

Louise Bethune FAIA, the First Woman Member of the AIA: The Politics of Her Acceptance in the AIA

JOHANNA HAYS

Appalachian State University

JAMES V. STRUEBER

Appalachian State University

"She has done the work by herself, and been very successful."

—Charles E. Illsley, 1885¹

The Buffalo architect Louise Blanchard Bethune practiced from 1881-1905 and except for the five years of her apprenticeship to Richard Waite (1876-1881), she was the principle of her own firm. She designed in excess of two hundred buildings, which included schools, factories, commercial & office buildings, police stations, armories, and residences. Many of her buildings were at the cutting edge of the application of the new technologies of fire control, indoor plumbing, space, light and ventilation and helped set the standards we still use. This paper discusses the issues of her acceptance to AIA as its first woman member. In this she had the support of Louis Sullivan, John W. Root, Dankmar Adler, Daniel Burnham, and William LeBaron Jenney.

In 1888, when Louise Blanchard Bethune applied for membership in the AIA, she was already a member of the Western Association of Architects (the competing architecture association to the AIA established in Chicago in 1884, which eventually combined with the AIA in 1889 making the AIA a truly national association), on the WAA Committee on Formation of State Associations in 1886, the Standing Committee to Collect Legal Decisions Relating to Building Interests for New York state, and second-vice-president of the national organization. She was the first member of the Chicago based

organization from the state of New York—an AIA stronghold—and subsequently organized the Western New York State Architects Association and the Buffalo Society of Architects.²

In the seven years between opening her practice in late 1881 and her application to the AIA, Bethune had designed over four dozen buildings including seven public schools, four police stations, the most modern lithography factory in the country, a state of the art linseed oil factory, a brick works, an armory, major additions to a hospital and a penitentiary, and dozens of homes from wood frame middle-class homes to a brick mansion. Bethune was thirty three years old and the mother of a six year old.

For her application, Bethune submitted drawings and technical specifications from seven buildings: Hoffman's Millinery House, Police Station No. 2, Public School No. 4, and residences for a steam locomotive industrialist, a grain elevator and linseed oil magnate, an Erie Canal entrepreneur, and the family of a Civil War hero. These were substantial commissions, as one would expect in an application for the nation's premier architectural society, chosen to demonstrate the versatility of her work. This elite organization expected quality, broad expertise, and support from substantial clients. The AIA also required three years as principal in a firm to enter as a fellow; Bethune had seven.³

Competence in the new sanitary engineering and fireproof construction technologies, well understood

by Bethune, drove the professionalization of architecture. The expanded economic opportunities for architects and builders in Buffalo and most American industrial cities in this period brought attention to the loose definition of architect and the lack of professional differentiation from builders. For example, the suburbs of historic Boston grew by 22,500 houses built in Roxbury, West Roxbury, and Dorchester by 9,000 individual builders during the last three decades of the century. "No legislation save the law of nuisance and a few primitive safety codes prevented these 9,000 landowners from doing anything they wanted with their property."⁴ In order to protect the public, architects needed to assert the authority of their expertise to meet the municipal expansions of urban areas. Conditions that should have led to a Golden Age for architects actually precipitated a crisis in the profession.

In the nineteenth century, architecture was a self-regulated profession; however, issues of health and public safety challenged professional expertise and led to membership requirements and regulations for professional education and conduct. These concerns demanded changes in building practices that amounted to a revolution in the profession. In fact, health and public safety were so closely bound to the actions and liability of architect, contractor, and engineer as to define the roles of each and this definition continues today.

At the second annual WAA convention in 1885, after Bethune's induction, Louis Sullivan led a debate over what was to be the official definition of an architect in the organization's constitution. The first part of Sullivan's definition, which stated that an architect "is a professional man whose sole ostensible occupation consists in supplying all data preliminary to the material, construction, and completion of buildings," met objections as to what was meant by "sole ostensible occupation." The first objection was to the word "sole" and a member posed a hypothetical example—what if Mr. Sullivan made his living as a banker and designed buildings—laughter erupted and Sullivan agreed to withdraw the word "sole" if the hypothetical example was withdrawn.

The debate continued to include concern for the architect's role as supervisor of contractors, materials acquisition, incidental laborers, and arbiter of contracts between contractor and proprietor. Each of these areas presented the possibility of conten-

tion between architect, contractor, and client and was critical to the successful completion of a building. The supervisory role of architect in each area of responsibility became part of the new constitution in an effort to address professional authority over tradesmen and reinforce among clients that this control was necessary and in their best interests. Sullivan and others saw licensing, successfully exercised by engineers and doctors, as key to improving their effectiveness. Engineers, in demand for their expertise in infrastructure issues, posed no threat to the domain of the architect, but they did present a successful model for the authority architects sought to have as professionals.

Responding to the second objection to Sullivan's definition, the membership voted to change "man" to "person" since Bethune had just been inducted and decided that Sullivan's "sole" should remain.⁵ The official definition became; "a professional person whose sole occupation is to supply all data preliminary to the material, construction and completion of a building and to exercise administrative control over contractors supplying material and labor . . . and [over] the arbitration of contracts stipulating terms of obligation and fulfillment between proprietor and contractor." There was nothing in this definition that would have prevented a woman from doing the job even if she did not care to climb ladders on a construction site. Because of Bethune, the WAA became the first professional association in the United States to use a gender-neutral term in its definition of a member.⁶

Though it took just one afternoon for the WAA to define "architect," the distinction they drew between themselves and builders, contractors, and real estate developers was not so clear to the public. Using the precedent of the medical profession, licensing was seen as the standard needed to give the public a way to distinguish a properly trained architect from "any man" with the inclination to list himself in the city directory as an architect. Licensing would also help enforce ethical compliance within the profession and force practicing architects to conform to a code of ethical and business practice. Bethune, experiencing no discrimination because of her sex, saw the profession open to any qualified person and put her energy into soliciting everyone doing architecture in western New York to join the WAA.

Bethune and fellow architects saw that architecture's distinction needed to come from standards established through education, practical training, and professional oversight. Bethune expressed concern in her 1891 Union lecture that young women were stopping short of acquiring the practical training and professional oversight.⁷ In the 1880s, these new standards were difficult to establish and codify, because for most architects entry into the profession was still through a variety of paths—elite education, family connections, or working in one of the trades and apprenticeship in the business of an older architect. The apprenticeship was almost the only commonality they had.⁸

Rapid technological change was the impetus for establishing university architecture programs that enhanced professionalism and addressed concerns about new building structures and business organization. Sanitary engineering for architecture was a prime consideration in the creation of the first university architectural program at MIT in 1866, headed by William R. Ware. One of its goals was to make its graduates as knowledgeable about the field as engineers. This and the need for more engineers specializing in sanitation prompted Columbia University to offer architectural courses in its engineering program at the School of Mines in 1881.

MIT's Ware was hired to establish the Columbia program, which had no architecture classes in the first year—all classes were with the engineering and chemistry students. Other early university architecture programs at the University of Illinois (Nathan Clifford Ricker) and at Cornell (Charles Babcock) also sought to make the architecture student current in sanitary engineering, heating, and ventilation.⁹ These programs were the most closely watched and regulated part of the profession, but the inclusion of higher math, science, and advanced French did not make them necessarily an overwhelming first choice of potential architects.¹⁰ Architectural offices in need of draftsmen created far more potential architects through apprenticeship than the new university programs.

The limitations of the apprenticeship path into the profession became apparent and were regularly commented on at AIA annual meetings to the point that John Root amused the membership with a satire on the Dickensian relationship between principal

architects and their "Bob Cratchit" draftsmen-apprentices.¹¹ Apprentices were to learn from a master—not learn to steal their architectural designs—and the master architect was supposed to train the apprentice, not bury an aspiring architect in drafting assignments. While the profession exerted considerable control over university programs, it was unsuccessful in regulating how apprenticeships were run in individual architect's offices. It was only in the late 1970s that the AIA began to control what apprentices were to learn during their apprenticeships, which they did through making a list of minimum times required for each set of critical skills needed to become licensed. As of now most, but not all states have included these in their licensing requirements.

The WAA started working toward the goal of professional architecture licenses, drawing up a proposed bill for licensing and presenting it to the full membership at its first convention in 1885 along with proposals for a federal Office of Commissioner of Architecture and a Board of Public Buildings.¹² The specific duties of the architect might not be apparent to the public, but licensing was a concept the public recognized. Historian Mary Woods notes that the definition did not refer to the creative aspect of the profession that was so prominent in the definition stated by Thomas U. Walter at the founding of the AIA in 1857. The WAA stressed the business aspects of architecture, which Woods attributes to the involvement of its authors with large companies as clients.¹³

Licensing efforts were the first priority for architectural societies in the 1880s. Self-regulation—licensing through peer review—was much of the motivation for the formation of the WAA in 1884.¹⁴ The professional journals applauded the formation of the WAA as an expansion of architectural professionalism, which opened membership in a national society to all architects, and while it was left unsaid directly, the journals implied that this openness was something lacking in the AIA. This perception that the AIA was "conservative, and somewhat exclusive" compared to the Western Association, "a young vigorous and enthusiastic society," was so common that The Architectural Era reminded its readers when the two institutions merged in November 1888 that the AIA had done much in the past to pave the way for the legal protection of the profession that appeared imminent.¹⁵

The staid, elitist reputation of the AIA may be why Bethune did not join a professional society until the WAA was created. She applied to the new society as soon as it formed, but since she could not be confirmed until the vote of the full body at the St. Louis annual meeting in November 1885, she did not attend the meeting.¹⁶ At the opening of the convention, Burnham, chairman of the board of directors, separated Bethune's membership from the bulk of new memberships to be voted on. When a member suggested her acceptance would set the precedent, Burnham replied that he indeed wished a specific vote on the inclusion of women so that a specific decision could become part of the constitution they would be voting on later in the convention. The association then voted on the hundred and ten applicants and Bethune's application was placed as first on the agenda after lunch when her membership came up as a "bit of unfinished business."

President Charles E. Illsley asked the committee members if they were prepared to "recommend the party in all respects except the fact that she is a lady?" It appears that Illsley wanted the membership to face the issue of Bethune's qualifications first and her gender second, thus calling attention to those qualifications. Louis Sullivan answered yes, and Burnham confirmed the candidate's worthiness, but requested that the convention vote on whether it "desires to admit women to the associationWe would like the By-Laws interpreted." A member requested the opinion of the board of directors (Chairman Burnham, William L. Plack, Sidney Smith, Samuel Atwater Treat, and Sullivan), and Burnham replied, "We are all agreed; we are very much in favor of it."

The vote on admitting women passed. Illsley then called for a vote on Bethune saying, "Mrs. Louis[e] Bethune is the applicant. Her husband was an applicant, but withdrew. She has done the work by herself, and been very successful." A member said, "If the lady is practicing architecture, and is in good standing, there is no reason why she should not be one of us." Bethune was then voted into membership, and Illsley announced, "She is unanimously elected a member."¹⁷ "Mrs. Bethune" was the proper address for Bethune, but Illsley countered any implied lower status by noting that her husband had withdrawn his application in order to put her application before the WAA completely on the mer-

its of her own work. He underscored this by stating that the work was hers alone.

Understanding that her induction was not a routine one, Bethune wrote a note of appreciation to John W. Root, the secretary, in response to her notification of acceptance. She commended the "delicacy and adroitness with which the nomination and election were handled." She went on to say, "I am particularly sensible of the kindness the association has rendered me, and the honor it has done itself in preserving my admission from any taint of ridicule or notoriety. If the society's new member is no great acquisition, its new measure's certainly creditable and progressive."¹⁸

Bethune's admission to the WAA made any thought of the AIA not adopting a similar policy moot when the two organizations united three years later. It is also interesting, in light of the reputation of Burnham and Sullivan in the scholarly literature for egotism and misogyny, that they, as members of the board of directors, declared strongly in favor of Bethune in particular and women members in general, as was recorded in the official report of the convention printed in *The Inland Architect and Builder*.¹⁹

It appears from the minutes of this convention that the general mood toward their first woman member was positive. On the second day, the committee on the organization of state associations submitted its list of state representatives. Edson Homer Taylor of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, moved that the state of New York be added to those forming membership committees now that there was a representative from that state, even though New York was not a western state. The motion was accepted with applause, and Bethune, the representative from the "western city" of Buffalo, was named New York's committee representative.²⁰ The applause and its mention in the minutes denoted a deliberate gesture on the part of the members present to embrace Bethune's membership.

It seems clear from the minutes that the board of directors and Root as secretary realized with the reception of Bethune's application that a critical issue would be addressed in the voting. It was customary for the board to review applications sent to the secretary and to vote on their recommendations before the full membership meeting. When the vote came to the full body it was understood that

the applicants had been fully vetted and that by a simple voice vote was all that was needed unless particular applications were held aside for separate discussion. When Bethune wrote to Root that she would not attend the St. Louis convention, she had been informed that she had been accepted by the board but that it would not be official until the full body voted and that the outcome of this vote was not predictable.

Historian Margaret Rossiter has shown that the admittance of women into professional societies in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was a history of opportunity for women curtailed. For example, the American Association for the Advancement of Science reacted to the influx of qualified women applicants in the 1870s by constructing a higher level of membership called "fellows." This allowed women to be nominal members without voting rights or the right to be denied or rewarded for contributing "professionally" to science. While the number of women members continued to increase (forty-seven joined in Boston in 1880 and fifty-one joined in Philadelphia in 1884), only five became fellows in this five-year period. Rossiter found that the all-male category of fellows allowed the word professional to become a "synonym for an all-masculine and so high-status organization."²¹

The AIA had never entertained even this limited membership for women. It was an exclusive artistic "gentlemen's club"; it had no public lectures or exhibitions, the library, and the drawings, and models were only accessible to members. The AIA elitism was evident in its membership numbers. In 1870, there were 2,000 architects in the United States of whom only 140 were AIA members. To be a full member or fellow (after 1858), the architect had to be a principal in an architectural firm for three consecutive years. A student with three years of office experience was an "associate," a distinction that still exists. The AIA also was geographically elitist with most members from New York City and two-thirds were from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.²²

When the Chicago architects formed the WAA in 1884, according to Woods, it was in the populist and egalitarian spirit of the earlier antebellum architectural science. Dankmar Adler, Daniel Burnham, William LeBaron Jenney, John Root, and Louis Sullivan were all members of the AIA, but were de-

nied leadership roles. In forming the WAA, they decided to overwhelm with numbers by admitting all AIA members, all members of state associations, and by allowing any currently practicing architect to apply. All members were "fellows"; there were no levels of membership, although the second convention did formalize the definition of architect to provide a guideline for defining membership, which did not exclude women.²³

After being admitted and appointed to the Committee on Formation of State Associations in 1885, Bethune immediately and effectively began her work, organizing the Buffalo architects by February and those of western New York by the next March. At the 1886 convention in Chicago, she announced the formation of the Buffalo Society of Architects, with fourteen members who were "working harmoniously," and said she was turning her attention to other cities in the state. The Sanitary Engineer commented that "Mrs. Bethune, the one lady member of the convention bears the distinction with great dignity,"²⁴ which meant she commanded respect with no special considerations because of her gender. The speed and effectiveness in bringing together the Buffalo and western New York architects is a good demonstration of Bethune's organizational skills, which indicates how her small firm could handle the volume of work it did.

In 1887, Bethune's efforts led to the formation of the Western New York Association of Architects, a chapter of the WAA, with thirty-one initial members responding to Bethune's letters of interest; she served on the steering committee in its first year and then on the nomination committee. In the Buffalo Society of Architects, the Buffalo chapter of the WAA, Bethune served on its steering committee the first year; then as second vice-president in 1887 and first vice-president in 1888, and later as treasurer from 1895 to 1896. The Buffalo society became the larger and more active chapter in part because difficult travel conditions in the state constantly hampered attendance at the Western New York Association chapter meetings, held in Rochester, Syracuse, Elmira, and Utica.²⁵ Her work done in organizing most of the state outside New York City and Albany, Bethune went on in 1887 to serve as New York representative on the WAA Standing Committee to Collect Legal Decisions Relating to Building Interests, and was, in 1890, elected the WAA second-vice-president.²⁶

The WAA Committee to Collect Legal Decisions Relating to Building Interests assembled various contracts between architects and clients and between architects and their contractors as part of the preparation for the bill on licensing architects. Bethune first mentioned her interest in licensing to Root in early 1886.²⁷ A unified building code was also always central to the work of WAA, and it became clear that the architects in each state would have to submit proposed code drafts to their own legislature even if the bills were all essentially the same. It was also necessary to devise standard contracts that made explicit the architect's duties as separate from those of the builder or contractor. (Engineers, if needed on a building, were normally subcontracted.)²⁸

While the societies were strict in their investigation of members and custom had set most of the ethics and responsibilities, there still were no external controls over who could declare himself or herself an architect.²⁹ In 1887, Sullivan had chaired a WAA committee to draft a code of ethics, but the members could not agree on standards of practice. In 1888, the WAA began requiring that applicants submit letters of recommendation from clients that attested to the architect's proficiency and character.³⁰

Until now, it was believed Bethune "automatically" became a member of the AIA when the two institutions merged in late 1888, but this was not the case. Bethune applied to "fellowship" in the AIA in early 1888 after being principal in her own firm for seven years. When she did, AIA Secretary A. J. Bloor advised her to apply as an associate and to send examples of her architectural work—"as long as the design is your own." Bethune resubmitted her application, this time for associate, and sent representative drawings and plans from eight projects including a school, a police station, a large store, and five residences. It should be noted that her letter of recommendation from Root requested that she be accepted into "fellowship."³¹

Bethune was accepted, "after some discussion," as an associate. In contrast William Carlin, also of Buffalo and applying at the same time with only four years of his own practice, was accepted as a fellow, and did not submit drawings for the honor.³² John Root had recommended both architects, but Bloor, clearly considering himself the guardian

of an earlier AIA definition of professionalism, did exactly what the American Association for the Advancement of Science was doing with most female members by putting Bethune in the associate category. When the two organizations merged (which as it turned out was a few months later), all WAA members entered as fellows, making Bethune the first female fellow, an honor never shared with another woman in her lifetime.

The AIA and WAA merger was finalized in 1889 after two years of discussion. The AIA brought its elitist reputation and the WAA brought two hundred member architects in Midwest and Western states. The WAA also brought its definition of qualifications for future members, including that women could be admitted. The AIA insisted on the two categories of members, but the WAA countered that all their members come in as fellows; thus Root and Sullivan overcame Bloor's objection to Bethune's being a fellow and his insistence that she be first admitted an associate. This contradicts the commonly held opinion that Root and Sullivan were against women in the profession.

The nineteenth-century architects like Bethune created a new architecture as each new technology and each new social challenge demanded new architectural forms. The ingenuity of the nineteenth-century contributions went far beyond the tall building and massive office block of the Chicago architects. All over the country architects applied ingenuity to the school, bank, hospital, apartment building, and factory—creating the forms for the next century. In 1924, when Sullivan railed against the aesthetic of the "White City" he blamed his fellow architects for surrendering art for artifice, but the quiet innovations of architects like Bethune continued to evolve even though it seemed the overdone ersatz-European architecture was in ascendance.

ENDNOTES

1. "The Convention," *The Inland Architect and Builder* 6 (November 1885), 69.

2. "The Convention: Official Report of the Second Annual Convention of the Western Association of Architects, held at St. Louis, November 18, 19, 20, 1885," *The Inland Architect and Builder* 6 (November 1885), 78; "Third Annual Convention of the Western Association of Architects. Held at Chicago, November 17, 18, 19, 1886." *The Inland Architect and Builder* 8

(December 1886), 79; "Western Association Meeting at Chicago," "Buffalo's Society of Architects," *The Inland Architect and Builder* 7 (April 1886), 46; Woods, *Craft*, 39. Bethune entered under the new guidelines that stipulated architecture as the "sole occupation."

3. A. J. Bloor, New York City, to Louise Bethune [Buffalo, New York], ALS, 6 April 1888, Office Files, Ser. 1.1, Box 2L, Folder 2, 13, American Institute of Architects Archives, Washington, D. C. The residences were for Horatio Brooks of Dunkirk, Spenser Kellogg of Buffalo and George Waterman of Albion, and the estate of A. J. Meyer.

4. Warner, *Streetcar*, 37.

5. "The Convention," 71.

6. Woods, *Craft*, 39.

7. Bethune, "Women and Architecture," 21; Woods, *Craft*, 99. The 1870 census listed one woman architect, 1890 listed twenty-two, 1900 listed one hundred or 1.9 percent of all architects, designers, and "draftsmen."

8. Woods, *Craft*, 168.

9. A. D. F. Hamlin, "The School of Architecture," in *A History of Columbia University, 1754-1904* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), 381.

10. Myron Church, "Course of Study for Junior Members," *The Inland Architect and Builder* 7 (February 1886), 4-5.

11. John W. Root, "A. I. A. Annual Meeting," *The Architectural Era* 3, suppl. (December 1889), 264. "It is the architect's duty to suitably impress his client. He must therefore tell what he has done, and if within five years of the time he has been employed as draughtsman for another architect, he should claim as his own all the best work of his late employer."

12. "The Convention," 72-73.

13. Woods, *Craft*, 39-40.

14. D. H. Burnham, F. A. I. A., "Suggestions toward Harmonizing Architectural Associations," *The Inland Architect and News Record* 10 (October 1887), 42-43; "AIA and WAA Proceedings at Cincinnati, Ohio," *The Architectural Era* 3 (November 1889), 256. Of the WAA architects, 246 of 346 members voted to combine with the AIA.

15. Editorial, *The Architectural Era* 2 (December 1888), 226.

16. Louise Bethune, Buffalo, New York, to Henry Lord Gay [Chicago], ALS, 12 November 1885, box 2, folder 1, RG 800, Western Association of Architects, American Institute of Architects Archives, Washington, D. C..

17. "The Convention," 69.

18. Louise Bethune, Buffalo, New York, to John W. Root, [Chicago], ALS, 7 December 1885, box 2, folder

1, RG 800, Western Association of Architects, American Institute of Architects Archives, Washington, D. C. (hereafter cited as AIA Archive.)

19. "The Convention," 69; the AIA validation of women as architects was not as enthusiastic when Bethune was inducted into the AIA in 1888. AIA Secretary A. J. Bloor who handled (or mishandled) her AIA induction and was a guest of the WAA convention that accepted her in 1885 went on record after that convention with his opinion on accepting Bethune, "In private, I was asked my views on the question of her admittance, and, as an individual, I expressed myself in favor of it. It appeared her husband is an architectural practitioner, which suggests facilities that might not otherwise exist in the matter of supervision of buildings in the process of erection"; in "The Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects, held in New York, December 1st and 2nd, 1886," material pertaining to the Western Association of Architects, RG 509, 41, AIA Archives.

20. "The Convention," 78.

21. Rossiter, *Women Scientists*, 76-77.

22. Woods, *Craft*, 35-36.

23. *Ibid.*, 39.

24. Editorial, *The Sanitary Engineer and Construction Record* 14 (November 27, 1886), 614.

25. [W. W. Carlin] "Formal Notification," Secretary's Office, Western New York State Association, Buffalo, New York, to J. F. Alexander, Secretary, Western Association of Architects, Lafayette, Ind., TL, November 1887, 1, box 5, folder 24, RG 800, AIA Archives; "Western New York Association of Architects," *The Inland Architect and News Record* 10 (December 1887), 83; "Western New York Association of Architects," *Inland Architect and News Record* 10 (November 1887), 70; "The Buffalo Society of Architects," *ibid.* Bethune also motioned that Robert C. McLean, editor of the *Inland Architect*, be made an honorary member, and he was unanimously elected to the Western New York Association of Architects.

26. "Buffalo," *The Architectural Era* 3, suppl., (December 1889), 268. "Our lady architect, Louise Bethune, is second Vice-President of the Western Association."

27. Louise Bethune, Buffalo, New York, to John Root [Chicago], ALS, 5 January 1886, box 2, folder 6, RG 800, AIA Archives; "Association Notes: Western Association of Architects," *The Inland Architect and Builder* 8 (January 1887), 106; "The Western Association of Architects," *The Inland Architect and News Record* 10 (December 1887), 85.

28. Woods, *Craft*, 159.

29. Jean Ames Follett-Thompson, "The Business of Architecture: William Gibbons Preston and Architectural Professionalism in Boston during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1986), 134.

30. Woods, *Craft*, 40-41.

31. A. J. Bloor, New York City, to Louise Bethune, [Buffalo, New York], ALS, 22 March 1888, office files, series 1.1, box 2L, folder 2, RG801, American Institute of Architects Archives, Washington, D. C.; A. J. Bloor, New York, minutes of AIA meeting, ADS, 7 March 1888, and 4 April 1888, American Institute of Architects Archives, photocopies; and A. J. Bloor, New York City, to Louise Bethune, [Buffalo, New York], TL, 6 April, 1888, office files, series 1.1, box 2L, folder 2, 13, American Institute of Architects Archives, Washington D. C..

32. Bloor, Minutes, 7 March 1888 and 4 April 1888.