

Frank Lloyd Wright and the Wasmuth Drawings

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H. ALLEN BROOKS

Never has interest in Frank Lloyd Wright's architectural drawings been greater than it is today. More major publications and exhibitions have recently been devoted to his drawings than to his architecture, and these drawings of the buildings, rather than photographs, are increasingly used to illustrate his work. This enthusiasm has been reflected in the soaring price (today quoted in four figures) of *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright*, the folio of drawings that was first published by Ernst Wasmuth of Berlin in 1910, which serves as the basis for this study. This folio was reissued in 1963 by Horizon Press, which had already published a lavish color edition of *Frank Lloyd Wright Drawings for a Living Architecture* in 1959. The year 1962 witnessed a large Wright exhibition, dedicated exclusively to drawings, at the Museum of Modern Art and the simultaneous publication of a book/catalogue by Arthur Drexler which illustrated the three hundred drawings in the show. The exhibition later traveled to other cities in the United States and Canada.

Yet in spite of all this attention, we know surprisingly little about the drawings. In most instances their authorship remains in doubt. Wright himself never claimed that they were entirely his own work; indeed he was always most magnanimous in acknowledging the rendering skill of his assistants. But the recent spate of books and exhibitions, which assume such dogmatic titles as *The Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright* and "Frank Lloyd Wright Drawings,"¹ has done much to confuse the issue and to beguile the public into believing that what is represented is by the master's hand. Our present discussion, therefore, is an initial attempt to bring order to this vexing problem.

Among the Wasmuth drawings, the perspectives of the buildings themselves are so uniform as to thwart attempted attribution. These perspectives are mostly from eye level, although several are bird's-eye views and a few are worm's-eye views from below. But the process by which many of the eye-level perspectives were created is so unexpected, yet so obvious, that it has hitherto escaped detection. The drawings are simply copied from photographs. The most striking example of this is

the Tomek House, as may be seen by comparing the drawing from Wasmuth with an earlier photograph (cf. Figs. 1 and 2). The fidelity of the copy is extraordinary; it even embraces the setting. Each tree has been carefully traced, including the branches and the shaggy bark. The house is the same, line for line, even to the open bedroom window. The only additions are urns of flowers at either side of the porch, and a change in the direction that the shadows fall.

The photograph from which this drawing was copied was published with Wright's "In the Cause of Architecture" article by the *Architectural Record* in 1908. A further comparison of these photographs from 1908 with the Wasmuth drawings reveals that no less than ten of the Wasmuth plates derive directly from this single source of photos. Included are not only exterior views, but interiors as well.²

This evidence suggests that most eye-level perspectives, when made after the building was completed, were derived from photographs. Sometimes the manner of rendering foliage—tree leaves, plants, and vines—was also similar to the photographic image, yet this point will be discussed later on. That Wright was a keen amateur photographer certainly helps to explain his awareness of the camera image.³

As the uniform technique used to delineate the buildings, whether inspired by photographs or not, frustrates any attempt at attribution, it is necessary to concentrate our analysis upon the foliate setting in which the buildings were placed. Only in the rendering of foliage—which is what gives these drawings their unique quality and charm—can one distinguish individual hands.

Each rendering, however, was not always the responsibility of a single delineator. Sometimes the work was a group endeavor but in such instances the apprentice usually followed the existing style so carefully that his contribution was not immediately apparent. Barry Byrne, who worked in Wright's Studio from 1902 to 1907, executed numerous building perspectives and occasionally also drew the setting, yet in doing so he adopted the manner of Mahony and Wright with such ability that today he finds it impossible to determine which drawings he helped to prepare. Wright's working habits also

¹ *The Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright* is the title of Arthur Drexler's book (New York, Horizon Press, 1962) while "Frank Lloyd Wright Drawings" was the name of the 1962 Museum of Modern Art exhibition.

The problem of attributions has been avoided by most authors and the only useful source of information that can be cited is contained in Barry Byrne's very unfavorable review of Drexler's book, *JSAH*, 22, 1963, 108-09. I have briefly touched on the same problem in *BurlM*, 104, 1962, 210-12.

² Those photos published in the *Architectural Record*, 23, 1908, which served as the basis for Wasmuth plates are: Larkin Building, p. 167; central court of Larkin Building, p. 169; Larkin Building (modified), p. 173; Dana House, pp. 174f.; Hickox House, p. 179; living room of Bradley House, p. 180; Tomek House, p. 187; Barton House, p. 206; and Unity Temple (modified), p. 212.

³ Information from Barry Byrne in conversation March 25, 1965. See Fig. 35 for an example of Wright's photography.

contributed to the mixing of individual techniques. Byrne tells how Wright would often, after working hours, come into the studio, sit down at one of the apprentices' drafting tables, and spend hours working over the material that lay before him. On such occasions he had infinite patience and would devote endless time to a minute and seemingly boring job that normally would be delegated to a draftsman.⁴

The general uniformity of style that exists among the drawings in the Wasmuth folio must be ascribed to Wright. Yet the individual drawings reflect Wright's predilections more than his personal style. He would accept or reject the techniques of others and weld them into a visual entity, rather than expect his assistants to follow his lead.⁵ Among the Wasmuth plates, therefore, at least four, and probably five, contributors can be isolated. They are Frank Lloyd Wright, Marion Mahony, Birch Burdette Long, William E. Drummond, and perhaps, Harry Robinson.⁶

The major problem in trying to attribute the Wasmuth plates to individuals is the scarcity of documented drawings by any one of the contributing artists over an extended period of time. For Wright we have a number of signed drawings but all of these, without exception, date from the years before he went into private practice in 1893. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that with Marion Mahony the situation is reversed. She began working for Wright in the mid 1890's but not until 1906 do we have a drawing documented as being by her hand. Thus between the prime contributors—Wright and Mahony—there is an unrecorded period of about fourteen years; at what point their artistic personalities overlap or merge is a question that can never be answered with positive assurance.

Others on the Studio staff either do not emerge as individual hands in the drawings or their presence was limited to a relatively short period of activity. The case of Barry Byrne has already been mentioned. Taylor Wooley also worked on the drawings, yet his hand is impossible to isolate. Walter Burley Griffin, although Wright's office manager for several years, probably did not assist. Apparently he had little ability at rendering so, in spite of his fascination with landscape architecture, he left the drawing of plants and trees up to others.

Wright mentioned in *An Autobiography* that Birch Burdette Long (1878–1927) was “a young and talented ‘renderer’”⁷ and this suggests that Long may have helped with the drawings even though he worked at Steinway Hall in Chicago rather than at the Studio.⁸ As there are several drawings, all for buildings designed by 1902, that are distinctive, and as Long apparently left the Midwest about 1903,⁹ it seems plausible that he was the delineator. This is substantiated by Barry Byrne who describes Long's drawing technique as one based upon light and shade.¹⁰ This quality is particularly apparent in the bird's-eye view of the Hillside Home School (Fig. 3) or the Henderson House (Fig. 4). Long also executed a number of watercolors, but these would have been redone as line drawings at a later date.

William E. Drummond (1876–1948) worked for Wright from about 1899 to 1909, except for a period between about 1901 and 1903 or 1904.¹¹ Although examples of his drawings are extant, it is not easy to identify his contribution to the Wasmuth folio. Figure 19 illustrates a competition design of 1901 by Drummond, who most likely did the rendering, and figure 21 is of a drawing done about 1913 while Drummond was in partnership with Louis Guenzel. A comparison of the foreground trees, on the right and left respectively, with those in the drawing of Wright's Village Bank project (Fig. 22) suggests a common authorship. The tightly packed little leaves, delineated with a fine pen, and the occasional glimpse of branches are similar in each.

What Drummond was trying to achieve in his renderings was the realistic effect of sunlight and shadow upon plants and trees. The result was not always convincing. His model was apparently a combination of the Anglo-American tradition of architectural rendering (best typified by Richard Norman Shaw) and the reality of the black and white architectural photograph of his day (Fig. 20). Our illustration is an early photograph of one of Drummond's own designs. The masses of foliage, whether trees or plants in the window boxes, are certainly akin to the Studio renderings, particularly to the drawings by either Drummond or Long.

The other drawings attributable, with a varying degree of certainty, to William Drummond all date from around 1900.

⁴ In personal interviews and through correspondence over the past ten years (but particularly since 1962) I have sought Barry Byrne's views about these drawings and the circumstances under which they were produced. His opinions will often be cited in the text and I am much indebted to, and appreciative of, his cheerful willingness to cope with my endless questions.

⁵ Of Wright's part in determining the character of the renderings, Barry Byrne recalls that “There was stimulation, approval, and supplementing accord, but not what one would call close direction.” (*JSAH*, 22, 1963, 109).

⁶ During the course of my research I have consulted three men who, I believe, have a more intimate knowledge of the drawings than any others alive; to each I am greatly indebted for his help. They are Barry Byrne, who assisted with a number of the drawings with which we are concerned, John Van Bergen, who was employed at the Studio at the time Wright departed for Europe in 1909, and John Howe, who joined the Taliesin Fellowship in 1932 and was for many years in charge of Wright's collection of drawings. With each of these men I have gone over the entire hundred plates in the Wasmuth folio, yet in only four instances were their attributions for a single drawing unanimous (in each case a drawing attributed to Marion Mahony).

In several cases the three men attributed the same drawing to three different people. I say this not to belittle their judgment and opinions, which have assisted me immeasurably in learning to discern the traits of the various draftsmen, but to emphasize the complexity of the problem and to suggest that my own conclusions may eventually require some modification.

Barry Byrne reviewed the hundred Wasmuth plates with me on March 24, 1965, while John Van Bergen and John Howe did the same on January 30 and February 8, respectively, of the same year.

⁷ Frank Lloyd Wright, *An Autobiography*, New York, 1943, 131.

⁸ Wright's downtown office throughout much of this period was at Steinway Hall in Chicago where he shared space with a coterie of young avant-garde architects whose companionship and encouragement was important to him during the years when his work was reaching maturity. See my “Steinway Hall, Architects and Dreams,” *JSAH*, 22, 1963, 171–75.

⁹ In March, 1903 the *Chicago Architectural Club Catalogue of the Sixteenth Annual Exhibition* listed Long's address as Chicago but in the subsequent year, and thereafter, his residence was given as New York City.

This is surprising, as we might normally expect a person of demonstrated ability to have been active throughout the decade. But as his major occupation was that of preparing working drawings for the numerous commissions perhaps, during later years, he found little or no time to assist with renderings. In any event, the view of Lexington Terrace (w 7 / h 89)¹² is probably his and both the *Thomas House* (w 18 / h 19) and project for "A small home with 'lots of room in it'" (w 23 / h 14) have passages that suggest Drummond's hand as well as Long's. It is uncertain, however, whether either or both men worked on these renderings.

The only group of drawings in the Wasmuth folio attributable with absolute certainty are those executed about 1906 by Marion Mahony (1871–1962).¹³ Not only do they correspond precisely with work she did after leaving Wright, but to some she affixed her monogram. Most characteristic are the perspectives of "A Fireproof House for \$5,000" which was commissioned by the *Ladies' Home Journal* and published in April, 1907. Note the monogram MLM, for Marion Lucy Mahony, between the tree trunks at the lower right of figure 6. The drawing technique is here heavy and stiff—quite unlike most of the renderings—with a bold, unbroken outline. Each leaf is drawn with meticulous care, the shape and size varying with the species, and the trees are represented as flat, two dimensional patterns against which the plasticity of the architectural form is most striking. This treatment of the trees is not dissimilar to certain European decorative work at the time, while the flat, heavily outlined, shadowless forms are akin to the Japanese print. The bed of flowers, with its hollyhock, has the same frozen, lifeless quality. Twisting vines, which are virtually a Mahony trademark, envelop the trellis and some of the trees. In the rendering of the side view these characteristics are even more apparent (w 14a / h 68).¹⁴

The original rendering of the K. C. de Rhodes House, first published by *House Beautiful* in 1906, also contained the Mahony monogram (lower left of Fig. 5). This, however, was removed before publication by Wasmuth and other modifications were also made (Fig. 8). Some of the bushes, and the bird, in the lower left were deleted and a few extremely minute changes occur elsewhere. The effect of this editing was to re-

duce the foreground emphasis and focus attention more dramatically on the building itself.

At the bottom on the original de Rhodes drawing Wright later added the following notation: "Drawn by Mahony after FLW and Hiroshige." This was most appropriate—Wright gave credit to the artist who made the drawing yet pointed out that both he and the Japanese print had exerted an influence.

On the basis of the De Rhodes and Fireproof House renderings we can attribute the view of Unity Temple as well as the Edwin H. Cheney House to Marion Mahony. *Unity Temple*, which is among her most typical drawings (Fig. 9), is more subtly drawn and lacks the heavy, stiff quality of the previous examples. Some minor details, such as the figures, may have been drawn by others.

Many of these renderings were executed in two or more media—pencil, pen and ink, colored pencils, water colors, or a mixed medium (pen and ink with a water-color wash was particularly favored). It is sometimes difficult to determine which came first, but as many of the watercolors were done on tracing paper they were probably traced from earlier drawings. This is apparently true of *Unity Temple*. There is a version,¹⁵ done on tracing paper with pen and ink and water color, that seems to derive from the Mahony drawing. The perspective is identical and the silhouette of the trees—without delineated leaves—is the same. The dimensions of the two drawings also correspond. As for the de Rhodes House drawing, however, the original apparently had color (blue pencil) added to it.

In the original rendering of the Edwin H. Cheney House the delineation of the trees was never completed (Fig. 7). This was probably intentional, however, in order to lighten the effect. Our illustration, taken from the *Architectural Record* of 1908, was modified before being printed by Wasmuth (w 30 / h 42). As with the de Rhodes drawing, the bushes in the left foreground were deleted. They are important to our further analysis, however, since their freely drawn, silhouetted shapes are directly comparable with other drawings which, like this one, can be attributed to Marion Mahony.

The perspective of the Thomas P. Hardy House is among the most beautiful in the entire Wasmuth series; here Marion Mahony is seen at her very best (Fig. 10). The light, gay mood

10 In conversation with the author on various occasions.

11 Dates approximated from information contained in University of Illinois Alumni Records, a manuscript written by Drummond (in author's collection), Chicago Architectural Club catalogues, and by process of elimination.

12 To facilitate reference to the Wasmuth plates not illustrated herein, each has been listed by number. The number following the letter "W" is keyed to the original German edition while the number after the letter "H" refers to the plate in the more readily available Horizon Press edition of 1963 (*The Buildings, Plans and Designs of Frank Lloyd Wright*, New York, Horizon Press, 1963).

13 The 1871 birth-date given here for Marion Mahony is earlier than that in currency. I would refute the usual post-1871 datings (1873 or 1875) with the following evidence: 1) Although born in Cook County, Illinois, the Chicago Bureau of Vital Statistics has no record of her birth; their records begin after the Chicago fire of 1871. 2) The records of the Department of State (U.S.A.) passport division indicate that "Marion Lucy Mahony was born at Chicago, Illinois, on February 14, 1871" (letter to author of April 23, 1963).

14 Barry Byrne has written of the role played by Marion Mahony in the preparation of the renderings:

"The style of these drawings of Miss Mahony's was determined only in a general way by Mr. Wright, he having in mind, of course, the artistic character evident in Japanese prints. The picture compositions were initialed by Miss Mahony, who had unusually fine compositional and linear ability, with a drawing 'touch' that met with Mr. Wright's highly critical approval. She was the most talented member of Frank Lloyd Wright's staff. . . . Mr. Wright would occasionally sit at Marion's board and work on her drawings, and I recall one hilarious occasion when his work ruined the drawing. On that occasion Andrew Willatzen, an outspoken member of the staff, loudly proclaimed that Marion Mahony was Wright's superior as a draftsman. As a matter of fact, she was. Wright took the statement of her superiority equably."

(*JSAB*, 22, 1963, 109).

15 Illustrated in Drexler, *Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright*, pl. 32.

which prevails contrasts sharply with the heavy stiffness of her other renderings, yet there is nothing here—except the triptych division of the composition—that has not been seen before. The silhouetted foreground plants and trees, as in the Cheney drawing (Fig. 7), and the carefully drawn leaves and outlined flowers in the middle ground as well as the hanging vines and tree trunks, as in the *Fireproof House* (Fig. 6), are all attributes of her style. Another characteristic, so individual that it must have been executed by a single hand, is the shadow cast upon the wall by the overhanging roof. It is drawn as if by an engraver; the curved patterns of lines suggest a texture almost like that of grained wood. This is found only in drawings here attributed to Mahony; in other renderings vertical or horizontal lines are used, or an ink wash, to simulate the same effect.

The companion piece of this splendid drawing is a delicate, Oriental perspective of the same house seen from the lake below (Fig. 11). When this drawing was first published in 1906 it lacked the flower sprig and shaded sky.¹⁶ The distinctive roof shadows, and the flower, confirm its attribution to Mahony, while the composition reflects a new wave of Japanese influence resulting from Wright's return from Japan, in 1905, with many Japanese prints.

Several other drawings from this 1905–1907 period may also be ascribed to Marion Mahony. They include the *Thaxter Shaw House* (w 34 / n 69), the *W. A. Glasner House* (w 43 / n 52), and the *Grace Fuller House* (w 40 / n 44)—although the latter has (at the right) some passages which were probably executed by Wright. The *George Millard House* (w 44 / n 54), which in the original is a magnificent color pencil rendering in soft pastel shades, is more difficult to assign. Mahony probably drew the left foreground and most of the window boxes, but the right side was possibly drawn by another hand. The top center, including the roof, was left incomplete until the Wasmuth tracing was prepared.

The two drawings of the Yahara Boat Club pose a difficult problem of attribution (side view illustrated in Fig. 12). Each is similar to the other and certainly was drawn by the same hand, yet neither is stylistically identical to any of the other Wasmuth plates. What is unique about these drawings is the total absence of any foliage on the trees and shrubs—they are treated entirely in silhouette. This results in a two dimensional background against which the architectural perspective is placed. Yet precedent for trees rendered only in outline does exist in certain drawings by Marion Mahony, as in the two views of the Hardy House (Figs. 10 and 11). And what may

well be an earlier phase in a trend toward elimination is seen in the *Cheney House* where the trees at the sides, in contrast to those in the center background, are represented only in outline (Fig. 7). The manner in which the tree outline continues, unbroken, into the top border of the picture is similar in both side views, and the angular, agitated outline of the trees as they blend into this border also bears direct comparison. The few leaves that are delineated near the boat house are not unlike the Mahony technique. For these reasons an attribution to her seems reasonable.¹⁷

The culmination of Marion Mahony's activity during these years was the Chicago Architectural Club exhibition of April, 1907 in which thirty-four of Wright's buildings or projects were exhibited. Many of these designs were represented by renderings that Mahony had prepared and it was this sizable collection, assembled by 1907, that later formed the basis for the Wasmuth publication.

Moving backward or forward in time from this 1905–1907 period increases the difficulty of making attributions to Mahony. This is particularly true of the Arthur Heurtley House rendering where the house was designed early (ca. 1902) yet the drawing style is apparently late (ca. 1908–1909, Fig. 14). A late stylistic dating is corroborated by the fact that this design was not shown at the Chicago Architectural Club exhibitions in 1902 or 1907 nor was it published prior to 1910. That Mahony participated in its production is confirmed by parts of the flower bed which are identical to a drawing that she made after leaving the Studio (Fig. 15). This bears the monogram MMG, her initials after her marriage to Walter Burley Griffin in 1911. Yet there is no precedent in her work for the abstract, geometric plant forms. The rhythmical arched shapes and the flower stalks with symmetrical blossoms are alien to her style. So, too, is the intensely angular treatment of the silhouetted trees. Probably Wright, whose work still must be discussed, was responsible for drawing these.

Possibly the last drawing that Mahony did while at the Studio was a bird's-eye view of Como Orchards, a project that was still on the drafting boards when Wright left for Europe. Her authorship is confirmed by a monogram placed under the trees at the bottom, left of center.¹⁸ Stylistically this Wasmuth plate is unusual because of its soft, light rendering technique yet Mahony's characteristic outlining is present and the treatment of the evergreens in the foreground can be found in other drawings by her, such as the *Hickox House* (w 24 / n 16).

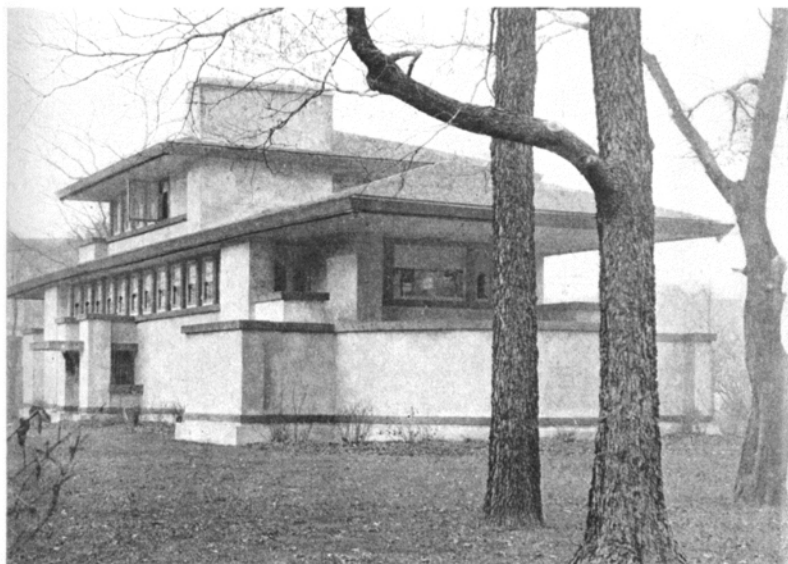
To isolate the drawing style of Marion Mahony in the years around 1900 cannot, at this time, be done with assurance. The

¹⁶ Published, along with two other renderings of the Hardy House that may be attributed to Mahony, in *House Beautiful*, 20, 1906, 11–13. Both versions are apparently by Mahony.

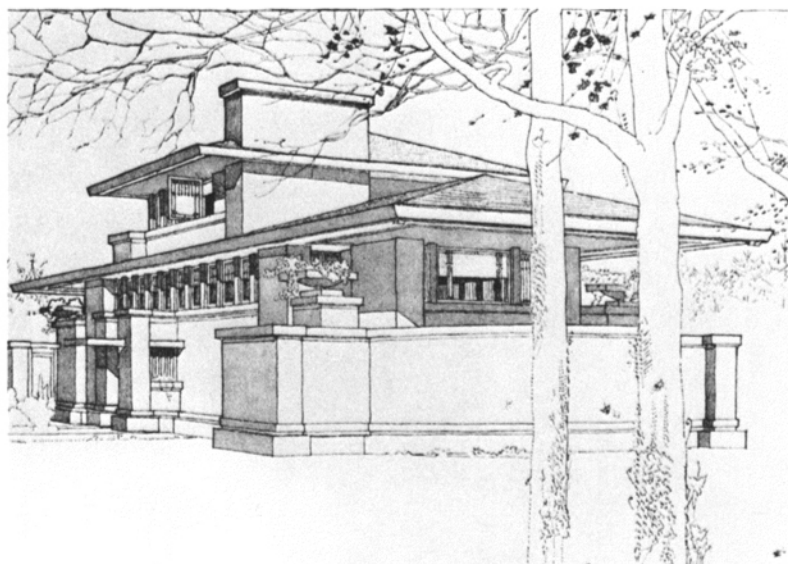
¹⁷ My hesitancy in making this attribution is partly due to the opinion of Barry

Byrne, expressed in conversation and correspondence on various occasions, that the Yahara Boat Club drawings are not by Mahony but rather by someone imitating her manner. Byrne also expressed this view in *JSAH*, 22, 1963, 108.

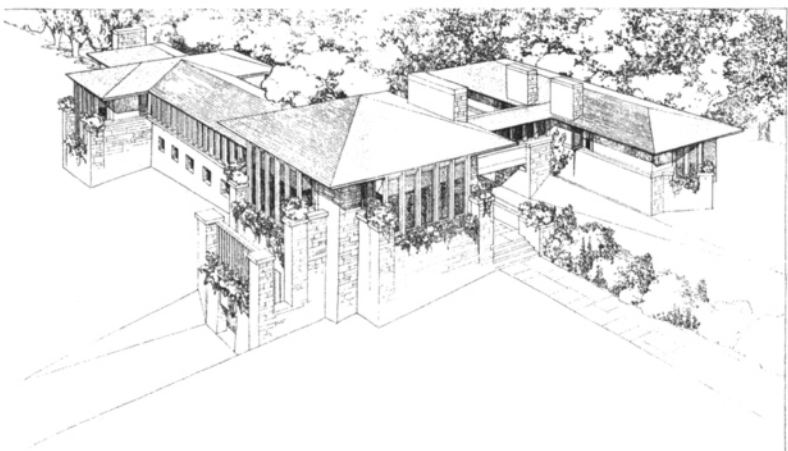
¹⁸ My thanks to Paul Russell for pointing this out.



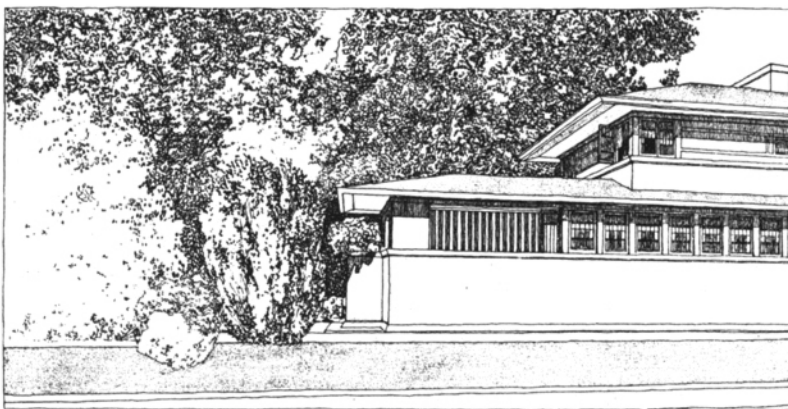
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F. L. WRIGHT

1. F. F. Tomek House, 1907. Photograph taken during the winter of 1907-08

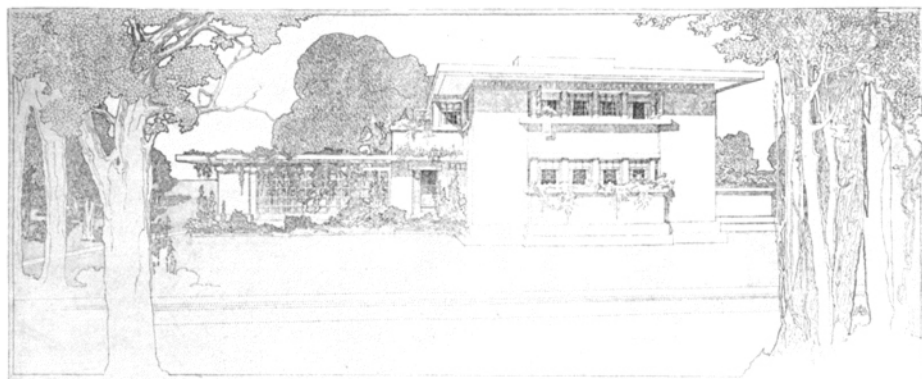
2. F. F. Tomek House, 1907. Wasmuth pl. 35. Based on above photograph

3. Hillside Home School, 1902. Wasmuth pl. 10 (Birch Burdette Long, del.)

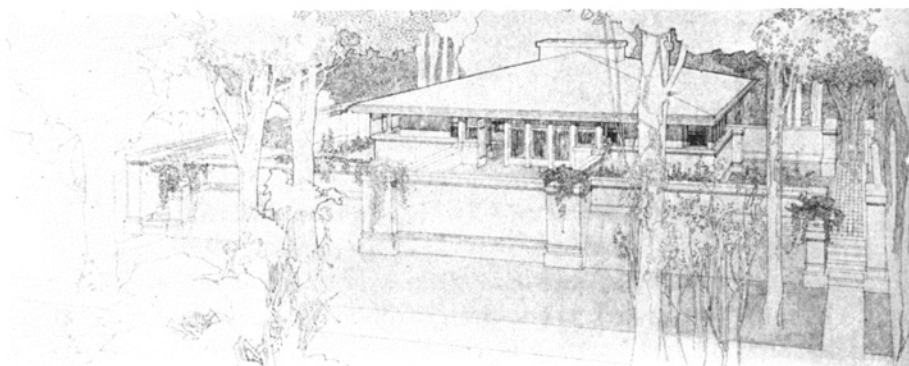
4. F. B. Henderson House, 1901 (detail). Wasmuth pl. 27 (Birch Burdette Long, del.)



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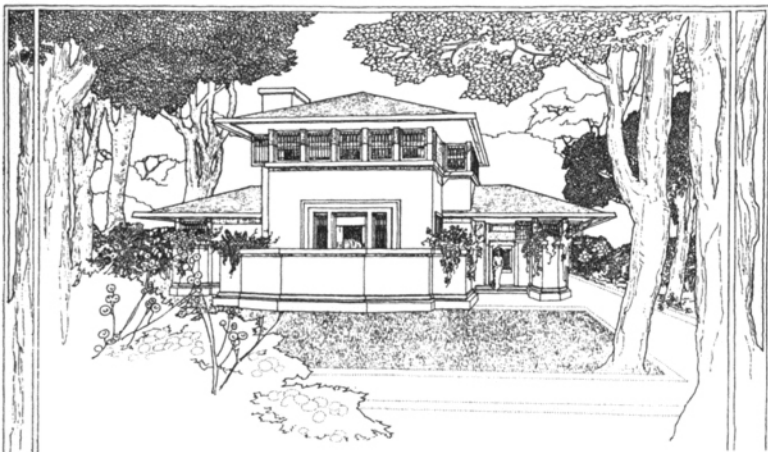
F. L. WRIGHT

5. *K. C. de Rhodes House*, 1906. Note Marion Mahony's monogram (photo: George Barrows, reprinted by permission of Horizon Press, New York)

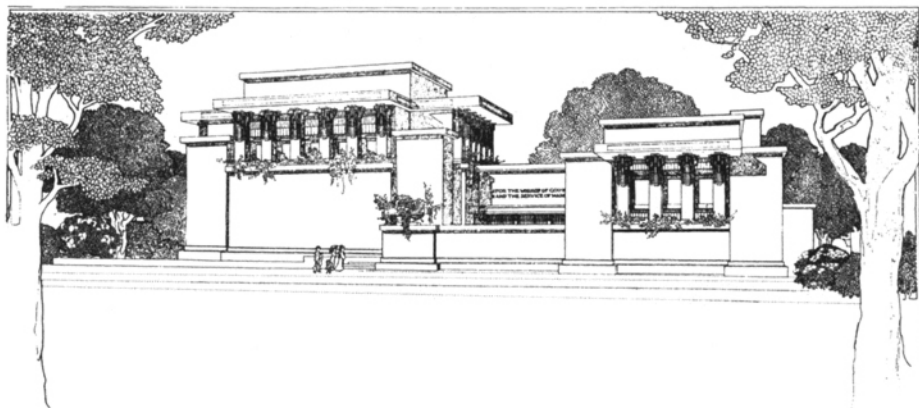
6. Project, *A Fireproof House for \$5,000*, 1906. Wasmuth pl. 14. Drawing signed with Marion Mahony's monogram

7. *Edwin H. Cheney House*, 1905. (Marion Mahony, del.) From *Architectural Record*, 23, 1908, 210

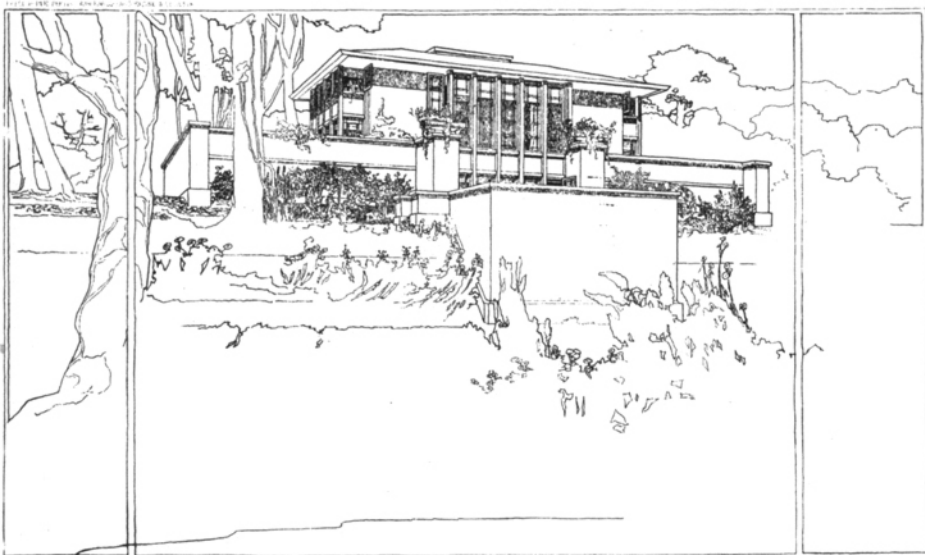
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F. L. WRIGHT

8. *K. C. de Rhodes House*, 1906. Wasmuth pl. 29 (Marion Mahony, del.)

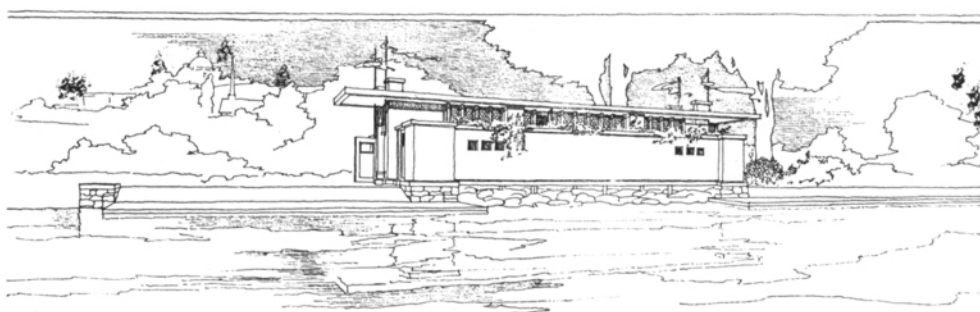
9. *Unity Temple*, 1906. Wasmuth pl. 63 (Marion Mahony, del.)

10. *Thomas P. Hardy House*, 1905. Wasmuth pl. 15 (Marion Mahony, del.)

11



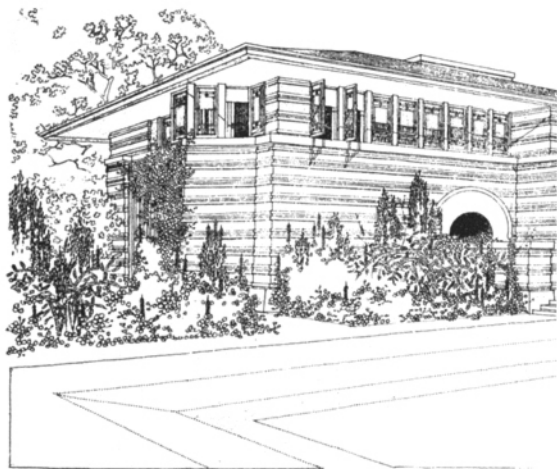
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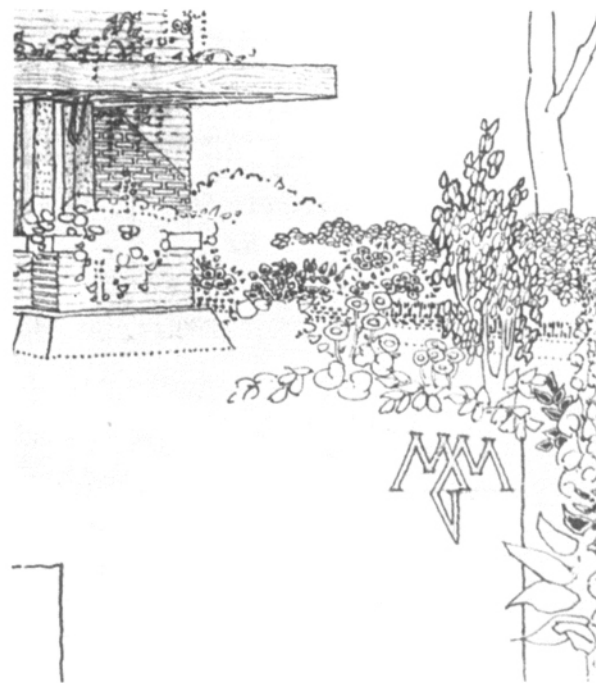
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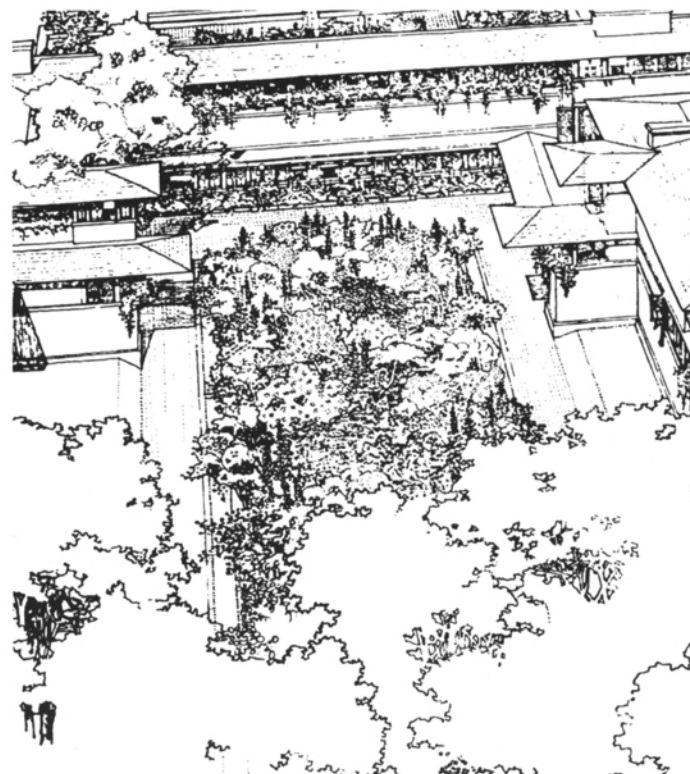
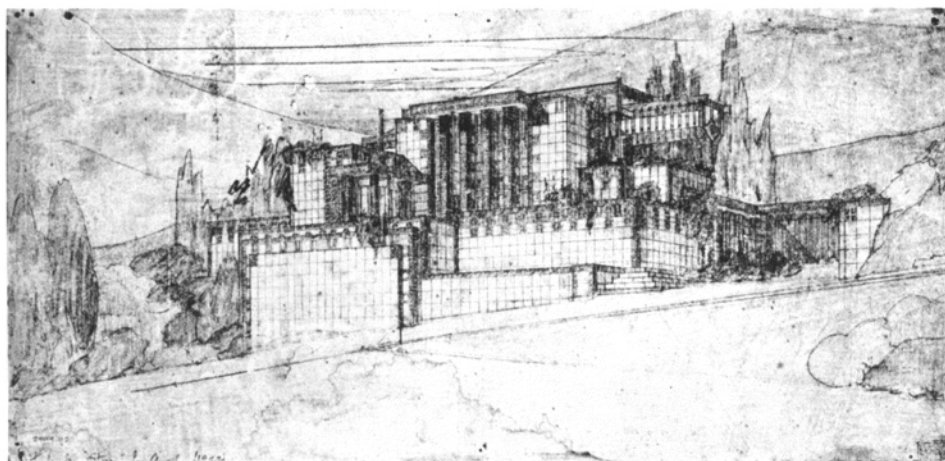
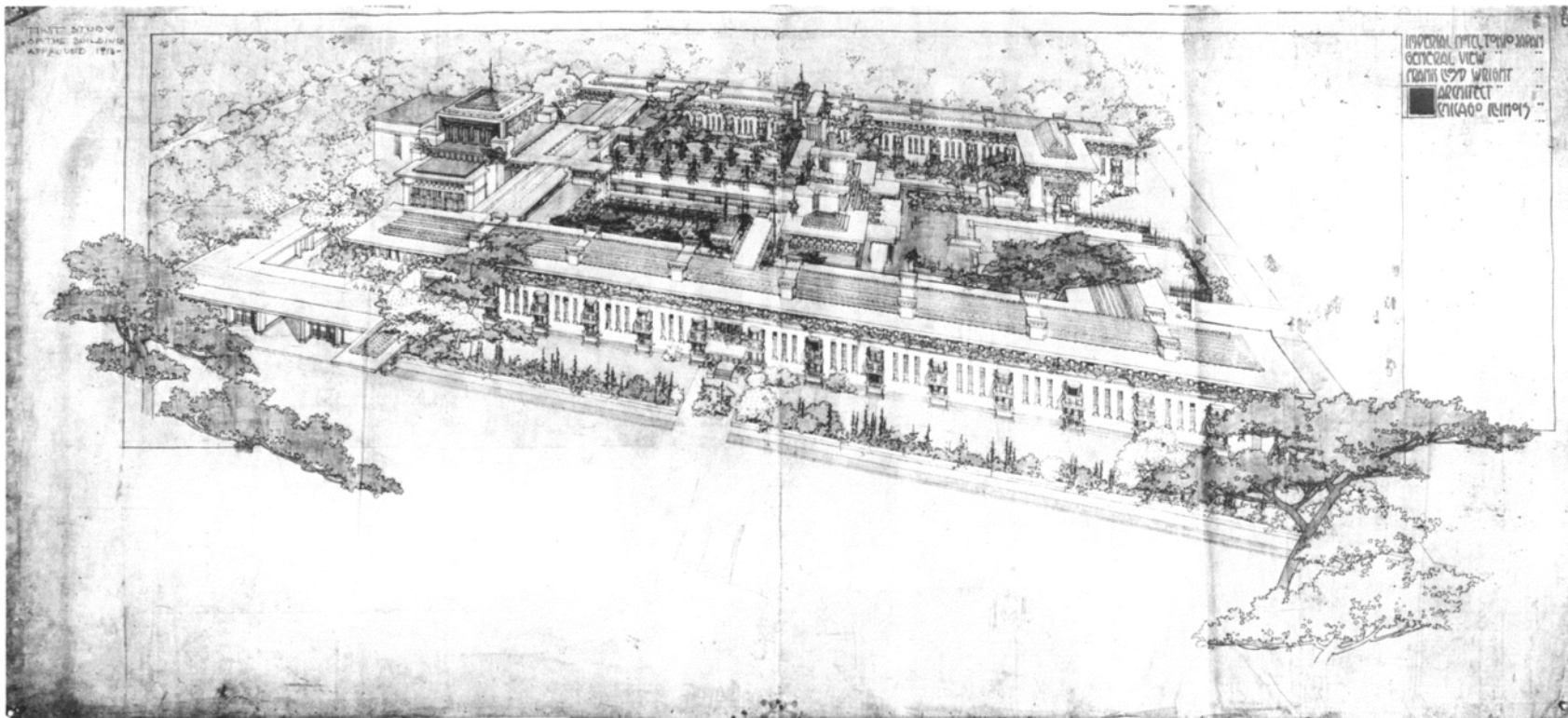
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F. L. WRIGHT

11. *Thomas P. Hardy House*, 1905. Wasmuth pl. 15 (Marion Mahony, del.)
12. Project: *Yahara Boat Club*, 1902. Wasmuth pl. 55 (Marion Mahony, del.)
13. Project: *A home in a prairie town*, 1900. Wasmuth pl. 13

14. *Arthur Heurtley House*, 1902 (detail). Wasmuth pl. 20 (Marion Mahony and Frank Lloyd Wright, del.)
15. Detail from a drawing of ca. 1912 which includes the monogram of the delineator, Marion Mahony Griffin. Evanston, Northwestern University



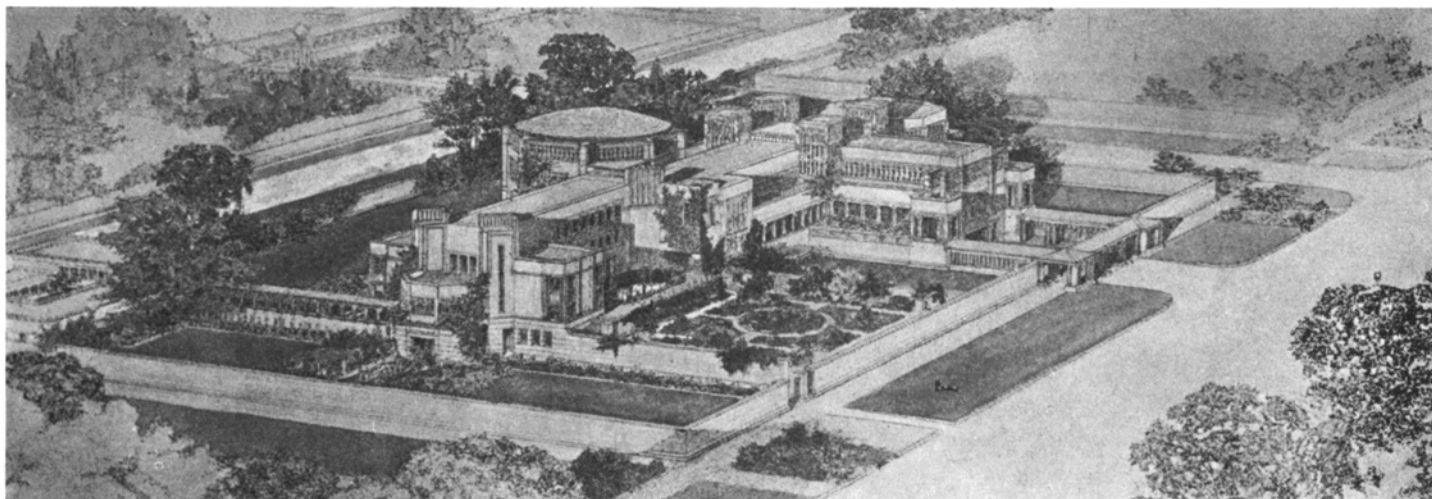
F. L. WRIGHT

16. *Imperial Hotel*, 1913 (Harry Robinson, del. ?) (photo: George Barrows. Reprinted by permission of Horizon Press, New York)

17. *John Storer House*, 1923 (photo: George Barrows. Reprinted by permission of Horizon Press, New York)

18. Project: *Harold McCormick House*, 1907 (detail). Wasmuth pl. 58 (Harry Robinson, del.)

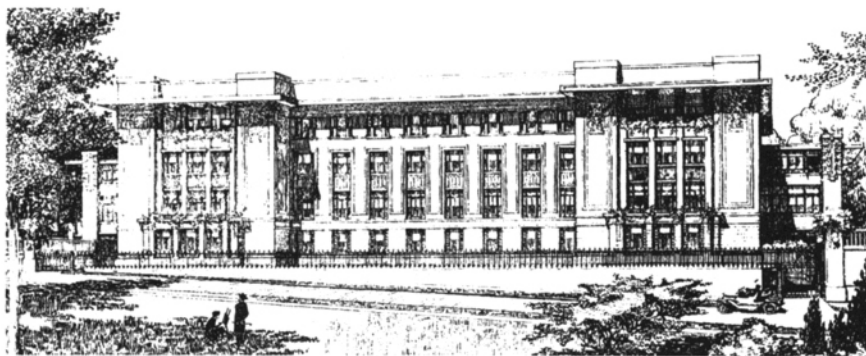
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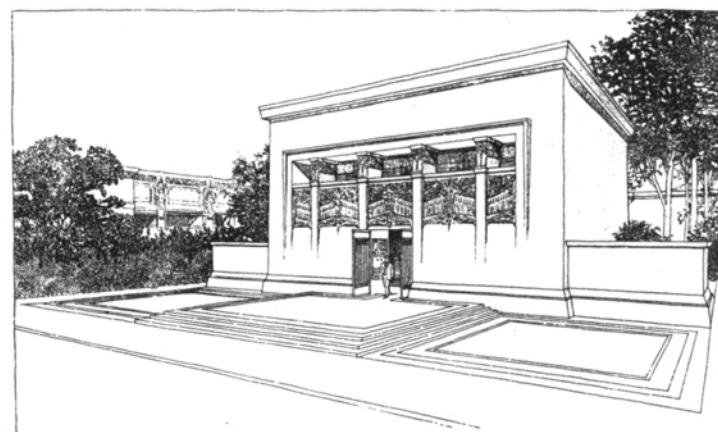
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19. W. E. Drummond, Project: *An American Embassy*, 1901 (William E. Drummond, del.)

20. W. E. Drummond, *Brookfield Kindergarten*, 1911. Old photograph

21. W. E. Drummond, Project: *German Embassy*, ca. 1913 (William E. Drummond, del.)

22. F. L. Wright, Project: *A Village Bank*, 1901. Wasmuth pl. 12 (William E. Drummond, del.)

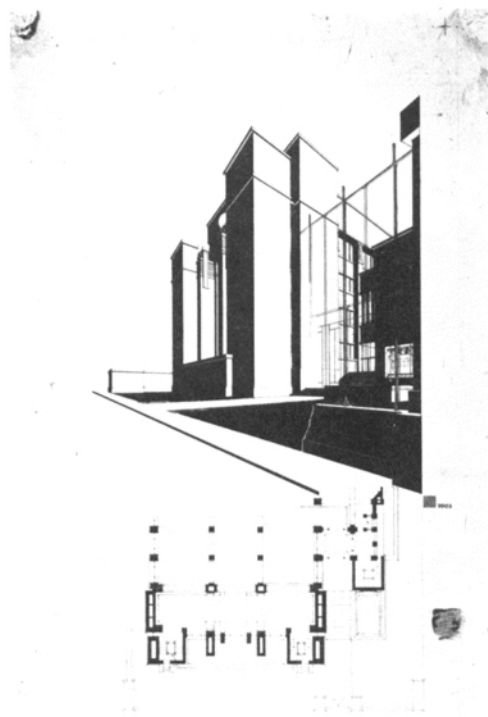


Frank Lloyd Wright Del.

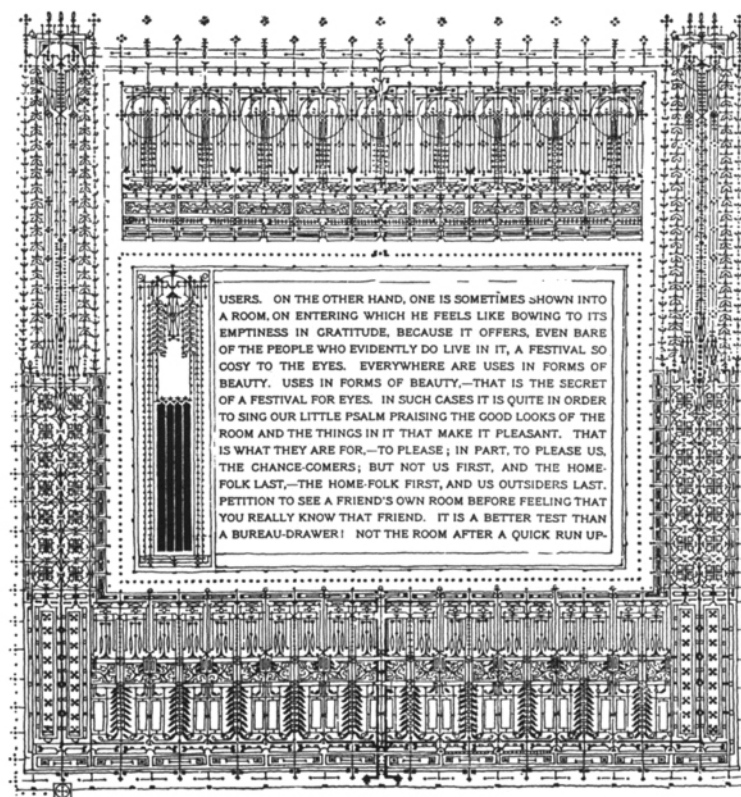
Residence for J. L. Cochrane Esq.
J. L. Silsbee Architect



24



25



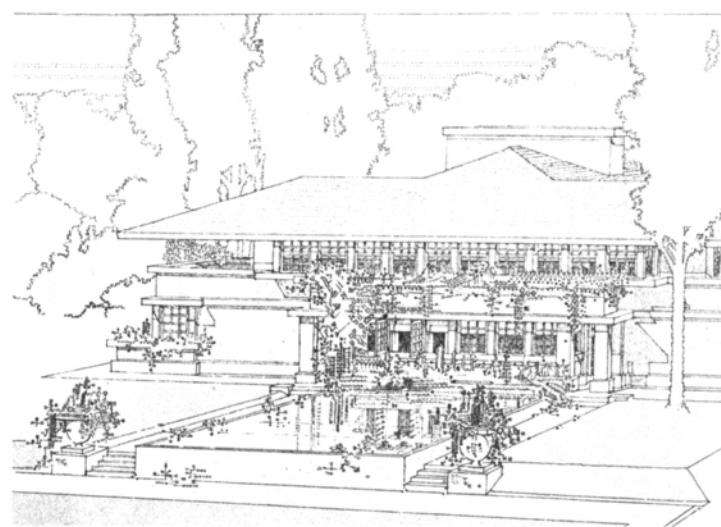
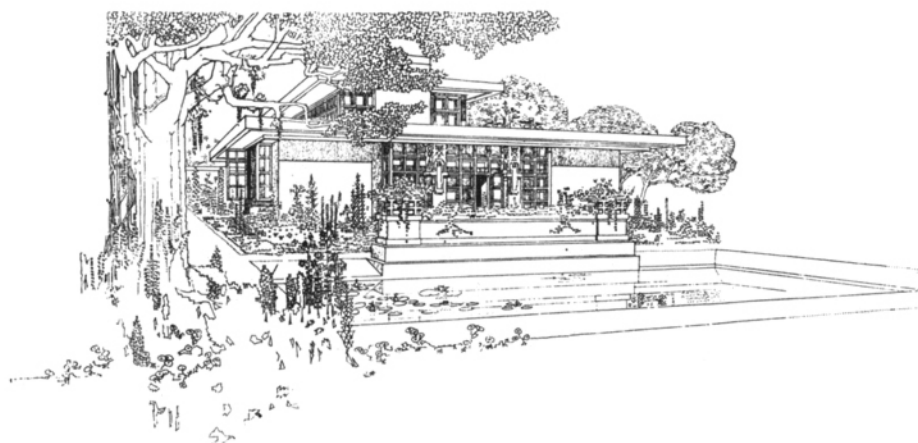
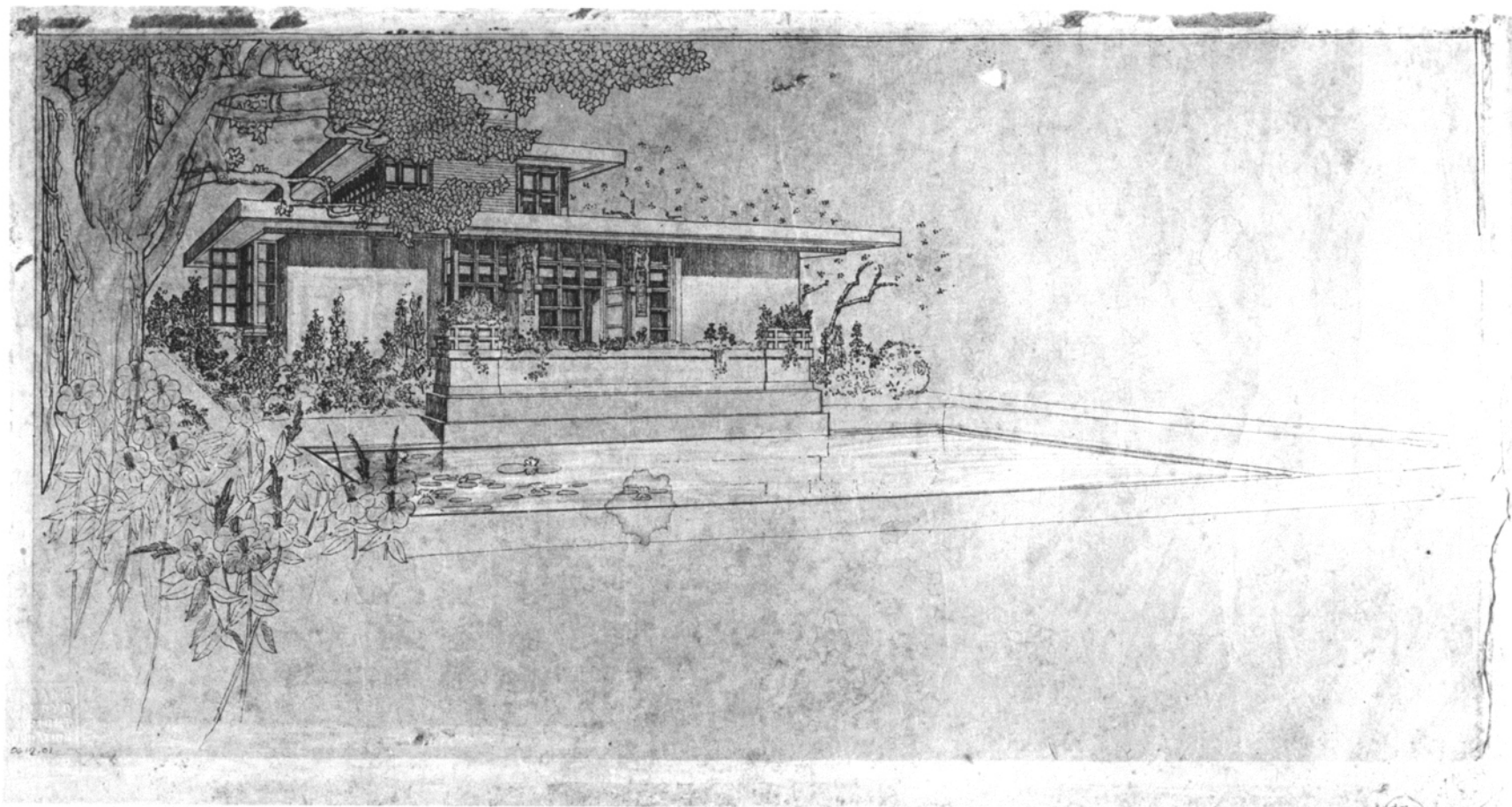
26

23. J. L. Silsbee, J. L. Cochrane House, 1887. Signed: Frank Lloyd Wright

24. Sesshū, *Winter Landscape*, late xv cent. (detail). Tokyo, National Museum

25. F. L. Wright, *Larkin Company Administration Building*, 1904. Rendering based on a photograph and probably made in the 1920s. See note 20 (photo: George Barrows. Reprinted by permission of Horizon Press, New York)

26. Page decorations drawn by Frank Lloyd Wright for William C. Gannett's *The House Beautiful*, 1896-97

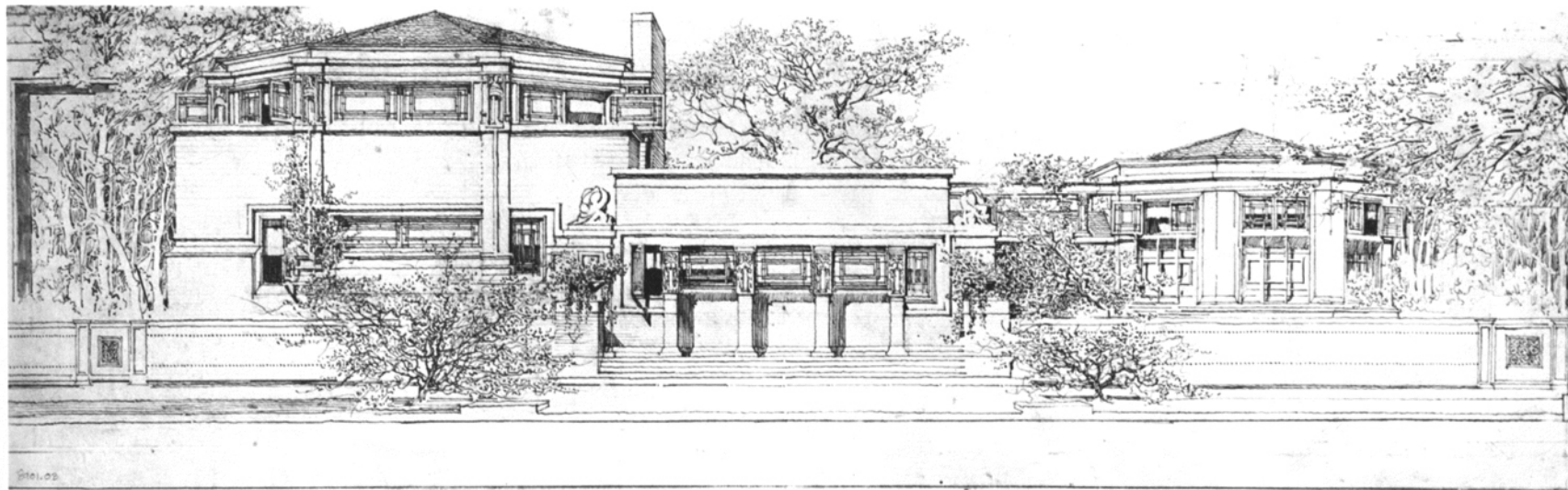
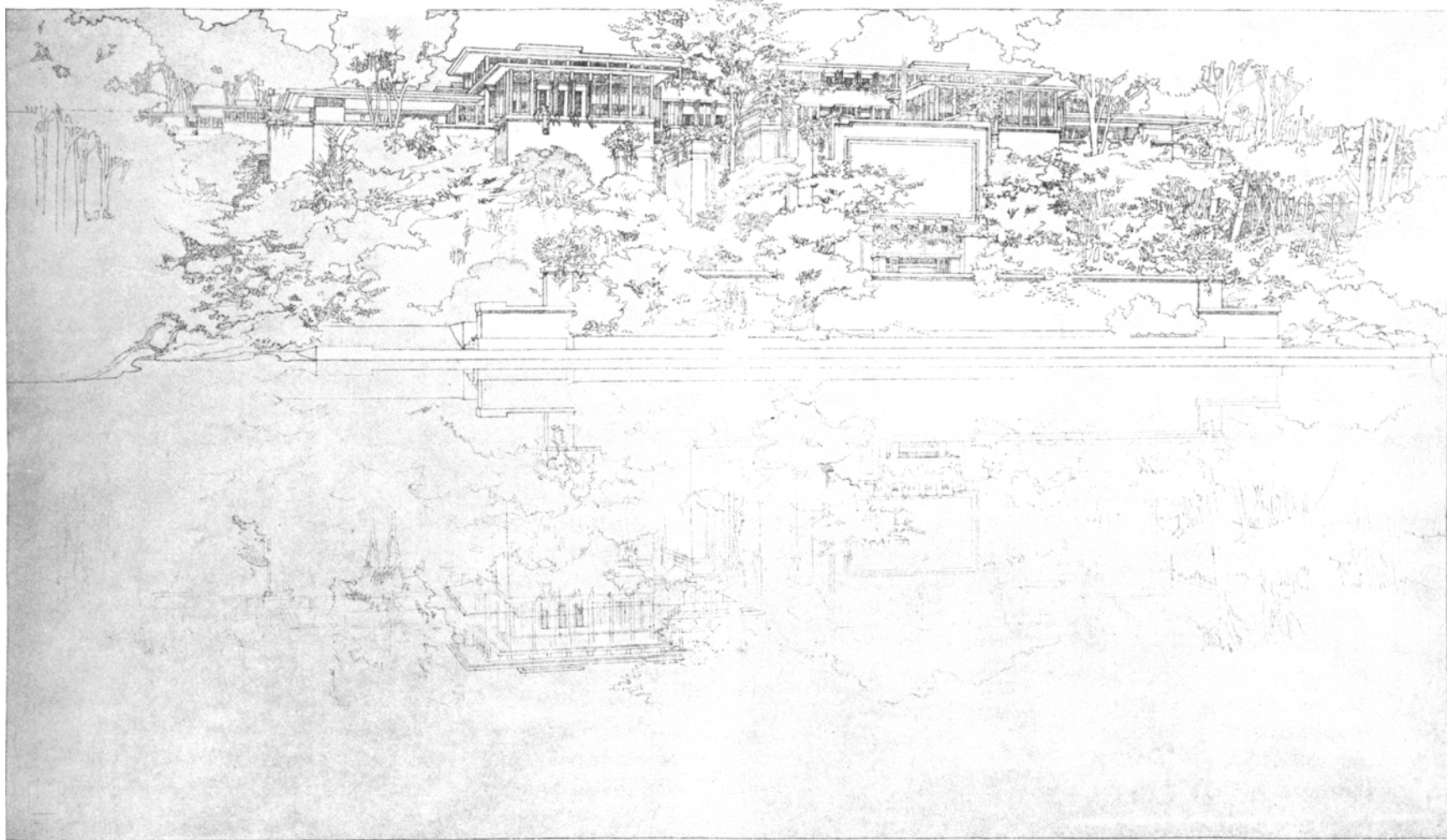


F. L. WRIGHT

27. Project: *Richard Bock Studio*, 1906 (Marion Mahony, del.) (photo: George Barrows. Reprinted by permission of Horizon Press, New York)

28. Project: *Richard Bock Studio*, 1906. Wasmuth pl. 62 (Marion Mahony and redrawn by Frank Lloyd Wright, del.)

29. *Burton J. Westcott House*, 1907 (detail). Wasmuth pl. 53 (Frank Lloyd Wright, del. ca. 1910)

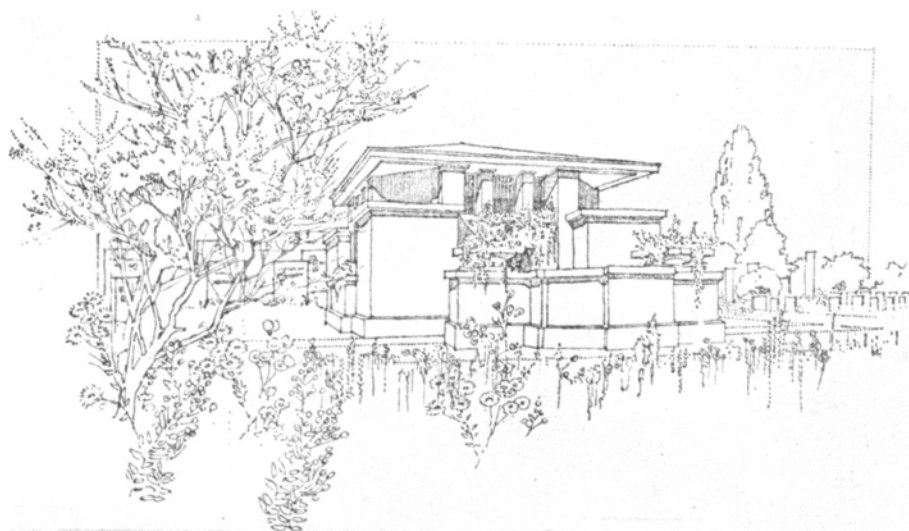


F. L. WRIGHT

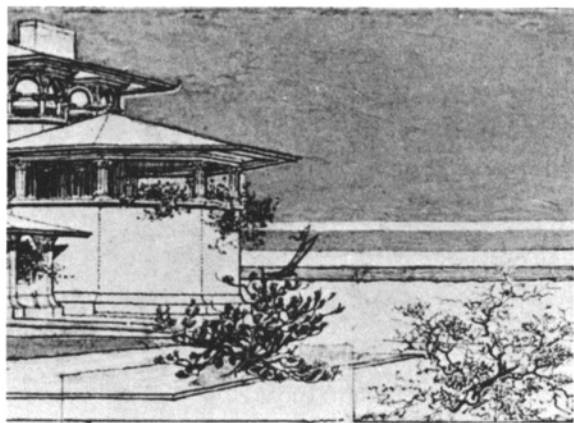
30. Project: *Harold McCormick House as seen from Lake Michigan*, 1907.
Wasmuth pl. 59 (Frank Lloyd Wright and others, del.)

31. *Frank Lloyd Wright Studio*, 1895 (Frank Lloyd Wright, del.) (photo: George Barrows. Reprinted by permission of Horizon Press, New York)

32



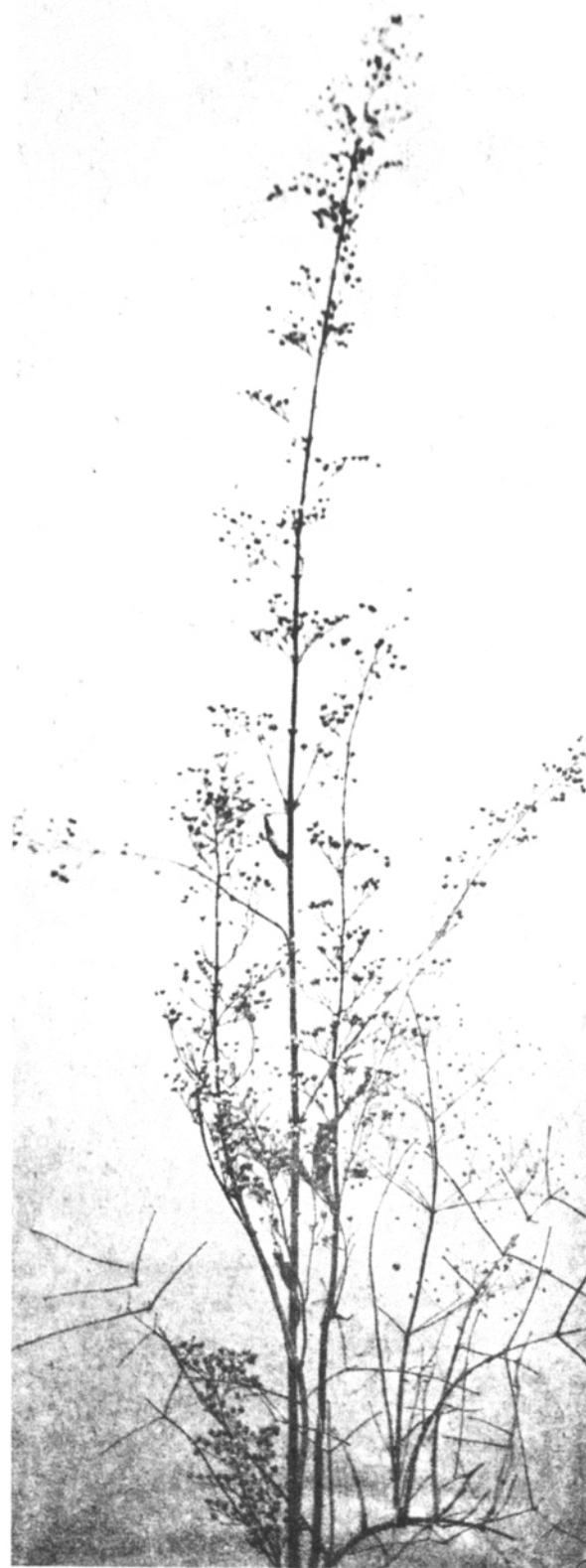
33



34



35



F. L. WRIGHT

32. *W. H. Pettit Mortuary Chapel*, 1906. Wasmuth pl. 41 (Frank Lloyd Wright, del.)

33. *Joseph Husser House*, 1899. Detail of drawing published in the *Architectural Review*, 1900 (Frank Lloyd Wright, del.)

34. Project: *Country Residence for Hillside Estate*, 1887. Detail of drawing published in the *Inland Architect and News Record*, 1887. Signed: F. L. Wright

35. Photograph taken by F. L. Wright of dried wildflowers, ca. 1896. Folio insert in W. C. Gannett's *The House Beautiful*, 1896-97

difficulty arises from the lack of any signed drawings, plus the fact that her characteristic style of later years had not yet matured. The problem is complicated by the number of other delineators—Drummond, Long, Wright—who helped at that time, in contrast to the middle years of the decade when Mahony did most of the renderings. Also, there was no dominant personality among the renderers (Long was probably the most accomplished, but his style did not dominate) which led to cross influences between the several draftsmen.

Those drawings for which attributions are particularly difficult and which cannot be ascribed with certainty must now be discussed. Most of these date from the turn of the century when illustrations were needed for various publications and exhibitions, yet some were prepared later in the decade.

Typical of the drawings which are difficult to attribute are the two projects for the *Ladies' Home Journal* (1901), the *Frank Thomas House* (w 18 / n 19), and the project for the Quadruple Block Plan (w 13a / n 13). The rendering for the *Ladies' Home Journal* of "A small house with 'lots of room in it'" (w 23 / n 14) was very slightly modified before being published by Wasmuth while "A home in a prairie town" was not (Fig. 13). In the latter the shrubs and flowers are more realistic and suggest a gradual recession of space rather than space defined by receding planes parallel to the picture plane. The heavy outline of the hollyhocks recalls Mahony's work (cf. Fig. 6) yet other parts of the flower bed look similar to Drummond's technique. The background trees are only slightly different from Drummond's more typical mode (cf. Fig. 19) but are not entirely dissimilar to Silsbee's manner which suggests that Wright also may have contributed to this rendering. The work, therefore, appears either to be the result of a cooperative undertaking or simply to reflect the various influences which one artist in the Studio might have experienced at this moment.

The drawing of "A small house with 'lots of room in it'" (w 23 / n 14) contains some passages that suggest the hand of Long. This is seen in the shade and highlight manner of representing impressionistic foliage, particularly in the trees, yet the entire rendering is not so characteristic of his work as to rule out the possibility that others were primarily responsible for

the drawing. Drummond's work, and also Wright's, often tended toward an impressionistic technique.

Other drawings of uncertain authorship, those that date from after 1904, are perhaps by Harry Robinson. Such an attribution must remain tentative as no signed renderings of his are known to exist. Yet several drawings which contain certain common characteristics date from 1904–1906 to about 1916–1918. As Harry Robinson (1883–1959) joined the Studio staff shortly after his graduation from the University of Illinois in 1906, and as he was the only employee at the Studio who returned to Wright after the latter got back from Europe in 1911, it is entirely possible that he did assist with these drawings and that he was the continuing link, so far as the drawing style was concerned, between the Studio and Wright's later office at Orchestra Hall.¹⁹ Wright's style about 1910 will be identified as approaching geometric abstraction (see Figs. 28, 29) which is not characteristic of the drawings in question. Unless Wright alternated his own rendering style or some other unknown renderer can be identified, the candidacy of Robinson must be considered. This possibility is enhanced by the fact that Robinson left Wright about 1918 which approximately coincides with the time that the underlying stylistic unity which had marked the rendering since the 1890's was broken, never to be reestablished again. Once Robinson was gone and Wright was, as it were, entirely on his own so far as the renderings were concerned, they become more spontaneous, soft, and sketchy even though the angular perspectives of the buildings remain much the same (Fig. 17).²⁰

That this profound change did occur in the rendering style about 1916–1918 suggests two things. It implies that Wright's assistants had played a major role in establishing the character of, as well as in producing, the drawings and, secondly, it suggests that Wright was unwilling, or unable, to perpetuate this drawing style once the continuity of his Studio staff was ended.

A chronological list of the drawings of uncertain authorship, which might have been rendered by Robinson, would include the *D. D. Martin House* (w 32 / n 35), the Elizabeth Stone project (w 50 / n 55), the *Avery Coonley House* (w 57 / n 81), the garden front of the Harold McCormick project (Fig.

19 Robinson worked at the Studio for two or three years, then worked for Walter Burley Griffin, and later returned to Wright as manager of the Orchestra Hall office which Wright opened in Chicago while he lived at Taliesin. Robinson left Wright, after a quarrel, in 1918 or shortly thereafter. (The University of Illinois *Alumni Record* of 1918 indicates that Robinson was still employed by Wright at publication date.)

20 While on the subject of post-war drawings, one point needs clarification. This concerns the expressionistic, black (or brown) and white manner in which several of the pre-1910 buildings are represented. The drawing of the Larkin Building, illustrated in Fig. 25, is a typical example. These drawings are certainly not contemporary with the buildings that they represent and probably were made only after Wright came to know the work of Eric Mendelsohn. Other factors, in addition to stylistic evidence, preclude an early dating: 1) Wright did not project plans below the building perspective on the same drawing sheet until after about 1920. 2) Wright did not begin to use his familiar (red) square in that manner until after 1910. An early instance of its use is in the Wasmuth folio where it is embossed on

each plate. 3) The dates written on the drawings often vary from the design date of the building (Unity Temple, 1908, Bock Studio, 1902, Robie House, 1906) which suggests that the dates were inscribed at a time when the true date of design had faded from memory. 4) None of the drawings were illustrated in any of the numerous publications of Wright's work.

These drawings were probably made in the spirit of "oneupmanship"—to point out, and not unjustly, that Wright had designed expressionistic buildings before many of his European counterparts. This would also explain why most of these drawings are of Wright's most expressionistic buildings, such as the Larkin Company and Unity Temple. In fact, across the bottom of one such drawing Wright wrote "Grammar of the Protestant" which sums up the spirit in which it was probably made (drawing No. F. 0403.07 of the Larkin Company Building, illustrated in Drexler, *Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright*, pl. 28).

Several of these "expressionistic drawings" were copied from photographs. The Larkin Building (Fig. 25) is copied from the photo published on p. 173 of the *Architectural Record*, 23, 1908.

18), and—after 1910—the view of Taliesin, the proposed Carnegie Library,²¹ and the *Imperial Hotel* (Fig. 16). The renderings of the Martin House and the Imperial Hotel each have a similar tree in the foreground which enhances the possibility of identical authorship.

The characteristics that unite these drawings, which cover a time span of some eight years, are the jagged, agitated outline of the trees and the patchwork pattern in the rendering of flowers and shrubs. The bushes may be sketchily outlined to look soft and puffy without any surface markings to darken their highlighted effect, they may be flat and covered with a geometric pattern of dots (organized as diamonds or triangles), they may be sprinkled by dots that suggest shading and thus a three dimensional form, or they may be covered with individually drawn leaves. The resulting tapestry-like impression is easily observed in the garden of the McCormick drawing, which is among the finest of this group (Fig. 18). In the earlier Martin House rendering this technique is less fully developed, less consistent, and the parallel to Marion Mahony's work is much closer. By the time of the Imperial Hotel rendering, however, the technique is more simplified, clear, and direct (Fig. 16). What actually distinguishes these drawings, especially the earlier ones, is an apparent synthesis of those characteristics found in the renderings of the various Studio employees rather than any strong personal traits. This suggests the hand of an assistant who is still learning and who is gradually becoming more mature as a renderer, that is, if these drawings are actually by a single hand.

Drawings attributable to Frank Lloyd Wright will be discussed next, but before mentioning his contribution to the Wasmuth plates it will be necessary to consider his earliest renderings and the factors which helped to formulate his style. Wright executed several drawings while employed by J. L. Silsbee and by Adler and Sullivan and these, very fortunately, he signed. The earliest date from 1887 and indicate that Wright had already come to know Oriental art, perhaps by way of Silsbee's collection. Compare, for example, the *J. L. Cochrane House* (Fig. 23), which Wright drew for Silsbee, with the fifteenth century *Winter Landscape* by Sesshū (Fig. 24). In both the trees have the same angular limbs and spotty foliage.

Wright admired Silsbee's ability to draw. "My God . . . how that man can draw!" he said of Silsbee in *An Autobiography*,

"He drew with soft, deep black lead-pencil strokes."²² But these drawings, created by Silsbee to help visualize an architectural design, were not intended as presentation drawings. Nevertheless, the heavy, dark lines which characterize the very earliest Wright renderings probably owe something to the Silsbee technique.

The years spent with Louis Sullivan made no lasting impression upon Wright's style of rendering. Sullivan, after all, had little interest in presentation drawings, and those which were prepared in his office merely follow the example set by H. H. Richardson and Harvey Ellis. The few renderings that Wright did make while with Sullivan are of less intrinsic interest than those which he drew either at an earlier or a later time. He rejected the heavy, darkly shaded treatment that was often used in Sullivan's office in favor of a lighter, thinner, and often dematerialized surface that was closer to the Japanese print. The only feature perpetuated from the Sullivan office into the Studio renderings was the manner of drawing little figures or vehicles which were occasionally inserted to give scale to the buildings.

From the very outset of his own career, it was Wright's practice to hire others to help prepare his presentation drawings. This is dramatized by his early entries at the Chicago Architectural Club exhibitions where in 1894 five of his six exhibits were listed as rendered by Ernest Albert and in 1895 his single entry was signed by Cecil A. Corwin and Hugh M. G. Garden. Unfortunately, for our purposes, the club later discontinued this practice of listing names of renderers in the catalogue.²³

During the winter of 1896–1897 Wright prepared a series of border designs for a book, and these are most helpful in analyzing his style of drawing. The decorative scheme was for William Gannett's little essay entitled *The House Beautiful* which Wright and Herman Winslow printed by hand. The designs, while often related to Sullivan's curvilinear themes, were more precise, mechanical, and patently geometric than anything that Sullivan would have done. Instead of Sullivan's soft lines Wright utilized a delicate, fine pen and ink technique (Fig. 26). This lightness and delicacy was characteristic of Wright's presentation drawings at that time, although not for another ten years did geometric abstraction become an important part of his rendering style.

The series of exhibitions and publications that eventually

21 Drexler, *Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright*, pls. 40f.

22 Wright, *An Autobiography*, 70f.

23 Apparently Robert C. Spencer, Jr. also assisted with some early renderings. In the 1950's Wright wrote on a photostat ("Life Work," I, 10—this is one of several volumes at Taliesin which contains photostats of drawings) of the McAfee House drawing: "For professional decorator McAfee. Designed 1896 [sic]—Schiller Building offices. Rendering by Robert Spencer. FLW." Were it not for this reference,

however, an attribution to Spencer would seem unlikely. The style is not identical to the numerous signed watercolors by Spencer (see *Brickbuilder*, 9, 1900, 179–86, or the Chicago Architectural Club *Catalogue* for 1902). These renderings are stylistically closer to the watercolors of unknown authorship that Wright entered in the 1900 Chicago Architectural Club exhibition and perhaps it is of the latter group of renderings that Wright was thinking. The McAfee drawing published by Wasmuth (W 8 / H 4) was reworked from the original tinted version (*Architectural Review*,

culminated with the appearance of the Wasmuth portfolio began only in 1900. During that spring the first two of these occurred: the Chicago Architectural Club exhibition where seven of Wright's building designs were both shown and illustrated in the catalogue, and the publication of the profusely illustrated article by Robert Spencer on "The Work of Frank Lloyd Wright." When this appeared in the *Architectural Review* (Boston) it brought Wright to national attention; it also furnishes us with invaluable documentation concerning style and terminal dates for the line drawings and water-color sketches prepared at the Studio. Several of these renderings appear in the Wasmuth edition, although in most instances they were reworked first.

In 1901 the *Ladies' Home Journal* published renderings of two houses which they had commissioned Wright to design and the *Brickbuilder* published his project for a concrete bank. All three later appeared in the Wasmuth portfolio, but only two of them were in the original state. In 1902 Wright again exhibited with the Chicago Architectural Club and many of his entries were illustrated in the catalogue. In 1906 *House Beautiful* magazine published drawings of three Wright houses, and the following year the *Ladies' Home Journal* illustrated another commissioned work. All of these were republished by Wasmuth. The largest of the Wright exhibitions was held in 1907 when no less than thirty-four different buildings and projects, most of them represented by one or more perspective drawings, were shown under the aegis of the architectural club. Thus a sizable collection of renderings was assembled by 1907, a collection which readily served as the basis for the Wasmuth publication of 1910.

Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright was a publisher's masterpiece. The hundred loose plates, approximately 16" × 25¹/₄" in size, were printed by direct lithography on different types of paper in ink of several colors.²⁴ Most of the plans were printed in gray or brown ink on tissue paper while the other drawings—whether designs for carpets and leaded glass windows, or interior and exterior architectural perspectives—were printed on smooth wove paper of about 120 pound basis that was either eggshell or gray in color. Therefore four color combinations were possible, although gray ink on eggshell paper was the most prevalent. On some of the drawings white or gray highlights were added either to the wall surfaces of buildings or to the sky. This was

true of the Willits, McCormick (Fig. 30), and Coonley House drawings. Three of the plates received extra special treatment. The *Winslow House* and *Bock Studio* (Fig. 28) were each dusted with bronze powder after printing, creating a superb effect of gold on gray. And the Lake Street view of Unity Temple was printed in five colors (grays, greens, and browns) in addition to the brown lines on the gray paper. The incredible subtlety of tonal relationship that was achieved in printing the plates is, of course, lost when they are reproduced as black and white line drawings.

For various reasons Wasmuth could not print plates from each original rendering. Watercolors had to be redone as line drawings and delicate colored pencil drawings required retracing in ink. Some renderings had to be completed and plans prepared or labeled. This laborious task of making uniform ink tracings was begun at Oak Park and completed in Europe.

Wright's departure for Europe in the autumn of 1909 was neither so sudden nor so frantic as most accounts would lead us to believe. Many weeks prior to leaving he began making plans to go. There was time to write Barry Byrne, who was in California, and ask him to return and take over the practice, but this Byrne declined to do.²⁵ Wright's impending departure was also no secret to the Studio staff, who knew of it "long before" he actually went.²⁶

Who helped Wright to prepare the drawings for printing is a matter that has always been in doubt. Suggestions that Marion Mahony went to Fiesole, where Wright settled after first visiting Berlin, are not true. It was Taylor Wooley and John Lloyd Wright who assisted with the tracings. Wooley was a likable, gentle person—a Mormon from Salt Lake City—who had previously worked at the Oak Park Studio. He stayed at Fiesole for about four months while Wright's son John remained for two and one-half or three months.²⁷ Some Italian tracers were perhaps employed as well.

Several of the original renderings, as we have noted, were reworked prior to being published by Wasmuth, and among these none is more instructive and interesting in its implications than the studio project for Richard Bock. The early version, first published in March 1908 by the *Architectural Record*, was largely, and perhaps entirely, by Marion Mahony (Fig. 27). Yet in the Wasmuth version (Fig. 28) significant differences appear, and these point to the intervention of Frank Lloyd Wright. The building, the tree trunks, the branches, and

7, 1900, 61) as seen by the modified architectural decoration and by the addition of flowers under the center window.

24 This magnificent publication consisted of two volumes of loose plates tied in boards plus a somewhat smaller insert (folded but not bound). The latter contained an introduction written by Wright and a list of plates with brief descriptions. An English edition of the insert was also prepared.

In 1924 Ernst Wasmuth issued a second, undated, edition of the portfolio which was smaller (13" × 19") and printed in black ink on glossy white paper.

25 Told to the author in conversation with Barry Byrne on March 24, 1965.

26 Conversation of January 30, 1965 with John Van Bergen who was there at the time.

27 Information obtained from John Lloyd Wright in conversation, February 8, 1965.

the placement of the flowers are identical but *all* of the foliage has been redrawn. Apparently this was done by Wright, at Fiesole, and perhaps reflects his boredom with the process of tracing and his desire to experiment. Certainly no assistant would have altered such a splendid drawing by Mahony. The least profound change occurs in the leaves of the foreground tree. These are freely copied, without being exactly traced. The draftsman was perhaps impatient. The other trees and flowering plants are redrawn in a different manner, one dependent upon triangular, square, or oval shapes. This drawing may, therefore, represent an early attempt by Wright to create a style of drawing based upon geometric forms. He must have been proud of this drawing because it was printed in gold by Ernst Wasmuth.

The mode of drawing found in the Bock plate can be cited elsewhere, but always with variations. The most extreme example is the *Burton J. Westcott House* where the redrawn foliage was delineated by someone who was obviously obsessed with the square (Fig. 29). Squares, squares in series, and squares at the ends of crossed lines create patterns for all the flowers while angular lines, drawn like the profile of dentils, describe the trunks of trees. Wright must have made this drawing, not only because of the great, and detrimental, liberty that was taken with the original,²⁸ but because the geometric abstractions found here do have a basis in his early career. They recall not only the angular trees that he drew for Silsbee (Fig. 23), but also the stalk and blossom-like forms in the decorative borders of *The House Beautiful* (Fig. 26). In addition, they bear comparison to Wright's designs for decorative glass windows. Other examples of this geometric phase include the projected house for William Guthrie (w 61 / n 85), which was redrawn from an earlier version,²⁹ and the *Dana House* (w 31 / n 29), the perspective for which was copied from a photograph.³⁰

Most of these geometric renderings are not of great artistic merit, but they do have immense importance for Wright's future as a designer. They serve, for example, as the basis for later decorative designs and furnishings—light fixtures, chairs, abstract or stylized sculpture, and murals. The character of the Midway Gardens, the Imperial Hotel, or the Aline Barnsdall House would have been much different had it not been for the

experiments Wright made earlier in trying to create a geometric style of rendering.

The drawing style of Frank Lloyd Wright has been discussed for the period prior to the opening of the Studio in the mid-nineties and after his departure from Oak Park in 1909. Now the intervening years must be accounted for. The angular forms that exist in his early renderings and decorative designs, and which reappear much later, do not typify the middle years. At that time Wright was more desirous of combining visual reality with the simplification of the Japanese print. Characteristic of these drawings is foliage that has a delicate, almost feathery quality that is often based on a rhythmical or curvilinear pattern. Slender branches terminate in a profusion of little dots that suggest, rather than record, the visual likeness of the foliage. Precedent for these thin, fragile forms can be found not only in the decorative borders of *The House Beautiful* (Fig. 26) but also in the little tissue paper folio that is stitched inside its front cover. On this exquisite insert are printed photographs taken by Wright of dried grasses and wild flowers. These are shown in silhouette (Fig. 35). Certainly it is this sensitive vision of nature that Wright wished to recapture in his own drawings.

These characteristics can be found in renderings that were made throughout the life of the Studio and in each instance may be attributed to Wright. A typical example is the drawing of the Pettit Mortuary Chapel which dates from about 1906–1907 (Fig. 32). Note the light, delicate manner of sketching the tree on the left with its complicated branch system and with its twigs and leaves summarily represented by rows of dots. The same combination of dots and lines, but more rhythmically treated, is seen in parts of the Heurtley House rendering (Fig. 14) and in the vase of flowers on the living room table in the *Bradley House* (w 22 / n 15) which, incidentally, is one of the drawings copied from a photograph.³¹ The foliage in the Wasmuth version of the *Francis Apartments* (w 5 / n 8) is also stylistically similar.

The latest drawing in which these characteristics can perhaps be detected is the lake-front view of the Harold McCormick House which dates from about 1907–1909 (Fig. 30). The style here differs from the companion perspective of this house (Fig. 18) and also varies within the rendering itself. Yet the

²⁸ What appears to be the earlier version of this rendering was published in the *Architectural Record*, 23, 1908, 218.

²⁹ Drexler, *Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright*, pl. 19.

lightly outlined bushes on the left, and the Y-shaped flower stalks, are probably by Wright. The flowers in some of the urns are symbolized by crossed lines with terminal dots which may be an initial step toward the abstraction of the Westcott rendering (Fig. 29).

The earliest drawings which are characterized by delicate foliage date back prior to the publication of Spencer's *Architectural Review* article of 1900 where they were illustrated. These include the Winslow and Husser Houses and the Studio (Fig. 31), each of which may be ascribed to Wright. At least three drawings of the Studio exist; the one shown in figure 31 was used for the Spencer illustration but it is not identical to the Wasmuth plate (w 6 / n 9). The Winslow House drawing in Wasmuth (w 1 / n 1) is entirely different—not just redrawn—while the Husser House is not represented in the German publication.

The deciduous trees and bushes are similar in the Studio and Husser House renderings (cf. Figs. 31, 33), and both may

be attributed to Wright. The evergreens in the Husser drawing are most significant because they resemble the same species in Wright's signed drawing of 1887 for a house for his aunts at Helena Valley, Wisconsin (Fig. 34).³² This connection suggests that our line of attributions may be correct and that the circle is now complete. Wright's drawing style has been traced away from, and then back to, his earliest works.

When published, *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe* represented a compendium of the presentation drawings made during the existence of Wright's Oak Park Studio; the plates clearly reflected the continual stylistic evolution that occurred over some fifteen years. At first, visual reality—often a photographic likeness—was sought after, but soon this modified toward greater simplicity, particularly reminiscent of the Japanese print. Stylization accompanied this trend toward simplification which in the final stage was supplanted by an almost complete abstraction of form.

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APPENDIX: SUMMARY OF ATTRIBUTIONS

Frank Lloyd Wright executed numerous renderings during the 1890's, although throughout this period he also employed others to assist him with this task. By the turn of the century Birch Burdette Long, William Drummond, and Marion Mahony were all making identifiable contributions to the output while by the middle years of the decade Mahony was the prime producer with Wright and perhaps Harry Robinson also helping. In the final flurry of activity as drawings were prepared for printing by Ernst Wasmuth, Frank Lloyd Wright—probably at Fiesole—reworked several of the renderings in a new and distinctive mode of design.

Of the delineators, Marion Mahony was unquestionably the most prolific. Judged in terms of the Wasmuth drawings, she contributed nearly half of those which appear attributable. There are some seventy-

one plates (excluding those with only plans, interiors, or decorative designs) with architectural perspectives and, of these, at least twenty seem to be primarily by her hand. Wright may be assigned about half that number, Long perhaps four, and Drummond about two; Robinson may have drawn about three. The remaining renderings are more elusive. They lack strong personal traits or may be the work of several "hands."

In the captions for the text illustrations attributions are placed in parentheses. Where the figure reproduces a Wasmuth plate, it is so mentioned; dates refer to the building design rather than to the drawing.

The check list which follows includes the Wasmuth plates that are discussed in the text as well as a few renderings that were redrawn prior to publication by Wasmuth.

30 *Architectural Record*, 23, 1908, 174.

31 *Ibid.*, 180.

32 First published by the *Inland Architect and News Record* in August, 1887.

CHECK LIST OF ATTRIBUTIONS OF WASMUTH DRAWINGS

Subj. of Drawing	Pl. No. Horizon	Pl. No. Wasmuth	Attribution	Fig. No.	Subj. of Drawing	Pl. No. Horizon	Pl. No. Wasmuth	Attribution	Fig. No.
Winslow House	1	1	Mahony (& others?)		Fuller House	44	40	Mahony? & others	
<i>Different version published in Arch. Review, 1900, pl. 36</i>			Wright		Hardy House	49	15	Mahony	10
Winslow Barn	2	3	Mahony		Hardy House	50	15	Mahony	11
Francis Apts.	8	5	Wright		Glasner House	52	43	Mahony	
Wright Studio	9	6	Wright (& others?)		Millard House	54	44	mostly Mahony	
"A home in a prairie town"	12	13	Mahony & others	13	Stone House	55	50	(Robinson?)	
"A small house with 'lots of room in it' "	14	23	(Drummond & Long?)		Pettit Chapel	57	41	Wright	32
Bradley Living Room	15	22	foliage by Wright					(bottom of both pages)	
Hickox House	16	24	Mahony		Bock Studio	60	62	Wright & Mahony	28
Henderson House	18	27	Long	4	<i>Different version published in Arch. Record, 1908, 216</i>			Mahony	
Thomas House	19	18	(Drummond, Long, Mahony?)		Unity Temple	63	63	Mahony	9
A Village Bank	20	12	Drummond	22	DeRhodes House	66	29	Mahony	8
Metzger House	23	9	Long		Fireproof House	67	14	signed by Mahony	6
Metzger House	24	9	Long?		Fireproof House	68	14a	Mahony	
Hillside School	25	10	Long	3	Shaw House	69	34	Mahony	
Heurtley House	27	20	Mahony & Wright	14	McCormick House	71	59	Wright & others	30
Yahara Boat Club	28	55	Mahony?	12	McCormick House	72	58	(Robinson?)	18
Dana House	29	31	Wright		Westcott House	75	53	Wright	29
Martin House	35	32	(Robinson?)		Tomek House	77	35	Mahony?	2
Barton House	37	26	Mahony		Larkin Co. Pavilion	78	36	Mahony (& others?)	
Cheney House	42	30	Mahony	7	Guthrie House	85	61	Wright & others	
<i>Different version published in Arch. Record, 1908, 210</i>			Mahony		Lexington Terrace	89	7	Drummond	
					Waller Houses	91	48	Mahony	
								(center of both pages)	
					Gale House	95	45	Mahony	
					Como Orchards	97	46	signed by Mahony	