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THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE
A SYMPOSIUM — Part I

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Foreword

The pages which follow are the record of a symposium concerning a possible Chicago School of architecture, which was held on the campus of Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, in the spring of 1969.

Chicago, as is well known, was the site of a vigorous architectural development toward the end of the last century. In recent years there has been some debate as to its exact nature, its possible priority in certain respects (such as the skyscraper and the structural devices associated with it) and its relationship to the architecture of the middle of the present century (symbolized most obviously in the ideas and prophecies of Louis Sullivan). The situation is complicated by the presence in the history of a group of architects (of whom Frank Lloyd Wright was doubtless the greatest but not the sole representative) who devoted their efforts largely to domestic and civic architecture and whose finest hours were in the twentieth century rather than the end of the nineteenth. The question of a "school" is therefore more complex than a question whether the skyscraper or a modern commercial architecture appeared first in Chicago; and it is not surprising that debate has developed. It will doubtless continue.

Given this background, the immediate inspiration for the symposium was the burst of building in Chicago in the late 1950's and, especially, in the 1960's, which in a sense re-emphasized the entire question. The first unit of the Federal Center, of 1965, following on the North Lake Shore Drive Apartments and the buildings for the Illinois Institute of Technology, all by Mies Van der Rohe (in some cases associated with other firms of Chicago), underlined the active presence of this great figure of modern architecture. The Lake Point Tower Apartments of 1968 by Schiporeit-Heinrich Associates, which appears to have been developed from Mies' designs of the early 'twenties, (this is strongly denied by the architects) as well as certain buildings by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill and other architects, showed the presence of the Miesian aesthetic in other buildings than his own. On the other hand there were buildings which seemed not to derive from Mies, but rather to come from other sources or from the earlier architecture of Chicago. One might cite, among buildings either built or known in design and already causing comment, the Equitable Building of 1965 by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, in which the externally shown (apparent) piers are not structural, but rather are ducts or tubes used for carrying air to "temper" the interior environment. The John Hancock Center of 1969 by the same architects, furnished a startling exhibition of structural elements in the gigantic diagonal braces clearly shown on the outside; and the tapering shape was disturbing or thrilling, depending on one's viewpoint. In any case, it seemed rather far from Mies' refinement. The First National Bank Building of 1969 by C. F. Murphy Associates and The Perkins and Will Partnership revealed an equally startling shape in its curving walls, inspired here (as in the John Hancock too) by functional considerations as to the amount of space required at different levels. The fact that the same considerations about spaces was handled in the one by
A curious wall and in the other by a straight-line taper raised an interesting question as to how incoherently or directly the exterior form followed function in contemporary buildings in Chicago. Was Louis Sullivan's great idea being respected, or how should it be interpreted? Puzzling also to the average observer was the fact that the Brunswick Building of 1963, for example, by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, displayed a depth and massiveness in the wall which the "curtain wall" only a short time before had seemed to render obsolete. In short, a variety of questions were suggested by the new buildings, either as continuation of or departure from the old.

It thus seemed not inappropriate at the end of such a decade of building to assemble some of the leaders of the study of architecture for discussion, reconsideration, and summary of thought on the question of a Chicago School. Professor Winston Weisman of Pennsylvania State University was on the campus of Northwestern University in the spring of 1969 on the Corcora Lectureship (a lectureship supported by a grant from the Container Corporation of America); and he, together with Professor Carl Condit of Northwestern University, two scholars well known for their opposite views as to a Chicago School, were invited to present formal, full-length papers on the subject. Two distinguished architectural historians, Professors Henry-Russell Hitchcock of Smith College, Emeritus, and Allen Brooks of the University of Toronto, were invited to serve as primary commentators; and additional participants were invited to be present and to comment as they wished. The sessions were also open to the interested public.

In choosing participants our idea was not to emphasize a Sullivanian or Wrightian mystique nor to take the line of philosophical expertise (sufficiently illustrated by the books on Sullivan by the late Hugh D. Duncan and Professor Sherman Paul) but to call upon rather straight-forward architectural historians. By a happy coincidence of which we took advantage, Sir John Summerson was on the campus at the time to deliver the Harris Lectures (on the architecture of Sir Christopher Wren); and we were fortunate in being able to have him, a distinguished neutral, to chair the discussion. I take this opportunity to express the gratitude of the University and of the Department of Art History to the Concora Fund and the Harris Lecture Foundation for their concurrence, and, finally, to the Research Committee of the Graduate School of Northwestern for a subvention to allow publication of the proceedings.

The participants were allowed to revise their remarks, and to extend them if they wished. Any additions which go beyond a few words are printed in brackets, or in footnotes, so as to keep the record clear in this respect. Footnotes marked "EDITOR, JCW," are by the undersigned.

J. Carson Webster
Guest Editor
The Chicago School of Architecture:
A Symposium—Part I

The Chicago School Issue

At the October 1968 meeting of the Midwest Art Association in Minneapolis, mention was made to a group of art historians of this conference on the issue of the Chicago School. One of the number exclaimed that he was bored with the whole debate and wished those involved would turn their attention to more profitable matters.

On the face of it there seems justification for this reaction because there has been a great deal written on the subject and we seem no nearer a solution than ever. As a matter of fact, there appears to be more confusion than before.

To some the question of whether there was or was not a "Chicago School" and if there was then precisely what was it, is merely a tempest in a teapot; a matter for quarrelsome pedants. To them a rose by any other name . . . or more to the point, a building by Sullivan, Root or Wright is still a thing of beauty, classify it as you will.


With this point of view I am sorely tempted to agree if only so we can go ahead with the work that still needs doing. But I must like storms in teapots or must be a quarrelsome pedant, for I find myself unable to let the matter rest. For reasons that must be apparent, I prefer to see myself as an architectural historian who believes the issue before us is so important that the history of American architecture of the past and of this century cannot be properly written until this problem has been resolved. How could it be otherwise when we realize that involved are some of the nation's greatest architects and many of its finest structures; that at least one of the building types, the skyscraper, was an American invention; and that another, the Prairie House, played a significant role in the development of European architecture in the twentieth century.

For me the major issue is not with the men or monuments but with the historians who have writ-
great claims believe, erroneously I think, that Chicago was the birthplace of the skyscraper, the skeleton frame, and indeed, of modern architecture. These are bold and great claims which, I hold, cannot be substantiated. They are exaggerations, half-truths which, when accepted uncritically, distort history.

That Chicago played an important part in the evolution of American architecture; that its role in the development of the skeleton frame and the skyscraper was significant; that it contributed to the formation of the International Style in Europe, no one would deny. But to say as the editors of the *Architectural Forum* did in a special issue dated May 1962: "... Here is where it [Modern Architecture] all began," is to reduce a very complex historical matter into an absolute absurdity. Thus the issue before us is not limited to the restricted confines of a single city but has national and even international overtones which must be correctly viewed if we are to understand the true nature of architectural history in our time.

Before plunging into the center of the problem, I believe it is necessary to deal briefly with the present status of the subject as reflected in the existing literature. Investigation proves that there is considerable disagreement among scholars as to the meaning of the term. There is no consensus as to the kinds of buildings involved, the personnel of the group or the dates when the so-called "school" began, flourished and declined, if indeed it ever did.

Hugh Morrison, who early called attention to the architecture of Chicago with his definitive monograph on Louis Sullivan says, in discussing the significance of the architect, "[T]he few hardy spirits who admired him immensely as a prophet and as a man . . . came to be known as the Chicago School." Morrison names Frank Lloyd Wright, Elmslie, Maher, Perkins and others as belonging to this group. Since Sullivan did not vault into prominence until the mid 1880's with the erection of the Auditorium; and since Wright's earliest home of distinction, the Winslow House dates from 1893; and since the others named did not mature until after the turn of the century, we may infer that Morrison thought of the "school" as being formed about 1895 and 1900.

With this, Mark Peisch seems to be in substantial agreement. The subtitle of his book *The Chicago School of Architecture* reads, "The Early Followers of Wright and Sullivan." He specifically states he believes Morrison to be correct in using the term "Chicago School" to refer to the movement between 1893 and 1914. He explains that it was Thomas Tallmadge, a Chicago architect working in the early years of the century, who first coined the term "Chicago School" in an article written for the *Architectural Review* of April 1908, where the reference was to Wright and his followers.

Peisch states that he is aware Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Vincent Scully use the terms "New Chicago School" and "Second Chicago School" respectively, for the group working after 1893 but he finds both unacceptable because he says they imply a "first Chicago School" from as early as 1871, the year of the great fire. This he cannot accept because he believes the architects working prior to 1890 did not have the cohesiveness expected of a school.

Siegfried Giedion in his influential work, *Space, Time and Architecture* is of a different mind altogether. He says: "The Chicago School is bound up with the creation of the modern office building." Thus he places the emphasis not on residential but on commercial building and infers that the "school" goes back to the 1870's with Jenney's First Leiter Building of 1879 or, perhaps, farther back to that same architect's Portland Block of 1872.

John Jacobus supports Giedion's view in his article on the "Chicago School" written for the *Encyclopedia of Modern Architecture*. He holds that the term: "... has also occasionally been used, but inappropriately, to cover the domestic Prairie style of 1900 that was evolved by Frank Lloyd Wright and his followers in the same region." Jacobus says, "The Chicago style of commercial architecture is dominated by two features: the metal frame, as the basic structural system, together with its clear expression on the building's exterior in a simple, often non-historical vocabulary." Obviously, Jacobus is thinking of a skeleton framed office building. In other words he would use "Chicago School" for the commercial work done before 1893 and "Prairie Style" for the domestic practice of Wright and his followers.

One of the first scholars to take a similar position was Allen Brooks. In a talk given at the 20th Congress of Art History titled "The Prairie School, the Midwest Contemporaries of Frank Lloyd Wright," Brooks said he preferred the term "Prairie School" for this group, "... because the meaning of the original title Chicago School denoted Frank Lloyd Wright and his contemporaries. Although Louis Sullivan was considered as the progenitor of the group his pre-1900 architectural activities were considered to be largely outside the main stream of the school, since the term did not connotate, as it does today, primarily commercial skyscraper buildings by such architects as Adler & Sullivan, Burnham & Root, Holabird & Roche, Jenney and oth-
ers.” Brooks goes on to say: “In fact at the time the latter were not thought to constitute a school at all: an interpretation with which I would concur.”

Brooks explained it was Giedion’s book of 1941 that popularized the fiction that the “Chicago School” was synonymous with the tall commercial buildings of the 1880’s and 90’s. In a later article for the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians dated May 1966, Brooks restated his preference for the term “Prairie School” for Wright and his followers and agreed to accept the term “Chicago School” for the commercial work of the 1880’s and 90’s because the fiction created by Giedion had won such wide acceptance that it probably could not be changed at the late date.

In the photographic guidebook called Chicago’s Famous Buildings edited by Arthur Siegel, Carl Condit authored the chapter dealing with “Chicago School” practice. He says: “The original Chicago School of Architecture from its inception to its last days flourished over the half century that extended from 1875 to 1925. By 1910 the movement had produced an original, indigenous and organic architecture for every kind of building.” He states that this movement was interrupted between 1930 and 1950 by the advent of the International Style and was finally re-established as a “New Chicago School” by Mies van der Rohe.

What all this boils down to, obviously, is not consensus but confusion. If I read their writings correctly, Hitchcock and Scully are in favor of a solution using the term “Chicago School” subdivided into two phases, the earlier one composed primarily of commercial structures and a later one consisting predominantly of residential buildings. Condit goes farther, creating a third phase re-established by Mies about 1950.

Giedion and Jacobus go along with the use of the term “Chicago School” for the commercial work done in the 1880’s and 90’s, but Jacobus thinks the term inappopriate for the work of Wright and his contemporaries which he would call “Prairie Style”.

Brooks and Peisch believe there was no “Chicago School” prior to 1895 or 1900 because there was no cohesive body of principle or practice. Brooks likes the name “Prairie School” for the movement after 1900. Peisch goes along with Tallmadge and Morrison using the term “Chicago School” only for the early followers of Sullivan and Wright.

As for the period of time involved, the majority seem content to date the movement within the last quarter of the last century going back to Jenney’s first Leiter Building of 1879 or even to his Portland Block of 1872. Tallmadge and Peisch, however, would set the time roughly between 1900 and 1914 when Wright and his contemporaries were flourishing. Condit sees a renewal in the form of a “New Chicago School” established by Mies in 1950.

The question before us, therefore, is how to unravel this tangled skein of architectural opinion into an intelligible pattern. To do this I believe it will be necessary to examine all the monuments related to the problem, instead of only those found in Chicago, and to explore the broad spectrum of thought which led to the principles usually associated with the “Chicago School”. When this is done, I think we will find there are three basic questions directly connected with the three phases enumerated earlier. They are:

1. Is it valid to refer to the commercial buildings erected roughly between 1875 and 1900 as products of a “Chicago School”? For reasons which I shall discuss shortly, I am convinced that this is not valid and any attempt to maintain this fiction will create a gross misunderstanding of 19th century American architectural history.

2. What is the proper designation for the so-called second phase beginning about 1900 which was inspired by Sullivan but practiced by Wright and his contemporaries? Should it be “Chicago School” as Tallmadge originally called it in 1908, the “New Chicago School”, the “Second Chicago School”, the “Prairie School” or the “Prairie Style”? My preference, for reasons to stated later, is for “Prairie School”.

3. Can we speak, as Condit alone does, of a “New Chicago School” re-established by Mies van der Rohe in 1950? Here my answer would be emphatic: “No!” The acceptance of such a solution would be in my opinion a distortion of the historical truth. In the first place, the high rise structures to which Condit alludes in his book The Chicago School of Architecture are most directly related to the commercial buildings of the so-called first phase which should not be considered “Chicago School”. Therefore, “New Chicago School” is not appropriate. But more important, such a designation would dismiss, at least nominally, the entire European contribution, including the work of such men as Schinkel, Morris, Berlage, Behrens, Gropius, Perret, Corbu, and many others too numerous to mention, including painters and philosophers.

It must be obvious to all that the limitation of time will not permit an exhaustive treatment of all the facets of the issues encompassed by the problem before us. I hope that sometime before the close of this conference, one or other of the speakers will be
able to touch upon most, if not all, of the matters raised thus far.

As for me, I should like to dwell mainly on the so-called first phase, dealing with the commercial structures of the last quarter of the 19th century, because I believe that here lies the widest and most profound difference of opinion. If we can agree on a designation for this period and for this work I believe solutions for the other questions will be easier to find.

My prime concern will be with two aspects of the problem, namely, principles and practice, because both arise out of the question of a definition. The Oxford Dictionary defines "school" as a type or brand of doctrine or practice. In art historical circles, the word also suggests that the doctrine or practice originated in the place associated with it or at least largely stemmed from there. Thus one can speak of a Florentine, Venetian or Sienese School of Renaissance painting. Moreover it is also implied that this doctrine or practice has a high degree of particularity, a special, distinct and easily recognizable form which characterizes the art of that place and is not to be found in large measure elsewhere.

Now Professor Condit makes it glitteringly clear throughout his book that "functionalism" is the basic doctrine that gave rise to the particular practice which he calls the "Chicago School". But it must be very obvious that "functionalism" as a doctrine did not originate in Chicago.

Edward De Zurko tells us in his book Sources of Functionalism that the concept can be traced back to at least the 17th century to Europe. Lodoli in the 18th century and Viollet-le-Duc in the 19th were not natives of Chicago but Italian and French respectively. Darwin and Huxley who preached the effect of function on form in nature were English. Horatio Greenough, the Bostonian who spent much time in Rome practicing the art of sculpture, defined beauty as "the promise of function," praising the beauty of clipper ships and the trotting carriage in essays written in the mid-19th century.


These are but a few of the names of men in the arts, philosophy and sciences who were expounding on the relationship between form and function and the beauty of functional form. The vast majority were not from Chicago. They conceived their views, wrote, and spoke before the last quarter of the 19th century began.

When Sullivan appeared on the midwestern scene, he was a Louis-come-lately who most certainly must have soaked up his ideas about form and function long before he settled in Chicago. So I think it may be fairly said that the concept of functionalism, which is considered to be the prime characteristic of the "Chicago School," did not originate in that city but was an importation from continental Europe, England and the Eastern United States. What the Chicago architects of the 80's and 90's did, then, was simply to adopt a long established, well developed doctrine and practice it with skill, imagination and great success.

Now the peculiar part of this is that much, if not all of what has just been said, was known to Professor Condit. In the first chapter of his book Architecture in the Nineteenth Century he cites some of the examples given here and includes other expressions by A.J. Downing, Calvert Vaux, James J. Jarvis, John Burroughs and Joseph W. Yost concluding with the statement: "Thus many of the ideas from which a new philosophy and a new style of architecture might be derived had been given a wide currency in numerous writings by the time the Chicago movement began the material revolution in the building arts." In other words, the doctrine which is an essential part of an artistic school was already in existence by the time the Chicago movement began.

The question now arises whether the rest of what has been claimed can be substantiated; specifically that the Chicago architects converted the doctrine into practice, that they transformed an esthetic concept into an architectural form so new and so distinctive as to deserve the label "Chicago movement". Was this the beginning of a material revolution in the building arts, as Professor Condit claims, or was it rather a part of an evolutionary process which actually had its beginnings elsewhere? I believe the latter to be true and hope to prove it in what follows.

Before presenting the evidence, however, I believe it is important to note that surprisingly few of the men who are credited with having created this movement were born-and-bred Chicagoans. Jenney was born in Fairhaven, Massachusetts in 1832 and did not open an office in Chicago until 1868. He was trained in New England and Paris.
John Root was from Atlanta, Georgia, and was educated in Europe and New York where he worked with both James Renwick and John Snook. He reached Chicago shortly after the fire of 1871, forming a partnership with Daniel Burnham in 1873 when he was 23. Burnham was born in Henderson, New York, went to public school in Chicago and then in the East, to return in 1868 at the age of 22.

William Holabird was a New York stater who entered West Point at 19 and after graduation reached Chicago in the early 70's. Martin Roche was a Clevelander who subsequently found his way to Jenney's office with Holabird, with whom he founded a partnership in 1880.

Dankmar Adler was born in Germany and reached Chicago in 1861 via Detroit when he was 17. His practice did not begin until after the end of the Civil War and especially in the rebuilding of the city after the fire. Sullivan, of course, was a Bostonian who did not reach Chicago until 1873 when he was 17. He left after a year with Jenney for several years of study in Europe. His real practice did not get under way until his partnership with Adler in 1879.

Solon Beman was born in Brooklyn and educated in New York where he worked for Richard Upjohn. He arrived in Chicago in 1879 at the age of 26. Charles Frost was from Lewiston, Maine, and graduated from M.I.T. in 1876. He worked for Peabody & Stearns until 1881 and moved to Chicago in 1882 when he was 26. Henry Cobb was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, and was educated in Boston schools. He studied at M.I.T. and Harvard. He spent a year in Europe, worked for Peabody and Stearns and came to Chicago in 1882 when he was 23.

Providence, R.I. Granite Block. 1824. John H. Greene.

Thus it would appear that with the exception of Roche, the Clevelander, all the major practitioners who are said to have created the "Chicago School" in its first phase, were Easterners. As for Adler, he came from as far East as Germany. Is it reasonable to assume that these men coming from so many different places, with differing backgrounds and training, could have in such a short time, created a new movement in architecture? I think not! I believe the reason they were able to produce buildings with common characteristics is because the basic principles and practices already were in existence. This is what I now wish to demonstrate.

To do this we must go back to New England, the birthplace of Jenney, Sullivan, Frost and Cobb. It

was Henry-Russell Hitchcock who first called our attention to the Quincy Market in Boston and Granite Block in Providence both built in 1824, by Alexander Parris and John Holden Greene respectively. Professor Hitchcock pointed out that, unlike the ubiquitous masonry warehouses of brick and stone, the stores flanking the Market and the Block were trabeated structures which were in essence skeleton construction of granite. This system was so effective in providing for light and air it was employed soon after for other commercial buildings, as witness the stores adjoining Isaiah Roger’s Exchange and that same architect’s Brazer’s Building of 1842.

This formula was in use in Philadelphia by the late 1840’s, as can be seen in Rae’s Pictorial Directory published in 1851. Plate 1 shows us a block of stores virtually identical with those in Boston and Plate 13 illustrates two stores very similar to the Brazer’s Building. While the architect or architects of these structures are unknown at the moment, there is little doubt in my mind that their design was influenced by Solomon Hoxsie, the Quincy granite contractor for Philadelphia, who must have been well acquainted with building activities in the Boston, Quincy, Providence area.

By 1849, Philadelphians were to witness the rise of an edifice of a young architect, William L. Johnston, who unfortunately did not live to see its completion in 1852. It rose to the unusual height of eight stories and was topped by a two story tower. Made of Quincy granite, the Jayne Building displayed a design rare for commercial structures.

The elevation was composed of a ground story supporting eight cluster columns rising without interruption for six stories and terminating in point-
ed arches with quatrefoils. Despite its Venetian Ruskinian elements, the major impact is of a surprisingly functional facade. It is evident that, whatever else the architect was expected to accomplish, his prime responsibility was to satisfy the needs of commerce for light and air. The result is a superb piece of structural articulation vertically accented. Its resemblance to the Wainwright Building was noted by this speaker in an article in the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of March 1961. I believe that Sullivan’s solution of 1890 was inspired by the Jayne which was in the immediate vicinity of the offices of Furness & Hewitt where Sullivan worked in 1873 for several months during his short sojourn in Philadelphia.

The beauty of the Jayne was not reproduced often in Philadelphia but the rational, utilitarian principle that governed its design was employed many times with great variety and imagination. Stephen Button’s Leland Building of 1855 was an excellent example of this functional concept. Here too the openings are maximized, the structure emphasized, the columns verticalized and the decoration minimized.

The designer has created an architectonic system out of the bones of the building wherein its beauty resides. Ornament in the Victorian sense has no place here because the aim is not to titillate the eye, to create a picturesque or sublime fabrik. It is to erect a serviceable structure whose beauty springs from logic and utility, in Greenough’s words from the promise of function. This concept of beauty, this principle of design and this system of practice is essentially the same as those claimed by the advocates of the "Chicago School" with but one exception. And that is the substitution of a metal framed construction system for one of stone.

Significantly for our purpose, this substitution did not take place in Chicago but in New York. Professor Turpin Bannister has written most convincingly about this in two related articles published in the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians called "Bogardus Revisited" (Dec. 1956, March 1957) in which he demonstrated that what we consider "curtain wall" construction was realized by 1855 in James Bogardus’ McCullough Shot Tower which stood in New York until 1908. Bogardus’ patent of 1850, for the "Construction of the Frame, Roof and Floor of Iron Buildings," which was employed in his factory of 1848, served as the

theoretical and practical basis for Jenney’s Home Life Insurance Building of 1884 in Chicago.

In 1850, Bogardus made use of his patented system in the construction of the Sun Building at Baltimore which was designed by the New York architect R.G. Hatfield. It was employed again in 1854 in the Harper Brothers Building of New York City, illustrated here in elevation and section. The internal metal frame supported almost the entire weight of the floor, roof and facade loads with the brick walls at the two sides and back helping in a minimal way. This “Cage construction” system used in 1850 and 1854, was but a short step away from true skeleton construction where the walls no longer have a load bearing character but rather are borne by the metal frame.

Bogardus had been experimenting with this method between 1850 and 1854 in a number of observation fire towers and lighthouses, such as the one he did in 1851 for the Mt. Morris Park, New York. Since these structures did not require heavy-weight weatherproof cladding except for the observation deck, the frame in essence was the edifice, or to paraphrase Marshall McLuhan: the medium was the monument. But when a protective curtain was needed as in the McCullough Shot Tower of 1855, Bogardus did the obvious thing. He filled the openings at each level with bricks resting on the metal girders. These, in turn, were supported by the iron columns.

The reason why Bogardus’ system was not adopted widely in the years up to 1884 was manifold. In the first place the quick collapse of the New York Crystal Palace in the holocaust of 1858 proved metal framing had its weaknesses, the gravest one being fire. The depression of 1857
slowed building activity. The outbreak of the Civil War stopped it for all practical purposes. The brief renewal after 1866 lasted only until 1875 when the Second Empire mode was in fashion. Iron was not at home in this mode of masonry piers, coupled columns, mansards and pavilions. By 1873 another depression was underway that deepened throughout the decade ending only in 1879-1880. Once again new construction virtually stopped. The tide turned by the end of the decade, thanks to a number of major commissions, among them R. M. Hunt’s W.K. Vanderbilt House of 1880. The most ambitious was the new headquarters for the Produce Exchange which was submitted and approved in 1881 and completed by 1885.

The program called for an immense exchange hall subdivided by columns into a nave-like space and side aisles. The former was illuminated by a huge skylight while the latter was to have a ring of offices above. Communication was by a tower placed toward the south-west corner of the building.

Architect-engineer George B. Post had a solution which was an ingenious extension of Bogardus’ system calling for a trussed metal frame which spanned the exchange room and a regular column and beam system which supported offices above the aisles. In its day, it was probably the most advanced and complicated metal construction in the country. At a later time it was hailed as the first skeleton frame building in the United States. It was not, of course, because the walls supported themselves and even assisted, as in the Harper Brothers Building, the interior skeleton.
Considering its size, cost and intricacy of construction, it is reasonable to assume that the Produce Exchange was well known in Chicago. As a matter of fact, the striking similarity between the composition of the Exchange and H.H. Richardson's Marshall Field Warehouse of 1885-87, particularly as it relates to the window treatment, and Adler and Sullivan's Auditorium of 1887-89, where the basic elements are the large open space, the offices and tower, suggests the strong possibility that Post's scheme was the inspiration for both later monuments.

What all of this indicates is that it is somewhat absurd to refer to skeleton construction as "Chicago Construction". It is true that Jenney carried the process one step further in the Home Life Insurance Company Building of 1884, which by the way had self-bearing walls on the lower stories much like the Produce Exchange, and that Holabird and Roche completed the process in the Tacoma Building of 1888-89. But this is not sufficient reason for using a term which suggests the whole system was created miraculously almost overnight in Chicago. Such a designation is misleading and can only confuse the uninitiated. It is misleading because it does not cover all the facts; because it does not recognize the contribution of men like Bogardus or Daniel Badger whose Architectural Iron Works of New York supplied a number of the cast iron fronts that lined the streets of Chicago in the pre-fire days.


Thus far we have seen that the doctrine underlying the "Chicago School" did not originate in the midwest; that the architects associated with the first or commercial phase of the movement were not born or trained there; that the construction system employed after the last half of the 1880's was largely an Eastern importation; and finally that the practice as well as the basic appearance of the buildings designated as "Chicago School" can be traced back to New England as early as 1824, to Philadelphia in the 1850's and to New York from 1850 on. It is to this last matter that I would now like to turn.

About the time William Johnston was starting his amazing Jayne Building in Philadelphia, two other less ambitious but essentially similar buildings were being erected in New York. They were the Bowen & McNamee Store of 1849 by Joseph C. Wells and the Park Row Stores of 1850 by an architect as yet unknown. What distinguished these stores from their brick brethren of the 1820's and those of granite in the 1830's was their emphasis on the appearance of structure. In both, the column and spandrel system is articulated by a projection and
recession system so as to suggest the load-bearing function. This is especially true of the Park Row Stores where the architect obviously has tried to differentiate between the heavy piers separating the individual stores, the intermediate columns supporting the floors and the mullions holding the windows. The similarity between this approach and that in Philadelphia already has been noted. The object, of course, was to work out a method of construction and composition suiting the needs of commerce for light and air.

John Kellum's second Stewart Store of 1859 shows how successful these men were in substituting glass for brick and stone. That much the same thing was occurring in Philadelphia is proven by the Ellis Store erected in 1857. The Civil War interrupted this utilitarian trend. But by 1869 it was renewed as witness William Field & Sons block of stores on Church Street, New York, which are as bright and functional today as they were 100 years ago.

By that time the Equitable Life Insurance Company Building was begun by Gilman, Kendall and Post which proved on its completion in 1870 that the elevator could double the height of business buildings and thereby greatly increase their revenue potential. Within short order, the height was doubled again in the Tribune Building and the

Western Union, by Richard Hunt and George Post respectively, dated 1873-1875.

The Western Union was truly a monster, not only in size but in style. On top it was flamboyantly Second Empire while below it was functional and rational. The lower stories are an extension of the Park Row system, being reflective primarily of the load-bearing character of the elements.

In smaller versions where thick brick piers were unnecessary the windows were wider and more numerous. Hunt’s store at 478-482 Broadway of 1873 with its slender colonettes appears to have been inspired by Viollet-le-Duc. Russell Sturgis’ Austin Building of 1876 is a variation of this search for light and air.

By 1877 the system employed by Post in the lower stories of the Western Union was carried through to its logical conclusion in a remarkable building which is much too little known, namely, the John Shillito Store by James McLaughlin in the thriving metropolis of Cincinnati. As can be seen, the elevation is a straightforward piece of functional design with virtually no concern for the bravura historicisms which cluttered the Western Union and other commercial buildings that were to come later. The facade mirrored the internal structural frame with the brick piers corresponding to the ranges of iron columns within.
In my opinion, the Shillito was a structure of great historical importance. It evolved from the Park Row Stores and the lower section of the Western Union and in turn set the stage to Jenney’s first Leiter Building of 1879 and for George Post’s Mills Building of 1881-83. They are all the same breed of building being rational, utilitarian and

designed for business. Jenney and Post certainly must have known the Cincinnati building because it was published in the American Architect and Building News in 1877, the most influential trade magazine of its time.

What we have seen just now is that in the broad sea of architectural revivalism prevailing the 19th century, there was as well, a thin but distinct stream that was logical and functional in nature. Going back to the early years of the century it was made up primarily of commercial buildings. Its path can be followed quite clearly moving south along the eastern seaboard and then westward, reaching Chicago in the 1870’s with the initial unmistakable example to be found in the first Leiter Building of 1879.

The question which now has to be answered in the affirmative if we are to justify a "Chicago School" during the period 1875-95 is: was there such a movement in the midwest that was original and independent of that in the east, thus allowing us to speak validly of a school of architecture founded in Chicago? The answer, based on a rather thorough examination of the evidence, is that there was not.

Chicago and its Makers, a pictorial review of that city’s architecture from its earliest days, reveals nothing in the buildings erected during the 1850’s, 60’s and 70’s suggestive of what was to happen in the 80’s. In Chicago Illustrated, published in 1866 by Jevne and Almini, the long business block pictured at Lake and State Streets was typical of the cast iron buildings that dotted the commercial district in the 50’s. It was erected between 1856-57 from parts shipped to Chicago from New York by Daniel Badger’s Architectural Iron Works. Though attributed to John M. Van Osdel, the design was by George Johnston who worked for Badger and settled in Chicago after the fire, where he introduced hollow tile fireproof construction in Van Osdel’s Kendall Building of 1872-73.

A view at La Salle Street and Court House Square shows a group of structures the likes of which could be found in many American cities. Number 80-82 was completed recently, says the Jevne & Almini text, and was by Edward Burling. It was of masonry construction and in the Italianate palazzo fashion that was already outmoded in favor of the Second Empire manner displayed in the office.
buildings on either side. Nowhere in Chicago Illustrated is there to be found a hint of the future.

The Landowner, which thoroughly reported and illustrated the rebuilding of Chicago after the fire of 1871, does not reveal a new trend of architectural thought. The Kendall Block mentioned above was a second generation palazzo of ubiquitous design. For ornateness it would be hard to beat the Colonnade Building of 1872 by Wheelock and Thomas. These two structures represented the post-fire buildings recorded in the Landowner.

Two others, the Nixon and Portland Blocks, have a special significance for Condit in his history of the "Chicago School". The Nixon was completed in 1871 by Otto Matz. It was one of the few buildings to escape the flames. The Portland, of 1872, was by Jenney. Condit links both edifices saying: "There was little precedent for buildings like this... except for the American vernacular predilection for plane walls with few projecting courses, sills and lintels or ornamental details."

As for the Nixon, I can see nothing novel about it. It is typical of thousands of "palazzi" with the usual collection of classical ornaments freely used. The Portland, on the other hand, is more skeletal and in this sense it is a portent of things to come. It is this changeover from the expression of masonry construction to a skeleton or framed system that is vital to the argument supporting the validity of a "Chicago School". If the Portland were, indeed, without precedent and if it were possible to trace a line of development from it to the first Leiter Building also by Jenney, then a proper case could be made on the basis of originality. But the facts prove the Portland was a relatively late example in a long series of skeletally conceived buildings, as we have already seen. For sheer utility and the appearance of structure it is outclassed by the Leland and Park Row of 20 years earlier. It is more plausible to argue that the first Leiter stemmed from the Shillito than directly from the Portland. If this is so, then no case can be made for a new and original architectural practice that would justify the designation "Chicago School". To me it makes more sense to group the Quincy Stores of Boston, the Jayne of Philadelphia, the Park Row of New York, the Shillito of Cincinnati and the first Leiter of Chicago together because of their common characteristics and to find a term that expresses the family resemblance. The similarity between the Chamber of Commerce Building in Chicago done in 1888-89 by Baumann & Heuhl and Alfred Zucker's Rouss Building in New York of the same time cannot be explained by establishing a New York "campus" of the "Chicago School".
These comparisons can be cited in hundreds of cases, as for example in William Schickel’s Warehouse in New York of 1887-88 and Adler and Sullivan’s Walker Warehouse of 1888-89. What is needed is a broader designation capable of embracing all examples.

Curiously enough, a suggestion as to what that term might be comes from Chicago itself. In 1935 Thomas Tallmadge wrote an eyewitness account, *Architecture in Old Chicago*, which included the commercial work of the 1880’s and 90’s. In discussing the styles of architecture prevalent between 1880 and 1893, he mentions the Romanesque of Richardson, the Second Empire, the Victorian Gothic among others, and then he says: "There was still another manner, the name of which has faded but which sixty years ago was dear to Chicago architects..."
because they considered that they invented it, and that was the 'Commercial Style'. This was a common sense manner, carefully worked out in brick and terra cotta as the appropriate dress for the 'Elevator Building', also something very new.'

Notice that Tallmadge does not speak of a "Chicago School" nor does he actually say the "Commercial Style" was invented in Chicago. He is very careful to say that Chicago architects "considered that they invented it."

The term can be traced back to at least 1891 when an anonymous editor of a building trades publication called Industrial Chicago applied it to the architecture being raised there at the time. He says: "The 'Commercial Style' is the title suggested by the great office and mercantile buildings now being found here. The requirements of commerce and the business principles of real estate owners called this style into life. Light, space, air and strength were demanded by such requirements and principles as the first objects and exterior ornamentation as the second."

He tells us further that the Chamber of Commerce Building "presents nearly all the features of the new style and construction." This structure, he adds, features an "open fabric composed of vertical columns and recessed spandrels separated by windows."

Perhaps the most urgent cogent remarks made by the editor of Industrial Chicago are contained in the following paragraph. He says: "Commercial architecture is the just title to be applied to the great airy buildings of the present. They are truly American architecture in conception and utility. The style is a monument to the advance of Chicago in commerce and commercial greatness and to the prevailing penchant for casting out art where it interferes with the useful. It is a commanding style without being venerable." And then he concludes: "The commercial style, if structurally ornamental, becomes architectural."

Like Tallmadge, the author of Industrial Chicago does not use the term "Chicago School". He does not say the "Commercial Style" is typically Chicagoan. He says the style is "truly American in conception." He says the style is a monument to the advance of Chicago in commerce; but this does not imply that the style originated there or was a purely local architectural phenomenon.

This brings us to the heart of problem number one. I believe that those who use the term "Chicago School" in reference to the commercial work done in the midwest between 1800 and 1900 are in error. The term cannot be substantiated by origin of doctrine, personnel or practice. In my opinion "Commercial Style" is more appropriate in that it suggests the original motivating force for the architectural form, it correctly infers the deep and broad base founded on a capitalistic culture and, last but by no means least, it helps us to understand the true nature of the phenomenon and its development.

One of the advantages of accepting "Commercial Style" for the first phase is that it simplifies the problem of what to do about phase two. There can be little debate about the fact that here we are talking about a distinctive architectural product which was shaped generally by the thoughts of Sullivan and more particularly by the ideas and practice of Frank Lloyd Wright. Since the particular doctrine that underlay Wright's practice was midwestern by 1895 or 1900, since almost all of Wright's contemporaries were Chicago-trained and since most of the buildings they erected were in the Chicago area, there is a strong case for calling this movement "Chicago School" as Tallmadge did in 1908.

Professor Brooks prefers the term "Prairie School" for several reasons. In the first place he says the term "Chicago School" cannot be used in its original context because: "To too many people it now signifies the early skyscrapers of Chicago and the architects who designed them." He recognizes the appropriateness of the designation "Commercial Style" for the work of the first period but feels that it is too late to change present usage.

In his article "Chicago School: Metamorphosis of a Term" in the May 1966 issue of the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, he concludes: "The term Chicago School might therefore best be defined as that particularly vigorous, regional phase in the development of the Commerical Style in utilitarian, multistory buildings as it was manifest in Chicago . . . between the late 1880's and the early twentieth century . . . . Such an interpretation excludes the architects that Tallmadge originally named, thus making it necessary to substitute another title for what he once called the Chicago School. An appropriate alternative, and one which already enjoys increasing acceptance, is Prairie School. This phrase is both concise and precise; it describes the geographic area involved as well as the characteristic landscape that influenced the architectural designs. 'Prairie house' and 'prairie style' have long been an accepted part of our nomenclature and their correlation to Prairie School requires no further explanation.'

While I am willing to join Brooks in his preference for "Prairie School" rather than "Chicago School", I would like to make it clear that it is not
because I wish to perpetuate a misnomer. I am convinced the evidence for calling the work of the first phase "Commercial Style" is so overwhelming that to continue to call it "Chicago School" would be to defeat the purpose of this symposium; and I cannot agree that it is ever too late to change current usage. As to the second phase, I support Brooks' preference for "Prairie School" because of its association with the Prairie House. Wright's concept of an organic architecture was rooted in Sullivan's philosophy but it was not identical. Wright was a lover of the land. He felt nature intensely. His prairie house was a statement of faith which was transformed as he moved to California and then into the desert. Those who worked with him between 1893 and 1915 were of the same mind and produced much the same kind of building in an area that went beyond Chicago. It was the prairie and the plain and not the city which inspired Wright's Robie House of 1908 and Walter Burley Griffin's Blythe House of 1913 at Mason City, Iowa. For this reason, I believe, Brooks' suggestion "Prairie School" is more fitting than "Chicago School" for the second phase of our problem.

This brings us to the third and final phase of the "Chicago School" problem, which Professor Condit refers to as the "New Chicago School" in the guidebook Chicago's Famous Buildings. Condit says that the new school was "established primarily by Mies van der Rohe" and traces the beginning of the movement to the Promontory Apartments on South Lake Shore Drive erected in 1948-49. The Promontory, says Condit, "is unique . . . and belongs exactly to the idiom of the Chicago School. It is the first one in which the naked concrete frame provides the dominant features of the elevation. The outermost columns and girders stand out strong and clear, each rectangular bay enframing a sweep of glass surmounting the narrow spandrel of brick."

Now it is interesting to note that Condit does not speak of this "New Chicago School" in his book The Chicago School of Architecture published in 1964. This was a revision and enlargement of an earlier work, The Rise of the Skyscraper published in 1952. In the book of 1964 many of the buildings and architects referred to in his chapter of the guidebook (issued in 1965) appear, but they are assembled in the last chapter, called "The Chicago School in the Twentieth Century." So that somewhere between the original book of 1952, the revision of 1964 and the guidebook of 1965 a "New Chicago School" was created. This one, which it is claimed was established by Mies, is not to be confused with
Hitchcock’s usage which referred to Wright and his contemporaries.

The culprit in this case, I suggest, was the Architectural Forum of May 1962 which broke a 70 year tradition by devoting a full issue to what it called “the story of one city.” The Forum had rediscovered Chicago. As explained in its “Publisher’s Note”, the magazine threw practically its whole staff into the effort and learned: “There is the ‘Second Chicago School’ in architecture (the school of Mies van der Rohe and his former students). It has already changed the face of U.S. skyscraper buildings. And a ‘Third Chicago School’ may, just possibly, be on its way.”

Where and when it would all end, the Forum neglected to say. Moreover, what they failed to explain was their numbering system. If the commercial buildings of the 1880’s and 90’s constituted the “First Chicago School” and the work of Wright and Company, the “Second Chicago School”, then that of Mies must be the “Third Chicago School”.

However, the Forum does not quite see the development that way, because on pages 90-91 they juxtapose a detail of the Auditorium which bears the caption “The First Chicago School” with one of Mies’ Crown Hall at I.I.T. which is called “And the Second”. The lead paragraph says: “The two great entranceways shown here symbolize two great eras in modern Chicago architecture: the era of Louis

1 The Forum illustrates a detail of one of the rough-hewn arches seen along the left side of the building in the accompanying figure. — EDITOR, JCW.

Chicago. Crown Hall, IIT. 1952. Mies Van der Rohe; Pace Associates; Friedman, Alschuler and Stucere; and Holabird and Root.

Sullivan who, with his partner, Dankmar Adler, built the Auditorium (above) in 1889, and the era of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, who built Crown Hall on the Illinois Institute of Technology campus (opposite) in 1956”.

The question arises: What ever happened to the “Chicago School” that Tallmadge knew and wrote about in 1908? One answer, of course, is that we call Tallmadge’s “Chicago School” the “Prairie School;” then the second follows the first as Mies follows Sullivan. The only trouble is that he really doesn’t.

One of the astounding aspects of the Forum’s text is its utter disregard for logic and fact. Of the two examples it uses it says: “Different as these two entrances are, they share two qualities: an exuberant pride in bold structure of strong materials, dramatically expressed; and a powerful clarity of form that makes surface decoration unnecessary. Mies said that ‘less is more’ but the maxim applies perfectly to Sullivan’s massive granite archway. Sullivan said that ‘beauty . . . is resident in function and form’ but the maxim applies perfectly to Mies’ serene, steel-and-glass structure.”

Now this is gobbledygook! In the first place, Sullivan’s massive granite archway is not Sullivan’s. It is Richardson’s, as any first year student of architectural history knows. And Richardson by no stretch of the imagination, can be included in the
Chicago, Promontory Apartments, 1948-49. Mies Van der Rohe; Pace Associates; and Holm man, Holm man, Kleckamp and Taylor.
"Chicago School". Second, the massive masonry system has little or nothing to do with the form and function of the interior which results from a very complex and sophisticated metal frame. The masonry wall has a magnificent texture, but this was as carefully planned as any ornament and as effectively denies the real structural system.

As for Crown Hall, it is a building of great beauty. It is an exquisite abstraction in steel and glass; but alas, it is not functional. It is not possible to carry on all the activities of an architectural school in one huge room measuring 220 x 120 by 19-1/2 feet high. In order to attain his ideal of a universal space, an elaborate and costly ceiling suspension system was introduced as can be seen in the illustration. In order to make the glass and steel box visible, welded "I" beams had to be added to create a shadow pattern. Great glass surfaces are costly in Chicago's climate of extreme cold and heat. Fluorescent light is cheaper and better than the vagaries of daylight. The beauty of Mies' building is not resident in its function but in its form and finish.

How does all this relate to the reestablishment of a "New" or "Second Chicago School" by Mies in 1950? I would say it has little relationship, as the Forum has made visibly clear in its juxtaposing the Auditorium and Crown Hall. If Mies' "Chicago School" relates to anything, it is to the commercial work of the 1880's. Since I and others do not acknowledge that "Chicago School" is a proper term for this period, there cannot be a "New" or "Second" school.

But much more important, the architecture of Mies, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, Charles Murphy, Harry Weese and others cannot be explained solely by the doctrines and practices of the so-called "Chicago School". The European contribution was enormous.

The long and complex esthetic and architectural development discussed by Reyner Banham's Theory and Design in the First Machine Age obviously had a profound effect on Mies who grew up when it all was happening. One cannot dismiss the great pioneers like Berlage, Behrens and Perret. Nor the influence of his contemporaries Gropius, Le Corbusier and Loos, not to mention literally hundreds of others. One cannot leave out the contribution of the Werkbund, the Bauhaus, Cubism and De Stijl. The relation between Mies and De Stijl is strikingly apparent in a comparison between Mies' I.I.T. Chapel of 1952 and a Mondrian composition of 1937.

Certainly what was going on in the midwest was
Creeping into the minds and work of European architects, especially the practice of Wright. But when Gropius’ scheme for the Chicago Tribune Tower was introduced in the early 1920’s it was considered a European importation and not an example of the “Chicago School”. It was not until Hood and Howell’s McGraw Hill Building of 1930 and the PSFS Building by Howe and Lescaze of 1931 that the “International Style” finally took hold in this country. When Mies did the Promontory Apartments in 1948, I suggest that his exemplar was Perret’s Rue Franklin House of 1903 or the garage of 1905 rather than anything the so-called “Chicago School” of the 1880’s had to offer.

Professor Condit admits the separation when he states that a modern structural art began to emerge in Europe around 1910. “The methods of construction,” he says, “and formal expression that they developed were essentially like those of the Chicago School. But there was no direct connection between the two groups, as there was between Wright and the Dutch architects after 1910.”

For these reasons, I can see no point in referring to the work of Mies and his followers as a “New
Chicago School". It is both incorrect and confusing. Certainly Mies' influence has been enormous. His form as represented in the Lake Shore Drive Apartments of 1952 was the inspiration for the Equitable Tower by S.O.M., the Civic Center by C.F. Murphy Associates and the Lake Point Tower Apartments of 1968 by Schipporeit-Heinrich, Inc., obviously lean heavily on Mies' experiments of 1920-21. The similarity that exists is incidental in that given our technology and the building's purpose all high rise structures are bound to look more or less alike when the decoration is discounted. Skyscrapers like those in Chicago are to be seen everywhere in the U.S., Europe, the Far East and South America. We have two choices: either they all are part of the "New Chicago School" or what the Forum and Condit call the "New Chicago School" is a part of a broader international movement. I vote for the latter.


The symposium on the Chicago School of Architecture will be concluded in the next issue. Carl Condit will present a rebuttal entitled "Structural Development" with statements on the two presentations by Sir John Summerson, and panelists Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and H. Allen Brooks. Discussion from the floor will include Leonard Eaton, Paul Sprague, Wilbert Hasbrouck, James Marston Fitch and others.

As before, due to the length of the article there will be no book reviews.