1. McKim, Mead & White and The Brooklyn Museum, 1893–1934
Leland M. Roth

The imposing Museum designed by McKim, Mead & White for The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences in the 1890s was conceived as the crowning cultural achievement of the sister city to New York. Yet even as the Museum was designed, the status of Brooklyn as an independent city was nearing an end. The first section of the Museum was hardly built and opened to the public when Brooklyn as a sovereign municipal entity ceased to exist and became part of New York City. Thus, the symbolism of The Brooklyn Museum as the embodiment of Brooklyn was undercut almost from the beginning. Nonetheless, in the last few years that heroic beginning has taken on new meaning. The story of the creation of The Brooklyn Museum, like the story of its current revitalization, is one of high social and educational purpose.

Brooklyn Arises
After purchasing Manhattan Island from the Indians in 1626, the Dutch began to establish settlements on what they called Lange Eylandt (Long Island). The first of these was Nieuw Amersfoort, begun in 1636 at the west end of Jamaica Bay. Later called Flatlands, this community lay on the east side of the long glacial moraine that runs like a spine through the center of western Long Island. Ten years later Breuckelen (Brooklyn) was established on the west side of that glacial moraine, on a rise that overlooked the East River and New Amsterdam. In the next few years Brooklyn in turn was surrounded by four additional villages in what is now Kings County—Bushwick, Flatbush, New Utrecht, and Gravesend. During the eighteenth century, while New York took on the character of a busy trading and administrative center, Brooklyn and the other scattered settlements on western Long Island retained a far more rural aspect; except for their village centers, these were farm communities. As these nodes of agricultural settlement grew, the village boundaries neared each other. In 1816 Brooklyn was incorporated by the state as a village, and in 1834 it became a city.

Brooklynnites were proud of their separate status and were
11. Plan of Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York, 1871, Olmsted Vaux & Co., Landscape Architects. This version of the park plan, originally laid out by Calvert Vaux in 1865, shows the triangle for museums labeled "ground reserved for public buildings," the Mount Prospect Reservoir, and several proposed landscaped parkways extending out from the park. The curved roadway reaching eastward from Grand Army Plaza, here labeled "Jamaica Park Way," was later renamed Eastern Parkway. This drawing also contains proposals for extension of the reservoir and landscaping in the area where The Brooklyn Museum was started in 1895 (Courtesy of the Brooklyn Historical Society).
careful to preserve their rural identity. In 1833 General Jeremiah Johnson of Brooklyn claimed that the East River would always separate New York and Brooklyn and "must forever continue to form an unsurmountable obstacle to their union." Of course, even before Johnson wrote this, the two cities had long been linked economically: as early as 1642, more than two centuries before John A. Roebling's bridge spanned the supposed "unsurmountable obstacle," ferries had begun carrying commuters back and forth to Manhattan. Roebling's famous bridge simply provided a more dependable all-weather link between the two cities, making their interdependence more visible and their mutually distinctive qualities more pronounced. Brooklyn was "New York's bedroom," a city of homes and churches.2

Creating the Site

Although numerically the population of Brooklyn was less than New York's, the rate of population increase was far greater in Brooklyn—between 1830 and 1860 the number of Manhattan residents grew from 202,589 to 813,660, whereas the population of Brooklyn jumped from 15,394 to 266,661.3 In 1850 Brooklyn was the third largest American city, and by 1890, although surpassed by the exploding Chicago, it would still be the fourth largest.

The need for setting aside public lands in Manhattan led to the creation of Central Park and brought its designers, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, to the forefront of the new profession of landscape architecture. As early as the 1850s Brooklyn civic leaders such as James S.T. Stranahan urged that a similar park be set aside in Brooklyn. In 1860 the city purchased a parcel of 320 acres at a site then at the far southern edge of built-up Brooklyn, where the streets ran up against the glacial moraine and Mount Prospect.

Calvert Vaux devised the first preliminary plan for Prospect Park in 1865 while Olmsted was in California.4 Although the broad, irregular site for Brooklyn's new park was more promising as a picturesque landscape than the long narrow rectangle of Central Park had been, it was cut through by Flatbush Avenue, a major thoroughfare (fig. 1.1). Since Vaux anticipated that the principal entrance to the new park would be at the sharp corner of Flatbush Avenue and what became Prospect Park West, he and Olmsted proposed that the triangle of park property between Flatbush and Washington avenues be set aside for "Museums and Other Educational Edifices."5 The larger remaining parcel on the west side of Flatbush Avenue could then be developed solely as a park preserve, obviating any demands for building sites within Prospect Park as had already become a vexing problem in Central Park. Vaux also successfully persuaded the city fathers to purchase additional lots to create the oval Grand Army Plaza, forming the principal northern entrance to the new park.

To Olmsted and Vaux, urban parks were not merely isolated oases of green but rather larger elements in integrated networks of public landscaped spaces. The parks themselves were to be connected by linear, parklike roads that would provide gracious and restorative means of movement through the city. If Olmsted and Vaux experienced difficulties in getting their parks built according to plan, they had even less success in persuading governing bodies to create these landscaped boulevards connecting public recreational lands. But they succeeded first in Brooklyn.

In their report on Prospect Park of 1866, Olmsted and Vaux discussed the idea of landscaped boulevards leading out from the park, although they did not include such a boulevard in the published plan of the park dated 1866-67.6 This concept was more fully developed in their subsequent report of 1868, as well as in a separate publication, "Observations on the Progress of Improvements in Street Plans, with Special Reference to The Parkway Proposed to Be Laid out in Brooklyn," of the same year.7 In this report they described in detail the design of a "parkway"—a word they invented—consisting of a broad thoroughfare combining a
wide central carriageway, flanking walks, and side roads for local traffic, all separated by six wide bands of shrubs and trees; altogether, from the fronts of the house lots on one side to those on the other, the parkway was to be 260 feet wide. In 1870–74 Brooklyn’s Eastern Parkway was laid out following this design, running from the east side of the oval plaza at the entrance to Prospect Park (passing north of Mount Prospect and the city reservoir), and extending to Ralph Avenue, then the city limit.

Meanwhile the entrances to Prospect Park were sharply defined by the Classical architectural pavilions and stanchions designed by McKim, Mead & White, so that the environment around Prospect Park demonstrated something of the character celebrated in the Court of Honor at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (figs. 1.2, 1.4). Particularly imposing was the massive memorial arch by John H. Duncan built in the middle of the Grand Army Plaza oval in 1889–92.

Although Brooklyn was beginning to achieve the urban grandeur being created in New York by McKim, Mead & White, there were those who were convinced that its full economic potential could be achieved only through union with New York. Early proposals for amalgamation had been voiced by Brooklynites in 1827 and again in 1868, but in 1887 Andrew H. Green undertook a serious effort to effect this merger. So successful were his efforts that by 1892 a group of prominent and vociferous Brooklyn residents joined to oppose his plan. Even the Brooklyn Eagle, the prominent newspaper that had extolled construction of Roebling’s East River bridge, now vigorously argued against the annexation of Brooklyn by New York, for its editors “dreaded the end of an independent existence for Brooklyn.” But the movement for consolidation advanced nonetheless, and final unification of the five boroughs to form Greater New York took place in January 1898.

Creation of The Brooklyn Institute
One of the visible symbols of Brooklyn’s rapidly disappearing independent existence was The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences (fig. 1.3). The Institute had its origin in the Apprentices’ Library, organized in 1823 to bring “the benefits of knowledge to that portion of our youth who are engaged in learning the mechanical arts” with the aim of making them “useful and respectable members of society.” Like Benjamin Franklin’s Apprentices’ Library in Philadelphia, after which it was modeled, the Brooklyn Library was intended to improve the moral character of the working classes. But it was more than a place for reading, for the original charter also called for collecting “books, maps, drawing apparatus, models of machinery, tools and implements generally.” Thus the Library was meant from the start to be a general educational institution, serving the broadest public by gathering a wide range of objects as aids to education and the improvement of life.

Initially the Library was housed in a small, rented frame house at 143 Fulton Street, but by 1825 growth necessitated construction of a special building at Henry and Cranberry streets (fig. 1.5). This was a vernacular building, not so different in size or character from contemporaneous local residences in what is now called the Federal style of architecture.

Throughout its life, the institution flourished under the care and direction of individuals committed to its educational purpose. One of its early champions was Augustus Graham, who was instrumental in enlisting public support in the mid-1830s. With use increasing and the collections growing, expanded quarters again had to be found, and in 1841 the Library was offered space in the imposing Neoclassical building erected by the Brooklyn Lyceum at Washington and Concord streets (fig. 1.6). The educational activities, public lectures, and collections continued to increase and broaden in scope, as indicated by its change of name to The Brooklyn Institute in 1843.
1.2. Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Memorial Arch and entrance to Prospect Park, looking over reservoir toward completed Brooklyn Institute, circa 1915 (Courtesy of The Library of Congress).

1.3. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, view from southeast, circa 1910 (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York).

1.4. View of Court of Honor, World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, with Agriculture Building by McKim, Mead & White (Courtesy of Chicago Historical Society).
In 1881 a fire destroyed part of the Washington Street building. Although repairs were made, interest in the institution was again slipping, until General John B. Woodward made its development his personal concern. It was Woodward who selected Franklin W. Hooper to become the new Director of The Brooklyn Institute in 1889. As the Rev. John W. Chadwick put it, Woodward and Hooper effectively raised The Brooklyn Institute from the dead. In the next several years the Institute was reorganized into a number of individual departments, many of them formed as various Brooklyn scientific and educational societies were absorbed into the Institute. Hooper’s vision of the mission of the expanded Institute appeared in The First Year Book:

The nucleus of a broad and comprehensive institution for the advancement of science and art, ... laboring not only for the advancement of knowledge, but also for the education of the people through lectures and collections in art and science. ... It was felt that Brooklyn should have an Institute of Arts and Sciences worthy of her wealth, her position, her culture, and her people.

Within a year the Institute had been completely restructured, and in April 1890 it was reincorporated by the State of New York as The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, with sixteen separate departments that eventually grew to twenty-seven. The organizational basis of a great and multifaceted educational institution had been created.

Woodward and Hooper’s ambitious plans clearly exceeded the capacity of the old Neoclassical building on Washington Street. A new building would be required, and in June 1889 the city of Brooklyn took the first official steps to set aside the land on either side of the Mount Prospect reservoir as a reserve for “art and science museums and libraries.” A Citizens’ Committee had already been formulating the objectives of the proposed expanded Institute of Arts and Sciences. In their report, published in February 1890, the committee acknowledged that the scope of the proposed institution surpassed anything yet attempted in the United States. They had studied the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard University organized by Louis Agassiz as well as the National Museum in Washington, the National Gallery in London, the Louvre in Paris, the Museum of Natural History at South Kensington, London, and the Museums of Practical Arts in Berlin and Paris. In contrast to all these, they concluded, the new structure required for The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences had to be built upon a plan far different from that which now prevails in the great majority of such buildings. While the buildings should be of indestructible material and of commanding proportions, they should be so constructed in their interior arrangements, as to be easily capable of allowing the classification and reclassification of materials, as the collections grow.

The problem that Woodward, the Institute Trustees, and the Citizens’ Committee faced was that there were no other museums anywhere that combined, in such a systematic and educational way, the whole spectrum of human achievement as was being proposed for Brooklyn. The expanded Institute was to advance human knowledge “in all departments of art and science” and to provide in one facility what the Lowell Institute, the Society of Natural History, and the art museum provided for Boston, what the Franklin Institute, the Academy of Science, and the Gallery of Fine Arts provided for Philadelphia, and what The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History provided for New York.

The large public museum was essentially an invention of the nineteenth century, the preeminent period of collecting, cataloguing, and presenting all manner of objects—animal,
vegetable, and mineral. Important museums presenting specialized collections included the South Kensington decorative arts museum in London (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), begun in 1856; the American Museum of Natural History, created in New York in 1869 and housed in the first section of a large Romanesque building by J. Cleveland Cady; and, for the display of machines and scientific apparatus, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., housed in the famous red Romanesque building on the Mall built in 1846–55 by James Renwick. Museums of painting and sculpture were even more in evidence. Between 1840 and 1890 in the United States, major public art museums were built in Hartford, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, all of them housed in Gothic-inspired buildings.

As the new building for The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences was being planned, projects were also underway for large Classical museums of the fine arts in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Pittsburgh. But of them all, American and European. The Brooklyn Museum was to be unique, for in its halls were to be displayed, in scientifically ordered ranges, every kind of artifact of human creativity and invention, the full record of the rise of the human species, presented to promote public education and visual delight—nothing less than the whole of human experience. As Franklin Hooper said when the cornerstone was laid in December 1895, the Museum was to embrace "all known human history, the infinite capacity of man to act, to think, and to love, and the many departments of science and of art which he has developed. Through its collections in the arts and sciences, and through its libraries it should be possible to read the history of the world."

Building The Brooklyn Institute

As it happened, the concept of the expansive Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences was developed at a moment in American history when city officials had begun to think of urban rebuilding on a grand and coherent scale. In 1892–93, as the Institute Trustees developed a scheme for conducting a tiered competition to obtain the design for the new building, the most accomplished American architects (including New York’s McKim, Mead & White) were gathered in Chicago to design the largest international exposition the United States had ever mounted. What they wanted to present to the world was an image of refined architectural order and urban coherence. The result was the carefully proportioned spatial and architectural environment of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition (fig. 1.4). The Exposition inspired scores of cities across the country to create ordered civic centers, giving rise to the City Beautiful movement; it implanted the idea that architecture, richly embellished with painting and sculpture, served the public good in the most direct and visible way. Solidly built and judiciously ornamented Classicism would be good public policy. In Brooklyn, McKim, Mead & White had already begun to advance that view in their entrances to Prospect Park; very shortly they were to be given a far grander opportunity in their design for the new Brooklyn Institute.

The movement to build a new museum for the Institute began in December 1888, when a public meeting was announced in 1,500 letters sent out to Brooklyn citizens. At the meeting in February 1889, community leaders spoke of the need for an imposing building befitting the growing importance of the Institute and Brooklyn and of the "educating and uplifting influence" that art exerts on rich and poor alike. They also observed that a splendid building would benefit the schools and make Brooklyn an even more attractive city in which to live, thereby increasing real estate values. A committee of twenty-five was appointed to work with Institute Trustees and the Director in the design of the new museum.

The committee's first action was to promote passage of state legislation in 1889 enabling the city of Brooklyn to set aside the triangle around the Mount Prospect reservoir for construction of "museums of art and science and li-
braries." The next step, in 1890, was legal reorganization of the old Institute as the new and more encompassing Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.\textsuperscript{25} The governing board of the reorganized Institute then secured passage of state legislation providing for construction by the city of Brooklyn at a cost of $300,000 of a museum building to be leased to the Institute for 100 years for a nominal annual fee.\textsuperscript{26} There was a condition, however, that the $300,000 (to be raised by the sale of city bonds) was to be matched by $200,000 raised by the Institute. Meanwhile, the old building on Washington Street was sold to the city (it was later demolished to make way for enlarged approaches to the Brooklyn Bridge), and the collections moved to temporary quarters. With the proceeds of that sale, plus subscriptions for the new building, reserves by the end of 1890 reached $190,906, only $9,094 short of the required sum; early in 1891 the funds gathered by the Institute surpassed the required minimum. During 1891 the Mayor and Brooklyn Park Commissioners set aside the actual site for the Museum—a parcel of 11.9 acres southeast of the Mount Prospect reservoir fronting on Eastern Parkway and extending to Washington Avenue (fig. 1.7).

The remaining step was to obtain a suitable design for the new building. In keeping with the democratic character of the institution, the Advisory Board to the Institute’s Department of Architecture decided in December 1892 to sponsor a two-tier competition. The first stage would be open to the members of the Institute’s Department of Architecture, many of them young men beginning their careers; the second stage would be limited to seven contestants—four architects invited by the Mayor and Park Commissioners at the recommendation of Trustees of the Institute, together with the three winners from the first stage of the competition. The seven participants in this second stage were to be paid $500 to cover the expenses of developing their designs. This somewhat complex arrangement was created to mollify the objections of many prominent architects who refused to participate in competitions because results were often rigged in favor of political favorites and the resulting buildings constructed with little regard to the plans awarded the prize.\textsuperscript{27} During the final judging, the names of the architects were to be covered over, so that individual personalities would not come into play in awarding the commission. The jury appointed to make the award consisted of Professor A. D. F. Hamlin of the School of Architecture at Columbia University, the prominent architect Robert S. Peabody of Boston, and architect George L. Morse of Brooklyn; it was this trio, together with Director Hooper, William B. Tubby, head of the Institute’s Department of Architecture, and Charles T. Mott, who had drawn up the program requirements for the new Museum during 1892, including the judgment of the Trustees that the style of the Museum be Classic.\textsuperscript{28}

Letters of invitation to architects were sent out during October 1892, and copies of the first stage of the competition program were circulated early in January 1893. Twenty members of the Institute’s Department of Architecture participated in the first stage, including William B. Bigelow and James L. Cromwell, Jr. (fig. 1.8).\textsuperscript{29} Of these, the three selected to continue to the second stage were the young Brooklyn architects Cromwell, Albert L. Brockway, and William A. Boring, who had recently been an assistant in the office of McKim, Mead & White.\textsuperscript{30} The participating professionals in the second stage of the competition included J. Cleveland Cady (architect of the Brooklyn Academy of Design and the American Museum of Natural History), Carrère & Hastings (who in a few years would win the competition for the New York Public Library), the Parfitt Brothers (prominent Brooklyn architects), and McKim, Mead & White. Each was to submit seven mounted ink drawings on boards measuring 36 by 44 inches.

On May 19, 1893, the Trustees heard the jury’s report favoring design number six; when its identification block was revealed, it was discovered to be the work of McKim, Mead & White (fig. 1.9). In view of the scale and unprec-

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image1.png}
\caption{Site map of area surrounding The Brooklyn Institute, circa 1898, showing proposed museum building and portion completed by 1927 (L.M. Roth, adapted from Hyde atlas of Brooklyn, 1898).}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image2.png}
\caption{James L. Cromwell, Jr., perspective (top), and William B. Bigelow, plan, competition entries for The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York).}
\end{figure}
The winners of the competition were at the forefront of their profession. Having begun their practice in 1879, McKim, Mead & White had won acclaim for the remarkably elegant yet restrained housing group they built on Madison Avenue in New York for the railroad developer Henry Villard (1882–85). This achievement in turn helped win for them the commission for the building of the Boston Public Library (1887–95), a structure that established a new character for urban public buildings in the United States for the next half century. By 1892 they operated the largest private architectural office in the world, training scores of young men who went on to distinguished careers. One of these young assistants, Egerton Swartwout, in writing of those days, revealed how the firm handled competition projects. The Brooklyn Institute, he recalled, was a project handled by partner Charles Follen McKim, although Garry Hewlett and Austin Lord worked up McKim’s preliminary sketches.

The plan made more of an impression on me than the elevations [Swartwout recalled]. At first they built only one wing of it and that was worked up by Phil Sawyer, good and simple but too large in scale for the location; the building never looked its real size. I believe Phil took it straight from the competition drawings and that there never was a careful restudy of the whole facade. I can’t be sure about that, but I know McKim was never quite satisfied with the central motive, the main entrance, for shortly before I left the office [in May 1900] he told me to make a study of a new entrance. I did it very badly, I’m sorry to say.34

The scheme adopted by McKim, Mead & White for the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences consisted of an enormous square, roughly 500 feet on each side (fig. 1.10). This square was divided into four quadrants by bisecting galleries nearly 92 feet wide. Where these galleries intersected, at the center of the square, was a circular memorial hall about 77 feet in diameter, capped by a dome rising nearly 140 feet from the floor. Around the periphery of the square were galleries about 40 feet wide, so that between the outer galleries and the crossed center arms were courts roughly 150 feet square. This basic scheme went back to such French models for museums as J.-N.-L. Durand’s prototype of 1803.35 McKim, Mead & White’s principal innovation was to wrap the large quadrant courts with deep arcades and cover them with enormous glass skylights. The only element outside this square plan was a separate astronomical observatory at the southeastern corner, where the diagonal of Washington Avenue made the building site wider.

The architectural throughout was severe Greco-Roman Classic, broad in scale, restrained in sculptural detail, and organized in the hierarchically arranged volumes McKim had learned at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris (fig. 1.11). In general, the facades resembled somewhat the Agriculture Building at the Chicago Columbian Exposition designed by McKim, Mead & White just the year before.36 They were divided into emphasized corner pavilions, connecting wings, and bold projecting central pavilions. The prominent domed central pavilions had hexastyle Ionic-temple-front porticoes with the capitals patterned after those from the Temple of Apollo, Didyma.37

Three of the porticoes were to be approached by long dramatic flights of stairs, but in the original scheme the central pavilion on the eastern side had a circular portico integrated into a carriage drive, for this was the entrance to the public auditorium that filled the central arm on the east side of the plan. The corresponding central arm on the west side housed a large special exhibition hall rising through
three floors. The two central arms to the north and south contained three-story sculpture galleries fitted between flights of stairs that led to the upper galleries.

Above the basement level were three floors of galleries. These, together with the glass-covered courts, were to house collections arranged according to subject in the quadrants of the building. The two northerly courts were to house sculpture and architecture, both original specimens as well as plaster casts. In the galleries around these two courts were to be collections of industrial arts and natural-history exhibits from Egyptian and Chaldean times through the Gothic period. Just as the skylit southwest court housing the zoological exhibits was to be surrounded by galleries with engineering exhibits, so the southeast court was to house geological specimens encircled by galleries containing electrical and mathematical exhibits (the connecting link to the observatory was, appropriately, between the galleries for engineering and mathematics). On the floor above the main floor were to be additional galleries and lecture halls, together with a restaurant on the west side, and on the third floor were more galleries for paintings and prints, a music room, and a reference library. Above these three floors of public space, atop the central arms and looking over the skylights of the courts, were additional floors of offices for administration and operation of the various departments making up the Institute, such as electricity, engineering, architecture, fine arts, music, and photography (fig. 1.12). In total, over 1.5 million square feet of space were provided in the master plan.

One of the advantages of the McKim, Mead & White plan was its easy division into individual pavilions and wings, facilitating construction of the building in parts as funds became available and as the collections grew. During 1894 the plans were corrected and preparations made for building the first section. The master plan was divided into lettered sections (fig. 1.13), and in March 1894 the Trustees voted to begin building Sections A and B, the gallery wing.

1.12. H. M. Pettit, The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences (proposed), circa 1904, Postcard (Courtesy of Phyllis Wynn).
1.13. Diagram of The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences master plan indicating lettered sections (L. M. Roth).
1.14. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, view of West Wing (Sections A and B), dated June 2, 1897.
on the northwest corner. On September 14, 1895, ground was broken for construction by the P. J. Carlin construction company. For many of the details relating to the construction of this and subsequent sections, the office supervisor from McKim, Mead & White was Henry Bacon (later the architect of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.). When this first portion of The Brooklyn Museum was completed in June 1897 (fig. 1.14), there was a festive opening ceremony.  

There were many problems that had to be solved as work commenced. One that surfaced early was how to provide for an auditorium, since in 1895 the prospects for building the principal auditorium in the west center arm were remote. The solution—whether it was proposed by Hooper or the architects is unclear—was to raise the level of the main floor by five feet, creating enough room to insert an auditorium in the basement level of the central pavilion. Because of this, however, the principal entrance staircase had to be made much larger, leading to yet more problems that were to bring McKim, Mead & White’s tenure as architects of the Institute to an end forty years later.

Among the many technical innovations included in the Museum was the new Frinck track or tube lighting in the paintings gallery. These slender tubes with electric bulbs were suspended from the ceiling, making little intrusion into the architectural space and yet providing light close to the paintings with no light bulbs exposed to the eye.

At the stroke of midnight on December 31, 1897, just months after the first section of the Museum opened, the city of Brooklyn ceased to exist as a political entity. As of January 1, 1898, after half a century of discussion and political maneuvering, Brooklyn became a part of the city of Greater New York. Thus the building begun as a symbol for a proud, independent city now became simply another of many museums administered by the Parks Department of the City of New York. Gradually, the consolidation of the five boroughs had the regrettable effect of diminishing the importance of The Brooklyn Institute.

Meanwhile, between 1899 and 1905, the City of New York built Section C of the Museum, the center pavilion, which included the magisterial staircase extending toward Eastern Parkway (figs. 1.15–1.17). Even before this was finished, in 1904, the city began construction of Sections D and E, the northeastern wing, a project that took three years (fig. 1.3). All the construction, including a temporary powerhouse built behind the Museum between 1902 and 1904, was again carried out by P. J. Carlin.

One of the most effective elements in eliciting public acclaim for the design, and no doubt helping to encourage continuing construction, was the handsome colored perspective of the competition design prepared in 1893 by Francis L. V. Hoppin (fig. 1.11), a skilled draftsman whom McKim entrusted in 1902 with creating perspectives of his plan for Washington, D.C. Hoppin’s perspective clearly showed the kind of inscriptions to be cut in the frieze of the entablature
wrapped around the building. In focusing on the building's north side and in depicting the panel below the pediment on that side with the inscription MUSEUM OF ARTS AND SCIENCES . . . , Hoppin suggested that the principal entrance was to be on Eastern Parkway. In fact, the Grand Staircase leading down from Section C was never intended as the main entrance, for on the south side of the building was to be an even grander staircase leading to a broad esplanade extending out to Flatbush Avenue. McKim, Mead & White prepared some studies for this grand southern approach, and the Trustees also engaged the Olmsted Brothers, who presented their proposal in January 1911 (fig. 1.18).45

As Hoppin's perspective showed well, the Museum building was to be graced by allegorical figures standing atop the columns of the walls and in the pediments of the center pavilions. As early as 1896, McKim, Mead & White had asked Daniel Chester French to design these allegorical sculptures, but nothing could be done until the sale of bonds had been approved to provide the funds, and that took almost ten years.46 Beginning in 1904, Franklin Hooper, the Trustees, and the Institute's Executive Committee discussed what subjects were to be portrayed in the sculptures, following a scheme in which the Museum quadrants were to have Oriental, Classical, medieval-Renaissance, and modern themes in the names inscribed in the panels below the first-floor windows and in the sculpture at the attic level.47 By January 1906 Hooper and the Trustees were ready to select a sculptor from a list of artists McKim, Mead & White submitted. Included were French, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, J. Q. A. Ward, Frederick MacMonnies, and Karl Bitter. At a meeting on January 26 the Trustees officially selected French as the principal designer of the monolithic 12½-foot attic figures and for the pediment groups.48 During 1906, as the subjects for the allegorical figures were selected, French prepared a list of eleven assistant sculptors who would do the actual carving of the figures. The work was portioned out as follows: Herbert Adams—Greek philosophy, architecture.

1.15. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, center pavilion and Grand Staircase, circa 1914 (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York).
1.16. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, interior of main floor, circa 1914, displaying plaster model of master plan (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York).
1.17. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, interior of Rotunda, third floor (now fifth floor), circa 1914 (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York).
sculpture, and oratory; Karl Bitter—Chinese philosophy, religion, art, and law; George T. Brewster—Greek dramatic art and law; Kenyon Cox—Greek science; John Geler—a Roman lawgiver, a Roman statesman, a Roman emperor, and a Roman orator; Charles Keck—Mohammed; Augustus Lukeman—Hebrew law, a Hebrew psalmist, a Hebrew prophet, and a Christian apostle; Edward C. Potter—Indian philosophy and religion; Edmund T. Quinn—Persian philosophy; Carl A. Heber—Roman epic poetry; and Janet Scudder—Japanese art (fig. 1.19). The pediment for the Eastern Parkway portico was modeled by Adolph A. Wein- man, following thematic material developed by French with McKim and Hooper (fig. 1.20). It depicts two seated figures representing Science and Art flanked on their right by figures representing Sculpture, Architecture (Egyptian in this in- stance), and Painting; to their left are figures representing Astronomy, Geology, and Biology. During 1909 the figures were put in place.

Despite the rapid development of the Institute’s collections, the urgency of building additional sections of the Mu- seum diminished as other museums in New York required attention. In 1904, for instance, The Metropolitan Museum of Art commissioned McKim, Mead & White to prepare an extensive master plan providing for vast new gallery wings. Even with the devoted leadership of Hooper, The Brooklyn Institute slipped ever lower on the list of New York City’s priorities, and as early as 1904 Hooper was pressing for funds to have a complete plaster model of the Museum built as an incentive for continued construction. There was also a practical necessity for a revised master plan, for the only comprehensive drawings for the building were those done for the competition, and the nature of the Institute’s collections had changed greatly since then. If future construction was to proceed smoothly, there had to be a set of drawings ready for use when required.

It took three years, however, to procure the funds for the model and master plan, and it was not until January 1907
that a contract with McKim, Mead & White was finally signed. Two years later the revised plan and model were completed, and the model put on display in the Museum (figs. 1.16, 1.21–1.24). The principal alterations in the design involved the switching of the public auditorium and special exhibitions hall so that a new entry drive was incorporated on the west side of the Museum next to the reservoir property. The semicircular projection of the east center pavilion became simply a gallery. Externally the most visible change was a much taller center dome raised on a drum surrounded by a Corinthian colonnade and capped by a tall lantern (fig. 1.22).
At the same time, McKim, Mead & White were instructed to prepare plans for the long-passed-over astronomical observatory. By October 1909 they had finished drawings for a straightforward rectangular building with three domes on a new site at the southwest corner of the building (fig. 1.25). But no appropriation was ever made for the $250,000 required to build this observatory or for the $28,000 needed to construct a more modest version designed by Teunis J. Van der Bent of McKim, Mead & White in 1930.\textsuperscript{52}

After completing the new master plan and model in 1909, and following the deaths of White and then McKim, the firm of McKim, Mead & White did only minor work for the Institute. After 1910 McKim’s chief assistant, William Mitchell Kendall, took charge of the project. Although the architects, the Director, and the Trustees began preparations for building Sections F and G in 1910, construction did not begin until 1913. This portion of the building, erected by contractors Wills & Marvin, comprised the gallery wing on

1.21. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, main floor of revised master plan, 1909. 
1.22. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, south elevation, proposed main entry, 1909. Ink on linen, circa 49 x 137 inches (125 x 348 cm) (Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society).
1.23. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, plaster model, 1909 (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York)
1.24. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, cross section of plaster model, 1909.
1.25. Elevation drawing of observatory, circa October 1909. Ink on linen, circa 23 x 36 inches (58 x 69 cm) (Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society).
the northeast side and the skylit court of the northeast quadrant (fig. 1.26). \textsuperscript{53} Construction was protracted, especially after 1914, in part owing to the impact of the First World War but also because in that year Franklin Hooper died, and thus the last great champion of the Museum building was gone. The wing and court of Sections F and G were physically enclosed by then, but the interiors remained unfinished until 1924–26, when this, the last major section built following the original designs by McKim, Mead & White, was at last completed and exhibits were installed (fig. 1.27). \textsuperscript{54}

Meanwhile, the firm of McKim, Mead & White was appointed architect for the new Botanic Garden being created on the fifty-acre triangle southeast of the Museum. In 1913–16 they built the administration building and adjoining laboratory at the edge of the garden grounds next to Washington Avenue. In contrast to the imposing formality of the limestone Museum, the Botanic Garden headquarters building was based on Italian Renaissance garden casinos, with low, stepped massing and stucco construction.

Although William H. Fox, who succeeded Hooper as Director of the Institute in 1914, largely continued the programs Hooper initiated, the appointment of Fox’s successor, Philip N. Youtz, as Acting Director of Museums in 1934 coincided with a series of sweeping changes. The number of constituent departments in the Institute was reduced, and some departments were closed altogether. Instead of being the flagship building of a multifaceted Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, the building on Eastern Parkway became a gallery of fine arts known simply as The Brooklyn Museum.

For two decades preventive maintenance on the Museum had been deferred. In particular, the front-entrance Grand Staircase had begun to show signs of age. Water had begun to penetrate through the stone paving slabs, weakening the reinforced concrete frame supporting the stairs. In 1926 Fox had asked McKim, Mead & White to prepare estimates of the cost of repair but work was put off; after 1930 fiscal retrenchment necessitated by the Depression forced continued postponement of repairs. The long delay and the worsening conditions prompted a letter of urgent concern from Frederick J. Adams of McKim, Mead & White to Director Fox in November 1933. \textsuperscript{55}

There was also growing interest in providing easier and more direct entrance into the Museum. From 1930 to 1933 McKim, Mead & White prepared several schemes providing for a new entrance drive under the stairs, with vestibules at ground level and corridors that bypassed the auditorium. In 1934, at the insistence of Youtz, the architects also prepared a scheme with an additional entry that tunneled through the stairs at the level of the middle landing. \textsuperscript{56}

How sad that such an honorable collaboration between architects, Director, and Trustees, born of the highest civic ideals and sweeping artistic vision, should now come to an ignominious end, strangled in a rising tide of acrimonious recrimination. Youtz, who was working with Civil Works Administration draftsmen on drawings of Mayan ruins for the Museum, began to develop a different scheme for the Museum entrance that called for the total elimination of the Grand Staircase and had his own draftsmen prepare drawings of his ideas. To McKim, Mead & White, such a drastic measure would have seriously impaired the integrity of their general design. They urged alternative solutions during January and February 1934 and refused to give their unqualified approval to drawings showing the removal of the stairs. To Youtz this refusal to follow his directives was tantamount to a breach of contract, and as the winter of 1934 warmed to spring the positions of both Youtz and McKim, Mead & White froze solid. Youtz wrote to the architects, accusing them of using “obstructionist tactics,” taunting them with the accusation that “competent architects” could have solved the problem of the entrance. \textsuperscript{57} McKim, Mead & White appealed to Robert Moses, Commissioner of Parks, and Edward C. Blum, President of the Board of Trustees, for an impartial hearing. \textsuperscript{58}
Then, most curiously, in April 1934, while William Kendall of McKim, Mead & White was out of the country, his partner James Kellum Smith wrote Youutz that he had just seen a new perspective rendering of the proposed alterations to the Museum, minus steps, and wished to express his "relief and satisfaction that the change as shown upon this drawing has been accomplished with so much sympathy for the general design of the building." With this apparent endorsement, Youutz's proposed changes were quickly approved by the Municipal Art Commission, and demolition of the steps began in a matter of days; by the time Kendall returned in June it was too late. To him, the building had been vandalized, and for a time he had attorney Carroll Blakely Low investigate whether legal action could be brought against the Institute. The connection between McKim, Mead & White and The Brooklyn Museum came to an abrupt end. By August the first draft of a contract with architect William Lescaze was being prepared and a new era for the Museum was under way.

To end the story in this way is to miss the important impact The Brooklyn Institute design had on later museum work by McKim, Mead & White. The early success of the Brooklyn project no doubt helped the firm win the contract to design large additions to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, additions that were carefully integrated with Richard Morris Hunt's grand pavilion on Fifth Avenue. And in 1911 the younger partners won the competition for the expansive Minneapolis Institute of Arts with a comprehensive plan that recalled that of The Brooklyn Museum.

It should be noted, too, that in 1964 the hard angularities of the remodeled entrance were softened by the installation in front of the Museum of two large limestone figures of Manhattan and Brooklyn by Daniel Chester French. Removed from the entrance ramp of the Manhattan Bridge the year before during reconstruction of the bridge approaches, these proud figures provided a humanizing element at the entrance level, and together they formed a counterpoint to the figures at the attic story and pediment (fig. 1.28).

An End and a Beginning
The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences as an academy museum of all things for everyone was not to be; transformed (organizationally and physically) early in the twentieth century, it became The Brooklyn Museum devoted to the fine arts. An age characterized by cynicism might look back and wonder if Woodward and Hooper as patron and client, and McKim, Mead & White as architects, could truly have been so naive as to believe they could create an institute to be all things for all people. Although the creators of the Institute were romantics of a sort, they were also individuals of sincere conviction concerning public education, compelled to action by a driving sense of public mission. The question they put to themselves was how they could rise to the challenge of their time and of the promised greatness of Brooklyn and do anything less. Like McKim’s colleague, architect Daniel Burnham, they knew there was no honor in making little plans. They aimed high, and now nearly a century later their aspiration has been rekindled in a call for a new design, couched in a new architectural language, to make The Brooklyn Museum no longer a fragment but a completed temple on the Brooklyn acropolis.

1.28. Daniel Chester French, figures of Brooklyn (foreground) and Manhattan (background), 1913–16, flanking entrance to The Brooklyn Museum. Originally designed for approach to the Manhattan Bridge, the figures were relocated in 1964.
Notes
The character of pastoral Brooklyn from 1800 to 1860 is well illustrated in Linda S. Ferber, ed., Brooklyn before the Bridge: American Paintings from The Long Island Historical Society, exhibition catalogue (The Brooklyn Museum, 1982).
4. For the development of the Prospect Park Plan, see M.M. Graff, Central Park, Prospect Park: A New Perspective (New York: Greensward Foundation, 1985).
7. Olmsted and Vaux, “Report of the Landscape Architects and Superintendents to the President of the Board of Commissioners of Prospect Park, Brooklyn,” 1868, in Fein, Landscape into Cityscape, pp. 129–64.
8. For the political maneuvering leading to the consolidation of the five boroughs to form Greater New York, see David C. Hammack, Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1982), pp. 185–229.
11. The building was sold to the city of Brooklyn in 1836 and was demolished in 1857 to make way for an armory.
12. “An Act to Extend the Charter of the Brooklyn Apprentices’ Library, and for other purposes,” excerpt printed in The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Annual Report for 1897, pp. 85–86. During the 1840s the Lyceum faded in importance so that by the end of the decade the Institute had taken over all the space in the Washington Street building.
13. John Blackburne Woodward (1835–1896) was a leading civic figure in Brooklyn, serving as president of the Brooklyn Art Association, the Brooklyn Department of Parks, and the Institute’s Board of Trustees during the critical years when the new building by McKim, Mead & White was designed and begun. A statue by Brooklyn sculptor Frederick MacMonnies once stood in front of the Museum, honoring Woodward’s dedicated leadership. A brief biography appears in The National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White Co., 1916), 15:47.
Franklin William Hooper (1851–1914) studied at Harvard University from 1872 to 1875, served on a scientific expedition in the Florida Keys, was principal of the Keene, New Hampshire, High School, and was then appointed professor of chemistry and geology at Adelphi College, Brooklyn, in 1880. In 1887 he was elected to the Board of Trustees of The Brooklyn Institute. For Hooper see biographical entries in The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 13:46–47; and Who Was Who in America, 1897–1942 (Chicago: A.N. Marquis Co., 1942), p. 585. See also the obituary in The New York Times, August 2, 1914, p. 15.
15. The First Year Book of The Brooklyn Institute 1888–89 (The Brooklyn Institute, 1889), p. 46.
17. “An Act to reserve certain parts of Prospect Park . . . . for art and science museums and libraries,” June 5, 1889, excerpt reprinted in The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Annual Report for 1907, pp. 90–91. Prior to this the land had been scheduled for sale. This legislation stipulated that the land on which any educational buildings might be erected was to be leased by the city for a nominal fee, the 11.9 acres on which The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences was built was leased from the city for a term of one hundred years beginning in 1893 for the sum of a dollar per year. A copy of the lease indenture for the land on which the Museum sits, dated December 23, 1893, is in The Brooklyn Museum Library. The legislation also stipulated that any educational buildings erected on this reserved land “shall at all reasonable times be free, open and accessible to the public and private schools” of Brooklyn, as well as open and accessible to the general public “on such terms of admission as the . . . mayor and commissioners shall approve . . . .”
19. This list of comparative institutions is cited in the article on Franklin W. Hooper in The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, op. cit.
22. The Brooklyn Museum is thus one of three major Beaux-Arts Classical museums begun in the early 1890s, including Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge’s Art Institute of Chicago and Ernest Flagg’s second Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.
23. An Account of the Experiences at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Museum Building of The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences . . . . On
Sunday Afternoon, December 14, 1895 (The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1896), p. 10.
28. The Trustees’ requirement of the Classic style is reported in the Brooklyn Eagle, May 20, 1893, in an article giving the details of the jury’s award of the competition. This and other clippings relating to The Brooklyn Museum competition are preserved in a Newspaper Clipping Scrapbook for 1892–94, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society, pp. 183–86, 269.
29. Chronology and details of the competition provided by Minutes of the Board of Trustees, The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 5:100, 101, 109, 113, and The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences Year Book, 1892–93, pp. 95–98. A digest of correspondence between McKim, Mead & White and The Brooklyn Institute (prepared in 1938 by attorney Carroll B. Low) refers to a letter of October 26, 1892, from Franklin W. Hooper to McKim, Mead & White inviting them to participate in the competition (Correspondence Box 800–802, McKim, Mead & White Archive).
30. Although unsuccessful in this competition, William A. Boring (1859–1937), in partnership with Edward L. Tilton (1861–1933), later rose to prominence by winning the competition in 1897 for the Immigrant Station on Ellis Island.
32. Ibid., May 25, 1893.
33. For a discussion of the rise of the firm, see Roth, McKim, Mead & White, Architects.
36. There was also a generic resemblance to the Fine Arts Pavilion at the Chicago fair by Charles B. Atwood; this, in turn, was based on Émile Bénard’s winning design for the Prix de Rome in 1867 for an Exposition Palace for the Fine Arts. See Arthur Drexler, ed., The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), pp. 240–41, 470–75. McKim, Mead & White also designed several small art galleries, including the Walker Gallery at Bowdoin College, 1891–94, and The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, 1902–7.
37. In a letter of May 18, 1896, Franklin W. Hooper thanked McKim, Mead & White for drawings of the capitals from the Hellenistic Ionic Temple of Apollo at Didyma and of the Propylaea at Eleusis that served as models for the capitals of the Museum (Box 182, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society).
38. The nature and placement of the collections are indicated in the plan published in the Brooklyn Eagle, May 25, 1893, and in a slightly more detailed plan published in The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Ninth Year Book, 1897, p. 3.
39. The facilities on the second and third floors and above are noted in Baechner, Handbook, pp. 7–9.
40. Brooklyn Citizen, September 14, 1895; Laying of the Corner Stone, . . ., passim. Henry Bacon’s responsibility is evident in the extensive correspondence relating to development of the design, Box 182, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society. Although the wing-and-pavilion organization of the McKim, Mead & White scheme facilitated construction in sections, it did not lend itself well to the installation of the rapidly expanding collections of the Institute.
41. The five-foot change in height is noted in Hooper to McKim, Mead & White, December 24, 1895, Box 182, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society.
42. The vote for consolidation in 1894 was extremely close in Brooklyn and Kings County. Of the 129,211 valid ballots cast, 64,744 were for and 64,467 against—i.e., 50.107 percent for and 49.89 percent against—only 277 ballots difference. Hammack, Power and Society, p. 206.
43. In a letter to McKim, Mead & White, October 10, 1899, Franklin W. Hooper reminded them that the full name of the Institute was to be carved over the southern entrance, the principal entrance to the building; at the north entrance were to be carved the names of artists, scientists, and philosophers, as elsewhere on the building (Box 182, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society).
44. Minutes of the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee, meeting of January 27, 1911, 11:633, The Brooklyn Museum Library. Olmsted Brothers was the name of the landscape architecture firm that continued the work of Frederick Law Olmsted after 1900.
45. The early decision to have Daniel Chester French design the sculpture is evident in numerous letters exchanged by Franklin W. Hooper and McKim, Mead & White, October to December 1896, Box 182, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society.
46. Portion of the Report of the Director Relating to the Sculptures, n.d., bound into The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Board of Trustees and Executive Committee, Minutes, 9:651. In a letter, July (circa 6–13?) 1904, from Franklin W. Hooper to the Committee on the Museum Building, Hooper noted that “it is Mr. Mead’s judgement that the contract should be let to a first class sculptor without public advertising or letting, and that the sculptor French would be his preference to do the work. He states that Mr. McKim has had the matter of the pediment in charge; that he is now in Europe.” Miscellaneous McKim, Mead & White Correspondence File, The Brooklyn Museum Library.
47. Data regarding the contract for the attic and pediment sculpture taken from The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Board of Trustees and
Executive Committee. Minutes, 9: passim. Because Daniel Chester French had long been working with the architects, his official appointment as supervising sculptor was something of a formality. In a letter to McKim, Mead & White, September 2, 1896, Franklin W. Hooper wrote that French had agreed “to take charge of the work of providing the sculptures for our building” (Box 182, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society).

48. The responsibilities for the individual figures are noted in a copy of Daniel Chester French’s account book for the Brooklyn Institute sculpture, The Brooklyn Museum Archives. Although French was responsible for the overall concept and design of the figures, the modeling of the individual figures was done by the various sculptors with whom French subcontracted and whom he paid. These individual sculptors provided half-size models (6’1”) to Attilio and Furio Piccirilli, who enlarged them to the final size.

49. See “The Institute’s Sculptures,” The Bulletin of The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences 1 (October 10, 1908), p. 84; and McKim, Mead & White, Brooklyn Institute Scrapbook, McKim, Mead & White Collection, Avery Library, Columbia University.

50. The Metropolitan master plan and extensions are discussed and illustrated in Roth, McKim, Mead & White, Architects, pp. 295–96.

51. The chronology regarding the revised master plan and plaster model is based on material in McKim, Mead & White, Miscellaneous Correspondence File, The Brooklyn Museum Archives.

52. Correspondence regarding the observatory projects, Box 37–42, McKim, Mead & White Correspondence, New-York Historical Society. Plans of 1909 are in Tube 2004 III, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society.

53. It should be noted that particularly in Sections F and G, as well as in earlier sections of the Museum, McKim, Mead & White specified the use of a reinforced concrete frame and thus were among early architects to exploit this new technology.

54. Construction of Sections F and G was first discussed by the Trustees at their meeting of February 4, 1910 (Minutes of the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee, 11:460, The Brooklyn Museum Archives). The difficulties in completing Sections F and G prompted an attorney for the architects to comment that “the city of New York is most assuredly a difficult client with which to do business!” (Montgomery Hare to Burt Fenn, January 9, 1918, in Box 6, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society).

55. Frederick J. Adams to William H. Fox, November 6, 1933, in McKim, Mead & White Miscellaneous Correspondence, June 1904–33, The Brooklyn Museum Library.

56. Sketches and detailed drawings of the proposed drive under the stairs, dated May 1929 through January 1934, are in Tubes 64, 65, and 66, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society.

57. Philip N. Youtz to McKim, Mead & White, January 24, 1934, in Box 800–802, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society.

58. Memorandum with copies to Robert Moses and Edward C. Blum, February 20, 1934, Box 800–802, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society.

59. McKim, Mead & White (“JKS,” James Kellum Smith) to Philip N. Youtz, April 27, 1934, Box 800–802, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society.

60. Box 800–802 in the Correspondence Files, McKim, Mead & White Archive, New-York Historical Society, contains extensive correspondence between McKim, Mead & White and Carroll B. Low. Much of the material was numbered and a summary digest of the numbered items prepared, apparently as part of a legal brief. No legal action was instituted. Feelings within McKim, Mead & White and bitterness at the loss of control over their own design remained strong for several years, as is evident in a penciled comment next to a mounted unidentified newspaper clipping of April 14, 1938, noting the resignation of Philip N. Youtz as Director of The Brooklyn Museum in bold underlined letters: Hallelujah (located in the same correspondence box).

61. Details regarding the last phases of this exchange from Director’s Correspondence file 1933–36, “McKim, Mead & White,” The Brooklyn Museum Archives.

62. For discussion of these later museums, see Roth, McKim, Mead & White, Architects, pp. 295–97, 343.