

**THE HISTORY OF
THE ARCHITECTURAL GUIDEBOOK
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
AN ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION SYSTEM**

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C. Michael Herndon

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AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
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Approved by:

Professor Robert M. Craig,
Committee Chair
College of Architecture
Georgia Institute of Technology

Professor Robert M. Craig, Advisor
College of Architecture
Georgia Institute of Technology

Professor Elizabeth Dowling
College of Architecture
Georgia Institute of Technology

Professor Benjamin Flowers
College of Architecture
Georgia Institute of Technology

Date Approved: 9 July 2007

To my family.

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SUMMARY

This is a study of the history of the architectural guidebook, and a proposal for an architectural information system which utilizes a relational database system to aid in the creation of future architectural guides. Chapter 1 explores the reasons why individuals may choose to visit buildings. Chapters 2 and 3 trace the history of the architectural guidebook through the development of travel writing from the Greeks to the present day. Chapter 4 provides an analysis of various characteristics of architectural guides since 1900, and explores the use of descriptions, images, and maps, as well as how guides subdivide the areas which they deal with. Chapter 5 introduces the reader to relational databases and examines how the present relational database system was constructed; chapter 5 also includes several proposals for a future architectural guide based on the analysis of previous guides contained in chapters 2 through 4.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the architectural guidebook. It is a study that traces the origins of such guides, examines how contemporary guides are indebted to earlier works, and provides suggestions as to how such guides should be produced in the future. The present thesis evolved as an attempt to provide a background to a project regarding current architectural guidebooks. The goal of this project was to create a way to store information about historical structures in the Atlanta area, which had been gathered over 20 years. The challenge was to organize this data in such a way that it could be easily searchable, and compiled into one large guide to Atlanta architecture, or several smaller guides, with more narrowly defined criteria.

To determine the origins of the architectural guidebook, it has been necessary to examine travel writing dating back to the ancient Greeks. Obviously, tracing the origins of the architectural guidebook through several thousand years could easily become a history of travel literature in general, a history of travel, or a sociological analysis of the traveler; it could just as easily turn into a discourse on typography, a treatise on cartography, or a history of thought. To the extent possible, however, the current work has attempted to work within strict limitations, recognizing these issues inform the subject, but avoiding undue focus on such tangents.

First, this thesis addresses the development of western architectural guides. Similarly, the guides referenced in this work are written primarily in English. Spanish, French, and German guides were widespread during the late medieval and early Renaissance period, and non-English guides played a role later as well; however, restricting the thesis to the Anglo-American tradition provides adequate scope for an

examination of architectural guides. While the current work traces the main history of architectural guides, the majority of the discussion is focused on nineteenth-century and later guides. Such guides can, and have been, examined firsthand. Older guides are referenced primarily through secondary sources, and, in rare cases, reprintings. Unfortunately, the age of the earliest guides means that they are neither easily obtained nor accessed.

Operating under these limitations, this introductory chapter sets out to examine the general concept of the guidebook, as well as the reasons that individuals visit buildings. Chapter 2 traces the history of the guidebook from the writings of the Greek geographers and historians through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the beginning of the Romantic period until the end of the 18th century; Chapter 3 outlines the history of the guidebook, and the evolving architectural guide, from the beginning of the 19th century through the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution to the present. Chapter 4 addresses the purported intent of twentieth-century architectural guidebooks, discusses important components of the architectural guidebook, and examines how previous authors have dealt with these components. Topics addressed in this chapter include the way structures are described, the use of photographs or images, the types of maps and directions which are provided, and how buildings are arranged within the text. Finally, Chapter 5 explains how a relational database system was used to set up the framework to produce a contemporary architectural guide for the Atlanta Area. This chapter begins with an introduction to database theory, and an explanation of why one might want to create a database-driven guide, and proceeds to describe how such a system should be designed; it also provides some recommendations for authors of architectural guidebooks based on the analysis contained in the previous chapter.

Before proceeding to trace the origins of the architectural guidebook, however, it may be useful for the reader to spend a moment reflecting on the concept of a guide,

generally, and the concept of the architectural guide in particular.

1.1 What is a Guide?

The word ‘guide’ is complex. It can, and originally did, refer to an individual who directed a traveler. It has been used to describe works that instruct the reader how to behave or act (e.g. *A Guide to Manners*, or *a Guide to the SAT*). Perhaps more frequently, it has been used in the sense of a written document that assists the reader in reaching a physical destination. Yet guides are distinct from maps or directions. Maps provide a visual representation of a given area; directions provide a text-based instructions on how to reach a destination; guides often contain both. However, guides provide more information than is necessary just to reach a destination. While examining a map may indicate to a reader that he or she must cross a stream, a guide will likely tell the reader how to cross the stream. While directions may tell the reader that he or she must remain on the interstate for 300 miles, a guide will likely tell the reader where to eat, or sleep during breaks. Ultimately, the information provided by a guide can be of use either en-route, or at a given destination. While travel guides typically provide both types of information, architectural guides are primarily concerned with providing information once one reaches a given destination.¹

The information contained in guides is generally used to enhance a particular experience. A restaurant guide, for instance, can instruct a diner where to eat, and recommend what to order, enhancing his dining experience. The information contained in a guide to a museum may inform the visitor about the history of the artifacts, and consequently enhance the museum experience. Presumably, the information contained in an architectural guidebook would enhance the architectural experience. In this case, however, it may not be as clear as to what information would enhance the

¹Architectural guides, of course, provide information that allows visitors to find a building; however, architectural guides, do not, as a rule, contain information about where to sleep, where to eat, etc. which one might expect from a travel guide.

architectural experience.

1.2 Why do People Visit Buildings

To determine what information might enhance the architectural experience, the reader may examine the many reasons why people visit a historical or architectural site. From there, the reader may distinguish between the situations where a building is the ultimate cause of the visit, and those cases where the building may merely be ancillary. Presumably, the motivations for which the presence of a building is essential are the motivations which should be addressed in an architectural guide.

1.2.1 Building as Container

The first, and presumably most basic motivation for people to visit a building, is that the building contains something that the individual finds important. The Tower of London or the British Museum may be good examples of buildings as containers. Although the buildings are architecturally significant in their own right, the majority of visitors to those buildings go to see the objects they contain; some visitors would be just as anxious to see the treasures of the British Empire if they were housed under a tent in Covent Garden. In short, for these visitors the building is not an essential portion of the trip. This mindset is perhaps best evidenced by Renaissance and Enlightenment travelers, who visited jails and factories to see the application of new ideas, or contemporary travelers who visit museums, and fail to appreciate the building that houses such treasures.

1.2.2 Building as Site of History

Others visit a building because it was the site of an important event. One example would be the individual who visits Ford's Theater because Lincoln was shot there. While buildings, for various reasons, may help concentrate this visitor's sense of history, the fundamental experience of visiting a historical site does not require a

building to be present. One could have a similar experience by standing on the spot where Caesar was stabbed or where Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo. Visiting a structure as the site of history is oftentimes related to visiting the structure as a religious shrine. Medieval travelers, as will be seen in Chapter 2, often did both.

1.2.3 Building as Religious Shrine

Visitors who view buildings as religious shrines venerate a given site either because of what happened there (e.g. Bramante's Tempietto marks the site of Peter's crucifixion), because of the relics that the building contains, or because the building has been sanctified by a higher power. In the European Christian tradition these elements are often conflated—cathedrals, for instance, were often placed on the sites of miracles, and, as time passed, often obtained a number of relics. While visitors to religious shrines exist in every age, the best example of the religious tourist is the medieval pilgrim. Although architectural elements, such as stained glass windows, or sculpture are sometimes discussed in religious guides, such guides typically discuss these objects for their religious meaning rather than their artistic significance.

1.2.4 Building as Emotional Source

Buildings are complex objects and can quickly become associated with certain kinds of thoughts or emotions. This can apply to particular buildings (e.g., the White House or Capitol Building may be associated with one's feelings towards the United States) or general types (e.g., log cabins may be associated with strength of character, and a desire to return to the land). The pull of a site as an emotional source may encourage an alumnus or alumna to return to his or her alma mater. Travelers in the Romantic period were particularly likely to visit buildings because of the emotional responses that they evoked. Like many other rationales for visiting buildings, however, the fundamental empathetic or evocative experience of visiting a site may not be dependent on a building for the emotional response. One could provoke similar emotions from

reading a book, watching a play, or gazing at a painting.

1.2.5 Building as Goal

For many, buildings, particularly famous ones, may simply be a goal: something to see, or to photograph, and then to move on. The Leaning Tower of Pisa is a well-known tourist's goal, where tourists pose for a photograph with the tower, and then leave town. Although such sites are typically architecturally noteworthy, those who see buildings merely as checkbox on life's 'to visit' list are rarely concerned with architecture. Instead, these individuals visit such sites because of the sites' reputation and fame; consequently, a building may not need be present for such a visit. Any well-known location (such as the Grand Canyon, or Mount Everest) would provide a similar photographic opportunity. While there are a number of individuals who treat buildings as goals in the present, such touristic sightseeing was perhaps most common in the eighteenth century, when wealthy young Englishmen roamed the European Continent, and attempted to see as many famous sights as possible.

1.2.6 Building as Art

The previous motivations for visiting building sites all assume that the building, *per se*, is not required. The final three motivations for visiting a building are focused on the building as architecture; consequently, the quality of the building is an essential motivation to visit the site. The first of these motivations is that visitors may approach the building as a work of art. Admittedly, the word 'art' is complex and has many layers of meaning. However, in its broadest sense, viewing a building as art means that the viewer is willing to examine the choices made by the designer, and attempts to conclude whether or not those choices were successful. For the purpose of this thesis, it does not matter whether or not the individual has any training in art or not, but rather that he or she is evaluating a building critically. Although there are scattered examples of non-architects appreciating buildings in this way, this

approach is first found in guides which provide critical views of architecture in the nineteenth century.

1.2.7 Building as Teaching Tool

Just as painters often study the works of other painters to examine their technique and issues of composition, those interested in design may visit a building to study how it was conceived by its architect, and what lessons can be taken away from it. While the subject matter is often the same as that considered by the building-as-art guide, the approach to the material differs, just as an art connoisseur and a practicing artist would take slightly different views of a painting. Here, less emphasis is placed on an overall evaluation of the work, and more is placed on analyzing the execution and success of specific parts. The small number of potential customers and the importance of personal instruction in architecture has meant that ‘guides’ have not been published for this type of travel; however, such a motivation is a valid architectural reason for visiting a building, albeit for a small group of professionals.

1.2.8 Building as Text

Finally, there are those who view buildings as texts or data—pieces of information that can be dissected, examined and reviewed in order to make a larger statement about the history of architecture as a whole, the relationships between various styles, or the development in the collective opus of an architect. In short, the ideal building-as-text viewer uses buildings as evidence on which he can base an argument. Such a viewer is typically a professional, or amateur architectural historian. Although this group is small, it has a major impact on the production of relatively recent architectural guidebooks, as architectural historians are typically the authors of these guides.

1.2.9 Conclusion

For the contemporary visitor to a building, many, if not all of these issues may come into play. A modern-day visitor to St. Peter's in Rome, for instance, may merely observe the building as it provides the setting for the celebration of the mass, and may be equally curious about the Pope; in both cases for the secular tourist the building acts as container rather than religious shrine. The visitor may stand in awe of the centuries of history that have occurred on the site (a historical appreciation). He may have a special reverence for the high altar as marking the burial space of St. Peter, and be impressed by the other religious elements of the building—the sense of standing in a holy space (a religious appreciation). He may appreciate the artistry with which the columns are paired with piers (an artistic appreciation) and remember the feeling of calm when he saw a televised Christmas Mass from the Vatican (an emotional appreciation). Likely, there is some level of satisfaction at reaching and visiting an important landmark (the building as a goal), and, if he is particularly interested in architecture, he may attempt to examine how Maderno's facade impacted the perception of the Michelangelo's dome (the building as a teaching tool), and how the building is both similar and different to other churches designed in Renaissance Italy (the building as a text).

In general, however, one of these reasons for visiting the building will be more important than the other. Should the visitor be particularly interested in the historical aspect of the building, he could buy a volume that provides a history of the events which occurred there. Should he be particularly enthralled by the emotional experience, he could buy a volume of personal reflections from a nun who lived in Vatican City for many years. Should he be particularly interested in architecture, however, he could buy a guide which examined the building as a piece of art, as a teaching tool, or as an architectural text. Such a book, would be an architectural guidebook.

Of course, merely because architectural guidebooks focus on these issues does not mean that they ignore other motivations, or fail to give any information on them. Clearly, an architectural guide which discussed The Tower of London or Ford's Theater would be remiss if it did not mention that the Crown Jewels were held in the first and that Lincoln was assassinated in the second. However, the distinguishing factor defining an architectural guidebook is the amount of space that is given to such facts, and the amount of space which is given to the building itself—either as an object of art, as a lesson to learn from, or as a puzzle piece in a larger story of architecture.

Thus, architectural guides are a very specific type of writing whose commercial success is predicated on the existence of a critical mass of highly-educated individuals who have enough leisure time, money, and interest to view buildings in these ways. These demanding requirements have only recently been achieved by advances in standard of living and education. Thus, the architectural guidebook—as we know it today—is a relatively recent invention. However, the architectural guide was ultimately the product of earlier guides which addressed a number of other motivations for visiting buildings; indeed, the evidence of these other types of motivations live on in current architectural guides, which still show the tell-tale evidence of their origins.

CHAPTER II

THE GUIDE UNTIL THE 19TH CENTURY

This chapter will trace the origins of the architectural guidebook from the period of the ancient Greeks to the end of the eighteenth century. It would be foolish to imagine that a fully developed architectural guidebook, which depends on a number of social and economic preconditions for its success, would exist in the ancient world, and, of course, it did not. However, ancient travel writers were surprisingly sophisticated, and in their writings readers can see the first inklings of the architectural guidebook. From there, the chapter will examine the history of the manuscript-based travel guide written for medieval pilgrims as well as early Renaissance guides to Rome. This chapter will also examine the books which instructed Renaissance and Enlightenment travelers how to record their observations, and the volumes which guided English noblemen through the social complexities which accompanied travel in eighteenth century Europe. The chapter concludes by examining the guidebook produced during the Romantic and Picturesque Movements. Although none of these works are architectural guides, *per se*, each of these types include, to a greater or lesser extent, the kind of information that would ultimately find its way into the specifically architectural guides which were produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

2.1 Ancient Guides

Since language was invented, one must expect that humans have asked for guidance before venturing into the unknown. Unfortunately for those who would study the history of travel, before the invention of printing, such advice was presumably given in oral form, written on small scraps, or included in manuscripts. The absence of

mass-produced writing, as well as poor literacy rates, limits the amount of, and access to, documentary evidence of early travel. However, the written record dates to the ancient Greeks.

This section examines the work ascribed to Homer, Herodotus, and Pausanias. A brief examination of the *Odyssey* will explore the customs of travel, and the use of guides and directions at that time. An investigation of Herodotus will show some of the proto-guide characteristics found in his work as well as explain how individuals learned about distant lands before the creation of reliable written guides. Finally, looking at Pausanias' work, which has been called the first guidebook, will allow the reader to appreciate the motivation behind his work, and the ways in which his descriptions differ from later work.

2.1.1 The Odyssey

From the *Odyssey*, we can understand something of the attitudes towards travel in pre- or early-literate societies.¹ When Telemachos entertains the disguised Athena in Book I, we can see in his speech his inclination to inquire of the visitor's homeland, a knowledge of geography on the part of Homer (Ithaka is, of course, an island), as well as a reference to the communication that existed between the rulers of these Greek kingdoms:

‘What kind of man are you, and whence? Where is your city? Your parents?
What kind of ship did you come here on? And how did the sailors bring you to Ithaka? What men do they claim that they are?
For I do not think you could have traveled on foot to this country. And tell me this too, tell me truly, so that I may know it.
Are you here for the first time, or are you a friend of my father's from abroad? Since many other men too used to come and visit our house, in the days when he used to go about among people.’²

¹Homer's work has traditionally been dated to the seventh or eighth century B.C.

²Homer, *The Odyssey of Homer*, trans. Richard Lattimore (New York: HarperPerennial, 1999), I.170–177.

Indeed, the recruitment of the Greek heroes of the *Iliad*, and therefore, the entire plot, is dependent upon the kind of communication among rulers that Telemachos references in his speech; similarly, the customs of greeting and hospitality evidenced by Telemachos in his speech, and later referenced by Odysseus³ suggest that such interactions were frequent enough to merit the establishment of societal norms among a range of social classes. From these references, we can infer that such relations indeed existed; otherwise, the listeners would not have accepted the tale.

Still, in this period, travelers faced significant risks. When Telemachos divulges his plans to his former nurse Eurykleia, she is quick to warn him that he may “wander and suffer hardships on the barren wide sea.”⁴ Because of these risks, it appears that travel is not undertaken lightly. In the world of Homer, travel is done by merchants; to seek out important information (as in the case of Telemachos); for the purpose of war (as in the *Iliad*); or to maintain and develop political alliances. There is no indication of travel for the sake of pleasure.

The use of directions in this period is also notable. First, directions are difficult to come by, and can only be provided by those of high rank or skill. The goddess Athena provides a brief itinerary to Telemachos; the minor deity Kalypso provides directions to Odysseus; and the Phaiakians, renowned for their skill in navigating the seas, provide transport for Odysseus on the final stage of his journey. Second, directions in the *Odyssey* are always given verbally (in the case of Circe and Athena). In the absence of directions, individuals with knowledge guide the traveler in person (as the case of the Phaiakians). Writing or drawing is never used as a method of communicating in the work. Finally, the directions which are given are generally quite vague, a characteristic that may be due to travel over the ocean; still, the extent of Kalypso’s directions to Odysseus are, “to make his way over the sea, keeping the

³See *Ibid.*, VI.175 ff., VII.19 ff.

⁴*Ibid.*, II.370.

Bear on his left hand.”⁵

Finally, we must say something of the description of people and places found in the book. While Homer spends considerable time describing many of the fantastic islands and characters encountered by Odysseus, he spends considerably less describing the distinctive characteristics of real civilizations. Undoubtedly, the reader learns something of these cultures, such as Phaiakians tradition of providing transportation to strangers in need.⁶

2.1.2 Herodotus

In contrast, Herodotus, writing around 425 B.C., presents the reader with something approximating a guidebook description. While such descriptions and hints are not directly in line with his famous purpose ‘to prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time,’⁷ they are not antithetical to it either. Such descriptions are found primarily in the second and fourth books of the *Histories*, which describe Egypt and Scythia, respectively. Passages include descriptions of rituals, recitation of myths, and even rudimentary recipes. Such descriptions appear to be grounded in a general interest in these cultures; this type of motivation is generally not seen in Europe again until the Renaissance. While we must assume, without explicit evidence to the contrary, that Herodotus’ main goal was to describe the country to the curious, rather than to provide a guide, his descriptions of how to reach certain sites are unexpectedly detailed, especially when compared to the directions found in the *Odyssey*:

At this point, you leave your boat and travel by foot by the side of the river for forty days, because there are sharp rocks sticking out of the water, and a number of reefs which are unnavigable. Once you have spent the forty days passing through this region, you take another boat and twelve

⁵*Ibid.*, V.277.

⁶*Ibid.*, XIII.180-81. However these descriptions are not the true purpose of the work, or even a substantial aside; they are merely devices which advance the plot and hasten the repatriation of Odysseus.

⁷Herodotus, *The Histories*, tr. Aubrey de Selincourt (London: Penguin Books, 1996), introduction.

days will bring you to a big city called Meroë, which is said to be the capital city of all Ethiopia. . . If you continue upriver past this city for the same amount of time again as you spent traveling from Elephantine to the Ethiopian capital, you will reach the Deserters, or *Asmakh* as they are called—a word which, translated into Greek, means ‘those who stand to the left of the king’⁸

More importantly, Herodotus’ text can be used to assess the methods employed in learning about unknown areas in the middle of the fifth century, B.C. In every case, they are surprisingly sophisticated. As suspected, we see that the great source of information is the people who live in the area, and that Herodotus learned much through speaking to these people. The thriving Mediterranean trade routes even ensured that translators were available to mediate language difficulties:

Now, there is a great deal of good information available about the land and all of the tribes up to and including these bald people, because Scythians sometimes reach these parts, as do Greeks from the trading-centre Borys-thenes and from other trading-centres on the Euxine Sea, and it is not hard to get information from them. The Scythians who travel to these tribes conduct their business in seven languages, each requiring its own translator.⁹

However, once the land is no longer inhabited, Herodotus appears to be at a loss for description: “no one knows enough about what lies to the north [of the bald people] to speak with confidence, because the mountains are so tall that they form an insurmountable barrier; no one passes over them to the other side.”¹⁰ A similar situation exists when Herodotus attempts to explain the extent of the Nile; although he traces the extent of the river to four months travel from Egypt, he concedes at that point “there is no [more] reliable information to be had about it: the land is uninhabited because of the heat.”¹¹ Herodotus’ work also confirms the practice of knowledgeable individuals being used as guides in the ancient world; he notes that

⁸*Ibid.*, 2.18.

⁹*Ibid.* 4.24.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 4.24.

¹¹Herodotus, 2.31.

Darius the Persian required the Greek Democedes to ‘give the Persians a thorough tour and description of Greece and then to return.’¹²

Because Herodotus tends to focus on social and historical events, he does not typically spend much time describing buildings; however, he sometimes notes exceptional structures. Even in these cases, however, it is clear that Herodotus’ interest lies in the social or historical issues they raise, rather than the buildings themselves. When Herodotus describes the Great Pyramid of Cheops, his description of the structure is quite terse: “The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length.”¹³ Instead, Herodotus spends the majority of his time describing the building process (using levers and tiers of steps), posing questions about the cost of the pyramids (“how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which [the laborers] worked, and the workmen’s food and clothing”), and describing Cheops’ cruelty (forcing his daughter into prostitution in order to pay for the project).¹⁴ Other references to buildings typically note the circumstances of the structures’ destruction.¹⁵

2.2 *Pausanias*

The Greek, Pausanias (c. 150–180 A.D.) is generally considered the first guidebook author; his guide to Greece is comprised of reflections on his own tour of the area. As Pausanias’ travels kept him closer to home than those of Herodotus, he typically spends less time describing cultural differences, and more time describing buildings and structures. For instance, he spends a considerable amount of time on the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁶ This is not to say that Pausanias is the first author of an architectural

¹²*Ibid.*, 3.135.

¹³*Ibid.*, 2.124.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 2.125.

¹⁵See *Ibid.*, 1.19; 1.50.

¹⁶Pausanias, *Pausanias’ Description of Greece*, tr. Arthur Richard Shilleto (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1886), I.xxii.

guide. Indeed, Pausanias' description of sites often focuses less on the architectural merits of a work than the way in which the site has come to achieve meaning to those who built there. In Pausanias' mind landscape becomes meaningful through its relationship to human and divine actions; frequently, temples were either the spot of these interactions, or were built on the grounds of them. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether the guide is a description of Greece, a description of the places found in Greek mythology, or a description of Greek temples. In either case, Pausanias' work caters to the religious and historical motivations for visiting structures identified in the first chapter. Pausanias' attempt to link the physical and the mystical can be seen in the following passage; however, the reader can see an attempt to describe the physical world and the history of structures as well:

After you cross the Ilissus is a place called Agræ, and a temple of Artemis Agrotera, (*The Huntress*), for here they say Artemis first hunted on her arrival from Delos: accordingly her statue has a bow. And what is hardly credibly to hear, but wonderful to see, is a stadium of white marble; one can easily conjecture its size in the following manner. Above the Ilissus is a hill, and this stadium extends from the river to the hill in a crescent-shaped form. It was built by Herodes an Athenian, and most of the Pentelican quarry was used in its construction.¹⁷

Like Herodotus' work, Pausanias' guide is written as a continual text; accordingly, it is sometimes difficult to determine the beginning and end of descriptions of certain areas. However, like most works that are arranged by location, Pausanias' descriptions in the text are contiguous, and a modern reader could easily locate the text which refers to a certain location.

2.3 Medieval Guides

In many ways, the religious and historical motivations for visiting structures in Pausanias' day were the same ones that fueled visits to Medieval pilgrimage churches. Like the temples of ancient Greece, early Christian churches were often built on the sites of

¹⁷*Ibid.*, I.xix.

notable events (particularly the sites of martyrdoms), or on sites where miracles were performed. Pilgrimages to these sites sprang up fairly early in the religion, in the early centuries after Christ. However, although the *Itinerarium Burdigala Jerusalem Usque* cited a route from Bordeaux, France, to Jerusalem in the fourth century, the decline of the Roman Empire and the resulting lack of security meant that travel was generally limited until the year 1000.¹⁸

Pilgrimages were predominately religious excursions to holy sites, which conferred some measure of forgiveness on the souls who performed them. While the well-to-do were obviously more capable of undertaking such journeys, points along the way offered free food and lodging to pilgrims, and giving to pilgrims was considered a noble deed; these allowances meant that members of almost any social station could undertake a pilgrimage, except for the serfs, who were tied to the land.¹⁹ The reader should note that opinions vary as to the motivation behind these trips; while most are willing to acknowledge at least a partial religious motivation, some suggest that the purpose of these trips was to provide a social outlet—a Medieval vacation that allowed pilgrims to escape the oppression of a controlling society.²⁰ In any case, no one has suggested that the main purpose of any significant number of pilgrims was to examine closely the architecture of the buildings they encountered. Therefore, we must presume that the guides that evolved for these individuals were designed primarily for those with religious or historical interests,²¹ with secular notes being made for those with an interest in what buildings and towns contain.

In the Middle Ages proper, pilgrimages were undertaken to three major locations:

¹⁸Abbe G. Bernes, Georges Veron, and L. Laborde Balen, *The Pilgrim Route to Compostela* (London: Robertson McCarta, 1990), 11; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), 44.

¹⁹Pilgrims could also receive funds to perform a pilgrimage on behalf of a wealthy patron. Maxine Feifer, *Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the Present* (New York: Stein and Day, 1986), 30.

²⁰Feifer, 31; Stagl, 47.

²¹Any curiosity about a relic that does not arise from legitimate religious reverence is historical interest.

Santiago de Compostela, the purported resting place of St. James the Apostle, Rome, and the Holy Land. These three destinations were so iconic that the Spanish developed different names for pilgrims traveling to different destinations. Those who went to Compostela were *jacobeo/jacobita*; those who went to Rome, *romero*, and those who traveled to the Holy Land, *palmero*.²² For the English traveler, a pilgrimage to Compostela took the least amount of effort (from 3 weeks to 2 months, depending on where one landed), Rome required a moderate level of exertion, while a trip to the Holy Land was significantly longer.²³ Because this thesis focuses on the Western tradition, it will only examine journeys made to Compostela and Rome.²⁴

As popular literacy was quite poor during the Middle Ages, it is not surprising that a considerable amount of guide-like information was transmitted orally, with no physical evidence remaining.²⁵ As for the early written evidence, most of the ‘guides’ consisted of a few handwritten pages, and were passed from hand to hand.²⁶ However, there is no question that the concept of a guide was present in the culture. The word guide—in the sense of an individual who shows the way—first appeared in the English language in 1362.²⁷ As the medieval period wore on, printing developed and vernacular languages became more important, and dozens of guides to both Compostela and Rome were created in German, English, Italian, and French.²⁸ In some cases, there are records of nobles and church officials hiring individuals to compile information for pilgrimages.²⁹ In the case of the Venetian Republic, a government collected such information in its late-medieval instructions to ambassadors.³⁰

²²Bernes, Veron and Balen, 12.

²³Feifer, 33.

²⁴Written guides were far more popular to European destinations than to the Holy Land, as travelers typically utilized personal, rather than written guides, to the Holy Land, particularly because of the difficulties involved in negotiating with Islamic governments. *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁵Stagl, 43, 52.

²⁶Bernes, Veron and Balen, 19.

²⁷*Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. “guide.”

²⁸Bernes, Veron and Balen, 19.

²⁹Stagl, 52.

³⁰*Ibid.*

The late medieval period also saw the production of travel memoirs or descriptions, a genre that was defined by Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*, published in 1357.³¹ Travelers of the period also began to write descriptions of their experiences, although these accounts were typically not published, and appear intended for small-scale circulation among friends and acquaintances; most of these accounts date from the fifteenth century.³² For this study, these descriptions are perhaps more valuable for what they signify than for what they contain. They are, in fact, early indications of the spread of ideas through individual communication among a lettered elite, a development which would reach its peak in the Renaissance. However, such a description is getting ahead of itself. The following sections detail the history of more widely-distributed guides to Compostela and Rome.

2.3.1 Santiago de Compostela

Pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela began during the reign of Alfonso II (d. 842) who had a church built on the purported burial site of St. James at the very end of the Iberian Isthmus.³³ These pilgrimages were reported by the Islamic philosopher Algazel as early as 845.³⁴ Although it is not clear how early English pilgrims first started venturing to the site, the demand for ships for pilgrims to cross the English channel was sufficient that ships were first licensed to do so in 1394.³⁵

The best known guide was the *Codex Callixtus*,³⁶ which was a tome written c. 1140 and falsely attributed to Pope Calixtus II. More likely, it was composed by multiple authors, although a priest at Parthenay-le-Vieux in Poitou named Aymery or Aymeric Picaud appears to be the author of the fifth section, which is known as the 'Pilgrim's

³¹Feifer, 29.

³²Michael Jacobs, *Northern Spain: The Road to Santiago de Compostela* (San Francisco: Chronicle, 1991), 8.

³³Bernes, Veron and Balen, 14.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 15.

³⁵In the 15th century, near the end of the pilgrimage era, pilgrims could choose from a regular schedule of ships that sailed from Plymouth to La Coruña, Spain. Feifer, 33.

³⁶Also referred to as the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*; see Feifer, 28.

Guide.’ The Guide, which was particularly favored by the Cluniac Order, described four routes which crossed France and led the pilgrim through Spain to Compostela, while giving practical, opinionated advice along the way.³⁷

Pilgrims did not proceed to Santiago with a single-minded focus. The *Codex Calixtus* referred to a number of notable shrines and relics along the pilgrimage routes. By all accounts, the pilgrims were eager to see these sites, and their willingness to take brief detours coupled with their tendency to purchase pilgrimage badges as souvenirs of their journey has caused more than one author to compare them to modern day tourists.³⁸ One of the main purposes of the Pilgrim’s Guide was to note what the pilgrim should see in certain towns; such descriptions almost always revolve around churches and relics, and often explain the religious significance of these sites, sometimes with theological commentary:

Turning to those who go to Santiago by way of Tours, these must visit in the Church of the Holy Cross in Orleans the wood of the Lord as well as the chalice of the Blessed Euverte, bishop and confessor. As the Blessed Euverte was one day celebrating mass there appeared to the eyes of the attendants high above the altar the hand of God in human form doing whatever the priest was doing at the altar. When the priest made the sign of the cross over the bread and the chalice, the hand did it in the like manner, and when he raised the bread and the chalice, the very hand of God raised in like manner the true bread and the chalice. Once the sacrifice was over, the most pious hand of the Savior vanished. Whence it is given to understand that whoever might sing the mass, it is Christ himself that sings it.³⁹

However, the author is not always as prolix when describing what to see; bishop’s Euverte’s remains, as well as a knife ‘verutably’ present at the last supper are mentioned as being worthy of note in a sentence shorter than this one.⁴⁰ Given the nature of the guide, it is not surprising that many of the notable sights revolve around the

³⁷Bernes, Veron and Balen, 20–21; Jacobs, 5.

³⁸Bernes, Veron and Balen, 7; Jacobs, 7; Feifer 32 ff.

³⁹William Melczer, trans., *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993), 108.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 108.

bones of saints, and such descriptions often include a biography of the saint along with the miracles attributed to him or her, and a mention of the saint's feast day. Other descriptions trace the history of a relic from its discovery to its current location. In many cases, the number and significance of the miracles associated with a particular relic or saint serves as an early way of indicating the importance of a site.

The author of the Codex also frequently makes reference to architectural elements, however, such descriptions are generally meant to impress the reader with descriptions of lavish ornamentation: "The tomb where [St. Hilary's] venerable and most sacred bones are resting is decorated with abundant gold, silver, and extraordinarily precious stones, and its large and splendid basilica is venerated by virtue of its many miracles."⁴¹ The admiration of architecture of the churches is typified by the description of the cathedral at Tours, which was 'executed in admirable workmanship;' this phrase, found frequently through the work, is generally the extent of the guide's architectural criticism.⁴² While the critical aesthetic faculties of the guide may not be up to modern standards, its description of iconology and symbols appear virtually identical to a contemporary guide to medieval churches:

On the right side of the first register there are likewise seven other images, six of which are apostles and the seventh, any one you will of the disciples of Christ. Furthermore, above the heads of the apostles there are sculpted on either side of the casket, in the image of women, the virtues that resided in them: namely Benignancy, Meekness, Faith, Hope, Charity, etc.⁴³

Finally, the guide provides evidence that these churches and relics were designed to be seen by pilgrims who did not have the advantage of the information contained in the Codex, which would be accessible only by those who knew Latin. In many

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 109–110.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 100–101. For a reader who has been brought up to believe that medieval man was amazingly skilled in the interpretation of these images, it may come as a surprise to see that the author goes so far as to explain the familiar imagery of the Christian tetramorph, informing that reader that Matthew is portrayed as a man, John as an eagle, Luke as an ox, and Mark as a lion.

cases, the guide references inscriptions which are carved or painted on reliquaries, which identified the items contained therein:

This extraordinary urn, ornate with precious stones and gold,
Contains the relics of St. Giles.
Whoever breaks it, may he be cursed eternally by God,
And likewise by Giles and by the whole sacred court.⁴⁴

However, the Pilgrim's Guide is not limited to descriptions of symbols and re-statements of inscriptions. It also provides warnings of places where toll gatherers collect their fees with the threat of beatings, and provides a just price for pilgrims to pay ferrymen.⁴⁵ The guide also provides some description of the people a pilgrim would encounter on the trip, although the writing shows little of the cultural interest shown by Herodotus. In a section on the people called the Navarrese, the author gives descriptions of their clothing, as well as opinionated remarks on their uncouth dining habits; while he describes their language as 'completely barbarous,' he also provides a sample of Navarrese vocabulary, including wine, bread, meat, God, king, priest, and water.⁴⁶

2.3.2 Rome

In the Middle Ages, the economy of the Eternal City was significantly dependent on the pilgrim's visits. By the fifteenth century, Rome had over one thousand inns to house these travelers.⁴⁷ One of the main motivations for pilgrims to visit Rome were the indulgences that they would receive for visiting major religious sights. Each indulgence allowed the pilgrim to avoid a stated number of years in purgatory. While indulgences existed for Compostela and the churches which surrounded it, the indulgences found in Rome were much more substantial. The importance of churches in Rome was indicated by the size of the indulgence one would receive by visiting the

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 100.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 92–93.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 94.

⁴⁷Feifer, 43.

church; indulgences were posted at the sites, as well as listed by guides of the day, a practice that one author has likened to emphasizing important sites in modern day guides by asterisks or stars.⁴⁸

The invention of printing meant that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the production of ‘mass-produced indulgence handbooks,’ which were, in reality, pamphlets that pilgrims could keep in their purses, which were frequently reprinted as indulgences changed, and were printed in different vernacular languages for visitors from different countries.⁴⁹ Although there is little indication that maps were used in these ‘guides,’ paths and locations were often described in verse.⁵⁰ These verses also inform the visitor about the bewildering number of relics contained in the many churches of the City, as well as the indulgences available for each site. In the *Stations of Rome*, a pilgrim could read:

At the church where St Julian liveth.
Here is his chin, with his teeth,
And other relics, many and dear.
To them is granted eight thousand year.⁵¹

Although the prime attraction in Rome were the churches and the relics they contained, curious pilgrims also became interested in the ruins of ancient Rome.⁵² These pilgrims could refer to the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, or the *Wonders of the City of Rome*, a guide to the sites of the ancient city, which was compiled by a canon of St. Peter’s in 1143. Those who could not speak Latin could also hire a guide to the ancient city, who would presumably provide descriptions similar to the *Mirabilia*.⁵³ Both types of visitors were primarily drawn to these sites out of historical interest and awe at the works of the ancients; however, the role of Christianity in late antiquity

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 29, 45.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 43–44.

meant that descriptions of sites could often include references to early martyrs.

The first portion of the *Mirabilia* exemplifies this religious/historical dualism with an account of the founding of Rome and the history of the city, which draws on Biblical, classical, and mythological sources. The first section also contains short entries on the walls, bridges, theaters, palaces, hills, baths, cemeteries, gates, triumphal arches, pillars, and holy places of ancient Rome. These entries consist of a short explanation of the general type and a listing of the main examples to be found in the city. A portion of the description of the baths follow:

There are great palaces called baths with large underground crypts, where in the winter a fire was kindled throughout. In summer the crypts were filled with fresh waters so the court could dwell in the upper chambers in much delight. These crypts may be seen in the Baths of Diocletian in front of the Church of Santa Susanna. . .⁵⁴

The reader may note that the author of the *Mirabilia* apparently believed that the baths were for the sole use of the Roman court. Such mistakes or misinterpretations were common in the guide, which also claimed that the giant pine cone sculpture which at the time stood in front of St. Peter's was made of gold⁵⁵ and that it once graced the top of the Pantheon.⁵⁶ Other portions of the *Mirabilia* spend more time on individual structures, as well as small areas of the city. Most of these descriptions include stories of events which once happened at the site, either in antiquity or in the post-Christian era.⁵⁷ In many cases, however, the guide attempts to capitalize on the awe that the pilgrims must have had for the works of ancient Rome; in this sense, the *Mirabilia* attempts to meet a hitherto unseen non-religious emotional motivation for visiting a site. This emphasis can be seen in the *Mirabilia's* impossible description of the Capitoline Hill:

⁵⁴Francis Morgan Nichols and Wileen Gardiner, trans., *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (New York: Italica Press, 1986), 8.

⁵⁵It is in fact made of bronze.

⁵⁶Nichols and Gardiner, 37.

⁵⁷See *Ibid.*, 7 ff., for an antique anecdote, as well as a story associated with a Christian martyr.

the face of it was covered with high and strong walls rising above the top of the hill. It was all covered over with glass and gold and marvelous carved work. On the Capitoline were molten images of all the Trojan kings and of the emperors. Within the fortress was a palace complete adorned with marvelous works in gold, silver, brass, and costly stones, to be a mirror to all nations. It was said to be worth one third of the world.⁵⁸

Indeed, the number of errors contained in the *Mirabilia* would be the inspiration for two early, and important Renaissance guides to the city of Rome: Andrea Palladio's *L'antichità di Roma di M. Andrea Palladio, raccolta brevementa da gli auctori antichi, & moderni* (*The Antiquities of Rome... Succinctly Compiled from Authors both Ancient & Modern*) and *Descrizione de le chiese, stationi indulgenze & reliquie de Corpi Sancti, che sono in la città de Roma* (*Descriptions of the Churches, Stations of the Cross, Indulgences, and Relics of the Bodies of Saints, in the City of Rome*), both of which were published by Vincentio Lucrino in 1554.⁵⁹

2.4 *The Guides of Andrea Palladio*

Palladio's guides were by no means the first Renaissance guides to be published to the city of Rome; however, they serve as a transition from the religiously-oriented and almost passive guide of the Medieval period to the more secular, and active guides of the later Renaissance and Enlightenment. A number of these earlier Renaissance guides were typically small or geared towards a private audience. Alberti, for instance, wrote his *Descriptio Urbis Romae* c. 1444; however, his approximately 1,200-word treatise (and a few tables) spent almost as much time explaining technical cartographic procedures as describing monuments. Similarly, although Raphael was commissioned to map the sites of ancient Rome for Leo X c. 1519, his report to the Pope was private, and is of interest to the present work only to the extent that it references the considerable contemporary popular interest in the origins of the ancient

⁵⁸Nichols and Gardiner, 38.

⁵⁹Palladio, *Palladio's Rome: A Translation of Andrea Palladio's Two Guidebooks to Rome*, trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006), xviii.

buildings that dotted the city.⁶⁰

Other early Renaissance guides were written in the format of the *Mirabilia*, and authors frequently grouped buildings according to their type and function. Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novæet veteris urbis Romæ*, published in 1510, and Pirro Ligorio's *Libro di M. Pyrro Ligori napolitano, delle antichità di Roma, nel quale si tratta de' circi, theatri, & anfiteatri*, published in Venice in 1553 are two examples of these types of works.⁶¹ Indeed, the *Mirabilia* itself was continuously popular and was reprinted well into the Renaissance; however, it was the 'astonishing lies' in the older guide which stood out to the humanist scholar in Palladio and motivated him to write the *L'antiquà* and *La Chiese*.⁶²

Both works were published as a pair, and were intended to be a commentary on the pagan and Christian faces of the Eternal City; by virtue of their subject matter, the guides were also effectively split into dealing with ancient and modern subject matter.⁶³ *L'antichità* first appeared as a sixty-page, pocked-sized octavio, and had appeared in thirty editions by the middle of the 18th century; the guide was even included as Palladio's 'Fifth Book' in James Leoni's edition of the *quattro libri*; *La Chiese*, however, was considerably less popular, and was never republished under Palladio's name during his lifetime.⁶⁴ Still, each of the works was notable for their own reasons; *L'antichità* for the quality of its research, and *La Chiese* for introducing a new way of arranging entries.

Palladio appears to have taken his task to avoid the lies present in the *Mirabilia* quite seriously, and he relied upon many antique writers to create *L'antichità*; among them were Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Livy, Pliny, Plutarch, Appian of Alexandria,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 177 ff.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, xvi–xvii.

⁶² *Ibid.*, xlvii, 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xv–xvi, ix.

and Valerius. Additionally, Palladio states that he had measured each of these buildings himself, apparently on his last visit to Rome in 1554.⁶⁵ Although the information contained in *L'antichità* is more accurate than that contained in the preceding guides, Palladio's method of presenting the data, and the types of data he presents are not unique. Like the *Mirabilia*, *L'antichità* groups major structures, such as the triumphal arches, the basilicas, and the major temples, into functional groups, with a few lines given to each example. The remainder of the text is given over to smaller buildings and sites, and social-historical information, such as "the Roman Army and Navy and their Ensigns" and "the Wealth of the Roman People." Like the authors of earlier guides, Palladio is concerned principally with giving information about who built the structures, for what reason, and what happened in them; he spends almost no time remarking on the quality of the architecture. An entry on the Temple of Carmenta is typical:

At the foot of the Campidoglio where the now ruined church of Santa Caterina stands there was once the Temple to Carmenta, Evander's mother. It was built by the women of Rome in her honour because she had allowed women to travel in carriages, whereas the Senate had for many years forbidden women to use them.⁶⁶

Of the two works, *La Chiesa* is actually the more revolutionary. Palladio's contribution here was to arrange the churches of Rome logically in 'new order and sequence' so that the visitor can see them without 'long meanderings.'⁶⁷ Like *L'antichità*, however, the guide is not concerned with architecture; instead, Palladio's focus is on religion:

As for these churches, you will discover who first founded them, how many relics of saints adorn them, which High Pontiffs gave him privileges, and how many indulgences and celebrations of Stations of the Cross they have been endowed with, both in Lent and on every other day of the year.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxv, 3; Palladio's use of these sources is more fully discussed in xlv ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

One typical example is Palladio's entry on San Giovanni a Porta Latina:

This is at the Porta Latina and is a Cardinal's titular church. They have a Stations of the Cross here on the Saturday after the 5th Sunday in Lent. On 6 May there is a plenary remission of sins. The small chapel before the said church is the place where Saint John, Apostle, was put in boiling oil on the order of the Emperor Domitian, and from which he emerged without any harm whatsoever.⁶⁹

In Palladio's work, then, the reader can see the increasing importance of antiquity, as well as the efforts that Palladio made to interpret ancient history correctly. However, more typically medieval religious concerns, such as the amount of indulgences one could receive by visiting a church, or a listing of the miracles ascribed to various saints can also be seen in *La Chiese*. As time passed, both the religious concerns evidenced in *La Chiese* and the need for guidebooks such as *L'antichità* would become less important, as the Renaissance progressed. In many ways, Palladio's devout work is somewhat anachronistic. Reading *La Chiese*, one would assume that the reason for travel was religion; however, at the dawn of the Renaissance, travelers were increasingly traveling for other reasons.

2.5 Elizabethan Travel and the Grand Tour

The success of non-religious works such as the *Mirabilia* throughout the Middle Ages suggested that religious motivations were not the only reason for travel. However, fundamental changes required a fundamental philosophical shift. During the early Renaissance, the word 'curiosity' would come to lose its medieval connotations of sin and rebellion against God, and would become associated with the inquisitiveness of Humanism.⁷⁰ The Medieval pilgrimage had established the idea of movement and travel within the culture; the fifteenth century would simply extend the purpose of

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 156.

⁷⁰Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing," *Annals of Tourism Research* 16 (1989): 15; this change would not be instantaneous; Bacon (1561-1626) would still be challenging it in the Renaissance. Eric J. Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 181.

travel to goals other than religious shrines.⁷¹ In one early example, hundreds of young French men set off for Italy between 1530 and 1540, inspired by the items that Charles VIII returned from Naples.⁷²

In general, the motivation of the Renaissance was to investigate various realms of knowledge and report one's findings to a larger scholastic community.⁷³ This endeavor was aided by the recent introduction of movable type to Europe, which allowed information to be more widely distributed than previous efforts at oral- or manuscript-based communication.⁷⁴ Moreover, the Renaissance scholar was not satisfied with the loose collection of facts which were jumbled together in the Codex Callixtus; rather, he intended to categorize his information, and organize it into discrete topics.⁷⁵ In all of these respects, Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466 – 1536), an itinerant early Renaissance Scholar, was the embodiment of the sixteenth century tourist. He took detailed notes on all that he encountered, and, in his *Colloquia familiaria*, he supported travel when it was done for self-improvement, rather than completed for the dubious benefits of a morally bankrupt pilgrimage.⁷⁶

Although there were a number of traveling humanist scholars, by far, the largest component of early sixteenth century travelers from England were not scholars *per se*, but well-to-do young men who hoped for a future political career at court, and sympathized with the goals of older continental humanists. These men typically spent several years on the Continent,⁷⁷ and often spent at least part of their time in universities in Paris, Bologna, or Padua.⁷⁸ Future diplomats could hope to achieve

⁷¹Gilbert Sigaux, *History of Tourism* (London: Leisure Arts, 1966), 35.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 33

⁷³Stagl, 47.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 51–52.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 47; Sigaux, 34.

⁷⁷They typically spent their time in Italy, France, modern-day Holland, and to a lesser extent, modern day Belgium and Poland. E.S. Bates, *Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development of Travel as a Means of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 95.

⁷⁸Adler, 9.

many things from their travels: in some cases, they hoped to become fluent in several foreign languages, in other cases, they sought to develop their political acumen or rhetorical powers, in still others, they wanted to achieve reliable international contacts that one could call on later.⁷⁹ Besides attempts to gain the knowledge of the wisest and most intellectual men of the age, these travelers were also fascinated by new inventions and methods, and often sought out the newest developments in every field: a complicated astronomical clock at Strasbourg, the world's largest wine cask at Heidelberg, and an automatic city gate at Augsburg.⁸⁰ All of these devices evidenced an appreciation of technology and handicraft and were examples of visiting for what something contains, as well as a sense of collective pride in what man could now do; for the intellectual collective spanned national borders.

By the midpoint of the seventeenth century, the practice of sending the sons of well-to-do English families to the Continent as a form of postgraduate education had become something of an institution, referred to as the Grand Tour.⁸¹ The period of the Tour is often dated to James Howell's publication of *Instructions for Foreign Travel* in 1642, and continued strongly until the middle of the eighteenth century, when local universities replaced some of the educational ideals of the Tour.⁸² Although the Tour continued, in some form, throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, when affordable travel options allowed even the sons (and, by that time, daughters)

⁷⁹*Ibid.*; the role of language posed a particular challenge for these travelers: as late as 1697, authors argued that learning foreign languages could help humanity shrug off the curse of Babel. *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸⁰Feifer, 69.

⁸¹Although the Grand Tour was essentially a British institution because the wealthy families of Britain had the money which made such travel possible, individuals from other countries participated to a lesser extent. Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750–1915* (New York: W. Morrow, 1997), 6–7; Bates, 26.). While he does not dispute that the Grand Tour was essentially an English institution, one historian argues that the the Grand Tour was, itself a hybrid of two earlier traditions, the *Vers Sacrum*, a Germanic tradition in which young knights would tour courts, tournaments, and sacred sites as a coming of age ritual, and the *peregrinatio academica*, a year given to scholars near the end of their studies to visit centers of learning such as Bologna and Paris. Leed, 185.

⁸²Stagl, 84.

of the upper-middle class to participate, the later incarnation of the Tour was more closely related to a finishing school or sightseeing trip than a rigorous education or quest for additional knowledge.⁸³

From the beginning, however, both Elizabethan and Grand Tourists sought to record their experiences for the benefit of society as a whole. In England, Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577) provides an early example of this type of classification of knowledge, as well as a proto-guidebook in a chapter titled "Of our innes and thorow-fares" which lists and comments on inns, as well as providing distances between them.⁸⁴ Individual travelers would often write their own experiences in the form of travel reports, documents which could be classified as a Renaissance format called *historia*—"loosely connected knowledge," where facts about one's travel were kept in a diary format, arranged chronologically (and, by extension geographically as well). These diary reports appear to have their source in pilgrimage diaries which tracked expenses incurred on the way to their destination.⁸⁵ Three of the most successful early reports were Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (c. 1600), Thomas Coryate's *Crudities* (1611) and William Lithgow's *Painful Peregrinations* (1632).⁸⁶ While there was little proscription as to what should be contained in an early travel diary, the general idea was to cover "things memorable, striking, curious, worth seeing and knowing."⁸⁷

Travel during this period, particularly in the sixteenth century was difficult, uncomfortable, expensive and dangerous.⁸⁸ Despite—or perhaps because—travel was

⁸³Bates, 26; Stagl, 84. Of course, these categories are broad generalizations. Although the 'serious' educational period of the Grand Tour dates from 1642 to c. 1750, there were complaints as early as 1642 that travel was not being used for "the high roade of Vertue, and Knowledge", but that "the majority of [English] travelers run over to France from no other motives than those which lead them to Bath, Tunbridge, or Scarborough. Amusement and dissipation are their principal, and often their only, views." James Howell and J. Andrews, qtd. in J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History* (Hassocks, England: Harvester Press, 1976), 69.

⁸⁴See John Edmund Vaughan, *The English Guide Book c. 1780–1870; An Illustrated History* (Newton Abbot, England: David & Charles, 1974), 78 ff.

⁸⁵Stagl, 50.

⁸⁶Feifer, 93.

⁸⁷Stagl, 50.

⁸⁸In general, international travel was limited to the wealthy, or scholars who enjoyed the largesse

dangerous, and the land was largely unknown, early Renaissance guidebooks were long on theory and short on practical advice. Early (sixteenth century) travel accounts attempted to provide information on particular sites to see; yet even the supposedly well-informed lacked useful information. Despite the fact that a Silesian named Hentzner served as the guide-tutor for a nobleman's travel in between 1596–1600, his *Itineraria* is nevertheless full of incorrect, second-hand information; indeed, the number of ancient quotations in the work suggests that the real purpose was to show off the author's knowledge of antique authors rather than his knowledge of contemporary sites.⁸⁹ In another case, a supposedly well-traveled courtesan in the court of the late sixteenth century had no knowledge of the canals of Venice.⁹⁰ Finally, the information that did exist was often significantly out of date after it had been translated through multiple languages: in one case, information in a popular guide providing information to travelers to the Holy Land was almost 200 years out of date, having been translated without the information having been updated.⁹¹

However, after the initial publication of various contemporary travel reports and edited volumes of ancient travel writing in the sixteenth century, humanist writers turned their attention towards creating a philosophy and methodology of travel, which would be called the *Ars Apodemica*, or, the art of travel.⁹² In general, the scholars of the Renaissance were enraptured with the idea of classifying and categorizing information, and determining where a certain piece of information went in a larger context.⁹³

of a wealthy patron. Pimlott, 67. Travelers had to limit themselves to cities, where safety was to be found. Bates, 101–102. In the later portion of the century, the Wars of Religion (1570 – 1598) made a difficult period for travel even more difficult; even after peace returned, however, travelers had to deal with a continent where maps were of poor quality, signposts were rare, and communication was difficult. Sigaux, 39; Bates 52–53, 293–294; Pimlott, 65.

⁸⁹Bates, 43–44.

⁹⁰Feifer, 87.

⁹¹Bates, 42–43.

⁹²Stagl, 51.

⁹³Leed, 195 ff.; for the ramifications of this shift see Stagl, 85–86.

In the mid-to late sixteenth century, Swiss doctor Theodor Zwinger, Justin Hieronymus Furler, and the German Herarius Pyrksmair began to explain how travelers could record and classify travel experiences based on the work of Peter Ramer, a well-known contemporary philosopher.⁹⁴ Pyrksmair's contribution, a pocket-sized book entitled *Commentariolus de arte apodemica seu ver peregrinandi ratione* (1577) proved to be particularly influential, as it contained a list of questions that travelers could ask about the areas that they visited.⁹⁵ Although Pyrksmair was one of the earliest to write about such methods, he was by no means alone. John Woolfe introduced the method to the English in 1589 via translation, and the sixteenth century saw authors writing under assumed Greek and Latin names such as Gruberus and Plotius writing similar methodologies.⁹⁶ Even Francis Bacon wrote a list of questions for the traveler to ask in his essay "Of Travel" (1612).⁹⁷ Such methodological works were wildly popular, and a preliminary search of late sixteenth- to late eighteenth-century literature reveals that there were approximately 300 books, pamphlets, etc. published in the hopes of promoting specific methods of travel.⁹⁸

These writers suggested that travelers make a wide variety of observations; one recommendation published in 1704 suggested that travelers note the following information: "climate, government, power, strength of fortifications, cities of note, religion, language, coins, trade, manufacturers, wealth, bishoprics, universities, antiquities, libraries, collections of rarities, arts and artists, public structures, roads, bridges, woods, mountains, customs, habits, laws, privileges, strange adventures and

⁹⁴Leed, 186; Adler, 11. For more information on how and why these authors categorized their information, how these systems were related to contemporary philosophical movements, and how travelers reported their findings, the reader is directed to Leed, 184 ff. and the entirety of Stagl.

⁹⁵Stagl, 60, 62.

⁹⁶In many cases the importance of such methods could often be found in the titles of the works, such as *A Method for Travell: shewed by taking the view of France as it Stood in the yeare of our Lord* (1598) or *Brief Instructions for Making Observations in All Parts of the World* (1692). Adler, 11, 14, 19; Bates, 35–39, 89; Stagl, 53.

⁹⁷Bacon's own *Preperative Toward Natural and Experimental History* and *Novum Organum* (both 1620) helped to further cement the categorical mindset in English philosophy.

⁹⁸Stagl, 70.

surprising accidents, rarities natural and artificial, soil, plants, [and] animals.”⁹⁹ Despite the wide range of interests mentioned in such works, travelers almost universally ignored reporting on the arts: even in Italy, painting and sculpture went virtually unmentioned in sixteenth and seventeenth century travel accounts.¹⁰⁰

There was also a striking difference between the sites examined by the Elizabethan Traveler and the Grand Tourist: in general, the Elizabethan-era travelers from Northern Europe who visited Rome did not spend any significant time visiting ancient sites, as they were more interested in the new temporal power of the church.¹⁰¹ The Grand Tourist, however, was typically more interested in antique remnants. Because of the high esteem in which these writers were held, many advisors suggested that traveler’s foreign observations, particularly in Italy, should give them the “occasion to call into remembrance that which is set down in Livy, Polibius, Tacitus, etc. [and] see before his eyes the truth of their discourses and the demonstration of their descriptions.”¹⁰² Not surprisingly, many travelers carried copies of these works with them. Similarly, Richard Lassel writes in *An Italian Voyage* (1670): ‘no man understands Livy and Caesar. . . like him who hath made exactly the *Grand Tour* of France and the *Giro* of Italy.’¹⁰³

The products of these quests were often shared with scholastic societies (which were still relatively new in the mid-sixteenth century) and scholastic correspondents across Europe.¹⁰⁴ Observations were also frequently published in journals such as

⁹⁹Leed, 188.

¹⁰⁰Adler, 13; however, for a few exceptions, see T. Fragenberg, “Chorographies of Florence, the Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century,” *Imago Mundi*, XLVI (1994), and Thomas Fragenberg and Robert Williams, eds., *The Beholder : the Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006.

¹⁰¹Feifer 86; Stagl, 65.

¹⁰²Lipsius, qtd. in Adler, 10.

¹⁰³James Buzard. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 109. Additionally, Joseph Addison’s *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705) provided the reader with classical passages selected for various sites. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴Adler, 15.

the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, which frequently desired objective, quantifiable measurements.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the practice could be summed up by Samuel Johnson's comments in 1774: "To count is a modern practice," he wrote, and "modern travelers measure"; he took his own advice and measured dimensions of castle rooms, as well as steps in towers.¹⁰⁶ However, non-published accounts, such as those found in diaries, letters and handwritten manuscripts, also achieved wide circulation, particularly at royal courts.¹⁰⁷

Yet, as travel guides, both the volumes on methodology and the resulting reports came up short. The majority of the methodological works were concerned with theoretical justifications for travel, as well as instructions on how to take notes on cities, and use scientific tools. Practical advice was limited to some simple medical remedies, and methodological tips, such as 'never be without paper or pen'; upon arriving in a new city mount a church steeple or other high point in order to view one's surroundings suitably; and, in the seventeenth century, to report in plain dry language, so that others will find the resulting reports credible.¹⁰⁸ Descriptions of the places that the travelers should see and visit were often the smallest component of the works.¹⁰⁹ Further, evidence indicates that these books were difficult to obtain, and fairly obscure, even to the literate traveler.¹¹⁰ And, although travel reports generated large amounts of data that would be interesting for later sociologists, economists, and anthropologists, practical advice for the traveler, such as where to sleep for the night, how to get to the next town, and where to find a certain individual or site of interest would need

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 13–18.

¹⁰⁶ Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 20. This obsession with numbers and figures remains today; it is particularly evident in the descriptions written for the WPA Guides, which are discussed in Section 3.8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 17–20; Feifer, 66.

¹⁰⁹ Stagl, 71 ff.

¹¹⁰ For instance, Andrew Boorde, an English physician and traveler had published his *Fyrst Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge* before 1542, and James Howell had published in 1642, but all claim to be first guide to the continent. Bates, 42. For information on the publication numbers of books, see Fred Ingles, *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), 185.

to come from locals, or from a guide or tutor who accompanied the young men on these expeditions. Additionally, significant travel information was still communicated among the lettered elite by letter, and on-the-ground information was often supplied through extended social networks, which utilized letters of introduction to provide assistance.¹¹¹

2.6 *Eighteenth Century*

By the end of the seventeenth century, the mapping of Europe by these gentleman travelers was virtually complete, and major cities and sites were illustrated in published engravings.¹¹² As time passed, the serious scholarly work which seventeenth century travelers strove for was increasingly given to professional scientific expeditions; the travelers who remained were, in general, more relaxed, more focused on entertainment, and the rest of travelers had become somewhat less serious in their outlook.¹¹³

All of this is not to say that the eighteenth century rejected the role of travel as education; however, it redefined the subject of that education. While more erudite scholars such as Johnson and Boswell argued for the more scholarly aspects of the older traditions; the majority of travelers appear to ignore their pleas.¹¹⁴ While the previous centuries had been dedicated to learning the substance of statecraft, the eighteenth could be characterized as focusing on external appearances, and achieving enough sophistication to succeed in international politics. To them, the Grand Tour had become a finishing school, where one could learn the necessary arts of ‘riding,

¹¹¹Feifer, 65; Stagl, 77. For examples, see Bates, 58.

¹¹²Stagl, 82. Indeed, it appears that there was a significant increase in geographical knowledge over this period. By 1786, Boswell did not need to describe Loch Lomond to readers; however, a few hundred years before, an ostensibly well-traveled English courtier did not know that Venice was crisscrossed by canals. Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770–1914: Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 17–23.

¹¹³Stagl, 89; Leed, 193–94.

¹¹⁴Withey, 5, 7.

fencing, dancing, wooing fashionable ladies' and brandishing a sharp wit.¹¹⁵ As one contemporary guide put it, "[the traveler] must apply himself also to know the fashion and garb of the court, observe the person and genius of the Prince, and enquire of the greatest noblemen and their pedigree."¹¹⁶ Others argued that travel was for "polite education, the love of variety, the pursuit of health."¹¹⁷ Such a focus can be detected in the titles of guides themselves, such as the appearance of 'gentleman,' 'society' and 'manners' in Thomas Martyn *A Gentleman's Guide in His Tour Through France* (1787) and John Moore's *A View of Society and Manners In Italy* (1792), as well as in the comments of travelers, who frequently spent more time reporting on the quality of the entertainment and hospitality of their hosts than the sites they visited.¹¹⁸

In the main, eighteenth century gentlemen travelers would be more concerned with the tour of Europe as a social polishing exercise than an opportunity to conduct sociological data gathering. However, some elements remained, and by the eighteenth century, traveler's observations were becoming increasingly concerned with political and military elements, in accordance with the increasing nationalism of the time. Guides, such as *The Patriotic Traveler* (1789), by Leopold Grad Berchthold, contained 2,443 questions that the traveler could attempt to answer about areas which they visited, many about the political and military might of other nations.¹¹⁹

Not all were pleased with these developments, particularly the lighthearted focus on entertainment. By 1760, Samuel Johnson complained that travelers moved too quickly through the towns of Europe: entering a town one night, examining it the next day, and leaving that afternoon; while local citizens complained that aggressive English noblemen attempted to seduce local ladies without putting in the requisite

¹¹⁵Feifer, 96; also see Inglis, 68.

¹¹⁶James Howell, *Instructions for Forraine Travel*, qtd. in Feifer, 96.

¹¹⁷Inglis, 69.

¹¹⁸William Edward Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Houston Mifflin Company, 1914), 284 ff.

¹¹⁹Leed, 187; Adler, 16, 21.

time.¹²⁰ With such rapid movement, a number of travelers voiced the need for established itineraries that would highlight the most important aspects of a town or region.¹²¹

No doubt some of these developments were due to improvements in infrastructure. For the first time, something approximating a reasonable level of comfort was possible in eighteenth century travel—roads and inns were of higher quality, and the general spread of civilization meant that travel to non-urban areas was becoming much safer. Presumably, all of these changes caused an increase in the number of travelers. By 1785, there were reports that 40,000 English traveled to the Continent every year; although, in the early half of the century, their travel was typically limited to areas in modern-day France, Italy, Germany, and Belgium.¹²²

Not surprisingly, the increase in the number of travelers, and the lower barriers to travel meant that more travel was undertaken solely for enjoyment. This change occurred early in the century, and can perhaps best be marked with the publication of Thomas Taylor's *Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Traveling into Foreign Parts* in 1722. While previous guides had continued providing objective information in the tradition of the *Mirabilia* or Palladio's *L'antichità*, Taylor's spent a considerable amount of time explaining how travelers could be comfortable on the road.¹²³ Other portions of the work were taken up explaining the bureaucratic regulations on travel, and new elements of foreign travel, such as passports, which first appeared in the seventeenth century.¹²⁴ Other sections dealt with less wholesome aspects of continental travel. The *Pocket Companion* taught its reader basic phrases in five foreign languages by depicting an exchange between a young gentlemen and the chambermaid

¹²⁰Inglis, 71–72.

¹²¹Adler, 13.

¹²²Within those areas, travelers typically limited themselves to major cities: Paris, Geneva, Rome, Florence, Venice, and Naples. Withey, 6–7.

¹²³Inglis, 18; Feifer, 100.

¹²⁴Withey, 10.

he is attempting to seduce.¹²⁵ Practical advice contained in other similar included warnings on card sharps and women of ill-repute.¹²⁶

A number of other guides in the same vein quickly followed. Edward Wright published *Some Observations Made in Traveling Through France and Italy* in 1730, while Breval's *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe* appeared in 1738. Grosley's *Observations on Italy made in 1764* was printed in that year, and was followed by Duclos's *Voyage en Italie* (1766), and Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy* (1766). However, the best known of these would be Thomas Nugent's *Grand Tour, containing an exact description of most of the cities, towns and remarkable places of Europe* (1756), which gave a volume each to France, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Nugent's entry for a traveler just arriving in Calais should give the reader an appreciation of the kinds of practical information that began to appear in eighteenth century guides:

At the post house, which is the Silver Lion, kept by Mr. Grandsire, you bargain for a chaise to go to Paris; if there be only one person, he will let you have a pretty good one for two guineas and a half; and if two, he will have three guineas. You have the privilege of carrying a great weight of portmanteaus and trunks behind your post-chaise; but their horses are very indifferent, so that it is not advisable to encumber yourself with too much baggage. . . .¹²⁷

2.6.1 Rome

As previously stated, Rome was a significant destination for many eighteenth century tourists, and several developments in Roman travel would presage the development of picturesque and romantic theories of travel later in the century. Although religious tensions caused English travelers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to avoid Rome, by the mid-seventeenth century, English travelers were returning to

¹²⁵Feifer, 115.

¹²⁶Withey, 17.

¹²⁷Thomas Nugent, *Grand Tour*, qtd. in Mead, 57.

Rome, and by the eighteenth century, the pope would even meet with protestants.¹²⁸ These travelers would be some of the first to focus on the roles of art and emotion and how they should relate to one's travels.

Eighteenth century travelers to Rome often read historical accounts or antique authors in an attempt to form a closer emotional connection to the events that transpired there.¹²⁹ Slightly earlier Joseph Addison used Horace and Virgil as his guidebooks to Rome, and had the idea to create a guide to the city made of quotes compiled from antique authors.¹³⁰ In other cases, travelers interested in art would use art books, such as *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* by Johann Winckelmann, to guide themselves through the treasures of the city.¹³¹ Additionally, more traditional guides, which provided the travelers with possible itineraries, such as Thomas Martyn's *The Gentleman's Guide to His Tour Through Italy* (1787) began to include entries on artwork that the travelers should not miss.¹³²

With travelers being interested in the past, art, and emotion, illustrated works which could display the glories of the past, such as those of Piranesi, also became popular. Some of Piranesi's etchings were used to illustrate Roman guidebooks by Barbiellini (published c. 1742) and Amidei and Giovanni Bouchard, while the larger format etchings in Piranesi's *Vedute di Rome* or *Views of Rome*, (c. 1740) were frequently collected as souvenirs.¹³³ Additionally, a number of English tourists still hired personal guides, many of whom were English Catholics who had relocated to

¹²⁸Withey, 7.

¹²⁹Feifer, 116.

¹³⁰Withey, 26; Feifer, 98.

¹³¹Inglis, 25.

¹³²Although Rome held some of the most important pieces of art in existence at the time, Florence, Paris, and a handful of other cities held other artistic treasures. Although these works were almost universally held in private collections, travelers of satisfactory appearance could typically examine the objects without much problem. At Versailles, for instance, the appearance of a gentleman mandated fine clothes and a sword, although there were so many travelers who wished to see the art of the palace that swords could be rented at the site. Withey, 16, 21.

¹³³Inglis, 27; Luigi Ficacci, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: the Complete Etchings* (Koln, Germany: Taschen, 2000), 16, 21.

Italy.¹³⁴

2.7 *The Romantic Traveler*

As the eighteenth century reached its midpoint, the emphasis on travel as a way of learning social graces was growing old. Although the Romantic movement proper has been classified as beginning with the publication of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* in 1774, hints of the movement were occurring in travel habits well before Goethe's work.¹³⁵ Hints of the new focus on the picturesque have appeared in the analysis of Roman travel, particularly the importance of the atmosphere created by Piranesi's paintings. Additionally, an increasing focus on the production and the development of connoisseurship meant that eighteenth-century travelers were required to develop skills that would allow them to be receptive to emotional components of artwork.¹³⁶

Indeed, after the middle of the eighteenth century, instead of traveling for social learning, the young men, and, a few young women of the period, were predominantly traveling to sample the extreme emotions that came to be so prized during the Romantic period, and society's concurrent focus on the picturesque. In the case of the English, the desire for more extreme emotions took them to less traveled, or even untamed regions; the English Lake District, Scotland and Wales, and the Swiss Alps, were all favorite destinations for travelers of this period; other hitherto exotic areas, such as Greece and eastern Europe, also attracted some travelers.¹³⁷ As travel expanded into these regions, new forms of guides and guidebooks were created to cater to travelers.

¹³⁴Withey, 26–27.

¹³⁵The origins of the romantic and the picturesque are certainly too complicated to examine in the present work, but simply, changing philosophical views and shifting aesthetics both played a role. Edmund Burke's *An Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime or Beautiful* (1756) was particularly important. Changing religious views were also involved in the shift. Withey, 39, 43–44.

¹³⁶Adler, 22.

¹³⁷Leed, 186.

These travelers by no means represented the average eighteenth century tourist; they were well-to-do, and well educated, and they were at the cutting edge of larger philosophical movements. Further, their education, along with the inherent qualities of the movement made them particularly influenced by the arts and literature. Despite their education, however, they did not try and replicate the information-gathering exploits of the Renaissance or the Enlightenment, but rather, attempted to savor the emotional experience. The real romantic, as Byron stated, “took no notes, asked no questions.”¹³⁸ In many ways, Tennyson’s line from “Ulysees:” “I cannot rest from travel: I will drink / Life to the lees” could characterize travel attitudes in the later portion of the eighteenth century, and early portions of the nineteenth.

2.8 English Lake District

The English Lake District, had been visited by travelers in search of the picturesque since the middle portion of the eighteenth century, and one early guide (William Hutchinson’s *An Excursion to the Lakes*) dates to 1744.¹³⁹ However, some of the most influential early picturesque guides in England were written by the Rev. William Gilpin, an English clergyman; Gilpin’s first book concerning travel was *Observations on the River Wye* which was published in 1770. Gilpin wrote several other *Observations on...* volumes, all of which provided the reader with a guide to picturesque locales, and provided a rustic version of the tour guides which had appeared in cities for centuries.¹⁴⁰ Although Gilpin informs his viewers of how to reach these sites, his *Observations* are guides to the extent that they explain to the reader how to see; unlike previous guides, which would provide the history of a site, or figures describing

¹³⁸Qtd. in Feifer, 153.

¹³⁹Jack Simmons, “Railways, Hotels, and Tourism in Great Britain,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 19(2) (1984), 212. Travel to the area, as well as Scotland and Wales, received a boost during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the Seven Years War, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars all limited British travel to the continent. Withey, 5–6, 45 ff.

¹⁴⁰Anthony Burton and Pip Burton, *The Green Bag Travellers: Britain’s First Tourists*, (London: Deutsh, 1978), 32–34.

a town, Gilpin's work analyzes scenes to determine how well they conform to his theories of beauty. One of Gilpin's typical analysis is found in his *Observations on the Western Parts of England, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*

The end-screen which shuts in the beautiful vale just described, consists of the range of hills beyond Dorking; and the rising grounds of Deepden; where on a clear day, a new house, built by the Duke of Norfolk, makes a conspicuous object. A little to the left of Dorking hills, the high grounds gradually falling, admit a distant catch of the South downs, which overhang the sea. . . The view over the vale, (beautiful as it is,) is subject, however, to inconvenience. Every house should, if possible, overlook its *own domains*, as far at least as to remote distance. All the intermediate space, in which objects are seen more distinctly, may suffer great injury from the caprice of different proprietors: and, in fact, this view has, in two or three instances, suffered injury from the interference of neighbors. This is indeed one reason, among others, why noble palaces, with extensive property on ever side, are most adapted to these commanding situations. Norbury-house pretends only to comfort and convenience; except in the drawing room, which is an object of great curiosity. It is an oblong of 30 feet by 24. The walls are covered with a hard and durable stucco, and are painted by Barret. The whole room represents a boer or harbour, admitting a *fictitious* sky through a large oval at the top, and covered at the angles with trellis-work, interwoven with honey-suckles, vines, clustering grapes, and flowering creepers of various kinds. The sides of the room are divided by slight painted pilasters, appearing to support the trellis roof; and open to four views. Towards the *fourth* is *real*, consisting of the vale enclosed by Vox-hill, and the hills or Norbury, and Doking, which hath been just described. The other three are *artificial*. Two of them, which are the two end-views, cover the whole sides of the room from the ceiling to the base.¹⁴¹

Gilpin continues at length on the charms of the faux-views painted on the walls, as well as a painting room in the same house, and the statuary that it contains. However the comments that he makes are often related to interiors and decoration, rather than architecture; indeed, Gilpin appears rather dismissive towards architecture proper, when he writes: "Great houses in general resemble each other so nearly, that it is difficult to find among them any characteristic features."¹⁴²

¹⁴¹William Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, Richmond, VA: Richmond Publishing Company, 1973), 13–15.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 28.

A number of similar guides followed, the most popular was that of Thomas West, whose *Guide to the Lakes* went through twelve editions from 1778 to 1833.¹⁴³ West's guide was distinguished by the specificity in which he guided viewers through the landscape, leading them to the proper spot to take in the view. Other popular guides included James Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes* (1787), and William Wordsworth's *A Guide through the District of the Lakes* (first published in 1810 and revised several times before 1835); other travelers walked the English Lake district with copies of Wordsworth's poems.¹⁴⁴ In short, demand seemed to surge for books that would explain to the traveler how to see with the same eyes as the author.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps the level of these authors' success can be seen in the publication of William Combe's *The Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (1821)—an irreverent poem that mocked Gilpin and similar writers, while remarking on their power over the English people.

2.9 Scotland and Wales

Travelers who were not satiated by the exciting landscape of the English Lake District could venture into Scotland or Wales. In the mid-eighteenth century, Scotland remained something of a wild land on the border of England, despite that the two countries had formed a unified government in 1707. As late as 1745, Scottish clans had fought against the English in northern Scotland. Despite that, several travelers visited the country, and wrote accounts of their trip. While Daniel Defoe's *Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Britain* was published in 1724-26, significant travel to the region would not occur for another fifty-odd years. *A Tour in Scotland*, the account of Thomas Pennant, a member of the Welsh gentry, was published in 1769, and was widely publicized.¹⁴⁶ In 1773, Samuel Johnson and James Boswell took a similar trip

¹⁴³Withey, 47, 52; Simmons, 212.

¹⁴⁴Withey, 56–60.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁴⁶Grenier, 16; Burton and Burton, 14.

to Scotland; their notoriety caused many travelers to follow in their footsteps, which were recorded in volumes published in 1775 and 1786.¹⁴⁷

Although these early travelers published accounts of their travels, such reports did not provide sufficient information to guide the traveler, but mainly to encourage them to visit with reports of some of the more notable sites, that they would see. The lack of readily-published practical advice meant that locals offered their services as guides to intrepid travelers who arrived before the main body of travelers could support a proper guidebook, particularly in the more outlandish parts of Northern Scotland.¹⁴⁸ However, as time passed, publishers and authors quickly realized that creating such guides would be profitable. In 1791 *Scotland Delineated, or a Geographical Description of every shire in Scotland* was published; it was followed by *The Traveler's Guide or, a Topographical Description of Scotland* in 1798 and 1814, and *The Gazetteer of Scotland* in 1803.¹⁴⁹ A number of authors have discussed how these guides and the travel that they sparked created a nationalistic feeling and British pride that cemented the political union in the subject's hearts.¹⁵⁰

For the most part, guides to Scotland and Wales were the intellectual descendants of seventeenth century travel reports: they contained information on “topography, history, economy, demography, customs, urban environment, and social structure.”¹⁵¹ Other guides of the period continued to provide information on visiting factories, prisons, and places of business that followed new ideas—all items that first rose to prominence in the Elizabethan era.¹⁵² However, the guidebooks did not entirely

¹⁴⁷Grenier, 16–17, 41.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 33, 38.

¹⁴⁹Other notable guides included Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* in 1771 and *Tour in Wales* in (1778); as well as Joseph Cradock's *An Account of Some of the Most Romantic Parts of North Wales* (1777).

¹⁵⁰For more on this unusual role of guides, see Grenier, 13, 17, 31.

¹⁵¹Grenier, 13; in many cases, guides provided detailed tables and statistics, such as a record of the number of men that belonged to each Scottish Tribe as of 1707. George Anderson, *Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1851), 28.

¹⁵²Grenier, 23.

ignore the role of human emotion in travel, which had so recently been addressed by the Romantic movement. Newer guidebooks would walk the viewer through the emotional expectations of the scene, spending considerable time setting the scene for what would follow.¹⁵³

Near the end of the eighteenth century, literature and literary goals became as important to the Scottish area as Wordsworth's poems would be to the English Lake district. While *A Concise Guide to Kenilworth Castle* was first published in 1777; the romantic view of the site put forward by Scott in his 1821 *Kenilworth*, helped the guide run to twenty-six editions by 1842.¹⁵⁴ Early nineteenth century travelers were also keen to visit sites depicted in Sir Walter Scott's work, particularly The Trossachs and Loch Katrine, both depicted in *The Lady of the Lake*, published in 1810.¹⁵⁵

2.9.1 The Swiss Alps and Continental Travel

Although various continental conflicts meant that a number of British travelers in the late eighteenth century kept to their own land, not all Picturesque or Romantic travel was limited to Great Britain. Various authors had noted that the Swiss Alps had 'potential' as early as 1739, and an account of a expedition to the Alps was presented to the Royal Society in 1741, however, in the early portion of the century, both aesthetes and travelers rejected the beauty of the mountains, instead opting for more idyllic locations on the shores of Swiss lakes.¹⁵⁶ Yet by the 1760s, considerable numbers of travelers were taking excursions from Geneva to see the glaciers of the Swiss Alps. Unlike previous travelers, who saw the mountains as a purgatory that must be endured to reach the paradise of Italy, these travelers sought out the feelings of danger which were favored with the newly appreciated sublime.¹⁵⁷ Such trips were

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁵⁴Vaughan, 55.

¹⁵⁵Withey, 55.

¹⁵⁶Pimlott, 187; Withey, 21.

¹⁵⁷Feifer, 107.

fueled by Rousseau's *Confessions* (1782), which praised the characteristics of the Alps as they related to his own quest for emotion: "I need torrents, rocks, firs, dark woods, mountains, steep roads to climb or descend, abysses beside me to make me afraid."¹⁵⁸ Like the English Lake District, guides that instructed the viewer how to interpret the scene became common; and by 1820, the Alps had become a destination for tourists; by that time a nature-seeking Wordsworth despaired at finding paved roads and English acquaintances in the Alps.¹⁵⁹

Travelers to more exotic continental sites such as Greece or Turkey typically did not have the luxury of written guides, as the small number of travelers did not make the production of such guides economically feasible. Instead, these travelers would experience the emotion of the age by using literary devices as their guides: the experience of reading Homer while visiting the ruins of Troy was a common one among this small group.¹⁶⁰ Other continental travelers often used Byron's epic poem, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, as a guide to Europe.¹⁶¹ Despite the popularity of these works, as well as those of Wordsworth and Scott, on travel journeys in the eighteenth century, the use of literary texts as a travel guide was a short-lived phenomenon. Although numerous nineteenth century writers, such as Charles Dickens (*American Notes for General Circulation* (1842) and *Pictures from Italy* (1848)) or Samuel Clemens (The Innocents Abroad or The New Pilgrims' Progress (1869) or *Roughing It* (1872)) would write descriptions or novels based on their travels, few later nineteenth century travelers would rely on them for traveling information; rather, they would turn to a new breed of mass produced popular guidebook.

¹⁵⁸Jean Jaques Rousseau, *The Confessions* (London: Penguin, 1953), 167.

¹⁵⁹Withey, 44–45.

¹⁶⁰Inglis, 19.

¹⁶¹Withey, 56–60.

CHAPTER III

THE GUIDEBOOK FROM THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE 21ST

As we trace the development of the architectural guide from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present, we find that an increase in literacy rates, increased economic prosperity, and the possibility of significant leisure time for the common man all led to an increase in the publication of guides and travel-related literature. Because of this rise in production, this chapter must necessarily be more selective in the works that it considers.

This selectivity is two-fold. First, this chapter is concerned with guides that are primarily about architecture. Chapter 2 limited discussion to travel guides, or material that was at least guide-like, as well as to works which had a significant interest in the built environment. However, the lack of formal architectural guides in that time period encouraged us in Chapter 2 to examine works which were even marginally related to architecture. This chapter will focus only on architectural guides; even within that group, this chapter selects particularly influential guidebooks, which were typically published in a series. Comments on architectural guides which are not part of a series are presented in the following chapter. Second, the present chapter is concerned only with architectural works which are primarily guides. There are a number of works which may be related to architecture and travel, yet are not architectural guidebooks—a selected list of these types of work appears at the end of this chapter. However, as these books are not properly guidebooks, they are not included in this study.

Although this chapter focuses on the history of the architectural guide from the

beginning of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first, historical trends do not necessarily align themselves evenly within the respective centuries. As a result, the previous chapter considered some early nineteenth century travel guides which were, in spirit, more connected to eighteenth century Romanticism than nineteenth century industrialism. Similarly, while this chapter will concentrate on the travel guides which first appeared in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it will also consider some late eighteenth century guides which are, in spirit, more strongly the products of the increasingly egalitarian nineteenth century.

3.1 Middle Class Travel

The romantic travelers who were discussed at the close of the last chapter were unique in their education, wealth, and social standing. Their lengthy excursions to the continent, and their long vacations to the wilds of Scotland were well beyond the reach of the common laborer, and even the burgeoning middle class.¹ Still, even in the eighteenth century, English subjects who could not afford lengthy excursions to Scotland or the Continent did not forgo travel altogether. Instead, the nascent middle class typically traveled to more accessible locals, typically natural spas or the seashore.²

These domestic travelers were often in need of guidance, and were sustained by guides which were similar to those which guided their continental brethren (albeit typically limited in scope to a particular city). Such guides provided short descriptions of notable sites and monuments, with personal critiques supplied by the author; the guides also provided some information as to the quality of hotels and businesses likely to be useful to travelers. When describing local sites and monuments these domestic

¹A 37 day tour of Britain was the equivalent of over 3 years salary for regular workers. Burton and Burton, 17. Additionally, the social difference between travelers could be seen in the pricing of international guidebooks, which were considerably more than the domestic guides discussed below. Vaughan, 87–88.

²Traveling to spas and baths for both health and relaxation is an English tradition that dates to the sixteenth century; sea bathing had become socially acceptable c. 1700. Pimlott, 24–36, 50–51.

works were written at a fairly sophisticated level, and contained a number of classical allusions and scholarly findings. However, the guides also spent a considerable amount of time discussing issues of concern to the new middle class, such as the etiquette of tipping, and providing moralistic discourses on the plight of the lower classes.³

With respect to the information provided, the authors ostensibly had little higher motive in mind than to satiate the curious traveler. “[T]he object” of one 1806 volume, for instance, was “[t]o supply. . . the curious inquirer with a concise Account of the City and Neighbourhood.”⁴ Similarly, a 1814 guide to Bristol attempted to “direct the stranger to such objects as are considered, either curious or interesting.”⁵ Accordingly, the focus of such guide entries are somewhat scattered and provide a mixture of description, history, traditional knowledge, and gossip; the following is an example from a later, but substantively similar guide:

The parish ch. of *Bottreaux*, or *Forrabury*, with its “silent tower” from which it is said the merry peal has never sounded, is situated above Boscastle, and close to the soaring headland of Willapark Point. It is dedicated to St. Simforian, whom according to the tradition, was buried in it, and hence, perhaps the name of Forrabury. An ancient granite cross, resting upon a pedestal of limestone, stands outside the churchyard. The following legend is connected with the church....⁶

The authors of these guides were typically middle-class individuals, who often wrote under pseudonyms, and were compensated by subscriptions to their works. In accordance with their intended audience, the vast majority of their subscribers were either members of the middle class or clergy.⁷ The guides themselves were published

³Vaughan, 82–84. A complete analysis of all English guides written between c. 1780 and 1870 is beyond the scope of the current work, as existing copies are extremely rare; for a specialist’s view, see Vaughan’s work in its entirety, which bases its analysis on a large personal library of such guides.

⁴*Ibid.*, 71.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Murray’s Handbook to Devon and Cornwall* (1851) qtd. in Vaughan, 75.

⁷In one 1782 example, of 297 original subscribers, thirteen were members of the clergy, 244 were middle class, and only forty were members of the lower gentry. Vaughan, 85.

by small local firms, or by then-popular circulating libraries, although guides to outlying cities could often be obtained in London.⁸ In larger cities, multiple guides sprung up from competing publishers; each guide attempted to lay claim that it was the first guide to a particular city, and that its age entitled it to both the traveler's trust and coin.⁹

By the end of the eighteenth century, such guides were quite popular, and by 1806, the Rev. William Jenkins Rees wrote "the utility of Treatises of the nature of the present is so often experienced and acknowledge, that an apology for the publication of the work scarcely seems necessary; indeed, considerable surprise has been expressed by several that Hereford has been so long without its GUIDE."¹⁰ By mid-century, the publications of these guides was in full swing; however, such guides frequently referred travelers to County directories, such as those published by Kelly, White, and Pigot, for up-to-date information on practical information such as the locations of businesses and cost of train fares.¹¹

As the century progressed, middle class travelers could also purchase guides to aristocratic mansions and ancient churches, such as Westminster Abbey; such guides typically focused on the objects d'art contained in these buildings.¹² In this way, nineteenth century middle class travel followed the model set up by eighteenth century noblemen's appreciation of artwork in the private residences of France and Italy.

⁸*Ibid.*, 110.

⁹*Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁰Qtd. in Vaughan, 70–71.

¹¹Vaughan, 72–74. Additionally, the directories typically included some basic information on the history of local institutions and edifices which would be of interest to the traveler. A sample of Kelly's 1893 Cornwall Directory can be found at <http://www.british-genealogy.com/resources/books/directories/con1893/9009pz.pdf>

¹²Travelers had visited Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill as early as the mid-eighteenth century; however, by the mid-part of the nineteenth century, guides were available to Blenheim, Burghley House, Chatsworth, Hampton Court, Holkham, Windsor Castle and Woburn. Admission to these houses was typically one day a week or a month, and required the payment of a small admission fee (Vaughan, 74–76, 95, 117.

3.2 Mass Travel

While rising Middle Class was traveling further away from their homes, similar changes were taking place among the masses, particularly as the century progressed. Indeed, in the middle of the century, Thomas Cook would bring the guided tour to the masses, by working with railroads to provide reasonably priced transportation to lower-income individuals. While the guides produced by Cook and similar firms would not be terribly influential from a content perspective (in fact, they were often taken in large part from previous middle-class guides), they would play an important role in the production of guidebooks for the masses.

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, roads were undergoing continual improvement, and carriage service was becoming faster than ever before. Improvements to both roads and carriage technology between 1750 and 1825 were particularly impressive. However, the limitations of the coach and the limitations of horse-powered transport, generally, meant that travel by coach was still difficult, and, for the masses, prohibitively expensive. During the early years of the nineteenth century, travel opportunities were limited enough that the influx of 800 to 1,000 visitors to a seaside town meant that the site was wildly popular.¹³

It was the development of the steam engine in the early portion of the century, and its products, the passenger railroad and the steamboat, that offered inexpensive transportation to the masses. Even in the early years of the steam engine, faster speeds and lower expenses meant that the railroad could carry more than nine times the number of people carried by coaches on the same route, and that steamboats were efficient enough to provide tourist trips for the masses.¹⁴

The development of the steam engine and the role of the railroad would have profound social consequences for both England and the United States; one of the most

¹³Pimlott, 75-76.

¹⁴Vaughan, 35-36; Pimlott, 77-78.

important of these was the increasing contact between the country-dweller and the city-dweller. Easy and affordable transportation to London and other cities meant that new products, as well as developments in fashion and morals, spread quickly from urban centers to the outlying country.¹⁵ Predictably, many country-dwellers were anxious to see these cities—particularly London—and a number of guides sprang up to shepherd the ostensibly naive country-dweller through the dangers of the city. Such guides were written in the same vein as the guides addressed to the Continental traveler several decades earlier. Many of these guides, such as *The Countryman's Guide to London; or Villainy Detected* (1780) or *The Stranger's Guide, or Frauds of London Detected* (1808), warned visitors straight from the country about the preponderance of prostitutes in the capital, as well as various ways fellow countrymen would attempt to overcharge, steal from, or swindle their country cousins. Such publications continued until at least 1835, with William Kidd's *London and All its Dangers* and *London and All its Miseries*.¹⁶

However, the railway's effects were not one-sided. Inexpensive travel afforded city-dwellers the opportunity to enjoy the restorative effects of the countryside on Sundays and holidays; moreover the ability of railroads to allow working-class individuals to maintain family relationships across great-distances was one of the great benefits of the railroad, that was trumpeted by government and commercial interests alike.¹⁷ As early as the 1830s, specially-priced 'excursion trains' took poorer children to the country for the day, and their parents to events such as church bazaars held outside the city. In some cases, benevolent employers paid employees' and employees' families' fare; such trips were fairly popular by 1844.¹⁸

Simple pamphlet guides written for these railroad passengers frequently pointed

¹⁵Vaughan, 32–34.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 26–27.

¹⁷Pimlott, 79–94.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 90–94.

out ‘objects worthy of notice’ between stations.¹⁹ While these guides were numerous, and from all accounts popular, those of Thomas Cook are the easiest for the modern reader to examine. Although Cook’s first guides do not appear to differ substantially from the mass of guides published at the time, the popularity of the Cook firm has allowed some of the original volumes to be republished, and to be more widely accessible to the reader.

3.3 Thomas Cook

Thomas Cook was a member of the English temperance movement who despised the fact that undereducated nineteenth century workers who had been forced to work hard throughout the week frequently wanted to spend their off hours enjoying the products of the public house. Cook’s self imposed challenge, which he shared with his colleagues in the Abstinence Society, was to provide non-alcoholic entertainment for these individuals. Cook began by organizing a day trip from Leicester to Loughborough to attend a temperance meeting in 1841, and showed considerable skill in organizing the trip. He offered his first professional trip in 1845, which would be a pleasure trip to the seaside city of Liverpool.²⁰

For this trip, Cook put together *A Handbook of the Trip to Liverpool*, which was based off of an earlier guide titled *The Stranger’s Guide through Liverpool*, which described “the various public buildings, &c.,” in an order convenient to travelers.²¹ The early portion of Cook’s guide is dedicated to the sites that could be seen from the train, which resulted in a veritable Who’s Who of the mansions of the gentry living in the surrounding countryside: “On the left, Allestree hall [sic], the seat of W. Evans, Esq.”²² The later portion of the guide is dedicated to the sights of Liverpool

¹⁹For illustrated examples, see S. Glover *The Peak Guide...* (1830) and *Black’s Guide to England and Wales* (1870) reproductions of which are provided in Vaughan, 63.

²⁰Thomas Cook, *A Hand Book of the Trip from Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby to Liverpool and the coast of North Wales* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1998), v.

²¹*Ibid.*, 29.

²²*Ibid.*, 12.

itself.

Cook's guide to Liverpool takes various approaches to the city, a trait that would be characteristic of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century guides. In some cases, the guide displays an almost seventeenth century focus on figures: bridges are described by the amount of timber used to make them, the width of the train shed is praised, and the cost of a tunnel is given.²³ In other cases, the Guide encourages travelers to examine institutions of interest; it directs travelers to the Police Office and the Gaol (with instructions on how to obtain access), the Canning Deck, the Salt House Docks, the Telegraph, the Mechanic's Institute, and Victoria Station, Manchester, where he suggests: "[a] few minutes may be profitably spent in viewing this splendid station and observing the excellent order which characterizes the deportment of the various officers and men on duty."²⁴

Cook's guide even includes comments that can be traced to the picturesque; Cook notes that: "From [St James's Walk's] summit may be seen very pleasing views. Indeed, the whole view is panoramic and picturesque; and, when seen in the mild light of a summer's morning, before the smoke has arisen, the prospect is most charming."²⁵ Other comments are written in an educational tone: "A beautiful building in the Elizabethan Gothic style. Don't be alarmed about the old wooden spire; it is not falling, although it inclines so much to the south west."²⁶

Despite the multifaceted types of comments in Cook's work, there is little else that places the guidebook in the pantheon of guidebook history. Cook's guide provided no maps for his travelers (their travels both to and from Liverpool were provided as part of the package tour), and, as stated previously, much of the contents of the guide itself were based on the earlier *Stranger's Guide*. From the mid-century on, Cook would

²³ *Ibid.*, 11–13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

organize outings to Scotland, the Continent, and America; but despite Cook's role in increasing travel and introducing the mass-market guided tour, the guides published by his company are of limited interest. The guides, which were supposed to enable a personal tour of a given area, were generally seen to be blatant advertisements for Cook's more traditional services, and were not seriously considered by booksellers.²⁷

3.4 *International Travel*

As the century progressed and as the collective wealth of society increased, international travel progressed apace. For the wealthy, the nineteenth century saw the publication of increasingly exotic guides: as early as 1818, those in London could buy guides to Paris, Rome, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany. By 1828, travelers could buy guides to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Spain, and Portugal, and by 1846, they could buy John Osborne's *Guide to the West Indies, Madeira, Mexico, Northern South-America, etc. from documents supplied by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company*.²⁸ While guidebook authors provided information and support, entrepreneurial businessmen provided the physical means of transportation: scheduled biweekly sailing to the United States began in 1818, while the 1830s saw the establishment of a regularly scheduled steamer passage of the English channel. The Napoleonic Wars resulted in the construction of the Simplon Pass to cross the Alps, and in 1835 a private company offered a cruise to Russia, Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land.²⁹

By Napoleon's defeat in 1815, even the middle class could afford to travel to the Continent. In many cases, upper-middle class British families began sending their daughters, as well as their sons, on a tour of Europe.³⁰ One of the first middle class

²⁷Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), 272.

²⁸Vaughan, 40–42. International guides were not a one-way phenomenon; although they are beyond the scope of this thesis, several non-English language guidebooks to England were published as early as the 17th century. For a number of references, see Vaughan, 50 ff.

²⁹Pimlott, 108; Withey, 63–65.

³⁰Withey, 60.

authors to write a travel guide was Mariana Starke (c. 1761 – 1838), an English author and playwright, who would become best known for her *Travels on the Continent: Written for the Use and Particular Information of Travelers* (1820), a guide that was published by John Murray, whose firm was well-known for publishing travel reports as well as Byron's poetry. Like Nugent's *Grand Tour*, Starke's work provided considerable practical advice, while expanding the scope of coverage to include Scandinavia, Portugal, and Russia. Starke's guide (and subsequent minor revisions to the guide) had several characteristics shared by modern guides: in Paris and Italy, Starke marked artistic objects of note with a number of exclamation points, a practice first used in a 1787 guide to France by Thomas Maryn; Stake's guide also contained several appendices which contained useful information regarding currency conversions and train schedules.³¹

3.5 Murray's Guides and Baedeker's Guides

Still, Starke's guide was by no means perfect. In the late eighteenth century, John Murray III, the son of Starke's publisher, used her work to guide him across the continent. Murray was frustrated by the a considerable number of errors in the book, which eventually caused him to write his own series of guides. Instead of attempting to be all-inclusive, as Starke's work attempted to be, Murray's guides omitted some of the history lessons found in Starke's work, and strove to highlight what *should* be seen rather than what *could* be seen. The first of his guides, to Holland, Belgium, and Northern Germany, was published in 1836, and guides to Southern Germany, Switzerland, and France quickly followed. Murray also published sixty volumes of domestic guidebooks, beginning with *A Handbook for Travelers in Devon and Cornwall* in 1851 and ending with *A Handbook for Travelers in Warwickshire* in 1899.³²

Murray did not write all of these guides by himself. Rather, he hired others to

³¹*Ibid.*, 68–69.

³²*Ibid.*, 69–70; Vaughan, 44, 47.

complete some of these guides, and, in doing so, launched the first guidebook series to be written by multiple authors. Despite the differences in authorship, the guides shared common characteristics. All of the guides were published in a 4.5 inch by 7 inch easy-to-carry format, bore a standard title: *Hand-Book for Travelers in. . .*, and were wrapped in a distinctive red binding. Further, each guide shared a common interior format, which provided different itineraries for trips ranging from three weeks to six months, a brief history and description of each region, and considerable practical advice for travelers.³³

Karl Baedeker (1801 –1859) was another printer’s son who would fundamentally change the world of guidebooks in the nineteenth century. In Baedeker’s early years, he had revamped a small guide to the Rhine that led the traveler between Mainz and Cologne.³⁴ Baedeker’s main contribution, however, would be a series of guidebooks which were modeled closely after those of Murray’s firm, which had already achieved phenomenal success.³⁵ Although Baedeker’s guides, which first appeared in 1839, were similar to Murray’s in most respects, Baedeker’s foremost innovation was his inclusion of very detailed maps in his guides. Although Murray’s guides had included a few maps, Baedeker’s were of much higher quality. However, both guides were instrumental in making maps an expected component of a guidebook; prior to these authors, maps were typically available only as an optional addendum to guides, and could easily double or more the price of a book.³⁶

In addition, both Baedeker and Murray attempted to condense as much information as possible into a small package. To that end, Murray’s guides utilized

³³Withey, 71.

³⁴Vaughan, 72.

³⁵Another difference between the competing guides was that Baedeker’s series began with domestic guides, and only later branched into international travel; in contrast, Murray’s series began with international guides, and was only later completed by domestic offerings. One author suggests that the difference was attributable to differences between English and German travel culture of the time. Withey, 73.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 70, 72.

very small type, while Baedeker's guides used the thin paper typically used to print Bibles.³⁷ Despite the publisher's novel attempts to decrease the size of the guides, their content remained similar to those found in domestic English guidebooks of the early part of the century—the guides were designed to satisfy curiosity, while imparting some knowledge of painters and other artists. In any event, by the mid-to-late portion of the century, both Murray's and Baedeker's guides had become almost synonymous with travel. Of Murray, one contemporary author wrote:

And now, in sober seriousness, what literary fame equals John Murray's? What portmanteau, with two shirts and a nightcap, hasn't got one Handbook? What Englishman issues forth at morn without one beneath his arm? How naturally does he compare the voluble statement of his *valet-de-place* with the testimony of the book. Does he not carry it with him to church, where, if the sermon be slow, he can read a description of the building? Is it not his guide at *table d'hôte*, teaching him when to eat, and where to abstain? Does he look upon a building, a statue, a picture, an old cabinet, or a manuscript, with whose eyes does he see it? With John Murray's to be sure!³⁸

Yet, for every Murray's Guide sold, Baedeker was close behind; one report said that Kaiser Wilhelm I stood at a particular window of his palace to observe the changing of the guard, because, he said, "[i]t's written in Baedeker that I watch the changing of the guard from that window, and the people have come to expect it."³⁹ Although other guides were published during the period, they were considerably less important than those of Murray and Baedeker.⁴⁰

³⁷Buzard, 67.

³⁸Charles Leaver, *Arthur O'Leary: His Wanderings and Ponderings in Many Lands* qtd. in Buzard. 64.

³⁹Buzard, 66. Although it is not possible to include them in the present work, there are a considerable number of literary allusions to guidebooks, which cast light on the relationship between travelers and their guides. In many cases, characters in these works are afraid of appreciating the 'wrong' type of art. In *A Room With a View*, E.M. Forster describes Lucy Honeychurch's confusion in visiting the church of Santa Croce after loosing her Baedeker: "Of course, it contained frescoes by Giotto, in the presence of whose tactile values she was capable of feeling what was proper. But who was to tell her which they were? She walked about disdainfully, unwilling to be enthusiastic over monuments of uncertain authorship or date." E.M. Forster, *A Room With a View* (Norfolk, CT: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922), 38. Other examples include Louisa May Alcott's *Poppies and Wheat*; E. Phillips Oppenheim's *The Malefactor*; and Kate Douglas Wiggin's "A Cathedral Courtship."

⁴⁰Some guides were specially-created for large events, such as the London Exposition; others

3.6 *Michelin Guides*

While English tourists were primarily aided by Murray's Guides, and German tourists were primarily aided by Baedeker's Guides, French tourists could rely on the Michelin company's Green Guides, which were meant to provide cultural information to travelers, to encourage tourism, and to increase the sales of Michelin tires. The guides, which were first published in 1900, first appeared in French, and described the various regions of France; eventually, they would be translated into English, and several other languages, and would cover portions of Europe, North America, and Asia.⁴¹

The Green Guides were not dedicated solely to architecture, but rather to *curiosités* of all kinds, of which buildings and ruins play a major part. Accordingly, each guide has an introductory section that educates the reader on the information needed to appreciate these curiosities, and provides information on topics ranging from botany to geography to history to cultural life. Each guide also provide practical information for the traveler, ranging from the types of food and wine one should order to the likelihood of finding a room for the evening in a particular town. In almost every case, the introductory section has several pages devoted to architecture. This section provides information for the architectural neophyte as well as the sophisticated architectural traveler; the novice is introduced to architectural terminology through an illustrated glossary of architectural terms, while the more advanced viewer finds information on architectural characteristics which are specific to the region. However,

were written for specialty audiences. Vaughan, 71. Finally, the Rev. George Musgrave wrote a book entitled *Cautions for the First Tour on the Annoyances, Shortcomings, Indecencies, and Impositions Incidental to Foreign Travel* (1863) which detailed the perils that faced women particularly on a mid-century trip to the continent. Buzard, 149–150. Musgrave appears to have written the piece under the pen name Viator Veraux (Latin for 'Truthful Traveler'); a reviewer's comment reveals the audience for the book: "[it] is really well worth the attention of those to whom it is addressed, namely, 'husbands, fathers, brothers, and all gentlemen going with female relatives on Continental excursions.'" *The Gentleman's Magazine*, review of *Cautions for the First Tour...*, by George Musgrave, July 1863, 84.

⁴¹Not surprisingly, the guides to France are considerably more detailed than the guides to other locales. For instance, there is an entire guide dedicated to Normandy, while the Western Portion of the United States, with the exception of San Francisco, is summarized in a single guide.

there is sometimes considerable variation in the way a topic is approached from one volume to the next.⁴²

The main body of each volume of the Green Guides is dedicated to an alphabetical listing of cities and towns in a given area, and the sites of interest in each. As the Green Guides were originally produced for wealthy automobile owners in the early portion of the twentieth century, they were written to appeal to the highly-cultured and educated members of the aristocracy, or the *nouveau riche*, who aspired to such social graces. Consequently, the early Green Guides' descriptions of sites frequently refer to historical events, as well as painters, sculptors, and architects. The descriptions found in more recent Green Guides have retained this high level of cultural sophistication, although the guides themselves have become more of a general travel resource, and now contain considerable amounts of information on restaurants, hotels and ski resorts, in addition to traditional descriptions of sites of interest.

In describing sites, the Green Guides use a zero to three star system to “turn a discerning eye on places to visit.”⁴³ This system is similar to that used by Baedeker, and the authors give a rating to every *curiosité* contained in the guide, whether it is a historical site, museum, or a noteworthy view. When dealing with buildings, Green Guides most often describe the structure, provide a short history of the site, and inform the reader of any artwork worthy of note; star-ratings are provided in the text, next to the object or view referenced:

Via S. Cesareo, the *decumanus* of the Roman city, leads to the **Sedile Dominova**, seat of city administration in the Angevin period. It consists of a loggia decorated with frescoes surmounted by a 17C ceramic dome...

⁴²*Italy* (2000), for instance, has a stunningly illustrated section on architecture, which uses hand-drawn elevations and perspectives with callouts to explain basic architectural terminology to the novice; in comparison, the architecture section in *Greece* (2001) utilizes almost no images, and attempts to explain more complicated architectural concepts, such as the origins of the orders, without accompanying illustrations.

⁴³Michelin Corporation, *The Green Guide: Greece* (Watford, England: Michelin Travel Publications, 2001), unnumbered section titled ‘The Green Guide: The Spirit of the Green Guide’; hereafter: Michelin, *Greece*.

the [Chiesa di S. Francesco] has a bulbous campanile and is flanked by delightful 13C **cloisters*** whose vegetable-motif capitals sustain interlaced arcades in the Sicilian-Arab style.⁴⁴

Constructed between 1754 and 1756 in honor of Louis XV, the arch is based off of the Arch of Septimius Severis, in Rome. The principal facade, which faces the plaza Stanislas, is done in the antique style. The right portion, dedicated to the gods of war is dedicated to the Prince of Victory; the left portion is dedicated to the goddesses of peace, and glorifies the Prince of Peace. The simpler rear facade faces the plaza de la Carrière.”⁴⁵

3.7 Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century American Guides

Thus far, this history of the guidebook has focused on European travel and architectural guides. However, to continue the development of the guidebook, it will be necessary to examine publications and travel writings on the other side of the Atlantic. Before the twentieth century, American travel guides differed substantially from those produced for European travelers. Those who ventured into the interior and the south were more adventurous travelers, who sought the thrill of discovery, or sociological insight rather than cultural education or leisure travel. Even into the 19th century, the majority of European pleasure travelers to the United States were limited to the Northeast, especially the Hudson River Valley.⁴⁶

3.7.1 Travel Writing in America

One of the earliest accounts of American Travel writing is the journal kept by Sarah Kemble Knight (1666-1727), which recounted a journey from Boston to New York in 1704–1705, and was posthumously published in 1825. Kemble, was an independent window and shrewd businesswoman, and her atypical social role was reflected in her unconventional journal, which contains wry comments on the challenges she faced

⁴⁴Michelin Corporation, *The Green Guide: Italy* (Watford, England: Michelin Travel Publications, 2000), 330, emphasis in original; hereafter: Michelin, *Italy*.

⁴⁵Michelin: Services de Tourisme, *Guide du Pneu Michelin: Vosges-Alsace* (Paris: Michelin, 1951), 95; translated from the French by the author.

⁴⁶The definitive work on the history of American travel is Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915).

during her journey, as well as humorous anecdotes regarding Puritan New-England. A large percentage of American travel writing during the nineteenth century was dedicated to the exploration of the land obtained in the Louisiana Purchase. Such works were typically written by the explorers who first examined the land, and were often based on their travel journals. The most famous of these writers were William Clark and Meriwether Lewis, whose expedition was documented in *The Journals of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806* and *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (1814). However, Lewis and Clark were not alone in writing about the newly discovered territories. Zebulon Pike wrote *The expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to headwaters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, during the years 1805-6-7* (1810), and Dr. Ferdinand Hayden produced a *Geological Report of the Exploration of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers in 1859-1860* (1869). Such accounts of discovery and of the West continued to be produced throughout the nineteenth century. Lafayette Bunnell's *Discovery of the Yosemite, and the Indian war of 1851* was published in 1880; Theodore Roosevelt's *Hunting trips of a ranchman: sketches of sport on the northern cattle plains* was printed in 1885; and John Wesley Powell's *Canyons of the Colorado* appeared in 1895.⁴⁷

In other cases, writers traveled to learn about the society and culture of the young country, rather than its natural wonders. Alexis de Tocqueville's well-known *Democracy in America* (1835 and 1840) was essentially a sociological work, which comments on the character and people of the new country; however, it is by no means an architectural guide. In one translation of de Tocqueville's second volume of *Democracy*, the word 'building' appears only once; de Tocqueville's context makes it clear that his commentary on building is concerned with architecture only to the

⁴⁷For extensive bibliographies on similar accounts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see the Library of Congress at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amrvhtml/conbibmu.html>.

extent that it exemplifies a society's political constitution:

In aristocracies a few great pictures are produced; in democratic countries, a vast number of insignificant ones. In the former statues are raised of bronze; in the latter, they are modeled in plaster.

When I arrived for the first time at New York by that part of the Atlantic Ocean which is called the Narrows, I was surprised to perceive along the shore, at some distance from the city, a considerable number of little palaces of white marble, several of which were built after the models of ancient architecture. When I went the next day to inspect more closely the building which had particularly attracted my notice, I found that its walls were of whitewashed brick, and its columns of painted wood. All the edifices which I had admired the night before were of the same kind.⁴⁸

Charles Dickens' *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842), provides a popular description of the United States, which chronicles Dickens' trip to America, and sketches the kinds of people he encountered there.⁴⁹ European readers were not the only ones anxious to learn about the United States; Americans, too, were interested in learning about their own far-flung land. Frederick Law Olmstead, the famous landscape architect, was commissioned by the *New York Daily Times*, to write dispatches describing a five-year journey through the American south during 1852 to 1857.

3.7.2 American Travel Writing in Europe

Just as Americans were interested in learning about their own land, they were also interested in learning about Europe. American newspapers began carrying accounts of correspondents' European travels as early as the mid-eighteen thirties.⁵⁰ Travel accounts were not constrained to newspapers, however, and a considerable number of significant American writers in the nineteenth century both traveled to Europe,

⁴⁸Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans., Henry Reeve (London: Saunders and Otley, 1840), 101–102.

⁴⁹These sorts of travel descriptions were not limited to the United States; Dickens' *Pictures From Italy* (1848), and Samuel Clemens' *The Innocents Abroad, or the New Pilgrims' Progress* (1869) and *Roughing It* (1872) were, essentially, sociological accounts of Europe, although sometimes clothed in fictional form.

⁵⁰William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 4.

and wrote about their experiences. Washington Irving, James Fennimore Cooper, Henry Wordsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Samuel Clements, and Harriot Beacher Stowe all wrote about their experiences abroad.⁵¹ Other writers' accounts, though fictional, such as "Europe" (1899) by Henry James and "A Cathedral Courtship" (1891) by Kate Douglas Wiggin, provided informative descriptions which allowed American readers to visit Europe vicariously.

3.7.3 Early American Travel Guides

Although some travel guides were written in America in the nineteenth century, the lack of kings and queens, money and power, meant that the United States lacked a significant number of architectural or cultural sights of interest. To find such sites, Americans would need to look to Europe, and a considerable number of American architectural guides sprung up to suit their needs.⁵² After the introduction of regularly-scheduled trans-Atlantic steamboat crossings, guides written by Americans for American travelers in Europe quickly appeared. George P. Putnam's *The Tourist in Europe* (1838) and Roswell Park's *A Hand-Book for American Travelers in Europe* (1853), were two of the first such guides. The contents of these guides were similar to the ones created for European or English travelers; however, the attitude of the authors was markedly different. In the case of both Putnam and Park, the authors were concerned with the formation of a distinctly American character, and suggested that the reader take what he could from Europe, while being conscious of the fact that his class-free American pedigree made him the equal of European nobility and aristocracy. The early commercial success of these guides was limited, though, and *The Tourist in Europe*, which provided few details, was frequently passed over by American tourists,

⁵¹For more examples, see Stowe, 4.

⁵²Stowe, 4 ff; for considerable information on American travel guides to Europe, see Stowe, generally.

in favor of Murray's superior guides.⁵³ By the later portion of the century, however, American guidebook authors had improved their offerings significantly, and had even begun publishing European guides specifically for female travelers. May Alcott Nieriker *Studying Art Abroad: How to Do It Cheaply* (1879); The Women's Rest Tour Association of Boston's *A Summer in England, with a continental supplement: A Hand-Book for the Use of Women* (1894); and Mary Cadwalader Jones *European Travel for Women* (1900).⁵⁴

One American 'guide' which deserves special mention in a history of the Architectural guidebook is Henry Adams' *Mont-Saint Michele and Chartres* (1913, privately printed 1905). Although the work is organized in chapters, rather than the discrete descriptions which have come to typify guidebook writing, Adams' style suggests that at least portions of the book were meant to be read while at the buildings. While Adams provides guide-like information, such as the dates of certain pieces, his work is unlike most guides, as it takes the architecture of the buildings as the starting point for reflections on history, art, economics, and society at large. The following passages exemplify Adams' blend of description and reflection:

Our vital needs are met, more or less sufficiently, by taking the promenoir at the Mount, the crypt at Saint-Denis, and the western portal at Chartres, as the trinity of our Transition, and roughly calling their date the years 1115–20. To overload the memory with dates is the vice of every school-master and the passion of every second-rate scholar. Tourists want as few dates as possible; what they want is poetry.⁵⁵

The refectory shows what the architect did when, to lighten his effects, he wanted to use every possible square centimeter of light. He has made nine windows; six on the north, two on the east, and one on the south. . . The floors would be tiled in color; the walls would be hung with colour; probably the vaults were painted in colour; once can see it all in scores of illuminated manuscripts. The thirteenth century had a passion for colour, and made a colour-world of its own which we have got to explore.⁵⁶

⁵³Whitney, 70–71.

⁵⁴For more on these works, see Stowe, 37 ff.

⁵⁵Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint Michel & Chartres* (Dunwoody, GA: Norma S. Berg, 1978), 36.

⁵⁶Adams, 41

3.7.4 The Rise of the Automobile

The true rise of American travel, however, would come of age in the twentieth century, when the power of the automobile allowed travelers to cross the North American continent at previously unimagined speeds, and the mass production of the automobile placed such speeds within the reach of the middle class. The shift would not be automatic. Early travel was difficult, and motorists were frequently required to do their own repairs. Nights were often spent in smoky camps by the side of the road, and it was not uncommon for motorists require the services of a horse or a passing car to pull a stranded vehicle out of the mud. Still, the growth of the automobile was explosive. Although there were fewer than 500,000 car owners in 1910, by 1920 over 8,000,000 cars had been registered.⁵⁷

A large number of publications were produced both by and for the individuals who participated in ‘motoring.’ A number of pamphlets, magazines, and articles were published to provide motorists with advice on how to repair their vehicle, where to set up camp, and what to see on their travels. Other publications were merely accounts of motorists’ travels. In some cases, enthusiastic motorists privately published their journals for friends and family members, in others, professional writers would publish their accounts in magazines, newspapers or books.⁵⁸ Even the soon-to-be famous etiquette writer Emily Post would publish an account of her travel across the country by car, titled *By Motor to the Golden Gate* (1916). Such writings, though fascinating, are not guidebooks, *per se*, and are therefore properly outside the scope of this history. Ultimately, the rise of the automobile which inspired these writings would make it possible for the American middle class to engage in sightseeing and tourism; the first books that would guide them would be the American Guide Series.

⁵⁷Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1945* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1979), 3, 7.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 7–8.

3.8 *American Guide Series*

The American Guide Series was one of the many products of the Frank Delano Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration, and the program to produce them was created under the Federal Writer's Project in 1935. Established as a means of employment for writers, editors, and photographers, the guides sought to capture and display the history and accomplishments of individual U.S. states, as well as highlight "spots which nature, man, and retrospect have made interesting and important."⁵⁹ The program called for guides for "every State, Puerto Rico, Alaska and the Virgin Islands," and were immediately successful, perhaps because they were able to avoid the bureaucratic phrasing that often comes with government projects.⁶⁰ Indeed, the Guides were so popular that they were the subject of a New York Times Book Review article as late as 1984.⁶¹

Like previous guides, the American Guide Series, or the WPA Guides as they are sometimes called, were not architectural guides, *per se*, although they did contain significant references to architecture. Because the policy of the guides was to print unsigned pieces, readers cannot be sure of the backgrounds of each author. Certainly, few of them were trained architectural historians. Instead, the guides were established to provide information for the curious traveler, who was described unfavorably in a contemporary *Time* magazine article about the guides:

U.S. Travelers whiz over the surface of their country, picking up such information as they can get from signboards, gasoline station attendants, road maps, Chamber of Commerce handouts. They race past the biggest factories on earth, rarely pausing to wonder what is made in them. They look out across scenery unparalleled, but only occasionally now the names of the mountain peaks or yawning canyons that take their breath away.

⁵⁹Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania, A Guide to the Keystone State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), v.

⁶⁰*Time*, "Mirror to America," review of WPA Guidebooks, January 3, 1938, 55.

⁶¹Bernard A. Weisberger and Federal Writer's Project, *The WPA Guide to America: The Best of 1930s America as Seen by the Federal Writers' Project* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), xi; the author of the review was Edwin Newman.

They sail through little towns where battles have been fought, insurrections planned, U.S. history made, but usually see only what lies beside the highway as they watch for crossroads and glance at the rear-view mirror to see if a cop is overtaking them. There are few books that can tell them much about the country they travel.⁶²

To that end, the guides were a compromise between a practical guidebook and a scholarly-compendium of information, and were, in that sense, a forerunner of the similarly situated Buildings of the United States guides, which are discussed later in the chapter.⁶³ Each 8 inch by 5 inch volume of the WPA series is dedicated to a separate state and is divided roughly into thirds, with the first portion of each volume devoted to short general essays on numerous topics, ranging from ‘History,’ and ‘The Indians,’ to ‘Agriculture,’ and ‘Newspapers.’ Almost every guide contains a section on ‘Architecture,’ which explains the development of vernacular styles, as well as highlighting notable buildings in the state. These sections are particularly notable for the respect they show to non-traditional architectural forms, such as grain elevators, silos, and barns; such respect would not appear in other major guide series until the later half of the century.⁶⁴ The second portion of each guide highlights various sights to see in the state’s major cities; sites include museums, cemeteries, and monuments, as well as historic or important public buildings. While the sites are not arranged according to a tour as such, they are typically arranged so the traveler can see all of the sites in the order that they are presented by taking a single path through the city. Most American Guides contain surprisingly sophisticated maps, which are discussed in Section 4.4. The third portion of each guide is dedicated to driving tours, which typically lead the viewer to picturesque, though architecturally non-remarkable towns, all the while providing gossip such as how certain places got

⁶²*Time*, 55.

⁶³Weisberger, ciii.

⁶⁴Federal Writers’ Project of the Work Project of the State of Kansas and Harold C. Evans, *Kansas, a Guide to the Sunflower State* (New York: Viking Press, 1939), 158; hereafter: WPA, *Kansas*.

their names, or what drives the local economy. As they were written by government workers in the midst of the Depression, it is perhaps not surprising that the guides attempt to avoid any politically-charged comments.⁶⁵

The WPA Guides frequently describe historical buildings by describing the various stages of past building campaigns. When dealing with any suitable building, authors are happy to quote both historical and contemporary figures that would inspire pride and hope in the nation, while revealing a love of numbers that would please even the guidebook authors of the Enlightenment. Building costs are frequently included in the text, as when an author relates that the Brady Urological Institute, received a gift of \$600,000.00 for the creation of the building in 1912, and at the time, that it treated 10,000 patients a year.⁶⁶ Another typical example is the Norfolk Navy Yard:

Scattered over 453 acres are 212 low brick buildings, including the marine barracks, housing machine and training school shops; and plants manufacturing from government formulae and specifications such widely divergent articles as paint, gases, metal furniture, and turbine blades. Along the waterfront are 6 dry docks varying in length from 324 to 1,011 feet, 30 berths totaling 9,000, for ships of every class, immense steel framework building ways, a reservation for ships condemned to be sold, and a base station for the lighthouse service. In addition to the ever-changing enlisted personnel, some 5,000 civilians are steadily employed.⁶⁷

Finally, the reader should note that these guides, in comparison to earlier ventures, were copiously illustrated. Photographs were not placed in the text proper, but were printed in separate sections of higher-quality paper. While perhaps a quarter of the photographs depict elevations of architecturally- or otherwise-noteworthy buildings, the other photographs attempt to provide a more inclusive view of the

⁶⁵Weisberger, ciii.

⁶⁶Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Maryland, *Maryland, a Guide to the Old Line State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 237; hereafter: WPA, *Maryland*.

⁶⁷Virginia Writers' Project, *Virginia, a Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 258; hereafter: WPA, *Virginia*.

state under consideration, and candid photographs, pictures of industry and agriculture, streetscapes and aerial views are all common. In this way, the guides serve as forerunners of mid-century independent architectural guides, which would attempt to provide reports on cities that encompassed more than architecture.⁶⁸

While government funded enterprises were being undertaken on one side of the Atlantic, independent efforts were being made on the other side. These efforts would be the first major attempts at serious architectural guides, and would be completed by two rival authors: John Betjeman, an English poet and art critic, and Nikolaus Pevsner, a German architectural historian.

3.9 The Guides of John Betjeman

3.9.1 Betjeman's Shell Architectural Guides

John Betjeman (1906–1984) was a prolific writer who edited or authored several different series of architectural guides to England in the early portion of the 20th century, while also producing several volumes of poetry, as well as numerous newspaper and journal articles. In 1930, Betjeman was twenty-four years old and had recently left Oxford after failing to take a degree; he had also just found a position as an assistant editor at the *Architectural Review*. Although the *Review* had previously held a reputation as a conservative architectural journal, it rapidly moved towards the avant-garde after Hubert de Cronin Hastings became editor in 1928. An assistant editor, Betjeman's role was to provide a historical balance to the modernism that the journal was steadfastly promoting.⁶⁹

By 1933 Betjeman had become engaged to Penelope Chetwode, a woman considerably above him in social rank. In order to increase his fortunes, Betjeman began to make overtures to the Shell Petroleum Company to fund a series of guidebooks in conjunction with the *Journal*, which would increase the consumption of gasoline

⁶⁸For more on these guides, see Section 3.13.

⁶⁹Timothy Mowl, *Stylistic Cold Wars* (London: John Murray, 2000), 12, 20–22.

and satisfy British subjects' desire to learn more about the buildings that dot Great Britain's landscape. In pitching his proposal, Betjeman had the assistance of Jack Beddington, the Director of Publicity for Shell.⁷⁰

The series would be divided by English County, Betjeman decided, and, in order to convince Shell to fund the guides, he created a mock-up guide to *Cornwall*, which focused on "the many buildings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which have architectural merit."⁷¹ This mock-up, with some revisions, would soon be published as the first Shell Architectural Guide in 1934, and Betjeman would soon be named the editor of the entire series. Betjeman oversaw the production of *Wiltshire*, *Derbyshire*, and *Kent* in 1935, the same year in which he resigned from the *Architectural Review*.⁷²

The series' success was immediate, no doubt partially due to the wire-bound guides' low price, at two shillings, sixpence. Although the 7 inch by 9 inch guide-books' entries were arranged in a fairly conventional fashion—villages and towns were arranged alphabetically in the guide, with parenthetical numbers after each entry to allow the reader to locate the site on a supplied, high-quality map—the layout of the guides was charmingly unconventional. The guides relied extensively on cleverly juxtaposed photographs and drawings sprinkled about the main portion of the text which aimed to train the eye to appreciate aesthetic detail. These photographs, which were one of the main features of the guides, were accompanied by irreverent, penetrating captions, and the guides were dotted with quaint superstitions that cheekily warned the reader what one should do upon encountering a pixie, or the unlucky magpie.

The layout and photography, both so important to the guides, were under Betjeman's exclusive control; the freshness of the observations, however, was also due to Betjeman. As one Betjeman biographer has written: "[Betjeman's] shrewd perception that [Exeter Cathedral's] west end was 'singularly ill proportioned' . . . was not, in

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 55 ff.

⁷¹Betjeman qtd. in Mowl, 58.

⁷²For a full listing of the early Guides, their authors, and their dates of publication, see *Ibid.*, 57.

the 1930s, the kind of thing one said about a major ancient cathedral, but there was a stimulating measure of truth in the observation.”⁷³ In a way, these guides continued one component of the picturesque era by instructing travelers how to look; it would be this type of observation that would encourage untrained, yet astute travelers to examine these buildings for themselves in the years between the wars.

However, after World War II began, Betjeman began working for the Ministry of Information in Ireland, which effectively prevented him from completing the Shell Guide Series. Still, due to their early success, the guides were well-established before the start of World War II (thirteen counties had been covered by that time). The war effort and the resulting shortages after the war meant that the guides would have an effective lead over competitors of approximately twelve years.⁷⁴

3.9.2 Betjeman’s Murray’s Guides

Immediately after the Second World War, gasoline rationing limited motorists’ leisure traveling, and eliminated Shell’s interest in producing architectural guides. However, the Murray Firm, which had discontinued its series of guidebooks after the First World War, was interested in rekindling their guidebook enterprise. The result was that the Murray firm named John Betjeman and John Piper as the co-editors of a new series of guidebooks, which would be known as Murray’s Architectural Guides. These guides would be oriented around photographs, and, according to the company’s plan, would ultimately cover every county in England.⁷⁵

However, the series was destined for failure, and only three guides were ever produced: *Buckinghamshire* (1948), *Berkshire* (1949), and *Lancashire* (1955). Although the guides were organized around photographs like the successful Shell series,

⁷³*Ibid.*, 65.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 57, 99, 110–111.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 110.

they were considerably more expensive than either Shell or Pevsner guides (see Section 3.10, and were not as carefully arranged. Moreover, the Murray guides tended to avoid popular (or populated) counties, another aspect that hurt their sales.⁷⁶

Murray's Guides, each approximately 10 inches by 8 inches, consisted of a brief introductory essay to the region, which were followed by two distinct sections. However, unlike the Shell Guides, which had mixed images and text, the Murray's Guides split the different content into two different sections. In each case, the first section is approximately one-hundred pages long and is filled with photographs which remind the reader of the Shell Guides. In this section, captions contain some information on the dates and styles of various pieces, but the notes were, in the main, entertaining rather than academic:⁷⁷

[a] few years before the destruction of the original Hanslope spire [in 1804], a certain Robert Cadman created a local sensation by ascending the spire, to free the weathercock, entire by [means of the crockets]. He had to be restrained from trying to repeat the climb when drunk.⁷⁸

The second section of a Murray's Guide consists of a gazetteer, which lists and describes buildings in the region in Betjeman's characteristic style and (sometimes tortured) syntax. One entry on a village in Buckinghamshire, reads: "[a] wholly undisturbed model village of picturesque early Victorian character; the efficient landlordism of the Dukes of Bedford pervading it."⁷⁹ Unfortunately, the Murray's gazetteers are printed on cheap paper, and their layout appears staid and sober; even though they contain the crux of the guidebooks, the gazetteers have little of the excitement which accompanies the first section of the book.⁸⁰

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 118.

⁷⁷The first portion of the guide was not only limited to photographs of individual buildings, but also provided two-page photoessays on various themes, such as medieval woodwork, brasses, and nineteenth century architects. In some cases, these topical themes would also present their own indexes in the middle of the text.

⁷⁸John Betjeman and John Piper, *Murray's Buckinghamshire Architectural Guide*, Murray's Architectural Guides (London: John Murray, 1948), 24. hereafter: Betjeman and Piper, *Buckinghamshire*.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 115.

⁸⁰One critic believes that this conjunctive failure, as well as the scant attention paid to the

After *Buckinghamshire*, *Berkshire*, and *Lancashire* reported dismal sales, Murray's was no longer interested in producing its architectural guidebooks with Betjeman and Piper; by 1951, however, gasoline restrictions had begun to ease, and Shell was interested in continuing its relationship with Betjeman. *Shropshire*, the first of the post-war Shell guides, appeared in 1951, to be followed by *South West Wales*, *Mid Western Wales*, *Mid Eastern Wales*, and a number of other guides, most of which were written by other authors, with Betjeman as editor. Despite the use of the traditional Shell format, the guides never regained the lead which they had held in the forties, and the series ended its run with a total of thirty Shell Guides published.

3.10 Pevsner's Buildings of England

The Buildings of England series stands in stark contrast to the ebullient style of the Shell and Murray's Guides. Unlike the Betjeman-produced Guides, which were meant primarily to amuse, and only secondarily to instruct, the Buildings of England series was, first and foremost, a massive reference work, which attempted to corral information on every cathedral, church, ancient residence, and public building in the land.

The Series was the brainchild of German architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner, who settled in England in the 1930s after fleeing the Nazis in Germany. Due to Pevsner's widespread European reputation, he was able to obtain a teaching position in England. However, teaching was not enough for Pevsner, and he soon obtained funding from Allen Lane, the founder of Penguin Books, which would allow him to begin a monumental guidebook project. The series would ultimately consist of more than forty architectural guides, each dedicated to one of England's counties, and published between 1951 and 1974.⁸¹ Lane's funding allowed Pevsner to hire several German art historians to review published sources for information which would

gazetteer, was the reason for the failure of the series. Mowl, 117.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 111–112.

eventually find their way into published guides. In 1945, with some preliminary research completed, Pevsner began visiting sites in person, spending his days furiously visiting villages with his wife and secretary, and his nights typing up notes from his daytime travels.⁸² The first volumes in the series, *Cornwall*, *Nottinghamshire* and *Middlesex*, appeared in 1951. Additional guides followed, with the last, *Staffordshire*, appearing in 1974. Second editions of some guides, with corrections and addenda appeared before the series was even completed.

The guides themselves are relatively small 7 inch by 4.5 inch paper-bound books, which include an introductory essay, a gazetteer of buildings, some photographs (located in a separate section from the text) and a partially-illustrated architectural glossary. Each guide includes a single hand-drawn map of the county in question, which shows only the names of towns and villages which are referenced in the guide.⁸³ The introductory essays touch on many different aspects of the area, from culture to geography to history, and each notes how these characteristics played a role in the development of a particular county's architectural style.⁸⁴

Pevsner's guides focus exclusively on architecture as he defined the term: "A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture... the term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal."⁸⁵ Accordingly, the reader will find many references to cathedrals, churches, civic buildings, and (a few) manor houses, but almost no references to other building types.

⁸²Nikolaus Pevsner, *Middlesex*, *The Buildings of England* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1951), 9; hereafter: Pevsner, *Middlesex*; Nikolaus Pevsner and Enid Radcliffe, *Cornwall*, *The Buildings of England* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1970), 11; Mowl, 111-112.

⁸³Unlike most American architectural guides, the Pevsner maps do not include streets or roads.

⁸⁴Although Pevsner wrote the introductory material for most of the original editions alone, later editions included essays contributed by specialists, such as Alec Clifton Taylor's comments on the relationship between geography, building material and architecture. Pevsner and Radcliffe, 12.

⁸⁵Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1945), 3-4. Interestingly, both Pevsner and Betjeman gave short shrift to the country seats of the aristocracy. Pevsner's objection appears to be based on his own politics; however, the refusal of Betjeman, who was an admirer and friend of many in the aristocracy, to cover these houses in depth in his guides and work for the *Review* is a subject of debate. Mowl, 38.

These buildings are listed under headings for individual towns and villages, which are themselves arranged alphabetically in the text.⁸⁶ Each building mentioned in the guide contains a description, similar to the ones found in the American Guide Series, although Pevsner's notes are more academic. Here, the name of the building is set in small capital letters, while the rest of the information about the building, including architect and date of construction are found in the text proper. The text itself is notable for its terse style, and densely packed statements, which are peppered with abbreviations such as 'C13,' 'Perp,' and 'Dec.'⁸⁷ Entries can go on for pages, particularly when churches or other buildings with extended building campaigns are involved; Pevsner was fond of such construction mysteries and typically provides very detailed decompositions of buildings, which note various pieces, assign them dates, and label them with styles.

Although the Buildings of England series only began publication in 1951, long after the American Guide Series was completed, and well after the publication of some of Betjeman's Shell Guides, Pevsner's guides are, in some sense, relics of an older world. The small, paper-bound guides are densely packed with information, and feature few photographs. While contemporary American architectural guides were experimenting with vast amounts of white space, photographs of street people, and maps based off of aerial photographs, Pevsner's guides eschewed novel methods of presentation and content and focused on presenting architectural history and criticism. On first glance, they could easily be mistaken for a product of the 1920s.

Perhaps because of his dry style and formal presentation, Pevsner's work was never a best seller.⁸⁸ However, Pevsner's goal was always to complete an academic

⁸⁶For more on Pevsner's ways of arranging buildings, see Section 4.3.1.

⁸⁷Thirteenth century, Perpendicular Gothic and Decorated Gothic, respectively.

⁸⁸A Pevsner biographer notes that the "[Buildings of England] never work practically as guides, rarely inducing the reader to visit a particular area... An average *Pevsner* entry, 90 percent of the total, is dry as dust, visually weak and, as a deliberate policy, perversely written to avoid any opening comment of admiration, praise or denigration which could set the mood. Far too many words are spent on churches, particularly churches with any problem of construction..." However,

reference work, rather than a popular guidebook. Although the series found a welcome reception by professional art- and architectural-historians, that reception was not enough to prevent Penguin from losing £3,000 on each guide. Were it not for grants from the Leverhulme Trust, and others, the series would likely have never seen completion.⁸⁹ However, the publication of the series continued until the final volume of the original proposal was completed in 1974. Although most guides were written by Pevsner himself, some later guides and revisions were collaborative efforts; even later books which were published under the Pevsner heading, such as *Buildings of Scotland* and *Buildings of Wales* were prepared without Pevsner's input.

3.11 English Ecclesiastical Architectural Guides

Although they were assiduously studied in Pevsner's guides, the cathedrals and churches of England have inspired several specialty guides, which were published during the nineteen fifties, nineteen sixties, and nineteen seventies. Although not terribly important to the history of guidebooks—although important in their own right—these guides are mentioned to illustrate the rise of the independent architectural guidebook in Great Britain.

The most comprehensive of these is the *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches* (1958), also edited by John Betjeman. The *Guide* was compiled to provide a reference work of English parish churches, judging them “by their atmosphere and aesthetic merit.”⁹⁰ Additionally, Betjeman's guide expanded the criteria for inclusion from those in other series, and considered nineteenth and twentieth century churches as well as older ones.⁹¹

the same author notes that despite these flaws, Pevsner's guides “are generally acknowledged as a potent resource of national reference.” Mowl, 124–125.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁹⁰ By which Betjeman primarily means, “was the church saved from the worst excesses of Victorian renovation?” John Betjeman, *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches, including the Isle of Man* (London: Collins, 1958), 13; hereafter: Betjeman, *Collins*.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

The guide itself was originally based on the notes of E.T. Long, and was subsequently modified and expanded by a host of volunteers, most of them Fellows of the Royal Institute of British Architects, or Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London. While the sheer scope of the project is impressive, the arrangement and structure of the guide is unremarkable. Each county is introduced by a short introductory essay, and the descriptions are vintage Betjeman, transmitting a sense of place as well as information:⁹²

Tiny church showing Street at his best, and sympathetically enlarged in 1904; smiling quirk to the foliation of little windows three bells astride nave gable, chimney sensibly perched on gable of aisle.⁹³

Alec Clifton Taylor's *The Cathedrals of England*, originally published in 1967, does not present itself as a guide; however, the fame of the book mandates a brief mention. Although the majority of the work is spent weaving a narrative about the relationship of architecture among the different cathedrals, the book also contains a miniature 14-page guide section entitled "Visiting the Cathedrals: Summaries and Plans." This section contains floor plans of each of the cathedrals, as well as some extremely brief comments about each; overall, the guide has a distinctively Pevsnerian flair thanks to the frequent use of abbreviations (Perp., Dec., etc.) and sometimes opinionated comments.⁹⁴

A somewhat smaller book, *A Guide to the British Cathedrals* (1973), is more self-evidently a guide, but has little else to recommend it to the architectural guidebook historian. The first fifty pages of the guide are dedicated to introductory essays which establish the cultural, religious, and architectural basis for the English cathedral, as well as provide a few paragraphs on the decorative arts found in these structures.

⁹²Besides transmitting information about place through verbal description, the *Guide* utilizes photographs in much the same way as Pevsner's work: to either highlight important details, or provide a particular mood by placing the structure against the landscape.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 124.

⁹⁴e.g. "Poor central tower, too small and too squat." Alec Clifton-Taylor, *The Cathedrals of England* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967), 266.

The remainder of the book is dedicated to entries on individual cathedrals. Each entry provides a paragraph on the history of the building; a section on the exterior, which identifies and dates key elements of the facade; and a section on the interior of the building, which dates and identifies key elements of the interior. The book contains no photographs or plans, and essentially concentrates Pevsner's conclusions on cathedrals into a single volume.

While Betjeman and Pevsner were attempting to create comprehensive series of architectural guides in England, American authors began tentatively experimenting with one-off architectural guides for a specific city, state, or region. Although it would take more than forty years for the United States to begin producing a comprehensive guidebook series to architecture, comparable to that created by Pevsner and to those envisioned by Betjeman, architect and architectural-historian authors soon moved to producing series of guides, particularly to major cities. One of these first series were the Reinhold Guides.

3.12 Reinhold Guides

The Reinhold Guides were a short-lived, now difficult-to-obtain, series of architectural guide books that were produced in the 1950s and early 1960s by the Reinhold Publishing Corporation of New York. These guides were produced by local chapters of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) for annual AIA conventions.⁹⁵ The first guide, *A Guide to New York Architecture 1650–1952*, appeared for the 84th Convention, which was held in New York City—the same location that would launch the much better-known AIA Guide series several years later. Other guides followed, with *A Guide to Seattle Architecture 1850–1953*, *A Guide to Boston Architecture 1637–1954*, and *Southern California Architecture, 1769–1956* appearing for the 85th,

⁹⁵Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Boston Architecture, 1637–1954* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corp., 1954), iv.

86th, and 87th conventions. *One Hundred Years of Architecture in America, 1857–1957* appeared for the celebration of the AIA Centennial; and *Cleveland Architecture, 1796–1958* and *A Guide to Architecture of New Orleans, 1699–1959* followed, respectively. At this point, the series appeared to be in trouble, as no guide was published in 1960, and only two more guides would be published by Reinhold for AIA Conventions; *Philadelphia Architecture*, appeared in 1961, while the last guide, *The Prairie’s Yield: Forces Shaping Dallas Architecture from 1840 to 1962*, followed a year later.

The guides themselves are generally unremarkable. The standard format presented by the Boston *Guide* appears to be representational of most early volumes. The *Guide* divides the city into geographical regions; within each region, buildings are arranged in chronological order, rather than geographic location, a choice that appears to have been made to emphasize the historical progression of buildings by the Guide’s editor, Henry-Russell Hitchcock. The Reinhold guides provide the name, date, and address for each structure, as well as a short comment on the architecture. Although these guides are illustrated with somewhat more plans, sections, and architectural drawings than other early guides (about one figure or drawing per three buildings), the maps included in the Reinhold guides are of such a scale that they are virtually useless for navigation.

However, the guides were prepared by independent chapters of the AIA, and not all of the chapters chose to utilize this standard form. Both the Cleveland Guide and the Dallas Guide are more experimental guides, which choose to present buildings in a series of essays, and are of notable for how they represent contemporary trends in architectural publishing.⁹⁶ *Cleveland Architecture* is divided into three sections: essays on the architecture of the city, a section eulogizing deceased Cleveland architects, and a more traditional gazetteer section. Buildings which are referenced in the first two sections are noted by reference numbers which appear in the margins of

⁹⁶Similar non-Reinhold guides are discussed in Section 3.13.

the essays. Buildings in the third section are also assigned these numbers, and the location of buildings from all three sections are indicated on a series of maps whose scale is too small to use to navigate the city. While the essays are useful in relating buildings to each other, the layout is unfortunate in that there is no way easily to find all of the information about a relevant building.

The Prairie's Yield: Forces Shaping Dallas Architecture from 1840 to 1962 is another anomalous guide in the series, which is further distinguished by its unusual use of a landscape page-layout. The guide appears to be very strongly influenced by the trends then-present in architectural publishing: besides utilizing large amounts of white space, the guide appears to try and capture the essence of the city by using essays which attempt to touch on historical as well as economic factors, as well as non-architectural photographs of people on the street. Like the Cleveland guide, the Dallas guide splits its description of buildings between essays and a gazetteer section. In both guides, buildings are referenced in the text in chronological order—*The Prairie's Yield* even had a continual timeline that runs along the margins of the pages, which places the buildings referenced in the text in context with the dates of both local and global historical events.

3.13 Mid-Century Independent Guides

The 1960s and 1970s saw increasing angst about the conditions of cities, which prompted several independent architectural guides. Many guides published in the late 1960s and 1970s, such as the Cleveland Guide and *The Prairie's Yield* referenced above, are notable for long essays, and photographs and page layouts that attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the city. Such guides are more concerned with the city as an organism than with individual buildings. As a result, these 'guides' generally end up as illustrated essays, rather than volumes made up of easily digested chunks dedicated to individual buildings.

Boston/Architecture is perhaps the premier example of this kind of progressive architectural guide, which sought to overturn traditional views of society and architecture—even to the point of refusing to number any pages in the book. Although the guide divides the city into several regions and offers some specific information on individual buildings, the majority of the book is dedicated to copiously illustrated essays, with photographs of posters advertising Black Panther rallies, graffiti on a blank wall calling for ‘ALL PoWER to the People!’ and photographs of anonymous children playing in the streets.⁹⁷

Even the essays suggest the nontraditional nature of this guide; rather than discussing the role of architectural design, the authors instead examine the perceived role of educational institutions and how they relate to the city as a whole:

[A]ll responsible institutions have recognized their role in cooperating with the city, and Harvard and M.I.T. turn out to be the largest taxpayers in Cambridge—sometimes paying ‘in lieu of taxes,’ sometimes paying for specific services such as the building of roads and fire houses, and sometimes giving direct assistance.⁹⁸

Although *Boston/Architecture* was one of the more extreme examples of progressive architectural guides in the mid-sixties, it was by no means the only one, as several of the later Reinhold Guides, such as *Cleveland Architecture* and *The Prairie’s Yield* show. Despite the social upheavals of this period, more traditional independent guides continued to be published for special events: *A Guide to Architecture in Southern California* (1965) was produced as a sightseeing guide for attendees of a joint meeting of

⁹⁷However, these photographs are not meant to be a substitute for reality; the authors note: “The illustrations in this book direct attention to what is visually remarkable in Boston, be it the excellent, the appalling, or the unique. The accompanying text provides background. But these do not aim to record experience; they seek to stimulate it. The viewer-reader must go out, see for himself, and draw his own conclusions.” Donald Freeman and Boston Society of Architects, *Boston/Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), unnumbered introduction.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, unnumbered Cambridge section.

the College Art Association and the Society of Architectural Historians in Los Angeles in 1964.⁹⁹ Several other guides were published for political celebrations: *Illinois Architecture from territorial times to the present* (1968) was produced for the sesquicentennial of the State of Illinois, while *Saints & Oddfellows* (1976) was completed to celebrate the United States' Bicentennial.

While there were few traditional guides being published by traditional presses, several individuals created independently-produced, privately-published guides to the architecture of their favorite cities. Not surprisingly, Chicago had several guides written by former or practicing architects who wanted to spread the fame of the Chicago school. Although these guides were written with the best of intentions, the limitations that faced the authors—particularly when it came to organizing and creating maps—were significant, and the results are somewhat disappointing. John D. Randall's self-published *A Guide to Significant Chicago Architecture of 1872 to 1922*, for instance, fails to organize buildings in logical sequences; further, in an attempt to pack as much as possible in a single work, the *Guide* relies too heavily on abbreviations, which causes the work to be less readable as a result.

From the early 1970s onward, several architectural guides were published independently by cities or civic groups as nascent attempts at preservation. One such guide was the *The Buildings of Biloxi*, which was published by the city of Biloxi, Mississippi; this guide was created for “the identification of culturally significant sites of Biloxi,” and “[t]he creation of public sympathy for the goals and benefits of historic preservation.”¹⁰⁰ Private groups also had a hand in promoting architectural conservation, as did the Junior League of Evanston, Illinois, in their publication of *An Architectural Album: Chicago's North Shore*, a project which aimed “to educate the public on the significant architecture found in the communities of the North Shore of Chicago with

⁹⁹David Gebhard and Robert Winter, *A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles & Southern California* (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, 1977), 5.

¹⁰⁰Biloxi, *Buildings of Biloxi: An Architectural Survey* (Biloxi, MS: City of Biloxi), 7.

the hope that through education there would be protection for these buildings.¹⁰¹

Finally, as the seventies turned into the eighties, architectural guides began to be more pro-commerce. *Dallasights* (1978), an independent guide published by the Dallas Chapter of the American Institute of Architects was written in order “to produce a photographic view of Dallas architecture and its open spaces, supported with essays by Dallas architects, planners and businessman.”¹⁰² Similarly, *An Architectural History of Carbondale, Illinois* (1983) was created to promote the architecture contained in the small Illinois town.¹⁰³

3.14 American Institute of Architects Guides

Like the Reinhold guides, the guides produced by the American Institute of Architects lack the kind of central authorship or oversight common to most other guidebook series. They are produced under the auspices of individual chapters of the American Institute of Architects, and, somewhat predictably for members of a creative profession, each guide has its own style and approach. The lack of standardization in guides is compounded by the fact that guides are published by different publishers, and must meet different editorial standards set by each house.¹⁰⁴ In fact, the guides are not even named in the same fashion; while most are titled *AIA Guide to ...*, the most recent edition of the Guide to Detroit is simply titled *AIA Detroit*. Guides to cities are also copyrighted differently, with some copyrights being held by individual authors, some being held by AIA Chapters and some being held by the publishing

¹⁰¹Susan S. Benjamin, Junior League of Evanston, and Belinda S. Blanchard, *An Architectural Album, Chicago's North Shore* (Evanston, IL: Junior League of Evanston, 1998), 11.

¹⁰²American Institute of Architects, Dallas Chapter, and Alan R. Sumner, *Dallasights: an Anthology of Architecture and Open Spaces* (Dallas, TX: American Institute of Architects, Dallas Chapter, 1978), unnumbered introduction.

¹⁰³Susan E. Maycock, *An Architectural History of Carbondale, Illinois* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), unnumbered introduction.

¹⁰⁴The *AIA Guide to Atlanta* (1992) was published by the University of Georgia Press; the *AIA Guide to Boston* (1987) was published by the Globe Pequot Press; *AIA Detroit* (2003) was published by Wayne State UP; editions of the *AIA Guide to New York City* (1968 and 1988) have been published by Macmillan Company and Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

house that produces the guides.

Although guides to the architecture of cities had been produced by local chapters of the AIA since 1952, the first guide which contained ‘AIA’ in the title was the 1967 *AIA Guide to New York City*, which was compiled in 6 months for the centennial of the New York Chapter of the AIA. The guide, which the President of the AIA chapter claimed was ‘unprecedented’ in scope, was distributed through the Chapter, and consequently was effectively limited to architects.¹⁰⁵ However, the Chapter took note of the guide’s popularity and partnered with the Macmillan Company to publish a revised version of the guide in 1968, and increase its distribution.

The New York *Guide* attempted to list sites which were: “example[s] of architectural, technical, social or historical significance;” “place[s] or thing[s] that excites curiosity and gives interest, pleasure and identification to a wide variety of people;” as well as buildings that were not architecturally significant, but were examples of better-than-average architecture in less well-represented areas.¹⁰⁶ In short, the guide cast a wide net over buildings and sites of interest, with a particular emphasis on buildings of architectural significance. Subsequent guides would continue this focus, however, as time passed, the guides became increasingly focused on architecture of noteworthy design, such that *AIA Detroit* (2003) states “[g]ood design, however elusive and subjective, was the primary criterion for inclusion here.”¹⁰⁷

Despite the variety seen in the AIA Guide series, the *Guide to New York City* set a number of precedents that would continue to be used in future AIA, and other guides. The New York *Guide* first established the unusual tall layout (five inches by ten inches) which would be shared by virtually all subsequent AIA guides; moreover,

¹⁰⁵AIA, Dallas and Sumner, ii, xii.

¹⁰⁶American Institute of Architects, New York Chapter, Norval White and Elliot Willensky, *AIA Guide to New York City* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 1–2.

¹⁰⁷Eric Hill, John Gallagher and the American Institute of Architects, Detroit Chapter, *AIA Detroit: the American Institute of Architects Guide to Detroit Architecture* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2003), x.

the guide began the principle of dividing the city into geographically-based regions and neighborhoods. Additionally, the guide set the standard that basic information should now include the name of the building, the dates of construction, location and architect. Unfortunately, the guide appeared so keen on rejecting the new publishing convention of excessive whitespace, which was found in the work of the MIT Press and the later Reinhold guides, that it attempted to pack in information in an almost Pevsnerian way: the result is that all of this basic information was contained on a single line, and was not separated by whitespace, making it very difficult to read quickly. This problem would be solved in later volumes of the AIA guides. Finally, the New York *Guide* also established the principle that AIA guides are typically authored or edited by practicing architects, rather than architectural historians.

Subsequent AIA guides appeared for San Diego and Detroit in 1971 and for Philadelphia in 1976. Volumes for most major American cities followed; however, their production was not a quick process: a volume on Chicago did not appear until 1993, and the first guide to Minneapolis/St. Paul did not appear until May, 2007. In most cases, these guides continued the Reinhold tradition, that is, they were designed for the occasion of the city hosting the annual AIA Convention. Many of the later AIA guides selected their core buildings from previously published independent guides, although the AIA chapters produced their own descriptions, and performed some original research.¹⁰⁸ AIA guides also tend to focus more on recent work than other guides, something that undoubtedly suits the interests of their members.¹⁰⁹ In most cases, the guides are updated approximately every ten years, although some chapters take considerably longer to update their guides.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁰⁹ *Detroit Architecture*, an AIA guide despite its anomalous name, focuses on recent work so much that it splits the guide into two sections, buildings created before 1971, and buildings from 1971 to 1980.

¹¹⁰ The *AIA Guide to Atlanta* is a case in point; the original guide was published in 1992, and the chapter has yet to produce a second edition.

3.15 *City Observed Guides*

The City Observed Guides were a short-lived series of volumes published by Viking which began with the publication of *The City Observed: New York* in 1979. While the guides attempted to “merge a personal outlook with an ample collection of facts;” the authors ultimately intended for the books to do double-duty as field guides as well as at-home reference works.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, the series died after only three guides were produced: the *New York* volume was followed by *The City Observed: Boston* (1982) and *The City Observed Los Angeles* (1984).

While other aspects of the guides are fairly typical, the City Observed Guides are most notable for their irreverent comments on buildings, which continue the tradition of John Betjeman:

Conceived in response to an infatuation with the power and splendor of government and completed just in time to be subjected to the derision of street demonstrators determined to hobble big government, Boston City Hall had the worst of both worlds. It’s more grandiose than it need be and much more intelligent and hopeful than its detractors contend.¹¹²

3.16 *Buildings of the United States*

The last major guidebook series that will be considered in this chapter is the Buildings of the United States (BUS) Series. The BUS is a projected sixty-volume series which began publication in 1993, and aims to document the architectural heritage of the United States. The series itself was the answer of the United States-based Society of Architectural Historians (SAH) to a challenge made by Nikolaus Pevsner upon receiving an honorary degree from the University of Pennsylvania to create an American version of his Buildings of England Series. Although interest in producing the series ran high—members of the SAH had wanted to complete such a guide since the

¹¹¹Dolyn Lyndon and Alice Wingwall, *The City Observed, Boston: A Guide to the Architecture of the Hub* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982), xiii.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 34.

1940s—the organization of editorial committees and securing funding required over ten years from Pevsner’s challenge.¹¹³ Each 8 inch by 5 inch volume is intended to cover a separate state, however, some states, such as Virginia, California, Texas, Massachusetts, Illinois and Pennsylvania have been deemed architecturally rich enough to merit two volumes.

Although the guides were modeled on the *Buildings of England Series*, differences exist between the American and English architectural landscape, and there have been changes that have occurred with time. While England is, by comparison, generally homogeneous, the wide geographical and cultural variation between areas of the United States meant that issues that affected particular states would have to be dealt with individually.¹¹⁴ Additionally, the United States is much larger than England, and the authors of the BUS aim to be more inclusive than Pevsner’s original work; for example, the BUS guides list vernacular and commercial architecture as well as high-style architecture.¹¹⁵

The guides in the Buildings of the United States series differs from other guides in several respects. While most of the AIA Guides are written by architects, the BUS only employs “trained architectural historians.”¹¹⁶ Additionally, the BUS guides attempt to reach a much wider audience than the typical architectural guide: the series attempts to be at once a reference source for architectural historians, a tool

¹¹³S. Allen Chambers, *Buildings of West Virginia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), xv; Julie Nicoletta and Bret Morgan, *Buildings of Nevada*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), ix. From all appearances, the BUS series required substantially more funding than Pevsner’s guides; this fact can be attributed to the difference in sizes between U.S. states and English counties; the comparative lack of previously published guides in some states; and the BUS series’ desire to be more inclusive than Pevsner’s work.

¹¹⁴For an extended discussion of the differences between Pevsner’s challenge and that of the SAH, see Chambers, cv ff. Although the guides are standardized, different states have information specific to them in the guides. For instance, The Colorado volume notes the altitude of each town, while the Nevada guide is specifically concerned with the definition of ghost towns, and dates the end of the town to the closing of its post office.

¹¹⁵To some extent the differences in definitions of ‘architecture’ are due to larger ideological shifts which have occurred between Pevsner’s writing and the present day; for more on which buildings are included and motivations, see Section 4.1.

¹¹⁶Nicoletta and Morgan, x.

to be used in elementary education, as well as a guide that can be used in the field by interested parties.¹¹⁷ While it is difficult to meet the demands of these different groups in a single text, the series has taken the novel approach of publishing guides in both hardbound and paper-bound versions, which makes it somewhat easier for the casual architectural tourist to carry the still-heavy volumes on their travels.

Each volume in the Buildings of the United States series is introduced by a small essay, which describes the geographic characteristics of the state as well as the history of the region, the characteristics of Native Americans groups that originally inhabited the area, as well as those of later settlers, all of which could explain the resulting architecture.¹¹⁸ In some cases, other architectural issues, such as the role of Planning and Parks in a state, are singled out for special attention.

Within the series, states are divided into various regions, which are divided into cities. The descriptions of buildings range from almost clinical statements about architectural form to descriptions that provide information about local or family history; in many cases, the architectural historian authors attempt to relate a building to larger regional or national trends.¹¹⁹ In all cases, the reference aspirations of the series means that the guides tend to include more information on subsequent additions or renovations than other guides. Unfortunately, due to the size of the work, this comprehensiveness breaks down when it comes to illustrations: most buildings lack photographs, and what photographs there are, are entirely in black and white.

To date, ten volumes of the BUS series have been published: *Michigan* (1993),

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, x.

¹¹⁸The theory of environmental determinism of architecture is well-received in these works. In the *Nevada* volume, the editors state “To understand Nevada’s architecture, one must know its natural environment,” the sentiment is typical of volumes in this series. *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹⁹For more on descriptions, please see Section 4.5. One of the problems in dealing with even a single volume of the Buildings of the United States series is the sheer scope of the work. Because, in many cases, multiple authors are involved in the production of a single volume, it can be difficult to find a consistent voice shared among entries. Still, some guides are more successful than others; *Buildings of West Virginia*, for example, appears more consistent in both its approach to buildings as well as its voice than *Buildings of Michigan*.

Washington D.C. (1993), *Iowa* (1993), *Alaska* (1993), *Colorado* (1997), *Nevada* (2000), *Virginia: Tidewater and Piedmont* (2002), *Louisiana* (2003), *West Virginia* (2004) and *Rhode Island* (2004). Although the preceding volumes were originally published by Oxford University Press, later volumes will be published by the University of Virginia Press. Additionally, future volumes in the BUS series will also be dedicated to noteworthy American cities, in the same tradition as the WPA guides. *The Buildings of Pittsburgh*, which was produced by the SAH in association with the Center for American Places (CAP) is scheduled to be released in July 2007.¹²⁰

3.17 Other Recent Guides

There have been a number of other recent developments in architectural guides since the Buildings of the United States were first published. This section aims to explore some of the more notable changes.

3.17.1 Buildings of England

Recently, the Buildings of England Series has been revitalized by donations from the Buildings Books Trust. Although Penguin, Pevsner's old publisher, no longer has a hand in the production of the series, new editions of the old guides, as well as some new city guides are being issued by Yale University Press as the "Pevsner Buildings of England" series.¹²¹

Although the text of the new Pevsner guides is similar to that of the original guides (particularly when dealing with churches), the size of the guides have increased, thanks to the inclusion of more contemporary and less exalted examples of architecture than were contained in the originals. Unfortunately, the physical dimensions of the guides have also grown to approximately 9 inches by 4 inches, mimicking

¹²⁰The creation of a guide for a specific city from a larger dataset, such as that for the entirety of Pennsylvania, is an example of the type of guide which could be produced easily by the computerized database presented in Chapter 5.

¹²¹*Manchester* appeared in 2001; *Bath* appeared in 2003; and *Bristol* appeared in 2004.

the unwieldy format used by most of the AIA Guides. Apart from the addition of a small number of floorplans or other drawings, a few maps, and the use of color photographs, however, the guides remain in remarkably similar condition to that in which Pevsner left them.¹²²

3.17.2 Other contemporary Guides

While the Pevsner Buildings of England series operates firmly in the established tradition of architectural guides, a number of recent architectural guides have begun to examine buildings as settings for social or historical events, rather than for their own qualities. *An Architectural History of Harford County, Maryland* (1996) is one example of this trend; this book, which was “brought to publication with the generous assistance of the citizens of Harford County” provides a social history of the county, rather than an architectural history.¹²³ In the *History*, buildings are considered as many things—the birthplace of prominent Harfordians, the location of famous disputes, and the product of citizens’ additions—but not as works of art or architecture.

The *Buildings and Landmarks of Old Boston* (2001) takes a similar approach to buildings. One of the few guides which organizes its structures by style, this 175-page guide has several entries on such non-architectural issues as “The Shillings, the Diary and the Witches” and “The Massachusetts Bay Colonies.” Rather than delineating the Federal features of the Third Harrison Gray Otis house, the text instead discusses Otis’s desire to keep the land despite exorbitant purchase offers, and a Thanksgiving dinner in 1817 which boasted President Monroe as a guest.¹²⁴

¹²²For comparisons sake, only approximately thirty drawings appear in the *Shropshire* edition, and the few maps provided only locate five-to-ten buildings each.

¹²³Christopher Weeks, *An Architectural History of Harford County, Maryland* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 237.

¹²⁴Howard S. Andros, *Buildings and Landmarks of Old Boston* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), 116–117. Indeed, the cover of the book notes: “The book is much a social history as an architectural one. . . [it] presents background stories about certain historic landmarks extant in Boston and nearby towns, landmarks that reflect the lives of those early New England leaders—largely Bostonians—who were privileged to influence the course of local and national history from 1630 to 1850. . .”

Books such as these, and others, such as *Frank Lloyd Wright MetroChicago*, suggest that a growing number of people are interested in learning about the history of houses and buildings to the extent that these structures serve as a stage set for human dramas. The success of previous guides which provided these human interest stories—among them, the Codex Calixtus, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, and the American Guide Series—suggests that the desire to learn about structures as they relate to the past is more than a recent phenomenon. While specialty works will always exist for architectural historians, from examining these works, it appears that the mass-market appeal of architectural history guides lies in their ability to transmit the human story behind a structure.

3.17.3 Denver Guides

For that reason, an exciting new possibility in Guidebook design may be seen in the *Historic Denver Guides*, a collection of 19 guides which first appeared in 1995. Instead of creating a single large guide to the city, this series, produced by Historic Denver, Inc., has created a number of small guides which focus on specific areas or interests. While the majority of the guides are concerned with tracing the architectural history of a particular neighborhood, other guides focus on other specialties, such as the homes of important women in Denver, or the use of different types of rocks in downtown buildings. Each volume covers approximately 40 buildings in approximately 100 pages, and is only slightly larger than a 3 inch by 5 inch index card, and approximately 1/4 inch thick, making it easy to slip it into a purse or pants pocket.

Although the standard content of the guides is unremarkable, the concept of creating miniature specialty guides appears to have significant promise. The small size of the guides means that they can move through the publishing process at a rapid rate, and their small size may make for a lower initial investment for those who are not willing to spend a large amount on an architectural guidebook. Finally, the specific

focus of the guides—whether on a small neighborhood, a particular style of architecture, or a specialty topic like geography or women’s history—may initially attract individuals who are interested in learning about the history of their neighborhood, or how particular buildings relate to their own interests, but would not be interested in a more general work.

3.18 Works that Were Not Considered

This chapter provided an overview of the history of the architectural guide in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, due to the multitude of books which have been published in the last two centuries, no single study can be truly comprehensive. In more recent times, architectural guides have become a genre unto themselves, displacing the more general travel guides, with specifically architectural guides to noteworthy buildings. Even this chapter has considered only a selection of guides, or particularly important individual works (individual guides that somehow deviate from the norm, as well as standard non-series guides, which are not referenced in this chapter are discussed in Chapter 4.)

There are a number of guides or guide-like works which cannot be included in a short history. A few may be briefly mentioned here, with an explanation of why they have not been given more extensive treatment. A number of these guides include some information on architecture, yet focus on restaurants, shops and hotels; in other cases, guides provide a general, rather than specifically architectural, history. For that reason, after the turn of the twentieth century, travel guides which were operating as travel guides have been excluded from consideration. Thus, this chapter ignored the dozens of books published by Fodor’s, Falcon’s, Frommer’s, Let’s Go, Lonely Planet, Rough Guides, or DK Publishing, as all fall outside this study. All of these series would have an important place in a history of the travel guidebook, and many contain passing references to architecture; however, these series do not attempt to be

architectural guidebooks, and are therefore not discussed.

Just as this chapter has ignored modern guides which do not focus on architecture, it has also omitted architectural works that are not guides, or share only a few characteristics with guides. Of these works, perhaps the most famous is John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*, a book that is similar to, yet predates, Henry Adams' *Mont-Saint Michele and Chartres*; both were major works of literature. Ruskin, like Adams after him, uses a treatise on architecture to comment on issues of politics, morality and religion; however, Ruskin is perhaps even more concerned than Adams with teaching the reader how to see, and with providing the reader with his views on architecture.¹²⁵

Additionally, the omission of works that are not proper guides excludes an interesting collection of 'Lost' Architecture works, variously titled as *Lost [City]* or *[City], Past and Present*, which provide photographic tours of buildings since torn down in major American Cities. While no one can doubt the architectural focus and interest of these works, they do not provide the reader with an easy way of reaching these sites, nor a motivation to visit. For the same reason, this chapter has omitted a number of coffee-table books (*Great Buildings of Boston: A Photographic Guide* (1982) or *Masterpieces of Chicago Architecture* (2004)) or architectural history textbooks, (*Buildings of Detroit* (1968), or *Columbus Indiana: A Look at Architecture* (1974)), even when these works provide an address or some other minimally-sufficient information to locate a building. Similarly, this study has omitted references to gallery or museum catalogs (*L.A. in the Thirties 1931-1941* (1975)) or reference

¹²⁵An example: "When the sermon is good we need not much concern ourselves about the form of the pulpit. But sermons cannot always be good. . . I believe, therefore, in the first place, that pulpits ought never to be highly decorated; the speaker is apt to look mean or diminutive if the pulpit is either on a very large scale or covered with splendid ornament, and if the interest of the sermon should flag the mind is instantly tempted to wander. I have observed that in almost all cathedrals where the pulpits are particularly magnificent, sermons are not often preached from them; but rather, and especially if for any important purpose, from some temporary erection in other parts of the building. John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (London: George Allen, 1897), 85-86.

works which merely contain plans and sections along with addresses (*Wisconsin Architecture* (1965)). While these books may be admirable on their own terms, they are not architectural guidebooks, or the forerunners of architectural guidebooks, and therefore, have been excluded from consideration.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF ARCHITECTURAL GUIDES

Now that the reader has examined the history of architectural guides to the present day, the present chapter provides an in-depth examination of the choices that have been made in the production of recent guidebooks, and attempts to note which choices are worthy of emulation, and which choices should be avoided. This examination includes the stated intentions and intended audience of architectural guides; the selection of buildings included in these guides; how guides subdivide larger groups into manageable portions; the use of maps in guides; the kinds of descriptions found in guides; and the use of photographs and images in these guides. Additionally, this chapter will provide a final section which delineates the shortcomings that are found in virtually all recent guides.

In the following sections, guides will generally be examined in the order that they appeared on the market; however, Nikolous Pevsner's and John Betjeman's work will typically be discussed before the American Guide Series, as the British guides (specifically the Pevsner Guides and Betjeman's Murray Guides) typically utilize more traditional formats.

4.1 Stated Intentions/Intended Audience

One of the most important elements of the architectural guidebook is the intent that drives it. Presumably the motivation behind an architectural guide is to point out structures of note, and provide directions which allow interested parties to view them and commentary to understand them. Such a motivation is so clear, that neither Nikolous Pevsner nor John Betjeman provide a statement of intent or purpose. In contrast, many recent guides appear compelled to provide a preface or forward that

sets out their intentions explicitly.

For the most part, recent independent guides proclaim that they are written specifically to provide guidance for the non-specialist. One representative quote can be found in the introduction to Gebhard's 1977 *Architecture of Minnesota*: "The guide is intended for the 'interested layman'¹ A similar motivation can be found in *Saints & Oddfellows*, a 1976 guide to architecture in Idaho: "The purpose of this book is to assist the growing number of travelers who would like to see and know a little about typical as well as outstanding buildings as they tour Idaho."²

The AIA Guides, while not neglecting the layperson interested in architecture, appeal to a more sophisticated audience as well; that ambition should come as no surprise given the guides' affiliation with the Association and their architect authors and readers. The AIA's *Detroit Architecture* (1980) seeks balance: "Our immediate purposes are to introduce citizens and tourists alike to a rich architectural heritage and to serve as a starting point for the more serious student of the art."³ Similarly, the *AIA Guide to New York* notes that it is designed to "serve a whole spectrum of readers, from the casual wanderer to the serious historian."⁴ Here, the Detroit guide's reference to "more serious student" and the New York guide's claim that it is geared toward the "visitor who wants to see more than the well-touted monuments, musicals, and museums," evidence a kind of aesthetic sophistication that is often at odds with the "everyman" sensibilities of typical independent guides.⁵ The presumed sophistication of the AIA guides, as well as independent guides which share their

¹David Gebhard, Tom Martinson, University of Minnesota, University Gallery, and Minnesota Society of Architects, *A Guide to the Architecture of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), ix; hereafter: Gebhard, *Minnesota*.

²J. Meredith Neil, *Saints & Oddfellows: A Bicentennial Sampler of Idaho Architecture* (Boise, ID: Boise Gallery of Art Association, 1976), 8.

³Katherine Mattingly Meyer, Martin C. P. McElroy, and American Institute of Architects, Detroit Chapter, *Detroit Architecture: A.I.A. Guide* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), ix.

⁴Elliot Willensky, Norval White, and American Institute of Architects, New York Chapter, *AIA Guide to New York City* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), xv.

⁵Another small example of this pretension: the New York guide uses the more sophisticated 'visitor' rather than the commonplace 'tourist.'

ambition, can also be seen in the character of their descriptions, which is examined in Section 4.5.

However, it is the Buildings of the United States Series that aims to meet the needs of every possible reader. The editors of the BUS see the series as a reference to be used by the scholar and the academic, a tool to be used in elementary school classrooms, and a guide for both the serious architectural sightseer and the interested layperson.⁶ Such a disparate readership means that the BUS series must contain information that meets the needs of all of these groups, and not just a limited audience.

There is, however, an almost universal secondary purpose which appears in these prefaces: that is, to promote the preservation of buildings. One typical statement can be found in *The Architecture of Minnesota*: ‘We offer the fervent hope that this volume will help Minnesotans to see things and buildings never truly perceived before—and will encourage them to think more than once before bulldozing the past and near-past away’⁷ The Forward to the *Buildings of Colorado* states that “it is hoped that the publication of this series will help to stop at least the worst destruction of architecture across the land by fostering a deeper appreciation of its beauty and richness and of its historic and associative importance.”⁸ Similarly, the Introduction to *Chicago on Foot* bemoans the lack of “inadequate landmarks preservation legislation;” while *Saints & Oddfellows* notes that one of the reasons for the guide is to provide ammunition of a sort for those who would protect notable buildings in Idaho.⁹

⁶This ambition is stated in the introduction to every BUS guide.

⁷Gebhard, *Minnesota*, ix

⁸Thomas J. Noel, *Buildings of Colorado* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), x.

⁹Ira J. Bach and Susan Wolfson, *Chicago On Foot: Walking Tours of Chicago's Architecture* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1987), ix; “Only within the past few years, and particularly with the stimulus of the nation’s approaching Bicentennial, has there developed in Idaho a widespread interest in preserving the most valuable examples of our architectural history. Frequently that interest is frustrated by lack of information.” Neil, 8. Also see Mary-Peale Schofield, *Landmark Architecture of Cleveland* (Pittsburgh: Ober Park Associates, 1976), ix; Thomas Vaughan and George A. McMath, *A Century of Portland Architecture* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society, 1967), 5; *The Buildings of Biloxi* attempts to “[create] public sympathy for the goals and benefits of

The authors of *New Hampshire Architecture* raise similar concerns when they note:

The New Hampshire Historical Society is pleased to present this volume to the public, both to demonstrate its concern for the history and preservation of New Hampshire's built environment, and to encourage further study and appreciation of the state's distinguished architectural heritage. . . If [this book] can offset the oversights of the past and provide an impetus to the preservation effort, the writers will consider it an unqualified success.¹⁰

Further, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture* provides a concise and notable explanation of the philosophy that guides such attempts at preservation:

“Some day the prime movers who decide our destinies may come to understand that the character of a city as a bit place for men and women to live depends on the survival of intriguing vestiges of the past. They give a city the historic dimension that whether people are entirely conscious of it or not, imbues the inhabitants with a certain dignity that they would not otherwise attain. The ideal city would be one where, as in so many cities of Europe, samples have been preserved of all the different phases of architecture and decoration the place has gone through since the beginning. It isn't enough to do a Williamsburg on a few choice mansions. It is the modest buildings, adapted and readapted to a thousand uses showing the special tricks of local bricklayers, peculiarities in stonework, some unusual way of setting chimneypots, that give the color of history. In the old architecture intimations of the kind of lives the citizens lived linger on.”¹¹

Betjeman and Pevsner are almost alone among guidebook authors in not specifically commenting on the need to preserve old buildings in their guides. Of course, circumstances differed considerably between England in the 1950s and America in the 1970s and 1980s. The English buildings that Betjeman and Pevsner were concerned with were so ancient that they faced little possibility of destruction; American

historic preservation” Biloxi, 7; similarly, see Benjamin, Junior League of Evanston, and Blanchard, 11.

¹⁰Bryant Franklin Tolles, Carolyn K. Tolles, and New Hampshire Historical Society, *New Hampshire Architecture: An Illustrated Guide* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1979), xi.

¹¹John Dorsey and James D. Dilts, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture* (Cambridge, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1973), xi.

buildings were much younger and at a much higher risk of being demolished. Additionally, the American guides were writing after the beginning of the Preservationist movement.¹²

Of course, attempts to improve the public's appreciation of various buildings may not be as benign as they appear. Some readers may contend that authors who say they are concerned with increasing appreciation are merely stylistic apologists, who see the publication of an architectural guide as a way to advance their own aesthetic agenda, and impose their taste and aesthetic philosophy onto the reader. Determining the validity of such criticism is not the concern of this chapter; however, the reader should be aware that some authors may have such an unstated agenda.¹³

4.2 *Selection of Buildings*

As stated above, the careful reader must always be cognizant of the unstated motivations for including or excluding buildings from a guide. Stated principles that guide the selection of certain buildings, however, are numerous, and each guide appears to have its own particular philosophy. Thankfully, virtually every contemporary guide has explicitly stated these criteria in their introductions.

Before discussing the specific motivations of individual authors, the reader should be aware that, in general, twentieth-century architectural guides spend many more pages on vernacular and domestic architecture than previous guides, which tended to focus on important, official buildings. In many ways, the older mindset finds its expression in the work of Nikolous Pevsner, whose work focuses on churches, and

¹²Buildings which would be considered historic in America could be too modern for Betjeman's taste; he can be quite unconcerned about the destruction of an overly Victorian church. John Betjeman, *Ghastly Good Taste; Or, A Depressing Story of the Rise and Fall of English Architecture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 30; hereafter: Betjeman, *Ghastly*.

¹³Such methods can be seen in both the selection of buildings for inclusion in the guide, as well as the comments made about those buildings. Certainly, authors wish to support the buildings that they see as valuable, and a general survey of recent guides written by trained architects show that they tend to include more Modern works than those written by architectural historians. To what extent these practices are a conscious attempt to influence taste is a question for another author.

public buildings, as well as large-scale domestic architecture, while the more recent approach is embodied by the Buildings of the United States Series, which examines “barns, silos, mining buildings, factories, warehouses, bridges. . . transportation buildings. . . [and] commercial structures” as well as official and important buildings.¹⁴ The reasons for these shifts are undeniably complex, however, at their heart, they involve a reconsideration of what forms of architecture are important. Ideological shifts among practitioners and academics have caused both to reconsider the value of indigenous and vernacular work, and have fueled attempts to determine how these types of buildings influenced high-style architecture. Accordingly, later guides tend to include more of this work.

The inclusion of proportionately fewer public buildings in more recent guides can also be explained by the fact that a number of the best examples of modern architecture in the United States are domestic designs, rather than public buildings such as courthouses or state capitals. Thus, architects who have been trained to appreciate modernism, as well as academics who realize its importance, may be compelled to include these buildings to illustrate those designs.

In some cases, guidebook authors state that the quality of architecture was the chief and overriding concern in including a building in a guide, regardless of time period, geographic proximity, or other factors. The preface to *Boston Architecture 1637-1954* hints that this may have been the case in the selection of buildings for that guidebook: “Henry-Russell Hitchcock [selected] the building described in the guide. In this way we are assured that the building included, whether historical or contemporary, were chosen for their architectural interest rather than for their purely historical associations.”¹⁵ However, in most cases, authors recognize that they must balance a host of factors other than pure architectural merit. While there are many

¹⁴Chambers, xvi.

¹⁵Hitchcock, iv.

factors that influence the inclusion of buildings in various guides, *Buildings of the Bay Area*, an independent guide published in 1961, explains its criteria for selection, which is similar to that of many other guides.

We have selected buildings with the following criteria: quality of design, importance in architectural or urban history, visibility without trespassing, and uniqueness in our list. The first criterion is subject to endless discussion; our prejudices no doubt appear in this guide. The second demanded inclusion of buildings that we might have omitted on the basis of the first. The third and fourth necessitated the omission of a number of fine buildings, but this is a guide to be used, not simply a list of good architecture in the area. We feel that the resulting list is a well-rounded sample of the area's architecture, and sufficient to exhaust the hardest sightseer.¹⁶

With regard to the 'quality of design,' guidebook authors often exhibit one of three levels of certainty. In the majority of cases, it appears that the more certain the author is of his or her judgment of quality, the more homogeneous the buildings in the final guide appear. The first level is a feeling of almost absolute self-confidence, and appears when a dean of architectural judgment such as Nikolous Pevsner or Henry-Russell Hitchcock selects a building.¹⁷ The second level is more moderate, and is represented by the authors of *Buildings of the Bay Area*; they appear confident in their taste, but are aware that others could have valid, differing viewpoints. In contrast, authors of the third level appears to have little confidence in their own judgment, and is perhaps best represented by the author of *Saints & Oddfellows*, who claims that he is not in a position to judge the importance of the buildings included in the guide, as the buildings have not yet been judged by posterity, and there is little scholarship on which to base judgment.¹⁸

¹⁶John Marshall Woodbridge and Sally Byrne Woodbridge, *Buildings of the Bay Area; A Guide to the Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), unnumbered introduction.

¹⁷Note the certainty evidenced in Hitchcock's judgment in the quote from *Boston Architecture 1637-1954*, above.

¹⁸Neil, 8; in rare cases, the authors do not attempt to pass judgment on buildings. One example: the authors of the *Detroit Architecture* (1980) state that the guide is "[n]ot intended as a critique,

Notably, the authors of *Buildings of the Bay Area* did not specify dates of construction as a part of their criteria. This openness is common to architectural guides of any length; in many cases buildings are chosen from any era or style as long as they are examples of ‘good design.’ In some cases, guides explicitly attempt to include a representative sample of buildings from many different time periods: the preface to *Illinois Architecture* notes “[t]he selections in this book are intended to convey the history of architecture as developed in Illinois. Partiality has been shown for diverse geographical and chronological representation as well as a variety of buildings.”¹⁹ In other cases, however, too little attention is given to the time periods in which buildings were constructed; in *A Guide to Salem Architecture* the authors include a few modern designs at the end of a guide which focuses on houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The result is a guide that appears to have lost its focus.

Other selection criteria also apply. One of the characteristics of an architectural guide is that it is designed to be used to view buildings; consequently, buildings that cannot be seen from the road are frequently omitted from most guides, regardless of their merit. Because of this consideration, the authors of the *Architecture of Minnesota* have stated: “We have sought to list only those buildings which can be seen from a public street, road, park, or lake”²⁰ However, in some cases, such as the *A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles and Southern California* the authors appear to be torn between their desire to create a practical guide and their desire to create a compendium of important architecture; therefore, they relax their standards with regard to the visibility of a structure “where the importance of the building demands its inclusion.”²¹

the contents were selected as representative of this historical and contemporary architecture of the area—judgments are left to the individual.” Meyer, McElroy, and AIA, Detroit, 7.

¹⁹Frederick Koeper, *Illinois Architecture from Territorial Times to the Present; A Selective Guide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), vii.

²⁰Gebhard, *Minnesota*, xii

²¹Gebhard and Winter, 12. Note that Gebhard is an author for both of these guides.

Likewise, there is little point in including buildings which have been destroyed in a guide which is meant to be used in the field. A *Guide to Cambridge Architecture* states this fact quite simply: ‘[s]ince this book is not a history of Cambridge architecture. . . demolished structures are not included and are only occasionally referred to.’²² More recently, a few guides, such as the *AIA Guide to New York City*, have included some razed buildings in their guides, along with a note that indicates the buildings no longer exist. While a few hardy architectural visitors might use the guide to find the site of now-demolished buildings, one wonders if the real reason for including these buildings in such volumes is to impress upon the reader the need for improved historical preservation practices.²³

Other guides use other criteria for selecting buildings. The *AIA Guide to Atlanta* is notable because among its criteria for inclusion is “prominence on the skyline;” the authors of this guide have clearly recognized that many individuals equate visual prominence with architectural importance, and that many want to know the name and history of the tallest buildings in the city.²⁴ The *Guide to Atlanta* is also notable for its acknowledgment of how geographic proximity played a role in determining how the guide would be fleshed-out. The authors note that after all of the major buildings had been selected for the guide, additional entries were added to the *Guide* based on a.) their proximity to major entries and b.) their possible interest to visitors and students of architecture.²⁵

Guides written for specific audiences may have even more strict criteria; this is often the case with independent guides. The original incarnation of the *Guide to Los*

²²Robert Bell Rettig, *Guide to Cambridge Architecture; Ten Walking Tours* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969), unnumbered introduction.

²³The inclusion of razed buildings can also be unintentional. The long production cycle of most guides invariably means that some buildings will have been lost during the research and publication phases; the editors BUS series, as well as other guides, often acknowledge that such buildings will unfortunately sneak into the text from time to time.

²⁴Isabelle Gournay, Paul G. Beswick, Gerald W. Sams, and American Institute of Architects, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1993), xi.

²⁵*Ibid.*, xi.

Angeles and Southern California for instance, was written for a generally Midwestern audience who the authors believed could view enough Victorian architecture at home; therefore, the authors of the *Guide* focused their attention on twentieth-century architecture and excluded nineteenth-century work.²⁶ The *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches* sets out a specific seven-part criteria, which mandates that a building contain “one object which, regardless of date, was aesthetically worth bicycling twelve miles against the wind to see.”²⁷ Other guides may, of course, focus only on buildings produced by Frank Lloyd Wright, or, in the case of several guides to Chicago architecture, Chicago School skyscrapers. Many times the focus of such guides is clear from their titles, however, reader should note that sometimes the criteria for selection are not reflected in the title of the work. The result is that the guides’ criteria may seem somewhat arbitrary. Such capriciousness can be seen in *New Hampshire Architecture*, which states: “Residential, ecclesiastical, civic, industrial, educational, and commercial structures are represented; engineering structures, such as bridges and towers, have been omitted. Although the entire span of New Hampshire’s history is covered, emphasis has been placed on the pre-Civil War era.”²⁸

4.3 *Subdivision of Areas*

For guides to states, or even large cities, it is often necessary to separate building entries into discrete chunks, which are typically determined by geographic proximity. The reason for this arrangement should be self-evident: it allows visitors to restrict themselves to a single section of the guide while visiting a single area, and it allows visitors to a certain area to be certain that they have exhausted all of the sites they want to see while in the vicinity. The level of geographical division varies according to the density of the sites located in the area. *Saints & Oddfellows*, a guide to

²⁶Gebhard and Winter, 4.

²⁷Betjeman, *Collins*, statement of purpose.

²⁸Tolles, Tolles, and New Hampshire Historical Society, xi.

Idaho architecture, has geographical regions made up of several counties; in contrast, the *AIA Guide to New York* divides the City into the five boroughs, the boroughs into sectors (e.g. Lower Manhattan, Upper West Side, etc.), and the sectors into neighborhoods (Lower Manhattan includes SoHo, the Financial District, etc.) Guides which do not subdivide their entries, or do so in a way that is not based on geography will be discussed in Section 4.3.1.

Before proceeding, the reader should realize that in most recent guides, buildings are typically labeled with an identification number or code for easy reference. In the simplest divisions by region, buildings are merely placed after a header which identifies their region, and no evidence of the section change appears in the numbering system. This approach is typically found in guides published before 1980, or guides which have less than several hundred buildings. *Saints and Oddfellows*, published in 1976, is a good example of the former, and the fifth edition of *Chicago's Famous Buildings*, a 168-entry guidebook published in 2003, is a good example of the later. In *Chicago's Famous Buildings*, for instance, entry number 87 is a building in the 'The Commercial Core' section, while entry number 88 is located in the 'Away from the Core Section.'

In contrast, larger guides typically create alphanumeric identification codes by combining an abbreviation of the area with a number; thus, in *A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles and Southern California* code LA-18a 32, refers to the 32nd building in the 18-a (Hollywood) section of Los Angeles, and in *The AIA Guide to New York City*, B-N-G20 is the 20th building in the Greenwood Neighborhood of the Northern Sector of Brooklyn. The Buildings of the United States series takes a hybrid approach, and divides states into regions, represented by alphabetical prefixes, but maintains numbering across cities within those regions. Thus, in the *Nevada* volume, SO39 is the 39th building in the Southern Region, and is located in the city of Henderson, while SO40 is the 40th building in the Southern Region, but is located in Boulder City.

Of the different approaches, that of the BUS series appears to provide the best balance between specificity and ease-of-use. However, in any case, what these guides gain in specificity is offset by the difficulty that learning these systems causes the reader. While the BUS approach may be the best currently available, because these sections and subsections of these guides are often arranged in geographical, rather than alphabetical order (in *Nevada*, the prefixes appear in the order NW, NE, CE, SC, SO), locating the correct section often takes flipping through the book several times, or a visit to the table of contents.

When it comes to large cities, guide's subdivisions are usually based on previously existing neighborhoods (i.e. in the *AIA Guide to New York City*, one small subdivision is dedicated to Chinatown). However, in guides to cities which do not have traditionally defined neighborhoods, authors typically define such subdivisions by "natural boundaries, by major traffic arteries, and by historical-cultural makeup."²⁹ Even in the best of circumstances, though, the division of an area into various regions means that viewers will invariably miss a nearby building because it was contained in a separate section.³⁰

4.3.1 Anomalous Arrangements

While the use of geographical subdivision and subdivision-based labels are the most frequently used system in organizing buildings in recent guides, they are by no means the only way of doing so. In guides which have a small number of entries spread across a state, such as *Illinois Architecture*, which has only 150 entries, or deal with a single small town, authors may not attempt to subdivide the buildings into any geographical regions whatsoever.

In other cases, guides maintain the use of geographical subdivision but do not use the alphanumeric index that appears to have become standard today. In the American

²⁹Biloxi, 47.

³⁰Gebhard and Winter, 6.

Guide Series, buildings are grouped according to city; although the buildings do not have unique identification numbers as such, buildings within each city are numbered, to create such labels, one would need only preface building numbers with the relevant city name (e.g. Yonkers-1, or Schenectady-1). Similarly, while the *Frank Lloyd Wright Fieldguide, MetroChicago Vol 2* divides its buildings up by geographic region, it distinguishes among regions by the use of a band of color at the top of an entry, rather than appending an alphanumeric code to each building.

Among the architectural guidebooks of the twentieth century, John Betjeman's and Nikolous Pevsner's arrangements of buildings are anomalies unto themselves, which are based on the practices of an earlier time. The 'subsections' in Betjeman's Shell and Murray's guides are actually entries on entire towns or villages. Under the name of each village, which are arranged alphabetically in the text in both series, all buildings are lumped together in one magnificent description. Pevsner's guides (with the exception of his London volumes) also arrange towns and villages alphabetically in the text. Thus, the entries relating to 'Wimborne Minster' follow those related to 'Whitechurch Canonicorum' in the *Dorset* volume, even though the towns are on different sides of the County. While this alphabetical arrangement allows the reader to easily locate the section that refers to any given town, it prevents the reader from easily seeing which sites are located in nearby towns. Thus, the inattentive reader may visit Cranborne, leave, and only later realize that he was interested in seeing the church in Wimborne St. Giles, whose entries in the guide to *Dorset* are separated by 299 pages.³¹ While this arrangement may be valid for leisurely drives, it leaves something to be desired by the visitor who is rushed for time, and wants to see all of the notable buildings in an area.

³¹Although Pevsner references the geographic location of a village via cryptic numbers in the margins of the text, any visitor attempting to lay out a day-long tour would be forced to spend a considerable amount of time cross-referencing the guide with a map, and would need to do a good deal of flipping between different parts of the guidebook.

Some guides have eschewed geographical subdivision, and, instead, would rather group buildings by historical time period. Of these, *Detroit Architecture* has perhaps one of the oddest ways of classifying buildings. It divides buildings into two groups: those built before 1971, and others built between 1971 and 1980. Thus, the first section of the guide deals with the early buildings, which are then broken down by geographic area; the later section repeats the same areas, but describes and locates modern buildings rather than older ones. A more recent guide, *Buildings and Landmarks of Old Boston*, produced by an “illustrator, graphic designer and map designer” achieves a similar effect by grouping buildings based on architectural style.³²

Finally, at least one book, *Boston Architecture 1637-1954*, groups some buildings by historical period and others by location. While the approach is somewhat understandable—some individuals may be particularly interested in Colonial Period architecture, while others are interested in seeing more contemporary work in the Back Bay—the resulting mishmash defeats the purpose of locating close together buildings in distinct sections. Here, Faneuil Hall is placed in the ‘Colonial Boston’ section, while the next-closest building in the guide, Quincy Market, is located in the ‘Markets, Docks, and Business District’ section, several pages later.

Despite these outliers, there is an increasing trend towards the geographical subdivision of areas, and the listing of buildings in geographic order. The first edition of *Chicago’s Famous Buildings* (1965), for example, treated the entire city of Chicago as a single area, while the fifth edition of the guide (2003), as stated above, divided the city into three subsections: ‘The Commercial Core,’ ‘Away from the Core,’ and ‘the Suburbs’.

³²Andros, rear cover.

4.3.2 Arrangement of Buildings within Subsections

While authors appear to have carefully divided buildings into geographical subdivisions for some time, they have, until recently, been much less concerned about how they arranged buildings within those subsections. Early authors who dealt with small villages, such as Betjeman and Pevsner typically spent little time arranging buildings within subsections. In Betjeman's case, all buildings in a given village were lumped together in a large description. In Pevsner's guides, with the exception of London, churches are listed first, public buildings second, and residences third.³³

However, later authors who dealt with subdivisions larger than English villages have had to spend more time arranging buildings within those subdivisions. Presumably, if the author chose to divide the full area of the guide into geographic regions, he or she would arrange buildings within those sections in the same fashion, and allow the reader to take a single, optimal path that passed every building. Indeed, this arrangement appears so self-evident that at least one author believes that it is the only way in which a guidebook can be arranged: "The format of *Saints & Oddfellows* is that of a guidebook. The photographs, maps, and text have been arranged on a continuous geographical line. The book is meant to be used as one uses a map, to guide the traveler on a tour of interesting samples of architecture throughout architecture."³⁴ A number of early architectural guides appear to subscribe to this simple practice. The American Guide Series spent considerable effort ordering buildings so that their descriptions in the text matched the experience of the average-visitor as they walked or drove down the street. Such efforts are clearly visible in Figure 2, where adjacent buildings are clearly in numeric order.³⁵

³³In his volumes on London, Pevsner abandoned this system and arranged buildings by section of the city. Additionally, in larger towns, Pevsner includes a perambulation, which lists lesser buildings in the order that they would appear to a pedestrian.

³⁴Neil, 8; the tradition goes back to the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*'s short 'walks' around the city, and Palladio's *La Chiese*, which organized the churches of Rome by their location on a series of walks.

³⁵The WPA Guides also provided several small tours in each guide, which provided directions

Later guides, however, attempt to arrange buildings within sections by other criteria. In the *Buildings of the Bay Area* first-tier buildings are described first, and buildings of lesser importance are described later in the text, even though the buildings may stand next door to each other. The Reinhold Guides often arrange buildings within groups in chronological order, although Henry-Russell Hitchcock notes in his introduction to *Boston Architecture* that “[t]he sequence in which the buildings in these communities are itemized, usually roughly chronological, will rarely be the most convenient for visiting them.”³⁶ Another Reinhold Guide, *The Prairie’s Yield: Forces Shaping Dallas Architecture from 1840 to 1962* lists its buildings in chronological order within the scope of several larger essays, while also providing a timeline of local history and world architectural events in the margins.

Although the chronological approach is appealing to many architectural historians, even some SAH-produced guides have conceded that geographical arrangement is superior to chronological arrangement for field guides.³⁷ Indeed, most recent guides have chosen to list buildings geographically, although in some cases, the precise order in which the buildings appear seems almost random.³⁸ While the preface to the *AIA Guide to Atlanta* states: “Buildings are discussed in the order they appear on the map, which is intended to establish a reasonable walking or driving tour of each area and to facilitate locating individual buildings for those who want to create their own

between towns, although such tours comprised are only a small part of the overall guide.

³⁶Hitchcock, vii.

³⁷In the introduction to one SAH guide, the author explains that “[buildings are] arranged, below, by locality rather than by date, so as to relate more easily to visits.” J. Carson Webster and Society of Architectural Historians, *Architecture of Chicago and Vicinity* (Pennsylvania: Society of Architectural Historians, 1965), introduction.

³⁸The *AIA Guide To Boston* deserves special mention in this section, so future authors will not continue its mistakes. The Guide divides the city into geographic regions, yet provides no identification numbers for the buildings. Buildings are arranged within these subsections in alphabetical order. This is done despite the fact that each section has a small map with an indicated walking path. Further, buildings on the map are sometimes identified by name, but more often by street number. However, since the street number and name the building is listed under in the text do not correspond, the reader is forced to examine the address of every possible building. The overall result is so difficult to use, that it may be attributable to the legendary drunken cow that originally laid out the streets of the city.

tours,” an examination of the maps supplied with the *Guide* (see Figure 4), suggest that this is not the case.³⁹

However, there are a number of guides that are designed for a particular walking tour, where a specific path is given, and buildings are presented in the guide in the order that they are encountered on the path. Of these guides, a number were written in the same spirit as Cook’s *Handbook*, and were meant to provide a written supplement to a private, personal tour. *Architecture of Chicago and Vicinity* is one of these; however, such guides are often privately published, inexpensively bound, and can be difficult to obtain after the tour.

Other guides attempt to replace the human tour guide entirely. *Chicago on Foot: Walking Tours of Chicago’s Architecture* provides a fine example of such a guide, which offers several walking tours of downtown Chicago which are plotted on neighborhood maps; however, its large size 9 inches by 9 inches makes it too large to easily slip inside a purse or pants pocket, and makes it somewhat less useful to travelers. *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture* is another example of such a guide, although one that’s smaller size makes it more useful. *Baltimore Architecture* provides a number of tours (lettered A–M) that guide the visitor through Baltimore neighborhoods; each tour covers approximately ten buildings, and is accompanied by a hand-drawn map, and a three-to four page introductory essay.⁴⁰

One recent series, *Architecture Tours L.A. Guidebook* (2004–present), written by Laura Massino Smith, has attempted to replace the walking tour with a driving tour. Each volume of Smith’s work takes travelers on a short driving tour through a Los

³⁹Gournay, Beswick, Sams, and AIA, xii.; further, an examination of the text makes it clear that buildings are not listed in the text based on dates of construction, and there is no evidence to suggest that they are listed by merit. Instead, buildings are listed somewhat randomly, perhaps based on strict metric distance from a given origin.

⁴⁰Also see *Guide to Cambridge Architecture*, which is designed around 10 walking tours; *Chicago On Foot*; and *Architecture of Chicago and Vicinity*. Note that arranging buildings in this way appears to be a trend. While previous versions of *Chicago’s Famous Buildings* arranged buildings in chronological order, the fifth edition has chosen to list these buildings in the text in the order that one would encounter them on a walk through the City.

Angeles neighborhood where buildings are clearly identified by large photographs taken from the street and driving instructions are given through directional icons.⁴¹ Although it is not clear whether this model would be as effective outside of car-centered Los Angeles, it appears to have some potential, particularly as guides begin to focus on less dense suburban areas where walking tours are impractical.

4.4 *Maps*

While the arrangement of buildings within various areas is an important factor in the legibility and usefulness of a guidebook, maps also play an important role in determining the value of a guide. The consensus of recent guidebook authors is that “[o]ne of the most essential elements of any successful guidebook is the cartography”⁴² This has not always been the case, and early guides often did without maps. While such a presentation was possible when architectural guides either noted only the most important buildings in small villages (e.g. Pevsner’s guides) or were concerned with identifying buildings in dense gridded cities, the more recent focus of guides on the suburbs has required authors to include maps in their guidebooks.

We have already noted that, as time has passed, guides have expanded to include more types of buildings and larger geographic areas, and have begun to increasingly focus on small-scale domestic architecture. Thus, architectural guides have increasingly expanded their focus to suburbs and smaller towns, areas which are typically more difficult to navigate than dense city cores. Fortunately, while this change has taken place, the cost and effort associated with producing easily-readable maps has fallen.

Again, Pevsner’s work provides a useful starting point, as well as a contrast to most modern guides. *The Buildings of England* are notable for their lack of maps. The only maps found in the non-London guides are attractively illustrated hand-drawn maps of

⁴¹For instance, the direction “turn left” is accompanied by a large green left-turn arrow.

⁴²Gournay, Beswick, Sams, and AIA, xi; also see the introduction to Gebhard and Winter.

the county described, with towns and villages labeled; however attractive these maps are, however, they lack any indication of major roads or highways (See Figure 1). In contrast, Betjeman's Shell Guides, produced in order to increase voluntary motor-traveling, provided the reader with excellent maps which highlighted main highways and smaller roads alike.

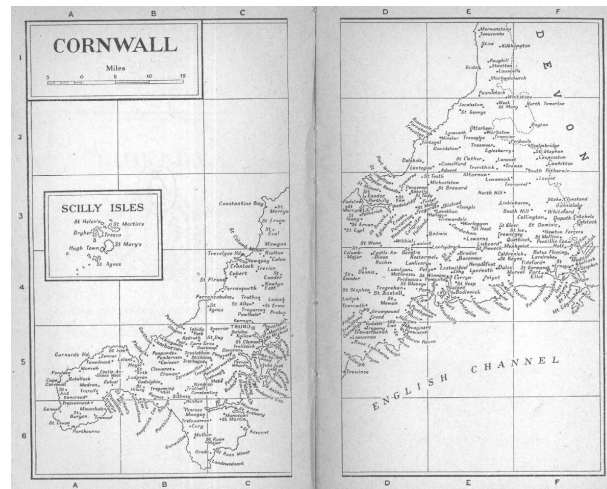


Figure 1: Map From Buildings of England Series: Cornwall

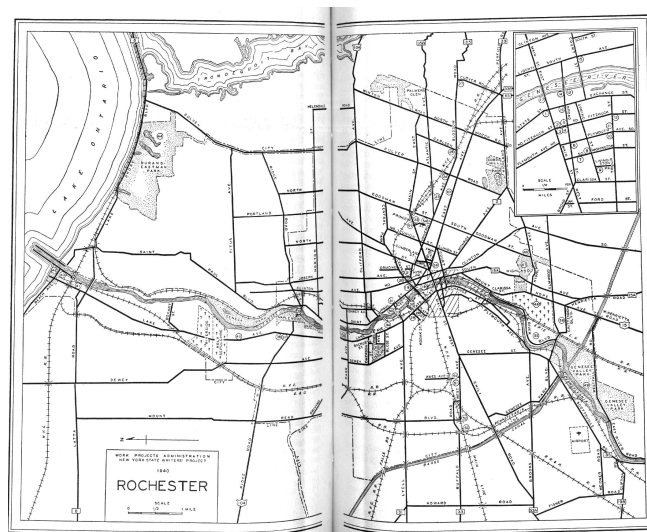


Figure 2: Map from American Guide Series: New York

Although the American Guide Series appeared earlier than either Betjeman's or Pevsner's work, the resources of the Federal Writer's Project meant that the American

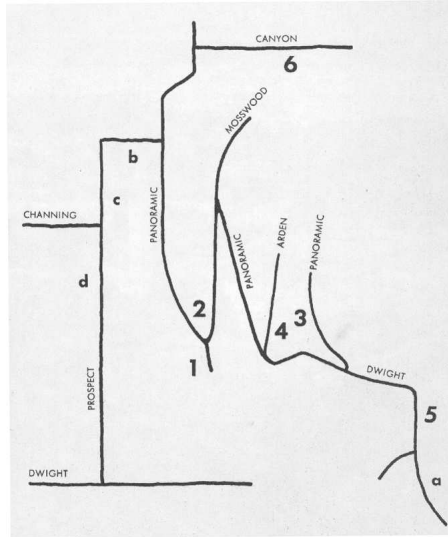


Figure 3: Map from *Buildings of the Bay Area*

Guides were rather ahead of their time when it came to cartographic issues. The series provides maps for most larger cities, with buildings of note indicated by a circled number (See Figure 2). In some cases, the maps have insets of downtowns, or particular places of interest.

Unfortunately for the architectural tourist, the American Guide series was a brief high point in guide cartography that took time to reattain. After the Federal Writer's Project disbanded and government money was no longer available to subsidize the production of guides, reality set in. Hand-drawn maps were difficult and time-consuming to produce, and often attempted to include too much information in a given space. The guides which followed the American Guide series frequently provided poor maps to guide the reader. In many cases, the cost and difficulty of producing maps meant that guides contained a single map, with every building located on it. *Boston Architecture 1637-1954*, published in 1954, is a typical example of this type which provided a single high-level view of the city, with numbers indicating the location of notable buildings; however, the scale is such that the reader can not make out any street

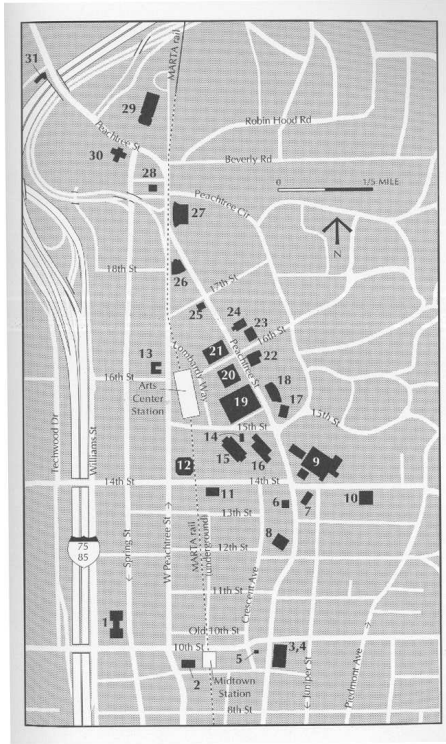


Figure 4: Map from *AIA Guide to Atlanta*

names, and the map is virtually useless for on-the-ground navigation.⁴³

In a number of cases before the 1980s, guidebooks did not provide any maps, or the maps which they provided were very limited in scope. Neither *Illinois Architecture* (1968), nor *Saints & Oddfellows* (1976), includes a map that shows the location of individual buildings.⁴⁴ However, the dates of publication are a somewhat unreliable proxy variable for the presence or absence of quality maps. The first edition of *Chicago's Famous Buildings*, published in 1965, includes five maps which depicted the greater Chicago area, as well as some detailed views of the inner loop area.

Several factors appear to play a role in the presence or types of maps used in a

⁴³ *The Prairie's Yield*, also published by Reinhold, attempted an interesting experiment by using airplane photography as a map for the city of Dallas. Although the publisher took pains to highlight some of the streets on the photograph, and indicated the location of buildings with numbers, the scale meant that the 'map' was virtually useless for anything except gaining a general idea of where buildings were located in the city.

⁴⁴ *Saints & Oddfellows* only provides a state map which shows highways, and where various sized-dots indicate how many buildings of interest are in each town.

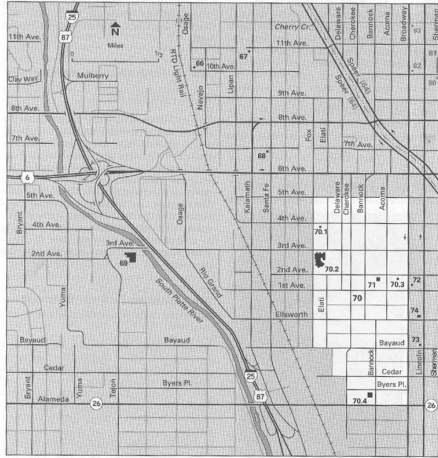


Figure 5: Map from Buildings of the United States Series: Colorado

guide. Certainly, the budget of a guide, as well as the anticipated size of its audience, play a large role in how much can be spent on the production of maps. Further, the geographic area that a guide attempts to cover also plays a role in the production of maps; it is easy to see how publishers can justify the production (or purchase) of a map for a dense urban area, it is less easy to justify such a cost-benefit analysis for many small towns with only one or two notable buildings each.

Some independent guides have attempted to solve the problem of mapping multiple far-flung suburban locations. The *Guide to the Bay Area* uses maps which depict areas including five or six buildings of interest (usually houses); however, roads on these maps are frequently unlabeled, and the maps neglect to show major roads, which makes it difficult for the reader to orient him- or herself.⁴⁵

More recently, it has been possible to create maps to cities using computer-based geographic information systems (GIS), which can create maps based on a database which contains road and feature locations. Although there is a learning curve to these

⁴⁵These small-scale maps were frequently used in the 1960s, and 1970s. *Detroit Architecture* takes this system one step further, and labels contemporary buildings (defined as anything built after 1971) with alphabetical characters and older buildings with numbers. Additionally, *Buildings of the Bay Area* uses its alphabetical/numerical labels to try and note the importance of structures on the map. In both cases, the maps attempt to provide too much information and the result is difficult to read. Future authors should be aware of the perils of trying to communicate too much information through a single feature.

programs, once mastered, they can be used to produce maps much more quickly and inexpensively than in the past. GIS software also allows operators to easily create maps at different scales, and operators can select the level of detail shown at each level by turning on and off various layers of data. In the creation of a regional map, an operator might choose to display only interstates and main highways, when creating a neighborhood-sized map, he might choose to display individual streets. As GIS software has become more sophisticated, and the databases that these program rely on have become more comprehensive, detail-oriented maps have begun to include building footprints.

Guides have quickly adapted to using these systems, and have become particularly fond of including maps at multiple scales. The use of multiple scales of maps allows readers to determine the general distribution of buildings across a wide area, while also having recourse to smaller, more detailed maps which can be located in the text itself. In the *AIA Guide to Atlanta*, for example, a large-scale map (approximately 15 miles x 30 miles) shows interstates and major state highways with notable buildings identified by a numbered dot; more detailed maps cover a half-mile by half-mile area, show individual streets, and often show the footprint of a building of interest (See Figure 4).⁴⁶ The *Buildings of Colorado* has an even wider range of scales, with maps that span more than a dozen counties, as well as maps of cities, and selected neighborhoods (See Figure 5).

Thomas A. Heinz's guide to Frank Lloyd Wright's Chicago architecture also uses small-scale computer-generated maps of the area surrounding a building of interest. Unlike guides in the AIA or BUS series, however, this independent guide includes an individual map for each building. Unlike the small maps in *Buildings of the Bay Area* these maps also include interstates or well-known locations (e.g. Northwestern University) to orient the reader. If the reader feels that these maps are not sufficient,

⁴⁶Gournay, Beswick, Sams, and AIA, xxix, 3.

Heinz has also included geographical coordinates which can be fed into Global Positioning System (GPS) devices, which can direct the reader to the site. Certainly, the low cost and effort involved in creating individualized maps suggest that future independent guides will adopt a similar approach, particularly when their buildings are spread across a large area. Additionally, as the popularity of hand-held GPS devices grows, future guides will presumably include similar geographical coordinates in paper or, more likely, electronic form.

While pedestrian-oriented guides can, because of their limited geographic area, provide sufficient maps for the reader, any larger guide must be selective of the maps it provides. While recent guides generally provide maps of the areas immediately surrounding buildings of interest, guides such as those in the BUS series, which reference scores of far-flung towns typically omit directions from one collection of buildings to another. Accordingly, almost every modern large-scale guide suggests that the reader be certain to bring along a copy of road maps to the area.⁴⁷

4.5 Descriptions

The description of a building is perhaps the key element in an architectural guide, as it provides the information that the interested traveler wants. Virtually all recent guides have adopted a two-tier system of description, which always includes certain mandatory basic information about a structure, and may include an optional extended description, which provides additional information or comments on the design of the building.

The basic information about a structure almost always includes (a) the name of the structure, (b) the name of the architect (if known), (c) dates of construction, (d) a way of locating the building, and, sometimes (e) a reference number for the building (previously discussed in Section 4.3).⁴⁸ While older work, including Pevsner's guides

⁴⁷Gebhard and Winter, 6; also see the introduction to guides in the BUS series.

⁴⁸There are, however, exceptions. In Pevsner's work (except for the London volumes) directions or

and the WPA Guides place all of this information in the text of a larger description of the building, and do not differentiate between the different types of information, more recent guides have generally placed the basic information into a distinct section, which is typically separated from the extended description (if one exists) by typographical features such as whitespace, or the use of bold or italic fonts.

While this basic information appears quite simple, a few atypical structures prevent making clear-cut distinctions between basic information and extended descriptions. Some guides place every individual or firm who worked on a project—be they engineer, landscape architect or contractor—in the basic information; others guides place this information, if it is included at all, in the extended description. A similar approach is taken towards additions and renovations, and the individuals or firms associated with them; sometimes they are contained in the basic information, in other cases they are placed in the extended description.⁴⁹ Some guides include additional information, such as style of architecture, additional location information or an indication of the quality of a building in the basic information section as well.

Additionally, although most guides provide descriptions for individual buildings, it is not uncommon to find descriptions that are shared between two or more buildings, or a small street. In cases where the description only applies to two or three buildings, virtually all guides provide complete basic information for all of the buildings; when an entire street is described, virtually all guides omit basic information about individual buildings, and merely mention common dates of construction, architect, or style (if

addresses were not provided for most major buildings; for other buildings, a distance and direction from the church was sufficient to locate the building. In most American guides, a street address is required, except in very rural areas (e.g. *Illinois Architecture* lists no address for historic buildings in Cahokia, IL). In extremely rare cases, guides do not publish the location or address of a structure due to a request from the owner; for an example of this practice see Dorsey and Dilts, 211 (Miller House entry). Because the information does not allow the reader to visit the house, the inclusion of such buildings is of questionable benefit.

⁴⁹In many cases, this information appears to be included in the basic or extended information on a case-by-case basis. *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture* includes addition/renovation information in the basic information section if the change was major; otherwise, the information, if included at all, is part of the extended description.

applicable) in the extended description.

4.6 Types of Extended Descriptions

The remainder of this section will concentrate on the different kinds of information which can be contained in the extended description. As Henry-Russel Hitchcock has stated, guides cannot be all things to all people, and descriptions must limit themselves to information that appears reasonably interesting to the given audience.⁵⁰

As there are many possible audiences for these guides, descriptions vary substantially from guidebook to guidebook and from author to author. In many cases, the contents of the description are useful in decoding the author's unstated intent in writing the book. Following are descriptions of the different types, along with examples taken from various guides. Examples from architectural guidebooks follow each description. The reader should note that each type of description is similar to the reasons for why people visit buildings which were described in the first chapter. Like these reasons, the types are merely ideals, and the examples presented are the purest available. In practice, the descriptions found in most guides are combinations of these basic types.⁵¹ Moreover, the reader should be aware that larger guides, which typically have multiple contributors, often have more diversity in their descriptions than smaller guides that are written by a single author.

4.6.1 Raw Description

Once one moves away from the basic information of a structure, the simplest kind of extended information is a verbal description of the exterior of the building. While such a description may allow a viewer to decide if he or she wants to visit that particular structure, the increasing trend of including a photograph of every building referenced

⁵⁰Hitchcock, viii.

⁵¹Specialty guides may provide additional types of descriptions (e.g., an architectural guide to ecclesiastical architecture might spend considerable time describing the iconography present in a given church); however, such guides are the exception rather than the rule.

in a guide makes even that limited benefit questionable in modern guides. One might argue that these descriptions allow the uninformed reader to learn about architectural terminology, however, there is no reason why a short article or well-illustrated glossary would not work instead. Such descriptions are by no means limited to a particular place and time. They can be found in many guides, from the American Guide Series, to the Buildings of the United States.

NUMBER ONE W.MT.VERNON PLACE is a three-story, gray-painted brick house with a Corinthian flat-roofed portico and double flight of steps. The window headings and bracketed cornice are topped with floral cresting. The bracketed cornice has cresting along the roof. The shutters are latticed and the central bay has a triple window; first and second floors have iron balconies. This house was built about 1848 and is believed to have been designed by a Swedish architect visiting in this country.⁵²

The boxlike structure has flanking one-story wings and an elaborate pedimented portico supported by pilasters and paired colossal Corinthian columns. A decorative cornice with dentil blocks encircles the building.⁵³

Gray glazed brick, smooth curves, and sharp edges characterize this post-war structure built for undergraduate education in science under Harvard's General Education program.⁵⁴

4.6.2 Sophisticated Description

The sophisticated description utilizes references to specific architectural styles or specific architects as a shorthand to describe the building. Such a description can replace a long litany of raw descriptions with a single stylistic reference. Not surprisingly, sophisticated descriptions are typically found in guidebooks which are written for more sophisticated consumers, such as those written by the AIA.

Again Queen Anne, but this time with pronounced Stick style features.⁵⁵

Byzantine fabric with photogenic Romanesque campanile right out of old Ravenna. the rich interior is as marvelous as the contribution of the church to the cityscape.⁵⁶

⁵²WPA, *Maryland*, 217.

⁵³Kathryn Bishop Eckert, *Buildings of Michigan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 400.

⁵⁴Rettig, entry A54.

⁵⁵Gebhard and Winter, entry LA-20 2.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, entry P-7 5.

Strongly influenced by early Yamasaki.⁵⁷

This gunnite-sheathed house with green tile roof seems more Chinese than Japanese. It is roughly U-shaped with a Moorish fountain in the court. The back of the house, which used to look down on terraced gardens, is pure Segovia. Here the Greenes are significantly drawing away from the woody Craftsman style.⁵⁸

Here is a design which even the most meticulous pedant would find impossible to pin down. This house, remodeled & enlarged in 1877, has a general flavor of Gothic Revival, but odds and ends of detail are Eastlake and Queen Anne, plus a Craftsman pergola (Open to the public 2 to 4 p.m. on Sundays.)⁵⁹

4.6.3 Description Plus Information

Slightly more sophisticated than either the Raw or Sophisticated Description is the Description Plus Information. Here, the author typically includes the architectural description found in the two earlier types, but includes other information, such as the dates of specific elements, heights and dimensions, architect, materials, costs, etc. This type of description is exemplified by Pevsner's work, and is typically found wherever abbreviations abound. In many ways it is reminiscent of the eighteenth-century traveler's desire to note everything of possible importance on a trip.

Its distinguishing exterior feature is the little open cupola on the top of a tower the upper parts of which are of brick and contrast with the flintwork of the lower part and the rest of the church. The tower is on the SW, twice as wide as the S aisle which is, in its S wall and arcade, C12. The doorway is next to that of Harlington the most elaborate piece of Norman decoration in the county. . . The arches are pointed and have hood-moulds. They cannot be earlier than the early C13, that is their erection must have come after that of the more completely preserved Norman arcades at Laleham.⁶⁰

Its architecture is distinguished, the south side having been designed by Nicholas Stone, celebrated sculptor and master mason, and the east side (1666, begun) by Hugh May, early rival of Wren. The chapel, which

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, entry P-5 76.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, entry P-7 47.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, entry SB-1 6.

⁶⁰ Pevsner, *Middlesex*, 95.

has grand Gibbons-style carved woodwork and contemporary fittings, was build in 1677 from a design by May and John Evelyn.⁶¹

4.6.4 The Raw Opinion

Although it is often unspoken, guidebook authors appear to inevitably believe that their impressions will help improve the taste of the reader.⁶² For that reason, authors of architectural guides typically include their aesthetic judgments on the buildings in question. Sometimes these judgments are substantiated by referencing various features of the structure in question; oftentimes they are not. This opining without evidence is classified as the Raw Opinion. Not surprisingly, the raw opinion is often found in the work of architect-authors or architectural historians who are certain of their own opinions.

The small church lies comfortably back from the traffic, screened by plenty of trees and partly hidden by a perfectly crazy outsized display of topiary (old yews trimmed into initials, the date 1704, and peacocks.)⁶³

Beautiful upland walks. Perpendicular church, over restored.⁶⁴

This is Carlo Maderna's masterpiece. The sumptuous **interior***** provides the setting for Bernini's *Ecstasy of St Theresa of Avila**** (1652).⁶⁵

Hack detailing... [a]bsurd thatched roof⁶⁶

The church is nothing architecturally, but it has atmosphere.⁶⁷

⁶¹John Piper, *Oxfordshire, Not Including the City of Oxford*, Shell Guide Series (London, Faber and Fabe, 1953), 26.

⁶²Rarely, such assumptions are specifically stated, see Betjeman: "We believe that houses and churches do, and should, inspire love and hate, and that it is worth while recording the reactions of two observers, instead of making a cold catalog." John Betjeman and John Piper, *Murray's Berkshire Architectural Guide* (London, J. Murray, 1949), x; hereafter: Betjeman and Piper, *Berkshire*.

⁶³Pevsner, *Middlesex*, 43.

⁶⁴Piper, 23.

⁶⁵Michelin, *Italy*, 315, emphasis in original.

⁶⁶John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Dorset*, Buildings of England (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1972), 229.

⁶⁷Piper, 29.

First is the Cathedral of St. Philip⁶⁸, a simple structure but a pleasing one in a commanding setting; the second is the Second-Ponce de Leon Baptist Church, modern but exquisite in the perfection of its American Georgian style; and the third, to my mind the finest, is the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King. . . Atlanta has every right to be proud of [the architects'] work, and so have they, for rarely has Gothic detail been so perfectly molded into the simplicity of modern design. No lover of good architecture can afford to miss this.⁶⁹

4.6.5 The Sophisticated Opinion

The sophisticated opinion is not a pure form. Rather, it combines aspects of the sophisticated description and the raw opinion. However, this combination of architectural jargon and unsupported opinion is so prevalent in architectural guides (particularly those written by architects), that it virtually demands a category of its own. In many cases, the evaluations in such descriptions turn on how well the author thinks a particular building achieves the ultimate aim of a particular style.

A concrete mass of semi-Brutalism. Strange.⁷⁰

Built before Walker unleashed his romantic streak, this house is utterly simple and good.⁷¹

The architect was in his ziggurat phase, and the result looks as if it were designed for a World's Fair. Perhaps some day it will be dismantled.⁷²

Maybeckian spaces and the tidy line of the early International style, Schindler was a master of both. The original composition sheeted roof has been shingled over.⁷³

4.6.6 The Didactic Description

In a few cases, rather than rendering an opinion, the author of a guide attempts to point the reader to particular elements of a given structure, and explain why those

⁶⁸The author is describing the earlier pro-cathedral of St. Philip; not the Cathedral that now sits on the site.

⁶⁹George W. Seaton, *What to See and Do in the South; How to Get the Most Out of Your Trip* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941), 183.

⁷⁰Gebhard and Winter, entry SC-2b 26.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, entry SFV-7 14.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 347.

⁷³*Ibid.*, entry P-2 6.

elements are worthy of note. In many cases, these descriptions focus on a specific feature or features that the author thinks is representative of a given style or architect.

Mendelsohn, a pioneer of modern European architecture, was famous for his use of plastic forms, here expressed in the rounded windows of his only wood house.⁷⁴

Few architects have been more adept than Maybeck at effects of such simple directness as this projection of trusses through the roof to express outside structure as well as in.⁷⁵

The flat roof, arrangement of porch and windows, and decisive attachment to its site suggest that the anonymous designer of the Pennell/Fargo residence had learned well the lessons taught by Frank Lloyd Wright and his followers.⁷⁶

[The building] is too symmetrical to be entirely typical of the [Italian villa] style, but its two stunted towers and ornamental woodwork give some of the Italianate flavor.⁷⁷

1708 West Beach Boulevard, next door to No. 1704, is also very unacademic, the three columned portico having a set of arches inserted between the pediment and columns. The pediment here is steeply pitched, as is the one at No. 1704, and hence does not follow correct classical practice.⁷⁸

The church actually has many Romanesque elements. The red tile roof was used frequently by H.H. Richardson. Although the wide overhang suggests Spanish origins, the campanile tower with corner turrets and a balcony is equally Italian. The church contrasts sharply with the Beaux-Arts Classical city hall across the street, especially in its red tile roof, the campanile tower (with a balcony) at the front corner, and the shaped parapet over the entrance. The design borrows its Italian and Spanish theme from the Battle Creek Depot of the Grand Trunk Railroad (1905) designed by Spier and Rohns.⁷⁹

The clapboarded, wood-frame, symmetrical Federal structure was updated with Gothic Revival bargeboards, pointed dormers, and a front gable, also with a bargeboard. . . Federal features include the window heads, elliptical patterns in the side and transom lights of the front entry, paneled doors, carved pinwheels at the junction of the door trim, and three exquisitely detailed fireplace mantles.⁸⁰

⁷⁴Woodbridge and Woodbridge, entry 2 SF 3.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, entry 7 M 1.

⁷⁶Neil, 48.

⁷⁷Dorsey and Dilts, 92.

⁷⁸Biloxi, 142.

⁷⁹Eckert, 205.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 131

4.6.7 History of Inhabitants/Genealogical

Buildings may also be described through the history of the individuals who lived there. Although in some cases, such as *Architecture in Salem* (2004), ‘architectural guides’ are merely excuses for authors to discuss their true interest in family- or local-histories, other guides provide information on owners, or inhabitants, or the events that occurred in a building in the course of an otherwise architecturally-oriented guide. In either case, such descriptions are typically associated with domestic architecture. Family- or local-histories in disguise as architecture guides are typically put together by non-architectural civic interest groups, and are typically privately-published. Such guides are often written about small towns or rural counties, and areas where family history may be perceived as very important (such as Mississippi, or Boston).

Born in Pennsylvania in 1853, Moore became a lawyer in Peoria before moving to Chicago. In 1894 he asked Wright to remodel the first house on this site but soon realized that it would be too small and asked for something ‘Elizabethan.’ The resulting house was imitated by architects for years to come. An example can be seen on Oak Park Avenue at Thomas Street and another as far away as Valladolid, near Cancun, Mexico. On Christmas Day 1922, the top floor and roof of the house were destroyed by fire. Wright gained the commission as he happened to be in Chicago at the time and contacted Moore. Charles E. White was Wright’s local representative. The result was much more decorative than the earlier work. It included a considerable amount of terra cotta, taken from designs found in Louis Sullivan’s buildings. How these came to be used here remains a mystery. West of the south yard are the original stable and garage.⁸¹

Henry’s father, Jeremiah Harlan, moved to Harford County from his native Chester County, Pennsylvania; in 1800 he married Esther Stump, a daughter of Henry and Rachel Stump, and in 1812 bought a 181-acre tract from his kinsman Reuben Stump for \$4,000. . . Near the house is a 1 1/2 story stone shop, a small building of great importance; its upper story is traditionally said to have contained a schoolroom where Jeremiah’s sons (Henry and David) and nephews (including future judge John H. Price) were taught by Dr. Samuel Guile, a Harvard man Jeremiah hired as a tutor.⁸²

⁸¹Thomas A. Heinz, *MetroChicago* (London: Academy Editions, 1997), 68.

⁸²Weeks, Henry Harlan House entry, unnumbered gazetteer section.

Mary Adams lived here for a very short time, probably less than three years. She was perhaps Wright's oldest client. She was seventy when she commissioned him. She died a few years after the house was completed and her ashes were sent to Hot Springs, Arkansas, presumably to the members of her family. There are very few public documents which tell us about her long life, except that she was very involved in the Christian Science Church. Nothing is known about her family or how she came to engage Wright as the designer of the house.⁸³

Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, entertained poets and philosophers here in the 17th century, including Cowley, Ben Jonson, Waller and Hyde, before he was killed—still young—in the Civil War, at the Battle of Newbury (1643).⁸⁴

4.6.8 History of the Building

Just as some authors may attempt to describe the importance of a building through the history of its inhabitants, other authors may attempt to describe the importance of a building through a history of additions, renovations, and changes in ownership. In any case, the reader should realize that such comments are—at least to the English architectural writer John Betjeman—completely superfluous to actual architectural history; Betjeman explains his standpoint in *Ghastly Good Taste*: “If some well-meaning canon delivers a talk on the English cathedrals in a school, he will inevitably go into detail about ye Quainte olde Pryore Lanfranc, who boughte ye silver crosse for ye high altar for two shillings, as though such a picturesque fact had anything to do with architecture.”⁸⁵

This conservative, wide-pilastered Regency/Greek Revival house was built in 1838 at the corner of Quincy and Kirkland Streets for Daniel Treadwell, inventor and Harvard professor. Historian Jared Sparks acquired the house in 1847 and lived there while president of Harvard (1849-1853). Subsequently owned by the New Church Theological School, the property passed in 1966 to Harvard, which moved the house and its stable (now a garage) to this lot. The present siting, with the building's pilastered end

⁸³Heinz, 21.

⁸⁴Piper, 59.

⁸⁵Betjeman, *Ghastly*, 29.

facade toward the street and the entrance facade facing the side of the lot, duplicated the original siting.⁸⁶

Henry Wilson, Baltimore merchant, originally built a house on this property about 1808. In 1811, he sold it to Christopher Deshon, who greatly enlarged it. In 1818, it was bought by Richard Caton, son-in-law to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who bought out Caton's interest in 1824 and lived in the house part of each year until he died there in 1832.⁸⁷

The STATE CAPITAL...was begun in 1907, and occupied in 1910. It was constructed at a cost of \$1,000,000 under the supervision of State Engineer Samuel H. Lea. O.H. Olson was the architect. By 1931 the needs of the State demanded more office space, and an annex was added to the north side of the building at a cost of \$250,000, doubling the office capacity."⁸⁸

The oldest Masonic lodge in Baltimore, at Fells Point, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of London June 28, 1770, and came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Maryland when the latter was organized April 17, 1787. The cornerstone of a hall on St. Paul St. was laid May 16, 1814. That of the first building on the present site was laid November 20, 1866, with President Andrew Johnson attending. This building burned on Christmas Day, 1890, and another completed in 1893 burned in 1908. The present building, erected at a cost of \$250,000, was dedicated November 16, 1909"⁸⁹

Authors who are interested in such histories are also likely to be impressed merely by the age of a particular building. In such a case, descriptions such as these are not uncommon:

This simple structure is of no particular architectural significance, but it is an interesting relic of the eighteenth century.⁹⁰

This building, which reveals an unexpected dome as one enters the door, survived the Baltimore fire of 1904 even though everything around it was burned to the ground.⁹¹

⁸⁶Rettig, entry A31.

⁸⁷Dorsey and Dilts, 89.

⁸⁸Federal Writers' Project, *South Dakota, a Guide to the State* (New York: Hastings House, 1952), 133; hereafter: WPA, *South Dakota*.

⁸⁹WPA, *Maryland*, 225.

⁹⁰Dorsey and Dilts, 92.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 68.

Both kinds of historical descriptions are typically found in guides to older cities and towns, as younger cities do not have the history to support a guide full of such entries. They are also frequently found in guides which are written by architectural historians, or general historians who have turned to architecture. Finally, because so many architectural guides deal with the histories of cities as well as individual buildings, it is not surprising to see extended descriptions which focus on the history of a town, or how a particular building relates to the history of a town:

Then, during World War II, all gold mining was suspended by the War Production Board. Lead [, Colorado] was hard hit. The windows of many houses and a few business places were boarded up as people moved away. Another blow came when the big company store, the Heart Mercantile, burned to the ground. For a time it looked as if Lead were about to join the ranks of the other Blank Hills ghost towns. When the Homestake [Mine] reopened, Lead came back to life. During normal times approximately 2,200 people are employed by the Homestake and the annual payroll is about \$6,000,000.”⁹²

The Lobdell and Bailey Company, later the American Wood Rim Company, manufactured bicycle rims and automobile steering wheels. Employing 750 men by 1902 in the manufacture of a product that used local wood, the company was the chief employer and most important industry in what was then called, ‘the Town that Steers the World.’ The plant burned in a disastrous fire in January 1926, and after the fire Onaway’s population was reduced by more than half. Today the Onaway Masonic Order uses the structure.⁹³

4.6.9 Historical or Stylistic Placement

Perhaps the most sophisticated form of description, the Historical or Stylistic Placement attempts to place a particular piece of architecture within the larger context of an individual’s or school’s work, or within a larger stylistic or aesthetic movement. Although a statement that a particular piece was in the Queen Anne style would merely be a Sophisticated Opinion, a statement as to why that piece was the culmination of

⁹²Noel, 120.

⁹³Eckert, 452.

Queen Anne work in California in the 1890s would be a Historical or Stylistic Placement. Not surprisingly, such entries are typically written by architectural historians, particularly those writing for guides with an academic bent.

Built for the Andover Theological Seminary (a separate institution now in Newton) and subsequently acquired by the Harvard Divinity School, this stone Gothic structure, appropriately ecclesiastical in feeling, is the best Cambridge example of Collegiate Gothic—a style ignored at Harvard (unlike Yale and Princeton) in favor of Collegiate Georgian. Allen & Collens were specialists in ecclesiastical work; a more modest Cambridge design of their was the 1932 remodeling of St. Peter’s Episcopal Church (H4).⁹⁴

Although the design suggests the Capitol at Washington with its central rotunda flanked by legislative wings, it is in no sense a copy of the older structure. The corridor of the first floor runs the entire length of the building, the walls of which are decorated with portraits of personages notable in the history of the State.⁹⁵

A brick house and two brick churches in Plainfield illustrate the best qualities of upper Connecticut River valley Federal and Greek revival architecture. The Spalding House... built by Silas Read of Plainfield in 1820, typifies the New Hampshire two-story, hipped-roof Federal dwelling of this period. The churches are believed to have been erected by Col Charles Egglestone (1787–1858) of Plainfield, a contractor who also worked in Cornish... and other neighboring towns. It has been conjectured, without documentation, that Ammi Burnham Young (1798–1874), a Lebanon architect who later rose to national prominence, may have had a hand in the design of these buildings.⁹⁶

Grafton County, like Sullivan County, shares its architectural forms with adjacent areas of New Hampshire and Vermont, repeating—with local variations—styles seen in the lower Connecticut River valley. The influence of Asher Benjamin’s design books is evident in both churches and houses, especially in the villages of Lyme, Orford, Haverhill, and Bath. Vestiges of Victorian tourism are preserved in the hotels of Bethlehem and Littleton on the western edge of the White Mountains.⁹⁷

Erected in 1834, the Congregational Church suggests Aaron Howland’s work at Walpole... In this structure, Federal, Greek Revival and Gothic

⁹⁴Rettig, entry A38.

⁹⁵WPA, *South Dakota*, 133.

⁹⁶Tolles, Tolles, and New Hampshire Historical Society, 175.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 277.

Revival Elements are brought together in a unique and imaginative manner. The five Palladian windows in the front gable end—four placed over the doorways in the pavilion and one in the tower above—are reminiscent of Howland’s Congregational Church... at Jaffrey Center. The fact that the towers on the Winchester and Jaffrey churches are nearly identical gives support to the theory that Howland may have constructed both buildings.⁹⁸

The tower is a copy of Magdalen Tower, Oxford, reduced in size one-third. The roof inside is copied from Christ Church Hall. Different examples of the Perpendicular style in Oxford served as models for the several nave windows.⁹⁹

4.6.10 Picturesque

Other authors continue the tradition of the Picturesque by highlighting the particular visual charm of a building or town, and/or suggesting a particular vantage point. Such comments are most frequently found in the work of John Betjeman, although they are also found occasionally in the work of Pevsner or other authors. The Michelin guides also frequently mention noteworthy views. In any case, the reader should note that in modern day guides, the picturesque may also be defined as photogenic.

[C]oarsely picturesque grouping towards the front and at the side.¹⁰⁰

The village must be viewed from the SE. Then the thatched buildings of Lower Farm make a picturesque composition and the church tower rises behind silhouetted against woods. Nor can one see any of the bald council housing of c. 1950 beyond.¹⁰¹

[T]he traveller is greeted by a very fine **view**** down on to the site of Aráahova, a small mountain town on the southern face of Mount Parnassos above the Pleistos ravine.”¹⁰²

The beauty of this place is mostly in its site, overlooking the wide Ouse watermeadows from the gentle northern slope.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁹⁹ Piper, 24.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 361.

¹⁰¹ Dorsey and Dilts, 228.

¹⁰² Michelin, *Greece*, 60; emphasis in original.

¹⁰³ Betjeman and Piper, *Buckinghamshire*, 121.

[S]elf-consciously picturesque riverside village. Dignified red-brick bridge over the Thames. Church designed picturesquely by Scott and Moffat.¹⁰⁴

The variously shaped windows and the beautifully weathered exterior wood siding make this building unusually photogenic.¹⁰⁵

4.6.11 Trivia or Human Interest

The success of guides such as the *Mirabilia* should convince the reader that trivia, odd facts, and human interest stories can always help sell architectural guidebooks. Although such information is found in most guides, it is particularly well-represented in the American Guide Series. On a single page dedicated to a portion of the town of Huron, South Dakota, the reader learns that the five-story, 150-bed St. John's Hospital was completed in 1947 and cost more than one million dollars; that the Huron Auditorium seats 6,000 and cost \$760,000; that Ravine Lake covers 100 acres; that Memorial Baseball Park has "160 lights on eight 90-ft. towers" and seats 1,600 people; that Armour Meat Packing plant employees an average of 350 people and that the Lampe Market "raises its own meat on its 900-acre farm."¹⁰⁶

Grier Park is also the scene of an annual Labor Day celebration, consisting of various sports and contests. Formerly the feature of the celebration was a series of turtle races. Every Homestake [Mine (a local employer)] employee bet on a turtle decided by lot. The race was run off in a number of heats, until the winner was determined. The turtles were numbered and released in the center of a large ring and left to their own devices. The first turtle to cross the circle at any point was the winner of the heat. . . The proceeds of the Turtle Day Races, minus the prizes that went to the winners, were devoted to the welfare of Homestake employees.¹⁰⁷

Two of [the building's] hydraulic elevators are still in use.¹⁰⁸

[Calvert Hall College] conducted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, is on the site of the encampment of Rochambeau and his troops after their victorious return from the campaign at Yorktown. The school, which offers

¹⁰⁴Piper, 26.

¹⁰⁵Neil, 52.

¹⁰⁶WPA, *South Dakota*, 114.

¹⁰⁷Noel, 121–122.

¹⁰⁸Dorsey and Dilts, 81.

academic and business courses, was named for Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, and a marble statue of him stands in a niche at the corner of the building.¹⁰⁹

[Houghton Library] was given the most advanced humidity and temperature control system available, befitting its function as a rare book library.¹¹⁰

The S.S. Grand View Point Hotel... was remodeled in 1931 to give the impression of an ocean liner, because the owner saw a resemblance between early morning mists rising from the valley and billowing ocean waves. Constructed of steel and concrete and known locally as the 'Ship' it has a top deck promenade with a view of seven counties and parts of Maryland and West Virginia.¹¹¹

4.6.12 Other information

Finally, there is a range of other information that can be found in extended descriptions that does not fit nicely into any of the previous categories. Such information often relates to how easily the structure can be viewed: "About all you can see of the architectural detail of this house, swamped in foliage, is the jutting roof."¹¹² In other cases, guides provide information as to whether a site has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, who the current owner is, or whether a structure is available for public tours (and, if so, how much do such tours cost).

In the end, however, it is important for the reader to note that, in practice, most extended descriptions involve several of these pure types of descriptions, as found in this description of the Naval Academy Chapel, from the WPA Guide to Maryland:

The Chapel was originally in the form of a Greek cross, but a long nave was added in 1939-40. The dome over the crossing, with its glittering gilded cupola, rises more than two hundred feet above the ground. Its former terra-cotta decorative work—drums, flags, and festoons—has been replaced with plain sheet copper; the coffered ceiling is ornamented with symbolic designs in plaster. Stained glass windows in the apse and

¹⁰⁹WPA, *Maryland*, 224.

¹¹⁰Rettig, entry A65.

¹¹¹WPA, *Pennsylvania*, 451.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, entry SVF-7 7.

transepts commemorate naval heroes—Sampson, Mason, Porter, Garragut—and Academy men who served in the World War. Under the crossing is the crypt, a round colonnaded chamber containing the bronze and marble sarcophagus holding the dust of John Paul Jones, who on his death in 1792 was buried in Paris. In 1905 the coffin was ceremoniously transferred to America. The sarcophagus somewhat resembles Napoleon’s in the Hôtel des Invalides, Paris.¹¹³

4.6.13 Rankings

While the majority of guides do not attempt to rate the buildings that they cover, some do, and it is necessary to discuss how successful the various approaches are. Some contemporary guides use a star system to indicate the importance of buildings, a tradition inherited from Baedeker and others.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the best example of the use of a star system is found in the Michelin Green Guides, which rate every attraction, whether it be building or view, on a zero- to three-star scale. According to Michelin, three-star sights are worth a trip to view, while sites of one- or zero-stars are only interesting. Unfortunately, it is not clear how useful such a system can be to the architectural tourist. Using the systems that are in place today, it would take considerable advance work to plan an effective trip based on star-ranks, as the importance of the buildings is not indicated on any map.¹¹⁵

Other guides have taken a two-tiered approach to buildings. *A Guide to Significant Chicago Architecture of 1872 to 1922* indicates important buildings by bolding their catalog numbers in the text; however, the book does not differentiate between first- and second-tier buildings on the map, again, causing the reader who wants to visit only first-tier buildings unnecessary work. *Buildings of the Bay Area* attempts to solve this problem by labeling first-tier buildings with numbers, and second-tier buildings with letters, and uses the same system on its maps; however, the resulting mix can

¹¹³WPA, *Maryland*, 192.

¹¹⁴Heinz’s *MetroChicago* is an example of such a guide.

¹¹⁵It would be interesting for these guides to provide an itinerary of tours as an appendix (e.g., a guide might provide a tour that includes only five-star buildings, a tour that includes four- and five-star buildings, etc.)

be difficult to decipher. It seems that the easiest solution for guides that choose to differentiate between buildings would be to use the bold/normal distinction used by *A Guide to Significant Chicago Architecture...*, while preserving the difference in first- and second-tier buildings on the map, perhaps by using bold and normal type for building labels. To date, it does not appear that any guide has adopted this solution.

4.7 The Use of Photography and Images

The use of photographs, images, and architectural drawings can add significant value to an architectural guide. Photographs can be used to evoke a particular mood, as with the use of landscape or period photographs; they can also be used to show readers what they will see if they visit a certain site, or to confirm that the reader is viewing the correct building, or provide fodder for a reader's vicarious journey. Photographs can be used to magnify details that might otherwise remain unseen, and to provide views of interiors that might not otherwise be permitted. Finally, photographs can be used to display images of the contents of a structure (such as a sculpture or painting), disambiguate a reference to a portion of a complex facade, or to highlight elements which might otherwise be difficult to reference, as in archaeological sites, where viewers are unaware of archaeologists' specialized terminology.

Images and drawings can be used for all of these purposes as well; artistic sketches can be used to evoke a scene; and architectural plans can help readers understand the layout or addition history of a complex structure more easily than text. Yet despite these advantages, photographs, images and architectural drawings are rarely used to their full extent in contemporary architectural guidebooks; additionally, when they are presented, such figures are almost always in black and white.¹¹⁶

Both Betjeman's and Pevsner's guides are notable for their use of photographs

¹¹⁶Color photographs in guides, make the guide appear more engaging than otherwise, however, high printing costs means that they are limited to sufficiently small guides. Here again, Heinz's *MetroChicago* provides a useful example.

(and, in Betjeman's case, images) to set the scene. Readers of Pevsner's guides are typically greeted by several landscape photographs of the county which they are about to explore; such photographs are used to set the stage for the appreciation of buildings that arose from such a landscape. Similar photographs appear in Betjeman's work, along with pen-and-ink drawings which also attempt to convey the character of the county.

Both Betjeman and Pevsner also provide the reader with typical facade or three-quarter photographs which serve as a preview of what the viewer will see if he or she visits the buildings. However, while Pevsner provides twenty or thirty photographs are concentrated in a small section, Betjeman populates his work (at least in the Shell Guides) with considerably more photographs, which are scattered though the text. Finally, all three series (the Buildings of England, the Shell Guides and the Murray's Guides) use photographs to highlight fine sculptural or detail work that would otherwise be overlooked.

The American Guide Series provided readers with a number of photographs, although the WPA Guides provided considerably fewer photographs of buildings than did either Pevsner or Betjeman. Although the photographs contained in the American Guides range from pictures of men at work to women at home, and horses in the field to machines in the factory, they, too, could be seen as setting the stage for appreciating the culture from which buildings sprung.¹¹⁷ Like all of the photographs in the WPA Guides, the photographs of buildings are provided, they are typically straightforward or slightly angled views of the main facade of the building in question.

During the 1960s and 1970s, more daring architectural guides, such as *Boston/Architecture* or *Dallasights* used photographs in a more conscious way to establish the

¹¹⁷Like the Pevsner Guides, the photographs in the American Guide Series are printed in a separate, higher-quality paper section than the text of the guide.

character of a city or a state. However, during the same time period, more traditional independent guides, such as the *Guide to the Bay Area*, and *Illinois Architecture* began using photographs on every, or, in some cases, every-other page. For the first time, individual building entries were matched with individual photographs of buildings; it should not surprise the reader that the rise of one-building, one-photograph came as architectural guides were increasingly focusing on less well-known domestic architecture. Like the photographs contained in the American Guides, photographs in independent guides are typically standard views of the buildings' main facades.¹¹⁸ From time to time, interior, or detail photographs were used to guide the reader's attention to a salient detail, or to help visualize a room that was otherwise inaccessible.

Most contemporary independent architectural guides provide the reader with at least one elevation photograph (and sometimes an interior or detail photograph) of every building in the guide. In contrast, AIA guides, because of their larger scope, generally lag behind on this measure. While some AIA guides, such as the *AIA Guide to Detroit* provide a photograph for every building, most AIA guides, such as the most recent Guides to Atlanta, Boston, and New York, have poorer photograph-to-building ratios which range from nearly one-to-three to one-to-twenty.¹¹⁹

Experience has shown that these photographs are most successful when placed immediately above, or next to, the text that describes the buildings, so that viewers can quickly identify the building at issue. This arrangement is particularly valuable when attempting to examine architecture by car, as the reader needs to be able to

¹¹⁸Photographs of skyscrapers have traditionally been taken at eye-level when space allows and the angle of the photograph would not obscure part of the building; otherwise, photographs of tall structures are taken from adjoining buildings or from the air, so as not to disorient the reader. While these guides typically use straight-on views of building's facades, modern and post-modern buildings are almost always photographed at an angle.

¹¹⁹The number of photographs may also be a proxy variable which indicates the sophistication of the guide; although a relatively skilled reader can certainly pick out a building from a general description, or a reference to a salient stylistic characteristic, the unskilled reader is much more likely to need the aid of a photograph to identify a building, as street addresses and names are often obscured or not present. This is not a new phenomenon; see footnote 39 in Chapter 3.

identify buildings from an all-to-often quickly moving vehicle. Unfortunately, such easy comparisons are not possible in the case of the *AIA Guide to Atlanta*, where photographs are often not on the same page, or an adjacent page to the text they illustrate, or in the *AIA Guide to Boston* where images appear to be placed at random, in the busy two-column layout.¹²⁰

The Buildings of the United States Series, while perhaps the most ambitious in terms of the information that it seeks to record, is possibly the poorest represented series when it comes to photographs. Partially, this breakdown is due to the scope of the project—as each volume is far larger than even the most ambitious AIA Guides, it would simply be impractical to provide hard-copy photographs of each structure referenced in the guide. However, as the guides are geared towards more sophisticated architectural viewers, they would be the ones most likely to appreciate photographs of the building, along with historic images, and/or architectural plans. Ultimately, it may be that the Internet or other electronic storage and retrieval systems makes it cost-effective to provide these images and figures for the Buildings of the United States series. At the moment, though, the BUS guides unfortunately lack the photographs that the reader will have come to expect from other guides.¹²¹

Finally, for the most part, contemporary American architectural guides have roundly rejected including sections, plans, or architectural drawings in series-based guides. Architectural drawings are slightly more common in independent guides, particularly those which are published by architectural historians, rather than architects.

¹²⁰For an example of the Atlanta problem, see the descriptions of the Marriott Marquis and One Peachtree Plaza on pages 58 and 59 in the *AIA Guide to Atlanta*.

¹²¹At this point, one should probably ask are photographs for ‘identification’ or ‘pre-planning’ purposes useful. Presumably the sophisticated viewer, who these guides are generally geared to, will be capable of distinguishing notable buildings from their surroundings. Further, these viewers will likely be interested in seeing the structure based on information contained in the description rather than an image. It may be that this is a form a feature-creep, which consumers have come to expect a feature simply because it exists in other products, regardless of how much value it adds to the final product. Still, these images may be useful someday—if not as a guide, then as a record of how the buildings once appeared—and for that reason, may be worthy of including in the guide.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock's *Boston Architecture 1637-1954*, for instance, included few photographs but included a number of plans and a few section and detail drawings. In most guides, however, when an isolated section does sneak into the text, as in the illustration of 11 Arlington Street in the *AIA Guide to Boston*, it is never referenced or explained, and the reader is left to imagine that it was included merely because the authors had no other suitable picture or image to illustrate the building.¹²² When plans have been included, as in the first edition to *Chicago's Famous Buildings*, in which approximately half of the entries included a floor plan, they have been removed in later editions of the book.

4.8 Shortcomings of Current Guides

Current guides provide a number of benefits, however, they are, by their very nature, designed to fulfill their authors' preconceived notion of what a guide should be. Without questioning the skill or intent of the authors, the reader must realize that guides are becoming increasingly homogeneous, yet it is unlikely that every visitor will use a guide in the same way. The very best examples of contemporary guidebooks have divided states or cities into various regions or neighborhoods, and have arranged buildings within those areas by virtue of their location; should a reader not be interested in a particular building, he or she could simply walk by it, ignoring the building itself as well as its entry in the guide. But it is not clear that this is the way in which most individuals operate.

Consider a visitor to a given city who is interested in architecture, yet has little time to spend examining buildings. Such a visitor might want to see the most important buildings in the city, without regard to location, style, or any other factor. However, current guides are ill-suited to this task. While there will obviously be disagreements about which buildings are more important than others, no current

¹²²Hitchcock, 234-5.

guidebook provides a top-ten or top-twenty listing for the visitor with limited time to spend in a particular area. Similarly, consider readers who are only interested in buildings which were designed by a particular architect or firm, or in a particular style, or buildings which were thought to be endangered. Few guides provide such information; no guide appears to provide such information in the form of a list of relevant buildings or a tour.¹²³ Thus, current guides, although they may provide comprehensive data, are typically not arranged for the reader with specific interests and limited amounts of time; no reasonable person can suggest that a reader compile such information on their own time.

In some cases, authors have recognized this shortcoming: *Buildings of the Bay Area* recognized that some readers would be interested in an index of building types, as well as an index of buildings ascribed to a particular architect/firm. However, this guide, like many others, was operating under strict space constraints, and eventually had to decide which type of index to include.¹²⁴ Further, while the *Buildings of the United States* is an admirable attempt to list and describe notable buildings within each state, each volume is bound by physical constraints, and the sheer number of buildings included in each volume limits the number of photographs (rare) and architectural drawings (almost nonexistent) which can be found in each volume.

While readers must realize that hard-copy guides will presumably be the de facto choice for some time to come, the possibilities provided by electronic, or quasi-electronic¹²⁵ guides are too great to pass up. Electronic or quasi-electronic guides are, for all intents and purposes, not limited by space, nor are they limited by the

¹²³Several guides provide an index where the interested reader may find references to buildings designed by a certain firm; while the *AIA Guide to New York City* lists the style of each building, the buildings associated with a particular style are not grouped together in a given section; while a few guides, such as the *AIA Guides to New York City* and the *AIA Guide to Detroit* note buildings which are believed to be endangered, neither guide provides a list of buildings the at risk.

¹²⁴Woodbridge and Woodbridge, unnumbered building types index.

¹²⁵A paper guide that is produced automatically from computer database, such as that explained in Chapter 5.

authors' preconceived notions of what is important. As long as such guides are stored in the proper format, and are reasonably tagged and labeled, interested readers can call up lists which the authors never envisioned (e.g., all buildings by architects whose last name begins with a 'K' and which were built between 1930 and 1950), as well as information which the authors may have decided was non-essential or supplementary (e.g. interior photographs of certain buildings). Further, while guidebook series such as the *Buildings of the United States* attempt to be all things to all people, any reader should note that a guide which caters to experts will include information which is virtually unintelligible for the novice, while information aimed at the novice will soon bore a professional architectural historian.

In short, different types of readers call for different types of guides, and the only way of effectively producing multiple guides is through the use of a database system which automatically produces guides based on certain criteria. Presumably, authors who collected and arranged this information will not be willing to distribute this information for free. At the current time, there are no well-established payment systems which would allow an individual to pay a flat fee and create their own architectural guidebook; therefore, authors and publishers still need to determine which guides could be reasonably produced. While physical space would still be an issue, an entirely electronic guidebook could produce additional routes, maps, and descriptions which could only be accessed by individuals who had purchased the paper version of the guide. Indeed, the purchase of the paper-guide could include the right to create an arbitrary number of customized tours through a given state or city, based on whatever characteristics the purchaser was interested in. Chapter Five describes the database which would power such a system, although it leaves questions of payment and authentication to more specialized works on those topics.

CHAPTER V

TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The original impetus for this thesis was to organize and compile information gathered over more than a decade on over 2,000 structures in the Atlanta area. This information came from examining builders' magazines, records at the Atlanta History Center and personal interviews and correspondence, and was stored in a series of semi-structured Word Perfect documents. By organizing this information in a relational database, the project aimed to create a central repository to be used in future academic work, the use of a database would also allow the use of a Geographic Information System (GIS) to map the locations of buildings and structures. Further, by searching the database for structures that matched given criteria, one could create any number of arbitrarily-specific guidebooks for a given interest, such as those found in the guides produced by Historic Denver, Inc. which were referenced in the end of chapter three. Finally, by using techniques which allow the database to provide formatted output, the user could essentially select the criteria for a guide, press a button, and have the database produce a formatted guide to the structures indicated, virtually ready to go to press.

This chapter attempts to explain the choices made in the construction of the project database, why these choices were made, and the benefits and limitations that accompany these choices. This chapter is written in the hope that it will aid the user of the database, as well as inform anyone undertaking a similar project of the perils involved in categorizing architectural knowledge. To understand why these choices were made, however, the reader should have a general understanding of databases and relational database theory. Accordingly, the first section of this chapter provides

the reader unfamiliar with such systems with enough information to navigate the information that follows. Readers familiar with the underlying concepts of relational databases may proceed to Section 5.3. Although the database was created using Microsoft Access 2003 running on the Windows XP Professional operating system, and used ArcGIS 9 to map the structures, the following concepts could be used to create a similar database on any platform.

5.1 *Introduction to Databases*

Databases are organized around *records* and *fields*. Perhaps the most familiar example of a physical object which corresponds to a database is the address book. Fields store particular types of information, such as telephone numbers, or the first name of a contact. Records consist of a collection of related fields; in the case of an address book, the record for Frank Lloyd Wright might contain Wright's name, his phone number, mailing address and birthday—in short, all of the information that one associated with Wright. Unlike the address book, information in fields is typically strongly *typed*; this means that a given field can only contain a particular kind of information, such as integers (1, 2, etc.), Boolean values ('true' or 'false') or strings (alphabetic, numeric and punctuation characters).¹ Collections of multiple records are stored in a *table*, which, in our example, is the address book itself. In this example, the entire database is contained in one table; however, in computerized systems, databases can be comprised of multiple tables, which may reference each other.

An example of a table in a database can be seen in the **Address Table**² In Figure 1, the names of the fields appear above the horizontal line, and each subsequent line comprises a record. Because the same field name can occur in multiple tables,

¹There are in fact a number of specialized data types, including ones which are designed to store only dates and times, and ones which are designed to store extremely long strings.

²For easier comprehension, the names of tables and fields are written a typewriter font. The reader should note that spaces are not typically used in actual databases for technical reasons (the underscore character '_' is used instead; however, the inclusion of spaces in these examples may make the material easier for the reader to follow.

fields may be referred to by writing the name of the table, followed by a period and the name of the field (e.g. `Table Name.Field Name`). These conventions will be used throughout the rest of this chapter.

Table 1: Address Table

Name	Street Address	City	State	Zip
Frank Lloyd Wright	428 Forest Ave.	Oak Park	IL	60302
Henry Hobson Richardson	206 Clarendon St.	Boston	MA	02116
Richard Morris Hunt	1000 Fifth Ave.	New York	NY	10028
Louis Henry Sullivan	430 S. Michigan Ave.	Chicago	IL	60605

While this is a perfectly valid database, in practice, fields should be broken down into the smallest unit of use.³ This approach makes the data easier to search—both computationally and conceptually—as well as easier to manipulate later. A more typical treatment of names in a database can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Architect Name Table

First Name	Middle Name	Last Name
Frank	Lloyd	Wright
Henry	Hobson	Richardson
Richard	Morris	Hunt
Louis	Henry	Sullivan
Barney	M.	Frank

By decomposing fields, user’s searches can be more accurate. For instance, a user could search for all architects who had the *first* name ‘Frank’ in Table 2. Such a search would produce only one record, that of ‘Frank Lloyd Wright,’ while omitting the unwanted record ‘Barney M. Frank.’ Further, if one wanted to create a form letter, the above-referenced decomposition would allow the salutation to begin “Dear

³While the decomposition of data may appear deceptively easy, a small number of exceptions can throw an easily understood data structure into chaos. In the following example, full names are broken down into first, middle and last names. What is the database designer to do when faced with an entry such as ‘C.F.A. Voysey’? The designer could introduce a second middle name field into the table, but this would consume a vast amount of storage space, and affect relatively few individuals. Such a waste of resources is a cardinal sin in database design, and the creation of individual fields for special purposes should be avoided as much as possible. Another common example of exceptions which pose problems are suffixes to names, “Jr,” “Sr,” etc.

Mr. Richardson:” instead of “Dear Mr. Henry Hobson Richardson:” If one wanted to create a mailing address, a *query* (search) or *report* (listing of data), could be performed that could reconstitute the full name by combining various fields. The use of search criteria to obtain the relevant records, and the uses of queries and reports to combine that data into useful forms is ultimately at the heart of this database project.

5.2 *Introduction to Relational Databases*

So far, the database that we have presented would work well for small amounts of data, such as those found in a personal address book. However, larger amounts of data require the use of different structures for reasons of organization/reference and computational efficiency. The reader should note that the following examples are not necessarily best-practice ones, and are designed to illustrate concepts rather than the particulars of how such a database should be constructed.

Consider a database which records buildings and their architects. Using the only information contained in Section 5.1, the resulting database would probably look something like what is shown in Table 3:

Table 3: Architect-Building Table

Architect	Structure
H. H. Richardson	Trinity Church
Frank Lloyd Wright	Fallingwater
Frank Lloyd Wright	Taliesin West
Louis Sullivan	Wainwright Building
Richard Morris Hunt	Biltmore House

However, there are several disadvantages to this approach. First, certain information—the name ‘Frank Lloyd Wright’—is repeated a number of times, consuming computer resources and reducing the efficiency of searches. Second, this approach makes it possible for small errors to enter into the data. Consider what would happen if the individual entering data made an entry that resulted in Table 4.

Table 4: Architect-Building Table

Architect	Structure
H.H. Richardson	Trinity Church
Frank Lloyd Wright	Fallingwater
<i>Frank Loyd Wright</i>	<i>S.C. Johnson Wax Company Research Tower</i>
Frank Lloyd Wright	Taliesin West
Louis Sullivan	Wainwright Building
Richard Morris Hunt	Biltmore House

Absent the introduction of some advanced searching algorithms, a search for ‘Frank Lloyd Wright’ would not return the S.C. Johnson project, as Wright’s name is spelled incorrectly. To prevent this type of data-entry error, we can form a *relationship* between Frank Lloyd Wright and each of the buildings that he is associated with. The first step in creating this relationship is to create two tables, one named **Architect** and the other named **Structures**. To create these references, it is imperative that every record in every table have a unique identifier (usually an integer), which allows that record to be referenced by other records. Such an identifier is called a *primary key*. In this example, all of the architects in the database, and their primary keys are gathered together in the **Architect** table (See Table 5.) .

Table 5: Architect Table

Architect Key	Architect
1	H.H. Richardson
2	Frank Lloyd Wright
3	Louis Sullivan
4	Richard Morris Hunt

The **Structure** table contains a list of all of the structures in the database (**Structure**), the structures’ primary keys (**Structure Key**), and a field that refers back to the Architect table, (**Architect Reference**) (See Table 6. Any number placed in the **Structure.Architect Reference** field will refer to the architect with that number in the **Architect.Architect Key** field.⁴

⁴In this case, the primary key for the structure **Structure.PrimaryKey** was not used, but, it would be invaluable if we wanted to add a feature that would refer to a particular structure.

Table 6: Structure Table

Structure Key	Structure	Architect Reference
10001	Trinity Church	1
10002	Fallingwater	2
10003	S.C. Johnson Wax Company Research Tower	2
10004	Taliesin West	2
10005	Wainwright Building	3
10006	Biltmore House	4

Such an arrangement has several benefits. First, the data can be much more compact: the long string ‘Frank Lloyd Wright’ needs only be stored once in the revised example, rather than three times in the first example. While it may be difficult to see such savings in these limited examples, the use of relational databases can considerably shrink larger data sets.⁵ Second, similar information is stored together. This makes it much easier to create a list of all of the architects in the system, or a list of all of the structures in the system. Third, data entry errors are reduced. Although the interface differs from program to program, data entry users are typically limited to selecting previously-approved choices from a list. Although the risk of data mis-entry is not entirely eliminated, it is considerably reduced.⁶ Most importantly, all of this linking is done behind the scenes, and the average user is not aware of the complexity that underlies this system.

So far, we have been able to see how relationships can be created between a record in one table (Wright as architect) and multiple records in another table (Fallingwater, the S.C. Johnson Wax Company Research Tower, and Taliesin West). Such an association is called a one-to-many relationship. Databases can also handle many-to-many

⁵Structuring the data in such a way that redundant information is reduced is called *normalizing* the database. While the field is governed by mathematical formulae, normalization in practice is an art, rather than a science, and fully normalizing data can create more problems than it solves. For more information about the theory and practice of normalizing databases, see Gio Wiederhold, *Database Design*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), or any of the scores of books on database theory and design.

⁶Users occasionally need to add choices to these selection menus, however, additions require the user to take specific steps, and cannot be done simply by mistyping a name.

relationships; one example occurs when multiple architects need to be associated with multiple buildings. These many-to-many relationships are accomplished through an intermediary third table, called a junction table, which stores references to both of the primary tables (in this case, the **Architect** table and the **Structure** table). For further information on the theory and implementation of junction tables and many-to-many relationships, the interested reader is advised to consult a work on database design and theory, or to examine carefully the use of junction tables in Appendix A.

Finally, the reader should be aware of the concepts of queries and reports. A query, as has been stated before, is a simple search of the database based on certain criteria, linked with *and*, *or*, and *not*. These searches can define the evaluation-order of these criteria by the use of parentheses, as well as using wildcard characters, such as *?* and ***, to create partial matches.⁷ In the example of the **Architect** and **Structure** tables above, a search for (Architect=Frank Lloyd Wright AND Structure=Tower) would return the record for structure 10003, the S.C. Johnson Wax Company Research Tower. A search for (Architect=H.H. Richardson AND Structure=Biltmore*) would return nothing, as the only structure that begins with 'Biltmore' was not designed by Richardson.

Reports are computer generated lists based on the criteria passed by a query. These lists can be formatted in any number of ways, and can combine, sort, and recompose data in various ways. In many cases, a report is based on a query of all of the records in the database. If we assume that the earlier **AddressTable** was linked to the **ArchitectTable**⁸, a report could be generated that listed each individual architect, the city and state associated with him in the database, and, below that, the buildings he designed.⁹ This report might look something like Table 7.

⁷The particular syntax differs on different systems, but is typically a variation of the industry-standard Structured Query Language (SQL). These examples use a simplified syntax in order to communicate the relevant ideas without bogging the reader down in unnecessary computer grammar.

⁸A simple exercise that can best be left to the interested reader.

⁹A technical explanation of how this is done is far beyond the scope of a single chapter on database

Table 7: Example Report

Frank Lloyd Wright, Oak Park, IL	Fallingwater S.C. Johnson Wax Company Research Tower Taliesin West
Henry Hobson Richardson, Boston, MA	Trinity Church
Richard Morris Hunt, New York, NY	Biltmore House
Louis Henry Sullivan, Chicago, IL	Wainwright Building

The reader should also be aware that reports and queries can perform mathematical and calendar operations as well, allowing the user to, for instance, calculate age or distance, as long as the information on which these calculations are based is contained in the database. With this background, the reader should be able to comfortably follow the rest of this chapter, which examines the issues and challenges which faced the project database.

5.3 Specific Implementation Issues

The purpose of the database in this particular project was to store all of the important information about a building or structure, and be able to run a report based on specific criteria which could return an arbitrarily specific set of structures. While the report referenced in the proceeding example was fairly simple, reports can use scores of fields in order to create much more complicated output. In the case of the project, the goal was to use a report to produce output that was as close to being a camera-ready guidebook text as possible. An example of an entry from this report is shown in Figure 6. This report is achieved through the manipulation of data contained in the fields and tables described below. Such a report generated by the database will be referred to as a report-guide for the remainder of the text.

theory; for our immediate purposes, it is sufficient that the process works.

Lyman Hall Chemistry (Chemistry Lab.) Building, Georgia Tech, 1906
221 UNCLE HEINIE WAY NW
William H. Emerson Building Addition, Pringle and Smith, 1925
Addition, Surber & Barber, 1991

Figure 6: Sample Report Entry

Although the general design of databases is often deceptively simple, it is a truism that a small number of exceptional records can easily throw a well-designed system into confusion. This section will attempt to explain what motivations prompted the design decisions in the project database, the benefits of these decisions, and any limitations that they may impose. To the extent possible, this section attempts to deal with conceptual issues surrounding the development of the database, rather than the specific implementation techniques, which are bound to differ based on the software used, and the version of the software in question. The structure of the database is replicated in Appendix A, where the interested reader can examine all of the fields associated with particular tables, the data type of each field, as well as how these tables relate to each other. While the information in the Appendix is provided for anyone who might want to replicate the database, the non-Technical reader will probably want to limit their reading to the following text. These design elements are presented in order of increasing conceptual difficulty. More important concepts may be placed in front of less important concepts of equal difficulty.

5.3.1 General Purpose and Arrangement

For an architectural database, the primary unit of information is the building or structure.¹⁰ Each structure comprises a record in the `tblStructure`¹¹ This record contains

¹⁰I use the word structure throughout this section as the architectural database may contain items such as bridges and statues that are not, technically, buildings.

¹¹The names chosen for variable names in the project database may appear intentionally obfuscatory at first, particularly compared with the plain text names found in the previous section. However, the use of prefixes which indicate the type of a variable, such as the introductory ‘tbl’, indicating table, are invaluable when writing the computer code which handles the back-end manipulation of the database as well as queries and reports.

a number of fields which contain information about the building (e.g. the date it was constructed, the location of the structure, whether or not it is still standing, etc.) as well as a number of fields which provide information by linking to other tables. These linked tables include the `tblPerson` table, which contains information on architects, engineers, builders and others associated with the structure, and the `tblAddition` table, which contains information on any additions, renovations, or changes to a structure. As described in the previous section, records in these secondary tables link to the `tblStructure` table by referencing the appropriate structure's primary key, contained in `tblStructure.strID`.

5.3.2 Relationship between architects and others

In an architectural guidebook, structures are associated with architects, as well as planners, builders, engineers, landscape architects, and others involved in their design and construction. These relationships are complex: sometimes two or more architecture firms can be responsible for the design of a structure; in many smaller projects, an engineering firm may be either unused or unknown; and while small structures can have a single firm associated with them, it is not uncommon for larger structures to have a number of individuals associated with the project, including an architect, consulting architect, individual designer, engineer, contractor, and a landscape architect. Such a complex reality calls for a relatively sophisticated database structure. As stated earlier, one of the cardinal sins of database design is to create fields to cover every possible contingency when they often go unused.¹² Such a fixed-structure is also unable to adapt to unanticipated changes—it can not, for instance, include the contribution of three architectural firms, when it was only designed for one or two. So, in this case, a many-to-many relationship was formed between the `StrTbl` and the `PerTbl`, which contained information about the individuals and firms involved in

¹²See footnote 3.

the creation of a structure.¹³

The many-to-many relationship between the `StrTbl` and the `PerTbl` allowed multiple structures to be associated with multiple individuals/firms, and multiple individuals/firms to be associated with multiple structures. The structure of these many-to-many relationships also means that the amount of memory that each structure requires is dynamic, so structures with few associations take up a much smaller memory footprint than structures with a more associations. By creating an association between individuals/firms and a particular structure, there is also the advantage of forcing data-entry personnel to select the names of the individuals/firms involved from a list, rather than typing them anew each time. As stated above, this is a common practice in order to ensure the validity of the data in the database.

One challenge that was discovered during the entry of data, however, is that the individuals and firms involved played a variety of roles in the creation of these structures. In some cases, a firm was an architect of record, in other cases, it played the role of supervising architect; other examples abounded where firms or individuals were either designers, or contractors, or both. Because of this, the role of a particular individual/firm in a given structure could not be stored in the `PerTbl`; given the nature of the relational database, the role of the firm in one building would be the same in every building the firm was associated with. For that reason, the roles played by individuals/firms were stored in the `PerRoleTbl`, and another many-to-many relationship was created between the `PerTbl` and the `PerRoleTbl`.¹⁴ The result is that individuals/firms can play various roles in the design and construction of various structures, and that each role can be associated with multiple individuals/firms. It

¹³This table included the name of the person or firm, and a reference to the location of their home office (discussed in Section 5.3.3), but did not include any information as to what role they played, a choice that will be explained below.

¹⁴`PerRoleTbl` also has a text field `PerSortOrder` consisting of letters from a-z which is used in the generation of the report-guide to list the roles in the correct order: designer, architect, supervising architect, etc.

is important to realize that the complexity involved in the structure of the database is transparent to the end user, who selects both individuals/firms and the role played from drop down boxes, and sees no indication that the data is stored in different areas of the database.

Although the way that the individuals/firms are linked to structures in this database provides many advantages, it also imposes a limitation. One of the significant problems in dealing with architectural firms is how frequently they change names (e.g. the Atlanta firm of Hentz and Reid was succeeded by Hentz, Reid and Adler in 1913, which was succeeded by Hentz, Reid and Shutze in 1926). In the project database, each incarnation of a firm (e.g. Hentz and Reid; Hentz, Reid and Adler, etc.) has its own listing in the `PerTbl`. Thus, if one wanted to search for all of the buildings designed by all incarnations of a particular firm, one must know to search accordingly.¹⁵ While this is something of an inconvenience, the system was primarily developed for individuals with a working knowledge of Atlanta architectural history who are aware of such transitions. Most importantly, this small inconvenience allows for the correct version of the firm name to be applied to a given building in the guide itself, where accuracy is much more important.¹⁶

5.3.3 Locations

Although the project was designed to deal with structures in the Atlanta Metropolitan Area, not all of the structures were located in ‘Atlanta.’ Hapeville, Marietta, Kennesaw, and Decatur were just a few of the other cities in Georgia that contained buildings included in this project. Also, architectural firms and others who worked on these projects were not always from Atlanta. Some firms hailed from Tennessee, New

¹⁵In our simplified SQL syntax, this could be accomplished by `(FIRM=Hentz and Reid OR FIRM=Hentz, Reid and Adler OR FIRM=Hentz, Reid and Shutze)`, or `(FIRM=Hentz*)`.

¹⁶If the user found that she was often repeating this search, she could assign all the relevant buildings a tag, which would allow them to be easily grouped together (for more on tagging, see Section 5.3.8, below).

York, or Washington, D.C. To accommodate these exceptions, a table was created to store Location data, which includes information about a city, state, and country. This data was referenced by `PerTbl`, which contained information about individuals and firms, and `StrTbl`, which contained information about the structures themselves.

Because information regarding city, state, and country is stored in different fields in the Location table, it can be manipulated independently. The report which generates guides, for instance, omits city, state, and country information if the structure is located in ‘Atlanta, GA, USA.’ If the structure or firm is located in a non-Atlanta city in Georgia, the city name is used without referring to the state or country. If the reference is to a non-Georgian city, both the city and state are identified. Finally, if referring to a foreign location, the report is designed to provide city and country information. Such information can be used in data-entry as well. For example, when selecting an out-of-town individual or firm in the data entry phase, the appropriate location is appended to the name of the individual/firm in the drop-down selection box.

5.3.4 Additions and Renovations

A number of the structures listed in this database received additions or renovations sometime during their life. To list these additions, the project needed to create a one-to-many relationship between a given structure and its additions. In other words, a given structure can have multiple additions and renovations, but a given addition or renovation can only be associated with one structure. This implementation of the one-to-many relationship was straightforward; however, each addition also needed to be associated with multiple architects, builders, and others involved in the project. This necessitated creating a many-to-many relationship between the `AddTbl` and the `PerTbl`. In this case, a single firm or individual can be associated with a number of additions, and a single addition can be associated with a number of individuals or

firms. A `AddDescription` field is used to hold a text-based description of the data, and date fields similar to those used in the original `StrTbl` are used to record the design and construction dates. Finally, the `AddNote` field is included for any pertinent notes regarding the addition.

5.3.5 Dates

Dates are one of the most fundamental aspects in programming a database; they also provide an example of how relatively straightforward concepts can rapidly become complicated when attempting to plan for various contingencies. At first blush, capturing the dates of a building should be fairly simple—one field should hold the year that construction was started, another should hold the year construction was completed. However, in architecture, one sometimes finds buildings that were designed in one period, and built several years later. In this project, we wanted to record this data, so one could search for buildings based on their design and construction dates. To contain this information, the following fields were used (all of these fields are contained in the `StrTbl` table): `StrDCirca`, a Boolean value, where ‘true’ indicates that the exact year when design begun is unknown; `StrDStart`, integer, the year design was begun; `StrDEnd`, integer, the year the design was completed (left empty if design only occupied one year); `StrBCirca`, a Boolean value, where ‘true’ indicates that the exact year when building begun is unknown; `StrBStart`, integer, the year that building begun; `StrBEnd`, integer, the year building was completed (left empty if building only occupied one year). In the report-guide, all of this data is combined¹⁷ to form a single string, such as “d. 1919, b. 1920-22” or “1935” which indicates the dates of the structure.

Of course, the obvious question is “why is the storage of dates so complicated?”

¹⁷If some information is not applicable, the relevant portions are omitted. Further, the code that examines and combines this data is reasonably intelligent—for example, if the construction spans multiple years within the same century, a four digit year is followed by a two digit year (e.g. 1901-05); if the construction spans a century, two four digit years are used (e.g. 1899-1902).

The answer is two-fold: first, the data storage must be somewhat complex in order to search structures easily by date; one must have a beginning and ending year contained in two different fields to be able to search intelligently. However, the data could be stored more simply if the only concern was searching. The second rationale for the complex data structure relates to one of the underlying goals of this project. That goal was twofold: first, there was the desire to be able to list the project structure by date, in order to provide a chronological tour of Atlanta buildings; second, the production of the report-guide should be as automated as possible, and human interaction should be kept to a minimum after selecting the sort criteria. To automatically create a chronological list out of a complicated set of data, the software would need to be able to place the following non-numeric dates in a given order. ‘c. 1855,’ ‘before 1857’ and ‘1853.’ While the concept is relatively easy for a human being to grasp, the software requires considerably more knowledge (e.g. the information contained in the various fields referenced above) to arrange this data.

However, despite all of these options, there were a number of buildings whose dates were simply too complex for any pre-set structure.¹⁸ In that case, general design or building dates are entered in the previously mentioned fields to help researchers searching for specific time periods, but the text presented in the guide comes from the `StrDateOverride` field. When running the report that creates a guide, the report first looks to see if the `StrDateOverride` field is populated. If it is, that description is used to list the dates. If the `StrDateOverride` field is empty, the database examines the data contained in the fields referenced above and creates a string expression, such as “d. 1981, b. 1984-5” by combining the data contained in the other date fields, which will be then placed in the guide.

In a situation where being able to sort on the exact date of the structure was not as

¹⁸One example is the Druid Hills Golf Clubhouse, which was originally constructed in 1913-14, and was rebuilt after a fire to the same design in (1924-25), and requires an entry that communicates that fact.

important, one would likely use a much simpler system. Such a design would have two integer fields, which would hold the (approximate or known) year that construction began, the (approximate or known) year that construction ended, and a text field which would provide more specific data, which could be used in place of the integer fields if necessary. Thus, if one was entering in data about a house which was known to have been built in the 1880's, the first integer field would hold the year 1880, the second integer field would hold the year 1890, and the text field would hold the string "1880's." This would provide many of the benefits of the current system—users could still search for buildings by construction year, and the report-guide could still list "1880's" in the text of the guide—while eliminating the need to join and reference a number of strings while creating the report-guide. The largest single downside to this approach, however, would be the loss of the fine-grained sorting that can be achieved with the current method. For projects where such fine-grained sorting was not required, this simpler approach would probably make the most sense.

5.3.6 Mapping Locations

One of the fundamental motivations for creating an architectural database was the ability to pair the database with a Geographical Information System (GIS) to automatically create street maps used to locate structures.¹⁹ This mapping process is called 'geocoding.' As stated earlier, the decomposition of data into fields is an

¹⁹Very briefly, these types of programs are designed to organize data in space. Imagine a large Cartesian plane. The GIS can create roads on that map based on geometrical coordinates. The GIS can also link these mathematically-defined roads to human-readable names, such as Peachtree Street. The GIS also contains information about the addresses found on each street at each intersection with another street. (e.g. street addresses on Peachtree Street at 10th Street begin at 1000 and end at 1199 just before Peachtree intersects 12th Street.) The GIS system can take a particular address, say 1100 Peachtree Street, and interpolate it, placing it on Peachtree Street, midway between 10th street and 12th street. The particulars of these systems, including how they attempt to match non-exact street names, and how they handle different geographical projections, are, not surprisingly, more complicated.

art form, not a science, and different decompositions are use in different circumstances. While there are very few situations where one would want to further decompose a street address, this is one of those cases. The algorithm used to map locations by the ArcView GIS program can be particular about the way data is presented to it. Any variation from expectations, including the use of a popular street name rather than the official one, or the omission of a directional suffix (e.g. NW, SW, etc.) after the street name, can result in an unmappable address. To solve this problem, the project obtained a list of all of the official United Stated Postal Service-approved names of public roads in the Atlanta Metropolitan Area from the Cobb County Planning Commission. These road names, including directional suffixes were stored in the `StreetTbl.StreetName` field. Each time a user entered information about a given address, they entered the numeric portion of the address in the `StrTbl.StrStreetNum` field and selected the street name from a drop-down list which referenced the `StreetTbl.StreetName` field. This arrangement, while relatively costly in terms of storage (there were over 42,000 records in the `StreetTbl`) prevented data-entry errors and allowed significant time-savings when geocoding the addresses.

In most cases, the addresses that would appear in the final guide could be calculated by combining the values of the `StrTbl.StrStreetNum` and the `StreetTbl.StreetName` fields. However, this was not always the case. Multiple addresses, such as those of the Liberty Mutual Building (820-828 West Peachtree Street NW) are not understood by the geocoding mechanism. Unfortunately, these range of addresses appear frequently in Atlanta buildings, particularly when dealing with older apartment buildings. Entering an address that the geocoding mechanism could parse, such as 820 West Peachtree Street NW, would omit important information from the guide. To solve this problem, the project used an address-override field `StrTable.StrStOverride` which may contain a text string that can appear in place of the default calculated

address. Thus, the mapping mechanism could use a standard-form address to map the location, while the reader of the guide would be provided with the non-standard address contained in the `StrStOverride` field. The address override field was also used to replace less-meaningful street addresses with more easily-grasped locations, such as replacing ‘1201 W. Peachtree Street’ (the address of One Atlantic Center) with ‘W. Peachtree St. and 14th St. (N.E. Corner).’

5.3.7 Building Names

Early on, the goal of the database was to provide the original name of the building, followed by any subsequent names in parentheses. A particular example of this is the Gordon Street Baptist Church, which became the Greater Hinsley Tabernacle Church of God In Christ, Inc. and is now the Citadel of Hope Evangelist Church of God in Christ. Such an entry might be displayed in the final guide as:

Gordon Street Baptist Church (Greater Hinsley Tabernacle Church of God in Christ, Inc., Citadel of Hope Evangelist Church of God in Christ)

Most buildings, of course, do not have subsequent names, and, as we have seen above, it is generally bad practice to create specialized fields that are rarely filed with data. However, that was not the only problem. Buildings that did have a subsequent name often tended to have several subsequent names, all of which needed to be recorded in the database. Generally, fields that can hold an arbitrary number of records are more complicated to implement than fields that can only hold a certain number, and that was the case here as well. This is an example of a one-to-many relationship, where a single structure can have multiple names, but a given name only applies to a single structure. The `SubsequentTbl.SubsequentStart` and `SubsequentTbl.SubsequentEnd` fields were also included in order to record the dates during which a structure was referred to by a given name. Because these fields hold the years that these names applied, the report-guide can use these dates so that the

names are placed in the correct order. If necessary, the report-guide can also display the dates associated with each name (if known).

5.3.8 Groups

Another motivations for this database was the ability to create miniature guidebooks for people with certain interests; this might involve a guide to all of the religious buildings in Atlanta, for instance, or a guide of all of the buildings associated with Colleges and Universities. To be able to accomplish that, structures needed to be “tagged” as members of certain groups—e.g. Religious Buildings, or Emory University Buildings. Clearly, some buildings, such as the Glenn Memorial Church at Emory University could fall into multiple categories. This calls for a many-to-many relationship between the **StrTable** and the **GroupTbl**, as a single building could be linked to a variety of tags, and a variety of buildings could share the same tag.²⁰ By storing these tags in their own table **GroupTbl**, the addition of a new tag to the system is as simple as adding a new record to the table.

5.3.9 Comment Fields

As noted previously, all contemporary architectural guides contain a description of or comments on a structure after they provide the basic information. To store this information, a public comment field, **StrTbl.StrPublicMemo**, was used to store the description for each buildings.²¹ While the general structure of the database was conceived prior to entering data, the large number of records and their previously non-structured storage meant that new fields would occasionally be needed. For this reason, the project found it useful to include a private comment field for notes

²⁰Another example of the many-to-many relationship in practice: to create this tagging system, the **Str_Group_Junction** table must act as an intermediary between the **StrTbl** and the **GroupTbl**. In this case the **StrTbl.StrID** field was linked to **Str_Group_Junction.StrID** and the **GroupTbl.GroupID** was linked to the **Str_Group_Junction.GroupID**.

²¹For more complex databases, one could create multiple memo fields for different guides or audiences (e.g. a guide for professional architectural historians would undoubtedly be more sophisticated than an introductory guide meant for the general reader).

`StrTbl.StrPrivateMemo` which could contain information that was not fit for the public comments about the building, and did not fall into any of the previously-designed fields. Later identification of these records could be done by searching for a non-empty private memo field.

5.3.10 Razed Buildings

Although the project did not wish to include data on buildings that had been razed in the general results, there was no reason not to include data on such buildings in the database. Razed structures are, of course, marked as such, by setting the value of `StrTable.StrRazed` to ‘true;’ if the structure was razed, `StrTable.StrRazedDate` holds the year of the structure’s destruction. While the normal search function excludes buildings that have been razed, users can search specifically for these buildings if they so choose.

5.3.11 Landmark Status

Structures can attain a number of recognitions of their historic or architectural significance. In rare cases, a building may be listed on the National Register of Historic Places; many more structures are listed on similar, less prestigious, state and local registries. Structures may also receive awards for their architectural merit, as given by national or local chapters of the American Institute of Architects. In this case, if a structure has been designated an Atlanta Landmark, the Boolean `StrAtlLandmark` field will be flagged. The resulting report could then append an asterisk to the name of the structure to indicate that fact, or it could place an icon or picture next to the entry of the building to indicate its importance. In a more complicated system, in order to reduce overhead and the number of fields in a table, one would probably want to create a table which contained all possible awards and recognition, and create a junction table which would relate the awards to given structures. Otherwise, the same functionality could be achieved in the current design by ‘tagging’ the structures

with groups that reflect the awards and recognitions.

5.3.12 Last Minute Check

While the database is designed to handle the many contingencies that appeared in the entry of over 2,000 buildings, it is always possible that some factor may not have been considered. Although the database can always be updated to reflect that addition, updating the structure of the database, and making sure that the changes do not create any errors is a non-trivial affair. To that end, each structure has a Boolean `strLastMinuteCheck` field, which will flag the entry for review before it is submitted to a publisher. To streamline this process, a separate report can be run with the same characteristics as the guidebook report which will list only the structures which have the last-minute-check flag, as well as the private comments for the structure—the ideal place to store information on what would need to be changed in the final product.

5.4 Conclusion and Recommendations

The ultimate aim of this project was to be able to produce a wide range of architectural guidebooks from a specific set of data automatically. This project was particularly interested in being able to create smaller, specialty guides, such as those produced by Historic Denver, Inc., which appear to be a growing market in the future. This final section presents recommendations for how both large, comprehensive guides, and small, specialty guides should be designed based on the analysis contained in chapters 2 through 4. These recommendations include suggestions as to what information should be contained in descriptions, how images should be used, how buildings should be subdivided into more manageable sections, and how maps should be used.

All of these recommendations are given in reference to a traditional paper-based guide. The growing use of geographic positioning systems, personal digital assistants,

and portable audio players suggests society's growing acceptance of, and reliance on, portable electronic devices. If these devices become even more integrated into everyday life, and if a suitable electronic replacement for the book is ever created, these recommendations would likely change. It should be clear that these recommendations are made for the present; however, they should be of some use should such guidebooks become entirely electronic in the future.

5.4.1 Recommendations for Descriptions

The contents of the descriptions found in architectural guidebooks vary considerably with the author. As seen in section 4.5, authors of architectural guidebooks have included a wide range of information in their descriptions of buildings and sites. However, from an analysis of guides ranging from the *Mirabilia* and the Codex Calixtus to modern architectural guides, as well as reflecting on the reasons people visit buildings enumerated in the first chapter, it is clear that individuals visit buildings for a variety of reasons. The more complicated the history and emotional entanglements of a structure, the more complicated the reason for a visit. Successful guides, by definition, appeal to a large audience, and the larger number of readers that a guide's descriptions appeal to, the larger the number of potential customers.

While an architectural guidebook should focus on architecture, authors of guides who desire a wider audience may wish to include more non-architectural information in their volumes. In general, social or historical information, such as facts that relate to history of a structure, its ties to religion, or the events which happened there, are typically more interesting than random trivia, such as the number of bolts in a bridge, or the number of windows in a structure. Of course, smaller specialty guides, such as the ones promoted in this chapter, can more easily focus on information of interest to the guide's specific audience. Thus, the descriptions contained in a guide to the architecture of a specific firm might concentrate on how each building fits in the

larger work of the firm; a guide to ecclesiastical architecture might spend time focusing on the iconography found in various churches, while a guide to nineteenth century architecture might spend considerable time relating the history of the structure to the events of the nineteenth century. One advantage of a database-driven guide is that an author can store multiple descriptions of a given site in a database, and use a different description for the same building in multiple guidebook volumes.

Finally, the author may wish to use Baedeker- or Michelin-like rankings to rate the quality of each structure. Although it can be difficult to rate buildings comparatively, limiting ones-self to artificial limits (e.g. only 10% of the buildings in a guide can rate ‘five-stars’) may help the author these fine-grained distinctions. Of course, there will always be disputes as to whether a building is ‘excellent’ or merely ‘very good’; users who disagree with such ratings can feel free to disregard the author’s opinions. For those new to architectural appreciation, however, it is better to have an informed, if disputed, opinion, rather than no guidance at all.

5.4.2 Recommendations for Images and Layout

Images appear in architectural guidebooks for a variety of reasons. As discussed in Section 4.7, authors use photographs, architectural plans and artistic renderings to set a scene, to provide the means to identify a structure, or to encourage a traveler to visit a structure. To a lesser extent, these types of images are used to promote architectural literacy (such as the inclusion of a visual glossary to architectural terms) or to help the reader understand the structure (as is the case with a plan or section). However, the use of images is expensive. Both copyright issues and printing costs mean that authors—particularly those who writing guides for a relatively small audience—are limited in the number of images they can use. However, advances in digital photography and storage, particularly if they are paired with in-car displays, should allow future guidebook authors to include a number of additional photographs

in digital form.²²

In any case, virtually all recent architectural guides contain a considerable number of photographs of buildings, and consumers may have come to expect such images in a guide. Many smaller guides have at least one image for each building, and larger guides often have at least one image for every four buildings. Although most images in guides with fewer sales are still presented in black and white, smaller guides, and those with greater projected sales often use color images.²³ The author is encouraged to use color photographs to entice readers to purchase a guide, particularly when colorful construction demands color reproduction.

In general, authors and editors use exterior photographs of buildings to aid viewers in identifying a structure, or to entice them to visit it. Most images can be used for both purposes, however, there is a tension between these goals. In general, the first motivation calls for a ‘standard’ full-on, or slightly angled view of the facade taken from the same position in which a viewer will encounter the building; the second motivation typically calls for more ‘artistic’ photographs, which may be taken from less conventional viewpoints or utilize extreme angles. To the extent that a building is easy to identify, or to the extent that the viewer has considerable time to locate the building (often the case with a pedestrian guide, or guide to a little-trafficked suburb), the guidebook author may wish to use an artistic photograph. However in cases where the structure may be obscure, or viewing time is limited (such as a building which can only be seen from a major highway), the author is encouraged to use standard photographs that will allow the viewer to identify the building quickly.

²²Already public domain photographs of architectural works, as well as the photographs and architectural schematics of buildings of the historical American Building Survey are freely accessible online. There are also plans to create larger databases of images for the use of architectural historians and other scholars.

²³Heinz’s, *MetroChicagoland Vol. 2* meets both criteria: it is a small guide to Frank Lloyd Wright architecture in and around Chicago; also see recent Michelin guides, which, though not small, have a considerable audience.

Although photographs are the most-frequently used images in guides, other images, such as architectural schematics or period paintings or drawings may also appear. Cost, size, and subject limitations typically limit the number of ‘extra’ images that can be used in comprehensive guides; however, authors of specialty guides may wish to use images to set the stage for a particular subject matter (e.g. guides to the buildings of a particular decade might show photographs or artwork from that time, while guides to the work of a particular firm might include photographs of the principals). Further, guidebooks should include architectural schematics when they can help the viewer understanding the building they are visiting. For example, a guide to Melnikov’s Rusakov Workers’ Club might include a plan of the upper level to show the reader how the interior volume is reflected in the exterior facade. Although they are rare, illustrated architectural glossaries, such as those found in the most recent Michelin Guide to Italy, may make an architectural guide less intimidating to architectural neophytes. Additionally, architectural guides to major urban centers may wish to provide a labeled view of the city which can be used to identify the most prominent buildings on the skyline.²⁴

5.4.3 Recommendations for Subdivision

The arrangement of buildings into groups of manageable size is perhaps one of the most subtle arts of the guidebook author. Arrangement did not always play such an important role, however. Medieval guides to cities organized their notable sites somewhat haphazardly; yet this was a forgivable flaw, as a medieval visitor had spent such time and money traveling to a foreign city that he was almost compelled to spend a significant period of time there. Andrea Palladio’s new arrangement of the churches of Rome in *La Chiesa* marked a turning point for architectural guidebooks. In Palladio’s guide, for the first time an author had spent considerable effort to

²⁴The idea comes from a similar device found in Wordsworth’s *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England*, which is used to identify prominent peaks in the Lake District.

allow a traveler to visit all the major sites of a city by taking a specific, efficient route. While such an effort was doubtless appreciated in the sixteenth century, it would become even more important in the eighteenth, when young Englishmen spent only an evening in some towns before leaving for new adventures. Such an effort to streamline travel is even more important today, when contemporary technology has provided for rapid transit across continents, yet social pressures limit the length of holidays and vacations.

Because contemporary architectural travelers may have only a day or a few hours to spend examining buildings in a given city, it is incumbent upon the guidebook author to limit the amount of planning, and searching through the guide that the traveler must do, and maximize the amount of time he or she can spend visiting buildings. One of the best ways to minimize time spent flipping through the guide itself is to arrange buildings in the guide roughly in the order in which they are likely to be visited. Although there may be exceptions, particularly in the case of specialty guides, it appears that the most efficient way of dividing buildings into subgroups in a comprehensive guidebook is to arrange buildings within geographic regions.

Such an argument assumes that the typical architectural traveler is interested in maximizing architectural satisfaction—a nebulous concept which is primarily based on both the number and quality of buildings seen—while minimizing time expended and distance traveled. Other factors, such as seeing buildings in chronological order, are secondary concerns. Consider the situation where building A was constructed in 1830, building B was constructed in 1835, and building C was constructed in 1840. Buildings A and C are located within a mile of each other on the south side of a given city. Building B is located on the north side of the city, approximately 25 miles away from buildings A and C. Assuming our architectural traveler lives on the north side of the city, he will either visit building B first, and then visit buildings A and C, or visit buildings A and C first, and then visit building B. He will not, we assume, incur

the time or expense to visit the buildings in alphabetical (or chronological) order.²⁵

Again, operating under the assumptions that the descriptions of buildings should roughly match the order that the traveler visits the buildings, and that the hypothetical architectural tourist is representative of guidebook users as a whole, it makes sense to group buildings A and C into one section and building B into another section. Not only does this arrangement offer the advantage of grouping buildings in the approximate order in which they will be visited, it also allows the reader to gauge approximately how many sites of interest are located nearby, and allows the guide to dedicate an individual map to each subdivision.²⁶

However, the guidebook author should also consider the anomalous architectural traveler: the individual who places a higher value on factors other than time and expense. This hypothetical traveler might be particularly concerned with visiting structures in the order that they were constructed, with little regard for time or cost. Such an individual could perhaps best be served by a smaller architectural guide, which could focus on a given style or period. The descriptions in such a guide could be arranged differently, perhaps in chronological order, and the smaller number of buildings contained in the guide might eliminate the need for any subdivision at all.²⁷ Additionally, the descriptions contained in such a guide might contain information calculated to appeal to readers interested in that time period. Similar guides could be constructed for readers interested in the work of a given firm, or readers interested in a particular building type.

²⁵Should we shrink the distance between buildings A, B and C, the architectural tourist might indeed be willing to increase the distance traveled in order to see the buildings in chronological order; this situation is considered in the next section.

²⁶One of the largest problems with the Pevsner guides is that the reader can not realize, without looking at the map, and cross-referencing the map with the text, how many, and what type of structures are nearby. By grouping nearby structures into a section, the reader can determine, by the thickness of the section, how many buildings are in the general area; moreover, because all of the descriptions are in a single section, the reader can glance through the text quickly to see what types of buildings are nearby.

²⁷None of the guides produced by Historic Denver, Inc., for instance, divide buildings into sections.

However, such anomalous viewers should not be ignored by the author of the larger, more comprehensive, guide. While it would not make sense to favor these viewers over the more typical user of the guidebook, there are several ways in which the larger guide could address the needs of the smaller group. The most obvious method would be for the larger guide to provide an appendix or catalog which contains a list of buildings in chronological order, as well as lists of buildings by firm, building type, or style.²⁸ Such lists would essentially allow owners of the larger volume to recreate the tours set forth in the smaller guides, albeit without the specialized information contained in those smaller volumes. Another method for the author to highlight the order in which buildings were constructed, would be to create a small time line that runs along the margins of the guide (whether the guide as a whole or merely the introductory section is a question for the author), which highlights the order of construction of various buildings.²⁹

5.4.4 Recommendations for Maps

A guide which simply provides directions is either an example of extreme frugality, or a relic of the past. Since innovations in printing and cartography first appeared in the early Renaissance, maps have been replacing simple directions when possible, as they provide a considerably denser form of communicating information.³⁰ Obviously, as computer technology becomes more pervasive, and geographic positioning systems and other directional guides become more integrated with cars, electronic books, and other devices, it may make sense for the location aspect of guides to be sold as a collection of electronic information which could be loaded into such devices, rather than as a paper-bound books. If this were the case, it would be trivial to allow the

²⁸A list of buildings arranged by architect was provided in *Buildings of the Bay Area*.

²⁹For an example, see *Dallasights*

³⁰For instance, a map allows its users to locate an alternate path to reach their goal, if necessary. For a history of early cartography in the Renaissance, see Francesco Bocchi, Thomas Frangenberg, and Robert Williams. *The Beauties of the City of Florence : A Guidebook of 1591* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006) and Frangenberg.

user to produce various maps for tours of different types; such maps could be updated with real-time information about traffic, road condition, or other variables. However, paper-based guides still appear to need maps.³¹

In architectural guidebooks, maps can be used to plan a trip (planning maps) or to navigate to a particular destination (navigation maps). Earlier guides, or guides geared towards general-interest travelers, such as those compiled by Michelin, Baedeker and the WPA, often provide readers with pre-determined routes. Accordingly, the maps contained in these guides are typically navigation maps. Such maps are typically used to determine which street to turn on, and provide alternate routes if needed.³² While such routes may appeal to the general-interest traveler or to the user of a specifically-tailored architectural guide, travelers who use more comprehensive architectural guides, such as those compiled by AIA Chapters, or the authors of the BUS series, are more likely to plan their own trips by selecting certain sites from a larger collection.

Maps that are used for planning should convey both the relative locations and characteristics (e.g. style, quality, etc.) of the sites indicated.³³ The location of each site is necessary to weigh the distance to be traveled against the quality of the site to be seen. Attempts have been made to convey various characteristics of buildings to

³¹Consumers could create personalized maps and directions using a service such as MapQuest or Google Earth merely by entering address into the computer. Because such maps could be customized for the user and would always be up-to-date, they would probably be a better fit than the maps provided in a mass-produced guidebook. However, it remains to be seen if anyone would purchase or use a guide in that way. Perhaps providing an electronic list of address in a suitable form might reduce the burden and increase acceptance of such a guide.

³²Examples of clear, easy to comprehend navigation maps can be seen in the WPA Guides, and the BUS series guides. Independent guides such as *A Guide to Significant Chicago Architecture of 1872 to 1922*, which attempt to convey too much information in a single map, or guides in which road names and locations are unclear such as *The Prairie's Yield* or *Buildings of the Bay Area* are examples of navigation maps to avoid.

³³The following information assumes a guide to a city or metropolitan region. Planning maps for a state-wide guide may want to use the kind of 'bubble-graph' found in *Saints & Oddfellows*, where the number of architectural sites in a given town is indicated by a dot or bubble of varying size. While *Saints & Oddfellows* provides the traveler with a single map, guides such as the BUS series might contain several maps, each dedicated to the number of buildings of a given style in a particular town.

the reader by labeling sites with a mixture of letters and numbers or by highlighting differently sites by using typographic distinction (e.g. the use of bold or italicized fonts).³⁴

Attempts to differentiate between fundamentally different types of buildings (such as buildings of different styles, or products of different architects) appear to overload the reader. Instead, when dealing with differences in fundamental character, guides should use multiple maps for each type; thus, there might be a different maps for Federal houses, Georgian houses, and Modern houses.³⁵ These maps should correspond to the types of appendix lists referenced in Section 5.4.3.

Within each map, the quality of work can be indicated by typographic distinction. Even here, though, the author should be careful not to overload the reader. Attempting to indicate four or five gradations of quality on a given map would be a recipe for disaster. Rather, the author should indicate ‘very good’ or ‘excellent’ buildings by indicating them in boldface, and labeling other buildings in normal-weight fonts. Thus, if a guide contains a list of all buildings by Frank Lloyd Wright in a given city, the guide should also contain a single map that shows the quality and location of every Frank Lloyd Wright house in the city, so as to enable a traveler to create their own tour of these buildings which balances the quality and quantity of buildings visited with limitations on time and expense.

5.4.5 Conclusion

It is hoped that this history of the architectural guidebook, as well as the analysis of recent guidebooks contained in chapter 4 will allow the reader to understand the role of the architectural guidebook in history of architectural travel. Moreover, this analysis should allow the reader to determine the characteristics traits of a highly successful

³⁴For an example of mixed numbers and letters; see *Buildings of the Bay Area* (fig); for an example of typographic distinction, see *A Guide to Significant Chicago Architecture of 1872 to 1922*.

³⁵One example of multiple maps to a given area can be seen in *Detroit Architecture* (1980), which provides different maps for historic and modern architecture.

guide. By creating a synthesis of these characteristics from many successful guides, and standardizing the production of such guides through an architectural information system, it is hoped that future guidebook authors can create multiple successful specialty guides to the architecture of a given region, without considerable additional effort. While every guide may be different, successful walking guides, driving guides, urban guides, and rural guides all share similar characteristics, and the use of these recommendations may aid the future guidebook writer.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 8: StrTable

Field Name	Data Type	Description
StrID	automatic integer	The primary key for each structure
StrName	string	The best-known name of the structure
StrDCirca	Boolean	If yes: the exact year when design was started is unknown
StrDStart	integer	The year when design was begun; blank if design and building occur in the same year
StrDEnd	integer	The year when design was completed (left blank if same as StrDStart)
StrBCirca	Boolean	If yes: the exact year when construction was started is unknown
StrBStart	integer	The year when construction was begun
StrBEnd	integer	The year when construction was completed (left blank if same as StrBStart)
StrStreetNum	string	The numeric portion of the street address
StreetID	integer (link)	Refers to the street that the structure is located on in StreetTbl
LocationID	integer (link)	Refers to the location (city, state, country) that the structure is located in in LocationTbl
StrZip	integer	Five digit zip code of the structure
StrPublicMemo	memo	Field for public comments about the structure (guide-book text)
StrPrivateMemo	memo	Field for private comments about the structure (data to confirm, problems with building, etc.)
StrRazed	Boolean	If yes: the structure has been razed
StrRazedDate	integer	The year the structure was razed
StrAtILandmark	Boolean	If yes: the structure has been designated an Atlanta landmark
strLastMinuteCheck	Boolean	If yes: for some reason, this entry should be reviewed before it goes to press

Table 9: AddTable

Field Name	Data Type	Description
AddID	automatic integer	The primary key for each structure
StrID	integer (link)	Refers to the structure that the addition modifies
AddDescription	string	Describes the addition
AddDCirca	Boolean	If yes: the exact year when design of the addition was started is unknown
AddDStart	integer	The year when design of the addition was begun; blank if design and building occur in the same year
AddDEnd	integer	The year when design of addition was completed (left blank if same as AddDStart)
AddBCirca	Boolean	If yes: the exact year when addition was started is unknown
AddBStart	integer	The year when the construction of the addition was completed
AddBEnd	integer	The year when the construction of the addition was completed (left blank if same as AddBStart)
AddNote	string	Any notes that may be applicable to the addition

Table 10: Str_Per_Junction

Field Name	Data Type	Description
PerID	integer (link)	Member of a junction table; links to PerTbl.PerID
StrID	integer (link)	Member of a junction table; links to StrTbl.StrID
PerRoleID	integer (link)	Member of a junction table; links to PerRoleTbl.PerRoleID

Table 11: PerTbl

Field Name	Data Type	Description
PerID	automatic integer	The primary key for each person/firm
PerName	string	The name of the person/firm
PerLocation	integer	(link) Refers to the location (city, state, country) that the person/firm operated out of in <code>LocationTbl</code>
PerMemo	string	Any notes about the person/firm

Table 12: LocationTbl

Field Name	Data Type	Description
LocationID	automatic integer	The primary key for each location
City	string	The city associated with a building or firm
State	string	The state associated with a building or firm
Country	string	The country associated with a building or firm

Table 13: StreetTbl

Field Name	Data Type	Description
StreetID	automatic integer	The primary key for each street
StreetName	string	The USPS-Standardized Street Name with directional suffixes

Table 14: Str_Group_Junction

Field Name	Data Type	Description
GroupID	integer (link)	Member of a junction table; links to <code>GroupTbl.GroupID</code>
StrID	integer (link)	Member of a junction table; links to <code>StrTbl.StrID</code>

Table 15: GroupTbl

Field Name	Data Type	Description
GroupID	automatic integer	The primary key for each group
GroupName	string	The name of each group, or tag-label

Table 16: Add_Per_Junction

Field Name	Data Type	Description
AddID	integer (link)	Member of a junction table; links to <code>AddTbl.AddID</code>
PerID	integer (link)	Member of a junction table; links to <code>PerTbl.PerID</code>
PerRoleID	integer (link)	Refers to the role that a person/firm played in an addition; links to <code>PerRoleTbl.PerRoleID</code>

Table 17: PerRoleTbl

Field Name	Data Type	Description
PerRoleID	automatic integer	The primary key for roles people/firms can play
PerRole	string	The role that a person/firm played
PerSortOrder	string	A variable that determines the order in which various roles appear in the guide; used by report generating tools

Table 18: SubsequentTbl

Field Name	Data Type	Description
SubsequentID	automatic integer	The primary key for subsequent names of structures
StrID	integer (link)	Refers to the structure that has an subsequent name in <code>strTbl.StrID</code>
SubsequentName	string	Subsequent name(s) of a structure
SubsequentCirca	Boolean	If yes: the exact dates when the subsequent name was used are unknown
SubsequentStart	integer	The year when the subsequent name began to be used
SubsequentEnd	integer	The year when the subsequent name ceased to be used

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