

# Architectural Masterpiece in a Rural Alabama Town: The Tuskegee University Interdenominational Chapel

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## INTRODUCTION

On the night of January 23, 1957, the historic Tuskegee Institute Chapel, center of the college's cultural life, since 1898, burned to the ground. The chapel was designed by Robert R. Taylor, the nation's first professionally trained Black architect, and was built by institute students. Booker T. Washington recruited Taylor to Tuskegee in 1892, soon after his graduation from MIT as that institution's first Black graduate. Taylor developed the curriculum for the Department of Mechanical Industries (precursor of the Schools of Engineering and Architecture) and served as director of the first continuing architecture program at a Black institution. Taylor designed and supervised most of the structures built on the campus over the following four decades, but no building was as central to the meaning of the Institute as the chapel.<sup>1</sup> It was the spiritual place where the entire faculty, staff, and students filed in every evening and Sunday, the men on the left side of the church and the women on the right. It was the first building in Macon County with electric lights. Electrical division instructor, H. E. Thomas (another MIT graduate) and his students designed and installed the electrical system.<sup>2</sup>

## BACKGROUND

Tuskegee Institute has a proud tradition of innovation, as exemplified by its founder, Booker T. Washington, and its outstanding scientist, George Washington Carver. Faced with the need to rebuild its chapel, Tuskegee used determined planning, parochial connections, and extraordinary vision to extend its place in American architecture to the most sophisticated level of excellence. Designed by Paul Rudolph, the new chapel is considered by many to be one of Rudolph's finest accomplishments and one of the most successful examples of religious architecture in America.<sup>3</sup>



*Fig. 1. R.R. Taylor Chapel, 1898  
(Tuskegee University Archive).*

Dr. Luther H. Foster, Tuskegee's president, swiftly responded to the tragic loss of the chapel. At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees after the fire, Foster requested that the board approve a budget of one million dollars to rebuild the chapel. The board expressed concern because the amount of the insurance settlement had not been set.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the Black Washington, D.C., architectural firm of Fry and Welch was in the midst of the first campus building campaign since a donation from Henry Ford facilitated the remodeling of Taylor's 1915 laundry building into the George Washington Carver Museum in 1941 and the total cost of that project was as yet not determined, nor were the sources of the funding established.<sup>5</sup> John Welch, principal in the firm and Director of the Mechanical Industries Department, was appointed chairman of the committee to develop a plan for the chapel and, in October, Montgomery

architect Moreland Griffith Smith, of Sherlock, Smith, and Adams, joined the Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees as consultant to the president on campus planning. Moreland Smith was Alabama's representative to the AIA, for nine years the Director of the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, and national Treasurer of the Society of Mayflower Descendants.<sup>6</sup> Foster charged Welch's firm with building the chapel and Moreland Smith with finding an architect of international stature to design the building.<sup>7</sup>

### HIRING OF AN ARCHITECT

Eero Saarinen was the first architect the trustees discussed; he exemplified the kind of dynamic and innovative designer desired for the project.<sup>8</sup> Tuskegee had been revolutionary with their first chapel and John Welch expressed Foster's commitment to maintain that aesthetic spirit. "We wanted something inspirational, bold, and imaginative that would represent a new approach to campus design."<sup>9</sup>

However, instead of Saarinen, Smith contacted Paul Rudolph, who had some even stronger credentials to recommend him. Rudolph was born in Elkton, Kentucky, in 1918. His father was a Methodist minister who moved his family frequently to a series of rural parsonages in Alabama and Kentucky. When Rudolph was doing his undergraduate work at Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University), he designed a few small houses before completing his degree in 1940. He also formed a close friendship with one of his Alabama native classmates, Charles M. Kelley, who went on to become Chairman of Architecture at Auburn and to practice architecture in Moreland Smith's office.<sup>10</sup> Rudolph went on to Harvard, where he did his graduate work with Walter Gropius. Interestingly, Rudolph and Louis Fry of Fry and Welch were both earning graduate degrees in Architecture at Harvard at the same time, right after World War II.<sup>11</sup> In addition to these connections, Smith had recently completed work as structural engineer on Hugh Stubbins' Congress Hall, Berlin, Germany, in 1957 and Stubbins was one of Rudolph's professors at Harvard.<sup>12</sup>

Rudolph had just begun his appointment as Chairman of Architecture at Yale. He had recently completed the Mary Jewett Arts Center at Wellesley College and had campus plans in progress at Southeastern Massachusetts Technological Institute and Yale University.<sup>13</sup> At this point Rudolph was reevaluating his Harvard training with Gropius and starting development of the style of expressive architecture that was to become his contribution to the field.<sup>14</sup>

### RUDOLPH'S RESPONSE

Rudolph responded quickly to Smith's request by presenting his schematic drawings for the chapel to the Board of Trustees at the first board meeting early in 1958. The Rudolph design that Smith presented to the board may not have been what the board expected because they decided to create a Program Development Committee to review the requirements for the project.<sup>15</sup> At the fall meeting, Smith asked the board to approve the Rudolph schematic drawings so that the working drawings could begin. The board voted "to approve the idea of a modern structure" while not granting specific consent for the Rudolph plan. Smith then requested that the board establish a committee of three outside architects to be involved with the process and to pay approximately \$10,000 in outside consultant fees. This is the first and only mention of fees for the design process.<sup>16</sup>

### THE PROCESS

At the next board meeting, in March of 1959, Rudolph and the advisory committee were introduced to the board. The committee consisted of: Douglas Haskell, editor of *Architectural Forum*; D.A. Williston of Washington, D.C., the first Black professional landscape architect who had worked at Tuskegee throughout his professional life; Paul R. Williams, the prominent Black Los Angeles architect; and Minoru Yamasaki of Birmingham, Michigan (who would design the World Trade Center in 1977.)<sup>17</sup> At the next meeting that fall, Rudolph presented revised plans for the chapel as part of an overall campus-development plan. The advisory committee attended this presentation and submitted a report on the plan.

The committee was "extremely impressed by the masterly concept utilizing the difficult natural terrain and yet unifying the community concept with a dynamic impact without losing the definite character which now prevails throughout the Tuskegee Campus at present." Rudolph's plan was "accepted (by the trustees) as a guide and valid plan for projected building construction at Tuskegee Institute to the year 2000." This was certainly a case of the avant-garde experts trumping a reluctant board, but because there was no money available for construction the board's finance chairman, William Rosenwald (Chairman of the American Securities Corporation, New York) was able to pass a motion preventing the chapel from being built on borrowed funds.<sup>18</sup>

At the board meeting in April 1960, Rudolph presented a scale model and schematic drawings and explained them in detail.

- "The proposed Chapel should and will be a building of singular significance to the Institute."
- "The particular form of the proposed Chapel derives from considerations of light, acoustics, material, and site."

- "Concern for effective and dramatic natural illumination has seemed essential in the design of a place of worship, and such concern has done much to determine the shape of the building."
- "Acoustical considerations were thought to be important at Tuskegee where music will play so large a part in the services."
- "The choice of rough concrete as a basic material of construction was deemed appropriate in the expectation that its use will give the building a simplicity and substance, and unpretentious quality, analogous to that of the best of Tuskegee's existing halls."
- "Finally the Chapel has seemed a building, which especially requires significant configuration in the round. This concern has to do with our feeling that the Chapel must seem inviting to those approaching it from below, where there is parking, as well as from the arcade which is so significant a feature of the general plan."
- "The Chapel is conceived, in the suite of the general study for future development, as focal point. It is not intended to establish a style for other anticipated building. The Chapel will provide seating for 1200 persons. It is estimated that the total cost for construction and equipment will be approximately \$770,000."<sup>19</sup>

The Tuskegee Interdenominational Chapel schematic drawings appeared in architectural publications throughout the United States and Europe in 1960.<sup>20</sup>

#### RUDOLPH'S EVOLVING ARCHITECTURAL STYLE

At the time Rudolph was just beginning to explore the possibilities of textural concrete with his Yale Art and Architecture building and the Temple Street Parking Garage in New Haven. His parking garage and the Art and Architecture building were quickly dubbed examples of the "Brutalist" school of architecture in the United States.<sup>21</sup> The media made this a pejorative term that negated the complex evolution of Rudolph's design from Gropius's austerity toward the spirit of Le Corbusier's mature work.<sup>22</sup>

Rudolph's Sarasota, Florida, practice, as Twitchell and Rudolph, consisted largely of a series of beach houses. Within this simple framework, Rudolph explored the possibilities of the Modernist box or "shed," using new construction materials not necessarily approved for buildings and certainly not part of the traditional architectural vocabulary. His creativity and choice of materials drew attention to his work and contributed to his recognition through awards and commissions far beyond the modest scope of the vacation structures he was designing. All the Modernist masters had worked their ideas out through private residences; however, Rudolph's innovations were in the

materials and construction and each solution was unique exploration, not a refinement of an aesthetic agenda. In the functional considerations for the small residence in a pleasant environment, Rudolph began to formulate his concern for the psychology of the space with the issues of protection, expansive movement, and aesthetic appreciation.<sup>23</sup>

#### The University delays the building because of problems in securing loans

At the October, 1960, board meeting, finance chairman Rosenwald refused to allow the building to be bid for construction and went on record as opposed to commencing working drawings for the chapel.<sup>24</sup> This awkwardness in handling the commission of the chapel came about because the Institute had committed to building four new dormitories just prior to the fire that destroyed the original chapel. The cost of building the dormitories was two million dollars. Tuskegee had always built its buildings with money from specifically dedicated donations and had in fact a prohibition in its charter against borrowing money, legacy of Booker T. Washington's "pay as you go" policy of fiscal management, against borrowing money. As chairman, Rosenwald was using all his influence (with City Bank of New York) to negotiate a federal loan for the dormitories and the board had to change its charter just to apply for this funding. Because Fry and Welch were the construction architects on both projects, there was no problem from their point of view in doing the dormitories first and waiting for funds for the chapel. This was, however, a frustration for the president and ran as an undercurrent in the board meetings.

In 1961, Smith had to leave Alabama due to extraordinary pressure from Governor George Wallace. Wallace cut off funding for loans to Smith's architectural firm and threatened Smith on professional and personal levels for his refusal to cease his integration involvements. Smith sold out his share of the business to his partners and moved his family to Atlanta. However, he spent regular periods of time on the Tuskegee campus, staying in Dorothy Hall and advising President Foster on every aspect of the changes to the campus.<sup>25</sup>

#### ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOUND

In 1964, a grant of two and one-half million dollars was received from the James Foundation. The board allocated almost one million of it to the building of the chapel, which, added to the half million dollars they had been holding from the insurance on the first chapel, allowed the board to go forward. Bidding on the construction was processed in 1965. The surface treatment on the proposed reinforced concrete chapel caused the building to be more than a million dollars over budget.<sup>26</sup>

## BUDGET CONCERNS CAUSE DESIGN CHANGES FOR THE BETTER

Budgetary concerns overrode the poured concrete originally proposed, and brick was selected as an alternative material that would be cheaper and also compatible with the Tuskegee building tradition. This change when re-bid did not appreciably reduce the cost estimates, but the appropriateness of brick was recognized in the context of Tuskegee campus architecture and the building material was changed.<sup>27</sup>

Given Rudolph's commitment to concrete, this was a fundamental change in the aesthetic of the building. One could suppose that the storm of complaint that exploded at Yale in response to his Art and Architecture building had made Rudolph reluctant to fight the board on the issue of the building material.<sup>28</sup> This, however, is not likely. All the surviving participants in this process insist that nothing was done without Rudolph's approval and full involvement. All have their particular stories to make the point that Rudolph was obsessive about the details of the building to a degree that they found amazing and even at times incomprehensible. Dean of Horticulture and Head of Buildings and Grounds Ed Pryce's description of the two-to-three-week ordeal of selecting just the perfect dull red for the painted areas in the chapel provides convincing evidence that Rudolph must have come to the decision that brick was ultimately the better choice. In the end, it caused another unanticipated problem.<sup>29</sup>

## BOARD DISAGREES WITH CHANGES

The majority of the board, in fact, did not favor the brick facing over the concrete surface, because uniform machine-made brick seemed too foreign to the handcrafted brick used on the rest of the historic campus buildings.<sup>30</sup> Tuskegee had stopped making its handmade brick in the 1930s.<sup>31</sup> Reluctantly, the manufactured brick was chosen with Rudolph's assurances that this surface would fit aesthetically into the campus complex. The contractor, however, was unable to surface the building correctly, because none of the walls is exactly perpendicular to the ground or to adjoining walls. After a second construction firm was tried and rejected for quality reasons, the construction was stalemated when a Black local tile contractor named Kady Metcalf came forward with nothing but kitchen and bathroom tiling experience. "I think I can do that." Major Holland recalls him saying. Holland, as Fry and Welch's project architect, charged with finding a way to complete the work, let the man try. The work was excellent and so it happened that Metcalf set all of the 850,000 facing bricks.<sup>32</sup>

## RUDOLPH'S RESPONSE

Once Rudolph began to design in urban environments; he realized that his modernist training had not prepared him for some critical architectural issues. Speaking of the gap in reality between his own Gropius-directed education, a decade in private practice, and the philosophy needed for young architects educating themselves for their own future practices, he said, "Action has outstripped theory. The last decade has thrown a glaring light on the omissions, thinness, paucity of ideas, naiveté with regard to symbols, lack of creativeness, and expressiveness of architectural philosophy as it developed in the twenties. . . The end of architecture is to create space that is an appropriate psychological environment."<sup>33</sup>

In *Architectural Record* in 1956, Rudolph expressed his dissatisfaction with the limited area that the early theory of modern architecture had addressed. "Many architectural problems were largely ignored, brushed aside as if they didn't exist; disciplines gave way to worship of one god and then another. This limited approach, coupled with search for excitement, produced some very ungainly buildings, for surely mankind has never built such dry, timid, monotonous, modish structures as we do today." Rudolph continued, "Many of our difficulties stem from the concept of functionalism as the prime determinant of form." Rudolph's own theory had "six determinants" of architectural form that he considered as he was designing:

1. "the environment of the building, its relationship to other buildings and its site,
2. "the building's functional aspects related to its form,
3. "the particular region, climate, landscape and natural lighting conditions,
4. "the particular materials that one uses,
5. "the particular psychological demands of the building or place, and
6. "the spirit of the time."<sup>34</sup>

## AN AMERICAN RONCHAMP

In looking at the first drawings for the chapel done in 1958, one cannot help but notice the isolated monumentality of the structure. It rose forcefully from tiered platforms and showed no contextual relationship to the rest of the campus. In the drawings published in 1960, one end of the building had been simplified by removing one of the two towers. The presentation side remained essentially the same, but the complexity of the tall structural element on the viewer's left was gone. In these drawings we see the relationship to Le Corbusier's Ronchamp chapel in the asymmetrical body of the building, the isolation of the tower as an independent element of the chapel, and the open slit entrance on the presentation side is evident. While neither structure had right angles, Le Corbusier relied on the discernible curved line, whereas Rudolph's hard edge did not

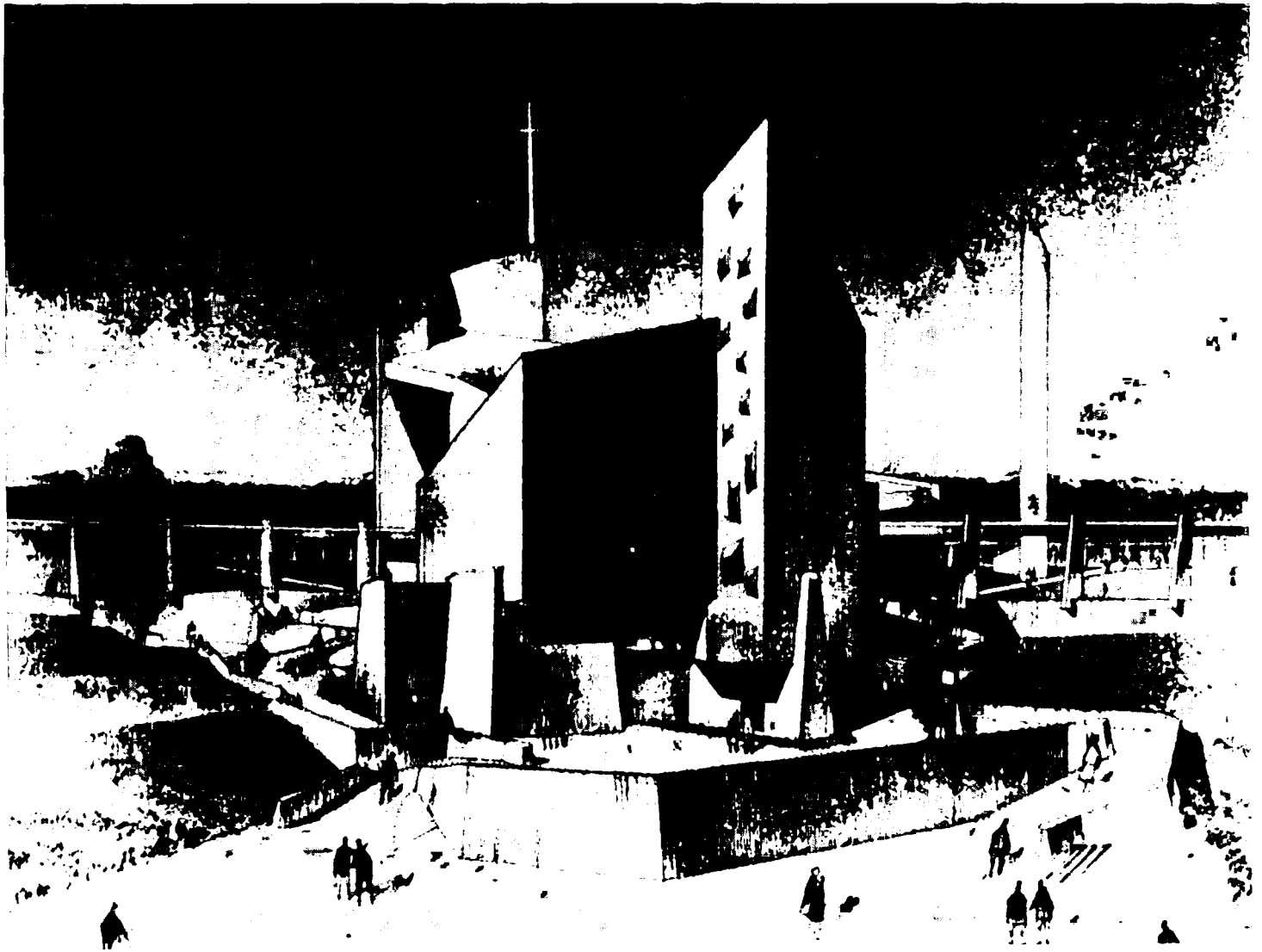


Fig. 2. Tuskegee Interdenominational Chapel (Drawing by Paul Rudolph, unpublished, Tuskegee University Archive).

make the lack of the right angle immediately apparent. To quote Booker Conley, who was involved in the construction and maintenance of the Tuskegee chapel after completion, "There isn't a right angle anywhere."<sup>35</sup>

The Tuskegee chapel gave Rudolph the opportunity to design his tribute to Le Corbusier in spite of charges of plagiarism by some critics.<sup>36</sup> This charge from the architectural media reflects the intense competitive nature of the field and perhaps some level of jealousy at the apparent ease with which Rudolph rose from a provincial architectural milieu to international prominence. His respectful homage to the master architect is evidenced by his multiple efforts to get Le Corbusier to accept the commission for the design of the Yale Art and Architecture building, a commission Rudolph only reluctantly accepted.<sup>37</sup> "The important thing about Ronchamp is that it speaks to many kinds of people, as a Chapel should," said Rudolph. "We hope that our Chapel will be equally eloquent."<sup>38</sup>

The thorough abandonment of the perpendicular on this chapel had a rationale that went beyond homage to Ronchamp. A prime aspect of this building was the requirement that the chapel have outstanding acoustics to accommodate the internationally renowned Tuskegee choir. In response to the most advanced acoustical theory of the time, the space was designed with no right angles so that the sound would never come back on itself and be dulled. Rudolph kept this "no right angle" aesthetic theme throughout the building even in the spaces for offices.<sup>39</sup>

#### ARCHITECTURAL PHILOSOPHY (SIX DETERMINANTS)

Rudolph brought to the Tuskegee chapel project his own concern for context. Would the chapel be an isolated structure or would it begin a new phase of campus building? In his campus plan for Southeastern Massachusetts Technological

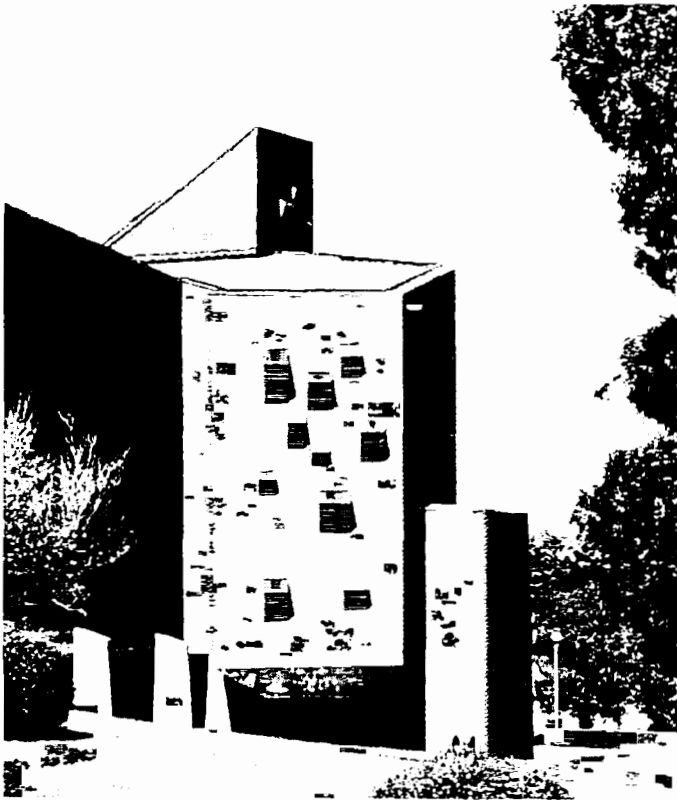


Fig. 3. View of the Northwest Corner of the Tuskegee Interdenominational Chapel (Photo: James Strueber).

Institute, done at the same time as the Tuskegee plan, Rudolph said he thought of a model in the University of Virginia design by Thomas Jefferson "wherein he made a fixed, well defined, marvelous central core, for the campus. The idea, the central core, must be strong enough, as a center of the campus, and other architects will add on to that. But the cohesiveness of the center remains intact."<sup>10</sup> However, at Tuskegee, Rudolph was faced with an older campus and buildings with a cohesive architectural presence.

The chapel, evident from the unpublished drawings, was to be the first part of a larger, forty-year, \$28 million campus plan involving possibly three other buildings. Rudolph developed a new campus design that would include covered walkways, a campanile, a central administration building, and a cultural center.<sup>11</sup> The first step of this plan (approved by the board at its meeting on October 30, 1959) involved moving the chapel back from the main road and into the center of the campus at the site of the original George Washington Carver greenhouse.<sup>12</sup> As indicated in Rudolph's first determinant, the building stands separated from existing structures ready to relate in a direct physical connection to any additional structures.

Rudolph's contextual concerns were expressed in his second determinant is extended to include the building's "function" as a keystone building of a whole new phase of campus development. The chapel is a dense sculptural entity centered in a

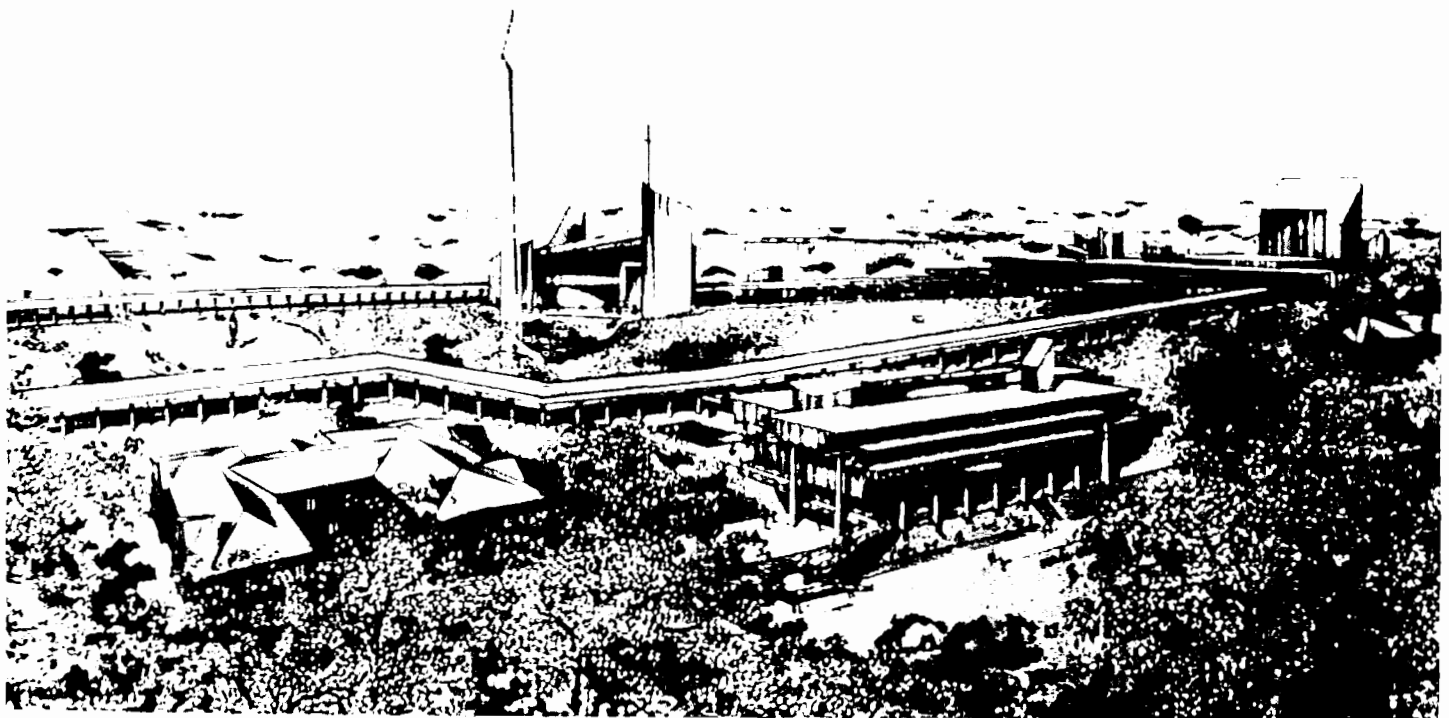


Fig. 4. Tuskegee Institute campus-plan (Drawing by Paul Rudolph, unpublished, Tuskegee University Archive).

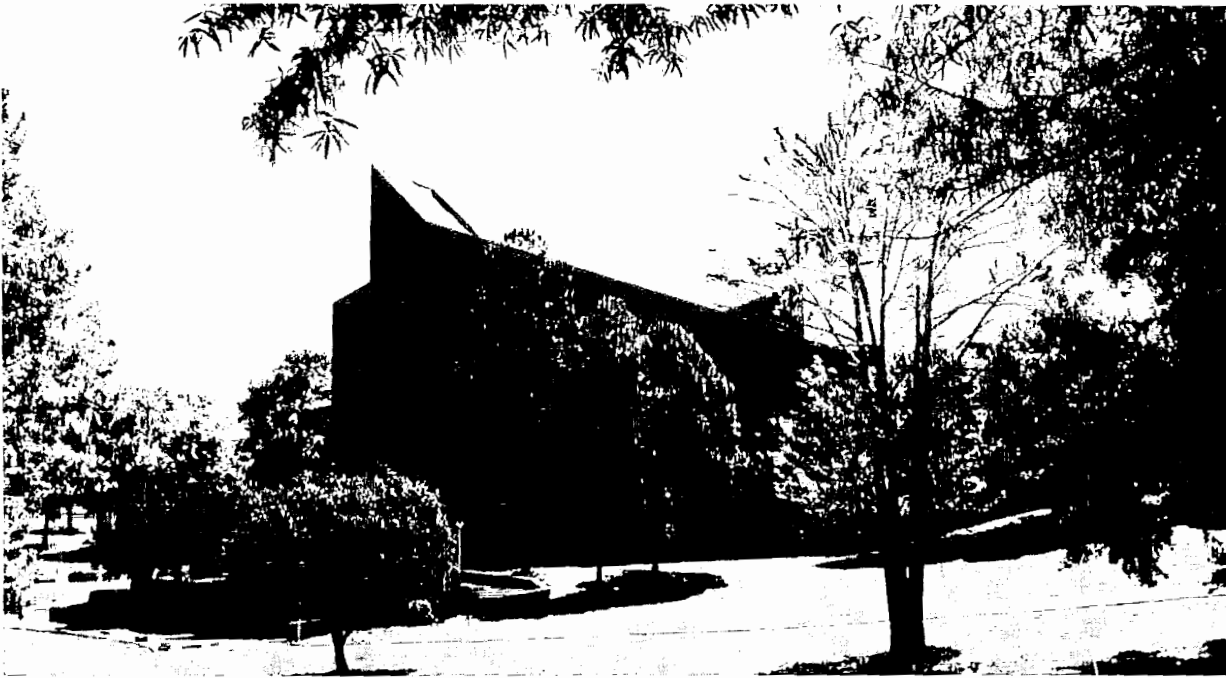


Fig. 5. Northeast View, Tuskegee Interdenominational Chapel (Photo: James Strueber).

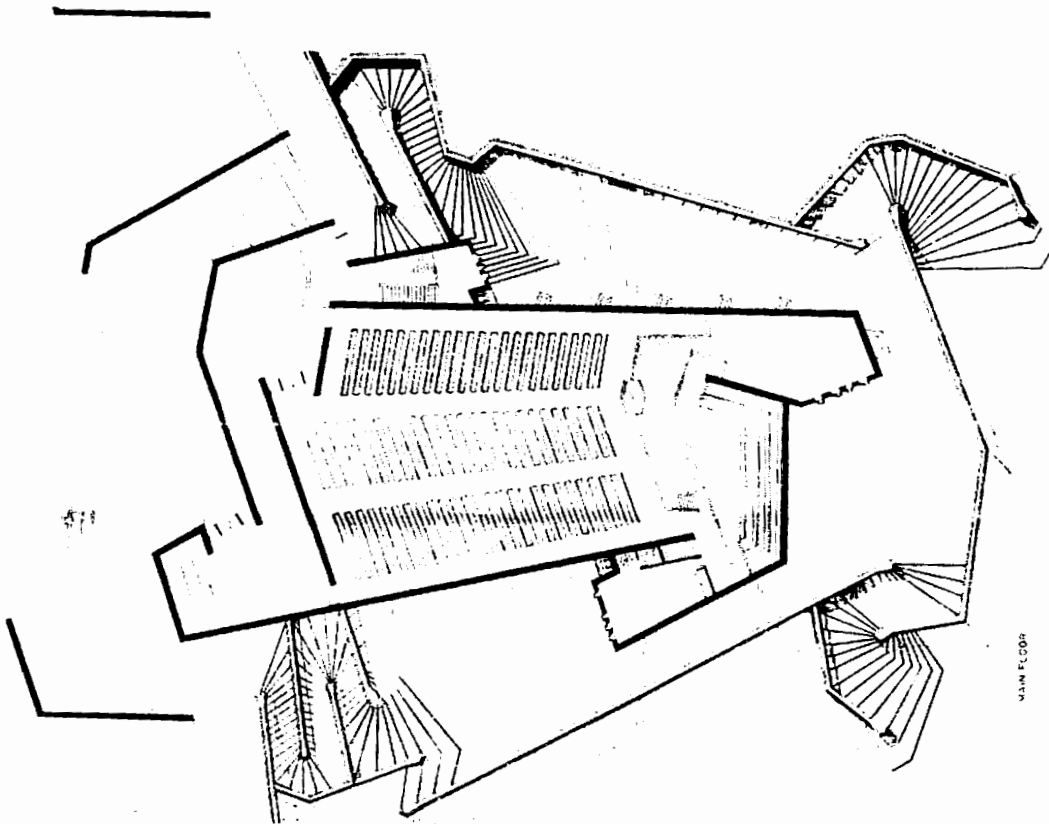


Fig. 6. Floor Plan, Main Floor, Tuskegee Interdenominational Chapel (Paul Rudolph, Tuskegee University Archive).

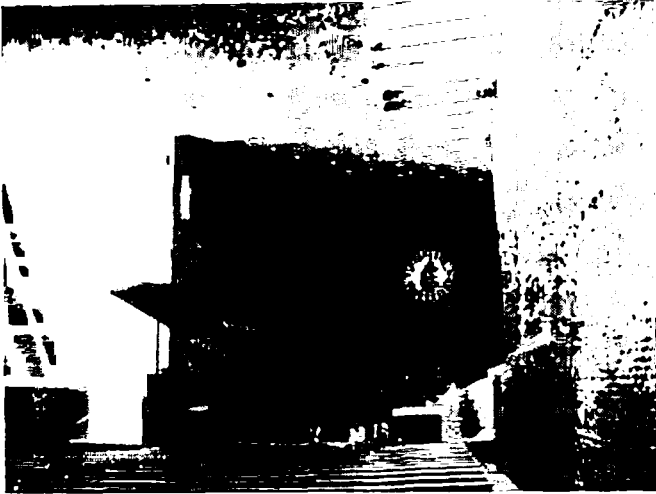


Fig. 7. Interior, Tuskegee Interdenominational Chapel (Photo: James Strueber).

modified spiral plaza that indicates possible development and interconnection in any direction. Inside the chapel, Rudolph used the attenuated spiral that has been noted as the significant design element Rudolph borrowed from Wright.<sup>13</sup> The subtlety of its use here bears noting: the floor plan of the chapel is an abbreviated spiral, technically an S-shape. At each of what would normally be the four corners of center space there are embryonic spiral spaces.

On entering the chapel, the visitor's path is an elongated S so that the only frontal view of the chapel is from inside in the seating area. Here, light pours down from the ceiling and continues down the left wall and behind the stage, indicating a mysterious glowing area out of direct view, which is a small meditation space. The spiral to the right of the stage is a large area to accommodate the choir. Because of the S-spiral plan, the complete space is never completely revealed and thus

invites exploration. Instead of the central spiral, as Wright created for the Guggenheim Museum, Rudolph created a series of spirals flowing and interlocking without sacrificing the drama of the central space. Thus, as in his second determinant, the functional aspects of the building are related to its form, which is elegantly abstract.

In Rudolph's third determinant his concern was the climate of the region and the light. The front entrance is a large overhang that provides a deep shadowed recess and protection from sun or storm. This shaded entrance is reminiscent of entrances to Romanesque cathedrals and the original Taylor building. The vestibule is lit by the only exterior window in the building, a stained glass window that is a copy of the original chapel's window designed by Lamb Studios of New York, illustrating the eleven Negro spirituals beloved by Booker T. Washington.<sup>14</sup> This experience, however, is reversed when entering the main chapel space. All the light comes from above, and it cascades down the left-hand wall vibrating and destabilizing one's sense of the space. While the skylight ceiling is apparent, the effect of the light inside the chapel defies this simple source.

In the materials, Rudolph wisely accommodated the tradition of brick buildings on the campus, conforming to his fourth determinant. If anything, the interior space is more commanding and impressive for the small modular repetition of the bricks. All of this contributes to the overall psychology of the space, the fifth determinant. The proportions of the central space are gothic in feeling, but there are no windows, no apse, no clerestory or column to make direct reference to those ancient cathedrals. The walls are simple and unadorned, the light streams in without drawing attention to the source, and the resulting feeling of timelessness is religious in the purest sense of the word.



Fig. 8. Entry, The Tuskegee Interdenominational Chapel (Photo: James Strueber).



Rudolph's sixth determinant, the spirit of the times, is the last of his criteria and perhaps the most telling. The time was one of deep and prolonged difficulties in the community that affected and threatened the institution. The "mysterious" conflagration that destroyed the old chapel, one month after the integration of buses in Montgomery, was one of several mysterious fires at churches in the Afro-American communities of central Alabama.<sup>45</sup> It was a time when student marches in the cause of civil rights threatened to bring additional violence to the campus.

As Rudolph described the building: "The building is literally a fortress at times: the overlapping walls, small apertures, mysterious gesticulating forms proclaim this, but the interior is flooded with constantly shifting light animating color and form, proclaiming the joyous religious experience for all."<sup>46</sup>

For Tuskegee, it was a time of maturing as an institution and reevaluation of future goals. In the eleven years from the submission of the first plans to the completion and dedication of the chapel on June 1, 1969,<sup>47</sup> much had changed in the world, as well as, at the institute. The institute took out its first federal loan, opened discussions on changing its name, explored its charter to be assured that white students could be admitted, upgraded and expanded its curriculum, and discontinued compulsory chapel attendance to meet the demands of the changes in higher education.<sup>48</sup>

Even though the building of the chapel had international attention no mention of the dedication was made in the Montgomery newspaper; it was six months before it was noted in the Birmingham newspaper. However, all the architecture journals lauded the chapel as a significant addition to American architecture. Thus Tuskegee transformed the burning of the chapel, a blow to the heart of its community, into a validation of strength, identity, permanence, and spiritual triumph.

## CONCLUSION

The Tuskegee chapel was designed at the moment of Rudolph's fullest confidence as an architect and while he still felt a need to honor his artistic mentor, Le Corbusier. It was completed after the devastating critical attack on his *Art and Architecture* building at Yale. Never again in his life would he have the innocence to make an artistic statement for a cause he believed in, amongst friends who would support that vision, in a culture he understood.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Richard Kevin Dozier, "Tuskegee: Booker T. Washington's Contribution to the Education of Black Architects" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1992), p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Tuskegee Institute, Office of Development Affairs, *Tuskegee Chapel: A Heritage in Faith* (Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1975), n.p.

<sup>3</sup> Tony Monk, *The Art and Architecture of Paul Rudolph* (West Sussex: Wiley-Academy), 1999, p. 49; Mildred F. Schmertz, "A Chapel for Tuskegee by Rudolph," *Architectural Record* 146 (November 1969), p. 118; Paul Rudolph, *The Architecture of Paul Rudolph* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), quoted from the Introduction by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, n.p.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees, April 13, 1957, p. 19, Tuskegee University Archives, Tuskegee, AL.

<sup>5</sup> "Buildings and Landmarks Tablets-21975w" (Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1975), n.p., Tuskegee University Archives, Tuskegee, AL.

<sup>6</sup> *Montgomery Advertiser*, 17 November 1934, 2 November 1960, 12 March 1961, 6 November 1962.

<sup>7</sup> John Welch, Fry & Welch, principal architect, interview by author, Tuskegee, AL, 5 October 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Major Holland, Fry & Welch, project architect, interview by author, Tuskegee, AL, 19 September 2001.

<sup>9</sup> *Birmingham News*, 1 February 1970, in Dixieland, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Ed Pryce, former Dean of Horticulture and Tuskegee Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, interview by author, Tuskegee, AL, 2 November 2001 (hereafter cited as Pryce interview, 2 November 2001); Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, *Glanerata*, 1940 Yearbook, p. 68, Auburn University Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Moholy-Nagy introduction to Rudolph, *The Architecture of Paul Rudolph*, n.p.; Jack Travis, "Louis Edwin Fry, Sr.: Architecture as a Family Affair," *Progressive Architecture* 76 (July 1995), p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Hoyer, Architects on Architecture, p. 218; *Montgomery Advertiser*, 2 December 1957.

<sup>13</sup> Schmertz, "A Chapel for Tuskegee," p. 118; Pryce interview, 2 November 2001.

<sup>14</sup> Carter Wiseman, *Shaping a Nation: Twentieth-Century American Architecture and its Makers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), p. 203.

<sup>15</sup> Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting March 29, 1958, p. 23, Tuskegee University Archives, Tuskegee, AL.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, October 31, 1958, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, March 21, 1959, p. 16; Wiseman, *Shaping a Nation*, p. 202.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting October 30, 1959, p. 10, Tuskegee University Archives, Tuskegee, AL.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, April 9, 1960, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> The publications include: "Architektur heute," II, plan, *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 66 (February 1961): 83; "Chiesa per il Tuskegee Institute, Alabama," II, plan, see, *Architettura* 15 (March 1970): 740-743. Paul Rudolph, *Des-Ins D'Architecture*, Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1974, II, plan, 108-111.

<sup>21</sup> "Concrete Sanctuary," *Arts and Architecture* 77 (December 1960), p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Twombly, *Power and Style: A Critique of Twentieth-Century Architecture in the United States* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), p. 99.

<sup>23</sup> Jeanne M. Davern, "Conversation with Paul Rudolph," *Architectural Record* 170 (March 1982), pp. 95-97. Collins, "Whither Paul Rudolph?" p. 131.

<sup>24</sup> Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting October 28, 1960, p. 16.

<sup>25</sup> "Moreland Smith: Architect and Civil Rights Activist," *Architecture* (November, 1989), p. 32; Booker Conley, former Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, interview by author, Tuskegee, AL, 12 October 2001, (hereafter cited as Conley interview, 12 October 2001). This series of actions, by Wallace, was confirmed by Dan T. Carter, Southern historian and Wallace biographer in an interview with author, 6 April 2002, at Auburn University.

<sup>26</sup> Keith Coulbourn, "Chapel of Sculpted Brick," *Atlanta Journal & Constitution*, May 25, 1969, p. 24.

<sup>27</sup> Conley interview, 12 October 2001.

<sup>28</sup> Phillip Noble, *The Yale Art and Architecture Building* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, n.d.), n.p.

<sup>29</sup> Holland interview, 11 October 2001; Conley interview, 12 October 2001.

<sup>30</sup> Pryce interview, 2 November 2001; Conley interview, 12 October 2001.

<sup>31</sup> Coulbourn, *Atlanta Journal*, p. 25.

<sup>32</sup> Holland interview, 11 October 2001.

- <sup>33</sup> Sibyl Moholy-Nagy from Paul Rudolph, *The Architecture of Paul Rudolph*, n.p.
- <sup>34</sup> Paul Rudolph, "The Six Determinants of Architectural Form," *Architectural Record* 120 no.4 (October 1950), pp. 183-186.
- <sup>35</sup> Conley interview, 12 October 2001.
- <sup>36</sup> Collins, "Whither Paul Rudolph?" pp. 130-131.
- <sup>37</sup> Sibyl Moholy-Nagy from Paul Rudolph, *The Architecture of Paul Rudolph*, n.p.
- <sup>38</sup> "Sanctuary of Sculpted Concrete," *Architectural Forum* 113 (September 1960), p. 102.
- <sup>39</sup> Holland interview, 11 October 2001; Conley interview, 12 October 2001.
- <sup>40</sup> John W. Cook and Heinrich Klotz, *Conversations with Architects* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 91.
- <sup>41</sup> *Birmingham News*, 1 February 1970.
- <sup>42</sup> Pryce interview, 5 October 2001.
- <sup>43</sup> Sibyl Moholy-Nagy from Paul Rudolph, *The Architecture of Paul Rudolph*, n.p.
- <sup>44</sup> Tuskegee Institute, *Tuskegee Chapel*, n.p.
- <sup>45</sup> David J. Garrow, "Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Spirit of Leadership," *Journal of American History* 74 (September 1987), p. 443.
- <sup>46</sup> Carl Black, Jr., *Interdenominational Chapel*, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, 1960-69 (Tokyo: A.D.A. Edita 1973), n.p.
- <sup>47</sup> Tuskegee Institute, *Tuskegee Chapel*, n.p.
- <sup>48</sup> Minutes of the Trustees meetings: 1 November 1962, 3 January 1963.