

## “Americans in the East”:<sup>1</sup> Francis Henry Bacon, Joseph Thacher Clarke, and the AIA at Assos



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In 1878 Charles Eliot Norton, eager for the United States to stake its claim to a major archaeological site in the Mediterranean, watched as European powers scrambled to plant their flags at ancient sites in Greece and Turkey. He needed reconnaissance to determine the most appropriate site for America's first fieldwork in classical archaeology, yet there were no senior classical archaeologists in America to whom Norton might entrust such a critical venture. For this mission he ultimately decided to support two young architects, Joseph Thacher Clarke (1856–1920) and Francis Henry Bacon (1856–1940). Norton viewed Clarke as a worthy pioneer, for he had been educated in Munich, then a major training ground for Americans in search of advanced education in classical archaeology. That Clarke had studied architecture, not archaeology or classics, at the Munich Polytechnic made little difference since he had developed an interest in ancient Greek architecture through the inspiration of art professor Franz von Reber (1834–1919) and gained firsthand experience of the architectural sculptures of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina at the Glyptothek in Munich (Austin 1942, 1–2). In 1876 Clarke returned to Boston to practice architecture. With “elements of scholarliness in his make-up far in advance of his contemporaries . . . great things were predicted of him . . . in the way of learning and scholarship” (Austin 1942, 1). Norton was impressed by his “assurance and exhibition of erudition,” in large part the result of his German education, and he quickly made Clarke his protégé.

Bacon had some field experience from helping his father survey the Boston-Maine Railroad Extension in his late teens,<sup>2</sup> and also had studied architecture at the Institute of Technology (MIT) with William Robert Ware (1832–1915), vice president of the Boston Society of Architects where Clarke was a junior member.<sup>3</sup> By 1877, at age 21, Bacon was working as a draftsman in New York, “moonlighting” for McKim, Mead, and Bigelow. Ware described him as a gentleman of “fine taste and generosity of appreciation,” and probably introduced him to both Clarke and Norton (Ware to CEN, 10 September 1880, AIA Archives, box 6.2). The young men’s talents were complementary: Bacon was an impeccable draftsman and experienced field surveyor, while Clarke exuded confidence and had a synthetic mind and scholarly ambitions. Both sought adventure, though neither had much money.

With Norton’s strong support, Clarke appealed to the Society of Architects on 8 February 1878 for financial aid “to write a history of Doric Architecture” (Bacon to Moran; Austin 1942, 2–3, 15). Although Clarke’s “youthful dogmatism and attempted show of knowledge” did not impress the membership, Ware’s mentor and president of the Society, Edward Clarke Cabot (1818–1901) (*Dictionary of American Biography*, 3, 394), wished to “know more of the principles underlying the development of Greek Architectural forms” in order to inform, correct, and inspire contemporary Neo-Classical practitioners (Cabot to CEN, 20 March 1884, AIA Archives, box 3). Thus, the Society awarded Clarke a matching grant to cover part of the expenses for a research trip to study monuments of the Doric style in Greece and Turkey. After Norton supplemented it further (Friskin n.d., 8), Clarke invited Bacon along to make “sketches and drawings of all the temples and sites” (Bacon to Moran). That summer, after a month of research at the British Library, the young architects bought a 20-foot sloop which they named the *Dorian* and spent the autumn sailing her from England to Belgium, through the canals of Holland, and up the Rhine. After wintering in Munich, they continued down the Danube to the Black Sea and Constantinople, where they arrived in May (fig. 3.1) (*Levant Herald* 16 May 1879). Without Bacon’s seamanship, learned during summers on the coast of Maine, the trip would have been impossible as “Clarke was a poor sailor, unacquainted with the handling of boats, and was seasick most of the time” (Austin 1942, 12).

To establish his protégé in the academic world, Norton quickly published Clarke’s first scholarly article on the method of lighting Greek temples in the



Fig. 3.1. Francis Henry Bacon at the tiller and Joseph Thacher Clarke on deck aboard the *Dorian* in Constantinople harbor, 1879. (Bacon 1912, 73)

*Papers of the Harvard Art Club* (Norton 1879, 3–4; Clarke 1879).<sup>4</sup> In forwarding a copy to John Ruskin (1819–1900), Norton wrote that he was “much interested” in its author who was at that time “on a plucky expedition to study up the ruins of Doric architecture.” Norton informed Ruskin that he [Norton] was trying to “get up an Archaeological Society, in the hope of encouraging classical studies; . . . and of training some of our College-bred boys to take part in investigations in Greek regions, and regions farther east. What do you think of Sardis as a point of attack,—with the untouched burial mounds of the Lydian kings, and with all the wealth of Croesus to tempt us? I am tempted, too, by Orchomenos and by Samos. But one can hardly put the spade down wrong” (20 May 1879, in Bradley and Ousby 1987, 428–9). After being rebuffed by the Greeks the year before in his

request for permission to excavate at Delphi (AIA Archives, box 1), Norton reopened communication with General John Meredith Read (1837–1896), U.S. minister to Greece (1873–1879) and a member of the Archaeological Society in Athens, concerning the possibility of conducting American-sponsored excavations in Greece (23 June 1879, AIA Archives, box 1).

While the AIA was convening in June 1879, Bacon was visiting Troy where he met Heinrich Schliemann (1822–1890). There he and Clarke began their ambitious odyssey to visit every known Greek temple in Asia Minor and Greece. Following Troy, they stopped at Samothrace and then spent two days at Assos on the western coast of the Troad investigating the ruins, especially those of the early Doric temple to Athena on the summit. After visiting Samos and Delos, they reached Athens, where they continued to study and sketch Greek architecture, including the nearby remains of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina. Meanwhile, Norton had announced to prospective members of the AIA that an expedition was “already on foot,” a “comprehensive examination . . . of great value,” suggesting it “might seem deserving of aid from the society” (minutes, 10 May 1879, AIA Archives, box 1.1). The AIA offered the architects money to extend their tour to Corfu, Magna Graecia, and Sicily, requesting “a report on the archaeological aspects of the sites visited,” with the actual state of the remains. At this point, Bacon demurred and returned home, for despite their accomplishments, the men’s personal relationship had so deteriorated after their 4,000-mile journey that they parted (Friskin n.d., 8; AIA 1880, 14–5; Bacon 1912, 123, 133; Clarke to CEN, 26 February 1880, AIA Archives, box 5.12). Clarke, however, accepted the money and agreed to the terms, but instead of undertaking the reconnaissance for future excavations left for Munich where he continued to work with von Reber. While there, Clarke wrote up an account of their experiences, which Norton presented to the AIA (Clarke 1880).

Norton was uncertain about where to begin excavating. In his annual address to the AIA membership in 1880 he spoke of “several trained archaeologists” and young men at Harvard “who would prepare themselves with the best classical teachers for the work.” He disclosed that William James Stillman (1828–1901), American consul in Crete (1865–1869), a pioneer archaeological photographer, painter, and anti-Turkish war correspondent who had resided in the Mediterranean for almost two decades, was ready to excavate on Crete for the AIA (Tomlinson 1991, 25–39). The AIA executive committee, however, preferred to excavate at Epidaurus and, if that were not

"successful after preliminary investigations," at Assos. Norton reported that antiquities could not be brought out of Greece, but that "with proper management everything could be brought away from Turkey" (minutes, 15 May 1880, AIA Archives, box 1.1). At the same time Norton showcased Bacon's drawings and Clarke's account of sites that "offered promising ground for exploration" and looked forward to "a report upon their actual condition" (AIA 1880, 15).

Clarke was aware of his patron's interest in Assos, for Norton had discussed its potential with his Harvard students as early as 1875 (Wheelwright 1952, 7; HBL). In his report to the AIA, Clarke focused on only two Greek archaeological sites: Samothrace and Assos, contrasting the former, excavated between 1873 and 1875, funded by the Austrian government, and ably published (Conze 1880), with Assos, where, aside from early probes of its unique temple on the acropolis, the entire site was "virgin soil." What had been published about the site was mostly inaccurate for there had been no proper excavations. Thus, it promised much sculpture. With little earth covering the finds on the exposed promontory, results would be quick and inexpensive. Moreover, in addition to the temple, there were extensive fortification walls, a large necropolis, Roman theater, and domestic architecture. Knowing Norton's preference for a site in Greece, Clarke cleverly emphasized the Greekness of Assos: its situation rivaled that of the Parthenon and Sounion and its environs were as beautiful as those of Athens. Here he had an ulterior motive since his own interests lay with the Doric order, which was amply represented at Assos, but not at Sardis or Samos where the temples were of the Ionic order and, thus personally uninteresting to Clarke. Clarke strongly recommended a "comprehensive and thorough publication of the remains of antiquity at Assos" and noted that his opinion was "shared by eminent European authorities who have had the opportunity of examining its acropolis" (1880, 153, 160–1). Ultimately, the AIA agreed that Assos "merited more extensive investigations" and abandoned plans for other sites (AIA 1880, 14–5; Norton 1898, v).

Germany's recent success with "big archaeology" at Olympia had inspired the AIA, but those excavations had brought little but glory back to Germany because of Greece's stringent antiquities laws (Allen, Introduction, this volume). In contrast, the relatively liberal antiquities laws of the Ottoman empire had resulted in major German acquisitions from Pergamon (Marchand 1996, 95–6). These lenient laws likewise promised sculptures for

American museum collections, so the executive committee of the AIA staked its claim, and in June 1880 Norton requested the permit for Assos. Clarke would lead the team. Thanks to Ware's intervention, Bacon, the experienced surveyor and draftsman, agreed to be associate director. "With the hope of making a valuable contribution to knowledge, and of quickening, and deepening interest" in the classical world, the committee allotted funds and endorsed the proposed excavations at Assos. Norton personally hoped for a "scientific result, giving us a distinct knowledge of the general characteristics of a site of Greek occupancy" (minutes, 28 December 1880, AIA Archives, box 1; AIA 1880, 23–4; 1881, 28).

In January 1881 Bacon prepared for the great adventure. No less than Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832–1904), former U.S. consul on Cyprus and director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, counseled Bacon on practical matters and how to deal with Greeks and Turks. En route to Assos, Bacon stopped in Paris to draw the sculpted frieze fragments from the Temple of Athena at Assos, which the French had removed in 1838 and later placed in the Louvre. Upon arrival at the site itself in March, he began to survey the mountainous terrain and eventually produced a masterful plan, four ft. square (fig. 3.2a, b).

Seven competent assistants culled from more than 50 applicants supplied volunteer labor for the excavation. Initially they included Maxwell Wrigley, engineer and architect who had worked with Bacon in New York;<sup>5</sup> Charles Howard Walker (1857–1936), who had studied architecture with Ware at MIT; and geologist Joseph Silas Diller (1850–1928) of Harvard. Three of Norton's Harvard students also came: Edward Robinson (1858–1931),<sup>6</sup> Charles Wesley Bradley (1857–1884),<sup>7</sup> and William Cranston Lawton (1853–1941),<sup>8</sup> the last two of whom were to study the inscriptions, since by his own later admission, Clarke was wholly ignorant of Greek in 1880 (Lawton to CEN, 1 November 1881; Robinson to CEN, 14 November 1881; Clarke to CEN, 22 April 1886, AIA Archives). Norton's eldest son Eliot (1863–1932), about to enter Harvard, also joined the group (AIA 1881, 28–9). The eighth and most experienced member was recruited by chance. John Henry Haynes (1849–1910) had already worked on Crete and in Athens with Stillman, whom Norton had authorized to excavate Knossos and the Idaean Cave as the AIA's "agent" and sent out without a permit. Since it never came, Clarke was able to recruit Haynes, whom Stillman had already trained in photography, to work at Assos.



Fig. 3.2a. Francis Henry Bacon's plan of Assos. (Clarke 1882, pl. 1)

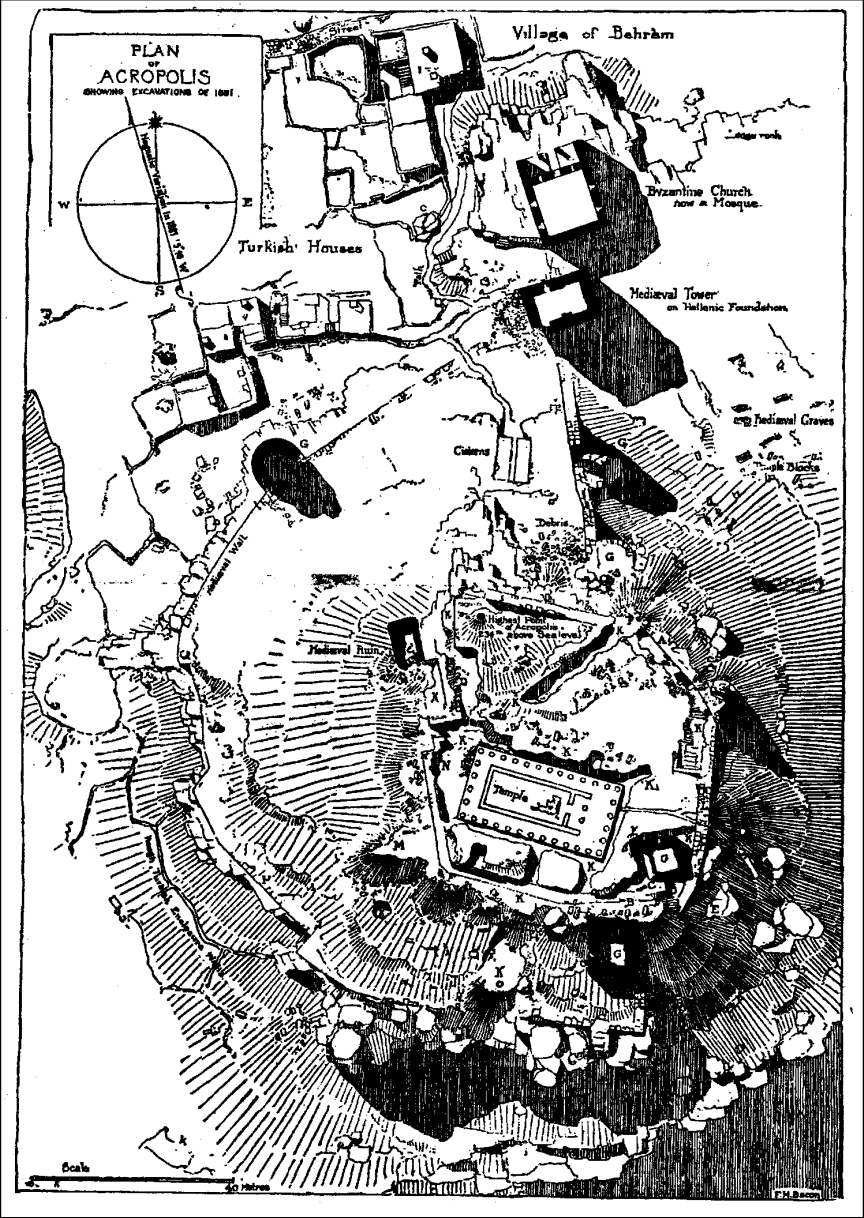


Fig. 3.2b. Francis Henry Bacon's plan of the acropolis at Assos. (Clarke 1882, pl. 2)



Apparently Norton did not learn from his failure at Knossos and once again naively sent American excavators into the field without securing a permit in advance, but this time the consequences were more serious, as the young men went to an inhospitable, remote site where none spoke the native language. Moreover, although the archaeologists arrived in March, began surveying in mid-April, and had the *firman* (permit) on 13 May, they did not begin to excavate until August because Clarke, the director, was absent.

As an expedition leader, the 25-year-old Clarke had not a fraction of Stillman's experience. Unable or unwilling to cope with the problems of dig management, he abandoned the men early into the season for "that nest of pagans . . . gay Parisian Smyrna" where he remained, apparently squandering AIA funds and provisions, for the better part of two months while the situation for the excavation team at Assos deteriorated disastrously.

Clarke's lack of professionalism and moral irresponsibility were matched only by the volunteers' loyalty to Norton and Bacon. Unapprised by the absent Clarke of his whereabouts, Bacon bore all responsibility, negotiated with local authorities, and made do with little money and no medical supplies. During the summer months all suffered from fever and malnutrition and at one point they survived on bread, boiled weeds, an occasional egg, and condensed milk while "there were stores of provisions in Smyrna" (Robinson to CEN, 14 November 1881; Stillman to CEN, 26 March 1882, AIA Archives; Ramsay 1897, 294–5). When he was present, Clarke appropriated one room of their two-room "excavation house" for himself, forcing the rest of the team, including Bacon, into the other where they slept on the floor "with vermin" (Bacon to parents and Katherine Bacon, 13 April 1881, Duke; Lawton to CEN, 1 November; Robinson to CEN, 14 November 1881, AIA Archives).<sup>10</sup>

Ironically, Eliot Norton never actually excavated at Assos, for although he was there for more than three months, ground was not broken until 1 August, more than a month after he departed. Clarke appeared briefly at the site in mid-June to escort Eliot to Smyrna for his trip home, but remained there ostensibly for the acquisition of equipment. In July he abdicated even this minor task and summoned Bacon to do it. After acquiring the gear, Bacon finally retrieved Clarke, but by then five months had elapsed since the time of Bacon's arrival. Clarke blamed delays on the permit process (1882, 16), but this could not account for his absences in June and July. The euphoria of early spring was gone and Clarke had alienated the group. Some

feared a “rebellion,” “outbreak,” or “explosion” and wished to notify Norton, but others counseled silence lest “the first work of the Americans in the East should end in a disgraceful break up” (Lawton to CEN, 1 November 1881, AIA Archives).

By the middle of the first season Bacon’s survey was the only significant accomplishment of the expedition. When Clarke finally returned to the site, Bacon buried his own problems with him and focused on improving relations between Clarke and the volunteers. As Clarke gave wildly contradictory orders, Bacon counseled him until he became more reasonable. When the excavators finally began digging, they struck the temple stylobate in their first pit (Bacon to parents, 5 August 1881, Duke). Later they moved to the southern slopes of the lower town where they investigated the stoa, gymnasium, theatre, and “Street of the Tombs,” though Clarke admitted that it was “little more than a preliminary investigation” (Clarke 1882, 34–43, 123–30). Clarke kept the general chronicle of their work and concentrated on the acropolis, but rarely visited the site and abdicated responsibility for all but the temple. By contrast, Bacon documented the general topography, managed excavations at the rest of the extensive site, and supervised the work, climbing the hill four times a day (Bacon to parents, 22 August 1881, Duke). Later all agreed that Bacon had held the group together and provided the only method and plan for excavating (Lawton to CEN, 18 December 1881; 16 July 1882; Walker to CEN, 18 December 1881; Robinson to CEN, 14 November 1881; Haynes to Stillman, 26 January 1882, AIA Archives).

In Boston, interest in the expedition was great and the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) displayed Bacon’s great plan on which it marked the monthly progress of the dig (AIA 1881, 32). Yet at the end of the 1881 season the future of American involvement at Assos was uncertain, for the funds necessary for continuing were not in place. Following Clarke, Norton chided the executive committee, suggesting that if they did not continue, “the Germans probably would” (minutes, 20 October 1881, AIA Archives, box 1.1). He held a special general meeting of the AIA in November at which he presented results of the first season and displayed Bacon’s drawings. Meanwhile, Clarke addressed the American Institute of Architects. The *American Architect* printed Clarke’s speech (19 November 1881 [10: 308] 237) and wrote: “the extent and importance of the work achieved by the Expedition was a complete surprise to most of those present and excited great interest” (26 November 1881 [10: 309] 251). According to Ware, Bacon’s drawings

"powerfully contributed to the great interest it excited" (to CEN, 30 November 1881, AIA Archives). In London the *Athenaeum* claimed that Clarke's report showed that Texier's plans of the city and temple were "not merely incorrect, but imaginary" and his coming book would be "of unusual interest to all students of classical antiquity" (31 December 1881 [2827] 905–6). These accolades were not lost on Norton.

At the same time, however, Norton received serious private complaints that Clarke's incompetence in the field and moral and professional unsuitability would compromise the work.<sup>11</sup> Assos was threatened from within. The directors' architectural backgrounds along with their reconnaissance experience had been an asset to the AIA, but their youth was not. Though the volunteers praised Bacon, they begged Norton to replace Clarke, whom they accused of being a "libertine," a "charlatan," and an "unmitigated evil," with "an archaeologist of real training," someone older with more experience and integrity. Robinson wrote Norton that "Haynes was the only man in Assos whose judgment about pottery, cutting of stone, etc. was of any value at all" and Clarke would not listen to him. Moreover, the work at Assos was mere "digging," not "scientific archaeology . . . that of boys doing their level best without any experienced hand to guide them" (14 November 1881, AIA Archives). Bacon himself refrained from criticizing Clarke on the grounds that the work of the Institute could not be done if confidence were taken from him (Lawton to CEN, 16 July 1882, AIA Archives).

Norton treated with "contemptuous silence" private criticisms of Clarke's personal and professional life and continued to support him. Stillman rebuked Norton for his own lack of "experience of the East" and unwillingness to seek advice of those more seasoned (10 December 1881, AIA Archives). Stillman counseled him not to ignore the volunteers' complaints or "put their appeals aside as prejudice," that, if aired publicly, would mean "general disgrace to the Institute and its management and the failure of the whole work of the School [the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA)] . . . for which Mr. Clarke is proposed as head!!" Clarke was "a pretender, charlatan" [who would] "in the end make the Institute and [Norton's] work the laughing stock of scientific Europe. . . . He is heavy enough to sink you all" (to CEN, 24 January, 11 February, and 26 March 1882, AIA Archives; *Athenaeum* 31 December 1881 [2827] 905–6). Stillman threatened that Norton himself would "not be held blameless personally or professionally" (20 December 1881, AIA Archives). To Stillman,

Clarke merited “nothing but dismissal” (24 January 1882, AIA Archives), but instead Norton focused on Clarke’s achievements. He had discovered seven new fragments of the epistyle and, under Bacon’s sober influence had produced an “able and learned” report, “illustrated by the exact and beautiful drawings of Mr. Bacon.” Not surprisingly, it focused on the temple, “the investigations of the other structures of the city, . . . still imperfect, and requiring to be completed by the labors of the present year” (AIA 1882, 38, 41). To Norton, Clarke’s timely Assos report (1882), underwritten by the Harvard Art Club and the Philological Society of Harvard College, gave evidence not only of his “high qualities as an investigator, but also of his possession of learning adequate to enable him to set forth the discoveries made by the expedition in a manner fitted to meet the demands of modern scholarship” (Norton 1898, v).

The volunteers from the first season refused to work again for Clarke, so in 1882 there was a completely new, salaried staff. With the directors’ experience of a first field season and a smaller, more mature and better-trained group, the new team brought professionalism to their work. As with the Germans at Olympia and Pergamon, they focused on religious and public monuments. Bacon began on his own in March, working on the stoa and Roman theatre, and later reconstructing the Greek bridge, the gymnasium, and the Street of the Tombs (fig. 3.3). Clarke arrived in April with German architect Robert Koldewey (1855–1925), who took responsibility for the agora, the bouleterion, and the Greek bath (Clarke 1898, 3). As a favor to Norton and the AIA, Haynes, who was teaching at Robert College in Constantinople, returned and photographed the excavations (e.g., the cover photograph), but was plagued by problems with supplies.

Marked improvement over the previous season characterized all aspects of the excavation. In 1883 John Robert Sitlington Sterrett (1851–1914), a Munich Ph.D. and student at the newly established ASCSA, took over work on the inscriptions (AIA 1883, 24–5).<sup>12</sup> The Americans continued to benefit from the benevolent guidance of British expatriate Frank Calvert (1828–1908), diplomat and resident excavator of the Troad who since 1881 had guided members of the expedition around archaeological sites in the Troad (Lawton 1882, 145–7, 151, 159). As U.S. consular agent at the Dardanelles (Çanakkale), Calvert assisted the excavators in all of their dealings and occasionally excavated with them (Clarke 1898, 17; Allen 1999, 214). Early on he helped Diller with his geological studies (Diller 1882,

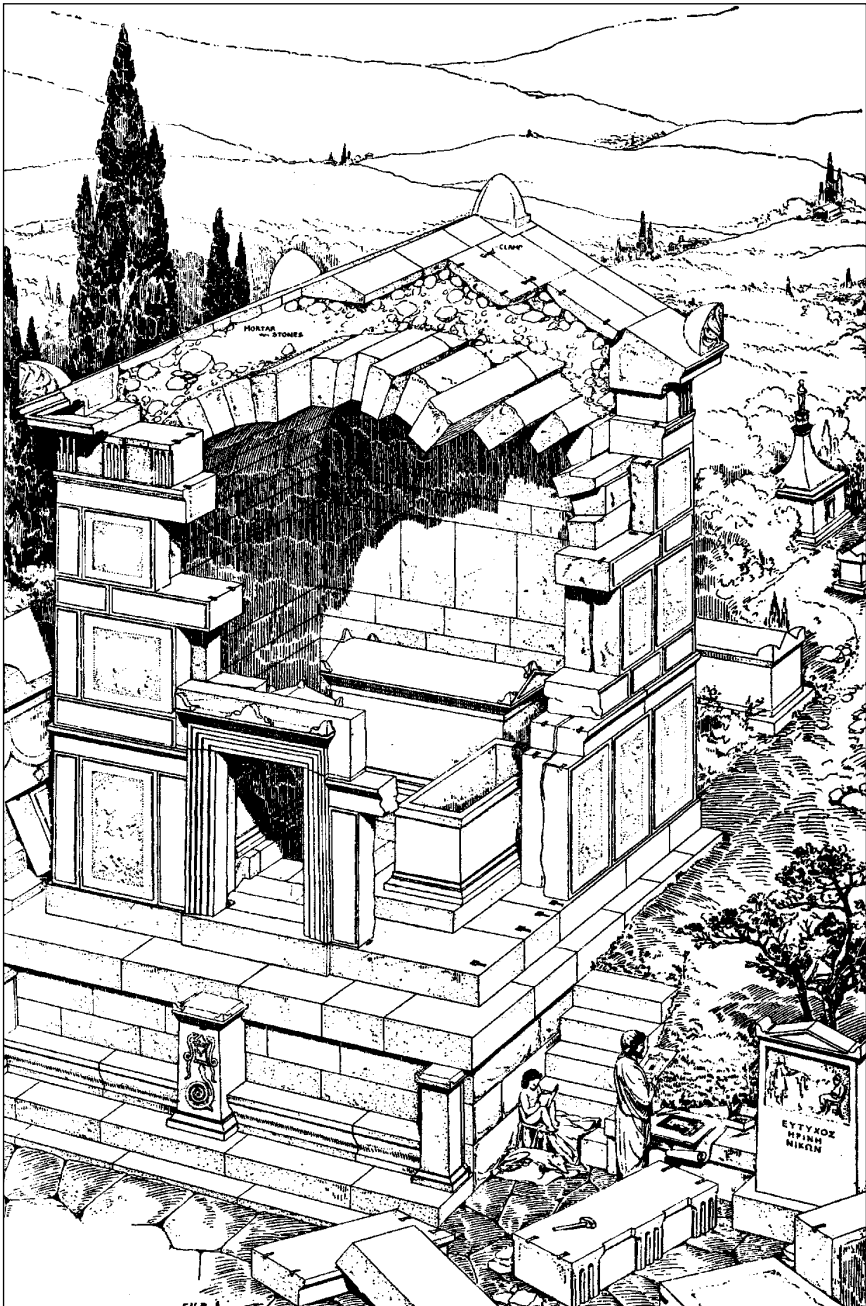


Fig. 3.3. Francis Henry Bacon's drawing of a vaulted tomb in the Street of the Tombs (Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey 1902/1921, 287).

195–6, 202). Later he put Clarke in touch with Schliemann's colleague, pathologist Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), who published the skulls from the Assos graves (Virchow 1884).

Increasing the impact of the Assos expedition at home, Bacon sent casts of the new temple sculptures to augment the MFA's plaster cast collection and some of his own drawings to colleagues for exhibition at the newly formed Architectural League of New York. Meanwhile, Norton acknowledged Bacon's critical role by raising his salary to equal Clarke's and in 1884 published Bacon's 1882 visit to Sardis (in Norton 1884) and later asked him to write an article on Assos. But "academic (scholarly) archaeology never interested" Bacon (Austin 1942, 11), to whom "the mores" and lives of the ancient Greeks were more appealing (Bacon 1886, 850–60).

Norton and the AIA wished the Institute's fieldwork to follow the German model of an architecturally oriented large-scale excavation, but Assos had no direct government subsidies like the imperially-sponsored German excavations at Pergamon or Olympia, where the Germans employed at least 500 workers and spent the equivalent of \$200,000 from 1875 to 1881 (Marchand 1996, 85, 87). It became clear that the AIA lacked both the commensurate institutional expertise and financial resources, as insufficient funds raised from private subscriptions were the cause of frequent delays (Clarke 1898, 20–1). The cost of three years of excavation at Assos totalled only \$19,121.16, of which \$3,344.53 went to excavation and the rest to staff salaries, household supplies, maintenance, transportation of equipment, antiquities, and agents of the AIA as well as dealings with the Ottoman authorities (Clarke 1898, 38–9; AIA Archives, box 1.2).

Compared to the Germans, the young Americans had neither the comparable authority nor the depth of experience in the field, and Clarke's squandered first season necessitated a second and part of a third, which ceased with the expiration of their permit in May 1883. At Olympia the Greek government had built a road to the site to facilitate German operations and provided police to ensure against pilfering, while at Assos, even as they excavated, the Americans enjoyed little assistance from the Ottoman authorities and could not prevent villagers from removing ancient cut stones from freshly exposed walls (AIA 1881, 26–7).

This lack of experience and authority proved devastating when it came time to bring the antiquities home. After first thinking that the AIA should let the Louvre have the temple sculptures (Clarke, quoted in Brimmer to

CEN, 20 November 1881, AIA Archives, box 3.2), Clarke waffled and suggested "smuggling Assos objects out of the country" (to CEN, 19 February 1883). Norton wrote to Aristarchi Bey, a specialist on Ottoman antiquities legislation then serving as minister to the United States who had promised to intervene with his government on behalf of the American excavators (AIA 1883, 23). Naively Norton wished "not to have the antiquities divided; that is [for the Ottomans] to cede the temple sculptures and inscriptions to the Institute" (minutes, 31 March 1883, AIA Archives, box 1.2) and advised the excavators "to deal with scrupulous honesty with the Turks and to comply literally with the terms of the firman, . . . in spite of the example of other expeditions" (AIA 1883, 23–4). In 1878, for example, Carl Humann (1839–1896), the German excavator at Pergamon, had hidden finds from the Ottoman authorities until he had purchased the land of the site. Once ownership was secure, Humann had a right to two-thirds of the finds and began exporting 350 tons of marble sculpture to Germany (Marchand 1996, 95, 201–2).

According to Ottoman law, two-thirds of the finds were to go to the Ottoman authorities (as government and landowner) and one-third to the AIA (as excavator). Ottoman commissioner Demetrios Baltazzi Bey was appointed to handle the division and a verbal agreement was quickly reached (AIA 1884, 23–4; Clarke 1898, 25–30). Clarke agreed to the division, but departed from Turkey before it had been written down and carried out. In anticipation, Norton held a special meeting of the AIA where he announced that the Institute had secured "40 to 50 cases coming: the best sculpture of the temple; . . . all of the inscriptions (except the rare bronze one); a large number of terracottas; all the coins and considerable number of miscellaneous articles found in the tombs and a large number of architectural fragments (so that it would be possible to erect at the Museum of Fine Arts, a complete order of the temple)" (minutes, 6 October 1883, AIA Archives, box 1.1).

The AIA paid dearly for Clarke's haste and arrogance, for only 13 cases of antiquities were accounted for in Clarke's precipitous agreement and none included certain architectural fragments that the AIA wanted. To complicate matters further, Haynes later reported to Norton that "Clarke's brusqueness of manner" had insulted Hamdi Bey (1842–1910), director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum from 1881 until his death. Clarke had offered the director "an affront to his dignity" as though "Hamdi Bey as an antiquarian and his museum [were] beneath his notice." Feeling "greatly injured,"

Hamdi Bey was “down on American expeditions” and not inclined to help (4 September 1885, AIA Archives). This undoubtedly accounts for the discrepancy in the number of cases anticipated by Norton and the number actually shipped.

The State Department instructed General Lewis Wallace (1827–1905), U.S. minister to Constantinople (1881–1885) and author of *Ben Hur*, to exert pressure in Turkey to secure objects desired by the AIA, yet he neglected to come to their aid (AIA 1883, 24), demonstrating not only that the AIA lacked authority with its own diplomats, but also that the U.S. lacked the strong arm of international politics to carry out its wishes. Norton complained to the U.S. Secretary of State that the Americans had received “vastly less than the one third which by right belonged to the Institute,” noting further that “our Legation . . . would seem to have adopted the official habits ascribed to Ministers of the Sublime Porte itself.” (CEN to Frederick Frelinghuysen, 16 December 1884, AIA Archives). Wallace matched Norton’s acidity, disparaged the AIA enterprise, and blamed it all on Clarke’s haste (13 January 1885 to CEN, AIA Archives).

Clarke had secured frieze blocks of Herakles and the human-legged centaurs and the heraldic sphinxes which the AIA had agreed to present to the MFA, but forfeited many prizes left unmentioned in the agreement. As a result, Bacon shipped only the specified antiquities on 20 October 1883 (AIA Archives, box 2.2). Other cases of fragments, desired by the AIA but retained by Turkey, included the complete order from the Temple of Athena as well as moldings from the Street of the Tombs, capitals from the stoa, fragments from the Greek bath, and portions of the two chief mosaics found in the lower town (minutes, 10 December 1884, AIA Archives, box 1.2; Clarke 1898, 17). With \$2,000 pledged by the MFA, the Americans had hoped to purchase additional frieze slabs owned by the Ottomans in order to augment their own share, but the Turks refused to sell. In fact, the AIA was lucky to secure any of the sculptures found, for in 1884 a new Ottoman antiquities law prohibited the export of *all* antiquities from Ottoman soil (Reinach 1884, 335–44; Young 1905). In the end, the contested temple capitals and cornice blocks were left on the quay by local authorities where 20 years later Bacon found them “half-covered with dirt and trodden by dogs and camels, etc.” (Bacon to CEN, 26 June 1904, “Assos Days”). Throughout the next century they were built into the renovated port buildings and breakwater, where they can be seen today.



While waiting for exportation problems to be solved, Bacon escorted his teacher, William Ware, throughout the Troad,<sup>13</sup> where he was hosted by Frank Calvert. Since their arrival in 1881, both Bacon and Clarke had been captivated by the members of a European commercial aristocracy who enjoyed comparative freedom as foreigners in the Ottoman empire. At the straits Bacon met Alice Mary Calvert (1858–1949), niece of the Americans' resident mentor, who fit neatly into the society with which he was smitten. They became engaged in September 1883 and married in 1885. In expectation of the event, Bacon returned to Boston where he completed the Assos drawings by spring, 1884.

Norton was gratified by positive firsthand accounts from eminent visitors to Assos. In April 1883 Calvert escorted William Watson Goodwin (1831–1912), director of the new ASCSA, and British classicist Richard Jebb (1841–1905) to Assos. Jebb pronounced the new epistyle blocks destined for Boston as "the most important links yet found between Oriental and Greek art" and noted that the temple plan had been "for the first time completely and scientifically discovered." He praised the "admirable" preliminary report and noted that the AIA "may well feel gratified by the result of an enterprise commenced under its auspices" (AIA 1884, 39–45). Thanks partly to Calvert, the excavations had not simply been architecturally oriented, but also comprised skeletal and topographical studies such as those undertaken by Virchow, Diller, Lawton, and Haynes. Acknowledging its debt, the AIA recognized Calvert for his help (Allen 1999, 214–5, 349; Ware to CEN, 9 January 1885, AIA Archives).

At home kudos awaited the returning excavators whose work had surpassed all expectations, an enthusiasm that might have been tempered had they known that they were not going to receive all the pieces promised by Clarke. On 31 October 1883 the AIA presented a public talk on Assos and the ASCSA, which drew 750 people to MIT (*Science* November 16 [2: 41] 646–50). To the Boston Society of Architects the Assos excavations had shown "the Greek Architect experimenting with forms," had given "the best lesson yet derived from Greek antiquity in the grouping of buildings; . . . the only examples of the . . . Greeks . . . in domestic and civic works; and . . . brought nearer to our sympathies and comprehension that spirit which the conditions of modern architecture require as a corrective and purifying force." Praising Bacon and Clarke for their "valuable acquisition to our knowledge of Greek Architecture," president Cabot offered support for the

next volume, desiring drawings “as full and complete as possible” (to CEN, 20 March 1884, AIA Archives, box 3).

1884 boded well for Bacon and Clarke. The AIA unanimously voted them life members (minutes 17 May 1884, AIA Archives, box 1.3). In April Clarke was elected Corresponding Member of the German Archaeological Institute (Clarke to CEN, 10 February 1885, AIA Archives) and Norton arranged for him to represent the AIA on the Wolfe Expedition to Mesopotamia, but at the last minute Clarke balked (to CEN, 17 August 1884, AIA Archives, box 5.12). Instead, Haynes and Sterrett accompanied William H. Ward (1835–1916) to Mesopotamia (Haynes to CEN, 29 October 1884, 7140 NP/HL; minutes, 11 October 1884, AIA Archives, box 1.1). Clarke hoped to land a teaching job, but his lack of an advanced degree and training in philology were serious impediments to an academic position. Repeatedly, he asked Norton to find him a lectureship at Harvard, a consulship in Smyrna, or superintendence of the ASCSA (2, 15 April 1885; 28 February 1886, 15 February 1888, AIA Archives), but he was never able to parlay Norton’s favors into a university position because of the increasing professionalization of the field (Allen, Introduction, this volume).

Despite their glorious accolades, neither Bacon nor Clarke was destined to devote his life solely to archaeology. Rather, these men and their excavation were caught on the cusp of the change from amateur to professional in the discipline of American classical archaeology. Once Bacon finished his Assos drawings, he abandoned archaeology and architecture for the more lucrative field of interior and furniture design<sup>14</sup> where his keen eye and experience as architect and draftsman at Assos informed his classicizing style. Yet, after his marriage to Calvert’s niece in 1885 Bacon’s professional association with the Troad assumed a deeper dimension because his wife never acclimated herself fully to New England. He subsequently “wore a path across the ocean,” returning to the Dardanelles in 1889, 1892, 1895, 1904, and with increasing frequency after 1907 when his wife resumed her residence in Turkey. By contrast, Clarke would never return.

Meanwhile, Clarke tried to secure gainful employment as an archaeologist, arranging and cataloguing Assos antiquities at the MFA which, while numerous, were not what the MFA had expected; for example, a complete order of the temple for reconstruction. Instead Clarke catalogued 156 sculpted or inscribed fragments of marble or stone, 344 pieces of pottery, 27 of glass, 3 of gold, 57 of metal, and 851 coins, not to mention a fish ver-

tebra, wild boar's tusk, and camel tooth (AIA 1885, 25; Whitehill 1970, 64 and museum register).<sup>15</sup> In March 1884 Clarke lectured on *entasis* for what later became the Baltimore society of the AIA. At the Johns Hopkins University he gave "A Plea for Practical Archaeology," and spoke on Assos and Cyrene.<sup>16</sup> He repeated these for Alexander Graham Bell and others in Washington, D.C. and New York, since several embryonic archaeological societies were considering mounting their own expeditions to the Cyrenaica in 1884 (Clarke to CEN, 5, 21 March 1884; minutes, 10 December 1884, AIA Archives), but the money could not be raised (Ware to CEN, 13 March 1884, AIA Archives, box 3.2). Thus, although Norton wanted to keep Clarke in the field for the AIA, the Cyrene expedition was postponed (10, 17 August 1884, AIA Archives).

Slowly, Clarke began to slide. He reworked his Johns Hopkins lecture for publication (1889, 89–103) but wrote nothing on Assos. In 1885 only Bacon was nominated to honorary membership in the Boston Society of Architects for "his distinguished services on the Assos Expedition" (Austin 1942, 9–10). The historian of that Society wrote that Clarke had "slipped" and committed "an affront to the officers of the Archaeological Institute and of the Boston Society of Architects, for the outcome seems to have resulted in the tacit understanding among the leaders . . . to utterly ostracize Clarke by ignoring all mention of his name and behavior forevermore."<sup>17</sup> It is difficult now to sort out which mistake it was, but Clarke finally abandoned the United States and settled in England where he, too, married in 1885. He continued to draw a salary from the AIA for Assos until May 1886<sup>18</sup> when, after taking up photography at Assos through Haynes, he met inventor George Eastman (1854–1932). Thus, Clarke began work as Eastman's patent expert and troubleshooter in Europe (Ackerman 1938, 59), spending his scholarly acumen as Eastman's agent by advising him on art purchases (Brayer 1979, 2). But the cost was dear, for he could no longer focus on Assos or archaeology. When his subsequent fieldwork in Italy was aborted in 1887,<sup>19</sup> Clarke immediately headed for Cyrene on a prospecting expedition for the Baltimore society.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps because of renewed AIA interest in Delphi (Sheftel, this volume), nothing came of it. When in 1888 Norton again offered him a fieldwork position, this time in Egypt, Clarke refused because of the protracted publication of Assos. In 1888 he published his last article<sup>21</sup> and Cyrene later went to Norton's youngest son Richard (1872–1918).

The publication of Assos suffered from the fact that the principal investigators left the field to earn livings in other professions, and Norton recorded his frustration in successive AIA annual reports (e.g., AIA 1885, 41). But Clarke had also become mired in an exhaustive “learned apparatus” and “pedantic style” (to CEN, 12 August 1886, AIA Archives). In 1888 he vowed to avoid “unnecessary excursions into the field of scholarship” and “to restrict the work as much as possible to actual description, reducing the encyclopedic character by presenting only the most essential references” (to CEN, 11 March, 15 July 1888, AIA Archives). An AIA representative passing through London likened him to a “Yankee working with the minuteness of a German professor” (J.P. Peters to CEN, 31 August 1888, AIA Archives), but by 1889 Norton admitted, “it is impossible to say when the final Report by Mr. Clarke on the Investigations at Assos will be completed” (AIA 1889, 36). In 1890 when Norton left the AIA presidency, it had still not appeared.

When it became clear that Clarke had completely abdicated, Norton asked Bacon to take over and he agreed. Fortunately for the AIA, Bacon’s character and choice of spouse aided the publication of the Assos reports. Because of his continued association with Calvert<sup>22</sup> and his repeated presence in the Troad, Bacon was able, despite his occupation and own professional commitments, to keep abreast of the archaeological world, particularly in Athens and Turkey.

At Bacon’s instigation, Norton offered Clarke his “sincerest sympathy with his trials and disappointments,” but officially requested “as Late President and Vice President” of the AIA, all of the drawings in Clarke’s custody “at once” (28 December 1894, AIA Archives). Embittered, Clarke, in turn, blamed business trips for his failure to follow through and lamented “the necessity of earning a living by hand to mouth work in other fields” (Clarke to CEN, 19 January 1895, AIA Archives, box 6.5), but by 1896 he had surrendered all of the Assos material to Bacon. The task of moving it to publication, however, was more daunting than Bacon had envisioned. He relied on his former Assos colleague Robert Koldewey, who had drawn a salary from the AIA until 1885 and journeyed to Boston to confer with him about reconstructions for the agora in 1896, but by 1898 Koldewey was thoroughly committed to Babylon, where he excavated until 1917 (Kuklick 1996, 144–5; Marchand 1996, 114). So Bacon alone had to decipher and ink Clarke’s and Koldewey’s notes and drawings (to CEN, 25 February 1895, AIA Archives).

Meanwhile, appreciation for and interest in Assos was waning. When Wilhelm Dörpfeld discovered two epistyle blocks there in 1896 and offered them to the AIA for publication, Norton's own son Richard dismissed the Assos sculpture as "the work of a provincial school in a country where the Fine Arts never attained the noblest development" (CEN 1897, 514). Norton and Bacon managed to publish Clarke's notes on the temple in 1898, but Norton himself acknowledged that the 1898 volume (mostly written in the 1880s) was "partial and imperfect" as a result of "a series of calamities" for which Clarke was "in no wise responsible. . . . It is a matter of serious regret that a full record of the results of the expedition should not be made by the person most competent to describe the discoveries and exhibit their importance" (Norton 1898, vi). Bacon vented his frustration with Clarke's selective study of only that which interested him personally, the temple and its sculptures, "leaving untouched the other interesting monuments of the ancient city, namely the Agora, with the surrounding buildings, the Theater, Gymnasium, the Fortification Walls, as well as the Street of the Tombs with its many exedras, sarcophagi, and monuments, and the Greek and Roman mosaic pavements!" (Bacon, epilogue to "Assos Days"). Internationally, scholars criticized America for undertaking "the splendid work of excavating the provincial city of Assos and then dropp[ing] it" and unfairly disparaged the lack of thoroughness of the 19th-century American excavation "where no private house, and not even the immediate neighborhood of the provincial temple, was entirely excavated" (quoted in Sterrett 1911, 36, 45–6).

From the beginning, AIA financing for Assos was problematic, and funding for the beleaguered publications fared no better. After Clarke's 1898 volume, Bacon brought out the second in two installments, the latter of which was delayed because of lack of money. The first, chiefly of text, appeared in 1902, a year after Cabot, former president of the B.S.A., had died. Before bringing out the second, Bacon traveled first to England to consult with Clarke and then to Assos to verify their conclusions (1904 Journal). After Norton's death in 1908, Bacon asked Norton's former student, New York banker and AIA patron James Loeb (1867–1933) for a \$3000 loan for the second. Although Bacon had finished it by 1916, Loeb became impatient and the war in Europe intervened, doubling the price of paper and printing (Bacon to Frederick W. Shipley, 22 December 1916, AIA Archives). In 1918, AIA acting general secretary wrote that "this long delayed and troublesome enterprise . . . will be a serious reflection on American scholarship

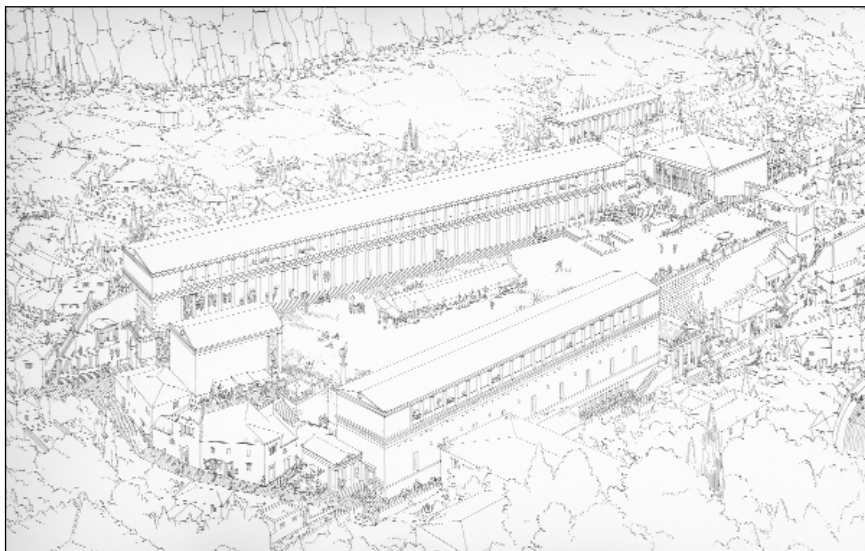


Fig. 3.4. The Agora at Assos restored, by Francis Henry Bacon. (Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey 1902/1921, 127. Courtesy of Brown University Library)

if this report is not published very soon” (to William F. Harris, 7 December, AIA Archives, box 20). Finally in 1921, a year after Clarke died in obscurity, Bacon published the folio of plates mostly at his own expense. For his “gift” he was listed as a Patron of the Institute from that year to his death in 1940, although the AIA discharged its debt to Bacon during the presidency of Louis Eleazar Lord (1875–1957) in 1936.<sup>23</sup>

Both of the volumes that Bacon shepherded to publication bear his indelible stamp. Unlike Clarke, who never shared authorship with his colleague, Bacon generously cited both Clarke and Koldewey as co-authors and even put Clarke’s name first. Rather than the exhaustive scholarly commentary, which only Clarke could have provided, the folios reflect Bacon’s strengths: carefully measured map-plans, restorations in perspective of parts of the principal monuments (fig. 3.3), and elevations. One review praised Bacon’s “peculiar and most beautiful style . . . one of the most, if not the most satisfactory that has ever been attempted for the rendering and interpretation of ancient Classical architecture” (Butler 1921, 17) (fig. 3.4).

As a draftsman and architect Bacon always stressed the importance of full-size moldings, especially early Greek ones since they were useful for architects,<sup>24</sup> and believed that “when you draw a full size of a good Greek original,

you shake hands with the man who made it" (Bacon to Moran). For this reason he included many of the architectural details that the late Cabot had requested almost four decades earlier. Yet the volume, which would have been useful for architects, had come too late, for the classicizing style in architecture, which Bacon had helped influence in the 1880s, was by that time falling victim to the austerity of International Modernism (Thomas 1990, 29, 664).

After 1927 Bacon retired at the Dardanelles, where he endured two wartime evacuations, earthquakes, the Depression,<sup>25</sup> and a successive loss of freedom for foreigners (Allen 1999, 242–4). Although crippled in 1923, Bacon kept alive his archaeological connections (fig. 3.5) and was made a member of the Archaeological Society of Berlin. Again he found pleasure in his association with the ASCSA, to which he donated the family's surviving Calvert-Schliemann correspondence (Allen 1999, 360, n. 50) and his own portfolios of full-size moldings and rubbings of Greek architectural details and inscriptions.<sup>26</sup> He also became a close friend of Carl Blegen (1887–1971), who had renewed excavations at Troy in the 1930s. To help Blegen, Bacon designed a dig house (not adopted) and also furniture to be used therein (Bacon 1934–1939 Journal; to Blegen, 27 February 1932, Blegen Papers, ASCSA Archives). In 1937 and 1938 he and Blegen hosted



Fig. 3.5. Francis Henry Bacon and a marble sima fragment from the Temple of Athena Ilion in the garden of the Calvert house at the Dardanelles. (Allen 1996, pl. 20b)

each other on opposite shores of the Aegean (Allen 1999, 361, n. 55). But circumstances there overwhelmed him. After suffering the collapse of his world and seizure of property in Turkey, Bacon died, a virtual “prisoner . . . in Chanak,” in 1940 (Rosalind Reed to Bacon, 4 December 1937, Bacon 1934–1939 Journal).

William Bell Dinsmoor (1886–1973), AIA president from 1936 to 1945, delayed the January 1940 issue of the *AJA* to include his appreciation of “a most beloved figure among a past generation of American archaeologists... “Uncle Bacon” to many . . . one of the most accomplished of architectural archaeologists, . . . [whose] sympathetic handling and delicate technique in pencil” was unrivaled and whose drawings “served as models for imitation . . . at Harvard and Columbia” (1940, 117; to Stephen B. Luce, 19 February 1940, AIA Archives, box 31.9). Within a month Columbia University and the Boston Society of Architects exhibited his “unique line drawings, which combined esthetic feeling and disciplined imagination with great clarity and accuracy” as a way of mourning his passing and celebrating his legacy (AIA Archives, box 31.9; Bragdon 1940, 189). Through his instruction and encouragement of younger scholars, such as AIA gold medalists Lucy Shoe Meritt and Homer Thompson (1906–2000), Bacon raised the standard of archaeological draftsmanship in America and influenced a generation of American classical architects, including his younger brother Henry (1866–1924), architect of the Lincoln Memorial, who contributed a rendering of Francis’s restoration of the tomb of the Assos monument of Publius Varius to the 1921 folio (Bacon 1886, 857; Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey, 1902/1921, 229). Thus, Bacon’s drawings were key both to igniting American interest in excavating classical sites and influencing the idealism seen in classicizing architecture in America from the 1880s on (Thomas 1995–1996, 29).

The AIA recognized Bacon as its “earliest and most energetic pioneer. Had it not been for Bacon’s enterprise and perseverance, the Archaeological Institute of America would not have been able to undertake, just at the beginning of its career, such an important work as the excavations at Assos” (AIA *Bulletin* 31 (1940), 41–2). Although Clarke’s passing went unmentioned by the AIA, Bacon generously recalled his partner’s strengths, “it was entirely owing to his energy and forceful character that the Assos expedition took place” (Austin 1942, 15). Dinsmoor honored both for “carrying out the first city excavation in Greek lands . . . [and producing] the pictorial record



of a small provincial town of ancient Greece . . . [which] will never be superseded" (1940, 117). Though neither joined the professional ranks of AIA archaeologists, they both helped secure a place for the AIA in the competitive Aegean arena of classical archaeology, and Bacon set professional standards for architectural plans and renderings for his own and future generations.

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## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> William C. Lawton to Norton (CEN), 1 November 1881, AIA Archives. Former AIA Executive Director Mark Meister provided me support and permitted me to publish materials from the Archives where former AIA staff members Margo Muhl Davis, Priscilla Murray, and Wendy O'Brien assisted me. All AIA letters are from box 6 unless otherwise stated. Stephen Nonack of the Boston Athenaeum allowed me to quote from Austin's memoir, all of which citations come from chapter 10. Unless specified, all Bacon letters were written by or to Francis Henry Bacon and are published with the permission of Kendall Bacon and Candace Bacon Cordella. Clarke's excavation diaries, personal, and professional papers are lost, but Helen Landry (HBL) shared with me a memoir written by his daughter, Rebecca Clarke Friskin, (Friskin, n.d.). Lenore O.K. Congdon (LOKC) has been a true support and corrected my manuscript. I thank the special collections librarians for permission to cite letters from the Duke University Special Collections (Duke), the Norton Papers (NP) at the Houghton Library (HL), Harvard University, and the John Hay Library, Brown University.
- <sup>2</sup> "Notes for the Historian," in Bacon to Horace Moran, 25 October 1936, in Bacon 1934–1939 Journal, henceforth Bacon to Moran.
- <sup>3</sup> Ware began his pioneering course in architecture at MIT in 1866 (*Dictionary of American Biography* 19, 452; De Long 1981, 28–33).
- <sup>4</sup> At the same time Clarke worked on his translation (1882) of von Reber's *Ancient Art* (von Reber to CEN, 2 March, 19 June, 19 August 1879, NP/HL).
- <sup>5</sup> Wrigley's leg was amputated in 1881 as a result of injuries at Assos (Ware to CEN, 30 November 1881; 16 April, 11, 30 June 1882, AIA Archives, box 6.7).
- <sup>6</sup> Robinson became Curator of Classical Archaeology at the MFA in 1885, Director of the MFA in 1902, and Director of the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1910.
- <sup>7</sup> Bradley, trained in reading inscriptions and making squeezes at the British Museum, had his health broken by fever and malnutrition at Assos (Bradley to CEN, 31 October 1881; Robinson to Stillman, 24 January 1882, AIA Archives) and died young as a result.
- <sup>8</sup> He contributed an appendix to Clarke (1882, 143–65), later taught Greek and Latin at Bowdoin and Bryn Mawr, and served as secretary of the AIA (Briggs 1994, 348–9).
- <sup>9</sup> Stillman to CEN, 24 January, 25 March 1882; Lawton to CEN, 1 November 1881, 16 July 1882; Robinson to CEN, 14 November 1881; Haynes to Stillman, 26 January 1882, AIA Archives; (Smyrna quote: Bacon to parents, 20 May, 15 July, 5 August 1881, Duke). For Clarke's experiences in Smyrna, see Allen (forthcoming).

- <sup>10</sup> It is unusual that Eliot Norton, well aware of Clarke's dalliances (Lawton to CEN, 1 November, and Bradley to CEN, 15 December 1881, AIA Archives), did not communicate the seriousness of its implications to his father, but he left before the worst deprivations occurred. Perhaps delicacy of feeling prevented the 17-year-old from informing his father of Clarke's moral negligence.
- <sup>11</sup> Lawton to CEN, 1 November 1881; Robinson to CEN, 14 November 1881; Haynes to Stillman, 26 January 1882, AIA Archives (Allen forthcoming). Although he was supposed to photograph from May to October 1881, Haynes was never given a camera.
- <sup>12</sup> Sterrett later taught Greek at Amherst College, the University of Texas, and Cornell University (Dyson 1998, 65–6).
- <sup>13</sup> Ware served on the Managing Committee of the ASCSA from 1885 to 1915 and designed its first building (Lord 1947, 11, 27–30). At the Calverts' estate he posed next to a grave stele, later bought by the MFA (Allen 1999, 358, n. 26). Ware recounted his trip to the Boston Society of Architects on 5 October 1883 (Austin 1942, 9–10).
- <sup>14</sup> Through Norton, Bacon worked first with Henry Hobson Richardson (1838–1886) and then moved on to A.H. Davenport, one of Richardson's collaborators, where he worked from 1884 until Davenport's death in 1908 (Burke 1986, 418). Then Bacon established his own firm, FHB Co., which "had a practical monopoly of what used to be called 'the carriage trade'" (Bragdon 1940, 189–90). Often working with McKim, Mead and White, Bacon designed classicizing furnishings for the New York University Club (1896–1900), the White House in 1902, the Secretary of the Treasury's Offices in 1910, the Caucus Room of the Russell Senate Office Building in 1910–1911, members' benches for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1913, and the Shrine of the Declaration of Independence for the Library of Congress in 1923 (Swales 1924, 50–1; Bragdon 1940, 189–90; Roth 1983, 219, 223, 267–72, figs. 237, 238, 288; Thomas 1995–1996, 32).
- <sup>15</sup> Quoted with permission of John Herrmann, MFA Curator of Art of the Ancient World.
- <sup>16</sup> In Baltimore Clarke saw Alfred Emerson (1859–1943) who, like Clarke, was an American raised in Munich. But unlike Clarke, this pioneer archaeologist had a Munich Ph.D. in classical archaeology (1880) and a post-doctoral position at Princeton. He taught Greek, Archaeology, and Latin first at Johns Hopkins and later at the ASCSA, Cornell, Miami University, and Lake Forest (*The Nation* 24 July 1884 [1995] 72; *NYT* 20 October 1943).
- <sup>17</sup> In fact, a rumor circulated that he was dead (Austin 1942, 9–10).
- <sup>18</sup> Although he published the translation of von Reber's *New Catalogue of the Old Pinacothèque* as his own, he admitted to Norton that his mother had done it (25 November 1884, AIA Archives). Later, mother and wife translated von Reber's *History of Medieval Art* (1887), likewise misleadingly credited to Clarke. His wife typed, drew, and photographed for him until she was overwhelmed by the births of two children in 16 months and the death of Clarke's mother in 1887 (Clarke to CEN, 9 February 1886, AIA Archives, box 5.12).
- <sup>19</sup> After the AIA voted \$1000 to investigate Magna Graecia in 1886, the Baltimore society raised an additional \$2000 and entrusted the project to Clarke and Emerson, who surveyed the Doric temple of Hera Licinia at Croton and began to excavate with permission from the landowner, but without that of the government, which subsequently shut them down (AIA 1887, 40–6; AIA 1889, 40; Dyson 1998, 74–6).

- <sup>20</sup> Their reconnaissance in Cyrenaica is recounted in *The Nation* 21 April 1887 [1138] 342; as well as Friskin, n.d., 9. A.L. Frothingham, Jr.'s letters to CEN, of 26 April and 5 June 1887 betray Clarke's desire to dig there and the Baltimore society's agreement to fund the work (AIA Archives, box 5.6).
- <sup>21</sup> Clarke (1888, 293, fig. 9) simply imposes Calvert's analysis of the political spheres of the southern Troad (Calvert 1865, 52) on a map. The sites discovered came from Haynes's 1881 topographical study with Diller (Haynes to CEN, 28 November 1881, AIA Archives, box 6.5), never credited to Haynes in Diller (1882, 182–7) or Clarke (1888, 291–319). The scholarly apparatus was Clarke's.
- <sup>22</sup> In 1889 Bacon helped Calvert sell antiquities to the Chicago Art Institute (LOKC), in 1903 to the MFA, and in 1905 to the Worcester Art Museum (Allen 1999, 241–2).
- <sup>23</sup> Although the AIA owed Bacon more (\$4901.13), Bacon insisted that Loeb's loan be paid off first. This was done (Ralph van Deman Magoffin to George H. Chase, 12 November 1925, AIA Archives, box 23.5). Lord visited Bacon at the Dardanelles and described him as "really destitute" to life members (7 February 1934, AIA Archives, box 31). Finally, Lord noted the debt discharged (to Frederick Calvert Bacon, 13 March 1936, AIA Archives, box 31). For Bacon as Institute Patron, see (AIA *Bulletin* 31 [1940], 42). See Congdon in Allen, Congdon, and Landry (forthcoming) for a history of publication.
- <sup>24</sup> Bacon criticized ASCSA architect Gorham Stevens (1876–1973) for his publication of the Erechtheum because it omitted full-size molding profiles (Bacon to Moran).
- <sup>25</sup> From 1885 to 1923, the Bacons changed their residence 16 times, gradually moving their possessions to Turkey where they retired in 1928. Decimated by the Depression, Bacon's company was liquidated by his son in 1939.
- <sup>26</sup> Bacon to Richard Stillwell, (ASCSA director, 1932–1935), 21 May 1933, Stillwell Papers. His moldings are in the ASCSA Archives. Other Bacon drawings are in the archives of the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.