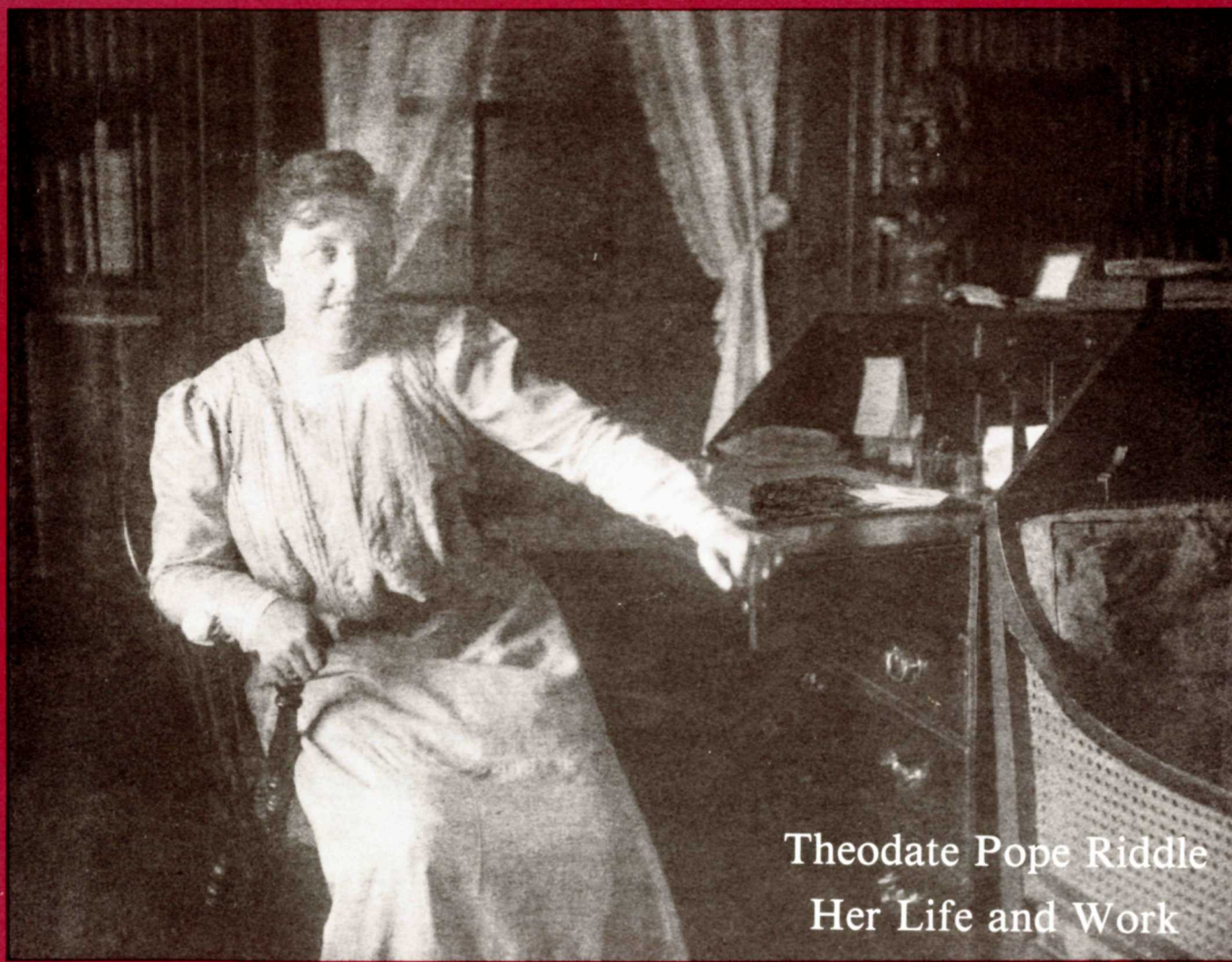




Theodate Pope Riddle  
Her Life and Work

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# **Theodate Pope Riddle Her Life and Work**

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**New York**

**Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace**

**A property of the National Park Service**

The National Park Service 1979

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Second Printing 1981

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## FOREWORD

Sixty years ago the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association decided to reconstruct and furnish the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace. Although the prestigious firm of Clinton and Russell was considered for the commission, the job ultimately went to Theodate Pope Riddle on the recommendation of TR's sister, Mrs. Sheffield Cowles, Sr. Since its completion in 1923, the boyhood home of the only native New Yorker to achieve the Presidency has hosted hundreds of thousands of visitors. It remains the city's only mid-nineteenth-century furnished house open to the public and boasts the nation's most comprehensive collection of TR memorabilia.

In 1963 the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace was donated to the National Park Service by the Theodore Roosevelt Association, successors to the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association. Yet it was only in 1977, when the Park Service completely refurbished the Birthplace's period rooms, that the full extent of Riddle's accomplishment became apparent.

There were virtually no discernable anachronisms in Riddle's work. She had relied on measured drawings of nineteenth-century buildings in her design. In her quest for historical accuracy she sought out actual nineteenth century chimneypieces and gas fixtures and had them installed throughout the Birthplace's period rooms. She also sent people motoring through the countryside to find just the right pieces of furniture, while wallpapers, carpets and fabrics were carefully chosen to match those in the original nineteenth-century house.

In sum, it became clear that the quality of the Birthplace's reconstruction and furnishing was largely dependent on Riddle's talents. For that reason the National Park Service is pleased to repay its debt to Theodate Pope Riddle by hosting the first comprehensive exhibition of her work at the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace, May 24 through September 1, 1979.

There are, of course, many individuals and institutions who have helped make *Theodate Pope Riddle: Architect, Her Life and Work* possible. The National Park Service would particularly like to thank the following for technical and financial assistance as well as the loan of drawings and other materials relating to Riddle's work: Avon Old Farms School, Eastern National Parks and Monument Association, the Hill-Stead Museum, Philip Johnson, The National Park Foundation, the Publishing Center for Cultural Resources, the Theodore Roosevelt Association and Westover School.

I would like to commend Judith Paine, author of the catalogue and guest curator of the exhibition, for her scholarly concern and enthusiasm which made it possible to present this major exhibit devoted to the work of an American woman architect. Special thanks also go to Joseph Johnson Smith for his invaluable assistance in the production of the catalogue and exhibition.

David M. Kahn  
*Curator*  
Manhattan Sites  
National Park Service

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deep appreciation to Philip Johnson for the generous contribution which made possible the publication of this catalogue.

This exhibition would not have been planned without David Kahn, Curator of Manhattan Sites for the National Park Service, whose interest in Theodate Pope Riddle's architectural career gave me the opportunity to present her work at the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace.

Joseph Johnson Smith, who designed and edited this catalogue and designed and installed the exhibit deserves special mention. He brought to this endeavor not only talent and energy but a high professional standard. Thanks are also due to Roger Baldwin, whose photographs enliven the text of these pages, and for further assistance in the preparation of the catalogue Eileen Biernacki, James Burke, and John Herzan.

I am particularly indebted to Miss Elizabeth McCarthy, Mrs. Riddle's personal secretary, who graciously shared with me her personal reminiscences of the architect's life and work. I am grateful to Skip Flanagan, who allowed me to review his doctoral thesis on Mrs. Riddle's theories of education. Additional information was supplied by: Jeanette Brown, Brooks Emeny, Betty Price Goodrich, Theodate Johnson, David Kahn, Robert MacKay, Seth Mendell, Gordon Ramsay, Laura Rosen, Jarold Talbot, and Gail Thatcher.

Finally, I would like to thank George R. Collins, Professor of Art History, Columbia University, under whose direction my initial research on Theodate Pope Riddle was undertaken, Brendan Gill for his encouragement in this project, Prescott Kelly for his good humored support, and John W. Shannahan for his unfailing cooperation.

Judith Paine  
*Guest Curator*





## INTRODUCTION

Theodate Pope Riddle deserves to be remembered as both an exceptional woman and an exceptional architect. Born in 1868, she grew up in an age when proper young ladies became Victorian matrons, and any thought of a career was looked upon as shocking.

In the nineteenth century, architecture was a gentleman's profession practiced after attending classes in engineering, design, and draftsmanship, and serving an apprenticeship with an architectural firm. Both of these requisites were enormous hurdles to women, bent on the practice, instead of the appreciation, of architecture. Few women were able to pursue higher education. And those women fortunate enough to graduate from design departments were rarely afforded the opportunity of employment in an architectural firm to provide the practical experience and client contact necessary to establish a career.<sup>1</sup>

Within this context, Theodate Pope Riddle's achievements are indeed exceptional. A practicing architect for over thirty years, she maintained offices in New York City and Connecticut; undertook projects ranging from workers' housing to the reconstruction of a President's birthplace, to planning educational complexes; and was finally elected a member of the American Institute of Architects in 1918. In part, her career was made possible because she had the social position and financial resources that allowed her to be her own client. But these circumstances provided a handicap as well, for she was expected to conform to the domestic role appropriate to her social class. Her refusal to bow to these pressures gave her the opportunity to realize her potential as an architect.

Sometimes the psychological cost of an unconventional life is so high that the work produced is disappointingly dull. But Riddle's buildings are not commonplace. They reinterpret traditional forms and explore the boundaries of the picturesque. Unlike her colleagues enamored of the Beaux Arts Classicism so fashionable after the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, she was inspired by the simple strength of English vernacular architecture. Within this essentially romantic framework, she was consistently sensitive to the nature of the materials themselves, the uniqueness of each site, and the expression of individual needs. As her career progressed, she became increasingly concerned with the totality of design — from the method of construction to the interior details — and she supervised the work with an uncompromising standard. It is the intensity of this vision, successfully realized, that makes her architecture exceptional.



*"The Cottage," Farmington, Connecticut*

## BIOGRAPHY

Riddle was born Effie Pope, the only child of Alfred and Ada Pope, of Cleveland, Ohio. Her mother was a popular Cleveland hostess; her father, a steel magnate, amassed an outstanding collection of Impressionist art. Their daughter was a short, plump, shy girl who, unlike her mother, felt extremely awkward in social situations. She was very lonely, but as a result she developed the self-reliance which allowed her to act decisively without first seeking approval from others. For example, as an adolescent, deciding the name “Effie” lacked dignity, she answered only to her grandmother’s name, Theodate, which means “gift of God.” From an early age she loved to draw buildings and her ambition was to be an architect.

In 1886, she was sent to Miss Porter’s School in Farmington, Connecticut, which was to have a profound effect on her life. It was here, at an impressionable age, that she was exposed to the progressive ideas and the picturesque country setting that were to influence her work. Farmington, which contains some of the oldest houses in Connecticut, was a symbol of the quaint New England village. For the first time, Riddle could visualize an alternative to crowded, industrial Cleveland: a lifestyle based upon simple values rather than superficial manners.

Two years later, her graduation gift was the European Grand Tour. The centuries of tradition impressed her, and the architecture of medieval England which she avidly sketched was to have a lasting influence. Upon her return to Cleveland, her mother made a last ditch effort to launch her into society with a debutante party. Theodate recalled, “There were Worth gowns from Paris, and, oh, how I loathed it all! I was sullen with rage and boredom most of the time, and my parents finally gave up trying to fit me into their pattern. I was permitted to rent a cottage on High Street in Farmington. They believed I would be tired of it in three months — how wrong they were!”<sup>2</sup>

Riddle restored the eighteenth century cottage and soon attached a small house to it. There she opened the “Odds and Ends Shop,” the one place Miss Porter’s students were allowed to go for sweets and tea. As she wrote, remembering her first years in the cottage, “It gave me just the experience I had been longing for to see — real life. For a year I cooked every meal. Through the night I frequently struck matches to see my watch in order to be up at six o’clock to build the kitchen fire. The experience was all so deliciously new to me that I felt I had stepped over a frame into a picture.”<sup>3</sup> She was twenty-one.





*Theodate Pope at "the Cottage"*

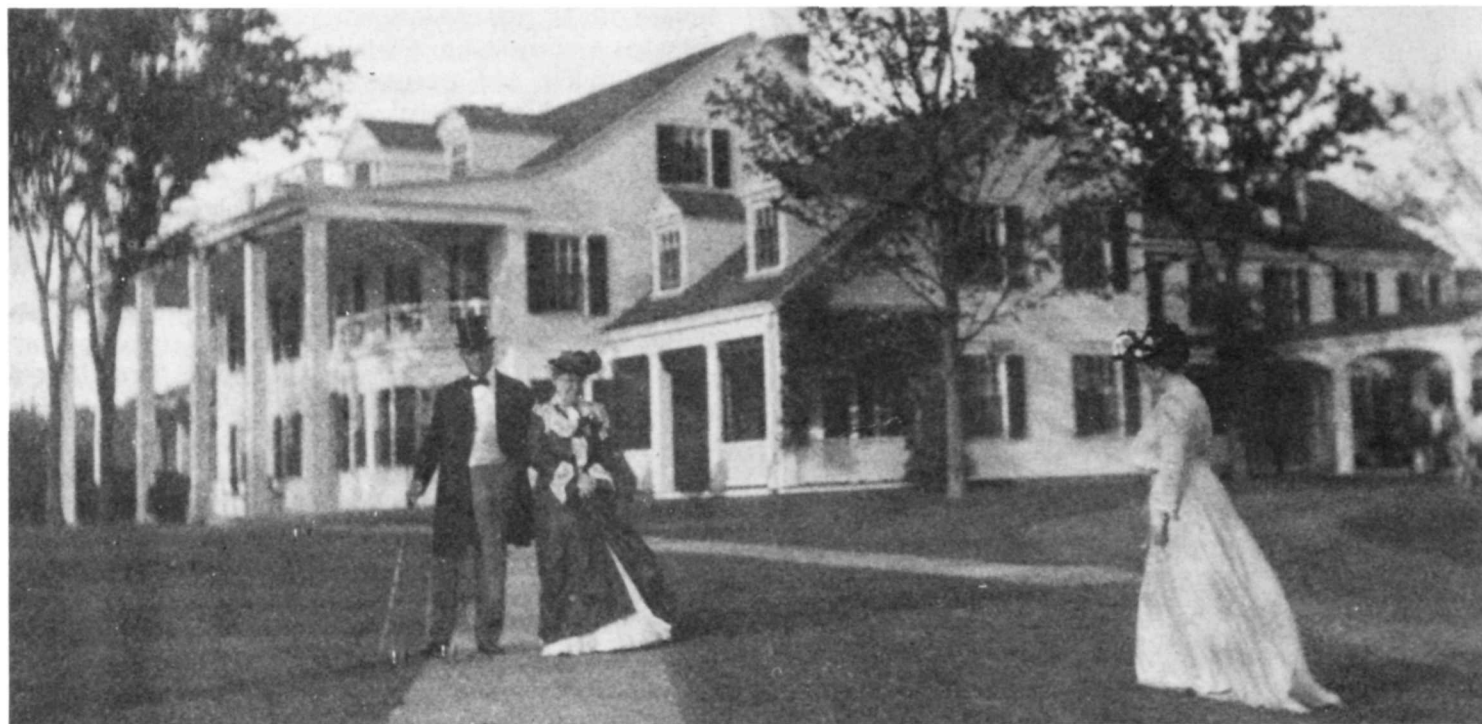
Over the course of the next ten years, Riddle devoted much of her time to social reform, seeking worthwhile endeavors that furthered her progressive ideals as a substitute for the shallow social life she had known in Cleveland. She worked in Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement House; volunteered at the New York Psychiatric Institute; became an enthusiastic Suffragette; and much to her father's dismay, joined the Socialist Party. In Farmington she restored rooms in the Old Academy, where she organized classes in sewing and domestic science for the village girls. She set up a visiting nurse program and arranged for poor women with children from New York to spend their summers in Farmington.

During this time, she also set about achieving her childhood ambition to become an architect. Although she had gained some experience restoring several buildings, and had made notes on the architecture she observed during her travels abroad, Riddle realized she needed more formal training. Through a family friend, Riddle arranged to be tutored privately by members of the art department at Princeton University, then an all male institution.

*Mr. and Mrs. Alfred A. Pope, Theodate Pope at Hill-Stead, Farmington, Connecticut*

After the year was over, she began to design a home for her parents in Farmington, hoping to persuade them to move East. When they agreed to move in 1898, her father hired Stanford White to supervise the construction. Riddle was to work closely with White and his assistants, observing firsthand how his office functioned. Thus, through her own initiative, she was able to create an apprenticeship for herself with one of the most prestigious architectural firms and to surmount a further obstacle that barred most women from practice in the profession.

Riddle designed all her projects between the turn of the century to 1930. At times she maintained an office in New York City, although much of her work continued to be done at "Underledge," a late nineteenth century house located on the Hill-Stead property in Farmington. From 1906 to 1909 she worked on the Westover School project in Middlebury, Connecticut which she planned for her close friend Mary Hillard, who became headmistress. Soon afterwards, she designed a home for Joseph P. Chamberlain, a Columbia University law professor, overlooking Lake Quassapaug in Middlebury.





*Underledge, Farmington, Connecticut*

Concerned with the lack of adequate housing for local workers, she designed three double cottages on Garden Street in Farmington and a small house for the butler of one of her friends. Meanwhile, she planned the Hop Brook School (1916) in Naugatuck, Connecticut, and the largest country estate of her career, "Dormer House," (1916) for Mrs. Charles O. Gates of Locust Valley, Long Island.

In the same year, at the age of forty-eight, she married John Riddle, a fifty-two year old diplomat who had served in Russia. Although the marriage was often stormy, they were to spend twenty-five years together. They traveled widely in Europe, the Orient, and in South America where her husband served as Ambassador to Argentina. They were a socially prominent couple and frequently entertained such eminent figures of the educational and cultural establishment as Charles Eliot of Harvard, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, William James, Henry James, and John Dewey. Yet, despite the social demands upon her time, she continued her career.

In 1919, she received a commission from the Women's Roosevelt Association to reconstruct Theodore Roosevelt's Birthplace in Manhattan. By this time, she had begun preliminary plans for her last major work, Avon Old Farms School in Avon, Connecticut. The school, which was eventually to comprise eighteen buildings, occupied Riddle for the rest of her life. Although the school opened in 1927, construction was not completed until 1929-30. The Depression and the increasingly high costs of construction kept Riddle from fully realizing her original plan. Riddle was sixty-one at this time, and began to turn her attention to the administration of the school which she hoped would continue her progressive ideals. Her husband died in 1941 and in 1944, Avon Old Farms School closed, a temporary casualty of the wartime conditions and faculty unrest. In August, 1946, Theodate Pope Riddle died at the age of seventy-eight without ever knowing her school would open again and thrive.

## ARCHITECTURE

From the first building Riddle restored, her own cottage in 1890, both authenticity and effect were important concerns. When authenticity threatened effect however, it was sacrificed for the sake of the desired appearance. She never embraced a radical aesthetic which sought the creation of new forms based upon modern technology or social needs. Rather, she wanted her work to be sanctioned by tradition, by the illusion of age, and by the evocation of beliefs hallowed by time.

Farmington appealed to Riddle precisely because it represented America's colonial past, an architectural heritage popularized by the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. Hill-Stead, her first major work, reflects her interest in the forms and traditions of the past. The front facade was inspired by George Washington's home, Mount Vernon, then considered our most sacred architectural relic. Although Stanford White is credited as Hill-Stead's architect, it is impossible to separate Theodate's contribution to the project. According to family and local tradition, the design is her own. Contemporary publications carefully note that Miss Pope offered many suggestions about its plan. Such assertions are borne out by the fact that the firm of McKim, Mead & White acknowledged that they reduced their usual fee in this case because of the large amount of work she did on the design.<sup>4</sup>



*Hill-Stead*

Like Mt. Vernon, Hill-Stead is a two-story white wooden structure with three pedimented dormers stretching evenly across the gable roof with a portico supported by double story square columns. Henry James, who visited it a few years after its completion in 1901, enthusiastically described it in *The American Scene*, “. . . A great new house on a hilltop that overlooked the most composed of communities; a house apparently conceived — and with great felicity — on the lines of a magnified Mt. Vernon. . . .”<sup>5</sup>

It was praised for being both scholarly and refined, and in comparison to the “cottages” of Newport, the Long Island shore, and other fashionable places, it was restrained. A closer comparison with Mt. Vernon however, reveals many differences. Hill-Stead has no cupola, no Palladian windows, and no rusticated wood surface. The roof is enhanced by a Chippendale balustrade, and a large central dormer, and is supported by six rather than eight columns.

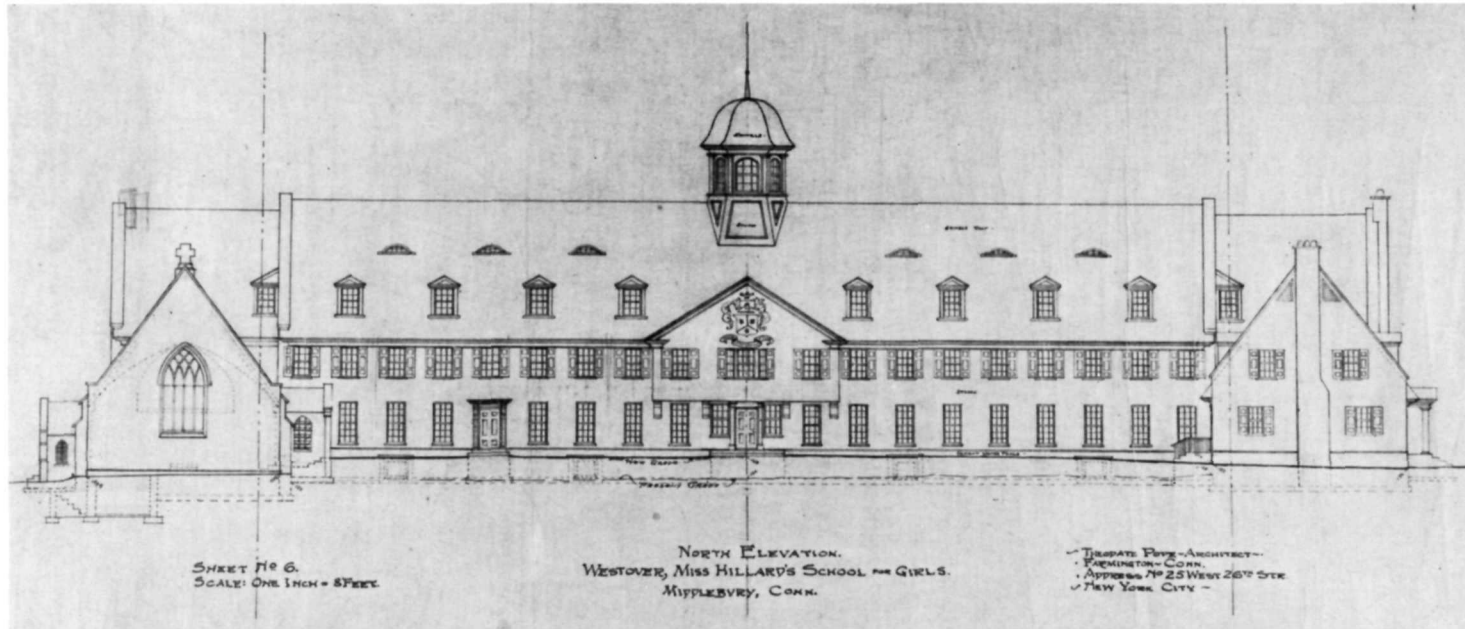
Hill-Stead was also Riddle’s first opportunity to supervise construction and to use the traditional building methods with which she had become familiar while restoring her cottage. As one worker recalled, “Here Theodate’s great and lifelong interest in old fashioned methods dictated the use of such things as pegs rather than nails and handmade shingles.”<sup>6</sup>



*Westover School, Middlebury, Connecticut*



*Westover School under construction, Theodate Pope, back to camera*



*Westover School - North Elevation*

Riddle's next work, Westover School (1906-1909) in Middlebury, Connecticut, was conceived as a unified whole. It consists of a large quadrangle, designed so that all activities of school life take place under one roof, from eating and sleeping to chapel attendance and classroom instruction. Clearly the architecture of the school was meant to have an effect on the students. The idea was "... to combine appropriateness with beauty so that the charm and dignity of the academic and domestic atmosphere shall be an unconscious but constantly elevating influence endearing the place to all coming under its associations."<sup>7</sup> The smooth

unadorned surfaces and the rows of windows and dormers emphasize Westover's rectangular form. The entrance is noted by a central pavilion, which extends slightly from the wall. Supported by oversized brackets, it contains, in a Georgian flourish, the school motto. The unity of design and detail were noted by the architect Cass Gilbert, who considered Westover beautifully designed. "It is, in fact, the best girls' school I know of in the country. The details are refined and scholarly and the proportions of the architecture are exceedingly well sustained throughout."<sup>8</sup>





*Joseph P. Chamberlain House, Middlebury, Connecticut*

As soon as she finished Westover, Riddle began work on the Joseph Chamberlain estate. Here the influence of English traditional forms is more apparent in the high steep roof, excessive in terms of the American architectural idiom. The exterior chimney slab with chimney pots also recalls English prototypes. The wall surface is punctured by a single window,

a recessed doorway, and a bank of rectangular windows which repeat, in size and shape, the dormered windows above. These dormers, flat-topped rather than gabled, rise from the roof like box tops. Composed, like Westover, of gray stucco with yellow trim, the building sits calmly on the hill overlooking Lake Quassapaug.

What distinguishes this project is the care with which Riddle positioned the house on the site in relationship to the garden house nearby and the existing apple orchards. The garden house, which sat at the back of the sunken garden, echoes the main house with its gray stucco walls, exterior chimney and recessed doorway. The shallow roof pitch, however, allows the building to blend in with the nearby trees. The garden house is linked to the main house by a patterned brick walkway. Beyond the garden house was a pool surrounded by flower beds and rows of apple trees. With the Chamberlain estate Riddle demonstrated a full awareness “that the essential truth in country house architecture is that house and garden together form a single design. They cannot be separated.”<sup>9</sup>

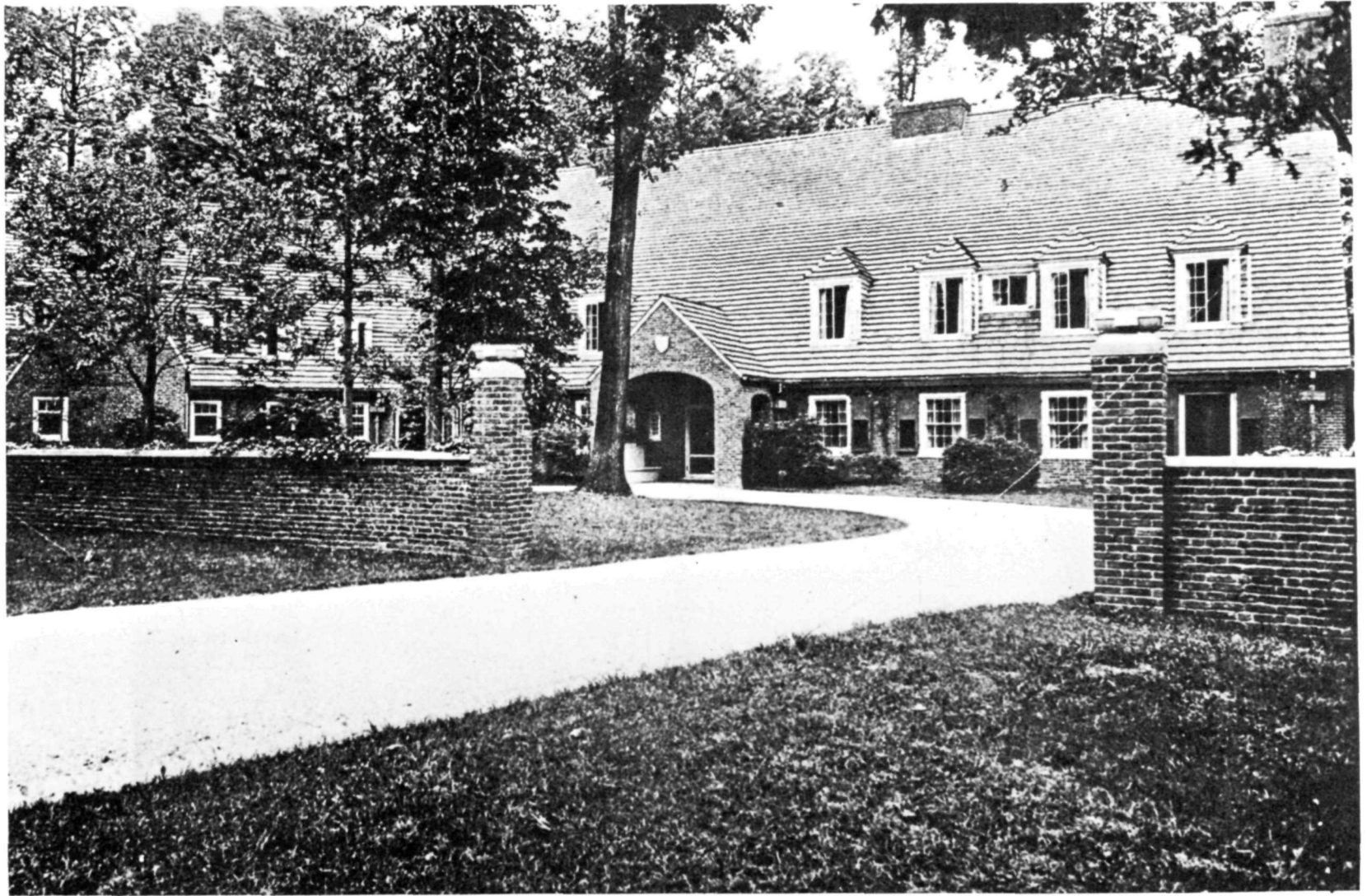


*Garden House, Joseph P. Chamberlain Estate, Middlebury, Connecticut*

In 1915, Riddle planned three double cottages in Farmington for families connected with Hill-Stead. Here again, she employs traditional English forms reinterpreted on a smaller scale for workers' housing. The steep roofline is broken to form a shallow gambrel, but the angle is too slight to have any functional meaning. Instead, it merely forms a picturesque line. One chimney lies within the wall and the other on the outside. Both barely clear the ridge of the roof, looking oddly stubby in comparison with the long slope of the rear roofline. The front porches are partially enclosed by built-in settles giving a quaint effect to the entrance. The housing is functional, simple, and appropriate to the needs of the families for whom they were built. Riddle's trademarks, the steeply sloped roof with dormers and exposed chimneys, are present, but not exaggerated.



*Farmington workers' housing*



The largest domestic architectural project of her career, "Dormer House," was built in 1917 for Mrs. Charles O. Gates of Locust Valley, Long Island. Like Hill-Stead and the Chamberlain house, the Gates residence lies at the crest of a hill. The siting of the house in a natural landscape required a more imaginative plan than either the Chamberlain house or Hill-Stead. The building, with a wing at a hundred and twenty degree angle to the main house, was "ingeniously shaped to conform with the surrounding trees, whose planter was nature."<sup>10</sup> The angling of the house, with the dining room at the focal point opening to a brick terrace, allows the interior spaces to flow into each other in contrast to the clearly defined room of her earlier designs.

The angle of the roof is as steep as any medieval prototype; the shingles seem to cascade down the slope. Only the dormers interrupt the flow, protruding slightly from the roof itself. Despite the steep roofline, the effect is of a rambling English house, somehow cozy, but dignified at the same time.

The Gates house shows Riddle's ability to let the nature and texture of the materials themselves become the decorative elements of the composition. Here Riddle is working in red brick, the texture and color of which provide a pleasing contrast with the overwhelming presence of the roof. As one writer explained, "The frankness with which the chimneys are built both in material and design, show an utter disregard to 'do something [fancy].'"<sup>11</sup>



*Hop Brook School, Naugatuck, Connecticut*

The Hop Brook School (1916) in Naugatuck, Connecticut, also of brick, has been severely altered over the years. Once the front door faced a long sweep of lawn to the road beyond; today one enters only through the asphalt playground at the rear because of the addition placed immediately in front of the old entrance. The school was designed as a large rectangular block with a small adjacent wing for the lower grades. They are connected by a curving wall, which effectively divides the playground area from the front lawn. A straight-forward utilitarian design, the only ornamentation is the slightly arched doorways, the oriel above the original entrance, and the decorative script, "ABC," on the doorway of the wing.



*Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace, New York, New York*

After Theodore Roosevelt died in 1919, the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association was formed for the purpose of honoring his memory. The Association decided to rebuild what had been TR's boyhood home. In December, 1919, Riddle was awarded the commission to reconstruct Roosevelt House (now the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace) and to include the adjacent site, where his uncle Robert had lived, into a unified Roosevelt memorial.

Roosevelt's house had been demolished in 1916, and a nondescript commercial building was erected on the site. Robert Roosevelt's house remained, but was divided into lofts. The Association directed Riddle to reconstruct TR's brownstone townhouse just as it had been in 1865, the year in which a Mansard roof was added and Leon Marcotte was hired to design the interior. Robert Roosevelt's identical townhouse was demolished to allow for a connecting wing, recessed from the street, to be used for meeting rooms, a library, and the display of Roosevelt memorabilia.

Preliminary plans were approved within six months, and construction was completed in 1923. Riddle supervised the entire project, including furnishing the Birthplace's elegant period rooms. This building, which recently underwent a complete refurbishing, is open to the public as a National Historic Site, and is the nation's first Victorian period restoration.



Riddle's last project preoccupied her for the rest of her life. Avon Old Farms School began as a memorial to her father after his death in 1913. By 1920, Riddle had bought thousands of acres of land in Avon, Connecticut, about five miles from Farmington. In 1924, she tendered her resignation from the Women's Roosevelt Association in order to devote herself to this major project. She wrote, "My work at Avon has become so serious (there are now 250 men working there) that I must hold myself closely to this great interest."<sup>12</sup>

Avon Old Farms School was formed as a protest against conventional preparatory schools. Riddle believed that the present generation lacked initiative and needed "a foundation of education that will teach them to know the out-of-doors and lead them to a choice of life vocation that will suit their abilities and serve their future success."<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, the school included a working farm, carpentry and printing shops, a forge, and other trade facilities. Riddle, strongly individualistic herself, insisted that the school meet the needs of the individual student, for, she said, "The ways in which people differ are more important than the ways they are alike."<sup>14</sup>

Riddle planned the program of the school with enormous care, consulting with her friends John Dewey, Nicholas Murray Butler and Charles Eliot. Although the philosophy of Avon was progressive, the architecture was traditional and



*Avon Old Farms School - Farm Group*

deliberately picturesque. Inspired by the Cotswold area of England, it incorporates elements of her previous work — long overhanging roofs, banks of dormer windows and plain surfaces which reveal the texture of the natural materials to advantage. But the design goes beyond these features to include shapes found nowhere in English architecture — mannerist details, curves and sweeps of roofs and walls that exist for pure whimsical effect.

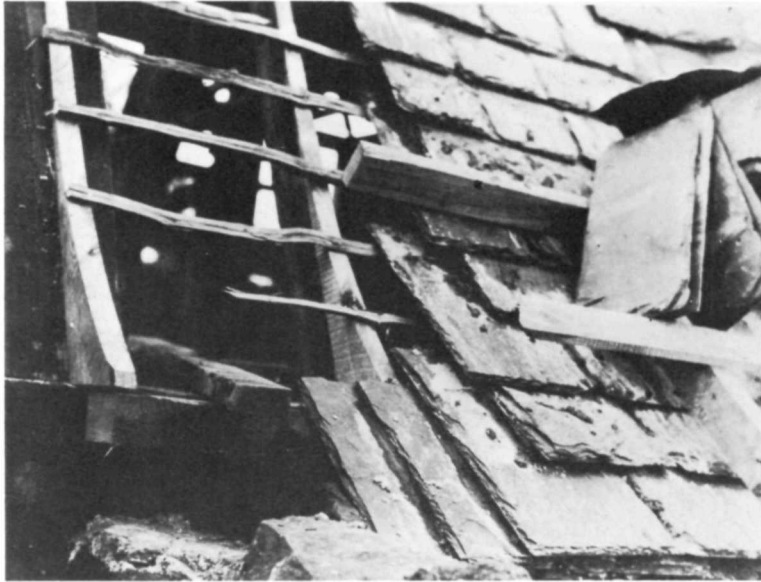




*Avon Old Farms School, Station House*

Construction began in 1921 with the Station House, the building required for the shelter of materials that came by railroad. The following year the concrete foundations were laid for the first group of buildings: the water tower, forge, wheelwright, and carpentry shops. Riddle described her construction method as follows: "Before starting this work all trades were advised that inasmuch as the effectiveness of

these buildings would depend to a very great extent upon the way the various surfaces were finished, it was most important that the workers dispense with all mechanical methods and wherever possible, use old tools and processes in carrying out the work. They were instructed to work by rule of thumb and to gauge all verticals by eye; as a natural variation in line and surface was far more desirable in this work than accuracy."<sup>15</sup>



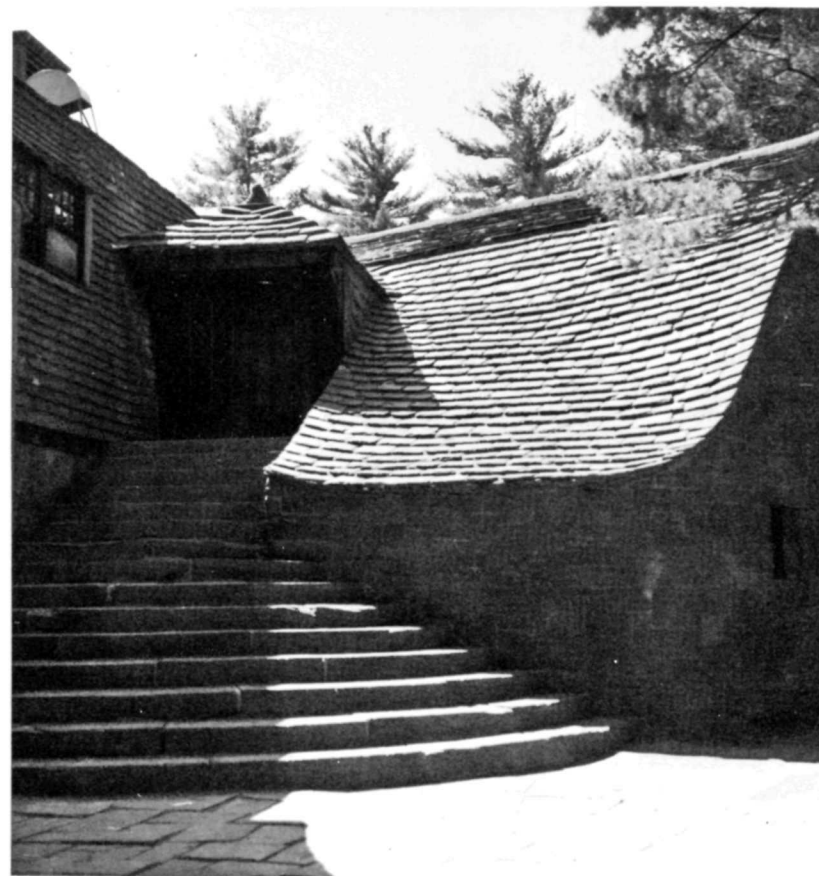
*Avon Old Farms School, use of traditional building methods*



The first buildings were constructed by half a dozen craftsmen from the Cotswold area of England who were brought to Avon because they knew how to use the sixteenth century tools and old-fashioned methods of construction which Riddle demanded. The roofs of the first complex of buildings were framed with principals and rafters without ridge poles, fastened together with oak pins. In order for the roofs to sag unevenly, giving the impression of age, she used saplings upon which the tiles were attached. Much use was made of materials found on the property. The foundations were built from stone taken from a nearby quarry and the oak was hewn at the site from wood cut in the forest. The Carpentry Shop and Forge provided all the woodwork and hardware needed for the school.



The obsession at Avon Old Farms School with construction details and the irregular shapes exaggerated for effect create a masterpiece of animated forms which sweep and swell toward, around, and through each other. Rooflines intersect, chimneys divide, mottoes speak from the stone walls, and gargoyles watch solemnly from their perches. Narrow slit windows appear here and there merely to emphasize the verticality of a gable, steps rush down to the ground like waves, and in the midst of this medieval exuberance, a Greek Doric Temple rises in all its rational order. Heavy oak doors fastened with massive strap hinges, exposed interior construction details, and even the furniture itself reflect her preoccupation with seventeenth-century English design. Riddle hoped that students who were introduced to progressive educational ideals in an atmosphere of traditional forms would be encouraged to solve the fundamental social problems of the Twentieth Century.



*Avon Old Farms School, Refectory Steps*



*Avon Old Farms School, Dean's House*

*Avon Old Farms School Entrance*



Louis Sullivan once defined the architect's role: "To vitalize building materials, to animate them with a thought, a state of feeling, to charge them with a subjective significance and value, to make them visible parts of the social fabric, to infuse into them the true life of the people, to impart to them the best that is in the people, as the eye of the poet, looking below the surface of life, sees the best that is in people — such is the function of the architect."<sup>16</sup> And such was the achievement of Theodate Pope Riddle.

## NOTES

1. Although three departments of architecture established in the nineteenth century admitted women, Cornell, the University of Illinois at Urbana, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, few of the graduates actually pursued careers in architecture, even though their academic credentials were identical to their male counterparts. See Judith Paine, "Pioneer Women Architects," in *Women in American Architecture*, ed. Susana Torre (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1977), p. 54 and ff.
2. Brooks Emeny, *Theodate Pope Riddle and the Founding of Avon Old Farms* (privately printed, 1973), p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*
4. McKim, Mead & White, *A Monograph of the work of McKim, Mead & White 1879-1915* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), p. 66.
5. Henry James, *The American Scene* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 45.
6. Robert F. Jones, Jr., *A Jones Family History* (privately printed, 1962), p. 20.
7. Catherine Spykman, *Westover* (Middlebury: Westover School, 1959), p. 6.
8. Emeny, p. 8.
9. Quoted in Wayne Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition and Americans* (New York: The Free Press), p. 201.
10. "Dormer House," *Country Life* 36 (February, 1919), p. 56.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
12. Letter from Theodate Pope Riddle to Mrs. Hammond, May 24, 1924. Collection, Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace.
13. Theodate Pope, "Avon Old Farms, A School for Boys at Avon, Connecticut," *The American Architect* 128 (November 25, 1925), p. 391.
14. Theodate Pope Riddle, *Prospectus*, Avon Old Farms, 1925.
15. Emeny, p. 14.
16. Louis H. Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats*, (New York: Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1947) p. 140.

## PHOTO CREDITS

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