

## PROPORTIONS AND POLITICS: MARKETING MIES AND MENDELSON

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For generations, architectural historians understood the adoption of Gothic, Renaissance, and modern architecture by cultures outside those in which they were created as evidence of good taste. Slowness in adopting the new paradigm was deemed “provincialism.” Postwar advocates of modern architecture, for instance, depicted its export from Europe to the United States as a seamless transition in which the logic of its forms swept aside all alternatives.<sup>1</sup> This is history as told by the victor. In fact, there was often considerable and principled resistance to new styles when they did not fit the needs of individual patrons or entire societies. They succeeded only when they offered those who adopted them something they needed.

So what did European modernism offer Americans? Those who defended American modernism against the postmodernist onslaught admitted that its critical core had unfortunately fallen off somewhere over the Atlantic, so to speak, when the modernist skyscraper became emblematic of American corporate capitalism.<sup>2</sup> Modern architecture never existed at a pristine remove from the marketplace, however. As recent studies of the interplay of capitalist display and modernist aesthetics in the Weimar-era German cityscape make clear, it is precisely these displays that did not cross the Atlantic.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in its deliberate resistance to overt advertising, American postwar corporate architecture retained more than a whiff of European idealism.

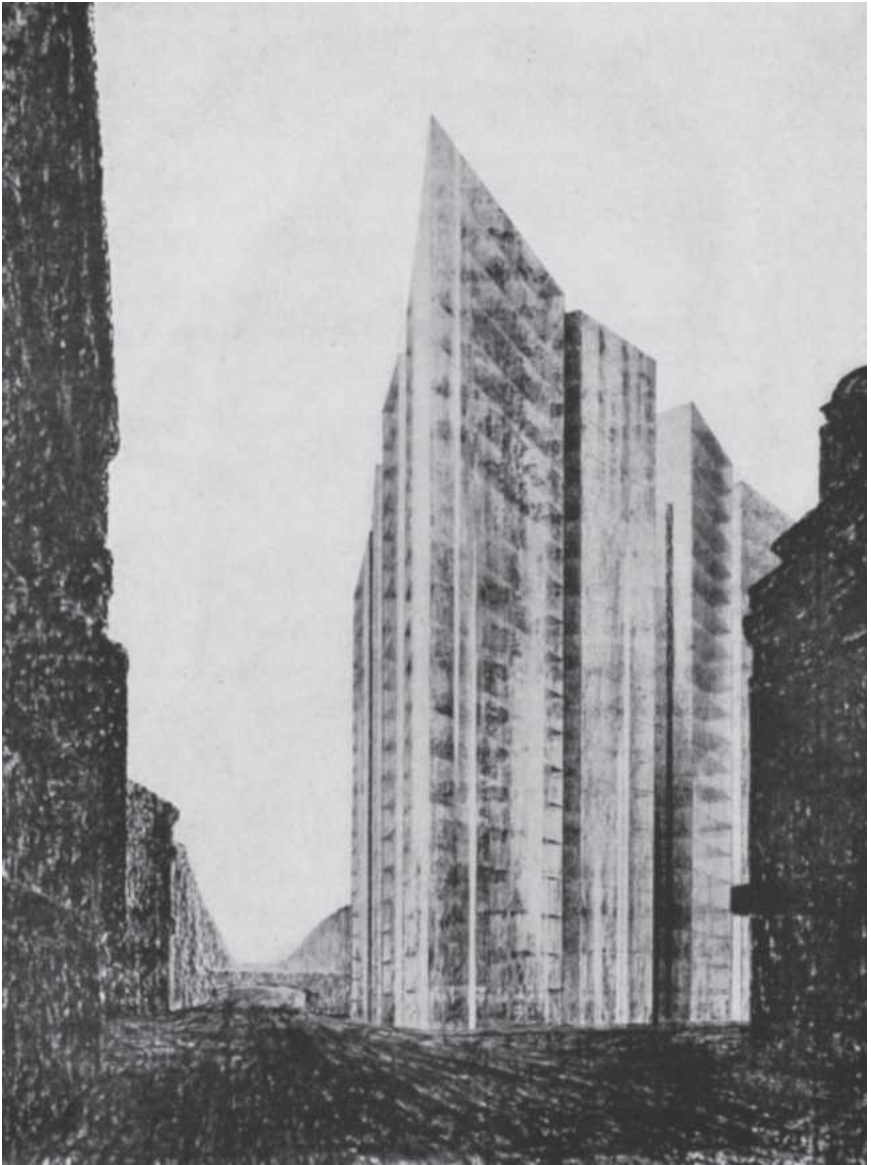
Two architects dominate the story of the reception of the American skyscraper in Weimar Germany and the export back to America of lessons learned from it. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the third and final director of the Bauhaus, and Eric Mendelsohn, the author of *Amerika: Bilderbuch eines Architekten*, competed with one another, first to define how this quintessentially American building type could be assimilated into Berlin and, then, for success as immigrant architects in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Comparing these two figures illuminates the degree to which personal circumstances and consumer taste influenced their careers. In Germany, Mies’s designs for high-rises remained too abstract for the merchants and developers who flocked to Mendelsohn for dynamically functional expressions of modern metropolitan glamour. In America, Mendelsohn directly engaged the preference for a specifically indigenous modernism that greeted both architects upon their arrival. Mies’s original

distance from Mendelsohn's dramatic curves, intended to invoke the speed of newly motorized traffic, eventually proved more useful to Americans anxious to dignify structural changes in their construction industry and to display the cultural sophistication appropriate for a global superpower.

In 1921, Mies van der Rohe sat down at his drawing board to design an entry in a competition for a skyscraper for Berlin's Friedrichstrasse (Figure 1).<sup>5</sup> Although his previous work had been consistently neoclassical, he now proposed a stunning break with historicism. The frank modernity of this building type, as well as his recent exposure to Expressionism, undoubtedly helped prompt this radical reconsideration of his architecture, which would remain a matter of theory rather than practice for several more years. All that was obviously American, however, about this and Mies's subsequent skyscraper project was their means of construction and their height. Mies's commitment to formal purity remained uninflected by the commercial function of such structures. The design (erroneously dated for many years as 1919) became an icon of twentieth-century architecture, but was apparently never seriously considered by the competition jurors.

In 1924, another Berlin architect, Eric Mendelsohn, Mies's junior by one year, set sail for the United States. The result, published in 1926, was a popular book.<sup>6</sup> Its illustrations depict the excitement of urban modernity, while the text expresses reservations about the incompleteness with which that modernity was represented architecturally. Like Mies, Mendelsohn believed that modern construction should not be dressed in historical forms. Unlike Mies, however, Mendelsohn fully appreciated the theatrical quality of what he had seen in New York. Like the German popular press, Mendelsohn was fascinated by Times Square's night lighting and also realized the inevitability of advertising's increasing presence in the modern cityscape.

During the brief period of economic recovery between 1924 and 1929, Mies and Mendelsohn competed to design shops and office buildings. These were, along with cinemas, two of the building types most closely identified by Germans in the 1920s with urban modernity. Their respective designs for stores in the center of Stuttgart illustrate why Mendelsohn was more successful at this point in getting his designs constructed. In his second department store for the Schocken chain, Mendelsohn enlivened an American daylight factory (a favorite German image of modernity that here emphasized the industrial origins of the goods on sale within) with technological spectacle. The boldly glazed corner stair tower and expansive display windows, which functioned even more effectively at night with illuminated letters spelling out "Schocken," drew the atten-



**Figure 1.** Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Competition entry for a skyscraper for Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, 1921. Source: Philip C. Johnson, *Mies van der Rohe* (New York, 1947), 25.

tion of potential shoppers without offering a fantasy based on images of wealth or social status. He defended his choice of style as appropriate for popular mass culture and contemporary technological and economic development, defining the spirit of the times in terms of “bare knees and

short haircuts, radio and film, car and airplane, banana wholesalers and combines that run department stores.”<sup>7</sup> In the popular imagination, the startling appearance of Mendelsohn’s architecture was linked with his Jewish heritage, as was much of Weimar-era modernism. This was something Mendelsohn, whose initial fame stemmed from the Einstein Tower, shared with many of his clients, including Salman Schocken.

Mies remained aloof from such spectacle; his rigorous attention to proportions and construction offered a potent antidote to it. But partly as a result of this, none of his Weimar-era designs for commercial buildings were ever realized, despite the high regard the profession and the industry had for his collaborations with Lilly Reich.<sup>8</sup> Instead, he was occupied during the final years of the Weimar Republic with a series of positions and commissions that would eventually ensure his enduring fame. He organized the Weissenhof Siedlung, an exhibition sponsored by the German Werkbund in 1927 in Stuttgart, for which he assembled two generations of architects from across western Europe to display the potential impact of prefabrication upon housing.<sup>9</sup> Two years later, he designed the German Pavilion for the Barcelona World’s Fair. Its gleaming materials, including polished onyx as well as chrome, imbued its open plan with a stately elegance entirely at odds with Mendelsohn’s celebration of mass consumerism. The Tugendhat House in Brno, Czechoslovakia, proved that such abstract spaces were indeed habitable.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in 1930, as this luxury villa was being completed, he assumed the directorship of the Bauhaus, which became largely an architecture school under his leadership.<sup>11</sup>

These accomplishments attracted the attention of those younger architects who continued to privilege form over the strict functionalism espoused by architects such as Hannes Meyer, Mies’s predecessor at the Bauhaus, whose purposes were as much political as aesthetic. The dismantling of the Barcelona Pavilion in 1930, coupled with criticism of the lavish Tugendhat House (completed at the onset of the Depression) curtailed their immediate impact, however.<sup>12</sup> But Mendelsohn’s position as Europe’s most influential modernist designer of commercial architecture remained unchallenged.<sup>13</sup>

His primacy in this arena led to his becoming the first modernist awarded the opportunity to build a high-rise office building. Originally conceived as a department store for the French chain Galleries Lafayette, Columbushaus was instead realized by developers who christened it in a spirit of optimism (Figure 2). Located on Berlin’s Potsdamerplatz, it was heralded upon its completion in 1932 as Europe’s most technologically advanced office building. In place of the uniform blankness of Mies’s glass walls, Mendelsohn adjusted his design to accommodate a range of uses likely to yield the highest possible rental income: two floors of shops



**Figure 2. Eric Mendelsohn, Columbushaus, Berlin, 1932. Source: Arnold Whittick, *Eric Mendelsohn* (London, 1956), plate 25.**

and restaurants, followed by offices, and capped by a restaurant with a roof terrace.<sup>14</sup>

However, the very factors which accounted for Mendelsohn's original German success hindered him from repeating it in the United States, where he moved in 1941 after eight years in London and Jerusalem. Largely for economic reasons, Americans were open to modernism's sim-

plified forms and standardized construction using new materials, which were in any case far more fully developed on that side of the Atlantic. But they initially spurned the industrial aesthetic prized by their European counterparts.

The flirtation of a handful of American architects with the white stucco boxes exhibited by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932 soon gave way to designs that more specifically addressed American conditions.<sup>15</sup> By the early 1940s, American advocates of modern architecture were proud of the degree to which their country's architects had moved away from European precedent.<sup>16</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright and William Wurster, in particular, emphasized natural materials in their design of relatively modest single family houses, which were models of sensitive integration into their sites.<sup>17</sup> Although much of this work was understood as regional, it was widely dispersed throughout the country and shared affinities with the recent work of the two leading modernists who had remained in Europe, Le Corbusier and Alvar Aalto.

Mendelsohn was more than happy to adjust to the tastes of his new home, which he deeply appreciated as a sanctuary from the Nazi destruction of European Judaism. He quickly renewed the ties with Wright and Lewis Mumford he had established in 1924, and befriended Wurster.<sup>18</sup> Their influence reinforced the interest in premodern vernacular architecture that he had developed while in Palestine.<sup>19</sup> Mendelsohn's American clippings file contained photographs of frontier mansions and Hindu temples rather than the factories and skyscrapers that had filled his earlier *Bilderbuch*.<sup>20</sup> Mies, by contrast, made little effort to master the local language or to adjust his architecture to his new surroundings following his emigration to Chicago in 1938. In his first decade in the United States he attracted relatively little attention, quietly enjoying the opportunities his position at the Illinois Institute of Technology offered him to continue his own highly disciplined investigation into the relationship between form, material, and function. Despite aggressive lobbying by his friend Philip Johnson, it was almost a decade before he got any work other than the design of inexpensive two- and three-story buildings for the new IIT campus. Although these would eventually become icons of American architecture, they initially had little impact at home or abroad.<sup>21</sup>

Mendelsohn's attempts to integrate himself into the architecture scene he found upon his arrival in the United States left him unprepared as the ground shifted under his feet, away from his friends Wright, Mumford, and Wurster, and towards his fellow émigrés Mies, Walter Gropius, and Marcel Breuer.<sup>22</sup> Mies, by contrast, without expending much effort on his own behalf, was lauded as the heir to what had become a prized American example of proto-modernism and as someone whose sophis-

ticated European art required enlightened American technology and patronage in order to be realized.

The end of World War II brought the social consensus and economic prosperity that Americans had been promised. It did not, however, restore the ability of architects or their clients to build as they had during the first three decades of the century. During the Depression, when few clients could afford to build magnificently, architects had competed with builders, even for modest commissions. They trimmed costs by emphasizing functional plans and they proposed buildings which were generally smaller and more simply finished than before. World War II exacerbated this process, bringing a profession whose practitioners had thought of themselves as artists into closer contact with industry. Architects became more involved in designing factories and in making efficient use of their products to further lower construction costs.<sup>23</sup> Finally, postwar inflation, which dramatically raised the cost of labor and materials, made a return to earlier standards impossible.

Meanwhile, by the late 1940s the Cold War demanded that American economic and military prowess be buttressed by cultural achievement.<sup>24</sup> This imperative shaped the perception of changes that had already touched the lives of the vast majority of Americans, affecting the appearance of the places where they lived, worked, shopped, and were educated. The discussion of contemporary American architecture began to be reframed in terms of continuity with the Bauhaus.<sup>25</sup> This dignified cost cutting and the adoption of new construction technologies by placing them within a modernist cultural tradition with a sophisticated European provenance.

Amid increasing homogeneity, modern architecture also usefully conveyed status based more on taste than wealth. Although many middle-class Americans continued to suspect modernism as Communist, the image of America promoted in elite circles (at home as well as abroad) was of a tolerant and progressive sponsor of advanced, even experimental art. Cold War rhetoric emphasized this contrast with Nazi Germany and the Soviet bloc. Popular acceptance of modernism remained limited, but the image of glass-walled office buildings became crucial to America's sense that it had inherited the mantle of European culture—a myth which America propagated internationally.<sup>26</sup>

The Museum of Modern Art led the way. In 1947, Johnson organized an exhibit devoted to Mies. His catalogue was the first monograph on Mies to be published in any language (books on Mendelsohn had appeared in German in 1930 and in English in 1940).<sup>27</sup> This fact demonstrates the extent to which Mies had been neglected in the years after his victory in the Reichsbank competition, which had briefly inspired the hope that his architecture would serve as the template for the Third



**Figure 3.** Mies van der Rohe, 860–80 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois, 1951. Source: Philip C. Johnson, *Mies van der Rohe* (New York, 1953), 173.

Reich.<sup>28</sup> The exhibit prepared the way for the enthusiastic reception of his design for a pair of apartment towers on Chicago's Lake Shore Drive (Figure 3).

Here, Mies finally realized buildings on the scale of his high-rise designs for Berlin. Faced with an opportunity to detail the glass skins

which he had long dreamed of, he chose a system of ornamentation so representative of their skeletal steel construction that untutored observers often assumed it was structural. Steel I-beams longitudinally framed the carefully proportioned windows, marching across the façade in a rhythm that remained constant across both towers.<sup>29</sup>

Although these were not the first curtain-walled towers built in the United States following the war, they garnered the most attention.<sup>30</sup> This was in part because they seemed to make earlier American architecture a crucial predecessor for the International Style. Mies became the heir to the Chicago School of the late nineteenth century and, at the same time, an emblem of his adopted country's new architectural maturity. The skyscraper projects which he had worked on in Berlin became the crucial midpoint between a uniquely American tradition and its reinvention as a model of international pre-eminence. The homegrown appreciation of these buildings was triggered by the attention Mendelsohn had paid to them in 1926.<sup>31</sup> This triumph was confirmed by the fact that Mies's towers were less expensive to construct than traditional masonry-clad buildings and that their condominium units quickly established themselves as extremely good investments, despite minor problems with heating and cooling.<sup>32</sup> The stage was set for a generation of Miesian designs that, despite their German origins, would come to be seen as evidence of encroaching Americanization whenever they were erected outside the United States.

Mies was determined to design buildings whose ideal forms, conceived in detachment from all but the most abstract considerations of function or context, bestowed an almost spiritual dignity upon the mundane activities they housed.<sup>33</sup> They also coincided conveniently with the relatively egalitarian anonymity of mid-century American corporate capitalism. Abstraction ostensibly untainted by crass commercialism imparted artistry (and, thus, dignity) to what was, in fact, a highly efficient deployment of people as well as materials. Mies himself appeared largely oblivious to the issues of representation that might have distinguished his commercial from his civic and other institutional commissions. His focus on proportion and construction as ways to resist architecture as fashion or fad discouraged inquiries into the way in which he actually blurred the boundary between the two. His example encouraged the American architectural profession to focus on issues of style, to the exclusion of any critique of the social and economic forces embedded in the corporate patronage they enjoyed.

One of the few people not impressed was Mendelsohn. Real architectural differences underlay the two men's mutual disdain. Mendelsohn's talent lay in his ability to reconceptualize the organization of a building type and then imbue each iteration of that type with its own

distinctly memorable form. Writing in Berlin soon after the publication of Mendelsohn's Einstein tower, Mies retorted,

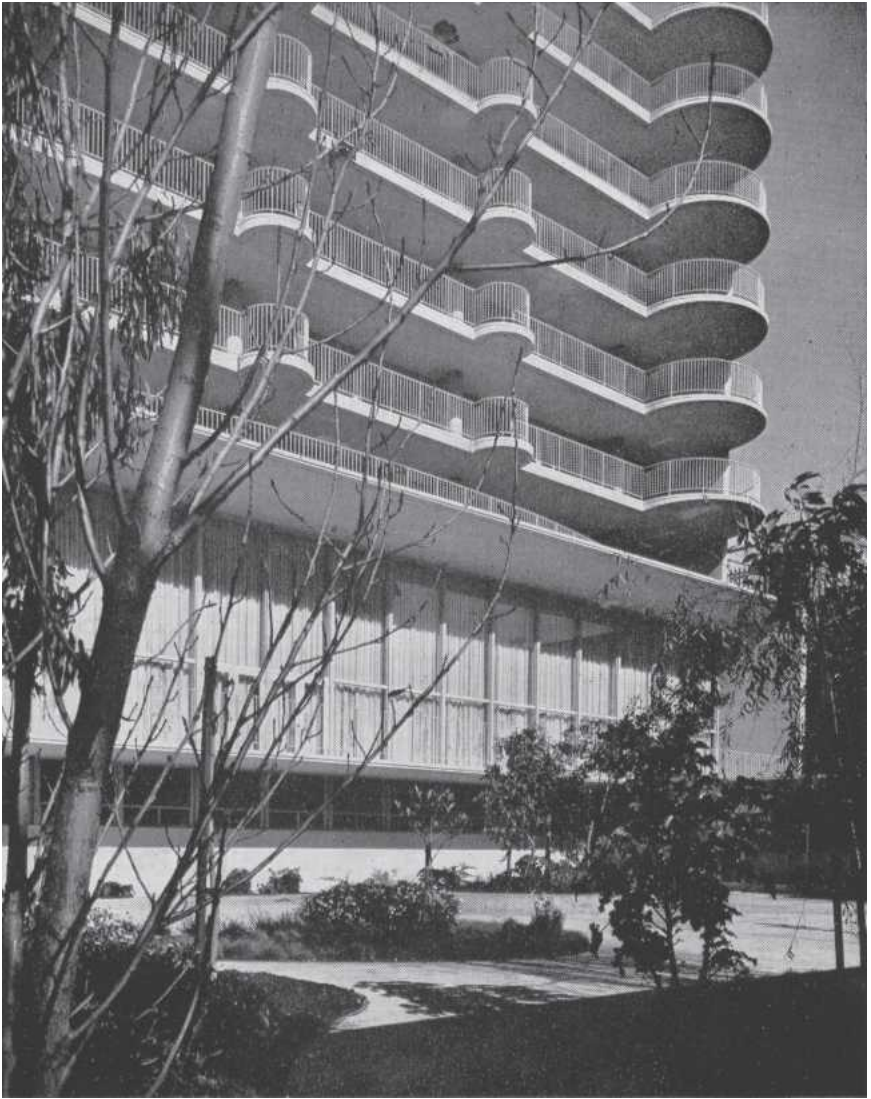
Ferro-concrete buildings are essentially skeleton structures. Neither pastry nor tank turrets. Supporting girder construction with a non-supporting wall. That means skin and bone structures.<sup>34</sup>

Mies, by contrast, worked with ideal forms, into which he slotted whatever function was required. The differences between his postwar apartments and office towers, for instance, are minimal. In 1950, Mendelsohn lectured at IIT and toured its new buildings. He remarked afterwards of Mies, "He [has] found his formula and intends apparently to stand on it until the end, square and academic . . . a rigid synthesis of principles which will kill (quickly and painlessly) the new hope of a free humanity."<sup>35</sup>

Note that Mendelsohn did not complain that Mies had eliminated the spectacular from commercial architecture. Although his own work had provided a useful precedent for the movie theaters and department stores that lined American neighborhoods, he was no longer interested in commerce or spectacle. By the end of his life, Mendelsohn longed to connect with a particular place and with the enduring values of religion. If this did not provide him with enduring fame, he at least had the satisfaction of serving with distinction the people who mattered to him the most, his fellow Jews, whose religious and civic needs he now addressed.

In the United States, Mendelsohn's primary architectural accomplishment was the suburban synagogue.<sup>36</sup> Characteristically, he stressed the relationship between modern architectural form and the larger society, but his emphasis was now upon the relationship between faith and politics, rather than between material goods and technology. He declared in 1947, "Our temples should reject the anachronistic representation of God as a feudal lord, should apply contemporary building styles and architectural conceptions to make God's house a part of the democratic community in which He dwells."<sup>37</sup>

The reform of sacred architecture, although one of modernism's greatest successes in the postwar years, did not fit easily into the myths that supported the style. Modernism was supposed to be a response to the new, not a way of reinvigorating the old. The skyscraper was the emblem of modernity, not the Torah ark. In his single American high-rise commission, for Maimonides Hospital in San Francisco, Mendelsohn divided his focus between attention to the site and to the patients (Figure 4). The form of Maimonides, completed in 1950, was too closely tied to its particular function to be widely applicable to other high-rises. The graceful balconies were too generous for public housing and unnecessary for office buildings. Furthermore, the increasing split in Mendelsohn's work



**Figure 4.** Eric Mendelsohn, *Maimonides Health Center, San Francisco, California, 1946–50.* Source: Arnold Whittick, *Eric Mendelsohn* (London, 1956), plate 56A.

between abstract form and industrial imagery made it difficult to view his American buildings as the culmination of his earlier German efforts.

Paradoxes abound. Mies, while no Nazi, did compete for government work during the Third Reich.<sup>38</sup> He nonetheless benefited far more from interpretations of modernism as anti-authoritarian than Mendelsohn,

whose architecture was permanently transformed by his experiences in Palestine. Mendelsohn consciously sought assimilation, but Mies reaped the rewards when a relatively small coterie of North Americans adopted European modernism as a badge of their own sophistication—and as a useful weapon on the cultural battleground of the Cold War. In Samuel Bronfman and his daughter Phyllis Lambert, Mies found economically successful and intellectually curious Jewish clients, not unlike Schocken.

Clients, fellow professionals, critics, and even historians reward architects who bestow upon them the ratification they crave. Weimar-era German merchants believed, with reason, that their customers wanted to be as modern as their American counterparts. Mendelsohn created this image inexpensively and artistically. Postwar American taste-makers believed, also with reason, that the country's cultural and business elite needed affirmation of their own sophistication. Mies created *this* image inexpensively and artistically. Both architects balanced ambition and principle with personal taste and experience to create their own iterations of modern German and, later, modern American architecture. Although proximate in time and space as well as style, these proved distinctive enough to convince different publics.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The two most influential texts in this regard are the multiple editions of Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1967) and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Baltimore, 1971). A more nuanced account is William Jordy, "The Aftermath of the Bauhaus in America. Gropius, Mies, and Breuer," in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *The Intellectual Migration. Europe and America, 1930–1960* (Cambridge, MA, 1969), 485–543.

<sup>2</sup> This is hinted at in Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London, 1992) and described more fully in William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (Oxford, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Kathleen James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism* (Cambridge 1997), and Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley, CA, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Erich Mendelsohn, *Amerika: Bilderbuch eines Architekten* (Berlin, 1926), translated as *Erich Mendelsohn's "Amerika"* (New York, 1993). Mendelsohn changed the spelling of his name from Erich to Eric after emigrating to Great Britain. The standard sources on Mies include Franz Schulze, *Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography* (Chicago, 1985), and the recent exhibit catalogues: Barry Bergdoll and Terrance Riley, eds., *Mies in Berlin* (New York, 2001), and Phyllis Lambert, ed., *Mies in America* (Montreal, 2001). On Mendelsohn, see Regina Stephan, ed., *Erich Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function, Realized Visions of a Cosmopolitan Architect* (New York, 1999) and Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn: The Complete Works* (Basel, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> The first analysis to consider Mies's design in the context of this competition is Florian Zimmermann, ed., *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus: Der Ideenwettbewerb Hochhaus am Bahnhof Friedrichstraße, Berlin 1921/22* (Berlin, 1988). The best account in English of his groundbreaking design is Wolf Tegethoff, "From Obscurity to Maturity: Mies van der Rohe's Breakthrough to Modernism," in Franz Schulze, ed., *Mies van der Rohe: Critical Essays* (New York, 1989), 28–94.

<sup>6</sup> For the details of his trip and the influence of the resulting publication see James, *Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism*, 57–70.

- <sup>7</sup> Oskar Beyer, ed., *Erich Mendelsohn: Letters of an Architect*, trans. Geoffrey Strachan (London, 1967), 93–94.
- <sup>8</sup> On Reich, see Sonja Günther, *Lilly Reich 1885–1947, Innenarchitektin, Designerin, Ausstellungsgestalterin* (Stuttgart, 1988) and Matilda McQuaid, *Lilly Reich, Designer and Architect* (New York, 1996).
- <sup>9</sup> Richard Pommer and Christian Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago, 1991), and Karin Kirsch, *The Weissenhofsiedlung. Experimental Housing Built for the Deutscher Werkbund, Stuttgart 1927* (New York, 1989).
- <sup>10</sup> Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat and Wolf Tegethoff, eds., *Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: Das Haus Tugendhat* (Vienna, 1998).
- <sup>11</sup> Rolf Achilles, Kevin Harrington, and Charlotte Myrhum, eds., *Mies van der Rohe: Architect as Educator* (Chicago, 1986), Marty Bax, *Bauhaus Lecture Notes, 1930–1933* (Amsterdam 1991), Howard Dearstyne, *Inside the Bauhaus* (New York, 1986), and Peter Hahn, ed., *Bauhaus Berlin: Auflösung Dessau 1932. Schließung Berlin 1933. Bauhäusler und Drittes Reich* (Weingarten, 1985).
- <sup>12</sup> David Spaeth, *Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: An Annotated Bibliography and Chronology* (New York, 1979), 22–27, lists five original German publications of the pavilion, plus one French and one Spanish. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Cristian Cirici, and Fernando Ramos, *Mies van der Rohe: Barcelona Pavilion* (Barcelona, 1993), 6, date the growing recognition of the building to after World War II. For the controversy over the Tugendhat House, see Justus Bier and Walter Riezler, “Kann Mann in Haus Tugendhat wohen?” *Die Form* 6 (1931): 392–94, and the response, “Die Bewohner des Hauses Tugendhat äussern sich,” *Die Form* 6 (1931): 437–39.
- <sup>13</sup> See James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism*, especially 219–25, for an account of Mendelsohn’s influence, which also extended to streamlined industrial design.
- <sup>14</sup> See Dietrich Neumann, “Die Wolkenkratzer kommen!,” *Deutsche Hochhäuser der zwanziger Jahre, Debatten, Projekte, Bauten* (Wiesbaden, 1995), for an account which places the building in the context of other German high-rises of the day.
- <sup>15</sup> See Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (New York 1966) and Terrence Riley, *The International Style. Exhibition 14 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York, 1992) for the original exhibition.
- <sup>16</sup> See especially Elizabeth Mock, *Built in the USA 1932–44* (New York, 1944), but also James and Katherine Morrow Ford, *The Modern House in America* (New York, 1940).
- <sup>17</sup> Marc Treib, ed., *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster* (San Francisco, 1995), and John Sargeant, *Frank Lloyd Wright’s Usonian Houses, the Case for Organic Architecture* (New York, 1976).
- <sup>18</sup> Arnold Whittick, *Eric Mendelsohn* (London, 1956), 177, for Wurster’s eulogy of Mendelsohn. Correspondence between Mumford and Mendelsohn can be found in the Mendelsohn archive, housed in the Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. For an account of Mendelsohn’s trips to Taliesin West to visit Wright, see Louise Mendelsohn, “My Life in a Changing World,” Copies, Ita Heinze-Greenberg Collection, Ruhrdorf; Department of Architecture and Design, Museum of Modern Art, New York; and Mendelsohn Archive, 165, 211.
- <sup>19</sup> On Mendelsohn in Palestine, see Ita Heinze-Greenberg, *Erich Mendelsohn: Bauten und Projekte in Palästina (1934–1941)* (Munich, 1986), and Alona Nitzan-Shifan, “Contested Zionism-Alternative Modernism. Eric Mendelsohn and the Tel Aviv Chug in Mandate Palestine,” *Architectural History* 39 (1996): 147–80.
- <sup>20</sup> I consulted this material when it was part of the Documents Collection (now the Environmental Design Archives) of the College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley. It has since been donated to the Mendelsohn Archive.
- <sup>21</sup> Although this argument runs counter to Cammie McAtee, “Alien #5044325,” in Lambert, *Mies in America*, I am deeply indebted to her excellent research.

<sup>22</sup> In addition to the Mies exhibition discussed below, a crucial turning point was the Museum of Modern Art's critique of an essay by Lewis Mumford upholding Bay Area architecture as a template for future development. See Gail Fenske, "Lewis Mumford, Henry Russell Hitchcock and Bay Regional Style," in Martha Pollak, ed., *The Education of the Architect: Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 37–85.

<sup>23</sup> Donald Albrecht, ed., *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation* (Washington, DC, 1995).

<sup>24</sup> Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War. The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York, 1999), and Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago, 1983).

<sup>25</sup> This paralleled developments in Germany first identified by Paul Betts, "The Bauhaus as Cold War Legend: West German Modernism Revisited," *German Politics and Society* 14.2 (1996): 75–100.

<sup>26</sup> Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers* (New York, 1954) remains the classic contemporary work on the subject of class and taste. For an example of the latter see Jane C. Loeffler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies* (New York, 1998).

<sup>27</sup> Philip Johnson, *Mies van der Rohe* (New York, 1947). Johnson opened his book by noting, "Of all the great modern architects, Mies van der Rohe is the least known."

<sup>28</sup> Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 169–216.

<sup>29</sup> The classic essay on this building remains William Jordy, *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Impact of European Modernism* (Garden City, NY, 1973), 221–77.

<sup>30</sup> Their most important precursor was Pietro Belluschi's Equitable Building in Portland, Oregon. See Meredith Clausen, "Belluschi and the Equitable Building in History," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (1991): 101–129.

<sup>31</sup> For Mendelsohn's role in reawakening interest in Chicago's proto-modernist heritage see Robert Wojtowicz, *Lewis Mumford and American Modernism: Utopian Theories for Architecture and Urban Planning* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 55. For the nearly simultaneous contribution of Mies's friend Ludwig Hilberseimer, see his book *Großstadt Architektur* (Stuttgart, 1927). Contemporary reviews of Lake Shore Drive that make this point include "Glass and Brick in a Concrete Frame," *Architectural Forum* 92 (January 1950): 221–77, and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "The International Style Twenty Years After," *Architectural Record* 110 (August 1951): 96. In addition to Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865–1885* (New York, 1931), and Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture*, crucial American publications preparing the way for such interpretations of Mies in the context of Chicago include Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan: Prophet of Modern Architecture* (New York, 1962), and Carl Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875–1925* (Chicago, 1964).

<sup>32</sup> "Mies van der Rohe," *Architectural Forum* 97 (November 1952): 96, 100, 102.

<sup>33</sup> As described in Fritz Neumeier, *The Artless Word: Mies van der Rohe on the Building Art*, trans. Mark Jarzombek (Cambridge, MA, 1991).

<sup>34</sup> As quoted in Neumeier, *Artless Word*, 241.

<sup>35</sup> Eric to Louise Mendelsohn, letter of 31 January 1950, Mendelsohn Archive.

<sup>36</sup> For a study of the first of these see Kathleen James-Chakraborty, "In the Spirit of Our Age": *Eric Mendelsohn's B'nai Amoona Synagogue* (St. Louis, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> Eric Mendelsohn, "In the Spirit of Our Age," *Commentary* 3 (1947): 541.

<sup>38</sup> The most balanced accounts of Mies's activities during the Third Reich is Richard Pommer, "Mies van der Rohe and the Political Ideology of the Modern Movement in Architecture," in Franz Schultze, ed., *Mies van de Rohe: Critical Essays* (New York, 1989), 96–145.