks and elms, passing through Lake Park leads to what is known as the Pabst Whitefish Bay Resort. Resting on the bluff, its site admirably chosen at the very center of a deep, perfectly semi-circular, sweeping bay, upon the grassy bank over a hundred feet above the surface of the water, and shaded by a grove of arching trees, is the pavilion building. It is accessible primarily by the broad and perfect highway already described, by electric cars, the railroad, and by steamer. During the summer season daily concerts are given by a celebrated band, and rarely do strangers come to Milwaukee who do not spend at least an afternoon or evening at this famous place." The resort closed after the 1913 season and was sold in parcels for residential development. For a discussion of the development of leisure activities and the rise of mass culture, particularly associated with beach-going, see John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978).
74. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 148.
75. Merrill, *German-American Urban Culture*, 86. Otto Strack (1857-1935), originally based in Chicago, was a self-employed architect who moved to Milwaukee in 1888 to take a position as the supervising architect for Pabst Brewing Company. He oversaw the construction of the Pabst Building by Solon S. Beman in 1891. Though he left Pabst's employ in the early 1890s, the

predecessor to the Milwaukee Art Museum), contributing funds and works of art, and patronized local artists such as Richard Lorenz and Carl von Marr.

**The Pabst Mansion: Laying the Foundation**

As Frederick Pabst grew more successful and illustrious, he desired a residence that would reflect his place in society. Pabst consciously chose as the location for his house Milwaukee's Grand Avenue, which had been known until 1876 as Spring Street. As the lots along this thoroughfare were developed by an increasingly diverse group of Milwaukee's elite, the name was changed to Grand Avenue to reflect the departure of its previously predominantly Anglo-American inhabitants.[76] To cement his social status, Pabst chose to build on Grand Avenue rather than in the nearby Highland Avenue area, which contained so many wealthy Germans that it was known as "Sauerkraut Row." As historians M. Caren Connolly and Louis Wasserman explain, "being German was important to Pabst, but being successful was more important."[77] The only potential rival to Grand Avenue's opulence was Prospect Avenue, where mansions were situated on compact lots; by comparison, Grand Avenue mansions sat on large, pastoral properties. Between 1876 and 1905, the Grand Avenue area underwent a building boom and an

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support of Pabst for this Milwaukee-based architect of German descent was obvious when Strack was commissioned to design the Pabst Theater in 1895. The inclusion of Weinar-trained Otto von Ernst(1853-1925) and German immigrant Carl Gehrts (1853-1898), both professors at the Milwaukee Art School, in the Pabst Theater project, as well as Pabst's patronage of founding members of the Society of Milwaukee Artists Richard Lorenz (1858-1915), a German immigrant, and Carl von Marr (1858-1936), a first generation German American, illustrated Pabst's commitment to supporting German immigrants and the development of the arts in Milwaukee. Notably, artist Otto von Ernst went on to marry Pabst's daughter Elizabeth in 1889.

76. M. Caren Connolly and Louis Wasserman, *Wisconsin's Own: Twenty Remarkable Homes* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2010), 139. The street underwent a second (and as of 2017, final) name change in 1926 to Wisconsin Avenue.

77. Ibid., 140. For a broader overview of this genre of street, see Jan Cigliano, *The Grand American Avenue 1850-1900* (Washington, DC: Octagon, 1994).

estimated sixty mansions were constructed, most in variations of the eclectic Victorian style, and the thoroughfare served as an important venue for self-made entrepreneurs such as Pabst to demonstrate their status among the elite.[78]

**The Architectural Firm of Ferry & Clas[79]**

Following his purchase of the property, Pabst immediately hired the new Milwaukee-based firm of Ferry & Clas for their first joint commission. George Bowman Ferry was an 1872 graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who moved to Milwaukee in 1881, and was already established as a society architect, catering to the upper classes. He was highly regarded for his formal education, understanding of historical decorative elements, and academic style in the Beaux Arts tradition. He was a founding member of the Wisconsin chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and assisted in the creation of AIA bylaws.[80] For two years he served in the firm of Henry C. Koch, one of the city's most prominent architects, and in 1883 formed a small practice by himself [fig. 1.6]. Early Ferry commissions include the 1883 George M. Peck block on

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78. Ibid. Germans maintained a somewhat tenuous position in the social hierarchy because while wealthy, many were first-generation immigrants. While the relationships between the various ethnic groups in a region are relevant to this study, they are tangential. Worth mentioning is that while striving to situate himself in society and serving as a generous benefactor to civic interests, Pabst also acted in such a way that indicated ethnic identification, such as employing solely Germans in the brewery and hiring others, like Polish immigrants, for only the most unskilled labor. For a more detailed discussion, see Gerd Korman, *Industrialization Immigrants and Americanizers: The View from Milwaukee, 1866–1921* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), 66.
79. Frederick Pabst employed a notably high number of architects and artists for both personal and professional commissions. One could surmise that he appreciated offering employment to so many in the area, especially since all contemporary records indicate that he enjoyed positive working relationships with employees and contracted firms, though that is supposition. Of the two major Pabst archives, one located at the Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion and the other, virtually identical archive in Special Collections at the Milwaukee Public Library, little of Pabst's personal correspondence regarding his architectural commissions survives.
80. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 69.

Farwell Avenue, a structure of cream city brick and red brick trim, and the circa-1885 Mrs. Grant Smith residence, a stately English Arts and Crafts style building located on Grand Avenue.[81] Unlike the Smith and Peck projects, both of which have been demolished, the 1887 Athenaeum by Ferry is extant and today functions as the Woman's Club of Wisconsin [fig. 1.7]. Composed of cream city brick façades with limestone trim, the building serves as the clubhouse for the women's organization and is not open to the public. Ferry made no secret of his active pursuit of clients successful in industrial business, for he saw a natural and necessary connection between commerce and art. Ferry believed that as one's wealth grew, so should interest in, and support of, the arts expand. In 1887, he stated, "The aspiring element was implanted in man for some unknown reason…architectural creations are material and permanent in their nature, and therefore persistent in their effect."[82] He reflected that new architectural development would be dependent upon such individuals needing homes that expressed an interest in the arts as well as a place in society.[83]

Alfred Charles Clas, by contrast, was a Wisconsin native, born in Sauk City, and received no formal architectural education. Clas served as an apprentice in the Stockton, California firm of Percy and Hamilton. Upon his return to Wisconsin in the early 1880s, Clas formed a partnership with James Douglas, a Scottish immigrant and builder proficient in residential design. In 1886, Clas founded his own firm, immediately received commissions from wealthy locals, and became known for his designs along

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81. Cream city brick is specific to Wisconsin and comprised of a light yellow or cream colored clay native to the Menomonee River Valley region of Wisconsin.
82. Lounsbury, "The Architect," 1.
83. Ibid.

Prospect Avenue. Like Ferry, Clas favored the Queen Anne and other English architectural styles, but also routinely incorporated Romanesque details into his design vocabulary including massive arches, turrets, and terra cotta ornamentation.[84] As his profile among the Milwaukee elite elevated, he received notable attention from those in the brewing industry. In 1887, Clas earned the contract to build the residence of Charles Best Jr., secretary of the Phillip Best Brewing Company, and in 1889 was hired to design the corporate headquarters of the Schlitz Brewing Company [fig. 1.8].[85] Clas's professional relationship with Pabst is first documented in a commission from Pabst to design a house for his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, as a wedding present in 1889.

Soon after New Year's Day in 1890 and after years of competing for commissions from the same clients in the same area, Ferry and Clas formed their partnership. Ferry contributed his educational pedigree and Clas, his connections to the local client base. Clas had clearly made a positive impression in his design for Elizabeth Pabst's home, as he and Ferry were soon committed to commissions for Oscar Mueller, Pabst's nephew, and a month later, a small addition to the Pabst offices. Such notable commissions early in their partnership led to an extremely active business, with successful designs for the 1893 Steinmeyer and Mathews Brothers Buildings, the Milwaukee Public Library in 1895 [fig. 1.9], the 1905 Northwestern National Insurance building, the 1909 Cudahy Tower, and most notably, the Wisconsin Historical Society building in Madison, which

84. Ibid., 70.
85. Ibid., 71.

was built in 1900 at a cost of $1 million, the most expensive building in Wisconsin at that time [fig. 1.10].[86]

The firm was extremely popular throughout its existence, though the duo's formal association with Germany extended only as far as cultural appreciation.[87] Their identification with Milwaukee's German heritage had taken on almost mythical status by the time of Ferry's death in 1918, when fellow Milwaukee architect Alexander C. Guth published a laudatory obituary in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. In regards to the name of the firm, Guth relates "over a glass of Milwaukee's famous amber fluid served in the Kuenstlerheim, at the west approach of the Oneida (Wells) bridge, the two architects drew lots. Mr. Ferry won the toss and the firm name became Ferry & Clas."[88] Their popularity with German industrialists is most likely due to their familiarity with the Northern European aesthetic, and the desire for German aesthetic forms in the housing of wealthy German residents.[89] Before the principals amicably dissolved their partnership in 1912, the firm drafted over 300 designs and completed more than fifty projects, and employed some of Milwaukee's best residential architects, such as Peter R. Brust and Richard Phillip.[90]

### Pabst Mansion: Construction and Design

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86. Though no definitive archive of the firm of Ferry & Clas exists, archives and photographs that document its work are available in the archives of the Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, the Special Collections of the Milwaukee Public Library, the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the Ryerson and Burnham Archives of the Art Institute of Chicago. George Bowman Ferry's personal papers are held at the Pabst Mansion, donated by his grandson William P. Ferry in 2001.
87. Connolly and Wasserman, *Wisconsin's Own,* 143.
88. Alexander C. Guth, "Milwaukee's Master Architect," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 31, 1918.
89. Megan E. Daniels, *Milwaukee's Early Architecture* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 93.
90. Ibid., 78.

The illustrious career of Ferry & Clas followed an auspicious first commission, one that was lauded as the pair's "crowning domestic work" and "the jewel of Grand Avenue": the Pabst Mansion.[91] In actuality, the house was originally designed to be rather understated, especially given its Grand Avenue location. Mrs. Frederick Pabst's sister's home, for instance, was twice the size, and many others had more obviously overstated style. The house was a contemporary of the work of William Waters, such as Hearthstone, built in Appleton in 1882 [fig. 1.11], and the Havilah Babcock House, constructed in Neenah in 1887. Waters, like Ferry & Clas, was a Wisconsin-based architect who successfully combined historical style with the elegance popular in domestic commissions of the time.[92]

Situated on an expansive lot of just over two acres, the brewer's mansion was convenient to both the Pabst Brewery and the corporate offices in the Pabst Building.[93] Ferry & Clas's plan was finalized by early 1890, and the construction launched in May of that year. The original cost estimate for the project was $75,000. When the 20,000 square foot mansion was completed, its cost — excluding furnishings — exceeded $255,000,

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91. Levy, *Famous Wisconsin Artists and Architects*, 247.
92. Waters (1843-1917) was based in central Wisconsin and worked primarily in Oshkosh. Waters had his own professional relationship with Pabst, having earned the commission for a Pabst distribution center north of Milwaukee in Oshkosh in 1896. Like other breweries and distribution centers in Oshkosh, which had also become popular with the Schlitz brewery as a gateway to northern markets, Prohibition led to the closure of virtually all brewery activity in the area. The Pabst distribution plant was sold in 1925 and subsequent remodeling removed all notable architectural elements. Little scholarship about William Waters exists, though Hearthstone is discussed in Connolly and Wasserman, *Wisconsin's Own,* 145.
93. Ibid., 248. Though not visible from the Mansion, the two bases for Pabst company activity were within close geographical proximity and virtually equidistant to the centrally located Mansion. The Pabst Mansion was built on a lot at 2000 West Wisconsin Avenue (formerly Grand Avenue), exactly 1.7 miles west of the Pabst Building at 100 East Wisconsin Avenue and 1.6 miles southeast of the Pabst Brewery at 901 West Juneau Avenue.

and the grounds included a two-story stable, a greenhouse, and brick servants' quarters on Wells Street, adjacent to the property.[94]

The exterior of the three-story structure is symmetrical and in the German Renaissance Revival style, which was one of the aesthetics popular among European immigrants desiring a design that echoed their European heritage [fig. 1.12].[95] The style gained popularity as a nationalistic acknowledgement of heritage, especially for figures of wealth such as Pabst. In Milwaukee, other constructions that reference the style include the 1896 Germania Building by Schnetzky & Liebert [fig. 1.13], as well as the aforementioned Pabst Company Building. Popular among the Grand Avenue set, German Renaissance Revival residences were well liked for their austerity in comparison to other Victorian architectural styles. In the 1975 National Register nomination, Patricia Warwick commented that the Ferry & Clas design abandoned "the towers, turrets, and architectural furbelows of current Victorian work, [and that] George Ferry produced a house of great dignity and repose."[96]

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94. Patricia Warwick, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: Pabst, Frederick, House* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1975). She cites Richard W. E. Perrin, *Milwaukee Landmarks: an architectural heritage, 1850-1950* (Milwaukee, Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968), John Maass, *The Victorian Home in America* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972), and H. Russell Zimmerman, "The Past in Our Present: One of a Kind," *Milwaukee Journal*, March 9, 1974.
95. Connolly and Wasserman, *Wisconsin's Own*, 144. As Connolly states, "The 1975 National Register nomination refers to the Pabst Mansion as Baroque Revival, and many historians see little distinction between German Renaissance Revival and Renaissance Revival. John Eastberg, the acknowledged expert on the Pabst Mansion and the Pabst family, states that the appropriate style distinction for the Pabst Mansion is Flemish Revival." This assertion is contested however, most notably by the Wisconsin Historical Society, which lists in the Wisconsin State Register that the Flemish Renaissance Revival and German Renaissance Revival styles are interchangeable in reference to the Mansion.
96. Warwick, *National Register*, 1.

The exterior of the residence is constructed of tan pressed brick with matching terra cotta trim atop a local Wauwatosa limestone foundation. The roof is constructed of red Spanish clay tile, accentuated with copper and carved stone downspouts, gutters, and ornamental rainwater heads as well as terra cotta detailing [fig. 1.14]. Though the exterior style and palette is somewhat moderated, the materials convey the depth of the owner's wealth. The sable-toned pressed brown brick and extensive terra cotta embellishment on all four elevations speak to opulence (as well as function, the fire-resistant materials especially popular after the Chicago Fire of 1871). Ornamentation of the exterior, while less ostentatious than other contemporary designs, is Renaissance in nature, and consists of forms such as putti, lions, vines, and various abstracted geometric designs. Instead of Victorian gothic turrets, shingles, or dynamic color contrasts, the German Renaissance style is embodied in the stepped gables, clay roof, and subdued, earthy palette. Furthermore, the symmetry, high chimneys, and arcaded porches also articulate the style, and echo the 1557 Old City Hall in Leipzig in particular [fig. 1.15].

While the exterior may read as understated, the magnificence of the interior of the Mansion, consisting of thirty-seven rooms, twelve of which are bathrooms, is inarguable. Through the quarter-sawn oak front doors lies a surprisingly traditional floor plan, especially since the plan remained fluid during construction.[97] Two entrances with vestibules are connected by an L-shaped hall and in typical Victorian manner, the sexes are assigned separate zones, decorated accordingly: the masculine study for Frederick

97. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion,* 78. In fact, Eastberg explains, the flexibility offered in the original plans allow for basic renovations, such as the rehanging of cabinetry and doors, which have been rehung to face the opposite direction.

Pabst with an easily accessible porte cochere, and Maria Pabst's French Rococo-styled parlor adjacent to the front entrance in order to receive guests. The two zones surround a centrally located hall with a dramatic staircase [fig. 1.16]. The interior decoration was under the control of Otto von Ernst, Pabst's son-in-law, who employed local artisans to create a refined atmosphere. Louis Ficheaux, lead designer for Matthews Brothers Furniture Company, managed the design of the woodwork and furniture, and Louis Meyer contributed to carving, especially the ceilings in Frederick Pabst's study.

Fourteen fireplaces, coffered ceilings, intricate paneling and molding, and wood inlays demonstrate an attention to detail and adherence to historical aesthetic traditions. In addition to Maria Pabst's Rococo parlor and Frederick Pabst's German study, Italian and Dutch Renaissance styles were also employed on the first floor.[98] The first floor exhibits a centralized plan, with entrances to the study, parlor, and a music room (between the study and kitchen entrance) from the oak-paneled hall [fig. 1.17]. Music and entertaining were of such importance to the Pabsts that an additional nook was built into the first floor hall in order to accommodate performing musicians.[99] The second floor consists of three bedrooms and a sitting room surrounding a notably spacious foyer [fig. 1.18]. Unusual for the time and their economic class, Frederick and Maria Pabst shared a single master bedroom, with the beds facing each other from opposite walls so the couple

98. Ibid., 81. Eastberg notes that the commitment to style extended to the pocket doors dividing rooms, which were double faced with woodwork and hardware to match the interior each panel faced.
99. Connolly and Wasserman, *Wisconsin's Own*, 142.

could easily converse. The third floor held rooms to accommodate the Pabsts' adult children and spouses when they visited, as well as storage and staff lodgings.[100]

Unlike other wealthy Americans of the era, Pabst ornamented his home with furnishings and architectural elements from Germany, rather than from France, England, or Italy. The paneling in Pabst's study is from a seventeenth-century German castle, thought to have been purchased during a buying expedition organized by Otto von Ernst in the spring of 1892.[101] Oak doors, casings, and cabinets are German as well, and bear a similarity to the dining room of the Villa Hallgarten in Frankfurt, a new building dating to 1885.[102] Woodwork is in the Jacobean style, integrating elements of German detail with English precedent. Even the stained glass, carvings, and original furniture designed by Wisconsin's Louis Mayer incorporate traditional German sayings.[103]

While Pabst's interiors reflect his German identification, his art collection was much more broad in scope. By 1895, Pabst had amassed holdings of over eighty canvases valued at $71,825.[104] His collection was composed mainly of oil paintings by artists such as Louis Rach and Charles Sprague Pearce. Frederick and Maria Pabst acquired art

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100. Frederick and Maria Pabst had ten children, five of which survived to adulthood: Elizabeth (von Ernst, 1865-1891), Gustave (1866-1943), Marie (Goodrich, 1868-1958), and Emma (Nunnemacher, 1871-1943). They adopted Elizabeth's daughter, Elsbeth, after Elizabeth's unexpected death in 1891. Elsbeth was the only Pabst child to reside in the Mansion.
101. Krista Finstad Hanson, *Wisconsin's Historic Houses and Living History Museums: A Visitor's Guide* (Madison: Prairie Oak Press, 2000), 85.
102. Zimmerman, *Magnificent Milwaukee*, 101. "A very similar example [to Pabst's dining room] appears in the 1885 dining room of Villa Hallgarten in Frankfurt, Germany."
103. Louis Mayer (1869-1969) was a first-generation German-American artist born in Milwaukee. He studied at the Wisconsin Art School and the Munich Academy of Fine Arts, where he met fellow Milwaukeean and artist Carl von Marr, co-founder of the Society of Milwaukee Artists whose work was collected by Pabst.
104. This is a contemporary estimate; today the collection is worth more than $2.5 million. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 148.

during their summers abroad, as well as domestically, including twenty-two works purchased at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[105] By the time of his death, Pabst was to be one of the Midwest's leading art collectors, according to historian John Eastberg, active in collecting both historical and contemporary works.[106]

Pabst promoted his status as a successful and progressive individual in his collecting interests as well as a focus on technological innovation.[107] The house was fully wired for electricity during initial construction. Two heating systems are employed, indirect steam radiation and central forced-air heating. Temperature controls are available in each room via pneumatic panels, known as a Johnson System of Heat Regulation (a precursor to thermostats developed by Milwaukee-based Johnson Controls). Strategically placed skylights offer basic climate control, as does a vented chimney. The boiler room was built at a distance from the main house to avoid noise pollution as well as the threat of fire. Fire suppression systems were especially popular in the years following the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, and the house's exterior walls were lined with hollow firebrick, tile, and granite. The house was installed with two communication systems, one a battery-powered alarm system and the other an elaborate servant call system that enabled the family to request assistance from twenty-one locations throughout the house.[108]

Acclaimed for its architectural distinction and luxurious interiors, the Pabst Mansion emphasizes Frederick Pabst's self-identification as a German immigrant and as

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105. Ibid., 91. The collection, including these purchases, was fully inventoried after the deaths of Frederick and Maria Pabst in 1904 and 1906, respectively, with the collection divided into five equal parts for the Pabst children in 1907.
106. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 21.
107. Connolly and Wasserman, *Wisconsin's Own*, 149.
108. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 92.

a businessman, an image continually honed by Pabst during his eleven years of residence in the Mansion. Numerous naturalistic carvings throughout the house specifically depict elements of the beer-making process, such as vine carvings on the staircase and hop buds atop columns and newel posts. Pabst's conflation of architectural and business interests is illustrated most eloquently by the addition to the Mansion of a conservatory that had served as a beer pavilion at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Pabst had been awarded the beer concession for the entire Exposition and elected to showcase Pabst brewing in a grandiose display. Designed by Otto Strack, the small structure was decorated with carvings of hop vines, beer steins, and barley, as well as the Pabst Brewing trademark, a hop leaf in a circle.[109] The façade of the conservatory building incorporated models of Milwaukee architecture as well as a panel of Frederick Pabst meeting with his board.[110] The pavilion interior included cherubs atop swans, elements of the period's Pabst beer labels. Carved lions promoted ideals of power and majesty.[111] The centerpiece of the pavilion and a major attraction of the Exposition was a thirteen-foot model of the Pabst Brewery complex encased in a gold shell, said to cost Pabst over

109. The famous blue ribbon design had not yet been implemented. Pabst histories note that it was at the Columbian Exposition that Pabst beer actually won first place in the beer competition, and the blue ribbon emblem was then introduced. See Steven M. Avella, *In the Riches of the Earth: A History of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee 1843–1958* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2002). The use in the construction of the pavilion of the same materials, color palette, and architectural style as that of the Mansion clearly indicate that Pabst planned for the pavilion to ultimately be adjoined to his residence.
110. Tom Tolan, "Pabst Mansion Pavilion has Blue-Ribbon Background."
111. Fran Bauer, "Mansion Awash with New Life," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 6, 1984.

$100,000 [fig. 1.19].[112] Following its display at the Exposition, the pavilion was installed at the Pabst Mansion as a conservatory, where it served as an emblem of Pabst's success.

Ultimately, the Pabsts only resided in the Mansion for eleven years. During that time, however, it was a hub of social activity in the city; as exemplified by the widely publicized wedding of the Pabsts' middle daughter, Marie, to William Osborne Goodrich, proprietor of the Goodrich Linseed Oil Company.[113] Pabst was in ill health the majority of the time that he and Maria resided in the Mansion, and when he finally passed in 1904, the city mourned. Flags were flown at half-mast; Pabst Theater performances and brewery production ceased until after his funeral.[114] Maria Pabst, in mourning, abandoned the house in 1905 to travel abroad. She did not honor Frederick's wish in his will that implored her to "keep the estate I leave you together, as far as you can."[115] The house was shuttered, the staff charged with packing and dispersal of personal objects. And in 1906, the children of Frederick and Maria Pabst put the Pabst Mansion on the market.

**Preservation of the Pabst Mansion**

The timing for a sale of the Pabst Mansion was inopportune. Grand Avenue had begun a slow but obvious decline as wealthy families moved closer to the lakefront, to areas such as Lake Drive and Terrace Avenue. The Avenue faced increasing noise pollution from automobiles and significant street congestion, and was increasingly

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112. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 84 and Tom Tolan, "Pabst Mansion Pavilion has Blue-Ribbon Background," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel,* December 18, 2010, http://www.jsonline.com/news/Milwaukee/112136669.html.
113. Ibid., 99. Not only notable for the press it garnered, the event also marked the rare joining of German (west side) and "Yankee" (east side) families. "Pabst-Goodrich Marriage," *Chicago Tribune*, November 23, 1892.
114. Ibid., 129.
115. Ibid., 131.

unpopular as a residential neighborhood. The Mansion sat on the market for two years as values along Grand Avenue diminished. Gone were the expansive pastoral lots of only a decade prior, as the area became the site of numerous apartment buildings and westward commercial expansion. The sale price of the Mansion steadily declined as the Avenue became more crowded.

Eventually, the Mansion was sold for $97,000, considerably less than the $255,000 construction cost, to the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Milwaukee in 1908.[116] The Archdiocese purchased the house for its sprawling layout, ample function spaces, and numerous bedrooms, and used the site for the Archbishop's residence and chancery offices.[117] The changes made after the Archdiocese purchased the property were few. The house had been sold with only basic furnishings included, the rest being retained by Pabst family members. The interiors were whitewashed and the pavilion, a veritable altar to beer, was turned into a Catholic chapel for daily prayer. Functional outbuildings were added to the property, such as a two-story boiler house, a garage, and a poultry house, and the coach house was converted to office space.

With few structural revisions, the Pabst Mansion functioned as the residence of the Archdiocese for the next seven decades, while many other sumptuous homes were razed as Victorian architecture gave way in popularity to modernism. In Milwaukee, after the World Wars anti-German sentiment made homes in the German style especially susceptible to demolition.[118] By the 1970s, few nineteenth-century residences remained

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116. Avella, *In the Riches of the Earth*, 365.
117. Ibid. Pabst had no personal connection to the Archdiocese and was, in fact, Lutheran.
118. Daniels, *Milwaukee's Early Architecture*, 93.

and the Archdiocese considered relocation. The exterior terra cotta and the clay roof had begun crumbling, and the high heating and electricity costs were unsustainable in the energy crisis of the early 1970s. The architectural firm of Brust & Brust analyzed the building at the request of the Archdiocese and gave it an expiration date of five years without attention to urgent repairs.[119]

In 1974, the Archdiocese valued the property at $500,000 and put the Pabst Mansion on the market. The landscape of the city had changed dramatically since they had acquired the home in 1908. The house was now situated between an office building and a Holiday Inn, the neighborhood by this point almost entirely commercial. City officials admitted, "prospective buyers of the $500,000 property probably would demolish the site."[120] The resignation of city officials to the house's destruction triggered a public response, and activists publicly accused the Archdiocese of vacating the city and ruthlessly selling the house to the highest bidder. While still owned by the Archdiocese, the Milwaukee Landmark Commission designated the property, and preservationists rushed it onto the National Register of Historic Places in May of 1974. In 1975, the Milwaukee Landmarks Commission issued a statement against demolition and in support of preservation, though they held no legislative power, and only hoped to sway public opinion.[121]

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119. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 229.
120. Ibid., 17.
121. "Pabst Home Gets Support," *Milwaukee Journal*, December 7, 1975. The Milwaukee Landmarks Commission was in existence from 1967 until 1981. It had no legislative power but offered honorific designation to recognize historic sites and districts with plaques. The Historic Preservation Commission succeeded the Milwaukee Landmarks Commission in 1981, as a municipal entity consisting of seven members appointed by the Mayor, with more power. Neither

Developer Nathan J. Rakita purchased the Pabst Mansion in December of 1974 with plans to demolish the house in order to expand the parking lot for his adjacent property, the Coach Park Inn (formerly the Holiday Inn), thus motivating further public outcry.[122] Builder John Conlan, with public support from preservationist and *Milwaukee Journal* writer H. Russell Zimmerman, offered to buy the building from Rakita, dismantle it, and rebuild it elsewhere; realizing that would diminish the historical integrity, his contingency plan was to keep the Mansion in situ and turn it into luxury office space.[123] When that was not successful, he placed a third offer to Rakita, this time to purchase the Mansion and its 240 feet of street frontage at a cost of $235,000, including a codicil to contain "all furnishings on the premises or stored for the premises … no exception."[124] Rakita accepted the offer, with a provision that the carriage house be demolished and replaced by a driveway to the Coach Park Inn.

Concurrently, Milwaukeean Florence Schroeder and others established the 501(c)3 organization Wisconsin Heritages, Inc. (WHI), legally formed with the goal of purchasing and maintaining the Mansion.[125] Conlan established negotiations with WHI and finalized a deal for the organization to lease the building with an option to purchase.

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organization is to be confused with the National Register of Historic Places, the federal program in place since 1966 and administered in Wisconsin through the Historic Preservation Division of the Wisconsin Historical Society. See Historic Preservation Commission, *Preservation Topics 3* (Milwaukee: Office of the City Clerk, March 17, 2011).

122. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 231.

123. Such a situation must have proved tenuous for Zimmerman, who in addition to his public advocacy of historic preservation in Milwaukee and role as writer for the *Milwaukee Journal* also served as design director for the public relations firm Barkin, Herman, Solochek & Paulson, who represented the Archdiocese. In order to publish articles in support of Mansion preservation, Zimmerman first shared his motivation in a letter to the Archdiocese, which later publicly appeared on the front cover of the *Milwaukee Journal* "Home" section on March 9, 1975.

124. Ibid., 18.

125. Barbara Dembski, "Outlook Differs on Pabst Sale," *Milwaukee Journal*, December 3, 1971.

(To appease Rakita, the carriage house was demolished as promised and converted to a parking lot.) In order to complete the sale, WHI secured twenty-three separate mortgages, a state grant, and numerous private donations.[126] By 1978, WHI had officially taken ownership of the Pabst Mansion, and in May of that year, they opened to the public as the Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, albeit with empty rooms and blank, whitewashed walls.[127]

## The Current Operation of the Pabst Mansion

In its early years as a public museum, the Pabst Mansion operation was small and its budget meager, though the WHI was energetic and focused on its goals for the burgeoning administration of the historic site. The WHI sought to stabilize the building and reclaim original objects, many of which were donated or placed on long-term loan to the Mansion by local Pabst descendants.[128] An eight-member curatorial committee formed to review gift and loan contributions, as well as potential acquisitions that were made as funds became available. Florence Schroder, the WHI's organizer, funded the purchase of original furnishings, such as the furniture for Maria Pabst's parlor and the dining room.[129]

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126. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion,* 22.
127. By the time he was 21, Pabst had earned his ship license and was captain of a sea vessel. Though not regularly used during his lifetime, the formal incorporation of his residence as a non-profit utilized the "Captain" moniker.
128. Lois Hagen, "Pabst Mansion's Empty Rooms Gradually Fill With Furniture," *Milwaukee Journal*, February 25, 1979.
129. A 1979 program announcement states the mission of the WHI as follows: "The Frederick Pabst Mansion was designed and built on Grand Avenue (now known as Wisconsin Avenue) in 1893 by one of Milwaukee's foremost architects of the late nineteenth century, George Bowman Ferry. It is a rare example of Baroque Revival style, with intricate external ornamentation of terra cotta, as well as fine interior materials and craftsmanship in its cabinetry and wood carvings. It is considered to be one of the most beautiful, historic, residential landmarks – an outstanding

From its outset, the WHI received strong community support for its preservation of the Pabst Mansion. Donors assisted in furnishing the house with original objects; in a 1979 *Milwaukee Journal* article, writer Lois Hagen cited the outfitting of the men's parlor that year. In a move designed to ensure the young operation was not overreaching its means, Schroeder and the WHI only committed to purchase objects for which funds were readily available, and encouraged monetary donations to make refurnishing possible. As Schroeder explained to Hagen, "We're hoping someone will buy the sofa and six chairs that would complete the room's furnishings … the complete set would cost $10,000, but individuals could donate a single chair."[130] Original furnishings were sought from Pabst descendants and pursued at auction when available.[131]

By the end of the decade, the Pabst Mansion was enjoying strong visitation. Special events, held to generate income to pay for acquisitions, were hosted by local organizations such as the heritage-minded North Shore Junior Women's Club, the W. H. Brady Foundation, and by Pabst descendants as well. The WHI offered regular exhibitions such as 1979's "A Mansion Full of Miniatures," a display of miniature rooms and dollhouses, and a long-term loan of the Blatz art collection.[132] The WHI prized

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example of Milwaukee's European heritage. It has been designated an official Milwaukee Landmark and is also listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Leadership in a drive to preserve the mansion for the enjoyment and enlightenment of future generations is provided by Wisconsin Heritages, Inc., whose entire goal is the preservation of our heritage from the past." No mention is made of Ferry's partner Alfred C. Clas in early literature.

130. Ibid. Though painting was not discussed publicly in the early years of the WHI in favor of promoting acquisitions, the 1979 *Milwaukee Journal* article by Lois Hagen notes that by that point, efforts were being made to restore the original wall décor, though substantial progress was not made on this front until 1999.

131. Ibid.

132. The Blatz art collection, consisting mainly of 19th-century genre paintings, was the focus of the long-term exhibition at the Pabst Mansion entitled, "The Blatz Art Collection, a Beer Baron's

access, and the only goal they promoted in the 1970s that they did not immediately realize was the use of the Mansion as a visitor center, coordinating visits to other historic sites throughout the state.[133]

Beginning in the 1980s, the restoration efforts refocused to incorporate capital projects as well as replacement of original furniture and acquisitions. Fundraiser auctions and state and federal grants supported work such as the replacement of the crumbling front steps with a replica made of Indiana limestone. In 1984, the exterior underwent a full chemical wash, exposing the original color of the terra cotta and brick façade. The Mansion welcomed visitors during the process, offering public workshops to explain the procedure.[134] The treatment cost $120,000, funded through a grant from the Department of the Interior and matched by donations from local businesses such as the Allen-Bradley Corporation, Stiemke, and Briggs and Stratton.[135] Restoration continued throughout the decade with full stabilization and restoration to period interpretation of the music room.

An unexpected and anonymous bequest in 1992 allowed for complete restoration of the parlor, undertaken under the leadership of house administrator Rosemary Geilert. The project received extensive press, especially for its Wisconsin-based contractors, and consisted of ornamental plasterwork, painting, and gilding, and re-upholstering of the original furniture. The back stairs and servants' dining room were restored and

Legacy." See James Auer, "Blatz, Pabst Merge for the Cause of Art," *Milwaukee Journal*, 1983, 86-87.
133. Ibid. While the WHI would partner with other historic sites in Wisconsin for promotional and programmatic purposes, it did not own or administer any locations besides the Pabst Mansion.
134. Bauer, "Mansion Awash with New Life." It is worth noting that according to architectural historian Keith Morgan, this would now be considered bad practice.
135. Ibid.

interpreted. The whitewashing done during the Archdiocese's inhabitation was finally removed, revealing coffered and painted ceilings. In 1999, reconstruction of the entire terrace, including the removal of a drop ceiling and renovation of the original mosaic floor, was completed.[136]

In the early decades of the twenty first century, the Pabst Mansion has continued to prioritize its objectives of restoration and access, while fostering professionalization. Wisconsin Heritages, Inc. reorganized under the legal name of The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Inc. to clarify its mission. Evolving from a volunteer managing board in the 1970s to a part-time house administrator by 1990, the Mansion's operations necessitated an expansion of the paid staff. Dawn Day Hourigan joined the staff as the house administrator, and by 2003 became the Pabst Mansion's first executive director. Also in 2003, John Eastberg joined the staff as an assistant, rising through the ranks as educator, director of development, and senior historian before succeeding Hourigan as executive director in August of 2015. A full-time curator oversees the Mansion's collection, and two individuals at ¾-time status provide general assistance. The shop buyer, accountant, and various site maintenance services are retained on a contractual basis. Volunteers, the corps of which numbers approximately forty, lead tours and run the shop.[137]

The Mansion has maintained the same system of capital funding spearheaded by Schroeder in the 1970s, in which the board raises funds restricted to support specific

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136. Gould, "Mansion's 'Rebirth.'"
137. Dawn Day Hourigan, (Executive Director, Pabst Mansion), in discussion with the author, June 27, 2013.

initiatives. Two major capital campaigns have taken place since 2000. The Serpent and Spires Capital Campaign, named for the gable and downspout designs, funded exterior restoration. This campaign funded roof repairs, terra cotta stabilization and restoration, historic landscaping, and the restoration of the porte cochere.[138] A second campaign, the Regency Room Restoration Campaign, funded work on the second floor bedrooms and an original bathroom for interpretation purposes. As the restoration has advanced, the Mansion has been interpreted in accordance with its 1897 appearance, the midpoint of Pabst inhabitation and the year the staff considers most indicative of the edifice's domestic style. Ceilings, wall coverings, and furniture upholstery are all in keeping with the turn of the twentieth century. The site does not present any history of the Mansion after the Pabsts' departure.

Projects that were in process as of 2015 included the restoration of the master suite, which will complete the second floor for interpretation and tours, and the continuation of the pavilion project, which has been in development since the mid-1980s.[139] In 2010, Hourigan secured a $25,000 Save America's Treasures grant to fund interior restoration, but the award was withdrawn when the Department of the Interior froze federal arts funding later that year. Another ongoing interest is the reassembly of the Pabst art collection, which gained momentum in 2005 when the Pabst Mansion successfully acquired eleven paintings at auction formerly owned by Pabst. Eighteen paintings had become the property of the California-based S&P Company, and specifically its owner Paul Kalmanovitz, upon the sale of the Pabst Brewing Company to

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138. Nicole Sweeney, "An Old New Look," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, June 21, 2001.
139. Tolan, "Pabst Mansion Pavilion."

S&P in 1985. Defying exhibition and loan agreements with local organizations such as the Milwaukee Athletic Club, Kalmanovitz moved a number of Pabst collection artworks to his headquarters in California.[140] Besides the eleven reclaimed by the Mansion another seven paintings, including Austrian painter Eugen von Blaas's "Lisa," an eight-foot high painting commissioned by Frederick Pabst in 1895 for the Mansion's staircase landing, were sold to private collectors and their acquisition and exhibition in the Mansion remains a goal. The current Pabst Mansion art collection includes works by artists such as Karl von Eckenbrecher, Adolf Schreyer, Adolphe William Bougereau, Eugene Verboeckhoven, and Daniel Ridgeway Knight, all originally owned by Pabst. The art collection continues to grow as descendants of other prominent Gilded Age families such as Uihlein, Ott, and Usinger elect to donate fine art to the Pabst Mansion for exhibition.[141]

Accessibility and engagement remains of paramount importance to the staff of the Pabst Mansion, the site serving as a venue for a number of private and public events each year. Trained docents lead tours every hour the Mansion is open and tours routinely reach their twenty-person capacity. Monthly public lectures take place throughout the year and include presentations on beer barons and the history of brewing in Milwaukee, often

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140. After Pabst's death, his art collection was declared an asset of Pabst Brewing Company. Many of the works were placed on long-term loan to various cultural and community organizations, the Milwaukee Athletic Club chief among them because Gustave Pabst was a member of the elite downtown club. After Kalmanovitz attained ownership of the Company in 1985, one of his first actions was to remove the art collection from its various Milwaukee locations and move the collection in its entirety to his offices in Califormia. At this time, Kalmanovitz also terminated all advertising for Pabst Blue Ribbon and sold a Pabst distribution facility in Tampa to Stroh Brewing. See Ashley Johnson, "It's a Blue-Ribbon Day for Pabst Paintings," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, August 10, 2005 and secondarily Bill Yenne, *Great American Beers: Twelve Brands That Became Icons* (St. Paul, MN: MBI, 2004), 115-116.

141. John C. Eastberg, (Historian, Pabst Mansion), in discussion with the author, June 26, 2013.

accompanied by beer tastings. Holiday celebrations, especially around Halloween and Christmas, have become extremely popular, with opulent decoration and extended hours. In addition, the Mansion serves as the venue for at least two fundraisers each year, usually to support capital projects.

A seventeen-member board of directors oversees the Pabst Mansion. As Hourigan explains, the board has undergone a relatively recent transition from a funding board to one that favors service over monetary contributions from its members.[142] Board members are selected for their skills and capacity for providing professional advice to the small staff of the Mansion. Current members include professionals in the media, legal, and financial sectors. While they do not provide substantial funding themselves, they do pay annual board dues and provide access to philanthropic leaders on local and national levels. One consistency of the board structure since the WHI era is the inclusion of at least one Pabst descendant, a role Eugenie Pabst currently fills.

The financial structure of the Pabst Mansion is a simple though effective one. Instead of maintaining a relatively standard equal income ratio that balances earned income with contributions, the Pabst Mansion board prefers to use a model in which the vast majority (75 percent) of administrative expenses are funded by earned revenue, and only 25 percent from contributed income.[143] This allows for the majority of contributions to fund elective projects, such as conservation, restoration, and acquisition endeavors.[144] Following September 11, 2001 and a 75 percent drop in federal arts and preservation

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142. Hourigan discussion, June 27, 2013.
143. Cinnamon Catlin-Kegutko and Stacy Klinger, *Small Museum Toolkit 2: Financial Resource Development and Management*, (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2012), 48.
144. Eastberg discussion, June 26, 2013..

funding, Hourigan implemented this system to best protect operational needs from funding cuts.[145] She explained that while the Pabst Mansion had relied on federal funding for special projects in the past the organization has distanced itself from tax subsidies and grants, focusing more on local sponsorships and private donations, as well as earned income from private events such as weddings.

In 2012, tax records show assets of $3.1 million and current-year earnings of almost $544,000.[146] Earned revenue activities brought in almost $340,000 in 2014 and included shop sales, group tour fees, events, private rental income, and admissions – its highest-producing revenue stream of $186,000, and the primary funding source for operational costs including site administration. Additional contributed funds (in 2014 totaling just over $207,000) are used as needed for conservation purposes and are raised through specific capital campaign activity.

This conservative model, in which Mansion operations fund basic activities and the expansion of the collection and implementation of preservation projects take place as funds are amassed, clearly aligns with Florence Schroeder's original structure. As in the years under the WHI moniker, this plan is effectively sustainable; should contributions decrease, the collections and restoration agenda can be downsized accordingly. As the Mansion seeks donations for individual campaigns, donors are galvanized as they observe

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145. The assertion of a 75% drop in funding is Hourigan's own and particular to the Pabst Mansion, though proves to be a national trend following September 11, 2001. A 2003 study issued by the Foundation Center explains that in the aftermath of 9/11, national, individual, and agency giving was redirected to recovery efforts in New York City. The sudden shift in funding support led to a dearth in support for other non-profits, particularly the arts. See Loren Renz and Leslie Marino, *Giving in the Aftermath of 9/11* (New York: The Foundation Center, 2003).
146. Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion Inc., "2012 Standard Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax," www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2012/237/447/2012-237447371-0aac954f-9.pdf.

their dollars directly supporting the projects for which their support has been offered. Unlike numerous organizations that apply annual appeal funds to operational support, each Pabst Mansion annual appeal funds a specific acquisition or restoration. Such a conservative model that prioritizes earned revenue versus contributions for operational support and financial forecasting is historically unusual, though may prove more common in the post-2009 recession financial climate.

The Mansion's budget model does create challenges. Without the context staff and operational documents provided to me, stand-alone review of tax documents reveal wildly vacillating contributed income from year to year. For instance, the Pabst Mansion raised $671,745 in 2013, and that figure dropped in 2014 to $207,029. From a staff and board perspective, this is not alarming: 2013 was a campaign year and 2014 was not. Yet with the availability of 990s for public dissemination, as well as their use by funding agencies, such year-to-year changes could erroneously indicate instability rather than a reflection of interval fundraising efforts. Such a situation illustrates the need for integration of institutional context with analysis of financial documents.

In addition to the earned and contributed incomes, the Pabst Mansion also received investment income with a distribution from gifted stock of between $9,000 and $10,000 each year, and maintains a reserve fund of approximately $40,000.[147] Hourigan notes that the reserve fund is not considered an endowment fund but that its use is subject to board review and approval.[148] She explains, however, that the Mansion anticipates an

147. Eastberg discussion, June 26, 2013.
148. Hourigan discussion, June 27, 2013.

endowment to begin when a charitable trust set up by Pabst descendant Beverly Pabst is distributed and the Pabst Mansion will receive approximately $3 million.

The Pabst Mansion's administration is dedicated to fostering objectives already underway and to launching new initiatives. The preservation of the Mansion, now in process for almost forty years, takes as its next step the restoration of the basement and attic levels, now storage and office spaces, for public interpretation. The long-awaited pavilion restoration has been reconsidered not as an exhibition space but for use as a "Palm Garden," a taproom and indoor/outdoor beer garden in the style of nineteenth-century beer gardens popular with German immigrants. This would serve the dual purpose of interpretation as well as an additional earned income opportunity: revenue garnered from beverage sales and private rentals.

Professionalization continues as a priority for Mansion leadership. John Eastberg explains that staff has recently participated in workshops led by the American Alliance of Museums, the organization for museum professionals that oversees best practices, with a goal of accreditation in the future.[149] Additionally, the staff is exploring options regarding compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act. Though an oversized bathroom and

149. The American Alliance of Museums, the national professional organization responsible for museum best practices, characterizes the elective process of accreditation as "high profile, peer-based validation of [a] museum's operations and impact. Accreditation ensures [a] museum's credibility and value to funders, policy makers, insurers, community and peers." The accreditation process requires evaluation of a museum's operations, finances, staff, and collections, and often museums that are not accredited will face limitations in the professional community, such as the denial of object loans from other institutions. Considering the lack of endowment and small reserve fund, the Pabst Mansion will most likely seek accreditation once the bequest from Beverly Pabst is received. On a related note, historic house museums do not as a rule apply for accreditation, which is more popular among larger institutions with more resources. As of 2017, historic house museums account for 8% of accredited museums in the United States. See American Alliance of Museums, "Accreditation," http://www.aam-us.org/resources/assessment-programs/accreditation.

elevator is available for use, neither meets official standards for compliance and the project will likely serve as the basis for a future capital campaign.

A major next step for the Pabst Mansion organization is its expansion beyond the original property to include a separate visitors center building that as of 2017 was in a silent phase and not yet formally introduced to the public [fig. 1.20].[150] The center is to be built facing the Pabst Mansion from across the street, the property purchased by the Pabst Mansion in 2011 for $650,000.[151] The fundraising and development of the $20 million center is anticipated to take at least a decade and would culminate in the two-story, 20,000 square-foot Pabst Mansion Cultural Center.[152] The building would house Mansion archives and administrative offices, as well as exhibit programming related to Frederick Pabst and the history of the Pabst Brewing Company. The expansion would allow for additional earned income opportunities of admissions fees and event rentals but would also allow for more robust educational programming to better engage local school groups. With short-term goals of sustainability and cyclical and project-based fundraising campaigns, as well as the advance planning for the expansion project, the Pabst Mansion is reliant upon consistent public engagement and a strong community base.

### Issues in Collective Community Preservation

The uphill battle that Milwaukee preservationists faced in saving the Pabst Mansion is, unfortunately, a common situation in many American cities. In the 1950s, Milwaukee residents, business owners, and lawmakers faced a boom in both population,

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150. Tom Daykin, "Pabst Mansion Planning Separate Cultural Center," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, June 12, 2014, http://www.jsonline.com/blogs/business/262890701.html.
151. Hourigan discussion, June 27, 2013.
152. Ibid.

which necessitated additional housing, and the manufacturing sector of its economy, requiring more factory space. Once a highly compact and dense city, Milwaukee soon outgrew its municipal capacity for city resources such as sewers, roads, and the privately-owned streetcar system in place since 1890.[153] The rapid increase in residents called for residential settlement beyond city lines, resulting in subdivisions and planned communities that signaled the start of urban sprawl. In the name of progress, the Milwaukee government and real estate developers razed many older buildings. Perhaps the most notorious urban development initiated in the twentieth century in Milwaukee was the 1965 94-West freeway expansion, which divided the city [fig. 1.21].[154] The physical divide through the middle of the city segregated it along economic and racial lines, arguably leading to higher crime rates and poorer school districts in the western neighborhoods of the city [figs. 1.22 and 1.23].[155] Portions of the city west and north of the city were home to low-income families and fewer civic resources, while wealthier residents settled near the lakefront. While the needs of the city's population required an improved transportation network and more housing, the immediate displacement of more than 20,000 residents divided historic communities, guzzled tax dollars, and hastened many white and wealthy residents' flight out of the city.[156]

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153. Richard W. Cutler, *Greater Milwaukee's Growing Pains, 1950–2000: An Insider's View* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 2001), 22.
154. Karl H. Flaming, *Who "Riots" and Why: Black and White Perspectives in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Urban League, 1968).
155. Ibid., 154.
156. For more information on urban renewal in Milwaukee and its impact on African American residents, see Niles Niemuth, "Urban Renewal and the Development of Milwaukee's African American Community: 1960-1980, " (MA Thesis, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2014).

The Pabst Mansion, located on West Wisconsin Avenue (formerly Grand Avenue), was in a relatively undesirable area by 1970. This factor, along with high maintenance costs, surely contributed to the exit of the Archdiocese in 1974 and illustrates the public ambivalence regarding the evolving urban infrastructure of the time. By 1974, preservation-minded residents had become savvier in regard to organizing in support of preserving historic structures, most notably in the case of the ill-fated Chicago & North Western Railroad depot [fig. 1.24]. An elegant Romanesque Revival building constructed in 1889, the depot was a signature element of the city skyline. As plane travel became more popular and rail travel languished after WWII, the depot and its adjoining acreage was offered to the City of Milwaukee in 1960. Instead of revitalizing the building for municipal, commercial, or residential use, City officials only considered use of the land as a potential corridor for the freeway under development. When the idea of the space as a thoroughfare was discarded and no municipal funds were immediately available for its development, the depot was simply razed and the lot remained vacant for years.

Following the demise of the North Western Railroad Depot, residents realized they needed to organize to save culturally and architecturally significant historic buildings, and the Milwaukee Landmarks Commission was formed in 1967. By 1976, the City of Milwaukee began providing public assistance for restoration projects. The Pabst Theater was one of the first successful preservation developments in Milwaukee, reopening with city assistance after decades of decline in 1976. In 1981, a formal Historic Preservation Commission was designated as part of the City of Milwaukee municipal offices, its intention to provide standards for and oversight of preservation initiatives.[157] Along with the Pabst Theater, the Pabst Mansion was one of the first city-funded preservation activities in the city.

In the decades since 1970, Milwaukeeans have continued to prioritize preservation, and residents themselves often spearhead the projects. The freeway expansion has become notorious on a national level for its disruption of a close-knit midsize American city, and residents of recent years have sought to reclaim the community identity of areas considered inhospitable after the freeway was built. Brewer's Hill, for example, is a West Milwaukee neighborhood named for the number of brewery executives who settled in the area at the same time Frederick Pabst built his house on Grand Avenue. Spacious and well-appointed Victorian homes on Brewer's Hill had long suffered abandonment and blight, yet residents in the 1990s and 2000s began restoring the homes to period appearance [fig. 1.25]. The houses, enormous by today's standards, continue to be popular among buyers eager for a low sale price and willing to exert the time and funds necessary to restore the buildings. Indeed, in 2009 Brewer's Hill was named one of the nation's best historic areas by WGBH public television program "This Old House."[158] Brewer's Hill was not the only community to benefit from repopulation of formerly unpalatable areas; between 1990 and 2000, the city population

157. Local opinions abound regarding Milwaukee's actual commitment to preservation. Some say Milwaukee has never been a worthy competitor to Chicago and its longstanding investment in preservation activities. Conversely, others say that the Teutonic heritage of the city, known for fiscal conservatism, ironically saved many buildings because no one would pay to raze them. Additional discussion can be found in John Gurda's *The Story of Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 1999), 171.
158. Keith Pandolfi, "Best Old House Neighborhoods 2009," *This Old House*, July 14, 2009, http://www.thisoldhouse.com/toh/photos/0,,20283028_20634489,00.html.

increased 34 percent and included young professionals and families, many of them white.[159]

Corporate adaptive reuse has also gained traction in the past twenty years, such as in the brewery and factory spaces vacated in the 1980s and 1990s. The Schlitz and Blatz breweries have been stabilized, restored, and updated to offer residential loft and commercial office spaces. Others, such as the Pabst Brewery, were sold off piecemeal to individual buyers, and the complex now functions as the Best Place at the Historic Pabst Brewery, a private rental space and pub, and the Brewhouse Inn & Suites, a luxury boutique hotel. Development of spaces like the Pabst Brewery and preservation of sites such as the Pabst Mansion demonstrate, as John Eastberg notes, "the city's growing industry, flourishing society, generous community, and rich culture."[160] Indeed, the success of the Pabst projects speaks to the social value they hold: the beer industry, German heritage, and Gilded Age architecture are all of value to contemporary Milwaukee.

Since 2000, residential and commercial preservation initiatives are common and benefit the city in a number of ways. As Eastberg explains, "In the 1970s, historic preservation was a movement. Now, it is more of what people naturally do … more what we do, not what we have to get people to do."[161] Sites such as the Pabst Mansion receive support from local residents and family descendants alike, which Eastberg believes is the key to ensuring the perpetuity of the Mansion:

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159. Cutler, *Greater Milwaukee's Growing Pains*, 233.
160. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 20.
161. Eastberg discussion, June 26, 2013.

> I have often reflected over the years on how furniture and paintings that left the house with the Pabst family in 1907 have returned to it in moving vans and jet planes. One soon gets a sense that these objects and the Mansion have a life of their own, that they will outlive us all.[162]

Contributions of tangible objects original to a site, as well as monetary donations received from individuals, local businesses, and municipal groups create a strong foundation for community support from a diverse group of stakeholders. Residents are encouraged to research their homes and to take advantage of resources and guidelines such as those available from the City of Milwaukee Historic Preservation Commission (who also maintains a list of historic buildings for sale and possibly in danger of demolition) and the Wisconsin Historical Society, which offers online information on tax credits such as the Rehabilitation Tax Credit, which allows a deduction for certified restoration work at a cost of $10,000 and above over a period of two years.[163] Private community groups, such as Doors Open Milwaukee and Historic Milwaukee offer support and advocacy. Owners of historic structures in Milwaukee have taken advantage of such resources, and the current citywide trend is toward restoration instead of demolition or remodeling. Such activity reinforces, and itself is strengthened by, a

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162. Ibid.
163. The state Rehabilitation Tax Credit is a reduction in income taxes that accounts for 25% of eligible work. This differs from the federal Historic Preservation Tax Credit, which is defined in section 47(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code and applies to qualified rehabilitation expenditures of $50,000 and above. Information regarding the Rehabilitation Tax Credit is available from the Wisconsin Historical Society online at http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=N:4294963828-4294963805&dsNavOnly=N:1214&dsRecordDetails=R:CS3177.

renewed interest in architectural development and restoration, urban residential life, and the public arts, all bolstered by participatory urban communities.[164]

As previously mentioned, the positive economic activity of historic house museums and other forms of local tourism actually increased during the 2009 recession. While Milwaukee faced inevitable setbacks including a citywide income drop of approximately 22 percent and employment retrenchment, the Pabst Mansion benefitted from the recession [fig. 1.26].[165] In fact, Hourigan commented that the Pabst Mansion "thrived" in the bad economy, its attendance doubling from 20,000 to 40,0000 per year between 2008 and 2010, a visitation figure it has since maintained.[166] She was quick to note that the increase was not fortuitous but strategic. The staff successfully promoted the site online via Facebook and other social media portals and regularly offers Groupon discounts. Partnerships were implemented with the Milwaukee Visitors Bureau, and a

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164. Besides the obvious financial benefits and tax incentives, preservation activity at the residential level alleviates one of Milwaukee's ongoing urban issues, that of racial segregation. Riverwest, for instance, was a traditionally Polish enclave, just as Washington Heights and Concordia, and Story Hill have been predominantly African-American since the freeway divide of the 1960s. Such areas have diversified as people – mainly white – who are interested in rehabilitation have been lured by "natural fireplaces, hardwood floors, built-in china cabinets, leaded glass windows, and a builder's catalogue of other architectural amenities." A discussion of such development can be found in Gurda, *The Story of Milwaukee*, 393. Important to note is that as of 2015, available data illustrates that the ethno-racial composition of such areas is consistently diverse, though gentrification has undoubtedly affected the areas. The ethno-racial compositions for cited neighborhoods are as follows: Riverwest: 67.0% Caucasian, 16.1% African American, 9.6% Hispanic , and 5.3% Mixed or other; Washington Heights: 58.6% Caucasian, 28.2% African American, 5.9% Hispanic, 5.1% Mixed, and 2.3% Asian or other; Concordia: 60.1% African American, 23.7% Caucasian, 10.1% Hispanic, 5.5% Mixed, and .6% Asian or other. Gentrification, beneficial to Milwaukee's historic architecture but not necessarily to long-time residents who may be priced out of the neighborhoods, is not discussed publicly as a concern as much as the racial tensions in other, economically depressed areas of the city. Data cited from statisticalatlas.com.

165. Bill Glauber, "Wisconsin's median income plummets, census figures show," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel,* September 21, 2011.

166. Hourigan discussion, June 27, 2013.

promotional collaboration with fellow historic house museums, such as the Charles Allis Art Museum and the Villa Terrace Decorative Arts Museum to ensure market visibility. Finally, the Mansion revitalized its membership program, which had been active since the 1970s and now consists of five levels. The membership base numbers between 250 and 300 members annually, many of whom are actively recruited from the local business community.[167] Because of the financial structure in which the Pabst Mansion has functioned since 2001, the recession had virtually no negative impact on site administration and funding. Though Hourigan explained that the Mansion did not experience a decline in contributed income, had they done so, they would have simply slowed their acquisition and restoration agenda.[168]

The Milwaukee arts sector as a whole has thrived in the post-recession era. As of October 2015, there existed over 6,000 arts jobs in the city, which together earn over $100 million in wages.[169] The United Performing Arts Fund considers the arts to be an “economic engine” of the region. As Paul Upchurch, CEO of VISIT Milwaukee offers in a statement similar to economist Adam Sacks’, “research proves that a thriving arts and culture scene is critical to the overall economic success of a city. It’s what makes a city come alive.”[170]

## Conclusion

167. Eastberg discussion, June 26, 2013.
168. Hourigan discussion, June 27, 2013.
169. Dave Begel, “The Culture of Culture,” *OnMilwaukee.com*, October 15, 2015, http://onmilwaukee.com/ent/articles/mkeartsfunding.html.
170. Ibid. Begel’s 2015 article cites interviews with representatives from the United Performing Arts Fund, an umbrella organization that funds fifteen local performing arts groups in southeastern Wisconsin; VISIT Milwaukee, the Milwaukee Visitors Bureau; and Adam Sacks, an economist with a specialization in the tourism industry.

As with any nonprofit funding paradigm, there exists no safety net or certainty for historic house museums such as the Pabst Mansion. The collective support model is reliant upon consistent and engaged community partnerships at the individual, organizational, and municipal levels. Even when managed well, the operation is vulnerable to setbacks. Competition amongst charitable organizations for donations, shifting prioritization of funding at the state and national levels, and general economic downturns can all negatively impact nonprofit art and heritage organizations. Yet, if managed strategically and with the goal of sustainability, such sites can withstand circumstances. When the stakeholders of a cultural site are community members, they hold a vested interest in the organization and its goals; can ensure the accomplishment of objects and mission-based initiatives; and can best conceive strategic planning as a collective activity shared amongst a site's staff, board, and community partners.

The Pabst Mansion's success as a community-funded nonprofit organization is based in its longstanding relationship with individuals and businesses in Milwaukee. In this chapter, I demonstrate that a successful relationship between a house museum and its community is based in a strong public image and a savvy knowledge of a region and its funding priorities. For instance, the administration of the Pabst Mansion recognized the instability of federal funding upon retrenchment of the Save America's Treasure grant they had been awarded, and subsequently took measures to prioritize earned revenue as its dominant operational funding stream and focused on local funding agencies and private donors to fund specific capital and preservation projects.

Also significant is the example the Pabst Mansion serves in our understanding of the relationship between a historic house museum and its regional context. The preservation of the Mansion as a cultural site would not have been possible without the organized advocacy of its urban community, which is a narrative common among historic house museum preservationists. Yet the engagement between a site and its surroundings is more complex, and should be more enduring, than simply the preservation period. As we have learned in the discussion of the 2009 recession, the cultural sector plays a participatory role in the economic life of a city, and its impact benefits residents and businesses, which can in turn more comfortably support culture. Moreover, the continued success of the Pabst Mansion as an extant and public site is reliant upon these strong community ties, demonstrating that regional identity and community engagement is just as important in the post-preservation life of a site.

The Mansion stands as an icon of the city itself, though what historical narrative it represents is a topic for debate. John Eastberg posits that the Pabst Mansion is "a house in Milwaukee for all Milwaukeeans," a beacon of immigrant accomplishment and the perseverance of a community to save one of its treasures.[171] Yet at the same time, the Pabst Mansion sits as a material reminder of the effects of mid-twentieth century urban development, its restoration confluent with a time of residential displacement and dissociation, the ramifications of which are still apparent in 2017.[172] Both narratives are

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171. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion*, 21.
172. Milwaukee became a common case study in 2016 discussions about race relations and modern segregation in America. See John Eligon and Robert Gebeloff, "Affluent and Black, and Still Trapped by Segregation," *The New York Times*, August 20, 2016, Bassey Etim, "Milwaukee's Divide Runs Right Through Me," *The New York Times*, August 20, 2016, and

true and reflect the history of Milwaukee. Either way, the Pabst Mansion remains a relevant and engaging player in the story of Milwaukee.

The case of the Pabst Mansion provides insight into the priorities and challenges faced in community-based collective support and though the most typical of funding paradigms, it is by no means the only one. The next chapter provides discussion of the Richard H. Driehaus Museum, another site that while also strongly identified with its urban environment of Chicago as well as the economic development of the nineteenth century, owes its preservation and "musealization" to the interest of a single benefactor.[173]

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Kenya Downs, "Why is Milwaukee so bad for black people?" *The Rundown* (PBS Newshour blog), February 8, 2016.
173. Elina Moustaria, *Art Collections, Private and Public: A Comparative Legal Study* (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 47.

# CHAPTER TWO

## Samuel Nickerson's Marble Palace:

## The Richard H. Driehaus Museum and the Power of Collecting

Much like the Pabst Mansion in Milwaukee, the home of Samuel Nickerson is emblematic of civic progress and the shifting socio-economic urban climate of Chicago. Now known as the Richard H. Driehaus Museum following a period of intense preservation and reconfiguration as a public site funded by Chicago financier and philanthropist Richard H. Driehaus, the site embodies a unique model of support and governance from a single individual. The Museum offers an apt subject for study of its strengths and challenges as a model of single-funder preservation and support, as well as the transition of private collections into public museums and their relationship to the staff, collector and museum founder, and public. Such a structure is also significant in the understanding of the architectural edifice housing the collection that, I argue, functions as an art object itself, the largest item in the collection of the founder.

The singular financial underwriting of a historic house museum may seem ideal, especially in comparison to the tireless efforts expended by the Pabst Mansion to continually elicit support from its diverse constituencies. Administrators of perpetually underfunded historic house museums struggling to stabilize and preserve their sites might dream of a situation in which a wealthy and well-connected donor takes an interest in the site and offers funding beyond their wildest dreams. Such support would allow for less effort to be invested in widespread donor cultivation, with more energy directed toward a single individual and available for other priorities, such as programming and research. I argue, however, that the greater an individual's support and the earlier his involvement in the organizational life of the site, the more strategic the administration must be to plan for the future. The relationship between benefactor and the museum as a nonprofit institution requires a delicate combination of private and public interests, priorities, and planning, especially for the continuing existence of the organization beyond the benefactor's direct involvement and support. In this chapter, I explore the robust benefits and potentially devastating consequences of single-funder preservation in the case of the Richard H. Driehaus Museum.

**From Personal Collection to Public Exhibition**

Collecting as a hobby of the elite began, according to historian Philipp Blom, in the fourteenth century.[174] Educated men of means built *studioli*, defined as "purpose-built chambers filled with antiquities, gemstones, and sculptures."[175] The practice of collecting and of patronizing the arts grew during the Italian Renaissance, the Medici family being the best-known patrons of the era. Collecting also took hold in Amsterdam, the center of the Dutch trading empire, and collecting soon become synonymous throughout Europe with wealth, culture, and a reflection of a successful economy.[176]

Collecting did not thrive solely during periods of high aesthetic creativity and appreciation, but consistently essentialized the organizational activity inherent in the

174. Philipp Blom, *To Have and to Hold: An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2003), 17. Blom cites the collections of Oliviero Forza in Treviso and Piero de' Medici (known as the Gouty) – ancestor of Francesco and Lorenzo the Magnificent, both also known for their acquisitions – as two of the earliest gentlemen collectors.
175. Ibid.
176. For more information on the Medici family and their collecting activity as indicative of cultural engagement and absolute power, see Lindsay Alberts, "From Studiolo to Uffizi: Sites of Collecting and Display under Francesco I de' Medici" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2016).

study of natural history. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe, collecting took on a more scientific focus, the categorization essential to scholarly inquiry and the newfound attention to empirical observation.[177] Collecting continued among the upper class and the educated until and during the settlement of the American Colonies, and during the Revolutionary era took on special meaning as an act that elevated democratic principles and education. Eminent American artists such as Charles Wilson Peale promoted the role of collections and display in education [fig. 2.1]. Others, like Thomas Jefferson, appreciated the act of collecting as a demonstration of civic virtue; his Monticello entrance hall was considered, according to scholar Leah Dilworth "a veritable cabinet of curiosities that includes fine art, natural wonders, ethnological artifacts, and marvelous curios of human contrivance [fig. 2.2]."[178] Following the Civil War, the industrial Northern economy set a foundation for increased profits in fields such as manufacturing and reansportation, and American consumerism grew.[179] As Dilworth explains, "Victorian Americans were passionate collectors and classifiers," and following

177. Ibid.
178. Leah Dilworth, *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 17. Peale and Jefferson made markedly different, though valuable, contributions to the evolution of exhibition practice in the United States. In his Peale Museum, particularly the display of birds, Peale was among the first to institute Linnaean taxonomy, a biological classification system. Not only useful from a scientific perspective, the implementation of a scientifically based taxonomy marked a stark contrast to other museums that presented artifacts as oddities or curiosities. Jefferson, on the other hand, presented artifacts as indicative of civic progress and representative of the birth of the United States. He was less interested in the cataloguing process and scientific relation than Peale was, and more in the evocative quality of a comprehensive display. Interestingly, Jefferson's focus on American dominance is best illustrated in an ongoing debate with the French naturalist the Comte de Buffon over the origins of the "mammoth," instigated by a display of an 1880 mastodon (then known as a mammoth) skeleton on display at the Peale Museum. Buffon had long argued that Europe was biologically superior to America, while Jefferson believed the skeleton from New York proved the greater biodiversity of America.
179. Ibid.

the Civil War, a broad increase in mass advertising, as well as the development of exhibition-based product placement via window and case displays, created a general American climate of acquisition and collecting.[180]

The rise of world's fairs and exhibitions, beginning with the 1851 Crystal Palace Exposition in London not only offered a showcase for the goods produced in the newly industrialized economy, it also provided the opportunity for a modernization of exhibition techniques, creating audience-focused, theatrical presentations in monumental architecture [fig. 2.3].[181] These display methods were employed in the new commercial model of the department store and, along with the advent of mass advertising, created a widespread consumer culture.[182] The democratization of luxury items and their new availability — and appeal — to the masses also created a desire among the elite to further differentiate themselves. One way in which the wealthy accomplished this was to seek

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180. Ibid.
181. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, 13.
182. The department store emerged in the mid-19th century, following the Industrial Revolution, the economic growth from which allowed for a widespread increase in disposable income and the subsequent rise of window shopping and buying as a leisure activity. Instead of displaying wares in a perfunctory manner, shops instead utilized display techniques, such as lighting and street-facing window installations, to make items appear desirable to shoppers. Department stores organized goods into separate departments and development marketing techniques and advertising to influence taste and create demand for items. After the Chicago Fire of 1871, Marshall Field transitioned his formerly modest dry goods store into Marshall Field & Company, and thus established one of the most famous American department stores in Chicago. For more information on the emergence of American consumerism and the rise of department stores, see Elaine S. Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York: Oxford University Press USA, 1992), William R. Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Press, 1994), Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of A Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Perennial 2010), Charles McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), and Ian Whitaker, *Service and Style: How the American Department Store Fashioned the Middle Class* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006).

out unique and rare items, distinct from the goods manufactured for the general population.[183]

For those able to afford an assortment of rare objects, it became fashionable in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to make their collections available for public consumption.[184] Some, as we will see, like Nickerson, donated their collections to established institutions. Others, like Driehaus a century later, decided to find an independent venue for their collections in the creation of their own museums. Museum historian John Coolidge delineates the justification for a donor-based museum as follows:

> One donor … forms a collection, which because it reflects a single person is more coherent than the collection of a public museum. Such collectors know how they want their collection to be viewed, generally as a monument to themselves. The presentation of individual works of art and of the collection as a whole is designed to please this patron, and usually reflects a single point of view. Typically, these museums are more or less houses and often reflect the owner's image as someone who lives right.[185]

Coolidge provides the example of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston as an early American museum dedicated to the exhibition of a single collection [fig. 2.4]. The Gardner Museum, which opened in 1903, has sustained a reputation as a

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183. Ibid., 15.
184. There exists extensive literature on the development of exhibitions and world's fairs and their impact on the consumer economy. For more information, see Barbara Black, *On Exhibit: The Victorians and Their Museums* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), Stephen Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), Arnold Lewis, *An Early Encounter with Tomorrow: Europeans, Chicago's Loop, and the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), and Stephen E. Weil, *A Cabinet of Curiosities* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1995).
185. John Coolidge, *Patrons and Architects: Designing Art Museums in the Twentieth Century* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1989), 2.

prestigious operation ever since.[186] As Coolidge notes, while museums such as the Gardner provide a clean interpretive perspective and a funding source, the professional administration must deal with the donor's restrictions and preferences, often formed with little or no professional training. In the case of the Gardner Museum, for instance, Gardner's will "stipulated that Fenway Court and the collection become a museum … along with requirements that nothing in the galleries ever be changed from their original installation and that no items in the collection ever be added or sold."[187] While the protection of the collection is commendable, the stipulation that objects must never be moved caused for situations both difficult and notorious.[188] Only in the 1990s, during a major restoration of the Gardner Museum, did the administration finally create an additional gallery space for changing exhibitions, later expanded in 2012 in a major addition designed by Renzo Piano that also includes a recital hall, classrooms, and other amenities [fig. 2.5].[189]

The Shelburne Museum provides another example of a museum based upon a private collection. Founded in Shelburne, Vermont in 1947 by Electra Havemeyer Webb, this institution houses her eclectic collection of American and European art, design, and Americana. The daughter of Henry Osborne Havemeyer and Louisine Elder Havemeyer, both noted collectors of Impressionism and Asian decorative arts, Webb collected from

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186. Casey Riley, "From Page to Stage: Isabella Stewart Gardner's Photograph Albums and the Development of her Museum, 1874-1924," (PhD diss., Boston University, 2015).
187. Hilliard T. Goldfarb, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: A Companion Guide and History* (Boston: The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1995), vii.
188. The display restriction has proven regularly challenging, most notably because while a passionate collector of art, Gardner was not known for her understanding of exhibition installation, particularly in terms of sculpture.
189. Ibid.

an early age and officially incorporated the Shelburne Museum in order to display a collection of carriages inherited from her father-in-law, installing herself as president. Just as Webb collected objects for display, so did she collect buildings, ultimately relocating twenty-five historic structures to the Museum property, utilizing the buildings as structures for installation as well as vehicles for interpretation themselves [fig. 2.6].[190]

Following Electra Havemeyer Webb's death in 1960, her son, J. Watson Webb, succeeded her as President of the Museum and subsequently served as Chairman of the Board of Directors. The Museum operation continued without controversy until 1996, when the Museum incurred widespread backlash for its decision to deaccession $25 million worth of the Museum's European collection, originally acquired by Webb herself. J. Watson Webb resigned his position on the board in protest, noting that the sale violated the code of ethics of the American Alliance of Museums (formerly known as the American Association of Museums), which forbids the sale of artwork for purposes other than permanent collections care and future art acquisition.[191] The sale proceeded and the funds raised were used to establish a fund for the conservation, storage, and management of the Museum collection. While put to use in the service of the permanent collection, such a situation exposes the difficulties of understanding standards and best practices, even when applied to collections that originated with a private donor.

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190. Lauren B. Hewes, *To Collect in Earnest: The Life and Work of Electra Havemeyer Webb* (Shelburne, VT: Shelburne Museum, 1997), 4.

191. Carol Vogel, "Museum's Fortunes Rise at Auction," *The New York Times*, November 13, 1996. Webb's rationale for resignation is in reference to the AAM Code of Ethics, adopted in 1991 and which state that "disposal of collections through sale, trade or research activities is solely for the advancement of the museum's mission. Proceeds from the sale of nonliving collections are to be used consistent with the established standards of the museum's discipline, but in no event shall they be used for anything other than the acquisition or direct care of collections."

The creation of donor-commissioned museums has continued, often following the same path. Once the determination has been made to formally open the collection to public viewing, a foundation is incorporated and a board organized, and a highly publicized capital project follows.[192] Such projects and their subsequent operations meet with varying degrees of success.[193] The Frick Collection, located in the Carrère and Hastings-designed Henry Clay Frick residence in New York City, opened to the public in 1935 and exhibits a renowned collection of Old Master paintings and furniture, all originally in the personal collection of nineteenth-century industrialist Henry Clay Frick [fig. 2.7]. A more recent example is The Broad, designed by Diller, Scofidio + Renfro, which houses the postwar and contemporary art collection of Eli Broad and opened a $140 million building in Los Angeles in the fall of 2015 [fig. 2.8].[194]

Donor-based museums do not necessarily earn sterling reputations or auspicious futures. The Barnes Foundation, founded in 1922 by chemist Albert C. Barnes, has faced a series of financial challenges over the past three decades [fig. 2.9]. In the 1990s, a

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192. Moustaria, *Art Collections, Private and Public*, 47.
193. This is by no means a uniquely American pursuit, although the legal process outlined is typically American. In England, for example, there are a number of examples that predate these American models and have been studied extensively. The home of neoclassical architect Sir John Soane, built between 1808 and 1812 and converted to a museum in 1837 upon Soane's death has been documented in Gillian Darley's John Soane: An Accidental Romantic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) and James Stourton's *Great Houses of London* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2012). British antiquarian Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill House was constructed between 1749 and 1776 and established as a museum after centuries of private ownership in 2007. Its story has been detailed in Stephen Calloway, Michael Snodin, and Clive Wainwright's *Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill* (Richmond upon Thames: Orleans House Gallery, 1980) and Michael Snodin's *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).
194. Please note that the examples offered are of collections housed in both former residences of the donor (Frick) or in buildings funded by the donor (Broad). As an historic structure whose restoration was funded by the donor, the Driehaus Museum is comparable to – though not totally reflective of – both examples.

decline in the financial stability of the organization led to a break of the institutional indenture, which protected the artwork and articulated the founder's wishes. The agreement was violated when the executive director at the time, Richard H. Glanton, made the decision to travel the collection in return for financial recompense. In a highly publicized 1998 court battle, an audit of the Barnes's finances showed that the Collection's earnings did not support the commitments of its programs and revealed inconsistencies in its accounting practices. *The New York Times*, for example, cited "rampant mismanagement, conflicts of interest and questionable spending" in an exposé of the Barnes Foundation's 1998 audit conducted in conjunction with the court case and suppressed for over three years.[195] Criticized in the press, books, and even a documentary film, the Barnes Foundation came under fire for prolonged legal squabbling, mismanaged funds and contributions, and repeatedly questionable behavior by its former director, Richard H. Glanton.[196]

Ultimately, the collection was saved later that year when Kimberly Camp was hired as the Barnes Collection's first formal Chief Executive Officer. On behalf of the Barnes Collection, Camp petitioned the local courts to change provisions, mainly to triple the number of trustees from five to fifteen in order to ensure close oversight. In 2011, the Barnes Foundation moved the Collection to Philadelphia from Merion, Pennsylvania, in order to increase visitation [fig. 2.10]. The challenges faced by the Barnes have proven

195. Ralph Blumenthal, "Audit Sharply Criticizes Art Institution's Dealings," *New York Times*, July 2, 2003.
196. See John Anderson, *Art Held Hostage: The Battle Over the Barnes Collection* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003) and Don Argott, The Art of the Steal (2010, Philadelphia, PA: MAJ Productions.), both of which detail the history and near-financial collapse of the Barnes Foundation.

the volatility of such organizations, in which financial stability must never be taken for granted.

### The Gilded Age: Progress and Prosperity

Perhaps no era embodied the spirit and the ambition of the collector's dream more than the Gilded Age in which many individuals took advantage of technological advancement and a strong national economy to achieve great success. The story of Samuel Nickerson (1830-1914), a Chicago-based contemporary of Frederick Pabst, parallels certain of the brewer's characteristics and a similar trajectory: they shared a working-class background and amassed great wealth. Figures who achieved wealth, especially in the aptly named Gilded Age, frequently sought to establish themselves socially. As noted by Thorstein Veblen in his seminal 1899 text *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, the turn of the twentieth century coincided with the rise of conspicuous consumption as a demonstration of wealth and, accordingly, status.[197] William Leach, scholar of modern American cultural history, explains, "American corporate business, in league with key institutions, began the transformation of American society into a society preoccupied with consumption, with comfort and bodily well-being, with luxury, spending, and acquisition, with more goods this year than last, more next year than this."[198] As noted by Leach, certain companies and institutions such as banks, museums, and civic buildings embodied the consumerist spirit of the era. Residences belonging to their leaders similarly reflected the era's culture of consumption. Private homes of the

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197. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; republished New York: Dover Publications, 1994), Kindle edition.
198. William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Press, 1994), xiii.

period, many now studied and toured as exhibition spaces, serve as quintessential exemplars of wealth, consumerism, and collecting at the turn of the twentieth century.

**The Changing Landscape of Chicago**

In the nineteenth century, the urban infrastructure of Chicago underwent a period of rapid development, as did its economy and culture. In the 1810s and 1820s the settlement that would become Chicago cemented its position as the early hub of burgeoning Midwestern industry and trade, given its prime location at the base of the Great Lakes navigation system by which goods traveled in the pre-railroad era. The concurrent construction of military posts in the area was the first major sign of growth, as was the population boom that followed the town's incorporation in 1833. In addition to its adjacency to the Great Lakes, Chicago linked to the Michigan and Missouri Rivers via the Illinois and Des Plaines Rivers and in 1836 benefited greatly from the creation of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which provided unfettered access to the western region of the United States. The 1850s construction of westward rail lines, as well as the supply needs of the Union Army during the Civil War, led to a sharp increase in mercantilism in Chicago.[199]

Chicago was a center of American industry when it faced the Great Fire of 1871, which destroyed roughly 3.3 square miles of the city [fig. 2.11]. Though the fire is recognized as one of the greatest disasters of the nineteenth century and decimated much of the central business district, it provided the opportunity for architectural and

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199. Perry R. Duis, "The Shaping of Chicago," in *The American Institute of Architects Guide to Chicago*, edited by Alice Sinkevitch and Laurie McGovern Peterson (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 2.

technological innovation as the city was rebuilt.[200] After 1871, non-masonry buildings were outlawed within the Chicago city limits, creating a demand for technological and stylistic advances and ultimately leading to the advent of modernism in the new use of materials like steel and concrete. Construction with these materials allowed for stronger structures, fireproofing, as well as developments to accommodate these sturdier and taller buildings such as the first widespread use of the passenger elevator and steel frame construction. This era of architectural advancement culminated in the development of the skyscraper, an icon of Chicago's post-fire resilience and progressiveness, and further centralized the city's industry and financial resources.[201] As noted in the 1891 publication *Industrial Chicago*:

> Commercial architecture is just the title to be applied to the great airy buildings of the present. They are truly American architecture in conception and utility. The style is a monument to the advancement of Chicago in commerce and commercial greatness and to the prevailing penchant for casting out art where it interferes with the useful. It is a commanding style without being venerable. … The commercial style, if structurally ornamental, becomes architectural.[202]

The use of new materials and new forms, in addition to the economic vibrancy of the city, contributed to the growing reputation of Chicago as a city of the future.[203]

The city's socioeconomic hierarchy grew and diversified with its physical rebuilding. After the fire, the rapid expansion of residential development to re-house

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200. Ibid., 4.
201. Carl W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875–1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 27.
202. Ibid. Originally published in *Industrial Chicago*, 1899.
203. For a further discussion of 1890s Chicago and its growing mercantile class, see Arnold Lewis, *An Early Encounter with Tomorrow: Europeans, Chicago's Loop, and the World's Columbian Exposition* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

those displaced by the fire, estimated at 100,000 residents, offered new housing opportunities. The rebuilding projects also provided employment, and Chicago's population continued to grow. The expansion of Chicago and sophistication of its economy as a locus for business provided the foundation for a new social hierarchy, which historian Daniel Bluestone notes was deeply influenced by notions of "aesthetics, civility, and moral order."[204] The enrichment of the urban infrastructure with public, corporate, and religions buildings not only served the direct business and lifestyle needs of the city population but also reflected the ideologies of those figures that shaped Chicago.[205] Many "new money" businessmen who formed the wealthy upper class of Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century were self-made men who worried about the impression they — and their city — made on others. [206] In this way, buildings of the time were imbued with meaning: aspirational, with displays of beauty and civility as derived from classical sources, while progressive, employing new technologies and forms. The resulting amalgam of interests, both traditional and forward-thinking, illuminated the cultural ideals of the time, and these ideals can be seen not just in the corporate and civic buildings of the time but also in the residences of these individuals. Citizens commissioned architects to design homes that reflected their wealth, ambition, and self-designated status.

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204. Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 2.
205. Ibid., 3.
206. Ibid., 3.

As urban populations increased and diversified in the second half of the nineteenth century, the upper strata of society tended to cluster in certain areas.[207] In Chicago, one such location was McCormicksville, which underwent major development in the 1880s and 1890s. Originally designated during the city's incorporation only as "SW corner of Block 40 in Kinzie's Addition," the area was first the location of a house belonging to William G. McCormick of the influential Chicago- and Virginia-based McCormick family.[208] Based around Rush and Erie Streets, the McCormicksville area (now known as River North) flourished in the years following the Great Fire of 1871 [fig. 2.12].[209] In addition to the McCormicks, who made their fortune in the reaper industry, Levi Leiter, a co-founder of Field, Leiter & Co. (which later became Marshall Field & Company), as well as Joseph T. Ryerson, who was an early producer of stainless steel goods, also inhabited the area. Perhaps the best known surviving residence of the area is the Cable House, a Richardsonian-Romanesque house by the Chicago-based firm of Cobb and Frost, built in 1886 for socialite Ransom R. Cable and designated a city

207. Duis, "The Shaping of Chicago," 4.
208. William J. Rudd, "Historic American Building Survey: Samuel M. Nickerson House" (Arlington, VA: National Park Service, 1964), 1.
209. Perhaps the best known example of an elite residential community in Chicago is the Gold Coast neighborhood, situated directly north of McCormicksville, which also was increasingly popular with the city's wealthy at the end of the nineteenth century. The area is discussed at length by Daniel Bluestone in the volume edited by Richard Longstreth entitled *The Charnley House: Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the Making of Chicago's Gold Coast*, in his chapter "Charnleys by the Lake: Houses, Apartments, and Fashion on Chicago's Gold Coast" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 37-70. The Gold Coast is home to the Charnley House, an 1891 design by Adler & Sullivan, which now functions as the national headquarters for the Society of Architectural Historians. The Charnley House stands as a quintessential example of the advent of residential modernism in which houses were designed to provide lush settings, a vast living space, and visual presence through innovative layout and simplicity of design.

landmark in 1991 [fig, 2.13].[210] Buildings of the area display "elite residential character," typical of the wealthy Chicagoans who sought more refined settings that "worked as the skyscraper worked: they excluded or disguised, in varying degrees, industrial production and immigrant and working-class people and their cultures; thus … particular parts of the city came to represent the whole," according to scholar Daniel Bluestone.[211] While skyscrapers are arguably representative of the progressive physical and economic city at the end of the nineteenth century, so are the elaborate homes of its wealthy. Yet just as skyscrapers also embody the work of capitalism and power relations, so do these residences essentialize the circumscribed lifestyle of the elite. The landscape is thus a reflection of the dynamic and complicated relationship between economic development and its effects on the population.

Indeed, the settlement of McCormicksville was the result of a wealthy exodus from the south side of Chicago northward at the end of the nineteenth century. These residents left areas such as South Prairie Avenue in order to create neighborhoods of single-family houses, entire blocks of homes of architectural distinction.[212] Neighborhoods such as McCormicksville and the adjacent Gold Coast tended to be close to Lake Michigan and the area to the immediate west and north of the urban center, close to business operations and to the retail district located along State Street. This population shift further stratified the city's residents along class, economic, and geographical lines. As a small group of Chicago residents, many of them transplants who moved to the city

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210. William M. McLenahan, "City of Chicago Landmark Designation Report: Ransom R. Cable House" (Chicago: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 1991).
211. Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago*, 207.
212. Ibid., 39.

for business opportunities, attained business success and wealth, they sought to establish themselves in Chicago society via the right address. One such man was Samuel Nickerson.

**Samuel Nickerson and His Rise to the Chicago Elite**

Born in Chatham, Massachusetts to a poor family in 1830, Samuel Nickerson was notably independent and business-minded during his youth. He relocated to Boston and then New Hampshire for public high school, and moved to Florida upon graduation from the New Hampshire Academy. While initially Nickerson intended to collaborate in business with his brother, he worked as a counter salesman in a country store in Apalochicola. After receiving financial support from New York-based backers, Nickerson opened his own store that he lost — along with all of his assets — in an 1857 fire.

Following the fire, Nickerson uprooted twice in quick succession, first to Massachusetts, where he married a cousin, Mathilda Pinkham Crosby.[213] Together he and Matilda moved to Chicago in 1858 where Nickerson pursued work in the distilling industry, which proved a timely endeavor. When the Civil War began in 1861, Nickerson's distillery was perfectly positioned in the central location of Chicago to supply the Union Army, and was so successful he was able to retire from distilling in 1863.[214] Nickerson soon became involved in banking; though he had no formal training

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213. The Nickerson Family Association manages the family archives in North Chatham, Massachusetts. For the purposes of this study of Samuel Nickerson and his life in Chicago, the archives of the Driehaus Museum and of the Art Institute of Chicago provide the greatest insight.
214. M. Kirby Talley, Jr., *This House Was the Pride of the Town: Mr. Nickerson's Marble Palace Becomes Mr. Driehaus' Museum* (Bennington, VT: Cottontail Publications, 2008), 7.

in finance, he recognized the need to transition from a geographically New England-based financial structure to one that was nationalized as the United States expanded westward.[215] Along with others who sought a local bank to accommodate the needs of the growing city, Nickerson co-founded the First National Bank of Chicago in 1863. He went on to serve as First National's second president and later as the president of the Union Stock Yards National Bank. His stature as a banker was such that he was remembered in his obituary as the man who once held more bank stock than anyone else in the United States.[216] Further cementing Nickerson's success was the fact that his banks and his personal wealth weathered the 1871 Chicago Fire and the 1873 financial panic.[217] Nickerson was considered one of the "wealthiest men of his time" with a worth estimated at approximately $6 million.[218] Not only was his wealth notable, but many admired Nickerson for his demeanor; an 1890 *Daily Tribune* article commented that "men who fret and worry over the little things of this life ought to study this man's history and habits."[219]

In addition to his work in the banking industry, Nickerson was the founder and president of the Chicago City Horse Railway Company and invested in liquor, wine, and explosives ventures, but notably he contributed to the swiftly developing city of Chicago

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215. Richard H. Love and Michael Preston Worley, *The Samuel M. Nickerson House of Chicago: Neo-Renaissance Palazzo and Private Art Gallery of the Gilded Age* (Chicago: R. H. Love Galleries, 1998), 7.
216. "S. M. Nickerson Expires in East," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 21, 1914.
217. Love and Worley, *Nickerson House*, 7. While there is no obvious answer to how Nickerson's wealth remained intact, one potential rationale is that his fortune was invested in Chicago banks, rather than those in Europe. Investments secured with European banks realized devastating losses due to the Franco Prussian War (1870-71) and a resulting trade deficit.
218. Talley, *This House*, 7.
219. "Entertaining the Lady Visitors: Receptions Given by Mrs. S. M. Nickerson and Mrs. H. H. Porter," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 21, 1914.

and its burgeoning culture. He served as an early trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago (established in 1879) and the vice president of the Antiquarian Society, as well as a patron of the Chicago Historical Society and numerous Chicago-based performing arts companies.[220] His relationship with the Art Institute of Chicago, however, was his foremost philanthropic endeavor. Upon his death in 1914 at age 85, Nickerson left a large collection of artifacts to the Art Institute, one of the Institute's largest early gifts of decorative arts, as well a monetary contribution to fund a room is his name and maintenance of his collection of "works by notable European and American painters as well as jewelry, pottery, carvings, and other relics from India, China, and Japan" in perpetuity [2.14].[221] While a benefactor to the cultural climate of Chicago during his lifetime and after, Nickerson's philanthropy was notable but subtle. His obituary praised him for providing "quiet support of every important art movement in the city."[222]

### Architects Burling & Whitehouse

When Nickerson reached the apex of his success in the 1870s, he set out to build a house that reflected his achievements and place in Chicago society. No area was better suited for such a goal than McCormicksville, and the architectural firm he chose to accomplish the task was Burling & Whitehouse.

Edward Burling, originally from Newburgh, New York, was trained in the traditional manner of a carpenter-builder, the profession in which he worked until his

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220. The Richard H. Driehaus Museum, "Original Homeowner, Samuel M. Nickerson (1830-1914)," press release, undated, http://www.driehausmuseum.org/press_pdf/6._Samuel_M._Nickerson_Bio_The_Richard_H._Driehaus_Museum.pdf.
221. Ibid.
222. "Nickerson Expires," *Chicago Daily Tribune.*

move to Chicago in 1843. He began his architectural practice in 1844, founding the second formally established architectural firm in Chicago after John Van Osdel.[223] His first commission was the Eli B. Williams house, located at the intersection of Wabash Avenue and Monroe Street. Unfortunately, the Eli B. Williams house, along with other early Burling projects such as the Post Office Building, the First National Bank, the Tribune Building, and the Chamber of Commerce were all destroyed in the Great Fire of 1871. Burling kept working, however, and helmed successful partnerships with architects such as Frederick H. Baumann and Dankmar Adler, as well as Francis Meredith Whitehouse.[224] Architectural historian David Lowe considers Burling to be a father of Chicago architecture, writing "Burling's unfailing good taste is important in the history of Chicago, for into Burling's office would come Dankmar Adler, and into Dankmar Adler's office would come Frank Lloyd Wright."[225]

Burling's last partner, Francis Meredith Whitehouse, was born to a prominent New York family and moved to Chicago in 1851 when his father, Henry J. Whitehouse, was appointed Episcopal Bishop of Illinois. He received a formal education in architecture at the University of Göttingen in Germany and upon his return to the United States, began work in Burling's office as a draftsman and later rose to the rank of junior

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223. Rudd, "Building Survey," 2.
224. Burling began his career in 1837 as general superintendent for William B. Ogden, Chicago's first mayor, at some point between Ogden's inauguration in 1837 and before Burling began a partnership with Frederick H. Baumann in 1852. Dankmar Adler apprenticed under Burling and the two formed a brief though productive partnership in 1870 and which was dissolved by 1880, when Adler began his partnership with Louis Sullivan.
225. David Lowe as quoted by Love and Worley, *Nickerson House*, 9. The original quote appeared in David Garrard Lowe, *Lost Chicago* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1975).

partner.[226] He is credited with design of the Epiphany Episcopal Church [fig. 2.15], the First National Bank, and the Choral Hall at the 1893 Columbian Exposition.

**Construction and Design of the Nickerson House**

In 1879, Samuel Nickerson applied for and was granted a property and building permit for a "brick dwelling, stone front, 3 stories and 1 basement" from the City of Chicago.[227] Progress moved slowly at first, with Burling & Whitehouse receiving the commission for design of the home in 1881. The construction lasted two years and received much attention upon its 1883 completion. As one of the first fireproof residences in the city and at a cost of $450,000, it was the costliest and largest residential construction in Chicago until that date.[228] The home was lauded as reaching "a standard of excellence never before attained in Chicago" according to an 1883 issue of *Inland Architect*, and surpassed in size the homes of both George M. Pullman and Cyrus M. McCormick, described in the *Chicago Tribune* as the "Gog and Magog of house-architecture in the city."[229] Following the building's completion, Nickerson moved in with his wife, child, and eleven servants.[230]

The Nickerson house, as it was commonly known at the time, is usually classified as an example of rationalized Neo-Classicism on the exterior and the Aesthetic

226. Rudd, "Building Survey," 3.
227. Ibid. Information regarding the construction of the Nickerson House is available from the City of Chicago Commission on Chicago Landmarks, the archive of the Richard H. Driehaus Museum, and the archives of the American College of Surgeons.
228. Sadly for Nickerson, the title was short lived: according to Rudd's1967 Historic American Building Survey, the Potter Palmer residence, completed in 1885, overtook the Nickerson house in size and cost.
229. Talley, *This House*, 11.
230. Love and Worley, *Nickerson House*, 9.

Movement for the interior [fig. 2.16].[231] M. Kirby Talley Jr., a preservationist who spearheaded the restoration of the house in the early 2000s, most specifically, characterizes the structure as Schinkelesque Neo-Classical in style.[232] This accounts for the subtle Teutonic style of the decorative elements on the house's façade, notable in the cornices and smooth walls that reflect the proto-modernism of nineteenth-century design. Germanic influences may derive from Whitehouse's training in Germany, Burling's previous work with Dankmar Adler, or simply veneration for the designs of Neoclassical German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, a popular influence in buildings of the 1880s and 1890s in Chicago, such as the 1889 Germania Club by W. August Fiedler [2.17].[233]

While unique in its eclectic ornamentation of organic forms, the historical and classical references illustrate a larger design philosophy in America at the time. Classical forms, which expressed qualities of elegance, stability, and power, were popular in the design of industrialists' homes of the era. Most common in institutional buildings in America for the representation of democratic ideals, the language of classicism was also seen in residential commissions, such as the 1882 William Henry Vanderbilt Mansion in New York City by the Herter Brothers with Charles B. Atwood and John Snook [fig. 2.18]. As Richard Love and Michael Preston Worley note:

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231. Ibid., David Bagnall, *An American Palace: Chicago's Samuel M. Nickerson House* (Chicago: Driehaus Museum, 2012), 18.
232. Talley, *This House*, 11.
233. Love and Worley, *Nickerson House*, 13. The landmark designation report for the Germania Club filed in 2010 with the City of Chicago includes a worthwhile discussion of Schinkel's influence on Chicago architecture of the time: Matt Crawford, et al., *Landmark Designation Report; Germania Club Building* (Chicago: City of Chicago, Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 2010), 5.

> Classical details were popular in mansions of the Gilded Age. Wealthy civic leaders in America's largest cities likened themselves to Medici patrons and created their own renaissance. The three-story palazzo structure was the most common type for the private homes of neo-Renaissance patrons, for whom the Italian Renaissance was their obsession, their model, their goal.[234]

As the largest and most opulent house in New York City and constructed virtually contemporaneously with Nickerson's house, the William Henry Vanderbilt Mansion was a natural and likely model for Nickerson.

The exterior façade of the Nickerson house is constructed of Ohio buff sandstone from the Cleveland Stone Company atop a light grey rusticated sandstone foundation and capped by a sandstone cornice.[235] While each side of the building is articulated by three stringcourses dividing each story, the facades differ. On the front (facing East Erie Street), the outer bays project and on the west side (facing North Wabash Street), the central bay does; the south front features lintels decorated with egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel motifs; and the northwest corner holds a windowless gallery with ornate pilasters.[236] Three chimneys are featured on both the east side and the west, and an additional chimney is placed along the north façade. The house's structure of brick load-bearing walls with cast iron beams and shallow arched corrugated metal pans supporting the natural concrete walls was designed to provide fireproofing and was a novelty at the

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234. Ibid., 12.
235. According to the 1964 Historic American Buildings Survey report, the porous buff sandstone was considered impossible to clean and a point of concern during much of the twentieth century. Defying earlier expectations, the sandstone was fully cleaned during the restoration project of 2003–2008 completed under the direction of Dr. M. Kirby Talley.
236. Love and Worley, *Nickerson House*, 12.

time.[237] The exterior is striking in its stately yet delicate appearance, and as Love and Worley explain, "what strikes the visitor initially is the crisply carved, sculpturesque handling, and the massiveness of the three-story structure, an imposing 60' x 100' rectangle of sandstone walls.[238]

The interior of the Nickerson house was contracted mainly to L. W. Murray and A. Fielder, who spearheaded the interior design and artistic furnishings of the residence.[239] Fielder, a German immigrant, trained as a cabinetmaker and viewed the creation of residential furniture as an art form. He exhibited his creations as art, and published an 1877 text on interior design, *Designers and Manufacturers of Artistic Furniture, Upholstered Goods, Hardwood Fittings, Draperies, and Interior Decorations.*[240] The styles selected for interior decoration conformed to the needs of climate, habit, and mode of life of the inhabitant; since Nickerson wished for his residence to act as a showplace, only the most intricate design elements were employed. Fielder and Murray, commissioned with Fielder to complete the project, instituted a

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237. While fireproofing was a citywide mandate following the Great Fire of 1871, the method utilized in construction of the Nickerson house was unusual and reflected the transitional nature of fireproofing at the time. The relatively new material of concrete was popular in Chicago after the Fire, and the use of loadbearing brick walls was understood to be the best precaution in the early 1880s. More information on the use of concrete as early fireproofing can be explored in Jane Boshek, "The Skyscraper: A Catalyst of Change in the Chicago Construction Industries, 1882-1892," *Construction History* 4 (1988): 53-74.
238. Love and Worley, *Nickerson House*, 12.
239. All correspondence of Fielder and Murray, as well as referential sources, refer to both men by only first initial and last name.
240. A. Fielder and Co., *Designers and Manufacturers of Artistic Furniture, Upholstered Goods, Hardwood Fittings, Draperies, and Interior Decorations*, (Chicago: C. H. Blakeley & Co., printers, 1877). Fielder embraced the classification of decorative arts and interior design as a sophisticated art form, and in the residence of Samuel Nickerson, a commission he received only two years after his book was printed, he was able to fully meld the practical needs of interiors with their artistic capacity.

different style and palette in each room, a practice popular during the Victorian era and reflective of eclectic influence.[241] Of the two, Fielder especially prized the knowledge of existing artistic principles while advocating for originality of design, and took pride in creating new motifs instead of repeating old ones. Influenced by the exoticism of Moorish, Byzantine, and Japanese patterns, Fielder applied self-created designs to his carved work of easels, hanging shelves, and cabinets [figs. 2.19, 2.20].[242]

While there exists no evidence that whole European interiors were imported and installed in the Nickerson house, as was popular at the time, materials and artisans themselves were called in to augment the design of the house.[243] Rich and rare materials such as white Italian marble, black Belgian marble, Cuban mahogany, and South American satinwood were used in crafting the furniture and decorative elements of the house. Furthermore, craftsmen traveled from Italy to aid in the carving and construction of the objects.[244] The elaborate nature of the projects called for collaboration between multiple regional firms that specialized in architecture and design, such as both the firms of George A. Schastey & Co. and R. W. Bates & Co. on the kitchen cabinets.[245]

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241. Walter C. Kidney, *The Architecture of Choice: Eclecticism in America 1880–1930* (New York: George Braziller, 1974).
242. For period illustrations of the rooms, see *American Victorian Architecture*, a republication of photographer Albert Lévy's *L'architecture américaine* from 1886; *The American Architect and Building News*, July 17, 1886; and *George Sheldon's Artistic Houses* (1883-84). See also Arnold Lewis, *Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age* (New York: D. Appleton, 1883-1884; reprinted Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1987), 106-107.
243. Talley, *This House*, 17. For more information on the importation and use of European architectural salvage, see John Harris, *Moving Rooms: The Trade in Architectural Salvages* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).
244. Rudd, "Building Survey," 10.
245. Ibid.

The layout of the house divides the space into rooms designed for public, private, and functional purposes, common in large residential commissions of the time in order to support the level of entertaining planned by its inhabitants. The basement consists of the service rooms, storage closets, and the maid and butler quarters; there is one entertaining area on the ground floor basement level, originally designed as Nickerson's billiards room. On the first floor is a central vestibule and large stair hall, flanked by a library, breakfast room, dining room, kitchen, and butler's pantry, as well as a gallery [figs. 2.21, 2.22].[246] The stair hall is mirrored on the second floor, which is surrounded by bedrooms and adjoining bathrooms, with the servants' quarters in the back and a step lower than the main level [figs. 2.23, 2.24]. The third floor holds additional guest bedrooms and bathrooms.

Throughout the three floors the decorators provided opulent detail. The main stair well features marble treads, risers, ornate balusters and railings, and ascends in one fluid element from the first through third levels. Rooms feature flooring of oak and marble, often in intricate inlaid parquet designs, and ceilings are of paneled marble with carved wood or marble moldings. Marble and carved wood walls provide display areas for tapestries and wainscoting that correspond to the decorative motif of each room. Many areas include integrated furniture elements, often with delicately engraved details and fixtures [fig. 2.25]. Together, the structure, interior design, and decorative elements

246. The gallery was replaced by a trophy room featuring a stained glass dome, added by architect George Maher for later owner Lucius G. Fisher in 1900.

convey a visual language of "wealth, patronage, and prestige," as David Bagnall notes in his 2012 chronicle of the house.[247]

The structure was a remarkable residence for a poor boy from Cape Cod. Though it was common for Chicago's wealthy to build opulent and expensive residences, Nickerson's house was celebrated for its lavish design and referred to by many as the "Marble Palace" for its extensive use of marble throughout. The house was also famous for its use of rare woods and handcrafted woodwork and mosaics, and upon the year of its completion was featured in the 1883 publication *Artistic Houses: being a series of interior views of a number of the most beautiful and celebrated homes in the United States: with a description of the art treasurers contained therein*, a compendium of the country's most lauded residential interiors.[248] The book also included the homes of J. P. Morgan and Cornelius Vanderbilt II. The houses featured all belonged to wealthy individuals, many of whom viewed their homes as showcases of their affluence and means to immortalize their position as members of the new American aristocracy.[249]

Like others featured in *Artistic Houses*, Nickerson's house was designed as a center for entertaining and business networking, its appearance and public use seemingly more important than its function as a domestic space. Nickerson even had his own personal art gallery, in which were installed exhibitions of the banker's collection [fig. 2.26]. With the display of his collection of paintings, Nickerson's gallery was considered

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247. Bagnall, *An American Palace*, 12.
248. Ibid., 19.
249. Ibid.

one of the finest "private galleries" in the city.[250] After learning of a new and fashionable hanging technique, Nickerson utilized it in 1884 with paintings installed in a single line at eye level versus the cluttered salon style of the past. The gallery space also mirrored public exhibitions in its use as a research room, an unusually welcoming act for members of elite society, but one that reflected the Nickersons' interest in the educational value of art. The Nickersons admitted students to their home to study their collection, and below the paintings was a vast collection of art textbooks for research purposes. In an 1883 *Chicago Daily Tribune* article, the paper saluted Nickerson for his gallery, which was lauded as "one of the handsomest, best appointed, and best lighted in the West."[251] Additionally, the Nickersons hosted many public events in the house, which often included "promenades" through the rooms of the house, in which visitors were encouraged to view the interiors and art collections.[252] The house was, essentially, functioning in part as a museum as soon as it was built.

The house was designed, in its essence, to welcome the prominent and educated citizens of Chicago. The environment of the residence was also conducive to making business connections and negotiating deals. Rather than keep their work and domestic spaces separate like others, as Daniel Bluestone has argued to "secure a domestic and residential world apart from the world of work," savvy businessmen such as Nickerson

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250. "Have Rare Pictures, Fine Art Collections Owned by Chicago Citizens. Paintings by Old and Modern Masters in the Possession of Mr. and Mrs. S. M. Nickerson," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 11, 1894.
251. "Art and Artists, The Fine-Art Collection of Mr. Samuel M. Nickerson," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 8, 1883. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* goes on to note the "most gracious hospitality" the Nickersons showed in allowing access to "discriminating fellow-beings."
252. "Mrs. Nickerson's Reception," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 8, 1885.

designed residential palaces not solely for the simply social pleasure of entertaining but also for forming important commercial networks.[253] The residential life of the elite, especially in their city homes (as opposed to the secluded country homes that many also maintained outside of the city, in areas such as Lake Geneva, Wisconsin), was not a retreat from the world of commerce but a contributor to and signifier of it in an era when wealth was celebrated as a reward for a successful career. Ultimately, elite homes of the late nineteenth century held business ramifications as proclamations of professional and social achievement.

**Institutional Use and the Move Towards Preservation**

Following Samuel Nickerson's retirement — at which time he cashed in 7,000 shares of stock in First National Bank valued at more than $2 million and subsequently moved to New York in 1900 — the house went through a series of private owners. Nickerson sold the house to Lucius G. Fisher in 1900, the president of Union Paper & Bag Company and owner of extensive real estate holdings in Chicago (including the 1896 Fisher Building by Daniel Burnham). The deed was transferred to Fisher at a value of $75,000, including partial furnishings, a notable devaluation from its construction cost of $450,000.[254] Fisher owned the residence until his death in 1916, and maintained the house with few alterations.[255] He replaced Nickerson's art gallery with a trophy and rare book room designed by early Prairie School architect George Maher.[256] He also removed

253. Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago*, 3.
254. "Nickerson Homestead Sold to L. G. Fisher," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 3, 1900.
255. Loyal Davis, *Fellowship of Surgeons: A History of the American College of Surgeons* (Chicago: American College of Surgeons, 1960), 226.
256. Talley, *This House,* 19.

the clear glass skylight under the former gallery's stained glass dome, opting for an opaque ceiling of a rectangular frieze instead. After Fisher's passing, his daughter inherited the house and briefly resided there before putting the house on the market later that year.

The house remained on the market for three years. Maintenance costs, along with a misleading list price of $100,000 that only accounted for the value of the land and not the costly house itself, made the sale difficult. Additionally, by 1916 the desirable area for Chicago's wealthy had moved northward, to Evanston and beyond the city limits. Yet in 1919, the house was sold to the American College of Surgeons (ACS), who had decided to settle their headquarters in Chicago because of the city's central location. Given the confusion over the listing price, the ACS found themselves in a position to fundraise, and obtained a 45-day option on the property in order to raise the support. The deed was finally purchased after contributions were garnered from "more than 100 of Chicago's most prominent citizens."[257] Like the Pabst Mansion, the Nickerson House transitioned from residence to institutional office space.

The ACS used the house for offices and entertaining, and made few revisions to the house's original ornamentation and structure. Indeed, the *Chicago Tribune* explained in 1955 that

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257. Rudd, "Building Survey," 4. Sources vary on the means by which the ACS occupied the building. Both the HABS report by Rudd and the history of the ACS by Davis assert that the ACS was interested in the building and sought additional investors; other sources, such as Robert Sharoff's 2007 profile of Richard H. Driehaus, say that the prominent group saved the building as an act of preservation, and then gifted it to the ACS [see Robert Sharoff, "A Classic Act," *Chicago Magazine* (October, 2007)]. The details of the transaction are unclear, though all agree that the ACS commenced tenancy in 1919.

> perhaps the most phenomenal achievement in the college's occupation of the building … is its use as a business center. No walls have been torn down to make way for desks or a switchboard. Instead, the modern workpieces have been installed carefully, so as to let the aura of the old mansion remain intact.[258]

The only changes made to the property were the removal of the original stable-garage building and the addition on the east side of the building of the John B. Murphy Memorial, an auditorium dedicated to the memory of the surgeon, a founding member of the ACS.[259] The firm of Marshall & Fox designed the Memorial in 1926 in a monumental French Renaissance style and with large bronze doors cast by Tiffany Studios [fig. 2.27]. Its construction necessitated the demolition of the conservatory adjacent to the dining room. An elevator shaft and staircase was installed to connect the two buildings, an intrusion which remains unpopular with preservationists for "suffocating" the appearance of the house.[260] In 1963, the ACS expanded its operation with an 8-story office building across the street at 55 East Erie Street, designed by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill.[261] The general offices relocated to the office building; the mansion thereafter was used only for special events, including as a venue for charity functions. The ACS clearly valued the preservation of the Nickerson house, supporting the completion of Historic American Building Survey documentation in 1965 and advocacy for Landmark status in 1977. The organization also took operational measures to protect the structure in 1976, disallowing

258. "Surgeons Unit Home Recalls Chicago's Past," *Chicago Tribune*, October 30, 1955.
259. Davis, *Fellowship of Surgeons*, 226.
260. Talley, *This House*, 21.
261. The building was demolished in or before 2004, when a luxury apartment complex was built on the site.

visitors and increasing security to prevent vandalism.[262] The ACS owned the building until 1989, when they sold it to Richard H. Love, the proprietor of R. H. Love Galleries, for a new retail location. Much as the ACS viewed the Nickerson house as a functional office space, Love saw the opportunity to appropriate the building's grandeur for his own business purposes. Love was the first individual who actively considered restoration of the building, although he began slowly. He even produced a publication detailing the house's history in 1998. Love's business suffered, however, following a series of lawsuits that alleged he sold inauthentic artworks and illegally obtained funds in the 1990s.[263] Ultimately he closed his business and sold the house in 2002 to investor and philanthropist Richard Driehaus.[264]

## Transition to the Richard H. Driehaus Museum

Born on the south side of Chicago in 1941, Richard Driehaus, like Nickerson, grew up in relatively humble surroundings. He later received both undergraduate and MBA degrees from DePaul University and began his career as an institutional stock trader for AG Becker. Quickly proving himself professionally, he climbed the ranks in various brokerage firms, ultimately forming Driehaus Capital Management in 1982. Driehaus's firm has grown to be one of the largest investment firms in Chicago and manages $9.7 billion in assets as of September 30, 2015.[265] As Driehaus's professional profile grew, so did his interest in philanthropy, and in 1983 the trader established the

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262. Robert G. Happ and The Staff. 1975 correspondence. American College of Surgeons Archive, Chicago.
263. Charles Storch, "Picture Gets Darker for Art Dealer," *Chicago Tribune*, October 21, 1993.
264. Ibid.
265. Driehaus Capital Management, "About Us," modified October 1, 2015, www.driehaus.com/Driehaus-AboutUs.php.

Richard Driehaus Foundation to support preservation, the arts, and the economically disadvantaged. [266] The Richard Driehaus Foundation awards approximately $2 to $4 million each year in grants to 250 recipients, and as of 2013 held over $75 million in assets.[267] The Foundation funds primarily arts organizations, anti-poverty programs, and investigative journalism. Its work has proven so successful that since 2003, the Foundation has received an annual allocation from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation to fund Chicago-area cultural organizations. In addition to underwriting regional capital project development, such as Millennium Park and Navy Pier, the Foundation prioritizes funding American architecture and preservation. Operating support for the Society of Architectural Historians and the Driehaus Prize for Classical Architecture, administered by the University of Notre Dame's School of Architecture, are two projects underwritten by the Driehaus Foundation. Richard Driehaus has been publicly lauded for his support of preservation activities, and in October of 2015, he received the American Institute of Architects Chicago Lifetime Achievement Award for "preservation and championing classical principles in planning and architecture."[268] He is known to approach his philanthropy from the same shrewd business perspective employed in his investment firm; as noted in a 2012 interview with *The Philanthropy Roundtable*, Richard Driehaus "buys into the penny stocks of cultural

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266. In addition to the Richard Driehaus Foundation, Driehaus oversees two other funds: The Kristyna M. Driehaus Foundation, named for his wife, which provides opportunities for Czech Republic citizens in the United States and maintains assets of roughly $50,000; and the Driehaus Design Initiative, established to promote design education and with assets of roughly $40,000.
267. The Richard H. Driehaus Foundation, "2013 Standard Return of Private Foundation," www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2013/363/261/2013-363261347-0ad7dbcc-F.pdf.
268. American Institute of Architects, "Richard H. Driehaus to Receive 2015 AIA Chicago Lifetime Achievement Award," http:www.aiachicago.org/news/entry/Richard-h-driehaus-to-receive-2015-aia-chicago-lifetime-achievement-award#.VdswGYsXSyy.

nonprofits … rather than working through the well-funded boards of blue-chip assets like the Art Institute of Chicago."[269]

Clearly, Driehaus enjoys a challenge and exhibits a managerial approach in his support of preservation projects. In 1994, Driehaus purchased the aforementioned Ransom Cable house and restored it for use as the headquarters of Driehaus Capital Management. Because of his architectural interest, Driehaus used the Richardsonian Cable House as his firm's corporate logo [fig. 2.29]. In 1994, as he observed the closure of the Richard H. Love Gallery and subsequent listing of the Nickerson House — located across the street from Driehaus Capital Management — he saw a potential new project that piqued his interest.

**Preservation of the Nickerson House and Establishment of the Richard H. Driehaus Museum**

Richard Driehaus purchased the Nickerson house in 2002 and immediately launched a full-scale restoration of the site. He hired M. Kirby Talley Jr., an art historian and preservationist to serve as the project's restoration architect, which began in earnest in 2003 and lasted through 2008. Per Driehaus's specifications, Talley's direction of the undertaking "adhered to principles of conservation and classicism."[270] Driehaus funded the entire restoration and spared no expense. Specialists in marble, marquetry, woodwork, and other materials were flown to Chicago to undertake cleaning of the entire interior. The façade of the building, previously thought impossible to clean without

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269. James Panero, "From Driehaus to Our House," The Philanthropy Roundtable, accessed October 1, 2015, www.philanthropyroundtable.org /topic/excellence_in_philanthropy/from_driehaus_to_our_house.
270. See Talley, *This House.*

damaging the smooth surfaces, was laser-cleaned using a technique so innovative it was profiled in a 2009 *APT Bulletin* which explained that it was "the first laser cleaning of an entire architectural structure in the United States."[271] Attention was paid to accessibility and building standards, with a complete overhaul of the infrastructure to meet compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), as well as the addition of an HVAC system, all carefully hidden from public view. Talley has been quoted as saying, "It's remarkable to find a situation like that where you can honestly say that no expenses were denied to do the job the right way."[272] The project was completed in 2008, and Driehaus finally had a home for the personal art collection that he had been building since the 1970s, the financier's art collection taking the place of Nickerson's. As the objects were carefully installed in the summer of 2008, the Nickerson house transformed, completely and resolutely, into the Richard H. Driehaus Museum.

**Operations**

The Richard H. Driehaus Museum opened in the fall of 2008, its intention to serve as an appropriately decorative showcase for Driehaus's collection of art and artifacts from the years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, dating mainly to the period from 1880 to 1920. M. Kirby Talley Jr. transitioned from serving as the director of the preservation project to executive director of the Driehaus Museum, a position he held until 2011. The Museum was originally open by appointment only and was considered a "boutique museum" according to Mary Dwyer, former museum collections and

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271. Andrzej Dajnowski, Adam Jenkins, and Andrew Lins, "The Use of Lasers for Cleaning Large Architectural Structures," *APT Bulletin* 40, no. 1 (2009), 4.
272. Panero, "From Our House to Driehaus."

exhibitions coordinator.[273] Though this term has no standard definition, Mary referred to the Driehaus Museum as a "boutique" given its initially small operation and limited open hours. The public spaces of the Museum include period rooms on the first floor, a portion of the original furnishings supplemented with objects from Driehaus's collection, consisting of nineteenth-century French posters, decorative metalwork, stained glass, and bronzes. The second and third floor spaces are considered the gallery, with objects regularly rotated and also devoted to the Driehaus collection. In this way, the Museum is essentially a showplace for the Driehaus collection and does not exhibit objects original to the Nickerson era. As staff members have noted, Driehaus considers the Museum a "vehicle" by which his collection is exhibited.[274] As Talley explains, the Museum is not "archeological" or invested in scholarly inquiry in scope, but is "about protecting the past. The idea is to display the period, the materials and objects, and to organize that as a whole experience. It's not about any one object. It's about the environment, the space."[275] Moreover, the Museum's current priority is not professional standards or best practices, but the personal preferences of Driehaus himself.

The core of the "materials and objects" represented at the Driehaus Museum consist almost wholly of pieces from the Driehaus collection, and are not owned or maintained by the Museum itself. Rather, they are the personal property of Driehaus, who has contracted with a private cultural management team to maintain the objects. The primary collections goal of the Museum is to liaise with Driehaus and his property team,

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273. Mary Dwyer, (Collections and Exhibitions Coordinator, The Richard H. Driehaus Museum), in discussion with the author, June 18, 2013.
274. Mary Dwyer discussion, June 18, 2013.
275. Robert Sharoff, "A Classic Act," *Chicago Magazine* 56 (October 2007), 4.

who oversee Driehaus's art assets. While it is the responsibility of Museum staff to manage the care of collections when installed in the Museum, the property team handles the general collecting activity and provides centralized oversight of the insurance, acquisition, and conservation of the collection.[276] The property team includes a specific art division, which also provides an annual loan provision to the Museum to hold and steward Driehaus-owned objects onsite.

When asked about any impetus to explore the history of the site itself, staff members explained that the story of the Museum begins with the preservation of the site in 2003, when Driehaus purchased the property. Instead of tracing the history of the house back to its 1883 construction, the interpretive priority of the Museum is the triumphant preservation activity, taking place entirely in the twenty-first century. The objects, as explained by director Lise Dubé-Scherr, are the focus of all interpretation, with the Gilded Age mansion serving simply as a setting.[277] In this way and echoing other private collection-based museums such as the Shelburne Museum, the historic structure functions as the largest object of Driehaus's collection.

The staff of the Museum actually serves to illustrate this delineation between a more traditional staffing structure centered around collections and exhibitions, and the Driehaus Museum, which does not maintain a curator on its staff, simply a collections

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276. Lise Dubé-Scherr, (Executive Director, The Richard H. Driehaus Museum), in discussion with the author, June 18, 2013. The Driehaus Museum does consider itself to be an active collecting institution, according to director Dubé-Scherr, though no documentation was offered regarding the official acquisitions procedure in regard to those acquisitioned into Driehaus's personal collection versus the permanent collection of the Museum, and if such a collection even exists.
277. Lise Dubé-Scherr discussion, June 18, 2013.

manager. In fact, virtually all interpretive and exhibitions-based activity is outsourced, with guest curators managing the installations, and freelance preparators and contracted services utilized for support. The majority of staff positions are dedicated to marketing and guest services, and job titles and responsibilities have shifted greatly since the Museum's opening. In fact, Lise Dubé-Scherr, who began as director in April of 2011, is the only staff member whose title has remained the same over the past four years. Furthermore, turnover is notable at the Museum: every current employee has served fewer than two years at the Museum.

Seeing the staff resources devoted to guest services, it is not a surprise to learn from Anna Wolff, former programs assistant at the Driehaus Museum and now curator of arts education for the Frederik Meijer Gardens and Sculpture Park in Grand Rapids, Michigan, that a focus of the Museum is visitation and programming.[278] The site currently receives 22,000 visitors each year, with an annual goal of 40,000.[279] Wolff estimates that 60 percent of their visitors are tourists to Chicago and the remainder local, which Dubé-Scherr looks to change. Driehaus himself explains that he aims for the Museum to be considered a community-gathering place.[280] Anna Wolff echoes this sentiment and further clarifies that the staff has no problem reaching older crowds, but specifically wishes to engage a younger demographic.[281] "Twilight Tours" are offered after 5:00 p.m. to garner young professionals, and the idea of an auxiliary board

278. Anna Wolff, (Administrative and Programs Assistant, The Richard H. Driehaus Museum), in discussion with the author, June 18, 2013.
279. Lise Dubé-Scherr discussion, June 18, 2013.
280. David Bagnall, *An American Palace*, 10.
281. Anna Wolff discussion, June 18, 2013.

composed of 20–45-year olds is under discussion. The strategy employed to reach the younger community members is, as Wolff notes, not based on major advertising but to indirectly engage the young adults via social media. For that reason, Wolff, Dubé-Scherr, and others associated with the Driehaus Museum are consistently concerned with the public brand of the site, which as they are quick to note, does not include definition as a historic house museum.[282]

**The Definition as a Historic House Museum**

One thing made clear when discussing the Richard Driehaus Museum with its staff is that the institution does not wish to be referred to as a historic house museum, however fitting such a categorization may appear. The staff actively avoids such characterization, as noted by Dwyer.[283] She explains that the term limits expectations of the visitor to a "dusty building" that only tells the story of the distant past. The preference to focus on the story of recent preservation and the role of Richard Driehaus as its leader is indicative of this narrative decision. The Driehaus Museum presents virtually no original documents or research in regard to its pre-twenty-first century history, instead directing those interested in the Nickersons to the family archive in Chatham, Massachusetts.[284] Educational programming is not historically based but "interpersonal" and "conversational," allowing visitors to direct the course of the tour.[285] Dubé-Scherr comments that the Driehaus Museum as an institution maintains a "broad" definition of

282. Lise Dubé-Scherr discussion, June 18, 2013 and Anna Wolff discussion, June 18, 2013.
283. Mary Dwyer discussion, June 18, 2013.
284. Though its collection more of a genealogical Nickerson family resource and of less use for the purposes of this study, the Nickerson Family Association website is available at http://nickersonassoc.com.
285. Anna Wolff discussion, June 18, 2013.

interpretation that does not include history in order to provide an unmediated experience of the collection and therefore, according to Dubé-Scherr, more authentic.[286] The Driehaus Museum is not a "cobwebbed, musty house" as may be inferred by the historic house moniker but a more dynamic site that serves a variety of uses, according to Mary Dwyer. She further notes that to be defined as such would "box in" the staff and not allow for interpretive freedom and creativity.[287]

Tim Samuelson, cultural historian for the City of Chicago, explains that while many appreciate historic house museums as sites that foster visual storytelling, the understanding of such places is generational.[288] The Driehaus Museum is not alone in its wariness over such categorization, as many institutions that are commonly described as historic house museums do not succeed in reaching younger constituents.

That is not to say that the concerns expressed by the staff of sites such as the Driehaus — that assumptions regarding the house museum title make it an unpopular one — are invalid, though inescapable. As explained in the introductory chapter, the opinions of the Driehaus staff are not unusual as site professionals, preservationists, and academics grapple with a formal definition suitable for the use of all historic house museums.

**Nickerson and Driehaus: Collectors in their Own Times**

The ongoing concern over public image and brand is not unique to the Driehaus Museum, but is worth noting because of the importance of perception and role of status for both its original resident and its current patron. Nickerson did, and Driehaus continues

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286. Lise Dubé-Scherr discussion, June 18, 2013.
287. Mary Dwyer discussion, June 18, 2013.
288. Tim Samuelson, (Cultural Historian, City of Chicago), in discussion with the author, June 20, 2013.

to, embody the concept of a "cultivated gentleman," understood as one who presides over architecture with a sense of aesthetic principles and civic purpose.[289] As Daniel Bluestone rightly argues, the increasing focus on the regulation of city resources in the twentieth century brought the decline of such leaders. Driehaus, however, is a current example of such a figure. Prioritizing design, the pursuit of beauty, and aesthetic excellence is a hallmark of Driehaus's personal and philanthropic endeavors. In this way, Driehaus is less like his twenty-first-century contemporaries and more similar in mindset to the generation of men that built Chicago in the late nineteenth century. Talley notes that Driehaus "embodies the entrepreneurial spirit that drove Samuel Nickerson to build the mansion and inspired Lucius Fisher, followed by the donors of the American College of Surgeons, to buy it."[290]

Nickerson and Driehaus, each in their own era, have certain similarities. Driven by ambition and with a career built on money management, as well as a distinctly humble background, Nickerson and Driehaus are quintessential capitalists. They have each been regarded as among the wealthiest figures in Chicago and used their earnings to support the culture, specifically arts and architecture, of the city. When asked about the parallels with Nickerson in 2008, Driehaus agreed. "Wealth aside, [Driehaus] does feel a kinship with Nickerson. 'He sold liquor and I like wine,' Driehaus said. '[And] we both love architecture.'"[291] Both figures also contribute to a centralization of wealth in Chicago and

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289. Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago*, 208.
290. Talley, *This House*, 23.
291. Andrew Hermann, "'It's Like a Time Machine': The Richard H. Driehaus Museum," *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 16, 2008.

their fortunes built upon a capitalist economy, reflective of American consumer capitalism.[292]

Also popular among the capitalist elite, and a passion of Driehaus as well as Nickerson, was the act of collecting. Russell Belk, a marketing professor who specializes in materialism and collecting, aptly describes this activity as "the process of actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences."[293] The act of collecting can serve different purposes for different people, and can be considered in broad terms. Yet Samuel Nickerson's art collection, now in the permanent collection of the Art Institute of Chicago, was for his own appreciation as well as to be shared as social currency. Love explains, "Nickerson collected in order to surround himself with beauty and with works of art that he carefully selected. Entertaining frequently, the Nickersons shared their art with countless members of Chicago's wealthy society."[294] Driehaus, on the other hand, comments that he remembers always appreciating the organizational nature of a collection and began collecting coins at a young age: "By nature I was very visual. The grading system was subjective. I learned the difference between Fine, Very Fine, Extremely Fine, Almost Uncirculated, Uncirculated; they were all very subtle

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292. William R. Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Press, 1994), xiv. Leach argues that much of the American elite amassed their fortunes via capitalistic enterprise, as both Nickerson and Driehaus did. Their acquisition of fine art both exhibits and essentializes the uniquely American characterization of consumer capitalism and the concept of the self-made man.
293. Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1995), 67.
294. Love and Worley, *Nickerson House*, 18.

differences. I learned how to be a collector."[295] Driehaus takes pride in the collecting activity he performed in his youth, for it illustrates his ambition, his diligence, and his prioritization of cultivating taste.

For Driehaus, the collecting of coins as a youth is potentially related to and reflective of a more humble upbringing: he created a situation in which he was consistently handling money, an interest that was adapted on a larger level to his adult career. The ambition for financial success with the erudition required to appreciate collecting illuminates a point made by Walter Benjamin, that objects can and do undergo a transfiguration into personal markers of identity, and can be anything from a child's coin collection to a capitalist's showcase-home.[296] In his psychological study of collectors, Werner Muensterberger explains that those who collect early in life often aim for a means of escape, and enjoy the diligent, solitary activity.[297] He notes that "the values attached to one's holdings usually follow an earlier affective prototype of yearning," articulating the connection between Driehaus's meager circumstances as a youth and his fervor for collecting as a wealthy adult.[298] Furthermore, those who collect often aim to exert a sense of control and even dominance, which serves as "an acknowledgment of his worth."[299]

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295. Panero, "From Driehaus to Our House."
296. Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 15. In his essay "Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting, Benjamin uses the example of a personal library to explicate the imbuing of material objects with personal significance and emotion, such as nostalgia. See Walter Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting," in *Illuminations: Walter Benjamin: Essays and Reflections*, Hannah Arendt, ed., Harry Zohn, trans. (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 60.
297. Ibid., 16
298. Ibid.
299. Ibid., 252.

In this way, Driehaus partakes in the activity of collecting to assert his worth and indirectly his education and taste, a not-uncommon undertaking for figures whose wealth has been earned. Perhaps born of this need to assert themselves and their place in society, they seek to align themselves with the historical act of collecting, specifically paralleling the historical gentleman collector described earlier in this chapter.

**Issues in Single-Funder Preservation**

As with many consumer capitalists, Nickerson and Driehaus undertook and undertake philanthropic projects, many of which centered on the arts and architecture of Chicago. Much as Nickerson contributed to the development of the city on economic and aesthetic levels, so does Driehaus. When speaking about how he will be remembered, Driehaus prefers his support of the arts above all else: "My larger interest is that the Driehaus legacy will be focused on historic preservation efforts, encouraging design competitions of architecture and landscape and supporting fashion and interior design."[300] When discussing the Driehaus Museum in particular, Driehaus calls it his "gift to the city."[301] Driehaus's investment in the Nickerson house and creation of the Driehaus Museum is, as for many who ascend the socio-economic hierarchy, personal as much as professional. Panero references Driehaus's humble childhood, explaining, "the Driehaus Museum represents Richard's model home — the ultimate fulfillment of his father's unrealized dream."[302] While not his personal residence, the Driehaus Museum is

300. Sharoff, "A Class Act," 1.
301. Ibid., 4.
302. Panero, "From Driehaus to Our House."

undeniably a promotion of Driehaus as a philanthropist and is imbued with personal meaning.

The personal and economic significance of Driehaus's support of the Museum is irrefutable, though it creates a complicated situation for the Museum as a tax-exempt, nonprofit institution. Richard Driehaus serves as president of the board and oversees all organizational governance; the remaining trustees listed on the most recent available tax return are all employees of Driehaus Capital Management.[303] The formal relationship between Driehaus as major provider of funds and collections proves to be a blessing and a curse.[304] The Museum faces challenges about even its core priorities, such as its mission. Instead of a typical mission, the "about us" information as listed on all printed materials states that,

> The Richard H. Driehaus Museum immerses visitors in one of the grandest residential buildings of 19th-century Chicago, the Gilded Age home of banker Samuel Mayo Nickerson. Philanthropist Richard H. Driehaus founded the museum on April 1, 2003 with a vision to influence today's built environment by preserving and promoting architecture and design of the past. To realize his vision, Mr. Driehaus commissioned a five-year restoration effort to preserve the structure and its magnificent interiors. Today the galleries feature surviving furnishings paired with elegant, historically-appropriate pieces from the Driehaus Collection of Fine and Decorative Arts, including important works by such celebrated designers as the Herter Brothers and Louis Comfort Tiffany.[305]

Note that the description of the Museum marginalizes the pre-Driehaus history of the site, not even providing the original construction date, in favor of the Driehaus-centric

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303. The Richard H. Driehaus Museum, "2013 Standard Review of Private Foundation," accessed August 24, 2015, www.guidestar.orgFunDocuments/2013/364/339/2013/3-364339951-0ae0b925-F.pdf.
304. Mary Dwyer discussion, June 18, 2013.
305. The Richard H. Driehaus Museum, "About," accessed September 15, 2015, www. driehausmuseum.org/about/view/about.

narrative. The Museum's staff clearly struggles with the balance between the promotion of the building as a preservation success story, and the promotion of Richard Driehaus as a preservation-minded philanthropist. The paragraph is carefully worded to centralize the role of Driehaus, a role that staff members explain is difficult to characterize.[306] Driehaus is not directly involved in any Museum management and director Lise Dubé-Scherr carefully guards Driehaus against outside inquiries, serving as his "mediator," as she calls it.[307] The presence of Driehaus looms over all Museum activities, especially tours, the guides of which are trained to provide a biographical overview of Driehaus and his companies, as well as instructions on how to handle "inappropriate" questions about Driehaus, which consist of anything outside his role in preservation of the site.[308]

More concerning than questions about whether Driehaus resides at the house, which are routine, are assumptions made regarding his funding of the Museum operation. Mary Dwyer explains that many outsiders, including their own colleagues in the museum profession, assume that any and all expenses are handled by Driehaus without question or discretion.[309] She points out that the exhibit designers, for example, have annual budgets approved by a budget committee.[310] Dwyer is careful to clarify that there is no "blank check" for funding but that all expenses have to be approved annually, though there is a certain divergence between the Driehaus Museum's financial administration and that of

306. Anna Wolff discussion, June 18, 2013.
307. Ibid. Notably, when asked about an interview with Driehaus for this study, Dubé-Scherr was clear that she serves as Driehaus's spokesman regarding all Museum business.
308. Ibid.
309. Mary Dwyer discussion, June 18, 2013.
310. The membership of the budget committee is unclear, although presumably it includes Dubé-Scherr and Driehaus.

other small museums. There are no onsite business or operations managers, as specialists contracted by Driehaus handle all financial management, the services for which totaled $800,000 in 2013.[311]

The Driehaus Museum also maintains no staff dedicated to fundraising. When asked about the allocation of staff resources to fundraising, Dubé-Scherr responded that fundraising is "not an effective use of staff time" and that she alone handles development activities.[312] There are no current fundraising opportunities publicized by the Museum other than for memberships that peak at a $2500 level. The Museum does not hold an annual appeal, any seasonal campaigns, or fundraising for capital improvements, nor is any support sought in grant applications to foundations or government programs. Instead, the Museum's support is solely corporate, with planning for a corporate sponsorship program underway. The lack of staff dedication to fundraising is unusual, and indicates an exceptional relationship with – and reliance on – its founder.

The Museum does have an active earned revenue program, garnering income from admission fees that range from $10 for a youth to $20 for an adult, as well as group tour fees, facility rental fees, and shop income. Dubé-Scherr comments that the goal for earned versus contributed income is 50:50, meaning that 50 percent of income would be earned, and the other 50 percent contributed. As of 2013, the top earning activities of events ($175,000 earned revenue) and admissions ($373,000) equal almost $550,000 in revenue, approximately 27 percent of the Museum's $2.5–3 million annual budget and

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311. The Richard H. Driehaus Museum, "2013 Standard Review of Private Foundation."
312. Lise Dubé-Scherr discussion, June 18, 2013.

the rest (75 percent) funded by contributions.[313] Given the current reliance on contributed income, it is a questionable strategy not to prioritize fundraising activity for future stability.

Since no other contributors are identified anywhere on the Museum's website or in its printed materials, we can assume that the majority of support comes directly from Driehaus himself, or is indirectly funded by Driehaus via one of his foundations. Lise Dubé-Scherr acknowledges that the Museum holds an endowment account funded by Driehaus, though it is entirely restricted to non-operational expenditures such as acquisitions or exhibitions. According to its tax documents and unlike most house museums, however, the Driehaus Museum has a robust investment portfolio, with over $3.2 million in annual investment income alone.[314]

Further complicating the insistence of the staff (and mainly Dubé-Scherr) that Driehaus does not provide substantial and regular support of the Museum is that by no standard is the Museum an independent organization. According to its tax filing, the Driehaus Museum is not legally listed at its physical street address of 40 East Erie Street, but is listed under the 25 East Erie address: the same address of the Driehaus Design Initiative, the Richard H. Driehaus Foundation, and Driehaus Capital Management.[315] While not damning by any stretch of the imagination, this speaks to an intrinsic link between the Driehaus Museum and the greater Driehaus family (so to speak) of investments.

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313. Driehaus Museum, "2013 Standard Review."
314. Ibid. Neither the investment portfolio nor the size of the endowment is publicized, but both can be ascertained from tax forms, which are available for public review.
315. Ibid.

Also relevant is that the Richard H. Driehaus Museum is incorporated not as a 501(c)3 public charity but as a private foundation. As defined by the Internal Revenue Service:

> Public charities generally receive a greater portion of their financial support from the general public or governmental units, and have greater interaction with the public. A private foundation, on the other hand, is typically controlled by members of a family or by a small group of individuals, and derives much of its support from a small number of sources and from investment income.[316]

Funding priorities of the Driehaus Museum are clearly understood when compared against the legal designation of a private foundation. The Museum does not prioritize public funding, receives support from a limited number of sources, and maintains a portfolio from which investment income is derived. Upon further inspection of the tax submission, one notes that the Driehaus Museum also holds almost $19.5 million in "non-charitable use assets," mainly securities.

To be absolutely clear, none of the financial information produced by the Driehaus Museum is suspect. An issue is presented, however, in terms of the financial and operational sustainability of the Museum. All staff members interviewed for this study assume a long-term plan by Driehaus to ensure the longevity of the Museum after his death, though none can (or will) speak of it. Mary Dwyer alluded to a plan to grow the contributions past Driehaus's annual contribution and endowment fund, though that may prove difficult with no publicized giving opportunities or staff to foster such activity. Beyond fundraising, there was no understanding on the part of staff of an indenture — a

316. Internal Revenue Service, "Charities and Non-Profits," accessed October 1, 2015, www.irs.gov/Charities-&-Non-Profits/EO-Operational-Requirements:-Private-Foundations-and-Public-Charities.

legal plan of action to protect the Museum, its assets, and particularly its onsite collection — which could leave the Museum vulnerable in the situation that Driehaus loses interest or funding ability (both of which are highly unlikely), nor a posthumous plan of support. As Tim Samuelson explains, "Richard Driehaus is eccentric, with his own point of view, and highly engaged," and the absence of such leadership, as with his monetary support, could be disastrous.[317] Samuelson notes that Driehaus has strong personal relationships with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Art Institute of Chicago, all of which have benefited the Driehaus Museum in delivering access to the best museum professionals in the nation, a number of whom have provided contracted services to the Museum. The implication, however, is that while "they pick up Richard's calls," there are no future guarantees without or after Driehaus's active involvement.[318]

## Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reviewed the history and recent developments in single-funder preservation, providing context in the origins of the act of collecting and the transition of such collections into the public sphere. While immediately beneficial, we have observed that such a model is ultimately unsustainable without proper planning beyond the involvement of the benefactor providing major operational support. Furthermore, this inordinately streamlined approach to funding does not encourage or even allow for the donor cultivation and stewardship vital to long-term fundraising

317. Tim Samuelson discussion, June 20, 2013.
318. Ibid.

success. As noted in the first chapter, community sponsorship and engagement positively and enduringly impacts historic sites and their future as public institutions.

According to traditional means of evaluation in preservation literature that define success according to capital restoration, the Driehaus Museum is a success. An exemplary model of historic preservation, its restoration was completed to the highest standard and with no expense spared. Perhaps the Driehaus Museum, in its primacy of the preservation narrative above all else, is more illustrative of the historic house museum than its administration would care to admit. Yet in actuality, the Museum has just chronicled the most recent phase of its story: that of a post-preservation cultural site. I argue that the preservation of a historic site does not conclude with the act of preservation itself but also includes the sustainability of the site for public visitation.

As a relatively young formal institution, the case of the Richard H. Driehaus Museum provides insights into many of the challenges facing museums, especially historic house museums and those funded by a single source, a stewardship model that though not uncommon, is relatively under-researched. The Driehaus Museum itself is still in its infancy, and undergoing dynamic change, especially with its staff resources. Of those interviewed for this study, the only person who held fewer than four titles at the Driehaus Museum (and the only one still employed by the Museum) is the director, Lise Dubé-Scherr. In fact, the entire staff has turned over since my 2013 visit. The team managing collections and exhibitions proves especially fluid, given that the majority of exhibition activity, from installation to curatorial oversight, is outsourced.

The Driehaus Museum also reflects many of the interpretive challenges facing historic house museums. The struggle to appeal to diverse, and specifically young, audiences with disposable income proves difficult. In cities especially, small museums struggle for audiences with larger institutions offering extensive programming calendars. The interpretive narrative is particularly troublesome for the Driehaus Museum, with little focus on the presentation of a comprehensive, or even dominant, history of the site, instead highlighting the very recent preservation and stewardship by Richard Driehaus. The omission of much of the site history, along with the active eschewing of any categorization as an historic house museum, leads one to wonder how much a site's administration can finesse its interpretative priorities before lapsing in its oversight and interpretation of the historic structure. Such difficulty in the institutional narrative can lead to a muddled public message, as is possible given the negotiation of the Museum's tenuous interpretive position caught between Chicago's urban history, architectural history, and the benevolence of Richard Driehaus. As John Coolidge explains, the message of the museum can be a struggle for many historic sites: "Which matters most, what a museum has or what a museum does? To phrase the problem differently: how should what a museum does relate to what it has?"[319] While no site administration can be expected to provide a totally comprehensive overview of its history, in the case of the Driehaus Museum, the reluctance to interpret the history of the building and to tell its story before Driehaus is to undermine one of its greatest resources.

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319. Coolidge, *Patrons and Architects*, 38.

Of particular issue in the story of the Driehaus Museum is its financial perseverance. With no staff oversight of finance, and all financial administration handled by the central Driehaus management team, there is a potential lack of understanding of the site as a museum by its own leadership. Furthermore, the lack of public outreach, individual support opportunities, or a long-term development plan makes the Museum's goals of engagement and fundraising all the more difficult. Given that the active and participatory role Driehaus serves can only last as long as his lifetime, crucial steps in connecting with the public must be made and the Museum's administration should take strides to better publicly distinguish itself as a museum versus another Driehaus foundation.

Many collectors wish to ensure the permanence of their collections in perpetuity.[320] For some, like Samuel Nickerson, this means gifting his collection to an institution he patronized and admired, the Art Institute of Chicago. Others, such as Richard Driehaus, simply create their own. As Russell Belk explains, "collectors are stewards of treasures that are only temporarily theirs" and for that reason, institutions such as the Driehaus Museum must undergo proper planning procedures to protect the valuable collections they steward.[321] For the Driehaus Museum, this includes fostering public engagement and support, enacting long-term and solvent funding structures, and continuing to navigate interpretive content to best serve its constituents. Only through proper management and planning can the Richard H. Driehaus Museum thrive into the future — as Richard Driehaus intends.

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320. Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion*, 255.
321. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, 73.

In these first two chapters on the Pabst Mansion and the Driehaus Museum, we have begun to see the emergence of specific trends. Financial support is not a means to an end, but an integral part of the character and priorities of any nonprofit institution, including historic house museums, and must be analyzed and considered regularly and strategically. A second theme is the recognition that the narrative of preservation does not end when the preservation activity is considered complete or when the site opens to the public but rather that the existence of a historic house as a museum has just begun and should continue to undergo regular evaluation and planning. Third, the Pabst Mansion and the Driehaus Museum establish a sort of life cycle for historic house museums in which a house serves its domestic purpose and then is adapted for private institutional use. Following a period of disuse, each site was recognized for its architectural value, preserved, and is now open as a museum. In this chapter, however, we learn about the challenges of the single-funder model and how the historic house must serve the needs of its benefactor. Finally, both the Pabst Mansion and the Driehaus Museum are products of the nineteenth-century American industrial age and thus mark a different preservation narrative than commonly told, the story of saving houses of the Colonial period that is typical of East Coast preservation activity.

Similar in complexity to the Richard H. Driehaus Museum and the relationship between a historic house museum and a stewarding individual is that of a historic house museum as the property of a non-museum parent organization such as a university. In our next chapter, we will examine the case of a historic house museum under university ownership and management, the Samuel Cupples House.

# CHAPTER THREE

## The Cupples Mansion:

## Preserved House as University Museum

Educational institutions in the United States since the 1960s have focused increasingly on interdisciplinarity in the humanities, reflecting shifting educational paradigms to reflect a greater concentration on experiential learning and cultural contextualization of history.[322] Of growing importance and focus during this transition has been the role of cultural property in the higher education setting. Whether private or public, religious or nondenominational, the stewardship by an educational institution of a cultural site can prove a force of operational and financial stabilization at best, or a restrictive and demoralizing situation at worst.

Typical of grand private homes constructed at the end of the nineteenth century, those constructed in St. Louis fell prey to rapidly changing urban development that often marginalized the importance of older buildings in favor of new construction. Many of these were inherited or purchased by individuals or institutions. Such sites were sometimes simply demolished, while others fell into disuse and disrepair. Land-hungry urban institutions, such as universities, often purchased property upon which sat historic

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322. The development of such programs in the United States can be traced to 1964, when liberals regained control of Congress and expanded federal support for education via the Higher Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, both of 1965. These bills funded more and better academic libraries, graduate centers, technical institutes and classrooms. Such initiatives, as well as concurrent cultural developments such as American participation in the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement, led educators to focus on curricular reform and "disciplinary education" came under scrutiny. See Veronica Boix Mansilla and Yves Lenoir, "Interdisciplinarity in United States Schools: Past, Present, and Future," *Issues in Integrative Studies* 28 (2010), 1-27 and Irving Bernstein, *Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon Johnson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 201-222.

buildings, and continue to do so. While in previous generations such buildings could be razed without much controversy, historic properties owned by colleges and universities, like other university-owned cultural assets, receive public attention for their educational value, while at the same time they compete with other interests for university support. The Samuel Cupples House in St. Louis, Missouri provides an apt case study for a discussion of the role a cultural site can play in the life of a university, and vice versa.

Unlike the community engagement the Pabst Mansion fosters or the relationship with a primary benefactor favored by the Richard H. Driehaus Museum, the Cupples House functions in the capacity of a university department, one component of the vast Saint Louis University campus. Major support comes not from the community at large or from a single individual but instead from a parent institution. Given the regular challenges historic house museums face in regard to maintenance and operational resources, those offered through institutional stewardship may seem ideal. Additionally, educational institutions above all others should, in theory, value the role historic house museums serve as sites of learning. Yet as I will discuss, we cannot assume that university-stewarded historic house museums receive any degree of attention or solvency greater than their independent peers. In fact, such sites face trials all their own. When not independent and subject to institutional oversight, the administrations of university-owned cultural sites must consistently advocate for proper funding and resource allocation, often competing with other interests. Often, the universities find themselves inheriting such sites in real estate negotiations, and the maintenance of historic sites, let alone their active prioritization and stewardship, never formed a part of the administration's plan. In this way, university-owned cultural sites must fight for their very existence against new capital projects that universities may favor for their funding and publicity potential.

To place the fate of a historic house museum in the hands of a larger institution is to subject its own mission and management to that of the governing body, and to relinquish control of its future to another organization. Relevant to all academic museums and university-stewarded cultural property, this chapter illuminates issues of institutional stewardship in the case of the Samuel Cupples House in St. Louis, Missouri.

## The History of University Cultural Property in the United States

As we will see in the case study of the Samuel Cupples House, the transition from private residence to university-owned public site can prove problematic. University stewardship may sustain operation and accessibility but requires a high degree of compromise between site leadership and university administration, dependent upon the prioritization of the arts in the university presidential and trustee platforms, availability of funding, and the university's support for professionalization of collections management and site operation.

Though some claim other institutions as the first collegiate art museum in America, the widely accepted first college collection dates to 1772, when scholar and missionary David McClure, a friend of Dartmouth College president the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, gifted "a few curious Elephant Bones found about six hundred miles down the Ohio" to Dartmouth College.[323] While colleges and universities continued to

323. "Hood Museum of Art – Collections" at http://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/collections. See

accept donations of artwork, and to purchase art objects themselves (even if they were not yet viewed as such, as in furniture and other decorative arts purchases), only in the early twentieth century did college and university museums distinguish themselves as a subfield of American museums. A 1934 lecture to the College Art Association annual meeting on the role of the college art museum by Frank Jewett Mather Jr., director of the Museum of Historic Art (now the Princeton University Museum of Art) was the first to lecture on the topic.[324] Mather, the director of the Princeton Museum since 1922, argued that the college museum plays an integral role in students' leisure time and provided necessary interaction with cultural objects when easy transportation from campus to cities, where most museums are located, was difficult. According to Mather, the museum was in an important position for a student's development of general erudition and cultural cognizance but at that point was not seen as a contribution to formal education or to general audiences beyond the campus. He justified this perspective as one informed by the difficulty of funding and staffing university museums, as small humanities departments could not spare faculty manpower for museum oversight, nor were funds made available from administrations for worthwhile acquisitions. Moreover, most

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Edward Bryant, ed., "The Boom in U.S. University Museums," *ArtNews* (September 1967): 30. Though Harvard University has amassed a number of art objects since its founding in 1636, Harvard did not formalize its collections via accession records until the nineteenth century. The Yale University Art Gallery promotes itself as "the oldest university art museum in the western hemisphere," though the Yale collection dates to 1832 (see "Yale University Art Gallery 0 1953" at https://web.archive.org/web/20130830040549/http://www.buildings.yale.edu/property.aspx?id=26. While McClure's gift constitutes the first collegiate museum collection in the United States, the first documented gift of art was a collection of seventy paintings from James Bowdoin III to Bowdoin College in 1811.

324. Frank Jewett Mather Jr., "The College Art Museum: A Lecture Presented at the Meeting of the College Art Association," *Parnassus* 6, no. 4 (Apr. 1934), 18.

university museum collections were often modest and thus inappropriate for teaching purposes.

The state of the university museum remained modest and informal until the 1960s, when the rise of interdisciplinarity and cultural studies encouraged the use of art objects and material culture in support of academic study. A 1967 address at Duke University by Rudolph Wittkower, then Chair of the Art History and Archaeology Department at Columbia University, upon the opening of "A Loan Exhibition of Selected Art Works from the Brummer Collection at Duke University" at the North Carolina Museum of Art, extolled the virtues and potential of the university museum.[325] Rather than place emphasis on the accumulation of an illustrious collection for students' cultural edification, as did Mather, Wittkower spoke of the unique role of the university museum as a reflection of sociocultural shifts. He quoted John Coolidge, then director of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University, who proclaimed the university museum should be "the focus of the aesthetic conscience of our society."[326] Wittkower noted the increasing relevance of the university museum and its position of reflection of and participation in current culture, also the subject of a 1967 issue of *ArtNews* entitled "Special Issue: University Museums Boom." New at the time but gaining traction in university curricula was the benefit of object-based learning and material culture as a means to understand society. Additionally, growing scholarly attention to modern and contemporary art

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325. Rudolf Wittkower, "The Significance of the University Museum in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century," *Art Journal* 27, no. 2 (Winter 1967–1968): 176. The Nasher Museum was founded in 1969 as the Duke University Museum of Art with a gift of 200 medieval works from the Ernest Brummer Collection.
326. Ibid.

increased their desirability as acquisitions into collection-holding institutions, including university museums. As Edward Bryant explained in his *ArtNews* editorial, the university museum as a discursive center and educational venue played a critical role in serving the work itself: "In most public museums, the art is a display of prizes, the loot of generals, the coups of tycoons. And like the military trophy, it suggests nobility, pageantry — and death. In the university museums, art can live."[327] According to Bryant, university museums were an ideal venue for artwork as an educational resource, and also offered viewers the museum experience at a potentially purer level than the civic museum.[328] University museums maintained a responsibility for pedagogical and cultural engagement, contributing to the academic community of the campus, while relatively unhindered by the need to appeal to mass audiences at the level of museums wholly dependent upon public attendance.

**Considerations for the Future of University Cultural Property**

As we look toward the future, we continue to revisit the concept of university-stewarded cultural property, including its role in education and conversely, the institution's responsibility to its documentation and management. In 2005, Anna Hammond, deputy director for education of the Yale University Art Galleries, moderated a College Art Association roundtable discussion devoted to the goals and challenges of university collections in the twenty-first century.[329] Of paramount importance to museum

327. Bryant, "The Boom in U.S. University Museums," 25.
328. Ibid.
329. Anna Hammond, et al., "The Role of the University Art Museum and Gallery," *Art Journal* 65, no. 3 (Fall 2006), 20–39. Additional participants in the panel included Ian Berry, Sheryl

professionals when considering university museums is their connection to a multitude of departments of a school, while engaging provocative issues in the greater art discourse. University museums and special collections now fully inhabit the position envisaged by Rudolph Wittkower in his 1967 address to the North Carolina Museum of Art, serving as an experiential laboratory for intellectual pursuit more provocative than is acceptable in civic museums, and more expansive than is possible in classrooms. The panel concurred that the principal mission of the university museum is before all else, a devotion to education as a teaching museum. Considering the expanding importance of education in all museums, university or otherwise, the dominance of educational pedagogy appears to be in ascension for the foreseeable future.[330]

For all the fundamental roles museums and cultural property might serve academic communities, the difficulties facing university collections remain consistent with past scrutiny into their status by university administrations. Funding remains the greatest challenge. While academic museums, including historic house museums, are expected to function at a professional level with regular exhibitions schedules, programming and events, and maintained facilities, they are often allocated limited monetary support. Not only does this not allow for staffing adequate to handle such operational aspirations but limited financial backing can restrict the ability to maintain the property in the case of historic structures, or to fund acquisitions into the permanent collection, forcing many academic museums to structure an exhibition program around

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Conkelton, Sharon Corwin, Pamela Franks, Katherine Hart, Wyona Lynch-McWhite, Charles Reeve, and John Stomberg.
330. Ibid.

donations or loaned shows.[331] The concern over financial support can also cause friction between the museum and other departments in the university, as many funding decisions are at the discretion of the administration, allowing or even compelling the various sectors of a university to justify their need on a continual fiscal-year basis.

In addition to ongoing financial concerns, university museums are currently at a crossroads in terms of interpretation. While the rise of interdisciplinarity in the 1960s, as noted by Wittkower in 1967, merged with and mutually strengthened the initial professionalization and relevance of university museums, there exists backlash to that same integration of interdisciplinary programs and museums, with concern that engagement between campus museums and more traditional college departments could be stronger. This challenge, of integrating the museum fully with the college's academic offerings, also speaks to the concept of correlation between museum collections (for those universities in a position to fund such interdisciplinary initiatives) and curricular priorities. Compounding the issues of university museum collections and interpretation in relation to the academic community is their increasing popularity with non-academic audiences. Many colleges and universities have transitioned from welcoming local residents and visitors (as well as alumni) primarily to athletic events into promoting

331. Donations of art, while indeed desirable for addition to a permanent collection, require sound legal documentation that can take longer than anticipated, thus not a good choice for a time-sensitive exhibition program. Loaned exhibitions are prohibitive to an academic museum for a number of reasons. Traveling exhibitions can be extremely expensive and given the requirement of many museums to only lend to facilities with a high level of security and collections care, often impossible to maintain for the small staffs of academic museums; exhibition loans often require a higher insurance premium than the funding structure for university museums allow; and, a reliance upon traveling exhibitions precludes the construction of a strong permanent collection, which doubles as an academic museum's teaching collection accessible to students and faculty. While certain museums can sustain on such a model, such as the Boston University Art Galleries, it is not recommended.

cultural programming, such as exhibition openings and lectures about collections. Educational institutions increasingly promote cultural offerings on campus with the knowledge that the interpretation of historic architecture, special collections, and art exhibitions provide an avenue of successful communication with neighbors and, especially with alumni, a potential area for funding.[332]

Henry Kim, director of the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto, wrote in 2007 about recent developments at the Ashmolean Museum of Art at Oxford University, the world's first university collection dating to 1678. Kim noted that university collections dictate what they can display and the resources that can be utilized for education. Depending upon the support and stewardship provided by the institution, the strength of collections can vacillate wildly. Yet echoing Wittkower and the 2005 CAA roundtable, Kim explained that university museums inhabit a cultural space that offers advantages over civic museums. They empower curators to educate audiences and to dialogue with professors, researchers, and students about new perspectives in art. This work with academic departments and research centers, as well as ongoing participation in the professional museum community, strengthens and emboldens staff to understand their collections in a variety of contexts and to highlight the agile and reflexive role of the object in culture.[333]

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332. Henry S. Kim, "Crossing Cultures: Redefining a University Museum," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 52 (Autumn 2007), 47.
333. Ibid. The specific role of curator as educator in the university museum offers grounds for reconsideration of academic museum curator as staff, as is common, or potentially as faculty. C. P. Parkhurst of Oberlin College first acknowledged this reclassification in a 1955 issue of *College Art Journal*, yet given the fiscally tenuous state of faculty retention in many American colleges and universities, the designation may not benefit academic museum curators.

A 2012 report entitled "Campus Art Museums in the 21st Century" published by the Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago sought to interrogate the purpose and value of the campus museum, analyzing the relevance of the museum to multiple constituencies, and the museum's ability to anticipate change.[334] The report concluded that university collections could best benefit by stronger ties to STEM disciplines and not just the humanities, strengthening relevance to changing technology and multimedia platforms. Echoing the comments voiced in the 2005 CAA roundtable, the study explained that cultural property could provide a venue for an education of innovation based in technology, which may include new directions in archeological and preservation techniques for historic property, conservation methods for decorative arts objects, and a rethinking of the traditional purpose of university art collections for the sole purpose of art appreciation by the educated.[335]

While many believe that strong disciplinary relationships and administrative support may lead university museums into the future, recent history provides examples that encourage prioritization of stabilization and sustainability of the cultural property itself. The leaders of university historical sites, collections and archive facilities, and museums are universally and continually cognizant of the fact that they are managed by a larger institutional body, one that though educationally attuned, is not necessarily focused on preservation and sustainability. Cultural sites and their collections are often vulnerable to institutional instability and valuable assets subject to liquidation in order to support the

334. Tom Shapiro, et al., "Campus Art Museums in the 21st Century: A Conversation," Lecture at the Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago, October 2012.
335. Ibid.

well-being of the greater body. In this practical sense, the inherent value of the university museum lauded by Coolidge and Wittkower is of little importance when the institution itself faces times of uncertainty, or simply decides to hold other interests above culture and preservation. In 2013, the University of Chicago (the same institution that produced the "Campus Art Museums in the 21st Century" study), demolished a boyhood home of Ronald Reagan after much protest by local and political groups, preferring to maintain the property as a "grassy strip."[336] At Santa Clara University, the plan for a new art history building called for the demolition of three historic buildings owned by the University in order to pave a parking lot (fortunately, local preservationists' ire persuaded the administration to relocate the buildings before construction began).[337] These examples illustrate that preservation of historic sites was not a priority to these universities, and they only reacted to negative publicity caused by plans for demolition.

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336. Peter Hannaford, "Historic Home or Grassy Strip?" *American Spectator*, December 11, 2012, http://spectator.org.archives/2012/12/11/historic-home-or-grassy-strip. The campaign to save the house was fraught with challenges, including public perception that the site was insignificant because Reagan resided in the house for less than a year, as well as the unexpected death of a major advocate for its preservation, Chicago resident Redd Griffin. According to Hannaford, the site should have received landmark status because it was "a good example of vernacular architecture of the area" and "along with all the other places the 40th president lived as a boy, [the house] figured in the development of his character…and thus is important to understanding this very significant president." Public dissent and the disintegration of advocacy efforts following Griffin's death weakened the case for preservation, and the Commission on Chicago Landmarks denied the appeal to grant the building landmark status. Demolition of the site took place in April of 2013.

337. Chelsea Janes, "Santa Clara University Allowed to Expand Footprint, but Must Move Historic House," *Peninsula Press*, October 8, 2012, http://peninsulapress.com/2012/10/08/santa-clara-university-allowed-to-expand-footprint-but-must-move-historic-house/. The largest and best known of the buildings is the Larder House, constructed in 1860, which Janes explains is "the last remaining building from what was a thriving German neighborhood in the 19th and early 20th centuries." The house is one of three that was relocated from 1065 Alviso Street to a new location on the same block (address unspecified).

The protection of cultural property from liquidation is of ongoing concern in recent years, especially since the American economic collapse of 2009. The Rose Art Museum at Brandeis University is perhaps the most notorious of all such cases [fig. 3.1]. In 2009, Brandeis publicly threatened to close the Rose Art Museum and sell its 6,000-piece modern art collection due to financial strains.[338] Though the Rose Art Museum was ultimately saved via lengthy litigation, the situation propelled the American Alliance of Museums to announce new accreditation standards to prevent such actions by a parent organization, and cautioned other campus museums to maintain close relationships with their institutional administrations, as well as their constituencies, both public and academic.[339] Though the concern of collections liquidation has been especially public and relevant in recent years in the United States, it is by no means only an American issue. In Brian Young's history of The McCord Museum of Canadian History, he details how in 1996 the McCord was ordered by parent institution McGill University to dismantle its collections and archives. This led, ultimately, to the museum severing ties with McGill to become a private institution.[340] A 2015 article in *The New Yorker* details the history of the Warburg Library, owned by the University of London whose future is fiercely contested.[341] As author Adam Gopnik explains, "the question is what we owe the past's past, what we owe the institutions that have shaped our view of how history happened

338. See Francine Koslow Miller, *Cashing In on Culture: Betraying the Trust at the Rose Art Museum* (Tucson, AZ: Hol Art Books, 2012).
339. Such proactive protection statements also apply to library holdings and to historic property.
340. See Brian Young, *The Making and Unmaking of a University Museum: The McCord, 1921–1996* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).
341. Adam Gopnik, "In the Memory Ward," *New Yorker*, March 16, 2015, accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/03/16/in-the-memory-ward.

when contemporary history is happening to them."[342] In our consideration of the future of "the past's past," perhaps no cultural property is more vulnerable than historic sites: rarely locales for noteworthy news and often without a substantial means of earned income, cultural sites face scarce funding and may inhabit land that is for some far more valuable without their presence.[343]

The significance of cultural property and its value to an educational institution's administration may be demystified in readings of university financial documents. According to the 2012 990 Income Tax form filed by Saint Louis University, the institution holds no conservation easement, that which preserves "open space … environment, historic land areas or historic structures."[344] While no preservation stipulation is listed in the 990, nor an addendum related to restrictions on liquidation of cultural property for income, schedule M of the 2012 990 does list $12.5 million worth of cultural property of the University under its assets.[345] The IRS provides a schedule to

342. Ibid.
343. Ibid.
344. Saint Louis University, "Form 990: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax," 2012. Though not required for private institutions, the creation of an easement can provide powerful documentation to ensure the protection of land and/or buildings, as well as tax benefits (especially if the university is public). Paul Smith's College, for instance, has an easement in place in the Adirondacks that is recognized by New York State.
345. Ibid. This figure refers to "works of art and historical treasures" according to the IRS. Landmarked buildings, such as the Samuel Cupples House, would be considered a federally recognized work of art in this instance. A more thorough federal definition is available from the Department of Defense in reference to the handling of cultural property during times of war, which notes, "The tangible evidence or expression of cultural heritage is cultural property, an inherently valuable, non-renewable resource that includes, but is not limited to: works of art, historic and ancient buildings or their ruins; archaeological sites and artifacts (found on the land) and shipwrecks (underwater archaeological sites; museums, library collections and archives; and sacred places, such as churches, mosques, temples, shrines, sanctuaries and cemeteries." This definition is available from https://www.cemml.colostate.edu/cultural/09476/chp04-02iraqenl.html.

detail the function of collections for scholarly research and/or for public exhibition, which is used to document the protection of cultural assets from liquidation and which, notably, is not marked. In not listing the purpose of the cultural property for educational or exhibition value, Saint Louis University leaves available its collections for sale if and when needed. While the University promotes the collection for the edification of its community, the sustainable protection of such property is not assured, according to filings with the IRS.[346] The IRS filing makes available to scrutiny their categorization of cultural property as "semi-liquid assets," a term used disparagingly by James Christen Steward, executive director of the Princeton University Art Museum, in regard to the Brandeis University administration's potential closure of the Rose Art Museum in 2009.[347] As Stewart notes, libraries, museums, and other cultural sites owned and stewarded by institutions often struggle because of high maintenance costs and low revenue potential.[348]

Certain recommendations from the professional museum community prove of worth to university museums. The Association of Academic Museums and Galleries encourages close management of collections documentation to protect the museum and its holdings. This includes a current collections management policy that details accessioning and deaccessioning procedures, object care, insurance, ethics, and incoming

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346. "The organization's collections included both donated and purchased items. Collections of art are capitalized at cost if purchased or at fair market value at date of gift. Collections of art are displayed prominently across campus adding to the cultural and aesthetic value of the educational experience of students, faculty, staff, and guests of the University." Ibid., Schedule D, Part III.
347. James Christen Steward, "The Museum at the Heart of the Academy," www.insidehighered.com /views/2009/10/29/steward.
348. Ibid.

and outgoing loan terms. The use of contracts for faculty lecturers, guest curators, and loan exhibitions are necessary to ensure legal compliance. Perhaps most imperative is the formal statement of permanence, essentially a contract between the university and the museum, protecting the collection as a university asset not at the disposal of university administration for sale but rather restricting sales of any cultural property to activities undertaken with the knowledge and support of museum staff and the sales from which are restricted to collections funding. Additional financial systems can protect the cultural property and its management. All monetary income, whether earned or contributed, should be coded as museum income and restricted for its use. Earned revenue opportunities, whenever possible, such as facility rentals for private programs, can be explored as appropriate.[349]

Perhaps there is no more valuable means for the sustainability of a museum, university-based or otherwise, than the strength of its relationships with various constituencies. Effective communication with university administration is paramount, articulating the needs of the site as well as the integral purpose the museum can serve the administration as a site for community engagement. The consistent involvement of students is mandatory, and their assistance with research, restoration, and programming a distinctive tool for object-based learning. A positive relationship with the neighboring residential community may provide insights into community cultural needs and the significance of campus offerings to the general population, creating avenues for community participation and potential funding support. Conversely, a university-cultural

349. See Association of Academic Museums and Galleries, “Best Practices,” https://www.aamg-us.org/wp/best-practices/, for a series of guidelines drafted between 2004 and 2014.

site director must be able to link professional management standards with the goals of the greater administration in a unified vision and public image. As the Samuel Cupples House illustrates, the transition from private residence to university-stewarded, collections-holding property is rife with such considerations of management, funding, and advocacy.

**Samuel Cupples: From Poverty to Affluence**

Born in 1831, Samuel Cupples has been compared to a Horatio Alger novel in his rise to wealth.[350] The thirteenth child of James and Elizabeth (Bingham) Cupples, immigrants who traveled from County Down, Ireland to settle in Harrisburg, PA in 1814, Cupples spent his early life in poverty. At age fifteen, he entered the woodenware business in Cincinnati, working as an apprentice for manufacturer and distributor Albert O. Taylor. Strong managerial acumen provided Cupples with the foundation for a noteworthy career trajectory, and Cupples was sent to New Orleans to create a western outpost for the business. Upon westward travel, however, Cupples learned that the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers were the bustling main conduits for trade at the time, and instead settled in St. Louis to start his own business. Soon after his move to St. Louis, Cupples faced a series of personal losses. His wife, Margaret Amelia Kells, died in 1858. After her death, Cupples married her sister, Martha Sophia Kells. Sadly, the three daughters Cupples fathered with Martha Kells all died in their youth. Samuel and Martha Kells Cupples adopted Amelia, the daughter of Martha's sister Harriet, through whom the

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350. Elinor Martineau Coyle, "Old St. Louis Homes," *Missouri Life* (November–December 1975), 6.

Cupples family traces their line of descent into the twenty-first century.[351] Harriet and her two other children later resided with Cupples, though only Amelia was formally adopted.

Following his move to St. Louis and concurrent with his marriages, Cupples began a lifelong partnership that accelerated his career and the economic development of St. Louis as an industrial city. By 1866, Cupples had established himself as the largest woodenware distributor in the nation.[352] That year he hired brothers Harry and Robert Brookings, both of whom ultimately partnered with Cupples in the business. Harry Brookings served as Cupples's leading buyer, and Robert amassed a fortune in real estate dealings. As debilitating asthma increasingly incapacitated Cupples, Harry and Robert Brookings took over much of the daily administration of the business. The three men acquired twenty-two warehouses by 1893, conveniently located next to the railroad tracks for efficient national distribution. They formalized the distribution center in an 1895 plan by the St. Louis-based architectural firm of Eames & Young, who supervised ongoing construction of the site from 1892 through 1915. Indeed, the warehouse complex, known as Cupples Station, was described at the time as the "most notable wholesale and jobbing concern in the world" [fig 3.2].[353] Cupples Station processed over 1000 tons of merchandise each day through a technologically advanced facility equipped with hydraulic lifts to transfer goods from the warehouse floors to track level for rail shipping.

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351. Lawrence O. Christensen, William E. Foley, Gary Kremer, eds., *Dictionary of Missouri Biography (*Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 226.
352. Betty Burnett, *St. Louis: Yesterday and Today* (Lincolnwood, IL: West Side Publishing, 2009), 80. Woodenware refers to articles made of wood for domestic use such as vessels and utensils.
353. Henry Brazell Wandell, *The Story of a Great City in a Nutshell* (St. Louis: Nutshell Publishing, 1903), 164.

Even through the Panic of 1893, during which many businesses failed and industrialists lost their wealth, Cupples maintained his flourishing business due to streamlined production methods, and, just as importantly, he maintained his fortune.

Widely considered by his contemporaries as one of the most successful entrepreneurs in St. Louis history, Samuel Cupples's life story was canonized as a "rags-to-riches … success story," in which his business prowess culminated in millionaire status.[354] Cupples, like many self-made entrepreneurs of the era before the establishment of the first peacetime income tax in 1913 chose to support his community with his excess wealth.[355] He donated most of his fortune to civic and educational causes before his death in 1912. Cupples established the Samuel Cupples Elementary School, which included two branches constructed (and later demolished) in St. Louis.[356] He prioritized religious — mainly Methodist — interests, singlehandedly funding the construction of a Methodist church and serving as the head of the St. Louis Provident Association.[357] An active participant in the planning of the 1904 World's Fair held in St. Louis, Cupples

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354. In fact, Cupples was listed on the 1902 *New World Tribune* World Millionaires List. www.slu.edu/Samuel-cupples-house/history/Samuel-cupples.
355. An initial peacetime war tax was proposed in 1894, but was deemed unconstitutional the following year by the Supreme Court in the case of *Pollock v. Farmers Loan Trust Co*. The proposed tax, which consisted of 2% on all income over $4,000, was challenged on the grounds that any direct taxes should be levied according to each state's population. The case determined that any income tax was indeed a direct tax and the 1894 law was void. In 1909, Congress both enacted a corporate income tax and passed the Sixteenth Amendment, which allowed an unapportioned income tax. The first post-amendment statute, the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act of 1913, taxed individuals at 1% on income over $3,000 per year and an additional tax of 1% to 6% on annual incomes over $20,000. See Morton J. Horowitz, *The Transformation of American Law 1870-1960: The Crisis of Legal Orthodoxy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 19 and Robert Stanley*, Dimensions of Law in the Service of Order: Origins of the Federal Income Tax, 1861-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 226-227.
356. Marcella C. Magnan, *The Streets of St. Louis* (Lynchburg: Virginia Publishing, 1994), 152.
357. Ibid.

unsuccessfully proposed an Irish Building for the Fair and donated a large sum of money to Washington University in St. Louis for construction of Fair buildings planned for subsequent use by the University.[358]

Cupples made other lasting capital contributions to the city of St. Louis. His technologically advanced warehouse complex, Cupples Station, consisted of eighteen buildings at the time of his death, when the entire property was bequeathed to Washington University.[359] He made other sizeable donations to Washington University, including a center for civil engineering and architecture, a mechanical engineering building, and an accompanying engineering laboratory [fig. 3.3]. Cupples served as one of the major patrons of Washington University at the turn of the twentieth century, with monetary donations to the University totaling over $7.5 million, which established the University's endowment.[360] Notably, Cupples's philanthropy toward the University took place during the tenure of his partner, Robert Brookings, as President of the Board of Trustees of Washington University.

As a beacon of professional success and a major benefactor of the city of St. Louis and its most prestigious educational institution, Samuel Cupples sought to embody his status in his home. He chose for a location the Lindell Grove area of St. Louis, more

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358. St. Louis Public Library, "Samuel Cupples: The Man and His Legacies," April 2015, http://cio.slpl.org/2015/03/31/samuel-cupples-the-man-and-his-legacies/.
359. Cupples Station remains a subject of much attention and controversy in St. Louis's recent history. The architecture of the Station inspired and directly faces Busch Stadium, and serves as a regional icon of local architecture. In 2013, the vacant Station was the subject of a heated preservation debate regarding its potential demolition. Ultimately, the city approved its reuse as private loft spaces, the construction for which began in 2014. See Michael R. Allen, "This Building Matters #6: Cupples Station Building 7," February 20, 2013, "http://preservationresearch.com/2013/02/this-building-matters-6-cupples-station-building-7/.
360. Matthew Lehner, "Samuel Cupples House," *The University News*, March 2, 2006, accessed March 11, 2015, http://www.unewsonline.com/2006/03/02/samuelcuppleshouse/.

specifically Grand Avenue, situated at the central west end of the city and an increasingly popular domestic location for wealthy residents [fig. 3.4]. A recent expansion of the city limits, Grand Avenue was designed in a large-scale urban redesign of the area conducted in the 1850s and funded by revenue earned by the city in the steamboat business.[361] The area was popular with wealthy residents because of its pastoral space and view of the western high ridge, while retaining close proximity to the city's central business district.

Much like the subdivision concept of the mid-twentieth century, Grand Avenue was a private street, open only to property owners. The concept of a "private place" in St. Louis began in the design of Lucas Place in the 1850s, the first private street in the city.[362] The advent of the private place in St. Louis literally paved the way for modern urban developments, such as westward expansion of public transportation, specifically the "yellow cars" prevalent by 1885.[363] Yet the resettlement of the wealthy outside of the city center that began in the 1850s and 1860s ultimately weakened the urban infrastructure.[364] By 1870, Lucas Place and its neighbor, Locust Place, began a gradual decline, and the de facto locus of the elite of St. Louis relocated to the Grand Avenue area. In an 1888 article examining the shifting property market in local publication *The*

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361. Lawrence Lowic, *The Architectural Heritage of St. Louis, 1803–1891* (St. Louis: Washington University Gallery of Art, 1982), 80. Lowic explains that St. Louis earned municipal revenue in the steamboat business, which boomed in the area as a shipping port for wheat and hogs. Also see Timothy R. Mahoney, "Urban History in a Regional Context: River Towns on the Upper Mississippi, 1840-1860," *The Journal of American History* 72, no. 2 (September 1985), 323.
362. Ibid., 125.
363. Charles C. Savage, *Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis: Architects and the Houses They Designed* (Columbus: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 18.
364. Ibid., 10.

*Spectator*, Mrs. J. L. D. Morrison was quoted as listing her Locust Street mansion as follows:

> … for sale or exchange. It could no doubt be had for a bargain as Mrs. Morrison is anxious to remove westward whence most of her friends have preceded her. Locust is beginning to lose its prestige just as Lucas did, and everybody of wealth wants to get beyond Grand Avenue.[365]

In contrast to the tony residences of the greater Grand Avenue area, such as Vandeventer Place, a large island park with eighty-six surrounding single-family lots, the rest of the city was increasingly densely populated. Perhaps the greatest articulation of the westward exodus of wealth was the 1895 relocation of Washington University, spearheaded by Board President and Cupples associate Robert Brookings, from the city center to Forest Park. The new campus, designed by Olmsted, Olmsted & Eliot, served to concretely consolidate St. Louis money west of the city.[366]

**Thomas Annan: St. Louis Architect**

Following his purchase of the land in the mid-1880s, Cupples launched a search for a fitting and capable architect with whom to partner in the design and construction of his home. He ultimately chose Thomas Annan, born and raised in St. Louis, whose training as an architect began immediately following his high school graduation. Annan first served as an apprentice to the architect Thomas Waryng Walsh from approximately 1857 until 1861, when the Civil War erupted and Annan undertook military service.[367]

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365. *Spectator* 389 (February 25, 1888), cited in Savage, *Architecture of Private Streets*, 17.
366. Lowic, *Architectural Heritage of St. Louis*, 128.
367. No records indicate whether Annan fought for the Union or the Confederacy. St. Louis was a strategic location for both Union and Confederate factions, and stayed under Union control for the majority of the Civil War because of the strong military base under Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who had worked with the St. Louis Wide Awakes, a pro-Union paramilitary group that formed

Following the war, Annan entered the office of George I. Barnett, called the "dean" of Missouri architects by the Landmarks Association of St. Louis.[368] Having acquired business connections by his service to Barnett, Annan commenced a partnership with Francis D. Lee in 1870. The two quickly achieved success in 1871 with their winning entry to the design competition for the Merchants' Exchange Building (also known as the Commerce Exchange Building) [fig. 3.5]. The construction period lasted from 1871 to 1875 and culminated in the largest trade hall in America at the time, operating for the purpose of trading cash and futures products, and serving as a symbol of St. Louis' post-war unification.[369] In a testament to its status as a post-war icon, the new Merchants' Exchange Building was the venue for the 1876 Democratic National Convention. Unfortunately, the building was razed in 1940 "in the name of urban progress," and the only surviving work of Annan and Lee's partnership is the 1875 Bradford-Martin Building, later part of May Company department stores [fig. 3.6].

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after Missouri Governor Claiborne F. Jackson refused Lincoln's request to supply regiments for the Civil War in 1861. Jackson's actions polarized St. Louis residents when after a raid on the Confederate Camp Jackson, he paraded Confederate prisoners through the city and riots broke out, resulting in ninety citizens injured and twenty-eight dead. The violence led many neutral St. Louis citizens to advocate secession. For the remainder of the Civil War, however, the city remained predominantly Union, in no small part to the presence of German and Irish immigrant populations who were staunchly pro-Union. Those residents who identified as Confederate traveled south to enlist in the Confederate Army. Given the immigrant populations' pro-Union stance and the city's Union affiliation, it is most likely that Annan fought for the Union Army. For more information on St. Louis and the Civil War, see Galusha Anderson, *A Border City During the Civil War* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908), 86-120, Louis S. Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 47, and Frederick A. Hodes, *A Divided City: a History of St. Louis 1851 to 1876* (St. Louis: Bluebird Publishing, 2015), 133.

368. Landmarks Association of St. Louis, http://www.landmarks-stl.org/architects/bio/Thomas_b_annan_1839_1906/.

369. Ibid.

Annan was a respected member of the regional community of professional architects, and in 1884 he formed the St. Louis chapter of the American Institute of Architects along with Henry G. Isaacs, Edward Jungenfeld, H. William Kirchner, James H. McNamara, and former partner Francis D. Lee. Ten years later, in 1894, Annan was appointed president of the chapter. Though relatively unknown outside the St. Louis area, Annan remained a prominent and prolific architect throughout his career.[370]

Thomas Annan owed his productivity to the high regard in which his fellow architects held him as well as his reputation among St. Louis's wealthy residents, including Samuel Cupples. Following the dissolution of his partnership with Lee in 1876, Annan founded his own firm and embarked on a fruitful patron-client relationship with Cupples. Though it is unclear how exactly the two met, it was on personal terms and most likely during their concurrent membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, where both served as leading laymen. They also shared a mutual interest and involvement in Washington University, Cupples as a patron and Annan as an instructor of architecture in the 1890s.[371] Annan received financial support from Cupples for a number of his projects, such as the Cook Avenue Church (now known as the Scruggs Memorial Christian Methodist Episcopal Church) in 1894 [fig. 3.7]. The church is both a testament to Cupples's own interest in the promotion of the Methodist faith, and also to Annan's progressive style. Modeled on the Akron Plan of church architecture first utilized by Jacob Snyder in his 1872 plan for the First Methodist Church in Akron, Ohio, Annan's

370. Coyle, "Old St. Louis Homes," 10.
371. The exact dates of Annan's tenure as an instructor at Washington University are unknown but his position is listed in James Cox, *Old and New St. Louis*, (St. Louis: Central Biographical Publishing Co.1894), 316.

design featured a central auditorium worship space surrounded by connecting rooms for children's education.

The 1895 Methodist Orphans' Home, commissioned by Cupples to honor the 1894 passing of his first wife, Martha, was located in the developing Central West End neighborhood and was another Samuel Cupples-funded building for Methodist purposes. The commission was the first for Annan's firm following the addition of his son Joseph Paul Annan, after which the firm became known as T. B. Annan & Sons. Philip Skrainka of the American Medical Association noted the development of the area and the innovative design by Annan in 1910:

> The Methodist Orphans' Home … has the double advantage of being situated in a part of the city that has spacious streets and residences above the ordinary, and a building specifically erected for the purpose. After passing through the usual chapter of makeshift abodes, which seems to be the history of most charitable institutions, the present quarters were made possible through the gift of Samuel Cupples. The building from an architectural point of view betrays appreciation of proportion, unonstentation, and comfort.[372]

Along with the Lambert Pharmaceutical Building of 1891, the Methodist Orphans' Home became one of the firm's most recognized projects.

## The Construction of the Cupples Residence

Simultaneous with the Methodist Orphans' Home project, Cupples approached Annan regarding the construction of his own home. In 1887, the building permit was filed to begin construction on a two-story residence at 3676 West Pine Street at an estimated

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372. Philip Skrainka, "Medical Schools, Hospitals and Charitable Institutions," in *St. Louis: Its History and Ideals* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1910).

cost of $150,000.[373] Annan had in recent years focused on the Romanesque Revival as his aesthetic of choice, with concurrent designs in the style for both the Methodist Orphans' Home and the Lambert Pharmaceutical Building, and unsurprisingly selected it for the Cupples residence. Popular in the era for civic and religious buildings, the Richardsonian Romanesque movement, inaugurated by Boston architect Henry Hobson Richardson, conveyed stability, strength, and permanence in its rusticated stonework and physically substantial facades.[374] The style was less popular for domestic commissions because of the high cost of masonry, though perhaps for the same reason, it was popular with wealthy clients.[375]

The Romanesque form was seen in contemporary buildings throughout the region, though not as prevalently in St. Louis as in other Midwestern cities, such as Chicago, due to the eclectic taste of local patrons of the time. Professional architectural practice in St. Louis was still relatively new, and dated only to the rise of Neoclassicism in the 1840s.[376] As St. Louis grew in stature as a hub of industrialization and trade while at the same time reaping income from the booming steamboat industry, the Neoclassical tradition was common in its reflection of the values of democracy and civilization, epitomized in a local 1839 courthouse design by Henry Singleton [fig. 3.8].

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373. St. Louis University, http://www.slu.edu/the_arts/cupples/chronology.html.
374. For general information on Henry Hobson Richardson, the Romanesque Revival, and its impact on architecture of the late-nineteenth century, see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Richardson as Victorian Architect* (Northampton: Smith College, 1965), Maureen Meister, ed., *H. H. Richardson: The Architect, His Peers, and Their Era* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999), James F. O'Gorman, *H. H. Richardson: Architectural Forms for an American Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), and Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works* (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1982).
375. Olivia Skinner, "New Life for Castle on W. Pine," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 28, 1973, 9H.
376. Lowic, *Architectural Heritage of St. Louis*, 49.

Early examples of the Romanesque Revival style in St. Louis were visible in church design of the 1850s and 1860s, such as the St. Bridget's Church (1859) and the St. John the Apostle and Evangelist Church (1860), and was well suited to St. Louis's tradition of masonry construction [fig. 3.9].[377] Residential and commercial buildings also reflected the popularization of the style, such as Henry Hobson Richardson's J. R. Lionberger House designed in 1885-86 and built by Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge in 1887 [fig. 3.10], and Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge's Newcomb Building (1889).[378] Yet in domestic architecture of the 1880s and 1890s in St. Louis, the Second Empire style was the most popular, with smooth-faced exteriors and mansard roofs common, though Lawrence Lowic notes that residences of the wealthy were ultimately designed "for permanence above frippery."[379] In any case, as Olivia Skinner explained in a 1953 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article, "a castle was a must for a self-respecting, self-made millionaire in the late 19th century, and Samuel Cupples … was no exception."[380] Arguably no style of the era better reflected a castle than the Romanesque.

Heavy round arches, round towers, massive walls, and an articulated tower over the front entrance characterize the Romanesque intention of Thomas Annan for Samuel Cupples's house [fig. 3.11]. Elaborate sculptural details are prevalent throughout the structure, such as the acanthus leaf carvings of the entrance arch, and the varied and unique design of the downspouts throughout the house [fig. 3.12]. Asymmetry and

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377. Ibid.
378. Richardson completed his design for the J. R. Lionberger House in 1886, directly before his death. His successor firm, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, completed construction of the building in 1887. See Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works*, 407.
379. Ibid., 98.
380. Skinner, "New Life for Castle," 9H.

variance of scale are apparent in the house design, from the slightly off-center location of the front entrance to the sharp contrast between the size and design of the two corner towers: the west tower sturdy and multistoried, the east smaller and truncated at its base by the entrance arch. The main house is accompanied by a large stable built across the street (accessible via underground tunnel for ease and privacy, and since demolished), and a porte cochere; a stone wall of approximately four feet high, constructed of the same heavy sandstone as the house, surrounds the property on the rear, east, and west sides.

Eclipsing its original estimated cost of $150,000, the price of designing and constructing the Cupples House ultimately soared over $500,000. The original design of a two-story building was expanded to a three-story one, and Cupples gave Annan free reign to obtain the finest material and craftsmen available (for example, stone carvers were imported from England to do all carving on site), and generally to spare no expense. The foundation is constructed of pink Missouri granite, as are the massive pillars framing the front entrance, and the rest of the exterior is of purple Colorado sandstone. Unique for the time is the detailed finishing on all four sides of the building instead of just the front façade, encouraging the visitor to observe the structure from all directions.[381] In keeping with the Romanesque style the masonry of the exterior is heavy and rough-hewn, a contrast to the smooth limestone of surrounding residences. Cupples clearly appreciated Annan's original design and made only functional changes during his residency. He

381. Though sizeable but not particularly large at 153 feet by 224 feet, the land Cupples purchased was the highest ground in the city of St. Louis at the time the building permit as filed in 1887. The intricate exterior carving was clearly intended to be viewed equally from all four sides. See Maurice B. McNamee, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: Samuel Cupples House* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1975).

added a round room on the north side of the house, made into a playroom due to the arrival of his adopted niece in 1895 and in 1905, the back porches were enclosed to become a servants' dining room. [382]

The influence of Henry Hobson Richardson is obvious, specifically the 1881 Oakes Ames Memorial Hall in North Easton, Massachusetts [fig. 3.13] and his 1882 design of Austin Hall for Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts [fig. 3.14]. Both have a single rounded tower to the right of the front entrance, as well as imagery engraved in their massive faces: organic design, like in the Cupples House, is featured in the Oakes Ames Memorial Hall, while the cornice of Austin Hall is inscribed with a lengthy motto.[383] The reference is illustrated in both the exterior pediments of the structure, as well as the interior, which features a grand staircase adapted from a Richardson design, most likely the staircase at Stonehurst, the 1886 Waltham, Massachusetts estate of philanthropist Robert Treat Paine [figs. 3.15, 3.16].[384] The sumptuous interior consists of forty-two rooms and twenty-two fireplaces, all marked by complex wrought ironwork, a signature art form of St. Louis employed here by local, though unnamed, artisans.[385] Extensive carved woodwork reproduced classical motifs,

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382. Maurice B. McNamee, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: Samuel Cupples House*. No original architectural drawings remain.
383. Annan's library does not survive, but his adaptation of Richardson's staircase design and use of elements from existing buildings offer evidence that Annan was directly familiar with the monograph of Richardson's work published in 1888, concurrent with Annan's design of the Cupples House. See Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888). The book was popular for reproducing a number of Richardson's commissions, and was the first biographical text of its kind devoted to an American architect, according to Meister, *H. H. Richardson: The Architect, His Peers and Their Era*, 139.
384. Maurice B. McNamee, *The Cupples House: A Turn of the Century Romanesque Mansion* (St. Louis: The Folkestone Press, 1980), 7.
385. Coyle, "Old St. Louis Homes," 25.

and Louis Comfort Tiffany windows throughout the building were patterned in an unrefined design to complement the rustication of the masonry [fig. 3.17]. Each of three floors is centered on expansive grand hallways, all of the same approximate size. The first floor consists of reception rooms, a library, music and billiard rooms, but no ballroom: Cupples, as a devout Methodist, disapproved of dancing [fig. 3.18].[386] On the second floor is located a reception room, sitting room, bathrooms, and bedrooms [fig. 3.19].[387] Bedrooms and a sitting room are situated on the third floor, and the service and laundry rooms are located on the ground floor, as were exercise rooms and a bowling alley [fig. 3.20].[388]

### The Cupples House: A Monument to Success

In its location and its grandeur, Samuel Cupples's house served as a beacon of his financial success. Cupples has been characterized as being a benefactor devoted to charity and philanthropy, but Skinner notes that he was also "a St. Louis tycoon who was not ashamed of being very, very rich."[389] In the design of his house — both its execution and its appearance — Cupples embraced European precedent, a move common among

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386. Edward Farrell, "Samuel Cupples House, a Little Known Historic Landmark at St. Louis University," *Examiner.com*, May 16, 2011, accessed December 10, 2012, http://www.examiner.com/article/samuel-cupples-house-a-little-known-historic-landmark-at-st-louis-university. Interestingly, the staircase includes a minstrel gallery, perhaps to continue the reference to Richardson's Stonehurst staircase design, which includes a gallery. After Cupples' death, however, New Year's Eve parties were regularly held in the House and perhaps made use of the minstrel gallery. See http://www.slu.edu/samuel-cupples-house/about-cupples-house/about-samuel-cupples.
387. Coyle, "Old St. Louis Homes," 9.
388. By the time Cupples moved into the Pine Street mansion and in addition to his wife Martha, he also housed for a time their adopted daughter Amelia, her husband William Henry Scudder, their children Maude Scudder Connor and Gladys Schudder McRee, Martha's sister, Harriet Kells, and her two daughters and their husbands. Twenty-two servants also resided in the Cupples House and outbuildings.
389. Coyle, "Old St. Louis Homes," 9.

American entrepreneurs of the late nineteenth century to create a bond between their wealth and the aristocratic past. The foyer of the house is paneled in English oak with imported Italian mosaics on the floor, and in a side hallway sits a sixteenth-century hand-carved English bench [fig. 3.21].[390] Decorative pieces include a reproduction of a commode from a Versailles bedroom made personally for Louis XVI, and extensive stained glass throughout the house depict the biography of King Louis IX of France, the "ideal medieval Christian monarch" who was well known for his patronage of the arts and founding of the Sorbonne and for whom Saint Louis, Missouri, was named [fig. 3.22].[391]

While stained glass and carved wood decoration were common in wealthy residences of the time — indeed, Cupples was recognized in an 1892 issue of *The Collector* for his resplendent home — the choices in the interior decoration speak to a potentially larger point for Cupples's pride as a resident of St. Louis and personal reflection. His choice of stained glass subject, King Louis IX, was perhaps how Cupples saw himself: a benevolent and pious Christian, as well as a cultural leader and patron in the royal tradition. The fleur-de-lis pattern, common in St. Louis at the time as a fashionable nod to the city's French heritage, also appears repeatedly in the house.[392]

In addition to the signifiers of French heritage popular in St. Louis in the late nineteenth century, Cupples made a point to embrace the Anglo-Irish artistic tradition, a

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390. Maurice B. McNamee, *The Cupples House: A Turn of the Century Romanesque Mansion,* 45.
391. Coyle, "Old St. Louis Homes," 21. Also see Michael Kammen, *A Time to Every Purpose: The Four Seasons in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Caroline Press, 2015), 43.
392. Ibid., 42.

reference to his heritage. The house is scattered with Celtic design elements reflecting Cupples's Irish ethnicity, and before construction on the house commenced, Cupples sent Annan to England for research and to contract craftsmen to work on the residence. The William Morris-led Arts and Crafts Movement influenced Cupples and Annan, seen in the use of natural materials and organic forms throughout the house. Rounded arches, clean lines, and stonework contrasted the "frippery" of most contemporaneous design [fig. 3.23].[393]

Perhaps surprisingly and not unrelated to the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the Cupples house was not designed to showcase, or even accommodate, newer technology or extravagant amenities. The residence was designed without a central heating system, already common in homes of the wealthy by the late nineteenth century.[394] The Cupples did have indoor plumbing, though only two communal full bathrooms and one for servants, unlike the numerous bathrooms of other stately residences of the time.[395] Incongruous as it may appear, Cupples's domestic world was one in which he simultaneously presented himself as a pious benefactor aligned with royalty and a figure mindful of wasteful spending, a tenuous position that he held until his death of old age in 1912. At the time of Cupples's passing, his estate was valued at

393. Lowic, *Architectural Heritage of St. Louis*, 98. William Morris (1834-1896) was a designer, writer and social activist who greatly influenced the 19th-century revival of British textile arts and promoted in design the use of natural materials such as wood and stone as hallmarks of practicality in the face of the Industrial Revolution. The related Arts and Crafts Movement from roughly 1880 to 1910 found inspiration in medieval and romantic decorative styles. For more information, see Fiona MacCarthy, *Anarchy & Beauty: William Morris & His Legacy* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2014).
394. According to the National Register nomination, the residents relied upon wood-burning fireplaces and a coal range in the kitchen. Hot air and steam heat were added at a date after the Cupples family was in residence.
395. Coyle, "Old St. Louis Homes," 49.

$1.57 million, and provisions in his will stipulated two requirements regarding his house: that the house should not be sold for the eight years after his death, and that it should never be the property of nearby Saint Louis University.[396]

**The Samuel Cupples House After Samuel Cupples**

In the years following Cupples's 1912 death, the house changed hands numerous times. From 1912 through 1920, the estate maintained a future possessory reversion interest, which stated that if the family sold the house or it fell into the hands of Saint Louis University, the house would revert back to the estate. Cupples's expressed distaste for Saint Louis University has no documented cause, though I hypothesize two probable reasons. First, Cupples was an esteemed member of the Methodist Church in St. Louis, and most likely did not wish his legacy associated with the Jesuits, given Saint Louis University's affiliation. Through his longstanding patronage of nonsectarian Washington University, the other major university in the area, Cupples had publicly and perpetually aligned himself with Washington and pointedly not Saint Louis University. Additionally, the construction of Cupples's residence coincided — and conflicted — with the westward expansion of the Saint Louis University campus, including the construction of the

396. Saint Louis University is a private Jesuit university founded in 1818 by the Most Reverend Louis Guillaume Valentin Dubourg that moved to the Lindell's Grove area of St. Louis, where Cupples would settle on Pine Street in 1887. Washington University in St. Louis is a private university originally organized as Eliot Seminary in 1853 under Chancellor Joseph Gibson Hoyt, then Washington Institute between 1854 and 1856, and finally under its current name and with no religious affiliation since 1856. See William Barnaby S.J. Faherty, *Saint Louis University: A Concise History* (St. Louis: Reedy Press, 2009) for a history of Saint Louis University and Ralph E. Morrow, *Washington University in St. Louis: A History* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1996) for information on Washington University in St. Louis.

Thomas Waring Walsh-designed Saint Francis Xavier College Church [fig. 3.24].[397] The Church was designed after the Cathedral of Saint Colman of Cobh, Ireland, an ambitiously large cathedral that dominates its surrounding pastoral hillside.[398] Similarly, the College Church's soaring tower and vertical orientation became a central feature of the landscape and obstructed Cupples's view of Mill Creek Valley and downtown St. Louis.[399]

The Cupples home remained in the family until the eight-year provision concluded in 1919, at which point it was legal (and financially advantageous) to sell the property. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers, a national union of telegraph operators most active in the nineteenth century, purchased the residence in 1919 and used the building as their national headquarters. A decline in membership of the organization during the Great Depression caused a drop in earned revenue, and eventually the

397. St. Louis University, www.slu.edu/college-church/who-we-are/early-history. Walsh (1826-1890), in whose firm Annan was employed from approximately 1857 until 1861, was an Irish immigrant who apprenticed with a carpenter at age thirteen and in 1846 emigrated to New York, then St. Louis in 1849. He won many commissions in St. Louis, most notably the Venetian Italianate Lindell Hotel (1863), which burned down in 1867. The Saint Francis Xavier Church project was one of Walsh's last commissions, and he died before construction finished. Chicago architect Henry Switzer finished the project. The Saint Francis Xavier Church was established in 1836 when St. Louis University Bishop Joseph Rosati, C.M. allowed the Jesuits to establish a parish on the campus. Following the move of Saint Louis University to Grand Boulevard in 1867, Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick gave permission for College Church (as it is popularly known) to be relocated to a new building in 1879. Built as finances allowed, the construction period lasted until 1879, and its spire and bell tower not completed until 1914. The church, designed by Edward Welby Pugin (son of well-known Neo-Gothic architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin) and George Ashlin, is stylistically based on the Cathedral Church of St. Colman in Cobh, Ireland, which interestingly also faced an elongated construction period from 1868 until 1915. St. Colman notably contains the only carillon in Ireland.
398. Ann Wilson, *The Gothic Revival in Ireland: St. Colman's Church, Cobh, 1868–1916* (Cork, Ireland: Self-published, 1970), 1.
399. Mary Kimbrough, "Cupples House Finds its Place in History," *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, April 17, 1977.

organization was forced to sell the building. In 1946 and in direct opposition to Samuel Cupples's will, the house was sold to Saint Louis University for $50,000, roughly one-tenth of its worth in 1888.[400]

**Father McNamee and the Preservation of the Cupples House**

Until the 1970s, the University used the Cupples residence only for administrative purposes, housing offices, classrooms, and an informal student center in the basement. During this time it became known as Chouteau House, which honored early St. Louis resident Charles Pierre Chouteau, one of the first students to matriculate at Saint Louis University. The 1964 construction of the Student Union building, one of many during a 1960s building boom in the city and on the Saint Louis University campus, precipitated the first conversation regarding the future of Chouteau House, and its potential demolition due to high maintenance costs.[401]

The preservation of Chouteau House formally began in 1966 in a partnership between representatives of the Saint Louis University administration led by professor Rita Adams of the history department, and Richard Bliss, Chairman of the St. Louis chapter of the American Institutes of Architects. In a letter to Adams, Bliss quoted Buford Pickens, Dean of the School of Architecture at Washington University, as saying that the Chouteau House "is perhaps the most significant example of this type of Victorian architecture" in the city.[402] Strengthening the argument for preservation was the

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400. Ibid.
401. Beth Powers, "Cupples House: A Slice of St. Louis Past," *South Side Journal*, April 20, 1977, 12.
402. Richard Bliss, correspondence with Rita Adams, 30 April 1966. The St. Louis University Archives.

fortuitous fact that though in need of a thorough cleaning of the exterior stonework, the structure and interiors of the residence had remained virtually unchanged since the house was used as a private residence.

By 1970, Professor Maurice B. McNamee had transformed the discussion regarding the house from being one about potential demolition to focusing on formalizing preservation and future use. The University redesignated the site the Samuel Cupples House and its preservation became the personal passion of McNamee, a popular professor of English, art, and art history with no training or experience in preservation work, though with a fervent appreciation for the structure as a rare example of Romanesque Revival architecture in St. Louis.

Father Maurice McNamee, known around campus as “Father Mac,” had been a fixture of campus since the 1940s, when he received his undergraduate and graduate degrees — including master’s, Licentiate of Sacred Theology, and doctorate degrees — from Saint Louis University. A professor of art history and English, McNamee developed the art department, housed in the 1960s and 1970s in the Cupples House.[403] His diverse research interests included William Faulkner, El Greco, and Marc Chagall.[404] He valued history and material culture in his teaching, an interdisciplinary approach that resonated with students. McNamee was lauded as “an accomplished scholar” capable of balancing a “rigorous schedule,” and beginning in 1970 he prioritized one project above all else: the future of the Samuel Cupples House.

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403. August T. Freundich, “Is There Something the Matter with College Museums?” *Art Journal* 24 (Winter 1965): 150.
404. Howard Derrickson, “An Accomplished Scholar Balances a Rigorous Schedule,” *West End World*, October 15, 1987, 5.

McNamee's preservation of the house commenced that same year, his goal to interpret the house as a period restoration with the inclusion of donated decorative objects and furniture appropriate to the era of construction. His pursuit was timely. The 1966 passage of the National Historic Preservation Act encouraged the designation of many sites similar to the Cupples House. Across the country, museum enthusiasts sought to find functions for buildings that no longer served a direct need but were recognized as important. They sought to designate and preserve such sites as an active response against the urban renewal of the 1960s and 1970s, a period during which many historically significant structures were demolished. The Cupples House had been in a precarious position of potential demolition since 1964, and no one, until that point, had considered it more than a functional campus space.[405]

McNamee's interpretation was a relatively open one, with the installation of objects related to the history of Saint Louis University, such as an 1830s portrait of Father Theodore de Theux Sr., a founder of Saint Louis University. Further complicating the interpretation of the Cupples House as a period house, as McNamee intended, was the re-dedication of the original billiards room on the first floor as the "Flemish Room," which displayed an installation of the Saint Louis University collection of Flemish art and furnishings, honoring Saint Louis University's founding by Belgian Jesuits [fig. 3.25].[406]

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405. Saint Louis University, "Chouteau House to be Razed Fr. Reinart Says," *University News*, March 20, 1964.
406. No guide to the art collection is available, though McNamee did draft a guide to the Samuel Cupples House: Maurice B. McNamee, *The Cupples House: A Turn of the Century Romanesque Mansion* (St. Louis: The Folkestone Press, 1980).

The Cupples House first opened to the public in 1973, featured in the annual St. Louis Art Walk, during which the Cupples House displayed the entire Saint Louis University art collection. From its initial opening, the interpretation of the site was an amalgam of donated decorative arts, the University's art collection (mainly paintings and furniture), and Cupples's personal furniture and art objects, purchased with the house and from family descendants. McNamee's approach to the preservation of the Cupples House was to consider the house both an object of artistic creation for appreciation and study as well as an exhibition space for other objects in the University collection. This led to a complicated exhibition narrative, a notable example being the display of an oak sideboard custom-made for Cupples situated alongside a sideboard presented to Saint Louis University by a European Jewish refugee after World War II.[407] Other than both being sideboards, any further correlation between the two objects was unclear and most likely nonexistent. The apparent centralization of the Saint Louis University art collection in the Cupples House also included a modern art gallery, now known as the McNamee Gallery, on the ground floor to house the University sculpture collection.

The overall preservation and interpretation was an admirable but almost rogue effort on the part of McNamee, who gained a reputation during his tenure at the Cupples House for re-appropriating objects around campus for display at the House. According to Saint Louis University Archivist John Waide, McNamee did not formulate interpretation plans, collecting, or collections management plans, or keep any acquisitions or condition records, creating a maelstrom of collections activity with virtually no corollary

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407. Skinner, "New Life for Castle," 9H.

documentation, actions that impact the University archives to the present.[408] For example, McNamee would move objects from other campus locations that he believed were better situated in the Cupples House, without notifying anyone to update object records. While the omission of such fundamental organizational structures is significant, McNamee did complete necessary steps to ensure preservation of the House. He lobbied the local government for its inclusion on the City Landmarks list, finalized in 1973, and successfully filed for the formal listing of the Samuel Cupples House in the National Register of Historic Places in 1976. That same year, the Cupples Company donated $35,000 to fund the exterior cleaning of the building, matched by donations raised via the recently-established Samuel Cupples House Foundation, the membership of which consisted of all private donors to the House.

Over the next two decades, Father Maurice McNamee's name became synonymous with any mention of the Cupples House. Popular narratives of the House bookended its history between the figures of Samuel Cupples and Maurice McNamee, its existence the product of both men's personal passion for architecture. In a 1977 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article, Mary Kimbrough states "while the mansion was planned and paid for in 1890 by millionaire woodenware merchant and philanthropist Samuel Cupples, the professor-priest can be credited with saving its life and giving it a new reason for being."[409] McNamee was lauded for his dedication to the Cupples House during his leadership and after he retired in 1995; an article of the same year joked that following a

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408. John Waide, St. Louis University Archivist, in discussion with the author, St. Louis, MO, June 11, 2013.
409. Kimbrough, "Cupples House Finds its Place in History."

1995 surgery, McNamee's "removed hip bone be mounted in a reliquary and displayed in Cupples House for the veneration of Father Mac's legion of devotees," with monetary offerings used to fund the preservation of the House.[410]

By his departure in 1995, McNamee had made impressive strides regarding preservation of the Cupples House. The restoration of the first-floor library was completed in 1977, just in time for the presentation of its certificate formalizing inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.[411] Restorations of the great hall, the dining room, the reception room, and the second floor landing, all followed by 1994.[412] The House served as a repository for period furniture, especially that belonging to the Cupples family, though records do not prove that McNamee was as aggressive as the WHI of the Pabst Mansion in amassing such objects. The extensive and ornate carved wood interiors as well as the windows by Louis Comfort Tiffany had stayed in excellent condition, and McNamee ensured they remained pristine. Little exterior restoration was necessary, though McNamee did seek funding for stabilization of the roof from the Cupples Company. Additional donor funding came from Missourians Mr. and Mrs. Milton Mendle for the second floor gallery to house the Eleanor Turshin glass collection. The house of Samuel Cupples – or "Sam," as McNamee called him – was safe from demolition and in splendid condition.[413]

410. Jerry Berger, "Hot Stuff from Muny on Cinderella's Feet," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 18, 1995.
411. Kimbrough, "Cupples House Finds its Place in History."
412. Maurice B. McNamee, "The Cupples House at St. Louis University," *St. Louis Homes and Gardens*, Sep.–Oct. 1994, 33-40.
413. Ibid., 35.

Maurice McNamee's legacy at the Cupples House was not necessarily, as originally intended, a period restoration of the house as Samuel Cupples or his peers might have experienced it at the end of the nineteenth century, but rather an adaptive use site for meetings and cultural enrichment on campus. As journalist Jane Priwer notes, the Cupples House is not a "monument to a vanished way of life" but rather "designed for active use and involvement."[414] The House did act and continues to serve as locus for the storage and display of the University art collection and for University events. Yet before McNamee's legacy be simplified as enthusiastic and unprofessional, he proved himself a shrewd leader and advocate versed in the deft handling of donors and politicians whose ultimate goal was to make the Cupples House an autonomous financial operation, independent from Saint Louis University and its budgetary control. He saw financial independence as the reason for his creation of the Samuel Cupples House Foundation as he clearly articulated in a 1979 letter to Saint Louis University President Thomas R. Fitzgerald. In the letter, McNamee discussed the recent establishment of the Foundation, as well as the potential formation of a trust to house donations from Cupples's descendants (that never materialized) in order to allow the Cupples House to function "financially entirely independent of the University."[415] Clearly aware of the financial ramifications of being a Saint Louis University subsidiary, with all financial, interpretative, and strategic decisions under the oversight of the president's office,

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414. Jane Priwer, "The House That Mac Built," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 17, 1977, 7.
415. Maurice B. McNamee, correspondence with Thomas R. Fitzgerald, St, Louis: Saint Louis University Archives, 1979. No month and day is given. To set up a dedicated trust would mean all income would be restricted to the Cupples House, a legal designation not guaranteed for income filtered through the University financial offices.

McNamee undertook measures to begin separation from the University. A visitors' pamphlet published in the 1970s described the Foundation as "a legal foundation … set up to supervise the restoration and management of the house." In addition to the institution of language describing the Foundation as the governing board of the House — similar to an independent nonprofit institution — any income generated during McNamee's tenure was funneled into a fund restricted to the Cupples House and its use to his discretion, with revenue directed to House preservation and operation. At the same time, however, Saint Louis University provided utilities costs and offered janitorial service and facilities maintenance. In response to questions raised by the University administration regarding his dual funding of the House from restricted funds as well as the operational support offered by the University, McNamee astutely leveraged his popularity as power. In his letter to President Fitzgerald, McNamee explained that any financial support the University provided to the Cupples House was "well-earned," considering his central role in the promotion of the University via his management of the Cupples House.[416] Furthermore, McNamee was confident that by appealing to his political and social connections, his powerful colleagues in the St. Louis Catholic community, and even to the Saint Louis University alumni base, he could ensure the financial and operational independence of the Cupples House.[417] While the capitalization on such connections unquestionably contributed to the operations of the Cupples House

416. Ibid.
417. Pamela Ambrose, Director of Cultural Affairs at Loyola University, in discussion with the author, Chicago, IL, June 19, 2013.

until McNamee retired as Director Emeritus in 1995, not surprisingly, the self-sustainability he had sought since the 1970s never materialized.

**The Cupples House: From Preservation to Operation**

Following Maurice McNamee's departure, the future of the Cupples House faced a proverbial crossroads, with two hurdles to overcome. First, the matter of daily operations. McNamee devoted the majority of his time, both personal and professional, to the management of the Cupples House. Of immediate importance was the question of who would be willing and able to devote the time to the management of the House, as well as to deciphering his records and gleaning what institutional knowledge McNamee could share to ensure a smooth management transition. Second was the issue of the inextricable dual history of the preservation of Cupples House with the career of McNamee, of which the narrative of a single man facing almost insurmountable challenges to successfully rescue and operate a historic building was a cornerstone. In a transitional moment, the Cupples House had to re-evaluate its operations and public brand after McNamee's retirement.

One year later, the University appointed Pamela Ambrose to be Maurice McNamee's successor. While McNamee's devotion to the House had received praise from the University community, his lack of procedural compliance was widely known, despite being considered the inaugural professional administrator of Cupples House. Ambrose relocated to St. Louis from New York, where she had served an integral role in the formation of the New Museum of Contemporary Art in the 1980s, and subsequently served as the director of two prominent galleries, the Monique Knowlton Gallery and the

Rose Esman Gallery. Upon Ambrose's arrival, she noted the obvious lack of professionalism in the site, unsurprising given McNamee's lack of formal education or experience in preservation or museum administration prior to his work with the Cupples House.[418] Ambrose sought to operate the House as a public site according to best practices as determined by the American Association of Museums and to administer the House despite of "a University not knowledgeable about how to respect the House," according to Ambrose.[419]

Ambrose professionalized daily operations, grew the staff, and perhaps most controversial to the remaining legion of McNamee devotees, disbanded the Samuel Cupples House Foundation, which she viewed as a financial liability, for its income was not formally restricted to House use and could fall prey to University reallocation. What McNamee had viewed as the avenue to financial independence, Ambrose saw as an arrangement that made the Cupples House vulnerable to fiscal instability, especially given the casual administrative style employed by her predecessor. While she did not create a vision statement, she pursued strategic planning, emphasizing goals of education and engagement. Under the supervision of Georgine Hartigan, a former docent at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, volunteer docents underwent formal training for museum tours, including handicapped-accessible and ESL tours. Ambrose also

418. Ibid.

419. Ibid. The American Alliance of Museums was known as the American Association of Museums until 2012. Under McNamee's leadership, the Foundation existed as a formal group of individuals affiliated with the House, not a traditional board. One reason McNamee may have fought for financial independence was this issue of governance: as a university subsidiary, the Cupples House would not have been able to have a governing board, only an honorary one, its governance ultimately in the hands of the Board of Trustees of Saint Louis University.

prioritized accessibility, remodeling the conservatory in 2004, and renaming it the Harris Education Center, to include fully handicapped-accessible multimedia presentations for hearing- and visually-impaired visitors.[420]

Pamela Ambrose served as the Executive Director of the Samuel Cupples House from 1996 until 2004, when she departed for a position as Director of Cultural Affairs at Loyola University in Chicago and the Founding Director of the Loyola University Museum of Art. Following her resignation, the daily operation of the Cupples House was designated to those already situated in the community of Saint Louis University and restructured. After Ambrose, the position was consolidated under the title of Director of Museums and Galleries, responsible for essentially the entirety of Saint Louis University's cultural holdings. Given the enormity of the new position, with responsibility for oversight of five exhibition spaces in addition to the Cupples House, the change precipitated a decrease in University attention to Cupples House as well as other cultural property on campus.[421]

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420. Ibid.
421. The Saint Louis University Museums and Galleries consist of the following: the Saint Louis University Museum of Art, housed in a 1900 building originally commissioned by the St. Louis Club and acquired by Saint Louis University in 1992, the repository and exhibition space for the majority of the University art collection since the Museum was established in 2002; the Museum of Contemporary Religious Art, established in 1991 when the Fusz Chapel was transitioned into an exhibition space and, according to its webpage, functions as "the world's first interfaith museum of contemporary art that engages religious and interfaith themes"; Boileau Hall is a former art studio that was opened by the University as a conference center and art gallery in 2005; Pere Marquette Gallery, constructed in 1888 as DuBourg Hall and used as a gallery and meeting space since its 1995 restoration; the remote Henry Lay Sculpture Park located in Louisiana, Missouri, and a component of the University's Lay Center for Education and the Arts; and the Samuel Cupples House.

David Suwalsky, a PhD candidate at Saint Louis University in American Studies, was the first to fill this consolidated position.[422] Though he brought experience in program management and financial administration from a background in secondary education, Suwalsky had no background in museums. His hiring, following that of an enthusiastic faculty member and an experienced museum professional, signaled the decline of House professionalization as a museum.[423] While his dedication to material culture and his educational background was a reasonable fit, his dual role as a graduate student and part-time University employee made it difficult for Suwalsky to adequately devote attention to the House. Throughout his administration, as well as that of his successor and current Director of Museums and Galleries, Petruta Lipan, the Cupples House has faced declines in attention from the University, restoration activity, programming, and ultimately, professionalization.[424] Staff positions were eliminated, with the resulting site management consisting of one full-time professional onsite, down from a full-time Executive Director and support staff of six during the Ambrose era. The University disbanded the Board of Directors, organized by Ambrose as a more fiscally solvent model of oversight than the Foundation and decreased the allocation of operational underwriting. Fundraising almost completely halted, as no Director of Universities and Galleries had the time to pursue cultivation of potential donors. Without the implementation of a collections management system in the 1970s during the initial

422 The Saint Louis University Archives, consulted for this project, do not include sealed administrative records, including documentation of hiring decisions at the University.
423. David Suwalsky, Linkedin Profile, www.linkedin.com/pub/david-suwalsky. Suwalsky did not respond to repeated requests for an interview with the author.
424. Ambrose discussion, June 19, 2013.

operation of the property as a public site, the documentation of collection holdings remained on the spectrum between poorly maintained and virtually nonexistent. The imperative of the Cupples House, once a symbol of preservationist triumph under McNamee and then a fully-compliant and professional operation under Ambrose, became singular and stark: "to keep the doors open" and nothing more.[425]

Today, the Samuel Cupples House is open twenty-five hours a week; five days a week for five hours each day. There is no charge for self-guided tours, and groups of eight or more are docent-led at a cost of $5 a person. The current staff consists of four part-time employees.[426] Employees' responsibilities are varied, and many are primarily affiliated elsewhere at the University. Director of University Museums and Galleries Petruta Lipan — already responsible for oversight of the six collections on campus — also maintains a faculty position as an instructor in the School of Professional Studies. Former Marketing Director Mary Marshall served primarily as the Coordinator of Marketing and Web Services for the University, and as of 2017 the House has no formal marketing, fundraising, or operations staff. Staff members of the Cupples House holding dual positions do not work in the House proper but rather from their offices in other University buildings.

Fundraising and maintenance of the House is minimal, and has been stagnant since Ambrose's tenure. Regular fundraising events commenced during McNamee's

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425. Ibid.
426. The staff consists of Petruta Lipan, Director of University Museums and Galleries; Maureen E. Landgraf, Registrar-Collections Manager for University Museums and Galleries; Fallon A. Potter, Secretary for University Museums and Galleries; and Stephen L. Weber, Exhibition Fabricator. Note that all Cupples House staff are responsible for the oversight of all University cultural property, and no one person is totally dedicated to the House.

leadership and continued through Ambrose's management, including tours, black-tie events, and poster sales. Between 2007 and 2017, the events have been reduced to a single, three-hour annual event, the theme of which each year has been "A Pouring on the Patio," a wine tasting. Promotion of the event was virtually non-existent, listed on University calendars as part of homecoming weekend and on the Cupples House's social media sites, but not in any local press and as of 2017, is no longer listed on the University's events calendar. In fact, no events are listed besides a monthly First Friday tour. Other than the donation of $5 suggested to participants in guided group tours, other sources of earned revenue are unclear, especially since the House is no longer available for private rental, as it was in the 1990s. Because the House has no dedicated management, all generated revenue funds general operations of the University and is not restricted to the Cupples House, a situation that McNamee had tried to avoid.

Though in a state of obvious administrative decline, the Cupples House remains popular with various audiences. The House is well known in the Catholic religious community for its impressive collection of religious art. The Flemish paintings and decorative art, as well as the Eleanor Turshin Glass Collection of art nouveau and art deco glass draw visitors annually.[427] Student engagement is limited to those interested in volunteering to assist in regular Cupples House maintenance days and student attendance

427. According to Samuel Cupples House signage, the Eleanor Turshin Glass Collection was donated to Saint Louis University between 1992 and 1999 and currently comprises the largest American collection west of the Mississippi River. The collection was the focus of the 2006 meeting of the Glass Art Society and the 2008 meeting of the National Depression Glass Association, thus maintaining a strong reputation amongst glass enthusiasts. According to Saint Louis University archivist John Waide, Saint Louis University maintains no inventory or files on the collection. My request for a current visitation number was not answered.

at Cupples House-hosted social events, which occur at a rate of roughly one each semester. While stronger efforts to involve students have occurred, such as Ambrose's offer of contemporary art lectures for students circa 2000, the House currently has rather inadequate offerings for students, given its position as a University museum. On an informal level, however, the House is infamous in student circles on campus for reasons completely unrelated to its administration or programming, as the House is widely considered haunted by the ghost of Samuel Cupples. The concept of a haunting by Cupples was introduced in a 1977 interview with McNamee in which he commented that Cupples was known to tamper with locks to an art storage facility, a probable attempt on McNamee's part to garner public attention.[428] The story continues to circulate almost forty years later, the explanation for the haunting being that Cupples is displeased with the ownership of his house under Saint Louis University and not Washington University, which he supported very publicly during his lifetime.[429]

While university museums are uniquely suited to student engagement and the experiential learning process, issues regarding finances, operations, and collections management are often problematic, as is the case at Saint Louis University. In the decades before the preservation and operation of Cupples House as a museum began, Saint Louis University had an uneven history of cultural property management. Originally housed in the fourth floor of administrative building DuBourg Hall, in 1888 the first collection of the University consisted of minerals, gems, and other natural history specimens was installed [fig. 3.26]. The objects were dispersed in the early twentieth

428. Powers, "Cupples House: A Slice of St. Louis Past."
429. Lehner, "Samuel Cupples House."

century, with some going to the local seminary of St. Stanislaus and others lost in the transition.[430]

More recently, the University has faced ongoing issues with managing cultural property, from library holdings to special collections to art objects, none of which have been properly inventoried or archived. According to University Archivist John Waide, an inventory has never been completed of the collections at Saint Louis University, an issue given McNamee's propensity for moving artifacts during his two decades managing the Cupples House. Concerned with risk management and procedural compliance, Waide and Petruta Lipan, Director of Museums and Galleries, unsuccessfully requested a university-wide inventory of cultural artifacts, to which the University administration responded there was "not enough interest, particularly in regularizing (collections) management."[431] The only attention given to documentation of collections was in 2012, when a cursory record was taken for insurance purposes.[432]

In addition to ongoing issues of professional collections management, Saint Louis University, like all campus museums, is subject to administrative decisions at higher levels, such as deans' and presidents' offices.[433] University museums are directly subject to administrative pronouncement such as the elimination of the Cupples House

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430. St. Stanislaus was located in Florissant and opened its doors in 1840. The seminary faced financial difficulties in the 1960s and was granted an easement by the City of St. Louis as long as the seminary housed objects as a museum; when the Jesuit administration ultimately released the property in 1971, the objects were returned to the Saint Louis University Museum of Art. See Francis Joseph Yealy, "Saint Stanislaus 1900-1913." (St Louis, MO: Self published, 1971).
431. Waide discussion, June 11, 2013.
432. Ibid.
433. Petruta Lipan as director of University museums and galleries reports to Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Christopher Duncan, who in turn reports to University President Fred P. Pestello. He is Saint Louis University's chief executive officer, appointed by and accountable to the University Board of Trustees.

directorship in favor of a director of all museums and galleries, choices usually made as budget management measures. Yet, just as imposing are those situations that take place at the trustee level of university leadership that indirectly though definitely impact cultural property management. The arts are often less of a priority for educational institutions, especially large, urban universities that prioritize business and medical programs, such as Saint Louis University, and which are situated in cities with other, expansive arts offerings available to students. Notable also is the dominant role that sports plays in many large universities, a point lamented by American Alliance of Museums President Ford Bell, who explains, "it is a challenge for museums to compete with sports, especially in large universities. This is unfortunate, because museums bring people to campus without regard for a win-loss record."[434] As Pamela Ambrose notes, "the university museum is subject to the university mission," and the mission does not often prioritize the funding or management of on-campus arts programming.

Just as critical to the cultivation of strong campus museums and oversight of cultural property is the current relationship between the president, the faculty, and the student body. Adversarial relations within the institution itself can beget a widespread negative impact, such as has occurred with past President Lawrence Biondi at Saint Louis University. Biondi was president of the University for more than twenty-five years and faced a volatile relationship with students, faculty, and staff in his last years, with the academic community calling for his early retirement, which was made official in September of 2013. While successful in certain respects, such as doubling Saint Louis

434. Ford Bell, address to Bowdoin College, April 9, 2015.

University's real estate holdings and increasing the size and quality of the student body, other actions of Biondi proved questionable, namely his paramount interest in business, which some in the community lambasted as perhaps more pressing than his religious allegiance as a priest.[435]

In such situations, cultural interests may be viewed by the administration as extraneous and fall prey to a polarizing leadership, ultimately relegated as nonessential to the success of the institution.[436] Saint Louis University appears to be in a phase of recovery from the upheaval, having appointed Fred Pestello as the University's thirty-third president in July of 2014, though nothing of note has yet changed for the Samuel Cupples House, or any other cultural property, as a result.[437]

## Conclusion

The Samuel Cupples House is an example of a historic site managed by a non-museum parent institution, an arrangement that may appear to provide stable governance, although the reality is often quite different. University-stewarded cultural property is subject to the comprehensive priorities and strategy of the institution as a whole, which may exclude or even directly conflict with those of the museums themselves. Despite the recent leadership transition at Saint Louis University, there is no guarantee that the Cupples House will receive adequate funding or resources in the future. Moreover, without an active and influential advocate on campus such as Father McNamee, it is

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435. Jeanette Cooperman, "The Complex Legacy of Father Lawrence Biondi," *St. Louis Magazine*, October 2013, accessed January 15, 2015, http://www.stlmag.com/The-Complex-Legacy-of-Father-Lawrence-Biondi/.
436. Ibid.
437. Clayton Berry, "Dr. Fred P. Pestello Named President of Saint Louis University," March 21, 2014, http://www.slu.edu/news-slu-announcement-321.

entirely possible the Cupples House will continue to decline in operation until it is not open regularly, and thus not able to engage with its campus or regional community. Ultimately, it may face a future as the largest object in the Special Collections of the University and a relic to be visited only upon special request, as a non-museum administrative space as it once was, or demolition.

The issues of the Cupples House case resonate with other university-stewarded cultural property including biological, fine art, decorative arts, and material culture collections. While the stature of campus museums has grown in recent decades, such organizations face many challenges. Staff and financial constraints, as well as vulnerability to potentially inauspicious goals of the governing institutional administration, all contribute to a tenuous climate for many, if not most, college museums. Focus on STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) curriculum allows for decreasing attention to the arts in college campuses, even during the mindful transition to STEAM (science, technology, engineering, arts, and mathematics) learning objectives. Furthermore, even the most well-intentioned institutions may struggle with adequately supporting and accommodating these cultural enclaves in the campus, especially in considerations of preservation and site management.[438] However difficult the challenges facing university museums and

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438. Certain institutions, such as Boston College, continue to fund and promote their art collections, prioritizing adequate facilities to accommodate holdings. In 2014, Boston College announced that thanks to a lead gift from the McMullen family Foundation, the institutional art collection would move from cramped quarters in Devlin Hall to a new space to be named the McMullen Museum of Art on the Brighton Campus. Rosanne Pellegrini, "New Home for McMullen," *The Boston College Chronicle*, December 4, 2014,

particularly university historic sites, these venues inhabit a wholly unique position within the university as sites of unparalleled opportunities for experiential education. The value of university collections is in their educational, historical, and aesthetic significance, yet as in the case of the Samuel Cupples House, these holdings require a participatory academic community and a committed administration. Only if provided a dedicated staff and administrative priority can university museums succeed as meaningful places for academic inquiry and cultural edification. While other academic museums in the area, such as Washington University's Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum and the St. Louis Mercantile Library Art Museum at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, are heavily promoted and have active membership and giving programs, the Cupples House simply does not have the resources, financial or human, it enjoyed in its infancy under McNamee's wing. The protective and supportive presence of a patron – McNamee at the Cupples House or, relevantly, Richard Driehaus of the Driehaus Museum – is sometimes all that stands between an operational site and one on its way to extinction. In this way, the Samuel Cupples House illuminates how university-governed cultural property, particularly historic sites, must document and manage their support structures in order to be in a position to continually participate in the evolution of an institution of higher education. Without such a proactive partnership with a steward, the protection and promotion of cultural property is not guaranteed, as is the example provided in the Cupples House.

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http://www.bc.edu/publications/chronicle/FeaturesNewsTopstories/2014/topstories/mcmullen-museum-to-move-to-brighton-campus.html.

The Samuel Cupples House illustrates issues typical of a relationship with a non-museum steward, including the protection of cultural property and prioritization of museums as cultural, and not capital, assets. While such museums face challenges, there exist opportunities for stabilization and sustainability in these relationships. Furthermore, while demonstrative of the unique concerns of institutional stewardship, the case of the Cupples House highlights themes recurrent in the discussions of the Pabst Mansion and the Driehaus Museum. Of central primacy is the fact that adequate funding serves the central role in the development and life of a historic house museum, its administration, and its chances for sustainability. Like the Driehaus Museum, the Cupples House performs in the capacity allowed by its steward; whether from an individual or from an institution, unilateral underwriting limits the agency of a nonprofit organization and its capacity to function independently and plan appropriately for its future. Maintenance of an internal leadership structure and diverse funding strategy retains the highest potential for fiscal stability. Again, we see that the story — and the success — of a historic site does not rest in the confines of its preservation but rather in the ability of such a site to soundly sustain its post-preservation operation. Like both the Pabst Mansion and the Driehaus Museum, the Cupples House grew out of the economic boom associated with the growth of industry in the Midwestern region of the United States in the late nineteenth century, a distinctly different trajectory of preservation than that prevalent in the East Coast region, in which the object of preservation is largely Colonial in scope.[439]

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439. This point is a generalization to be sure, and speaks to the dominance of Colonial history in East Coast preservation, but not its total saturation. House museums such as The Elms, the Newport, Rhode Island home built in 1901 for coal baron Edward Julius Berwind by architect

Lastly, the historical course of the Cupples House parallels that of the Pabst Mansion and of the Driehaus Museum in that its transition from residential purposes to that of private business and once recognized for its architectural value (in this case, by Father McNamee), preserved and opened to the public. As the personal passion of an individual the Cupples House achieved success; in the charge of a full-time professional it realized stability; yet as one of a handful of cultural sites vying for funding and desperate for staff attention, its future is uncertain.

Common among the cases presented is that whether supported by a community, an individual, or an institution, the best avenue to sustainability is operational independence and diversification of funding. That is not to say, however, that there do not exist successful relationships between a steward and a museum but that such arrangements must be well documented and include a shared vision. Having now presented three cases of historic house management and funding, I will turn to a discussion of the major themes and the impact such research can make on the scholarship and practice of historic preservation in the United States.

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Horace Trumbauer, and the Eustis Estate, the 1878 home of entrepreneur William Ellery Channing Eustus designed by William Randoph Emerson, serve as examples of industrial-era representation in New England, though their stories are not the primary narrative of the region.

# CONCLUSION

## Ensuring the Future of House Museums

Historic house museums and the public's understanding of them have evolved into wholly realized professional operations from volunteer stewardship over the course of the past 160 years. A study such as this, which merges historical readings of house museums as cultural texts and chronicles their preservation and current operation and challenges, comes at an apt time. A 2014 *Boston Globe* article by Ruth Graham explained that many, including a number of historic site professionals themselves, are questioning the multitude of historic house museums in the United States.[440] Many are poorly run, meagerly funded, and with little understanding of how to succeed. Graham cites Stephanie Meeks, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, in her 2013 keynote address at the annual conference, entitled "House Museums: A 21st Century Paradigm." In her remarks, Meeks bluntly explained that the traditional historic house museum model is unsustainable, especially from the financial perspective. She stated that "the time for talk has ended, and the time for action is upon us."[441] The historic house museum field is thirsty for work like this, attending to issues of best practices, legal and financial concerns, in order to protect our cultural resources.

This study has provided a discussion of three sites that share a number of similarities but also face unique challenges. They all qualify as historic house museums according to our current understanding of the definition, however murky and debatable it

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440. Ruth Graham, "The Great Historic House Debate," *Boston Globe*, August 10, 2014, https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/08/09/the-great-historic-house-museum-debate/jzFwE9tvJdHDCXehlWqK4O/story.html.
441. Ibid.

may be. Their location in the Midwestern region of the United States provide insight into an area whose architecture has received comparatively less attention than those based in the East of the same period of roughly 1880–1895. All three homes were designed for individuals who amassed great wealth in the industrially based economy. Their homes functioned as markers of social stature and both literally and figuratively situated each as an elite member of his community.

Each chapter, however, chronicles the particular history of and challenges facing each property. The first chapter provides a history and analysis of the Pabst Mansion, widely considered an icon of the Milwaukee architectural landscape since its construction in 1892. The site provides an avenue into discussions of how the resident, Frederick Pabst, represented both his German heritage and his industry of brewing in the house itself. The chapter attends to issues of community-based preservation activity from private, organizational, and municipal levels. Milwaukee provides an apt case study of an industrial city ultimately embracing the fight for preservation on a citywide scale. While the operation of the Pabst Mansion is relatively standard in its oversight by a board of directors, without a parent organization to steward it or a single donor to influence it, the nonprofit is vulnerable to – and can potentially benefit from – changing economic trends, as happened in 2009 with the recession. Community-funded organizations must consistently engage their community for monetary support and visitation, though if a model of self-sustenance is implemented, such as the 75%–25% ratio of earned-versus-contributed income utilized by the Mansion, the site can protect itself against market fluctuations. This independent management allows for more internal control and autonomy, though the institution must be prepared to contextualize financial decisions (such as project-based restricted fundraising) with institutional strategic planning.

The Richard Driehaus Museum is a beautifully appointed mansion that has undergone a swift, thorough, and widely publicized restoration. Yet the current fiscal situation of the Museum as a nonprofit organization that receives the bulk of its support from a single source and does not prioritize fundraising begs the question of financial diversification and proper planning for a change in circumstance. The Driehaus Museum offers an opportunity for an exploration of the role of the private collector in the publicly-accessible museum from a historical perspective on the evolution of the collector in American society. The case also provides a specific narrative of the evolution of the relationship between a collector and his collection, and the transition of a collection from private ownership to public consumption. The use of an individual's collection as the foundation for a public museum raises scrutiny of the limitations of a generous though potentially unsustainable funding paradigm based on the giving activity of the collector-patron. Additionally, the specific marketing niche occupied by the Driehaus Mansion, in which the house is interpreted according to its recent story of preservation and with limited emphasis on its history, problematizes the current understanding of historic house museums. Can site staff dictate if their site is categorized as a historic house or not, and what does such a definition connote to the public? The second chapter illustrates that the disconnect between self-identity (in the case of the Driehaus Museum, *not* a historic house museum) and the public perception can muddle the brand, and shows the need for strategic use and evaluation of the mission.

The last chapter provides an overview of the Cupples Mansion and its relationship with governing institution, Saint Louis University. The Cupples House serves as an example of a site that receives regular but limited monetary support and administrative assistance from the University, while striving to be seen as an institutional priority. As of 2017, the Cupples House is struggling with its very identity as a historic house museum to be valued as its own material object, versus a functional exhibition space that happens to be historic. Historic house museums such as the Cupples House illustrate issues of administrative oversight and the protection of the structure, its property, and its collection as cultural property and not assets available for capitalization by a non-museum stewarding organization.[442]

These three sites, for all their differences, tell a similar story of residential construction and inhabitation, business use, preservation, and recategorization as museums open for public consumption. Each site and the challenges they face underscore the need for certain measures to be taken regularly and strategically. The systematic revisiting of the organization mission and alignment with organizational strategic goals ensures that the administration, staff, and governing body — whether collective, individual, or institutional — are synchronized. The primacy of this recommendation is the response to the point repeatedly made throughout this study that the preservation narrative of a site should and does include its operation beyond its incorporation as a tax-

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442. According to the National Register of Historic Landmarks, over 600 properties owned by colleges and universities are landmarked building or districts. Their preservation and fiscal responsibility is a major concern in modern preservation. See "The National Register of Historic Places Download Center" at http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/Download?path=/natreg/docs/All_Data.html.

exempt organization; to celebrate "successful" preservation as the completion of capital beautification is to undermine these sites as stagnant. They are not simply the stage for interpretive activities but nonprofit businesses that should be managed with discretion, expertise, and strategy.

This research offers a new perspective to academic and professional historiography of historic house museums and, more generally, the evolution of the arts and culture in America. As Richard Bushman indicates in *Refinement in America: Persons, Houses, Cities*, the population of the young United States developed a set of cultural values based in aristocratic culture.[443] Bushman's study spans 1700 to 1850, but provides a structure for understanding the evolution of American culture that is apt for application to research focused on the late nineteenth century. The diversification of the American population after 1850 complicated the previous demographic structure that consisted of Anglo-, Western European-, and African-American groups. Additionally, the active industrialization of the economy, as well as new modes of transportation, allowed for an integration of Midwestern resources with those of the East Coast. This westward expansion precipitated a diversified economic structure that allowed for the rise of the industrialist-entrepreneur.

Like Bushman's research, this study takes as its foundation the evolution of democracy that offered culture and society opportunities for redefinition and access. The arts are, in this reading, a reflection of socioeconomic development and the realization of new culture. All three figures profiled in this study — Frederick Pabst, Samuel

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443. Richard Bushman, *Refinement in America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992).

Nickerson, and Samuel Cupples — came from backgrounds of varying means, but all shared an entrepreneurial spirit and created their own place in their respective urban environments of Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis. As each achieved success in business and their social stature rose, so did they believe they deserved a residence that embodied such accomplishments. Not simply showplaces of wealth, each house served as a mechanism of identity projection, representative of the individual's place in business and society. The design of each structure and its furnishing with decorative arts, frequently imported from Europe, promoted these men as tastemakers; patrons of designers, architects, and artists; and innovators, their residences often sites of experimental technological advancement.[444] In this way and demonstrating Bushman's argument, each man positioned himself as an aesthete, reliant upon the access provided by American democracy and capitalism to align himself with historically accepted aristocratic standards of taste.

This study also contributes to the dialogue begun by social theorist Pierre Bourdieu in his book *The Love of Art: European Museums and their Public* (1966) and in *The Field of Cultural Production* (1992).[445] Bourdieu's argument in *The Love of Art* is

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444. The furnishings of residences for wealthy Americans of the Gilded Age often came directly from Europe, associating them with prestigious, rich, and even aristocratic forerunners, or were crafted by artisans contracted from overseas. For more information on the architectural salvage and craft trade, see John Harris, *Moving Rooms: The Trade in Architectural Salvages* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).
445. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Love of Art: European Museums and their Public* (New York: Polity Press, 1966) and *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York: Polity Press, 1993). Bourdieu (1930-20020) was a sociologist and philosopher whose work was primarily concerned with the dynamics of power in society and how it is maintained and transferred within our accepted social order. His best known work is *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1984), which explored from a sociological perspective the role of aesthetics to the

that the arts sector is imbued with a status that appeals to a certain audience. The experience of cultural organizations is a privilege extended to some but not to all and is necessarily exclusive of other audiences. Such arbitrary hierarchy is historically the case and arguably a cause for why individuals defined as wealthy did and do patronize the arts, such as those profiled herein. This assumption that elitism in the arts is inescapable, however, is partly responsible for the dominance of concerns with audience engagement and access, rather than the pragmatic issues of administration and fiduciary responsibility.

In *The Field of Cultural Production*, Bourdieu focuses on the social value, or social capital, of the arts and humanities. He explains that the value of such art objects is dependent upon their understanding as objects of cultural and monetary worth, and elemental in such comprehension is a participatory discourse that elucidates its value as a tangible demonstration of culture.[446] In response to Bourdieu, this study proves that in addition to this reading of the arts as encompassing social value, there is evidence to prove the economic value of the arts as well, especially in times of economic decline. It is important for museum and historic site professionals to recognize that their charge extends beyond interpretive priorities; they are in a unique position to understand and to contribute to the evolution of an environment, its cultural landscape, and its economy.

Historic house museum scholars tend to fall into two parallel camps: those concerned with research and interpretation, such as issues of authenticity and

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French ruling class. Influenced by structuralism, Bourdieu pioneered analytical study of the rule of culture as active in and characteristic of the development of social hierarchies.

446. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 42.

representation; and then others that focus on functional purposes, such as methods and procedures for preservation, both perspectives discussed in the introduction. Even think tanks, such as Reach Advisors, overlook management in favor of a discussion of audience demographics, which is arguably most engaging for museum professionals.[447] This study, however, engages historic house museums as only one subset of the cultural sector of museums and cultural sites with issues of professionalization and best practices.

This perspective that prioritizes funding, legal, and managerial issues encourages those who study museums and those who work in the field to reevaluate parameters of success. The story of a historic site does not end with the laudatory accomplishment of keeping the house standing; admirable to be sure and especially relevant to the academic approach of Bourdieu and the pragmatic one of Harris in *New Solutions for House Museums: Ensuring the Long-Term Preservation of America's Historic Houses*. Yet the future of house museums, and of the museum field in general, is not just to survive but also to thrive by any standard of evaluation, nonprofit or for-profit, urban or rural. True success in museum management incorporates financial and operational planning, as well as an understanding of local cultural and economical landscapes and competence in areas such as risk management, legal compliance, and human resources.

Such an approach may prove unpalatable to some. Historic house administrators and museum workers as a whole are passionate about history and culture, not necessarily contracts or budgets. Yet there is no reason to exclude museums and their leaders from

447. Reach Advisors, "2014–2015 Year in Review" (Glenmont: Reach Advisors, 2015). Reach Advisors, founded in 2002, is an analytics firm that provides predictive market evaluation for community development, tourism, higher education, and cultural industries. A subsidiary of Reach Advisors, Museums R+D, works specifically with museums.

any discussion of business best practice, for it is when they are armed with such knowledge that they can best advocate for the protection of cultural resources, negotiate donor agreements that benefit the organization rather than restrict it, or argue for permanence memoranda with private and municipal parties, such as the statement of permanence between a historic site and a parent organization like a university. A study such as this provides evidence that the more knowledgeable a museum professional is regarding organizational operations, including its financial, legal, and administrative structure, the better equipped that person is to ensure the sustainability and prosperity of the operation. Such training and knowledge ensures that museum professionals can positively augment their interactions with donors, grant-making agencies, boards, and governing bodies, while at the same time continuing to serve as sites of effective learning and engagement.

At this crossroads of museum thought and practice, we need to recognize the cultural contribution that historic house museums offer in a myriad of capacities. Civic and institutional buildings are not the only edifices that serve and educate the community: historic houses do as well. Though originally designed as private residences, house museums can and do augment the cultural landscape of a city through their architectural, historical, and interpretive offerings. Furthermore, the challenges historic house museums face are relevant to other cultural agencies. All three chapters of this study elucidate issues of importance to the cultural sector as a whole; historic sites, as well as visual and performing arts agencies, are all subject to and in need of public engagement, support, and indeed, careful financial oversight and committed leadership.[448]

There are, of course, opportunities for scholarly expansion of this topic. Other forms of funding and management exist throughout the United States, such as the organization of preservation collectives like the Trustees of Reservations and Historic New England on the East Coast.[449] Under the Preservation Society of Newport County, historic residences in Newport, Rhode Island, have been unified under a singular funding, visitation, and programmatic structure.[450] Heritage houses on Long Island are also joining

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448. Opportunities for professional development and engagement within the community of historic house museum professionals do exist and are worthy of acknowledgement. The American Alliance of Museums hosts a professional group entitled the Historic House Network, a national group for professionals to share knowledge that meets annually at the American Alliance of Museums' conference. No membership fee is required nor are any other resources offered. The American Association for State and Local History is more directly related to the work of historic sites and offers continuing education, resources, and community engagement via its website, aaslh.org, as well as an annual conference. Echoing the argument of this research, however, the group does not offer any programming regarding financial management or administration, but is more focused on educational engagement and issues of diversity and inclusion.

449. The Trustees of Reservations is a non-profit land conservation and preservation organization dedicated to natural and historic places in Massachusetts. Landscape architect Charles Eliot proposed in 1890 that legislation be drafted to preserve land for the public to enjoy, and The Trustees of Reservations was established in 1891. The organization currently manages the finances and operations of one hundred estates, gardens, and preserves throughout the Commonwealth and maintains easements on an additional two hundred. Historic New England is a non-profit preservation organization and was founded as the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities by William Sumner Appleton Jr. in 1910. It is widely considered by preservationists and historians to be the oldest and largest regional preservation organization in America, and manages 38 sites in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Both organizations serve as examples of preservation-oriented stewards of historic sites.

450. The Preservation Society of Newport County was established in 1945, the efforts of a group of Newport residents initially to save Hunter House, a 1748 Georgian structure that served as home to Colonial Deputy Governor Jonathan Nichols Jr. The group was briefly known as the Georgian Society though quickly changed its name to formally organize as the Preservation Society of Newport County. The Society manages twelve sites in Newport.

together to share promotion.[451] While different in method and scope, such activities illustrate a reliance upon diverse external support, attention to resource allocation, and strategic planning.[452]

In addition to the analysis of other forms of regional preservation activities, so could this research take into account an expansion of the geographical area under study. The observation of historic house museums in other Midwestern cities such as Indianapolis, Detroit, or Minneapolis could augment our understanding of the regional preservation activity of nineteenth-century industrial-age residences, or present additional management models for analysis.[453] Wherever the analysis of the business of historic house management and funding may take scholars and practitioners, we must encourage serious consideration of the financial management and planning for the future of historic house museums. No longer can the very people who advocate for the existence and prosperity of historic sites retreat from discussion of financial and managerial best

451. Though not formally associated, historic sites in Long Island have collaborated to share a website and printed promotional materials under the Historic Long Island, New York moniker. A website "was created to share with the viewer some of Long Island's historic venues and events" and offers information about 84 historic sites in Nassau and Suffolk Counties and is available at "Visit Historic Long Island," http://www.visithistoriclongisland.com/historic_contents.html.
452. Notably, there are no collective preservation organizations, whether for promotion or direct management, in the three states of study (Missouri, Wisconsin, and Illinois), though multiple sites are owned by municipal organizations such as historical societies. Lise Dubé-Scherr explained in 2016 that a Chicago consortium of historic house museums is in the process of organization.
453. The Oldfields Estate in Indianapolis, built in 1910 by High McKennan Landon, an executive with the Indianapolis Water Company, serves as an example of the American Country Place era and is now owned and operated by the Indianapolis Museum of Art, a stewardship arrangement that would augment the study of parent organization. In Detroit, the 1914 Henry Ford Estate built by William Van Tine for the automobile mogul would be a worthwhile addition to the discussion of industrialism and preservation in the Midwest. And in Minneapolis, the James J. Hill House, built in 1891 by Peabody & Stearns for railroad magnate James J. Hill and now managed by the Minnesota Historical Society, could provide an introduction to the role of municipalities in historic site management, a common organizational structure in much of the United States.

practice and fiscal solvency in favor of redundant discussions of interpretation and engagement, and all that we have accomplished in preservation. Rather, we need to recognize that we owe it to ourselves — the preservationists, the historians, and the site administrators — before all else, to have the conversation that will ensure such sites exist and thus provide places for interpretation and engagement. Preservation is the activity that honors a site's past, management that which honors its future.

IMAGES

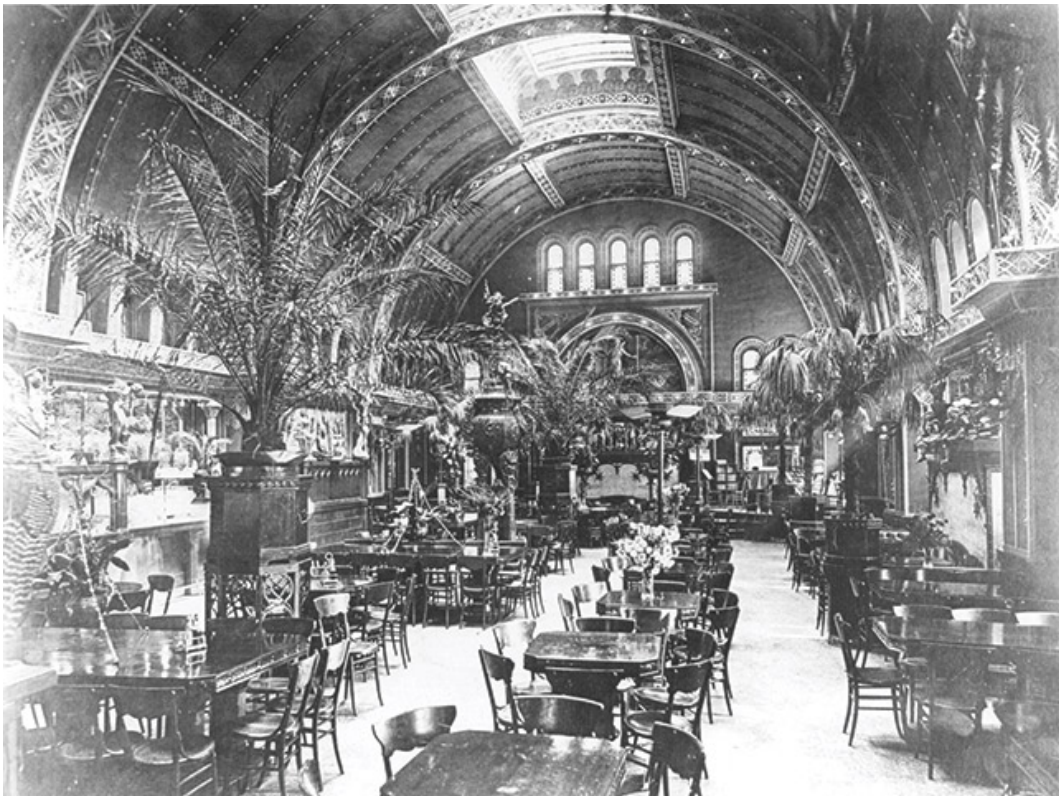

Fig. 1.1
Photographer unknown, The Schlitz Palm Garden, Milwaukee, WI, 1896. German breweries such as Schlitz and Pabst built grand beer gardens where patrons could enjoy beer and socialize.
Source: Tim McCormick, "Old Milwaukee," *Milwaukee Magazine* June 10, 2014, 34.

Fig 1.2
Photographer unknown, Henry F. Kilburn, Pabst Harlem Music Hall and Restaurant, New York, 1900, interior (photograph circa 1913). Located at 241 West 124th Street in Harlem, near the active 125th Street corridor, and was designed to increased Pabst's brand visibility in New York.
Source: New York Public Library Collection


Fig. 1.3
Solon Spencer Beman, The Pabst Building, Milwaukee, WI, 1891.
The Pabst Building was a sixteen-story structure completed in 1891 that served as the headquarters for the administrative offices of the Pabst Brewing Company. Notably, it was also the first skyscraper constructed in Milwaukee.
Source: http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1073023


Fig. 1.4
Charles C. Hoffman, the Pabst Whitefish Bay Resort, Whitefish Bay, WI, 1889.
Located just north of the city, the Pabst Whitefish Bay Resort was a popular gathering spot for adults and children that served as a respite from the urban downtown of Milwaukee.
Source: http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=N:4294963828-4294955414&dsRecordDetails=R:IM47963


Fig. 1.5
Otto Strack, the Pabst Theater, Milwaukee, WI, 1895.
Following Pabst's 1895 purchase of the Grand Opera House, architect Otto Strack was hired to oversee a massive renovation of the site. The Pabst Theater opened later that year, a German Renaissance-style opera house decorated with murals by Weimar-trained artists Otto von Ernst and Carl Gehrts. The Pabst Theater was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1991.
Source: http://theclio.com/web/entry?id=12150


Fig. 1.6
Photographer unknown, Klug & Smith, Mack Building, Milwaukee, WI, 1857.
George Bowman Ferry established the offices for his architectural firm on the fourth floor of the Mack Block, a centrally-located office building, storage space, and garage on Water Street. The building was demolished in 1959.
Source: Historic Photo Collection, F.P. Zeidler Humanities Room, Milwaukee Public Library

Fig. 1.7
George Bowman Ferry, Athenaeum (now the Woman's Club of Wisconsin), Milwaukee, WI, 1887.
Originally called the Athenaeum, Ferry's 1887 structure has been the home of the Woman's Club of Wisconsin, established in 1876, since its construction. The lot was purchased with proceeds earned from the Club's "Pioneer Women's Stock Company," the nation's first stock venture to be owned completely by women. The building stylistically mixes Romanesque and late Gothic Revival styles, and was added to the National Register for Historic Places in 1982. Additions include an eastern entrance and gable were made in 1896, another wing in 1936, and a rear expansion in 1950.
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/johndecember/3363685295

Fig. 1.8
Alfred C. Clas, Schlitz Brewing Company, Milwaukee, WI, 1889.
Before his partnership with George Bowman Ferry was formalized and their work together on the Pabst Mansion begun, Clas had already made professional inroads with the German brewing industrialists in Milwaukee, such as August Uihlein, nephew of Joseph Schlitz. His design of the Schlitz Brewing Company is Romanesque in its broad arches and rusticated foundation. The building now serves as residential apartments.
Source: feed://americanurbex.com/wordpress/?feed=rss2&cat=22)

Fig. 1.9
Ferry & Clas, Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, WI, 1895.
Seventy-four proposals were submitted to the City of Milwaukee from architectural forms to design the Milwaukee Public Library, including one from Frank Lloyd Wight, but Milwaukeeans Ferry & Clas won the commission. They proposed a traditional Neo-Renaissance, U-shaped building with a common entry for two wings, one for the library and one for a museum. The construction costs totaled $780,000 and the building was designated a National Landmark in 1969.
Source: http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=N:1133

Fig. 1.10
Ferry & Clas, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI, 1900.
The Wisconsin Historical Society was built in 1900 at a cost of $1 million, the most expensive building in Wisconsin at that time. Like the Milwaukee Public Library built five years earlier, the Historical Society illustrates the firm’s adherence to classical style for civic projects.
Source: http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=N:1133

Fig. 1.11
William Waters, Hearthstone, Appleton, WI, 1882.
Like Ferry & Clas, William Waters was a Wisconsin-based architect well known in the state for his domestic and institutional commissions, though he worked mainly in the Appleton and Neenah areas of the state. Hearthstone is his most famous design, commissioned by H. J. Rogers, president of the Appleton Paper and Pulp Company. Hearthstone was the first house powered by an Edison central hydroelectric station
Source: http://www.foxcities.org/see-and-do/detail/83/6/Hearthstone-Historic-House-Museum

Fig. 1.12
Ferry & Clas, The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Milwaukee, WI, 1890.
Construction of the 20,000 square-foot Pabst Mansion took over two years and cost over $254,000. Ferry & Clas utilized the German Renaissance Revival style, which incorporated stepped gables, a clay roof, and an earthy palette, and was more popular in Milwaukee than contemporary Victorian design.
Source: https://projectvintageeats.wordpress.com/category/vintage-eats/victorian-age/


Fig. 1.13
Schnetzky & Liebert, Germania Building, Milwaukee, WI, 1896.
Like the Pabst Mansion, the German-trained Schnetzky and Liebert, combined the fundamental principles of Beaux-Arts classicism with nationalistic elements, such as its *pickelhaube* domes. The Germania Building was the largest office building at the time of its construction for German-American newspaper publisher George Brumder. It was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1983.
Source: http://urbanmilwaukee.com/2013/08/13/the-mystery-of-the-germania-statue/

Fig. 1.14
Ferry & Clas, The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Milwaukee, WI, 1890, exterior terra cotta detail.
The exterior façade of the Pabst Mansion is made of terra cotta, much of which is shaped into organic designs that mirror interior wood carvings. The restoration of the terra cotta exterior, much of which involved replication of damaged and fragile decorative blocks, took place in 1979.
Source: John C. Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion,* 30.

Fig. 1.15
Hieronymus Lotter, Old City Hall of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany, 1557.
Evocative of the architecture that inspired Ferry & Clas as well as other Milwaukee architects who catered to German patrons, the Old City Hall design includes stepped gables, a promenade, and a Renaissance influence.
Source: http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2005/dec/21/worldcup2006travelguide2)

Fig. 1.16
Ferry & Clas, The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Milwaukee, WI, 1890, grand staircase.
This picture from the landing between the first and second floors of the Pabst Mansion provides views of the first floor, split into “zones” between Frederick Pabst’s smoking room and study and Maria Pabst’s parlor spaces, as well as the second-floor hall between bedrooms. Note the extensive wood carvings, all completed under the supervision of Otto von Ernst.
Source: http://www.pabstmansion.com/restore-collect/museum-gallery.aspx

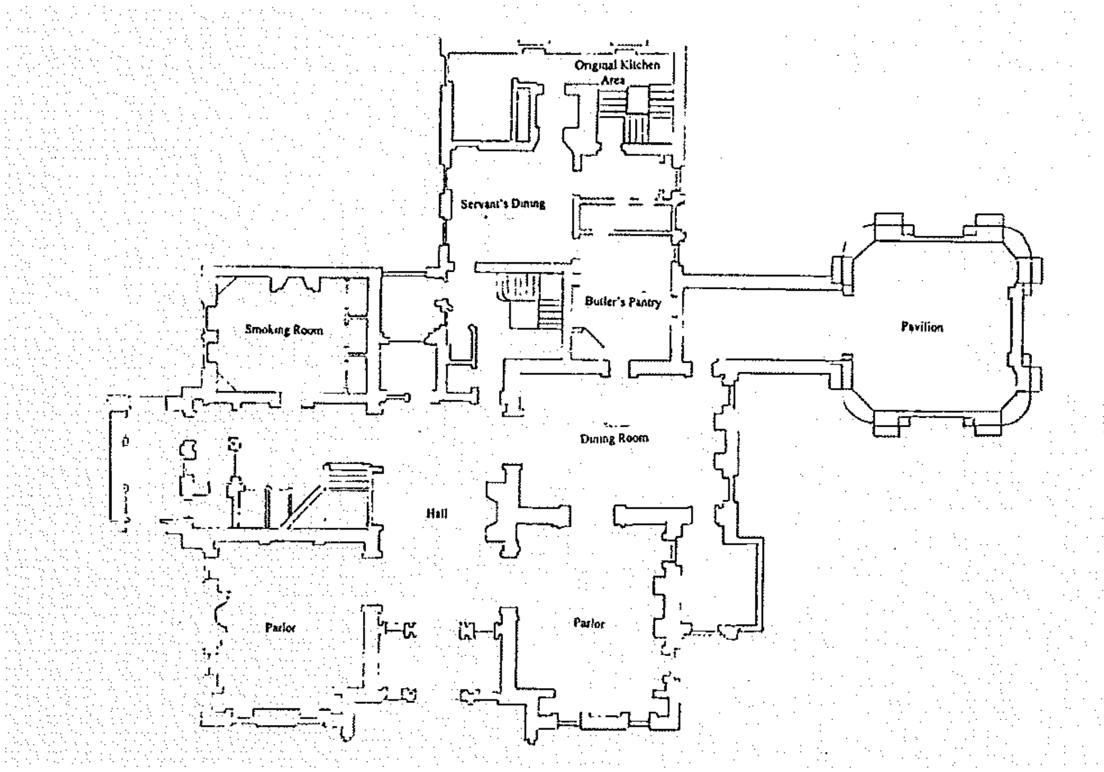


Fig. 1.17
Ferry & Clas, The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Milwaukee, WI, 1890, floor plan (first floor).
The first floor of the Pabst Mansion contained entertaining the smoking room for male guests and the parlors for female visitors, as well as dining and kitchen spaces. Note the annex which leads to the Pavilion, used as a beer pavilion at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and later added to the Mansion.
Source: http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.
cgi?article=1413&context=hp_theses)


Fig. 1.18
Ferry & Clas, The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Milwaukee, WI, 1890, floor plan (second floor).
The second floor of the Pabst Mansion was dedicated to bedrooms for the adult children and Frederick and Maria Pabst who shared a master suite, which was unusual for the time.
Source: http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1413&context=hp_theses)

Fig. 1.19
Otto Strack, Pabst Pavilion, Columbian Exposition, 1893 (relocated to Past Mansion in 1894.
Pabst commissioned Otto Strack to design a beer pavilion for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where Pabst had won beer distribution rights. Strack designed a structure decorated with carvings of hop vines, beer steins, and barley, as well as renderings of Milwaukee architecture and Pabst Brewing Company buildings. All together, the imagery produced a biography of Pabst and his success. Designed in the same style as Pabst's home, the pavilion was added to the Pabst Mansion upon the conclusion of the Exposition. It has recently undergone restoration and staff of the Pabst Mansion plans to utilize the space as a beer garden and for event rentals.
Source: http://www.pabstmansion.com/history/history-gallery.aspx

Fig. 1.20
Workshop Architects, Inc., Proposal for Pabst Mansion Cultural Center, Milwaukee, WI, 2014.
The Pabst Mansion is in the silent phase of fundraising $20 million to support the construction of a 20,000 square-foot cultural center to house archives, offices, exhibition spaces, and educational programming spaces.
Source: Tom Daykin, “Pabst Mansion Planning Separate Cultural Center,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, June 12, 2014

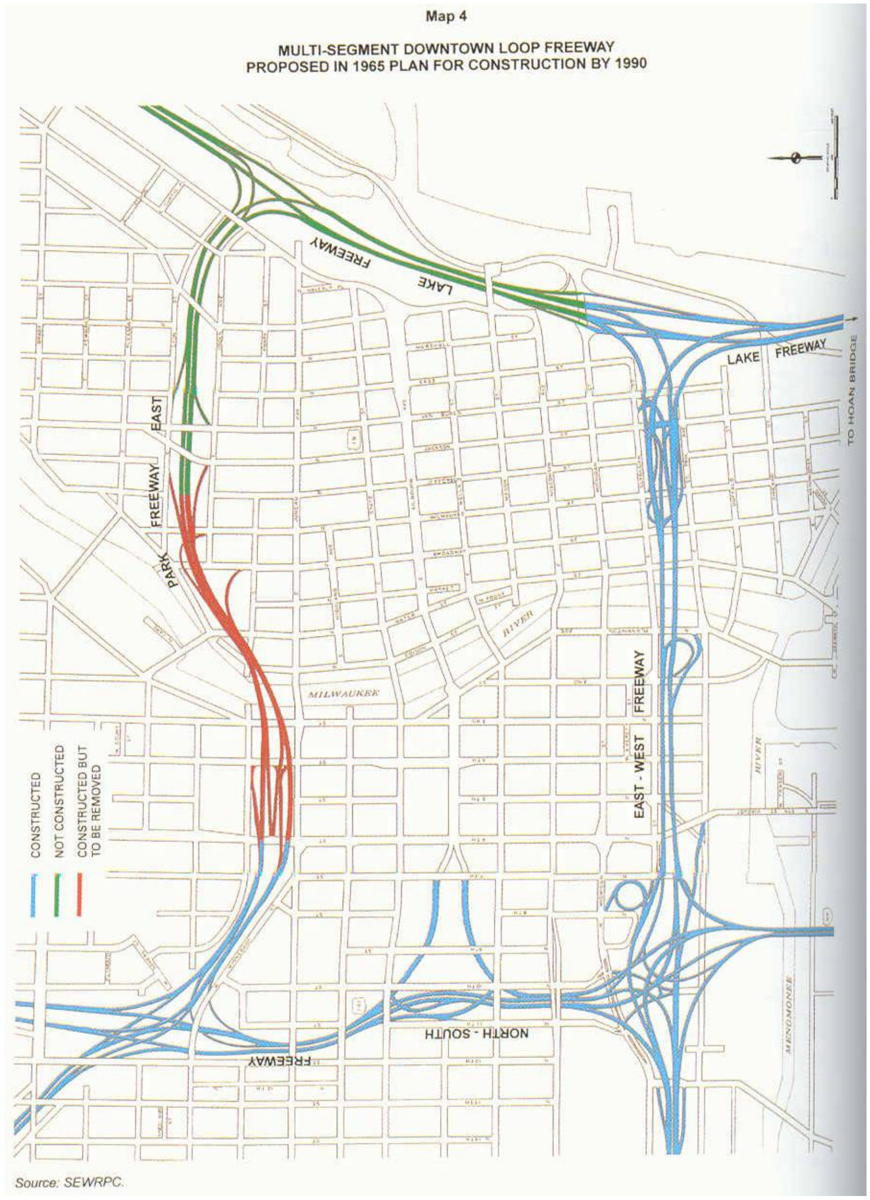


Fig. 1.21
City of Milwaukee, Freeway Proposal, Milwaukee, WI, 1965.
The Park East system, at right, was only partially finished and divided the city, displacing many residents. The demolition of the Park East Freeway between 2002-2003 allowed for urban reintegration and access to areas of the city considered undesirable during the time the Freeway was in use.
Source: http://www.preservenet.com/freeways/FreewaysParkEast.html

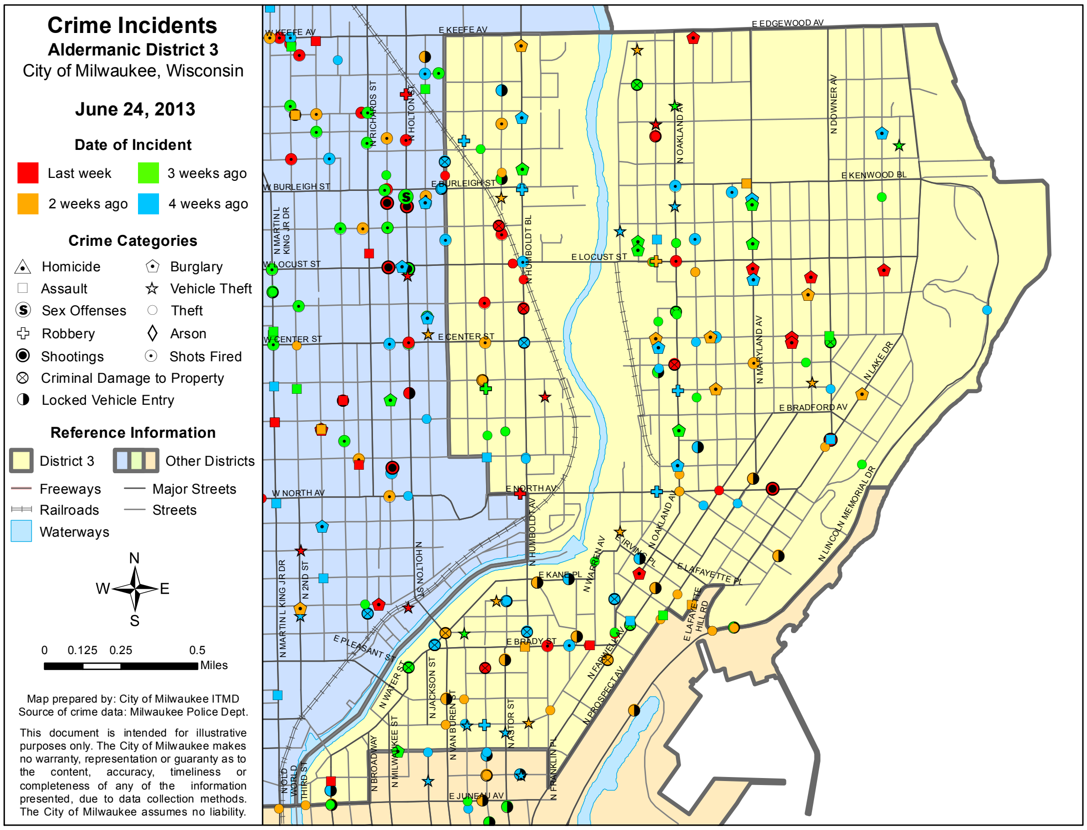


Fig. 1.22
City of Milwaukee, Crime Incidents: Alderman District 3, Milwaukee, WI, June 24, 2013.
Following the development of the freeway system in Milwaukee in 1965, the city was divided along economic and racial lines. Wealthier residents settled in neighborhoods along the lakefront and enjoyed more resourced and lower crime rates. This crime map of District 3 illustrated a relatively low crime rate that consists mainly of minor property crimes.
Source: http://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_
map/pdfMapDownload/aldermanicDistrictMapfm.jsf

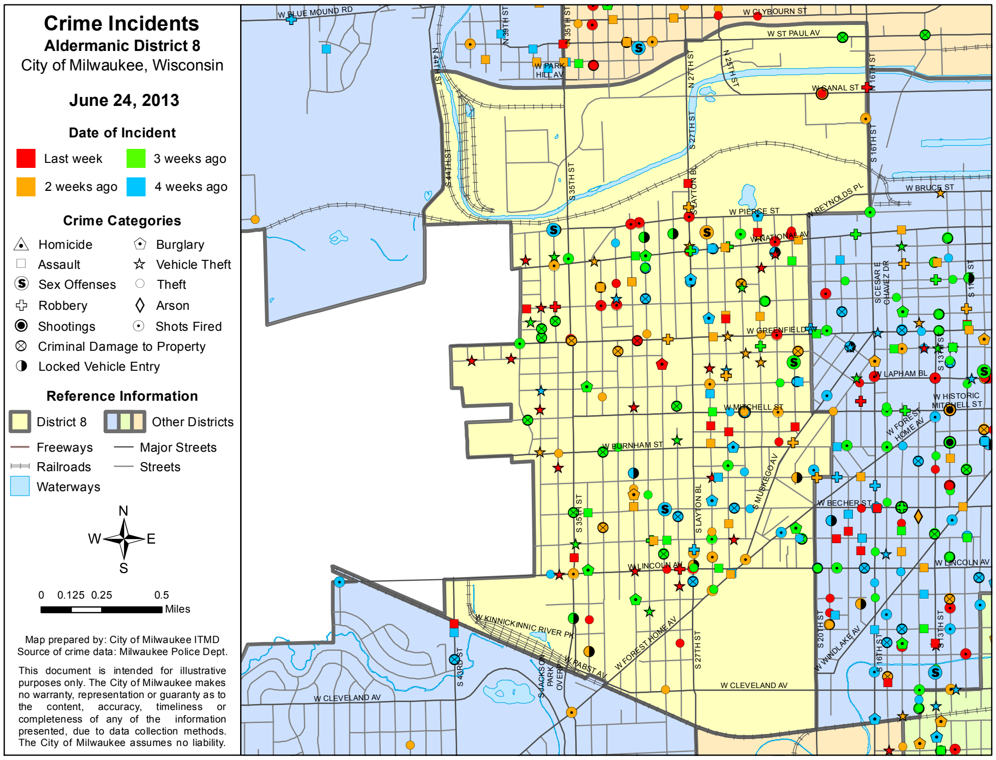


Fig. 1.23
City of Milwaukee, Crime Incidents: Alderman District 8, Milwaukee, WI, June 24, 2013.
This map shows the crime activity for the week of June 24, 2013, the same reporting period documented in figure 1.23, for District 8. The western areas of the city are home to households with lower incomes and higher crime rates, much of which consists of violent crimes.
Source: http://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_ map/pdfMapDownload/aldermanicDistrictMapfm.jsf

Fig. 1.24
Charles S. Frost, Chicago & North Western Railroad Depot, Milwaukee, WI, 1889.
Frost originally worked for the Boston-based firm of Peabody & Stearns following his graduation from MIT in 1876 and until 1881. Frost designed 127 buildings for the Chicago and North Western Railroad, including this one in South Milwaukee. The demolition of this depot in 1968 was highly contested and spurred preservation advocacy in Milwaukee.
Source: http://milwaukeenotebook.com/2014/06/13/photo-friday-the-depot-at-the-lake

Fig. 1.25
Architect unknown, Residence, Brewer's Hill, Milwaukee, WI, undated.
Homes from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in areas such as Brewer's Hill, previously severed from the downtown area by the freeway project, received increased attention after the demolition of the Park East Freeway in 2003.
Source: https://www.pinterest.com/milwaukeerents/places-to-visit/

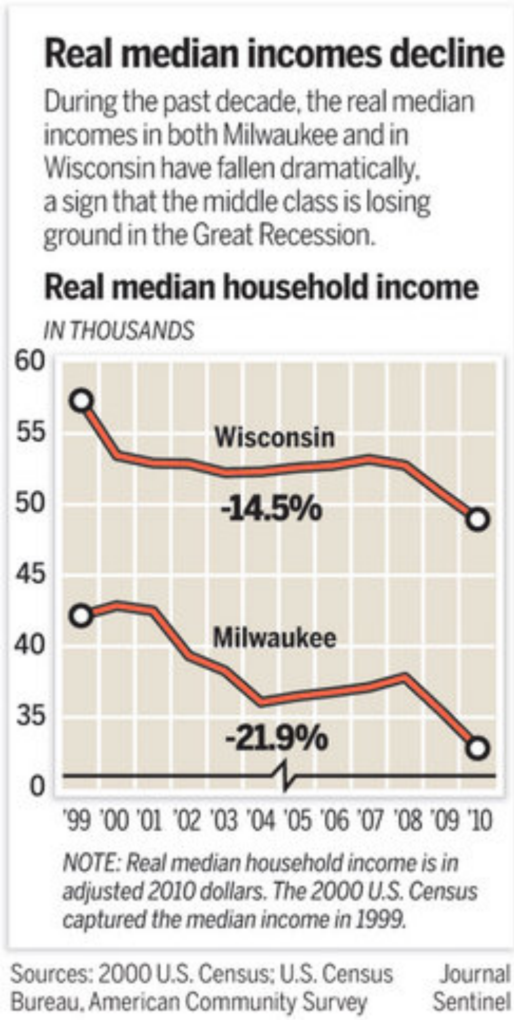


Fig. 1.26
Bill Glauber, Real median household income, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel,* September 21, 2011.
This graph illustrates the post-recession income decline in Milwaukee versus the state trend. Affected by the 2009 Recession, household incomes across the state decreased by 14.5%. Incomes in Milwaukee County decreased by 21.9%, a steeper decline that signaled a more depressed economy in reaction to the Recession.
Source: Bill Glauber, "Wisconsin's median income plummets, census figures show," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel,* September 21, 2011.

Fig. 2.1
Charles Wilson Peale, *The Artist in His Museum*, 1822. Charles Wilson Peale was among the first American artists to promote exhibitions and collections practice in the country. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Artist_in_His_Museum

Fig. 2.2
Thomas Jefferson, Entrance Hall, Monticello, Charlottesville, VA, 1772. Unlike Peale, who promoted standardized taxonomy in display practice, Jefferson showcased a variety of objects to evoke a specific response from the viewer. In the case of the Entrance Hall, Jefferson exhibited artifacts and fine art to illustrate the civilization of North America. The reinstallation of the Entrance Hall took place in 2003.
Source: https://www.monticello.org/site/house-and-gardens/monticellos-entrance-hall


Fig. 2.3
Artist rendering of Joseph Paxton, Crystal Palace, London, 1851. The Crystal Palace was the structure Paxton built to house the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (simply called the "Great Exhibition") of 1851. The Great Hall, illustrated here, housed 13,000 exhibits. Practices established at the Great Exhibition include the charging of admissions fees and sale of souvenirs, and influences modern advertising, consumerism, and exhibition installations.
Source: *The Franco-British Cooperation Project*, http://archexpo.net/en/contenu/great-exhibition-crystal-palace-1851#.V-KfzHgXTi5

Fig. 2.4
Williard T. Sears, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, MA, 1896-1903.
Gardner became an avid art collector after receiving her inheritance from her father's estate in 1891 and commissioned Willard T. Sears to build a museum for her personal collection. With little training, Gardner directed the installation of the exhibitions herself, with a stipulation in her 1924 that the installations remain for the enjoyment of the public and according to her original vision.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella_Stewart_
Gardner_Museum#/media/File:ISGardnerMuseum.JPG

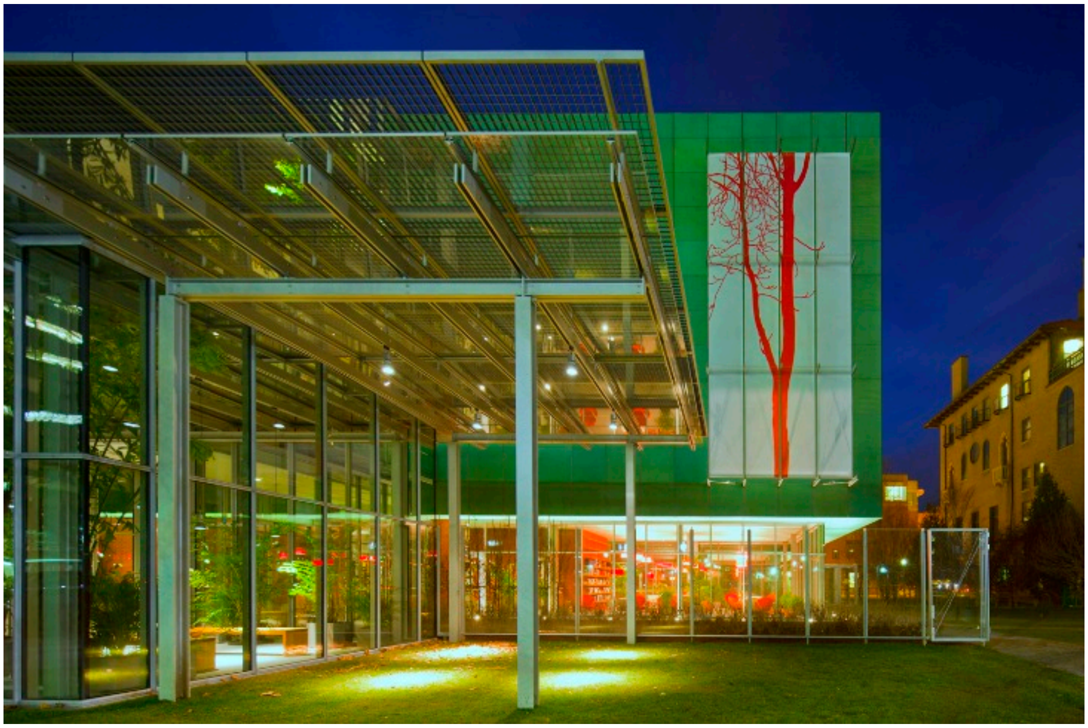

Fig. 2.5
Renzo Piano, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum addition, Boston, MA, 2012.
The expansion and preservation of the Gardner Museum commenced in 2002, when the Museum's board determined that additional programming spaces were necessary to ensure preservation of the historic building. The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts approved the plans in 2009, confirming that the expansion was in keeping with Gardner's will. The expansion includes a recital hall and auditorium, and was designed to complement the original structure in scale and form.
Source: http://inhabitat.com/renzo-pianos-isabella-stewart-gardner-museum-expansion-opens-this-week-in-boston/


Fig. 2.6
Unknown Architect, Round Barn, East Passumpsic, VT, 1901. Relocated to Shelburne Museum in 1985-86.
The Round Barn is an iconic structure on the Shelburne Museum site, functioning as both an historical art object itself, indicative of 19th-century design, and as exhibition space. The Round Barn houses a collection of horse-drawn carriages and is a rental hall.
Source: http://www.roadsideamerica.com/story/8671

Fig. 2.7
Carrère & Hastings, The Frick Collection (originally Henry Clay Frick residence), New York, NY, 1912-1914.
Henry Clay Frick acquired the property on Fifth Avenue in 1906, though restrictions on the site barred Frick from taking ownership of the land (formerly the Lenox Library) until 1912. During Frick's lifetime, the building served as a setting for Frick's collection of Old Master and $19^{th}$-century paintings, as well as home to Frick, his wife, and daughter. The first floor housed the art collection and entertaining spaces, the second the family residence, and the third the servants.
Source: http://www.frick.org/collection/gardens/magnolias

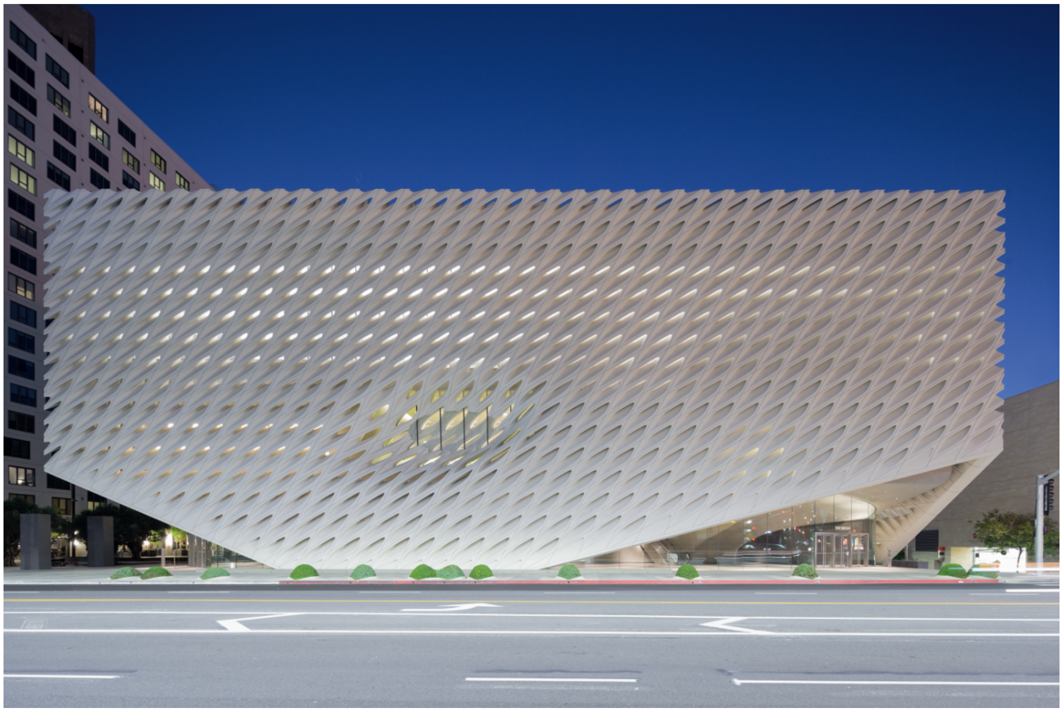

Fig. 2.8
Diller, Scofodio + Renfro, The Broad, Los Angeles, CA, 2015.
The Eli and Edythe Broad Art Museum serves as a contemporary example of a museum based on a private art collection. Eli and Edythe Broad's extensive art collection is managed via the Broad Art Foundation, which is headquartered in the Broad along with the Broads' extensive collection of contemporary art.
Source: http://www.thebroad.org/about

Fig. 2.9
Paul Cret, The Barnes Foundation, Merion, PA, 1925.
Situated on the site of the former Wilson Arboretum, Dr. Albert C. Barnes hired Paul Cret, a professor of architecture at University of Pennsylvania, to redesign the building to include an expansion for gallery and residential spaces. The exterior is simple and based in Renaissance design.
Source: http://www.newsworks.org/index.php/local/the-latest/2547-architectural-design-of-new-barnes-museum-gets-initial-approval

Fig. 2.10
Tod Williams and Billie Tsien, The Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, PA, 2012.
Following two decades of financial instability, which called, into question the adherence of Barnes Foundation Board and senior staff members to the mission of the organization. To increase visitation, the collection was moved to a new building in downtown Philadelphia in 2012.
Source: http://www.visitphilly.com/museums-attractions/philadelphia/the-barnes-foundation/


Fig. 2.11
Photographer unknown, Corner of State Street and Madison Street following the Chicago Fire of 1871, Chicago, IL, 1871.
The Chicago Fire of 1871 destroyed 3.3 square miles of downtown Chicago, crippling the local economy and residential population. Following the fire, fireproofing was a top priority in building.
Source: http://www.slideshare.net/fluffy22/the-great-chicago-fire-of-1871

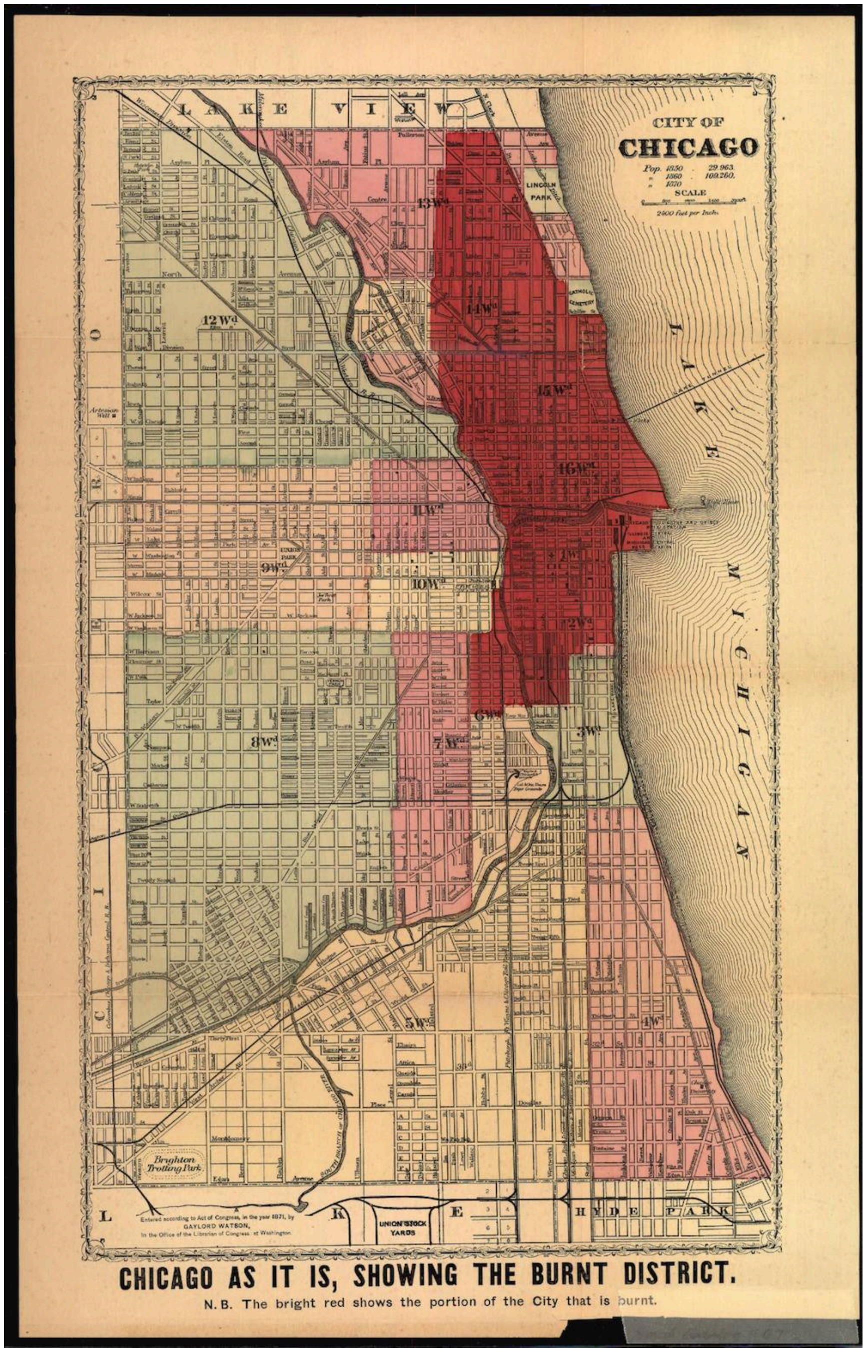


Fig. 2.12
Map of Chicago, circa 1871. This map details the area of the fire's destruction, the center of which (ward 16, in bright red) ultimately formed the McCormicksville area.
Source: E. J. Goodspeed, *History of the Great Fires in Chicago and the West,* 285.

Fig. 2.13
Cobb & Frost, Ransom R. Cable House, Chicago, IL, 1886.
The Richardsonian-Romanesque Cable House was built for socialite Ransom R. Cable in 1886 an declared a national landmark in 1991. The house is indicative of the opulent residences built for elite Chicagoans in McCormicksville during the Gilded Age, and is now the headquarters of Driehaus Capital Management. Note the similarity of design of the corner entrance to that of the Samuel Nickerson House.
Source: http://yochicago.com/driehaus-spruces-up-2nd-river-north-mansion/3250/

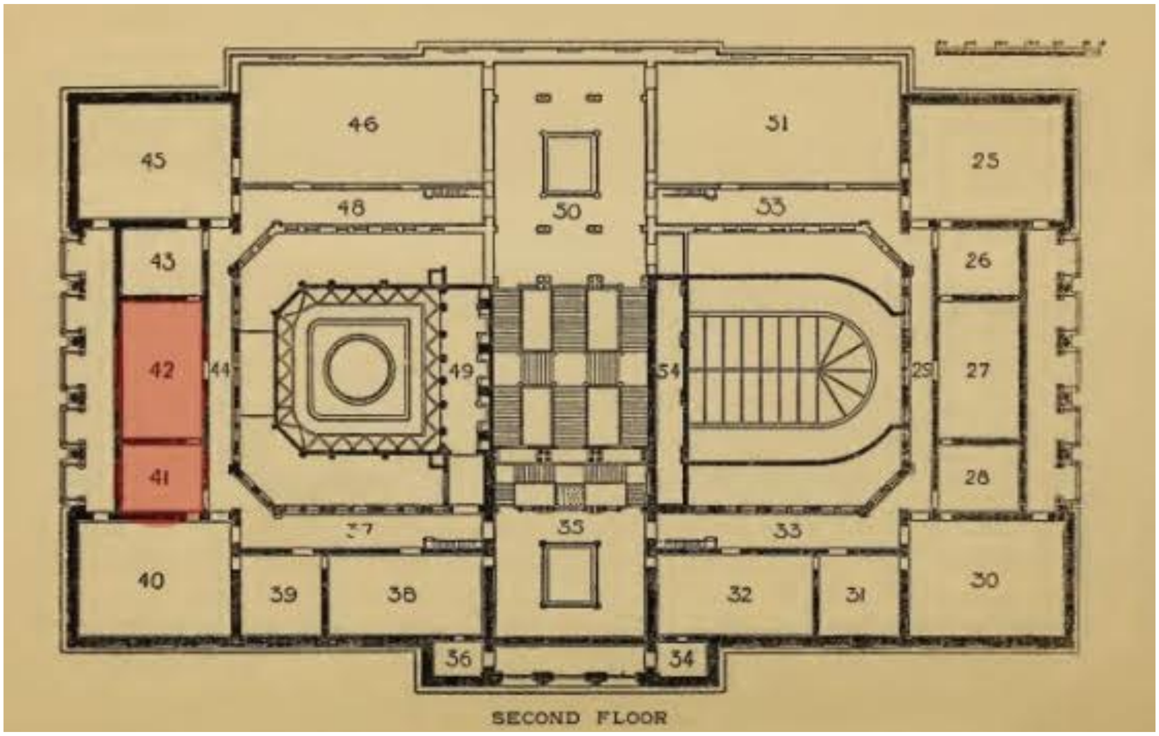


Fig. 2.14
Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, IL, 1879. The Art Institute of Chicago was established in 1879 and has been in its current location on South Michigan Avenue since 1893, its opening in conjunction with the World's Columbian Exposition. For elite Chicagoans such as Nickerson, the Institute was a popular philanthropic endeavor and repository for their art collections. The red section, galleries 41 and 42, denote the second floor location of the Nickerson Art Collection in the original building.
Source: http://www.driehausmuseum.org/blog/view/the_nickersons_art_collection1

Fig. 2.15
Francis Whitehouse, Epiphany Episcopal Church, Chicago, IL, 1885.
Designed by Francis Whitehouse, the Epiphany Episcopal Church (also known as the Church of the Epiphany) demonstrated the influence of H. H. Richardson on Whitehouse in its heavy arches and rough-hewn stone construction. The church was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1998.
Source: http://chicagodesignslinger.blogspot.com/2015/02/church-of-epiphany-epiphany-episcopal.html

Fig. 2.16
Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883.
The Nickerson House was constructed of brick with a stone façade, the House is an elaborate example of Beaux-Arts Classicism in Chicago.
Source: *Chicago Daily Tribune,* May 3, 1900, 9.

Fig. 2.17
W. Augustus Fiedler, Germania Club, Chicago, IL, 1889.
The eclectic style of the Germania Club owes its influence to Prussian architect, painter, and city planner Karl Friedrick Schinkel, whose designs for buildings such as the 1832 Bauakademie were based on the revivals of various styles. The diversity of bays with both pediments and aches are indicative of such eclecticism.
Source: Lewis Schorsch, *Historic American Building Survey: Germania Club*, 6.

Fig. 2.18
Charles B. Atwood or the Herter Brothers (attribution disputed), William Henry Vanderbilt House, New York, 1882 (at left).
Similar in style and built at virtually the same time, both the William Henry Vanderbilt House in New York and the Samuel Nickerson House in Chicago displayed classical exteriors in the Neo-Classical tradition and extravagant interiors.
Source: http://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.com/2014/06/the-lost-vanderbilt-triple-palace-5th.html

Fig. 2.19
Photograph of Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883, grand hall in Arnold Lewis, *Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age*, plate 103.
For the use of marble in the floors, walls, and ceilings, The Samuel Nickerson House was known as the Marble Palace. The decadent interiors were reproduced in Arnold Lewis's *Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age*, which documented the extravagant residences of the time.
Source: Arnold Lewis, *Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age*, 87.

Fig. 2.20
Photograph of Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883, study, in Arnold Lewis, *Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age*, plate 104.
Like the grand hall, Nickerson's study was also reproduced in Lewis's publication on interiors of the wealthy during the Gilded Age.
Source: Arnold Lewis, *Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age*, 88.

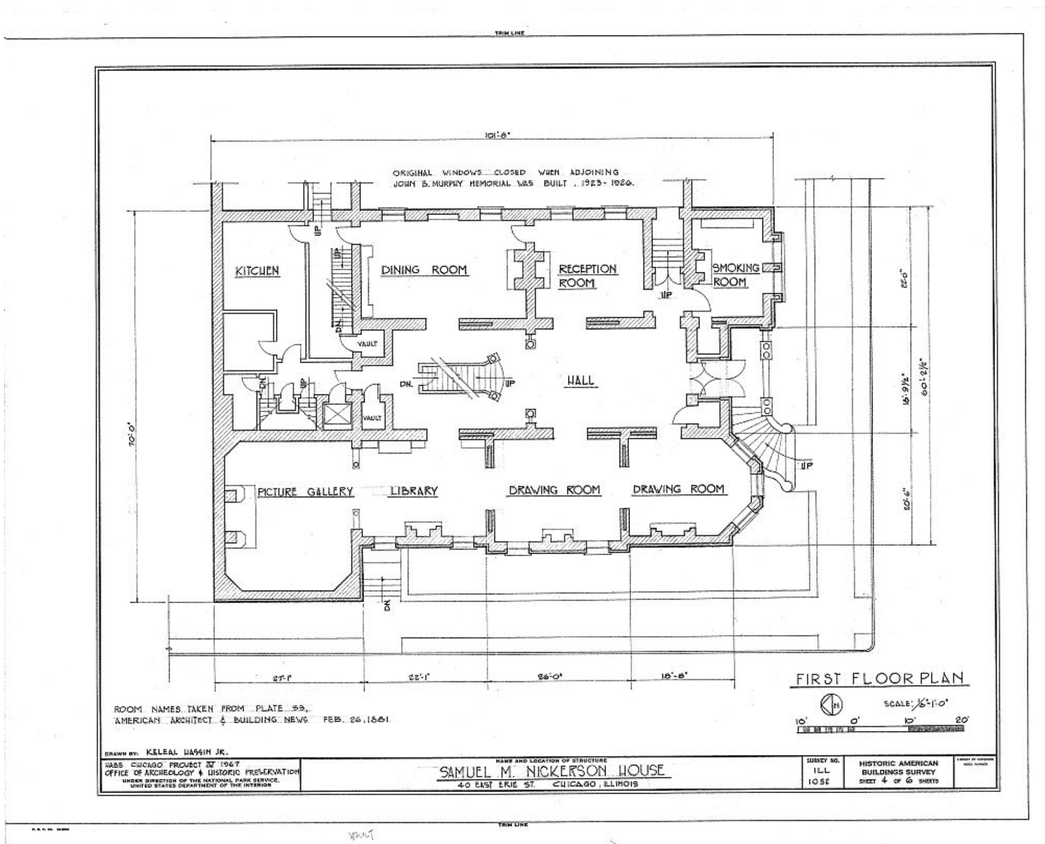


Fig. 2.21

Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883, floor plan (first floor).

The floor plan showcases the central hall, flanked by rooms including Nickerson's gallery. Architect George Maher replaced the gallery with a domed trophy room for second owner Lucius G. Fischer.

Source: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/il0048.sheet.00005a/resource/)

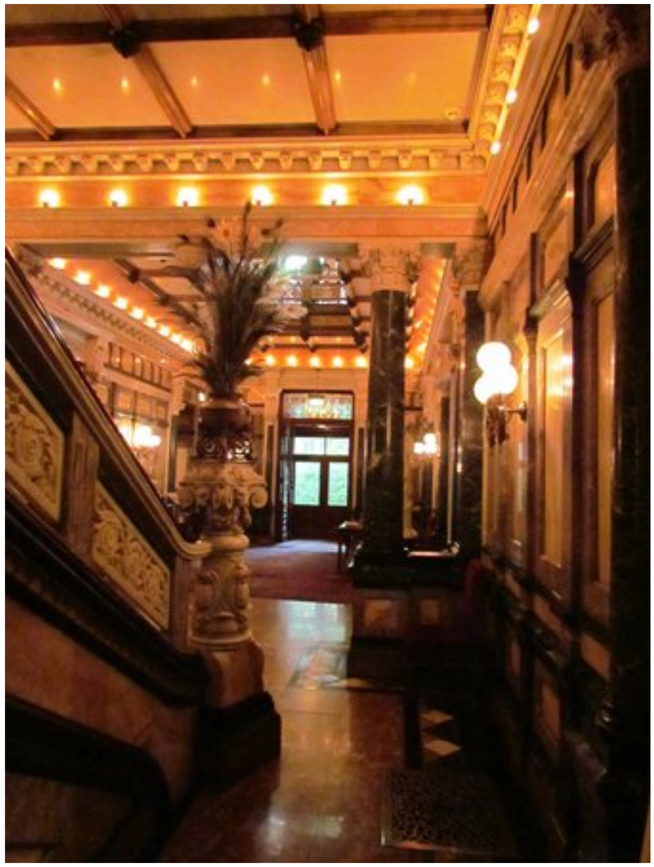

Fig. 2.22
Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883, entrance hall.
The opulent and dramatic front hall, visible here from the staircase looking towards the front entrance, was constructed mainly of marble and alabaster with wood paneling. Note the extremely heavy marble ceilings.
Source: http://www.tripadvisor.com/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g35805-d2165189-i109521290-Richard_H_Driehaus_Museum-Chicago_Illinois.html

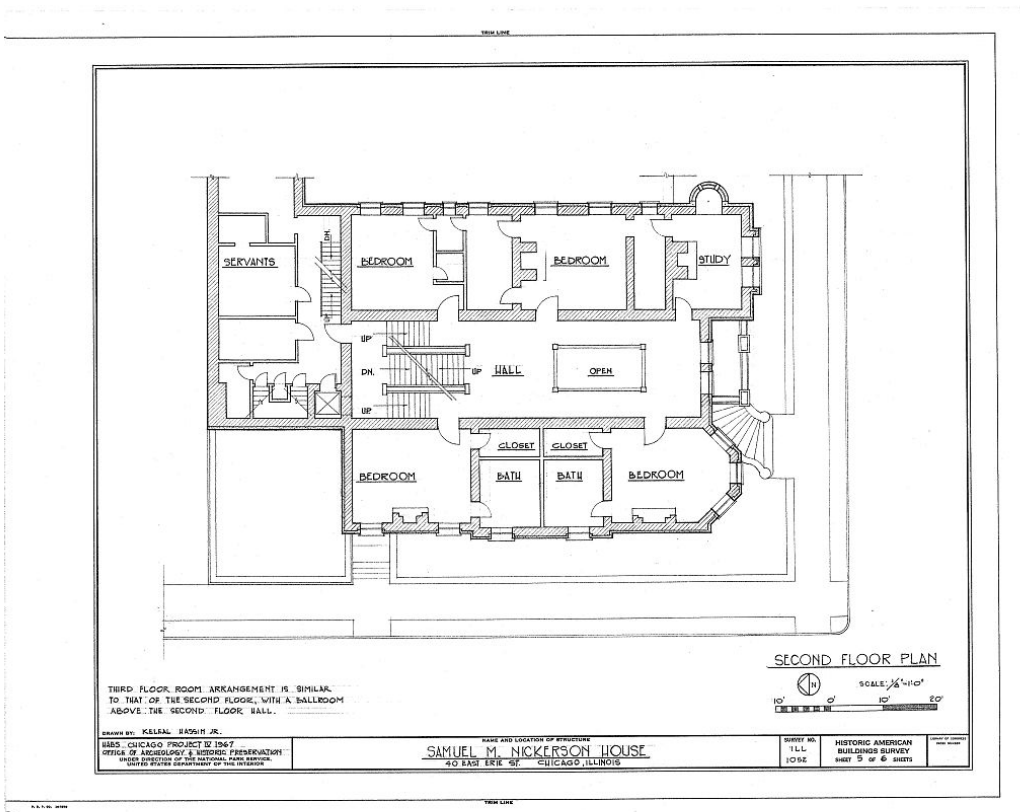


Fig. 2.23
Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883, floor plan (second floor).
The second floor of the Nickerson House contained family bedrooms, with servants' quarters at the rear of the House.
Source: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/il0048.sheet.00005a/resource/

Fig. 2.24
Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883, view from second floor.
This view from the second floor hall into the stairwell shows the rail, designed by R. W. Bates & Co. The rail and balcony consists of black marble, white marble, alabaster and onyx.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Driehaus_Museum

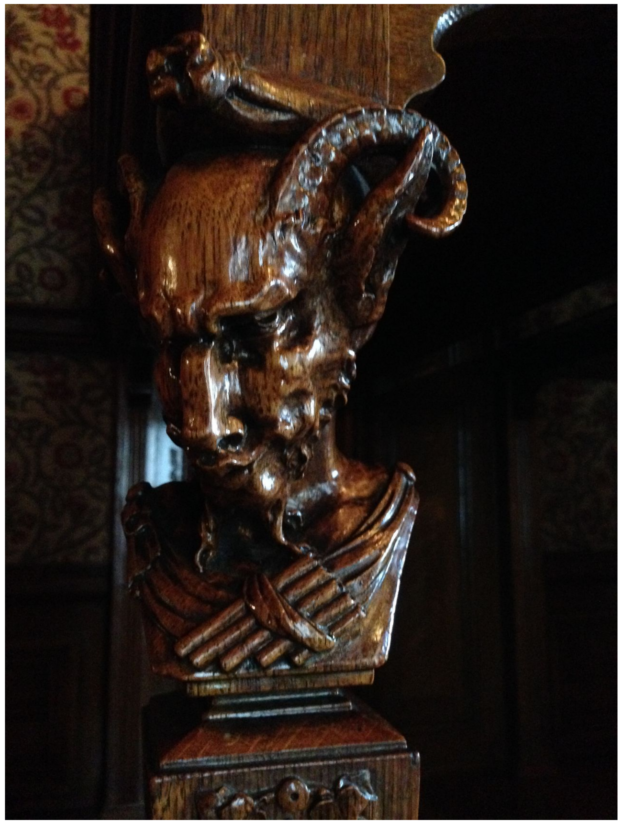

Fig. 2.25
Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson House, Chicago, IL, 1883, fireplace detail. Intricate wood carvings are a consistent design feature of the house, such as this fireplace detail from a first-floor room.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Driehaus_Museum

Fig. 2.26
Burling & Whitehouse, Samuel Nickerson Mansion, Chicago, IL, art gallery.
The hanging style of the gallery is in line with 18th- and 19th-century salon style, more cluttered than the modern single-line style still in use today.
Source: http://www.driehausmuseum.org/history/1883#.VoP3zXgXSYY

Fig. 2.27
Marshall & Fox, John B. Murphy Memorial, Chicago, IL, 1926.
The French Renaissance style John B. Murphy Memorial was an auditorium space that was added to the Samuel Nickerson House in 1926 by the American College of Surgeons to honor surgeon and founding member Murphy upon his death.
Source: http://driehausmuseum.org/explore/index.php#explorer =exterior/past&gallery=/explore/exterior/past/2.html


Fig. 2.28
Artist unknown, Driehaus Capital Management logo.
The logo of Driehaus Capital Management, Richard H. Driehaus's company, features a rendering of the Cable House. Situated across the street from the Richard H. Driehaus Museum, the Cable House is home to Driehaus Capital Management and was restored by Driehaus using his personal funds.
Source: https://twitter.com/driehauscapital

Fig. 3.1
Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA, founded 1961. The Rose Art Museum faced controversy in 1991, when it sold works from the permanent collection at auction, and again 2009, when it almost closed.
Source: http://www.wbur.org/2011/10/28/rose-art-museum


Fig. 3.2
Eames & Young, Cupples Station (Building 7), St. Louis, MO, 1892–1915. One of 22 buildings that comprised Samuel Cupples distribution center, Cupples Station faced demolition in 2011, its buildings ultimately saved for adaptive reuse as loft and office spaces.
Source: http://preservationresearch.com/2011/11/preservation-board-considering-cupples-station-building-7-demolition/

Fig. 3.3
Cope & Stewardson, Cupples Hall at Washington University, St. Louis, MO, 1900–1905. Before his death in 1912, Cupples was honored for his support of Washington University in the naming of Cupples Hall, the first campus building dedicated to the study of engineering.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Washington_University_in_St._Louis

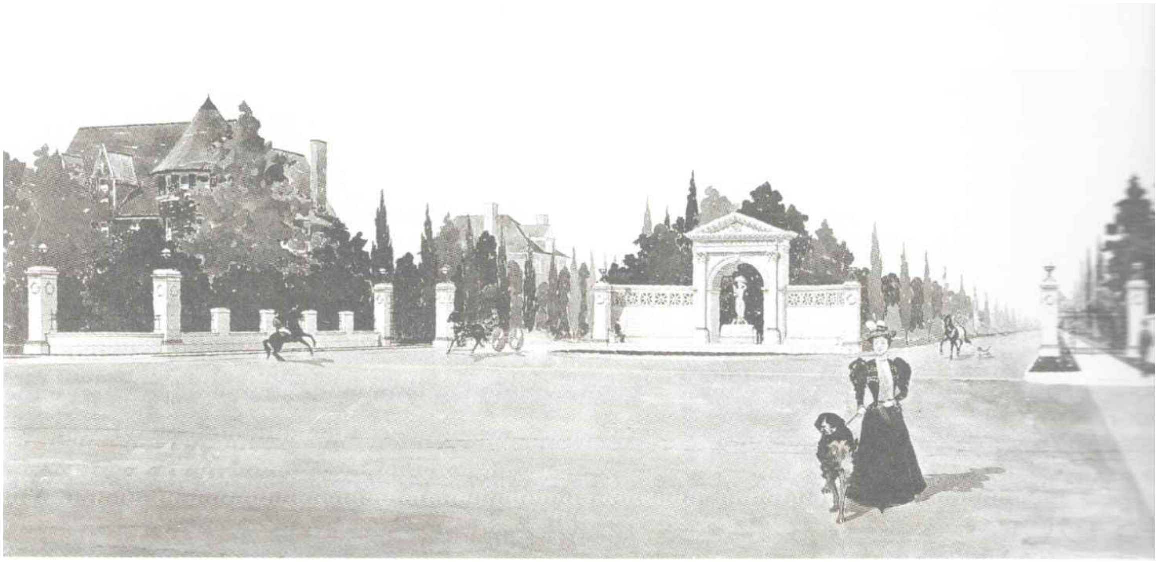

Fig. 3.4
Artist rendering of Weber & Groves, east gateway to Grand Avenue, St. Louis, MO, 1898. Gateways served as both artistic elements of the landscape and marked the entrances to private streets, such as Grand Avenue.
Source: Charles C. Savage, *Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis: The Architects and the Houses They Designed*, 78.

Fig. 3.5
Lee & Annan, Merchants Exchange Building, St. Louis, MO, 1871. Lee and Annan actually placed second in the competition to design the building for the Merchants Exchange, the oldest commodities trading floor in the United States, to George I. Ingraham, whose design was ultimately deemed too expensive. The building was razed in 1940 to make way for the Gateway Arch grounds.
Source: http://www.landmarksstl.org?architects/bio/thomas_b_annan_1839_1906/

Fig. 3.6
Lee & Annan, Bradford-Martin Building, St. Louis, MO, 1875. Now part of May department stores, the Bradford-Martin building is the last building standing by the architectural firm of Lee & Annan.
Source: http://www.landmarks-stl.org/architects/bio/thomas_b_annan_1839_1906/

Fig. 3.7
Thomas Annan, Cook Avenue Church (Scruggs Memorial Christian Methodist Episcopal Church), 1894. Modeled on the Akron Plan of church architecture that featured a central worship space surrounded by classrooms behind moveable walls, the Cook Avenue Church project received substantial financial support from Samuel Cupples.
Source: http://www.landmarks-stl.org/architects/bio/thomas_b_annan_1839_1906/


Fig. 3.8
Henry Singleton, Old St. Louis Court House, St. Louis, MO, 1839. The neoclassical aesthetic was dominant in St. Louis, exemplified in Singleton’s 1839 design for the Court House, until the Romanesque Revival style gained popularity in the 1850s.
Source: http://archikey.com/building/read/44/Old-St-Louis-County-Courthouse/115/

Fig. 3.9
William Fulton, St. John the Apostle and Evangelist Church, St. Louis, MO, 1860.
Fulton's church was an early example of the Romanesque Revival in St. Louis.
Source: http://stlouisreview.com/article/2010-12-08/st-john-downtown

Fig. 3.10
Henry Hobson Richardson, (1886 design); Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, (construction) the J. R. Lionberger House, St. Louis, MO, 1887. A domestic design by Richardson in St. Louis, the J. R. Lionberger House was likely influential to Annan in his design for the Samuel Cupples House.
Source: Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works,* 407.

Fig. 3.11
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO,1890. The exterior of the Samuel Cupples House displays a strong allegiance to and influence of Henry Hobson Richardson.
Source: https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/planning/cultural-resources/city-landmarks/Cupples-House.cfm


Fig. 3.12
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890, downspout detail. Evident in both interior and exterior design of the Cupples House is a dedication to craftsmanship, as exemplified in this downspout.
Source: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mo1085.photos.099703p/


Fig. 3.13
Henry Hobson Richardson, Oakes Ames Memorial Hall, North Easton, MA, 1881. A precursor to the Cupples House, the Hall is raised above ground level and incorporates into its massive façade sculpted foliage.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oakes_Ames_Memorial_Hall

3.14
Henry Hobson Richardson, Austin Hall at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1882. A possible model for the Cupples House, note the similar placement of a single rounded tower to the right of the front entrance.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austin_Hall_(Harvard_University)

Fig. 3.15
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890, staircase. The central staircase with a dynamically right-angled landing is most likely a nod to H. H. Richardson’s design for the staircase at Stonehurst, the Robert Treat Paine estate in Waltham, Massachusetts [fig. 3.17].
Source: http://www.slu.edu/samuel-cupples-house

Fig. 3.16
Henry Hobson Richardson, Robert Treat Paine House (Stonehurst), Waltham, MA, 1886, staircase. The orientation of the central staircase to the Great Hall, as well as extensive ornamental woodwork is both simple yet extravagant and clearly influences the staircase at the Samuel Cupples House by Thomas Annan [fig. 3.18]
Source: http://stonehurstwaltham.org/new-gallery-1/


Fig. 3.17
Louis Comfort Tiffany, stained glass window, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890. The design of the windows is not delicate, but more rusticated in keeping with the Romanesque Revival style of the House.
Source: https://www.pinterest.com/sharnwhite/cupples-house/

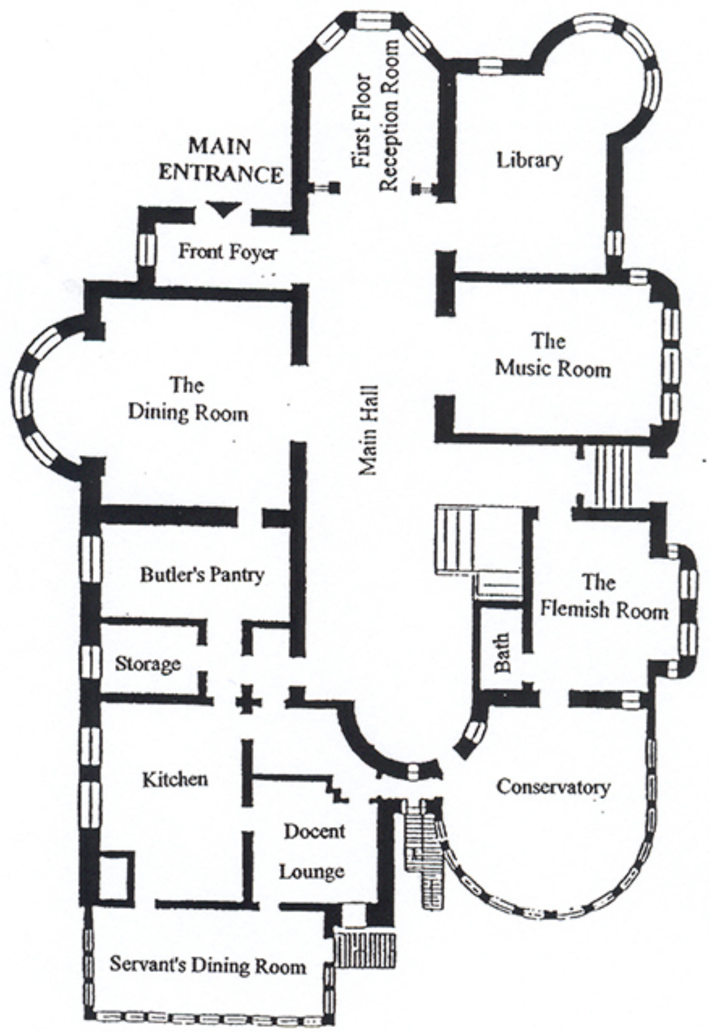


Fig. 3.18
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890, first floor plan. The asymmetry of the plan is obvious, with the off-center situation of the main entrance. Note that an entertaining room is erroneously listed in this floor plan from the Cupples House website as a music room; Cupples infamously disapproved of dancing, viewing it in conflict to his Methodist beliefs, but did allow a minstrel gallery on the landing to the second floor for chamber music.
Source: http://www.slu.edu/samuel-cupples-house/about-cupples-house/architecture-and-design/floor-plans

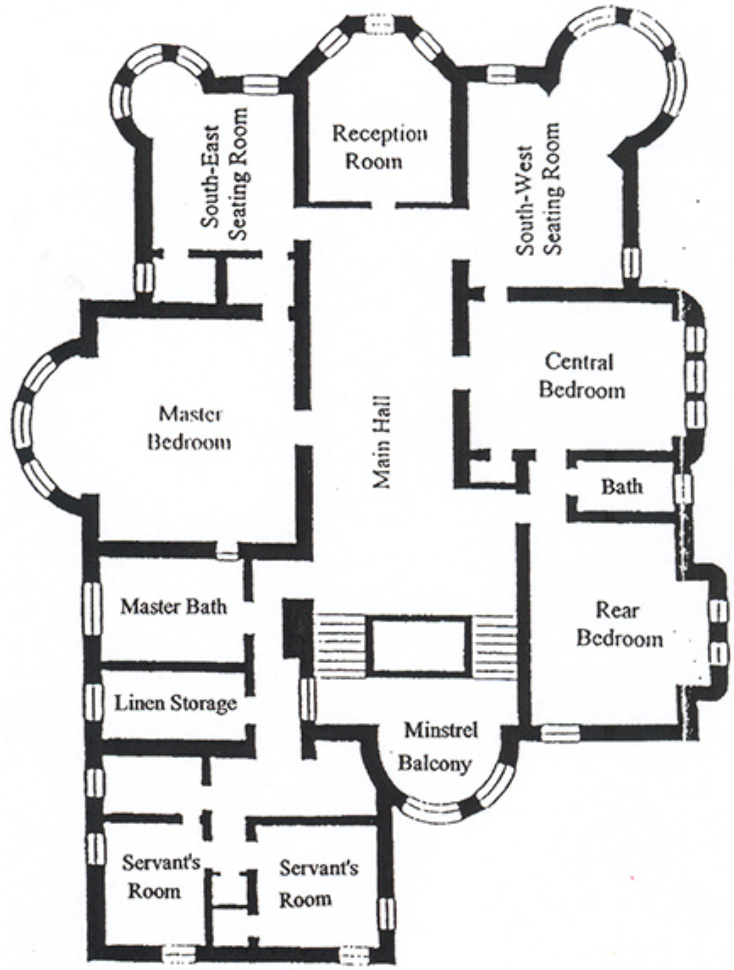


Fig. 3.19
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890, second floor plan. The second floor consists of Cupples' family bedrooms, reception rooms for family leisure, and servants' rooms at the rear of the House.
Source: http://www.slu.edu/samuel-cupples-house/about-cupples-house/architecture-and-design/floor-plans

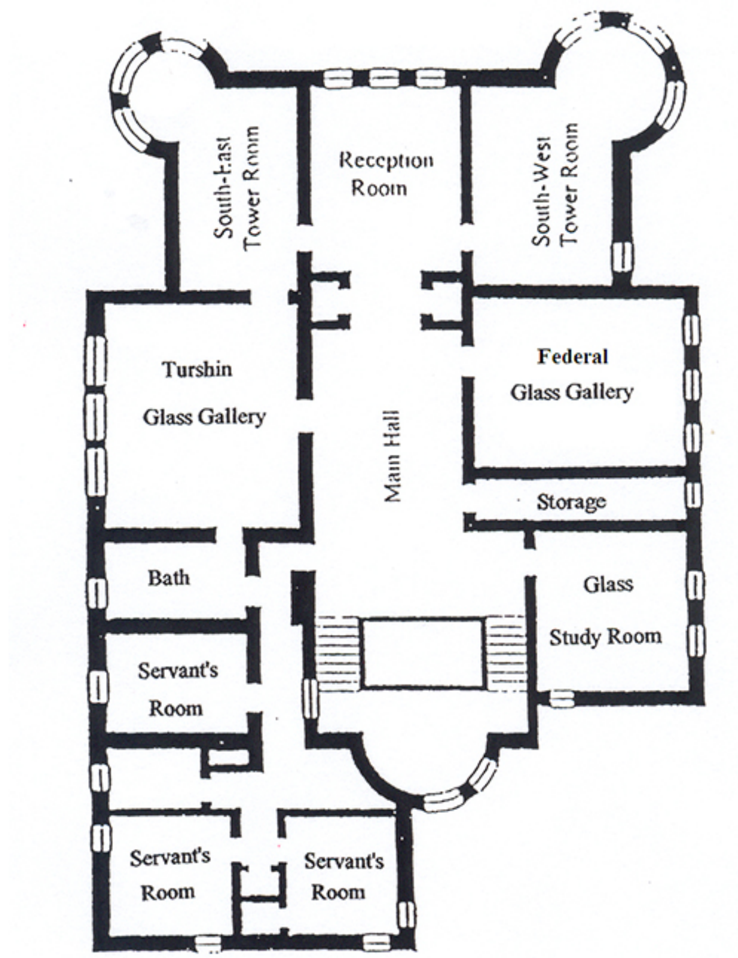


Fig. 3.20
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Luis, MO, 1890, third floor plan. The third floor, which originally contained additional bedrooms, sitting rooms, and servants' quarters, now houses study rooms and exhibition spaces.
Source: http://www.slu.edu/samuel-cupples-house/about-cupples-house/architecture-and-design/floor-plans

Fig. 3.21
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890, front foyer. The foyer is paneled in English oak and includes a sixteenth-century hand-carved bench imported from England.
Source: Maurice B. McNamee, *Cupples House: A Richardsonian Romanesque Mansion,* 18.

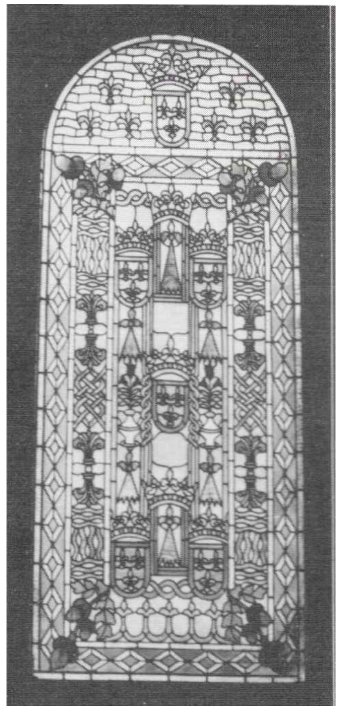

Fig. 3.22
Louis Comfort Tiffany, Fleur-de-Lis window, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890. The fleur-de-lis pattern signified an associated with royalty and with King Louis IX, the namesake for the City of St. Louis.
Source: Maurice B. McNamee, *Cupples House: A Richardsonian Romanesque Mansion,* 54.

Fig. 3.23
Thomas Annan, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO, 1890, interior arched doorframe. The doorframe to a second floor bedroom displays the massive arch element favored by Richardson and also indicative of an influence by William Morris and the Arts & Culture Movement.
Source: Maurice B. McNamee, *Cupples House: A Richardsonian Romanesque Mansion,* 34.

Fig. 3.24
Thomas Waryng Walsh and Henry Switzer, St. Francis Xavier Church, St. Louis, MO, 1898. The Gothic Revival structure at Grand and Lindell Boulevards was built gradually between 1878 and 1898 on the Lindell Grove campus of Saint Louis University, adjacent to Samuel Cupples' property on Pine Street.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Francis_Xavier_College_Church

Fig. 3.25
Flemish Breakfront, 17th century, Samuel Cupples House, St. Louis, MO. Note that flanking the Flemish sideboard are two seemingly American portraits, illustrating the muddled interpretation of the site and its use as an exhibition space for University collections.
Source: Maurice B. McNamee, *Cupples House: A Richardsonian Romanesque Mansion,* 29.

Fig. 3.26
DuBourg Hall, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, MO, ca. 1907.
This space functioned as the first gallery at Saint Louis University and has served as the Pere Marquette Gallery, a meeting space, since its restoration in 1995.
Source: Saint Louis University Archives.

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