

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE HOUSE, MAIN HOUSE
(Red Rocks)
927 North Exchange Street
Emporia
Lyon County
Kansas

HABS No. KS-81-A

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WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
1849 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20240

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE HOUSE,
MAIN HOUSE (Red Rocks)

HABS No. KS-81-A

- Location: 927 North Exchange Street, southwest corner of East Tenth Avenue and North Exchange Street, Emporia, Lyon County, Kansas.
- Present Owner/
Occupant: Kansas State Historical Society.
- Present Use: Awaiting restoration for use as an interpretive site/house museum.
- Significance: “Red Rocks” was the home of newspaper editor and writer William Allen White from 1899 until his death in 1944. White was nationally known and revered as the editor of the Emporia Gazette, a frequent contributor to popular journals such as McClure’s, Harper’s Weekly, and Saturday Evening Post and an influential political advisor. It was at Red Rocks that White and his family entertained several United States Presidents and other important policy-makers as well as cultural luminaries including writer Edna Ferber, architect Frank Lloyd Wright and his Taliesin fellows, poet Walt Mason, and countless other guests. Because of White’s fame and career, his home was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1976. The site consists of three structures – the main house, White’s mother’s house, and a garage – on four adjoining town lots unified by a terraced garden. After the renovation of the three-story main house in 1920-21, the exterior was changed from an elaborate Queen Anne-styled confection to a more sedate, sophisticated Tudor Revival. The house takes its name, “Red Rocks,” from the red Colorado sandstone of the first story, while the two top stories are of red pressed brick, stucco, and wood strips designed to appear as half-timbering.

PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date of erection: ca. 1889.
2. Architect: Unknown. Local history suggests architect Charles W. Squires, who practiced in Emporia from 1880 to 1930, designing many residential and commercial buildings. Four houses, including his own, were built on the 600 block of Exchange Street, and all have many features common to the Queen Anne style.¹ The house was renovated in 1920-21 by the Kansas City architectural firm of Wight & Wight.
3. Original and subsequent owners: Almerin Gillett, ca. 1888-1889; Lyon County, Kansas, 1889-1898; Clarence Thompson, 1898-1901; William Allen and Sallie Lindsay White, 1901-1950; William Lindsay White, 1950-1951; the White Corporation, 1951-2001; the Kansas State Historical Society, 2001-present.
4. Builder, contractor, suppliers: Unknown. The red sandstone is purported to have come from a quarry in Red Rock Canyon by the Garden of the Gods near Colorado Springs, Colorado. A local contractor, John Hammond, managed the construction of the Gillett & Forde Block on Commercial Street in Emporia in 1885 and may have been involved in the construction of Gillett's home, Red Rocks, three years later. The general contractor for the 1920-21 renovation of the house was S. M. Parker of Emporia.
5. Original plans and construction: No original drawings have been found. Photographs of the home in its original Queen Anne configuration have been located in the house itself – framed and hanging on the wall in the second floor hallway – and in the William Allen White Collection at the William Allen White Library, Emporia State University. Images of the home both before and after the renovation are on picture postcards in the Lyon County Archives and in the private collection of Barbara White Walker and David Walker.
6. Alterations and additions: The home was dramatically renovated after a fire destroyed the top story in January 1920, although plans for this work predate the fire. White hired Frank Lloyd Wright to design the renovation project in 1915,

¹ A friend and neighbor for more than thirty years, William Allen White wrote of Squires in his obituary: "Charles Squires built nearly all the grand homes of the eighties and nineties. He was of course the product of his time. He built as others were building, and reproduced the architectural yearnings of Emporians of the last decade of the century. We had illusions of grandeur then. We wanted to live like princes. So Charley Squires put palatial towers and minarets on our homes. He gave our public buildings a touch of regal splendor... It was what we demanded, not perhaps what he would have chosen. He was the instrument of a power that guided his rule and compass and made him reflect his period in his art... The architect is the oracle of his time. Charley Squires put his mark on this town, the mark of his generation. He built with absolute verity to the inner spirit of his day...his work lives on to tell us something of our fathers and their visions." See "Charley Squires Passes," Emporia Gazette, December 27, 1934.

and the two corresponded regarding the plans for more than two years; in the end, White rejected Wright's design and hired the Kansas City firm of Wight & Wight, two brothers known for their large civic projects in the Beaux Arts tradition and their ecclesiastical designs. The renovation of Red Rocks was completed in 1921. The house was enlarged from ten rooms to eleven with four full baths and a two half baths. Dormers were added on the north and south sides of the third floor, allowing for more expansive living quarters for family and servants. Sleeping porches were enclosed, creating White's workroom and an additional bedroom. An extensive terraced garden featuring a pergola on the southeast side and a lily pool to the south were also built at this time. The main entrance to the house – marked by a new, one-story gabled porch – was changed from Exchange Street to its current location facing Tenth Avenue, yet the street address remained 927 Exchange Street. Drawings for the renovation as executed by Wight & Wight have not been found, although much of White's correspondence with the firm and with Wright is archived in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division. Photographs of the home and garden in the years immediately following the renovation have been located in the Lyon County Archive and the William Allen White Collection at the William Allen White Library, Emporia State University, as well as in the private collection of Barbara White Walker and David Walker.

B. Historical Context:

A Brief Biographical Sketch of Almerin Gillett and Emporia's Beginnings

Almerin Gillett, the builder of Red Rocks, was born in Victor, New York in 1838 and moved to Lake Geneva, Wisconsin with his family at three years of age. In 1861 Gillett enlisted in the Union army, initially serving as captain and later as major of the 20th regiment, Wisconsin infantry, and he received commendation from General Ulysses S. Grant.² After the war, Gillett studied law at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. He and his new bride, Chloe Eugenia Chapman, left Madison and headed west, settling in Emporia in 1866. Shortly thereafter Gillett built a home that still stands at 913 Exchange Street, although its original address, before the town's street numbering system was changed, was 137 Exchange Street.³ The Gilletts had four children – a son, Almerin Chapman, who died at ten months of age, twin girls Katherine May and Frances Ray, and another daughter, Mary Eugenia. The spelling of the surname without a final "e" was a change Gillett made when he opened his law practice; his daughters reverted to the original spelling with a final "e" upon their father's death.⁴

At the time of Gillett's arrival, Emporia was a growing town in Kansas Territory. Founded in February 1857, the town was named for a bustling financial center in

² "Almerin Gillett Dead," Emporia Daily Gazette, May 16, 1896.

³ "Death of Eugenia C. Gillett, Wife of Honorable Almerin Gillett, of This City," Emporia Weekly Republican, June 23, 1892; "Almerin Gillett Dead."

⁴ Gilson Family Scrapbooks, Lyon County Archive, Emporia, Kansas.

ancient Carthage, supposedly located where Tunisia is today.⁵ Several prominent businessmen from Lawrence, Kansas – including Preston B. Plumb, who would become one of the town’s most important citizens and later be elected senator – established the Emporia Town Company. Plumb printed the town’s first newspaper, The Kansas News, from an unfinished room in the Emporia House, a hotel and the town’s first public building, located on what would later become the corner of Sixth Avenue and Commercial Street. In the first issue of the paper, dated June 6, 1857, the town charter was published, forbidding the sale of alcohol and all gambling – in essence creating the first prohibition town. Also in that issue, abolitionist Plumb stated the sentiments of the Free Soil settlers, who were of the majority in the territory: “We shall not cease to strike out at oppression in whatever form or wherever it may be found. We admit no middle ground between right and wrong – no compromise with evil...we shall never cease our warfare with slavery.”⁶ The newspaper, the name of which was changed to The Emporia News in 1858, was purported to be the only one published between Lawrence and the Rocky Mountains.⁷

The town grew steadily in the next few years, its population increasing from less than one hundred to several thousand. Local residents founded several churches, banks, and a public school district; dug wells, operated grist and lumber mills, and successfully established many stores and services. The town survived drought conditions and the effects of the Civil War in the early 1860s and continued to expand, attracting the new State Normal School in 1863. In 1865, the first vote for railroad bonds was passed, but the line – the Emporia & Lawrence Railroad – never materialized. The following year, discussions began concerning the possibility of a new railroad, the Topeka & Emporia, which was operational by 1870; the name was also changed to the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railway Company. The southern branch of the Union Pacific railway, known as the M. K. & T. or the “Katy,” was functioning late in 1869.⁸ Railroad expansion fueled the continued growth of Emporia, similar to other western towns.

Almerin Gillett obtained a position of considerable prominence in the community shortly after his arrival in Emporia in 1866. He took office space at 172 Commercial Street, where he opened his law practice and offered notary services; he then became partner with E. M. Forde, who would later serve as Emporia City Clerk, in the law firm of Gillett and Forde. Gillett was elected Lyon County Attorney in 1871 and again in 1874; he also served as a state senator, winning elections in 1876 and 1880.⁹ In 1884, he was unanimously elected as Railroad Commissioner of Kansas, a position he held until 1889.¹⁰ Gillett was also a cattle

⁵ Laura M. French, History of Emporia and Lyon County (Emporia, Kansas: Emporia Gazette Print, 1929), 1-2.

⁶ Ibid., 4-7.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 30, 37.

⁹ Jacob Stotler, Annals of Emporia and Lyon County: Historical Incidents of the First Quarter of a Century, 1857-1882, 86-88.

¹⁰ “Almerin Gillett Dead,” Emporia Daily Gazette, May 16, 1896.

rancher, but like most cattlemen his prosperity depended upon the fluctuations of the weather and the city markets. In 1882, the Emporia Republican reported of his good fortune:

The Honorable Almerin Gillett now has planted 500 acres of corn and will plant 400 acres more this season, making in all 900 acres. This, with his new purchase of 4,000 acres, makes one of the largest ranches in Kansas. We predict that the Major will have no idle time, after taking care of his 1,000 head of cattle, 900 acres of corn, and his law practice.¹¹

By 1884, the law firm of Gillett and Forde had met with sufficient success to allow the two partners to embark upon a speculative real estate venture; the two-story Gillett & Forde Block at 131 and 133 Commercial Street was completed by April 1885. The first floor housed the Emporia Hardware Company, one of the largest businesses operating in the town, while the second story was to contain offices – one of which was for Gillett’s law practice, the other a rental property. The Emporia Weekly News reported that the new building was completed at a cost of \$14,000 and described it as “very ornamental and creditable to the city... a good investment. It is property that will always be desirable and in demand.”¹² Two years later, in December 1887, the Emporia Weekly Republican reported the naming of Gillett as an officer of the Kansas & New England Land and Cattle Company of Emporia, a business venture with a capital stock of \$225,000.¹³ Within a few months after this announcement, he was able to secure the last of the land needed to build a grand residence for himself and his family.

The Construction of Red Rocks

As a well-respected member of the community – a civic leader, a successful businessman, and a Civil War veteran – Gillett may have seen himself as deserving of a larger, more opulent home than the clapboard-sided cottage at 913 Exchange Street. The home he built to its north, at 927 Exchange, came to be known locally as “Red Rocks” because of the red sandstone he ordered to be shipped in from Colorado for the first floor – an expense affordable perhaps only to a statesman with railroad connections. The large, Queen Anne-style house had a wraparound porch on the first floor for lounging on summer afternoons and sleeping porches on the second and third floors for maintaining good health in the cool night air. With its leaded-glass windows, projecting bays and turrets, and multiple chimneys, Red Rocks was easily the largest and most elaborate home on Exchange Street; the use of the imported red sandstone rather than Kansas limestone made the house unique to Emporia. Straddling two city lots, the house was set back from the street corner to maintain a sense of privacy while simultaneously retaining a position of obvious prominence.

¹¹ Emporia Republican, April 9, 1882.

¹² “Hardware House. Facts about the Gillett & Forde Block and the Emporia Hardware Company Which Occupies It,” Emporia Weekly News, April 30, 1885.

¹³ Emporia Weekly Republican, December 29, 1887.

Gillett purchased the city lots upon which Red Rocks and the garden sit at different times over the course of more than twenty years. In January 1866, Gillett purchased Lot 135 on Exchange Street, where he built his first home, and Lot 137 immediately to its north, where William Allen White's mother's house now sits, from the Emporia Town Company.¹⁴ To the north of these, Lot 139, which is now the terraced garden, was purchased from Lyon County in January 1875; Lot 141, upon which half of Red Rocks is built, in August 1871; and Lot 143, upon which the other half is built, at the southwest corner of Exchange Street and Tenth Avenue in April 1888.¹⁵

For Lots 139, 141, and 143 – the site of Red Rocks and the garden – Gillett took out a mortgage from the Central Loan and Land Company of Emporia on January 1, 1889 for the principal sum of three thousand dollars at seven percent interest, with the stipulation “to keep the buildings, erected or to be erected on said land, insured to the amount of four thousand dollars.”¹⁶ Records for property taxes assessed for these years are no longer kept by Lyon County, making it difficult to provide an exact date for the construction of the house. From the deed and mortgage records, it can be assumed that the construction of the house was started after April 1888. During this time, Kansas suffered drought conditions and cattle prices plunged, leaving Gillett unable to pay his mortgage and the taxes due on several properties he held throughout the county.¹⁷ The mortgage on Red Rocks was foreclosed on May 31, 1889, slightly more than one year after Gillett purchased the last of the lots and very likely before the house could be completed. Probably because of his prominence in the community, Gillett and his family were allowed to remain in the house in spite of their financial struggles; the former senator and railroad commissioner is listed in the Emporia city directory as residing at 927 Exchange Street in 1890 and 1894.

Local oral histories tell that Mrs. Gillett, despondent over her husband's business debts and failures, hanged herself in Red Rocks in 1892; broken and shamed, her husband left Emporia for Kansas City, where he died in 1896. The obituary of Mrs. Gillett tells that she died “at the family home, Red Rocks, at the corner of Tenth Avenue and Exchange Street” and also states: “In the fall of 1890, the family removed to the beautiful new home, Red Rocks, immediately north of the old home, where they have since resided.”¹⁸ While it provides an approximate

¹⁴ Lyon County deed records show that William Allen White purchased Lots 135 and 137 in July 1901; he then sold them to his mother within the following two weeks. She resold him Lot 135, the southernmost of the two and the one upon which Gillett's first house was built, in January 1902. White kept the property, ostensibly for the incoming rent, until his death; Sallie White sold the property at 913 Exchange Street to Bertha Colglazier, the family's longtime housekeeper, in 1947. See HABS Report No. KS-81-B for further information on White's mother's house.

¹⁵ Register of Deeds, Lyon County, Kansas.

¹⁶ Register of Deeds, Lyon County, Kansas.

¹⁷ “Final Tax Notice,” *Emporia Tidings*, May 1, 1894.

¹⁸ “Death of Mrs. Eugenia C. Gillett, Wife of Honorable Almerin Gillett, of This City,” *Emporia Weekly Republican*, Thursday, June 23, 1892. It is not clear why the obituary gives the date of occupancy at Red Rocks after the date of the foreclosure as recorded by the Lyon County Register of Deeds. There is a

date for the initial occupancy of the home and the suggestion that the family remained there after her death, the obituary does not verify the rumors of her tragic suicide. William Allen White, however, hints at this in his autobiography, as he tells the story of how he came to live at Red Rocks:

It was in July, 1899, that Sallie and I moved into the house where we now live. We bought it of the man who held the mortgage, who took it out of the bad debts of an eastern insurance company. It was a ten-room house made of red sandstone from Colorado and pressed bricks. It was covered with towers and turrets and fibroid tumors and minarets and all the useless ornaments that an architect in 1885 could think of. An Emporia lawyer-politician built it. The story ran that his wife had inherited three thousand dollars from an estate. The lawyer-politician was at the time a member of the state board of railway commissions. He grafted the stone, freight-free from the quarry. When he started the house he was, as many well-to-do western lawyers often were, a heavy investor in cattle. Before the house was completed, cattle prices dropped and he went broke. Mechanics' liens covered the house. It cost eighteen thousand dollars, in a day when carpenters worked for a dollar and a half a day, stone masons for two dollars. His wife was well-beloved... She died just as the house was finished, amidst the filing of liens and while he was staving off the foreclosure of the mortgage, which was plastered upon the place... The lawyer's three daughters had a sad time of it. It was a house of heartbreak. But after two or three years of battle against this the town, he left Emporia for Kansas City, and when we bought the house the colored people, who lived not far off, called it the haunted house. It was accursed. Two or three tenants had died in it. And the man who sold it to us for six thousand dollars thought he had a famous bargain. Through some prejudice of the builder, it did not have a wire or a pipe in it – nothing modern – no furnace, no water, no gas, no electricity. But Sallie and I were tremendously proud of it – towers, turrets, tumors and all.¹⁹

In August, 1898, after Almerin Gillett's death and the settling of his estate, Red Rocks and the garden lot were sold at auction by Lyon County to Clarence Thompson of New Haven, Connecticut.²⁰ Thompson may have rented the house to others – perhaps the “two or three” who “died in it” – before the Whites in 1899. Until that time, William Allen White and his wife, Sallie, were living in a frame house at 602 Cottonwood Street. The owner, publisher, and editor of the Emporia Gazette since 1895, White soon rose to national prominence as a journalist and pundit with the nationwide publication of his editorial, “What's the Matter with Kansas?” – a scathing critique of Populist politics – in 1896. White,

possibility that, due to his esteemed position, Gillett was granted the opportunity to move into his home and attempt to right himself financially; there is also the possibility that either the county records or the newspaper provides incorrect dates.

¹⁹ William Allen White, The Autobiography of William Allen White (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), 323-324.

²⁰ Register of Deeds, Lyon County, Kansas.

quickly becoming Emporia's leading citizen, may have felt the need for a larger home in which he could entertain his many friends and important visitors; he also may have needed more room to live comfortably with both his wife and his mother, Mary Ann Hatten White. After renting Red Rocks for more than one year, he learned that Thompson was interested in selling the house. White quickly wrote a letter to his friend John S. Phillips, the managing editor of McClure's Magazine, to ask for a loan with which to buy the house:

May 8, 1901

My Dear John:

...This morning, I have discovered that I can buy the house in which I am now living. This house cost the man who built it, I happen to know, \$10,000 in cash besides the lots which cover one hundred and fifty feet. He got into politics, got mixed up with a mortgage and another woman, went to the devil and died, and the house is now in the hands of a Mortgage Company for \$6,000. The man who owns the mortgage is a certain Mr. Bowditch who lives in Connecticut. The house is not generally on the market in Emporia, but I have learned authentically that I can get ahold of this house for \$6,000, the amount of the mortgage. Now I have not got \$6,000. I am paying rent on the house that would amount to the interest on this house at 6%.... If you will let me have the \$6,000, I will give you a mortgage on the residence property which I will buy, and also a chattel mortgage covering the Gazette, and a mortgage on the Gazette building.... It is a three-story, red sandstone and pressed brick affair, finished in hardwood and supplied with all plumbing conveniences. If it ever goes on the market in Emporia, and I am afraid it will every day, the price will go considerably above \$6,000, as there is a building boom on here and two new railroads actually grading on the townsite, each locating the end of a division and its main shops here. I think I am a pretty conservative fellow when I say the minute I get this house, I can sell it for \$9,000. I do not want to sell it, I want to keep it to live in. This is not a real estate speculation at all.²¹

The Lyon County Register of Deeds recorded the purchase of Red Rocks from Clarence Thompson by Sallie Lindsay White on May 31, 1901, for six thousand dollars; a mortgage on the property, held by John S. Phillips, is also recorded later in the summer, thus agreeing with part of the story as told in White's autobiography and in his letter to Phillips. Disparities do exist, however: the design date of 1885, as suggested by White in his autobiography, is not possible because Gillett did not own the land on which half of the house is built until 1888; the owner was indeed from Connecticut but his name was changed to "Bowditch."²² It is also impossible to glean a definitive state of completion for the house at the time of the Whites' residency: while in his autobiography White

²¹ Walter Johnson, ed., Selected Letters of William Allen White, 1899-1943 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), 35-37.

²² Why the name "Bowditch" appears instead of "Thompson" is not known.

claims that the house was fitted with neither electrical wiring, plumbing, or gas lines, he makes the house seem quite grand in his letter to Phillips and states that it did have indoor plumbing. Whether Thompson made these improvements to his rental property or White exaggerated the modern conveniences in his request for a loan in order to improve his chances, the actual condition of Red Rocks at the time of White's purchase is not known. Exaggeration and manipulation of facts, however, are common tools of many great journalists and novelists, and White, one of the most influential writers of the first half of the twentieth century, was both.

A Brief Biographical Sketch of William Allen White

William Allen White was born in Emporia, Kansas on February 10, 1868, the only surviving child of Allen White, a doctor and proprietor of a general store, and Mary Ann Hatten White, a schoolteacher. Within a year of his birth, the White family relocated to El Dorado, Kansas, where Dr. White would be elected mayor in 1881, and over a period of years they owned and operated a profitable drug store, a failed farmstead, and an unsuccessful hotel and restaurant. Although he later called the hotel venture "a sad farce," it was by observing his father's passion for entertaining – offering home-cooked meals and comfortable rooms to many dozens of friends, colleagues, and stumping politicians passing through town – that White developed his taste for hosting visitors of all kinds at Red Rocks.²³

In 1884, two years after the death of his father, White graduated high school and entertained thoughts of leaving El Dorado to attend college. He decided to return to the town of his birth and begin his studies at the College of Emporia, while his mother stayed behind and took in boarders to help pay the tuition. In the summer of 1885 White took a job as a printer-reporter at the El Dorado Democrat, where he had worked as a printer's devil five years earlier. In 1886 White worked as a compositor for the Emporia Daily News while attending college; during that summer he went to live with his mother and held the positions of city circulator and reporter for the El Dorado Daily Republican. It was then that White became the El Dorado correspondent to the Associated Press, and his articles ran in widely circulated newspapers such as the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and the Kansas City Star. Although he enjoyed his work as a budding newspaperman, his college friend Vernon Kellogg convinced White to join him at the University of Kansas; his mother rented out their El Dorado house and moved with him to Lawrence to "establish a home" for her son.²⁴ After four years at the university, White left without graduating to become the associate editor of the El Dorado Republican in 1890; he then joined the staff of the Kansas City Journal in 1891 and shortly thereafter became the newspaper's Topeka correspondent.

²³ White, Autobiography, 67-68.

²⁴ Ibid., 136.

White met his wife, Sallie Moss Lindsay, in Kansas City at the introduction of a university friend. Like his mother, Sallie was a schoolteacher who loved to read, and White fell for her immediately. After one year of courting, they married at her parents' home on April 27, 1893 and left for their honeymoon to Las Vegas, New Mexico, that afternoon. At the time White was reporting for the Kansas City Star, and during their two-week stay at the Montezuma resort the newlywed couple wrote travel pieces describing the western landscape and sent them back to the newsroom. They then traveled on to Santa Fe and met up with White's mother, who was visiting friends from El Dorado. As a threesome, they traveled to Manitou, Colorado, where they were joined by Sallie's thirteen-year-old brother Milton, and from there the group went on to Estes Park, Colorado, where they rented a cabin near the Big Thompson River in what would later become Rocky Mountain National Park.²⁵ This honeymoon scenario hints at what were to become important themes throughout the rest of White's life: family togetherness, particularly an unusually close relationship between in-laws; a working partnership between husband and wife; and a deep interest in the landscapes of the Southwest and Rocky Mountain regions.

White continued to work for the Star for two more years, and it was during this time that he began to write fiction – “short stories with the background of Kansas City or Kansas”²⁶ – that appeared in place of more traditional feature articles. In this manner, White could write more critically of significant residents, politicians, and businesses – portraying them as “types” – without creating as much trouble for the newspaper. Although he had some considerable success with his writing, White grew tired of urban living and of working under the leadership of others at the Star, and he began to look for a small-town Kansas newspaper to buy. Idealizing the “intellectually upper middle class” residents of college towns, he attempted to purchase the Lawrence Journal, the Manhattan Mercury, and another paper in Ottawa before considering Emporia.²⁷ Both of the papers in Emporia – the Daily Republican and the Gazette – were struggling through the economic depression of the mid-nineties, and White chose the Gazette, a paper started by the Populist party in 1890, for a variety of reasons: it was less established and had a smaller circulation, and it was owned by a man he knew well – W. Y. Morgan, who had helped him with his first job at the Lawrence Journal. White was able to obtain a loan from prominent friends, including Senator Plumb, who had been a friend to his father and whose son was his fraternity brother in college, and Governor Morrill, whom he had come to know through his years as a city reporter. White began his illustrious, lifelong career as owner, publisher, and editor of the Emporia Gazette in June 1895 at the age of twenty-seven.

The following year, William Allen White gained national attention. White, a staunch Republican, told his readership that the Gazette would always support the candidates and elected officials of his party, and in 1896, the Republican nominee

²⁵ Ibid., 244-245.

²⁶ Ibid., 247.

²⁷ Ibid., 256.

for President was Governor William McKinley of Ohio; reporting from the convention in St. Louis, White commented, “This is the most listless convention...ever reported. There is no life in it. The applause is hollow; the enthusiasm is dreary and delegates sit like hogs in a car and know nothing about anything.”²⁸ Despite such a report, the newspaper supported McKinley against the Democratic-Populist candidate, William Jennings Bryan, who had delivered a rousing, passionate speech in Chicago. As “the Great Commoner,” Bryan represented the older, rural America, distrusting the rise in power of the urban, industrial interests. White and the Republicans supporting McKinley felt that the regulation of private business by the government was un-American; they held strongly to their ideals of individual freedom in a frontier that was now effectively closed. He wrote in an editorial early that August: “Shall American institutions, as they have been since the beginning, stand, or shall they be changed? The American idea is today in the balance. The Republicans are upholding it. The Populists and their allies are denouncing it. The election will sustain Americanism or it will plant Socialism.”²⁹ The Populist farmers surrounding Emporia threatened to run White out of town if he would not stop his vicious attacks against them, but he refused to be cowed by them.

On his way to the Gazette Building later that month, White was accosted by a group of Populists who wanted to debate the merits of their party’s position, but the editor was in no mood to participate. The crowd insisted, and White became flustered and tongue-tied among the shouting and shoving. Frustrated and embarrassed at his inability to express his views, White broke from the group and stormed off to the newspaper, where he angrily wrote an editorial, “What’s the Matter with Kansas?” in which he blamed the Populists for everything that was troubling the state, holding them responsible for Kansas’s loss of population and capital.³⁰ Filled with sarcastic wit and rancorous accusations, the piece grabbed the attention of the publisher of Chicago’s Times-Herald and Evening Post, who printed it in his papers; from there it was reprinted in the New York Sun, and then the Republican campaign committee circulated it nationally as a pamphlet. Although Kansas supported Bryan in the election that fall, there could be no doubt that the nationwide publication of White’s ranting editorial fueled McKinley’s victory and the election of a Republican Congress, and William Allen White became a household name.

Following this success, newspapers from coast to coast quoted White’s editorials on a great variety of subjects, and he then began to entertain calls from magazines including McClure’s, Scribner’s, Harper’s Weekly, and the Saturday Evening Post, all wanting to run his articles and short stories. In November 1896, the Chicago publishing company Way and Williams released his first book, The Real

²⁸ Johnson, William Allen White’s America, 89.

²⁹ Ibid., 90-91.

³⁰ William Allen White, “What’s the Matter with Kansas?” Emporia Gazette, August 15, 1896. White was later to comment of this piece, “The editorial represents conservatism in its full and perfect flower.” See Helen Ogden Mahin, The Editor and His People: Editorials by William Allen White (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 244-249.

Issue, in which White described everyday life in small-town Kansas. He wrote of the trials and tribulations of ordinary people living through grasshoppers, droughts, dust, tornadoes, loneliness, and solitude; yet he also told of cool breezes in the tall grass prairies, green pastures, blue skies, and strong communities of kind, caring folk. The collection of short stories met with great popular success and was lauded by critics in the elite literary circles of the big cities.

Because of his great splash as a political pundit, White was introduced to the most influential political players of his day – Elihu Root, Thomas Reed, Henry Cabot Lodge, and, perhaps most importantly, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt; the close friendship of the two was to last through Roosevelt's rise to President until his death. President McKinley wanted to make White the Postmaster of Emporia, a position that the editor declined. Because of his critical and popular success as an essayist and fiction writer, White met the most significant writers and editors of the time, including William Dean Howells, James Whitcomb Riley, and Ida Tarbell. In this manner, White became a recognizable figure in both the political and the cultural spheres.³¹

The Whites' First Years at Red Rocks

At the start of White's career at the Gazette, he lived with his wife and mother at 602 Cottonwood Street, on the northeast corner of Cottonwood Street and Sixth Avenue, in a three-bay, double-pile, wood frame house with a side hall entrance and elaborated with brackets under the eaves of the hipped roof, front porch, and projecting two-story window bay. They rented this modest house for eighteen dollars per month.³² By 1899, White was perhaps the most prominent citizen of Emporia, and he and Sallie entertained important guests as well as friends and neighbors. They also began to consider starting a family, and so they moved one block west and four blocks north to the palatial red sandstone house on the southwest corner of Exchange Street and Tenth Avenue in July 1899. The couple's first child, their son William Lindsay, was born at home in June 1900.

Soon after they purchased Red Rocks in 1901, the Whites bought the lots to the immediate south of their property from a widow in Massachusetts, Emma Peck, for one thousand dollars; they then promptly sold them to Mary Ann Hatten White for the same amount.³³ White's mother continued to live in Red Rocks, even after the birth of young Bill, until her own home at 923 Exchange Street, a brick foursquare house with three bedrooms, was completed ca. 1904 (See HABS Report No. KS-81-B).³⁴ Sallie White gave birth to a daughter, Mary Katherine, in 1904, and the children spent much of their early years running between the two houses.

³¹ On White's literary endeavors and sphere of influence, see Johnson, William Allen White's America; Rich, William Allen White, the Man From Emporia; and White, Autobiography.

³² See captioned photograph, dated 1895-1899, in the William Allen White Collection, William Allen White Library, Emporia State University, Emporia, Kansas (hereafter White Collection, ESU).

³³ Register of Deeds, Lyon County, Kansas.

³⁴ Interview with Barbara White and David Walker, June 5, 2002, Emporia, Kansas.

As the Whites' circle of friends grew, their entertaining style became legendary. John S. Phillips of McClure's Magazine recalled: "I once said to the novelist [William Dean] Howells...that my wife and I had been visiting the Whites in Emporia and that I did not know any more delightful place to visit in this country. Howells replied: 'I do not know any pleasanter place to visit in the world.'"³⁵

The first formal dinner at Red Rocks was held in 1899 – only four months after the Whites began to rent the large house – in honor of William Dean Howells, the Western fiction writer and a literary hero of White's. Howells had come to Emporia to give a lecture on November 9, and the guest list that evening included Mr. and Mrs. Victor Murdock of Wichita, Alexander Butts of the Kansas City Star, Louise M. Jones, head of the English department at the State Normal School, and her assistant, Martha Wooster. Curious neighbors came by the house throughout the day to see how the preparations were progressing; someone even brought the Whites a dozen quails to serve for the main course. White later recalled that the servant girl they had hired for that evening became overwhelmed with the many courses to be brought to the table and a neighbor, Mrs. McCown, found the girl sneaking out through the kitchen door. To save the Whites from embarrassment, Mrs. McCown served the rest of the dinner with a nod and a wink to the host and hostess, and the dinner party was carried off without further incident:

After the mince pie was served with the cheese, Mrs. McCown was invited to sit down...whereupon Mrs. "Mac" explained what had happened in the kitchen, and that final course was the best of the evening. And how Howells enjoyed it!

Since that day men who were to be president and men who had been president have sat around that oval table. Major generals, cabinet officers, powerful politicians, literary pundits and J. P. Morgan's family have poked their pink toes under it. But no one ever sat there of whom the host and hostess stood in such awe then and since, the greatest man of them all.³⁶

Though he was quickly rising in prominence, both locally and nationally, White kept a fairly grounded perspective when considering his increasing affluence and influence. In the summer of 1910, as important guests were becoming more commonplace at Red Rocks, he placed this humorous advertisement for a housekeeper in the Gazette:

A fairly respectable white family living at 927 Exchange desires the services of a lady for general housework. The family consists of one man

³⁵ Johnson, William Allen White's America, 244-245.

³⁶ Emporia Gazette, March 3, 1937. Quoted in Johnson, William Allen White's America, 116-117; also Everett Rich, William Allen White: The Man from Emporia (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1941), 100-101.

who will agree to eat light and wear two pairs of socks and one pair of underclothes a week, two children who say “yes, mom” and “thank you,” and will agree to keep out of the kitchen, one automatic self-feeding grandmother, and a meek and lowly wife who is willing to do all the hard work and let the hired lady do the ornate standing around....Anyone knowing of a lady of refinement desiring the place above described will confer a favor by sending her wrapped in pink cotton, tinfoil and tissue paper to the above address. Remember, the trained husband chops the hash, the automatic grandmother makes the pie, the children will be killed if required, and the head of the house does all the work. The hired lady is needed only for bric-a-brac to stand in the front hall, to hang hats on. As a hart panteth for the waterbrooks, as the bathtub exhaust gaspeth for the last drop in the tub, so does that family in the red stone house on Exchange Street yearn and burn and heave and sigh for the aforesaid, hereinabove described hired lady, no questions asked.³⁷

Although it is not known if the Whites actually employed anyone as the result of this witty request, it is true that the family employed several servants throughout their years at Red Rocks, making them seem less like ordinary, country-town folk and more like the landed gentry they had truly become.

Presidential Guests at Red Rocks

Beginning with William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt in 1896, White became acquainted with six United States presidents; he even served as an adviser to some and was chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies in 1940. White was active in state and local politics as well, campaigning for governor as an independent candidate in 1925 in an attempt to keep the Ku Klux Klan out of Kansas. At the time of his death in 1944, he had been working to organize the Kansas Republican party in support of Wendell Wilkie for the upcoming convention and election. For White, there could be no better place to meet with his political allies than at Red Rocks, one of the largest and most impressive homes in Emporia, a town once called “The Athens of America.”³⁸

The first president to visit the White family at Red Rocks was Theodore Roosevelt, who spent a day with them in 1912 while campaigning on the new Progressive “Bull Moose” ticket. This was the only time in his life that White supported a candidate who was not a Republican, and it marked the blossom of his more liberal tendencies. On Sunday, September 22, Roosevelt and his son Emlen stayed with the Whites on Exchange Street, enjoying a day of rest; they

³⁷ William Allen White, “Wanted, A Hired Lady,” Emporia *Gazette*, exact date unknown (“summer 1910”), from the William Allen White files at the Lyon County Museum, Emporia, Kansas.

³⁸ So named by poet Vachel Lindsay in his book, *Adventures While Preaching the Gospel of Beauty* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914). On his walking tour of America, Lindsay came to Kansas in June 1912 and stopped in Emporia. The state greatly impressed him: “Kansas, the Ideal American Community! Kansas...of the historic Santa Fe Trail and the classic village of Emporia and the immortal editor of Emporia!”

arrived on Saturday night and spent the next day quietly. Avoiding the curious crowd that filled the Congregational church which the Whites usually attended, Roosevelt went to services at the Lutheran church accompanied by White, “town poet” D. A. Ellsworth, and banker Fred Newman, who pointed out Emporia’s sights along the way. Some residents were scandalized that White dared to cart the esteemed candidate around town in a horse-drawn carriage; several of them even offered the use of their automobiles, but the editor refused. After church, White and Roosevelt returned to Red Rocks, where they joined the family for a Sunday dinner of fried chicken, mashed potatoes and gravy. Roosevelt then took a nap for an hour before he spent the rest of the afternoon on the porch reading the newspaper and talking politics in front of the living room fireplace. The family was photographed with the Roosevelts on the front steps of Red Rocks, surrounded by lush, leafy plants in hanging baskets and enormous clay urns, before father and son boarded a train to return to the campaign trail.³⁹

Sallie White later recalled some of the meals as taken by their presidential guests:

Now Coolidge was a nibbler. I’ve seen him chase a piece of lettuce around on his plate for half a minute before he ate it. Teddy Roosevelt would eat anything you set before him. He liked good food and knew good food, but he was so terribly interested in the conversation he rarely knew whether he was eating celery or custard. Taft – there was a man to cook for! He’d eat anything and everything you’d put on the table. But he knew good food, and the conversation never did so enthrall him that he didn’t appreciate every bite.⁴⁰

³⁹ Johnson, William Allen White’s America, 209-210; Mahin, The Editor and His People, 58-59; and White, Forty Years on Main Street, 45; and Autobiography, 493-496. The photograph is located in the William Allen White Collection at the William Allen White Library, Emporia State University, Emporia, Kansas (hereafter White Collection, ESU). In an editorial called “Good Neighbors,” White thanked the residents of Emporia for respecting Roosevelt’s privacy and allowing him to rest comfortably at Red Rocks (Emporia Gazette, Monday, September 23, 1912). White also defended his choice of transportation for the former President in an editorial called “A Grand Old Horse,” directly addressing criticism from the Ottawa Herald: “There are too many smart alecks running newspapers who jeer at useful things merely to raise a laugh. Old Tom may not have a wind shield or a speedometer. But what would he do with them? ...Princes and potentates, fair women and brave men have lolled luxuriously among the four dollar springs of the surrey behind Old Tom and have seen Emporia and Lyon County whiz by them at four miles an hour without fear or anxiety” (Emporia Gazette, Tuesday, September 24, 1912). White later added to this piece, upon its republication in Mahin: “Emporia about choked with shame when we took Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan around town behind Old Tom, and when Roosevelt came to town and was hauled about behind the dear old nag Emporia was mad” (59). In 1937, White added: “The economic distinctions of caste have been destroyed in thirty years in this town. Six years after I bought Old Tom I drove him with Theodore Roosevelt on the backseat. We had a leisurely gossip view of Emporia. Leading citizens were ashamed of Old Tom and the canopy-topped phaeton with the fringe in a day when automobiles were coming in, and I was offered my choice of three or four cars that cost more than \$5,000. But I preferred Old Tom and I fancy Roosevelt did, too, though he laughed about it” (White, Forty Years on Main Street, 17).

⁴⁰ Richard C. Davids, “At Home in the ‘White’ House of Emporia,” Better Homes and Gardens, (June 1942): 85.

On July 18, 1927, the Whites invited a group of seventy-five guests, most of whom were Kansas newspaper editors, to join them for a dinner garden party in honor of Herbert Hoover in the hope of propelling him toward the Republican nomination for president the next year.⁴¹ As on the occasions when the Whites hosted the entire Gazette staff and their families for an annual dinner at Red Rocks, many tables were placed in the backyard and guests were encouraged to mingle and to serve themselves; the dining room table was expanded to its full size, long enough that Sallie was seated at the head of the table outdoors on the patio.⁴² Hoover later returned to visit with White in March 1935, when they were photographed together at the entrance of the house facing Tenth Avenue.⁴³

Frank Lloyd Wright and the Renovation of Red Rocks

As the social circles of the Whites grew to include people of national and international importance, they began to feel a need to expand and update their home. An extensive renovation project was begun after a fire destroyed the top floor of the house in January 1920, although the Whites had been thinking of making changes to the house for several years prior to the accidental blaze. On February 17, 1915 White wrote a letter to architect Frank Lloyd Wright in Chicago about his interest in the renovation of Red Rocks:

My dear Mr. Wright:

For several years Mrs. White and I have nourished the dream that you might come and “do over” our house, but it has been one of those vague and impossible dreams that never seemed to be realized because we haven’t the money on hand to do the work. We have been thinking this winter, however, that ten or a dozen years is long enough to cherish a dream and that we will be old people before we know it, so we thought we would take a plunge now.

I am not altogether sure, in fact I am in considerable doubt whether the job is one you could afford to undertake, or would care to undertake even if you could afford it. For our house is one of those old fashioned houses, warded all over with bow windows, and towers and gables and fibroid tumors, acute angles, meaning nothing and merely serrating the sky line. It is chopped up into all sorts of little rooms and cubby holes and senseless little dabs of space; and it is about as discouraging a proposition

⁴¹ E. Jay Jernigan, William Allen White (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 35; Johnson, William Allen White’s America, 401-402; Rich, 243-244.

⁴² Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002.

⁴³ Photographs of Hoover’s two visits to Red Rocks are located in the White Collection, ESU. The photograph of the 1927 visit is mistakenly dated 1928 and identifies the more notable guests; it also erroneously states that the stamp portrait was taken during this visit. The 1935 photograph is autographed, “To my good friend, Mrs. William Allen White, from Herbert Hoover,” and is labeled on the reverse, “Taken in the front door of our home in March 1935 with Herbert Hoover.” This image was used later to create the portrait of White that graced a three-cent postage stamp issued in 1948. An undated photograph of White standing among his guests at a garden party is the private collection of Barbara White Walker and David Walker; fashions in this photograph suggest a date in the 1930s.

as you could imagine. Yet it is our house and the children were born here and there is a certain sentiment in having lived in a place 16 years, when that 16 years is the core of your life and happiness, and we have an animal fear of being turned out of the house into a new house.

I presume and have been bolstered my presumption by the views of contractors that we might make something out of the house for \$3,000 or \$4,000, perhaps less.

I am doubling the contractor's figures. That probably is rather a small job for a man like you to tackle, and yet here we are knocking at your door wanting to know what you think about it.

Doubtless you do not remember me, but I met you once at the home of Chauncey Williams. Helen and Chauncey and I were great friends. We have a piano whose legs were designed by you, which is one of our family gods. We have a mutual friend in Clarence Darrow.

I should be pleased to hear from you and get your views pretty frankly on the practicability of our hope.

Yours very truly,
W. A. White⁴⁴

The letter reveals something of White's ambivalence toward Wright and this project from its inception: he wants to hire the best and the brightest available at the time, but he is also quite attached to the old house and, despite his criticisms lobbed at its old-fashioned features, is rather frank about his "animal fear" of its loss. Another letter, written only five days later, further amplifies White's doubts about hiring Wright to do the renovation design at Red Rocks. In this letter, written to a friend in Kansas City, White made similar comments regarding his distaste for the Queen Anne style and requested a referral to an architect in case Frank Lloyd Wright should be neither interested nor available for this project:

Mrs. White and I want the house done over; that is to say, we want an architect who can come and scrape off the towers and minarets, cupolas, and bow-windows, and warts and tumors of the out side, and clean up the recesses and cozy corners and bosky dells on the inside.

We don't want a fashionable architect, but we do want an architect who knows his business, who runs to straight lines, and who has an inspiration for giving the most for the least money. You know the house as well as we. It belongs to the highly inflamed school of architecture prevalent in the 80s, and what we want is somebody to reduce the inflammation and make something quiet and livable out of the old house. We have lived there now 15 years. It was our first important financial investment. Our children were born there and we cannot bear to give it up.

⁴⁴ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, February 17, 1915 in Letterbook Series B, vol.26, part 1, William Allen White Papers, Collections of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter White Papers, LC).

Now you know more about architects in Kansas City than Mrs. White and I know, and we are going to ask your advice. We have already written to an architect in Chicago, Frank L. Wright, who is a friend of mine, but who will probably be too busy to tackle our job. I should be pleased to have your advice about the matter, or whom we should see.⁴⁵

Three days after making his inquiry for another architect, White received a reply from Frank Lloyd Wright in Los Angeles:

My dear Mr. Wm. Allen White:

I remember you quite well, thank you. Your letter was forwarded to me here and if I can be of any real service to you, the “doing over” of your house will be a pleasure. The house might pass away under the aesthetics of the necessary surgical operation, but if you can face that possibility calmly, I can and will do my best.

The job I would tackle in [this] case is not a \$3,000 or \$4,000 matter, but a home for the Whites which is no small affair in my opinion. At any rate, you ought to have something to go with those piano legs.

Helen and Chauncey were dear friends and Clarence Darrow is the real thing, whatever else he may be or isn't.

In this case, I regard myself as your hope and assure you frankly of its practicability. At any rate, we can talk it over there.... If convenient to you, I will stop over a train on the way back to Chicago...

Sincerely yours,

Frank Lloyd Wright⁴⁶

As the White family waited for Wright to arrive in Emporia, they received a letter from their friend in Kansas City recommending architect Thomas Wight, who had learned his profession in New York working for McKim, Mead, and White. In his grateful reply, White mentioned that he was expecting Wright to come for a visit but stated, “If we don't agree with Mr. Wright, we will certainly take up with Mr. Wight.”⁴⁷

By the end of March 1915, Wright had paid a visit to Red Rocks and returned to Chicago to begin preliminary design work. White wrote to Wright with gratitude: “Mrs. White and I want you to know that you gave us great joy in your visit and that we are looking forward to the expression of that joy in the house which you shall design for us. We have been planting all sorts of shrubs and hardy annuals around the borders of the fence, and are doing everything we can do while we are waiting for this dream to come true.”⁴⁸ He then wrote a letter to his friend

⁴⁵ Letter to Madge Overstreet Wright, February 22, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

⁴⁶ Letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to William Allen White, February 25, 1915, White Papers, LC.

⁴⁷ Letter from William Allen White to Madge Overstreet Wright, March 3, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

⁴⁸ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, March 30, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

Chauncey Williams in which he could not contain his excitement: “We are going to make over the house and plant a beautiful garden according to the plans and specifications to be furnished by Frank Lloyd Wright.”⁴⁹ As they waited to hear from the architect, the Whites continued with their landscape changes, planting evergreens on the south line of the lot.⁵⁰

Yet things were not to go smoothly between architect and client. In early April, White sent a letter to Wright with concerns and criticisms of the initial design. Mrs. White objected to the location of two servants’ rooms on the first floor and had concerns that a second floor bedroom would be lost to a new staircase. White, too, voiced his concerns regarding the lack of a porch:

I cannot get over the notion that I want a porch somewhere – a porch with a roof on it, where I can sit in rainy weather and enjoy the outdoors – a porch where I can put up a hammock and a lot of chairs and leave them out all night and not worry about the rain... I know that these things cost money, and I haven’t got much money to spend and I really don’t know what to do about it. I want to keep the thing as near \$3,000 as I can, but on the other hand I don’t want to live any longer in a house that looks like a futurist’s picture of an inverted battleship.⁵¹

Later in April, White wrote a lengthy letter to Wright commenting on design changes he wished to be made to the plans, including constructing the porch roof outside of the dining room with prism glass for the winter months, while providing “some sort of system of wood shutters or corrugated steel shutters” for the summer; omitting a new flue planned for the kitchen to keep the house from looking like a “foundry”; and adding dormer windows on the third floor to all four elevations. White admitted to the architect: “Probably this would result in a miserably bad design, and if so I am willing to relinquish comfort to beauty.” He then expressed doubts over Wright’s window design: “I notice that in your plans the gable ends in the third floor have some sort of curious windows in them. I hope that these windows admit plenty of air – that they are so geared that they can be opened wide and let lots of breeze in. I think they are beautiful windows, but I trust they will also be useful.”⁵²

White also reminded the architect that he required sleeping porches and asked for Wright’s opinion: “What would you think of a second story pergola effect east and west over the two south second story porches you have planned? Sleeping porches, if possible, should have south and west exposures, but by all means south

⁴⁹ Letter from William Allen White to Chauncey Williams, April 1, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

⁵⁰ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, April 6, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

⁵¹ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, April 10, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

⁵² Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, April 26, 1915, Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

exposures...sleeping porches are absolutely necessary. Perhaps a sleeping porch with a pergola effect might be worked out on the south side over the dining room and porch...”⁵³ Wright’s reply to his client assured him that the porch roof may be left open like a trellis for use with screens or awnings in summer; that the dilemma of the kitchen flue had already been resolved; that dormers could indeed be added to the roof, but at great expense; that the windows in the gable ends would be useful; the second-story pergola would provide “an effect I think desirable”; and he would attempt to work on the addition of sleeping porches.⁵⁴

Correspondence between the two regarding the renovation plans continued throughout the spring and summer of 1915 without resolution; upon receipt of new sketches or drawings, the Whites would request modifications and Wright would respond with dissuading commentary or partial acquiescence. Wright encouraged them to pay him a visit at Taliesin in Spring Green, Wisconsin, but the Whites declined, stating that they could not afford the time. The Whites spent the summer in Estes Park, Colorado, as they usually did, and returned to Emporia to begin considering their renovation project once again. In the fall, White sent a telegram to Wright, mentioning that his friend, Henry J. Allen of Wichita, was about to build a home for himself and was expecting to spend \$12,000 to \$20,000; White had persuaded his friend to consult Wright and wanted to be sure that the architect would be interested in meeting Allen in Chicago.⁵⁵ He then sent Wright a brief letter of introduction on October 14:

My dear Mr. Wright:

This letter will introduce you to Henry J. Allen, editor of the Wichita Beacon. He has been my friend for a quarter of a century. Mr. Allen is thinking of building a residence for his home [sic] and I think you are the best man in the world to do it. It is up to you and Henry to work it out. If there is anything in our plans that would interest Mr. Allen, you may of course show them to him.

Truly and sincerely yours,

W. A. White⁵⁶

As winter approached, White wrote to Wright to inquire about his meeting with Allen. He told the architect: “There is, of course, no hurry about our plans, and we are reasonably happy in the old house, even if it have [sic] no eyebrows and is bald headed clear to the back of its neck. Take your time and work out something

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to William Allen White, [n.d.] 1915, Series C, Box 31, White Papers, LC.

⁵⁵ Telegram from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, [n.d., between October 11 and 15, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 27, part 2, White Papers, LC.

⁵⁶ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, October 14, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 27, part 2, White Papers, LC.

good. I know you will.”⁵⁷ Wright replied several weeks later, telling White, “Your friend Henry Allen came in and we decided that you knew what you were talking about when you recommended him to have me build him a home,” and teasingly added, “...such an interesting set of sketches for his home will reach him soon that if you are not careful not to look at them you will insist on having a new one, too, instead of having the ‘dear old thing’ made over.”⁵⁸

By early 1916, the Whites were no closer to having the renovation plans finalized; they did, however, reach some strong conclusions regarding what they wanted. Sallie Lindsay White, in particular, was adamant about having five or six bedrooms on the second floor – “She will not stand under any circumstances for the maid’s room downstairs” – and an attic, and she was concerned about the loss of the third story.⁵⁹ The Whites continued to offer suggestions to Wright, such as making the first-floor maid’s room an attached garage, omitting the children’s playroom, and adding a bedroom to the attic space.

In February, White began another letter to Wright with an apology: “I have no desire to give you nervous prostrations by suggestions for the house, but Mrs. White contemplates with fear and trembling doing away with the third floor.” He then went on to explain that the third floor – a space between the roof and the bedrooms on the second floor – was essential for comfortable sleep in the heat of Kansas summers and urged the architect to “think...” White also turned his thoughts to the reflecting pool that Wright had designed for the rear lawn: by running it north to south instead of east to west, it would require losing a large elm tree that White called “my particular joy and pride.”⁶⁰

Still, with all the miscommunications and changes, the two men were very conscious of flattering each other, well aware of the tensions that might grow between them. After disagreeing on the recent book by Mary Austin, for example, White dashed off a complimentary word to Wright coupled with his own self-deprecating doubts: “My poor fat mind has known for nearly 20 years what you were and I have carried your banner into many fields. But after my confession as to the work and worth of Mary Austin, I know you will not regard my opinion very highly.”⁶¹ Wright sent revised plans with his reply:

Dear William Allen White –

⁵⁷ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, December 1, 1915, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 26, part 2, White Papers, LC.

⁵⁸ Letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to William Allen White, December 17, 1915, Series C, Box 31, White Papers, LC.

⁵⁹ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, January 15, 1916, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 28, part 1, White Papers, LC.

⁶⁰ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, February 8, 1916, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 28, part 1, White Papers, LC.

⁶¹ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, February 18, 1916, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 28, part 1, White Papers, LC.

The plans go forward today – with the attic storage only – for your prayerful consideration. I am keeping my toes and fingers crossed while you summon that intelligence which alone can bless “the Whites” in this building venture.

I am sure my recommendation as embodied in the plans – now – is wise and has the right sort of love in it – love of the prairie, love of home, love of the Whites, love of the beautiful.

I think it now looks the part and looks it partly because it is more practical and easier to live in than any three story house could be. The advantages are obvious. The cost no greater than the awful struggle with the present “threat” against the prairie and the home and the beautiful would eventually entail....

Fat mind? I wish that many whom we admire already had minds as “fat” as yours. Some kind of fat. You make a “religion” of your friends. I have had to stand alone in every crisis and there have been so many of my life – yet of course not alone. Am I not working for you, for instance?

Sincerely, your friend,
Frank Lloyd Wright⁶²

Wright sent a perspective drawing of the house a few weeks later, having added a two-car garage, but he put the maid’s room on a mezzanine level. White replied that he liked it “immensely” but could not understand how the long, straight line of the eave would work structurally, and he asked for help in reading the drawings; he also sent Wright some information regarding the construction of a new building for the Art Institute in Kansas City.⁶³ The architect replied, “Your good letters have all scared – I am going to take them up in detail later,” and then proceeded to address the issue of the new building project in Kansas City. Wright suggested that his friend, the British architect C. R. Ashbee, should be consulted for the Art Institute project as well as for the purchase of new items for the museum collection. He then continued:

I understand a Mr. Wight – an architect – is one of the trustees of the K.C. Art Institute and has already prepared a plan of the conventional sort for a building and he of course would not be enthusiastic over the Ashbee plans. But the trustees nevertheless might be broad minded – far-seeing – and contentious enough – all of which means intelligent enough – to sift the thing notwithstanding.⁶⁴

White replied that he would do all he could to help Ashbee meet with the trustees of the Art Institute, saying, “I sincerely hope that something may be done. I know

⁶² Letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to William Allen White, March 12, 1916, Series C, Box 35, White Papers, LC.

⁶³ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, April 6, 1916, in Letterbook Series B, vol. 29, part 1, White Papers, LC.

⁶⁴ Letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to William Allen White, n.d. (after April 6-before April 12) 1916, Series C, Box 35, White Papers, LC.

the architect Wight of whom you speak. I should not wonder if he has rather definite plans and some influence.”⁶⁵ He made no mention of the fact that Wight had been his second choice for the renovation project at Red Rocks.

Correspondence between the two men has not been located for the period between April 28 and August 24, 1916; it is not known if there is any particular reason other than Wright’s other looming projects – the Allen House in Wichita and the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo – and the Whites’ usual summer residency in Estes Park, Colorado. It seems, however, that White was concerned about his finances, especially with the war being waged in Europe at that time. He was also preoccupied with the upcoming presidential elections and spent the summer writing articles, fiction, and many letters regarding the Republican and Progressive parties’ platforms.

Later that summer, Wright sent a letter from his home and studio at Taliesin:

My dear Will Allen White –

I have come to the conclusion...that I need you a good deal more than you need me. Selfishness is my “long suit” and whenever the game is played I ought to win but somehow I always lose....

I am going to be in Wichita the afternoon of Sept. 16th for a day or two and either just before or after I want to look you up and go over your building scheme in detail with you. I have the impression that you are in no hurry to build owing to Mrs. White’s health – but in person we can settle many things that by correspondence are unsatisfactory. Write and let me know when it will be convenient for me to come or if you want me to come at all. I will make the arrangements when I hear from you. Have been having a rather hit or miss time with Henry Allen but will finally establish his architects on a footing with him that will ensure his confidence and a beautiful result. Allen’s home will be an “oasis” in the architectural desert of Kansas. Great things ought to come of it for us all. And I am anxious too to get you into “an atmosphere” that is worthy of you. I love you enough and admire your work enough and am enough of an artist to do it if I want to and I do want to.⁶⁶

Again there is little record of correspondence between William Allen White and Frank Lloyd Wright until the early fall of 1916, when Wright wrote a letter to White, admonishing the editor for his frugality and conservative tendencies:

My dear Will White:

You shame some of us who have not one-fourth of our assets in a home but fully all or more. Have a heart “Bill” have a heart.

⁶⁵ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, April 12, 1916, Letterbook Series B, Volume 29, Part 1, White Papers, LC.

⁶⁶ Letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to William Allen White, August 25, 1916, Series C, Box 35, White Papers, LC.

And yet you are right, to feel one's clothes, home, or table out of proportion to one's means is the cheap fate of most "Maple Streeter's" – I know what it is and am not going to push you in.

But I do want to see you get some thing worth while for your "white alley" and not let the penny-wise be pound-foolish. That's why I threw away my plans and slew the roof. I tiled the floor because something substantially fine underfoot is a platform for the soul. Probably that's why "we all" love beautiful rugs.

Suppose we say that \$10,000.00 covers your expenditure, including architects fee, furnishings and garden fences?

If I don't look out the drawings will have cost me more than the house will cost you as the furniture drawings in my clients' houses sometimes costs [sic] me more than the furniture does them. But this is my fault, not yours. Do you know that a complete set of elevations and sections went astray, they were made I know for I worked on them and Russell [Williamson] swears he sent them. We have been busy duplicating them ever since I came back. They were sent yesterday and registered this time.

Reflect that you have a garage included in this scheme. I do not want to deceive you about cost when I know the truth and really you can't hope to get off with less than \$10,000.00 to give you in all modesty and true economy you need. You deserve more of the solid refinement of environment than that can bring you in this day and generation but you must have that much. We won't waste the money....

I would like to catch the spirit of your quiet life and situation there and put it into your house – that's what I have got in it now. The present house is a liar – a reprobate with slander on its lips, a leer under its lids and it is out of feeling, out of drawing – the truth is nowhere in its faked up pretentious carcass. That you can love it shows how merely human feelings twine about death and decay like vines about dry tree trunks – to go down with them eventually of course. I don't know that what is merely human is good. Perhaps the thing that is most human is precisely not God and therefore not really what the "gallery" would have us beleive [sic] it to be.

I have the same urge to eliminate the sins of that old building that Mayo would have to cut out a tumour or Christ had when he scourged the money changers from the temple.

You are such a big gentle conservative – Will White. Get reckless. Have the real-thing, when it can be found, no matter what it costs, it's the only thing that's not cheap – and vote for Wilson.⁶⁷

White's concern about his finances seems to have played a significant role in his plans for the renovation. In late October, White sent a check to Wright in the amount of \$165 and asked the architect to hold it until November 1, stating that he

⁶⁷ Letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to William Allen White, September 28, 1916, Series C, Box 35, White Papers, LC.

had no money in the bank and did not wish to be overdrawn, but “it seems to me that you are robbing yourself.” He then assured Wright, “When we get ready to build, I propose to pay you your regular fee. Your work has been splendid. Your ideas are beautiful and I have every faith in your judgement and skill.” White blamed the rise in price of white paper – crucial to the profitability of the Gazette – for the setback in his renovation plans. He told the architect that he would not be able to begin work on the house until the following year, although he felt that he could begin to construct the pergolas and garden walls in the late autumn or early winter.⁶⁸ There is little record of their further correspondence regarding Red Rocks until the following year.

In the summer of 1917, William Allen White and Henry Allen traveled together to France as observers for the American Red Cross. In late June, White wrote to Wright, “The war has taken the ginger out of our building plan, but we still hope to get at it perhaps this spring or maybe in the fall.”⁶⁹ Yet only one more letter from White to Wright, written in mid-July, seems to have been saved; in it White mentions that “we were glad to look at” the plans for the house which had arrived a few days earlier, but that he and Sallie had definitely settled upon maintaining the third floor of the house, even “if it does look like the devil.” He included some suggestions for modifications and suggested that he would be willing to pay the extra costs for these changes.⁷⁰

After this letter, correspondence between the two men again seems to wane until the 1930s, when White read Wright’s autobiography as a Book-of-the-Month Club selection and sent his compliments, and again after hearing about the Taliesin Fellowship. In his reply, Wright called White’s letter “a thriller” and stated, “I don’t know anyone whose praise or good will I would rather have than yours, Will.” White then responded in kind, “I am delighted that you have established your fellowship. I know it will be a great, good and beautiful place. Certainly I shall send there anyone whom I think is a fit companion for your noble group. Of course, I want to sponsor it and do anything else I can for you.”⁷¹ Wright apparently accepted this offer, and a former fellow provided a reminiscence of visits to the remodeled Red Rocks:

The Whites...were marvelous hosts to the Taliesin Fellowship on their trips through the Midwest to Arizona, and returning to Wisconsin. Whenever we stopped in Emporia, Mrs. White brought out her best linen, china, crystal service, and prepared an outstanding repast. Anything left over, she packed the next day following our breakfast into picnic baskets

⁶⁸ Letters from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, October 25 and November 6, 1916, Letterbook Series B, vol. 30, part 1, White Papers, LC.

⁶⁹ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, June 29, 1917, Letterbook Series B, vol. 32, part 1, White Papers, LC.

⁷⁰ Letter from William Allen White to Frank Lloyd Wright, July 21, 1917, Letterbook Series B, vol. 32, part 1, White Papers, LC.

⁷¹ Letters dated March 8, 23, and 29, 1932, Series C, Box 191; and January 30, 1934, Series C, Box 217, White Papers, LC.

for each of the vehicles in our caravan. Mr. White enjoyed watching our delight and our “attack” of the feast, and once he laughingly turned to Mr. and Mrs. Wright during our dinner and said, “Look at those boys and girls of yours wolfing down Sallie’s meal! Frank, you should call your Taliesin Fellowship ‘The Great American Sponge.’”⁷²

Wight & Wight and the Renovation of Red Rocks

It was not until November 1919, more than two years after his last letter to Frank Lloyd Wright, that White first contacted the architectural firm of Wight & Wight. He wrote a letter proposing three architectural commissions: the remodeling of the Plumb residence for use as dormitories by the YWCA; a possible “hotel proposition” with Emporia’s Chamber of Commerce, estimated at \$250,000 to \$300,000; and the renovation of Red Rocks. In his description, White calls the house “a rather freak looking architectural peaked roof, betowered monstrosity of the period of the early 80s.” White also mentions his familiarity with their work in the Mission Hills and Country Club districts and states that his friends, Henry Haskell of the Kansas City Star and entrepreneur J. C. Nichols, “were enthusiastic about your work in home architecture.”⁷³

William Drewin Wight paid a visit to Red Rocks shortly thereafter, and by Christmas the Whites were in receipt of a floor plan. It may be presumed that, after working with Wright for two years, the Whites had very strong ideas about what they did and did not want in a renovation plan. Their comments to Wight & Wight regarding room size and placement are very precise, as are their interests in materials. It also seems apparent that some of the ideas expressed in the plan – such as a pergola and a reflecting pool – derive directly from their collaboration with Wright. For example, White again expressed his concern about the placement and location of the pool, as if Wight & Wight did little to modify it from Wright’s plan: he reminded them that the pool must run east to west instead of north to south in order to save his favorite elm tree. He also made a request for as many southern windows as possible, for “in Kansas [they] are absolutely necessary for comfort.” It is obvious that White was ready for the renovation work to begin, as he closed his letter with a request for the number of carloads of red stone he should order from the quarry, and the number of red pressed bricks for the veneer. White expressed his enthusiasm for the Wight & Wight design, saying, “You have done so much better than we imagined it possible to do...we are more than gratified. The outside elevations are splendid. I did not imagine that it was in the old house. We would scarcely change any detail.”⁷⁴

⁷² Yukio Futagawa and Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, Frank Lloyd Wright, Monograph 1914-1923 (Tokyo, Japan: ADA Edita, Tokyo Company, 1985), 32-33.

⁷³ Letter from William Allen White to Wight & Wight, November 13, 1919, Letterbook Series B, vol. 39, White Papers, LC.

⁷⁴ Letter from William Allen White to Wight & Wight, December 27, 1919, Letterbook Series B, vol. 40, White Papers, LC.

While the rejected Wright plan showed a Tudor Revival influence – diamond-lattice windows set in stucco and stone walls trimmed with wood strips – it also featured strong lines in the hipped roofs of the two-story house and its surrounding porches, especially in the low, extended eaves which turned up slightly, giving the house a somewhat Asian appearance. The Wight & Wight scheme retained many of Wright’s design elements, including the relocation of the main entrance from Tenth Avenue to Exchange Street; large expanses of glass in the dining room, which opened out to a porch or terrace; the creation of a rear garden pergola and reflecting pool; and a workroom for William Allen White that stretched across the east side of the house. The Wight & Wight plan, however, had more traditional Tudor Revival features such as a steeply pitched slate roof and the dormers, which the Whites had wanted, and it retained the third floor.⁷⁵

White’s further correspondence with Wight & Wight dealt primarily with material selection, such as the use of walnut and a dark stain for the interior woodwork and the purchase of mahogany furniture. On January 20, 1920, the editor wrote to the architects: “The only thing that worries me about this walnut trim is a fear that we may get the house to looking too boxy inside, not free enough, not open enough, and rather too formal and stuffy.”⁷⁶ Later that evening, a spark from the chimney started a fire on the roof of Red Rocks while the Whites were dining. This dramatic turn of events was later recalled in his autobiography, although in a somewhat conflated and greatly simplified form:

...[In] January of 1920, one of those major breaks in one’s life occurred. A fire broke out one evening at dinnertime in the roof of our house. It destroyed the third floor. We had to move out in less than an hour. And here is something I am putting down as a warning against accepting circumstantial evidence. For six months before the fire, we had been thinking of remodeling the house. Frank Lloyd Wright worked on a set of remodeling plans. They were too devastating on the old house and destructive, so we paid him his fee and accepted the plans of a Kansas City firm of architects, Wight & Wight. We were about to leave the house, and the day before the fire I had bought a house eight blocks west of ours where we would have been moving in a week. I closed the deal the very day of the fire. Our house was well insured. A few weeks before, I had seen that the policies were renewed. There was perfectly good circumstantial evidence that I had set the fire to get the insurance

⁷⁵ Sally Foreman Griffith described White’s ultimate rejection of the Wright design: “His response to modernist trends in American culture reflected a parallel ambivalence. He wanted to remain alive to change, but he also longed for the comfort of the familiar.” See Griffith, Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 225. Wright himself wrote to author Everett Rich, who was writing White’s biography: “I once made a set of plans for ‘Will.’ He didn’t go on with all of it because, as he said, he had an ‘animal fear of being turned out of the old one.’ So he used the plans to modify ‘the old one.’ ... They were my testimony of affection and esteem for W.A.W.” See letter from Frank Lloyd Wright to Everett Rich, November 5, 1951, White Collection, ESU.

⁷⁶ Letter from William Allen White to Wight & Wight, January 20, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 40, White Papers, LC.

covering the five or six thousand dollars' damage to help remodel the house. I told the insurance adjuster the facts about the fire and the house and the architect and our plans. But nothing happened. The claim was paid. And for the next year and a half we lived outside our home watching the workmen remodel it.⁷⁷

The house to which White referred as being "eight blocks west" was the former H. M. Thorp residence on the northwest corner of Neosho Street and Eleventh Avenue.⁷⁸ Although White stated that he bought the house on the day of the fire, there is no record of that purchase in the office of the Register of Deeds of Lyon County. The White family lived at that house until the middle of May 1920, at which time they moved into "another house a few doors south of our building project."⁷⁹

In a Gazette editorial titled "Thoughts on Neighbors," White described the quick-thinking assistance he and his family received on the night of the fire:

Within one hour after the water was turned into the house every stick of furniture, every one of the 2,000 books, every picture, every bookcase, every rug or carpet – everything was out of that house but the wall paper. And not a glass on a picture was cracked, not a book was wet, not a stick of furniture broken, not a paper lost, not an article of any value disappeared; and barring some nicks, scratches, water stains and some smoke-stinks in the things, the damage to the furniture was negligible.

And it was all along of good neighbors. They came quickly, worked methodically, and used their heads....

The neighborhood around Tenth and Exchange may not have the social distinction that graces other environs, but...[it] is equipped with heads and hands that work like clocks and the neighbors have hearts of pure gold! And a good neighborhood is rather to be chosen than great social qualities. It's not a pedigreed neighborhood; it's not perhaps a good beef breed of folks; rather it is Holstein – some black and some white. But they are good grade folk and we're all for 'em against all comers.⁸⁰

The renovation of Red Rocks continued as scheduled after the fire and during the two relocations of residence. A steel I-beam was added to support the second floor in the new, enlarged living room; steel lintels were ordered for the windows; old walls were demolished and new walls constructed; and throughout the building process design changes were made. White raised concerns about budget and materials, including the use of stucco on the second floor exterior, pine floors

⁷⁷ White, Autobiography, 582.

⁷⁸ Organ's Souvenir of Emporia, Kansas, 1888, 38. The house, a cross-gabled, two-story frame structure, is shown as having much steamboat-Gothic-inspired scrimshaw decoration along its front porch and the roof eaves.

⁷⁹ Letter from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, May 28, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 42, White Papers, LC. The exact house is not known as of this writing.

⁸⁰ William Allen White, "Thoughts on Neighbors," Emporia Daily Gazette, Thursday, January 22, 1920.

throughout the second and third floors, a smaller kitchen with less pantry storage, and a wood floor for the rear porch in place of cement. Sallie White was credited by her husband for the ideas of making the west bedroom on the second floor into a suite with a sitting room to the north; adding French doors in the dining room and the stone terrace immediately outside them; lowering the main entrance hall in order to rise into the living room; and covering the entrance hall floor with tile.⁸¹

Excavations for a 17' addition on the west side of the building began in March 1920, and White's correspondence with the architects contained a flurry of questions concerning construction details: will the base of the pergola columns be red sandstone or limestone to match the building foundations? Can the pergola fence have less of a "bird-cage" effect?⁸² Yet the editor was quick to change his mind:

You spoke in a recent letter about us taking the decorative features off[f] the place. I don't want to do this at all. You go ahead and put the bird cage back on the pergola screen, put an elephant back if you want to, or a hippopotamus jumping through hoops. The only decorative feature that I can recall asking you to change is the four foot projection of the upper bedrooms, because it cut off the windows of Mary's room. It was a question, not of spoiling one good bedroom, but of making another better, and I believe I'd rather have two fair bedrooms than one and a half. If you can think of any other way to work out any decorations, put them on. I don't want a plain house and I do trust your judgement, otherwise I wouldn't be asking you to do the work.⁸³

From these letters, it is clear that White envisioned his new home as a representation of his character, intellect, and taste, a place to display his extensive collection of books and the exotic objects he gathered from his many travels and friendships. He knew exactly what he wanted and was fearless in expressing his desires and criticisms to the architects:

It occurs to me in looking over the plans that perhaps a little added distinction might be given to the fireplace in the living room. That fireplace should be the distinctive note of the whole room and I fear that this is not emphasized at it should be. I believe that you are cramped somewhat in your expression of the fireplace by the two openings on either side, perhaps if one of them was narrowed, or both of them, it might help... I don't know what is needed, but it does seem that the fireplace might well be emphasized... I am wondering what your idea is of the

⁸¹ Letters from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, February 23 and March 15, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 41, White Papers, LC.

⁸² Letters from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, April 6 and 9, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 41, White Papers, LC.

⁸³ Letter from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, April 22, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 41, White Papers, LC.

color of the stone for the fireplace, you indicate stone, but you specify no color. I fancy your notion might be gray, though I have here in Emporia a lot of very beautiful white foundation stone – Carthage stone – left over from the trim on my garage building... It might do well for a mantel, if white stone can be used.⁸⁴

White suggested other details to make the living and dining rooms more impressive, including the Gothic arched openings for the cased doorways. He expressed his pleasure in the resulting design: “The details for the trim and woodwork and the living room and dining room are here and we are delighted with it... The simplicity and dignity of all this work strikes me as being mighty good house-making art.”⁸⁵ However, White was certain of the overall effect he hoped to achieve in his living room – the place where his many important visitors would first be ushered – and to him, the fireplace was the anchor of it all. The Wight & Wight design left a little to be desired:

Your design for the fireplace, it seems to me, is a little too monumental. I wonder if some design could not be effected [sic] which would not carry the pillars resting on the breast of the fireplace. A flat panel on the wall, it seems to me, would be more modest and much more in keeping with a room in a private house. The pillars extending out from the wall look like those of a hotel... I want the fireplace to dominate the room, but not overawe it, as I fear it will as you have it suggested.⁸⁶

Four days after this letter, White wrote another to reiterate his vision of the fireplace, but assured the architects, “I don’t object at all to the carving. I really like it. I like everything about the fireplace except the two projecting posts or pillars from the edge of the mantel. I wonder why it wouldn’t do to take the fireplace as it is without those projecting pillars.”⁸⁷ The current appearance of the living room fireplace with a carved walnut mantel over a plain gray Carthage stone surround seems to reflect White’s opinions.

Work on the house continued as planned without interruption, and the Whites were so comfortable with the progress being made that they left Emporia for their usual summer stay in Colorado, leaving the project in the hands of the general contractor, S. M. Parker. Upon his return in September, White informed the architects: “We have everything assembled on the grounds for the house – only labor, and that is very scarce, but we are getting good men and good work and the

⁸⁴ Letter from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, May 3, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 41, White Papers, LC.

⁸⁵ Letters from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, May 5 and 8, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 42, White Papers, LC.

⁸⁶ Letter from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, May 24, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 42, White Papers, LC.

⁸⁷ Letter from William Allen White to Wight & Wight, May 28, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 42, White Papers, LC.

house is coming up to our expectations, and we are proud of what you have done.”⁸⁸

Deliberations continued on the specifics of details: the color of the grout for the quarry tile floors in the main entrance hall and the dining room and the color of the stucco for the exterior. In March 1921 work began on the landscape features of the house, including the excavation for the lily pool and the footings for the pergola columns. It was also at this time that Wight & Wight sent the following letter to White at his Gazette office:

Please find enclosed our bill for \$550.00 being in full for architectural services rendered on the alterations and additions to your house.

Our bill is higher than contemplated previously, but the actual cost to us up to December 31st is \$1,116.62; since December 31st, our cost has been \$29.35, making a total cost to date of \$1,145.97 to us. We have received from you \$800.00 which, with the \$550.00 herewith asked for, will make a total of \$1,350.00 or a profit to us of \$204.03 minus an additional amount still due our heating engineer.⁸⁹

For all of the work done to Red Rocks, this seems like a very small profit indeed for the esteemed architectural firm. The connection made between the editor and the architects, however, would pay in other ways. In September they asked White to write a letter on their behalf to his friend, Kansas Governor Henry J. Allen, in the hope that they might be named for future work being planned at the University of Kansas, citing their European education, apprenticeship with McKim, Mead, & White of New York City, and their familiarity with locally accessible building materials and the Kansas climate; White was happy to oblige them.⁹⁰

Early in April, White sent partial payment to William Drewin Wight along with his compliments and an invitation: “As the house shapes up, inside and outside, we are delighted with your work... When the house is done, which should be sometime in late May or early June, I want to pay your expenses and Mrs. Wight’s down to see it. I think you have done a splendidly beautiful thing.”⁹¹

Yet in mid-May, while White was out of town, the family suffered a great tragedy that temporarily slowed the project. Mary Katherine, his adventure-loving sixteen-year-old daughter, was injured in a horseback riding accident. At first, Sallie was optimistic and notified her husband of Mary’s accident in a telegram in which she encouraged him to continue his trip to Atlantic City as planned, as he

⁸⁸ Letter from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, September 8, 1920, Letterbook Series B, vol. 42, White Papers, LC.

⁸⁹ Letter from Wight & Wight to William Allen White, March 10, 1921, Series C, Box 58, White Papers, LC.

⁹⁰ Letter from Wight & Wight to William Allen White, September 19, 1921, Series C, Box 58, White Papers, LC.

⁹¹ Letter from William Allen White to W. D. Wight, April 9, 1921, Series C, Box 58, White Papers, LC.

was scheduled to speak at the convention of the American Booksellers Association. She later sent another telegram urging him to return home immediately, telling him that Mary's condition had turned very grave. When White stopped in Chicago to change trains, his friends Edna Ferber and Harold Ickes met him on the platform and informed him of Mary's death. In his autobiography, White told of his reaction:

It was a long, sad, agonizing journey home. The Santa Fe stopped the train for me at Exchange Street so that I should not have to go clear to the station, and there Sallie met me. Her face was brave, and her heart was staunch; and when I kissed her I knew it was all right.

Bill came home from Harvard a few hours later. The day after the funeral I knew that I must write something about Mary. Sallie and I walked down to the Gazette office together, and I hammered out her obituary. We went over it together, and revised it three times in the proof before the type was put into the forms. I had said my say and felt eased in my soul.⁹²

The obituary became one of White's best-known works, reprinted many times over in newspapers and collections around the globe. It helped begin a healing process that enabled the family to return to their daily activities, which included the completion of the Red Rocks renovation. By that autumn, the Whites were back in their home at 927 Exchange Street, entertaining visitors as they always had, but now they were settled in stylish surroundings with a quiet garden and contemplative reflecting pool.

The renovated house accommodated the White's extensive entertaining with a larger, modern kitchen, additional bathrooms, and expanded dining room, adjacent terrace, and porch. In 1925, Edna Ferber wrote glowingly of their hospitality:

To spend twenty-four hours as the guest of the Will Whites is to have a Great Adventure; an American pilgrimage; and a darned good time.

The White House in Emporia, Kansas is in its way (and in other ways, too) as important as the White House in Washington, D. C.... In that red brick house on the corner of Exchange Street the Whites have entertained every sort of person from Presidents and Princes up and down. And they have no guest book....

When your world is awry and hope dead and vitality low and the appetite gone, there is no ocean trip, no month in the country, no known drug equal to the reviving quality of twenty-four hours spent on the front porch or in the sitting room of the Whites' house in Emporia... Your twenty-four hours will be a mellow blend of roomy red brick house, flagged terrace, lily pond, fried chicken, books, ancient elms, four-poster beds, hot biscuits, front porch, old mahogany, deep-dish apple pie, peace,

⁹² White, Autobiography, 604-605.

friendliness, bath-rooms, Kansas sky, French peasant china, and the best conversation to be found east (or west) of the Rockies....

There juts, at one side of the White residence, a large, square, roomy porch so constructed as to catch all the breezes. On it are easy-chairs, hammocks, swings, books, tables, and like aids to indolence... Big, still, comfortable rooms. Roomy, white, unhurried baths... Platters of chicken, and always another platter of chicken. Vegetables of the bouncing Kansas kind. A great salad mixed honestly in a bowl, and turned and tossed, until each jade-green leaf and scarlet tomato and blanched spear of endive glistened in its own coating of oil dressing. Home-made pie and home-made cake and ice-cream....⁹³

Ferber noted many of the features specified personally by White, such as the breezy porch with sheltered space for hammocks and chairs. White himself commented on his home at Red Rocks in an interview with the Kansas City Star in 1931. He had just returned from a stay at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, where he had been taken after collapsing from exhaustion. The editor delighted in showing off his house ten years after the renovation:

The thing I like most about the house, in summer, is this wide porch...it is roofed and is covered with vines, and it gets the breeze from every point. Everybody in town gathers here on this porch and is welcome. I have so many social irons in the fire that I have to have this big house to meet the folks in. You might say of this house what they say of many big hotels: "A bath in every room and meals at all hours."⁹⁴

William Allen and Sallie Lindsay White lived at Red Rocks until their deaths – his in 1944 and hers in 1950 – all the while happily entertaining a tremendous number of friends and neighbors. The home then passed to their son and his wife, William Lindsay and Kathrine Klinkenberg White, who took up residence ca. 1955 although they continued to divide their time between Emporia and New York City. The White Foundation owned the house and continued to share it with the community even after the death of the younger Mrs. White in 1988. In 2001 it was donated to the Kansas State Historical Society, and the organization is currently working on plans for its restoration and reuse as an historic house museum in conjunction with White's mother's house next door.

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General Statement:

⁹³ Edna Ferber, "Kansas, Too, Has Its 'White' House," Literary Digest 136 (July 25, 1925), 46-47. Quoted in Rich, 275.

⁹⁴ A. B. MacDonald, "'Bill' White, Forced to Rest to Regain Health, Defends What Mencken Calls Yokels," Kansas City Star, Sunday, April 12, 1931.

1. Architectural character: An amalgamation of Queen Anne irregularity and charm with Tudor Revival and Arts and Crafts warmth, the house was typically styled for a grand residence in its day, both at its initial construction date ca. 1889 and during its 1920-1921 renovation. The Tudor Revival style was popular from the turn of the century until ca. 1940, so Red Rocks remained stylish and fashionable until White's death.⁹⁵ The steeply pitched, gabled roof – its dormers sheathed in slate shingles and stucco with half-timbering – is a prominent feature common to this style. The basic footprint, however, with its projecting bays, still reveals the home's Queen Anne origin. The carport, with its red stone piers, wood roof structure, and corrugated fiberglass roofing, has a somewhat Asian character that is quite incongruous with the house, although it was obviously intended to mimic the garden pergola; it was designed by a local architect in 1973, while Kathrine Klinkenberg White, wife of William Lindsay White, was in residence.⁹⁶

2. Condition of fabric: Good. Most of the original materials and details are intact, although there is water damage to plaster walls and ceilings on the second and third floors of the house as well as evidence of considerable settlement throughout. The kitchen was updated ca. 1951, but original cabinets and countertops dating from the 1921 renovation remain in place in the pantry and butler's pantry, with the flooring also in place in the pantry. Kathrine Klinkenberg White purportedly shortened the bookcases in the workroom during her residence at Red Rocks.⁹⁷

B. Description of Exterior: See HABS No. KS-81-A, sheets 5-8 of 13, for measured drawings of the four elevations.

1. Overall dimensions: The house and covered porch measure 63' x 61'-8 ½". The house is three stories with an irregular footprint due to its Queen Anne beginnings. The overall dimension for the north elevation would increase from 63' to 101'-11" when including the carport addition to the west of the house. The measurement for the east elevation (61'-8 ½") includes the front porch as well as the rear terrace and covered porch but does not include the pergola structure.

2. Foundations: The foundation for the original part of the structure is made of limestone while the foundation for the south addition is of concrete; all of the exposed foundation walls are of commonly available limestone. The foundation is exposed on all four sides of the house except on the south side, where it is obscured by the stone terrace.

3. Walls: The first floor walls are sheathed in rusticated red sandstone laid in a random ashlar pattern. A stone water table, 1' wide, is 2'-10 ½" above grade.

⁹⁵ Virginia and Lee McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 354-359.

⁹⁶ Date of construction and name of applicant taken from building permit records, Code Services, City of Emporia, Kansas. Also made at that time was an application for a fence on the west side of the grounds.

⁹⁷ Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002.

There is also a string course, 6" wide, which is 5'-8 ¼" above grade. Another string course defines the top of the sandstone at 13'-7 ½" above grade. Much of the second story is clad in red pressed brick laid in a running bond, again with a stone string course defining the window sills. The remainder of the second story – primarily the western half of the north and south elevations, and the gable end of the west elevation – and the third story are covered with a cream-colored stucco and wood strips designed to look like half timbering. The wood members are painted a medium brown color, and all of the wood on the exterior of the house is painted to match. All three types of cladding can be seen on the large, asymmetrical gable on the north elevation.

4. Structural system, framing: The original portion of the house is a masonry bearing structure with interior frame partition walls; the south addition is of frame construction with stone cladding; the house is covered with a common rafter roof. Steel members were added during the renovation to support the upper floors.

5. Porches: There are two porches at Red Rocks. The covered front porch faces Tenth Avenue and serves as the main entrance to the house. The rear porch actually wraps around the east side of the house to the south or rear façade. This wraparound porch covers the original entrance to the house, facing Exchange Street.

a. Front porch: The front porch at Red Rocks faces Tenth Avenue. Supported by two red sandstone piers laid in a random ashlar pattern, its pitched roof is covered with slate shingles. The front gable end of the porch is covered with cream-colored stucco and three wood strips which provide a half-timbered appearance; decorative brackets hold up the front-facing crossbeam. The porch ceiling is of wood – ornate beams and rafters with painted bead board in between them – and a centrally mounted, hanging light fixture is suspended from it. The porch floor is of 5 ¾" square ceramic tiles with a mottled brown color in a matte finish, laid in a grid with ½" joints. The porch is reached by walking up four cast stone steps with a random leaf or grass pattern. The steps are defined by 2'-wide limestone knee walls on either side, capped with slabs of cast red stone to match the steps. There is a gutter and downspout on each side of the roof. The porch measures 9'-0 ¼" wide by 9'-7 ¼" deep; the steps project an additional 3'-8 ¾".

b. Rear porch: The rear porch begins near the center of the east side of the house and extends south, measuring 35'-3 ½" in length; it is 23'-9 ¼" wide as it wraps around the south side of the house. The porch roof has a very slight hipped profile and is supported by four red sandstone piers: three on the east façade, and one at the southwest corner that also serves to define the edge of the flagstone terrace. The floor is of wood boards which run north-south on the south side and east-west on the east side, meeting at a mitered diagonal joint which runs between the second stone

pier on the east side and a projecting corner of the living room wall. The porch railing is of red sandstone with cast stone caps. There are five red cast stone steps leading down to the lawn centered between the two end piers on the south side.

6. Chimneys: There are three internal chimneys at Red Rocks which are made of red pressed brick laid in a running bond, and all three have ornamental, corbelled tops. The smallest chimney is for the kitchen stove and projects between two roof dormers on the west side of the south elevation. The tallest chimney, for the living room fireplace, protrudes through the roof on the north façade slightly below the roof ridge. The widest chimney also protrudes from the roof on the north side, but to the east of the large gable, where it serves the workroom fireplace.

7. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: The main doorway to the house is slightly to the west of center on the north elevation. The door is of wood with twelve lights and a small, recessed horizontal panel at the bottom; it is flanked by sidelights, each with four lights and a recessed panel at the bottom to align with those of the door. The original entrance to the house, on the east side, has a wood door with nine lights in the top half and four panels – two squares above two verticals – in the lower half. Historic photographs of the home show that this is a replacement door, and the original entrance door to Red Rocks was salvaged for use on the west side of the home, entering the kitchen; this wood door has a two large square lights, one on top of the other, surrounded by twenty smaller square lights on its top half; the bottom half of the door features four square recessed panels, two over two, with a thin, horizontal panel between the top and bottom halves. In the basement, on the west side of the addition, is a wood door with one light in the top half and four panels on the bottom. On the south side of the house, leading to the flagstone terrace from the dining room, is a pair of wood French doors, each with fifteen lights in five rows of three. They are flanked by sidelights of similar width with the same number of lights. Above the doors and sidelights are fixed transom windows: each side transom has three lights, and the central one has seven lights.

b. Windows: Most of the windows are double-hung sash with one light over one. There are casement windows on the third story and also on the second story directly above the front porch. All of the windows have wood exterior trim painted brown to match the other exterior woodwork. The sills and lintels are of stone on the first story; on the brick portions of the second story, there is a stone string course above and below the window openings, while on the stucco portions of the second story and on the third story the window sills and lintels are of wood. The runoff slope of the window sills is cut to match that of the string course.

8. Roof:

a. Shape, covering: There is a cross gable roof covered with slate shingles; the gable ends are half-timbered with cream-colored stucco and wood members painted brown. There is a large, asymmetrical gable on the north elevation at the main entrance, and symmetrical gables on the other three elevations. The rear porch has a low-pitched hipped roof covered with an asphalt sheet material.

b. Cornice, eaves: All of the gables have slightly upturned eaves. The soffits are of wood boards. There are metal gutters and downspouts along the main roof on the north and south sides and on the east side coming from the roof of the projecting bay of the workroom.

c. Dormers: There are three roof dormers on the south elevation and one small roof dormer on the north. All have gable roofs covered with slate shingles, as are their sides; their front gable ends are half-timbered with cream-colored stucco. The north dormer has three-light casement windows, while the south dormers have eight-light casement windows. On the west elevation, at the location of Mary's room on the third floor, there is a flat roof dormer-like structure hidden behind the slope of the south gable. The space is merely boxed out with wood sheathing to a height of 2'-10" and a depth of 7'-0" and serves as storage for a small bed that can be rolled out into Mary's room. Because it lacks the height of a typical dormer, this wood box, painted to match the wood trim of the house, is difficult to see from the ground.

C. Description of Interior:

1. Floor plans:

a. Basement Floor Plan: See HABS No. KS-81-A, sheet 4 of 13, for measured drawings of the basement floor. The basement at Red Rocks contains mechanical and storage spaces and is entered from an unadorned wood stairway to the north of the kitchen in the 1920-1921 addition, which is on the west side of the house. In the basement to this addition, the floor and the walls are of concrete. This first basement room features two bead board cabinets on the east and west sides and an iron sink below two awning windows on the south wall. A doorway on the west wall leads to an outdoor stair which goes up to ground level, just outside the servants' entrance at the kitchen. A central air conditioning system is located on the east wall. Also on the east side of this room is a doorway that leads to the basement space of the original structure, up one step. This second basement room also has a concrete floor, but the walls are of

commonly available limestone. Straight ahead is the brick chimney base, with brick piers to the north and east, making a centrally located structure in the shape of a square. Between two of these piers, at the northeast corner, is a mechanical pit which is down two shallow steps. The pit contains a gas boiler and a gas water heater. Near the doorway between the two rooms, spanning north to south from the chimney structure to the wall, is a line of jacks; to the north and west of the chimney are grooves in the concrete floor which may indicate missing bearing walls and explain the need for the jacks.

b. First floor Plan: See HABS No. KS-81-A, sheet 1 of 13, for measured drawings of the first floor. The first floor at Red Rocks contains both service and entertaining spaces. Upon entering the house through the door on the north side, facing Tenth Avenue, the first room is a square entrance hall with a walnut staircase to the second floor along the south wall. To the left and up two steps is the living room, which is lined with bookcases and features an ornate beamed ceiling and a large stone fireplace with a decorative carved wood mantel as its focus. To the left of the fireplace and down two steps is the dining room, which has a decorative beamed ceiling more elaborate than that in the living room; on the south side of the dining room are French doors leading outside to the flagstone terrace, and at the northwest corner of the room is a swinging door which leads to a short hallway, on the immediate left of which is the butler's pantry; the kitchen is entered proceeding straight through this hall; a second storage pantry and the entrance to the basement are on the north side of the kitchen; the door on the west side of the kitchen exits out to the carport on the west side of the house. On the left side of the hall is a small circulation space which includes servants' stairs on the northwest side, a coat closet on the south side, and a powder room on the northeast side; the door on the east side of this circulation space exits out into the main entrance hall.

c. Second floor Plan: See HABS No. KS-81-A, sheet 2 of 13, for measured drawings of the second floor. On this floor of Red Rocks are the family bedrooms and William Allen White's workroom. Entering off of the winding staircase in the main entry hall and proceeding clockwise there is a bedroom with its own powder room and a closet, its wood flooring and moldings most likely dating from the original construction of the house; a long hallway in which are displayed many framed pictures of family members and friends; a linen closet with adjustable shelves; White's workroom, which was created from a bedroom and a sleeping porch in the original plan and which contains bookcases along its west wall and a fireplace on the north wall; a second hall closet; the master bedroom suite, remodeled by Kathrine Klinkenberg White, which contains a large bathroom and a dressing area with three built-in cabinets and a chest of drawers; a full bathroom; a third bedroom with its own sitting room and a closet to its south; and the entry into the servants' stair hall.

d. Third floor Plan: See HABS No. KS-81-A, sheet 3 of 13, for measured drawings of the third floor. This floor contains considerable storage space as well as bedrooms for servants. The largest bedroom, with three triangular trusses spanning its false beamed ceiling, was to be the bedroom of Mary White, the daughter of William Allen and Sallie Lindsay White, who at age sixteen was killed in a horseback riding accident before the remodeling of the house was completed. Access to this top story is gained only from the servants' stair, which ends at a long corridor which crosses the house from east to west. To the east to the stair and moving clockwise is a storage closet; a large storage room with access to the attic space above by a pull-down stair; a bedroom with its own full bathroom and a dormer on the south side; Mary's room, which features a hideaway bed that rolls into a structure built on the roof below as well as a large closet; a full bath; and a third bedroom with a dormer on the south side and two closets of different sizes.

2. Stairways: The main stairway from the first to the second floor goes straight along the south wall of the entrance hall and winds 90 degrees upward to the north. The walnut staircase has been attributed to Frank Lloyd Wright, but upon close inspection of Wright's rejected plans, the existing stair differs quite dramatically from his drawings; it does, however, feature simple details inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement, an obvious influence on Wright's work and typical for the time of the remodeling. The newel posts are straight and boxy, with a single recessed panel on each of the four sides; a small cavetto molding wraps around each newel post approximately 1 3/4" from the flat top. The balusters alternate in a regular pattern of two 1" supports followed by one 3" support into which a parallelogram-shaped notch, placed vertically into the top third of the baluster, has been cut. All balusters are spaced equally at 1 3/4". The servants' stair, which leads from the first floor all the way to the third, is much narrower and is not as finely detailed. The stairway has a simple railing attached to the wall on the right side as it winds 90 degrees up to the second floor; along the left wall an electric chair lift has been installed. As it continues up to the third floor, the railing ends at a knee wall with a simple wood cap. All of the risers on the servants' stair are painted white, while the treads are stained dark.

3. Flooring: Most of the rooms throughout the house have hardwood floors stained a dark walnut color. The first bedroom at the top of the stairs on the second floor has a decorative floorboard pattern with offset sides composed of 5" boards framing a center rectangle of 2 1/4" inch boards laid from east to west. The other floorboards on the second and third floors are all 2 1/4" inch wide, while those in the living room on the first floor are 5" wide. The main entrance hall and the dining room have the same ceramic tile with a mottled brown glaze; these tiles measure 5 3/4" square and are laid with 1/2" grout joints; this tile also extends outside from the front entrance hall to the front porch. The kitchen area has two types of sheet linoleum, one with a brown marbled effect used in the pantry space

as well as on the countertops in the pantry and the butler's pantry, which appears to date from the renovation; the other with a light colored terrazzo pattern used in the butler's pantry and the main kitchen space. All of the bathrooms have 1" square ceramic tile with a white glaze, except for the powder room located in the first bedroom at the top of the stairs on the second floor, in which the tiles are glazed with a reddish tint; the master bathroom in the center of the second floor, in which there are 6" square ceramic tiles with a white glaze on the floor and tub surround; and the bathroom contained in the east bedroom on the third floor, in which there is sheet linoleum similar to that in the kitchen pantry.

4. Wall and ceiling finish: Walls and ceilings are plaster on lath throughout the house; the plaster has a rough finish in the servants' quarters and storage spaces on the third floor as well as on the living room ceiling on the first floor. In the bathrooms, a 3" x 6" inch white ceramic subway tile is used on the walls as wainscot, leaving the painted plaster above; in the first floor powder room and the third floor bathroom off of the hallway, a sheet material with a similar appearance to this tile has been substituted. Wallpaper is used in the workroom and the two smaller bedrooms on the second floor.

5. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: Most of the interior doors throughout Red Rocks have five panels, the top half with two vertical panels and the lower half with one horizontal on the top and two small verticals on the bottom. In some locations, such as Mary's room on the third floor and the workroom of the second floor, double panel doors are used. On the first floor, there are three double panel doors: in the entrance hall, leading to the servants' stair, powder room, and closet; in the kitchen and butler's pantry hall, again leading to the servants' stair; and in the dining room a double panel door is hinged to swing, leading to the kitchen. The open doorways to the living and dining rooms on the first floor are elaborately cased with slightly pointed arches at the headers. Excepting these entries to the two formal rooms, the doorways on the first two floors have either plain wood moldings or reeded vertical members, and both types have a simple, decorative cornice at the top. The wood trim inside the kitchen area and throughout the second floor, excepting the workroom, is painted an ivory color. On the third floor the woodwork is similar to that on the second floor, but here all of the vertical members of the door trim are reeded; again, all of this wood trim is painted an ivory color. Mary's room has flat wood trim without any details, stained a medium brown color, surrounding all door and window openings as well as on the ceiling, where it appears as half-timbering members. Exceptions to these general descriptions are the first bedroom at the top of the stairs on the second floor, which also has reeded moldings with bulls-eyes at the top corners at the doors as well as the windows, and the master bedroom used by William Lindsay and Kathrine Klinkenberg White, which has a pair of flush panel doors

covered with Fortuny fabric on both sides and a wide decorative surround for the doorway made of the same Brazilian imbuia wood which was used in the remodeling of the Gazette offices in 1968.⁹⁸

b. Windows: The characteristic window on the first two floors at Red Rocks is a double-hung sash with one-over-one lights. These windows are typically scaled to different sizes to fit a variety of openings. Exceptions are the two full bathrooms on the second floor, in which both sashes are lighted two over two; and three large, eight-light casement windows in the second floor stair hall directly above the main entrance to the home, facing out towards Tenth Avenue. In the top floor rooms are six-light casement windows in groups of two or four, with the exception of Mary's room, which has three large double-hung sashes with six lights over six; and a peculiar pair of three-light sliders in the servants' stairway which pull out and move left into two fishhook-shaped grooves in both the header and the sill. All of the basement windows are three light awnings. Window moldings typically match those of the doorways in each room and are painted or stained accordingly.

6. Decorative features and trim:

a. Bookcases: Books played a tremendous role in the life of the White family, and part of their book collection was proudly displayed in the living room, where five walnut bookcases, all 5'-0" in height, line the walls on the north and west sides. The exposed sides of the bookcases have recessed panels, and all have three adjustable shelves and a decorative cornice on top. These match the height of the paneled walnut wainscot that wraps around the room, which is also finished with the same decorative cornice. Six bookcases also line the west wall of White's second-floor workroom, each with two adjustable shelves and one cabinet below; the cabinet doors are hinged on the bottom and have single recessed panels and simple wooden knobs. According to family lore, these bookcases ran the full height of the room in White's day but were shortened by Kathrine Klinkenberg White when she remodeled the workroom for her own use.⁹⁹ Two single bookcases – one on the south

⁹⁸ Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002.

⁹⁹ Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002. See also a photograph, date unknown, in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society which shows the north wall of the workroom including the fireplace and the two bookcases which flank it; the one on the right appears to match the mantelpiece in height, while the one on the left seems to extend higher and out of the frame, its additional shelves added on top of the decorative cornice trim which does not exactly match that of the mantelpiece and the other bookcase. Neither of these has the bottom cabinet like those on the west wall. It is possible that they were added after the 1920-21 renovation was completed; the one on the left has since been removed completely. Letters between William Allen White and the architectural firm of Wight & Wight reveal White's concern for adequate storage and display for his book collection. In discussing the height of the shelves in the workroom, Wight & Wight state that the finished height for the shelves should be 5'-0" as they are in the living room downstairs. In another letter one month later, the architects write that the shelves are to be 1" shallower than those in the living room and describe the wood hopper doors for

wall and one on the north, to the right of the fireplace – do not exactly match the others in craftsmanship and may have been added later. All of the workroom bookcases measure 4'-8 ½" in height.

b. Cabinets:

i. Kitchen areas: The wood cabinets in the butler's pantry and kitchen pantry room date from the Wight and Wight remodeling of 1920-21. On the west wall, the cabinets in the butler's pantry have plain recessed single-panel doors without any decorative trim above the counter, and three plain-front drawers below the counter. On the east wall, the cabinet doors and drawers are either simple glass panels or flat wood panels inscribed with a lattice pattern. In the pantry room off of the kitchen, all of the cabinet doors and drawers have simple, single recessed panel fronts. The pulls for all of the wood cabinets are faceted glass knobs, and all cabinets are painted an ivory color. The kitchen itself was outfitted similarly during the remodeling and can be seen in the photographs of a 1942 issue of Better Homes and Gardens.¹⁰⁰ The white metal replacement cabinets were installed in the kitchen ca. 1951.¹⁰¹

ii. Master bathroom: This bathroom appears to have been remodeled in the 1970s and features a long marble vanity countertop which spans the room from north to south along the west wall. Below the vanity, in which there is a single undermounted sink, are several flush panel cabinets and drawers with small porcelain pulls. In the dressing area, to the north of the bathroom, are two more wall cabinets with flush panel doors and a built-in dresser with many small drawers, again with porcelain pulls. On the west wall is a closet with flush panel doors, the inside of which is finished in inexpensive pegboard.

iii. Mary's room: Mary's room features a closet but no additional built-in storage. There is a small bed that rolls out into the room on metal tracks; the entire apparatus is housed in a box constructed on the roof – much like a dormer but not as tall – at the southwest

the cabinets below, which have been designed to "keep magazines and data that would not present a very neat appearance if not hidden by the door." See letters from Wight & Wight dated February 5 and March 5, 1921, White Papers, LC.

¹⁰⁰ Richard C. Davids, "At Home in the 'White' House of Emporia," Better Homes and Gardens, (June 1942). Copies of the photographs used in this article can also be found in the White Collection, ESU, and in the private collection of Barbara White Walker and David Walker. The stove used by Sallie White in these photographs is still in the basement at Red Rocks. The Kansas State Historical Society also has a pair of photographs which show the kitchen ca. 1951, before the metal cabinets were installed.

¹⁰¹ See historic photographs of the kitchen in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society; in one image, a calendar showing the date December 1950 hangs on the wall.

corner of the room. The bed can be rolled out for use upon the removal of a wood panel under the window on the west wall.¹⁰²

c. Fireplaces: There are two fireplaces in Red Rocks.¹⁰³

i. Living room: Here the fireplace is a focal point on the west wall between the entry hall and the dining room. It is of gray Carthage stone cut and laid as to appear like concrete block – an unusually stark choice of materials. Often called Carthage marble, this stone is actually a fine-grained limestone quarried near Carthage, Missouri. The inner hearth is of firebrick, while the outer hearth or base is of stone, approximately 3” thick and chipped from use on the right side, laid in a random rubble pattern. The walnut mantelpiece is ornately carved with twining grapevines and is capped with a cornice to match the bookcases and wainscot. Two stone consoles with an unadorned cyma profile support the mantelpiece from below.

ii. Workroom: Here the fireplace facing is of 2 ¼” x 8” unglazed gray bricks with black speckles, and the hearth is of 3 ½” x 6” bricks. There is a plain wood mantel with a 1” recessed strip or fillet near the top and a simple cornice cap. There are markings and nail holes along the front of the mantel which indicate that decorative brackets that were once in place have been removed.¹⁰⁴

d. Wall and ceiling trim: See HABS No. KS-81-A, sheet 9-12 of 13, for measured drawings of selected details. On the living room walls there is walnut wainscot with recessed panels and a cornice cap to match the bookcases, which measure 5’-0” in height, as well as crown molding near the ceiling. The ceiling itself has decorative boxed beams with additional

¹⁰² In a letter to Wight & Wight, dated March 8, 1921, White inquires if shelves might be included in Mary’s room on the north and west walls and possibly over the south windows in order to display her collection of Indian pottery. Family lore tells that Mary did not want any furniture to clutter her room and detract from her displays but wanted instead to have a large open space with Indian rugs and blankets on the floor and artifacts on the walls. See letter in White Papers, LC.

¹⁰³ In a letter to Wight & Wight, dated February 14, 1921, White wrote about the fireplaces: “We have never settled definitely what the texture of the fireplaces is to be. I have, as I wrote a year ago, considerable good, well-dressed Carthage stone on hand, left over from another building which might possibly make the base of the fireplace. Will you kindly give me the detail and specifications as to the character and breadth of the fireplace?” Replies by the firm are missing, but in another letter to them, dated February 19, White asks: “Don’t you really think that the rough stone hearth would give a little too rustic an effect to what may look like a somewhat sophisticated big room?” The architects reply on March 5 with a detail drawing for the mantel and suggest using gray brick for the facing and outer hearth and firebrick for the inner hearth. White responds that he is willing to use gray brick instead of red, but is concerned about the size and lack of detail of the fireplace and the omission of brick pilasters. See letters dated February 14 and 19, and March 5, 7, 8, and 9, 1921, White Papers, LC.

¹⁰⁴ A historic photograph at the Kansas State Historical Society shows the north wall of the workroom, including the fireplace with four wood console brackets, two on either side of the fireplace, holding up the mantel shelf from below; these are no longer there. The date of the photograph is not known.

applied false beams between which the rough finish of the plaster can be seen. The dining room, too, has an elaborate ceiling of applied false beams and rafters that are more ornately detailed than those in the living room. Here the walnut wainscot measures 5'-10 ½" high and the single recessed panels are matched bookends. The wainscot is topped with a cornice and the wall is finished with a crown molding. Some of the bedrooms of the second and third floors have a 2" picture rail. Baseboard trim varies in height throughout the house and is generally painted or stained to match the window and door frames. On the third floor, the stained wood trim in Mary's room is flat and without detail, intended to appear as half-timbering and give the room a rustic appearance. There is a removable panel on the west wall covering a storage space carved out of the roof from which a small bed may be rolled out for use; this cover has a single recessed panel and is stained to match the rest of the woodwork in the room.

7. Hardware: Door hinges throughout the house are made of brass; door knobs vary. In the kitchen the knobs are brass, cast with a medallion of flowers and arrows; elsewhere the door knobs are plain brass, porcelain, or glass. The more ornate doorknobs and hinges in the kitchen were probably salvaged from the Queen Anne portions of the house before the 1920-1921 renovation.

8. Mechanical equipment:

a. Heating, air conditioning, ventilation: Radiators appear in nearly every room at Red Rocks; some of them are tall with decorative scrollwork on the fins, while others are low, without decoration, and covered with wood lids. The taller, decorative radiators likely date to the turn of the century while the plainer, wood covered ones reflect changing radiator styles at the time of the 1920-1921 renovation. A controlled domestic hot water system, manufactured by Taco Heaters of New York (patent number 1717490) is in the basement mechanical pit, as is a fifty-gallon Rheem hot water heater (model number G27-50R, serial number 1259-04964 MR) and an H. B. Smith gas boiler (model number 6300/S-W9 CON, serial number A81-357). A central air conditioning system, manufactured by General Electric (model BWR736A100A0, serial number 388553024), and an electric cleaner by Honeywell were installed later in the basement addition. New grills for supply and return air ducts can be seen throughout the house.

b. Lighting: The date of initial electrical service for the house is not known, but some visible components appear to date from the 1920s. In some rooms, the light switches are of the push button type. Many of the wall fixtures in the bathrooms also appear to date from this period, and most have their glass shades intact. Bare bulbs are used in Mary's room, center-mounted on the bottoms of the ceiling trusses. A small crystal

chandelier, originally from the New York townhouse of William Lindsay and Kathrine Klinkenberg White, hangs in the main stair hall from the ceiling of the second floor.¹⁰⁵ In the center of the dining room ceiling is a large crystal chandelier with many hanging prisms; it is lighted both electrically and with candles. Scattered throughout the house are paper lanterns, but it is not known if they were used on every bare bulb; some paper lanterns are currently in place while others are left sitting on furniture. Four recessed light fixtures have been added to the second floor workroom ceiling.

c. Plumbing: All of the bathrooms, excepting the one in the master bedroom, appear to date from the 1920-21 renovation. They are similarly furnished with white porcelain fixtures – including a pedestal or wall-mounted sink, a toilet, and a built-in tub – although there is a claw-foot tub in the third floor bathroom off of the hallway. None of the bathtubs are furnished with showerheads. Both lever- and cross-type white porcelain faucet handles are used. The master bathroom appears to have been updated in the 1970s and is outfitted with newer fixtures, including a shower in the built-in tub and an undermounted sink below the vanity top. The kitchen sink and its fixtures appear to have been replaced in the 1950s.

d. Electric chair lift: In the rear servants' stair, an electric chair lift was installed during William Lindsay White's illness in the early 1970s.¹⁰⁶ It is installed on the left side of the stair and moves along a track between the first and second floors. The chair is operable using hand controls or switches at either of the two landings.

D. Site: See HABS No. KS-81, sheet 2 of 2, for site plan.

1. Historic landscape design: The garden located between Red Rocks and Mother's house links these two residential structures. Its design responds to the terrace and porches of the larger house while the Mother's house and garage form the southern boundary of the yard. Photographs in the private collection of Barbara White Walker and David Walker and in the William Allen White Collection at the William Allen White Library, Emporia State University, can reveal much about the appearance of the front and rear yards at Red Rocks throughout the years of the White family's residence. Of particular interest are the professional photographs made of the garden in the back of the house, which show the structures and plantings ca. 1925, a few years after the renovation and with enough time having passed in order for the garden to appear full and lush. The rear yard was the site of many parties and gatherings, including the June 1957 wedding of Barbara White to David Walker.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Elizabeth Williams and Judy Price, June 14, 2002.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Elizabeth Williams and Judy Price, June 14, 2002.

a. Hardscape:

i. Terrace: A rectangular flagstone terrace extends directly south from the French doors exiting the dining room. With a slight L-shape, it is 35' wide by 14'-7" long and is 1'-11" high with a 5" stone lip; the top of the "L" is a mere 6'-8" wide by 7'-0 ¾" long and is at the northwest corner of the terrace, butting against the projecting dining room wall and running along the butler's pantry. Currently covered with ivy, drainage holes and a cast stone lip can be seen along the south face of the terrace in a photograph taken at the 1927 dinner honoring Herbert Hoover.¹⁰⁷ Three stone steps flanked by two low random ashlar limestone piers lead down to the lawn on the west side; one stone step on the east side of the terrace leads up to the covered wood porch that wraps around the south and east sides of Red Rocks. Four stone steps lead from the terrace to the lawn below; centered on the French doors of the dining room, each step is almost circular with a 1'-6" radius, and they are positioned so that three of them encircle the fourth.¹⁰⁸

ii. Pergola: The partial pergola is composed of a pair of red sandstone piers with matching stone capitals and a row of four brick piers – with cast concrete capitals colored to match the red stone – continuing south at the east edge of the rear yard toward White's mother's house.¹⁰⁹ The two stone piers, which are aligned with those at the edge of the covered porch, support a trellis of wood beams and crossing rafters over which wisteria had once been trained to grow. Currently, the brick piers, which measure 2'-1 ½" by 2'-1 ½" and vary in height between 9'-10 ½" and 10'-11", are covered in an overgrown tangle of ivy and weeds. There is an ornamental iron fence between each of the brick piers; considerable heaving appears at the connections of the fence to the brick. According to correspondence between White and the architects, the pergola was part of the firm's design, but the iron fence was White's idea.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Photograph in the White Collection, ESU.

¹⁰⁸ These four steps match the three that can be found in the pool; they were most likely added by Francisco Camacho, a Mexican immigrant and retired employee of the Santa Fe Railroad who did yard work for William Lindsay and Kathrine Klinkenberg White and who is credited with much of the later landscape work at Red Rocks.

¹⁰⁹ A true pergola would have two rows of columns or piers to create a colonnade, but here at Red Rocks the brick piers appear to be the means with which to define and screen the property's eastern boundary.

¹¹⁰ There was a problem, however, in obtaining enough of the red sandstone in order to create the pergola, so red brick was used instead; White apparently had suggested that the masons alternate between courses of stone and brick, but Wight & Wight dismissed this proposal. See letters between White and the firm of Wight & Wight dated April 9, June 7, and June 24, 1921, White Papers, LC.

iii. Lily pool: The pool was constructed sometime after the middle of March 1921. White wrote to the architects that he had hoped to place the pool to the south of a large elm tree in the rear yard, but he did not know with what to align the pool nor how large to make it. Wight & Wight replied:

It is hard to place the exact position of the pool without having the exact location of the elm tree in its relation to the house, yet the pool, if possible, ought to center on one of the bays of the screen which carries across the front of the property.

We assume from the approximate location of the tree, that the long way of the pool will be east and west. If possible, we suggest that it ought to center on the south gable as far as its east and west dimension is concerned.

The pool ought not be larger than 8' x 16'; it ought to have a curbing which ought not to be more than 4 inches above the grass of the lawn.

Of course, you understand, you will have to waterproof your concrete to a degree in order for it to hold water and that it will have to have a proper supply and waste.

If you expect to grow lily pads, you would have to have quite a bit of mud in the bottom of the pool and the pool would have to be constructed of reinforced concrete.¹¹¹

Historic photographs of the yard do show the pool covered with flowering lily pads, although it is not possible to detect if the pool was constructed of stone or reinforced concrete; as it is, the inside walls are made of limestone. The lily pool was later changed into a swimming pool with the assistance of Francisco Camacho, the garden caretaker for William Lindsay and Kathrine Klinkenberg White; the Walkers' children would play in it during the hot Kansas summers.¹¹² Bricks were laid on top of the curbing and three round stone steps – like those at the terrace – were added to allow entry into the pool; it is not known what the actual original size of the lily pool was before its modification. The pool walls are made of limestone, and in its existing condition it measures 17'-9 1/2" long by 10'-6 1/2" wide, ranges in depth from 2'-5" to 3', and is surrounded by a 1'-6" wide raised brick lip. It currently sits empty and is in poor condition, as the bricks lining the curbing and the steps leading into the pool have loosened, and the concrete bottom is severely cracked.

¹¹¹ See letters between White and Wight & Wight dated March 10 and 14, 1921, White Papers, LC.

¹¹² Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002.

iv. Walkways and driveway: There is one line of stone pavers, centered on the stairs leading down from the south side of the rear porch to the lawn, which appears in a photograph of the garden ca. 1925. This line of pavers makes a 90-degree turn to the east, heading toward Exchange Street. The other stone surrounding it may have been added when the carport was constructed in 1973, or it may date from the time of Camacho's employment at Red Rocks.¹¹³ The Walkers have stated that all of the winding brick paths throughout the rear yard are the works of Mr. Camacho. The brick driveway, which is laid in a repeating pattern of three horizontals and three verticals, was laid by college students during one summer; the boys, inexperienced with masonry, used soft face brick instead of hard paving brick for the driveway, which accounts for its poor, deteriorated condition.¹¹⁴ The driveway is edged with limestone.

v. Ornamental objects: There are two pair of additional decorative objects in the rear yard at Red Rocks. Near the brick walkways surrounding the lily pool are two limestone gate posts with vermiculated sides and carved human faces; one of the posts features a male face, while the other face is female. Family lore states that the posts came to William Lindsay and Kathrine Klinkenberg White from a nearby residence that had been destroyed in a fire; the carved stone faces are purported to be portraits of the husband and wife whose home was lost. Two stone tablets, carved with the letter T, lie on the tops of the low stone walls flanking the rear porch steps. Dating from the 1968 remodeling of the Gazette offices, they are samples of engraved stonework for the building signage.¹¹⁵

b. Plantings: William Allen White frequently wrote editorials about his interest in gardens, and he lovingly described the flower and vegetable gardens of his neighbors as well as afternoons spent watering his lawn. He and Sallie had a particular love for flowers, and he even sponsored a gardening contest in the Gazette. In an editorial printed on May 23, 1922, White waxed rhapsodic on the communicative nature of the residential garden:

¹¹³ "He knows how, with a crowbar and seemingly little effort, to move a stone twice his weight. He knows just where to put the chisel and how hard to hit it with his mallet, to split a stone just where he wants it. And of the discarded old limestone of Emporia's sidewalks, he has built all the terraces and walks of the inner garden around the old house [Red Rocks]. With old brick he has laid all its winding paths." See William Lindsay White's editorial, Emporia Gazette, June 26, 1967 and the obituary, "Franco Comes Home," Emporia Gazette, September 3, 1981.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002; and Elizabeth Williams and Judy Price, June 14, 2002

When a house is adorned by garden flowers, it is a sign that someone in the house, perhaps everyone in the house, is trying to give pleasure to the neighbors and passing strangers. Flowers are planted and grown to make beauty out of doors where everyone may see them, may enjoy them and share in the joy that comes with seeing beautiful things. Flowers about a house are a sign of kind hearts inside. Flowers about a house are a sign that the house is a neighborly house. Flowers are the insignia of generous folks trying to teach their neighbors by mute tokens of good will.¹¹⁶

Keeping this in mind, it is interesting to consider what was being taught at the White residence. Historic photographs show the front porch and the rear pergola covered with tangles of flowering wisteria vines; elm trees lining the parkways along Tenth Avenue and Exchange Street; flowers lining the walkways to the front and rear entries to the house; and wide expanses of grassy lawn. Based upon these images, it would seem that order and reason coupled with romance and a love of the beautiful would be the important themes expressed to the neighborhood through the garden. Because no original or renovation plans for Red Rocks or its site have been located, it is not known if the garden was designed by Wight & Wight or by William Allen and Sallie Lindsay White themselves, although family lore states that Sallie chose the plantings herself.¹¹⁷ Currently there is considerable ground cover and ivy throughout the front and rear yards, but in White's time the yards were primarily grass lawn, which he watered himself, with flower beds as accents. Elm trees dotted the property, but most have them perished to Dutch elm disease and have been replaced by randomly located redbud trees, which grew from windblown or bird-dropped seeds.

2. Outbuildings:

a. Garage: See HABS No. KS-81-C, sheets 1 of 1, for measured drawings of the garage. The garage is thought to have been built after the 1921 renovation. It is a wood frame structure with wood clapboard siding painted brown measuring 30' long by 20'-4" wide. Positioned to the south of Red Rocks and to the west of White's mother's house, the garage has a double-pitched, hipped roof currently covered with asphalt shingles. There are three four-light fixed windows, one on each of the north, south, and east facades. The east façade also has two wood doors with nine lights in the top half and three horizontal panels in the bottom half. The west façade has three doors: a 7'-8" wide sliding door on the right,

¹¹⁶ William Allen White, "Flowers and Things" in Forty Years on Main Street, 358-359.

¹¹⁷ According to the Walkers, Sallie Lindsay White started a craze for irises in Emporia when she planted them at her home on Exchange Street. Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002.

through which the storage area is accessed; a central pair of barn doors measuring 9' across, which swing outward to allow access to the automobile area of the garage; and a 4'-2" dutch door on the left. All of the doors are approximately 7' tall. The large garage storage space, in the north portion of the structure, appears to be able to hold one large automobile. The small storage space, in the southern portion of the building, appears to have been designed as a tool or garden shed and is currently full of broken pieces of decorative woodwork as well as a large pile of red sandstone left over from the main house renovation.

b. Carport: The carport was added to the west side of the house by Kathrine Klinkenberg White in 1973; once widowed, she was fearful of parking her car in the garage and walking in the alley alone at night.¹¹⁸ Designed to match the materials of the main house, the carport entry is framed by four piers of undressed red stone laid in a random ashlar pattern; the quality of masonry does not match that of the pergola, for here at the carport the joints are much wider, the bases are of red brick and the capitals are of limestone. A wood garage door hangs between the two central piers; a wood fence with vertical slats of differing widths is installed between the other piers and extending east to the house, where it is also attached. Wood beams and rafters span the four piers, recalling the pergola in the rear yard. Six wood posts support the roof structure of the carport to the south of the garage door, and it is covered with corrugated fiberglass sheet material.

PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Architectural drawings: No architectural drawings of Red Rocks have been located. Frank Lloyd Wright's rejected plans for the renovation of the house are located in the archives at Taliesin, Spring Green, Wisconsin.

B. Interviews:

Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002, interviewed at the offices of the Emporia Gazette, 517 Merchant Street, Emporia, Kansas 66801

Karen Manners Smith, June 5, 2002, interviewed at Peter Pan Park, Emporia, Kansas 66801

Steven Hanschu, June 13, 2002, interviewed at the William Allen White Library, Emporia State University, Emporia, Kansas 66801

¹¹⁸ Interview with Barbara White Walker and David Walker, June 5, 2002 and Elizabeth Williams and Judy Price and Judy Price, June 14, 2002. City of Emporia Code Services records show a building permit for a carport and fence was granted in 1973.

Elizabeth Williams and Judy Price, June 14, 2002, interviewed at the William Allen White House, Emporia, Kansas 66801

Mary Bogan, June 18, 2002, interviewed at the William Allen White Library, Emporia State University, Emporia, KS 66801

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"Charley Squires Passes," Emporia Gazette, December 27,
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"Death of Mrs. Eugenia C. Gillett," Emporia Weekly
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William Allen White files, Lyon County Museum, Emporia,
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D. Likely Sources Not Yet Investigated:

For information regarding William Allen White and the development of Emporia's Peter Pan Park, see the correspondence and drawings of the landscape architecture firm Hare & Hare in the archives of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri, Kansas City. For further information regarding Red Rocks and William Lindsay White, see the William Lindsay White papers of the Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

This project was sponsored by the Kansas State Historical Society, Mary R. Allman, Director, under the direction of Daniel Prosser, Historic Sites Architect. The documentation was undertaken by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), E. Blaine Cliver, Chief, under the direction of Paul Dolinsky, Chief of HABS; with assistance by HABS architect Robert Arzola and HABS historian Lisa Davidson. The project was completed during the summer of 2002 at the HABS field office in the William Allen White House, Emporia, Kansas, by project supervisor Steven B. Utz, architect, with architecture technicians Courtney L. Gunderson (University of Arkansas, Fayetteville), Frederick A. Klein (University of Detroit Mercy), and Marton Lenard (Ybl Miklos Technical College, Budapest, Hungary, through US-ICOMOS). The 2002 Sally Kress Tompkins Fellow and project historian was Rachel Leibowitz (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign).