ARCHITECTURAL EXCURSIONS

Frank Lloyd Wright, Holland and Europe

Donald Langmead, Donald Leslie Johnson

Greenwood PUBLISHING GROUP

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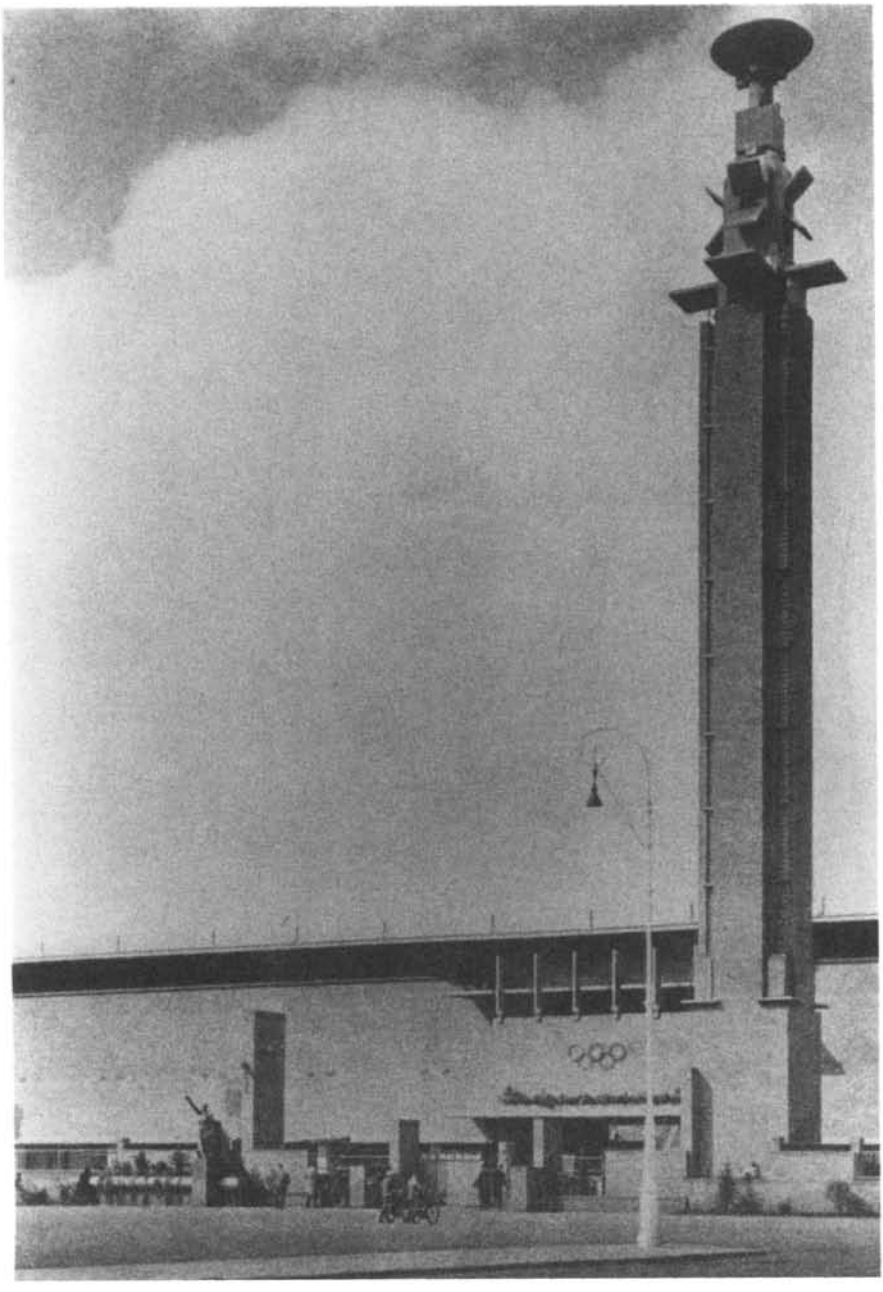

Olympic Stadium, Amsterdam, Jan Wils, Architect, 1926–28. Main entrance. As published in Architectural Forum (*February 1929*).

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Donald Langmead
and Donald Leslie Johnson

Foreword by Niels L. Prak

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This book is dedicated to

David, Rhiannon,
Bethany and Emma Bowshall

and

Samuel Wayne Williams,
Robert Smith, now in Geelong,
Vera Corkery, now in London,
and, in memoriam, Peter Corkery.

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Illustrations

Foreword

Niels Luning Prak

Art and sport have something in common: high rewards for special performances—but only for a small number of performers at the top. In sport, it is accepted that star performers work assiduously to develop their public image and sell their names to the highest bidders among advertisers. Students of architecture believe that the road to fame for the "great makers" is different: their talent is recognized by the architectural community, they receive favorable reviews, win prizes and finally are granted honorary doctorates. This is true, but not the whole story. Many famous architects have put in as much work on building a reputation as have, say, football stars. This book shows such effort in abundant detail in the case of Frank Lloyd Wright.

It does not mean that the fame is undeserved. Solid achievement is required for critical acclaim in the highly competitive world of international architecture. Every practicing architect knows that only a few are going to "make it" because (as in international sport) from a crowd of contenders there is but little room at the top. On stage the fairy tale of the slowly recognized talent and the gradual winning over of the world architectural community is carefully maintained, but behind the scenes much intrigue and manipulation goes on.

Such famous architects as Ludwig Mies van der Rohe or Gerrit Rietveld edited their own *catalogues raisonnés*. Some works were simply left out as "too untypical."[1] Walter Gropius wrote, together with Herbert Bayer, a book about the history of the Bauhaus, an idyllic story of harmonious cooperation. Only when Hans Maria Wingler delved into the Bauhaus archives did the infighting first come to light.[2]

Nor is the world of architecture an exception. For years the American poet Robert Frost posed as a "sunny and lovable New England sage." His official biographer was appalled, once he had examined Frost's papers, to find him to be an "opportunistic careerist, who was prepared to lie, cheat and wound in order to

win yet another crumb of adulation."[3]

Frank Lloyd Wright's place in architectural history is secure. He is recognized as a truly innovative architect. This does not mean that we have to believe him if he writes that he invented everything himself. Like all artistic innovators he picked up fragments on the way: from Sullivan, from the Stick Style,[4] from pre-Columbian and Art Deco architecture, and integrated them in his own inimitable designs. Nor is he honored for his character: as he grew older his arrogance became nearly insufferable.

Although it is not the main emphasis, this book exposes another weakness. Wright was only too willing to use the Dutch architect Wijdeveld to promote his fame in Europe. But his treatment of Wijdeveld thereafter, and particularly following the Second World War, did not show the kindness that the Hollander—on the written promises of Wright himself—was led to expect. Wijdeveld was used and then cast aside.

This book gives an unusual insight into the mechanics of fame. At the same time it maps the enormous influence that Wright exercised in Europe, the Netherlands in particular. For example, the wide eaves (before unknown in Holland) and the horizontal bands of stucco on developers' housing projects of the twenties and thirties are a silent testimony to the breadth of its pervasiveness.

That fame is not easily reached is almost proverbial; that architects are influenced by certain colleagues is easily observable. In this fascinating book both processes are precisely documented with a wealth of detail.

Rotterdam, 1997

Notes

1. Niels L. Prak, *Architects: the Noted and the Ignored* (Chichester/New York, 1984).
2. Hans M. Wingler, *Das Bauhaus* (Bramsche, 1968).
3. Ian Hamilton, Introduction to *Robert Frost: Selected Poems* (London, 1973), 13.
4. Vincent Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style* (New Haven/London, 1971).

Preface

The study was initiated in an attempt to discover the relationship of people as they affect the development of modern architectural theories and the migration of ideas: architectural excursions, so to speak.

While often mentioned more or less *en passant*, the relationship in the first third of this century between Frank Lloyd Wright and Dutch architects—Wright called them "the young men of Holland"— has received no synthesized critical, historical, or biographical attention in English language literature. Neither has there been any comprehensive Dutch treatment of the subject. While the relevant European sources remain largely untapped, previous accounts are incomplete.

This is strange because that transAtlantic relationship provoked a European response that in the first third of the twentith century reached well beyond the borders of tiny Holland and those of the American mid-west. And it was based on more than just practical necessity. It is true that it gave Dutch architects a pre-eminent role, but it also germinated architectural Modernism and eventually provided an architectural context for the political left. This study fills what has been a neglected historical and cultural void.

The book contains chapters that are historical, biographical and art-historical and although the full scope of the work extends to the 1960s, discussion concentrates on the years between 1905 and 1933. That period witnessed many architectural excursions: European architects—Russians, Germans, Austrians, Englishmen—visited America. The Hollanders J.L.M. Lauweriks, H.P. Berlage and Robert van 't Hoff also made the crossing. Wright visited Europe; H.Th. Wijdeveld traveled to America; and architectural literature of all kinds as well as exhibition material crossed the Atlantic. In the course of those various travels there was a migration of ideas that mixed, corrupted, synthesized, or were refined. From that milieu a European architecture evolved into the Modern Movement, with its debt to Wright and American industrial architecture.

Our preliminary investigations commenced more than twelve years ago and during our continuing research many people and institutions have assisted in a variety of ways. Our gratitude is not measurable. The University of South Australia provided encouragement and assistance, in kind and financially, through its supported researcher scheme and other mechanisms, funding two visits by Langmead to The Netherlands and providing time to analyze the material when back in Adelaide. The research committee of Flinders University gave similar support to Johnson, and the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities provided him with funds to visit archives in North America.

Langmead searched books, journals and excellent bibliographies in the architecture library at Delft *Technische Hogeschool* (now *Technische Universiteit*). He was warmly welcomed there, first in 1987, and special appreciation is due to Ir. C.G.T. (Chris) Smeenk, who over the intervening years has continued to provide much help, constructive criticism and advice, as well as friendship. Thanks, too, for the willing help of his staff.

Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer and Indira Berndtson at the Frank Lloyd Wright Archives in Scottsdale, Arizona, together with staff (especially Brent Sverdloff in Special Collections) at the Archives of the History of Art at the Getty Center, Santa Monica, cordially provided invaluable assistance relative to Wright documents and pictorial material. This project would not have been possible without their cooperation. Eric Lloyd Wright allowed access to his father's papers in the Lloyd Wright collection at the University of California at Los Angeles. The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress generously provided documentary material.

People at various other archives and libraries were equally forthcoming in response to requests. In The Netherlands: Drs. Mariet Willinge and the staff of *Architectuur Documentatiecentrum*, Amsterdam (now part of the *Nederlands Architectuurinstituut*, Rotterdam); the *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* (State Office for the Documentation of Art History) and the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (National Library), both in The Hague. In the United States: American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Cheyenne; Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Massachusetts; North Carolina State University Archives, Raleigh; Northwest Architecture Archives, University of Minnesota, St Paul; and the Knight Library, University of Oregon, Eugene.

Much of our research paralleled efforts towards Johnson's book *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America. The 1930s* and our joint work, *Makers of 20th Century Modern Architecture.*

Niels and Elisabeth Prak of Rotterdam kindly lent their pleasant house to Don and Coby Langmead for several weeks in 1990. Gerry and Edmond Schroots of Nieuwerkerk aan den IJssel also lent their house on two occasions, besides going out of their way to show hospitality. Thanks, too, to Cees and Dirrie Ravesteijn of Oostvoorne, and Cor and Truus Teekens of Naarden, who were likewise hospitable to Australians in Holland.

Those who provided illustrations are acknowledged within the individual captions.

Those who read portions of preliminary manuscripts were Professor Niels Prak, formerly of Delft *Technische Universiteit*; Dr. Cornelis Wagenaar of the *Instituut voor Kunst en Architectuur Geschiedenis*, University of Groningen; Christopher Vernon, late of Champaign and Brisbane, now at the University of Western Australia, Perth; Professor Gilbert Herbert of Technion University, Haifa, Israel; and unknown readers for the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* and *Exedra*, who offered critical insights into portions of the text. In connection with Johnson's *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America. The 1930s* and as applicable to the present work, Kenneth Frampton at Columbia University read an earlier more general draft on Wright and European modernism. Thanks to Paul Sprague for information on the Winslow stables. Dr. Christine Garnaut of the University of South Australia patiently proof-read the final manuscript.

Short essays of aspects of this study, included here in revised form, have been published as Langmead's "The evanescent architect: Robert van 't Hoff (1887-1979)," *Exedra* (Winter 1990); "The Impossible Dream. H.Th. Wijdeveld and architectural education 1925-1987," *ibid.*, (Spring 1993): Johnson's "Frank Lloyd Wright in the Northwest: The Show, 1931," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (July 1987) and his *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America. The 1930s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

For several years we have been ably and efficiently assisted by colleagues at our respective universities: thanks specifically to many at the University of South Australia: Peter Cox and Samuel Noonan, formerly of Audio-visual Services; Christine Kearney, Secretary of the Louis Laybourne Smith School of Architecture and Design; Glenys Letcher, Built Environment Librarian; and the reference and interlibrary loans staff (oh! those troublesome requests) of both university libraries.

Coby Langmead-Ravesteijn made painstaking translations of Dutch material. A special thank you to Alicia Merritt (formerly of Greenwood Press and now in Denver, Colorado) and her successor Pamela St. Clair, both of whom encouraged us to persist with the project and provided sterling editorial advice and assistance as it developed.

To Coby and Sonya, who have by now developed a tradition of providing patient and unfailing support to preoccupied historians, thank you.

Donald Langmead
Paradise

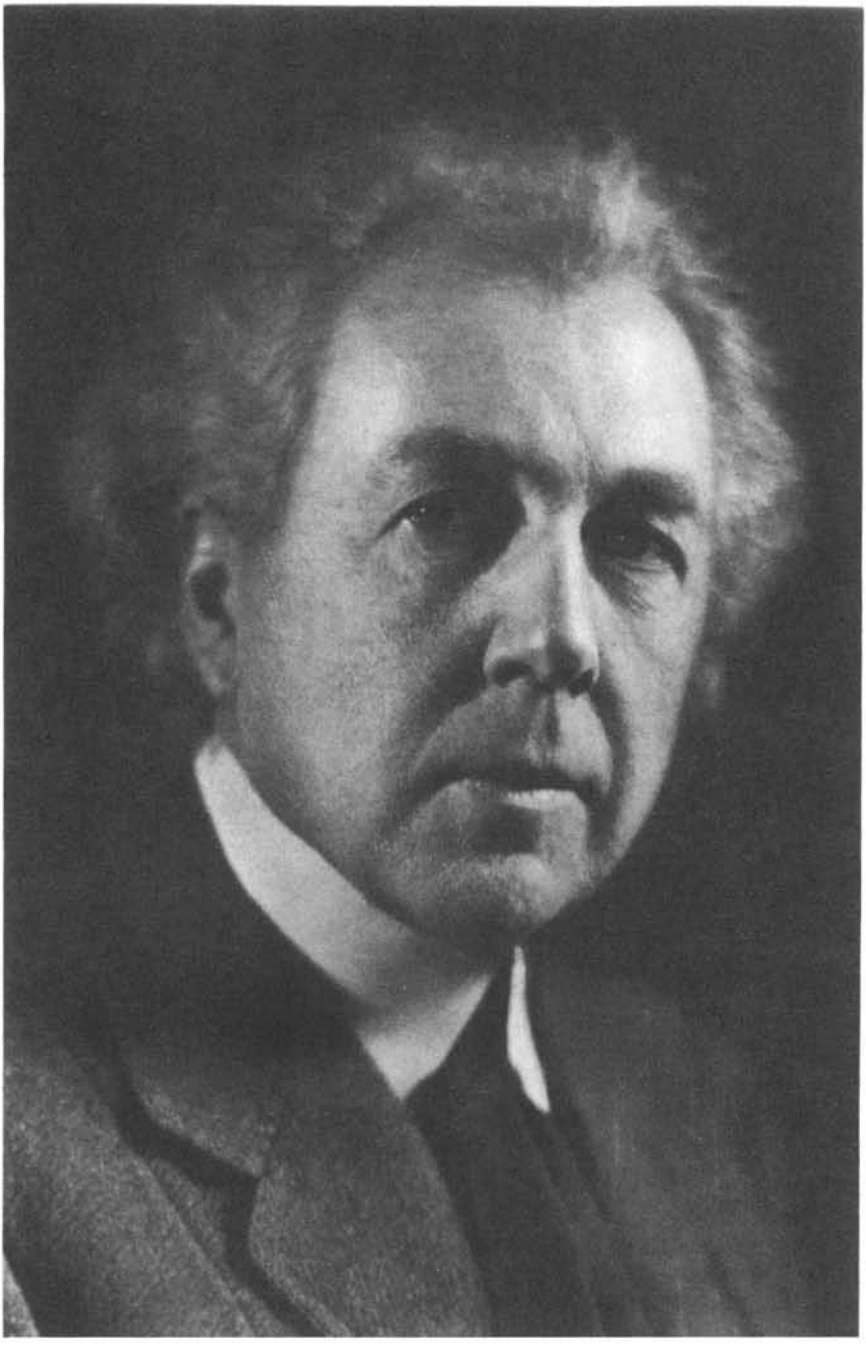
Donald Leslie Johnson
Kangarilla/Seattle

June 2000

The American architect Frank Lloyd Wright was born in 1867 at Richland Center, Wisconsin, to a pastor and schoolteacher. Early education in Wisconsin and Massachusetts was followed by a few courses at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Wright was employed in Chicago by architect Joseph Lyman Silsbee (1886-1887) and then in the firm of Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan (1887-1893). Otherwise he was self-taught. He established a private architectural practice in Chicago and Oak Park, Illinois (1893-1911), a home office outside Madison, Wisconsin at Spring Green (1911-), and operated temporary offices in Chicago and Tokyo (1914-1922) and in Los Angeles (1919-1924). Wright had a brief partnership with Webster Tomlinson (1901-1902), acted in association with but a few other architects, and opened a second home office called Taliesin West on desert lands outside Scottsdale, Arizona, in 1937. In 1932 he formed an apprenticeship program called the Taliesin Fellowship. Since his death in 1959 Wright's professional practice and the Fellowship (now a school of architecture) have been carried on by former employees. Wright received national and international honorary degrees, awards, and honors, including Gold Medals from the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1941 and, belatedly, the American Institute of Architects in 1949.

Architecture is beginning, always beginning. . . . It is something that has to be made afresh all the time, as life, as opportunity, as growth changes.

FLW, 1940



Frank Lloyd Wright. Portrait of November 1923 as published in Wendingen *(1925).*

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Chapter 1

Fin de Siècle Turmoil

Twentieth-century architecture was dramatically transformed from a dependence on past traditionalised formalisms to an independence characterized by a search for artistic responses to contemporary society. This has been the notable theoretical persuasion of modern architecture. It professes to be socially responsive rather than socially elite, even during creative and theoretical frenzies post-1975. Most certainly it has become artistically lively.

Independence occurred during the first decade of this century as witness to dramatic and ultimately irrevocable shifts, reactions, and syntheses that can be outlined rather simply—at least as they relate to art and architecture—by reference to critical dates, people and events: in France 1907-1908, Cubism, Braque and Picasso; in America 1908, industrial architecture, Albert Kahn; in Italy 1909, Futurism, Marinetti; in Germany 1909, general theory of relativity, Einstein; a Great War to end all wars (1914-1918); in Switzerland 1916, Dadism; in The Netherlands 1917, de Stijl, van Doesburg. Each affected Western architecture but none more than Wright's resolutions prior to all: in America, 1898-1905, prairie houses (Figure 1.1) and cubic purism. Modern Architecture was influenced by the results of his artistic activity. He was not just another participant but a *creative author* of change. It is impossible to speculate on the evolution of events after World War I, especially in Europe, without his intervention and to a lesser degree the evangelism of Dutch architects, Hendrik Petrus Berlage and Jan Wils.

A few architects in Holland became Wright's apostles and they quickly converted others of the European advance guard who in turn became protagonists for a new "objective" architecture. The Hollanders were instrumental in fostering a revolution not before experienced in the history of Western architecture. The resultant formalization broke with a centuries old Graeco-Roman tradition to eventually permeate nearly all cultures of the world. Wright's role was clearly understood at the time and acknowledged. He provided a practical and theoretical

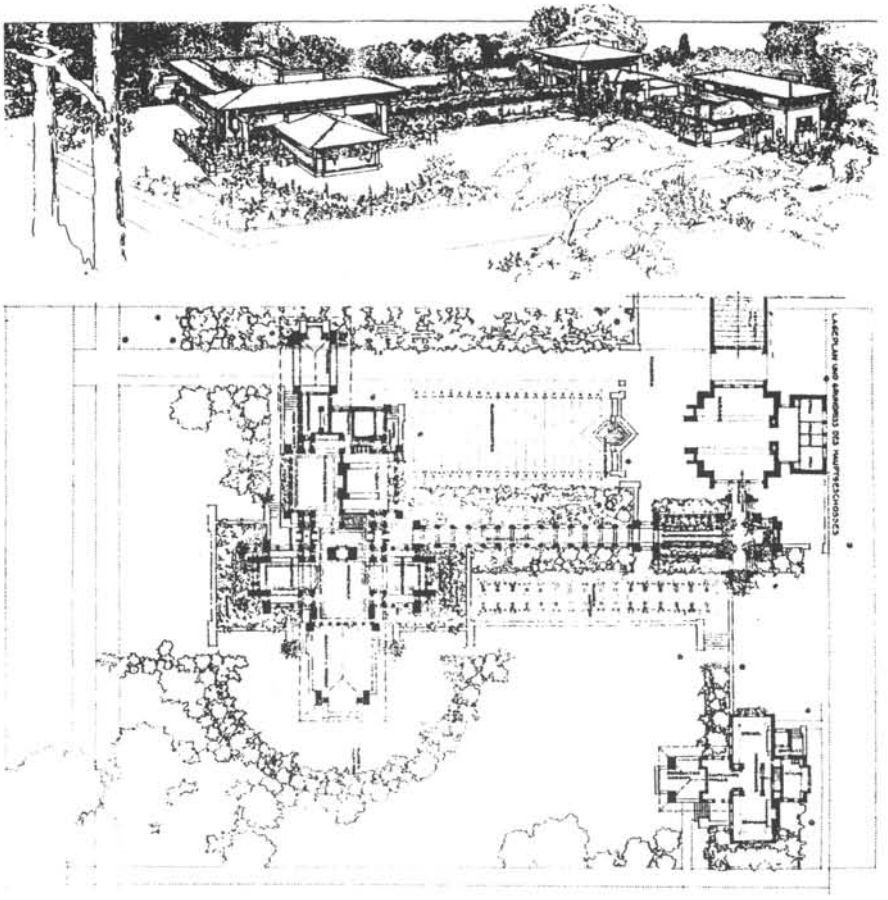


Figure 1.1 *Darwin D. Martin (1904-06) and George Barton (1903-1904) houses, Buffalo, New York, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect. Ground floor and site plan with a perspective. The Barton house is on the right. As published in Wright (1910a,b).*

seed that blossomed on foreign soil within the first half of his lifetime.

Futurism's noisy, jagged, urban message was eagerly received by impatient modernists throughout Europe and as far east as Leningrad well before the first cannon fire in 1914.[1] But not on American shores. Unaccustomed to and unaffected by notions like the rather literary artistic avant-garde, pragmatic North Americans preferred deeds to words. Thus Wright created his artistically refined architecture *before* presenting verbal rationalizations for public evaluation. Those verbal propositions were, therefore, proven in built products; the practical means and the theoretical stuff was presented as *resolved* demonstrations. All was offered to the world in 1908 within an essay—a kind of theoretical manifesto—he entitled "In the Cause of Architecture."[2] Western architects were persuasively redirected by the article and attending illustrations, more noticeably after it was reprinted in Europe in 1910 and 1911. And since his theory was not culture- or

place-dependent it could be applied universally as might be desired.

Those dramatic shifts and syntheses, induced by studies in philosophy, art, and science, implied something about the unity of nature. The implication was not of transcendentalism as such, nor of Darwinian evolutionism, although the latter was philosophically crucial, but of an incipient holism: an intellectual flux between scientific observation of nature and artistic investigation of humanity using new images and technical means. All this signified much and the results were to change intellectual and social worlds. It also presaged the end of Europe's hegemony. Architecture was one signifier of change.

Einstein's special theory of relativity was published in 1909. Its practical influence on art was fleetingly yet almost immediately measurable thereby suggesting an intellectual, cultural, and intuitive pre-existence. But it was not until after the armistices of the Second World War that consequences broke intellectual boundaries as relativism had predicted. Put simply: many frames of reference, depending on a person's or group's understanding, are now accepted as valid. Conformity through absolutism, including all kinds of totalitarianism, is denied by the active relativism of modern pragmatic thought enabled by democracy.

The notion of *modern* in art is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Its accepted meaning refers to works that reflect a moment of cultural satisfaction without reference to the past and within a social environment. Modern rejects the clutches of traditionalism, of imitative revivals and the tendency to sentimentality in historicism. With an inherent relativistic drive it thereby defines all present moments. As American architect George Howe quite rightly observed in 1930: "Modernism is not a style. It is an attitude of mind. . . . Modernism is as changing as daily life."[3] The term has roots in nineteenth-century social philosophy and notions of human will, *zeitgeist*, and individualism. The modern interpretation of "modern" allows architectural modern to begin around the turn of the century in America.

Its beginning in Europe was not easy, philosophically or practically. Material results foundered on—and proponents struggled with—the accepted status of absolutism and tradition. Products and artefacts of Europe with a debt to Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages and baroque despotism were extant all about in literature, law, art, and in cities and villages or scattered on fields in the form of architecture. How to grapple with such intellectual and cultural bonds, or more precisely shackles, so physically present, so psychologically demanding, was a pre-eminent challenge. In the late 19th century Europeans discussed the "necessity" for a new architecture by operating under the impress of German philosophy and Lockian notions in individual liberty. As put by the Viennese in 1898, and in translation: "To the Age its Art. To Art its Freedom." It is the inscription on the *Sezession* gallery by J.M. Olbrich of 1898-1899 in Vienna, an important architectural step forward and one of many attempts to bridge the gap between historicism and something new, as yet clearly defined let alone perceived. That bridging began in architecture with the thoughts of Viollet-le-Duc about the naturalness of structure

and the meaning of architecture as an inherently proper product of a particular society. His words, first uttered in the 1860s, were to stir many young architects. Yet he was saturated by and dedicated to a revived Gothic art, only now and then did he timidly and too academically look at new materials and new forms. For instance, he and other theorists ignored the great iron bridges and railway sheds.

There were individuals whose productivity was persuasive during the 1890s and 1900s. Antoni Gaudi in Barcelona was mentally attached to his local traditions and to some form of modern adaptation. He tested his thoughts in a number of buildings that in the end were, with two or three special exceptions, dependent upon derivative formulas and forms. He has been rightly or wrongly associated with Art Nouveau in Belgium (initiated by Victor Horta) and then in France, mainly by Hector Guimard. It is true that the two-and three-dimensional designs of the sensual Art Nouveau were free of the past, but in architecture the wavy, curling decorative elements tended to be applied to buildings wrought by nineteenth-century eclecticism. They were essentially decorative and not substantively architectonic. A more interesting by-product of Art Nouveau was the Austrian *Sezession* movement whose gallery by Olbrich drew from French Art Nouveau, from aspects of arts and crafts and a so-called free style in England, and from the baronial character produced by the Scot, Charles Rennie Mackintosh.

Unfortunately none of that persuasive productivity displayed an architectonic framework, a philosophical rigor, a potential design methodology, or a practicality on which future extensions and orderliness would be possible. It was not sufficiently independent of its eclectic roots and paradoxically it did not show how what had passed might be distilled to extract a liberating essence.

This was true also of the theoreticians and practitioners who proved more influential than the decorators of the 1890s and who, it must be added, drew much from Viollet-le-Duc's lectures as published. They were unfazed by the popularity of Art Nouveau and English Arts and Crafts, the latter so readily taken up throughout America and Europe (and here the promotions of Henry van de Velde in Belgium, Germany, and France, and the German *Werkbund* also come to mind). But there were cloying limitations in those popular idioms, not the least of which was how to rationally employ new materials or develop new ideas. These were seldom coupled with a re-examination of the age-old idea of aesthetic reduction, that is of defining simple ordering principles and geometrically plain three-dimensional forms for architecture. If the past could teach, all well and good. But not necessarily teach like the Romanticists' interpretation of around 1800 when dilettantes noted pure geometric forms in classical antiquity or when simple architectural formulae were put by the French academic J.-N.-L. Durand (influenced no doubt by the encyclopedists and synthetic work of Carl Linneaus or indeed by Johann von Goethe).

There were three men whose activity just prior to 1900 was transitional to a lasting, liberating modern architecture: the Austrian Otto Wagner, the American Louis Sullivan, and Berlage. Each man's architecture was based on historical precedents emphasizing, it needs be stressed, reductivity. Wagner was rather dependent upon classical forms if not elements and details. Much of his work

responded to *Sezession* just as that of his compatriot Adolf Loos reacted to it. Berlage was dependent upon medieval themes and forms, but during the 1920s slowly developed a more abstract bulkiness idiomatic in Germany. Sullivan was a poetic voice promising that a democratically persuaded architecture could be found naturally in the American milieu. His contribution was in rationalizing the vertical aesthetic of skyscrapers (based on classical language) and theoretical essays that attracted a circle about him. Each of those men was a great teacher, a true mentor. Like Gaudi, Mackintosh, Horta, and Olbrich, the three teachers were modernists in limited, circumscribed ways. They executed a few disparate designs, rather new if not truly modern, that are identified as transitional.[4]

Liberation for Europeans and theoretical directions for Americans came from the United States (a place of escape from those old European demands and restraints) in two forms: Wright's architecture and theoretical utterances from 1898 to 1914, and technological achievements and architectural designs for industry, in particular those by Albert Kahn between 1908 and 1914.[5] They introduced a viable—and that factor is essential—non-eclectic modernism. Then the Futurist architects joined the liberation movement with dynamic visionary propositions that predicted modernist European aesthetics of the 1920s and 1930s. Later developers in Europe were Walter Gropius, the Dutch De Stijl group (under the demagogy of Theo van Doesburg), Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and (independently of De Stijl for a few years) J.J.P. Oud.

Wright was introduced in a personal manner to younger Europeans by Dutch architects (including Berlage) after his 1908 essay was published and reprinted in Germany in 1910 and 1911.

Kahn, the ultimate pragmatist, architecturally refined the industrial building as a reaction to practical stuff, less as a theoretical impulse. To begin, nothing attracted the world to American architecture more than the skyscraper, as it was then called. Tall buildings built in the traditional manner of loadbearing masonry meant that the higher the construction the thicker the compressed lower walls and a consequent loss of rental space. A famous example is the sixteen-story Monadnock Building in Chicago (1889-1902), designed by John Root and Daniel Burnham, where ground floor masonry bearing walls are twelve feet (3.6 m) thick. Its exterior and window trim devoid of embellishment was probably a lesson for Loos, but more of that later.

An iron skeletal frame for tall buildings, therefore, became a practical proposition and economic necessity. The Reliance Building in Chicago (1894) by D.H. Burnham and Company, was the first all-iron structure and its thin exterior walls are seventy percent clear glass. Adler and Sullivan's Wainwright Building in St. Louis, Missouri (1890-1891), defined a vertical aesthetic for skyscrapers with recessed floor spandrels and vertical supports prominently forward. The Schlesinger and Mayer Store in Chicago (1891-1904), (now Carson Pirie Scott), also by Adler and Sullivan, has a horizontal aspect rather more obvious than the vertical and an unembellished facade with large areas of glass. Walter Gropius described these two Sullivan-designed buildings as "epoch making."[6]

But the glass and narrow spandrels of those buildings rested near or at the

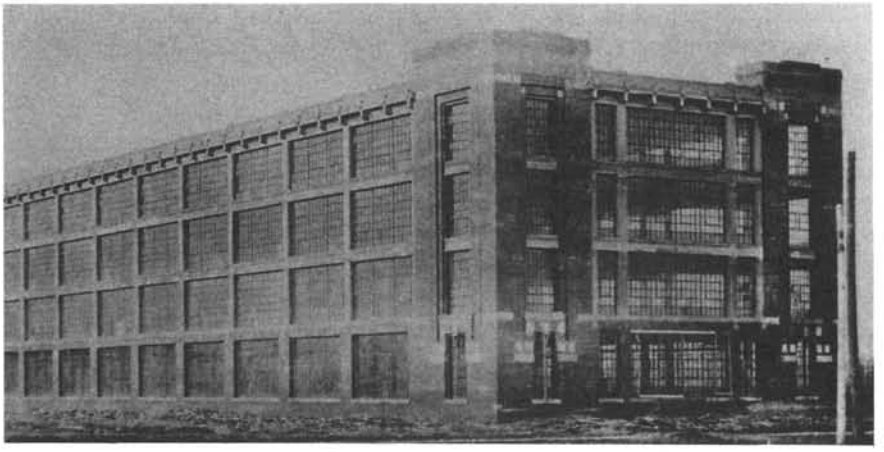


Figure 1.2. *Ford Plant, Highland Park/Detroit, Michigan, Albert Kahn, Architect, with Edward Grey, first unit built 1908-1909. Detail. As published in* American Architect & Building News *(1909) and* Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes *(1913).*

edge of floors. It was not until Albert Kahn's Packard Motor Car Forge Shop in Detroit (1905) that a wall was used in front of a frame structure; in other words it was independent of —but attached to—the structure as a continuous curtain made principally of steel and glass.

Just as slender structures gave more rental space they also allowed more daylight to penetrate into offices, shops, exhibition halls, conservatories and markets; and they permitted more space and light in a factory. François Hennebique showed how concrete industrial architecture appeared under the impress of quasi-*beaux arts* manners with his Charles Six spinning mill (1895) at Tourcoing. Albert and Julius Kahn responded more practically with their design for Packard Building 10 (1905) in Detroit, also principally of concrete. Hennebique expressed a hidden structure; the Kahns *exposed* structure.[7]

The paradigm, however, was Albert Kahn's Brown-Lipe-Chapin gear factory of 1908 in Syracuse, New York. It was followed with almost exactly the same structural and esthetic characteristics in the better known first building for the production of the Model T Ford at Highland Park/Detroit, Michigan (1908-1909) (Figure 1.2). Its facade and that of the Brown-Lipe-Chapin building look like modern architecture through the 1950s, at least that promoted by the internationalists' Modern Movement. The thoroughly rational response of American industrial architecture excited post-World War I Europe, in particular German theorists.

With the Reliance, Schlesinger and Mayer, Brown-Lipe-Chapin, and Ford buildings the basic means and themes of tall and industrial buildings were determined. One can usefully compare Kahn's Ford building with Gropius' Fagus Works in Alfeld-an-der-Leine, Germany (second unit 1911, with Adolf Meyer), with many of Mies van der Rohe's designs of the 1950s.

Driven by the twitchy urbanite Fillippo Marinetti, the Futurists entered the

artistic fray in 1909 with wild theatrical shows, some art works, and a few publications, to irreverently challenge all past and contemporary notions across the arts: literature, poetry, music (as noise), painting, two dimensional design, sculpture, and architecture. Local European inhibitions were set aside. Cubism was viewed as fake, narrow, and regressive; absolutism and historicism despised; cars, airplanes, speed and urbanism worshiped; and so forth. In architecture Marinetti's prophets were Mario Chiattone and Antonio Sant'Elia. Gropius' designs after 1911 were based on American industrial building design and the verbal and practical works of Wright. De Stijl was Europe's leading theoretical art and architectural movement from 1917 into the early 1920s when it was overtaken by Germany. Le Corbusier, Mies, and to a lesser degree Oud, revitalized and refined Europe's modernism in the early 1920s.

There were of course other influences and players but they were peripheral to—or evolved from the lineage of—those primary sources. For example, ideas developed in the Soviet Union after 1919, principally by the Constructivists, were locally hybridized by crossing French Cubism and Italian Futurism (and called Cubo-Futurism) architecturally to become in the mid-1920s a vital participant in Europe and seriously test—or tease—everyone, especially the Germans.

Just before the turn into the twentieth century, therefore, most theorists and architects argued for an eclecticism ordered by historically acceptable options, a vitalized status quo. A few believed that a new architecture would be formed by one of three means: one (and mainly in Europe), by artistic methods, and this explains Art Nouveau; two, by adaptively applying technology and this appeared most obviously in industrial and high-rise commercial buildings; or three, by reflecting on philosophical and empirical methods in an effort to develop practical means to resolving social issues. Each means played a role but those like Art Nouveau died of impotence, to be dismissed as another "aesthetic movement." Technology and social concerns provided the impetus to practical resolutions, not the result of sudden inspiration but of synthesis, deliberation, and consensus. One useful sociological foundation, for instance, was laid in Victorian England.

Social and urban historian Lewis Mumford was partly correct when claiming that architects "realized that society itself was the main source of architectural form, and that only in terms of living functions could living form be created."[8] Architects were not initiators, however. They were persuaded by social philosophers, most notably Herbert Spencer, who focused on the community. They in turn influenced William Morris and his followers who made the house a foundation for a new architecture. Like Rousseau, Morris reasoned that the center of community life should not be the factory, its buildings still technically underdeveloped, but the house. And that Art must begin at home. In his own Red House designed by Philip Webb in 1861, Morris demanded a sensible, plain building whose plan and three-dimensional forms more or less responded to functional needs. Mumford believed with some justification that Morris "symbolically achieved a genuine revolution."[9]

Thus it was in the design of houses that one advance was made toward a new architecture. The homemaker and the "worker" were emblematic of Morris's—and

most others'—socialism. Since the workplace and the house were the material essences of most people's being, they became the central building types in any socially responsible, sometimes socialist-minded, certainly reformist architecture; at least that was the theory.

It follows that most reformers were concerned about the social and physical well-being of rural people relocated in new parts of cities as a result of new industries. That is why to some reformers Arturo Soria y Mata's Linear City (of the 1880s) and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (of the 1890s) became attractive. Their conceptual frames were founded upon a concern for proper housing in new places near nature's clean rural areas, away from the old, enlarging and filthy cities where factories and the concomitant worker's housing had been added.

Leading the world into the industrial age, England had been the first to encounter its social problems and early with resolutions, proposed or actual. Indeed, shortly before 1900 England was recognized as the center of rational, acceptable urban housing reform. Holland responded similarly with Agnetapark, an industrial garden village of 1882-1884 on the edge of Delft (and although much smaller, similar to England's new industrial towns of Port Sunlight and Bournville of the 1890s), and after 1900 many architects embraced the Garden City concept that resulted in suburbs such as Rotterdam's Vreewijk of 1913-1921 and Haarlem's Tuinwijk Zuid of 1920-1922. In Germany were the Krupp villages in Essen of circa 1905. The American response was the "city scientific" where empirical studies were meant to be used for improving the urban condition, and the City Beautiful, which ignored those studies.

In Europe, therefore, there was a heady mix of ideas and products leading to modernism in architecture. French Cubism, Italian Futurism, Dutch De Stijl, English Arts and Crafts, social philosophy, a growing technology, and much else all impressed on reformists and the avant-garde. There was no similar mix or radical movement in America where absolutism in the form of historicism was *de rigeur*, especially in architecture. The exceptions were industrial and commercial architecture (like the train station, a building type without historical precedent) and Wright. Pragmatically, the challenge to Americans was to find practical answers to practical problems.

While Wright sought a new, philosophically sound American architecture free of European hegemonies, none of his clients (nor the American industrialists and entrepreneurs) were of similar mind to the European avant garde. Wright's clients were professionals or business people, a few were involved with the arts outside family interests, and Wright had to solve their tough, practical architectural problems.[10] The resolution of those problems was one critical element in devising a new architecture: "in the problem is the answer" he often recited. As to application of that functionalist notion he also used to mention (one way or another) the words of Carlyle: "The Ideal is within thyself. Thy condition is but the stuff thou shalt use to shape that same Ideal out of."[11] Thanks to Dutch architects, at the earliest stage of European developments leading to the Modern Movement Wright played a crucial, catalytic role.

Chapter 2

Discovery

With the introduction of the French beaux-arts system of architectural education to the United States in the late nineteenth century, many American architects took a Grand Tour of Europe to see at first hand the greater and lesser monuments of the past. Far fewer European architects journeyed to America. It was not until the appearance in the 1880s of the rather solid, bulky and inventive Romanesque revivalism of the New Englander Henry Hobson Richardson that Europe, seriously more than curiously, took note of architectural events in the New World, a place becoming an industrial power with an urban culture that Europe could not ignore. Yet, being virtually handmade, Richardson's architecture was in high contrast to America's technical achievements.[1] At the same moment other architects and engineers were producing an architecture more pragmatically tuned to America's manufacturing and commercial activities, especially the archetypal "sky-scraper," as it was dubbed. When those various works became better known the more curious among European architects visited the commercial and industrial centers of New York City, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, sometimes St. Louis and San Francisco. A few of them discovered the buildings of Adler and Sullivan.

Fewer still noted the young architect Frank Lloyd Wright, whose work was to be found mainly near Chicago in communities set among rolling prairies. Of those people only four returned to Europe to nourish the architectural revolution about to take place. Their American experiences were added to the text of philosophical foundations for a new "machine age" architecture. While United States industrial and commercial architecture had a profound effect both in theoretical and practical rationalization, Wright was the most provocative. He (and more practically Albert Kahn) had created a new architecture and provided the effective means for change in Europe.

The men who carried home the news that American architects had broken with the past to create a new and personal style came from England, Germany and Holland. While the Englishman Charles Robert Ashbee played a significant role

in bringing Wright to the attention of Europe, it was the Dutchmen Berlage and Robert van 't Hoff and the Berliner Bruno Möhring who challenged their peers to see the value of Wright's architecture and theories as they were knitted to American pragmatism.

Wright was born of parents with English and Welsh backgrounds, both deeply committed to education and religion. From his mother he acquired an unquenchable desire for success through personal endeavour. From his father he gained artistic sensibilities, especially in literature and music. He attended school in Madison and entered the University of Wisconsin in March 1886 as a "special student," probably because he had not completed high school. Financial difficulties in the wake of his parents' divorce in 1885 required young Frank to seek full-time employment. Upon terminating part-time university studies he moved to Chicago early in January 1887. After trying a few offices he finally settled with Joseph L. Silsbee in February. One year later he began working with the large firm of Adler and Sullivan, to be dismissed during the financial collapse of 1893.[2]

Any lessons Wright may have learned about elemental or sophisticated design *processes* probably came from Adler and Silsbee. From Adler—and his farmer uncles—Wright learned practical, constructional aspects; from Silsbee, office operations. From Sullivan and Silsbee he experienced the design process and came to understand not only the characteristics but also the intrinsic meaning of architectural styles. Conjointly from Sullivan he discovered the poverty of imitative historicism. By best accounts it was primarily Adler who put the buildings together, so to speak, his influence on Wright more useful than Sullivan's. During his formative years Wright was, after all, more a consummate practical architect than a verbal theorist. He did not combine architecture and words until he was confident of his design resolutions, a confidence not evident to his own satisfaction until after 1898.

Wright made the transition from a struggle with volumetric and stylistic architectonics to a study of a unified architecture—in particular to a style that he could proclaim his own—with the Winslow stables of 1898 (Figure 2.1).[3] The plan was symmetrical, although without the contrivances of many that were to follow in the next few years. As projected into the third dimension it was direct and uncompromising. The top of the gate and fence of the carriage yard, together with a string course, provided a continuous line around the building. Above, the material changed from Roman brick to stucco, reflecting the wide eaves and normal to them. The roof was low-pitched and, importantly, it continued in front of the upper floor at the rear. This transition from lower to upper storey was a key factor in developing the strong horizontal lines of his prairie houses and as imitated by followers of the Wright school. The stables are a paradigm.[4]

In 1898 Wright realized the necessity to resolve some glaring ambiguities. He made a decision of two parts. First, to return to the individuality, subtlety, and aesthetic precision of the stables, and second, to separate his two conflicting aesthetic systems. Rather generally he defined one as domestic, the other as non-domestic. The decision was manifested in two works of that year, distinctive in plan, massing and elevational treatment, yet quite different from each other: the

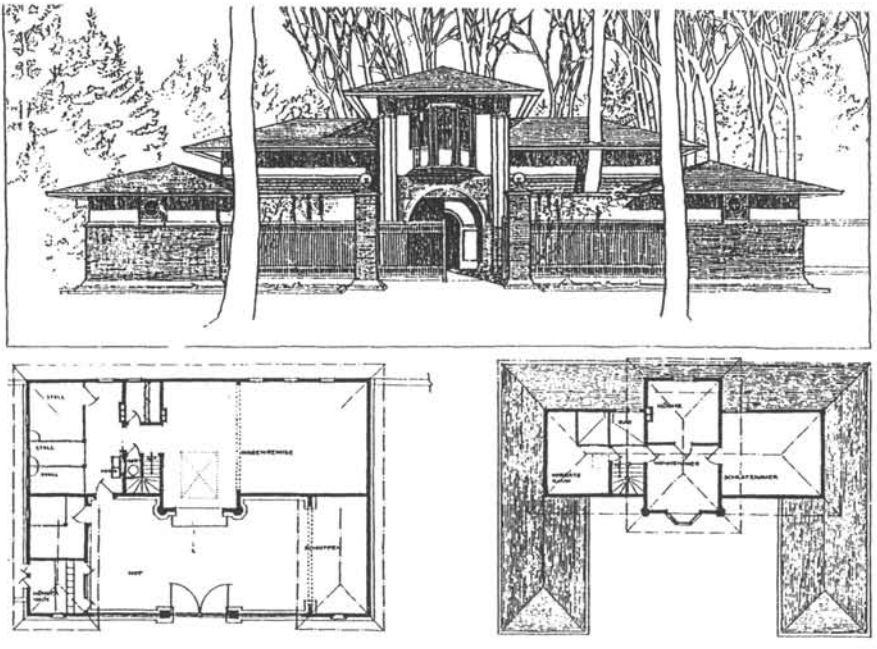


Figure 2.1 *Winslow Stables, River Forest, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1898. As published in Wright(1910a,b).*

studio addition to his Oak Park home (Figure 2.2) and the River Forest Golf Clubhouse (Figure 2.3). They signalled his awareness of and complete break from the dichotomous esthetic that troubled him.

He described his studio addition as an "early experiment in articulation" of reducing functional parts to their essential architectonic form by giving distinction to "individualized and grouped functions."[5] The library with a geometric shape and high windows was spatially separated from the reception area and Wright's office by an umbilical connection. As well, there was the entry massing and the distinct two stories of the drafting room. There were, therefore, three basic individualized parts. Also, about the entry the posts and symmetrically disposed doors were articulated. The drafting room and its balcony were organized about two axes, and structural symmetry was clearly defined. All plans from then on demonstrated some degree of articulation, always defined in massing and detail.

The golf clubhouse was domestic in every sense: on the exterior horizontality was emphasized by large batten-over-board joints on the cladding; by a continuous window at about elbow height with a sill string course; by a low shallow-pitched shingled roof with inherent horizontal lines; and by extended eaves with a resulting shadow on the wall below and reflected in the row of windows. All the aesthetic tools used on the stables were applied to the clubhouse but with different materials and more exaggerated emphasis upon horizontality: "the horizontal line is the line of domesticity," Wright often said.

Around 1902 he fully rationalized these two conflicting external aesthetic

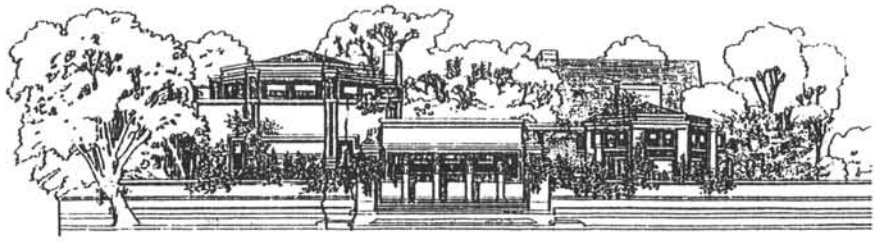


Figure 2.2. *Studio additions to the architect's house, Oak Park, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1897(?). The studio is at the left, the entry center and the library at the right. The roof of the house is in the background. As published in Wright(1910a,b).*

systems: the broad eaves (combined with a frieze) and the inherently open plan that it seemed to encourage, and a square-proportioned, static box usually accompanied by a forced symmetrical plan that proclaimed his non-domestic architecture: squarish, often squat, and symmetrical in both plan and elevation.

It is suggested, therefore, that between 1898 and 1902 Wright's designs matured as a result of a methodology composed of three parts. First, use of the square as a design tool for all buildings, and employed as a three-dimensional cubic module. Second, there was the regional expression of living on the prairie (applied with philosophic rigor at the clubhouse). And third, the realization that different building types called for different esthetic systems. His use of "Cubic Purism" for non-domestic buildings would be epitomised in the Larkin Administration building (1902-1906) (Figure 2.4), Unity Temple (1905-1909) (Figures 2.5 and 2.6) and Midway Gardens of 1913-1917 (Figure 2.7).

When the young Austrian architect Adolf Loos visited the United States in the 1890s he was unaware of Wright's architecture. Most of it was not well known around the mid-west let alone nationally. Loos' influence upon the course of events in European architecture, however, was at one moment critical and largely determined by his stay in America. Loos had studied architecture at the Dresden Technical College. After a year of military service he set out in 1893 to visit the Chicago World's Fair and remained in America until 1896, employed at "menial work" mostly in the Philadelphia area, although he also visited New England.

The effect of American architecture upon his own work is a matter of speculation, but not so the effect of the ambience of American culture, technological expertise and the exercise of elemental freedoms including opportunity and choice. Richard Neutra, another Austrian immigrant, wrote that to Loos

> America was the land of unshackled minds—of people with debunked minds, let us say—of people brought close to life's realities . . . realities in a new time, naively, subconsciously kept in matter-of-fact working order. People here, as he saw them, had reverted to a sound attitude which had been lost in the old country. At the same time they had golden hearts compared to the pettier or more sophisticated quarrellers back home.[6]

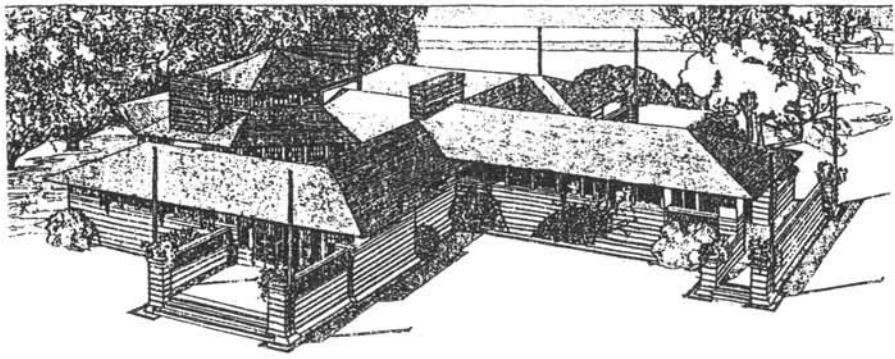


Figure 2.3. *River Forest Golf Clubhouse, River Forest, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1898, 1901. Perspective of the second and larger plan (in materials, details and proportion exactly like the original), that was executed after a fire destroyed part of the original building. As published in Wright(1910a,b).*

Loos' main contribution to the European Modern Movement was in the realm of theory and polemics. After 1900 he wrote a few essays reflecting upon his American experiences and his response: the notion of an Austrian culture meeting modern needs and aspirations. He published a magazine he named *The Other*, subtitled, *A periodical for the introduction of western civilization into Austria.*[7] The attitudinal implications of such a title *vis-à-vis* his country and subsequent events in the arts are obvious.

Increasingly critical of Viennese design represented by the *Sezession*, Otto Wagner's reductive classicism and the *Wiener Werkstatte* (which promoted Arts and Crafts), Loos' thoughts culminated in his 1908 essay, "Ornament and Crime." Epigrams such as, "Beware of being original; designing may easily drive you towards it", or "As ornament is no longer organically linked with our culture, it is also no longer an expression of our culture", or architecture "is not an art . . . anything that fulfils a purpose is excluded from the sphere of art", exemplify his verbal attacks. So does: the absence of ornament is a "sign of spiritual strength." Le Corbusier once referred to it as "an Homeric cleansing." In the same year that Loos wrote his article Berlage asserted: "And thus in architecture, decoration and ornament are quite inessential while space-creation and the relationships of masses are its true essentials."[8]

Loos' polemical arguments were given substance in the Steiner house of 1910 built outside Vienna. Its lumpy, unembellished greyish facades soon became well known and it has always been associated with the modernist houses of the 1920s including those of Le Corbusier and Oud. It was an emphatic, sudden break with Europe's clinging past. Wright's catalytic architectural oeuvre, somewhat similarly *motivated* to Loos' (and Berlage's), had a more leisurely progress but it was initiated more than ten years earlier. Loos could not carry on to rigorously define his ideas with *architectural* clarity. That would be done later by others elsewhere in Europe. Yet links to American pragmatism evident in his arguments for

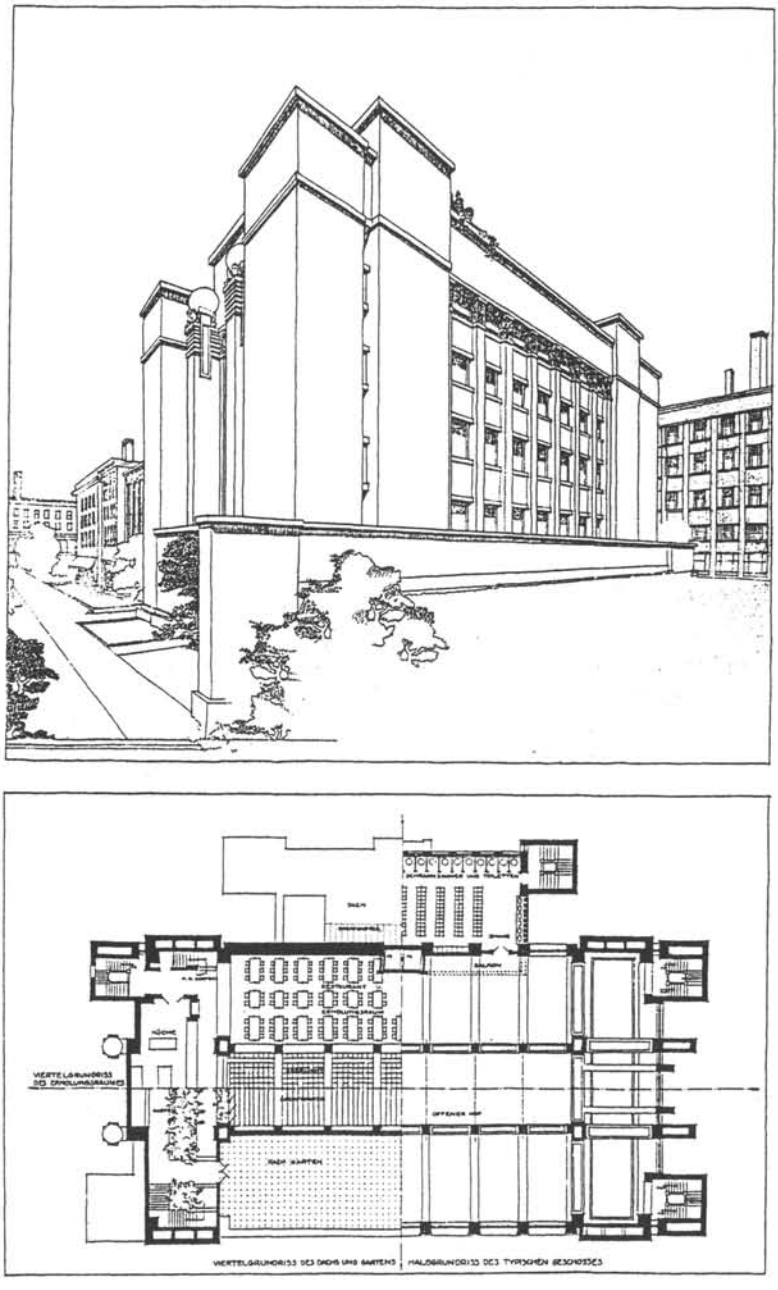
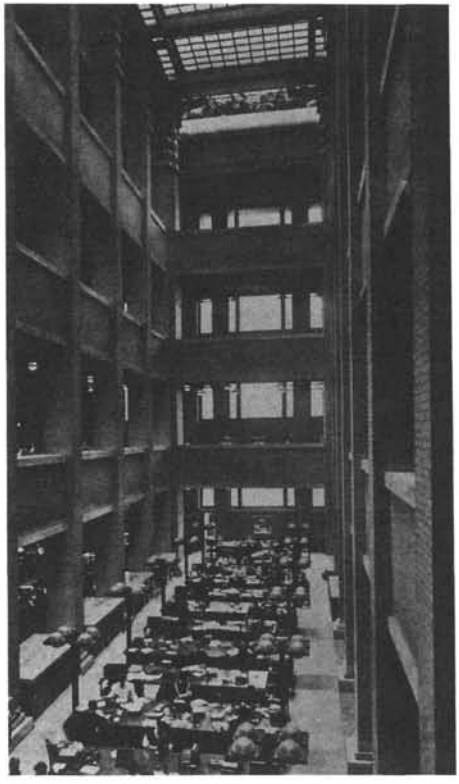
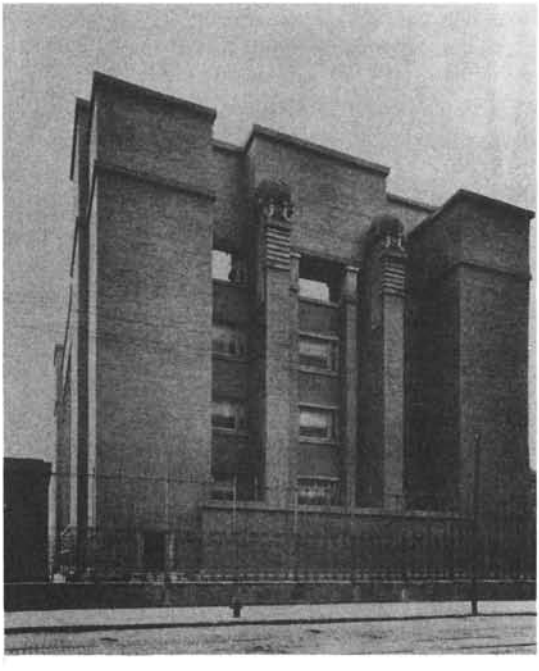


Figure 2.4. *Larkin Company Administration Building, Buffalo, New York, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1902-06. Plan of entry level and a front view, both from Wright(1910a,b). The perspective drawing is based on a photograph that was subsequently widely published in Europe and America. Opposite page, photographs from Ashbee/Wright(1911a,b) and widely published in Europe and America.*





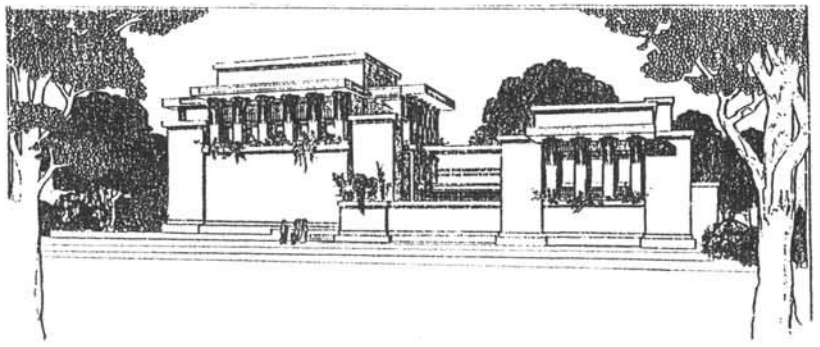


Figure 2.5. *Unity Temple, Oak Park, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1905-09. From Wright(1910a,b). Exterior perspectives in Wright(1910a,b) are usually based on photographs, often traced over; this was no exception.*

revolutionary change to fit contemporary circumstances was paralleled, if with less asceticism, in Berlage's response to his own American visit.

The Hollander's critical role could not be played until Wright had established his architectural theory with unequivocal consistency in a series of buildings. Therein lay the greatest difference between the Europeans and Wright: they spoke of change, he executed it. Anyway, consistency was accomplished during his golden decade from 1898, when he was thirty-one years old, to 1909, years that saw the creation of the wonderful prairie houses and of the marvels of the Larkin Building and Unity Temple. They have been amply discussed by Wright, his European colleagues (as will be shown), and historians.[9]

As suggested, Europeans who met Wright or saw his buildings were vital to propagating knowledge about his architecture. However it seems that publications and not people provided an initial provocation to discover more. Then, after visitors returned with personal experiential knowledge, publications again came into their own to have a lasting effect: they were read, republished, and plundered. Consider seven critical documents, three American, four German.

In May 1900 the architect Robert C. Spencer, Jr. presented "The Work of Frank Lloyd Wright" in the Boston magazine *The Architectural Review*. The essay, illustrated with many designs of the 1890s, was based on an interview with Wright.[10] After much negotiation with its editor, and much procrastination on Wright's part, in July 1905 *The Architectural Record* published a short essay about him illustrated with a few prairie designs.[11]

The *Review* received only moderate attention across the Atlantic, but it *was* read. The *Record*, however, enjoyed wide distribution in Europe. While Wright rather emotionally and inexactly spoke of his relationship to Sullivan, Spencer and Thomas Tallmadge clearly linked him and the great Chicago architect. Tallmadge's illuminating piece, written for the April 1908 issue of the Boston *Review* tendered the idea of a "Chicago School," a school in the traditional sense of the art world. Tallmadge's own contemporary domestic designs were of the style now referred to as the Wright School.[12]

During 1907 and 1908 Wright produced his most important treatise, "In the cause of architecture." It appeared in the March 1908 issue of the *Architectural Record* with ten pages of text and fifty-six pages of excellent photographs, a few of which had informative—some even provocative—captions. Wright's lecture on the machine presented in March 1901 to the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was partially summarized within the article. In all, the issue of the *Record* was a major journalistic achievement.

As noted, when in Europe from late 1909 until early 1910 Wright prepared material for Wasmuth's monograph. It comprised two boxed portfolios of beautifully printed loose sheets, some in color, in a short run deluxe edition and a standard version, both entitled *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright*. The 1908 essay from the *Record* was edited, elaborated and enlarged by Wright and translated in German. A United States edition, entitled *Studies and Executed Buildings*, with Wright's original English version, was printed in Berlin by Wasmuth.

In 1911 Wasmuth produced in the *Sonderhefte der Architektur des XX. Jahrhundert* series a condensed and paperbound version of the two portfolio volumes, entitled *Frank Lloyd Wright Chicago*. Ashbee wrote the critical introduction. This pamphlet of over one hundred photographs with many related plans (taken from the portfolio) became the more widely read in European architectural circles. The earlier American journal publications included some building plans, and Tallmadge's essay presented only five, and nearly all images were exterior photographs. So, when the exquisitely illustrated *Ausgeführte* portfolios appeared in 1911, followed by photographs of houses in wild and natural landscapes and plant-enriched interiors, it was all a marvellous revelation.[13] See Figures 1.2, 2.1 to 2.3. Le Corbusier obtained a copy in 1915.

Information was therefore readily accessible. The obvious visual differences between Wright's architecture and others' assured that his work would at least be noticed. And Wright verbalized his ideas. Since architecture is an experiential but primarily a visual art, pictures were most useful to architects. That has been confirmed by accounts of those who saw the articles and photographs in 1911. Yet critical questions remain. How was the information otherwise disseminated within Europe? How was Wright's work received? And what was Europe's response?

English architect Charles Robert Ashbee's links with the British Arts and Crafts Movement are well known. As a disciple of William Morris, in 1887 he established the Guild of Handicraft and following its limited success, he reformed it in 1904 as a school of arts and crafts. From the 1890s his educational, quasi-philanthropic, and design work became known throughout Europe by exhibitions and publications and diverse relationships were forged including some across the Atlantic. His first lecture tour to the United States was in 1900. Chicago was on his itinerary so he might work during November at the settlement house establishment Hull-House. It was there on 6 December that he met Wright and a long visit at Oak Park followed, together with an architectural tour of Chicago. Over several days they talked about all manner of things.

Wright challenged Ashbee to recognize that machines and art must not only

co-exist but unite, and that only the creative artist "through the thousand pores of the machine" would be able to find a proper expression of the machine; would be the only one to control "all this and understand it."[14] Within a few months Wright gathered his thoughts and gave a lecture on "The Art and Craft of the Machine" to the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society.

Ashbee was thoroughly impressed with the "originality" of Wright's architecture. Upon returning to London the Englishman campaigned for the National Trust, medieval architecture, the guilds, crafts, and arts. He traveled in Europe and entertained European visitors. A well known figure at home and on the Continent, he was most influential in the decade before 1912. In England and Europe he spoke about Wright. Indeed, Ashbee proclaimed with some justification that it was he who "discovered" Wright "for Europe."[15] While on a trip to London in 1910 Wright invited him to write an introductory essay to what became two of the 1911 Wasmuth publications. Ashbee wrote in part:

> To us, who look at them with the eyes of the old world, American Building [*sic*] connotes . . . a new spirit.
>
> Its characteristics are a departure from tradition, a distinctiveness of surrounding, and a consequent character of its own, a delight in new materials, and an honest use of machinery. . . . Wright has carried the new spirit into domestic work and produced a type of building that is . . . a new architecture.
>
> [Wright has] a determination, amounting sometimes to heroism, to master the machine and use it at all costs, in an endeavour to find the forms and *treatment* it may render without abuse of tradition. In a suggestive and interesting monograph [*sic*] which contributed in 1908 to the "Architectural Record" of New York, entitled "In the Cause of Architecture", Lloyd Wright laid down the principles that inspired his work . . . [among them and]
>
> > Above all integrity. The machine is the normal tool of our civilization; give it work that it can do well—nothing is of greater importance. To do this will be to formulate the new industrial ideals we need if Architecture is to be a living Art.
>
> Here we are brought face to face with the problem of our civilization, the solution of which will determine the future of the Arts themselves. It is significant that from Chicago, quite independently of England, of France, of Germany or elsewhere, here is a voice calling, offering a solution.
>
> > The machine is here to stay. It is the fore-runner of the Democracy that is our dearest hope. There is no more important work before the architect now than to use this normal tool of civilization to the best advantage, instead of prostituting it.
>
> There is greatness in this idea. . . . Out of it has come a different conception as to what constitutes a modern building. [16]

Advisory words repeating revolutionary words. It had been there for all to see in 1908 and was reintroduced in 1911 by Ashbee.

Another visitor to Wright was the German expatriate Kuno Francke who began an academic career at Harvard University in 1884. His specialty was German language and literature that supported studies in aesthetics and philosophy. According to Wright, Francke was intrigued by some of the architect's buildings and managed an invitation to the Oak Park studio where he and his wife spent two days. This probably occurred in 1908 when they would have shared

similar views about America's protection of individualism, its concern for the average man of "good sense", about Goethe, about Poe, Emerson, and Whitman, and about art.[17]

Not long after Francke's visit Wright received what he described as "a proposition" from the Berlin publisher Ernst Wasmuth "to publish a complete monograph" of his work. He "never really knew", but he guessed (incorrectly) this to be "one net result of Kuno Francke's visit."[18] In any event, the three separate publications produced in 1910 and 1911 had a profound effect on the course of modernism. But they were not Wasmuth's first publications of Wright's work. During 1908 and early 1909 the Hanover architect F. Rudolph Vogel prepared for Wasmuth what is now a little-known book *Das Amerikanische Haus*, released in 1910. Among illustrations of many architects' works were Wright's houses for Williams (1889), Winslow (1893), Husser (1898), and the only prairie design, the Willits house (1901-1902). Vogel selected photographs from Wright's 1908 essay and at his request the American supplied at least two illustrations.

More certain is the contribution of another German, the Berlin architect and town planner Bruno Möhring. Anthony Alofsin's careful research revealed Möhring to be responsible for two publications by Ernst Wasmuth Verlag: he oversaw their *Sonderhefte* series in which Wright's book of photographs appeared, and was an editor of their architectural journal *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau.* During a 1904 visit to America in connection with the St. Louis World's Fair, Möhring had also visited Wright's office, although Wright was absent. Möhring supervised the construction of the German buildings at the Fair and had been involved with his country's exhibits.

Wright attended the Fair, was thrilled by the architecture represented in drawings and photographs, and saw to it that his staff visited St. Louis. The art and architectural works "reinforced Wright's exposure to Europe," as Alofsin put it. The Chicagoan saw works by Peter Behrens and Joseph Maria Olbrich (Wright "compared himself to Olbrich and to no other European architect") whose *Sezession* school had moved to Darmstadt, as well as geometric designs (mainly of furnishings) that paralleled his own interest in cubic purism, and interiors designed by Josef Hoffmann. Furthermore, The Netherlands exhibit included Berlage's drawings for the Amsterdam Stock Exchange that had opened in 1903.[19]

When time and opportunity to travel became available Wright chose to go to Hawaii and Japan via the American Pacific Northwest. Mr. and Mrs. Wright arrived in Yokohama on 20 March 1905. Their five weeks in Japan, together with the Willitses, began a long association that was essential to a sustained interest in oriental art and philosophies. During his absence from the United States Wright's office was managed by Walter Burley Griffin, a young architect whose work was to impress Berlage.

Wright's attachment to the Orient was one of the things attractive to Dutch architects at the beginning of the twentieth century, perhaps because it aligned with their own interest. The Netherlands' attempts to integrate oriental art forms into design at home were engendered by three hundred years of trade connections and colonization; naturally the main influence was Indonesian. Around the turn of

the century it could be seen in *Jugendstijl*, the Dutch version of Art Nouveau, and in the journal *Architectura* in buildings and applied decoration, graphic design and typography by such architects as Willem Kromhout, K.P.C. de Bazel and J. L.M. Lauweriks, and in the ceramic art of Th. A.C. Colenbrander. It was very obvious in *Wendingen* twenty years later.

Among the Chicago architects producing a new American architecture, George Maher became the first to *link* those among Sullivan's followers and those of the Wright School with Holland's independence from the architectural traditions and trends of Europe. He prophesied in a 1905 lecture that Dutch rationalism coupled with its philosophic "liberty" would "in time" evolve from the chaos of what Reyner Banham later described as the collapse of Art Nouveau in Holland to

> a style that will blend into a universality of effect, appealing to both the scientific and the mystic natures alike. . . . [The Dutch] spirit of natural living and thinking will direct the architecture of succeeding generations.[20]

No doubt Maher had visited Holland on one of many trips to Europe and talked to its architects. He had probably seen Berlage's works and surely discussed architecture. Would he have mentioned Wright?

It was Sullivan who suggested to William Gray Purcell and George Feick Jr that on their 1906 visit to Europe they should seek out Berlage whom Sullivan said, according to Purcell, "was the first really promising figure" in Europe. Sullivan showed Purcell photographs of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange and recommended that he and Feick should see what else the Hollander had built.[21]

Maher and Sullivan may have been aware of The Netherlands' history of secession from the Holy Roman Empire, the subsequent decline of an hereditary aristocracy, and rise of a merchant class coupled with a centuries-old tradition of liberalism in politics and egalitarianism in society—in many ways, a thoroughly participatory society. Similar attitudes were sustained by a rejection of baroque pomposity (now best exemplified by the mutually respectful relationship between the people and the Dutch royal family) and most nineteenth century proprieties. In spite of being surrounded by absolutism and effete-ism, the small land successfully defended, often by philosophic rigor, a unique national culture and society. That uniqueness Berlage and his followers wished to preserve, and it attracted to them other European architects, including Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

In July Purcell and Feick found a warm, friendly Berlage most willing to show them his works. He spoke English well and after giving priority to discussing the Progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt, he wanted to know more about Sullivan's and Wright's architecture. Purcell was impressed by how well-informed the Hollander was about both men.[22] Moreover, Berlage had read Robert Spencer's comprehensive article about Wright which had appeared in the Boston *Architectural Review* in 1900. After two days touring with Berlage, the Americans departed but not without promising to show him Chicago's architecture whenever he might visit. Purcell wanted Berlage to encounter "the sane thought that is taking place in this great country of ours."[23] He sent the *bouwmeester* a copy of *Architectural Record* for March 1908 containing Wright's revolutionary "In the cause of architecture" article, and later some of Sullivan's published lectures.

Berlage may have been further prompted to make a journey to the United States after seeing Wright's work in the Wasmuth publications released in early 1911.

Having put together three lectures in English, to be illustrated with lantern slides, late in 1911 Berlage undertook what proved to be a rushed and exhausting if well-prepared lecture tour of the north central and north eastern United States. In November he was in Chicago and visited a host of buildings including most of those by Sullivan and Wright; he met Sullivan, Walter and Marion Griffin and others of the Wright School like Maher and Tallmadge, but not Wright (who was elsewhere). He also lectured at the Art Institute of Chicago. Purcell and Berlage spent several days together before the Dutchman continued his tour, presenting lectures in New Haven, Boston (where he gave public lectures at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology),[24] Minneapolis (where Purcell was in partnership with George Elmslie) and New York City. Interviews appeared in newspapers almost everywhere that he lectured. Two of the lectures were published in the Minneapolis-based journal *The Western Architect* and all three in Rotterdam over a year later. His architecture was also illustrated in *The Craftsman.*[25] Amongst other stops was Buffalo, New York, where he saw houses by Wright as well as the Larkin Building: a "masterpiece," he called it. And his ideas about planning were measurably influenced by experiencing burgeoning cities and ideas for a City Scientific or Beautiful.[26]

Berlage had managed to see many architectural and engineering works and met some of the more important people then practising in North America, from Chicago to Washington, D.C. He was everywhere treated with honor and respect; seldom was a European architect so warmly received.

Between Purcell's stay in Holland and Berlage's tour of America, Wright finally traveled to Europe. Ashbee and his wife had again visited the Wrights and noted a strained atmosphere. Finally, in October 1909 Wright and Mrs. Mamah Cheney, the wife of one of his clients, abandoned their spouses and children and fled to Germany. There was only one good reason for undertaking the journey. It was an invitation to Mrs. Cheney from the University of Leipzig. She had received a degree from the University of Michigan in 1892 and a Masters in 1893, majoring in languages (a "language scholar," as Lloyd Wright Jr. has put it). Cheney was a keen student of Ellen Key, the Swedish author and feminist (a word Key disliked), much admired in Germany.[27] She was preparing translations of Key's works from the Swedish and German for G.P. Putnam's Sons in New York City for a series of books on the "Woman Movement," a term Key preferred. The Leipzig offer presented an opportunity for Wright and Cheney to flee and so hurriedly begin together a life of free association, of free wills.

Another reason for their flight has been offered by Wright: an invitation from Wasmuth to assemble material for the now famous publications of 1910 and 1911. In spite of his insistence that this was the sole purpose of their travel to Europe, that reason seems unlikely simply because preparing the drawings, assembling the photographs and writing a text could have been more easily done in Chicago. Wright lived in Fiesole, just outside of Florence, while Cheney stayed in Leipzig. They met occasionally in Berlin and she joined him in Italy only after her work in

Germany was completed. Wright and Cheney traveled to Bavaria, Vienna (but failed to meet Olbrich), Paris, then to London (to meet Ashbee), but not to Holland. Neither is there any record of written or personal contact with Dutch architects in spite of the fact that Purcell, who knew Wright quite well, would have told him of the interest Berlage evinced in his work in 1906. While in Berlin Wright met some German architects, including Möhring who gave a lecture related to an exhibition of the American's work.[28]

The Wasmuth publications will be evaluated later in a more appropriate context. Here it is necessary to note that their availability—together with Berlage's later lectures and essays about America, Sullivan and Wright—influenced current architectural thought and imminent events in Western Europe.

On returning to America Wright left his estranged wife and children at the Oak Park home and studio. He and Cheney returned to the childhood places of his grandfather's farms near Spring Green, Wisconsin. There he began to build the house he named after the sixth century Welsh bard, Taliesin. Wright's architectural productivity was sparse; few projects were realized. The most important was Midway Gardens restaurant and beer garden for a Chicago site. Soon after its completion he was offered a commission to design and supervise a new Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, a project that literally consumed his emotional and physical energies from 1915 until 1922.

In mid-1914 the young Dutch architect Robert van 't Hoff made a pilgrimage to Chicago and Taliesin. Van 't Hoff came from a well-to-do Rotterdam family. Although his father was a famous bacteriologist, the household was very interested in the arts. At age eighteen in 1906 he began architectural studies in England. In 1911 he built for his parents a charming timber house, *Huize Løvdalla* at Huis ter Heide, a rural retreat near Utrecht, and a farmhouse at Lunteren; both were in the tradition of Netherlandish rural architecture.

In London after 1911 he moved in fashionable Bohemian art circles of the rather notorious Camden Town and Bloomsbury art groups that attracted the likes of photographer Paul Nash, writers Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf, and many painters, the more famous Walter Sickert and Augustus John. Van 't Hoff was closest to David Bromberg and the wicked John, by whom he was commissioned in 1913 to design a studio-house.[29] That was the year of a well-attended, teasing and noisy Futurist presentation in the English capital. The time in England was thus quite stimulating for van 't Hoff: he befriended many of the British avant-garde left, became knowledgable in "the most recent developments in the visual arts, received ideological inspiration" from "social-utopian ideas, and was initiated into the principles of the arts and crafts."[30]

In 1913 his father sent him a copy of the German edition of Wasmuth's pamphlet *Frank Lloyd Wright Chicago* containing Ashbee's introductory essay. Ashbee was particularly active in Britain just then and van 't Hoff was most likely acquainted with his various promotions of the arts and crafts, education, social welfare and, it can be assumed, Wright. In any event in June 1914 the young Hollander traveled to America to see in "reality what Wright had built" and toured the well-known works: Unity Temple, Midway Gardens, and Wright's suburban

houses as well as Taliesin. He also visited the Larkin Building in Buffalo on the return journey.

Wright and van 't Hoff spent many hours in discussion. Their personalities were opposite and their ideas about the role of architecture different. Yet they talked of collaboration on a project for a private art museum, a commission gained by van 't Hoff in London through the agency of Augustus John. The young Hollander had no intention of becoming a *Wrightje* (little Wright) but rather a colleague with whom the American might help to develop the museum project.[31] He sought out Wright not only as an spirited student might but for practical reasons and as a sounding board for his own notions. While in America van 't Hoff did look for a site on Long Island, New York, with one John Quinn, an art collector for whom he was to design the museum. The project came to nothing.

Van 't Hoff had another commission. Before crossing the Atlantic he had been asked by the Amsterdam businessman A.B. Henny to design a villa at Huis ter Heide. Van 't Hoff planned to return to Holland, complete the house, and then go back to the America to work on the museum with Wright. For several reasons that reunion never took place. Then, at the end of July 1914 World War I broke out. When van 't Hoff returned home he carried a large collection of illustrated documents about Wright's architecture; the Midway Gardens and preliminaries of the American System-built projects, unpublished in Europe, would have added to the material earlier seen in Europe via publications and lantern slide lectures.

At the end of 1914 van 't Hoff received another villa commission at Huis ter Heide for J.M.Verloop; the design was completed the same year. That house and the Henny villa—the better-known "concrete villa"—represent the first rather mimetic designs of Wright's architecture built in Europe. Construction of both commenced in 1915. In a letter to Berlage in November 1922, attempting to woo the venerable patriarch, Wright recalled van 't Hoff's visit: "I remember a young man Van T. Hoff [*sic*] who was filled with high purpose when I met him here seven or eight years ago, whom I expect to find has done some good things."[32] The rather imitative work that van 't Hoff produced immediately after his Taliesin visit were not good things.

Berlage is another key to the more general knowledge in Europe of Wright's ideas, not only through illustrated lectures, but thereafter by word of mouth.

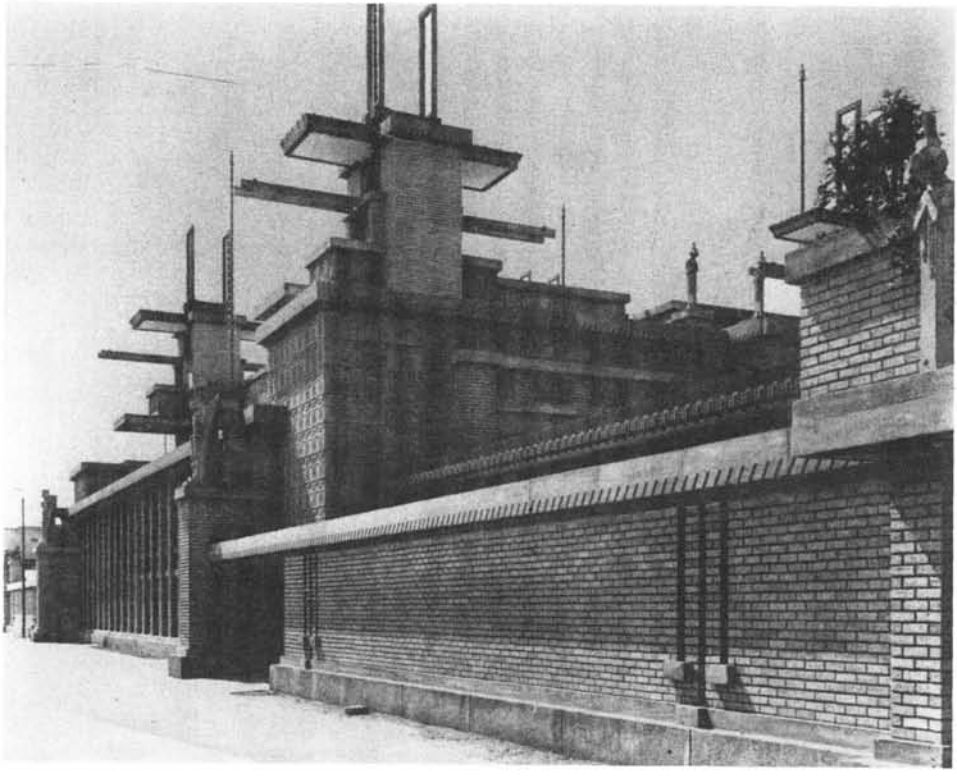


Figure 2.6. *Midway Gardens, Chicago, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1913-14 (1915 photograph). Copyright © FLLW Foundation 1999. Courtesy of The FLLW Archives.*

Chapter 3

Immediate Reaction

It was Berlage's respected authority within the European architectural community that bestowed acceptability on Sullivan's skyscraper aesthetic and Wright's avant-garde architecture. Yet, although knowledge of Sullivan's designs was broadcast, it must be emphasized that there is no evidence of *public* debate in Holland (or Europe) about Wright prior to 1912. However, that there was private discussion of some kind is clear from Berlage's admission of his own knowledge of Sullivan and Wright as made to Purcell early in 1906. Two further if disparate examples help support this conclusion. Russian architect and later a Constructivist theorist Mosie Ginzberg studied a Wasmuth publication on Wright while a student in Milan in 1912. And in Moscow at about the same time Panaleimon Golosov built his own version of Wright's Warren Hickox house of 1900.[1]

Returning to Amsterdam in December 1911, Berlage began describing, both privately and publicly, his American adventures. He spoke of the architecture he had seen, his impressions of the cities, the people and their culture, and summarized the content of many discussions. He championed Wright in illustrated lectures in Amsterdam, Berlin and Zurich, and in a number of publications.

His first lecture, widely publicized for about a fortnight beforehand, attracted a capacity audience to the *Artishal* on Tuesday evening, 30 January 1912. The occasion was arranged by the *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst* who had also invited its rival, the *Bond van Nederlandse Architecten*, and *Architectura et Amicitia* as well as the applied arts society *Vereeniging voor Ambachts- en Nijverheidskunst*, and delegates from Delft *Technische Hogeschool*. Apart from demonstrating how interested Dutch architects were in their peers across the Atlantic, the evening was a salutary lesson for the profession, bringing together representatives of groups who did not always see eye to eye.

The occasion was reported in two major architectural journals. Within days a summary of the lecture appeared in *Architectura*, but lack of space postponed its

inclusion in *Bouwkundig Weekblad.* What it published the following week was reprinted almost verbatim from the other periodical.[2] *Architectura* remarked that Berlage showed works of the "most talented of American architects . . . Lloyd Wright . . . whose strength is in surprising effects. His masterwork is an office building in Buffalo, a heavy, massive building of original conception"[3] (Figure 2.4). The *Weekblad* also acknowledged its "exceptionally powerful character." There was little else about Wright but despite its brevity the comment set the ball rolling. Almost every subsequent Dutch essay on Wright remarked upon the monumentality of the Larkin offices. Although his specific comments received only passing notice in the long reports, Berlage said a lot more about Wright and showed more lantern slides of his work. Two-thirds of the American buildings used to illustrate the *Weekblad* piece were by Wright: Unity Temple (Figures 2.5 and 2.6), the Heller, Coonley, Heurtley and Darwin Martin houses (Figure 1.1), and the Larkin Building.

While not illustrating its initial report, *Architectura* followed it at the end of March 1912 with a piece exclusively about Wright in which it reproduced some of the *Weekblad* images. For its content it leaned almost entirely upon an article, "Frank Lloyd Wright: a modern master architect in America," recently published in two successive numbers of *De Bouwwereld.*[4] In turn, *Bouwwereld* drew heavily upon the *Frank Lloyd Wright Chicago* pamphlet of 1911.

Bouwwereld opined that Wright's work embodied a "departure from tradition; a distinctiveness of surrounding [i.e., the landscape], and a consequent character of its own; a delight in new materials; and an honest use of machinery." That was the first definitive statement about the qualities of his architecture in the Dutch language. The editors' other source was "In the cause," translated and paraphrased throughout the article. The anonymous Dutch writers offered little analysis and a promised "exposition of Frank Lloyd Wright's theories" was, therefore, a fragmentary collection of things he had said about architecture. However, when discussing his buildings, although they knew his work only through images and hearsay, the *Bouwwereld*'s writers contributed to the widening European forum.

The *Bouwwereld* essay exuded wistfulness and jingoism: if Europe had the same chances as America—whatever they were—she, not America, would be "the birthplace of the modern style." The *Architectura* version singled out Wright as the man whose name kept "resounding in the hearts" of young Dutch architects: he was leading his American colleagues in overcoming the restrictions of historicism: he was, in short, "the Berlage of America."

On 9 March 1912 Berlage gave a second talk to his Dutch colleagues, at a meeting of the *Koninklijke Instituut van Ingenieurs.* Its journal *De Ingenieur* published a complete transcript on 11 May, replete with images including four of Wright's works drawn from the Wasmuth *Frank Lloyd Wright Chicago* pamphlet.[5] While about a tenth of the talk dealt with Wright, it came as a kind of climax at the end. Only Unity Temple and the Larkin building were mentioned by name.

From the reactions of his compatriots, it seems that Berlage's revelation of the New World had conjured the vision of an architects' paradise in a culture

unhampered by tradition and free of political constraint, "that young, aspiring, liberated America." Berlage's talk had excited them, but more information was necessary to fully appreciate Wright's architecture. *Bouwwereld* and *Architectura* identified such specific issues as functionality, interpretation of new materials, and the role of historic precedent in architecture, presenting their readers with an opportunity for reflection not offered by such a transient medium as a lecture. Such analysis could be of great value to anyone prepared to consider Wright's architecture, and Berlage had declared it was worth thinking about. Much later J.J.P. Oud clearly remembered the "enthusiasm with which Berlage spoke of . . . the Larkin Building, and of the various country houses" by Wright.[6] Le Corbusier also remembered as shall be revealed.

This all happened in Holland within two months of Berlage's Amsterdam talks. With a few words, he had sparked a good deal of interest in Wright, with praise approaching adulation. That interest was fuelled by the professional journals of groups who emphasized widely diverse aspects of the architectural process and product: conservative and progressive architects, engineers and technologists. Berlage had the confidence of them all, and not of them alone. The publication of the *Artishal* lecture and (to a lesser extent) the talk to the engineers had been important for his home audience. But Dutch is hardly a European *lingua franca* and his audience at first was limited to The Netherlands.

However, the respect the *bouwmeester* commanded in the wider European architectural community was to bestow acceptability on Wright's work within its movement towards a new architecture. On 30 March 1912 Berlage spoke to the Zurich Association of Engineers and Architects. There is no reason to believe that his talk and lantern slides differed much from those earlier presented in Amsterdam. A transcript, probably translated from his notes, was published in three parts in the German-language journal *Schweizerische Bauzeitung* the following September. The first two installments were only text; the third consisted of large, fine quality images of photographs of drawings and completed buildings prepared from his slides. The long delay was in a way fortuitous, because the editors in the meantime were able to directly approach Wright who provided more illustrations.[7]

Berlage's lecture was simple. He was attracted not only to Wright's exterior forms but to the interiors, as had been Ashbee, especially of the houses. At one point he emphasized, "I had the impression of an extraordinary intimacy, and only with great effort could I tear myself away from those rooms. The originality of the rooms can best be described by the word 'plastic'—in contrast to European interiors which are flat and two-dimensional." For him it was "an originality that may enable one to talk about a new, native American architecture." A comment of significance. As he had in Amsterdam, Berlage focused upon the Larkin building as Wright's *magnum opus*. Having been told (he did not say by whom) that it was Wright's masterwork, Berlage exclaimed that "was not to say enough." He said it was a building without equal in Europe, and more explicitly, "there is no office building here with the same monumental power of this American one."

Taken as an entity, his revelations reinforced Ashbee's exposition of the creation of a new architecture, one that could be defined as American, at least in

terms of the new European world in North America. Berlage was aware of the ethnic, transposed architecture in the United States so his observation that Wright's work was "new and native" was indeed perceptive. The edition of *Bauzeitung* was issued as an offprint, ensuring that its influence would extend beyond its subscribers.

In 1913 Berlage crowned his propaganda for Wright in Holland by the release of *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen* (*Recollections of an American Journey*).[8] While it published his broader experiences and discussed the aesthetics and technology of the skyscraper, almost a fifth of it dealt with Wright, citing from his "In the cause" of 1908 and providing photographs of Unity Temple, the Larkin Building and the Robie House (Figure 3.1) of 1908-1910. Most importantly Berlage made the extravagant and generous pronouncement that Wright was a master "whose equal is yet to be found in Europe." Just then, Berlage was second to none in Europe as an architectural critic, his words valued.

The Swiss art historian Siegfried Giedion knew Berlage and was a lifelong friend of Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius. He became an articulate promoter, apologist, and historian of the Modern Movement (that is, until he visited America in the late 1930s). Knowledgable about events and personalities in Europe, at that time he no doubt had discussions with those who were marching in the artistic advanced guard. He confirms Berlage's "deep impression" upon the rising generation in the Low Countries and along the Rhine Valley. The Belgian modernist architect and respected educator Victor Bourgeois told Giedion that when a student in Brussels in 1914-1919 "only two names fascinated young men": Berlage and Wright. The importance of Berlage's "exhibitions and lectures" of 1912 and their subsequent publication is further confirmed by Giedion. Of special significance is his assertion, no doubt based on conversations, that Le Corbusier first became acquainted with the work of Wright through Berlage's Zurich essay.[9]

The personal and professional interrelationships in Western Europe are crucial to understanding Wright's full impact during these pre-war moments. A few more can be suggested by example. During 1909-1910 Ludwig Mies van der Rohe was working in the Berlin office of Peter Behrens just when Wright frequented the German capital to discuss matters with Wasmuth and visit his mistress. Later commenting upon an exhibition of Wright's drawings in Berlin that coincided with his presence in Europe, the *Ausgeführte* portfolio and with Möhring's lecture about Wright, Mies wrote:

> This comprehensive display and the extensive publication of his works enabled us really to become acquainted with [Wright's] achievement. . . . The encounter was destined to prove of great significance to the development of architecture in Europe.

He elaborated:

> Here finally was a master-builder drawing upon the veritable fountainhead of architecture. . . . The more deeply we studied Wright's creations, the greater became our admiration for his incomparable talent, for the boldness of his conceptions, and for his independence in thought and action. The dynamic impulse emanating from his work invigorated a whole generation. His influence was strongly felt even when it was not actually visible.[10]

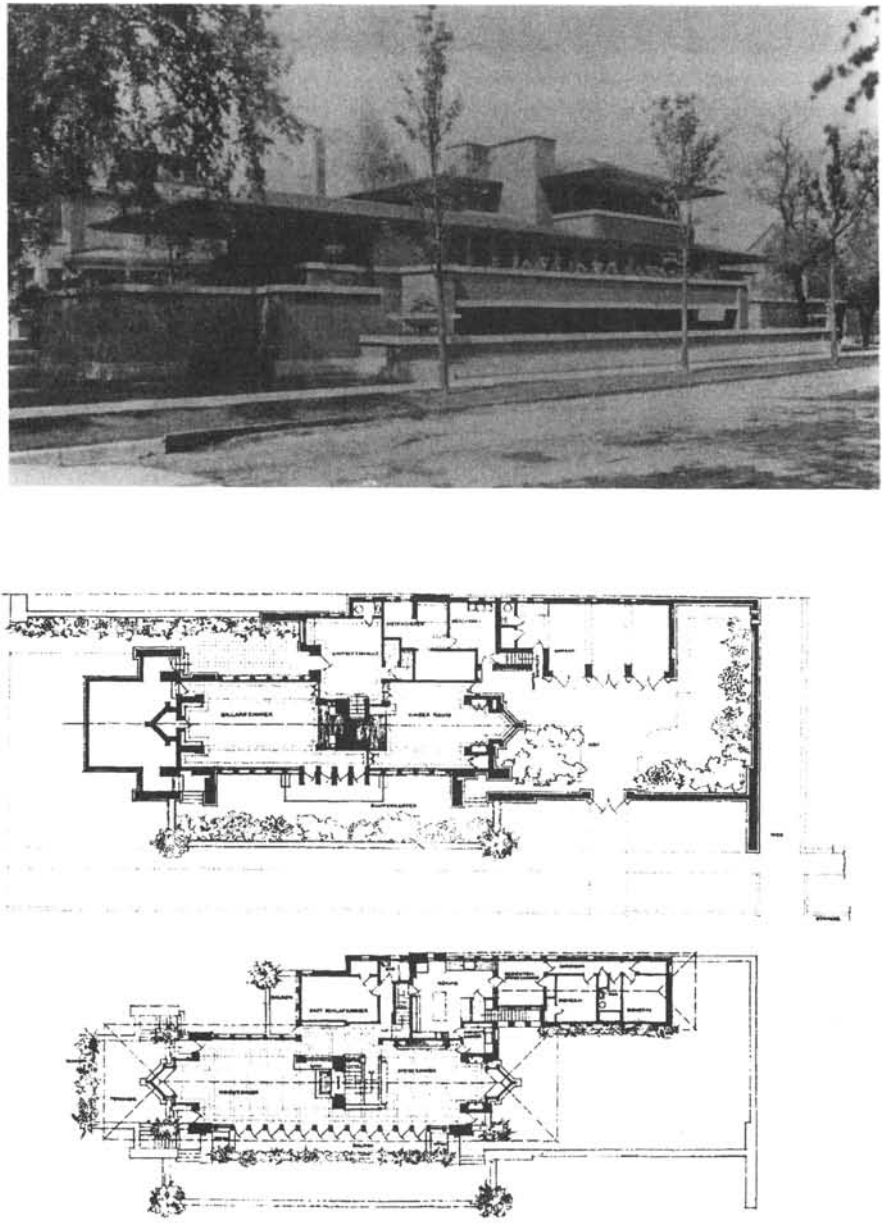


Figure 3.1. *Robie house, Chicago, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1909-1910. Exterior view from Ashbee/Wright(1911a,b). Ground floor (top) and first floor plans from Wright (1910a,b). Copyright © The FLLW Foundation 1999.*

The "strongly felt" influence on Mies became evident in the years after 1919. Moreover, dissatisfied with Behren's architectural philosophy, Mies went to The Hague in 1910-1911 to associate with Berlage and work on the design—in the event, unrealized—of an extravagant villa at Wassenaar for Mrs. Hélène Kröller-Müller. Mies came to respect Berlage and admired his ideas about architecture (if not his products), acknowledging the Hollander's "special veneration and love" by young European architects.[11] It is highly probable that Mies and Berlage (and who else?) would have discussed Wright.

Walter Gropius remembered well.

> When the Academy of Arts in Berlin arranged an exhibition of . . . Wright's work in 1911 and [Wasmuth] subsequently published a portfolio of it, I first became attracted to his strong, imaginative approach. . . . I was impressed by the Larkin Building in Buffalo and by the Robie house in Chicago. . . . My acquaintance with Wright's work . . . helped me to become more articulate in defining my own design philosophy.[12]

Under the influence of Behrens and the new field of industrial design the peripatetic mind of Gropius searched for things related to industry which might contain an aesthetic response to new functional needs. In 1913 he extolled the pure cylindrical geometry and "unacknowledged majesty" of the North American grain silos, an acclamation to be repeated by others including Wijdeveld and much later Le Corbusier and Amedée Ozenfant after 1918.[13] Gropius also noted functional forms in twentieth-century transport, such as the "railroad car, steamship and sailing vessel, airship and airplane." Yet it was Wright who put into the minds of Gropius and his European contemporaries the idea that those great cylinders and transport machines could be interpreted *architecturally*.

Most of Wright's text for the Wasmuth book was based upon thoughts about architecture as previously spoken or published. In June 1900 in a paper to the Architectural League of America he had linked modern social needs to elemental functionalism:

> the problems of today, the problems of transportation, warehousing, city building are [the architect's] problems. Elevated railways systems and freight stations, manufactories, grain elevators and office buildings, the housing of highly organized industries, monumental in power and significance stripped and trained to the bone for action.[14]

Wright, like Berlage, also argued for an understanding of vernacular architectural models in his 1908 treatise and introduction of 1910.

The reduction theory for functionalism was not new but the coupling of that notion to non-traditional building types was unique, if echoing the thoughts of Viollet-le-Duc. However, when Wright spoke of indigenous architecture in 1900, 1908 and 1910, it was for a *new* vernacular that would recognize a modern nation. In one instance in 1900 he said,

> if the architect has something to say in noble form, gracious line and living color, each expression will have a 'grammar' of its own, using the term in its best sense, and will speak the universal language of beauty in no circumscribed series of set architectural phrase as used by people in other times, although in harmony with elemental laws to be deduced from the beautiful of all peoples in all time.

This was closely followed by a call for nationalism, the discovery of an American—a national—architecture and rejection of the narrow "damned . . . dogmas" of Vignola and Vitruvius and the strength of "individuality developed in a free nation and the richness of our inheritance will find expression in an art that is indigenous and characteristic as an architecture measured by the laws of fine art." He added the poetic metaphor "the hardy grace of the wild flower rather than the cultivated richness of the rose." At this point Wright distilled the essence of his intellectual struggle: from a national milieu he hoped for "a further contribution to the art of the world, not a servile extraction."[15]

These thoughts had been underlined to Berlage who had challenged his European colleagues to recognize the originality in Wright's country houses, a new, native American architecture "because there is nothing like [them] in Europe."

In his 1908 and 1910 essays Wright stated that his Larkin building "was built to house the commercial engine of the Larkin Company in light, wholesome, well-ventilated quarters. . . . Therefore the work may have the same claim to consideration as a 'work of art' as an oceanliner, a locomotive or a battleship."[16] Did not Berlage characterize it as full of monumental power? As far as the eminent historian Nikolaus Pevsner was concerned, *European* modernism was "heralded" by the Larkin building.[17] To a pre-1914 Europe, balancing avant-garde ideas and the frustrations of ethnicity, Wright's and Berlage's words were most attractive. And they were *attached* to Wright's architectural deeds.

More generally, the Europeans evolved out of Wright's *theoretical principles* the anonymous—and that non-esoteric, non-cultural aesthetic was important—steel, glass, stucco box. Their answer to the notion of modern was for a "machine aesthetic." The machine (for repetitively producing the new materials) was the symbol of a modern post-1918, independent Europe. The almost universal application of the box throughout the Western world meant to those who so wished, as Gropius (with a political bent) perceived as early as 1925, that it could be a uniting internationalist symbol because of its non-cultural newness. With obvious purpose it was dubbed an "international" architecture, a new style.

Almost suddenly, in 1911 Gropius (with Adolf Meyer) completed buildings for the Fagus shoe last factory using Albert Kahn's steel and glass facade (for the administration building and workshop) and Wright's brickwork and other elements on the entry. They designed a model factory complex for the Cologne *Deutsche Werkbund* exhibition (built in 1914) that repeated major elements of Wright's architecture and Kahn's facades. In June 1913 Gropius presented an article about a theory for modern industrial architecture, much of it a rephrasing and personalization of Wright's essays of 1908 and 1910.[18]

The American architectural journalist John Boyd on a visit to Berlin in 1911 was pleasantly surprised to find that, in architectural circles, Wright and Sullivan "figured largely as prophets of the new movement," perhaps as a result of the Wasmuth publications.[19]

However, most American colleagues of all architectural persuasions remained strangely unimpressed by Wright's texts. We can only assume that they

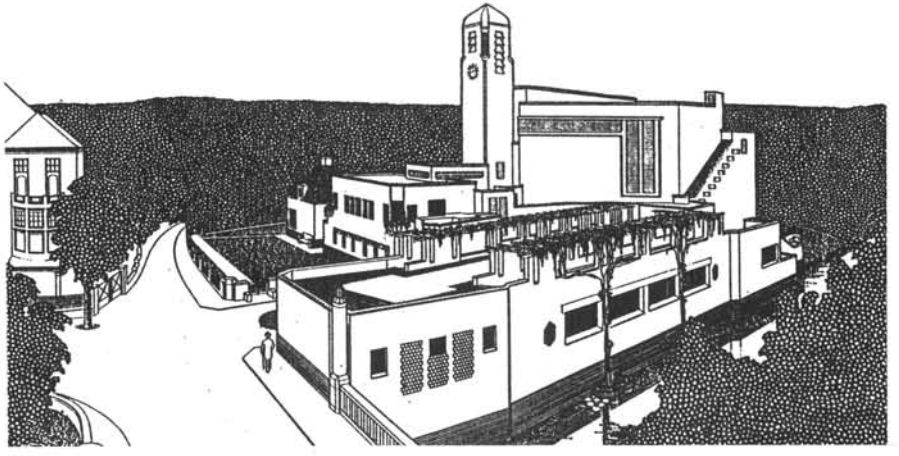


Figure 3.2. *First Church of Christ, Scientist, The Hague, The Netherlands, H.P. Berlage, Architect, 1925-26. Detail of aerial perspective drawing as published in* Bouwkundig Weekblad, *41 (10 October 1925).*

believed his ideas were patently not about the refined art of architecture or that those industrial and commercial things were already part of America's landscape and consciousness. That would have included the stark, constructional-appearing warehouses and automobile manufacturing plants that provided the paradigm for much of the Modern Movement's structural rationalism. As a corollary it should be noted that in 1911 Berlage was surprised at the conservatism of most American architecture, the domination of Beaux-Arts principles, and the artistic "barbarism" perpetrated by historical revivalists. Moreover, he had been bemused by America's inability to come to terms with urban services. All of this was incongruent with the popular image of a dynamic New World held by his European audiences.

Berlage's own architecture slowly developed Wrightian characteristics: more open plans, more articulation in plan and massing, more obvious reliance on plain (if often complex) geometric massing and less dependence upon medieval idioms. They can be found in the Church of Christ, Scientist, The Hague, 1925-1926 (Figure 3.2), and a more mimetic project for a café of 1924.[20] But they are most evident in some proposed interiors of 1919-1920 and the final building of The Hague Municipal Museum, 1928-1932 (Figure 3.4). The design was developed from an unrealized scheme for the Kröller-Müller museum at Otterlo; the 1917 studies show a marked influence of Walter Griffin's Bovee house of 1909.

The search Wright undertook was complex: he looked at possibilities in unadorned geometrical forms ("cubic purism"), exotic art, innocent vernacular arts, as well as at modern aesthetic responses to new technical achievements and to social responsibilities. Theoretical and practical congruence with contemporary events is clear. This can be further substantiated by the example of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, who after about 1920 called himself Le Corbusier.

Giedion believed that Le Corbusier was first directed to Wright by a lecture

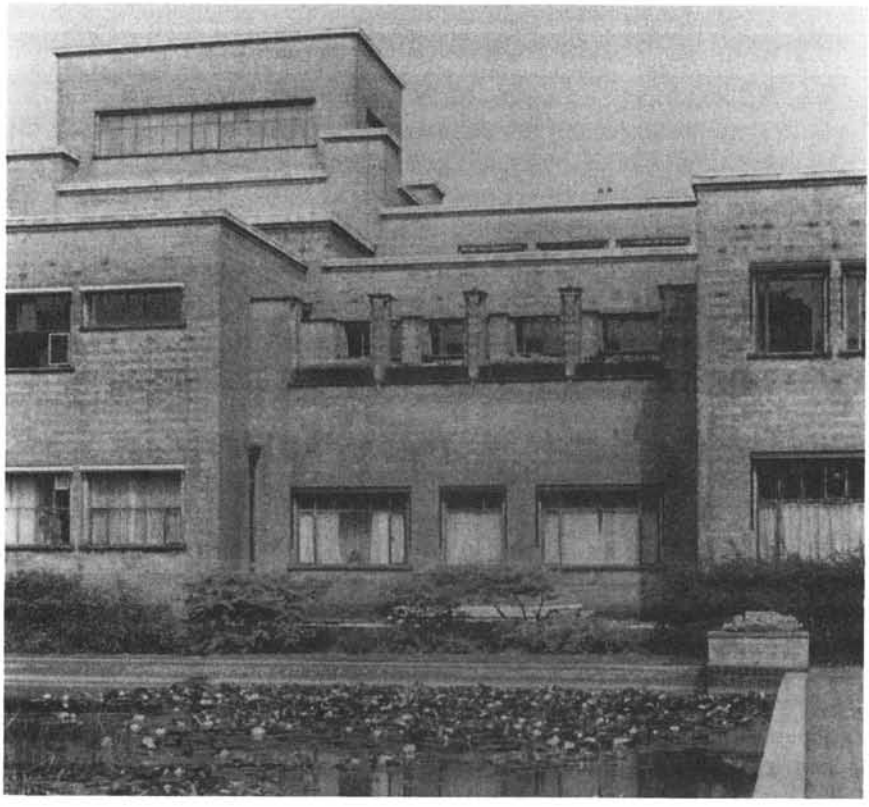


Figure 3.3. *The Municipal Museum, The Hague, The Netherlands, H.P. Berlage, Architect, 1919-1934. Detail of Stadhouderslaan elevation. Photograph by Donald Langmead, 1987. The building underwent a complete restoration in 1999.*

"Berlage delivered in Zurich" in 1912. That assertion is confirmed by Le Corbusier's biographical collaborator Willy Boesiger, that Le Corbusier "heard" Berlage's lecture.[21] Le Corbusier verified this in a letter to Wijdeveld of August 1925 stating that he first saw reproductions of Wright's houses and an office building "before the war." While he claimed uncertainty of the year, from other sources we know it was 1912.[22] He was then neither a prominent architect nor an artist. Gropius revealed his sincere infatuation with Wright but Le Corbusier was never willing to admit the influence of anyone.

In the summer of 1915, because of the war, Auguste Perret could not obtain German publications so he asked Le Corbusier to assist. At the top of a long list prepared by the Swiss was Ashbee and Wright's *Sonderhefte* (for the price of 2.25 marks).[23] Evidence of Le Corbusier's debt to Wright and others before 1918 is undeniable. The major witnesses are his buildings between about 1912 and 1917. Schematics of plans demonstrate the debt (Figure 3.4), as do many elevational elements. The bulky, contained forms of Le Corbusier's houses fit similar houses

and larger buildings by Wright. That sense of containment remained with Le Corbusier while the dynamics of Wright's other works like the Beye boathouse of 1905 (Figure 3.5) and the prairie houses were to pervade the thinking of Dutch theorists including van Doesburg and Rietveld in the 1920s (Figure 5.7).

In 1932 Giedion set out some recollections. He referred to the 1908 "In the cause" as a kind of manifesto in support of the machine, "this modern tool" and noted that Wright's words were repeated "over and over again in Europe." He believed—and history has shown—that Wright's most important contribution to modern architecture was his houses "from 1893 to 1910." It was then that Wright became known through Berlage's efforts, said Giedion, and Holland's further contribution just after 1914 by those "followers" who elaborated developments. But to "enlarge on his principles" and make them more relevant to Europe was the task of those to follow. Le Corbusier, Giedion proclaimed, took up that work. He "developed Wright's ideas in his work, even though it is not striking. No architect," said Giedion, "placed the housing problem as much in the centre of his work as Wright did. He first showed how to dissolve the rigid house cubes and to destroy the facade idea and how to unite the house into the landscape." For Giedion "it is not a coincidence that Le Corbusier starts with the same things." Moreover, the route taken in Europe was profoundly influenced by Cubism; yet Giedion implied that Wright was unaware of Cubism, which was not true.[24]

Giedion paraphrased most contemporary European modernists when he said that Wright's "great and educative influence" was that of his methods and ideas" as "reflected in his work"; that "Wright's conception of space" was "developed and changed in the hands of its leading figures."[25] As we shall see, Jan Wils made such a prophecy of progress in 1919.

Indeed, it is from Dutch analysis of Wright's open plans and dynamic three-dimensional forms that there evolved *new* expositions. Wright explained that he was well aware of the course of events. It was, he said, his abstractions of "the straight line" and "the flat plane" that led to Modernism in Europe. Here one thinks of his own house, "Taliesin," of 1911 or the Midway Gardens in Chicago. It was not his "technique," that is, not his personal application of line and plane, but the principles inherent in his work and the "feeling" imparted. And in practice the logical plans, the separation of what can be called the service and served areas, and "rooms flowing into one another with only indicated separation."[26] This spatial and planning dynamic was critical to De Stijl architects *after* they left the group and the basis of Mies van der Rohe's German Pavilion for the Barcelona World's Fair of 1928-1929 and his extraordinary house designs around 1930.

The Dutch architect Gerrit Thomas Rietveld encapsulated the ramifications in 1923 by reference to destruction of container and a plastic unity of

> the laws of space and their infinite variations (i.e., spatial contrasts, spatial dissonances, spatial complements). . . .
> the law of color in space and time . . . .
> the relationship between space and time . . . .
> by the disruption of enclosure (walls) . . . [and abolition of] the duality between interior and exterior.[27]

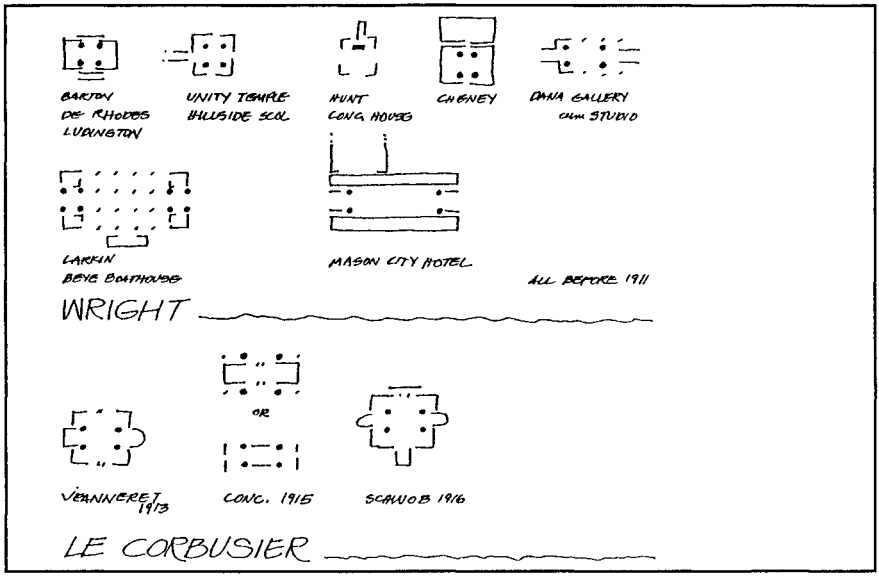


Figure 3.4. *Plan schematics of some of Wright's buildings designed prior to 1911 compared with some of Le Corbusier's houses 1913-1917. Drawing by D.L. Johnson.*

Rietveld's material thesis was the Schröder house in Utrecht, designed with Truus Schröder-Schräder, and completed in 1924. This spatial and planner concept was perverted by Le Corbusier's white boxes whose *forms* of enclosing and containing became, for a while, *de rigeur*.

Le Corbusier's first experiment with Wrightian architectonics was the Jeanneret-Perret house of 1912, at La Chaux-de-Fonds. Interestingly it exhibited external characteristics based on just the buildings illustrated in Berlage's Zurich lecture and the report in *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*. There followed the Dom-ino housing project (also influenced by the architecture of North Africa) especially various elevational studies of Type B, 1914-1915, a concrete house project of 1915, and the Schwob house at La Chaux-de-Fonds (1916-1917). Refer to Figure 3.4. In all these houses some three-dimensional, formal, and other elevational aspects were borrowed from Wright and knitted to elements from vernacular Swiss buildings and such contemporary European architects as Josef Olbrich, Josef Hoffman and Auguste Perret.[28]

In 1925 Le Corbusier recalled his first encounter with Wright's architecture: "I still remember clearly the shock I felt seeing those houses spiritual and smiling—with a Japanese smile."[29] Shock? Le Corbusier did not apply such an oriental smile to his early houses. Architectural plans for Jeanneret and Schwob were based upon Wright's house plans, in particular those for Barton (1903) and Horner (1908), which was illustrated in Wasmuth's publications in 1911. That suggests that Le Corbusier had access to more tangible repositories of Wright's work than mere recollections of Berlage's lecture.[30]

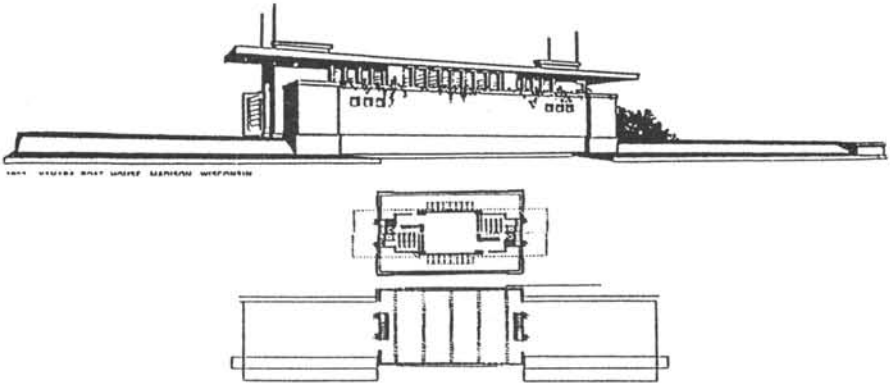


Figure 3.5. *Yahara Boathouse for Cudworth Beye, Madison, Wisconsin, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1905. Perspective drawing of 1928 by Henry Klumb, traced from a drawing that appeared in Wright(1910a,b).*

By his own account in a letter to Wijdeveld, Le Corbusier believed that Wright's architectural plans revealed "good planning" (he underlined those words) and by that he meant "a tendency toward" order, organization and a "creation of pure architecture." Additionally, Wright "introduced order" (Le Corbusier also underlined those words) but this idea was not amplified. However, in his letter the Swiss also disparaged "coquettish or decaying old villages," so we must assume that "disordered regionalism," as he put it, contrasted with Wright's academically secure architecture.[31] Perhaps Le Corbusier was prompted by the visit of the Chicago architect and former Wright employee Barry Byrne.

Wright's introduction to Europe via publications, therefore, was through the three American works and Wasmuth's four. Perhaps the most immediate superficial reaction to the Wasmuth books took place in Germany. In 1911 the *Werdandibund*, a relatively moderate, modest architectural movement formed in Berlin in 1907, set up a competition about domestic architecture. It was organized in response to most heated debates over the place of tradition. One villa entered by Heinz Stoffegren borrowed from Wright's prairie houses. Adolf Mayer's winning design included a long balcony dripping with vegetation of indeterminate genus, wide eaves, and facade organization visually redolent of Wright. Nothing is known of the plans of these buildings.[32] It is clear that the impact of Wright's architecture as presented in the American publications was almost instantly influential.

Further, the link between Europe and Wright was enhanced by the exhibition of Walter and Marion Griffin's architecture in Vienna and Paris during 1913. Included were drawings of the Griffins' winning plans for the proposed Australian national capital, Canberra, a competition in which Europeans participated.

After 1911 it was the Dutch who evangelized for Wright and they alone did so until early in the 1920s. A study of the number of European publications about him is revealing. After the avalanche between 1910 and 1913, nothing further appeared until 1918. Then the young Jan Wils wrote "The New Architecture [seen

in] the work of Frank Lloyd Wright" for a new Dutch journal *Levende Kunst*. Also in 1918, the inaugural volume of *De Stijl* published Oud's critique of the Robie House, followed in 1919 by van 't Hoff's discussion of Unity Temple in "Architecture and its development." That almost coincided with Wils' eulogy in *Wendingen* entitled "The new time: some thoughts on the work of Frank Lloyd Wright." Two years later the Amsterdam journal published a thoughtful critique of Wright's work by Berlage. Also in 1921 Wils wrote a piece for the semipopulist *Elseviers Gëillustreerd Maandschrift,* the most incisive analysis of Wright's architecture to that date.

After that, other European journals began to praise the American. With the exception of Berlage's articles in *Bauzeitung* and *Wendingen*, publications used images from the Wasmuth works. It was the famous *Wendingen* issues of 1925 that provided many photographs and drawings of buildings not seen before in Europe. When Wright published his new articles as a series entitled "In the cause of architecture" in *Architectural Record* during 1927-1928, they were digested—even partly reprinted in translation—in Europe and other centers outside the United States.

A count of known European publications is revealing: two in 1921 and again in 1922; none in 1923; two in 1924 when Wasmuth reissued the 1910 portfolio (without Wright's knowledge) and *L'Architecture Vivante* joined the widening circle; four in 1925; sixteen in 1926; eight in 1927; none in 1928; three in 1929 and only a couple each year after that, except in 1931 when Wright's Show was active in Europe.[33] The statistics reveal the sudden rediscovery of Wright and the impact of *Wendingen* in 1925-1926 in and beyond The Netherlands. Nonetheless, the European based socialist urban critic Catherine Bauer could comment in 1931 that in Europe Wright's hegemony was strong. She quoted an unnamed Dutch architect as saying, "It was very difficult to break away from Wright." Indeed, "for a while it looked as if the whole country were going American."[34] Yet there followed a virtual collapse of interest, doubtless attributable to the rise of the Modern Movement. With that, the search for a twentieth century modernism was deemed complete, most were satisfied with the synthetised European aesthetic. Wright's architectural *style* had been studied and rejected. Only his verbal pleas, theoretical promise and architectonics prevailed in an altered state and in the cause of internationalism, much to his consternation.

Parallel with tributes and accolades in Europe, Wright's private and professional life was in turmoil. With the Imperial Hotel nearly complete Wright returned to America in 1922 never again to travel to the Far East. There were no commissions in Japan and only a couple in the United States. The period 1923-28 was very stressful for those in any way involved with Wright, his new mistress, and family. In 1914 a servant at Taliesin had savagely murdered Mamah Cheney together with her children and some employees, while Wright was away in Chicago. No doubt traumatized, almost immediately the architect took up with Miriam Noel. They lived together for many years, finally marrying in 1924, only to separate just

months later. It was then that Wright met the young Olgivanna Hizenberg. For the next four years they lived out a life of bitter recriminations initiated by Miriam, and flights from law officers. A divorce in 1928 resolved his marital difficulties with all their idiosyncratic convolutions and allowed Wright to marry Olgivanna. In 1927 he had been elected to honorary membership of the Belgian Royal Academy of Fine Art and shortly after he was made an "extra-ordinary" member of its German equivalent. These were two bright moments in what was then a dimly lit career. No such honors were offered by his own country.

The year 1928 marked the beginning of Wright's second career. Up to that moment his life had extended itself to receive the highest international esteem and by contrast, to experience the most horrific personal tragedy. It seems therefore, that he and Olgivanna decided that the quiet of rural Wisconsin, on manorial land and within familiar environments, was a correct place to begin their new life.

After the discovery of Wright, few European architects were compelled to seriously explore his *ideas*, as opposed to imitating his designs, beyond Gropius' and Le Corbusier's—and later Mies' and Erich Mendelsohn's—extrapolation of Wrightian form, space and structure into new vital interpretations.[35] One notable exception was the young Netherlander Jan Wils, who after conscientious investigation expounded for his peers the underlying principles of Wright's architecture. His contemporary Robert van 't Hoff, having met and talked with Wright, helped in that process. The role of Dutch architects in evolutionary developments during the period 1911 to 1925 can now be correctly presented.

Chapter 4

Insights: Jan Wils

Berlage's January 1912 lecture gave the *imprimatur* to Frank Lloyd Wright's creations. As one historian cynically notes, in Holland "everybody [claimed] Berlage as Papa"[1] and Berlage's authority within his profession was demonstrated by its startling reaction to his talk. Editors immediately mined other sources for information about Wright. Closest at hand were the Wasmuth publications, especially the less expensive *Frank Lloyd Wright Chicago* with Ashbee's essay. Before March 1912 neither these books nor the 1910 folio had been announced, let alone reviewed, in Dutch journals. Now, as noted, *Bouwwereld* and *Architectura* sketchily outlined Wright's published theories, claiming their pieces to be "expositions." Yet they served up enough detail to sharpen the appetite of many, garnished (in *Architectura*'s case) with a few images. A few young Dutch architects, having sampled Wright's aesthetic and intellectual morsels, were hungry for more and raided the bulging larder of the Wasmuth books. Earliest and most discerning of these *gourmands* was Jan Wils.

Wils was born in Alkmaar in 1891, the son of a building contractor. Always interested in the building crafts and a skilled draftsman, he augmented his studies with evening courses in architectural theory at Delft *Technische Hogeschool.* Briefly articled to Alkmaar's city architect, one Looman, he soon joined the firm of Johannes Mutters Jr. in The Hague before moving to Berlage's office, probably in 1914.[2]

In 1968 he told his colleague H. Th. Wijdeveld that he had become "aware of the work of Wright through Berlage."[3] Half a century earlier he had written: "A few years ago [Wright's] work was unknown [in Holland], and we can thank Dr. Berlage, who after his journey to America introduced us to it."[4] Wils' clear insights of Wright began as glimpses afforded by Berlage, but they were soon sharpened by intensive personal scrutiny of the American's writings. He shared his discoveries with his peers through essays, expounding what he held to be a means

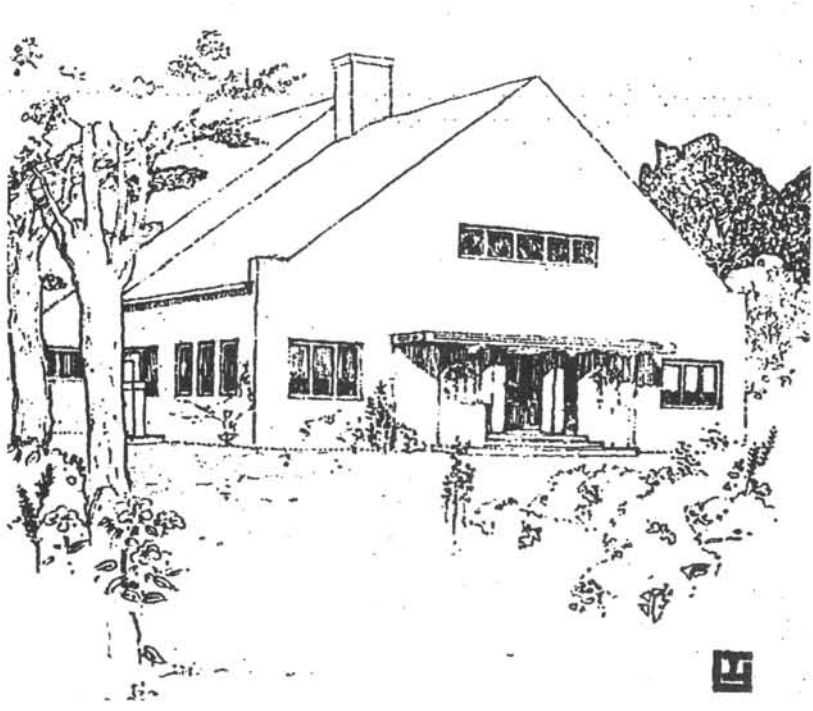


Figure 4.1. *Farmhouse, Winschoten, The Netherlands, Jan Wils, Architect, 1916. Perspective drawing, as published in* Levende Kunst *(1918).*

to "use all our power to help construct the new building of beauty in the new society." In that renewal and reconstruction Wright's work (said Wils) was of the "utmost importance."

Wils soon started an independent practice at Voorburg and obtained several small commissions, including a farmhouse at Winschoten in Groningen, of 1916. Following the regional tradition, the living quarters and the huge barn were in the same building. Such external details as the rows of windows, the entry, and the strong attempt to achieve horizontality on the gable end were deliberate references to Wright. More interesting was the plan geometry, based upon a system of squares like Wright's early plans[5] (Figure 4.1).

Also in 1916 Wils won a competition for the *Hervormde* church in Elshout, Nieuw-Lekkerland. Because of rising materials costs, construction was delayed until 1918 and a somewhat modified church was completed a few years later.[6] The high brick gables and steep roof of the sober Calvinist building were hybridized with "Wrightian" details: porches, stucco bands giving horizontal continuity, and a "frieze" between the window-heads and eaves of the vestry; even the sculpted piers between the side windows were all evocative of Unity Temple. Wils was unable to effectively offset the traditional verticality but his design significantly tempered it, enough for a colleague to remark that Wils had been "lucky" to have the scheme accepted by the congregation.[7] Its plan also was

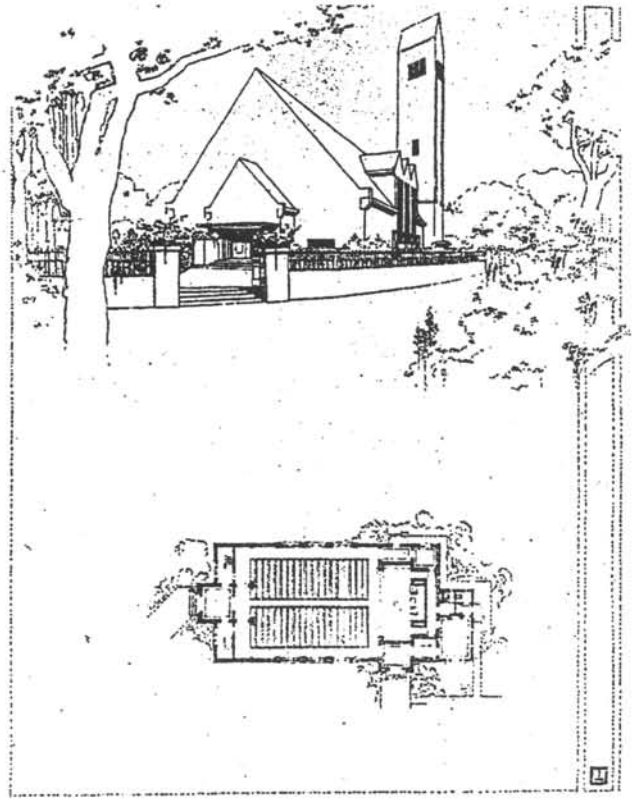


Figure 4.2. *Hervormde church, Elshout, Nieuw-Lekkerland, The Netherlands, Jan Wils, Architect, 1916-1920. Perspective drawing, as published in* Levende Kunst *(1918).*

based upon the geometry of the square[8] (Figure 4.2).

The exterior of the De Lange house in Alkmaar testifies to Wright's impact upon Wils. Indeed, more than the house itself a watercolor sketch of 1916 betrayed Wils' fascination with the American. The vertically composed sheet copied the frontispiece of the Unity Temple in *Frank Lloyd Wright Chicago*, even to the colors. The street elevation was framed by sketchy trees in rusty red; the freehand border turned, like Wright's, to vignette halfway down the sheet; the title block and signature in stylized lettering were symmetrically disposed below[9] (Figure 4.3). Wils' initial design was later revised because the client needed more and differently disposed space.[10]

The original design was full of tensions. Taken singly or together, such elements as the Larkinesque piers flanking rows of windows, the shorter piers beside the door, the canopy above the entry and the string courses attempted to achieve Wright's horizontal line of domesticity. Pragmatically, Wils was constrained by a narrow urban site and ideologically by what the Dutch had developed over centuries as appropriate urban architecture; a people's image of

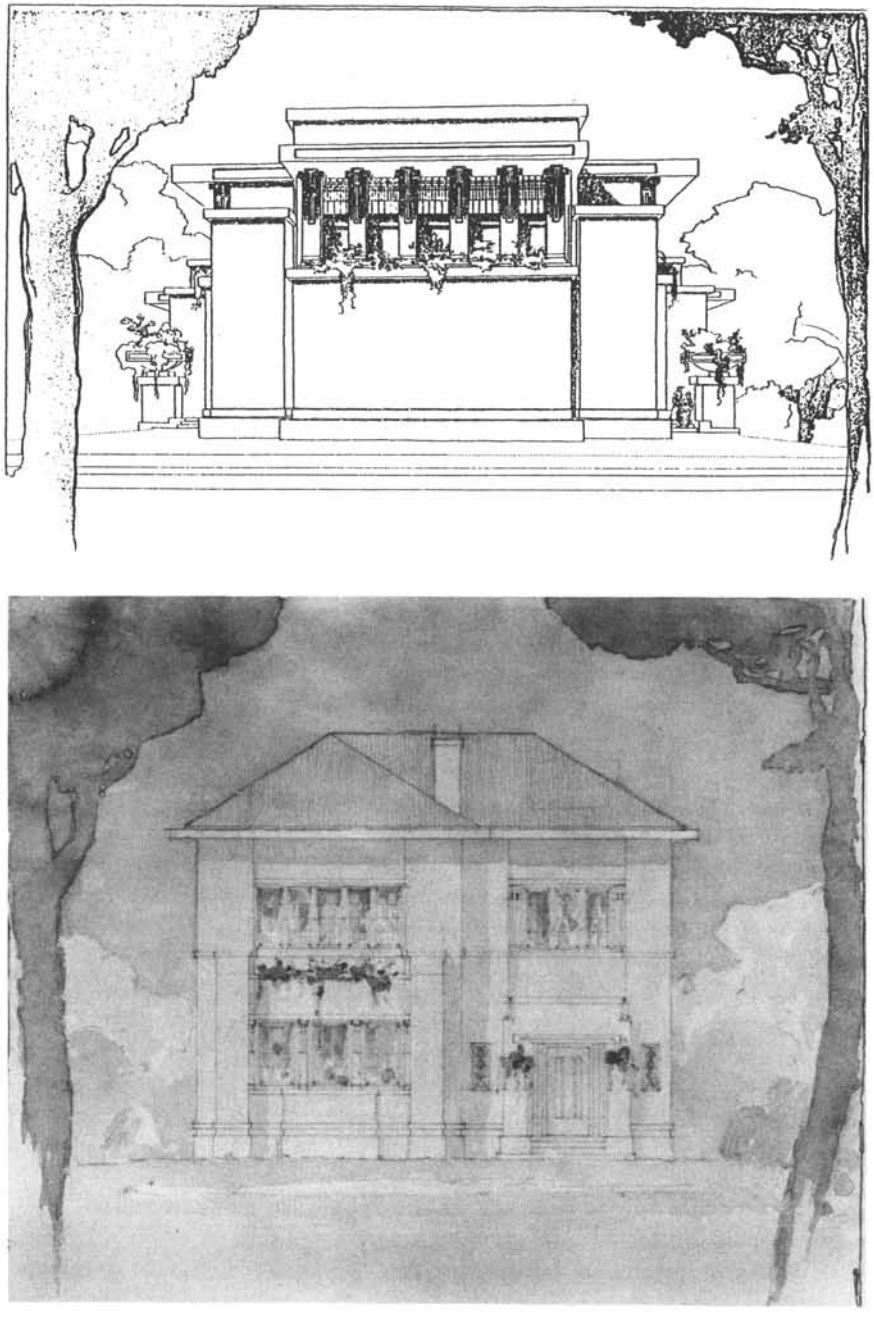


Figure 4.3 *(top) Unity Temple, Oak Park, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1905-1909. Published as the frontpiece in Wright(1910a,b).*

(bottom) De Lange house, Alkmaar, The Netherlands, Jan Wils, Architect, 1916. Perspective drawing. Reproduced by permission of the Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: Wils Collection, 000003.

"house" is a cherished and entrenched cultural value. Intellectually, Wils' imitative efforts failed because by 1916 he had not fully grasped the principles supporting Wright's architecture.

He later recalled that while working for Berlage he became "enthusiastic about the open ground plans" of Wright's buildings, and their "oneness with nature"; in his words: "the walls that were only walls, with light-openings in them which were not holes—just like in the Unity Church and Larking [sic] building."[11] Berlage would have fostered Wils' enthusiasm, believing as he did that "in his arrangement of space" Wright [was] "at his highest power."[12]

Wils needed time to assimilate Wright's notions of interior space. He tried to integrate house and garden by opening the downstairs living rooms to a raised terrace. Elsewhere, the small site between crooked streets may have impeded the lucid planning possible on the prairies and denied the confluence of house and earth. Much of the lower floor plan was cluttered: eight major spaces had a total of thirty-three doors! (Figure 4.4). The bedroom level was more comfortably resolved although load-bearing walls imposed limitations—a fact that chafed Wils.

When the design was revised there were artistic changes—not all for the better—besides those arising from the changed layout. By extending the pilasters beside the salon windows to the window head and adding a string course, Wils unfortunately emphasized the vertical-horizontal tension and reduced the effect of planter boxes. But changes were *toward* Wright, or at least toward Wils' current perception of his architecture.

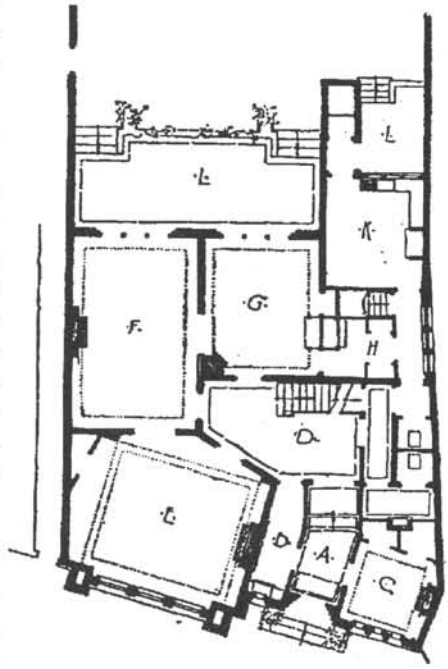


Figure 4.4. *De Lange house, Alkmaar, The Netherlands, Jan Wils, Architect, 1916. Ground floor plan, as published in* Levende Kunst *(1918).*

Wils met the painter Theo van Doesburg through Oud, and in 1916 the loosely knit, Leiden-based group of avant-garde artists, De Stijl, was formed. Wils and van Doesburg collaborated on the De Lange villa. Inside the house Wils exploited the vertical integration provided by the large stair hall with its wide upper landing. Leadlight windows (van Doesburg's visualization of a Bach fugue) and carved balusters (an admiring nod toward Mackintosh's Glasgow Art School library) enriched that generous space. Overall there was still none of the spatial clarity that Wils so admired in Wright's

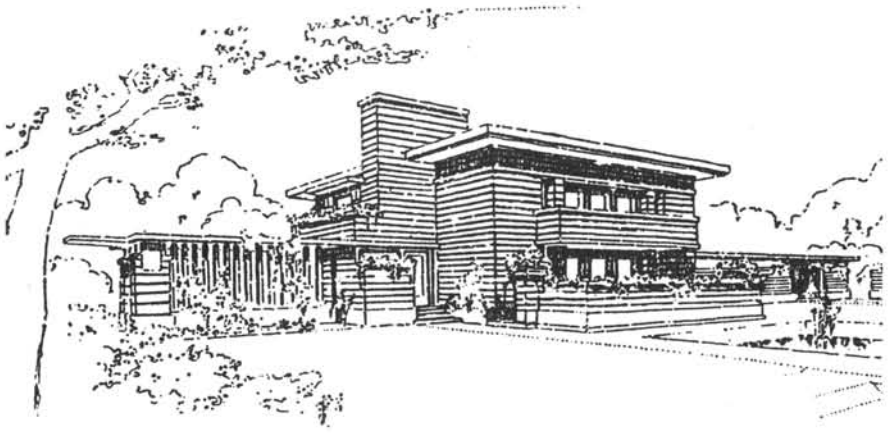


Figure 4.5. *Sketch for a small rural house with hollow concrete walls, Jan Wils, Architect, 1918. First published in* De Stijl *(June 1918). Reproduced by permission of the Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: Wils Collection, 004484.*

prairie houses. Externally, van Doesburg's color scheme, limited by Wils to the door and window frames, had little effect. The painter had wanted to contradict the architectonic forms with large brightly colored geometric patterns.

Between 1917 and about 1930 Wils' designs could be lumped together with those of the "*Wrightjes,*" the "little Wrights." He copied Wright's presentations, even adopting, like some of his compatriots, a square monogram to sign his drawings, a temporary quirk. His affinity for Wright's architectural and drawing styles is seen in a concrete house design published in *De Stijl* in 1918[13] (Figure 4.5) and his "sketch for a simple rural house" of 1922[14] (Figure 4.6) that draws on Wright's Robie house. His peers dubbed him Frank Lloyd Wils.

Yet his writings demonstrate an understanding of Wright that was far from cursory and he was able to "probe to the essence of the new form from the very start." That his personal architectural style later changed does not necessarily indicate that he had wearied of Wright. Rather, his views were modified through the input of ideas— that had in turn been inspired by Wright—from other places. Wils was the only Dutch architect who frankly confessed to Wright's influence. Despite the clear evidence of it in their buildings, his colleagues (as architects still do) spoke obliquely of "impressions" or of embracing Wright's principles.

Soon after Wils' mimetic style crystallized in such buildings as the OLVEH offices in The Hague (1930-1931), a *Bouwbedrijf* article sympathetically yet critically examined the sources of his architecture. At the start

> he was considered as a supporter of the "Stijl-group." . . . As the conception of international functionalism began to appear in more defined outlines, mainly through the charming architecture and the efficient propaganda of Le Corbusier as well as through the

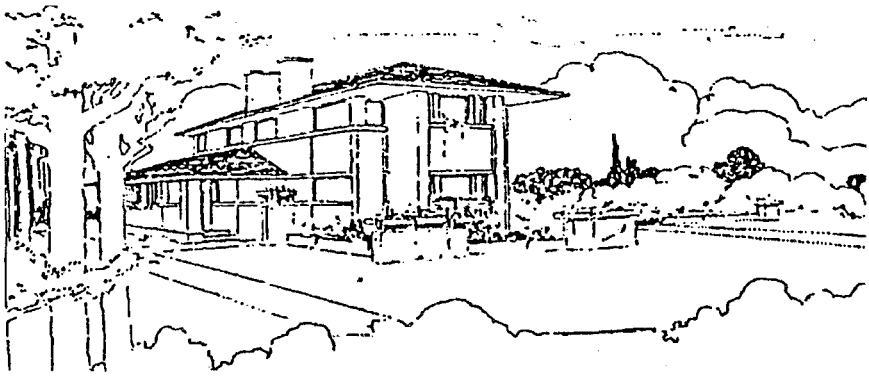


Figure 4.6. *Sketch for a simple rural house, Jan Wils, Architect, 1922. The drawing, with just as crudely executed plans, was published in Wils(1922).*

systematic activity of Gropius, it appeared that Wils was too romantic for any extremist doctrines, and too pragmatic for what functionalism would call a mere matter of fashion or form, to persist in this trend. Because of this personal characteristic Wils has succumbed to the charm of the peculiarly romantic works of Frank Lloyd Wright, without becoming his imitator in a narrow sense. In Wils' case, several spheres of influence have combined to form a characteristically Dutch architectural personality.[15]

Wils also lectured and wrote about architecture, articulating his philosophy and prophesying a better art for a better world. And he wrote about Wright, his longest essay "The new architecture, seen in the work of Frank Lloyd Wright" appearing in the new art journal *Levende Kunst* early in 1918.[16] Van Doesburg accused Wils of disloyalty, saying he had no right to contribute to a rival journal just as *De Stijl* was raising its voice in the agora of European art ideas.

The *Levende Kunst* article was political. At the end of a war that had ravaged her neighbours and distressed neutral Holland, Wils' fervent, utopian prose had the familiar reforming vigor of much of the *genre*. It boldly announced the intention of a rising generation of artists to turn humanity in a new direction. It denounced materialism; it promoted socialism; it welcomed the machine and it heralded the spirit of the age, seen in the art of Picasso and Mondrian, Archipenko and Brancusi, Olbrich, Behrens, Berlage, van 't Hoff, and remarkably, Sullivan and Wright. Wils observed that "despite [their] individual differences" all these artists manifested "the coming of the new time . . . for the new people." For reasons which will become clear, van Doesburg was not included.

Most of the piece was about Wright alone, the first attempt in Europe to expound "In the cause of architecture." It extended Berlage's *Reisherinneringen* in that, while the *bouwmeester* had cited at length from "In the cause" and identified the broad characteristics of Wright's work, he left it at that. Wils began to bring the detail into focus. That made his article exceptional.

He believed that the democratic ideal enshrined in America allowed each person to determine a personal lifestyle. Wright, "[setting] a premium upon the

individuality of [each person's] house," had found (wrote Wils) an architectural solution to the problem of that individuality. Refusing to "lean upon tradition" or employ established forms, he had instead built a theoretical foundation for his "new" architecture. Such a view of the pursuit of individuality was jarringly discordant with Wils' opening paragraphs, with their wordy promise that the "spirit of the age" would soon manifest itself in "the exclusion of every individual inclination." And despite his praise for Wright's individualism, Wils would soon sign De Stijl's November 1918 manifesto. With socialist fervor it declared "war against the pre-eminence of individualism and idiosyncrasy," joining forces with "all who are waging a spiritual or material battle for the creation of international unity in life, art and culture."[17]

Wils believed that Wright's philosophical platform of 1908 in "In the cause" identified six mainstays. One, simplicity and repose are the true measure of value in a work of art. Two, and again Wils' dilemma, Wright's functionalist notion that there will be as many kinds of houses as there are kinds of people. Three, fit materials where they can serve their purpose according to their nature. Four, a house with character has more chance of appreciating in value. Five, a house should be upright and true, allied with as many attractivenesses and graces as imaginable. And six, give the machine, the tool of our time, work it is able to do. Elaborating upon them, Wils showed how in Wright's work,"thoughts have become achievements."

He then inexplicably leapt to the massing of Wright's public buildings, "in harmony with the monumental thought that the foundation lies in the nature of materials, and in the organization of the spaces towards a totality and monumentality of being." They were, said Wils, the *only* solutions to the problems set. Berlage had written of the powerful massing of Unity Temple and the Larkin offices, but it was Wils who stressed that such power lay in expressing externally the internal functions and the construction. In this, Wright "accepted and knew how to express the principle of architecture: plastic restraint."

Wils next addressed Wright's plans. Over a decade earlier, Wright allowed himself to make the house plan a single living space, by exploiting modern technology to defy the fierce prairie winters with central heating. Wils noted that rooms need no longer be separate boxes but should become joined spaces to "belong to the completely modern lifestyle." He found "an unfathomable well of aesthetic joy" in the chance "to study these plans with their harmonious composition . . . [houses] for the *occupants*" (he stressed) and not only for the casual visitor. The specific language is interesting: "harmonious composition" equated with functionality.

When he turned to the relation between buildings and their landscape surroundings, Wils emphasized with quite purple prose that Wright's houses were meant for the "gently undulating or flat prairies . . . enormous stretches where every elevated point is something extraordinary, every tree is a tower above that great flowering plain, under that marvellous heavenly vault." An "intimate association with the environment," at least to Dutch eyes, compensated their loss of height. Wils paraphrased Wright: "Building, interior, surrounding—all are an

entity whose connection must be seen and studied from the start." Heating systems, lighting, furniture, vases, curtains and carpets were as much a part of that entity as plaster and roof tiles. That obviated—even outlawed—applied decoration, explained Wils, again echoing Wright.

Finally he examined the role of the machine, noting "the result of Wright's work is largely due to the proper application of processed materials and to an understanding of what the machine means to modern art." Guided by the building's intrinsic purpose, Wright did not "force" the structure merely to achieve effect. Modern technology and materials were, Wils affirmed, tools of the artist. Wright had said, "The machine is here, and it will not allow itself to be suppressed. It is the pioneer of the democratic . . . the only, and final goal of all our thoughts and wishes." Wils added his own warning that the machine inevitably brought a cost. Embracing it, the artist must unavoidably "distance himself from all sensitivity, renounce all personal thoughts, give up everything that makes the work individual." But that was Wils' view, not Wright's. Was it not obvious to the Hollander that his new idol would never yield his individuality? Yet Wils' optimism shone through:

> These sacrifices are enormous, but if we remember that they are made in the sure conviction that through them humanity will be guided towards a higher plane of life, they will not be onerous. Though thousands will succumb, the machine's dominion is not yet established in modern life, and it is only for a few . . . to encompass this question in its height and depth and width. It is Wright who gives us a glimpse of it.

Much of the 1918 *Levende Kunst* article paraphrased Wright's 1908 and 1910 essays and there were also quotations from them, translated with varying accuracy. But it is clear that Wils largely understood Wright's intention. The exegesis of his insights in a new, attractive Dutch art journal inestimably reinforced the American's influence in Holland. And Wils must have discussed his exciting discoveries with his fellows in De Stijl and the architectural profession at large. To van Doesburg's chagrin (while his brittle editorial policy was perhaps to blame) Wils' *Levende Kunst* piece was much meatier than those he wrote for *De Stijl*, pre-empting van Doesburg's essay "Towards a Plastic Architecture" of 1924,[18] in which revelations about architecture reiterated discoveries *first* set out by Wils in *Levende Kunst*. That included the rejection of any historico-formal aesthetic for elementary forms determined by function, mass, space, and material, as well as such ideas as the integration of decoration and form, and the spatial achievement of what van Doesburg termed "monumentality": an architecture born of the "relationship of opposites."

It would be inaccurate to claim that van Doesburg's criteria for plastic architecture came *only* from Wright and that Wils was the *only* transmitter of that influence. Yet the fact is that before 1910 Wright had actually achieved most of the qualities that van Doesburg wished for as an architectural consummation in the mid-1920s. And Wils brought that achievement before the Dutch just when De Stijl group was forming.

There is no need to add anything of a general nature about the ephemeral but influential group known as De Stijl. Its history and membership, philosophies and

publicity, are taken as read.[19] It is necessary only to be reminded that it was never a group in the sense that say, the Bauhaus, Impressionists or Futurists were groups. Its bonds were tenuous: there was never complete agreement or even unity of purpose among the members; there were no formal meetings and association largely consisted of writing for the journal jealously conducted by van Doesburg.

Wils' two short *De Stijl* pieces were neither concise nor incisive. The first essay, of early 1918, was disjointed, unconvincing and only mildly polemical. It bore no evidence of the careful thought manifest in *Levende Kunst*.[20] It deplored the trend that was about to submerge individual work into "collective" art and outlined the challenges of new materials and technology. Wils descended to the tangible to list four redemptive characteristics: the use of materials in accord with their nature; the importance of the machine; the need to plan houses to fit the new life-style; and the rejection of all but integral "form-beauty" so that architecture could "say of itself that only through its form, and nothing else, is it beautiful." All were drawn from the abundant spring of Wright's "In the cause."

Wils' other *De Stijl* piece was more prosaic. Recognizing Holland's need for emergency housing, he urged architects to build economical, hygienic dwellings. The answer, he said, lay in prefabricated reinforced concrete elements, easily site-assembled or demounted. He suggested a system designed by the architectural firm of Moyse and van der Wijk, a point he tried to demonstrate (albeit unconvincingly) with his own proposal for "a modern plastic unit." Remarkably, although Wils believed that "plasticity" grew from the spatial organization within and around the building, he provided no plan. Neither were there details of any building system, although that was professedly the generator of form. There was just a line drawing, in a Wrightian manner, of a flat-roofed house garnished with Wrightian elements: planter boxes spilling anonymous vegetation, rows of deep-mullioned windows, and porch, verandas, balconies and pergolas, all helping to spread the dwelling across a fictitious landscape. Nothing about it suggested standardization, prefabrication, or reinforced concrete.[21]

Wils seriously attempted to emulate the appearance of Wright School architecture and apply the underlying theories in the renovation/extension of *De Dubbele Sleutel* café-restaurant, in Woerden (Figure 4.7). Van Doesburg contributed a color scheme that was all but ignored in contemporary reviews. Expectedly, criticism came from Wils' colleagues within and around De Stijl group. Huib Hoste did not like the red tile roofing and van 't Hoff thought the building could be truly modern only if it had concrete walls, immediately contradicting himself by saying that it was an "absolutely modern building in a well-mannered way." He also pointed out that as it was constrained by an existing plan the building was not "an independent architectural solution."[22]

But Wils had full control over the exterior. He produced a series of brick pavilions, masses retreating and advancing in response to interior spaces. The building's compositional elements were derived from the Bovee two-flat house of 1908 by Walter and Marion Griffin, that had been illustrated in Berlage's lecture and in *De Ingenieur*'s report of it. Bovee was also a source of one of Berlage's early designs in 1919-1920 for The Hague *Gemeentemuseum.*

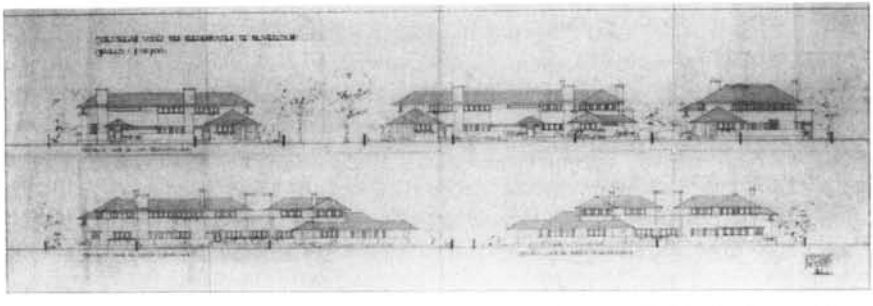


Figure 4.7. *"De Dubbele Sleutel" café-restaurant, Woerden, The Netherlands, Jan Wils, Architect, 1918-19. Reproduced by permission of the Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: Wils Collection, 009725*

Figure 4.8. *Houses in Simon Stevinweg, Hilversum, The Netherlands, Jan Wils, Architect, 1929. Elevation drawings. Reproduced by permission of the Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: Wils Collection, 004392.*

Each pavilion of *De Dubbele Sleutel* was crowned with a low-pitched roof. The surfaces of each were replete with modified Wrightian detail: string courses; bands of fenestration; the evocation (but not the reality) of planter-boxes and shadow-lines created by wide eaves. The café-restaurant was later widely published.[23] Because it used traditional materials—ironically those criticized by Hoste and van 't Hoff—it was a harbinger of a domestic style that persisted in The Netherlands for more than a decade: a Wright-Wils vernacular hybrid.

Unlike his De Stijl colleagues Wils was actually building. Van 't Hoff, on the other hand, inflamed by his political ideals, had an increasingly tenuous commitment to architecture. In 1918 Oud became senior housing architect for the Rotterdam municipality and was thus confronted with the potential conflicts between aldermanic economy and radical theory.

An exclusive commitment to De Stijl was too much to expect from Wils. His liberal artistic views held the seeds of his eventual schism with van Doesburg. But he withdrew from the group in 1919, not because of philosophical dissension but because van Doesburg was an autocrat. Fifty years later Wils still thought of himself as a De Stijl artist but van Doesburg "was our overlord, playing the little dictator. . . . He would brush such artists as Gropius [whom Wils esteemed], Hannes Meyer, Klee, Roland Holst, Konijnenburg, or de Klerk from the table with a single sweep."[24] Van Doesburg's acrimonious and seemingly typical reaction to his departure has been commented upon by others.[25] Wils continued to write about Wright though the intellectual depth of his articles was inconsistent. Soon after quitting De Stijl he contributed to the rival journal *Wendingen.*

Another optimistic herald of a coming age, *Wendingen* had become the official voice of the Amsterdam group *Architectura et Amicitia.* Late in 1918 van Doesburg had accused the Amsterdammers of "stinking baroque practices," believing that Wils agreed. He did not; in fact he impatiently waited for each issue of *Wendingen* keeping it as a "priceless treasure."[26] He was only too pleased to write for the gentle journal whose chief editor was the visionary Wijdeveld.

Wils' 1919 *Wendingen* article, "The new time; a few thoughts on the work of Frank Lloyd Wright," was a lofty piece, its prose ironically bedecked with the ornament he found offensive in architecture. Condemning historical revivalism, he pointed to a "thorough knowledge, a fullness, a firmness and a purity" which made the new art "the language of today." And he could not resist parthian shots at van Doesburg ("There is no time to tell each other how brave we are, how clever our work is, or how unimportant is the work of others") and van 't Hoff ("There will be no more time to sit and stare at one . . . little country house illustrated ten times, about which long drawn-out articles are written, just to fill space on a page").[27]

Anyone seeking Wright in the essay would have been disappointed. Wils accused a shadowy "they" of dismissing Wright, "when he wrote that the machine's first duty was to make the old jobs smaller and shorter." But Wils made the connection between the avant-garde in Europe and Wright; in the light of what Banham called the "syncretic trend" of former De Stijl members such as Oud and Wils after they left van Doesburg's fold:

People laughed at the Futurists who wanted to demolish tradition and turn everything upside down. They brushed off Marinetti as a lunatic because he wanted to burn down Venice and rebuild it properly again. And they shrugged their shoulders when Wright said that the first task of the machine was to render all old work obsolete.[28]

Wils illustrated two of Wright's works with images from Wasmuth—the Coonley house and the Dana house, nowhere related to the text. Wils (and Oud) believed that Wright's houses, along with the Larkin building, were "developed along mechanical lines."[29]

Wils wrote a more substantial piece for *Elseviers Gëillustreerd Maandschrift* in 1921.[30] Although rearranged, enlarged and in slightly different terms, it evoked his *Levende Kunst* essay, sometimes almost *verbatim*. The most significant parts are the points of departure; reflecting deeper insights, they show that Wils was still studying Wright's work from the available resources. He clearly had access to "In the cause" as it had originally appeared in *Architectural Record*. In fact Wils was mistaken about the source, citing *Architectural Review*, perhaps confusing it with the 1900 Boston journal containing Spencer's article. Berlage may have shown him that when Wils worked for him. Without having actually been in Wright's architecture, Wils was still able to make more penetrating statements about it than any of his European contemporaries.

Having linked Wright with Walt Whitman—"two men [who] have laid the cornerstone for the buildings of the future"—Wils identified the architectural plan as a response to changing modern life, liberated by technology from being "little houses with . . . little corridors and little compartments." Were the plan correct, a well-designed house might fit together "like a machine." Wright provided the model of simplicity, openness, clarity, and the grouping of related activities. Wils paraphrased him: "in the ground plan lies the true modernity of . . . architecture."

The next step was inevitable: a building's form resulted from its plan. Carlyle had put that transcendental truth and Viollet-le-Duc and Muthesius had argued its architectural validity. So too had Wright . . . but he achieved it. Wils wrote:

In designing the exterior of his houses Wright departs from the same point as for his ground plans, that is, each part is moulded into a shape corresponding to its function within the whole. All these loose pieces are then assembled as with a masterly touch he combines them. . . . Architecture is the grouping of masses; these masses are the various organs of the house, the rooms, the necessary spaces. . . . Architecture is not an art of planes but of spaces; that is to say the masses can be shown on a plane in the ground plan, but have to express themselves in space as single masses in a logical relationship with each other, in a rhythmic alternation of high and low, light and dark.

Wils rationally discussed the Larkin building's functionality and monumentality. Its "businesslike spirit" and "inner strength" externally expressed placed it beside the great architecture of the past. But, wrote Wils, "it is more valuable because it is a monument of our time." Monumentality, he repeated, was achieved through size and scale and by expressing spaces as masses. But objectivity wavered when he turned to Unity Temple, which he eulogized for its "pure architecture"; there, as in the human body, "each part's function is clearly expressed."

He pointed out that Wright achieved unity by linking plan and form with

materials. And since the material is a means of expressing an outlook "bound to a new concept of life," new applications of traditional materials, Wils asserted, would result from the introduction of machines. In 1918 he had touched upon the close relationship between the prairie houses and their location; now he wrote:

> [Wright's] buildings are wide, low and long. Each internal space shows its true proportions outside and the composition of parts is covered by a flat roof which often projects far beyond the facade. Wide, heavy bands accentuate the horizontal effect . . . while the rising lines of chimneys, and sometimes of windows, are the only [verticals].

Those horizontal lines "create an impression of restfulness; there is at the same time complete static balance and sublime repose."

Identifying the characteristics of Wright's houses in 1918, Wils had regarded each as discrete; by 1921 he recognized their common organic quality: all grew from the plans, expressing the individuality of the occupants. Achieving spatial integrity by exploiting technology, through sensitive use of materials in keeping with their nature, the plan-generated spaces combined into a whole whose masses existed in sublime relationship with each other and the earth itself.

And Wils recognized something he had not seen before: Wright had two kinds of architecture—domestic and non-domestic—each with a different aesthetic. But apart from the Larkin offices and Unity Temple, Wils' view of the non-domestic work was not as penetrating: "In a few buildings Wright has sought balance in a different way, namely by strongly expressing the functions of support and supported." He took it no further.

The *Elseviers* article laid Wils' conclusions before Holland's architects. If Berlage's revelation of Wright had the authority of a scriptural warrant, so to speak, then Wils was its chief exegete. He ended with a quotation from Wright:

> The "architecture" is not "thrown up" as an artistic exercise, a matter of elevation from a preconceived plan. The schemes are conceived in three dimensions as organic entities, let the picturesque perspective fall how it will.

After 1921 Wils wrote nothing specifically about Wright. But he soon contributed two booklets to a populist series entitled *Het Woonhuis* [*The Dwelling*]. The first, *Zijn Bouw* of 1922, dealt with matters of house construction. The illustrations rather than the pragmatic text are significant. A spidery drawing of a space captioned *eethoek* (eating corner) was copied without acknowledgement from Wright's drawing of the Richards Company's American-system houses of 1914-1915, probably brought to Holland by van 't Hoff. Wils also included, unrelated to the text, a crudely copied ground plan of the Westcott house in Springfield, Ohio, from the Wasmuth folio, and not identified.

The second booklet, *Indeeling en Inrichting* was published in 1923 and dealt, just as pragmatically, with the uses of rooms, furniture and furnishings. There is an intriguing inclusion: sketch plans, perspective and elevation of Wils' unrealized "simple rural house" (Figure 4.6), like nothing he ever built. While not an exact copy of Wright's Robie house (Figure 3.1), its plans were certainly based upon it, modified to suit Dutch domestic organization, and employing the geometry of the square. It appears to be a wistful flight of fancy. On the other hand, it

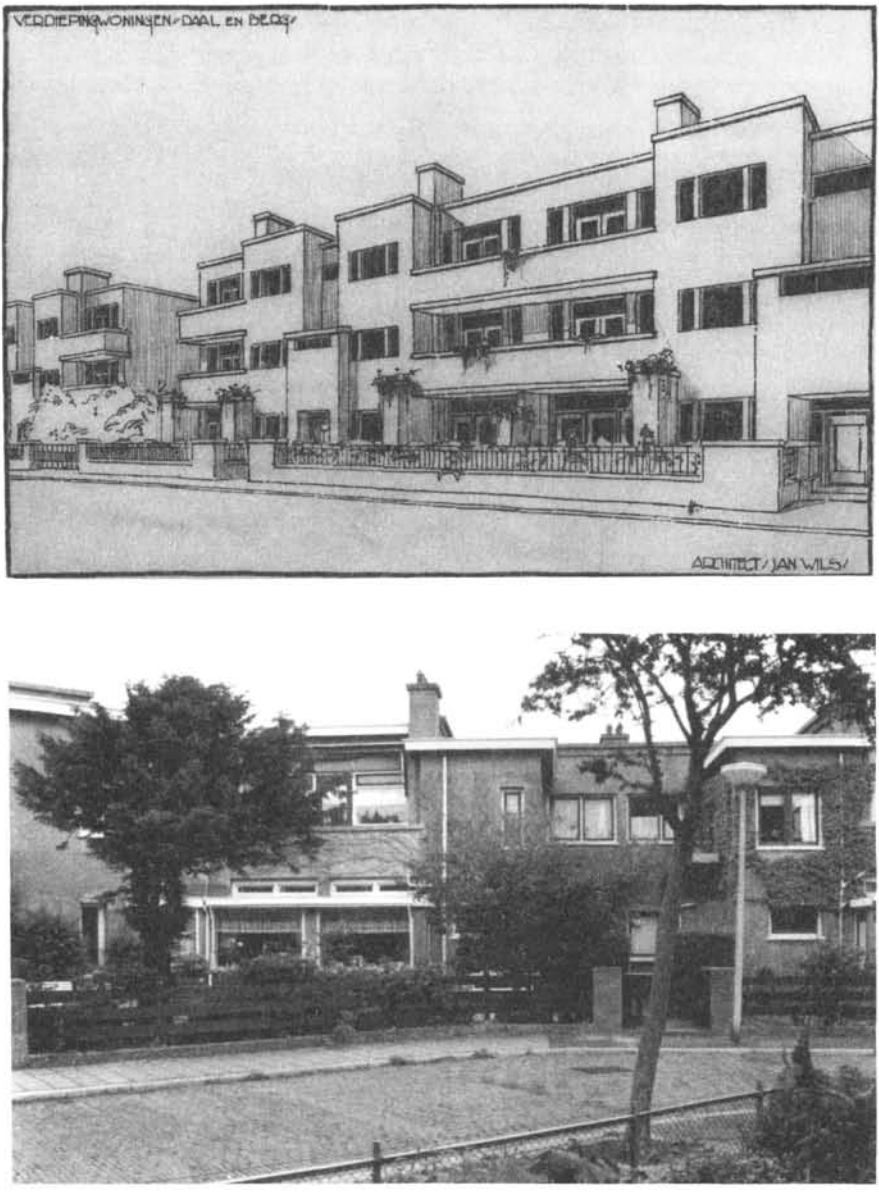


Figure 4.9. *"Daal en Berg" housing estate, Papaverhof, The Hague, The Netherlands, Jan Wils, Architect, 1920. (top) Perspective drawing of multistory dwellings. Reproduced by permission of the Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: Wils Collection, 000284. (bottom) Two-story single family dwellings. Photograph by Donald Langmead.*

may have been an intellectual exercise to apply his understanding of Wright's principles to Dutch culture. Wils' only built works that came anywhere near its Robie-like appearance were attached semi-urban houses in a middle-class estate in Hilversum, of 1929.[31] They incorporated wide eaves, attenuated balconies and verandas, grouped windows, and prominent string courses, all to enhance horizontality (Figure 4.8).

The Italian architectural historian Ezio Godoli remarked that Wils' secondary role in Dutch modernism—he was first "a professional of quality"—was to shell out "formal instances from Wright to pass over to the neoplastic architecture programme."[32] That is to misconstrue the evidence. We have exposed Wils' unique insights into the *nature* of Wright's architecture, and shown that his sharing was anything but parsimonious. Nor was it limited to the confines—too narrow for Wils—of Neoplasticism.

When Wils designed the stadium for the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics (see Frontpiece) his essays about Wright had been completed. Those architects visiting Holland for the games who knew of Wright, may have noted references to his work in the stadium—a marvellous synthesis of Wrightian and European modern themes—but they probably had no inkling of the insights Wils had gained. His "Daal en Berg" housing development of 1920 in The Hague (Figure 4.9), also owing much to Wright, attracted attention in Italy and Germany, but beyond Holland he had no chance to explain its underlying principles. Yet his influence within Holland was unparalleled through his contribution to a broad spectrum of journals. Berlage had said, "Look at Wright's architecture!" Wils showed his colleagues exactly what to look for, in fact, how to read the plans. It was left to Wijdeveld to open vistas through the pages of *Wendingen*. Had it not been for Wright's own tardiness that could have happened before many of the eclectic onlookers were attracted to other views of architecture.

Chapter 5

Serious Looks, Passing Glances

Wils did not have the same personal (albeit brief) association with Wright as Robert van 't Hoff. Nevertheless, it seems that Wils felt more deeply than his emotionally and intellectually restless De Stijl colleague about Wright's architecture. Neither did van 't Hoff write much. "Systematic, disciplined and businesslike," he was a perfectionist espousing ideals of socially responsible building and the inseparability of architecture and community life.[1]

Van 't Hoff's concrete villa for A.B. Henny, commissioned before his trip to America, was designed on his return in late 1914. Construction proved to be frustratingly slow; it was not completed until 1919 (Figure 5.1). Only the concrete work was advanced when it serendipitously caught the attention of the expatriate Belgian architect Huib Hoste during a cycling tour in spring 1916.[2] Van 't Hoff's more conventional but nonetheless Wrightian Verloop house was occupied at the end of 1916 (Figure 5.2).[3] It was about then that he met van Doesburg, although the circumstances remain obscure.[4]

Van 't Hoff had not taken a short cut to a new architecture by simply copying Wright. Even if he had that would hardly detract from his considerable architectural skill: a good copy presumes a good copyist. The point may be illustrated by analogy. During World War II the now notorious Han van Meegeren was to paint "new" pictures in the manner of Vermeer with such skill that experts could not distinguish them. If morally dubious, that was possible only through careful study and thorough understanding of Vermeer's products, media and technique. Just so, van 't Hoff produced buildings that were not mere copies of any of Wright's houses, but new compositions in the master's manner. There the analogy ends: no expert would confuse his architecture with Wright's.

An important and plausible explanation of the "accuracy" of van 't Hoff's two houses was that he had carried away from his meeting with Wright "a number of foreign [not Dutch] publications and a large amount of documentary material" on

Wright.[5] A document is an effective means to the study of any architecture, not least because it may reveal the process of design and construction, or allows time to work it out. This "documentary material" was to prove of more value in Holland than experiences gained in the few weeks van 't Hoff spent in America.

The Huis ter Heide villas were his only buildings of the kind. Where did they fit into van 't Hoff's "smallest imaginable oeuvre"? The young man was altruistic, socialistically intense and fairly bristling with integrity. The most likely reason for his almost immediate abrogation of Wrightian architecture is that he soon found it incompatible with his view of society, and the perceived social needs of a Europe embroiled in bloody war. So what led him to Wright in the first place?

It is conceivable that he was attracted to the American's work through Ashbee and his critical essay in the 1911 Wasmuth book which quoted the passage about "the Democracy that is our dearest hope." Wright had set out to readjust the balance between the machine and the traditions of craftsmanship, "striving with systems to deliver individuals from those systems." That would have greatly appealed to van 't Hoff who from boyhood had been exposed within his family's circle of acquaintance to socialist utopianism. His English experience from 1911 with the socialist avant-garde strengthened those ideals, as did observations of the English aristocracy.

He would have been impressed also by Wright's use of new technologies, especially reinforced concrete in Unity Temple. *Frank Lloyd Wright Chicago* included a photograph taken during construction, formwork and all. Ashbee called the Temple a "solid monolith, cast in concrete, reinforced with steel strands, a construction that will last for hundreds of years after the whole suburb has passed away . . . here is the new spirit." Van 't Hoff was seeking industrial techniques, not for their own sake but because he believed that rationalized building construction would lead to better conditions for workers.[6]

Wright had written that in America

> each man has a peculiar inalienable right to live in his own house in his own way. He is a pioneer in every right sense of the word. His home environment may face forward, may portray his character, tastes and ideas, if he has any, and every man here has some somewhere about him.[7]

His work had abandoned the historical formalism that many in Europe associated with a decadent aristocracy and a capitalism they believed to be moribund. His theory looked at the present and to the future, embracing machines and new materials without demeaning human craft skills.

Almost as soon as he adopted that architecture, van 't Hoff suffered disappointments over the Villa Henny. His dreams of classless collaboration in the building process kept him on site at Huis ter Heide. That was an unrealistic and disastrous policy for the financial success of his architectural practice but it helps to explain why he executed no other work before 1920. Inevitably, and despite The Netherlands' neutrality, the war affected progress. The contractor was conscripted into the army; some building materials were scarce, others expensive; the workers were inexperienced in the use of concrete; and a "cost plus" contract was an expensive way to build. The crowning disappointment was Henny's withdrawal

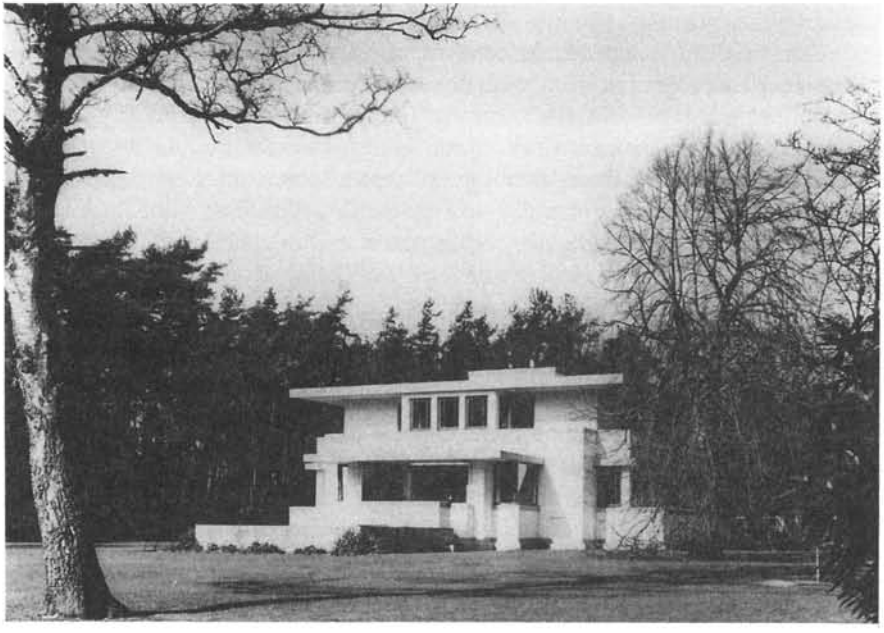


Figure 5.1. *Villa Henny, Huis ter Heide, The Netherlands, Robert van 't Hoff, Architect, 1914-1919. Exterior view. Reproduced by permission of the Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: van 't Hoff Collection, 002396.*

Figure 5.2. *Huis Verloop, Huis ter Heide, The Netherlands, Robert van 't Hoff, Architect, 1914-1916. Exterior view as published in* L'Architecture Vivante *(1925).*

from the project in 1917. The house was sold uncompleted, resulting in further delays.

During the eighteen month association with De Stijl van 't Hoff built only a small houseboat. There were proposals for reinforced concrete houses for middle-class families, made in 1918-1919 when he worked in the Utrecht office of Pieter Jan Klaarhamer. The plans of these conventional stacks of cubicles showed nothing of Wright's liberating influence. Comparisons, a little stretched, have been drawn between a four-family house of 1918 for The Hague and the Larkin administration building. Authorship is uncertain and the design neither refined enough nor Wrightian enough to be van 't Hoff's.[8] It was never built.

The fact is that van 't Hoff was no longer interested in Wright's architecture, perhaps having come to believe that by the clientele that it served it was committed to only capitalism. Around 1918 he became a member of the Dutch Communist Party and soon turned, albeit very briefly, to the design of mass housing as an expression of his political convictions. None was executed.

After falling out with van Doesburg because the painter would not fully support the communist cause, van 't Hoff quit De Stijl in October 1919. His last buildings were produced in 1920: a house for his parents in Laren, North Holland and his own thatched cottage next door. Both were extremely conservative rural buildings—one observer has called them "farm workers' houses," emphasizing "workers"—in plan, form and construction. They owed nothing to Wright and were deliberate negations of everything De Stijl stood for. Van 't Hoff had become in his own words, an "ex-architect."[9] What then did he contribute to Holland's view of Wright?

First, by augmenting Wils' knowledge, van 't Hoff enabled him to extend insights into Wright's architecture. Were it not for De Stijl the two may never have met. It is easy to imagine the impact of van 't Hoff's revelation on Wils. He and only he had talked about architecture with Wright; he had built houses incorporating ideas with which Wils was struggling in his own work; van 't Hoff also owned documents which augmented information on Wright available in Europe. He showed those documents to Oud, and there is every reason to believe that he also shared them with Wils.

Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud was one of three De Stijl architects. Born in 1890 in Purmerend, North Holland, he began his professional education at Amsterdam's Quellinus School of Decorative Arts. He entered the architectural firm of Joseph Cuypers and Jan Stuyt in 1907, but frustrated by the gaps in his theoretical knowledge, he left after only six months to enrol at the National School for Art Education in Amsterdam. When his expectations of it were dashed he attended lectures at the Delft *Technische Hogeschool*, only to be again disappointed. Around 1910 he met Berlage, probably through the *bouwmeester*'s daughter Corrie, a fellow student at the Quellinus school.

Possibly on Berlage's advice, Oud worked for part of 1911 in the Munich office of Theodor Fischer, and attended his employer's lectures at the Munich Polytechnic. Current projects in Fischer's office included low-income housing for Munich's "new west end" and development plans for several towns.[10] The lessons

Oud learnt in Germany (not all necessarily from Fischer) were salutary, and on returning to Purmerend he was determined to produce an architecture which exploited new construction and materials. He had a desultory sole practice, mostly in domestic architecture, and moved to Leiden in 1913. There, in a temporary association with Willem Marinus Dudok, who had recently been appointed Director of Public Works in Hilversum, Oud was involved in the design of the conservative Woonwijk Leiderdorp housing estate.

None of Oud's oeuvre before about 1918 showed an affinity for or knowledge of Wright,[11] leading some writers to suggest that he first learnt of the American from Wils and van 't Hoff.[12] In fact he was introduced to Wright's work by Berlage around 1912 at the latest:

> As a young architect I saw [Wright's] work for the first time one evening at Berlage's house, when he—after his American tour—showed us small pictures of it. I was delighted: it was a revelation to me, and Berlage, usually reserved, spoke with greatest awe about the extraordinary means of light penetration and development of space, and so on.[13]

Yet there is no question that his association with Wils and especially van 't Hoff after 1917 greatly enhanced Oud's *appreciation* of that work.

Van 't Hoff wrote several articles for *De Stijl*. The first of a three part series in 1918 entitled "Architecture and its development" set Wright up as a paradigm of a new architecture.[14] The piece repeated his advice that a different character is achieved in architecture through the logical development of new materials, based on an understanding of how they behave; where appropriate, their self-color should be expressed; the plan should grow from the requirements of the client, lending itself to "fluent and practical execution"; and maximum work should be demanded from the machine. Though "In the cause" was well and truly invoked, even plundered, Wright's name was not mentioned. But obviously van 't Hoff still admired him at this late date. The other installments highlighted Wright's achievements, specifically his creation of plastic spaces rather than mere plans, consistent use of materials, and the integrity of his buildings and their environment. Wils seized upon these very matters in his analysis of Wright's architecture. Perhaps he and van 't Hoff discussed them; yet as his 1918 *Levende Kunst* article showed, Wils weighed the evidence more carefully than his colleague.

Oud was a little slower in responding and more pragmatic. He seems to have been interested in Wright's technique and technology rather than philosophy and aesthetic matters. In 1917 he designed "a double workers' house in reinforced concrete" (Figure 5.3).[15] His explication echoed van 't Hoff's claim that the material would liberate architecture from restricting brick construction and (incidentally) "achieve a purer planar definition of the building, more monumentality [in the De Stijl sense of plasticity] and better synthesis," whatever that meant. The stocky building, cold and charmless, could have been parodying a Wasmuth illustration. Yet care had been taken with the geometry, and the design won van Doesburg's plaudits. One critic wryly agreed with Oud's statement that "construction in concrete is eminently suitable for a plastic, three-dimensional architecture [but] definitely not applicable to this design."[16] The houses were not

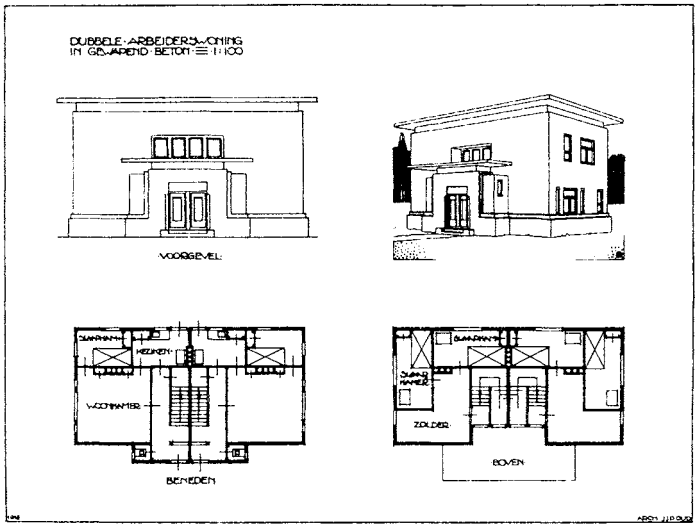


Figure 5.3. *Design for double workers' house in reinforced concrete, J.J.P. Oud, Architect, 1918. Perspective, plans and elevation. © JJP Oud, 1918. Reproduced by permission of Viscopy Ltd., Sydney 1999.*

built. Possibly encouraged by the publication of the Villa Henny,[17] Oud continued to experiment with concrete dwellings. The Dutch building industry developed a workable technology after 1920 but as late as 1924, when Oud designed row houses in 2de Scheepvaartstraat, Hoek van Holland, he satisfied himself with achieving the appearance of concrete by using stucco over normal brickwork. Construction began in 1927. In every way, they were dissociated from Wright and De Stijl.

Oud did produce two designs visually related to Wright's architecture, both for commercial-industrial buildings, both at Purmerend and both unrealized. (Figures 5.4, 5.5). His father, manager of the family distillery, was the client. The warehouse of 1918 and the factory and offices of the following year have been analyzed so often and there is little need to add more. Suffice it to say that each had its share of Wrightian elements, although the links are more apparent in the simple massing of the warehouse, which also evokes the office wing of Gropius and Meyer's Deutz Motor Company building at the 1914 Cologne *Deutsche Werkbund* exhibition. The latter was published soon after completion[18] and Oud was familiar with it.[19] Wright was one unmistakable source both of Gropius' offices *and* Oud's warehouse.

The Purmerend designs were, in plan at least, determined by the geometry of the square. They had that in common with Wils' and van 't Hoff's works of the decade and all of Wright's designs before 1910, perhaps a coincidence. That geometry had formed a part of Dutch architectural theory since the Renaissance; many seventeenth century country houses were derived from it, both in plan and volumetrically.[20] Formal geometic systems enjoyed widespread but not complete

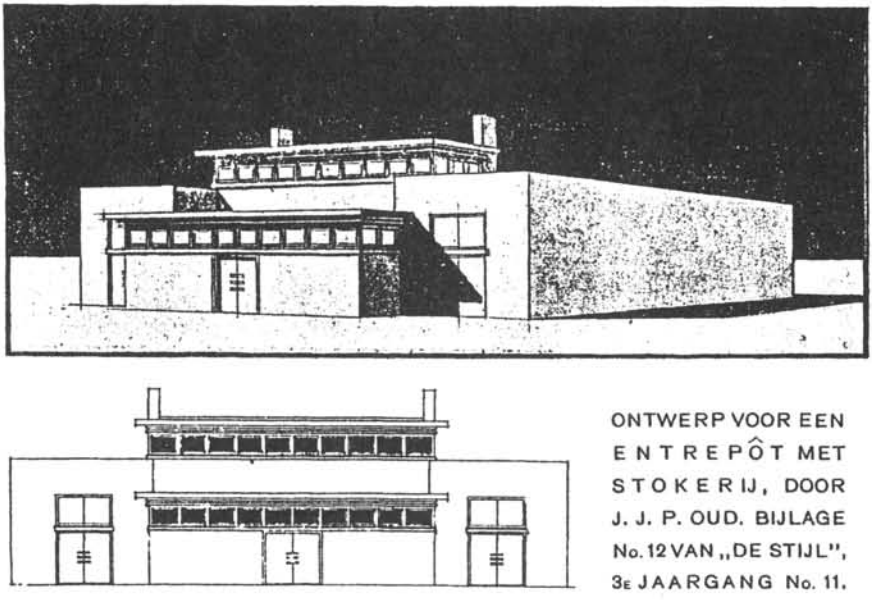


Figure 5.4. *Design for a distillery and bond store, Purmerend, The Netherlands, J.J.P.Oud, Architect, 1919. Perspective and elevation. As published in* De Stijl *(September 1920).*

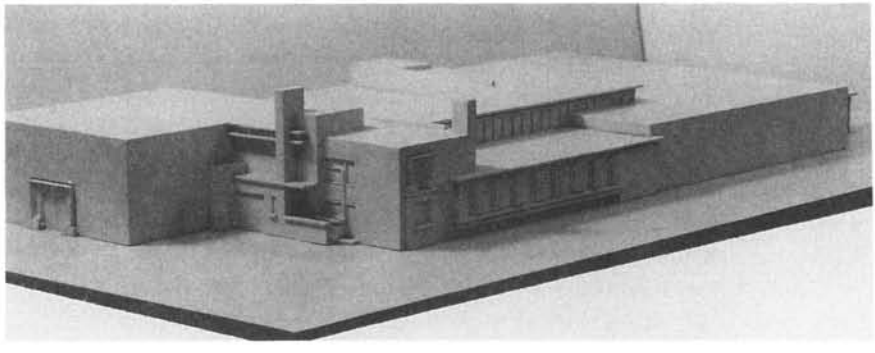


Figure 5.5. *Design for offices and warehouse, Purmerend, The Netherlands, J.J.P. Oud, Architect, 1919. © JJP Oud, 1919. Reproduced by permission of Viscopy Ltd., Sydney 1999.*

acceptance in The Netherlands in the early twentieth century, promulgated in the writings of such *Architectura* architects as J.L.M. Lauweriks, H.J.M. Walenkamp and K.P.C. de Bazel.

The Theosophical Society, founded in 1875 by Helena Petrova Blavatsky, embraced many such systems, including the square, in its notions of universal reality. Theosophy pervaded many schools of artistic thought. For example, as Sîan Loftus has pointed out, Dynamic Abstraction and Aesthetic Constructivism "took their stand upon [its] notions." Yet until very recently there has been a tendency to overlook its role in early Modernist theory, because it was "too irrational and chaotic to be perceived as a serious influence." Loftus continues

> This reluctance to take seriously religious ideas was not so much the result of a lack of understanding of occult and religious beliefs as it was the strong influence from the 1920s onwards of Marxist theories denying the spiritual and individual. It was not that writers on Modernism were unable to comprehend occult beliefs on intellectual grounds but that they were reluctant to on moral grounds.[21]

After 1907 many of the ideas of Blavatsky's successor Annie Besant were drawn from Hinduism, prompting the resignation in 1913 of the architect-philosopher Rudolf Steiner as chairman of the German branch, to form the Anthroposophical Society. The influence of Lauweriks, who took his place, was deep in effect and broad in scope. His beliefs about geometric systems of proportion were a key to that impact and the square and its extensions figured largely in his designs. Theosophy combined mysticism, religion and philosophy and appealed to many in the industrializing world at the *fin-de-siècle*, perhaps because it offered relief from social problems associated with new industrial societies. Such ideologically diverse groups as the Amsterdam School (originally fraught with Masonic ideas), De Stijl and the *Nieuwe Bouwen* embraced it. So did most in the Chicago circle, who preferred to link it with Cubic Purism.

There was no shortage of systematic bases of design within the multipartisan Dutch Theosophical tradition.[22] They produced startlingly different results. For example, the plans of Amsterdam School architect C.J. Blaauw's *Villa Meerhoek* at Bergen (1917-1918) reveal a meticulous application of square geometry, despite the house's eccentric, undulating thatched roof and prodigal use of vernacular details, materials and colors (Figure 5.6). Yet the identical geometry—van Doesburg said the square was to De Stijl what the cross was to early Christians—yielded rectilinear "Neoplastic" forms in the paintings of Mondrian and in van Doesburg's and Cor van Eesteren's projects of the 1920s. And it was applied by van 't Hoff in the Villa Henny, *before* he met van Doesburg. Many De Stijl members were Calvinist-cum-Theosophist, espousing an holistic world-view "in which the geometric is the essence of the real": the oneness of all things.

While the evidence is circumstantial, two factors link Wright's geometry to that of De Stijl architects. First, none of them—Wils, van 't Hoff, or Oud—applied the square to any building produced before looking seriously at Wright; only their works designed *after* studying his architecture demonstrate that geometry. Only Wils continued to employ it after leaving De Stijl; as noted, van 't Hoff briefly embraced the vernacular and Oud began to design white boxes whose

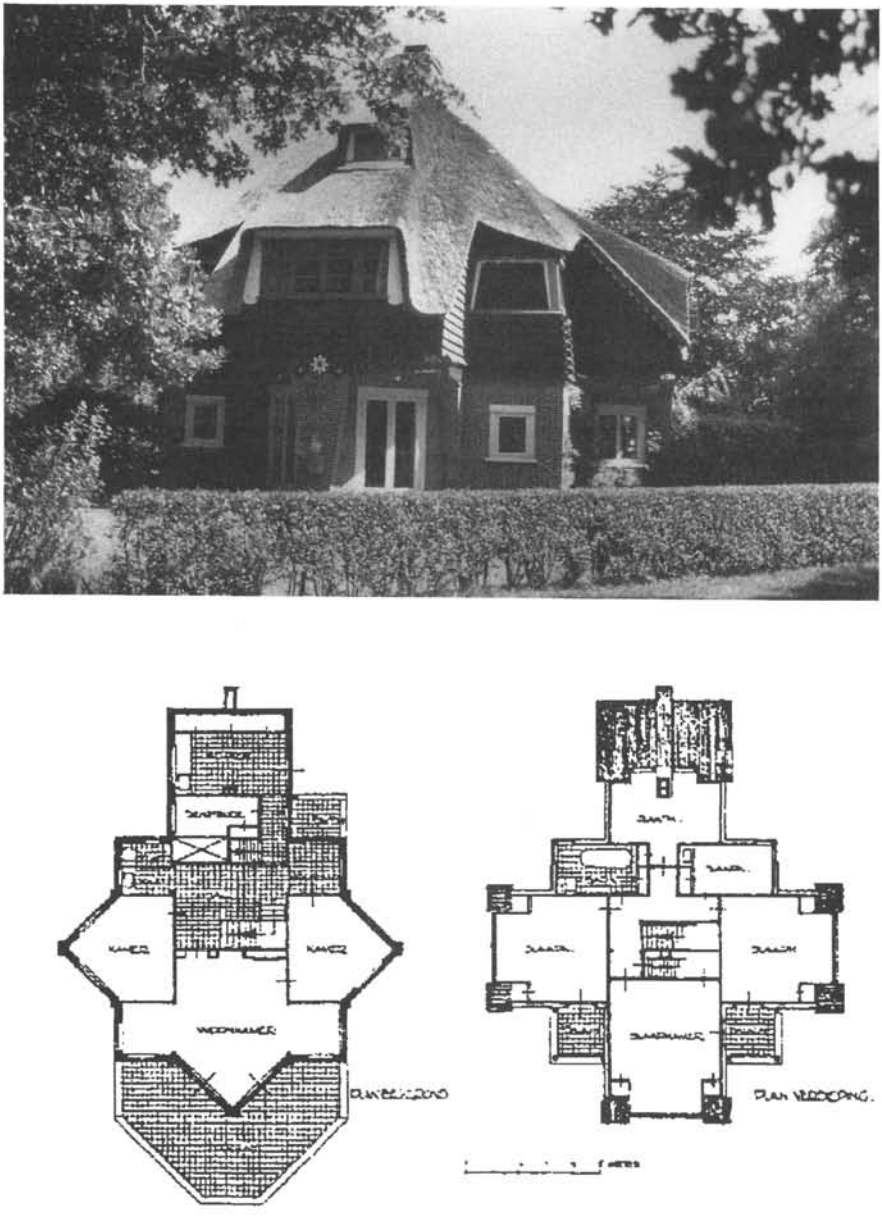


Figure 5.6. *"Meerhoek," Park Meerwijk, Bergen op Zee, The Netherlands, Cornelis Jonker Blaauw, Architect, 1917. (above) Exterior view. Photograph by Donald Langmead. First floor plan (bottom left) and second floor plan (bottom right) as published in* Wendingen *(1918).*

proportions were determined on ostensibly objective grounds. Second, when writing about architecture each of them displayed particular, undisguised interest in Wright's plans.

Oud addressed that issue in a "critique" of the Robie house published in *De Stijl* in 1918, before the first of van 't Hoff's articles.[23] The consonance between the essays is not surprising nor is it strange that both agree with Wils' *Levende Kunst* piece. Oud wrote of functional planning, plan-generated plastic form, integration of details, and the exploitation of modern materials and technology to capture the spirit of the age. And he condemned "picturesque" houses designed solely for aesthetic reasons while inconsistently appraising Wright's building on exactly those grounds.

His comment upon the Robie house *plans* is significant. Readers who had not seen drawings elsewhere would have had difficulty relating his critique to the only reproduced plan: the entry level. Rooms were not named and the relationship to other floors was not clear. Oud found Wright's plans to be a "source of aesthetic pleasure for the practised critic"; their "composition [was quite] evident and clearly, neatly arranged" while the "proportions and compartition of the spaces in themselves and in relation to each other" were "finely tuned" (Figure 3.1).

The words he chose are important. Oud wrote of the *functional* aspects of the plans as a separate issue while this praise of the composition was explicitly stated to be on aesthetic grounds, a remark that would have been meaningless without implicit reference to an accepted paradigm, a formal system. The language used suggests that Oud had identified the geometry applied to the Robie house. He (and his De Stijl colleagues) had been trained by architects who designed using formal systems of geometry, and who would have relayed the belief that good composition (in plan, elevation or spatial arrangement) conformed to an harmonious canon. When studying *any* architect's work, it would have been natural for the young men of Holland to first seek the geometric system underlying it. That is what Oud found in the plans of the Robie house.

Theo van Doesburg and Oud, largely through their own energy and self-publicity, were significant figures in Europe during the 1920s, through publications and lectures. Their influence was reciprocated by the visits to Holland of such foreigners as Mies van der Rohe, Erich Mendelsohn and El Lissitzky. But the exposition of Wright's work in *De Stijl*, all in Dutch, had little impact outside Holland. Then as now, the Dutch were forced by geography, polity and economics to be multilingual. Their larger neighbours were not, then as now. While the journal eventually gained an international voice (or an impression of one through van Doesburg's legerdemain) its earlier volumes had a limited audience. The sectarianism of Dutch architects further reduced its acceptability within Holland.

Therefore the weight given by art historians to van 't Hoff simply because he produced in isolation the first Wrightian houses in Europe, is a little over-stated. The Villa Henny was not published outside Holland until 1925 when it appeared in the Paris journal *L'Architecture Vivante*. In 1932 J.B. van Loghem included it in *Bouwen* as "one of the first manifestations of the new architecture."[24] It did not reach the English-language architectural press for another two years when P.

Morton Shand arbitrarily reclassified it as an example of the cubist aesthetic.[25] After that it was not noticed again until 1950.[26] The Verloop house was not published outside *De Stijl* before 1925 when it also appeared in *L'Architecture Vivante*. Nevertheless, van 't Hoff remains a key figure because of his augmentation of Berlage's revelations and his influence through Wils.

It is ironic that Oud, whose designs were least affected by studying Wright and whose insights into his work were largely secondhand, most widely broadcast Wright in Europe. And he did so well into the 1950s. That contribution was made outside De Stijl. Oud effectively broke with van Doesburg, whom he offended by independently expressed views, in 1921. In February he lectured the Rotterdam-based society of progressive architects *Opbouw* "On the future architecture and its architectural possibilities." The talk was transcribed a few months later in *Bouwkundig Weekblad*.[27] There was no mention of either van Doesburg or Mondrian, although the work of both was illustrated. Van Doesburg was angered by this "act of disloyalty"; Mondrian was irritated that Oud, although speaking of Cubism and Futurism, had omitted Neoplasticism.

Oud also ignored Wright, although there was a long if inaccurate caption to a photograph of the Robie house: "Application of reinforced concrete, presenting the possibility of visually lightening the architecture's weightiness." Perhaps Oud never discovered that Wright had used steel beams in the cantilevered roof. He added that the house was "still romantic" in its massing, reiterating his *De Stijl* critique. On the other hand he believed the "technical-plastic architecture" of the Villa Henny "approached a unity of internal intention and external appearance through partial development from the design of [the Robie house], not yet purely organic, nor achieving clarity of form." That said little of Wright's architecture and even less about a Dutch attempt to assimilate his ideas.

Oud and Wright would not meet until 1951 and then almost by accident. But he understood Wright's architecture and that might have been why Wijdeveld asked him to write for *Wendingen* in 1925. That publication has its own important place in a later chapter but Oud's contribution, "The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright on the architecture of Europe," is appropriately discussed here. Frequently republished and translated, it was widely read in Europe over a period of about ten years. [28]

Oud described Wright as towering "above the surrounding world" and "one of the greatest of this time," his work as "flawless." Yet he commented that Wright's influence was not "happy . . . in all respects." The fault lay with the "pernicious" effects of uncritical mimicry. Presenting the characteristics of Wright's work, Oud warned that it was wrong to ascribe the emergence of the plasticity of modern architecture to Wright alone, "for at the time when the adoration of Wright's work by his colleagues on this side of the Atlantic had reached its culminating point, European architecture itself was in a state of ferment, and cubism [Oud's cubism] was born."

Oud's construct of cubism was not equitable with the French movement of a decade or so earlier. He used the term to describe the neoplastic philosophy of De Stijl that (he claimed) was critical in the development of modern architecture. Its

path was prepared by the fascination Wright's work held for the group. They and Wright agreed on several points: a "preference for the right angle"; what Oud called the "three dimensional tendency"; and the analysis of the "body" into smaller parts and their recombination into a synthesised entity which "still betrays the elements of the original dissection." They shared the "application of new materials, new methods, new constructions, the conforming to new demands." Oud recognized that Wright wanted an architecture

> based on the needs and possibilities of our own time, satisfying its requirements of general economic feasibility, universal social attainableness, in general of social-aesthetic necessity, and resulting in compactness, austerity, and exactness of form, in simplicity and regularity.

Oud's argument then lost objectivity. He charged that Wright had "continually escaped" from that architecture "on the wings of his great visionary faculty," leaving it to be tried in more actual consistency in neoplasticism. The facts show otherwise. What Wright wanted, he had achieved. As the architectural writer W. Jos. de Gruyter later observed, he did nothing by half.[29]

Acceptance of Oud's imputation of motive to Wright may be at the root of a major art-historical myth: that Wright's concept of continuous architectural space was transmitted by De Stijl to European modernism. Historian Giulio Carlo Argan said the group was "the *trait d'union* between Wright and Europe: that Theo van Doesburg gathered together in an accurate space and form theory the initiatives of Wright; that Oud fitted this spatial experience to the problems of society."[30] That is incorrect. Further, nothing in Oud's 1925 essay, even were its claims true, showed how Wright's ideas were squeezed through De Stijl's ideological strainer, or that Oud applied them to society. Perhaps such an idea results from one of Oud's opinions. In 1926 he wrote to Gustav Platz, that he knew "something about this 'cubistic dynamic', because the first attempts" were his own! "If you were to look for earlier examples," he said, "you would find none. Architectural cubism goes back to Mondrian, not Wright: I brought the ideas of Mondrian into architecture."[31] As we have shown, this also was incorrect.

Writing in 1931, de Gruyter noted that Wright's impact upon Oud was fleeting and "judged by the results . . . of little value" to him. The contrast between the two architects was marked:

> The cubistic weight of Wright's characteristic design, elevated by an almost spontaneous, impressive gesture, in his own work becomes magnificent massing, with no thought of deliberately picturesque games played with horizontals and verticals. Oud is not a bit guilty of picturesqueness, but he conformed to the other side of this cubistic heaviness, designing with an obvious, almost ascetic methodology; the rather sluggish, heavy results feel lifeless.[32]

The point was illustrated with two Oud designs published in *De Stijl*: standard workers' dwellings and the pair of concrete houses. Their "unconstrained design" was unimaginable without Wright's input, even allowing for other "primary geometric" influences. De Gruyter perceptively claimed Wright had already affected the "so-called" neoplastic painting of Mondrian and others; so whatever

the painters had taught Oud was also of Wright, only secondhand!

There is another widespread yet dubious belief about Wright and De Stijl. Reyner Banham's claim, already noted, that De Stijl protagonists integrated Wright and the Futurists is difficult to rationalize.[33] While Oud linked Wright with the Futurists and Wils spoke of him in the same breath as Marinetti, that congruence was in character, never in creed. Oud recognized Wright's architecture as prophetic. His Robie house critique, for example, recklessly leapt from Wright's planes and masses to Futurism by pointing out similarities between the way in which the American handled the "junction of the roof planes" and the way "in which the Futurists in their representation of movement overcame the rigidity of traditional *painting*," (emphasis ours). That was analogy, not assimilation. So was every other reference in *De Stijl* when Wright and the Futurists were arrayed cheek by jowl. But congruence seems to have been critical to Dutch theorists.

Although van 't Hoff and Wils met through De Stijl and were enabled to discuss their understanding of Wright, De Stijl was not even a catalyst in that process in any but a social sense. Van 't Hoff's Wrightian buildings were designed about three years *before* he joined, and Wils' best exposition was written three years *after* he left. From what is known of van Doesburg's artistic interaction with Wils, his proposed color schemes actually disrupted the integration, repose, and expression of materials as the architect tried to explore Wright's ideas. After 1921, *sans* Wils, *sans* van 't Hoff, *sans* Oud, De Stijl was more than ever dominated by van Doesburg. It might be argued that van Doesburg's and Cor van Eesteren's models and drawings for a 1923 De Stijl exhibition in Paris were not related to Wright's work. Yet, the visual evidence leaves little doubt that their abstractions, as well as the dynamics of form, plane, and volume and indeed the open plan and facade treatment of Gerrit Rietveld's and Truus Schröder's celebrated Schröder house of 1924 were based not only on exploded extensions of the square but largely on extrapolations of certain dynamics in Wright's architecture. A few examples should explain the connection.

First and most importantly was the Gale house of 1909 (Figure 5.7). Wright said it was the "progenitor for Fallingwater," the Kaufmann house on Bear Run River, Pennsylvania, 1935-1939. He might have added that it was a paradigm for developments by European modernists in the 1920s. Externally in plane and volume implication it was the most prophetic of his creations. A close second was the massing and various elements at Midway Gardens, particularly the implied and virtual planes, jutting volumes and other dynamics of the towers and belvederes (Figure 2.7). There was also one photograph of Wright's home Taliesin that has an affinity with (and precedes) Midway Gardens. These works were initially published before 1916 in the United States and all but one reissued in Europe before 1922, including *Wendingen* in 1921. Probably these plans were among the examples of Wright's works, proposed and built, that van 't Hoff carried back to Holland in 1914.

As early as 1922 Wright's architectural volumes, planes and forms were translated by the Hollander Willem van Leusden into abstractions of implied relationships and dynamic juxtapositions.[34] His theoretical exercises predated

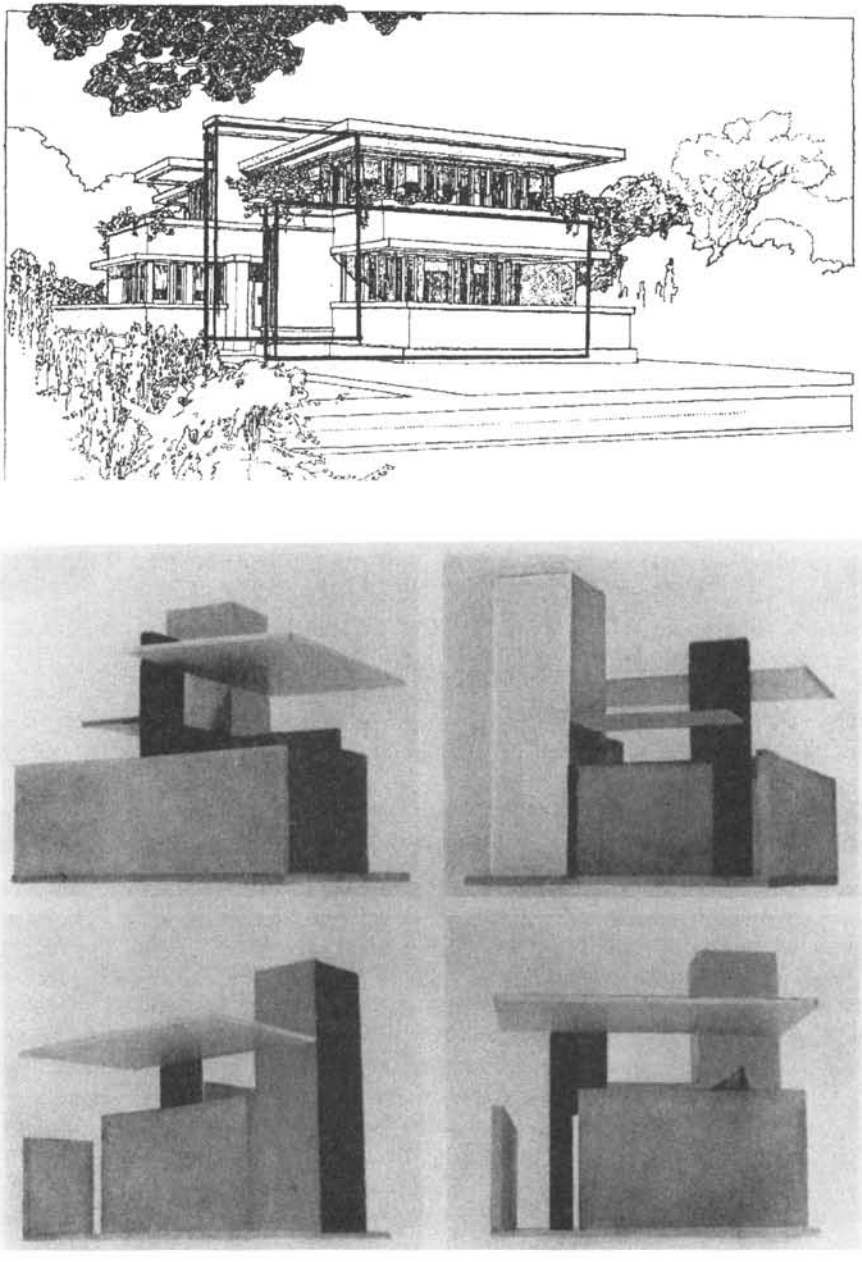


Figure 5.7. *Above, Mrs Thomas H. Gale house, Oak Park, Illinois, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1909. Perspective drawing as published in Wright(1910a,b). Just two planes are highlighted. Primary three-dimensional forms and other planes are obvious. Below, spatial studies made by the Dutch painter Willem van Leusden and exhibited in Paris, 1924; as published in* L'Architecture Vivante *(1925).*

similar, less architectural studies by van Doesburg in 1923, and those later by the Constructivists in Russia. To confirm the idea of theoretical dependence the above evidence can be linked at another practical level, for example, to some of Mies', Mendelsohn's, and Jan Buijs' houses of 1922-1923 and Gropius' work of 1923.

Mendelsohn's designs changed after his 1922 visit to Amsterdam as Wijdeveld's guest. There he discovered the published and unpublished material on Wright that had been gathered by Berlage and van 't Hoff including perspectives of the American System-Built houses of 1914-1916. One of those (Figure 5.8), so similar to the Wright/Schindler 1920-1921 design of house A for the Barnsdall campus in Los Angeles (and published in *Wendingen* in 1921) seems to have influenced Mendelsohn more than Wright's other work. Many of the German's designs 1923-27 refer to it, for instance the Sternfeld house in Berlin of 1923 (Figure 5.9). The Sternfeld entry sequence is, in turn, similar to Dudok's entry to the final design of the Hilversum town hall of 1924-1931 (Figure 5.12). Despite the antisemitism of some European fellow professionals, including Walter Gropius,[35] in the 1920s Mendelsohn was Germany's best known architect, his work widely published. This teasing outline indicates that the Dutch were the purveyors of much—even most—theoretical and practical fodder between 1914 and 1923.

For some architects, their role had been assumed (if not devolved) in about 1923 by the rhetoric of the new advance guard of artistic theory and the purposes of the political left, often inseparable. Happily, others persisted with creating architecture. It is sometimes more difficult to gauge Wright's effect upon architects who wrote little but made buildings. Many may be dismissed as mimics, minor figures who excitedly but seized upon forms as a fashion and just as readily turned from them when some newer thing caught their attention. Berlage cautioned about such shallowness in 1921, and Oud echoed the warning four years later.[36]

De Gruyter observed at the beginning of the next decade that "Wright's influence upon Dutch architecture has been literally enormous, and continues," naming Jan Frederik Staal, Hendrik Wouda, H.F. Sijmons, H.G.J. Schelling, Willem Maas, and Wils as workers in the Wrightian manner. He added

> what Wright considered a noble necessity, determined from the inside out, in closest cohesion with function and construction, was taken over and misused by many unintelligent admirers as an easy recipe for external forms. . . . Generally, what is important . . . is the lethal phenomenon by which the followers are more and more inclined to stare themselves blind at the external characteristics of a new art, while making hardly any attempt to understand the reasons for the visual form. However, in every healthy architectural process, the form is never the starting point, only the end result.[37]

Perhaps he was a little hasty in labelling Wils as a mere copyist, but then Wils tended to preach one thing and practise another, referring to Wright in projects and buildings for about fifteen years.

Another steadfast follower was Willem Marinus Dudok, the important difference being that he wrote little about his own work—or anything else, for that matter. Within and outside Holland the most practically influential, independent

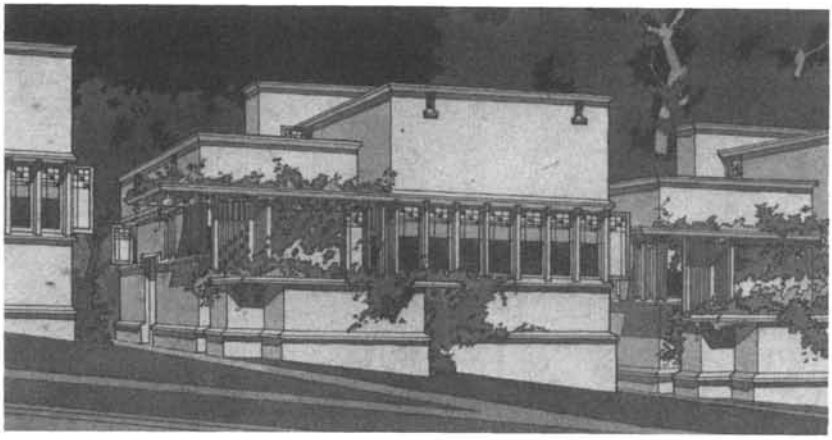


Figure 5.8. *American System-Built house model A101, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1914-1916. Perspective drawing and silk screen print by Antonin Raymond. © The FLLW Foundation 1999.*

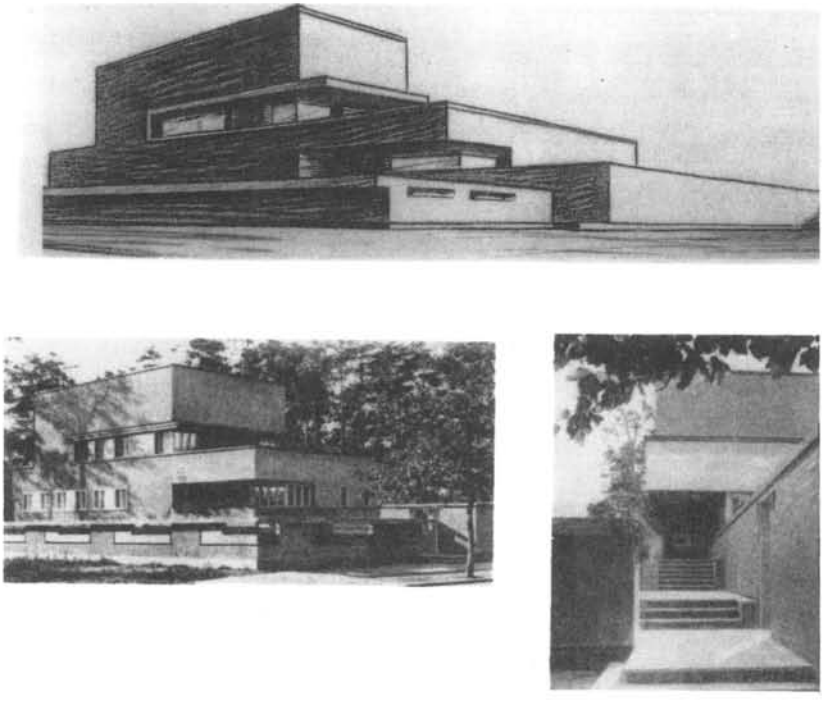


Figure 5.9. *Sternfeld house, Berlin, Germany, Erich Mendelsohn, Architect, 1923. Perspective drawing (top). Exterior view (bottom left). Detail of entrance (bottom right). As published in* L'Architecture Vivante *(winter 1932).*

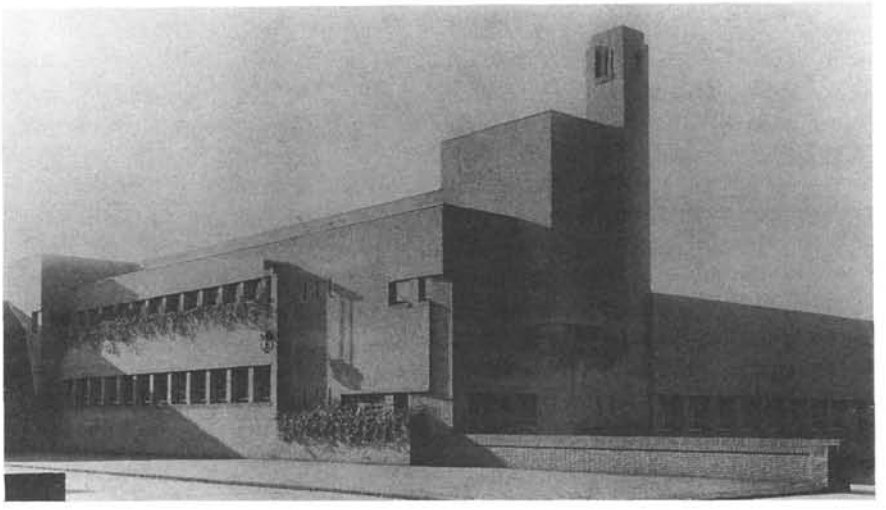


Figure 5.10. *Dr. H. Bavinckschool, Hilversum, The Netherlands, Willem Marinus Dudok, Architect, 1921-1922. View from Boschdrift, as published in* Wendingen *(1924).*

and persistent of them all, Dudok was to blend architecturally and harmoniously all these ideas. His impressive buildings are the measure of a serious look at Wright.

Dudok was born in Amsterdam in 1884.[38] Both his parents were musicians, but despite their early hope that he too might follow a musical career, most of his education was gained in military establishments. Following elementary schooling, in September 1900 he entered Cadet School in Alkmaar to prepare for the Army of The Netherlands Indies. Two years later he was transferred to the Royal Military Academy in Breda. As a cadet in the Engineers he began building studies and was deeply influenced by the civil engineer G.N. Itz, who would later become senior lecturer at Delft *Technische Hogeschool.* Of his "good technical education," Dudok reminisced: "I didn't know which path held most for me: building studies or hydraulic engineering—my ideal was to become a creative engineer."

In January 1905, when he had reached the rank of sergeant, he applied for transfer to the Home Army and moved at the end of the following July. He soon became an instructor in the Recruit Officer Training Program of the Technical Battalion of the Royal Engineers. His first known architectural sketches date from 1907: picturesque houses standing in walled gardens were charmingly named for his fiancée, evidence of the romantic spirit which never left him. His earliest official work—an unexecuted design for officers' barracks—appeared a year later.

In July 1909 he was promoted to lieutenant and posted for four years to Utrecht to be employed designing fortifications at Uithoorn, Purmerend and Amsterdam. Architectural works included a soldiers' hostel in 1911 at Den Helder and an unrealized design for officers' barracks, in 1912. The latter was a symmetrical, conservative affair, remarkably free of extraneous decoration, perhaps dictated by military austerity.

Figure 5.11. *"De Wikke" (architect's own house), Hilversum, The Netherlands, Willem Marinus Dudok, Architect, 1926. View from Utrechtseweg. The single story wing in the foreground houses the kitchen. Photograph by Donald Langmead.*

Dudok left the army in 1913 to become engineer and deputy director of the Public Works Department of Leiden, where he remained until 1915. His first major civilian work was a secondary school at the Hoge Ringdijk, two years later. Also conservative, it evoked Berlage and had the kind of details that would later characterize the Delft School. Also around 1915 Dudok renewed his acquaintance with Oud, whom he had first met in Purmerend in 1911. As noted, they collaborated on the architecturally unremarkable Leiderdorp, completed in 1916.

While Dudok was possibly already aware of Wright it would be safe to assume that the subject of the American arose in conversations with Oud. Dudok had access to Wils' writings and knew Berlage. Although there is no direct evidence, it is possible that Dudok, extending his understanding of architecture, attended the *bouwmeester*'s Amsterdam lecture. His own recollection was hazy: "I first saw [Wright's] work in pictures. . . . I later learnt more through more detailed publications."[39] The "pictures" may have been Berlage's slides, or in the Wasmuth books or even earlier in foreign sources such as the *Architectural Record* of 1908. Dutch-language "detailed publications" abounded after 1917.

While Dudok never pinpointed the first encounter, there was no recognizable effect on his own work before 1919. Successive designs for Hilversum town hall between 1915 and 1924 are compelling evidence of a developing aesthetic, under Wright's influence and others'. Elements—and only elements—of Wright's work seen in Dudok's buildings were fragmentary and spasmodic but consistent. He swept Wrightian detail into his eclectic garner as potential grist to the mill of his "modernist with manners" architecture.

The synthesis that led to Dudok's highly personal style, although his own

Figure 5.12. *Town Hall, Hilversum, The Netherlands, Willem Marinus Dudok, Architect, 1924-31. Exterior view showing side entrance. Photograph by Donald Langmead.*

beliefs formed its matrix, *had* to be carefully selective. His stance against European modernism was described in 1964. In the early 1920s he went

his own unique way to create a highly personal synthesis. Since then he has managed to remain between the factions, beyond factional-fighting. Between functionalism and Delft School traditionalism, he stands an Erasmus-like figure, an architect without a "school," a politician without a party, a man of faith without a church, led only by his own artistry and his own ideals to build sensibly and well for happy people. [40]

That accurate eulogy was a celebration of Dudok's eightieth birthday when the synthesis was well and truly complete. We are concerned with its beginnings.

Dudok's early admission was: "Certainly Wright has influenced anyone who has architecture at heart, and without doubt, me also! That must not be taken to mean that I am consciously influenced by his final forms: it is never by the forms, but by the spirit" and implicitly after that.

Yet consciously or not, Wright's form-language is apparent in Dudok's buildings through the 1920s. Then, he was among Holland's most consistent and persistent followers of Wright but he never stooped to mimicry. A truly discerning eclectic, he successfully syncretized Wrightian elements with other sources. For example, in 1920 he built timber row houses in Naarden. Groups of three dwellings were designed to look like large residences spreading across their sites. Constrained by realty covenants, they combined such vernacular elements as thatched roofs and regional colors and materials with the irregular plans found in some of the Amsterdam School's rural houses. The Wrightian components included row and corner windows, and low roofs with wide overhangs, unusual for

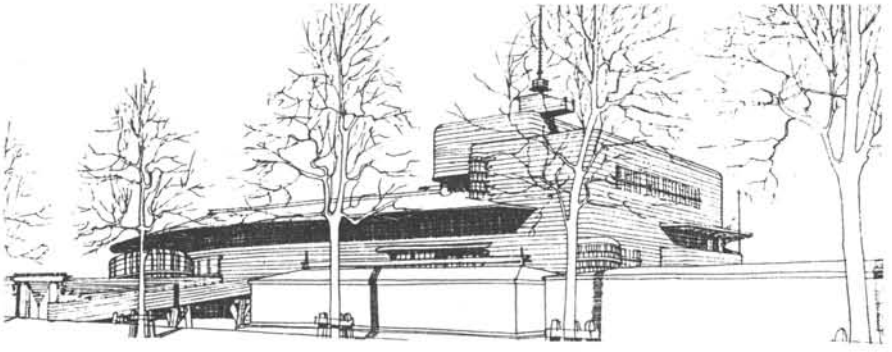


Figure 5.13. *Club building for the Royal Rowing and Sailing club "De Hoop", Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Michel de Klerk, Architect, 1922-1924. Reproduced by permission of the* Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: *De Klerk collection, 003005.*

Holland, emphasizing horizontality. Stumpy chimneys gave vertical contrast. The houses were remarkable in both time and place. A year later Dudok produced the Willink family's sprawling country house at Hengelo. Its roofs were steeper and its eaves narrower, but the familiar Wrightian elements were employed.

In 1954, architectural historian Robert Furneaux Jordan, reviewing Dudok's work through Modernism's jaundiced eye, dismissed these houses as "all pebbledash, weatherboarding and leaded lights. . . . almost pure Baillie Scott with a touch of Voysey," adding that Dudok was soon able to get "this nonsense out of his system."[41] Extraordinarily, he totally ignored the link with Wright, as well as Dudok's respect for true native architecture.

Yet these houses did not represent either of the disparate major streams of his contemporary domestic work. Patently, he was still experimenting. The dwellings of Hilversum's first two public housing subdivisions of 1916-1920 around Neuweg-Boschdrift were artistically conservative; but by the use of traditional forms and materials they held congeniality for the folk for whom they were built. By contrast, in 1920 Dudok designed for Mrs. A.M. van Erk-Bouma, the villa *Sevensteijn* in Park Zorgvliet, a suburb of The Hague, its Wrightian interiors by the local architect Hendrik Wouda. Described by the modernist Albert Boeken as an "organization of elementary architectonic masses, determined by practical demands," the villa combined (perhaps paradoxically) the cubic forms of Wright's earlier *non*-domestic work with traditional brick construction and a dash of integral Amsterdam School ornament. And it foreshadowed Hilversum's town hall and other public buildings, including the Boschdrift bathhouse of 1921 and a string of schools. Skilfully blended with forms from other sources, all had some elements linking them to Wright.

The ease with which Dudok could at the same moment produce the Naarden houses, the Boschdrift houses and the villa *Sevensteijn* says much about his aesthetic flexibility. It seems that (like Wright) he believed there are different kinds of architecture. Before 1910, Wright had employed a domestic aesthetic and a non-domestic aesthetic. Dudok also had adopted appropriate aesthetics for

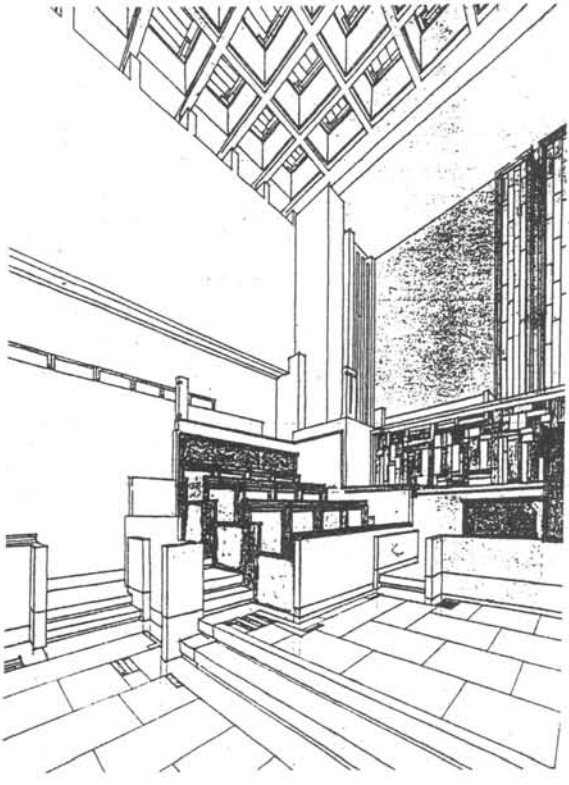


Figure 5.14. *Competition entry for the National Academy for Visual Arts, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Johannes Duiker and Bernard Bijvoet, Architects, 1917-19. Interior of great auditorium. As published in* Wendingen *(1921).*

different purposes, including one for social housing. In 1949 the Finnish architect Eliel Saarinen wrote: "Anyone who has had the privilege of walking in Dudok's company along the streets of Hilversum . . . has undoubtedly observed how the children and mothers rush from their homes to greet their friend Dudok."[42] There was another, regional aesthetic for semi-rural houses, and yet another—sophisticated, perhaps "cubist"—for civic buildings and a few urban houses for private clients. Dudok played folk music, as it were, in the houses of the ordinary people and his own painstakingly constructed classical compositions in public architecture, and a *rus in urbe* combination of the two elsewhere. Each has its place, each its appreciative audience. None may be judged by the standards of another.

It is in the "classical" group that Wright's lasting, ideological imprint upon the Hollander's work can be seen. Jordan pointed out, with more acumen than evident in his critique of Dudok's houses in the same article, that Dudok owed a "fundamental, obvious debt" to Wright. The deft handling of the masses evokes Wright in Dudok's Hilversum schools, especially the Dr. H. Bavinckschool of 1920-1921 (Figure 5.10); in the Westerveld Cemetery columbarium of 1925-1926; in his own house of 1926 (Figure 5.11) and of course in his masterpiece, Hilversum Town Hall, first conceived in 1916 and designed and built 1924-1931 (Figure 5.12). All contain elements that can easily be referred to Wright. But

Figure 5.15. *Semidetached houses, Kijkduin, The Netherlands, Johannes Duiker, Architect, 1920. Exterior view. Photograph by Donald Langmead.*

such details are incidental, even trifling when considered beside Dudok's consummate control of architectonic forms, each expressing with great clarity the space it enclosed and interacting with each other to form a unified, remarkably satisfying whole. That is what marks him out as a master of "the serious and beautiful game of space." And it does not detract for a moment from his genius to discover that he acquired that skill by studying Wright's buildings. As he himself said in 1925:

> Wright deepened my consciousness that architecture is the art of space, and not of the flat plane. Therefore it is not primarily his manner of detailing [that has impressed me], nor his intersecting, flat, almost suspended roofs of formidable span, but much more his lucid, spacious, imparting of form.

What a pity that Dudok did not write more about his architecture. But his *credo* can be read in his buildings and many of the next decade clearly pronounce that he understood what Wright had tried to achieve with space, and embraced it. Those ideas he integrated with his worldview to produce an architecture of which Pevsner asked, "Who would be prepared to say what comes from Wright in Dudok's work . . . and what from cubism?"[43] He might have added, "Or what from the Amsterdam School and Dutch vernacular?" But of his plans there can be no mistake. Spatially linked, open, logical, functionally knitted yet informal, they are from Wright. The expression in their mass and volume, in materials and fenestration is from Wright. Their character is Dudok's.

The two architects did not meet until the fall of 1953. Dudok was touring the United States lecturing on the theme "To Live and to Build." He was afforded what he later recalled as an "eager welcome" by the Wrights at Taliesin West and he spent several days with them. When he returned home, his assistant Robert

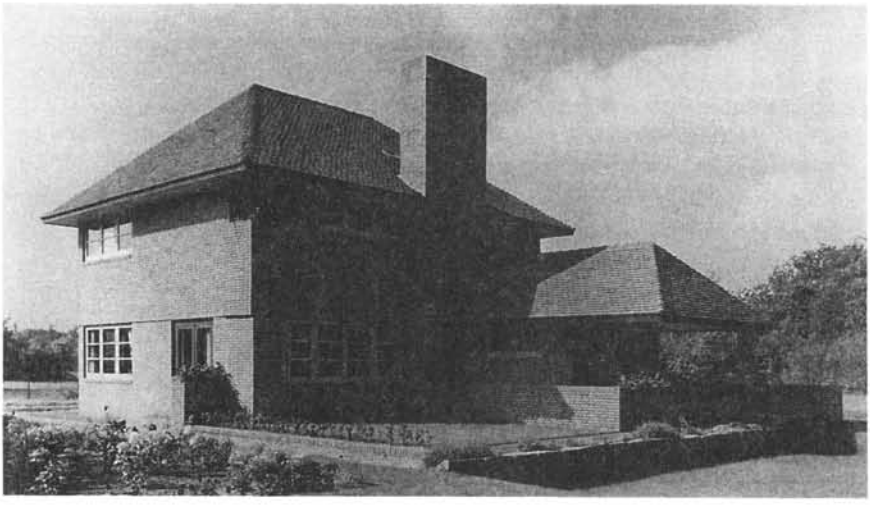


Figure 5.16. *"De Luifel," Wassenaar, The Netherlands, Hendrik Wouda, Architect, 1924. Exterior view. Reproduced by permission of the* Nederlands Architectuurinstiuut. *Archive/ collection Tentoonstellingrad, 005899.*

Magnée asked his opinion of Wright. "He is a very nice man," Dudok replied. "He believes everything that I do." A friend from Taliesin later confided to Magnée that Wright used exactly the same words of Dudok.[44] Indeed, Wright, after accusing "the majority of architects of being spineless and not willing to stand up for what they knew to be right," exclaimed with emphasis: "I like Dudok. Dudok is a good man. Dudok is an honest man!" That was before they had even met.[45] Their congruity was charmingly demonstrated six years later. In 1959 *Bouwkundig Weekblad* published Dudok's warm, illuminating obituary of Wright. In it, the American was contrasted with unnamed "international personalities" (although their identity can be guessed) whose fame rested on "the suggestion of purity within the strongest simplicity of the spatial form." Their approach, wrote Dudok, led only to "coffins for the living" and was incomprehensible to an artist like the "exuberant, romantic" Wright, who sought "beauty of expression and demanded of his work that it moved the emotions." By holding this "the right attitude for a true artist" to the end of his life, Wright had "held his own against all." Dudok stressed that the full worth of Wright's art was through "a new, a liberated feeling for space," pronouncing him a great individualist in a superficial world.[46] The piece could well have been autobiographical.

Many more young men of architecture in Holland stole passing glances at Wright's buildings, or rather at images of them. Visual comparisons have often been made between Wright and his copyists so there is no need to again discuss them. They followed, faithfully or diffidently, what to them proved to be an ephemeral fashion (Figures 5.13-5.19). Appendix A lists buildings and projects by Dutch architects as published in Holland and elsewhere in the period 1913-86 in which Wright's influence can be identified. Many more, some by lesser lights,

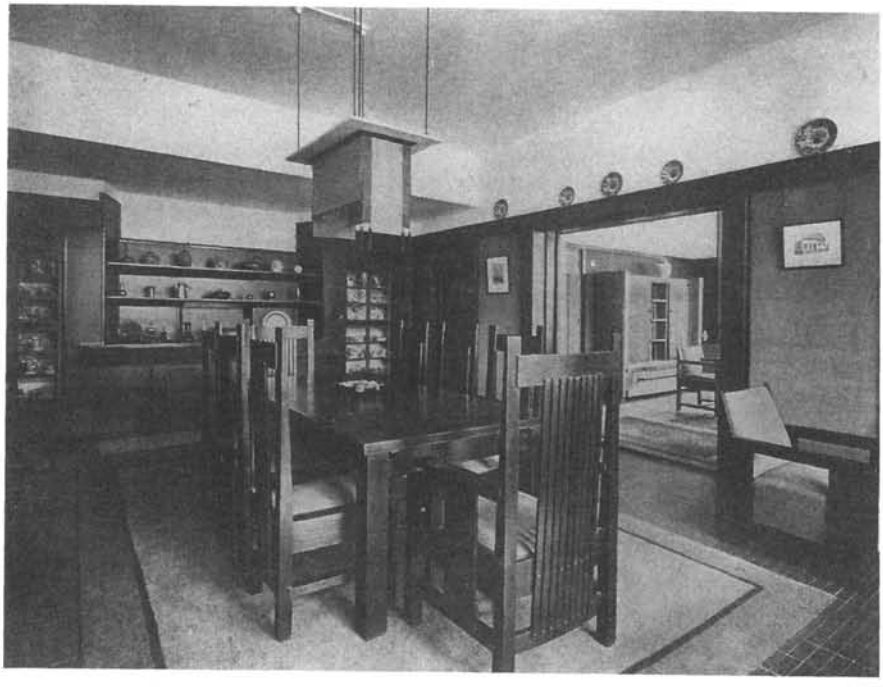


Figure 5.17. *Villa* Sevensteijn, *The Hague, The Netherlands, Willem Marinus Dudok, Architect; Hendrik Wouda, Interior Designer, 1920. Dining room interior, as published in* Bouwkundig Weekblad, *1922.*

were never published. One can walk on the outskirts of The Hague, for example, and lose count of the middle-class houses that owe something or other to Wright. Or one can stroll through provincial towns in Limburg, Friesland or North Brabant, and come upon row houses, or villas, or public buildings that bear, strongly or faintly, in form or detail, his unmistakable stamp.

The buildings in Appendix A were *designed* between 1913 and 1937. The incidence of Wright-influenced work reached a peak in 1924 during a post-war revival in building. Despite the *Wrightnummers* of *Wendingen* in 1925 there was a rapid falling off, dwindling to virtually nothing after 1932. The *Wendingen* illustrations were source material for less able architects. But the imitative Wright-phase for better architects like Bernard Bijvoet, Johannes Duiker, and J.B. van Loghem was over before then and they turned to ideas promoted by Europeans, principally the Germans. A few persisted in assimilating Wright's architectural ideas into their work—Wils and especially Dudok—but his holistic philosophy tended to elude most practitioners. Wright's most enthusiastic co-worker in Europe was also the almost heroic figure of twentieth century Dutch architecture: Hendrik Theodore Wijdeveld.

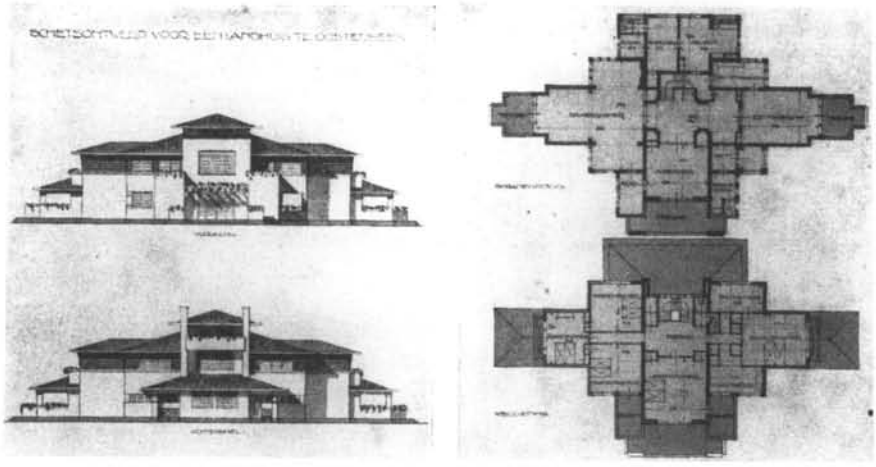


Figure 5.18. *Sketch design for a rural house at Oosterbeek, The Netherlands, Herman van der Kloot Meijburg, Architect, 1920. Elevations and plans. Reproduced by permission of the* Nederlands Architectuurinstiuut, Rotterdam: Kloot Meijburg Collection, 007468.

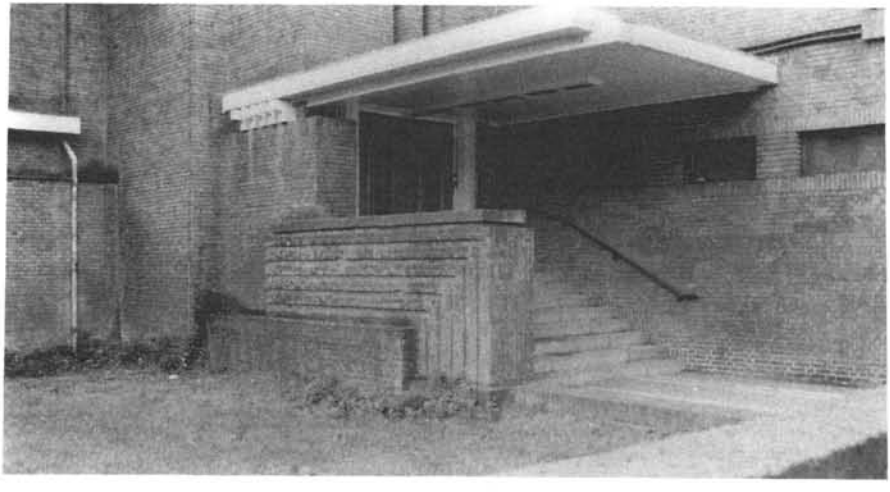


Figure 5.19. *Synagogue, Jacob Olbrechtsplein, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Harry Elte, Architect, ca. 1925. Detail of side entrance. Photograph by Donald Langmead.*

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Chapter 6

Wijdeveld: A Bright Prospect

To understand his relationship with Wright it is necessary to first realize that Hendrik Theodore Wijdeveld (Figure 6.1) was an arch-utopian. Despite his awareness that William Morris' hopes of Paradise regained had been dashed before the beginning of the twentieth century, Wijdeveld believed in Utopia for most of his 101-year lifetime. In the face of personal disappointments that would have devastated many, he could say, "No fear. My depressions are the birthpangs for a new conception." He saw the world through rose-colored spectacles; and that, of course, is how he saw Wright.

In January 1966 Wijdeveld was in Rome, eighty years old and still mourning the death of his beloved wife Ellen. During a stroll his spirits were raised a little, when he saw prominently displayed in a bookshop near the Piazza del Spagna a copy of the sumptuous book he had edited forty years before: *The Life-work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright.* Examining it more closely he was dismayed to find that it was a revised 1965 reprint published in the United States, probably on the authority of Wright's widow Olgivanna. Wijdeveld was astounded and hurt for he had not been consulted. Worse, Olgivanna had not only forgotten his name but, in his view, seriously misrepresented him.

Bewildered and angry he wrote with irony to one of his protegés, the sculptor Norman Mommens, how "kind" Olgivanna was "to Mr Wijdeveld, telling the reader that her husband had wanted [Wijdeveld] to be the director of TALIESIN but that Mr Wijdeveld alas did not have the courage to come over." His bitterness was understandable. "I noticed she wanted with her compliments [to] picture me some kind of coward."[1] Olgivanna's interpretation that Frank had "made it! Alone," without the help of friends was, in his opinion, inaccurate.

Wijdeveld was not being paranoid, only gun-shy. He had long since realized that such mistreatment was to be expected from the Wrights, a conclusion he reached after much abuse over nearly twenty-five years.

Figure 6.1. *Hendrik Theodore Wijdeveld (1885-1987). Pen drawing by Donald Langmead, based on a photograph published in* Bouwkundig Weekblad *(1965).*

Soon after returning to Amsterdam he received a letter from his friend, Louise Mendelsohn. Naturally assuming that he had cooperated in the re-publication, she had sent a copy of a *Chicago Chronicle*'s review praising the book's design, layout and typography, all by Wijdeveld. In reply he indignantly confided that "morally and financially it is a brutal deed." "Just imagine," he said, "on page 5 is printed Copyright 1965 by Olgiovanna [*sic*] Lloyd Wright." Wijdeveld excitedly wrote, "It was me who once honoured a man in whom I saw the unic [*sic*] artist belonging to my own standard of life, philosophy and art. . . . I LIGHTED THE FIRST LIGHT FOR WRIGHT," he exclaimed.[2] His hurt is defensible but the claim cannot be substantiated.

Yet, while C.R. Ashbee introduced Wright to the European audience, Berlage and Ashbee identified Wright's genius and widely promoted him on the Continent, and Wils expounded Wright's theories for Dutch colleagues, no one on either side of the Atlantic (except for the American himself) did more than Wijdeveld to propagandize his work in Europe. It is a joyous and sad story with exasperating and ironic twists.

Born in The Hague in 1885, Wijdeveld was the son of an architect, also Hendrik, who worked for the South African Railway Company. Family fortunes declined when his father was incapacitated and the boy was forced to find work. He entered the field of architecture at the remarkably early age of twelve, as factotum and pupil in the garden-studio of Jacques van Straaten on Amsterdam's Herengracht. Assigned menial tasks, his earliest training was probably similar to that of an apprentice in a medieval art and craft workshop. Learning by doing would later strongly color his views on art education. He remained in the firm until 1899. For the next year or so he worked for an architect-builder named Ingelhof, part of that time on the construction site of a school in Bloemendaal. His

first design was for lettering on a tiled panel over its door. Then through his mother's efforts he moved in 1900 to the firm of P.J.H. Cuypers, remaining until 1905.

For the next ten years Wijdeveld traveled widely, first to London intending to study the work of the PreRaphaelite Brotherhood, which he much admired. Meaning to stay in England only a short time, he carried seventy guilders and a letter of introduction from Cuypers. But he remained for about three years, working some of the time for John Groll as drafting assistant on the Britisher's unsuccessful competition entry for the Peace Palace in The Hague. The scheme was financed by a one-and-a-half million dollar gift to the Dutch government by the American industrialist Andrew Carnegie. A building for an International Court of Arbitration and its library would form the "Palace." While in Groll's office, Wijdeveld was impressed by the work of the English arts and crafts architect, M.H. Baillie Scott, and later claimed that he had briefly worked with Scott on a house design.[3]

The introduction to Groll may have come from Holland, where he was well-known, even a little notorious. In 1885, when he was awarded second prize in the first aborted competition for the Amsterdam Stock Exchange, he had an office in that city. Scandals dogged the competition, one involving Groll and another the first prize winner, Frenchman Louis-Marie Cordonnier, who was accused of plagiarizing the design. The competition was abandoned, with the indirect result that Berlage's famous *beurs* (1898-1903) was built more than a decade later.

Wijdeveld also worked in the large London office of John Belcher, a prolific designer and builder and eventually the chief exponent of Free-Classicism, and then President of the R.I.B.A.[4] His office was a highly active, thoroughly professional environment which must have impressed the young Dutchman. It is clear that his English experience laid, in part at least, the foundation of his own eclecticism. Wijdeveld attended evening classes in decorative studies at the Lambeth School of Art and frequently visited the British Museum. And in London he met the beautiful Silesian cellist, Ellen Kohn. Her Jewish background was to have a major effect on both their lives and upon his career during and after the German occupation of Holland in the 1940s. Married in Breslau in 1907 they remained devoted until her death in 1965.

In his apprentice years Wijdeveld discovered Frank Lloyd Wright. Exactly when and how remains unclear. Five decades later he confided to the American critic Lewis Mumford, "in the early youth of nineteen I saw [Wright's] first works."[5] But in 1939 he had told historian Nikolaus Pevsner that he had seen pictures of Wright's houses in an American "book" when he was fifteen years old, that is, in 1900: "I could not sleep the first night I possessed the book; I was so thrilled."[6] It is in the nature of visionaries to resort to hyperbole and Wijdeveld's writings and projects reveal him as an unparalleled visionary who often set aside accuracy for the dramatic. Therefore, his recollections must always be treated cautiously. However, circumstantial evidence suggests how he discovered Wright around the turn of the century, and why.

P.J.H. Cuypers is a key figure. His most celebrated work is the ponderous and overabundant Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, its first stage built 1876-1885. The eclectic beaux-arts design, drawn from a wide variety of styles and typical of the era, does not immediately reveal his architectural philosophy.[7] A convinced medievalist, he subscribed to the rationalist theories of Viollet-le-Duc and believed in the necessity of restoring the crafts to a place of honor and applying the teaching methods of the medieval guilds. He also held the notion of the direct and honest application of materials. As a Roman Catholic he was convinced of the moral qualities of the Gothic.[8] Among the many restoration projects Cuypers undertook during a long career was Kasteel de Haar at Haarzuilen, with his son Joseph. It was in such a ruined state that its "restoration" is best described as a reconstruction and considerable extension to Cuypers' design. Although documentation, begun in 1892, was complete by 1896, the contract was still in progress when Wijdeveld, then fifteen, joined the firm; the buildings were completed in 1914. In 1903 Wijdeveld was made site supervisor, a task that would have greatly augmented his practical knowledge of building construction.[9]

Cuypers was familiar with Ruskin's concepts of propriety, labor and religiosity that permeated the Gothic Revival, the cult of medievalism and the beliefs of the PreRaphaelites. He knew of Morris, and the notions and practices of the English guilds, recognized in the 1880s as the Arts and Crafts movement. Indeed, relationships within the arts and crafts, and with attendant or parallel guilds as well as similar institutions throughout the world, were tenuous but real.

In Holland impetus was given by the Symbolist circle around the painters J. Thorn Prikker and Jan Toorop, whose shop in The Hague bore the name *Arts and Crafts*, and *'t Binnenhuis* (The Interior) group formed in 1900 by Berlage, Carel Henny and others.[10] Toorop's circle had personal contact with the Scot Charles Rennie Mackintosh, maintained correspondence with Morris and the designer Walter Crane, and were familiar with such important English journals as *The Studio* and *The Architectural Review*. Over ninety art periodicals circulated in Europe at the turn of the century, most of them carrying a similar message about the unity of art and culture. Other Dutch arts and crafts associations flourished.

Believing that the building process needed the collaboration of all the arts, Cuypers took steps to implement his views. When he realized that contemporary craftsmanship was unable to accomplish his intentions he undertook to educate "co-workers" and upon his initiative and others', the Rijksmuseum itself became a venue for that artistic instruction. Five years in such an environment deeply impressed young Wijdeveld and the ideas to which he must have been daily exposed were to affect his thoughts, words, and actions as he matured. The sources of his own pedagogical notions may be traced to Cuypers. Yet his employer was not alone responsible for first shaping the pliable clay of Wijdeveld's mind; there were frequent intellectual exchanges in the Amsterdam office with two of Holland's contemporary giants of architectural theory, K.P.C. de Bazel and J.L.M. Lauweriks.[11]

There were also transatlantic arts and crafts connections. The English, for example, knew of the Chicago Society, who in turn were well aware of events in

England. The link had been forged not only through an exchange of publications and correspondence but personal contact. It is true that Wright's work had been published in the Chicago Society's magazine *House Beautiful* in 1897 and 1899,[12] for instance, but for the perceptive that would have been only teasing. As noted, there were two critical events, both in 1900: Ashbee's visit to America, and the publication of Spencer's article on Wright in Boston's *Architectural Review*.

Only after Ashbee's return from the United States was there manifested in Europe a professional interest in Wright. While Ashbee struck that spark, Berlage coaxed it into a glow that endured long enough to kindle the torch that would guide European architecture out of the maze of historical revivalism. Wijdeveld therefore did not "light the light." But his perhaps belated effort on Wright's behalf, vigorous and sincere as it was, fanned into a last brief blaze a beacon that had already lighted the way of European architecture into the machine age. So, when Spencer's article appeared, a small European audience was willing to make a closer study of the unique works illustrated. Spencer attempted to demonstrate how crafts and sculpture were integrated in Wright's bold conceptions. Because he connected Wright and Sullivan, Europeans identified Wright with architects working in the archetypal American building, the "skyscraper," so often put in American journals. Moreover Wright was presented as a vanguard for a new arts and crafts.

Around 1900, arts and crafts was associated mostly with housing—industrial, suburban, and urban—a vital response of a new social conscience. Wright's plans and direct functional approach, with his arguments for a rationalism seeded by nature, were infectious, especially to admirers of Goethe, Carlyle or Ruskin. Because of what Giedion identifies as Berlage's "moral authority" within his profession, it is safe to say that his contemporaries would have shared his interest in Wright. The influence of Cuypers, Berlage, the Arts and Crafts movement, the PreRaphaelites suggests that Wijdeveld had been well prepared to be "thrilled" by his first vicarious encounter with Wright.

Returning to The Netherlands in 1908 Wijdeveld entered Cordonnier's office in The Hague. The Frenchman had won the international competition for the Peace Palace, an unpopular victory. Many European architects were invited in 1906 to submit designs and the competition became a jealous skirmish of styles. Berlage had entered; so had Eliel Saarinen and the Austrian classicist Otto Wagner.[13] Wijdeveld was generally familiar with the project, having worked on Groll's entry. He moved to Cordonnier's head office in Lille, France in 1911, before spending time in the architect's Paris atelier.

The scandal in the Peace Palace contest was about Cordonnier exceeding the budget, yet receiving the commission. Nevertheless, he was a Gothic Revivalist who had the most prestigious project in Holland, and it was understandable that Wijdeveld sought to work for him. The young man designed the tower of the strangely contrived building, completed in 1913, ironically a year before war tore the heart out of Europe.

Fleeing to neutral Holland at the outbreak of war, he started his own practice in Amsterdam. The timing was hardly auspicious: materials were in increasingly

Figure 6.2. *Title block for* Wendingen. *H.Th. Wijdeveld, Typographer. The subtitle reads "Monthly paper for building and decoration of Architectura et Amicitia." As published from 1918.*

shorter supply, and prices were climbing. He began by designing furniture and interiors. He also designed wooden toys for an Amsterdam company named Olanda, whose director was one Philip Simons. Wijdeveld's ornate, highly decorated pieces included a sled and various wagons and rocking horses.[14] He later claimed that the factory was set up to assist in the establishment of the Fröebel system of education in Holland. Soon a few architectural commissions came his way. It was not long before he energetically took the lead in planning and creating the art journal *Wendingen.*

Wijdeveld once asserted that the title referred to "upheavals" in art.[15] That was in an account for a 1982 exhibition catalog. He was then ninety-five and it differed from earlier recollections. The restless connotations of "upheavals" seem inappropriate for such an elegant, gentle-looking publication as *Wendingen.* Wrapped in beautifully decorated covers, the twenty-four folded, thirty-three centimeter square pages (it should be noted) were elegantly bound by raffia stitching, perhaps influenced by traditional Japanese packaging.

"Wendingen" more accurately denotes "turnings" (as a conversation takes different turns). In fact, that was the intention Wijdeveld explained in a letter to his friend Erich Mendelsohn at the end of 1947.[16] And "turnings" suggests developmental, or evolutionary—not revolutionary—changes. In January 1918 *Wendingen* replaced *Architectura* as the organ of *Architectura et Amicitia.*

That group of Amsterdam architects had older roots. Founded in 1818, the *Maatschappij tot Aanmoediging voor de Bouwkunst* (Society for the Encouragement of Architecture) had opened its membership to anyone associated with architecture or building, however remotely. In 1842 a changed name indicated a changed, more pro-active purpose: the *Maatschappij tot Bevordering* [Promoting] *der Bouwkunst.* It received royal patronage thirty-five years later. In 1908 the *Bond van Nederlandse Architecten* (Netherlands Architects Association) was founded by the Amsterdam architect Willem Kromhout and others, with membership limited exclusively to architects.

As early as 1843 many younger architects, dissatisfied with the Society's motley membership, had formed a subgroup of the *Maatschappij* to promote the *art* of architecture—*Art and Friendship.* Its Amsterdam branch took the Latin name *Arti et Amicitae,* while pragmatic Rotterdammers used the vernacular *Kunst*

en Vriendschap; in The Hague a similar group was simply *Pictura*. The later *Architectura et Amicitia* more or less copied these regional societies; its name indicates that its main interest was in architecture.[17] And when *Wendingen* was its voice, when technology threatened to subsume the art of architecture, its members regarded themselves as artists, not technologists and wore flambards to prove it. These young architects were soon to be labeled the Amsterdam School.

Although many people were involved in the establishment of *Wendingen*—there was an editorial board of nine—when the first edition (all 150 copies of it) was launched Wijdeveld was at the helm as editor-in-chief.[18] His recollection at the age of eighty of how he became steersman was less than modest:

> I regularly wrote small items about architecture for [*Bouwkundig*] *Weekblad*. When the meeting wanted me to participate in its editorial board, I said "Yes." Applause. And I was in. Ten days later there was the first editorial meeting. . . [Upon being welcomed] I answered, "Chairman, I accept my task with one intention, and that is the following: that this journal must disappear as quickly as possible . . . it must become an international monthly journal. . . ." One year later, when the war was over, I had *Wendingen* ready. I immediately sent a specimen copy everywhere.[19]

Wijdeveld energetically gained an international reputation for the journal, sweeping Europe to find cooperative like-minded artists. Within the first six years of *Wendingen*'s life he published articles by and about many now-famous architects and artists: Bruno Taut, Mendelsohn, Herman Finsterlinn, Auguste Perret, Amedée Ozenfant and Dudok. *Wendingen* embraced both visual and performing arts, and went beyond them with the excellent *schelpennummer* that published the first x-ray photographs of nautilus shells, and its lovely edition of "architectonic fantasies in the world of crystals."[20]

Wijdeveld would continue to examine each opening avenue, optimistically seeking the better world at the end of every new vista. *Wendingen* had been founded with that quest in mind but his search was essentially personal, intensifying as he grew older. Like many artists and thinkers of his generation, he believed that better art could lead to a better world. Through the 1920s Europe disappointed him by failing to improve after "a cleansing war." He knew only conflict with an enemy he could not recognize: artistic conservatism, materialism, "the *danse macabre* of selfishness and hate," the juggernaut of the machine—each and all were its manifestations from time to time identified in his writings. That enemy, elusive as Theosophical faerie, changed forms as often as the anticipated Deliverer. If Wijdeveld could not identify a single guru, he clearly regarded Wright as leader among many, a man after his own heart, one in purpose with him. In 1921 Wijdeveld devoted an entire issue to the American.

To comprehend the sympathy between Wijdeveld and his Amsterdam circle, and their joint response to Wright, it must be understood that they considered their architecture and his to properly belong to a better, wiser world inhabited by a worthier, "ideal" society. Their ideas suited neither the present time nor the present system, a characteristic of all such groups. For example, *De Stijl*, exactly contemporary with *Wendingen*, presented alternatives for a better future rather than addressing present issues.

Such documents and beliefs must be viewed in the context of a Europe reeling from the effects of a new phenomenon: total war. The alternative to optimism, however blind that optimism may have been, was despair. Idealists often find it hard to come to terms with the real processes involved in reaching distant goals, and prophecy is not so arduous as persistence. The difference between the Dutch groups and Wright was significant, and by its very nature that difference would have evoked their admiration. Although he (like them) called for new social attitudes to architecture and a style of life that architecture might one day serve, he (unlike them) had been able to actually get down to *making* the buildings of which he dreamed.

Wijdeveld clearly announced *Architectura et Amicitia*'s ideals in his first editorial, where he gave readers a glimpse of things to come. He promised that there would be found in *Wendingen* the "turnings" through which all artistic expressions were making their way. The journal's policy was to welcome those creative tendencies that "charged with such powerful impulse, pave the way to future harmonies."[21] He ambiguously wrote of an architecture conceived as pure structure, the plastic development of space, "the march of sculpture" and the "chaotic evolution of painting." Stressing necessary urgent change, it nonetheless implied that such change should be evolutionary and progressive. Yet, it was not too different from other Protestant declarations and manifestoes of the period.

A half-century later, with his penchant for the histrionic, Wijdeveld recalled the impetus for *Wendingen*'s birth. The first world war had brought

> chaos over Europe! But from the suffering of millions there was sparked a stronger desire for a better way to live together. In those years many artists in Amsterdam gathered around *Wendingen* . . . a uniting of younger and older men through wonderful trust in, and passionate surrender to the modern arts. . . . De Bazel, Lauweriks and Berlage, Wim Dudok, Roland Holst and Nijhoff, Gordon Craig, Verkade and Royaards, Rädecker, Pijper and Vermeulen, Ozenfant, Esser and van der Vlugt, Mendelsohn, van der Velde and Wright, were all striving together in the same cause.[22]

This list is most interesting. Wijdeveld recalled the period as a reflection of his own universal and eclectic philosophy which was to reveal itself so persistently in his successive proposals for an International Work Fellowship after 1925. The group of artists named could not have been more ubiquitous. They worked in drama, dance, painting, sculpture, music and architecture; they came from Holland, France, Britain, Germany and America. As Wijdeveld himself theatrically put it, he could "sweep across the totality of feeling and understanding," ultimately proclaiming, "I am *Wendingen*."[23]

This perhaps implied that he believed that he was able to manipulate architectural turnings; or he may have simply meant that he was not averse to being turned himself. The scope of his architectural designs and their sources suggests the latter. His philosophy embraced all humanity and he stood, he believed, at the hub of an artistic panopticon, able to see along each radiating avenue of development. His vision crossed all boundaries: national, political, philosophical, social—and aesthetic.

As faithful as Wijdeveld may have been to that vision, its application was

held in check by a conservative strain. He did not initiate or create much; rather, he was always looking for things, whatever they may have been and from whatever discipline they may have been drawn, to reapply. His ideals seem to have been constructed from others' ideas and he absorbed others' creations in the hope that they, perhaps collectively, would reveal truths and essences. He was in some senses an anachronism, epitomizing the late nineteenth century view of *fin-de-siècle.* When *Wendingen* first appeared, Wijdeveld viewed Wright as another artistic and directing force with which to reckon, belonging to that diverse band of creative artists he had embraced over the previous decade or so: another *medewerker*, a collaborator.

Almost two decades elapsed between Wijdeveld's first literary encounter with Wright and his launching of *Wendingen.* There had been reminders of Wright's work in the European architectural press. As soon as it was in Wijdeveld's power, he looked for ways to publish Wright's ideas and architecture.

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Chapter 7

Wijdeveld: Eye to Eye

Having published the peripheral piece by Wils in 1919, Wijdeveld was anxious to show Holland more of Wright's architecture.[1] He began by printing Berlage's objective evaluation of the American's work in *Wendingen* of November 1921.[2] Occupying the whole issue, it led to far greater things.

The wrapper for the number was designed by the Russian Constructivist El Lissitzky who had gone to Berlin that year as a kind of unofficial cultural ambassador and would thereafter maintain close ties with colleagues in Germany and Holland.[3] Already a well known figure, he was undoubtedly attractive to Wijdeveld. But his austere abstract cover was quite out of character with Wijdeveld's graceful page layouts and especially with Wright's work.

Berlage and van 't Hoff were then the only Dutch architects to have experienced Wright's buildings, although Berlage had not seen all those used to illustrate his article. He again commended Wright's 1908 "In the cause" essay and asked, "Does Wright's work answer to the ideal he himself so precisely formulated?" He believed not. He found the architecture personal, charming, even lovable: an art "at the root of which the mechanical only appears to lie." But he could find nothing in Wright's work to suggest repetitive machine production. Therefore (by Berlage's standards) it was not a universal architecture, not even typically American, because it was not an architecture of industry and commerce. "I find it difficult to see Wright," he wrote, "otherwise than as a romanticist, [difficult] to see him as an industrial artist," adding provocatively, "as he likes to see himself." In comparison with American industrial architecture, notably that by Kahn, there can be no question arising from Berlage's observation.

Yet, apart from objecting to some domestic roofs—Berlage thought Wright a slave to the "motif of the wide overhang"—the article was magnanimous, culminating in a restatement of what he had emphasized in 1912: "In his arrangement of space, Wright is at his highest power." The houses, Unity Temple, and the Larkin

building all passed Berlage's scrutiny with distinction. He concluded that Wright "holds a place among the greatest architects of these times." There would be no such praise from America until, only occasionally, the next decade. As Berlage observed, the "justifiable admiration" he drew was most evident in Europe.

The 1921 *Wendingen* contained photographs of the rebuilt Taliesin, of Midway Gardens, an aerial perspective of the Tokyo Imperial Hotel (then under construction) and drawings of the Aline Barnsdall house and others in Los Angeles, captioned "built in 1921." Thus, the issue was current and appeared just as Dutch interest in Wright approached its zenith. The illustrations, mostly of projects or buildings after 1910, were new to Europe. By insisting on fresh material Wijdeveld had outdone his publishing rivals, most of whom still drew upon Wasmuth.

Wijdeveld had asked the Berlin publishers for images but they declined. Their refusal was a disguised blessing. He had turned to a friend, Hermann Rosse of Arden Studios in New York, who provided the material. Because of logistical problems but mostly cost (a point he labored), the New Yorker was reluctant to provide material for a proposed further issue devoted to Wright.[4] Wasmuth's silence and Rosse's demurring led Wijdeveld to contact Wright himself in an attempt to tap the supply at its source. At first the American did not reply.

For some reason Wright did not receive a copy of Berlage's article—what Wright called "his" *Wendingen*—from the publisher. He claimed to have discovered it "quite by chance" about a year later when leafing through back numbers borrowed from a friend, Sigisbert Chrétien Bosch-Reitz of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. He immediately wrote not to Wijdeveld but Berlage. That was on 30 November 1922.[5] Wright ignored any gentle adverse criticisms, such as the "weakness" of the Dana house's vaulted ceilings or the part about overhangs; he also interpreted ambiguities in his own favor. It is noteworthy and ironic that most of the points to which Wright responded had not been made by Berlage. Perhaps the misunderstanding resulted from a faulty verbal translation made by Bosch-Reitz. Wright spoke only of having the article read to him.

Wright's response was to thank Berlage "simply and sincerely" for his "able minded and generous criticism." He added, "Good criticism is itself creative and needed by my country more than anything. We have not enough of the critical spirit." Berlage's main theme, the apparent incongruity between words and works—the "industrial architect" versus the romantic buildings—Wright inexplicably blamed upon the failure of American commerce, admitting

> Yes—you are right. I have been romancing—engaged upon a great Oriental Symphony—when my own people should have kept me at home busy with their own characteristic industrial problems—work which I would really prefer to do and to have done.

The remainder of his letter confirmed the abiding beliefs expressed in 1908. He wallowed in the encouragement of Europeans (like Berlage) who had "the benefit of a more cultured background" than his American counterparts. He promised to visit Berlage, see his work and discuss "matters so intimate and dear to us all as serious minded architects" and to meet "the young men of Holland whose vitality and purpose is evident."

He confided to Berlage that those "young men" had frequently written to him since 1918, asking for pictures of his architecture. Their requests, possibly including Wijdeveld's, Wright had not answered. With some justification, he excused himself to Berlage by pleading long absences in Japan over five years.[6] The requests for images and similar matters would have been referred to him and answered by post, either to Spring Green or Los Angeles, where much of his business was conducted in those years by his son John or Rudolph Schindler.

However, Wright frankly confessed to Berlage that had he known there was publicity in it for him, he would have been more attentive. Once he had caught the scent of a bouquet thrown from Holland, it suddenly became evident to him that he could secure some gratuitous publicity in a prestigious European journal. He told Berlage that a separate package was on its way to Holland with photographs and descriptions of the Barnsdall house—the *Wendingen* article had reproduced only drawings—and "a few views of the then finished portion of . . . the Imperial Hotel, in Tokyo," together with a discussion of the building published in Japan. This appears to be a circuitous approach to getting more of his work published in *Wendingen*. Perhaps Wright opined that the young men of Holland had become disaffected because of their ignored letters and flattery might win them back. In Wijdeveld's case, at least, that was quite unnecessary.

At the same day that he wrote to Berlage Wright also sent a letter to Oud in Rotterdam, ostensibly to thank him for calling on Wright's mother when he visited the United States.[7] That must have confused Oud because he had never left Europe. Most of the letter gave complicated instructions for passing photographs between Holland and Czechoslovakia. While telling Berlage a different story, Wright explained to Oud that he had omitted to ask the *bouwmeester* to send pictures on loan to the architect Bedrich Feuerstein, prominent in Prague's avant-garde. The Czech may have been encouraged to contact Wright after Berlage's *Wendingen* article was translated for *Styl* early in 1922, followed in another issue by an illustrated piece about the Imperial Hotel.[8] Feuerstein knew Antonin Raymond, who had emigrated from Czechoslovakia to the United States and worked for Wright for some years, including briefly in Tokyo. Raymond remained in Japan after the Imperial Hotel was finished. In 1922 he was a node in the network linking Wright to architectural developments in Europe.

Despite an eagerness to nurture every European contact, Wright was apparently unwilling to provide extra prints of the photographs sent to Berlage. And he claimed to have no spare copies of the descriptive pamphlets. All this fuss (he admitted to Oud) was "a rather awkward way of imposing" upon his Dutch colleagues. But he stressed that the pictures must end in Berlage's possession and any use that Berlage cared to make of them, Wright offhandedly said, would be all right with him. Just then, Wright had no Japanese commissions and only a couple in the United States. He also told Oud that he would come to Europe the following winter. Despite such oft-repeated assurances and protestations of his debt to Dutch architects, Wright never visited Holland.

The means by which architectural ideas have always been transmitted are many: traveling architects and craftsmen or their clients, in peace or war; images

of buildings (once drawings, now photographs, color or monochrome, still or moving); and published material. Since the burgeoning of transportation, itinerant exhibitions of images and models have become important. None of these means is ideal. Yet visiting a building, however perceptive and prolonged, is transient and at best leaves the observer with impressions. Although images of any kind cannot convey the spatial, experiential aspects of buildings at full scale, the written or spoken word reciprocally explaining them is a reasonably effective way to communicate an architectural idea. Berlage had written of Wright:

> The individual . . . as soon as he creates an independent form is in the way of creating a school; which means that a strong personality obtains not only superficial followers—the admirers of the exterior revelation only—but also those who in virtue of their talent, probe to the essence of the new form from the very start.[9]

Despite the observations made by Catherine Bauer in 1931, and already noted, by 1924 the interest of Holland's architects in Wright seems to have reached its peak. The architects who had perceived Wright's *ideas*—especially Wils and Dudok—by the mid-1920s had already begun to synthesize them with other notions as they developed respective personal styles. Others who persisted in attempts to mimic Wrightian motives, who merely admired the appearance of his work in illustrations, and quite independently of its spatial qualities, drew most inspiration from Wijdeveld's beautiful journal.

Seven consecutive issues of *Wendingen* in 1925 were devoted to Wright. They contained essays on Wright by Berlage, Oud, Mendelsohn, Lewis Mumford, Sullivan, Robert Mallet-Stevens and Wright, and were prolifically illustrated with superbly reproduced drawings and photographs. They were a source of ideas to which the readers could repeatedly return.

To gather the content for the *Wrightnummers*, as they became known, Wijdeveld prudently cast his net wide and early. The idea for the series had formed in his mind by the middle of 1921. He had also thought of following it with a bound, deluxe edition (probably reprinting articles in their original languages) and a separate English translation. Before October 1922 he canvassed potential contributors, trying to stimulate interest by sending "mock-up" pages of his proposal.[10]

Response was frustratingly slow. It is interesting but futile to speculate upon the possible effects of an earlier—say 1923—publication of the series if Wijdeveld had been able to gather the material more quickly. What would have happened if it appeared when interest in the American was waning, when many young Dutchmen were dallying with his style, and Le Corbusier's insistent voice had not as yet been heard?

Possibly prompted by Berlage's praise of the original 1908 version of "In the cause," as early as 1922 Wijdeveld wrote to Wright, asking for a copy.[11] Unobliging at first, as soon as he realized Wijdeveld's intention to devote further issues to him, Wright eagerly provided other material; indeed, he proved a very fruitful source. By the middle of 1923 the Hollander had charmed Rosse into sending two packets of photographs, despite the New Yorker's earlier protests; he even

suggested other possible sources. Wijdeveld also persisted with Wasmuth, without success. Their unwillingness to provide illustrations is perhaps explained by the imminence of a new edition of *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright*, ultimately released in 1924.

In January 1925 Wright finally sent the "long promised material." Expectedly, he had ideas for content, layout and cover design, "something dignified" perhaps incorporating his red square logo. But Wijdeveld had already designed a cover in red, black and white to be used for each *Wrightnummer* (Figure 7.1). It was poor enough to move the journal's publisher, the Santpoort art house of C.A.Mees, to paste disclaimer labels inside every copy of the first issue.

Wendingen was in itself a work of art. The firms that produced it—Mees, and the Haarlem printers, Enschede—had high standards of design and craftsmanship. When in late 1917 Wijdeveld, with Piet Kramer and Michel de Klerk, sought a printer for the journal, only Enschede was undeterred by an eccentric production in square format with special typography and double-folded pages. That, and Mees' willingness to risk publishing an esoteric magazine with a very small run, reveals a shared outlook in which quality preceded profit.

Anyway, Wright had to be content, mainly because of urgency, to design a kind of flyleaf: a geometric pattern, more complex, subtle, and appropriate to his architecture than anything produced by Wijdeveld. The design, which may have been Wright's proposal for the cover, was repeated in each issue (Figure 7.1).

As well as instructions, the packets from Taliesin contained line drawings of Midway Gardens (Wright was anxious about their inclusion because the building was "to be destroyed before long"), color renderings of the Imperial Hotel, with two articles about it by Sullivan and several portraits of Wright from which Wijdeveld eventually chose a 1923 photograph for a frontispiece.

The packets also contained a second sequel to "In the cause," written especially for *Wendingen*—the first was dated 1914—and supposedly an "appendix" addressed by Wright to his "European Co-workers" written especially for Wijdeveld in January 1925. The last item was somehow mislaid and Wright replaced it with another "of a more philosophical sort" in October, just in time for the last of the *Wrightnummers*. He told Wijdeveld of his belief that his Dutch colleagues would rather read of "simple faith that encourages the work to go on in spite of discouragement" than "talk of walls and beams and schemes of construction and methods of design." Perhaps the original "appendix" had been more prosaic. Wijdeveld would have empathized with the image conjured by the second version: Wright as a prophet crying unheeded in a cultural wilderness.

Wright may have seen *Wendingen* as a kind of publicity brochure to "exploit" him as he later put it. There was no hint that he felt honored by such attention. In 1922 he had admired the journal's format, praising Wijdeveld's "unfailing good taste"; now that his work was to be featured he became nervous and tried to take command. But Wijdeveld, by no means anxious to surrender it, did not accede to all Wright's suggestions. For instance, he published (as Wright wanted) a plan of Taliesin across a double page, but not, as Wright had suggested, to the exclusion of photographs of the house.

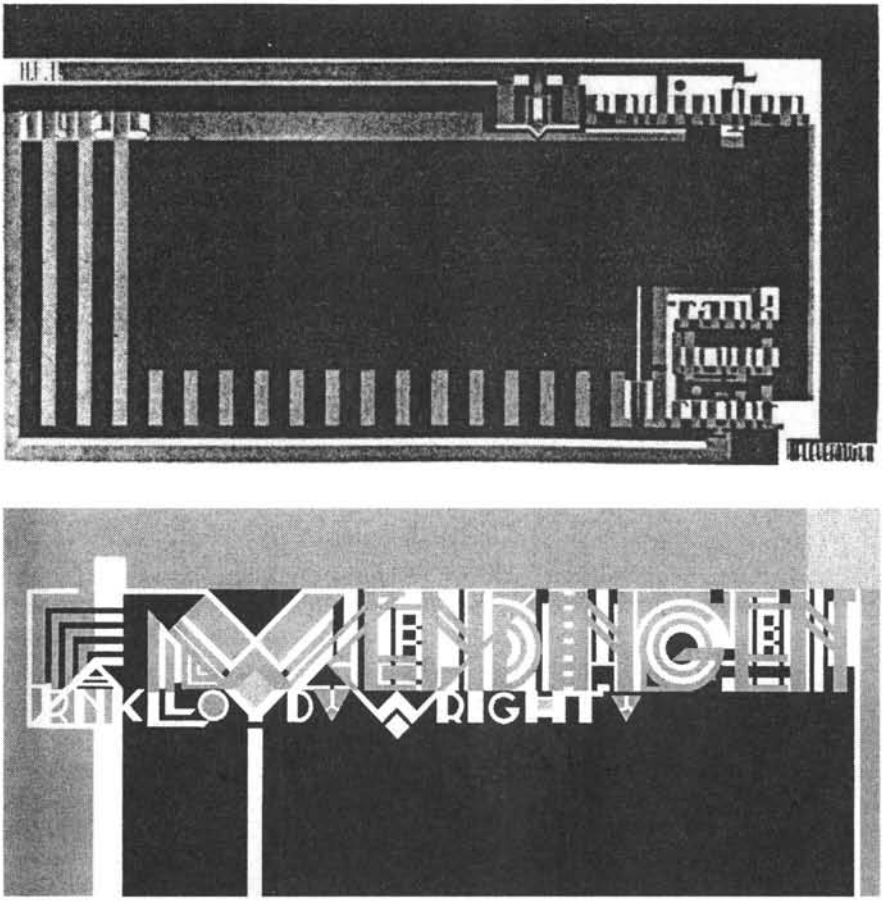

Figure 7.1. *Standard wrapper design for the* Wendingen "Wrightnummers", *H. Th. Wijdeveld, Designer, 1925. Below, standard title page design, Frank Lloyd Wright, Designer, 1925.*

Most of the accompanying essays had been published before. Wijdeveld personally composed the introduction, "Some Flowers for the Architect Frank Lloyd Wright." The page of lyrical flattery was welcomed by Wright as "a charming and graceful compliment of highest value [which] I hope some day to be able to return . . . in some fashion."[12] Mendelsohn, who had visited Wright in 1924 with introductions from Wijdeveld and Berlage, provided an essay first published in *Wasmuths Monatsheft fur Baukunst*.[13] Robert Mallet-Stevens wrote an original piece, "Frank Lloyd Wright et l'Esprit Nouvelle." Apart from these two pieces, in German and French respectively, the essays were in English. Wright's own contributions appeared in earlier issues. The Dutch input was a translation of Berlage's 1921 article and a new piece by Oud: "The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright upon the architecture of Europe," later to appear in several

translations.[14] Sullivan's articles, first published in *Architectural Record,*[15] and an original contribution by the American critic Lewis Mumford, "The social background of Frank Lloyd Wright" completed the text of seven, twenty-four page issues.

Wijdeveld had solicited other contributions from his international circle. It is surprising that Wils did not participate. His German contacts included Adolf Behne and many in the Berlin "Ring," and he was aware of Gropius and the Bauhaus. He knew Henry van de Velde. Yet *Wendingen* contained nothing from any of them. Neither did the British respond to his invitation; they had "discovered" the Dutch moderns in 1922 but would not notice Wright for another decade. Wijdeveld persistently approached Le Corbusier to contribute to the series. While admitting familiarity with some of Wright's buildings, and although he believed the *Wendingen* series a "happy event," for his own reasons the Swiss offered no help. The denial inaccurately cited by Pevsner and repeated by Banham: "I know nothing of this architect" is apocryphal.[16]

A shortage of textual material and illustrations may have prevented Wijdeveld from filling the ten issues to which he aspired. Nevertheless, *Wendingen*'s seven *Wrightnummers* carried nearly 200 photographs and drawings, reproduced by Enschede with great clarity.

While Wijdeveld was collating this formidable mass of material, rival publications were being planned in Germany, including the reissue of the 1911 Wasmuth folio. Heissenrich de Fries, editor of the Munich journal *Städtebau*, solicited material from Wright late in 1924. In January 1925 Wright used that circumstance, and the German's promise to publish "two portfolio monographs" with color reproductions of recent projects, to spur Wijdeveld to work faster. He told the Hollander that he had sent de Fries "two recent projects, one at Los Angeles and one at Lake Tahoe—which could not possibly be got into *Wendingen* and are not executed—as I have promised him material he has anxiously awaited long since" and added "I think that *Wendingen* should be pushed, so as not to be behind these things of de Fries if possible."[17] De Fries had also asked Oud for pictures of Wright's work—how the German knew that Oud had any is unclear—but Oud refused because Wijdeveld had not yet published.[18]

Wright received his presentation copy of the first special issue of *Wendingen* in October 1925. In a covering letter Wijdeveld abandoned accuracy for adulation to poetically inform Wright that "The Old World has printed your work in thousands of books, has bound your Master-mind in parchment, and has promised your genius an ever-lasting life." He added, "If I have done just a little to fulfil this promise I will be rewarded enough."[19]

Wright was delighted with the journal. And he wondered: would it sell in the United States? Could he use it to advertise his services? Notwithstanding this introverted preoccupation, the issue served to put *Wendingen* on the architectural map in North America, probably because of the number of copies Wright had imported. He excitedly informed Wijdeveld:

[The bookseller] Kroch of Chicago has undertaken 500 copies so soon as I showed him the sample copy, but expressed his opinion (which I share) that if the work would be shown in

its entirety some 2,000 copies might easily be sold in America. As additional numbers come out the interest will increase.

Kroch has written to Mees—and I have ordered 100 copies to put away against some future time.[20]

Wijdeveld learnt of *Wendingen*'s general success during an American lecture tour in 1962. He was excited to find that several university libraries held complete sets; many others had at least the Wright series. He later boasted, "From New Orleans to Chicago, in fourteen universities, the librarians asked me to autograph the first number of *Wendingen*. They had all preserved a full set."[21]

At some stage of their correspondence in 1925 Wright had invited the Wijdeveld family to visit Taliesin. Wijdeveld's response was little short of ecstatic. Times were hard for him. He believed that, like Wright—a man of the "same standing of life, philosophy and art"—he was unappreciated by his compatriots. He complained:

[Understand] what it is for me to be an architect in Holland. I am half idealist, one quarter unpractical, and the rest faithful to the great rules of an honest life. I am working about 14 hours a day . . . and still . . . no work suitable for my mastering powers in building [his ellipses]. . . . "Society" neglects the modern architect and my designs are "castles in the air." Therefore be careful with your invitation when I come to America. . . . [his ellipses] I might stay forever.[22]

The pragmatic building industry is no place for an idealist. Wijdeveld's disappointment and impatience with the mundane aspects of architecture would dog his career. In 1934 he confessed to a growing conviction that he was not the architect he had dreamed of; his buildings were not the hoped-for "creation of a new world."[23] Despite Wijdeveld's irrepressible optimism and a reasonably buoyant and diverse practice, he had become disillusioned a decade earlier.

Wijdeveld was a true, unabashed and undisciplined eclectic. In the argot of architectural criticism that once honorable word has become pejorative, because of the biases of the Modern Movement. But its Greek etymology has to do with careful selection and not indiscriminate acquisition. Wijdeveld was eclectic in just such a heady, dignified sense: no scrambler after fashion but a seeker after truth. It was small wonder that he welcomed Wright's invitation. That innocuous overture—a family visit to Spring Green—heralded Wijdeveld's intimate, critical involvement in planning the structure and curriculum of the Taliesin Fellowship. The family visit never took place. Wijdeveld would go alone in 1931, and nearly twenty years later he and Ellen visited Wright at Taliesin West in Arizona.

Wijdeveld's practice had thus far been at best desultory, especially since the end of the Great War. That was perhaps a comment on his idiosyncratic personality, perhaps upon his architectural skills. He had executed set designs for productions by Willem Royaards and Eduard Verkade for *Hamlet* and *Antigone* around 1918, and a plethora of graphic designs but he realized only half the *architectural* projects undertaken between 1918 and 1925. Apart from three multistory blocks of workers' houses in Amsterdam of 1920-1927, only some small domestic

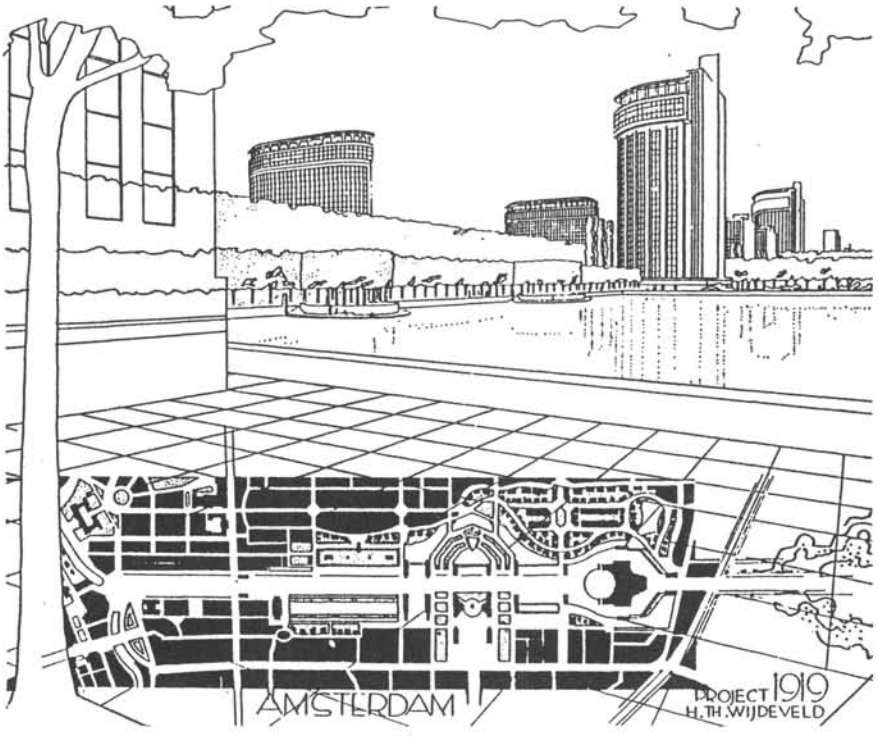

Figure 7.2. *Proposed Great People's Theater and Vondelpark redevelopment, Amsterdam, H. Th. Wijdeveld, Architect, 1919. Perspective drawing and block plan of park and surrounding tower blocks. The theater is on the long axis at the right hand end of the park. Widely published since 1919.*

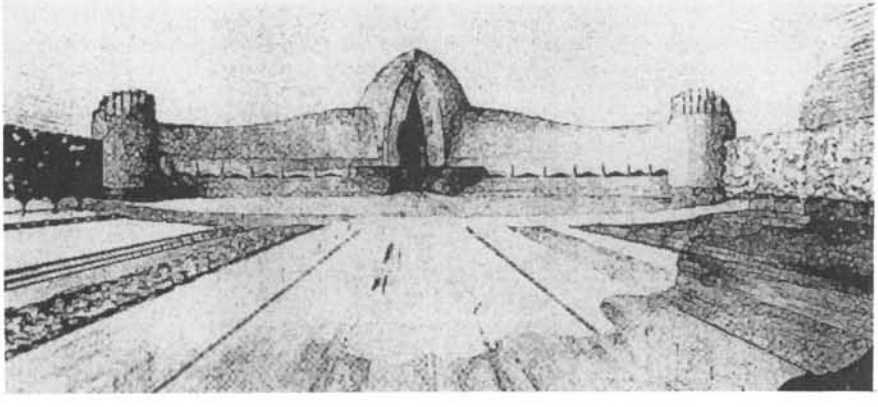

Figure 7.3. *Proposed Great People's Theater, Amsterdam, H. Th. Wijdeveld, Architect, 1919. Perspective drawing by Donald Langmead of approach to theater, based on the architect's drawings, as widely published since 1919.*

commissions were built. [24]

The first in 1920 was a timber house in flower fields outside Naarden for a nurseryman named Bendien. Sloping walls of pantiles under a flat roof enclosed the upper floor of the compact Amsterdam School fantasie. The idiosyncratic ground floor exterior had accordion-folded timber siding painted purple and yellow, triangular windows and in front of the living room window, a hand-carved "totem pole" painted in a brightly colored floral pattern. It was hardly "the creation of a new world." And it could not have been more philosophically remote from his contemporary proposal for Amsterdam.

That 1919-1920 project for a radial city he called "Amsterdam 2000"—high hexagonal apartment towers each for 2,000 inhabitants, located in a green belt around the old city—anticipated Le Corbusier's *ville radieuse* by several years. The difference was that nothing of old Amsterdam needed to be destroyed to make way for Wijdeveld's scheme. Le Corbusier, by contrast, would have replaced much of Paris with concrete highways and tall towers.

Another major project, also incidental to the expansion of Amsterdam, was the redevelopment of the Vondelpark, including a *Volkstheater* (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). Wijdeveld's 1919-1920 proposal followed one stream of the Amsterdam School, borrowing elements of Dutch vernacular architecture and desperately trying to fit them into a contemporary mode. The result was unsatisfactory in any architectural or symbolic sense, and of a scale gigantic enough to daunt a Boullée. As a terminus for rows of towers along the attenuated vista of Vondelpark, the theater recalled traditional roof forms covering and flanking a central vulval opening that (wrote Wijdeveld with pointed metaphor) would "summon the multitudes" as they poured in to "fertilize its inner organism." Rejection of his radical notions disappointed him, as he told a friend years later:

> I can still remember the laughter in the hall over many of my proposals [for the Vondelpark project]. There was even irritation on the part of the [Park] Board . . . when I showed them. The professional journal referred in its editorial leader to my vandalism. [25]

That was neither the first nor the last time that his ridiculed or discredited ideas were later repeated by other architects to be critically pronounced a success. The Amsterdam radial plan is an example. And the glass skyscrapers it incorporated were contemporary with the much feted tower projects of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. It is clear that in those years Wijdeveld marched in the vanguard of modernism. Yet for some reason these facts are seldom presented, or have been allowed to pass with only token acknowledgment.

After the 1918 Armistice Holland's cities, especially Amsterdam, underwent major urban expansion under the provisions of the *Woningwet* (Housing Act) of 1901. Wijdeveld's radial plan, while not sponsored by the municipality, had been presented as a response to that planned growth. It was not realized. The development plans as implemented were much less radical, but he accepted commissions for blocks of workers' flats from Amsterdam's public housing authorities at a time when the municipality and a number of cooperatives undertook large housing schemes. [26]

While much less exuberant than de Klerk's and Kramer's contemporary developments, Wijdeveld's four-story brick block in the Indischebuurt, designed in 1920, was the most sculptural of his three housing complexes in Amsterdam. Two massive round towers defined its street corner and a band of projecting top floor windows broke its street-long flat facades. A tower interrupted its north side and the west, gently curved to the line of Celebesstraat, was terminated by an oriel. His second commission, of 1920-1924, covered a city block on Amstelkade. And the Hoofdweg development of 1925-1927 was his blandest, its monotony exacerbated by hundreds of flush-mounted windows regimentally marching down the street.

In June 1921 Wijdeveld offered a second scheme for a *volkstheater*, this time for Amsterdam's Plantage Middenlaan. Not so grand as the Vondelpark proposal, it was almost as biological, its plan evoking a gargantuan breast. Externally, vast areas of unbroken wall produced an inhuman scale. The intimidating entrance across a wide, featureless forecourt was punctuated by bulky, pylon-like structures redolent of the central pavilion of the first design.[27] Also in 1921 Wijdeveld entered a competition for the Bloemendaal town hall and municipal offices: a long, low and narrow composition with the mandatory tall tower.

In all these buildings and designs he attempted to emulate his Amsterdam School colleagues who borrowed the traditional, or invented new, often contrived forms, mostly in brick or terra cotta. Wijdeveld seemed unable to adequately deal with scale, proportion, or materials. His searching mind would be flooded with too many ideas to be collected in a single work, resulting in the diminishing of each, and endowing interior and exterior with a *pot-pourri* of materials, colors and textures. Further, he was inconsistent at any one moment, or within his oeuvre. This was best demonstrated in the villa *De Wachter* in Amersfoort, of 1925 (Figure 7.4). Its complicated plan was reflected externally by a series of juxtaposed cubes, two or three stories high. A few half-cylinders, one projecting into the garden, provided a counterpoint. The external surfaces had an incoherent variety of finishes.

Little of Wijdeveld's architecture in the 1920s showed anything of Wright's influence. An exception was the interior of the Dutch Exhibition on the Esplanade des Invalides at the 1925 Paris *Éxposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes*. In the disposition of levels and flow of space between them, the horizontal emphasis and canopy details at entrances, there was a rather distorted echo of the auditorium interior of Unity Temple.[28]

Earlier Wijdeveld had been more mimetic of Wright, and usually superficially. Only one project was realized. A house at Zandvoort of 1915 displayed overall horizontality—rows of windows, wide overhangs, a low hipped roof, and a plan influenced by the prairie houses. The cottage, flanked by open terraces and a balcony, attempted to blend into the sand-dune site. A "sketch for a country house on the [River] Vecht" of the same year also owed much to Wright.[29] The same can be said of an ambitious design for a country house at Heemstede of 1918. Its spreading plan echoed the prairie houses, and at least part of the form closely followed Wright's Larkin Company Building at the Jamestown, Virginia,

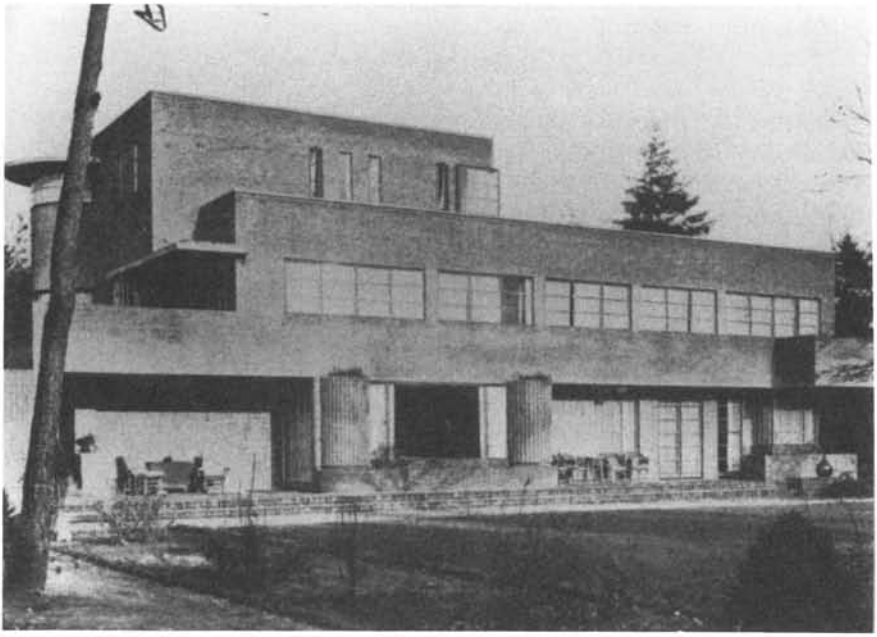

Figure 7.4. *"De Wachter," Amersfoort, The Netherlands, H.Th. Wijdeveld, Architect, 1925. Exterior view, as published in Wattjes(1931b).*

exhibition of 1907 and elements of Unity Temple and other buildings in *Ausgeführte Bauten.*[30] It was as close as Wijdeveld ever came to copying Wright. (He would later tell Wright that, despite his great admiration, he was not an imitator). Around 1919 he produced studies for a musician's house and an interior perspective appeared in *Wendingen* next to a drawing of the Coonley house living room.[31] Even the drafting style imitated the Coonley rendering.

When thanking Wijdeveld for a copy of the first *Wrightnummer* the American asked for the return of original material sent to Holland. He explained that in his absence Herman Sörgel, editor of the Munich journal *Baukunst,* had visited Taliesin and had left a note announcing an eagerness to produce an issue to surpass *Wendingen* in quality. Wright confided to Wijdeveld, "I must say that *Wendingen*, however, seems pretty good to me."[32] Nonetheless, he cooperated with Sörgel, making sure Wijdeveld was tantalizingly informed about progress.

Wijdeveld returned the documents in September 1925. Four more parcels were despatched in October as soon as the printer had prepared the remaining numbers. Wright did not acknowledge their arrival. This seemingly trivial incident characterized the relationship. Wijdeveld gave, Wright took. But Wijdeveld saw a more serious problem: the reason for Wright recalling the material. The Dutchman reacted plainly enough in a letter of April 1926:

I remember you offered me (after the publication of a simple *Wendingen* number) to publish all your work. The book which is just ready now will show all you have

sent—alas! it is not all you have built . . . or designed! I would have been so glad to do the world the pleasure of publishing the life work of one of their Greatest. Instead of this I heard that you gave a set of the latest designs to a commercial publication in Germany. [33]

It seems that Wijdeveld had inferred from an earlier letter an implicit promise of exclusive European literary rights. That was not the meaning that Wright intended when he had predicted that *Wendingen* would be in demand in America when the special series was complete, comprising a set that published "the work shown in its entirety." To him, the phrase meant the work that Wijdeveld had done in producing the journal. But to Wijdeveld, it meant Wright's entire oeuvre.

Wijdeveld repeatedly asserted that *Wendingen* was not a "commercial publication" for profit. Its *raison d'être* was rather to provide a vehicle for the Amsterdam School architects to express admiration for their fellow workers, including Wright, as they had in several dedicated issues. Wijdeveld prophesied in his April 1926 letter that *Wendingen* would circulate more widely than its German competitors because its mostly English text opened international markets.

His vision did not end with that considerable achievement. He proposed "within one or two years" a second volume in the same format as the omnibus edition, with a new article and introduction by Wright. He pleaded with the American not to publish his work elsewhere but to "keep it together as a treasure for the second volume." He may have been trying to play Wright's game, using the promised book to stop the Sörgel and de Fries projects, but such deviousness seems out of character. Wijdeveld was serious about a sequel.

The bound edition of *Wendingen* was still in preparation early in 1926 when de Fries published *Frank Lloyd Wright: Aus dem Lebenswerke eines Architekten* in Berlin. The German text included articles by de Fries, Richard Neutra and Wright, and excerpts from the *Schweizerische Bauzeitung* report of Berlage's 1912 lecture. The publication had only half the number of images proposed for the *Wendingen* omnibus. Its advantages were nine Wright drawings reproduced in color and Neutra's essay.

Just about then Sörgel's so-called "spectacular" February 1926 number of *Baukunst* was issued.[34] A short editorial, entitled "A cross-section of international development," cursorily compared Wright, Mendelsohn and Dudok. In the ten pages of accompanying illustrations, five of Wright's buildings were wrongly captioned; for example, Oak Park Unity Temple was labelled "Trinity Church"! Other articles were more specific: a summary of Wright's career by Barry Byrne (presented as a "student of Wright"),[35] translated by Sörgel, accompanied a portrait of Wright; and Mendelsohn's recollection of a 1924 visit to Taliesin was illustrated with the Coonley and Robie houses. Wijdeveld's apprehensions about being preempted by Sörgel would have vaporized upon opening *Baukunst*.

De Fries' publication troubled him more. He told Wright, "I can't help being disappointed about the [book]," adding it was a *fait accompli*. Wright realized the mistake of entrusting his work to the Germans, as he admitted to Wijdeveld in May 1926: "If I had seen before what I now see, I would have given you everything for *Wendingen*."[36] Or perhaps those words were intended to keep Wijdeveld producing the propaganda.

At the end of April the *Wendingen* book was almost ready. Wijdeveld excitedly told Wright that he was "busy wrapping the edition in linen, bind[ing] it in parchment and leather, and execut[ing] the cover you want." He went on to explain that he and Mees, disagreeing about the cover decoration and the use of "that red square of yours," decided to refer the question to Wright:

I send you [Mees'] proposal (He, not I, designed the gold lettering of your name) and ask you . . . may your name be put on the red square? The publisher's arguments are, that he can sell the book more easily with the name on the back.[37]

Wright's instructions in reply were in an undated note accompanied by a hasty "paste-up" on manilla board.[38] He specified warm grey as the basic color, picked out with red; the gold, which seems to have been Wijdeveld's idea, appealed to Wright. Two versions were planned: one bound in linen, one in half-leather. The final design of the deluxe cover was the combined effort of Wright, Wijdeveld, and the publishers. Only Wright was credited with the linen cover design.[39]

The omnibus had been advertised in each of the *Wrightnummers*: "This book comprises seven numbers of *Wendingen*, each containing twenty-four pages while the complete book has above 200 illustrations. . . . The linen binding and the flyleaves are designed by Frank Lloyd Wright." The publisher also offered to bind collected issues for *Architectura* members and *Wendingen* subscribers for three and a half guilders. A completely new book, linen-bound, would cost thirty. With the third issue came the first public mention of a numbered deluxe edition bound in half-leather, costing forty-five guilders, a late decision that may account for the urgent correspondence about the cover design. In fact, the copy sent to Wright was in linen, suggesting that a lack of demand disappointed plans for the expensive version.

Although *Bouwkundig Weekblad* announced in January 1926 its imminent release, the omnibus was not reviewed. When Wijdeveld was working in the United States in 1948 Kroch of Chicago issued a reprint that was noticed by the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*.[40] Wijdeveld made no mention of the reprint in his memoirs and there is no evidence that he was consulted. As noted, the *Wendingen* book was republished in 1965 with slight revisions, upon the authority of Olgivanna Wright, once again without Wijdeveld's knowledge. It is ironic that a book conceived as a harbinger of better architecture should become famous as an independent work of art and an historical document. It had a more immediate effect in The Netherlands, although much less than Wijdeveld might have wished.

The "official" attitude of the Dutch architectural profession to the *Wrightnummers* hinted at Wright's diminishing impact. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, organ of the *Bond van Nederlandse Architecten*, and almost exclusively devoted to recent work of members, was alone in noticing *Wendingen*. Coolly complimentary to Wright, it ridiculed Wijdeveld's "Flowers" essay when reviewing the first two numbers. Nevertheless, the eulogy was quoted at length and the critique which followed—cynical and decidedly prosaic in matter and tone—found the American's architecture praiseworthy:

And now follow Wright's works, piece by piece: his Larkin office complex, his Unity Temple, the Coonley house—the beautiful, increasingly captivating Coonley house—bound in a beautifully designed cover. But more beautiful and delicate is Wright's own contribution on the inside page. We have seen much Frank Lloyd Wrightism, particularly in *Wendingen*. This example of his own has won us over. "Turnings" is here subtly evoked in a kaleidoscope of lines, squares and circles, through which the black background flows away to a grey border. And two red dots glow upon it like rubies on a bracelet. The following issue brings . . . the Robie House and Wright's own house, Taliesin. This house is detailed history, so detailed that the obvious may be seen only fragmentally. A pragmatic observer notes that it would take quite a while to close all the doors each evening. But apart from that there appears in Wright an inclination to a patriarchal lifestyle, which could hardly have been guessed from his first works. We await the future numbers with mounting interest. [41]

The editors had fallen into the trap Berlage warned of in 1921, seeing only the "exterior revelation." They wrote nothing about ideas offered in the cause of architecture.

Wijdeveld weathered this brief squall of criticism. He, not Wright, was the target of editorial rivals. His enthusiastic letter to Wright as the *Wendingen* book came off the press demonstrated his conviction: "The books will find their way all over the world." Bound or in single issues, the publications were, as Dudok later put it, "a revelation to Europe and America."[42] Later, architectural historians Fanelli and Godoli incorrectly asserted that *Wendingen* concentrated upon the formal elements of Wright's work, attracted by its "exotic elements of plastic exuberance" and "sensual abundance of expression."[43] Had the material been available, Wijdeveld would have presented the world with everything he could muster to show the "life-work of one of its Greatest."

Wright was enthralled by the book, or at least so Olgivanna tells us. She recalled his first reaction, not altogether without maudlin:

We bent over the large, beautifully proportioned book with its light cloth covers. [Frank] opened it slowly and there after the first page was the poetic portrait . . . by the Dutch architect T.[*sic*] Th. Wijdeveld. "This is a fine piece of work," Mr Wright said. "It is very well done indeed. Wijdeveld understands my architecture. . . ." Mr Wright kept this *Wendingen* edition close by his side. This book was always there. If it ever disappeared at any time, he would immediately say, "Who took my *Wendingen*? Bring that book back.." He admired its proportions and layout, and enjoyed turning the pages over, studying his buildings, reading the text; and he took great pleasure in the reproduction of his drawings and the splendid photographs . . . often saying, "What a wonderful work this is." [44]

Olgivanna's memories were colored by the prospect of marketing her edition of the book, or a desire to show off Wijdeveld's adulation of her husband, or both.

Wright's first published assessment was in his 1932 *Autobiography*, when he wrote: "To join . . . Wasmuth in Germany, 1910, Holland, in 1925, contributed by the way of the art publication *Wendingen*, a splendid volume. I had never expected anything like it, nor even seen anything like it. I suspect no architect alive or dead ever did." However, the short statement of gratitude was altered in the 1943 version to read: "I had never expected anything like, nor had I known anything about this one. I suspect no architect ever had a greater tribute. . . . In

Holland they said that but for my work the modern architecture of Holland would not have existed. So Wijdeveld easily found support for this work."[45] The revision reflects Wright's enlarged self-evaluation and his increasing conceit. The case for this view is made elsewhere but could not be more succinctly presented here.[46] It is obvious that he knew "about this one." When the opportunity for publicity presented itself, he energetically and conscientiously worked upon the fertile field of Wijdeveld's admiration until it yielded a harvest. But Wright had not yet exhausted that fruitful ground.

Chapter 8

The Show

Among his attempts to change the course of his personal fortunes, Wright explored the possibility of an exhibition in Europe at least two years before it was realized. He tried several avenues and unsuccessfully solicited the help of several people before Wijdeveld became the executor in Europe of what Wright called "The Show." The altruistic Hollander's involvement is interwoven with another plan by Wright, the foundation of a school of applied arts. A summary of preceding events is essential to understanding both The Show and the school.

In early 1915, just months after the murder of his mistress Mamah, Wright met Maud Miriam Noel. Until 1926 they irritatingly tried to dominate each other's domestic and social life. He spent two-thirds of the time between 1916 and 1922 in Tokyo, often with her, supervising the construction of the Imperial Hotel and other smaller commissions. Their relationship was so turbulent and unstable that a marriage in late 1923 was a surprising turn. Indeed, it was hardly unexpected when they separated only five months later. In July 1925 Wright sued for divorce, but only after winning the affection of a young divorcee, Olgivanna Hinzenberg (*nee* Milan). When Miriam learned of this new lover her reaction was spiteful and vengeful. The press made it into a soap opera. Robert Twombly and Brendan Gill have detailed the various proceedings, skirmishes with courts, the involvement of a State governor and even the United States Congress, the machinations of banks, pursuits by federal officers, fugitive journeys, and the loss to a bank of Wright's Spring Green home, Taliesin. The chaotic affair consumed all personal energies, moneys, and emotions.

When it became clear that Miriam's contestations were motivated largely by malice and that she may have been mentally unstable, Wright was granted a divorce in 1927. Exactly one year later when legally final, he married Olgivanna and his beloved Taliesin was redeemed. Outstanding debts were paid by Frank Lloyd Wright Incorporated whose shares were purchased by friends, colleagues and admirers, whose "hopes for financial return," as Twombly puts it, "were based

on [Wright's] ability to design buildings for profit." He was allowed to return to Taliesin so he could work to repay them. "Denied work," he had said, "and what freedom have you?"[1]

These events released him from the past and signalled a Renaissance. By 1930 the sixty-three year old architect desperately needed money to repay those who had invested in his talent. But no architectural commissions appeared. His practice had not recovered from fifteen years of neglect, partly caused by absences in Japan and partly by the scandal. Until design work came along he had to find other means of obtaining funds. Writing was one way—articles and an autobiography—and giving lectures another and they would speed rehabilitation and gain positive public attention.

He also entered into desultory negotiations to produce designs for the Leerdam Glass Factory in Holland.[2] When late in 1922 its director P.M. Cochius invited Wright to join its band of illustrious Dutch designers his letter was ignored, despite an accompanying introduction from Berlage. Within weeks, Wright wrote to thank the Dutch architect for his 1921 *Wendingen* article but, strangely, he did not mention the Leerdam offer. Four-and-a-half years later Cochius tried again. Early in September 1927 Wright replied that he was eager to become involved, and asked about payment. Cochius suggested that he might design a dinner service suitable for the American market, for a royalty of five per cent on retail sales. But Wright again fell silent. Cochius politely wrote at intervals for another year to no avail.

In November 1928, during a business trip, Cochius visited Wright at Spring Green. Among other things they discussed the possibility of Leerdam producing a glass block based upon Wright's concrete masonry designs. Soon after Cochius left Wright wrote to feebly promise that he would make "some glass designs some of these days and send them along to you." He was negotiating a 1928 contract that included an alteration to normal copyright by investing it in Wright "for life" because it seemed "more romantic and in keeping with the spirit of the thing." It also allowed him to boast about the lifetime contract, even if unenforceable. For a man who publicly denounced copyrighting it was an unsavory act.

His relationship with Leerdam was unsuccessful in most ways, especially financially. He was slow to send drawings, the factory had difficulty executing designs because he failed to learn production techniques, and he was displeased with the trial products because of modifications forced by manufacturing process. When he eventually sent drawings for the dinner set early in 1930 an *impasse* was reached: Leerdam could not make it unless Wright changed the designs. Cochius suggested that he might visit the Corning glassworks in New York and Wright promised he would, but did not. None of his designs for Leerdam went beyond prototypes. Quite deservedly he made no money from the sporadic venture.[3]

In August 1927 Wright was visited by the Dutch engineer Alphons Siebers, a lecturer in the Architecture Faculty at Delft *Technische Hogeschool*, where Wright's work was held in high esteem. The head of the faculty, Marinus Jan Granpré Molière, had embraced Roman Catholicism in 1927 and he thereafter based his pedagogy upon Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle, coming to regard

architecture not so much as a humane service but as an act of worship. Gathering sympathetic teachers around him, he was opposed to all "new" architecture. Granpré Molière led a "school" in both the academic and philosophical sense. Many architects, swayed by his persuasive writings, rejected transient fashions in favor of his interpretation of eternal architectural truths. While sometimes sensitive, their architecture was essentially parochial, synthesizing rather than copying historical forms. They looked to vernacular sources, giving rise to a nationalistic revival rather like that seen forty years earlier in the English Arts and Crafts.[4]

In 1924 Jannes Gerhardus Wattjes, then a professor at Delft, summarized the view of Dutch conservative theorists when he wrote that old or new classicism and the Amsterdam School's "new-fangled baroque" could not "fertilize the artistic spirit and bring it to new life." Rather—by a strange twist of logic—only the "modern English, German, and Dutch country-house style of yesterday could achieve this." He identified the architecture of Høeg-Hansen in Denmark, Östberg in Sweden, Eliel Saarinen in Finland, and significantly, Wright, as taking the correct path. Following their example the Dutch would see a "New-Dutch" architecture evolve.[5]

In many of his writings Wright had argued the necessity to fully understand national characteristics in order to develop a true vernacular or folk architecture; tradition was one source of such a study. And he had discovered and defined a personal, perhaps a regional, if not national architecture. Despite this congruity of thought, the Dutch Catholic architectural press, representing the Delft school, paid little attention to Wright for several decades. That may be in part explained by the major cultural partition of Holland being religious. The division extended to Catholic architecture versus Calvinist architecture, and if the Protestants embraced Wright the Catholics, on principle, would not.

Nevertheless, in 1927 Wright was easily the best-known American architect in Holland. So it was not unreasonable for Siebers to make personal contact. He met Wright at Taliesin, the "farm-studio" where the American was "busy setting up a new period of important work." Pointing out that he knew only three architects in Holland (Berlage, Oud and Wijdeveld) Wright raised the matter of further publicizing his work in Europe, perhaps by holding an exhibition, with the ultimate intention of creating more interest in it in America. At least, that was how Siebers' interpreted his motive.[6]

Anyway, Siebers put the idea of an exhibition by letter to Berlage, who replied that, after the financial failure of *Wendingen*'s special Wright issues the *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst* was unable to underwrite a show. The *bouwmeester* suggested Siebers approach Oud, then president of the Rotterdam functionalist group *Opbouw,* and the engineer enthusiastically wrote from Chicago towards the end of September 1927. He told Oud that it would be "good for architecture" to have a Wright exhibition, with the "most beautiful architectural drawings he had ever seen." However, Oud had just been taken ill with chronic depression, which effectively interrupted his career until 1933, and was in no position to act. When the exhibition was finally mounted in Europe it was almost entirely through the efforts of Wijdeveld.

Its organization was entangled with Wijdeveld's dream of a second *Wendingen* book, and with negotiations about his directorship of the school of arts and crafts Wright was planning. That latter proposal must not be confused with Wright's social invitation made in 1925 to the Wijdeveld family to visit Spring Green. The exhibition and the school are here treated separately. The former was, after all, mostly a matter of business while cooperation in the school had strong philosophical currents. As events would prove, there were counter-currents just as strong.

Wijdeveld's critical role in the development of Wright's school will be discussed later. Here it is necessary to note that in a letter of October 1930 Wright formally and directly asked the Hollander to consider joining him in the United States. Wijdeveld was assured that he could be director of Wright's proposed arts and crafts school, sponsored by unidentified Chicago interests or the University of Wisconsin. It was attractive bait, impossible to refuse. The hook—and the question must be asked, Was it a hidden hook?—was the task of organizing and propagandizing a European tour of The Show.

Together with the *Autobiography* of 1932 and the Hillside School or Taliesin Fellowship, The Show was a major promotional effort by Wright to meet financial obligations and to repair his damaged public image so that he could gain more work. The ordering of his troubled finances and the nature and cause of his disrepute need to be summarized, not only for a better understanding of events but in order to comprehend his reactions to overtures from Europe.

The Show was conceived just as the rather insignificant Leerdam prospect faded. Since he charged for the loan of his own artefacts and to lecture, there was good publicity, a little money and most importantly a chance of attracting new commissions. Unfortunately Wright's renaissance coincided with the Great Depression. And corporate America and the Federal government shunned him. Fortunately Wright was proving to be interesting reading at what was also a crucial philosophical juncture in American architecture, 1930, when the visual and verbal propaganda for a new European hegemony, as he argued, was becoming most persuasive. While it is not known exactly why he was invited, in that year Wright mounted a series of exhibitions—The Show—in the northeast, central north and northwest of America.[7]

He also presented a series of lectures, all thematically related, at a few urban centers and universities. He spoke of the excellence and revolutionary character of his architecture, himself as the source of Europe's new "style," the need for an American architecture derived from her soil and history that would repel yet another European artistic colonialism, a new urbanism, and so forth. Two publications of his lectures were forthcoming: the Scammon Lectures to the Art Institute of Chicago and the Kahn Lectures to Princeton University, published as *Modern Architecture* in 1931. Both were held in May 1930 and related to exhibitions of his work, the latter at the Architectural League of New York.[8]

Other lectures were to the American Union of Decorative Artists and Craftsmen (AUDAC) in New York City in October 1929 (another was scheduled for 1930), the University of Oregon in March 1930 (after which Wright proceeded to

Salem where he obtained a commission that became the remarkable but unrealized *Capital Journal* building[9]), the University of Washington, the Denver Art Museum (December 1930) and probably others.

It was The Show that attracted most attention. First mounted in New York City it then traveled to Chicago, Eugene and Seattle before moving on to European centers. On return to the United States it appeared in Milwaukee. The Show in the Pacific Northwest was probably typical of those held in America. Wright prescribed to Walter Willcox, head of the Eugene architecture school:[10]

> [Each] installation must have personal attention from this office.—There are over 600 photographs and about 1000 drawings, sets of plans and four models. I might decide to send it to San Francisco and Los Angeles instead of East.—in which case it might go to you first and then down the coast. It would take $350.—to get it to you, set it up and knock it down again, together with such local help as you may need.[11]

It was a major exhibition.

In spite of this open activity and many publications meant by their content to be newsworthy—an autobiography, a proposal for a new American Broadacre City, and articles in a variety of magazines—commissions were few. Only a couple were realized until the Kaufmann house which became the elegant (and rightly famous) Fallingwater, 1935-1939.[12]

While The Show was in New York, Wright had met a German engineer named Hengerer "who wanted Germany to have [it]." So Wright told Wijdeveld in a letter of October 1930[13] and further teased his Dutch colleague by stating he had been unable at that time to give the German an answer, for reasons which he did not disclose. It seems that the whole point of the tempting letter was to get the exhibition to Holland, with Holland footing the bill. Wright's final goad was a threat that at least part of the arrangements for The Show might be put into the hands of Wijdeveld's erstwhile rival, Heissenrich de Fries. The editor of *Stadtebau* "might like to take up the matter for Germany," Wright teasingly wrote: "What do you suggest?" It is doubtful that he really intended to again trust de Fries. In November 1930, just over a month after writing to Wijdeveld, Wright solicited Mendelsohn's help to stage The Show in Germany, suggesting where else it might be mounted: Amsterdam, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Prague and Paris.[14]

Deeply impressed during his 1924 meeting with Wright at Taliesin, Mendelsohn had praised him in several articles. Believing him an ally, Wright sought his "opinion concerning an exhibition of my work now going on in the United States." He wondered if "the German Society of Architects would sponsor The Show, the German government helping with expenses." There is no evidence that Mendelsohn contacted Wijdeveld about that proposition. Wright gave no clue in letters to either—and he knew they were friends—that the other had been approached. In the event, the two architects would collaborate to organize The Show in Europe.

Late in 1930 it remained merely a suggestion by Wright. When he hinted (or boasted) to Willcox in January 1931 that Europe might take precedence over the northwest states for The Show, Wright had no firm acceptance from anyone in Europe. Even when the material reached Amsterdam, its first European location, negotiations had not been finalized for any venue except in Germany.

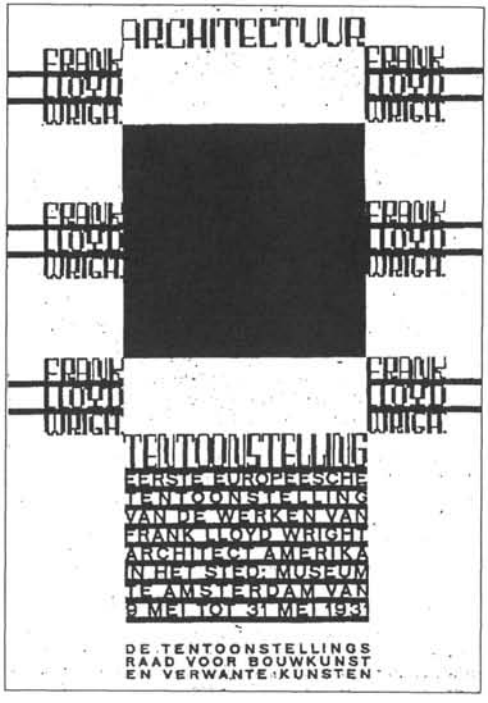

Figure 8.1. *Poster for the Frank Lloyd Wright Exhibition, Amsterdam, H. Th. Wijdeveld, Designer, 1931. As published in* Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectura *(1931). Reproduced with permission of the Wijdeveld family.*

At the end of March 1931 Wijdeveld cabled Wright, "Exposition accepted with enthusiasm by Dutch colleagues."[15] The Hollander's evangelistic passion in Wright's cause is admirable. The tardiness of his peers in part symptomized changing attitudes towards architecture in general and Wright in particular. Although the Chicago exhibition had been reviewed in *Bouwkundig Weekblad*,[16] it is reasonable to believe that most of the enthusiasm in Holland was Wijdeveld's. Between receiving Wright's request to arrange The Show and securing its acceptance he was unable to generate much interest, let alone excitement amongst his peers. Nonetheless Wright was asked to ship the material by the Holland-America Line no later than the middle of April. He therefore had about two weeks after its return to Spring Green from the University of Washington for repairs and preparation for the tour scheduled to begin in Amsterdam on 5 May.

Although much of the organization had been Wijdeveld's labor of love, with characteristic Dutch penchant for regulation no fewer than three committees were involved in The Show in Holland. The first, a traditional "committee of honor" to lend prestige and credibility consisted of J. Terpstra (Minister for Education, Arts and Science), the United States ambassador L.S. Swenson, J.C.A. Everwijn (chairman of The Netherlands-American Chamber of Commerce) and Berlage as president of The Netherlands-American Foundation. The second—literally "the

committee for getting things done"—probably provided most help. It comprised five architects, probably handpicked by Wijdeveld: Dirk Roosenburg, whose recently designed engine houses on the Afsluitdijk proclaimed his affinity for Wright; E. Kuipers, a minor Amsterdam School figure; B.T. Boeyinga as secretary, also of the Amsterdam School; and of course Wijdeveld. The third committee was the Exhibitions Council for Building and the Related Arts, the "official" national body responsible for all such shows.

Wijdeveld was tireless. He designed publicity posters incorporating the rather grotesque typeface he had developed for the covers of the *Wrightnummers* and persuaded Enschede to produce them *gratis* (Figure 8.1). He also designed the invitations for the opening. Both compositions featured the solid red square, and on the invitations it was combined with grey type on cream paper: a direct evocation of the *Wendingen* book.

Wijdeveld consulted Wright over the catalog. The American offered to design it but a month before the opening, he wrote to Wijdeveld, "I am trespassing again upon your time and skill. We have prepared a catalog to be printed according to the enclosed dummy. It is too late to have it done here." He added that it might be "done cheaper and better in Holland with your direction. I will pay the charges if you will forward the bills."[17] Whether Wright was trying to offload costs, or there was genuine urgency, is uncertain. His foreword to the catalog had been translated by some of his assistants "as best they can" into French and German and he asked Wijdeveld to make corrections. He liked Wijdeveld's suggestion to use "a different color for each language." He thought 5,000 copies would do: 3,000 for Europe, the rest to be used when and if The Show resumed its United States tour. Apparently Wright did not receive the 2,000 copies.

Soon after the Wright numbers of *Wendingen* were published Wijdeveld ceased to be editor, although the journal continued until 1931. In 1926 *Bouwkundig Weekblad* added *Architectura* to its name and replaced *Wendingen* as official voice of *Architectura et Amicitia.* About a month before The Show's Amsterdam opening Wijdeveld was given an entire issue of *Bouwkundig Weekblad* to publicize it. His typically extravagant and lyrical introduction recalled his *Wendingen* "Flowers" essay of 1925. Of Wright he claimed, "To distil character to a single type is to master materials and to command expression [which must reveal] the power of nature, the personal approach of the creator and his world view." That was achieved in the work of the "philosopher architect" Wright, who "prophesies the wonders of a new world . . . beyond time and space; he serenely sees the coming victory."[18] Yet was it not Wijdeveld who was the prophet, poet and visionary—the "philosopher-architect"?

Wright had sent texts of three more lectures—the venues were unspecified—and Wijdeveld made translations for the "Wright issue" of *Weekblad.*[19] The pieces were entitled "The Architect and the Machine," "Technique and Imagination" and "The New World." They had not been published in America and were accompanied by illustrations not directly related to them. Except for a design for the National Insurance Company offices,[20] none of the designs had been published in Holland: alternative designs for a kindergarten play-house for the Oak Park

Playground Association; a plaster model of a gas station project; and proposals for St. Mark's Towers in the Bowery, New York City.

The rest of the images were of Wright's various concrete block systems and included the desert tourist resort project for Dr. Chandler of 1928-1929; Ocotillo, Wright's own desert camp, of 1929; the trite, stultified Jones House in Tulsa, Oklahoma, of 1929; of the same year was the San Marcos Water Gardens motel project, also for Chandler; and the Freeman, Ennis, and Millard houses, all built in Los Angeles during 1922-1925. Finally Wijdeveld included an isometric drawing of one concrete block construction system, probably prepared for the European audience, annotated—perhaps by Wijdeveld—in Dutch. These were the works that also had attracted most attention of visitors to The Show in the United States.

Longer versions of the *Weekblad* essays appeared in the Berlin journal *Die Form*, also in mid-1931.[21] The illustrations were similar but a few extras in the German production offered more breadth. So, while the provenance of the pictures is obscure, Wijdeveld possibly had several to choose from. His selections prophesied, perhaps unwittingly but certainly accurately, which parts of the exhibition would excite most interest.

What drove Wijdeveld to pursue everything he turned to—including planning the exhibition—with such energy was made plain. A few days after The Show had moved to Germany he tried to explain to Wright that he had organized it "not for you, not for the sake of one man only, whom (certainly) I admire." And then with capital letters and idiosyncratic ellipses he confessed that he wanted to promote "the growth of an IDEA; . . . which might be now an IDEAL, but which will one day be REALITY . . . the happiness of mankind, the coming of a new culture."[22] Was his association with Wright another step for Wijdeveld toward what he often called "the higher plane"? Nevertheless the Hollander had observed from Wright's words that the American worked "with sharp knives" excising the world's illness. He thereby recognized Wright as a "fellow-worker of Respectable Greatness," as he put it, whose words struck consonant chords in him. He had read Wright's three essays of 1908, 1914 and 1925 written "In the Cause of Architecture." He had received practically hot off the press the Princeton Kahn Lectures published in 1931 as *Modern Architecture*.

Shortly before the opening, Wijdeveld announced that he would produce a sequel to the *Wendingen* book while The Show was in Amsterdam. That gave him at the most nine weeks and given how long the first volume had taken, such speed would have been surprising. He asked Wright to agree and apparently he did because publicity began immediately. [23] But the book never appeared. Reasons can be guessed: apathy of subscribers; shortage of funds; an acute lack of time; and perhaps a growing disenchantment with Wright. Above all may have been Wijdeveld's excitement about going to Taliesin. *Wendingen* carried nothing more about Wright. In fact it did not even review The Show.

Ambassador Swenson was supposed to open the exhibition on 9 May 1931. When invited by Wijdeveld he had asked, "Who is Wright?" According to Wright, Wijdeveld made the opening speech in the ambassador's place using the *Weekblad* introduction.[24] The Show opened four days later than planned and

remained at Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum for three weeks.

It attracted remarkably little notice from architecture journals of any persuasion. Only three reviewed it. Jan Boterenbrood, an editor of the *Weekblad* called it a "marvellous exhibition" but his short article sedulously avoided detailed discussion.[25] In a long piece in *Elseviers Geillustreerd Maandschrift* Jos. de Gruyter verbosely meandered through Wright's work, familiar and new. While admitting that faultfinding was pedantic, his praise was qualified: There is a "natural, unbroken power in all the work. There is nothing small, nothing underhanded, nothing cloying and nothing common." And Wright

> never does things by half; even in his undisguised shortcomings, nothing is done by half . . . . Moreover, what skill! [He] has made ugly things at times, but . . . to botch anything in the slightest way would be completely beyond him. Frank Lloyd Wright is a giant among architects of our day; indeed, "one of the gods upon earth." [26]

Such an apotheosis could lead to the mistaken conclusion that the exhibition was well received. A week before The Show was to move on, an Amsterdam newspaper's anonymous "architectural correspondent" managed a bland piece characteristic of much so-called architectural criticism, then and now, and not exclusive to Holland.[27] All three reviews noticed the same buildings and projects.

After *Wendingen* most Dutch journals had ignored Wright except in passing or within more general articles. There were a few exceptions: concurrent with *Wendingen*'s earliest Wright issues, *Architectura* published (in German) Mendelsohn's report of his American tour, a few months after it had appeared in the Berlin journal.[28] In 1926 it also printed Dutch translations of some *Wendingen* essays originally in English: Wijdeveld's "Flowers" was followed by Oud's piece and the three instalments of "In the Cause."[29]

However, outside Holland Jean Badovici, editor of the Parisian journal *L'Architecture Vivante*, undertook the most important publication about Wright since *Wendingen* and until the January 1938 issue of *Architectural Forum*. The double July 1930 issue comprehensively presented his works through the 1920s, including almost all drawings from the 1910 Berlin portfolio as well as plans, perspectives and photographs expertly reproduced—perhaps 200 images—all crammed on the pages. It was a grand display in a journal read throughout Europe, Britain and northeastern North America. Therefore all of the illustrations in Wijdeveld's April 1931 article for the *Weekblad* were preempted, as was the exhibition. And that may have delayed proceedings towards accepting The Show in Holland and perhaps explains reaction to it.

Wijdeveld's evaluation of the exhibition was, for him, brief and strangely subdued. About a week after it closed in Amsterdam he assured Wright that Holland "appreciated your great designs, your beautiful drawings, the photographs of so many buildings." He sent the American a small collection of photographs and newspaper clippings together with copies of the poster. Left upon a "little flowered table at the exhibition," two posters had been inscribed with the congratulations of many architects. Wijdeveld asked Wright if they did not convey "the kind greetings of an admiring nation?"[30]

German architects were far more interested in The Show. They openly and vigorously discussed Wright's work in the light of their materialistic New Objectivity. Excerpts from his latest "In the cause" articles published in the *Record* in 1927 and 1928 had been reprinted in many European journals, mostly in Germany. So had extracts from his Princeton lectures. The Germans were well aware of Wright's theoretical position when the exhibition, under Mendelsohn's guidance, was mounted in Berlin, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt. It was well attended and critically reviewed in the professional press. Probably the most objective view of the problem facing the Europeans was made by Giedion in *Cahiers d'Art* where he correctly balanced Wright's contributions in the past with his diverse products of the 1920s.[31]

Johannes Duiker provided the view from Holland of German reactions. In the early 1920s he had been a faithful follower of Wright's ideas, producing some more or less mimetic designs. By the end of the decade he had become one of Holland's most able exponents of the European style of cubic steel and glass boxes. As editor of the modernist journal *De 8 en Opbouw* he noted in 1932 that The Show had attracted "quite some criticism" in Germany, explaining that such discussions did not lessen his own "appreciation of Wright's genius."[32]

Copies of German reviews reached Wright.[33] In response to his critics "in the land of the Danube and the Rhine" he prepared a letter that was passed on by Wijdeveld to Duiker who published it as "Frank Lloyd Wright's Manifesto." Wright charged that the German modernists denied their personalities in the search for internationalism but he did not; they had surrendered their individual freedom but he had not; their architecture may have satisfied social, biological, and technical needs but forsook the spiritual dimension of the human race. His had not. He promised: "What you have seen from my hand is not yet finished." Duiker published a mild rejoinder by Giedion before closing the correspondence with his own disjointed and cryptic speculations about a future cosmic architecture. "Until then," Duiker wrote, "our architects will have to wait for the new and greater resources before their individuality can express itself in sublimated"—yes, sublimated—"freedom." Further, the editor was so impressed by Giedion's essay that he appended a translation to his own "Manifesto" article.[34]

Of course the view of architecture was changing in western Europe. Perhaps the best indicator is a large book, encyclopedic in presentation, compiled by Gustav Platz, that discusses and presents in hundreds of photographs Western civilization's modern architecture. (There is even an illustration of a Wright-style prairie house by Peter Behrens.) The section on America relied on Neutra's and Mumford's writings and of course included Wright and Albert Kahn. Russian Constructivism was represented, as were the Dutch. An English translation of the title is *The Architecture of the Latest Age*.[35]

The *Nieuwe Zakelijkheid* had become a major force in Dutch architecture. De Stijl was spent; van Doesburg had died in 1931 and the journal ceased publication. So did *Wendingen*. Le Corbusier had made an impact: the only non-Dutch work illustrated in J.B. van Loghem's 1932 book *Bouwen* was by the Swiss-Parisien. Four years earlier Berlage, Rietveld and Mart Stam had been signatories

to the Athens Charter of *Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM). And in the mid 1930s the Dutch journals *De 8 en Opbouw* and *i10* were committed to left-wing political interpretations of modernism. Wijdeveld's restrained report of the Amsterdam exhibition reflected a general lack of enthusiasm in the face of polemical winds that had shifted architectural strategies.

Wright received little attention in Holland's architectural journals for the remainder of the thirties. With the entry of the United States into the Second World War communication between Holland and America was virtually suspended until the end of 1945 and he would not be publicly remembered in Holland until the Rotterdam exhibition of 1952. For reasons which will become apparent Wijdeveld was then no longer interested or involved.

The 1931 exhibition remained in Europe for about nine months. After Germany it had a quiet run in Brussels and Antwerp. Following a brief showing in Rotterdam it returned to Spring Green. In the words of Pevsner, The Show was "a splendid conclusion to Wijdeveld's propaganda" for Wright.[36]

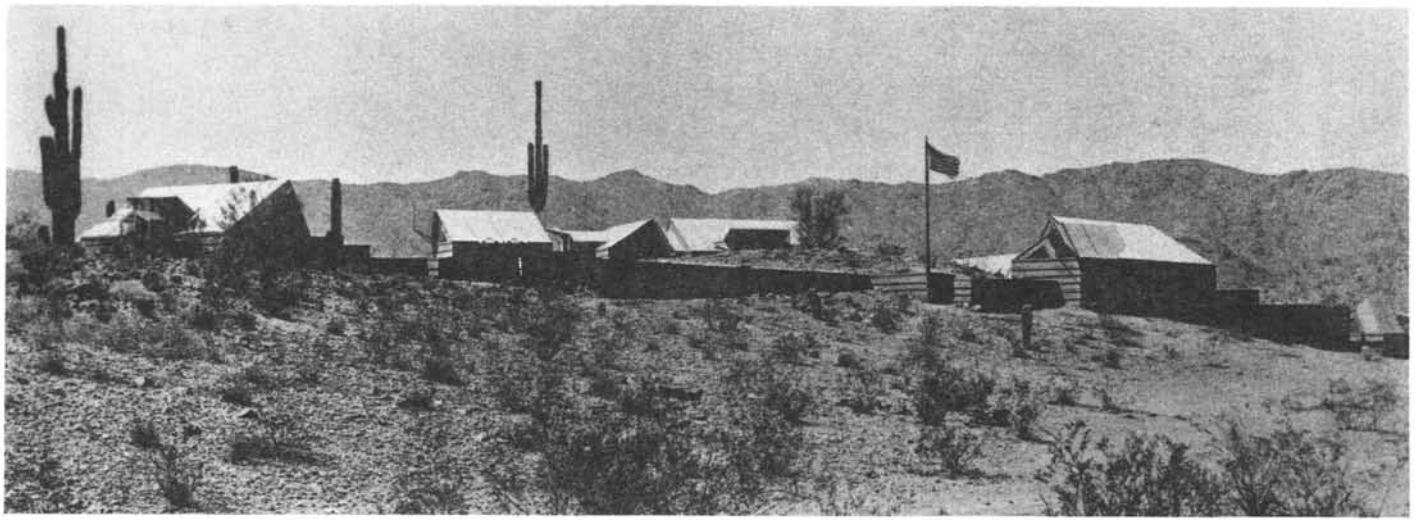

Figure 9.1. *Ocotillo Camp, Arizona, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1929. Copyright © The FLLW Foundation 1999.*

Chapter 9

Turnings

The Show was only one aspect of the calculated renaissance of Wright's career and personal fortunes. Many years later he said "I had to make a noise in the world, in order to gain as much of the world's attention as I could."[1] Why some Europeans were again attracted to him in the 1930s and yet again after World War II was a direct result of a campaign to restore the Wright image in the minds of professional and public audiences.

Equally important to this study is an understanding of the expectations of Dutch architects, especially Wijdeveld, and Wright's hopes and frustrations during this critical period. It is true that players were to some degree reacting to nations trapped between economic despair and anarchy, or the alter-protagonist of authoritarianism from the left and the right. Like so many, Wijdeveld did not respond positively to appearances easily construed as inevitabilities. On the other hand Wright struck out at threats, not just to his fame, but to basic and treasured beliefs. He reacted in fear of the subjugation of his country to collective will and a consequent loss of inalienable freedoms and rights.

The corrective courses contemplated were a new life other than on the mid-western prairies, a school of his own and a renunciation of the political and social philosophies personified by Le Corbusier. Each was in some way acted upon as he responded to one self-preserving, consuming desire: to use a God-given talent to refurbish his interpretation of the great American dream, individual liberty. To accomplish that he had to not only restore the legend of Wright but recreate the active man. This process can be outlined as follows.[2]

While no single undertaking was more important than others, perhaps in his mind an autobiography was the most urgent. It was conceived as a personal history, a primer of architectural theory, a catharsis, and a discourse about curative economics (sort of) and urbanism. It became a venue to lecture about transcendentalism and the meaning of life. Beginning in 1928, he wrote sporadi-

cally until *An Autobiography* was released in 1932 by Longmans Green of New York. It proved to be his most popular book. A revised, enlarged edition was published in 1943; French, English, and Italian editions followed after the war. In 1957 the American edition was reprinted and distributed world-wide by the Carnegie Corporation and the United States Information Agency at a time when it was important to America to propagandize democratic ideals. A suspect third edition appeared in 1977, eighteen years after Wright's death.

From 1928 his press, so to speak, was made even more newsworthy by persistent protestations against the European Modern Movement. His distaste for that Movement was undisguised. In 1930 he shared the galleries of New York's Museum of Modern Art, then only one year old, with a Bauhaus exhibition. Wright's show was criticized as "fragmentary and rather confused."[3] One of his captions stated that if his building were "tipped edgewise" it would "give you the elevational characteristics of the so-called 'International Style'."[4] It was an ungainly attempt to suggest that his buildings of the prairie years were the source of the new style.

Two years after the Bauhaus exhibition, the Museum of Modern Art mounted another architecture show in which Wright also participated. When first approached he refused because he disapproved of the emphasis intended to be given to the European style. But the opportunity for publicity was too good to miss and he soon relented but in a quarrelsome way. Americans included were those practising the International Style (Raymond Hood, George Howe, William Lescaze, Richard Neutra, and Irving and Munroe Bowman and Wright), as well as familiar Europeans: Le Corbusier, Oud, Gropius, and Mies van der Rohe.

Yet most exhibit space was given to Wright; second preference was allotted equally to Le Corbusier and Oud, probably the best-known Dutch internationalist of the later 1920s, who had not yet lost credibility with the Modernists. Selection was, therefore, a measure of Oud's role as one of the more important early promoters of European Modernism. Often asked to become a visiting professor in American universities, Oud always resisted; indeed, he never crossed the Atlantic. He did, however, design a house at Pinehurst, North Carolina—unbuilt for financial reasons—for the parents of Philip Johnson. That was in 1931, two years after Johnson had claimed that reading about Oud's work had turned him to modern architecture. The catalog of the Museum of Modern Art show was entitled *Modern Architects*, and it was followed by a companion book of contrived aesthetic principles: *The International Style*, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Johnson, two of the show's organizers.

By being included among the cubic box crowd Wright believed there was an implication he was identified with—even worse, that he approved of—their style and therefore (as he reasoned) with its corollary, the international ambitions of communism. The exhibition was opened in February 1932. After seeing the catalog Wright quickly responded: "I find myself standing now against . . . the so-called international style."[5] Actually his first attack upon the Modernists—published by *World Unity*—had been mounted in 1928 in a review of Frederick Etchell's 1927 English translation of Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture.*

Wright's comments about *Towards a New Architecture* (as the title was translated) were much like those in response to the Museum of Modern Art exhibition, that continued:

> Do you think that . . . any aesthetic formula forced upon this . . . country can do more than stultify this reasonable hope for a life of the soul? A creative architecture for America can only mean an architecture for the individual. The community interest in the United States is not communism or communistic as the internationalists' formula for a "style" presents itself. Its language aside, communistic the proposition is. Communistic in communism's most objectionable phase: the sterility of the individual its end if not its aim and . . . in the name of "discipline"! . . . We are sickened by capitalistic centralization but not so sick, I believe, that we need confess impotence by embracing a communistic exterior discipline in architecture to kill finally what spontaneous life we have left in the circumstances.[6]

His almost nonsensical but forceful words were equally anti-communist and anti-capitalist or at least anti-centralization. And they accurately outlined the attitude that he paraded in writings through the rest of his life: the European architectural "formula" was foreign, it was imposed, stale and rigid, and not American. It foreshadowed a second manneristic eclecticism, yet another kind of cultural colonialism. Should not the American who was creating an American architecture be the obvious choice for America? The fact that the so-called International Style became the popular choice of America in the 1930s hurt Wright. With egotistic insight and a hint of paranoia he believed that America tended to dismiss him.

As a result of The Show's tour of western Europe in 1931, the presence in Holland, Belgium, and Germany of his work provoked debate about several issues: the evolution of modernism; a fresh examination of Wright's persuasive role; the direction architecture had taken during the 1920s; and related rationalizations. As we have shown, Wright charged that his ideas had been thoroughly corrupted by Europeans. This was evident to him, for example, in the products of Oud and Le Corbusier. As far as Wright was concerned all the excitement in the press served to confirm two things. First, regardless of resulting developments he was the source of modern architecture in the twentieth century; second, while he won the plaudits in Europe, his countrymen ignored him. Well, he was a source, just as was Albert Kahn (whose industrial esthetic prevailed) but not *the* source.

Moreover in published replies he was effectively asking European colleagues to reject their own architectural style that (he believed) had eliminated individual will in favor of collective rationalism. He argued they should develop something that would allow a better expression of their nationality *and* individuality with less obvious recourse to what had become a political bias. The fact that they could not alter history, resist the compelling vortex of fashion, or revise their convictions when faced with only idiosyncratic impressions—Wright's or anyone else's—did not faze him. Anyway, much as they felt a genuine debt to him, Europeans did not agree with his analyses or even with most of his architecture since circa 1920. To repeat: that was in the early 1930s.

The central plank of the platform from which Wright looked down upon the Modern Movement was individualism, the only means to the creative end; a point

he argued throughout his life. In addition, politics, art theory, artists' will, architectural style, and nationalism continued to vibrantly—if confusingly—mix in his attitude to Modernism, and particularly in his opinion of Le Corbusier as its chief protagonist.

The influence of the ex-Swiss had set up currents counter to Wright's "peaceful penetration" into the stream of Dutch architecture along literary valleys: first a trickle of images, then a flood of words. Le Corbusier's *Chicago Tribune* tower competition entry had been published, albeit among many others, in both *Bouwkundig Weekblad* and *Wendingen* in 1923.[7] And attention had been drawn to his *Vers une Architecture* when Oud reviewed it for the *Weekblad* only months after its publication in Paris.[8] Thus Le Corbusier's views were commended to Dutch contemporaries more than a year before Wijdeveld reminded them of the Wrightian alternative through *Wendingen*—the same choice as offered to America through the Museum of Modern Art exhibitions about six years later.

Many young Dutch architects, enthralled by Le Corbusier's socialist persuasion or the architectural forms it yielded, began building stuccoed cubes. Some applied parts of his theory, like *tracés régulateurs*; for example, Brinkman and van der Vlugt's Theosophical Society Headquarters, Amsterdam, of 1926 or the van der Leeuw house, Rotterdam (1927-1928). As *Bouwbedrijf* noted: "The conception of international functionalism began to appear in more defined outlines, mainly through the charming architecture and the efficient propaganda of Le Corbusier [and] the systematic activity of Gropius."[9] Some architects, like Dudok and Wils, resisted, only to be branded reactionary by their peers. Yet the severe forms, if not the ideals, of internationalism influenced even them.

Except for the disintegrating Amsterdam School and many of the Delft School, by the early 1930s most Dutch architects had come under Le Corbusier's spell, the extent of which was revealed in van Loghem's book *Bouwen* of 1932. Its catechistic multilingual introduction was drawn unabashedly from *Vers une Architecture* and it honored Le Corbusier for giving "the mental impulse to the new functional architecture." Further, he was credited with transferring the "ideas of French and Dutch painters (i.e. Mondriaan and van Doesburg) to the building world." Wright was mentioned once and relegated to a heterogenous group of "older architects"—Berlage, van der Velde, Auguste Perret, Wagner, Behrens, Loos, Tony Garnier, and "the younger" Gropius—all assembled in Le Corbusier's shadow. Even the caption to a photograph of van 't Hoff's Villa Henny—"one of the first manifestations of the new architecture (1915); dwellinghouse in reinforced concrete"—failed to acknowledge Wright as its source. However, the architectural fountainhead had been inferred by reference to the house and De Stijl's influence. All this in van Loghem's book written while Wright's show was still in Europe.[10]

And what of Wright's architecture? Was there a consistency and parallel between his buildings and written theories?

Wright insisted his designs were always responses to given problems; the solution resided in the problem. As noted, early in the century Wright's buildings were of two types: the low, spreading prairie style house; and the non-domestic in

a proportionally square-volume. He argued that each building reflected an organic or functional character to a given program. However and perhaps naturally, within each type all appeared somewhat similar.

Beginning in 1929 with Ocotillo Camp (Figure 9.1) and then the Willey house of 1933 (predecessor of his many house plans through the 1950s) (Figure 9.2), his architecture became a much more vital proposition. Each building was a unique architectural and social entity, a different response to given social conditions (within or outside the building) and importantly, to given site conditions. It was this reality which distinguished his work of the 1930s. It also separated Wright from the Europeans. Their white boxes or rectangular slabs could stand anywhere and everywhere, to fit any internal necessity or social condition.

Wright's argument against the internationalists' style was not just about aesthetics. He feared the implications for architecture. Since it was an art form that expressed society, then society too was threatened. He believed that such a devolved commonality would lead to social disaster; the individual's individualism, or a nation's nationalism would be lost by absorption into an homogenous mass. His serious worry about internationalism's polemics, therefore, gave rise to a more complete, pragmatic yet richer architecture. Indeed, his stance against it had philosophic premises (Americanism therefore nationalism, democracy, arcady, transcendentalism, Unitarian theocracy, individualism, and so on) that were almost instinctively grasped.

Shy or hesitant Wright was not. He aggressively challenged the internationalists and his own beloved America (he preferred to call it Usonia) to see the reality of the social and political propositions at the core of the Modernist aesthetic. He lost friends, gained few, and was at times socially and professionally ostracized. But he persisted with an evangelist's zeal. All of his architectural and polemical work after about 1929 expressed his liberating philosophy. That included Broadacre City.

Much has been written about Broadacre City since it was first presented to the public in 1934-1935. Most comment focused on planning, or on economic, political and social considerations. The result, perhaps to Wright's delight, was a marvellous diversity of opinion. One critic accused him of imagining that "architectural form could fashion a new, integrated civilization," and believed him to be a prophet of doom. From the mid-1930s until the early 1960s Broadacre City was widely discussed, more than has been generally realized. As an historical phenomenon, comment, analysis and argument continues without consensus. Yet only recently has there been a proper analysis of the physical form and its regional disposition.[11] That evidence confirms that Broadacres was a concept meant to reinforce and reinterpret the American tradition of rurality, and to encourage a return to a Jeffersonian democratic village life with all its implications. All was to be in a rather modern precise plan form based on the square. Villages were to be scattered about the North American landscape on an imprecise twenty mile (thirty-two kilometer) grid, disposed by such compatible determinants as work, travel, industry, geography, population density, and other internal or regional needs.

Moreover, the Broadacres villages were to be self-sufficient, part of an invigorated twentieth century arts and crafts, something like a revived Garden City. They were intimately conservative yet their vision was liberal and pragmatic, certainly not Utopian. Most Europeans, more cognisant of the philosophy which it promoted, were only faintly aware of Broadacres *per se* until after World War II. Holland caught a glimpse just before contact with America was lost and its architectural press first announced the notion in 1950 in the journal *Forum*.

In July Wright was visiting his former employee Werner Moser in Zurich, who generously held an "open house" to enable young architects and students to meet the master.[12] Among other things, Wright told them of Broadacre City. It was, wrote the Dutch architect Hendrick Hartsuyker, "an impossible town-planning concept."[13] That was all: no elucidation, no illustration. Then, late in 1951 *Forum* published a review of Wright's Florence exhibition "60 Years of Living Architecture." There was another tantalizing reference to Broadacre City noting that it was "no more than the urbanistic realization of . . . 'natural democracy'." Wright had "set himself the goal of enabling everyone to be guaranteed an individual, unbiased experience of reality."[14] No image appeared.

The following year the Dutch saw Broadacre City for themselves. The "60 Years" exhibition in Rotterdam's *Ahoygebouw* included a 1:1000 scale model, described in the catalog as "Wright's conception of the ideal, decentralized form of a settlement," a "protest against the inhumanity of the great American cities." The model was augmented by images of the "total design," detailed drawings of the more important buildings, and some text on "thoughts about the new freedom of life."[15] Remarkably, reviews did not refer to it. In fact no image of Broadacres was published in Holland until after Wright's death in 1959, when Werner Moser overenthusiastically described it in the *Weekblad* as "an ordering of space by which all human interests are balanced in a framework of an organic city landscape."[16]

Many of the buildings Wright designed after 1935 were supposedly part of the Broadacres scheme; that is, they were designed not only for a client but to the Broadacres vision, and sometimes to specific locations. When exhibited in the 1950s it was each time modified with new designs. Probably the most interesting application was the Johnson Wax buildings at Racine, Wisconsin, of 1937-1939 (Figure 9.3). The company was in many ways an ideal Broadacres corporation. It had plants throughout the United States and other countries; its headquarters were in a small mid-western city; it was product-oriented; and it conducted its own research. During his first interview with executives in July 1936, Wright had Broadacres in mind. One director recalled that Wright's initial idea was "to raze everything and get out of town four or five miles west, run a railroad spur, plan a Johnson village around a new factory and office building, homes for employees, their own shopping center . . . the works."[17] The site selected was near an existing factory where he placed one of his finer architectural creations. At about the same time he was asked to design a country house for Edgar Kaufmann on the Bear Run Creek in Pennsylvania, 1936-1939. He created Fallingwater, probably the most beautiful house of the twentieth century (Figure 9.4).

Figure 9.2. *Malcolm Willey house, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1933. Photograph ca. 1934, as published in* Architectural Forum *(January 1938).*

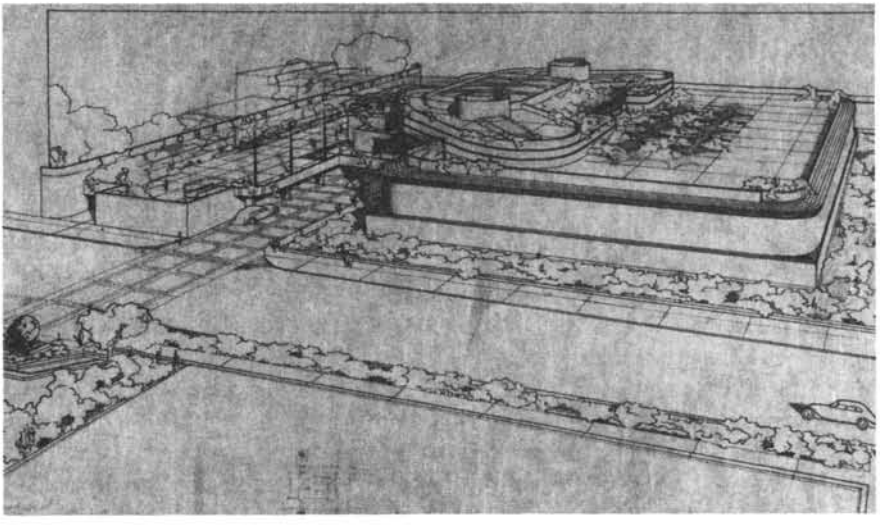

Figure 9.3. *Johnson Wax buildings, Racine, Wisconsin, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect 1936-39. Bird's-eye perspective as published in the 1930s. Copyright © The FLLW Foundation 1999.*

A number of works by Wright in the 1930s—Ocotillo Camp, Fallingwater, Johnson's Wax building, Taliesin West, and the Rose Pauson house—are among the most important architectural works of the century, each remarkably and naturally different. Comparison was (and is) inevitable: as far as Wright was concerned, the European modernists' white boxes appeared naive, puerile, conceptually sterile, and unnecessarily repetitive. He excepted the milestones by Mies van der Rohe, the German Pavilion at Barcelona (1927-1928) and the Farnsworth House at Plano, Illinois (1946-1951). But then, Mies never fit comfortably with his European confederates.

Acolytes of Wright's Fellowship accomplished most work on Broadacre City (especially the model) and on the Johnson and Kaufmann commissions, including supervision. A school of fellows had been in Wright's mind since 1928 when it was intended to be an art school, then an arts and crafts school, then an apprentice scheme of the crafts related to architecture, and finally one for just architectural apprentices. The evolution of the Taliesin Fellowship is an intimate part of the Holland-Wright theme; its complexity is unravelled in the following chapters.

The streams of events that flowed together to create the turbulence of Wright's career (and only the major tributaries have been charted above) had sprung from a vision. If there had been uncertainty about its course, at least in December 1933 its destination was more or less apparent. Wright's intention was relatively firm:

> Taliesin [the Fellowship] believe the day has come . . . for rejection of the too many minor traditions in favor of great elemental tradition that is decentralization; sees a going forward in new spirit to the ground as the basis for a good life that sets the human soul free above artificial anxieties and all vicarious powers, able and willing to work again as the first condition of true gentility. Taliesin sees work itself where there is something growing and living in it as not only the salt and savour of existence but as the opportunity for bringing "heaven" decently back to earth where it really belongs. Taliesin sees art as not less than ever the expression of a way of life in this machine age if its civilization is to live.[18]

After the 1931 Show Dutch architects showed little interest in Wright. The sole active remaining tie was Wijdeveld. When abrasive attitudes and words between the two architects frayed that cord until it snapped in 1932, Wright's once intimate link with Holland ceased. Nothing was written of him in Dutch professional journals until 1938 when *Bouwkundig Weekblad* published a short description of Fallingwater,[19] mostly translated from "a small publication" by the New York Museum of Modern Art.[20] Appraisal was limited to "strange" and "remarkable." Two exterior views above and below the house and a plan of one level, were selected from the fourteen images in the American source.

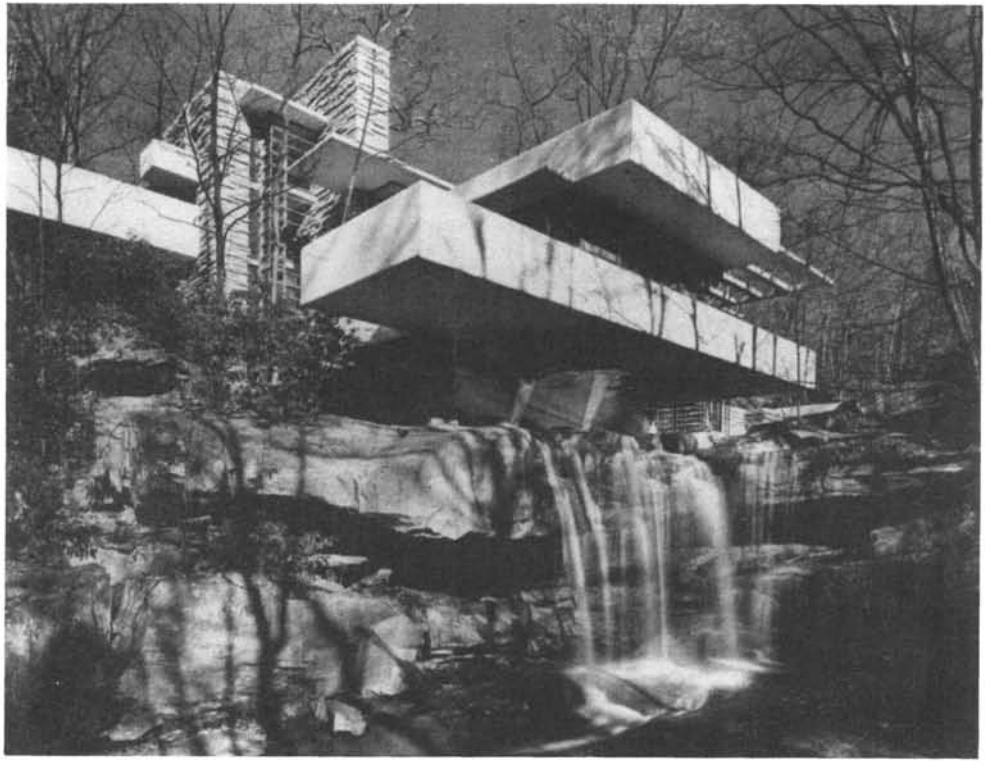

Figure 9.4. *Kaufmann house, 'Fallingwater' on Bear Run, Pennsylvania, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, 1935-37. Photograph of November 1937 by Hedrich Blessing as published in* Architectural Forum *(January 1938), and widely since.*

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Chapter 10

Fellowship

Wright's letters to Wijdeveld between October 1930 and May 1931 soliciting help with The Show also held suggestions of collaboration in some kind of school of the allied arts. They may have been made, at least in part, so that the indefatigable Wijdeveld would turn his energy to ensuring the European success of the exhibition. Yet it would be wrong to assume that Wright's exploitation of his colleague and admirer was the sole reason for the eventual breakdown in their plans for collaboration. Although all not all apparent at the time, several closely interwoven factors were involved.

As Wright would later point out to Wijdeveld, perhaps as a rationalization, the most crucial of those factors was, ironically, something they had in common—a well-developed ego—which each had nurtured for decades. When they met at Taliesin in November 1931, Wright was sixty and Wijdeveld forty-five.

A second was a disparity in worldviews (despite what Wijdeveld wanted to believe) that inevitably led to divergent goals. Although looking for a better world Wright wanted something close to immortality, and eventually believed himself to be the world's greatest architect. Wijdeveld simply wanted a better world.

A third reason for their eventual parting, attested by their buildings and projects, was the incongruity of their personal aesthetics, which led to different approaches to, and results achieved in architectural design. Wright found his own theory and developed his own architecture. Wijdeveld, seeking the grail of a universal architecture, scrutinized others' theories and experimented with each new form, at least until about 1930. Thus, they could never have agreed upon what was good architecture. These potential problems emerged in their correspondence well before their first personal meeting.

Lastly, and beyond their control, there were the logistical and economic difficulties of setting up a school anywhere, exacerbated at the beginning of the 1930s as the Great Depression tightened its grip.

As early as 1925 Wijdeveld envisioned an international center for cooperating artists who could work in their own ateliers while training young residents as artistic interns in various fields: a *werkgemeenschap* (work fellowship). Wijdeveld was truly international, interpolitical (as events would show) and—to perhaps coin a word—interesthetic. His idealism frequently landed him in professional or political trouble and it was probably the main reason why his career left in its ninety-year wake the flotsam of unrealized projects.

In his youth Wijdeveld had been impressed by William Morris' teachings so he probably knew of the designer-fabricator practices at Merton Abbey.[1] Whether he also knew that Gropius had adopted a similar approach at the Weimar Bauhaus after 1919 is uncertain. His friendship with Mendelsohn, his contact with the Berlin avant-garde group the "Ring," and an awareness of events in European art gained as chief editor of *Wendingen* would have familiarized him with trends in some contemporary German art education.

The author Cees Nooteboom suggests Wijdeveld had the Dessau Bauhaus in mind when he first suggested the fellowship, an opinion seemingly based upon the external appearance of the buildings, realized or proposed, of the respective institutions.[2] Yet Wijdeveld *never* numbered Gropius amongst the pioneers of a new art for a new world. He was impressed, however, by the ideas of Gropius' Belgian predecessor at Weimar, Henry van der Velde. And there were resounding philosophical differences between Dessau and Wijdeveld's scheme.

The Bauhaus was convinced that the designed object—Gropius cited household appliances and furnishings—must be derived from natural functions and relationships "by systematic practical and theoretical research into formal, technical and economic fields," and excluded architecture. In short it was an applied design education based on Marxist materialism. By contrast Wijdeveld dreamed of "a work-fellowship [for the] building of spiritual power, aimed towards a deeper, and deeply felt, life-work." At the forefront would be quietness, contemplation, introspection, and the support of eastern wisdom. His aim was the antithesis of the Bauhaus: indeed, it was about *fellowship*.

His proposal was published in 1931[3] (Figure 10.1 and Appendix C). The introduction deplored the declension in the building trades, compared with what he inaccurately believed to be the joyous nature of work in the Middle Ages and the amicability among medieval artisans, a view already propounded in England by Pugin, Ruskin, Morris and Ashbee and in Holland by Cuypers and Berlage. Wijdeveld attributed that decline, in part, to the displacement of "hands-on" training by academic education: *knowing* in place of *doing*.

Yet he was neither a medievalist nor a champion of handcraft. Endorsing Wright's views, he saw the machine as he saw any other tool. But while enthusing over its possibilities, he feared its potential to suppress individuality. That linked him to Wright and van der Velde rather than Gropius. The Belgian believed that the artist was essentially a "burning individualist, a free spontaneous creator," an idea that Wijdeveld echoed in his 1931 prospectus: "The [artist] introduces into the work his own sensitive soul, and will always demonstrate the individuality of the sensitive worker." That offered no place for Gropius' design by committee.

For Wijdeveld the new art he sought would blend the work of individuals into a symphonic unity. To use his analogy, the machine age knew nothing of melody or harmony—it could produce only rhythm. The Dessau Bauhaus, focused upon the rhythm of machine production, designed (albeit pleasant-looking) prototypes for industry and made standardization inevitable. That issue was at the core of van der Velde's argument with Hermann Muthesius at the 1914 *Deutsche Werkbund* conference. Muthesius had generalized his case with words that construed uniformity and conformity. The fundamental argument was whether order was determined from individual or collective—for example, a political party's—will.[4]

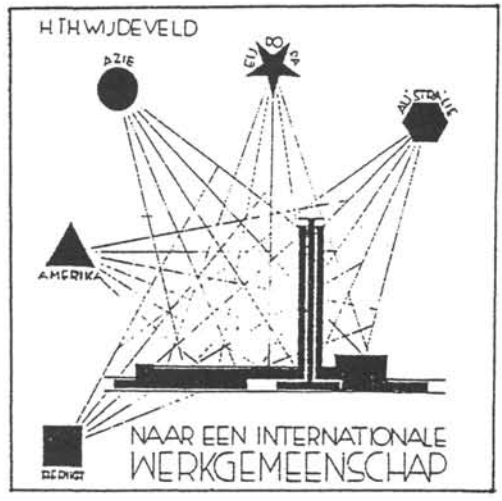

Figure 10.1. *Cover of the "yellow booklet,"* Naar een Internationale Werkgemeenschap *(1931), H. Th. Wijdeveld, Designer. Reproduced with permission of the Wijdeveld family.*

By the late 1920s the proponents of collectivism had won the architectural day in much of Europe. And by then Wijdeveld had selected an independent, gentler, more personal course to pursue in the cause of human satisfaction. Standardization, he asserted, hastened the demise of individuality and artistic freedom, two elementary human aspirations that Wijdeveld would preserve in his work-fellowship. If he took any notice of Dessau it was as a warning.

He saw an international cooperative as part of the means to a new world. A unified humanity was his dream. Romantic enough to listen to any who promised to fulfil it, he was astute enough to be disillusioned by the lofty but hollow pledges of successive dogmas: Socialism, Communism, Fascism and Nazism. With Berlage, J.F. Staal, van Loghem, van Doesburg, and others, he was a member of the "Union of Revolutionary Socialist Intellectuals," formed around 1919. He did not commit himself to extreme political movements; yet he was criticized and even punished for acknowledging any good at all in them. A favorite word in his writing about the Work Fellowship was *samenleven*: living together. In expecting that to succeed on any but the smallest scale, he was betraying a naively optimistic view of human nature that would time and again lead to his own hurt.

What Wijdeveld came to call his "Idea"[5] inevitably found architectural expression. In 1927 he produced plans and perspectives of buildings situated on a Loosdrecht lakefront, close to Utrecht. Four years later his prospectus included these immaculate, economical line drawings as a "preliminary study" (Figure 10.2). The architectural style differed from many of his earlier projects. The crisply detailed buildings were starkly geometric, and strongly resembled the

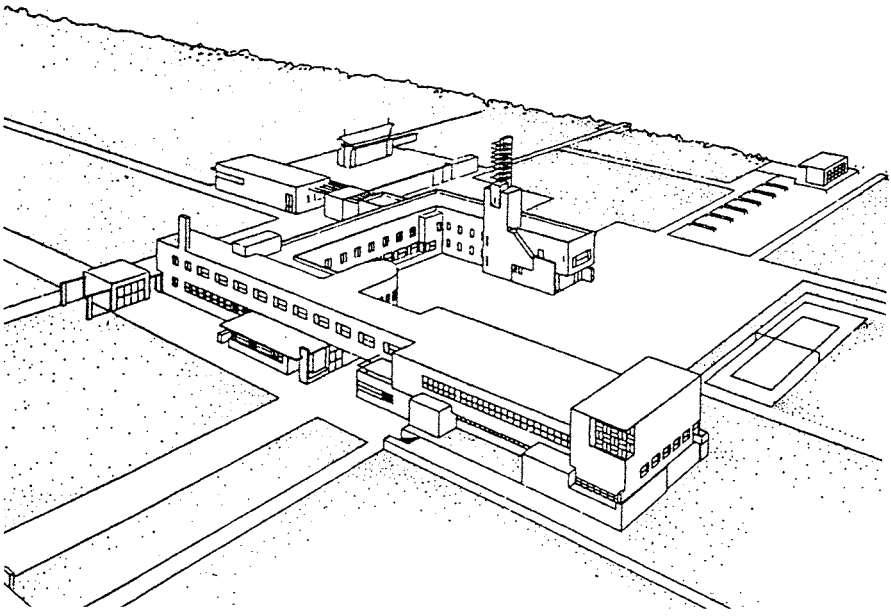

Figure 10.2. *Design for buildings,* Internationale Werkgemeenschap, *Loosdrecht, The Netherlands, H. Th. Wijdeveld, Architect, 1927. Aerial perspective of first scheme from Wijdeveld(1931). Reproduced with permission of the Wijdeveld family.*

contemporary designs of Mendelsohn, not Gropius. Looking at them, it is difficult to believe that as editor of *Wendingen* he had once been the effective spokesman of the Amsterdam School and that he also ardently admired Wright's work. Indeed, Wright himself was given pause when he saw them.

Wijdeveld's 1927 proposal provided modest accommodation compared to its successor, which was signed (unlike the first) and dated 1929-1930. The revised scheme was a single linear block (Figure 10.3), very like and perhaps influencing Mendelsohn and Chermayeff's De La Warr Pavilion at Bexhill, England of four years later. The influence of the New Objectivity upon both Wijdeveld's designs is unmistakable. The interior perspectives (Figure 10.4), included chairs like the tubular steel prototypes from the Dessau Bauhaus, and the dormitory tower was very like the buildings of the German school. Functions originally dispersed over the site were concentrated and included a bedroom tower for almost 100 residents instead of the original thirty. Detailed drawings evidenced a depth of administrative planning. As little as Wijdeveld professed to care for such matters, it seems he had already given some thought to fees, sale of work, and daily routine.

His plans were revealed to the Dutch artistic community early in April 1931 through the release of what he later called his "yellow book," *Naar een Internationale Werkgemeenschap*, and his characteristically excited lecture to the Society for Cultural Cooperation at The Hague. Reviewing the talk and the booklet, Berlage commented, "The hall was hung with the design drawings illustrating the

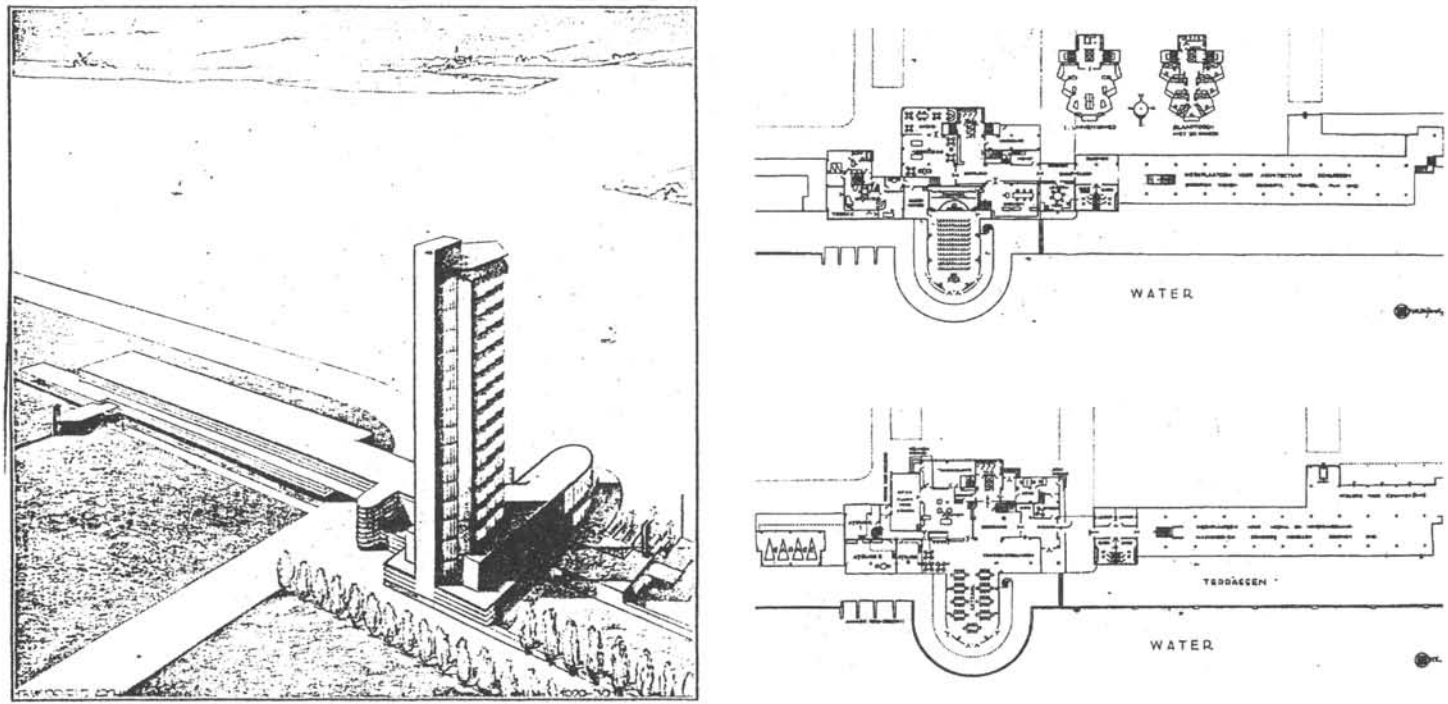

Figure 10.3. *Design for buildings* Internationale Werkgemeenschap, *Loosdrecht, The Netherlands, H. Th. Wijdeveld, Architect, 1929-1930. Second scheme. Aerial perspective. Second floor plan, and upper floor plans of tower. First floor plan. As published in Wijdeveld(1931). Reproduced with permission of the Wijdeveld family.*

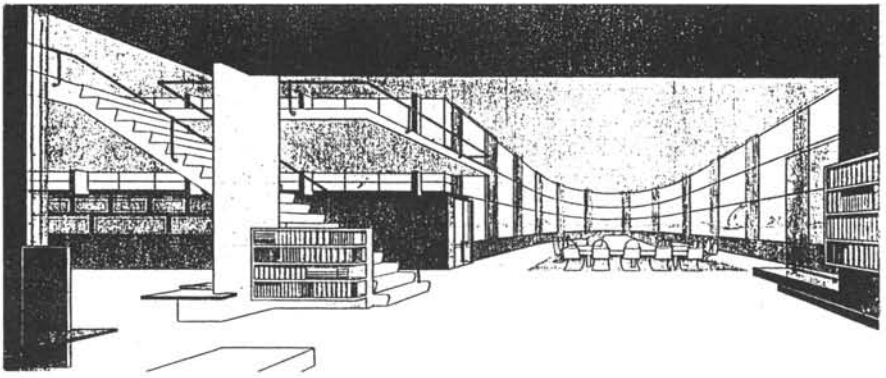

Figure 10.4. *Design for buildings,* Internationale Werkgemeenschap, *Loosdrecht, The Netherlands, H. Th. Wijdeveld, Architect, 1929-1930. Interior perspective of library, second scheme as published in Wijdeveld (1931). Reproduced with permission of the Wijdeveld family.*

proposal. . . . I was instantly charmed and moved by the plan as it was described and explained by the architect, with his usual enthusiasm."[6] Within a couple of weeks, Wijdeveld debated his idea with a Rotterdam audience. Thus, when he learnt in 1930 of Wright's desire to start a design school, his own plans for providing a new kind of art education had gone far beyond the notional stage.

From the turn of the century, Wright had from time to time thought about a school, presumably under his own guidance and tutelage. In 1900 he spoke of the need for an "experiment station," a crafts school; in 1908 and 1909 he wrote that some kind of a design center was needed; and occasionally the idea inserted itself into a text.

Finally in 1927, free of his spiteful ex-wife, back at Taliesin and in the quietude of a slow professional practice, he proposed an art school to be located on part of his grandfather's farm where, years before, he had built his own home.

> Objectives dimly felt, gropingly sought, are coming cleaner now: confusion and disgraceful turmoil have ended. . . . Taliesin had been stripped: the house and workshop plundered and abused by curiosity . . . defaced and all but destroyed.

In the mid to late 1920s "several young couples" had come from abroad to work with Wright: "Werner and Sylvia Moser from Zurich; Richard and Dione Neutra from Vienna; Kameki and Nobu Tsuchiura from Tokyo;"[7] and Heinrich and Else Klumb. Wright would provide the land and buildings if others would be patrons. He prepared photostats of some of his drawings and copies of a "prospectus" (forcefully stating "Why We Want This School") of the Hillside Home School of the Allied Arts, as he called it in December 1928. (In November it was just the Hillside Home School.) He sent the documents to the University of Wisconsin as well as a few confidantes. He learned, probably through two of his supporters within the university, Professors Ferdinand Schevell in history and Franz Aust in landscape architecture, that the institution "thought well of the scheme."[8] Wright

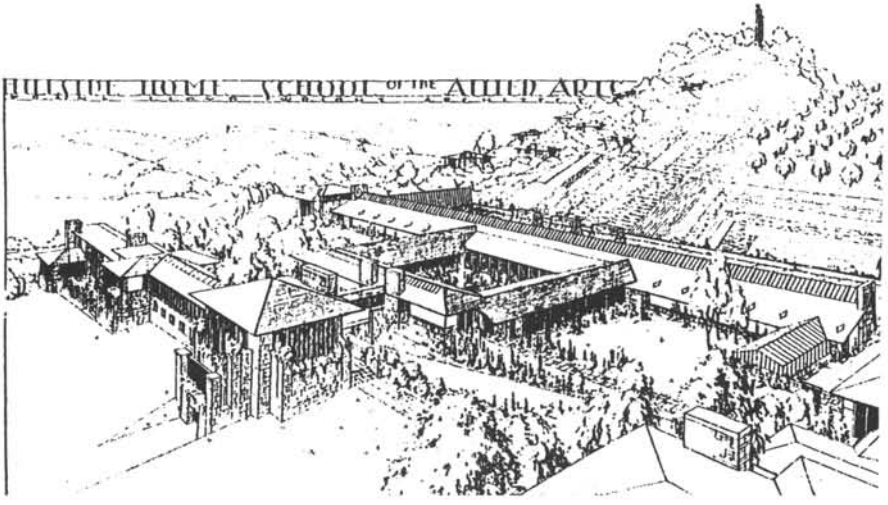

Figure 10.5. *Design for Hillside Home School of the Allied Arts, Spring Green, Wisconsin, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect. Bird's-eye perspective. Copyright © The FLLW Foundation 1999.*

also wrote a few letters soliciting comments; most went unanswered.

The inclusion of allied arts implies that initially it was not to be an apprenticeship program. Moreover, it had in its unspoken structure a hope that it might be part of a broader program known as the "Meiklejohn experiment." To a Wisconsin audience in 1932 Wright spoke of that experiment, "whether it succeeded or not," and that his "love" of Wisconsin was, among other attributes, founded upon her willingness to "spend her money to grubstake prospectors for future benefits to her posterity," a subtle allusion for support of what became the Taliesin Fellowship.[9] Alexander Meiklejohn had persuaded the university to allow an "experimental college" devoted to the liberal arts that drew heavily on mid-west novelists and researchers. Only one book was on the reading list for architecture: Louis Sullivan's *The Autobiography of an Idea* of 1924.[10] In any event many acquaintances knew Wright desperately needed money and realized this was an effort, perhaps sincere, to establish cash flow. It must be stressed, therefore, that had he not been in such personal, professional and financial straits, he would not have begun the school. There would have been no need.

Although it wandered through many thoughts, the rhetoric of the Home School's pedagogical foundation was quite sophisticated. It was, in Wright's words, a constructive step "to save the soul of man himself from future atrophy, from greater degradation at his own hands." He believed in the "creative-instinct in most [people]" and, optimistically, he was certain that that "quality or faculty" could be reborn. The key was in the force which could induce that revival: of imagination. The method was his school "where this thing might be wooed and won." But beyond these rather high-faluting motivations little was said of the ways in which the goal might be practically achieved.[11]

At this crucial point Wright was offered a series of commissions by Dr. Chandler in Arizona. Near Phoenix he built his Ocotillo Camp, a workplace for the nearby Chandler projects. But the crash of 1929 thwarted all that.[12] So time back at Spring Green was spent on only a few minor projects, nearly all unrealized, and dreaming of a school where young people might pay him for the privilege of working for him, learning through application. Siebers' 1927 visit was fortuitous, while Wright's son John's visit to Wijdeveld in mid-1930 was critical. Therefore the October 1930 letter to Wijdeveld, connecting Wright's varied plans for a school to a European tour of The Show, was well timed.

The initial approach to Wijdeveld was intriguingly oblique, through an intermediary. As noted, P.M. Cochius of the Royal Leerdam Glass Factory visited Spring Green in November 1928.[13] While sitting in the Taliesin living room he confided to Olgivanna, "This is the most beautiful room in the world. Your husband . . . is a great mystic." During the meeting Wright spoke of his plans for a school. And in a letter written soon after, Wright told Cochius: "The plans for the school here are developing. We now have a plan in perspective for the proposed development, and a university prospectus which the president of the university has asked us to prepare." He added that he would send a copy of the prospectus for Cochius to pass on to "Herr Widjeveld [*sic*]" whom he had "proposed to be director of this school."[14] Why Wright did not communicate this important idea directly to Wijdeveld is a mystery. Perhaps a personal entreaty was preferred.

Anyway, Wijdeveld received the relayed message, seemingly the first word he had heard from Wright since the end of 1926. Cochius reported to Wright: "I have seen Mr Wijdeveld and remembered you to him. He was very glad to hear from you and delighted about your plans." As a postscript he added that Wijdeveld was "starting a school of architects in Amsterdam."[15] Cochius had probably misunderstood; Wijdeveld had planned since 1927 the work-fellowship to be built beside the Loosdrecht *plassen* (lakes). Although he personally informed Wright of his aspirations some time before April 1929, the American was not deterred from repeating the offer of leadership at Spring Green.

Despite the fact that Wright considered the University of Wisconsin to be a "ponderous State-affair ruled by the State-legislature [that] cares nothing about art," his optimistic letters to Wijdeveld of 1930 would confirm that the Hillside Home school was intended to function with the administrative and financial support of that institution. But if Wright had no money to initiate the school after the stock market collapse, neither had the University. Impecunity was the major obstacle Wright faced. He had to find patrons with cash and, more dauntingly, with confidence in him. Confident about attracting pupils, he estimated the cost of setting up his school "for a beginning with proper equipment" at about $100,000. Location was not a problem; he had the land and, though they were "sinking rapidly into a state of ruin," he had the buildings—his aunts' original Hillside Home School built in the 1880s and 1902-1903, and a few decrepit farm structures around it.

Wijdeveld's appetite was predictably whetted and he eagerly cabled his

interest in July. He was desperately seeking a means of realizing his own dream and it must be stressed that he saw Wright's offer as suddenly presenting an alternative location for it. Wisconsin or Loosdrecht equally suited as a locus for his *international* fellowship and Wright seems to have been pressing him to come to America. He told Wright that he would shortly decide.[16]

Early in August two of Wright's short-term employees visited Holland, and he noted almost *en passant* in a letter of introduction that he had "not yet given up the school."[17] Wijdeveld's interest was growing. His own practice (as Wright's) had fallen into a deep hollow and he had little prospect of climbing out while the Depression lasted. Since 1927 he had been teaching at the Technical School in Amsterdam.

He, like Wright, had produced little architecture in those years: a few small buildings including a timber house in Encinitas, California for a Dutch expatriate named T.C. Spruit,[18] and an exhibition stand in Rotterdam. His only large work was The Netherlands Pavilion for the 1930 World's Fair in Antwerp, in collaboration with G.J. Langhout. Its linear plan and semicircular bays were redolent of the *werkgemeenschap* proposals, while the details of the corner tower recalled Wright's Midway Gardens. No other commissions were forthcoming and again so much like Wright, Wijdeveld turned all his energies to planning his school.

He would have been both cheered and flattered to read Wright's plans in the letter of October 1930: "To have you join me in Wisconsin to work in the proposed school would be a dream realized." Wright suggested that, should his practice revive, he could invite Wijdeveld to "take up residence in a corner of the ruin that we may rehabitate [*sic*]," adding "Together we could work out, from a small beginning, the school we have in mind." Wijdeveld could then work in the office at nearby Taliesin, earning enough to live on until the school was established. All this, Wright admitted, was a "wild adventure in the realm of economics" as things then grimly stood, and that the "University of Wisconsin has nothing to offer for years." Towards the end of the letter Wright tantalizingly turned to his Show of "all the work." That could have referred to his misunderstanding with Wijdeveld about "the work shown in its entirety" of April 1926. Anyway, he outlined The Show's proposed United States itinerary, flaunted the German interest, and asked whether it could be organized and financed through Holland. He archly added, "Meantime let me assure you the school scheme is in my mind and heart and I shall not cease working for it all the while."[19]

Wijdeveld took the bait. He cajoled his colleagues into accepting The Show, while he and Wright negotiated his proposed role at Spring Green. Although he found the invitation "to take the lead of the Hillside School of Arts . . . very tempting indeed," Wijdeveld hesitated because (he explained) his plans in The Netherlands were "already so far advanced, that I intend to try very hard to realize them . . . in 1931" (added ellipses).[20]

Wijdeveld's plans were indeed advanced; but *only* his plans. A few weeks later he wrote to a friend that he was suddenly

> in the midst of a new situation which seizes my excited vision, demanding all my time and attention. The evenings are occupied by international correspondence, making the plan

known to important people. . . . For the time being [I] direct my attention to having the work-fellowship accepted by a great number of established modern workers and colleagues. In Holland and abroad I want to make the plan thoroughly known, [in order to] seek advice and acquire wisdom.[21]

He sought approval for his Fellowship from a wide circle of influential friends and acquaintances as well as from others whom he respected: William Butler Yeats, Leopold Stokowski, van de Velde, and many more including Albert Einstein agreed upon its merit. He remained unsure that it would succeed in Holland. Reflecting upon his efforts years later, he wrote:

I was the convinced international worker, corresponding with Mexico and Japan, Transvaal and Russia. I had friends in America and English India. . . . I studied the life and works of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. During the European visit of the poet-philosopher Rabindranath Tagore, I followed his lectures. Krishnamurti, with whom I had a long discussion about the work-fellowship, assured me that the world was awaiting a performance: "Commence this plan as soon as you can. It doesn't matter where!" [22]

The meeting with Jiddu Krishnamurti, the Indian philosopher once styled "messiah" by Annie Besant, took place in Holland at the moment when Wijdeveld presented his International Work Fellowship in The Hague.[23]

The time was out of joint. Although international moral support was overwhelming and within Holland Berlage publicly praised the idea, it was an impossible goal to try to finance the Fellowship at Loosdrecht. Nevertheless, as events would show, it was neither a trivial nor a hare-brained scheme; many Dutch architects would have considered it worthwhile, a bulwark against advancing modernism. Reviewing Wijdeveld's prospectus in the *Weekblad*, Berlage warned that intellectual development was threatening to decline into what he called "constructivism" (he did not capitalize the word). That trend was visible in much contemporary architecture and he commended Wijdeveld's attempt to "dispel this artistic poverty." That, wrote Berlage, was an "attitude to which I personally subscribe, because in [it], feeling is restored to its place." Although he believed the proposal "cannot provide everything needed," he was convinced that "neither can people do without it."[24]

Although he gives no reason, historian Nico Tummers believes that Holland was an unsuitable place for the Fellowship.[25] It is a sensible assertion. In the 1929 essay which eventually became the introduction to the yellow booklet Wijdeveld used the phrase "we moderns."[26] In 1931 he changed that to "the moderns." He no longer aligned himself with the movement that trumpeted its message from the pages of *De 8 en Opbouw*. Neither did his contemporaries regard him as "modern": he was not part of "today's reality" but "yesterday's art," embracing the artistic, decorative, symbolic, imaginative, unbusinesslike, lyrical, passive, romantic, aesthetic, theoretical and craft-related:[27] adjectives that describe most of his oeuvre. His Fellowship might very well have been anachronistic in Holland where the architectural climate was changing.

Toward the end of the 1920s J.B. van Loghem renounced his Amsterdam School connections to embrace Le Corbusier's doctrine and Communism. He

cautiously praised the Fellowship in his book *Bouwen*, commenting: "Wijdeveld's fervid imagination has made him forget that a great many work-fellowships have already passed away, because they were not well-founded upon a social network." Van Loghem did not enumerate the redundancies but his assertion put the cart before the horse. Wijdeveld, like others, saw better design as a *means to* social renewal and not a product of it. Van Loghem believed that the Idea could succeed only in a society in which large groups actively participated in the struggle for renewal, that is, a communist society. The "inadmissible, outdated building processes which spoil town and countryside" had to go, before the Fellowship would work.[28]

But the chief hindrance to the Loosdrecht scheme was not technical or artistic; neither was it essentially political. Prosaically, Wijdeveld's Fellowship failed in Holland for the precise reason that Wright's failed in America until 1932: lack of money. If Wijdeveld could have only seen it, the Bauhaus provided a salutary example. It flourished in Weimar only while the Thuringian government was prepared to pay for it. When for politico-economic reasons that arrangement ended, the school moved to Dessau and was soon able to build new quarters, again only with municipal support. The Bauhaus was established by Germans largely for Germans, under the aegis of the *Werkbund* set up in 1907 to improve design standards in Germany. In the resurgent Teutonic nationalism of the 1920s, despite rampant inflation and economic chaos, and despite the left-wing politics of staff and students, it attracted public money.

By contrast, Wijdeveld's vision leapt national frontiers and ethnic boundaries. He opened his arms to the world: "In Italy, in Palestine, Egypt and Greece, in Tunis, Spain and France, in South America, Europe and India . . . students coming from all parts of the earth to train in these occupations . . ."[29] He had insufficient funds of his own, the Dutch government offered no help, and the resources of his erstwhile friends were inadequate or withheld, so the Idea had to be shelved.

On 28 March 1931, Wijdeveld cabled Wright that The Show would go ahead in Holland. A week later, after addressing the matter of catalogs, Wright gave him some startling news: "a school was forming in Chicago, known as Allied Arts and Industries similar to the plan [Wright] had in mind with an endowment of 2.5 Million Dollars." Wright capitalized and heavily underlined the dollar figure in his letter. He claimed to have turned down a request to be its director, but "suggested" Wijdeveld instead. Wright would be Chairman of the Board. Wijdeveld could expect an annual salary of $10,000 and an initial ten-year contract. Wright asked, "Would you come? Next September or October this thing is to begin. Let me know if this tempts you and I'll send particulars."[30]

If it tempted him! The news was like water to a parched man. He quickly cabled his answer: "Overwhelmingly accept directorship. Willing to cross immediately for short stay settling matters."[31] In reply Wright advised patience, pointing out that it was first necessary only to indicate interest, since several months would pass before the school could be legally separated from the Chicago Art Institute. But the excited flurry of cables occurred just as The Show material left New York, and Wright needed to be sure that Wijdeveld would be there to

take care of it on the other side of the Atlantic. Wijdeveld soon cabled again:

Within few days my letter wherein my heart says Taliesin reaches you but through your unexpected proposal all might change thoroughly, bringing Chicago plan into prominence. I therefore leave all to you but being afraid long uncertainty might influence school plans. Holland made me suggest short visit settling matters now. Wait your decisions. Reckon on me.[32]

Even before news of the Chicago proposal reached him, Wijdeveld agreed, in a letter that was a lyrical, disjointed outpouring of the heart, to throw in his lot with Wright. Wijdeveld was convinced that because his ideas and Wright's were so similar, words were hardly needed, although that was not enough to curb his verbosity. He compared his call "to teach [world youth] new culture in the international guild" with Wright's desire "to give form to ideals caught by [his] winged soul and teach them . . . in the Hillside Home School of Art."

Because they both envisioned imminent international understanding he asked Wright, "Why not, in the difficulties of our attainment, join our work and make the way free for this beautiful work of ours, where united power is needed to fulfil a mission?" Wright, he knew, had "sung at the door of the University of Wisconsin" just as Wijdeveld had "whistled his tune" to the Dutch people. But no one had listened. Wijdeveld's disappointment was ameliorated by the arrival in Holland of his old acquaintance and Wright's employee Heinrich Klumb, who was to accompany and oversee The Show. Wijdeveld told Wright of Klumb's conviction that "Your ways are Wright's ways, his longings are yours." He also brought a copy of Wright's proposal to the University of Wisconsin for a "University of the Modern Arts" in which Wijdeveld was named as leader.

The Hollander recognized parallels to his work Fellowship. Eager to convince Wright of that congruity, he sent a copy of *Naar een Internationale Werkgemeenschap*—it was published in four languages including English—to fill in the outline he had verbally sketched for Wright several years before. His "intentions [were to] lead the way towards a new education in the Arts, A new path for the life of the youth . . .," and he used his favorite ellipses, capitals and exclamation marks: "Therefore, LET US DECIDE. I will come to Taliesin!!"

Wijdeveld's letter "introduced" his family, setting out their respective achievements. He enclosed photographs but none of himself. His son Wolfgang was then twenty, his daughter Ruscha nineteen, and his other son Roland thirteen. Try as he might to address other matters he kept returning to collaboration:

The WORLD HESITATES TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSALS. . . . Yours and mine. May the Gods lead our ways to one place, to join, to obtain, more strength. WILL IT BE TALIESIN? Let us start with mighty power My International Guild.

Your School! You the inspiring leader! I the strong Director! . . . You carrying out your projects and plans all over America . . . I giving examples to all the young people from America-Holland-Germany-Japan-Swiss-England . . . whom we will gather round us. Let us restore that schoolbuilding of yours . . . of ours and start to make "TALIESIN" A BLESSED NAME! [his ellipses and capitals].

Wijdeveld was prepared to move his furniture, pay his family's way to America, even to sell all he possessed. He told Wright—no doubt welcome news—that he

could scrape together between ten and fifteen thousand dollars, no mean sum.

With typical optimism Wijdeveld was convinced that the school would be self-supporting within a year. He thought that in America formal education should be emphasized. In Holland production workshops would have taken precedence. He asked Wright, "Consider my letter in kindest ways, write me your impression and when you agree and see the possibilities let us not wait but decide at once." He foresaw that "we shall have to find the right FORM for me, becoming a leader Director of a School which has still to be erected." His knowledge of American immigration policy suggests that Wijdeveld had already made enquiries about restrictions, before committing himself to Taliesin. He concluded optimistically, "But this all will be conquered by and by."[33]

There were many letters, mostly mundane, between the two architects as plans for The Show proceeded. Little news about the school was sent to Holland once The Show started its tour. The silence caused Wijdeveld consternation but his doubts did not spring from that single cause. It is reasonable to believe that he talked further with Klumb about the realities of the Hillside School and weighed what he heard against Wright's enthusiastic proposals. Whatever the reason, in Wijdeveld's mind the location of his Fellowship was again swathed in ideological misgivings only two months after "his heart" had so emphatically said "Taliesin." When The Show closed in Amsterdam he again wrote to Wright confessing rising doubts about coming to Taliesin. He sent an image of one of his buildings—possibly the Loosdrecht proposal—only to be damned with the faintest of praise: "Thanks for the fine picture of a most interesting building."[34]

The divergence in their styles was no problem for Wijdeveld; he assured Wright that while "I have the greatest respect for your work . . . don't think I want to imitate." He admitted, as if it was not obvious, "My work is different; may it be strong to . . . and in harmony with yours." Wijdeveld's contradictory, emotionally complex behaviour may have been difficult for Wright to comprehend. The Hollander carried the burden of a vision in which a reformed art would deliver the world from social confusion and political conflict. He confessed, "There is a nervous uncertainty running through my veins . . . I feel the burden of a great responsibility" and went on:

> humankind is going wrong in many of the most essential ways. Working as I did till now means helping to lay out wrong roads—carrying out my International Guild in Holland means, (even with a group of Dutch colleagues around me) an infinity of trouble and work.

On the basis of Wijdeveld's earlier rapturous letter Wright could not have been blamed for assuming that collaboration at Spring Green was assured. Yet in June 1931 the Dutchman still had questions "whirling in his head": "Shall it be here? . . . Will it be with Wright? Can it be in Chicago? Could it be in Hindustan? Is Russia wanting me?" Wijdeveld decided it would be best to "wait for things to come, wait for [Wright's] proposals, and let fate reign." Meanwhile, to free his thoughts he would embark on a lone walking tour through Dalmatia and Greece.[35]

Wijdeveld was occasionally invited to lecture elsewhere in Europe from the beginning of 1931 and he spoke in Brussels, Berlin, Moscow, and Leningrad. The Architectural Association exhibited his work in London and he lectured there on

27 April. Its president, the American expatriate Howard Robertson reviewed the talk and the show, identifying the 1931 Loosdrecht proposal as one of Wijdeveld's most interesting projects.[36] The Hollander boasted to Wright that he had spoken for nearly two hours without using notes. He asked Wright:

You know what is the secret in this? The holy fire! The certainty! The happiness! . . . and the great, great Sorrow! Mingle these phenomenons [*sic*] and you'll find everyone open their hearts. In all countries they understand and they say: we know what he means, he speaks our language [his ellipses]."[37]

Although Wijdeveld seized the chance to publicize his Idea there was little hope that the xenophobic English would join any venture which might include Germans. This was borne out year or so later. When Mendelsohn and Serge Chermayeff tried to involve their English colleagues in a revised version of the Fellowship they found polite disinterest mixed with pragmatic suspicion.

For the second half of June and through July 1931, while Wright's Show traveled Germany Wijdeveld tramped the south of Europe. He had been given no more news about the extravagantly promised school in Chicago, and that no doubt added to his confusion. Insensitively, Wright had his secretary Karl Jensen write to Wijdeveld, apologizing about leaving that question so long unresolved. In early July Wright intended to go to Chicago to discuss the school.[38]

Soon after his return from Chicago Wright personally wrote to Wijdeveld,

Nothing you have so kindly done—is lost upon me I assure you—. I have only been unwilling to encourage you to come here until I had some assurance myself that your effort would not be sunk in vain in this great commercial engine we call the United States.

His own shortage of money was another reason why plans for the school had lapsed. But things were about to change. He claimed to have the support of "the woman who was really responsible for the Chicago Allied Arts and Industries." Yet Wright never named her in his letters to Wijdeveld, or anywhere else. He now proposed to make the Hillside Home School "a small head and beginning," a pilot scheme for the richly endowed Chicago school expected to be realized within a couple of years. The modest experiment at Hillside project would "determine just what and how the Chicago enterprise itself should be planned."

Wright again proposed Wijdeveld as Director of the new Hillside School. Wright would be Chairman of the Board because he did not want

a too active post in the affairs of the School. I want to practice architecture for fifteen years more. But I wish to shape the policy and intend to see the freedom of the School maintained as well as my own. I should have a deciding voice from "behind the throne" for some years. Then I should probably not be needed.

He would be satisfied "to have planted this experiment-station in machine industry where I can be near it myself and see it in action." The understanding of life and work that he and Wijdeveld shared, Wright believed, would enable them to work together despite differences. After Wright returned from Rio de Janeiro Wijdeveld was invited to Taliesin in November "for the making of the plans which can . . . go forward actively next Spring."[39]

Wijdeveld visited America at the end of 1931, not as prophet or evangelist

but as a philosopher who wanted to formulate with Wright a means of preparing disciples to carry the Message to the world. He reached New York early in November and after a few days "seeing the country," traveled to Chicago via Boston. He was delighted to find that he was better known than anticipated. He met Wright in Chicago; they went to Taliesin on the sixteenth. Wijdeveld's excitement was predictable. He wrote to Jan Wils, "And now with Wright. AT LAST! A great friend! A great spirit! [his capitals]."[40]

Wright personally impressed him and the atmosphere at Taliesin moved him to poetry. He wrote to his wife Ellen, "Could life undergo a transposition, how willingly would I take it at Taliesin. . . . Here I increase my knowledge and appreciation of life [his ellipses]." He found "unhoped-for wisdom" in Wright's entourage; he knew no artistic circle in Holland where culture was unspoiled by pretentiousness. He told Ellen that the collaboration was certain to succeed, promising: "I will propose the scheme to Wright, and we'll see what he says about it. All have faith in this School. . . . We shall have to turn students away [his ellipses]."[41] Taliesin seemed like the perfect seedbed for fellowship and Wijdeveld's doubts vanished like vapor in Wisconsin's autumn sun.

Negotiations are not documented but agreement about the Fellowship was reached early in December. Commenting upon the talks between the two architects, a querulous Catherine Bauer wrote to Oud, "Wijdeveld is here and has long discussions with Wright (which, I know for sure, will result in no realistic cooperation) about his ideas for an international guild."[42] The source of her information and her reasons for predicting failure remain hidden. In the short term she was wrong; in the long term she was right.

Wijdeveld took the initiative, laying before Wright his plans for curriculum, organization and administration. Each had already formalized his thoughts about education and training in prospectus form. Wright's less specific proposals were for submission to the University of Wisconsin, and Wijdeveld's for the World. Those documents doubtless were a starting point for their amicable talks.

A contract, intended for discussion only, was soon drafted "for the funding and conduct of the proposed Taliesin Fellowship by and between Frank Lloyd Wright and H.Th. Wijdeveld." Interestingly, what Wright had intended to call the "Hillside Home School" had become the "Taliesin Fellowship." The change of name, with all the implications of Wijdeveld's previous work in formulating a *werkgemeenschap*, had come about through the Dutchman's evangelism.

It is also patent from what can be discovered of the agreement of November 1931 that, other than real estate, Wijdeveld, not Wright, would provide most of the initial outlay. The provisions included conveying ten acres of the Hillside farm property to Wijdeveld and assigning him two thirds of the prospective income. His promised $10,000–15,000 was to be supplemented by $3,000 from Wright, far short of the $100,000 estimated. Any income would be divided two thirds to Wijdeveld, one third to Wright. Naming Wright as founder and Wijdeveld as leader, the document provided for a three year probationary period to begin upon the latter's arrival in Wisconsin before 13 April 1932, when presumably the contract would lapse. Clauses setting out the conduct of the Fellowship

are no longer extant.[43]

As will be shown, the Taliesin Fellowship prospectus issued independently by Wright in 1932 (Appendix D) vigorously claimed as his own initiative, drew freely and at length from *Naar een Internationale Werkgemeenschap* (Appendix C) published in Holland seven months before the 1931 meeting. Wijdeveld would recall in a letter to Mendelsohn that Wright "mentioned me in his first publication" as the resident director of the proposed school. He added that in 1931 they had together given the "final form to the syllabus of studies for the Fellowship,"—a name, asserted Wijdeveld, derived from his International Fellowship.[44] The "first publication" was Wright's plan for "A Home School of the Allied Arts," sent to Holland in winter 1931 in return for Wijdeveld's Fellowship prospectus.[45] While Wright never acknowledged the Hollander's collaboration in forming the Taliesin Fellowship (the naming only one aspect) and drafting its curriculum, the internal evidence of Wijdeveld's hand in its 1932 prospectus is undeniable. Neither can there be any mistake about his eagerness to return to America and get on with it. Having drafted the agreement, he cabled Ellen that he would make the final decision only with her consent.[46] He was home by New Year's Day 1932.

It should be recalled that in 1965 Olgivanna Wright told a different story about Wijdeveld's alacrity to join them at Taliesin. Painting him as indecisive, cowardly, too hesitant and too timid to catch the fire of Wright's vision, her account is grossly incongruent with all contemporary documents.[47]

As soon as he returned to Holland, Wijdeveld enquired further about emigrating to America. He told Wright, "There is a great longing in me to join you and stay and help build up and be one with you and you one with me." Admitting there were "difficulties that have to be conquered," he hoped that they would "find an agreement." The only impediment to his immediate return was a planned six week visit to Moscow, where he had been invited to exhibit his work and lecture. Even that delay he counted as worthwhile preparation for his work with Wright, another avenue to be explored, as he explained: "I go to convince myself personally of the Sovjet [*sic*] experiment but its growth to have my own opinion when I lecture at Taliesin."[48] Wijdeveld went to the Soviet Union early in 1932, and was disappointed to find only a "tsarist romantic profession of faith in buildings."

He later explained to Mendelsohn that because of a shortage of funds, the establishment of the Taliesin Fellowship was postponed until prospects improved:

> Hélas, it was the winter of the financial catastrophe in the United States. I offered Wright all I possessed, but what was a little capital concerning such a plan? As we couldn't start at once, I returned in friendship (!) [he exclaimed]. He then wrote "One day I'll call on you."[49]

But retrospection suggests another purpose for considering Wijdeveld as "leader": that was to unite the philosophies of Europe and America through a Wrightian centre where Wijdeveld and Wright would harmoniously and openly cooperate. Moreover, because of Wijdeveld's efforts in Europe on Wright's behalf, the lineage of modernism would appear more certainly rooted in the Chicago mentor. By 1932, in Wright's view, Wijdeveld had abandoned the cause they shared. Or that is the impression Wright wished to convey.

His letter rejecting Wijdeveld began "My Dear Dutchy"—a nickname bestowed by his London circle twenty-five years before, a pet name in his letters to Ellen, and used by closer friends, but Wright had never before used it. "My Dear Dutchy," he wrote, "much as I like you and hard up for help as I am, perhaps chiefly because of both, I am going to say no to your coming to join me in America."[50] Wright proffered his reasons for this change of heart. First, the responsibility of bringing the Wijdeveld family to an uncertain future was too great. And the "leader should, I am now sure, be an American," one who was "able to hold all together and carry all on smoothly over rough places, sure to arise in anything such as I propose." Wright confided: "You are yourself too far developed to succeed in any such position—as I see you." Wijdeveld would be better off giving his own character and direction to his own school, "or you would not be happy." The letter concluded

> You would make an ideal associate if I could have you in that capacity. Perhaps when things are established and running you would be willing to take that over or perhaps I could offer you the leadership I am not willing to offer you now.

But Wijdeveld had been promised the leadership and only that was enough for him. Wright's other reasons for backing out of the agreement came to light fifteen years later. Even then Wijdeveld received only partial satisfaction. The circumstances will be examined in a later chapter.

Wright's irreplaceable exhibition material was still completing its circuit in Europe. It returned to Holland at the end of 1931 to be shown in Rotterdam before Wijdeveld supervised its packing for return to America. Still enthusing over his visit to Wisconsin, he wrote to Wright on New Year's Day 1932 that The Show had just closed: "I shall give you a farewell, before you leave Europe again. All went off as it had to be!"[51] On 21 January he cabled Wright that everything would be shipped that week, so it would have been back in Spring Green at some time before the middle of February.

Within days of its safe arrival Wright sent his "Dear Dutchy" letter. There was no immediate use for Wijdeveld and the April 1932 deadline of the drafted agreement would soon pass. And so the unflagging Hollander looked elsewhere in the hope of realizing his dream of an International Work Fellowship.

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Chapter 11

Many Fellowships

Although Wijdeveld accepted that the Taliesin Fellowship could not start without funds, he lived in daily expectation of a summons from Spring Green. After dashing Wijdeveld's hopes Wright continued writing through 1932 as though nothing had happened. Wijdeveld ignored him.[1] He had other things to do and he was busy lecturing within Holland, and in Brussels, Berlin, Moscow and Leningrad.[2] Moreover, despite failure at home and rejection in America he had not relinquished plans for his *Internationale Werkgemeenschap*. As noted, Wijdeveld had seen Taliesin as an alternative *location* for realizing the Idea, enhanced by the chance to work with Wright. As soon as that door closed he began to knock on others.

By April 1932 he was negotiating with Bertha Brevée, a Dutch expatriate who owned the Villa San Pancrazio in Taormina, Sicily. Wijdeveld proposed a European Academy—the fellowship modified and under a different name—on the island. Brevée had interested the local authorities and a wealthy Sicilian investor and she was arranging for Wijdeveld to negotiate with Mussolini.[3] Before the year was out he drew Erich Mendelsohn into his plans and through him the German composer Paul Hindemith.[4] By January 1933 they were joined by the French painter Amedée Ozenfant, the Spanish sculptor Pablo Gargallo, the Swiss ceramicist Paul Bonifas, and the "Anglo-Russian" interior designer Serge Chermayeff, who in turn was trying to interest two Englishmen, typographer-sculptor Eric Gill and painter Paul Nash, both of whom decided not to become involved.[5]

Enthralled by the "tiny sketches of expressionistic architecture" in an exhibition entitled "Architecture in Steel and Reinforced Concrete" at Paul Cassirer's Berlin gallery in spring 1919, Wijdeveld had devoted the October 1920 issue of *Wendingen* to Mendelsohn's work, believing he had "introduced" Mendelsohn outside Germany. Their friendship blossomed and in 1923 the families toured the Middle East together. Mendelsohn would recall, "I have seen [Wijdeveld] danc-

Figure 11.1. *Cover of prospectus for the* Academie Européenne Méditerranée *(1933), H. Th. Wijdeveld, Designer. Reproduced with permission of the Wijdeveld family.*

ing on the wall surrounding ancient Jerusalem to the syncopated beats of Arab workmen." The friendship was "deep enough to resist lonely days" but soon after that happy time their paths diverged as they concentrated upon separate careers.[6]

Until 1932 Mendelsohn's successful Berlin practice was well publicized. But the Jewish architect fled Germany the day after Hitler became *Reichschancellor*. With his wife Louise—like Ellen Wijdeveld, an accomplished cellist—and their only child Esther, Mendelsohn was welcomed at Wijdeveld's Amsterdam South home, facing an uncertain future. Apart from a few brief absences they remained there from early February until June 1933. During that stay final touches were put to plans for the *Academie Européenne "Méditerranée"* (A.E.M.)[7] (Figure 11.1). A property was bought, a company formed in Paris and all but the fine detail worked out. The incipient Academy had three offices: Wijdeveld's Amsterdam address; 173 Oxford Street, London, where Mendelsohn was to set up practice; and Ozenfant's Paris studio at 10 Rue des Marronniers.

The Frenchman was, at least on paper, A.E.M.'s third initiator. A founder of Purism, he drew Le Corbusier into the movement in 1917; two years later they wrote its manifesto *Aprés Cubisme*. When Wijdeveld met them in Paris in 1920 they were publishing the journal *L'Esprit Nouveau*, but their cooperation ceased in 1925. Ozenfant claimed as his own many of the ideas set out by Le Corbusier in *Vers une Architecture*.[8] Wijdeveld was interested in Purism, as in everything else. Perhaps it was he who invited Ozenfant to participate in the Academy. But the painter was also close to Mendelsohn whose buildings he praised in his *Foundations of Modern Art* of 1931. Whoever converted him, Ozenfant shared the Idea, if somewhat diffidently. In 1938 he published his diaries, where his revulsion at economic depression, the threat of Bolshevism, the rise of Fascism and a re-armed Germany permeates his record of the turbulent earlier part of the decade. But of Wijdeveld, Mendelsohn or A.E.M. he wrote nothing.[9]

It was Mendelsohn who enlisted Hindemith. Once acclaimed as Germany's finest musician, in 1923 the composer had resigned as first violinist with the Frankfurt Opera to concentrate upon modern music and in 1927 he became teacher of composition at the Berlin *Hocheschule fur Musik*. But the Nazis soon

branded his work as "decadent" and by 1934 Goebbels would label it "Bolshevik," banning performances of some of it. Hindemith, a Gentile, also denounced anti-Semitism and in the mid 1930s realized that he must leave Germany.

In June 1933 Mendelsohn migrated to London and started a partnership with Chermayeff, who became the youngest member of the embryonic A.E.M. The Russian's plans to go to Cambridge University in 1917 had been disappointed when family fortunes were lost in the revolution. By 1924 he had turned to interior design, soon establishing a reputable practice. His interiors for London's Broadcasting House (1932) had been published and Wijdeveld probably knew of them.

In turn, Chermayeff invited Eric Gill to teach at A.E.M. Gill designed the English version of its prospectus and printed it in the shop he ran with his son-in-law, René Hague. A latter-day Arts and Crafts artist, Gill was no stranger to guilds having worked in both Roman Catholic and secular establishments. In 1928 he set up his own studio, "Pigott's," in Buckinghamshire and among other creative pursuits started the printery. It produced some fine books, including *Typography* and *Clothes*, both in 1931. Perhaps they brought their maker to the attention of Wijdeveld, himself committed to typography and arts and crafts. Gill would later dismiss A.E.M. as "art nonsense, though of an exalted kind" and withdraw.[10] Donald Attwater, A.E.M.'s English secretary, recalled that it "all came to nothing because of insufficient funds."[11] That was only partly accurate; Mendelsohn later blamed "England's conceitedness" for the failure, an example of "the parochial, nationalistic xenophobia of the big countries."[12]

Pablo Gargallo, a Spanish sculptor respected in Europe, agreed to teach. He was convinced that sculpture also must respond to a changing world. His work after 1911 straddled the European realist tradition and Cubism. The details of his introduction to A.E.M. are obscure, but sadly he died before plans were realized. Enigmatically, he remained in the prospectus but was replaced by the Russian Ossip Zadkine who had had a similar career path and developed a distinctive personal style.[13]

The other invited teacher was potter Paul Bonifas, who remains the most obscure of the group. Perhaps he was recommended by Ozenfant, whom he knew.[14] Wijdeveld also was aware of his work. Indeed, their views on art were almost congruent. Seeing the "danger" in separating "art and the practical world" they believed that "the healthiest condition [allowed] traditional respect for excellence [to find] expression in modern processes."[15]

These were the players waiting in the wings for the curtain to rise on Wijdeveld's *Academie Européenne "Méditerranée."*

While the scenario resembled his Loosdrecht proposal in many ways, embracing diverse artistic disciplines, A.E.M. was not as international as the Idea put in 1931. Perhaps the experience with Wright led Wijdeveld to exclude America. Or perhaps his ambition—described by Mendelsohn as "the Ballet Wijdeveld, in perpetual motion"—was balanced by the German's pragmatism. That is not to say that Mendelsohn lacked an "ecstasy of vision." Rather, he combined an "exuberant, intuitive creativity with sound business sense."[16] Wijdeveld rational-

ized that Loosdrecht was conceived when "the international notion was everywhere, when Holland was Europe, Europe the world, the world the cosmos."[17] The proposal for A.E.M. came six years later. Then, Europe was catchment enough for the youth that would flock to his doors.

A.E.M.'s birth pangs began just as the Bauhaus was suffocating under Nazism and internally tearing itself apart. It would close in 1933 by Mies van der Rohe's unilateral action. Mendelsohn for one may have expected that, and its imminent demise could have figured in discussions with Wijdeveld in 1932. Ozenfant had lectured at Dessau and was also aware of the closure, although he referred to it as "Gropius' school."[18] The A.E.M. was really Wijdeveld's school, his Idea, impelled by his energy. Events would prove it and Mendelsohn would admit it.[19]

In 1933 both Wijdeveld and Mendelsohn wanted to stop practising architecture to become full time teachers.[20] The Hollander believed that he had been unable to make buildings that would create a new world, wistfully observing that "new problems arose" everywhere. His visit with Wright showed him that America, where technology triumphed, had failed "in the realm of ideas"; in the U.S.S.R. he found that the Soviets were "seeking a technology upon which to construct an image." Most frustrating was the daily conflict of being obliged to build housing whose form was "against his own convictions." Those were some of the *raisons d'êtres* for A.E.M. and Wijdeveld used those cryptic words early in 1934 to rationalize his actions.[21] His philosophy, personality and intellectual resilience were perfect qualifications for the creative profession of teaching. He was more teacher—or preacher—than practitioner.

In March 1933 Wright reconsidered Wijdeveld's role in his plans. He wrote expressing a belief that "Taliesin was not dead" for the Hollander, and sent a copy of the final prospectus to show how they "had gone further with the fellowship." As Wijdeveld discovered, that was only on paper; nothing substantial had happened in terms of teaching or architectural achievement. While Wright assured Wijdeveld that there "is yet a place for you to work with me," he made it clear that it would not be on the same basis as Wright "first had in mind," or put more accurately, as they had agreed over a year earlier. He believed that they could work out something "less risky" for them both, whatever that meant. He told Wijdeveld that work had started on the buildings, and although vacancies existed for teachers and leaders, there were thirty students in residence. In fact, there were only twenty-five. Perhaps, Wright suggested, the Wijdeveld family would visit in the coming summer.[22]

Wijdeveld's reaction to this strange, unexpected letter was silence. But he *was* curious about Wright's seeming change of heart so he wrote to Heinrich Klumb, whom he knew and trusted. About a month later, believing that Wijdeveld had written to his assistant because he misunderstood the March letter, Wright made an explicit offer.[23] He admitted that he had been unable to find anyone in America "of the right quality for director of the Fellowship," although where he searched is unknown.[24] He had therefore turned to Europe, he said, to find someone with adequate knowledge of the crafts. He told Wijdeveld, "I would prefer you to anyone I know if I could get you." Wright came no closer than that

to admitting his previous mistake. He emphasized that he no longer needed a "leader" but a competent "director in general," and he underlined those words.

He had clearly given the matter much thought. He suggested roles for Wijdeveld's son Wolfgang ("honor-man" in music, as Wright put it) and Ellen ("matron") should "Dutchy" accept. Promising that "eventually there should be more than that," Wright insisted that enough progress had been made to remove his earlier disquiet and he could now provide "a sufficient living" for the Wijdevelds. References to payment were carefully worded. In fact Wright's finances were no healthier than they had been at the end of 1931. What small income he had came from lectures, writing, the farm at Spring Green, and the tuition fees of students. That was soon spent, leaving nothing to maintain the buildings at Taliesin, which would remain run-down for at least another decade. Thus, an ill-defined "sufficient living" would probably have been in kind. In addition Wright promised Wijdeveld "a fair share of what was owned by the Fellowship." If the contract drafted in 1931 can be taken as a guide it may be assumed that Wijdeveld's contribution of cash against that equity would also remain the same. Perhaps Wright assumed that the Hollander still had funds to invest. But this time there would be no profit-sharing.[25] In the event the Fellowship did not show a profit for nearly twenty years; but neither architect could have known that in 1933.

To encourage Wijdeveld, Wright had Klumb write in German to the Hollander and that was sent four days after Wright's second invitation. Klumb's four-page letter was a mix of idealism, hope and despair, even anger. Construction at Taliesin had begun in April 1932 and a description of that work occupied the first third of the document. It concluded with a plea: "We lack a man who can put life into the project, Mr. Th. Wijdeveld, who also can give life to the Taliesin Fellowship" that now "exists in name only." The motto of "first the buildings, then the creative work" was not what the fellows had expected. The Fellowship, wrote Klumb, is about

> Young people who will gather here, who want to live . . . in the manner spelled out in the prospectus—they want to work creatively. They do not want to simply dig ditches, chase tradesmen and clean up after them. . . . They want to create. Mr. Wright has finally come to understand this.

To see their aspirations satisfied Wright agreed that Wijdeveld "was the right man" and once again should be asked to fill "this important position" of "head of the school." After talks with Wright Klumb believed that "a financial contribution by yourself will, I think, not be required and you will be able to keep your capital in reserve."

> However the Taliesin Fellowship develops, for better or for worse, there is nothing you will give up in Holland that you will not find again in this free country among the free people who have a great future.[26]

Wijdeveld had a mixed reaction to Wright's prospectus. Patently, the document issued by the American in October 1932 was philosophically, pedagogically and administratively indebted to *Naar een Internationale Werkgemeenschap.*

Further, before launching his school Wright had even imitated Wijdeveld by soliciting general and (unlike Wijdeveld) financial support. Wijdeveld had solicited the opinion—really the approval—of poets, mystics, architects and mathematicians of a Fellowship he believed would benefit humanity and had received warm replies, whole-heartedly approving his Idea. Wright was content to consult "ten worthwhile architects" he considered leaders: Albert Kahn, Thomas Lamb, Joseph Urban, Eli Kahn, John Wellborn Root, John Holabird, George Howe, Eliel Saarinen, William Lescaze—the latter two he would later dismiss as "leftwing modernists"—and Buckminster Fuller, the only non-architect. He intended to use their endorsement to solicit financial support but there is no record that his request met with more than a casual, peripheral response. Perhaps discouraged, he later sent a form letter asking selected people to become "Friends of the Fellowship" loosely implying financial support would be accepted. In it he enclosed the prospectus of the Taliesin Fellowship, "erected through my efforts, and guided by my efforts,"[27] and intriguingly underlined the word "my." Yet, while he received modest funding from a few people Wright could not gather about him even a few collaborators, and those he later enlisted were certainly not of the caliber that Wijdeveld found.

Wright's prospectus referred to the link between art and craft, design and execution, learning by doing, fair division of labor, the basis of admission, shared daily chores, repudiation of "wage slavery", testimonial instead of diploma at completion, organization of vacations and financial implications of fees and products—all issues of which Wright had read in Kropotkin's theories, especially those related to education. The Taliesin prospectus also offered simple home life, regular working hours, common meals, private study-bedrooms, musical evenings and occasional public lectures. Each of the matters covered by Wright had been included in Wijdeveld's Loosdrecht proposal. So was the idea that "the beautiful region itself" should provide inspiration and recreation. All can be traced to Wijdeveld's "yellow book" of eighteen months earlier (Appendix C and Appendix D). Wijdeveld would have noticed and mused upon the similarities. There is no evidence that he answered Wright's second invitation, even to refuse. Recalling the events years later, he told Mendelsohn, "I had to answer, *Hélas*! I can't accept, for we are constructing an academy in the south of France."[28] No letter, no cable survives.

Wijdeveld's plans at the beginning of 1933 outweighed any disappointments. A.E.M. was advanced enough for him to decide that it was inappropriate to even mention Wright's offer to Mendelsohn. In June a limited liability company was registered in Paris. The three "leaders" invested a total of 680,000 French francs (then $US 27,000), only a fraction of the three million estimated for establishment costs, two-thirds of it for buildings. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Wijdeveld put up the lion's share, although he was forced to borrow to do so. The initial outlay was for land only.

When financial problems forced Brevée to convert her villa into a hotel, plans for Sicily failed. Wijdeveld thought it was too remote, anyway; he was also afraid that the Academy might have to cooperate with the Fascists.[29] Early in

1933 the French government offered an island near Cannes but Wijdeveld's reservations were similar: better an independent Academy than one "under the eye of the government." The A.E.M. directors also entertained the offer of a share in a coastal resort at Perpignan, near the French-Spanish border. Despite the "magnificent" site and the chance of architectural commissions, the deal was not closed "because of the isolation and . . . the undesirable climate."[30] These offers indicate that government bureaucracies and private entrepreneurs considered the Academy of some consequence.[31] Comparison with the Taliesin Fellowship, which initially met with little enthusiasm beyond words offered by Wright's circle of friends and former clients, is unavoidable.

Finally, 100 hectares at Cavalière-sur-Mer between Marseilles and Cannes—an idyllic place on the French coast for "joining ideas to nature"—was bought for 250,000 francs. To raise money for buildings, 1,000-franc shares were offered, each securing 750 square meters of the land, and each promising normal dividends.[32] Shareholders could build on their sections, consultation with the leaders ensuring development control. The A.E.M. would thus be the focus of an artistic colony, the same as intended in the Loosdrecht plan, and following late in the tradition of any number of arts and crafts *kibbutzim*. Transient artists would augment the permanent staff.

Buildings would be erected by the *medewerkers*, especially those studying architecture, enlarging their "knowledge of materials, their technical possibilities and the media of expression." It would incidentally provide cheap labor. That also was part of Wijdeveld's 1931 proposal and since he discussed it with Wright it was built into Taliesin's practical ethos.

Wright boasted in 1936—and Klumb complained—that fellows at Spring Green were "felling trees, sawing them into lumber, quarrying rock and burning lime to lay the rock in the wall" among other activities. They turned "the sawn lumber into structure, trusses and furniture" and could at times be found

> plastering walls, frescoing them. Digging ditches, working in the fields with the ground. Washing dishes, caring for their own rooms. Planting and harvesting. Making roads. Farming, planning, working, kitchenizing and philosophizing in voluntary cooperation in an atmosphere of natural loveliness they are helping to make eventually habitable.[33]

Taliesin's prospectus repudiated "wage slavery" and the above description of activities, written four years later, did not infringe that ideal since workers paid for the privilege: in that first year for "education" and their keep the Wright "apprentices" paid $675.

Wijdeveld's Idea was destined not to reach even that phase of its development, although with a few helpers he personally bent his back to the physical work. He moved to the A.E.M. site in February 1934 to begin the temporary buildings, assisted by a German landscape architect, a Dutch architect (probably an employee), and three prospective students.[34] Working in a rented apartment, by the end of March they had designed the first studios and living quarters. The architecture course was to start first, followed by painting.[35] Wijdeveld expected Mendelsohn in the spring and Ozenfant in summer. He was disappointed that neither came to help with construction.

Mendelsohn had visited the site in May 1933. His longer-term plan, never disclosed to Wijdeveld, was to settle in Palestine. He saw the move as "the first step towards a return to that country, to that final stage where we both belong."[36] As he wrote to his wife from Cavalière, "this coast . . . every time brings me back to my sources." Meanwhile he publicly promoted A.E.M. but he lacked Wijdeveld's "holy fire." With hindsight the British stage designer Gordon Craig kindly but cryptically chastised his friend Wijdeveld for entering any "arrangement for anybody on this earth to work with [him] who will not actually work with [him]."[37]

Wijdeveld's eager acceptance of manual work and the commitment of all his time and money demonstrated his enthusiasm. It also identified him as a leader who led from the front. The syllabus included practical, manual work for the architecture students, and for interior designers, making furniture. Nobody would be put to menial tasks cynically disguised as lessons. And if the Loosdrecht set-up were carried over, all—including teachers and leaders—would fairly share in the chores as part of the communal life.

Things were different at Spring Green. A sprightly Wright was sixty-five when the Taliesin Fellowship commenced. Although there was a seed of underlying altruism, the school had been started principally to raise money. Wright sought teachers in music and painting but they insisted on wages. By his own admission—like Wijdeveld—he was incapable of working with anyone whose ideas differed from his own. Thus his "curriculum" was architecture and Wright was the solitary master of the apprentices. Any diversity resulted from some apprentices already having training outside architecture: the crafts, painting, civil engineering, music and sculpture.

Wright and Olgivanna ruled Taliesin. At mealtimes they sat with their family and occasional guests on a dais. High table enjoyed gourmet food while the apprentices ate fried eggs. Nevertheless, they responded with "worshipful, awed obedience." According to novelist Ayn Rand, who visited in the mid 1940s, their work was "badly imitative" of Wright's own, despite his efforts to make them assert their intellectual individuality. Rand believed that he simply did not know how to stimulate that response.[38]

Werner Moser later suggested pedagogical parallels in "the starting points and the directions taken" by Wright at Taliesin and van der Velde at Weimar.[39] He noted that each questioned the "dubious value of imitating style," each prophesied that the machine would displace handcraft; and each accused the "pseudo-renaissance" of impeding of living architecture. Wijdeveld admired van der Velde, who had welcomed the proposal for the Loosdrecht fellowship and was on its "committee of honor."[40] Wijdeveld may have discussed the Belgian's educational philosophy when he and Wright were planning the Taliesin Fellowship. There were other links. Writing to Louise Mendelsohn after her husband's death, van der Velde claimed Eric as "one of his most faithful and fervent pupils."[41] Gropius claimed in 1967 that van der Velde believed that "one man could change the style of a whole country" and accused the Weimar schools of turning out "smaller editions" of himself.[42]

The 1933 A.E.M. prospectus reiterated the sentiments of *Naar een Interna-*

tionale Werkgemeenschap with such clarity that Wijdeveld's authorship is certain. It was issued in Dutch, French, German, and English in September; a planned Italian version never appeared. When fully operational, the Academy would provide training in architecture, painting, sculpture, ceramics, textiles, typography, theatre, music and dance, photography and film. Its teachers would be drawn from all over Europe. Mendelsohn would teach architecture; Gargallo sculpture; Chermayeff interior design; Gill lettering and typography; Bonifas ceramics; Hindemith music. And Wijdeveld would be "the director, no! . . . more like a conductor creating harmony from a grand orchestration of the arts" (his ellipses). With typical joyous naivete he foresaw no problems in working with others.

Little can be discovered of the proposed buildings. One very basic surviving line drawing of what appears to be a hall or theatre shows a space as austere as those planned for Loosdrecht.[43] The wall above a dais carries a huge mural very much like Ozenfant's painting *Life*, begun in 1931 and completed in 1938.

And then tragedy. Little progress was made and no students had arrived when a forest fire swept the region in July 1934. All buildings, yet unfinished, were destroyed. When the disaster so dramatically ended his work Wijdeveld momentarily entertained the idea that his Nemesis had redressed the hubris in "an intention too pure . . . an offence too great."[44] Years later Mendelsohn enigmatically if not harshly told him, "Your hard head, so admirable to your friend, has brought you the failure of Cavalière."[45] Wijdeveld stayed on the French coast for about a month and then returned to Holland.

Most disheartening would have been the realization that he no longer had even the moral support of his co-founders. Each now went his own way. Mendelsohn and Chermayeff stayed in London and won the competition for the De La Warr pavilion, completed in 1935. But Mendelsohn found the English "xenophobic, reactionary capitalists" who made life difficult for a foreigner.[46] He grew more interested in Palestine where he was designing public housing and moved to Jerusalem in 1939. Disillusioned by its "narrowmindedness" he emigrated to the United States in 1941, settling first in New York State and later in San Francisco.

Ozenfant started a private art school in Paris. In 1938 he moved to New York where he founded a similar academy.[47] Chermayeff also went to America, temporarily settling in San Francisco in 1940 but later moving to Chicago. In 1935 Hindemith went to Turkey to start a government school of music in Ankara and only briefly returned to Germany before going to the United States. Bonifas too went to America to teach painting at the University of Washington in Seattle.[48] Remaining in Europe, Zadkine reached a career peak around 1935, to eventually gain international recognition as a teacher.

Wright's attempt to establish a Fellowship, while not immediately successful, was not so ill starred, reliant only upon his financial and teaching abilities. By April 1933 about twenty-five apprentices were preparing to study at Spring Green and rebuild the premises. All did not proceed smoothly at first.

Franz Aust, Associate Professor of Landscape Architecture and involved with Wright's earlier promotions of an "art" school at the University of Wisconsin, had befriended Wijdeveld during his 1931 stay. Early in 1934 he told the

Hollander that "Brother Wright's" school was under way but facing "tremendous odds and difficulties," mostly financial.[49] Norris Kelly Smith's suggestion that the ideology of the Taliesin Fellowship was rooted in the communitarian societies of the nineteenth century has now been repudiated.[50] But if Wright himself did not bow to the "tendency of romantic thought to exalt the virtues of a quasi-monastic brotherhood of craftsmen" (therefore "Brother Wright"), others saw Taliesin as a kind of artistic convent or a guildhall.[51] That was Mendelsohn's perception in 1947, although his comments had more to do with Wright's self-image than the Fellowship.[52] Much in its constitution belonged to Wijdeveld with his idealized view of the middle ages. Rand described it as "a feudal establishment."[53]

Wright's son Lloyd could see what was happening and chastised his father for a lack of "principle," for running a "feudal" establishment that would no doubt "make" the Fellows "ashamed of themselves." Lloyd argued for the students to develop their thinking capacity and an independent "perspective." If the "garden" school (as Lloyd called it) did not make the corrections he suggested the Fellows would end up intellectual "cowards and fools." Harsh but sensible words. In fact, Wright told his son that he could see that some were "washouts."[54]

Wijdeveld rapidly recovered from the loss of Cavalière. By August 1934 he was again trying to establish a fellowship, now convinced (or rationalizing) that it should be on Dutch soil. This time he succeeded but on a far smaller scale than the first scheme. Beginning to plan "Elckerlyc"—archaic Dutch for "everyman"—he sought the help of artists' organizations. While given a sympathetic hearing by The Netherlands Society for Crafts and Industrial Art, and the General Organization of Netherlands Artists, in those still straitened times no direct financial assistance was forthcoming. But he interested J.F.van Royen, who had chaired the 1931 Wright exhibition committee, who used his influence to obtain land.[55] The aristocrat Bosch van Drakestein provided three hectares of meadow and wood-land at Lage Vuursche near Hilversum. One Duynstee, director of the Belvedere stoneworks, supplied artificial stone, and the contractors Dura carried out the construction. The Haarlem printers Enschede of *Wendingen* fame underwrote the scheme and work began on the site in 1935[56] (Figure 11.2).

Wijdeveld moved to a house on the site before the other buildings were complete and he was teaching by summer 1935. He had repaid debts without drawing upon his reserves and he still owned a house in Amsterdam. Just as wide approval of his Loosdrecht plan had been testimony to his international reputation, the support for "Elckerlyc" evidenced the respect Wijdeveld commanded in Holland. He saw "Elckerlyc" as proof to the "doubting Thomases" (as he styled them) that his dream was viable. As usual his hopes were limitless. He asked a friend, "Is it too strange a thing to accept that so soon after the opening twenty interns have enrolled?"[57] "Elckerlyc" would grow (he said) and it would attract the best teachers. His educational philosophy remained unchanged: "The beginning becomes the end; because my original thoughts, published in the yellow booklet . . . [are the] basis of my intentions.[58] Finished in September 1937 the buildings provided for only ten resident assistants, whom Wijdeveld called

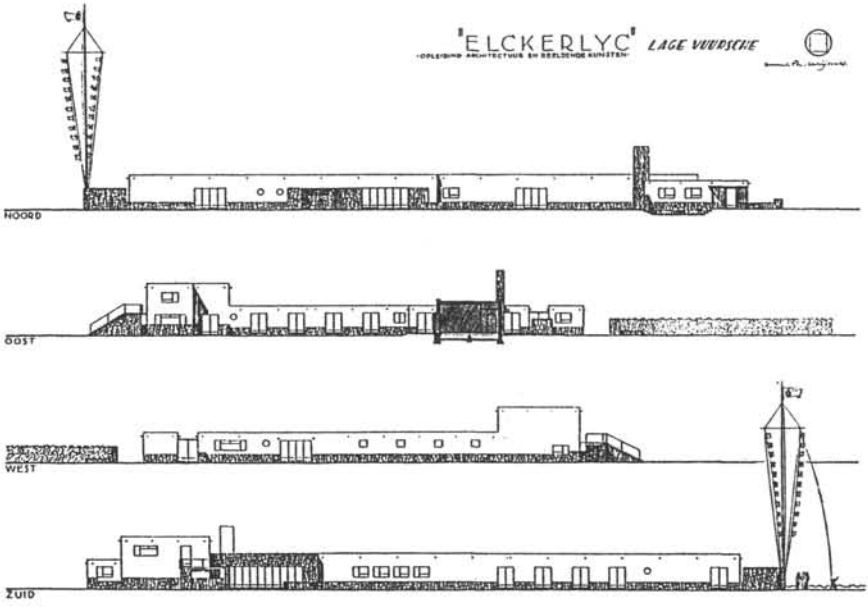

Figure 11.2. *"Elckerlyc", Lage Vuursche, The Netherlands, H. Th. Wijdeveld, Architect, 1934. Plans and elevations, as published in* Bouwkundig Weekblad *(1938).*

"interns." His program included architecture, interior design, decorative painting, landscape architecture, theatre design and typography: a tall order for a solitary instructor.

Ironically, his school was like Taliesin in this sense: one master, many apprentices, but smaller. Although training was contingent upon gaining commissions through his professional practice, so that "theoretical study and practical work are drawn together into one," there was small chance of that being achieved. Commissions—even projects—would remain scarce for the rest of the decade.

In 1937 he designed some interiors of the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, flagship of the Holland-America Line: the Grand Hall (he called it "one of the ship's greatest triumphs"); the theater, the promenade deck foyer and other parts of Cabin Class, his daughter Ruscha collaborating in the decoration.[59] Another executed collaborative work was the layout and pavilions of an ideal homes exhibition held near 's-Hertogensbosch in summer 1939: a typically eclectic agglomeration of geometric and free forms, straight lines and curves, plainness and pattern, *nieuwe bouwen* and the vernacular.[60] He produced the Holland-America Line Pavilion at the New York World's Fair (1939) but his design for The Netherlands Pavilion was not executed. He also designed some pewter ware. Together, the commissions were hardly enough to support Wijdeveld and ten apprentices, much less the multitude he expected to attract.

Surprisingly, and inexplicably, an article in *R.K. Bouwblad* publicizing "Elckerlyc" appeared beside a photograph of Wright "in the midst of his students at Taliesin." Neither text nor caption linked the two[61] (Figure 11.3). There is no

Figure 11.3. *Wright with some of the Fellows at the Spring Green studios in 1937, photographed by Hedrich Blessing and published in* Architectural Forum *(January 1938) and reprinted in The Netherlands in* R.K.Bouwblad *later in the year.*

direct evidence that Wijdeveld was monitoring the Taliesin Fellowship but had he chosen to do so there was enough publicity available.[62]

In July 1938 *Bouwkundig Weekblad* published photographs of "Elckerlyc" and Wijdeveld's account of its construction, location and "goal." Its sober single-story wings stood starkly in the rural landscape, more European modern, owing nothing to Wright. But there was a hint in the text: "'Elckerlyc' is office and dwelling for the architect, and at the same time a school for the young men in architecture."[63] The "young men in architecture" was a phrase borrowed by Wright from Sullivan and used by Wijdeveld to describe those beginning their craft. From the list of arts promised in "Elckerlyc"'s publicity only architecture was offered. And there was a photograph of Wijdeveld in the studio with the "young men" about him, perhaps attempting to evoke the picture of Wright and his apprentices recently published in the Catholic architectural journal. The *Weekblad*'s editor opined that there would be soon more to "Elckerlyc" than an office and dwelling.

Wijdeveld would later tell Wright in a letter that was never answered:

> [After the fire] I returned to Holland and constructed in my own country and alone! a school for architecture and the decorative arts, in the silence of nature, in the whist of the wood. A renovation! Six years of growing results.[64]

But once more he was to be the tragic victim of circumstances. May 1940 brought war, invasion, and the imposition of the Nazi version of Germanic culture upon Holland, including the compulsion of Dutch architects to register with the *Kulturkamer* if they wished to continue to practice, a measure that was partly

successful and of course divisive. During the occupation Wijdeveld could not accept students, for fear of exposing them to the danger of being taken to Germany as slave laborers. Without students or professional work, without food, he had to sell the "Elckerlyc" buildings, although he continued to live there. Ellen's relatives, being Jewish, were at greatest risk. Her sister's entire family was sent to a death camp. When her mother was discovered by the Germans at "Elckerlyc" in 1943 the Wijdevelds were able to save her. Events are unclear but Ellen was also spared. Wijdeveld's own family, whose houses at Arnhem were bombed, were sheltered by him and his place "in the whist of the woods" also served as a refuge for Jewish friends. When the Germans retreated in 1945 the Canadian army commandeered the house. The Idea had again succumbed to disaster.

Nevertheless, as soon as the war ended Wijdeveld wrote to Mendelsohn, "We are chastened, but not broken!!" He recalled their plans boasting that the "pushing power" remained in him. He had lost a "center of arts in the most beautiful nature of Holland, a system of education, a life with students, a worldly monastery." Now, living only for the Idea, he wanted to escape Europe and start again, "whenever I like, wherever I want, fresh and anew." He told Mendelsohn:

> I am recalling the time when Fr. Ll. Wright planned with me the Taliesin Fellowship. One day we wanted to start, as you know, together at Wisconsin. I would like to hear from our great old friend.[65]

He decided that he would take Ellen—the children were married—to America where he was sure that "depression will be conquered, and life blossoms again."

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Chapter 12

Wijdeveld in America

Returning from long and arduous detours, the paths of Wright and Wijdeveld were destined to cross yet again. A few years after the war Wright's practice revived and he received more commissions than ever before. Inversely to his years the octogenarian's productivity was remarkable, continuing until his death in 1959. As well, the Taliesin Fellowship prospered and by the 1950s there was a large entourage of people working all about the Spring Green and Scottsdale mansions—gardening, preparing meals, serving tea, drafting, some supervising construction or detailing drawings, others typing—all in support of the new Tradition of an Organic Life.

The only article about Wright to appear in Holland during the German occupation was in the November 1942 number of *De 8 en Opbouw*.[1] Allowing a piece written in praise of an American architect was probably designed to assure Dutch architects of Nazi intellectual liberalism. The article by Werner Moser, translated from *Schweitzer Technische Zeitschrift*, probably had been censored. It was largely retrospective, containing nothing the Dutch had not heard before.

During the war Wijdeveld was, like many others, a member of the *Bond van Nederlandse Architecten* which was reorganized by the Nazis in July 1942 as a vehicle for propaganda. As a result many architects had resigned from the professional body, and refusing to associate with the German-inaugurated Kulturkamer, they were prohibited from working in their profession.

The invaders appointed their own editor of *Bouwkundig Weekblad.* In a 1942 article Wijdeveld praised Hitler's "common sense" in opening the *Haus der Deutscher Kunst* (House of German Art) in Munich, naively welcoming the promise that National Socialism would establish an order in which artists sought to please the ordinary people, not themselves. The underlying idea reflected his own quasi-medievalist view that art was of and for the people. In the same piece he admired Italy's architectural achievements under Mussolini, although a decade earlier he had been wary of Italian Fascism. "From the south," he wrote, "there

advances, established through the spirit of united European cooperation, a new, rising culture. . . . *Una grandezza poetica*!"[2] Controversial stuff.

Wijdeveld's admiration was not for the sources of the ideas or for their political means and ends. It was for the ideas themselves. In this instance it was a *volkskunst* that he perceived to be spiritually of the Middle Ages, something of a movement towards the international cultural cooperation he had envisioned twenty years before. He either did not recognize, or chose to ignore the sinister politics behind the Nazi's people's art and the violent unification of Europe under *fasces* and swastika. Wijdeveld also wrote for *De Schouw*, organ of the *Kulturkamer*, an article in contemplation of "the new order, a new Uranium Age, written in swelling lofty language" incomprehensible to most of its readers.

When Holland was liberated in May 1945 after five years of Nazi occupation, these articles, interpreted as sympathizing but not quite collaborating with the enemy, led to Wijdeveld's condemnation by his peers. Tried by *Het Bijzondere Gerechtshof* (The Special Court of Justice), he was disqualified from holding office in the professional body and from receiving government commissions until 1951. So were all who had truck with the *Kulturkamer*. The inevitable backlash against anyone suspected of complicity with the Germans continued well beyond the formal sanctions. The verdict effectively terminated Wijdeveld's career in The Netherlands.

Sadly, ill-founded rumour and gossip about Wijdeveld persisted and he was not popularly exonerated until after his death at the age of 101 in February 1987.[3] A "requiem" by journalist Lisette Lewin in the national newspaper *De Volkskrant* astutely observed: "Wijdeveld, with his megalomanic ideas for a new order, had recognized much of it in that proposed [and some of it begun] by Hitler and Mussolini." In the same way, in 1932 he had tested "the success of the soviet experiment," only to find it wanting. That is the jeopardy in which the idealist always stands. All evidence confirms that Wijdeveld dreamed of a new, sane world order. He therefore modestly examined the vaulting boasts of Nazism and Fascism. He was unique: a politically non-aligned Dutchman, a conclusion perfectly reconcilable with his stance for "intellectual socialism" around 1920. In the Second World War, Lewin concludes, Wijdeveld "betrayed no-one, wronged no-one."[4]

Ironically, when his embargo was eventually lifted architectural colleagues acted as though nothing had happened. In 1953 he was afforded a retrospective exhibition in Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum[5] and two years later one of his peers, who had formerly been one of his judges in the *Bijzondere Gerechtshof*, hailed him among "the most talented of his contemporaries." Lewin comments, there was then "no whiff of rancour, not a word about the war." Lewin also emphasizes that The Board of Deputies of the Dutch Jewish community also formally exonerated Wijdeveld. Yet the strongest affirmation of his innocence came from outside Holland. In 1949 when Wijdeveld was about to be appointed to a visiting professorship at the State College of North Carolina he received a clean bill of political health from the House Un-American Activities Committee of the United States Congress.[6]

Wijdeveld had lost contact with Eric and Louise Mendelsohn some time in 1940 and serendipitously managed to locate them through mutual friends, the Ginsberg family of Zeist. At the end of the war the Wijdevelds were almost destitute, literally "on the edge of famine" although still living at Elckerlyc. In a moving letter to the Mendelsohns of 3 August 1945 Wijdeveld summarized the tragedy of the last five years: the loss of family and friends through bombing raids and genocide, the fate of his school, and life eked out as a precarious existence. He optimistically wrote, "Two great experiences of life are our foundation for a new start—hunger and grief" and wistfully confided that he "would like to hear" from Wright, "our old great friend." The possibility of a teaching post at an American university also appealed to him.[7] It was all a desperate search for security and peace of mind because he was certain that Holland had rejected him.

The hint was not lost on Mendelsohn. He was about to re-establish his practice in San Francisco and could not then afford to employ the Hollander, but he wrote to Wright, quoting much of Wijdeveld's letter.[8] He urged Wright, "Here is a special situation" and went on to praise Wijdeveld as a creative designer and imaginative teacher, "the only man I know of who would be of real assistance to you and the ideals of Taliesin." Mendelsohn suggested that it would be a "great thing—humanly and practically—if you could reconsider his appointment."

Wright ignored the letter.

At the end of September Wijdeveld wrote directly to Wright, the first time in twelve years. Reminding Wright of their sincere cooperation in the early 1930s he described the foundation of the A.E.M. and its tragic end, and the greater catastrophes that destroyed his work at Elckerlyc. Now he told Wright that he saw the beginning of a new culture outside Europe, rhetorically—indeed, prophetically—asking, "Will it be the U.S.S.R.? The United States? Or will they both contribute to a new world-culture?" Then he broached his difficult request:

> We want to be where the "IDEA" is alive and a new start is VISIBLE. . . . [Ellen and I] are still healthy and our spirit will arise again in a new and promising surrounding. . . . Maybe the Taliesin Fellowship is in full glow? Let me know! Let us come, we two, to start the collaboration which broke off the moment the inflation broke in and money lost its value. May 1931 become 1946. . . . 15 years postponed and still full of hope![9]

Wright remained silent.

Late in 1945 when Mendelsohn left the Hudson Valley to set up an office in San Francisco, he arranged a personal meeting with Wright at Spring Green to discuss means to bring the Wijdevelds to America. The outcome was "quite negative." Mendelsohn reported to "Dutchy" that Wright had firmly stated that there was no possibility of employing him. Mendelsohn observed that because Wright "is always throwing on his own clouds of incense, he is unapproachable by altruistic motives."[10]

Acutely aware of Wijdeveld's idealism, now underlined by their renewed correspondence, Mendelsohn advised him to get his "feet on the ground in Holland" and wait until the domestic economy was again stable. He cited the mountain of "physical acclimatisation and mental adaptation to the standards of another country" as a good reason for staying in Holland. From bitter personal

experiences he warned that other countries offered opportunities neither different nor greater than The Netherlands, so Wijdeveld should be patient. He did not know, of course, that Wijdeveld had been blacklisted.

For unknown reasons Wijdeveld's response to Mendelsohn was written almost a year later. He surmised that Wright's attitude had soured because he had declined the second invitation of 1933 to go to Taliesin. At that time Wijdeveld had kept the matter to himself, and Mendelsohn, then his chief collaborator in the A.E.M., had known nothing of the anguish that refusal had cost his friend. Now, nearly fourteen years later, Wijdeveld explained to Mendelsohn how a letter had come from Heinrich Klumb, who "in Wright's name"

had invited me to take the leading place (with Wright behind the throne). It sounded like a cry, a welcome out of Wright's heart. . . That invitation gave me a pang for we were in the midst of our Academy plan. I didn't talk about it to you, but answered Wright that I was bound to the Academy. That, I believe, is the reason of Wright's refusal. I didn't come when he "ordered" me to come. There you are! [his ellipses][11]

Wijdeveld described how, after the Cavalière fire in 1934, he had twice written to Wright to be ignored. He told Mendelsohn, "Only then I started Elckerlyc."

Wijdeveld chose to ignore Mendelsohn's advice about staying in Holland. Were he allowed to take money out of the country, he could have been in America a year before. His proposals for reconstructing Rotterdam were shelved, a scheme for a trade center "declined with thanks," and an exhibition halted through lack of materials. It may be opined that the political ban and more so the scandal that it caused excluded him from private work also.

It was not until October 1947 and from the depths of social rejection that Wijdeveld swallowed his pride to make a forthright, impassioned appeal to Wright. The emotional letter to his "old and great friend" was prompted by an illustrated article about the Taliesin Fellowship he happened to see in a very recent issue of the Madison, Wisconsin *Capital Times*.[12] "It is out of lasting respect for you," he confessed to Wright, "that I am writing again." He recalled how, after years of silent admiration, that respect had "exploded" in the *Wendingen* Wright issues, the subsequent book, and the 1931 European show. "Life was good in those days, and promising," he poignantly recalled, "we were full of energy and in mutual understanding."

The surviving draft is heavily edited, indicating the "feverish activity of mind" which had driven Wijdeveld to write. He finally burst forth mid-letter:

Dear Wright, what has happened that you don't answer me in my days of distress? I wrote to you in September 1945 telling you our grief during the war, the loss of family and my school of arts. Besides, our country is over-populated and all nations of Europe at a loss what to do. See the booklet "Time and Art," read it and find a form for my joining the staff of educational workers at Taliesin or at Arizona. . . INVITE ME!

Wijdeveld was at last "calling in" the large debt Wright owed him by drawing attention to the promises Wright had made, sincerely or not, when Wijdeveld was so active in the American's cause in the 1920s. He earnestly assured Wright that he and Ellen would travel at their own expense. They were healthy, full of spirit and ready "for a new start . . . with you!"[13]

When he received this plaintive letter Wright had known about Wijdeveld's wartime suffering for almost two years. He replied almost immediately but the difficulty he had in framing a response is evidenced by the several extant drafts. He appeared to be forthright when he said that Wijdeveld was "one of the occasions" that weighed on his conscience. "I do not know," said Wright, "just how to square myself where you are concerned, so not knowing what to write, I did not write."

Nonetheless, he believed Wijdeveld had been correct, when "faced with a part in my enterprise . . . you said, He is difficult to work with. It will take many years to build up this place. I have only ten thousand dollars. I do not know what to do." Wright confessed: "I am impossible to work with . . . [I am] a solo creative worker" and continued, "I would like to be of help to you and yours—your appreciation reached me when my fortunes were at a low ebb and I am not ungrateful." However, he warned, "you could not (nor any older man, I fear) work with me." The last three words Wright underlined. That was the explanation Wijdeveld *received.*[14] It is stressed that the letter which reached Wijdeveld was not the one Wright first composed (Appendix B).

The successive drafts of the letter are more revealing and include some tasty rhetoric. Wright complained that America was "overfilled with Leftwing Modernists," naming Gropius, Mies, Mendelsohn, Breuer, Saarinen, Chermayeff and Lescaze: all immigrants. And he incorrectly put Wijdeveld in their camp. He had at first believed Wijdeveld to be "a man of deeper feeling and greater vision" but in his buildings Wright saw (again incorrectly) "much the same character." "The breach between myself and these men has widened," he wrote, "their apostasy has only served to betray the cause of an organic architecture in the nature of materials which I believe to be the architecture of Democracy." He confusedly believed the "leftwing" Modernists' architecture to be "distinctly Nazi."

However, that draft was not sent.

Wright said in the letter Wijdeveld received that, "no good ever came or will come of temporizing with one's ideals just to be kind to a friend . . ." Stronger personal feelings expressed in Wright's several drafts were also omitted. Only the abstract thoughts and impersonal information were sent. The letter closed with a personal invitation to visit Taliesin West and the assurance that, ideals aside, Wright would do all he could "for you as a friend." Taken together, the drafts and the letter are strange but revealing documents. See Appendix B.

It is as well that none of Wright's biased and unkind rhetoric reached Wijdeveld. He would have been extremely hurt by such unfair and incorrect allegations. He had suffered much during the Second World War and even as Wright composed the letter the tides of the Dutchman's material well being and his emotions were at their lowest ebb.

How accurate was Wright's opinion of Wijdeveld and his architecture? What did he know of Wijdeveld's work, and what had the Hollander produced in the manner of the Modernists? Wright had seen drawings of the Loosdrecht proposal but since their 1931 meeting Wijdeveld had built little: the beginnings of an academy at Cavalière, his house and school at Elckerlyc, one villa, some exhibi-

tion buildings, and a few interiors of the liner *Nieuw Amsterdam*. Only the latter was published outside Holland. Neither would many architectural critics recognize in these few works the hand of the same designer. Wright drew his conclusions, ignored the explicit rejection of Modernism in Wijdeveld's prospectus, and set aside the evidence of "deeper feelings" discovered in correspondence and conversations with the Dutchman. He had known Wijdeveld well enough when they were together at Taliesin and he plundered his colleague's fecund, visionary mind for ideas about a fellowship and school.

Wright's view of Wijdeveld, observed over several years can be summarized: an impractical dreamer unable to settle the conduct of his life even in middle age. His philosophic convictions appeared to be rather ineffectual and held high ideals seemingly with no force in resolving mundane issues. He was not a pragmatist. Consequently, he could not distill, or find elsewhere, an architecture reflecting his philosophy. He therefore borrowed widely and included a style nurtured by the political left. Wright, by contrast, viewed himself as practical, thoroughly pragmatic, and self-assured. In the 1940s he was successful in life and as an architect: Wijdeveld was not. And he was no different from millions of others who suffered because of a war which Wright believed unnecessary: on high moral principle he despised America's participation.

Wijdeveld's life had never been of Wright's making and the American did not wish to make it so now. The fact that he refused Wright's 1933 offer, on grounds that Wright might have easily understood, may have hurt Wright, but that was a minor detail. Wijdeveld had asked Wright "why?" and Wright was candid with him. But he did not believe he was callous and after stating his views in the October 1947 letter he assured the Hollander that he would help "secure [his] satisfaction" somewhere in the United States. And he did. [15]

Wijdeveld decided to go to America in the coming winter to check work opportunities. But strict immigration regulations meant securing affidavits from United States citizens giving sound reasons for even a short visit. Simply being an invited guest at Taliesin was not enough. Although permitted to buy return tickets in Holland, he was allowed to take only twenty-five dollars in American currency into the United States. He sought the Mendelsohns' advice. But he did not wait for a reply.[16]

He wrote instead to "Dear Wright, my old friend," accepting the invitation to visit Taliesin. He claimed that he "always thought that an attempt to start in the United States might run over Taliesin" and he meant to find a teaching job in California.[17] The meaning was obscure but Wijdeveld did not elucidate. He believed that Wright was simply advising him to start an independent school in America. Already planning the move, he was especially interested in California. He again wrote to Wright asking for an affidavit, saying he wanted to come initially as a visitor for six months and would try to have his visa extended if work became available.[18]

Mendelsohn's advice confirmed Wijdeveld's construct of Wright's reply. Mendelsohn knew "Dutchy" well enough that "no advice or warning" could deter him. But he was convinced there was no room for Wijdeveld in the "convent"

where Wright was both "prior and God" in a "place of worship of and for a man—a great man—who by his nature [could] not have anybody with him," especially anyone not prepared to be totally submerged by his *persona*. The only future for "Dutchy" in America was teaching in a department of fine arts or crafts where his "great talents" would not clash with "theories and ideologies." Most American architecture schools, Mendelsohn complained, were obsessed with either Functionalism or "pure aesthetics." Neither extreme would suit Wijdeveld.[19] Other things were afoot that encouraged Wijdeveld to seek a new start.

He had restored some contacts lost during the war, amongst them his sometime client, an expatriate Hollander named T.C. Spruit, in Encinitas.[20] In 1947 he wrote to Spruit, confiding about his plans and towards the end of November received a reply telling of Spruit's meeting with Arthur Gallion, Dean of Architecture at the University of Southern California (U.S.C.). Gallion knew of *Wendingen* and its erstwhile editor. He hoped that Wijdeveld could take up a professorship at his school. Around the same time Wijdeveld received Ozenfant's promise to support his visit. "I would be surprised," wrote the painter, "knowing your spirit, if you [did] not succeed to create a foundation similar to your Dutch school."[21]

Recommended by an American friend named Wadsworth, Wijdeveld also applied for a teaching post in architecture at the University of Notre Dame. The reply was apologetic but non-committal: his name would "be brought to the attention of the proper authority who engages the instructors." Wijdeveld nonchalantly told Mendelsohn that "Although I prefer to live in the west, I should have accepted that place near Chicago, just only as a jumping board." Another contact was Lewis Mumford, whom Wijdeveld had met during his 1931 visit. In 1947 Mumford was visiting professor of architecture in the School of Design at the State College of North Carolina. He promised to find an academic position for the man whose "vision and knowledge and skill with the younger generation" he much admired.[22]

When Ozenfant's affidavit proved unacceptable to the United States authorities Wijdeveld asked Mendelsohn for support. Although Mendelsohn could not provide the necessary financial guarantees, he promptly did what he could, recommending his old friend to Gallion as "an extraordinary man, his entire life devoted to our art . . . an inspiring teacher, a creative personality."[23]

Wright showed no such alacrity but acted in a practical way by making deposition affirming that he had invited Wijdeveld to lecture at Taliesin West. The Wright Foundation would pay a "commensurate fee," as well as expenses in America.[24] Wijdeveld promised to reimburse him as soon as he could.

Bureaucratic tangles delayed him in Holland. He arrived in New York on the S.S. *Veendam* on 24 April 1948. By then chances of a teaching post at U.S.C. had greatly increased. Yet without financial help from his friends he would have found it impossible to cross North America. His first destination was Ozenfant's art school on East 20th Street, New York, where the welcome was cool enough. A letter from Wright awaited him: he was expected at Spring Green on 5 May but the promised money was not enclosed. "This is quite like Wright!" Ozenfant

stormed, demanding that Wijdeveld immediately wire Wright and Mendelsohn for funds. All of this happened within about an hour of the Hollander's arrival in New York. Ozenfant advanced twenty-five dollars as fee for a talk Wijdeveld would give at his school the following week. Mendelsohn sent money but Wright told Wijdeveld to contact Philip Johnson at the Museum of Modern Art. Johnson provided "a little cash."[25] The rudeness of Wijdeveld's reception was a little ameliorated by warm letters of welcome from Spruit, Mumford, and Gallion.

"Intoxicated by New York's turmoil" Wijdeveld remained for about a week. He visited Columbia University and lectured at both Yale and Rensselaer Polytechnic. Moving to Chicago around 3 May he visited Chermayeff, who was then president of the Chicago Institute of Design. Wijdeveld did not care much for the school. He told Mendelsohn: "It is a confusion—worse—confounded."[26]

Wijdeveld reached Taliesin some days later than expected. The Wrights generously invited him to remain for a few months but he was eager to get to Los Angeles. On one occasion while Wright was in New York City for six days Wijdeveld "entertained the apprentices," gave talks on Sunday morning, exhibited some of his work, and had long discussions with individual fellows. He was still enraptured by "this nature-bound life and the fantastic spirit which binds it all." In a polite thank you note he wrote: "Days full of charm revealed [to] me the life of Taliesin, and I am still with you and those who surround you."[27]

In a letter to Mendelsohn he lamented that there would be no offer by Wright "to join the work" and he did not want to "stimulate the idea" himself.[28] Mendelsohn's evaluation, already expressed and largely unheeded, was perceptive and succinct:

> There is no place for you at [Wright's] convent, where he is Prior and God at the same time. It is a place of worship of and for a man—a great man—who, by his nature, cannot have anybody with him unless this anybody is prepared to give himself up and to submerge his whole being in the great man's work and life.
>
> The great quiet of his age—80 next year—does not permit to be disturbed by anybody's unrest or ambition, his serenity after a long and turbulent life is unbearable for any man not of his age or greatness. To be with him is an experience and a revelation, to live with him or to participate in his work, an impossibility.[29]

The international spirit of Taliesin, once extended to Germany and Japan, had inevitably been changed by the war. Nationalistic attitudes engendered by that conflict left a sore and distrust of recent enemies was as great in America as in Holland where the people were, as Wijdeveld remarked, "downcast and full of hatred." The Iron Curtain crashed down soon after the war and a liberated Europe feared a new conqueror. Although he was unaware of it, opportunity for international cooperation was forever lost to Wijdeveld

Although remaining an idealistic visionary Wijdeveld was naturally wounded by the accusations against him at war's end. On the subject of creature comforts he had become more pragmatic, perhaps because of the privations he had suffered. Rather than remain at Taliesin to feed his spirit, he was eager for work

so that he could provide a new life for Ellen and himself. One reason for prolonging his stay with the Wrights was Wijdeveld's desire to visit the Mendelsohns before he went to Los Angeles. Mendelsohn was on the East Coast until the end of May, so Wijdeveld stayed at Spring Green until 3 June. He was driven to San Francisco—"an exciting event"—by Olgivanna's son-in-law and Wright's right hand man, William Wesley Peters. He spent only two days with the Mendelsohns before moving south to Encinitas where he was a guest of Spruit.

Gallion's welcome to U.S.C. overwhelmed Wijdeveld. Wright's reference described a "tireless worker; an enthusiast beyond compare" whose artistic sensitivity exceeded the European modernists; "a true aesthetician."[30] Wijdeveld met several of the professors and looked over the student work. Within two days he had a contract for one semester with an honorarium of $2,000. At the end of 1948 it was extended to a year and his salary doubled. When Ellen joined him in southern California, for the time being they were settled. Together they visited Wright's son, Lloyd, who was in a bad mood. He told his father that he had "had more than my share of these persistent and unprincipled 'Admirers'," that Wijdeveld had "turned international," and so on.[31] The father/son correspondence after the late 1920s suggests that they had a rocky relationship, and Lloyd, an architect, did not always appreciate people visiting him to talk about his father's work.

Wright's only response to Wijdeveld's letters from Los Angeles was a Christmas card, of the kind sent to all on a mailing list and carrying no personal greeting. Hurt and angry, Wijdeveld fumed over it until February. Then he wrote to Wright politely demanding "a little more than kind thoughts." He wanted to bring Ellen and a few of his students to visit Taliesin West. The students might stay only hours, the Wijdevelds a few days. Wijdeveld longed for "deep and comforting talks" with Wright, to "be a while together with Olgivanna and Iovanna and the young men whom I met in Wisconsin."[32] The visit was arranged for March 1949.[33] They would meet the Wrights only once more, in May 1950.

On the recommendation of Mumford and Gallion, Wijdeveld was appointed to a visiting professorship at the School of Design of North Carolina State College at Raleigh in May 1949. He began in September.[34] At U.S.C. he had had 200 students; at Raleigh he had only forty in the final two years of the architecture course. His pedagogical approach remained colored by his holistic view of the arts and his mystical lectures left some students "still confused." But all were "studying the great philosophers" and "absorbed in poetry." Wijdeveld soon saw some of them at concerts, listening to performances of Bartok and Debussy.[35]

It was not long before the idea of the fellowship arose in talks and correspondence, again and again. Wijdeveld still believed a wounded world could be healed through artistic cooperation. In March 1950 he confessed to Mendelsohn that "I will have to start a work community somewhere in the west." He had been away from Holland for two years and in July his contract at Raleigh would end. "Time is ceaseless running . . . shall we have time," he asked, "to start my own, our own Fellowship in this country?" He went on dreamily:

> Strange, though I feel always young and strong (a dancer on God's hand), I sometimes think, will it not be too late to start a work community in this country. . . . I have given a

few men a start with the now existing Fellowships. And so it is well done. Elckerlyc anew in Holland? Hardly possible, for Europe is fading away in hatred and vengeance.[36]

Years before, Mendelsohn had explained why he was unwilling to start again after the fire at Cavalière. He knew that an international fellowship was unattainable simply because of human nature. He was no blind idealist and his experiences in several countries confirmed what he already knew. Wijdeveld was wasting his time trying to excite his friend, but before leaving America he urged, "Find $200,000 and let us start the work community in California. In 1925-1929 I saw it . . . Frank proved in 1933 [*sic*] that my idea can work. . . . Still I see it possible." He urged Mendelsohn a second time to "Find $200,000 and let us start."[37]

In the same letter Wijdeveld reported that Wright had visited the school at Raleigh to deliver a public lecture on 15 May.[38] That was during an exhibition of Wijdeveld's work at the State Art Gallery. Wijdeveld did not comment upon the lecture but noted that Wright had written an "appreciation of my lifework in the guest book" at the exhibition. He added: "He is old! Will I ever see him again?" He would not. Indeed, that was their last contact of any kind.

Wijdeveld's intimate relationship with America had ended. Back in Holland at the end of 1950, he entertained the possibility of returning when America called him. But Mendelsohn remonstrated: "Dutchy! You are mistaken. You were here for two years and should know better. America does not call anybody and certainly not an artist. If you were a superatomic scientist or a technological crackpot, things might be different!"[39] Mendelsohn believed that Wijdeveld must have his own school, in which his "stem could reach its full height, leaves and flowers." He asserted "Your school is Europe." But not everyone agreed.

Soon after Wright died in 1959 Wijdeveld contacted Mumford. Setting aside personal issues and private hurts he told Mumford of his respect for Wright's genius, that Wright's death left him a solitary preacher of a coming new world. John Lloyd Wright had written to Wijdeveld thanking him for his contribution in being among the first to make "Dad's work known in all parts of the world" and his wife Frances had urged, "We hope you will return to America . . . we need you." That thrilled the aging architect, then seventy-four, who told Mumford: "You know that the impulse of Wright's Taliesin Fellowship . . . was given by me" [his ellipses].[40]

Mumford's encouraging response reveals the true historical importance of Wijdeveld's part in planning the Taliesin Fellowship, a role that architectural historians have minimized, even overlooked.

> I know no one who stands closer to [Wright] in abundance of gifts, in creative capacity, in imaginative ebullience, in range and vision, than you do. It is as if nature, having brought forth Wright, was a little anxious as to what might happen if some accident should stop him in mid-career, and so almost a generation later produced a second Wright, in another part of the world, blessed him with the same store of gifts, but with all the many marks of individuality that place and time and temperament and experience produce.

Mumford acknowledged that Wright was correct when he said that he and Wijdeveld could not work together. He hoped that Olgivanna would seize the

chance to keep Taliesin alive through the Hollander because "no-one else . . . could possibly carry on Wright's work in his own spirit—yet without his weaknesses and foibles." But as Mumford told Wijdeveld, Olgivanna was "too tightly bound up in the memory of Wright to include anyone whom she sees as a rival" and would never allow Wijdeveld (or anyone) to continue the work and thereby share the limelight.

Indomitable is the word that best describes Wijdeveld. At age eighty he wrote to his friend the sculptor Norman Mommens to confidently outline his unfading vision:

> Soon I will return to Carrara, high up in the mountains where Michelangelo once came to see the marble he needed. We will sit in front of your marbles, your works, looking into a distance, and will talk and plan a "wonderhouse" for the arts, poetry, music and philosophy, which means our [sic] Community. Will it be in Italy, in France, in my own Holland, the south coast of Ireland, or in . . . America? (his ellipses)[41]

The Community continued to elude him. But Wijdeveld lived on, dreaming. He died in February 1987 at the age of 101. His optimism is epitomized in the fact that a few months before he published a collection of his essays which he entitled *My First Century.*

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Chapter 13

Sixty Years of Living Architecture

With peace in Europe Holland was anxious to re-establish contact with the outside world and the focus of optimism was across the Atlantic. In architecture, renewed interest in Wright was part of the process of catching up with happenings. Interest in domestic architecture was high. The Netherlands faced the enormous task of replacing destroyed housing and other buildings. Thus from 1946 the Dutch architectural journals carried many reviews of America's professional publications of the preceding seven years. One event to interest them was an exhibition at the New York Museum of Modern Art: "The Small House of Tomorrow"—ten designs for small houses recently published in *Ladies' Home Journal* and the work of "talented young architects."[1] Wright's "Opus 497" project was included in the show.

A new Dutch architectural journal *Bouw* reviewed all the houses from a rather biased neofunctionalist standpoint and reproduced several images.[2] The designs were products of the European influence that had swept America in the 1930s, given momentum by the immigrant "leftwing Moderns." Wright dismissed them as self-proclaimed "torch-bearers of Architecture modern and all there is of the good life." He thought that assumption "false of course" and further, because the Europeans had taken up prime teaching posts in America, his country was soon exploited.[3]

"Opus 497" had many attributes now associated with the Modern Movement: flat roof, glass walls, steel, concrete (*Bouw* called it "experimental"). Indeed, at first glance it was much like the other exhibits in the New York show. But it was a type developed by Wright around 1930 and with slight study was easily distinguishable from them.[4] The *Bouw* caption explained that the large living space—about half the house—was a glass cube, separated into sitting and dining areas by "living plants." The roof, with a low lantern, was of reinforced concrete, and ceilings were "brought low above the glass walls, to rise again to [it]." The

only criticism was pedantic: "the unusual shape of the kitchen and the lack of openable windows seem to be the questionable elements in the whole thing."

Having known Wright for thirty years, this was not the kind of house the Dutch had come to expect from him. His outstanding works of the 1930s, the Johnson Wax offices and Fallingwater, both demonstrated he could creatively employ reinforced concrete cantilevers and walls of glass. Like all his oeuvre familiar to Holland each was a unique response to its site and the client's needs, denying any attempt to categorize it within a style.

Wright's house differed from the nine others in two major ways. First, his "garden room," divided by a screen of plants, was far more attractive than their relatively crowded living areas. The furniture layout showed that Wright accommodated people's need to creatively use their houses, as he had always said. Second, the wings of "Opus 497" met at an obtuse angle—hence *Bouw*'s comment about the kitchen—freeing the house from "the near-nihilistic economy of the right angle." There were also more subtle elements: upward-curving fascias reduced the severity of the flat roof, and any tendency to boxiness was arrested by holes through the wide overhangs, daylighting the garden room.

"Opus 497" was the first new Wright design seen in Holland for six years. In that time attitudes had changed, and more critical, less adulating eyes were now turned upon him. Jos. de Gruyter's 1931comment about Wright's ugly but monumental works was superseded by mere quibbles about cost, the shape of a kitchen, and whether windows were openable. What had changed his appearance to Dutch eyes, from "builder-poet" to just another American architect?

Two possibilities are suggested. First, while there is no direct evidence, news of his considerable and at times publicized anti-war efforts probably reached Holland. The other reason is more obvious: after 1945 Holland saw Wright through literally different eyes. Both commencing in 1946, the journals *Bouw* and *Forum* (the latter the organ of *Architectura et Amicitia*) began publishing architectural works whose authors were only children when Wright's popularity reached its peak in Holland. Some journals like *De 8 en Opbouw* had terminated during the war; the conservative *Het Bouwblad* proceeded through many changes of form and title. Only J.P. Mieras took up *Bouwkundig Weekblad* where he left off in 1942.[5] Wright's first golden age was now legitimately treated as history while his later works were evaluated beside the buildings of a new generation.

Therefore, at seventy-five Wright appeared upon a new stage in Holland to be compared by new critics with performers half his age. The generation of "young men in architecture" in Europe who met him in the autumn of his life were won over by his charm and convinced by his coherent, persuasive words about the nature of architecture. Paradoxically, he was dismissed by the older generation whose "apostasy" (to use his words) had "only served to betray the cause of an organic architecture in the nature of materials."[6]

Except for lectures published in association with The Show in 1931, no critical material by or about Wright had appeared in Holland since the *Wendingen* book. To aspiring architects, especially the many who were seeking to modify (*not* relinquish) the dogmas of modernism to produce buildings that were compat-

ibly modern *and* monumental, functional while visually complex, texturally rich, and physically substantial, insights into Wright's philosophies must have been a breath of fresh air. That invigorating breeze picked up towards the end of 1946.

In November the publisher *De Bezige Bij* released several books about America, including *Amerikaansche Architectuur* by the Dutch interior designer Paul Bromberg, who had practised in the United States for many years. There were photographs (new to Holland) of the Johnson offices, Taliesin West, Fallingwater, and the Winkler-Goetsch house in Okemos, Michigan. And there were plans of the houses. These good quality images accompanied ten pages of concise, critical, albeit biased, text that attempted to fit Wright's work into its historic setting and importantly, references to recent literature about him.[7] His later works were thus treated thoroughly for the first time since 1925 for a Dutch readership and not merely *en passant* or as reprinted reports from foreign journals. The principles Wright laid out in 1908 and 1910 were examined and reaffirmed in a message to Bruno Zevi, whom Wright asked to organize an Italian show.[8] Bromberg called Fallingwater the most lyrical house of "our time," architecture of the highest order by any standard. He also stressed that Wright had come to terms with technology, fully exploiting reinforced concrete.

A French museum journal first informed Europe of Wright's startling, spiral-ramped design for the Solomon R. Guggenheim modern art museum in New York City. That was at the end of 1945.[9] Others took up the story in the first half of 1946, including *Phoenix*, an Amsterdam journal devoted to the visual arts.[10] A short article introduced Mr. Guggenheim, described the foundation and listed the artists whose works formed his collection. Wright's incipient controversial design was described but there was no discussion of the proposal. A photograph showed Wright, "the most important and most intelligent architect in America," beside a model of the building. This glimpse was followed by an even shorter piece in *Kroniek van Kunst en Kultuur* about a month later. There was a description of the museum and a full-page photograph of the model.[11] Remarkably, the Dutch architectural press remained disinterested.

Contemporary literary notice of Wright was minor, even trivial. John Lloyd Wright's book *My Father Who Is on Earth* received attention for its anecdotes about his flirtations[12] and in 1947 *Bouw* published a review of a collection of his essays, *On Architecture*.[13] He was also mentioned in H.G.J. Schelling's review of *The Modern House in America* by James and Katherine Ford: "You will come across no illustrations of Frank Lloyd Wright's work . . . because his work is already well-publicized in America." Despite that, noted Schelling, the authors named Wright as the pre-eminent modern master.[14] Apart from these heterogenous fragments, nothing more about him appeared in this post-war "catching up" on the news. There were, however, a few small images of his work: the Johnson offices and the Winkler-Goetsch house (including a tiny plan) illustrating a *Bouwkundig Weekblad* editorial in praise of New York's Museum of Modern Art.[15] Wright received no more publicity in Holland until 1950.

Naturally, the Dutch were interested in how European Modernism had affected the New World. In July 1950, a *Forum* article by Albert Boeken, an

Amsterdam modernist, examined "Walter Gropius' influence in America."[16] Unaccepted by the English after fleeing Germany, Gropius crossed the Atlantic in 1937 to take up leadership of the Harvard Graduate School of Design, a position first offered to Mies van der Rohe, then Oud. The information was secondhand, from the February 1950 number of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, devoted to Gropius and compiled under his supervision.

Boeken focused upon an essay "Un temoinage" (A testimony) by a young American architect Chester Nagel; indeed, partial translation of it accounted for much of the *Forum* piece. Nagel wrote "about twelve years ago there was only one school of architectural thought offering young American architects more than the formal ideas of academic architecture": Wright "seemed to give an answer" to those seeking a philosophy which "could explain our highly industrialized society." Wright had advised architects, said Nagel, to

> recognize the poetic nature of modern industry, reject its excesses, destroy its cities and slums, and head for the prairies. Join battle against the 'mobocracy' with its levelling tendencies, and regain for yourself the values and the worth of the individual.[17]

Much of that struck a chord in many architects, but some believed it a flight from reality. Nagel asserted that Gropius reconciled industrialization to town planning, architecture and industrial design, clarifying problems that Wright had only tentatively and "romantically" approached. Gropius had taught young Americans that architecture must change totally because modern technology yielded forms "reflecting the principles of standardization, mechanization and flexibility." Boeken made much of Gropius' doctrine of collective design.

Seeking to demonstrate Gropius' "influence in America," Boeken had seized upon a minor article by a second-rate architect who held Gropius in adulation, in which Wright's philosophy was dismissed as *passé*. Remarkable! What the *Forum* essay came down to was the assertion that Wrightian individualism had been superseded by collectivism as a means to socially relevant American architecture. The arguments yea or nay on the substantive issue began in Germany around 1917, so the subject is outside the scope of this book. Had European writers but known, Wright had only a small and fragmented following at home. He had declared war on Modernism and his verbal skirmishes defending democracy and organic, individualistic architecture against the invaders' standardized, neutered products have been noted.[18]

Boeken doubtless found sympathetic readers. But not all Dutch modernists agreed with Gropius' "design by teamwork." A few years later, Oud (whom Wright had inaccurately dubbed a "left-wing Modernist") would repeatedly reject the collective idea as an abrogation of the architect's creative responsibility. Oud's "provisional conclusion" was that the *art* of building was in danger of being displaced by the *business* of building, as architects sought to share any risk with others.[19] Wright would have agreed.

Forum's editorial policy was certainly flexible in 1950. Its next article on Wright transformed him from a redundant romantic into a venerable "pioneer of the spirit." On 14 July 1950 he was guest of honour at the annual prizegiving of the London Architectural Association School. The next day he flew to Zurich to

visit Werner Moser to enlist his help with an exhibition of Wright's work then being planned. The show was mounted in January 1952 at Zurich's *Kunsthaus*; soon after *Frank Lloyd Wright; Sechzig Jahre lebendige Architektur*, edited by Moser, was published.[20]

During Wright's stay Moser gathered young architects and students, mostly from Switzerland, Germany and Holland, at an "open house" on 17 July. The event was reported in a *Forum* article by Hendrik Hartsuyker, who described Wright as a gentleman personified, "small in stature, with slightly wavy white hair, a rosy face with deep creases around a firm mouth, and restful clear eyes," looking more like a "retired English lord" than a "revolutionary constructor." Appearances aside, the article hailed him as "America's greatest architect in its 300 year [*sic*] history"; among the "boldest trail-blazers of modern architecture" he had done more than anyone for the growth of a "consciously indigenous, new culture in the U.S." Hartsuyker had closely examined Wright's more recent work. It pointed out that "a powerful bond with nature, a predilection for the simple, low, practical prairie-houses, and the architectonic theories of his mentor, Sullivan" were

> coordinated and developed by a strong personality and great intelligence, coupled with a winged imagination, an instinctive feeling for materials and spatial proportions, are always impressed on his works. Stone, timber, glass, steel, concrete—while allowing for their architectural functions—are always used in accord with their natural properties, and the most is extracted from their constructional and aesthetic potential. Trees, rocks, grass and sky are also material for his architecture. His buildings are artistically rich in variety within the given theme of nature.

A photograph taken during construction of the Johnson Wax laboratory tower (1944-1950) showed Wright's daring use of cantilevers springing from the central stem and an ingenious scaffolding system. It demonstrated to *Forum*'s readership that his comprehension and exploitation of technology was anything but tentative. Wright, said Hartsuyker, "stands a pioneer of the spirit . . . a bundle of self-confidence. Striving against many enemies and much apathy, he remains conqueror." Paradoxically, he then dissembled by saying that there "still remains the battle for a purer, universal unfolding of organic architecture, a true architecture of our time."[21]

Bouw also published a short essay about Wright in 1950. Its title cited an epigram displayed at Taliesin West, "The man is what he does," adding "You have well done, [*sic*] Frank Lloyd Wright." The writer, Laren architect C. de Graaff, had toured in the United States and visited the Taliesin Fellowship at Scottsdale, Arizona. He announced that

> above the multitude of architects there stands as a giant, an immovable rock, the genius: Frank Lloyd Wright. This tyrant, brilliant as man and architect, having passed his eightieth year, is still at the peak of his powers and knowledge. . . . He compels the respect of anyone who meets him.[22]

De Graaff had encountered Wright in what Mendelsohn once described as an "environment, and a very individualistic conception of life" where "the great man"

enjoyed "serenity after a long and turbulent life"[23] and found him to be "fully inventive, fairly humming with artistic potential." The Hollander made no attempt to disguise his own excitement by including Wright among history's greatest artists, who could design with "utmost refinement" in the city and with great "rawness" in the desert. He presented two works as evidence: the Morris gift shop in San Francisco of 1948 and the Rose Pauson house near Phoenix, Arizona of 1939-1940. Neither had before been published in The Netherlands.[24]

The other mention of Wright in the Dutch journals in 1950 was incidental. Elizabeth Mock's *The Architecture of Bridges* was rather passively reviewed in *Bouw* by an engineer named Dibbits.[25] Illustrated among six examples was Wright's design for a reinforced concrete bridge over the Wisconsin River. Grouped in the text with "very advanced" designs, it was enigmatically assessed as "less improbable" than a project by Paolo Soleri. That was the only evaluative comment. Nothing more appeared until at the end of 1951 *Forum* reviewed an exhibition of his work in Italy.

Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. paid to be an apprentice with Wright around 1933. His father shared the cost of the model of Broadacre City in 1934-1935 and its subsequent display in New York. Kaufmann Sr. then commissioned the beautiful Fallingwater. In 1949 his cousin Arthur C. Kaufmann, head of the Gimbel Brothers department stores, with headquarters in Philadelphia, conceived and promoted an exhibition of Wright's work that eventually traveled around western Europe. As an earnest of the venture Arthur agreed to pay $5,000 to the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, "a cultural training ground in the Fine Arts" as Wright then described it, and to finance preparation of the show.

This was not to be a hastily orchestrated affair like The Show of 1930-1932. It was assembled by the Philadelphia architect Oskar Stonorov, a friend of Arthur Kaufmann and in his employ, at least for this project. Kaufmann and Stonorov arranged a preview of "60 Years of Living Architecture" in Gimbel Brothers' Philadelphia store. It remained on display about a month from 27 January 1951 and attracted 30,000 visitors.[26] That was all that Kaufmann paid for. When finally put into place in the following May, it was at the sumptuous fifteenth century at the Strozzi Palace in Florence, Italy.

Aged eighty-four in 1951, Wright was young in body and spirit. Mendelsohn described him at the beginning of that year as "looking like a rosebud, slim and trim, indomitable, healthy . . . and apparently determined to live forever in his self-made world, in his fame and glamour and inimitable work." Moreover, "he is building like mad."[27] And so he was.

The pamphlet that accompanied "60 Years," first distributed in Philadelphia and at subsequent venues (except Munich and Rotterdam), was printed in four languages. It was reproduced in the January 1951 issue of *Architectural Forum*, replete with color pictures by the architectural photographer *par excellence*, Ezra Stoller. Almost the entire catalog was reprinted in the Rome architectural journal *Metron* in March-August 1951. On show were models (Wright told Werner Moser there were twenty-three), photographs, drawings—over a thousand items in all—and many of Wright's quips and epigrams. Very soon after initial planning

the United States Office of Military Government agreed to sponsor the tour in, around, and out of Germany.[28]

Finally settled in 1951, the itinerary included Milan, then Munich, then Zurich (where Wright requested that Moser supervise its organization),[29] then Paris at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* Gallery. Two locations favored by Wright were London, where the Architecture Association and the R.I.B.A. were to jointly sponsor it, and Helsinki. Consideration was also given to Stockholm, Copenhagen, Bombay, Havana and somewhere in Brazil. Perhaps those sites were considered early on, when UNESCO was involved. Instead it went to Mexico City, opening in October 1952 at the *Colegio Nacional De Arquitectura.*

When Kaufmann Jr. wrote about the exhibition for the New York City *Magazine of Art* in May 1951, he correctly noted that at significant moments in his long career Wright had been embraced or honored by Europeans: Germans in the second decade of the century, Englishmen in the thirties, Italians in the fifties, and the Dutch in the 1920s.[30] The affinity between the Dutch and Wright was a known fact; yet no location in Holland had been mentioned in the original planning of "60 Years." Nevertheless Arthur Kaufmann may have had it in mind in 1950 because he was then working closely with Prince Bernhard on a "Holland Fair."[31] Of course, it was highly appropriate to arrange to take the exhibition to The Netherlands, "one of the truly independent Democracies on earth," as Wright confirmed.[32]

The first review of the Italian showing appeared in Holland in November, shortly before the exhibition moved to Zurich. *Forum* published an article by the architectural critic Giulio Carlo Argan that made several allusions to Wright's relationship with the Dutch, especially van Doesburg, De Stijl, and Dudok. Such a "clear, complete overview" of the American's work was "destined to have an influence upon European architecture comparable to that of the Wasmuth book of 1910." The rest was similarly optimistic, a defensive gesture against the past thirty-five years of turmoil in Europe.

Argan suggested that a rediscovered Wright might share in the reconstruction of shattered Europe, and "not only the architectural sense." The "architecture of democracy" placed emphasis upon democracy, not architecture. Wright's buildings and writings "handled the problems of human housing," post-war Europe's urgent problem. Wright had suddenly become "the prophet of a future society, and his architecture the religion setting out the law of interaction between people and their environment." That reference was to Broadacre City, "the urbanized reality" of Wright's natural democracy. The essay, contrasting Wright's architecture with that of the European modernists, was more *apologia* than critique.[33]

Wright's contact with the older generation of Dutch architects was reestablished when Oud attended the Paris showing of "60 Years" in April 1952. In France Auguste Perret supervised the exhibition. Privately, Wright thought the presentation arranged by the French was dull and uninteresting, although his official response was almost embarrassingly obsequious. Oud and his wife Annie were visiting Paris and eager to meet the Wrights. They were not easy to find but a short meeting was eventually arranged at the Ritz Hotel just three hours before

Frank and Olgivanna were to make their return flight to America.[34]

It seems that the two architects discussed a Dutch showing on condition that Oud would personally arrange it. They had conducted sporadic correspondence for a few years after 1922, mostly about introductions (in both directions). In 1927 Oud had some say in Wright's first show going to Holland. He had also been among the "Friends of Taliesin" solicited by Wright in 1934, when his reply had been kind enough.[35] It may have been presumptuous of Wright to make such a onerous request sixteen silent years later. Yet he must have believed that Holland needed to see "60 Years." He believed that Stonorov was not managing the show terribly well, so he suggested that Oud might be paid from funds that would normally go to the Philadelphian, who had left a trail of "pain and loss."[36]

Oud supervised the organization, assisted by B.H. Wissing who set up the show. According to the solitary Dutch review in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* it was achieved in an "extraordinarily praiseworthy manner."[37] Oud assured Wright that he had a "good man" designing posters, advertising folders and catalog. He declined any payment, saying, "I like to do it for you and for your work." All he asked was a copy of Wright's study of Sullivan, *Genius and the Mobocracy*, unobtainable in Holland, with "some nice words in it." Wright complied. The exhibition, arranged under the *aegis* of the Academy of Visual Arts and Technical Sciences, was opened by the American ambassador in the Glass Hall of the *Ahoygebouw*, Rotterdam, on 2 July 1952, where it remained for about six weeks. A recording of the opening ceremony and an interview with Oud were broadcast in Holland on 2 July 1950. When on 25 July *Radio Nederland* broadcast it short wave to the world, Wright was urged to listen.

The display may not have won Wright's approval, but he was not consulted, anyway. A landscape of plants, rocks, and water provided the environment for 152 items. A pair a parrots helped give (Oud informed Wright) "a bit of the atmosphere that your houses must have in reality." He added, not altogether convincingly, that none of this was *kitsch.* Yet Wright would have liked the energy and imagination that went into promoting the show. Oud held a press conference—as noted, it did not achieve much in the way of reviews—and managed to have the Rotterdam transport authority fly flags on trams advertising the venue. For the duration of the show all letters leaving Rotterdam were franked with the words "Frank Lloyd Wright Exhibition."[38]

In his introduction to the catalog, appropriately designed in square format, Oud took a wide view of the sixty years of living architecture. Wright would have welcomed the praise. Oud compared Richardson with P.J.H. Cuypers, and Sullivan with Berlage. But for Wright, whose "great artistry emphatically crowns the [American] trio," no equal could be found in Holland. After outlining Wright's attitude to materials, the machine (this was in 1952!), the nature of space and the "open" plan, Oud turned to influence in Europe, concluding with a testimony to his own "great admiration" for Wright and his work, "both a love of mine since my early youth, that has remained through all phases of my development."

In the light of happier times and greater cordiality a promotion of Wright in Holland without Wijdeveld was, to say the least, extremely regrettable. It could

not have been an oversight. It is reasonable to believe that Wijdeveld would have been the first person conscripted to at least share the work. Oud knew him well enough. Perhaps he was precluded—at least by implication and for whatever reason—at Wright's behest. Or was he still ostracized by his countrymen?

Wright wrote brief introductions to the catalogs at the respective locations. For Italy, and at the suggestion of Bruno Zevi in February 1951, it was a translation of "In the Cause of Architecture" first revised for Wasmuth and dated "Florence, June 1910." Wright greeted Switzerland through Zurich, with the hope that he could "help point the path of progress toward a free architecture fit for the youth" of that country.[39] His message to France was fraught with references to democracy, eulogizing *Liberte, Equalite, et Fraternite* and warning about internationalism.[40]

The letter "To Holland" was of the same stuff with the difference that Wright recalled his previous contact with the Dutch through Berlage, Wijdeveld and *Wendingen* ("one of the many publications devoted to my effort in the direction of a native creative-culture"), and van 't Hoff.[41] If the greeting was congratulatory to Holland, and "the mighty little nation's [contribution to the] continuity that is the future," it was also overtly (and expectedly) self-congratulatory. Berlage was mentioned because he had "raised his voice in praise" of Wright; Oud because he had written well of the Robie house; Wijdeveld because of *Wendingen* and the 1931 Show and van 't Hoff because he had taken home something of what he saw "there on the Chicago prairie." To a pragmatic, levelheaded Dutch audience such self-aggrandisement was unimpressive to the point of vulgarity. As their proverb succinctly if somewhat indelicately puts it: "*Eigen roem stinkt*" (self-praise stinks). Had Wright overstepped himself? Dutch editors ignored the exhibition, thus breaking step with their neighbors; as the show travelled Europe, it had at least six reviews in Italy, three in both Germany and Switzerland, and seven in France. From Rotterdam, the material returned to the New World to open in Mexico City.

When the international tour was over, most of the material was put together again for two final showings. The first was in New York City on the flat open ground beside Fifth Avenue where the Guggenheim Museum was to rise when released from the city's redtapery. One of the prime motivations for this exhibition was the pure propaganda to be gained for Wright's "school" of apprentices, his notions of Broadacre City, and his so-called Usonian houses which were theoretically attached to the Broadacres concept.[42] It then moved to Los Angeles where in May 1954 it was mounted in a special building in the garden of Aline Barnsdall's "Hollyhock" house, designed and constructed by Wright in 1919-1922; an appropriate venue to end "60 Years."

Exhibitions and Wright's monographs and articles kept him in the American public eye for the remainder of his life. The exhibition had also sharpened interest in Europe. In the five years after its tour German and Italian journals published three times as many articles about Wright as in the five years preceding it. In France interest was maintained without increasing.[43] The same was not true in Holland: in the six-and-a-half years following the Rotterdam showing of "60

Years" Wright was noticed but four times by Holland's architectural press. Every piece was taken from another journal.[44]

In 1953 *Bouw* published the house Wright designed for his son David in 1952, with a description translated from the American *House and Home.*[45] The Dutch editor offered no comment, but an ambiguous citation from the original article may have indicated agreement: "Some people grow more timid as they get older; others become more self-confident. Only the supreme self-confidence of eighty-four-year-old Wright has made this house possible. A house that nobody, having seen it, will ever forget."

The Dutch make a great deal of birthdays. In May 1957, nearly a year after it was published in America, *Weekblad* carried a translation of an item from the *Los Angeles Times*, submitted by Wright's admirer, C. de Graaff.[46] The editors, beyond being "proud to offer this item to readers," made no comment. Beneath the title "Birthday portrait of a master architect" the article carried the original *Times* heading, "Frank Lloyd Wright: much-slandered, much-acclaimed but justly arrogant at eighty-eight years old." Illustrated with the project that best demonstrated that "just arrogance," the fantastic mile-high Illinois tower, it ended with a tantalizingly quasi-philosophic quotation from Wright:

> After death we taste true freedom. Without that we shall be worth nothing as true individuals. The feeling for continuity is the soul of organic architecture, and that is equally essential for the individual.

Chapter 14

Retrospection

Frank Lloyd Wright died three times. That was the dramatic interpretation Hendrik Wijdeveld placed upon events that took place in St. Joseph's Hospital, Phoenix, Arizona, after he learnt of his old friend's passing from Wright's son. John Wright had written to him that the aged architect's heart had stopped during abdominal surgery, but he was resuscitated. Two days later, it again stopped and he was again revived. But at three a.m. on 9 April 1959 "he just sighed and died."

Wijdeveld wrote to Mumford, "He transgressed in life all the limits, even when the everlasting WILL wanted him to listen, he opposed for a while." Wright's death, Wijdeveld confessed, "was a shock that wakened me out of my dreams." He now felt alone, the burden of heralding "the coming of the new" heavy upon him. Declaring his infatuation with the Broadacre City idea he said, "I will not be content until I see a world with fair proportions and a glorious way of living in TOWNLESS COUNTRIES." Wright had not really passed away, Wijdeveld promised Mumford: "He will be with us, maybe more than ever before, for Wright, the romantic artist, the poetic philosopher, has penetrated us for the rest of our lives. He was, is, and will be!"[1]

Wright's "peaceful penetration" of Europe, first described by Berlage and reiterated to a wide audience by Pevsner over twenty years later, was thus confirmed by the man who had once been closer to Wright than most, certainly more than any other European.

Wijdeveld proudly told Mumford that John's wife Frances had written, "we hope you will return to America," at Taliesin "we need you." Wijdeveld's reaction: "Just imagine!" Such an offer by Frances would not have been made without Wright's approval. That expression of need in a time of crisis revived all Wijdeveld's aspirations (always close to the surface) about his *werkgemeenschap* and especially the 1931 plans for Taliesin. His letter to Mumford made it clear that he was momentarily swept away by nostalgia. The American critic, always an

admirer of Wijdeveld, wholeheartedly shared Frances' opinion. However it would be Olgivanna who made final decisions about Taliesin.

The *Katholiek Bouwblad* published the first item about Wright to ever to appear in a Dutch Catholic journal, only days after his death. A.W.P. Thunnissen reviewed his book *A Testament*, of 1957. Based upon seventy years of living architecture the article went beyond review to hand down the long-reserved judgement of an important sector of the Dutch architectural profession, and which must be read in the light of the Catholic opinion of the Modern Movement. Nevertheless, it demonstrated great keenness of perception, and in many ways it was among the most objective pieces about Wright ever to appear in Holland. He was hailed as a pioneer in the art of modern architecture. That would have pleased him, as would have the distinction made between himself and Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, whom Thunnissen presented as pioneers in the science of building, who had "contrived a system and extended it ever further."

Outlining Wright's pre-1920 influence upon Dutch architecture, Thunnissen regretted that it had not persisted. Because his architecture was "hard to grasp" there had been much romantic mimicry of it. Young architects found "technologically determined and quantitatively judged" Modernist systems far easier to understand and had chosen that simpler path—sadly, remarked the writer—over the poetic way that Wright pioneered. While its forms were "built up through modern means" those means were "not therefore necessarily visible." On the contrary, "the means have been determined by the forms; a creative, predetermining spirit has arranged the necessary means towards achieving a necessary whole." Wright's work had been ahead of its time, Thunnissen perceptively continued, and "his great artistry becomes obvious." Its timelessness differentiated it from the Modern Movement, whose products had by 1959 become "desolate, obsolescent or dated."

The rest of the piece reviewed Wright's best works, illustrated by large photographs: the Winslow, Robie and Coonley houses of 1893-1909; the Millard and Ennis houses of 1922-1925; the Johnson Wax offices and the Price Tower of 1937-1954: each group was chosen to represent a phase of his career. There were also images of buildings published for the first time in Holland: the Harold C. Price Jr. house near Bartlesville, Oklahoma and Price Sr.'s house in Phoenix, Arizona, both of 1956; the First Unitarian Church in Madison of 1951; and a sectional drawing of the sublime Beth Sholom synagogue, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, completed in 1959. The images were well-related to the text and the article brought the Wright epic up to date for the Dutch readers, a fitting conclusion to an exciting story.[2]

In The Netherlands the first obituary appeared the day after Wright's death. Its timeliness was no doubt made possible by being about twenty years out of date.[3] There was however a passing reference to the Guggenheim Museum and a small photograph of the Johnson Wax laboratory tower. The piece outlined his pre-1940 career, retracing well-trodden paths with little comment. Wright was "not only the grand old man of American architecture," it eulogized, "but also of the modern world of international building."[4] And it offered the provocative

comment that the others—Gropius, Mies, and the De Stijl pioneers—merely followed him.

On 18 April *De Groene Amsterdammer* published a valedictory essay by the prolific architectural writer J.J. Vriend—a poorly-composed, sweeping piece illustrated with an approximate likeness of Wright against a sketchy background of late nineteenth century American architecture and distant views of Europe. While it was full of tantalizing hints about Berlage's role in propagandizing Wright, Wijdeveld's role in the Taliesin Fellowship, Wright's influence on Le Corbusier and other European modernists, and his 1937 visit to Russia, the information was left in bare, often inaccurate outline. Vriend concluded, "In Wright a great man has passed. Was he vain? We can forgive him that . . . many are vain without greatness."[5]

In adjacent columns *De Groene* carried what was described as "a personal word" from Oud. It began by reiterating Vriend's conclusion: "a really great man has left us," and ended on an even higher note: "I use the word 'genius' only sparingly, but . . . the title is properly given to Wright."[6] Between these sincere accolades, the article was nostalgic and affectionate, a loose-linked chain of first- but mostly second-hand anecdotes. Oud had met Wright just once, only eight years earlier. On that occasion they had talked for a single hour; otherwise, their contact over forty years was limited to a few letters with long intervals between. If *De Groene* wanted someone to write a "personal word" about Wright the obvious choice was Wijdeveld. He was not asked for a reminiscence, and more sadly, he did not make an offer himself.

Bouw was the first of only two Dutch architectural journals to publish obituaries of Wright within a reasonable time of his death.[7] Remarking upon the "honest arrogance" that this "recalcitrant and eccentric figure did not forsake throughout his long life," the editorial admitted that by any standard he was among the prominent *bouwmeesters* of his time, "a pioneer genius of modern building." Familiar observations followed: his philosophy, early recognition outside America and his influence in Europe and particularly Holland, rather poetically concluding: "It is unnecessary to build a monument to him. Wright built it himself a hundred-fold in a hundred forms." The next issue carried a short resumé of his career.[8]

The other obituary appeared around the same time in *Bouwwereld.* It was more factual, less congratulatory, and in places non-committal; for example, "Wright is known not only for his unusual creations, but for his sharp tongue," or "His buildings have an unusual style, totally his own," or "The critics have never agreed . . . that Wright can be considered the greatest American architect of the twentieth century, but they do agree that he is the best-known, because of his individualistic style." Yet it did contradictorily concede that Wright was "one of the world's greatest architects."[9]

Some months later *Bouwkundig Weekblad* published an objectively critical, yet warm and illuminating essay by Dudok. All Dutch architects knew Wright's "dramatic life, his extensive oeuvre, [and] his writings which were as personal as his architecture." Many had read Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead* [10] "which his

artistry inspired." Dudok contrasted him with those "international personalities who placed themselves beside him." Dudok did not name those architects but wrote that their fame sprang from "the suggestion of purity within the strongest simplicity of the spatial form." With nothing to order it, it led on to what Wright had called "coffins for the living." Dudok believed that such an approach was incomprehensible to an artist like "the exuberant, the romantic" Wright, who "looked for beauty of expression and demanded of his work that it moved the emotions."

Dudok nevertheless pointed out perceived anomalies in Wright's latest work without "detracting from his greatness." He could accept the construction principle of the Guggenheim museum "only with difficulty"; it lacked the relationship between structure and form characteristic of Wright's work. And he was bemused by the projected mile-high skyscraper: "different and astonishing, rather than the beneficial" architecture. But Dudok excused this megalomanic tendency because Wright's myriad humane buildings outweighed it.

The Hollander demonstrated that humaneness by recalling his visit to a housing subdivision designed by Wright, probably part of the Pleasantville, New York, development (1950-1954). Dudok possibly believed that Wright's involvement was more precise than it was in fact. However, he remembered "less well-known houses, not all particularly large" standing

> far removed from the spotless glass boxes; each had a close bond, each in its characteristic way, with its site; each had its own sphere—a sphere obviously not only that prescribed by Wright, but determined by the occupants. . . . Those people spoke of their architect with great gratitude, and thought of him with friendship—an altogether different relationship with his clients than is portrayed in so many anecdotes about Wright.

Wright was and continues to be portrayed as opinionated, the arrogant owner of a sharp tongue frequently put to the service of a devastating wit. As noted, earlier obituaries had highlighted the traits. Yet Dudok discovered another, gentler side, not through knowing Wright—whom he had met only once—but in the responses of his clients to what Dudok believed to be caring, "beneficial" architecture.

The article concluded: "Now this fascinating artistic life is ended. His influence, felt most in domestic buildings, has been enormous and beneficial." Dudok stressed that the full worth of Wright's art did not lie in "easy, imitable things of minor importance." Its benefit was in the enrichment of different work, (that is, Dudok explained, work which did not necessarily look like Wright's) "through a new, a liberated feeling for space." Wright was a great individualist in a superficial world.[11]

The same issue of the *Weekblad* contained a long essay by Werner Moser. Substantially identical to a piece later published in the Swiss journal *Werk*, it carried welcome references to Holland and marked the final phase of metamorphosis of the Dutch way of looking at Wright. Moser's experiences permeate an essay that provided valuable insights into Wright's relationship with three generations of architects in Europe and America. Although half its illustrations were of the Guggenheim museum, it was a hybrid between an historical treatise and an *apologia*. Moser compared Wright's pedagogy to van der Velde's, drawing

parallels between "two inspired personalities, concurrently, yet independently" guiding western civilization "out of the narrow mountain pass into the new land."

Holland was credited with having early recognized the "intrinsic significance" of Wright's example, and having "independently" assimilated it. Moser noted that there were catalysts in the process. Berlage had pointed with prophetic vision to "the germination of a style wrested away from previous styles" Wijdeveld had published Wright's work "in a manner worthy of it." Oud had written of him in the *Bauhausbuch*. "The intense confrontation" between Holland and Wright's earlier period pre-empted discussion. He had demonstrated that it was possible to create a new architecture. The youngest generation of architects misunderstood how much of Wright's doctrine, administered as mother's milk (Moser said), had been enunciated with almost astonishing perfection, half a century before. Middle-aged American architects deprecated Wright's later works as "overstrained dissipations of an extreme individualist." Deeply influenced by European Modernism, they believed "architecture as space-creating art" must be understood as "ordered power," achievable only through the right angle. That dogma, seen in the architecture of American and European cities, Wright had emphatically proved wrong. [12]

The Dutch in particular had been to some degree made aware of the shortcomings of the Modern Movement's austerity by the resistance of Granpré Molière. The end of his autocracy may have left some—only some—of the "young men of Holland" directionless. Moser tried to pass the torch to them with a summary of Wright's advice to young architects offered at Chicago in 1931.[13] Nothing more of significance about Wright would be published in Holland until 1975 to parallel an upsurge of word-wide interest in him.[14] Moser's article provided an apt conclusion to Frank Lloyd Wright's relationship to Holland. In fact to Europe.

At the very beginning, Wright had written to Berlage:

I am looking forward to meeting you and talking over these and other matters so intimate and dear to us all as serious minded architects, and toward meeting the young men of Holland whose vitality and purpose is evident. . . .[15]

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Appendix A

Some Wright-Influenced Buildings in The Netherlands

The following representative list provides a sample of buildings by Dutch architects, showing a marked influence of Frank Lloyd Wright and that of the Wright School (his American followers), usually seen in the exteriors of the buildings, seldom in plan. It was compiled by examining illustrations in international publications in the Library of the *Faculteit der Bouwkund, Delft Technische Universiteit*. The list is arranged in alphabetical order by architects; initials only are given when that was the individual's professional working name. Dates are as given in Fanelli (1978), compiled by bibliographers at the Delft library, and by staff of what is now the *Nederlands Architectuurinstituut* in Rotterdam.

Hendrik Petrus Berlage

1931 Municipal museum, The Hague. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 51(1931), 1-9; *Architect and Building News*, (September 1935), 355 ff.

Bernard Bijvoet and Johannes Duiker

1917-1919 Competition entry for National Academy for the Plastic Arts (unrealized). *A.A.Quarterly*, 2(1, 1970), 7; *Perspecta*, 13(1971), 133-34; *Forum*, 22(5, 1971), 9; Nooteboom(1985), 40.

ca. 1918 Townhouses, Eikstraat, The Hague. *Forum*, 22 (5, 1971), 5.

1918 Shops and houses, Thomsonplein 10-15, The Hague. *Ibid.*, 7.

1920 Competition entry for houses, Johan van Oldenbarneveldlaan and Doornstraat, The Hague. *Ibid.*, 10-13.

1920 Houses, Scheveningselaan, Kijkduin. *Ibid.*, 14-15; Berlage(1932-35) vol 5, pls 12-13; plans 40.

ca. 1920 House, Jacob Catslaan 12, The Hague. *Forum*, 22 (5, 1971), 6.

1922 Entry in *The Chicago Tribune Competition, 1922 (*Chicago, 1923), pl 238; *Architecture Vivante*, 1926, part 2, pl 30. Note especially lower levels.

1922 Technical School, Scheveningen (First scheme). *Bouwkundig Weeklad*, 45(1924), 78-79. *Architecture Vivante*, (1924), part 2, pl 45-48.

J. de Bie Leuveling Tjeenk

1925 House, Museumplein, Amsterdam. Berlage(1932-35), vol 6, pl s 4-5.

Yme Bouma and C.J.M van Dyne

n.d. House, Wassenaar. Wattjes(1931b), pl 45-47.

J.J. (Co) Brandes

1919 *Meijenhage*, Duinvoetlaan, Wassenaar. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 72(1954), 434.

ca. 1920 Villa, Oudermeulenlaan, Wassenaar. *Bouwbedrijf*, 8(1931), 266-67.

1923-1930 Villas, Park Marlot, The Hague. Wattjes(1931b), pl 48-51.

1923 School, Spoorwijk, The Hague. *Bouwbedrijf*, 8(1931), 266-67.

1927 Flats, Juliana van Stolberglaan, The Hague. Berlage(1932-35), vol 4, pl 9-10.

1927 Three villas, Benoordenhoutscheweg, The Hague. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 72(1954), 434.

Jan Buijs and Joan B. Lürsen

1924 Zeylmans van Emmichoven house, The Hague. Rehorst(1983), 30.

1924-1925 Kromhout house, Leeuweriklaan, The Hague. *Ibid.*, 28-29.

1925 Vincent house, Wassenaar. *Ibid.*, 26.

1937-1938 Villa, Voorschoten. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 77(1959), 399. Note the street facade.

Joseph Crouwel

1926 National secondary school, Harlingen. Berlage(1932-35), vol 12, pl 7.

Willem Marinus Dudok

1919 Municipal slaughterhouse, Hilversum. Magneé(1954), 28-29. Note pedestals at the entrance.

1920 Housing development, Godelindeweg, Naarden. *Ibid.*, 14.
Villa *Sevensteijn*, Gogelweg, The Hague. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 43(1922), 51-52.

1921 Municipal bath-house, Boschdrift, Hilversum. Magneé(1954), 17.

1921 Willink house, Hengelo. *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunst*, 4(1927), 144.

1921-1922 Dr. H. Bavinckschool, Hilversum. Magneé(1954), 18-19.

1921-1922 Municipal housing estate, Lavendelplein, Hilversum. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 45(1924), 102.

1922-1923 Oranjeschool, Lavendelplein, Hilversum. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 45(1924), 103.

1924-1931 Town Hall, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 52-69, especially pls 58, 59, 62-64.

1925 School complex, Meezenplein, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 32-33.

1925 Office and dressing rooms, Hilversum Sports Park. *Ibid.*, 92.

1925-1926 Columbarium, Westerveld Crematorium, Velsen. *Ibid.*, 34-35.

1926 Architect's own house, Utrechtseweg, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 23, 41.

1926-1927 Julianaschool, Eikebosserweg, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 34-35.

1927-1928 Chr. Nassauschool, Merelstraat, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 76.

1927-1929 Vondelschool, Schuttersweg, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 78.

1928-1930 Multatulischool, Sumatralaan, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 82-83.

1929-1930 Calvijnschool, J. van der Heydenstraat, Hilversum. *Ibid.*, 84-85.

1932 Competition entry for The Hague Town Hall. *Ibid.*, 102. Note the pavilion at the end of the ornamental pond.

Harry Elte

ca. 1915 *Joodsche Invalide* hospital, Nieuwe Achtergracht 98, Amsterdam. *Bouwbedrijf*, 8(1931), 40.

ca. 1928 Mortuary, Nieuwe Kerkstraat 127, Amsterdam. *Ibid.*, 40.

1929 Synagogue, J. Olbrechtplein, Amsterdam. *Bouwbedrijf*, 7(1930), 49-53; Wattjes(1931), pls 220-22 (dated 1928).

ca. 1930 Houses, Stadionweg 11-13, Amsterdam. *Ibid.*, 8(1931), 40.

J.C. van Epen

1922-1924 Housing, Amsteldijk, Amsterdam. Casciato(1980), pl 121.

1924-1925 Villa *Middei Hichte*, Arnhem. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 46(1925), 244-45. Note the living room interior.

1927 Villa *De Steenwinkel*, Oosterbeek. *Ibid.*, 52(1931), 342; Eibink (1937), 65.

1928 House, *Oase*, Ede. *Ibid.*, 50(1929), 278-80; Fokker(1938), 75. The exterior refers to the Villa Henny, and beyond it to Wright.

J.J.B. Franswa

1929 Competition entry, urban design of Minervaplein, Amsterdam. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 50(1929), 384.

Dick Greiner

1921-1922 Residence, Willem Bilderdijklaan, Bussum. *Ibid.*, 46(1925), 390.

ca. 1922 Dwellings and shops, De Brink, Watergraafsmeer. *Ibid.*, 46(1925), 176-82. Berlage(1932-35), vol 3, pls 29, 31.

Willem Greve

1923 Housing, Watergraafsmeer. Casciato(1980), pl 163.

Johannes Maria Hardeveld

ca. 1924 Reinforced concrete housing, Rotterdam. Casciato(1980), pl 67-68.

Robert van 't Hoff

1914-1915 Verloop house, Huis ter Heide. *De Stijl*, 2(January 1919), pl 5; *Architecture Vivante*, (1925) part 2, pl 22-23; *Wonen TA/BK*, 11(1979), 2-3; *Bouw*, 34(1979), no 12, 6-8; no 13, 21.

1914-1920 Villa Henny, Huis ter Heide. *De Stijl*, 2(January 1919), pl 6; *Architecture Vivante*, (1925) part 2, pl 21; *Wonen TA/BK*, 11(1979), 2-193; *Bouw*, 34(1979), no 12, 6-8; no 13, 21.

1918[?] Designs for concrete houses, The Hague (with P.J.C. Klaarhamer). Casciato(1980), 181.

Huib Hoste (although Belgian, Hoste worked in The Netherlands)

1916 Design for a garden pavilion. *TA/BK*, 12(1971), 312.
Design for a country house. *Ibid.*, 313-14.

Ferd B. Jantzen

1924 *Westerwijk* flat building, Admiral de Ruyterweg, Amsterdam. Note rear of building. *Bouwbedrijf*, 8(1931), 29.

1929 Jerusalem church, Jan Mayenplein, Amsterdam South. Wattjes(1931a) pls 229-30.

P.J.C. Klaarhamer

1913 Design for a villa in reinforced concrete. Asselbergs(1975), 33.

1919 Design for a villa in reinforced concrete. *Ibid.*, 34.

Michel de Klerk

1921-1922 Rowing Club *De Hoop*, Amsterdam. *Architecture Vivante*, part 1(1926), pl 21.

1923 Design for a villa in Wassenaar. Nooteboom(1985), 50, for color image; Asselbergs(1975), 50, for plans.

Herman van der Kloot Meijburg

1920 Design for a house, Oosterbeek. *Wendingen*, 4(4/5, 1921), 13.

1922 Semidetached house in Voorburg. Berlage(1932-35), vol 6, pl 37.

1924 Nautilus Rowing Club, Rotterdam. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 46(1925), 359-61.

1926 House in Park Zorgvliet, The Hague. Berlage(1932-35), vol 6, pl 38.
Polder pump station and houses, Maassluis. *Ibid.*, vol 11, pls 19-20; plan 46.

Bart van der Leck

ca. 1923 Semi-detached houses, Wassenaar. *Bouwbedrijf*, 2(1925), 224.

J. B. van Loghem

1916 Office and house, Haarlemsche Bankvereeniging, Hoofdweg, Hoofddorp. *Plan*, 12(1971), 18; *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 89(1971), 217, pl 19.

1920-1922 Housing "Tuinwijk Zuid," Spaarnelaan, Tuinwijklaan, Zonnelaan, Haarlem. *Plan*, 12(1971), 27.

1921-1922 Housing "Tuinwijk Noord," Kleverparkweg, Kleverparkstraat, Haarlem. *Ibid.*, 28.

1922-1923 Dwelling, *'t Fort*, Haarlem. *TA/BK*, 38(1971), 480.

1932 Gardener's house, Honningerdijk, Rotterdam. *Plan*, 12(1971), 46.

Frans Lourijsen

1925 Flats, Mesdaghstraat, The Hague. Berlage(1932-35), vol 4, pl 30.

Julius Maria Luthmann

1922 Building complex, Radio Station, Kootwijk. *Wonen-TA/BK*, 1979, no 2, 17; *Wendingen*, 5(12, 1923), 27 ff.

1928-1933 Free Catholic Church, Rietzangerslaan, The Hague. Note the vestries at the rear. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 54(1934), 205-06.

1930 School, Capadose- and Bresterstraat, The Hague. Berlage(1932-35), vol 14, pl 21-22.

J.J.P. Oud

1918 Design for houses in reinforced concrete. *De Stijl*, 2(May 1919), 83; *Architecture Vivante*, part 1(1924), pl 45.
Design for a warehouse and factory, Purmerend. *De Stijl*, 3(March 1920), after 44; *Architecture Vivante*, part 1(1925), 20.
Design for a bonded warehouse and stillroom, Purmerend. *De Stijl*, 3(October 1920), after 96; *Architecture Vivante*, part 1(1925), 20.

Jan Pauw and Willem van Hardeveld

1919-1920 Houses, Groningen. Casciato(1980), pl 166.

J.H. Plantegna

1922-1924 Municipal office, Hoek van Holland (wedding-room interior: Henrik Wouda). *Bouwen*, 3(1925), 17-20.

A.H. van Rood

1928 Switchroom, Mekog, IJmuiden. *Bouwbedrijf*, 7(1930), 498-99; *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 53(1932), 46-47.

1931 Central P.E.N. generating station, Velsen. Berlage(1932-35), vol 11, pl 38. Note the low wing in front of the engine house.
1931 Central P.E.N. switch house, Velsen. Berlage(1932-35), vol 11, pl 41.

Dirk Roosenburg
1918 Architect's own house, Kerkhoflaan 11, The Hague. *Architectural Review*, 78(1935), no 459, 63.
1924 Houses, Sportlaan, The Hague. *Bouwbedrijf*, 1(1924), no 7, 13-15.
1928 Philips' Office Building, Eindhoven. Asselbergs(1975), 40.

R.L.A. Schoemaker
n.d. House in Wassenaar. Wattjes(1931b), pl 337.

Jan Frederik Staal
1925 Housing, Jan Evertsenstraat-Mercatorplein, Amsterdam. Casciato(1980), pl 145.

W. Verschoor
1922 Middle-class housing, Schiebroek garden suburb, Rotterdam. *Tijdschrift Volkshuisvesting*, 2(1922), pp 139-45.
1923 Technical school, Alphen a/d Rijn. Berlage(1932-35), vol 14, pl 44-45; plan 54.
1927-1928 Town hall and school, Voorschoten. *Klei*, 20(1928), 61-62.
1928-1929 Villa, Scheveningschenweg, The Hague. *Ibid.*, 21(1929), 242-43.

Filip Anne Warners
1921 Villa, Bosscheweg 61, Berkel-Enschot. Wattjes(1931b), pl 384-86.

A.H. Wegerif
1931 Flats, Zeestraat, The Hague. Berlage(1932-35), vol 4, pl 45.
1931 House, *De Regenboog*, Noordwijk aan Zee. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 75(1958), 176.

G. Westerhout
1925 Secondary school, Almelo. Eibink(1937), 34-35.

Joseph Wielders
1922 St. Barbara's Church, Leveroy. Wattjes(1931a), pl 284-87.

Jan Wils
1916 Farm, Winschoten. *Levende Kunst*, 1(1918), 134, 136.
1916-1922 Church, Elshout. *Ibid.*, 135; *Bouwbedrijf*, 1(1924), 209-11.
1917 De Lange villa, Wilhelminalaaan, Alkmaar. *Levende Kunst*, 1(1918), 128-32; *Bouwbedrijf*, 7(1931), 6-7; Leliman(1924), 46-47; Asselbergs(1975), 30.
1917 School, house and playground, Sint Antoniuspolder. *Ottagono Quarterly Review* (1984), 46.
1917 Competition entry for pavilion, Groningen. Asselbergs(1975), 30.
1918 *De Dubbele Sleutel*, Woerden. *De Stijl*, 2(March 1919), pl 10.
1918 Design for a country house in concrete. *De Stijl*, 1(June 1918), 96.
1919 Design for a studio house. Asselbergs(1975), 30.
1920 *Daal en Berg* housing estate, Papaverhof, The Hague. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 43(1922), 458-62.
1921 Study for a home for women, The Hague. Casciato(1980), pl 174.

1921 Dance Institute, Laan van Meerdervoort, The Hague. *Ottagono Quarterly Review* (1984), 50.
ca. 1921 Sketch design for a country house. Wils(1923), 11, 15-16.
1925-1926 Flats, Josef Israelplein, The Hague (with Lourijsen). Wils(1930), pl 22-23.
1926-1928 Olympic Stadium, Amsterdam. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 49(1928), 145-51; *Bouwbedrijf*, 3(1927), 211; *Ibid.*, 4(1928), 315.
1929 Housing, Simon Stevinweg, Hilversum. Wils(1930), pl 38.

H. Th. Wijdeveld

1915 Country house on the River Vecht. *Wendingen*, 2(4, 1919), 8-9.
1915 Beach house, Zandvoort. Note the plan. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
1918 Design for a house, Heemstede. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
1919 Design for a house for a musician: interior. *Ibid.*, 14.
1925 Interior, Dutch pavilion, Esplanade des Invalides, Paris *Exposition des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels*. *Bouwen*, 3(1925), 100.
1929 Design for Minervaplein, Amsterdam. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 50(1929), 412.
1930 Design for Netherlands Pavilion, Antwerp Fair (with G.J. Langhout). *Ibid.*, 51(1930), 2.

Henrik Wouda

1924 Villa *De Luifel*, Wassenaar. *Bouwen*, 4(1925), 22 ff.
1930 Villa *De Appelhof*, Wassenaar. Berlage (1932-35), vol 6, pls 59-60. An attempt is made to emulate the linear plan of some of Wright's early houses, but the spatial organization is conventional.
1934 Country house, Leiden. Hausbrand(1938), 86-87. Note the bizarre combination of austere but Wrightian elements with a thatched roof.

J. Zietsma

ca. 1920 Design for a summer house, Limburg. *Wendingen*, 4(1921), no 4/5, 13.

Appendix B

Wright to Wijdeveld, 21 October 1947

Four successive drafts of the letter are held in the Wright Archive, Scottsdale, Arizona. Normal font indicates the content of the letter Wijdeveld eventually received and now held in the *Nederlands Architectuurinstituut*, Rotterdam. Text and punctuation in brackets indicate minor variations from the final draft; italics indicate passages deleted from the final draft. Throughout the draft, Wijdeveld was misspelt "Widjeveld," but not in the letter as sent. Correct spelling has been substituted here. The letter of 21 October 1947 in Wright(1984), 106-08 is *not* the letter received by Wijdeveld; it is a draft.

My Dear Wijdeveld:

You are one of the occasions that weigh on my conscience. I have not known just how to square myself with myself where you are concerned so not knowing what to write I did not write.

But your frank request to come to the U.S.A. and join me deserves a frank answer.

You were right when, faced with a part in my enterprise (was it more than twenty years ago?) you said, "He is difficult to work with. It will take many years to build up this place. I have only ten thousand dollars. I do not know what to do." That was well said.

Since then many years have passed. I have earnt and spent probably a half million on this place and Arizona and all is yet unfinished. But, of course, much has been done since you saw it. We keep on as a "Foundation" now, tax exempt.

You were right in your conclusion that I would be difficult to work with. In fact I am impossible to work with by any but one [*and but anyone*] trained in and

accustomed for many years to my way of work, that is to say. My disposition is that of a solo creative worker—even now [,] as you must know. So what outcome for a man of your wide attainments and boundless ambition but almost no experience in my way of work and life [,] with me [,] except one of frustration and eventual ill will?

Two rams in one small sheep pasture are certainly one too many. I would like to be of help to you and yours—your appreciation reached me when my fortunes were at low ebb and I am not ungrateful at this distance.

But what shall it be? What would work out best for you in our country over here—I do not know.

This country is overfilled with left wing modernists of whom you are one. There is Gropius, Corbu, Mies, Mendelsohn, Breuer and others. They are still there with the negation I made in 1906 and the emphasis of the horizontal I practised in 1910.

To add another advocate of this "reaction" would not square with my creative conscience. Were you to go deeper than they and be able to controvert the cliched superficial aesthetic they now stand for, your advent on this side might be propitious and a chair in some university a blessing all around. You seem to me when you talk a man of deeper feeling and greater vision than those men. But when you build I see much the same character of thing in what you do—therefore naturally in what you would teach.

The breach between myself and these men has widened. They think, speak and work in two dimensions while idealizing the third and vice versa. I feel that I am as far beyond them now as I was in 1910 and their apostasy has only served to betray the cause of organic architecture in the nature of materials which I believe to be the architecture of Democracy.

The thing they do is to me distinctly Nazi. And they cannot so see it at all. Why swell their ranks with another advocate because you were an admirer of mine back there in the days when? The Universities are loaded with these imports and while I suppose it is all better than the country might have had without them, it is all a miscarriage of the deeper thing I desired and in which I believed and for which I hoped.

Yes, modern architecture, so called, is way back there in 1910 so far as its actual body now goes as the latest thing in education.

You are naturally an enthusiast with taste and skill, a boundless ambition and energy equal to it. So in what and where could Wijdeveld find satisfaction—realization of himself?

Frankly I do not know unless in a teacher's berth somewhere over here, and I do not want to augment the present tangent trend by my friendship because I know no good ever came or will come of temporizing with one's "ideal[s]" just to

be kind to a friend or to be on good terms with oneself.

So, dear man, what shall I do for you? I would love to have you visit us again—would invite you and your [good] wife as a guest with pleasurable anticipation—would do what I might to secure you satisfaction somewhere.

But you could not ("nor any older man I fear") work with me.

I am too far gone in place and time with my own technique to employ the technique of another. And my time is getting too short to think of doing so. Taliesin is not what you seem to think.

You deserve a berth of your own by now and all I could do would be to give you a little shovelful of coals and help you start a little hell of your own somewhere but, as I imagine, even that is, in the circumstances, rather late for you my dear Wijdeveld.

Let's see. . .	*Saarinen*	
	Gropius	
	Breuer	
on the one	*Mies*	
hand. . .	*Mendelsohn*	*Frank Lloyd Wright*
	Chermayeff	
	Corbu (off and on)	
	Lescaze et al.	
	Now Wijdeveld ?	

After these come the heterogenous breed, increasing by way of the short cut and push and what have you? You have the present equivocal situation in Modern Architecture with which I am dissatisfied.

Now the personality [*principle*] involved does not prevent me from doing everything I can for you as a friend. That is something else and please tell me what in particular at this moment I can do best—

Sincerely—

[signed]

Frank Lloyd Wright.

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Appendix C

Wijdeveld's *An International Guild*, Santpoort, 1931

Wijdeveld's plans for an international Work Fellowship were revealed to the Dutch artistic community early in April 1931 through what he later called his "yellow book," published in Dutch as *Naar een Internationale Werkgemeenschap* and at the same time in German, French and English, intended for distribution through his extensive international network of acquaintances. The rather primitive design of the front cover indicates that his proposal impartially embraced every continent. The following is the complete text of the English-language version, as it was written by Wijdeveld. The various versions of the book were illustrated with photographs of the landscape around the wide Loosdrecht lakes and Wijdeveld's fascinating drawings of the accommodation he ambitiously proposed to build there.

INTRODUCTION

Looking backward along the path of human progress, we are startled by the decline of the various branches of the building trade since the middle ages. At that time, it was the guilds of masons whose many-sided labour wrought the magnificent works for which that time is still gratefully remembered. Union of labour and union of the arts had revealed the way to a new style. The genius made his mark, because he could naturally measure himself with others in the workshops of the guild, and his complete devotion to his work was rewarded by the place of honour. But all found recognition, all creative fellow-workers, members of one great body, in which they were united by their mutual aim, not merely that of their daily bread, but of their vision of a common ideal. The work of the artist was their beacon. He unconsciously led the way.

This view of life was maintained for centuries, even until the decline of the renaissance. This period saw the dissolution of the groups of guilds; town, village and country guilds became separate communities. Their mutual relations, and

consequently their knowledge of the traditions of their trade, weakened and gradually disappeared. The workshop was replaced by the school, and skill by theory. The creative faculty was lost. The succession was interrupted, and people had no grasp of the cultural foundations of their own race. The time had no longer a character of its own, and they set to work to collect what remained of former ages. All those who studied admired the ancient, and art historians set themselves up as arbiters of taste. Antiquarians flourished, forming a class by themselves.

Some of the enquiring minds who received their upbringing in this sphere feared the total annihilation of the noble spirit of olden times, and had no faith in its reincarnation, failing to recognise as such man's new discovery: the machine. And this apparently with good reason, for here was a phenomenon which had nothing in common with culture or art. This lifeless substitute for human labour, breaker of all traditions, seemed to be an iron imitator of old forms. The remaining vestiges of culture were now utterly destroyed, and yet—behind this very abomination was hidden the greatest achievement of our time: the creative faculty became the invention. But this was only the starting point, for beyond scientific knowledge and mathematical construction looms the new field of the cultural form. We know that even the most perfectly calculated solution does not furnish a satisfactory form, and that, apart from the mastery of technical science, we must also satisfy those secret aspirations which we call feeling for proportion, colour and rythme [*sic*], and which always give a personal touch to our work, a touch whose exceptional harmony of feeling, knowledge and technique reveals the artist.

The intellect will always be led by the unconscious, as mankind seeks once more to give expression to a new ideal. Those who have inherited the enquiring mind devote themselves to this task so completely that their very zeal kindles hope anew in all. This is the regenerating force that lives on in periods of decline. It is again striving to assert itself, and we already divine the advent of a new unity, for all trends in the plastic arts and in painting point to the same feeling of revival and construction as in architecture. The desire for "decoration" is waning, and is being transformed into a feeling for spaciousness. Architects, painters, sculptors and musicians are seeking along the same paths, and amid the power of the old order a new communal life is stirring.

But in these promising times there are difficult years, the "ups and downs" of our unstable propensities. The turmoil in our brains resembles that upon roads crowded with modern traffic; the vibration and tension in our souls are no less than in the world of wireless and the aeroplane. We are being attacked upon all sides and driven along roads that we hardly wish to follow. Technical science, industries, economics overwhelm us with their new realities. It is given to but few to hold their course in these rapids of modern life. There are some who accept these mighty powers onesidedly [*sic*]; they follow the new paths as rationalists and constructivists. They wish to merge the architect in the engineer, to replace the creative faculty by the scientific. They desire, by means of the products of technical science, the trimuph [*sic*] of the impersonal, leading to collectivism.

But have not the technical workers already accustomed themselves to

anonymity, and are not we convinced, too, of the next phase of this development: the indissoluble union of the engineer (the intellect) and the architect (the heart). For is it not an inexpressible secret that the mathematical, analytical construction and the forms conceived in our subconsciousness converge in one point. Yes, just as if our subconsciousness once more repeated, on a higher plane, the process of creation, with the same purpose. What is true of architecture applies also to music; the application of the system of numbers must be preceded by inspiration, just as the measurable proportions are preceded by intuitive feeling.

But amid the triumphs of the machine, and its thundering progress through modern science, nature once more draws us to her, sending us forth again to declare our finiteness in her infinity. We seek once more the reflex of the Cosmos by bringing our insignificant selves to spiritual creation.

Thus creative desires flow uninterruptedly through mankind. Let the sensitive man work, and he will unconsciously follow new paths which all will one day acknowledge to be right. That is his constructive, his creative work. We cannot assume, however, that the form conceived by him is the only possible one, the solution of all forms. The creator of forms searches around his sensitive soul and will always reproduce the peculiarity of the inspired worker; he is non-collective in his labour for all. Therefore, in the labyrinth of roads which each of us follows, collisions are unavoidable.

One thing, however, is common to all the moderns. They do not desert the old fundamentals of their own free will, but in response to the irresistible impulse of life itself. They do not drive, they themselves are driven. Their works are still stiff and hard; they pile up masses and tilt blocks. They are like life itself which forms them; they only know as yet the "rythme" [*sic*] of the mighty cadences, for who thinks of "melody" in the mechanical world—in the breathless speed of the motorcar, the whirlwind movement of the aeroplane, the throbbing pace of the mailboat or the rattling race of the film. The machine knows no melody; it is only rythme [sic], and will never be more; it has no soul! But in this new rythme [sic] there is an attraction which leads the seeker back to the very starting-point: to the art of the primitive peoples. We must get beyond that, farther, much farther! We are compelled to follow the new, even those of us who do not want to. Hence the paradoxes of present-day life: the reactionary in motor-car and aeroplane, the automibile [*sic*] manufacturer's "period furniture"; they are unconsciously co-operating, and are borne along in the current till they all stand on the side of the moderns. And although, even today, those who wish to create the new still feel some hankering after Beethoven and Chopin, Raphael and Rembrandt, Viollet le Duc and Bramante, they are setting aside also this influencing of their work (while remembering with reverence those great masters of the past) to sing at length their own songs, form their own colours and plastic arts, and create their own architecture. Their work, too, will some day, making use of the means of our time, become clear as a fuga of Bach, melodious as the songs of Schubert, sublime as the paintings of Angelico.

Therefore, welcome, analyzers, constructivists, rejectors of all that wishes to be called "art." You who see only construction and collective building, who place

the impersonal above the individual, are necessary, for your work is the laying bare of a new fruit. But know that your task is being supplemented by others; they, too, are necessary, for the struggle between the human soul and the intellect can only end in that glorious cynthesis [*sic*] that is called Harmony, that is Culture, a hopeful future, a Creative Achievement.

PROGRAMME

Those who are in contact with the current of contemporary ideas are aware that splendid work can be done to direct the course of the cultural struggle that is being waged all over Europe. Consequently, we wish to establish in Holland the nucleus of an organisation which will extend far beyond our frontiers, and which will attract collaborators to it from other countries. We wish to erect a building, not too remote from the large towns, but situated amid the noble surroundings of plain and water, wood and heath, and to establish there an international working-community. Our purpose is to work there with those of the younger generation, under guidance or each according to his own bent, for the new views of life and the modern arts. These workers come from all parts of the world; they come there to live and to work, and are immersed in the many-sided internationalism that will prevail there. This community will possess a sphere of its own, but in full contact with all those currents which are seeking to create the New Life. An organisation for the building up of spiritual forces devoted to the earnest fulfilment of their life work. There, by means of rest and contemplation, finer nuances will be brought to life, and without borrowing ideas or customs belonging by nature and their geographical situation to the countries of the sun, eastern wisdom and contemplation will support us, scholars and artists from Europe and America, from Japan, Arabia and India will be, not only our guests, but also permanent collaborators. A working community on a spiritual basis, but rendered healthy by its contact with life.

1 PRACTICAL WORK. PRIVATE STUDY

There will be opportunities for private study as well as for practical work, such as the execution of commissions received for the design of buildings and interiors. The investigation of and co-operation with industrial and economic problems. More rational building, and the search for standard forms, with the new housing as starting-point before the new style grows. The application of new and the improvement of the old materials. The acceptance of the new means of communication and town planning. Co-operation with producers and manufacturers. The adoption of the latest systems of production. The question of roof-gardens for the large cities. The question of the heating of towns and the one kitchen house. Studies to obtain a better understanding of the economics of architecture. Propaganda for the inclusion of lessons in "housing" at the elementary and secondary schools. The search for the right lines for the new movement In theatre and cinema. All arts emanating from the philosophy of modern life.

2 A WORKING COMMUNITY: NOT A SCHOOL!

Behind this sketch lies a detailed programme of work, growing with the development of the scheme itself, and all housed in a building complex erected for this

purpose. An Organisation whose aim and guiding principle is not a school where one learns but a "working community" in which and by means of which contact with the new movement is established. New in its attitude of serene contemplation of that which is disappearing. Notwithstanding the seriousness of the scheme, a free and unconstrained atmosphere will prevail among us. The theory of a branch will go hand in hand with its practical application, and each individual worker will be enabled and encouraged to execute characteristic work in metal, glass and wood, ceramics and typography, weaving and textiles, and the study of modes and costumes.

3 MASTER AND PUPIL SYSTEM

There will be at least one trained technical leader for each branch, while the responsibility for the whole Organisation will be in the hands of the architect-founder. An atmosphere of "master" and "pupil" will prevail as a matter of course. Although, in this way, the older workers will generally play a more important part than the younger ones, a timetable will provide for a fair division of labour. In this way, those who wish to study the modern tendencies in architecture and its allied trades will be enabled to pursue or to complete their studies.

4 INTERNATIONAL LEADERS

Leaders from many countries, in sympathy with the international movement, will meet here, and will reside here permanently or temporarily to execute their commissions and projects with the help of the groups of younger workers. Besides these, others will come as guests to lecture for a few days or weeks, but especially to support the community by their spiritual influence.

5 STUDIOS FOR ARTISTS

Well-known artists from our own country and from abroad will establish a studio in the community where they will spend some time every year to instruct the younger artists. Studios will also be available for those who wish to work independently and alone. Their proximity, and the possibility of observing from time to time their method of work and its results will exercise a favourable influence on the young; for the most valuable things cannot be taught, we acquire them from the sphere in which we live, provided we are possessed of open and receptive minds.

6 EXECUTION OF COMMISSIONS

The commissions upon which the maintainance [*sic*] of the community partly depends, will be obtained in the same way in which artists and technical workers usually receive them. The architectural works entrusted to it, such as factories, workmen's dwellings, country houses, schools, hospitals, etc. will be designed and executed, as will interiors and furniture. In the sections devoted to glass and metal work, textiles, weaving and costumes, many objects will be produced which can be disposed of on a large scale in the towns. The printing office executes all orders received for advertisements, posters and other printing. The leaders will set an example to the others, by doing their utmost to acquire orders.

7 CONDITIONS OF ADMITTANCE

Each person pays the fixed annual fees for full board and lodging, but nobody will work (i.e. study) or study (i.e. work) without being given an opportunity of participating in the orders to be executed, and consequently of earning part of or even more than the money spent. A business-like Organisation will provide for the distribution among the workers concerned of all fees and other revenue derived from works executed or sold.

8 EXCHANGE OF MEMBERS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

An exchange of members with similar organisations in Europe and elsewhere is not improbable. Convinced as we are that it will be possible to gather around us from fifty to eighty workers from various countries, and that many artists and scholars will pay us a visit every year on their way through Holland, we can rely upon a full year's programme of study, orders and work executed.

9 EXHIBITIONS. PROPAGANDA

Books and periodicals which serve to throw light upon the modern movement of our time will be sent us, and the publications of our own printing-press will provide material for the world of ideas in which we work. Exhibitions, lectures and performances in our own building as well as in the large cities of Europe and other continents will found a reputation for the Guild. Many publications, issued by our own press will testify to its activity. These publications will also be sent to the "Friends of the Guild." Exhibitions, lectures and performances in our own building as well as in the large cities of Europe and other continents will found a reputation for the Guild. Many publications, issued by our own press will testify to its activity. These publications will also be sent to the "Friends of the Guild."

10 ORGANISATION. ADMINISTRATION

The administration to be business-like and accurate. The correspondence department, conversant with many languages, will see to the maintainance [sic] of our international connections. The telephone and wireless services are also the nerves of our Organisation. Contact with many factories, industries and businesses. A regular transport service between the large towns and the community. The annual balance-sheet provides a summary of the year's work, and the books furnish the record of profit or loss.

11 HOME LIFE. RECREATION

The home life is simple and very regular. Meals in common, fixed hours for work, recreation and sleep. For each worker an apartment of his own for private study and sleeping. Shower baths and washing accomodation [sic] in common. Musical evenings and lectures to which modern musicians and literary men will be Invited (sometimes also the public). Temporary collaborators and summer guests.

12 SPORTS

Sport will go hand-in-hand with work and study. Our own grounds will contain a tennis-court, running track, jumping and swimming accomodation [*sic*]. Rowing and yachting can be practised. The beauty of the environs will encourage walking; heath and woods are at hand. In winter, skating and ice-boating.

13 CARE OF GARDEN AND ANIMALS

The care of the animals, the garden and the orchard, flowers, vegetables and fruit, bees and poultry will be in the hands of the workers themselves, and organised in such a way that, by means of regular changes, some will always be engaged in this work. In this way, our own grounds will yield some of the food required. Regulations will be laid down for house- and working apparel.

14 EXAMINATIONS AND VACATION

The Guild knows no examinations or certificates, but only a personal testimonial. One month's holiday, arranged alternately, as the work permits.

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Appendix D

The Taliesin Fellowship Constitution, 1932

Between 1928 and 1932, when the Fellowship was advertised internationally and the first intake occurred, Wright prepared a number of explanations of the Hillside Home School of the Arts (or Allied Arts) or the Taliesin Fellowship as it came to be known in 1931. In circa April 1931 he composed a long, ambiguously argued brochure for distribution to a number of friends, as he called them, which set out philosophical ideas and counter currents that prompted he and his wife Olgivanna to create a school, some of the anticipated practical studies and community work, and an estimation of costs. This was no doubt based on a proposal put to a few people, like Jens Jensen, and cohorts and officials at the University of Wisconsin, and unnamed people in Chicago. In 1931 Wright referred specifically to Wijdeveld in the following terms:

> A school of this nature should be international in its resources [with a] resident director. . . . This man should be an Architect chosen for his association with the crafts—consequently he would have to be found in Europe. A man like Herr Wijdeveld of Amsterdam, Holland, a member of the Royal Academy, . . . and whom France has made a chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur.

Wright also said that the "director was to be Herr [*sic*] Wijdeveld, who also would have direct charge of Architecture." He mentioned P.M. Cochius "of Leerdam Glasfabriek" as "sympathetic to" the school's purpose.[1]

The following constitutes a digest of those aims and explanations, especially of that written in circa April 1931, and can be assumed to have been distributed to not only friends but a variety of publications. Wijdeveld is not mentioned; students are first described as apprentices but later as workers; projects or work were not to be graded but at the end of one's tenure a "testimonial" was to be issued; and students would work at their own pace, their "own bent," an idea suggestive of his contact in early 1931 with the architecture program under Walter Willcox at the University of Oregon. The "Constitution"

was printed in *The Studio* (London, December 1932, pp 348-49), entitled "The Taliesin Fellowship. A Modern Artists' Guild," with small illustrations of the proposed physical facilities at Spring Green (a plan and "birds-eye view"). In the short editorial preface the Fellowship was referred to erroneously as a "Utopian community of craftsmen suggestive of the medieval guild."

CONSTITUTION [1932]. Frank Lloyd Wright, together with a competent leader, who will be in residence with the apprentices and be in direct charge of the work of the Fellowship. A group of three resident associates; a sculptor, a painter and a musician; a group of seven qualified apprentices, carefully chosen for the work to be done; a group of seven honour apprentices who will have the status of senior apprentices and three technical advisers trained in industry. This group will constitute the Fellowship.

We believe that any rational attempt to integrate art and industry should correlate both with our everyday life in America and proceed as essential architecture, growing by way of such social, industrial and economic processes as are natural.

Not only will the framework and background of our future civilisation be erected a organic architecture, but the qualities most worth while in philosophy, sculpture, painting, music and the industrial crafts are, fundamentally, architecture. The architecture of lie itself must be the first concern of any true culture. The same principles underlie life and the arts alike.

No alliance between the arts and commercial industry is enough, because any mere "alliance," however useful, can never be creative. If appropriate forms are to be developed from within, and if they are to be forms having any worth-while relation to industry, the original work will be one where the workers themselves not only have spontaneous recourse to modern shop and working conditions, but at the same time have the benefit of the inspirational fellowship of the genuinely creative artist.

Constant contact with the nature of the ground and nature-growth itself are most valuable texts in this connection when they are forms of experience directly related to work.

Such creative impulse as has survived among us should have a fair chance at fresh life uncontaminated by human expressions already dead or dying. The city is such a dead or dying expression. The city is no longer a place for more than the application of a formula. Therefore the Taliesin Fellowship chooses to live and work in the country. The Fellowship establishment is located forty miles from Madison and four miles from the nearest village [Spring Green] on a State highway in beautiful Southern Wisconsin, near the Wisconsin River.

The work in architecture at Taliesin [Wright's home and office], near by, during the past thirty years, has proved itself and has gone far enough in the current of contemporary ideas so that good work can be done in co-operation with our more advanced producers and manufacturers to improve the design of their product. American industry need no longer depend for artistic life upon imita-

tions or copies of imitations if our country will utilise its own resources.

Our purpose, as the Taliesin Fellowship, is to extend the apprenticeship as hitherto existing at Taliesin from the ten apprentices [Wright's employees] to which it has been limited[,] to include seventy apprentices working under the leadership of the group described.

Each apprentice will work according to his own bent, toward the machine-craft art of a machine-age life in the machine-age in a common effort to create the new forms needed by machine work and modern processes, needed if we are to have any life worth living.

Many young workers have already come to Taliesin from all parts of the world to live and to work. They may come now to be immersed in the many-sided activities of this Fellowship, activities gradually extended to include the arts and such modern machine-crafts as we can establish.

We are beginning this working Fellowship on a free, independent and individual basis [i.e. without outside financing], made healthy and fruitful by direct experience with idea as work and with work as idea.

The home life will be simple. Meals in common. Fixed hours for work, recreation and sleep. Each worker will have his or her own room for study and rest. Suitable toilet accommodation will be convenient for all rooms. Entertainment will be a feature of the home life; plays, musical evenings, the cinema and evening conferences, to which musicians, literary men, artists and scientists will be invited and sometimes the public. The beautiful region is, in itself, a never-failing source of recreation.

The Fellowship work in all its manifold branches will emanate directly from the organic philosophy of an organic architecture for modern life as we are living that life at the present time, with some sense of the future.

So the study of architecture in this broad sense will be taken into special studies of building-design and of building-construction, typography, ceramics, woodwork and textiles. And this study will go hand in hand with characteristic model making and with practical experiments in the crafts made by the apprentices in the workshops.

Apprenticeship will be the condition and should be the attitude of mind of all the Fellowship workers. A fair division of labour in all the branches of all the work will be the share of each individual, although predilection will be encouraged.

There will be no age limit as to apprentices, but the qualifications of each applicant for entrance will be decided finally by the leader of the Fellowship and Mr. Wright after a month's trial in the Fellowship work. The right to reject any applicant at any time is reserved—either before or after being formally received into the Fellowship.

The Fellowship aims first of all to develop a well-correlated human individual. It is this correlation between the hand and the mind's eye that is lacking in the modern human being.

As a primary requirement, therefore, each member of the Fellowship will be asked to learn to draw well.

Laboratories and machine workshops are not yet ready, but eventually will be planted, as planned, next to the living quarters as shown in the accompanying illustrations.

The studios and demonstrating rooms are already built or are now being built. The first experimental units to be put to work are those of architectural construction and design, the philosophy of architecture, typographical design, and printing of the publication that will be the organ of the Fellowship; moulding and casting adapted to modern systems of construction in glass, concrete and metal; wood-working by modern machinery. A collateral study of philosophy and the practice of sculpture, painting, drama and rhythm. These units are to be followed, as soon as possible, by actual glass-making, pottery, modern reproduction processes in many forms, as we may find the help to establish these units. We hope and believe that men of industry in the United States will find it worth while to cooperate with us in this respect.

A personal testimonial only will be given each worker at the end of his or her apprenticeship. Each working year will have a holiday of six weeks for each worker, arranged only as the work permits.

Each apprentice will be required to pay the fixed fee for tuition and, in addition, will be required to do his or her share of work, three hours each day, on the ground or buildings or farm for the privilege of participation in the experimental work in the studios and shops and the production of art objects as practical exemplars for industry and building or for exhibition and sale. An account will also be kept of the money thus had from all sales, and at the end of each year a fair dividend will be paid to each member of the Fellowship which may materially reduce the tuition fee.

A businesslike organisation will manage all the affairs of the Fellowship. The farm and the garden will be managed to so employ the help of the apprenticeship that a substantial portion of the living of its members will come from their own labor on the ground, thus enabling the tuition fee to remain low as now fixed.

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT.

Note

1. The circa April 1931 brochure was later published as "The Hillside Home School of the Allied Arts" in Pfeiffer(1993), 39-49. During 1932-33 parts of the brochure were published rather widely in non-professional magazines, only a notice or two in architectural publications. A December 1933 "Prospectus" of the school is reprinted in Pfeiffer(1993), 157-65. On the Oregon program see Johnson(1990), 154-60.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. On Futurism more generally see Banham(1960); Enrico Crespolti, *Attraverso L'Architettura Futurista* (Modena, 1984); Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Esther da Costa Meyer, *The Work of Antonio Sant'Elia* (New Haven, 1995); Joshua Taylor, *Futurism* (New York, 1961); Caroline Tisdall and Angelo Bozzellua, *Futurism* (London, 1977).

On early Russian modernism, including its relationship with The Netherlands and Germany, see Richard Andrews and Milena Kalinovska, eds., *Art into Life. Russian Constructivism 1914-1932* (Seattle, 1991); Bliznakov(ms. 1971); William Craft Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Cambridge, 1993); Rainer Crone and David Moos, *Kazimir Malevich. The Climax of Disclosure* (Chicago, 1991); Gail Harrison Roman and Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, eds., *The Avant-Garde Frontier. Russia Meets the West, 1910-1930* (Gainesville, 1992).

Useful general studies of architectural developments around 1900 include: H.H. Arnason, *A History of Modern Art. Painting Sculpture Architecture* (3d ed. New York, 1986); Banham(1960); Benevolo(1971); Cohen(1995); Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1950* (London, 1965, reprint 1971); William J.R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, (2d ed. New Jersey, 1987); William Fleming, *Arts and Ideas* (3d ed., New York, n.d.), particularly 477-543; Frampton (1985); Giedion (1956); Peter Gössel and Gabriel Leuthäuser, *Architecture of the 20th-Century* (Cologne, 1991); Johnson/Langmead(1997); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design* (New York, 1949); Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Intention in Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); Kurt Rowland, *A History of the Modern Movement. Art Architecture Design* (New York, 1973); Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture* (2d ed., New York, 1993).

2. Wright (1908), 155-221.

3. George Howe, paper presented to AIA, *Symposium on Contemporary Architecture* (Washington, D.C., 1931), 5.

4. On events in Europe from 1800 onward see Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and Nineteenth Century Architecture* (New York, 1980); Frampton (1985), parts 1 and 2; on the critical period in Great Britain see Robert Macleod, *Style and Society. Architectural Ideology, Britain 1835-1914* (London, 1971); and Service(1975).

5. On Kahn's career see Grant Hildebrand, *The Architecture of Albert Kahn* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Johnson(1990); Johnson/Langmead(1997), xl-xli, 161-66, and Carl W. Condit, *American Building* (Chicago, 1968), chapter 18. Moritz Kahn (brother of Albert and Julius) managed their European architectural practice from London and wrote *The Design & Construction of Industrial Buildings* (London, 1917).

6. Walter Gropius, *Scope of Total Architecture* (London, 1956), 72.

7. On Hennebique's extraordinary career see Collins(1959), 64-75.

8. Mumford(1938), 406, supported in the main by Hitchcock(1971), chapter 15, and less so by Frampton(1985), 43-45.

9. Mumford(1938), 406.

10. Wright's clients are discussed, for example, in Leonard K. Eaton, *Two Chicago Architects and Their Clients. Frank Lloyd Wright and Howard van Doren Shaw* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); Norris Kelly Smith's valuable review of Eaton in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 29(May 1970), 205-206; Alofsin(1993), *inter alia*; Levine(1996) for projects pre-1925; and as particular examples, John O. Holzhueter, "Cudworth Beye, Frank Lloyd Wright and the Yahara River Boathouse, 1905," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 72(Spring 1989), 163-98; and Quinan(1987).

11. The example is Wright(1916), 96.

Chapter 2

1. This is amply displayed in the valuable unpublished study by Lewis(1962); revised with a narrower focus in Lewis(1997); but see also Dimitri Tselos, "Richardson's Influence on European Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 29(May 1970), 156-62, and the essay that follows, Reinink(1970), 163-74; and Eaton(1972), throughout. From these essays it can be said that European architects were interested in building types (especially the skyscraper and later industrial) and styles. Seldom did they follow an architect until Richardson in the 1880s.

2. On Wright's parentage see Donald Leslie Johnson, "Notes on Frank Lloyd Wright's Paternal Family," *Frank Lloyd Wright Newsletter,* 3(2, 1980); and on Wright's childhood and teenage years, Gill(1987); and Secrest(1992). On Silsbee see Nute(1993), 22-24; Susan Karr Sorell, "Silsbee: The Evolution of a Personal Architectural Style," *Prairie School Review,* 7(4, 1970), 1, 5-27; Thomas J. McCormack, "The Early Work of Joseph Lyman Silsbee," in Searing(1982), 172-84; and Johnson(1987b), 23-29, for his influence on Wright.

3. The Winslow house is dated 1893 while the stables date of 1898 has been determined by the detective work of—and our thanks to—Paul E. Sprague.

4. Johnson(1987b), 23-29, shows how Wright's domestic designs evolved out of more prosaic architecture during the period 1880-1890 and his experiences with Silsbee. On the influences of European design on Wright see Alofsin(1993), throughout, and Jennifer Toher and David A. Hanks, "The Decorative Designs of Frank Lloyd Wright and his European Contemporaries: 1895-1915," *Frank Lloyd Wright,* Fischer Fine Art Limited (London, 1985), 6-19.

5. First uttered in similar words by Wright(1908), 160.

6. Neutra, *Life and Shape* (New York, 1962), 162. Loos' impressions of America are examined in Eaton(1972), chapter 4. See also Esther McCoy, *Vienna to Los Angeles: Two Journeys* (Santa Monica, 1979). Loos' American experiences are not accorded recognition in G. Hartonian, *Ontology of Construction* (New York, 1994), 43-55.

7. Wiseman(1982) and Benevolo(1971), 300-301. Neutra(1962), 102, believed "Loos was enamoured of America's warm humanity crossed with matter-of-factness."

8. Le Corbusier quoted in Wiseman (1982), and compare with Loos' essays as

reprinted in Benton(1975), 40-45. Berlage is quoted and translated in Banham(1960), 141, from Berlage's *Grundlagen und Entwicklung der Architektur.*

9. The Larkin building's history has been adequately described in Quinan(1987), while Joseph M. Siry's *Unity Temple. Frank Lloyd Wright and Architecture for Liberal Religion* (New York, 1996) is a wonderful synthetic study. The Larkin and Unity buildings were amply displayed in Wright(1908), Wright(1910a, b), and Ashbee/ Wright(1911a,b). See also relevant entries in Sweeney(B1978) for contemporary presentations.

10. Spencer(1900), 61-72, also interviewed Wright's mother, and Spencer had access to a full range of drawings and photographs. Some of the buildings illustrated remained projects or if built are no longer extant, such as the original River Forest Golf Clubhouse.

11. Wright(1905), 60-65 is a critical essay based on information supplied by Wright.

12. Thomas Eddy Tallmadge, "The 'Chicago School'," *Architectural Review*, Boston, 15(April 1908), 69-74, defines the new midwest architecture as a product of Sullivan's philosophy with Wright's later participation. However, the visual products post 1900 can be identified as directly influenced by Wright's architecture. Herein they are referred to as the Wright School.

13. Alofsin(1993), 88, dates the folios (Wright, 1910a,b) as of 1911, their date of release. Wright's essay was completed in 1910 (no later that December) and dated at the end of the essay 15 May (in German edition) and "June" (in American edition). Those dates remain critical. The English language edition (Wright,1910b) had limited distribution in the U.S., mainly as the result of a fire that destroyed copies. Leslie Hindman Auctioneers, Auction catalog of 21 April 1990, item 314, describes a deluxe edition of Wright(1910a) with an estimated production of only circa 150 and an estimated current price of $35,000-$40,000. Ashbee/Wright(1911a,b) were produced in 1911 and the first copies distributed late that year. See Alofsin(1993), 312-16, 387; and Sweeney(B1978), 15-20; and Leland M. Roth, *America Builds. Source Documents in American Architecture and Planning* (New York, 1983), 391-98, for a comparison of the 1911a, b texts. Wright removed much from the American edition, including references to Japan.

14. Reprinted in various forms, Wright's "The Art and Craft of the Machine" lecture was first printed by The Chicago Architectural Club in *Catalog of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition* (1901), n.p. The dates of Ashbee's visit are confirmed in D. Kornwolf, *M.H. Baillie Scott and the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Baltimore, 1972), 366.

15. As quoted in Alan Crawford, *C.R. Ashbee* (New Haven, 1985), 98.

16. Ashbee/Wright(1911b), n.p. On Ashbee's early career with the Art Workers Guild and Arts and Crafts Society see Peter Stansky, *Redesigning the World. William Morris, The 1880s, and the Arts and Crafts* (Princeton, 1985), 120-30, 169-70.

17. On Francke's career at Harvard University see "Prof. Francke is Retired," *Harvard Magazine* (3, 1917), 2; various information in Harvard Archives (1990); Arthur Davison Fricke, "The Recollections of Kuno Francke," *Harvard Graduates Magazine* (June 1930), 429-530 (prompted by Francke's autobiography *Deutschen Arbeit in Amerika* [Leipzig, 1930] where Wright is not mentioned); Francke, "Emperor William's Gifts to Harvard University," *International Studio*, 36(November, 1908), xiii-xvii; *idem.*, "The New Germanic [now Busch-Reisinger] Museum," *Architectural Review*, Boston, no l(July, 1912), 78-79 and plates; Bainbridge Bunting and Margaret Henderson Floyd, *Harvard. An Architectural History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 168-69; and Alofsin(1993), 11-12.

18. Wright(1932a), 164-65, slightly altered in Wright(1943), 161-62.

19. The source for the relationship of Möhring to the American midwest and Wright is Alofsin(1993), 4, 12-13.

20. Vernon(1996), 132; Banham(1960), 140. Maher and Wright worked together in Silsbee's office.

21. Information on Berlage's tour is based on William Gray Purcell, "'Why!' on the Cover," *Northwest Architect*, 17(July 1953), 1, 40-43; and letter of 1 March 1956 from Purcell to Leonard K. Eaton which was the basis of Chapter 7 in Eaton(1972). That chapter grew out of Eaton's pioneering study "Louis Sullivan and Hendrik Berlage: a Centennial Tribute to Two Pioneers," *Progressive Architecture*, 37(November 1956), 138-41, 200, 202-204, 210, 216, 226, 320, 324. Eaton's studies do not adequately reveal sources of information. Eaton(1972) in turn is usefully amplified and better detailed by Vernon(1996), 131-51.

In a 1918 lecture (supposedly to the Women's Aid Organization in Chicago) Wright referred to Berlage as the "Queen's architect of Holland" (typescript carbon copy dated 7 February 1918, 5, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress). Pfeiffer (1993), 157 has the text; "The Queen of Holland's architect, Berlage." This repeats the text in Gutheim (1941), 89. Other parts of the published versions are inconsistent with the typescript.

22. The amount of information describing architectural events in Chicago in the 1890s, i.e. mainly after the 1893 Columbian Exposition, is outlined in Reinink(1970); fully revealed in Lewis(1962), although Holland is not included, it reveals there was significant material in French and German journals; and summarized in Giedion(1956), and *idem., Mechanization Takes Command* (New York, 1948), a seminal study reviewed in Kenneth Frampton, "Giedion in America," *Architectural Design, 51*(6/7, 1981), 44-51. There is also the excellent survey Jean-Louis Cohen, *Scenes of the World to Come. European Architecture and the American Challenge 1893-1960* (Montreal/Paris, 1995).

23. Purcell to Berlage, 24 December 1908, Berlage archive, as cited in Steiber(1997), 297.

24. The lectures were announced to the American profession in *Brickbuilder*, 18(October, 1912), 85-89, and published as *Een Drietal Lezingen in Amerika Gehouden* (Rotterdam, 1911), a pamphlet, and in *De Beweging*, no 8 (February, 1912) 45-59. They had first been presented in the *Kunstgewerbe* Museum in Zurich in 1908, and published in Rotterdam and Berlin (1908).

25. H.P. Berlage, "Art and the Community," *Western Architect*, 18(August, 1912), and plates reworked and published in *De Beweging*, no 8 (February, 1912) 45-59; *idem.*, "Foundations and Development of Architecture," Parts 1 and 2, *Western Architect*, 18(September 1912), 96-99, and 18(October, 1912), 104-108. The third lecture was entitled "About Modern Architecture." See also W.G. Purcell and G.G. Elmslie, "H.P. Berlage, the Creator of a Democratic Architecture in Holland," *Craftsman*, New York, 21(February 1912), 547-53. Unfortunately Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan* (Chicago, 1986), does not mention Berlage or discuss Sullivan's relations with Europeans (including visitors to the U.S.A.) or their reactions to his architecture.

26. This is well laid out in Steiber(1997), 297-323.

27. About the Cheney/Key relationship see Anthony Alofsin "Taliesin: 'To fashion worlds in little'," *Wright Studies*, vol 1 (Carbondale, 1992), 44-65. On divorce in 1911 Mrs. Cheney resumed her maiden name of Borthwick.

28. Alofsin(1993), 32-34, 56-58. Wright returned to Berlin sometime in January (until circa 3 April 1911) to arrange the two *Sonderhefte* (Ashbee/Wright, 1911a,b) publications with Wasmuth.

29. Gert Jonker, "Robert van 't Hoff Revisited," *Bouw*, 36(4, 1981), 32-38. On Bohemian London see Peter Stansky, *On or About December 1910* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), throughout.

30. Vermeulen(1986), 210.

31. Tummers(1967), 25.

32. Wright to Berlage, 30 November 1922. Berlage archive.

Chapter 3

1. Donald Leslie Johnson, "Frank Lloyd Wright in Moscow: June 1937." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 46(March 1987), 73; Johnson(1990), chapters 15-18.

2. R—, "De Berlage Avond en Berlage's Voordracht over Amerika," *Architectura*, 20(1912), 34-35. Cf. "Voordracht Berlage over Amerika," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 32(1912), 68-69, which reported the lecture as taking place on a Wednesday; it was given on Tuesday 30 January. For Berlage's publications see Singelenberg(1972) and Polano(1978).

3. *Architectura*, 20(1912), 35; and Quinan(1987), 154, 184n44.

4. "Moderne Bouwkunst in Amerika. Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect te Chicago," *Architectura*, 20(1912), 91-94; 98-100; 106-107. Cf. "Frank Lloyd Wright: een Modern Bouwmeester van Amerika," *De Bouwwereld*, 11(1912) 20-22; 27-29, with a loose-leaf illustration.

5. "Indrukken over Amerikaansche Architectuur," *De Ingenieur*, 27(1912), 385-97. The article reproduced two images of the Larkin building, and one each of Unity temple and the Coonley house, three Sullivan buildings, a house by Maher and another by Griffin.

6. As quoted by Helen Searing, "J.J.P. Oud," Placzek(1982), vol 3.

7. The text of the talk appeared as H.P. Berlage, "Neuere Amerikanische Architektur," *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*, 60(1912), September 14, 148-50; September 21, 165-67 and reprinted in translation in Gifford(1966), 606-16.The second instalment (mostly about Wright) was illustrated by five images and a ground floor plan of the D.D. Martin house, three views of the Coonley house including one interior, and one exterior each of the Thomas P. Hardy and J.B. Westcott houses. Of Unity Temple there was an exterior view, a plan and an interior perspective drawing; of the Larkin building there were three interior and one exterior photograph.

8. Originally published in *De Beweging*, 8(1912), 295-300; 47-56; 105-21; 278-87; 46-61. The inconsistent page numbering is due to the idiosyncrasy of the publishers; the recollections appeared between June and October 1912. Partially reprinted in de Fries (1926).

9. Giedion(1956), 314n, reiterated 423n. On Giedion see Eduard F. Sekler, "Siegfried Giedion at Harvard University," in Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, ed., *The Architectural Historian in America* (Washingston, D.C., 1990), 265-73; and Kenneth Frampton, "Giedion in America: Reflections in a Mirror," *Architectural Design*, 51(6/7, 1981), 44-51.

Bourgeois' debt to Wright can be seen in a few housing projects 1912-1923, see especially the garden cities of Berchem-Sainte-Agathe and Koekelberg, both 1921-1923, (*Encyclopédie des Arts Décoratifs* ... [Paris, 1925]), vol 1, plate 88.

10. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, "A Tribute to Frank Lloyd Wright," *College Art Journal*, 6(1, 1946), 41-42. The reprint in Fritz Neumeyer, *The Artless Word. Mies on the Building Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), states that the text was "for an unpublished catalog of the Frank Lloyd Wright exhibition" at New York Museum of Modern Art in 1940.

11. Franz Schulze, *Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography* (Chicago, 1985), 158 ff.

12. Walter Gropius, *Apollo in the Democracy* (New York, [1968]), 167. On his first trip to America in 1928 Gropius discovered that the American Institute of Architects considered Wright an "immoral crank," 169.

13. Gropius(1913), 17-22, reprint also in Benton(1975) as "The Development of Modern Industrial Architecture," 53-55; H.Th. Wijdeveld, "De Vliegmachine," *Architectura*, 25(30 June 1917), 1; "Een Verbond tusschen Industrie, Handel en Kunst," *ibid.*, 6

October, 1; and Le Corbusier (trans. Frederick Etchells), *Towards a New Architecture* (London, 1927), 25-31 (originally published as *Vers Une Architecture*, Paris, 1923). Le Corbusier altered the photographs of the grain silos that had been given to him by Gropius; see comparison in von Moos(1979), figures 35-36. Le Corbusier's idea of "purism" refers only to painting.

14. As published in Wright(1900), 538.

15. As published in Wright(1900), 539.

16. Wright(1908), 64-65; Wright(1910b), plate 33 description; cf. Benevolo(1960), vol 2, 385-98.

17. Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (London, 1976), 222.

18. Gropius(1913), 17-22.

19. John Taylor Boyd, Jr., the result of interviews with Wright, "A Prophet of the New Architecture," *Arts and Decoration*, 33(May 1930), 56.

20. See illustration in Polano(1987), 223; Singelenberg(1972); Singelenberg, "Het Haagse Gemeentemuseum," *Nederlandse Kunsthistorische Jaarboek*, 25(1974), 28-89.

21. Willy Boesinger, *Le Corbusier* (London, 1972), 245.

22. Le Corbusier [Jeanneret] to Wijdeveld, 5 August 1925, Wijdeveld Archive.

23. Charles Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) to Perret, 30 [June] 1915 is referred to in Alofsin(1983), 34, 334n36.

24. "Johannes Duiker," *De 8 en Opbouw*, 1(1932), 177-84. Translation of Giedion's comments and Duiker's response in Jelles/Alberts(1971), 136-37.

25. Giedion(1956), 424.

26. Wright to Lloyd Wright, 1 June 1932, in response to Lloyd and Alice Robinson, 14 May 1932, and modified in LW to Robinson, 14 June 1932, Lloyd Wright papers.

27. Gerrit Rietveld, "The Great Age of Construction," *De Stijl*, 6(6/7, 1923), 91-92.

28. Willy Boesiger and Oscar Stonorov, ed., *Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret. Oeuvre Complète 1910-1929* (Zurich, 1964), years 1914-1916; Brooks(1997), 313-40; H. Allen Brooks, *The Garland Essays* (New York, 1997), 27-46; von Moos(1979), 15-39. Le Corbusier also made designs for wall tiles based on the frieze of Wright's Coonley house (1908-1909), Brooks(1997), 410.

29. Turner(1983), 351.

30. Wijdeveld to Le Corbusier, 17 June 1914, quoted and paraphrased in *Important 19th and 20th Century Architectural Objects ..., Leslie Hindman Auctioneers* (Chicago, 1990), catalog, item 130.

31. Jeanneret to Wijdeveld, 5 August 1925.

32. Richard Pommer, "The Flat Roof: a Modernist Controversy," *Art Journal*, 43(summer 1983), 161. The competition was also related to what became an ultra-nationalistic movement, Heimatschutz, see Christian F. Otto, "Modern Environment and Historical Continuity: the Heimatschutz Discourse in Germany," *Art Journal*, 43(summer 1983), 149-57.

33. Statistics are based on records held by D.L. Johnson, on Sweeney(B1978), and on the unpublished paper Gournay(1991); but together the accounting remains short of the probable total.

34. Catherine Bauer, "The Americanization of Europe," *New Republic* (24 June 1931), 154. See Twombly(1979), 204, Heidi Keif-Niederwöhrmeier, "Sein Einfluss auf Europäische Architekten Frank Lloyd Wright (1869[*sic*]-1959)," *Baumeister*, 81(May 1984), 19-27, and *idem.* (1983) present some teasing visual comparisons.

35. In the mid-1920s Mendelsohn was perhaps the best-known German Modern architect in the Western world, Wright's influence on him well documented in most general histories. See also the three essays in Gilbert Herbert, *The Search for Synthesis*

(Haifa, 1997), chapters 25, 28, 32. Wright knew full well the impact of his own work upon Mies when in 1947 he said that the German was "one of [my] more talented disciples," quoted by Harry Seidler in Kenneth Frampton et al., *Harry Seidler* (London, 1992), 391. On Mies' joy at being Wright's guest at Taliesin see Dale Northrup, "Mies van der Rohe and Frank Lloyd Wright: a dialog," *Inland Architect*, 40(July 1996), 12-13 and Johnson(1990), 177. On architect Bertrand Goldberg's role and observations of the first Mies and Wright meeting in 1937, see John W. Cook and Heinrich Klotz, *Conversations with Architects* (London, 1973), 123.

Chapter 4

1. Theodore M. Brown, "Dutch Architecture 1907-1917," *Nederlandse Kunsthistorische Jaarboek*, 1967, 228.

2. Wils' recollection (*Cobouw*, 16 June 1967) was that he was with Berlage 1913-1918; he did not mention Mutters. Ex and Hoek(1986), 189 place him in Berlage's office 1914-1916 and Fanelli(1978) supports that date. Cf. "Architect Jan Wils," *Bouwbedrijf* 8(1931), 6-7. Blotkamp and *Bouwbedrijf* mention Mutters; *Cobouw* mentions Looman.

3. Wils to Wijdeveld, 20 December 1968. Wijdeveld archive.

4. Wils(1918a), 211.

5. B[randes](1918), 134.

6. Sources disagree about the completion date: *Bouwbedrijf*, 8(1931), 6, gives 1922; Fanelli(1978), 325, gives 1920.

7. Herman van der Kloot Meijburg, "Het Kerkgebouw der Nederl. Hervormde Gemeente te Nieuw-Lekkerland van Jan Wils ...," *Bouwbedrijf*, 1(1924), 209.

8. Kloot Meijburg's article was illustrated with a plan, three exterior and one interior photographs. For Wils' original perspective see B[randes](1918), 135.

9. "Schets Woonhuis te Alkmaar" differed from the finished building as described. Signed "Jan Wils, archt." and dated "Den Haag, Dec. 1916," (Wils archive), it was a copy of Plate LXIV(b), "Facade of Unity Temple" in Wright(1910a), and the color frontispiece of Ashbee/Wright(1911a and b).

10. Ex and Hoek(1986), 189, suggest "the house was widened near the entrance in order to add extra windows upstairs and down." In fact the extra space for a consulting room was achieved by moving the entrance, not widening the plan.

11. Wils(1918b), 209-16.

12. Berlage(1921), 16.

13. Jan Wils, "Schets voor een Landhuis ... ," *De Stijl*, 1(June 1918), 96.

14. Wils(1922), 37.

15. *Bouwbedrijf*, 8(1931), 6. Wils probably provided the information himself.

16. All citations are from Wils(1918a).

17. "De Stijl: Manifesto, 1918." Ulrich Conrads, *Programmes and Manifestoes of Twentieth Century Architecture* (London, 1964), 39.

18. Van Doesburg's "Naar een Beeldende Architectuur" was first published in Dutch in *De Stijl*, 6(no 6-7, 1924), illustrated with images of a model of a house by van Doesburg and van Eesteren. For an English translation see Joost Baljeu, "Architecture and Art," *Structure*, 1(1958), 46-56.

19. The seminal work in English is Banham(1960), which established the importance of De Stijl in modern architecture. See also Nancy Troy, *The De Stijl Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) and Blotkamp(1986).

20. Jan Wils, "De Nieuwe Bouwkunst," *De Stijl*, 1(January 1918), 31-33.

21. Jan Wils, "Schets voor een Landhuis ... ," *ibid.*, 1(June 1918), 96.

22. Robert van 't Hoff, "Het Hotel Cafe-restaurant 'De Dubbele Sleutel' ... ," *De Stijl*, 2(1919), 58-60.

23. The cafe was published in Wattjes(1924); Jan Wils, *Jan Wils* (Geneva, 1930 and Paris, 1934) and praised in many histories as "Wils' most important work from the early years of De Stijl" (Ex and Hoek[1986], 192).

24. Wils to Wijdeveld, 20 December 1968. Wijdeveld archive.

25. Ex/Hoek(1986), 198.

26. Wils to Wijdeveld, 20 December 1968. Wijdeveld archive.

27. Wils(1919), 14-17.

28. Wils(1919), 17, and Banham(1960), 146.

29. J.J.P Oud, "Architectonische Beschouwing bij Bijlage VIII, Woonhuis van Fred C. Robie door F.L. Wright." *De Stijl*, 1(1918), 41.

30. Jan Wils, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Elseviers Gëillustreerd Maandschrift*, 61(no 4, 1921), 216-27. Citations from Elsa Scharbach's abridged translation in Brooks(1981),

31. The Simon Stevinweg houses are illustrated in "Architect Jan Wils B.N.A.," *Bouwbedrijf*, 8(1931), 7.

32. Ezo Godoli, quoted in Daniele Baroni, "Jan Wils," *Ottagono*, no 84(1988), 50.

Chapter 5

1. Nico H.M. Tummers, "Robert van 't Hoff en het Werk van Wright," *Cobouw*, (16 June 1967), 25. See also Ex/Hoek (1986).

2. N—.T—. et al., *Robert van 't Hoff* (Eindhoven, 1967). See also Vermeulen(1986), 214.

3. Jean Leering, "Rob van 't Hoff de Ex-architect," *Wonen TA/BK*, (no 11, 1979), 2-3. Villa Henny was not finished until early 1919.

4. Vermeulen(1986), 214, suggests fall 1917. Gert Jonker, "Robert van 't Hoff, Maker van het Keinste Denkbare Oeuvre," *Bouw*, 34(no 12, 1979), 6, claims that he met De Stijl members through Huib Hoste. Vermeulen plausibly refutes this.

5. Vermeulen(1986), 210.

6. *Ibid.*, 206.

7. Wright(1910b), introduction.

8. Vermeulen(1986), 219-21, inconclusively discusses authorship.

9. In a letter written from England to van Doesburg on De Stijl's tenth anniversary, van 't Hoff signed himself "de ex-architect." ***De Stijl***, 7(1927), 112.

10. Biographical information is largely from Esser(1986). See also Fanelli(1978); Jaffé(1969); Hans Oud(1984).

11. For Oud's early work see Günther Stamm, "Het Jeugdwerk van de Architekt J.J.P. Oud 1906-1917," *Museumjournaal*, 22(1977), 260-65.

12. The view taken by Banham(1960) has been frequently reiterated by others.

13. J.J.P. Oud, [Obituary for Wright], *Groene Amsterdammer* (18 April 1959), 9.

14. Van 't Hoff(1918), and Van 't Hoff(1919), 40-42; 54-55.

15. Oud (1919), 82-83. See also *L'Architecture Vivante*, pt I, 1924, plate 45, where the project is dated 1917.

16. Esser(1986), 138.

17. Robert van 't Hoff, "Technische Opmerking Woonhuis te Huis ter Heide," *De Stijl*, 2(1919), 30-32.

18. Fritz Stahl, "Die Architektur der Werkbund-austellung," *Wasmuths Monatsheft für Baukunst*, 1(1914-1915), 153-204 illustrated the model factory.

19. Oud (1919), 79-84.

20. See W. Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture* (Delft, 1980), chapters 14-18.

21. Unpublished essay, Sîan Loftus, "Architecture in the Epoch of the Great Spiritual," (University of South Australia, 1995), 29.

22. Suzanne Shulof Frank, "J.L.M. Lauweriks and the Dutch School of Proportion," *A.A. Files*, (September 1984), 61-67. Cf. Nico H.M. Tummers, "De Hagener Impuls," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 85(1967), 412-64 and Manfred Bock, "Five *Architectura* Architects," *Museumjournaal*, 5(1976), 200-208; 216-19. Alofsin(1993), chapter 1 extensively compares proportional systems employed by Wright, Sullivan, Berlage and Lauweriks.

23. Oud, "Architectonische Beschouwing bij Bjlage VIII," *De Stijl*, 1(1918), 39. The translation in Jane Beckett, et al., *The Original Drawings of J.J.P. Oud 1890-1963* (London, 1963), 27-29, does not convey Oud's differentiation of functional planning and formal planning. Our translation by Coby Langmead-Ravesteijn is more accurate.

24. Van Loghem(1932), 88. See also *L'Architecture Vivante* (autumn/winter 1925).

25. P. Morton Shand, "Scenario for a Human Drama," *Architectural Review*, 76(no 453, 1934), 39ff.

26. Bruno Zevi, *Storia dell'Architettura Moderna* (Turin, 1950).

27. J.J.P. Oud, "Over de Toekomstige Bouwkunst en Architectonische Mogelijkheden," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 42(1921), 147-60.

28. Oud(1925), 85-91. Reprinted in Wijdeveld(1925); Karel Wiekart (ed.), *Ter Wille van een Levende Bouwkunst* (The Hague, 1962), and *The Early Work of the Great Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York, 1994). See also Oud, *Holländische Architektur* (Munich, 1926); *idem.*, "De Invloed van ... Wright op de Architectuur in Europa," *Architectura*, 30(1926), 85-89; *idem.*, "Wplyw Franka Wright'a na Architekture Europejska," *Architektura i Budownictwo* (Warsaw), 9(6, 1933), 188-89.

29. De Gruyter(1931a), 145-47.

30. Giulio Carlo Argan, "De Tentoonstelling van F.L.Wright te Florence," *Forum*, 11(November 1951), 300.

31. Oud to Platz, 8 July 1926. Oud archive.

32. De Gruyter(1931b), 174.

33. Banham(1960), 146.

34. Henry van der Velde, "L'Évolution de l'Architecture Moderne en Hollande," *L'Architecture Vivante*, (part 2, 1925), 14-26, plate 19.

35. Kathleen James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism* (New York, 1997), 244-47; Walter Gropius, "Program ... housing on aesthetically consistent principles," manuscript 1910, translated in Benton(1975), 206.

36. Berlage(1921), 12; Oud(1925), 87.

37. De Gruyter(1931b), 173, comments are confirmed by a study of Wattjes(1924).

38. This outline of Dudok's life and work is based on Langmead(B1996b).

39. Magnée (1954), 40, translated from Hermann Sörgel, "Amerika, Deutschland, Holland—Wright, Mendelsohn, Dudok," *Baukunst*, 2(February 1926).

40. Hans Redering, "Dudok, Hilversum en het Geluk," *Algemeen Handelsblad* (25 July 1964).

41. R. Furneaux Jordan, "Dudok and the Repercussions of his European Influence," *Architectural Review*, 115(April 1954), 239. See S.M. Sherman, *ibid*, (August 1954), 116.

42. Typescript text attributed to Eliel Saarinen, September 1949. Dudok archive.

43. Pevsner(1939), 734.

44. Magnée's recollection in a conversation with Langmead at Naarden, June 1987.

45. "Institute Gold Medal for 1955," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 24(July 1955), 18.

46. Dudok(1959), 533.

Chapter 6

1. Wijdeveld to Mommens, n.d.[January 1966]. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

2. Wijdeveld to Louise Mendelsohn, 28 April 1966, his capitals. Manuscript draft, Wijdeveld archive.

3. H.G. Cannegieter, *H.Th. Wijdeveld, Directeur van de Académie Européenne Méditerranée*, as discussed in Haagsma/de Haan(1979), 15-19, largely based on Wijdeveld's recollections that tend to the apocryphal.

4. Service(1977), 17ff and 198. In 1907 Belcher was awarded the R.I.B.A.'s Royal Gold Medal. See also "The Grand Manner: Belcher and Joass," in Service (ed.), *Edwardian architecture and its origins* (London, 1975).

5. Wijdeveld to Lewis Mumford, 22 April 1959, Unidentified published copy, Wijdeveld archive.

6. Pevsner (1939), 731-34. The article was "based on published as well as unpublished material, the latter consisting of ... information supplied by [i.a.] Wijdeveld."

7. On the Rijksmuseum see K.M. Veenland-Heineman, *Het Nieuwe Rijksmuseum: Ontwerpen en Bouwen, 1863-1885* (Amsterdam, 1985) and Bernadette C.M. van Hellenberg Hubar, *Arbeid en Bezieling; de Esthetica van P.J.H. Cuypers, J.A. Alberdingk Thijm en V.E.L. de Stuers, en de Voorgevel van het Rijksmuseum* (Nijmegen, 1997). Cuypers came second to Ludwig Lange and his son Emil von Lange in the first competition of 1863 and won a second competition of 1875 with another design that became the basis for the museum as finally built, 1877-1895.

8. Pieter Singelenberg, "P.J.H. Cuypers," in Plazcek (1984). Very little in English has been published on Cuypers but see Helen Searing, "Berlage or Cuypers?: the father of them all," in Searing(1982) and Auke van der Woud, "Steener Mystiek: de Proportie System van P.J.H. Cuypers," *Archis*(May 1988), 38-46 (English summary). See Guido Hoogewoud et al., *P.J.H. Cuypers en Amsterdam: Gebouwen en Ontwerpen, 1860-1898*, The Hague, 1985.

9. For a description of the project see Clive Aslet and Heimerick Tromp, "Kasteel De Haar, near Utrecht ... ," *Country Life*, 177(23, 30 Aug 1984), 500-04, 554-58. See also A.J.C. van Leeuwen, *De Maakbaarheid van het Verleden; P.J.H. Cuypers als Restauratiearchitect* (Zwolle, 1995).

10. On the Dutch Symbolist painters, see Sadi de Gorter and Victorine Hefting, *Jan Toorop 1858-1928; Impressionniste, Symboliste, Pointilliste* (Paris, 1977); *Jan Th. Toorop; de Jaren 1885 tot 1910* (Otterlo, 1978); Geurt Imanse et al., *Van Gogh bis Cobra; hollandische Malerei 1880-1950* (Stuttgart, 1980); Robert Goldwater, *Symbolism* (London, 1979); P. Wember, *Johan Thorn Prikker, Glasfenster, Wandbilder, Ornamente 1891-1932* (Krefeld, 1966).

On Berlage and *'t Binnenhuis* see Singelenberg (1972); C.H.A. Broos, ed., *H.P. Berlage 1856-1934; een Bouwmeester en zijn Tijd* (Bussum, 1975), and Marjan Boot, "Carel Henny en zijn Huis; een Demonstratie van 'Goed Wonen' rond de Eeuwwisseling," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 25(1974), 91-131

11. On Lauweriks see Alofsin(1993), chapter 1; Maureen Trappeniers, "Mathieu Lauweriks als Leraar in het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 30(1979), 173-96; Edwin S. Brierley, "The Reaction of J.L.M. Lauweriks to Historicism," *Architect*, 94(February 1987), 28-31; Nico Tummers, *J. L. Mathieu Lauweriks. Zijn Werk en zijn Invloed op Architectuur en Vormgeving rond 1910: De Hagener Impuls* (Hilversum, 1968) (also in German, 1972); Alan Windsor, "Hohenhagen," *Architectural Review*, 170(September 1981), 169-75; Guglielmo Bilancioni, *Architectura Esoterica: Geometria e Teosofia in Johannes Ludovicus Mattheus Lauweriks* (Palermo, ca. 1991); *Masssystem und Raumkunst: das Werk des Architekten, Pädagogen und Raumgestalters J.L.M. Lauweriks* (Krefeld, ca.1987). On de Bazel see Manfred Bock, "Five *Architectura* Architects," *Museumjournaal*, 5(1976), 200-208; 216-19: *idem.*, *Archi-*

tectura: Nederlandse Architectuur 1893-1918 (The Hague/Otterlo/Amsterdam, 1975); Wessel Reinink, *K.P.C. de Bazel, Architect* (Rotterdam, 1993); *idem., K.P.C. de Bazel* (Amsterdam, 1965).

12. "Successful Houses, III," *House Beautiful*, 1(15 February 1897), 64-69, and Alfred H. Granger, "An Architect's Studio," *House Beautiful*, 7(December 1899), 36-45. Wright provided illustrations for William C. Gannett, *The House Beautiful*, a pamphlet hand printed by William H.Wilson and Wright in River Forest, Illinois, 1896-1897, all of whom were committed to Arts and Crafts if not to William Morris' political views. See John Wright (1946), reprint at end of 1992 edition.

13. *Internationale prijsvraag der Carnegie Stichting. Het Vredespaleis te 's Gravenhage* ... (Amsterdam, 1906). The full, explicit title translates as *International Competition for the Carnegie Foundation. The Peace Palace at The Hague. The six premiated entries, in addition to forty other designs selected by the Society for the Promotion of Architecture.* The Carnegie Foundation provided one million U.S. dollars for the building. An international jury reduced over 200 entries to a short list of 44. See also Nooteboom (1985), 24.

14. Wijdeveld's toy designs are illustrated *Architectura*, 25(1917), 319-21. The claim about Fröebel was made in a catalog, *50 Jaar Scheppend Werk, Architectuur en Stedebouw, Ideaal Projecten, Theater, Decors, Costuums, Typografie*, Wendingen ... (Amsterdam, 1953), 35n7 and cited Haagsma/de Haan (1979). The Fröebel "system" had been extant throughout Europe since the 1850s. See also *Architectura*, 25(1917), 220.

15. Fanelli/Godoli(1986), 191.

16. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 2 December 1947. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

17. A brief history of the successive organizations can be found in Niels L. Prak, *Het Nederlandse Woonhuis van 1800 tot 1940* (Delft, 1991), 106-107; C.T.J. Louis Rieber, *De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst van 1842 tot 1892* (n.l., 1892) and Jeroen Schilt and Jouke van der Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia: [1855-1990]* (Rotterdam, 1992). For specific references to the Amsterdam groups see Wim de Wit ed., *The Amsterdam School 1915-1930*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1983/London, 1984), and Maristella Casciato, *The Amsterdam School* (Rotterdam, 1996).

18. The 1918 editorial board comprised Wijdeveld, Jan Gratama, Henri Anton van Aanroy, C.J. Blaauw, P.H. Endt, Piet Kramer, E.J. Kuipers, J.L.M. Lauweriks, and the poet R.N. Roland Holst.

19. "H.Th. Wijdeveld 80 Jaar," *Cobouw* (1 October 1965), 21. This account is more consistent with others than that in Fanelli/Godoli(1986). Wijdeveld(1944) gives 1916 as the starting date; Haagsma/de Haan(1979) give 1917. Wijdeveld may have been confused about the location of his "small items": he wrote several pieces for *Architectura*: "Verslag van de 1385ste Ledenvergadering," 25(1917), 8-10; "Een Verbond tusschen Industrie, Handel en Kunst," 25(1917), 279 and "Jaarverslag van de Redactie" 25(1917), 387.

20. *Wendingen*, 6(no 11/12, 1924). Crystals were subjects of intense study by E.E. Viollet-le-Duc and Friedrich Fröebel.

21. *Wendingen*, 1(no 1, 1918).

22. Tummers(1965), 341, comments: "written by Wijdeveld in 1963 [this synopsis is surely] the most compact scenario of that time."

23. Cited in "H.Th. Wijdeveld 80 jaar," *Cobouw* (1 October 1965), 23.

Chapter 7

1. Wils(1919), 14-17.

2. Berlage(1921), 12ff. Although Wijdeveld intended Wendingen to be an international, multilingual journal, most of its text was in Dutch, limiting its general influence. J.P. Mieras, *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 43(1922), 478, dismissed it as "a fairytale-like number without meaning (to this journal!)" because there were no plans included.

3. Frampton(1985), 131-32. Also see Theo van Doesburg, "Principeele Medewerkers aan De Stijl, 1917-27," *De Stijl*, 7(1927), 79-84; with a great deal of license, van Doesburg identified Lissitzky as a member of the group.

4. Hermann Rosse to Wijdeveld, 15 June 1921,Wijdeveld archive.

5. Wright to Berlage, 30 November 1922, Berlage archive.

6. Kathryn Smith, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Imperial Hotel: a Postscript," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 44(June 1985), 296-310. Wright was in the United States for most of 1918 but from the beginning of 1919 until late July 1922 (except for few return visits home, each of a few months duration) he was in Tokyo.

7. Wright to Oud, 30 November 1922, Oud archive.

8. H.P. Berlage, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Styl* (Prague), 4(1, 1922) 10, 12-15; and "Zprávy a Poznámsky," *ibid.*, 4(2/3, 1922), 28-31, 57-58.

9. Berlage(1921), 12.

10. Wijdeveld to Berlage, 18 October 1922, Berlage archive.

11. "In the Cause of Architecture" first appeared in *Architectural Record*, 23(March 1908), 155-221. In January 1925 Wright sent Wijdeveld three essays: an abridged version of the 1908 piece, meant for publication in the first *Wrightnummer* of *Wendingen*; a sequel first published *Architectural Record*, 29(April 1914), and one entitled "For Wendingen" with "an appendix addressed 'To my European colleagues'." Wright to Wijdeveld, 7 January 1925, Wijdeveld archive.

12. Wright to Wijdeveld, 30 October 1925. Wijdeveld archive. Wijdeveld's "Flowers" was reissued in Dutch as "Uit Wendingen: het Wrightboek," *Architectura*, 29(1925), 420-23 and in Wijdeveld(1929), 98-101.

13. Mendelsohn's piece arose from discussion with Fiske Kimball, then director of the Philadelphia Museum, over his article "Sieg des Jungen Klassizimus uber de Funktionalismus der 90er Jahre," *Wasmuths Monatsheft für Baukunst*, 9(6, 1925).

14. The article also appeared in Oud, *Holländische Architektur* (Munich, 1926). "De invloed van Frank Lloyd Wright op de architectuur in Europa," *Architectura*, 30(1926), 85-89; "Wplyw Franka Wright'a na architekture europejska," *Architektura i Budownictwo* (Warsaw), (1933), 188-89. Also see Casciato(1997), 149-51.

15. Sullivan's "Concerning the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo" appeared in *Architectural Record*, 53(1923), 332-52, and *idem.*, "Reflections on the Tokyo Disaster," appeared *ibid.*, 55(1924), 113-18.

16. Jeanneret [signed Le Corbusier] to Wijdeveld, 5 August 1925. Wijdeveld archive. See also Pevsner(1939), 732; and Banham(1960), 220. As pointed out by Paul V. Turner, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Young Le Corbusier," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 42(December 1983), 351, each account had a different source. Le Corbusier actually wrote, "I knew almost nothing about Wright [in 1914 or 1915]."

17. Wright to Wijdeveld, 7 January 1925. Wijdeveld archive.

18. Hefting(1975), 105. Oud also declined similar requests, probably made for different reasons, from (i.a.) Bruno Taut and Walter Gropius.

19. Wijdeveld to Wright, n.d. (possibly October or November 1925). Manuscript draft, Wijdeveld archive.

20. Wright to Wijdeveld, 30 October 1925. Wijdeveld archive. There are minor differences in the draft in the Wright Archives and the letter that reached Wijdeveld.

21. *Cobouw* (1 October 1965), 23.

22. Wijdeveld to Wright, n.d. [possibly October or November 1925]. Wijdeveld changed "designing" to "building" in his draft of the letter.

23. Unidentified newspaper clipping, 18 January 1934, *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, The Hague.

24. On Wijdeveld's domestic architecture see Mariette van Stralen, "De Landhuizen van Th.Wijdeveld," *Forum*, 37(January 1995), the issue. On his typography see R.N. Roland Holst, "Moderne Eischen en Artistieke BEdenkening," *Wendingen*, 2(no 5, 1919), and Hans Oldewarris, "Wijdeveld: Typography," *Forum*, 25 (January 1975), 3-21.

25. Wijdeveld to Corrie [?], 8 July 1935. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

26. For an informed discussion of Amsterdam housing of the 1920s see Niels L. Prak, *Het Nederlandse Woonhuis van 1800 tot 1940* (Delft, 1991), 184-85. See also Helen Searing, "The Dutch Scene: black and white and red all over," *Art Journal*, 43(February 1983), 173. According to Prak, she inaccurately portrays the system under which architects were employed (conversation with Langmead, Rotterdam, July 1997). Dutch housing and the Public Utility Societies were discussed in Frank Chouteau Brown, "The Future of Low Rental Housing in America," *Architectural Record*, 57(January 1925), 65-76.

27. Tummers(1965), 342-43. See Wattjes(1926), 138-39, and Nooteboom(1985), 48-49 for a perspective rendering of the first theater design.

28. Wijdeveld's design is illustrated in *Architectura*, 29(1925), 228. See also *L'Art Hollandais à l'Éxposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes* (Paris, 1925), and "L'Éxposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes, Paris, Section des Pays-Bas," *L'Enseignement dans les écoles d'art décoratif a Rotterdam. Haarlem, et Amsterdam* (Amsterdam/Paris, 1925).

29. Asselbergs (1975), 35-36; figure 51, reprinted from *Wendingen*, 2(4, 1919), 8.

30. The unrealized design appeared in *Wendingen*, 1(4, 1918), 6-9. See also Asselbergs(1975), figure 52.

31. The images were published beside Wils(1919).

32. Wright to Wijdeveld, 30 October 1925.

33. Wijdeveld to Wright, 25 April 1926, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

34. Herman Sörgel, "A Cross-section of International Development," *Baukunst*, 2(February 1926), 43-53; *idem.*, "Remarks to Wright," *ibid.*, 59. The former was reviewed (and ridiculed) in *Bouwen*, 5(1926), 40-48. Titles are here translated from the German.

35. As a teenager, Byrne worked for Wright for a few years before 1909.

36. Wright to Wijdeveld, May 1926. Wijdeveld archive.

37. Wijdeveld to Wright, 25 April 1926.

38. The undated note is in the Wijdeveld archive. Attached is another scribbled note (in German) and the pasted-up cover design, both signed by Richard Neutra.

39. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, ed, *Letters to Clients. Frank Lloyd Wright* (Fresno, 1986), 284. In a letter to Horace Holley of 4 March 1929 Wright admitted "the original *Wendingen* cover [was] made by a young student ... with some assistance from myself."

40. John F. Kienitz reviewed the reprint in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 32(December 1948), 204-206. The book was again reprinted in part as *The Early Work of the Great Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York/Avenal, 1994).

41. Anon., *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 27(1926), 8-10.

42. Dudok(1959), 533.

43. Fanelli/Godoli(1986), 198. Their conclusion underlines the danger of relying solely upon images for historical evidence. There was nothing selective about the images in *Wendingen*. Wijdeveld simply published everything that he could lay hands on.

44. Olgivanna Wright, introduction to Wijdeveld(1925), the 1965 edition.

45. Wright(1932), 299, revised in Wright(1943), 303-304.

46. Johnson(1990), 28-38.

Chapter 8

1. Gill(1987), 236-45, Chapter 17; Twombly(1979), 182-92; Secrest(1992), Chapter 12. Miriam Noel died in 1930.

2. Ambaum(1984), 43-51, sets out events and publishes extracts of correspondence.

3. Wright's designs are illustrated in Ambaum(1984). Apparently only two prototypes were produced, both for a vase; one is in the Wright Archives, the other in the *Nationaal Glasmuseum Leerdam*, Netherlands. None of the many designs for dinnerware were manufactured. Also illustrated are works by Berlage, de Bazel and Mart van Schijndel. See also David A. Hanks, *The Decorative Designs of Frank Lloyd Wright* (London, 1979); A. van der Kley-Bekxtroon, *Leerdam Glas: 1878-1930* (Lochem/Gent, 1984); Helmut Ricke and Johan W. Ambaum, *Leerdam Unica; 50 Years of Modern Dutch Glass* (Rotterdam 1977).

4. Fanelli(1978), 172-76; "Ontmoeting tussen Jan Vriend en Professor Granpré Molière," *TA/BK*, (December 1970), 289-92; Searing(1983), 176.

5. Wattjes(1924), 8.

6. Siebers to Oud, 21 September 1927. Hefting(1975), 97, outlines the sequence of events, incorrectly giving the year as 1928.

7. The relationship of the show to other events in Wright's professional life is outlined in Johnson(1930), Chapters 1-11.

8. Frank Lloyd Wright, *Two Lectures on Architecture* (Chicago, 1931); *idem.*, *Modern Architecture. Being the Kahn Lectures for 1930* (Princeton, 1931).

9. Johnson(1996), 58-65, discusses Wright's relationship with George Putnam, owner and editor of the *Capitol Journal*, and the ill-fated design.

10. In the early 1890s Willcox had worked in Chicago and through association with the building industry came to know Louis Sullivan. He recommended Wright to Sullivan as a responsible employee. On returning to childhood places in Burlington, Vermont, Willcox built up a good architectural practice, occasionally traveling to Chicago to visit a brother-in-law (a Wright client) and sometimes called into Wright's studio. Through these informal meetings Willcox became acquainted with the architecture produced during a most exciting phase of Wright's career. In 1907 Willcox moved to Seattle and in 1922 became head of the Department of Architecture at the University of Oregon. It was he who initiated Wright's Pacific Northwest tour of 1930. See Johnson(1987a), and Johnson(1990), Chapter 11.

11. Wright to Willcox, 17 [or 27?] October 1930, Walter R.B. Willcox Papers, University of Oregon. After The Show toured the U.S. and before it traveled to Europe, Wright was paid a healthy $1,000 plus travel expenses to act as one of the federal government's official jurors of final designs for a Columbus Memorial Lighthouse competition held in September in Rio de Janiero.

12. The commission came from the uncle of one of Wright's apprentices. The Kaufmanns continued their interest in Wright, providing support for another tour/exhibit of is work, "Sixty Years of Living Architecture" in the 1950s.

13. Wright to Wijdeveld, n.d., Wijdeveld archive, NAi. The letter was written while the exhibition was at the Art Institute of Chicago, i.e., early October 1930.

14. Wright to Mendelsohn, 27 November 1930, in Pfeiffer(1984), 85.

15. Cable, Wijdeveld to Wright, 28 March 1931, Wright Archives.

16. The review appeared in *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 51(1930), 408.

17. Wright to Wijdeveld, 6 April 1931. Wijdeveld archive.

18. H.Th. Wijdeveld, "Architect Frank Lloyd Wright naar Europa. Een Tentoonstelling van zijn Werk te Amsterdam," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 52(1931), 117.

19. The Dutch translations, presumably by Wijdeveld, appeared in *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 52(1931) 118-28.

20. J.Z., "Ontwerp van een skyscraper van Frank Lloyd Wright," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 49(1929), 297-300. About a year after the unrealized design was completed, on 30

October 1925 Wright had sent Wijdeveld a photograph of the National Insurance Company office building perspective with a description of the structural system, warning "not for publication yet." Wright to Wijdeveld, 30 October 1925, in Pfeiffer(1984), 58.

21. Frank Lloyd Wright, "Die Mechanisierung und die Materiakien," *Die Form*, 6(1931), 357-58; and Wilhelm Lotz, "Frank Lloyd Wright und die Kritik," *ibid.*, 341-49.

22. Wijdeveld to Wright, 10 June 1931, manuscript copy, Wijdeveld archive, his emphasis and punctuation.

23. Wijdeveld to Wright, 26 July 1931, Wright Archives.

24. Wright(1943), 363, wrote "the exhibition was opened at Amsterdam in the State Museum by our American Ambassador, name Swenson. He tried to say something about the show, but could talk only of America and the flag. The president of the Architects' Society then got up and made the speech for him. ..." In the 1952 Rotterdam exhibition catalog Wright's story changed: "Exhibitions [*sic*] of this work have known Holland before. One, I remember, under Wijdeveld at Amsterdam, 1930. The American Ambassador asked by Wijdeveld to open the show, said, 'Who is this man Wright anyway?' Wijdeveld made the Ambassador's speech."

25. B[oterenbrood](1931), 196-97.

26. De Gruyter(1931a), 145-47.

27. Unidentified clipping, 24 May 1931, *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, The Hague.

28. Erich Mendelsohn, "Das Schiff," *Architectura*, 29(1925), 145-46; *idem.*, "Frank Lloyd Wright," ibid., 153-56. His recollections first appeared in *Berliner Tage-blatt* early in 1925. See also *idem.*, *Amerika, Bilderbuch eines Architekten*, Berlin, 1926.

29. *Architectura*, 30(1926), 78-82; 133-40; 145-52; 193-204.

30. Wijdeveld to Wright, 10 June 1931, Wright Archives. Wijdeveld's poster is illustrated in *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 52(1931), 174; and Sweeney(1978), plate 8.

31. Siegfried Giedion, "Les Problèmes Actuels de l'Architecture," *Cahiers d'Art*, 7(1932), 69-73.

32. Jelles/Alberts(1971), 136-37. Letters of Wright and Giedion, published in Dutch in *De 8 en Opbouw*, appear as English translations within Duiker's editorial comments.

33. See Sweeney(B1978), entries for 1931-32 for some European reviews

34. Jelles/Alberts(1971), 131-33.

35. Gustav Adolf Platz, *Die Baukunst der Neusten Zeit*, Berlin/New York, 1927.

36. Pevsner(1939), 732.

Chapter 9

1. Gill(1987), 489. For diverse examples, see essays, George Howe, "Moses turns Pharaoh," *T Square*, 2(February 1932), 9; Wright, "For All May Raise the Flowers Now For All Have Got the Seeds," *ibid.*, 6-8; and Wright(1932b), 10-12.

2. Much of this chapter is based on Johnson(1990); see also Gill(1987), Chapters 19-23; Twombly(1979), 211f; and Secrest(1993), Chapters 15-17.

3. Dimitrios Tselos, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Art in America*, 29(January 1931), 16.

4. *Ibid., loc cit.*

5. Wright(1932b), 10.

6. Wright(1932b), 11.

7. *Wendingen*, 6(no 3,1923), the issue, and J.J.P. Oud, "Bij een Deensch Ontwerp voor de *Chicago Tribune*," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 44(1923), 457.

8. J.J.P. Oud, "*Vers une Architecture* van Le Corbusier," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 45(1924), 90-94.

9. *Bouwbedrijf*, "Architect Jan Wils BNA," 8(1931), 7.

10. Van Loghem(1932), 63. The book had English, French, and German titles and summaries (English title: *Building, Holland; Built to Live In.*)

11. The varieties of analysis are rather extensive but see Johnson(1990), Chapter 7, for a partial but useful accounting and direction to sources.

12. Werner Moser, son of Zurich architect Karl Moser, worked for Wright at Madison, Wisconsin in the mid 1920s, Secrest(1993), 294.

13. Hartsuyker(1950), 309-11.

14. Guilio Carlo Argan, "De Tentoonstelling van F.L.Wright te Florence," *Forum*, 6(1951), 299-300.

15. *Frank Lloyd Wright* (Rotterdam, 1952).

16. Werner Moser, "Obituary voor Frank Lloyd Wright," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 77(1959), 537.

17. Jonathon Lipman, *Frank Lloyd Wright and the Johnson Wax Buildings* (New York, 1986), 9.

18. *Prospectus*, Taliesin Fellowship, December 1933, pamphlet, reprint in Pfeiffer(1993), 157-65.

19. J.P. Mieras, "Fallingwater, een Landhuis van Frank Lloyd Wright," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 56(1938), 137-38.

20. Museum of Modern Art, *A New House by Frank Lloyd Wright on Bear Run, Pennsylvania* (New York, 1938), pamphlet.

Chapter 10

1. Tummers(1965), 336.

2. Nooteboom(1985), 60.

3. Wijdeveld(1931) and Appendix C.

4. On the *Deutsche Werkbund* see Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund; Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven, 1996); Lucius Burckhardt, ed., *The Werkbund; Studies in the History and Ideology of the Deutscher Werkbund 1907-1933* (London, 1980); Joan Campbell, *Der Deutsche Werkbund 1907-1934* (Stuttgart, 1981); and Wend Fischer, ed., *Zwischen Kunst und Industrie, der Deutsche Werkbund* (Stuttgart, 1987).

5. H.Th. Wijdeveld, *Wijdeveld* (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1950). The biographical notes in this exhibition catalog of the State Art Gallery state that Wijdeveld first thought of the Fellowship in 1925.

6. H.P. Berlage, "*Naar een Internationale Werkgemeenschap* by H.Th. Wijdeveld," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 52(1931), 309.

7. Wright(1932), 299.

8. Wright to Lloyd Wright, 31 December 1928, Wright Archives.

9. Frank Lloyd Wright, "Why I Love Wisconsin," reprint in Gutheim(1941), 160.

10. Alexander Meiklejohn, *The Experimental College* (New York, 1932), 400. The book is reprint of a report to the University of Wisconsin about the college.

11. Wright to Jens Jensen, 8 December 1928, in Pfeiffer(1984), 71-72; and Johnson(1990), Appendix F. For parallels with mystic notions of Gurdjieff also see Johnson(1990).

12. Ocotillo's extraordinariness is discussed in Johnson(1990), Chapter 2; Sweeney(1994), 143-49; and Levine(1996), 201-206.

13. Wright had cabled Cochius an invitation to visit and the Hollander accepted in a letter of 17 October 1928 written from the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York; he arrived the following week.

14. Wright to Cochius, 5 December 1928, copy, Wright Archives.

15. Cochius to Wright, 4 February 1929, Wright Archives.

16. Cable, Wijdeveld to Wright, 12 July 1930. Sender's copy in Wijdeveld archive.

17. Wright to Wijdeveld, 6 August 1930. Wright Archives. The letter thanked Wijdeveld for his kindness to John Lloyd Wright, and introduced Takehiko Okami and one Laubi, from Zurich, who were touring Europe.

18. Mariette van Stralen, "The Country Houses of H.Th. Wijdeveld," *Forum*, 37(January 1995), 83-84. T.C. Spruit commissioned the house, built at 1337 Eolus Avenue, Encinitas, after seeing Wijdeveld's work in *Wendingen*. Construction commenced ca. 1927 and although Spruit occupied the building, it was incomplete when Wijdeveld was in southern California in 1949. It has since been demolished.

19. Wright to Wijdeveld, n.d.. Wijdeveld archive. Internal evidence suggests that it was written in the first week of October; Wright Archives date it only as 1930.

20. Wijdeveld to Wright, 3 January 1931, Wright Archives.

21. Wijdeveld to Rozendaal, 26 March 1931, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

22. Wijdeveld to Corrie [?], 8 July 1935, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

23. Krishnamurti to Wijdeveld, 29 March 1931. Wijdeveld archive. Jiddu Krishnamurti was designated "Lord Maitreya" by Besant but renounced the role in 1929. Thereafter he became an intinerant lecturer.

24. Berlage(1931), 309.

25. Tummers(1965), 351.

26. Wijdeveld's introduction, almost in its final form, was published as "Naar een Nieuwe Architecturale Vormgeving," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 50(1929), 140-41.

27. Tummers(1965), 353.

28. Van Loghem(1932), 48-49. The essay is dated 1931.

29. Wijdeveld to [?], 26 April 1933. Draft, Wijdeveld archive.

30. Wright to Wijdeveld, 6 April 1931, Wijdeveld archive.

31. Cable, Wijdeveld to Wright, 16 April 1931, Wright archives.

32. Cable, Wijdeveld to Wright, 18 April 1931, Wright archives.

33. Wijdeveld to Wright, 11 April 1931, manuscript copy in Wijdeveld archive probably attempts to reproduce layout, capitals and ellipses.

34. Wright to Wijdeveld, n.d. [early October 1930], Wijdeveld archive.

35. Wijdeveld to Wright, 10 June 1931, Wright Archives. Manuscript copy in Wijdeveld archive is dated simply "June."

36. Howard Robertson, "The Work of H.Th.Wijdeveld as Exhibited at the Architectural Association," *Architect and Building News*, 126(1 May 1931), 159-61.

37. Wijdeveld to Wright, 10 June 1931.

38. Karl E. Jensen to Wijdeveld, 10 June 1931, Wijdeveld archive.

39. Wright to Wijdeveld, 13 August 1931, Wijdeveld archive.

40. Postcard, Wijdeveld to Wils, 25 November 1931, Wijdeveld archive.

41. Wijdeveld [signed Dutchy] to Ellen Wijdeveld-Kohn, 21 November 1931, in Hefting(1975), 111.

42. Catherine Bauer to J.J.P. Oud, in Hefting(1975), 106.

43. The draft was entitled "Agreement for the funding and conduct of the proposed Taliesin Fellowship by and between Frank Lloyd Wright and H.Th.Wijdeveld." Sighted by Johnson at the Wright Archives in 1987. The "conduct" clauses were not with the draft of the "funding" clauses.

44. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 2 December 1947. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

45. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 18 December 1946, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

46. Cable, Wijdeveld [Dutchy] to Ellen Wijdeveld-Kohn, 5 December 1931, Wijdeveld archive.

47. Olgivanna Wright, Introduction to Wijdeveld(1925b), the 1965 edition.
48. Wijdeveld to Wright, 1 January 1932, Wright archive.
49. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 18 December 1946, copy, Wijdeveld archive.
50. Wright to Wijdeveld, 13 February 1932, Wijdeveld archive.
51. Wijdeveld to Wright, 1 January 1932, Wright Archives.

Chapter 11

1. Wright to Wijdeveld, 7 April 1933. Wijdeveld archive.
2. Fanelli(1978), 324, states that he lectured in 1931 in Moscow and Leningrad. See also Tummers(1965), 353. Wijdeveld lectured in Russia for several weeks early in 1932.
3. Bertha Brevée to Wijdeveld, 7 May 1932. Wijdeveld archive.
4. Hindemith to Mendelsohn, 15 November 1932, copy in Wijdeveld archive.
5. On Mendelsohn see Kathleen James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism* (Cambridge /New York, 1997); Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn* (New York, 1985); and Wolf von Eckardt, *Eric Mendelsohn* (New York, 1960). On Hindemith see Andres Briner et al., *Paul Hindemith: Leben und Werk in Bild und Text* (Zürich/Mainz, ca. 1988); Eberhard Preussner, *Paul Hindemith: ein Lebensbild* (Innsbruck, ca. 1984); Geoffrey Skelton, *Paul Hindemith: the Man behind the Music: a Biography* (London, 1975); and Ian Kemp, *Hindemith* (London/New York, 1970). On Gargallo see Jean Anguera et al., *Gargallo* (Paris, 1979). On Chermayeff see Serge Chermayeff, "The Architect Looks Back; an Explosive Revolution," *Architectural Review*, 166(November 1979), 309f. On Nash see Margot Eates, *Paul Nash; the Master of the Image, 1889-1946* (London, 1973).
6. Mendelsohn's recollections of 1947, as cited in Tummers(1965), 336.
7. The cover of the A.E.M. prospectus had inverted commas around "Méditerranée," suggesting a name. "Cavalière" (a nearby town) is a contraction used by the collaborators.
8. Ozenfant(1931), 328. The Purism in painting of Ozenfant and Le Corbusier should not be confused with the Cubic purism or pure design promoted in and around Chicago at the turn of the century.
9. Ozenfant(1939), 212.
10. Attwater(1964), 154.
11. Attwater(1964), 154. Cf. R. Speaight, *The Life of Eric Gill* (London, ca. 1965), 232 which confirms that "Eric's heart was not wholly in it."
12. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 25 December 1945. Wijdeveld archive.
13. On Zadkine see Christa Lichtenstern, *Ossip Zadkine (1890-1967); der Bildhauer und seine Ikonographie* (Berlin, 1980); and Ionel Jianu, *Zadkine* (Paris, ca. 1964).
14. Paul Bonifas, "Ozenfant," *Art et Decoration*, 66(no 4, 1937), 109-12.
15. Isaacs(1947), 24.
16. Wolf von Eckardt, "Erich Mendelsohn," in Placzek(1982).
17. "Académie Européenne Méditerranée," unidentified clipping dated 18 January 1934, *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, The Hague.
18. Ozenfant(1939), 211.
19. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 25 December 1945. Wijdeveld archive.
20. Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn* (New York, 1985), 200 claims Mendelsohn returned to practice because the A.E.M. failed.
21. "Académie Européenne Méditerranée," 18 January 1934, *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, The Hague.
22. Wright to Wijdeveld, 10 March 1933, copy in Wright Archives.
23. Wright to Wijdeveld, 7 April 1933, Wijdeveld archive.
24. Wright to Wijdeveld, 13 February 1931, Wijdeveld archive.

25. Wright to Wijdeveld, 7 April 1933.

26. Klumb to Wijdeveld, 11 April 1933, Wijdeveld archive.

27. For one example, Wright to Oud, 7 February 1934, as cited in Hefting(1975), 106.

28. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 2 December 1947, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

29. Wijdeveld to Brevée, 26 April 1933. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

30. Wijdeveld to Gargallo, 20 June 1933. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

31. The history of the project is outlined in Haagsma/de Haan(1979).

32. Information from the Dutch edition of the prospectus, probably of September 1933. This fund-raising idea may have come from Wright, who had proposed selling portions of his farm to finance the Taliesin Fellowship. See also Mendelsohn to Hindemith, 3 March 1934, Wijdeveld archive.

33. Frank Lloyd Wright, "Taliesin: Our Cause," *Professional Art Quarterly*, second part, 2(June 1936), 40.

34. Wijdeveld to Hindemith, 17 March 1934. Copy, Wijdeveld archive. The employee is unnamed. Mariette van Stralen, "De Landhuizen van Th.Wijdeveld," *Forum*, 37(January 1995), 83, states that in the late 1920s Wijdeveld's nephews, Henk and Jan Niegeman, worked for him.

35. Mendelsohn to Hindemith, 3 March 1934, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

36. Mendelsohn to Louise Mendelsohn, 30 May 1933 in Oskar Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters of an Architect* (New York, 1967), 135-36.

37. Wijdeveld to "Corrie" [?], 8 July 1935. Copy, Wijdeveld archive. Cf. Gordon Craig to Wijdeveld, 23 July 1934. Wijdeveld archive.

38. Johnson(1993), 61.

39. Werner Moser, [Obituary for Wright], *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 77(1959), 535.

40. Wijdeveld to Charles Leirens, 21 August 1933. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

41. Wolf von Eckardt, *Eric Mendelsohn* (London, 1960), 113. The date is not given.

42. Walter Gropius to Gunther Stamm, cited by Reginald Isaacs in Placzek(1982).

43. Tummers(1965), 351. The room is in figure.36. Tummers' date of 1931 seems early. Wijdeveld published the Loosdrecht plan early in 1931 and in November he was planning the Taliesin Fellowship with Wright.

44. Wijdeveld to Rik and Jet Roland Holst, 4 August 1935, Wijdeveld archive.

45. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 25 December 1945. Wijdeveld archive.

46. Louise Mendelsohn to [Wijdeveld?], 9 March 1934, Wijdeveld archive.

47. Ozenfant(1939), 339. Wijdeveld gives the date as 1936. Wijdeveld to Wright, 18 December 1947. Draft, Wijdeveld archive.

48. Isaacs(1947), 24.

49. Aust to Wijdeveld, 23 February 1934. Wijdeveld archive.

50. Johnson(1990), 45-47, 64.

51. Johnson(1990), 47-56.

52. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 24 November 1947. Wijdeveld archive.

53. The varieties of experience as Fellows are found in, for example, Rudolph C. Henning, "*'At Taliesin'*" (Carbondale, 1992); Edgar Tafel, *About Wright* (New York, 1993); Curtis Besinger, *Working with Mr Wright. What It Was Like* (New York, 1995). The opinions by outsiders about the Fellowship are surveyed in Johnson(1990), 57-64.

54. Lloyd Wright to Wright, dated only as late 1933, Wright Archives. Lloyd also suggested obtaining a printing press so that the Fellows might publish their own work and design a new type face.

55. De Koo, Secretary, *V.A.N.K.* (Netherlands Society for Crafts and Industrial Art) to Wijdeveld, 24 October 1934. Wijdeveld archive. See also J.F. van Royen to Wijdeveld, 13 September 1934. Wijdeveld archive.

56. "Allebei," *R.K.Bouwblad*, 10(1938-1939), 110.
57. Wijdeveld to Corrie [?], 8 July 1935.
58. Wijdeveld to Corrie [?], 8 July 1935.
59. "The *Nieuw Amsterdam*, a Floating Palace of Art," *Studio*, 116(July 1938), 3-18.
60. H.G.J. Schelling, "Tentoonstelling 'Ideaal Wonen' te 's-Hertogensbosch," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 57(1939), 333-38.
61. "Allebei," *R.K. Bouwblad*, 10(1938-1939), 111. The credit for the photograph was *L'Epoch*. Probably taken at Spring Green in 1937 by Bill Heidrich.
62. See entries about the Taliesin Fellowship 1934-37 in Sweeney(1978). There were only a couple of general works about Wright published in Europe and a few in Britain.
63. H.Th. Wijdeveld, "Elckerlyc, Lage Vuursche," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 56(1938), 257 ff.
64. Wijdeveld to Wright, 27 September 1945. Copy, Wijdeveld archive. In the draft, Wijdeveld changed "interest" to "results."
65. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 3 August 1945, draft, Wijdeveld archive.

Chapter 12

1. Werner Moser, "Over het Werk van Architect F.L.Wright," *De 8 en Opbouw*, 13(November 1942), 137-40. It is interesting to speculate on how the left-wing modernist journal survived to the end of 1942.
2. Wijdeveld, "Over Strijd en Bouwen in Italie," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 63(1942), 110, republished in Wijdeveld, *Concerto Grosso* (Lage Vuursche, 1944), 126-30.
3. Even in 1988, when Langmead asked a Dutch librarian to send him photocopies of some of Wijdeveld's later pamphlets he was told that as "a war time child" the librarian hesitated to provide them because Wijdeveld had "cooperated with the Germans."
4. Lisette Lewin, "Die Wijdeveld ... Heeft Mij Ontvangen," *Volkskrant* (27 February 1987), 20. Perhaps understandably, the Dutch are silent about events 1940-1945 and the obituary, based on an August 1979 interview with Wijdeveld, is an isolated example.
5. The exhibition was titled *50 Jaar Scheppend Werk, Architectuur en Stedebouw, Ideaal Projecten, Theater, Decors, Costuums, Typografie,* Wendingen ...
6. J. Harrelson, Chancellor State College of North Carolina to the Appointments Board, 20 May 1949, North Carolina.
7. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 3 August 1945, draft, Wijdeveld archive.
8. Mendelsohn to Wright, 10 August 1945. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.
9. Wijdeveld to Wright, 27 September 1945, draft, Wijdeveld archive.
10. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 25 December 1945, copy, Wijdeveld archive.
11. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 18 December 1946, copy, Wijdeveld archive.
12. "Wright's Taliesin is League of Nations in miniature," *Capital Times* (28 September 1947).
13. Wijdeveld to Wright, 13 October 1947, Wright Archives. Wijdeveld probably included a copy of *Time and Art* with the letter. He also sent copies to Mendelsohn (who called it a "miniature biography") T.C. Spruit, and a Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth of Washington, D.C., who were in the United States diplomatic service, and recommended him to one Kervic, of the University of Notre Dame (see Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 2 December 1947, copy, Wijdeveld archive).
14. Wright to Wijdeveld, 21 October 1947. Wijdeveld archive. The full text is in Appendix B. There are four versions or drafts of the letter in the Wright Archives.
15. Wright to Wijdeveld, draft of letter dated 21 October 1947, Wright Archives.
16. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 2 November 1947, copy, Wijdeveld archive.
17. Wijdeveld to Wright, 8 November 1947, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

18. Wijdeveld to Wright, 20 November 1947, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

19. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 24 November 1947, Wijdeveld archive.

20. Wijdeveld's North American contacts are set out in Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 2 December 1947.

21. As quoted in Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 2 December 1947.

22. Henry Kamphoefner (Dean of School of Design, North Carolina State College) to J.W. Harrelson, 7 June 1949, and attachments, North Carolina.

23. Mendelsohn to Gallion, 8 December 1947, copy below letterhead, Mendelsohn, Dinwiddie and Hill, San Francisco, Wijdeveld archive.

24. Wright's affidavit was sworn in Maricopa County, Arizona, 11 December 1947, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

25. Events in New York are summarized in Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 27 April 1948. Draft, Wijdeveld archive. See also telegram, Wijdeveld to Wright, 23 April 1948; telegram, Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 23 April 1948; telegram, Wright to Wijdeveld, 24 April 1948; Philip Johnson to Wijdeveld, 27 April 1948, all Wijdeveld archive.

26. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 17 May 1948. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

27. Wijdeveld to Wright, 21 June 1948. Wright archive.

28. Wijdeveld to the Mendelsohns, 1 June 1948. Manuscript draft, Wijdeveld archive.

29. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 24 November 1947, Wijdeveld archive.

30. Wright to Gallion, 5 June 1948. Typescript copy, Wijdeveld archive.

31. Lloyd Wright to Wright, 29 September 1948, Wright Archives.

32. Wijdeveld to Wright, 7 February 1949, draft, Wijdeveld archive, and Wright to Wijdeveld, 12 February 1949, copy, Wright Archives.

33. Wright to Wijdeveld, 12 February 1949, copy, Wright Archives; and Wijdeveld to Wright, 26 (or 20) March 1949, Wright Archives.

34. Henry Kamphoefner (Dean of School of Design, North Carolina State College) to J.W. Harrelson, 7 June 1949. North Carolina.

35. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 30 October 1949, draft, Wijdeveld archive.

36. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 19 March 1950, draft, Wijdeveld archive.

37. Wijdeveld to Mendelsohn, 19 June 1950, draft, Wijdeveld archive.

38. *News and Observer*, 15 May 1950, clipping, North Carolina.

39. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 18 February 1951, Wijdeveld archive.

40. Wijdeveld to Mumford, 22 April 1959. Unidentified published version, Wijdeveld archive. The document, entitled "Death of Frank Lloyd Wright," also contains Mumford's reply of 28 April 1959, as quoted here.

41. Wijdeveld to Mommens, January 1966. Copy, Wijdeveld archive.

Chapter 13

1. Richard Pratt, "Opus 497," *Ladies' Home Journal*, 62(June 1945), 138-39. The exhibition, organized by Elizabeth B. Mock, attracted nearly 200,000 visitors between May and September 1946. See also Henrietta Murdock, "Accent on Living," *ibid.*, 141; and compare with "Houses for the people, *Architects' Journal*, 102(30 August 1945), 159.

2. "Het Kleine Huis van Morgen in Amerika," *Bouw*, 1(1946), 239-43. At the time *Bouw* was not considered an authoritative journal, but a practical building magazine.

3. Wright to Arthur Gallion, 5 June 1948, copy, Wijdeveld archive.

4. *Bouw* published the same houses as had *Pencil Points* but with different photographs. Architects whose work appeared were Vernon De Mars, Hugh Stubbins, Mario Corbett, Carl Koch, George Keck, Plantech Associates, and Philip Johnson.

5. Mieras was secretary, as before the war. H.G.J. Schelling (chairman), J.W. Pot,

and J. Hendriks also returned; new members were B.T. Boeyinga, A. Evers and J. Zietsma.

6. Wright to Wijdeveld, 21 October 1947, draft, Wright Archives.

7. Bromberg referred to *Architectural Forum*, (January 1938), 36-47; Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *In the Nature of Materials* (New York, 1942) and Elizabeth Mock, *Built in U.S.A.* (New York, 1946).

8. Wright to Bruno Zevi, February 1951 and 7 March 1951, in Pfeiffer(1984), 187.

9. "Un Musée en Spirale: le Musée d'Art Guggenheim," *Mouseion*, 51(December 1955), 3-4.

10. V.-G., "De S.R. Guggenheim Foundation ...," *Phoenix*, 1(no 2, 1946), 27.

11. M.A. Stranger, "Ronde Huizen en een Rond Museum," *Kroniek van Kunst en Kultuur*, 8(no 3, 1946), 85-86, 95.

12. "Frank Lloyd Wright *en famille*," *Forum*, 1(no 2, 1946), referred to John Lloyd Wright, *My Father Who Is on Earth* (New York, 1946).

13. W. van Gelderen [Review Wright, *On Architecture*, 1941], *Bouw*, (2, 1947), 152.

14. H.G.J. Schelling [Review of James and Katherine Morrow Ford, *The Modern House in America* (New York, 1940)], *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 64(1946), 302-303.

15. "Nieuwere Amerikaansche Architectuur," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 65(1947), 171-73. One image of the Okemos house ("Ohemos" in the caption) had appeared in *Bouw*, 1(1946), part 2, 616. The *Weekblad* gave *Werk* (1945) as the source of the illustrations.

16. A. B[oeken], "Walter Gropius' Invloed in Amerika," *Forum*, 5(1950), 267-69.

17. Chester Nagel, "Un Temoinage," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, (February 1950), 90-91.

18. This is discussed in Johnson(1993), throughout.

19. J.J.P. Oud., *Building and Teamwork* (Rotterdam, 1952). When the essay was rejected by *Architectural Review* Oud published it independently. It was widely reprinted in Holland, England, Germany and Italy.

20. Werner Moser, ed., *Sechzig Jahre lebendige Architektur: Frank Lloyd Wright* (Wintherthur, 1952). For a Dutch review see *Forum*, 7(1952), 349.

21. Hendrick Hartsuyker(1950), 309-11. See also "Frank Lloyd Wright in Zurich," *Werk*, 37(September 1950), 128-29.

22. C. de Graaff, "The Man is What he Does," *Bouw*, 5(1950), part 1, 741-42.

23. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 24 November 1947, Wijdeveld archive.

24. Two photographs of the Morris shop are only amateur "snapshots." De Graaff visited the shop and even spoke with Morris about the design.

25. Ir. Dibbits, "Bouw der Bruggen," *Bouw*, 5(1950), part 2, 816-18.

26. *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 70(1952), 231 reported attendance as 125,000.

27. Mendelsohn to Wijdeveld, 18 February 1951. Wijdeveld archive.

28. Vogel to Kaufmann, 7 September 1949; and Allen to Kaufmann, 21 July 1949, copies Wright Archives.

29. Wright to Moser, 28 February 1951, in Pfeiffer(1984), 185.

30. See international honors listed in Patrick J. Meehan, *Truth Against The World* (New York, 1987), 219-21, many incorrectly described.

31. Kaufmann to Wright, 28 March 1950,. Wright Archives, copy Storonov papers.

32. Wright, "To Holland" [1 June 1952] in *Frank Lloyd Wright* (Rotterdam, 1952.) The anti-communist role of the exhibition is being studied by Donald Leslie Johnson, "Frank Lloyd Wright versus Hollywood" (ms. in preparation).

33. Argan(1951), 299-303. There is much written about Broadacre City; see and compare two examples: Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1977), part 2; and Johnson(1993), Chapters 8-9.

34. J.J.P. Oud, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Groene Amsterdammer*, (18 April 1959). See

Bernard Champigneulle, "Frank Lloyd Wright est Venu à Paris ... ," *Le Figaro Literaraire*, (12 April 1952), 9.

35. Hefting(1975), 105-106.

36. Wright to Stonorov, 13 June 1952, in Pfeiffer(1984), 197.

37. H.J.G. Schelling, "Tentoonstelling Frank Lloyd Wright te Rotterdam," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 70(1952), 231-32. The short review was in parts nostalgic to the point of maudlin; much of it dealt with the earlier works.

38. Oud to Wright, 3 July 1952, in Pfeiffer(1984), 198.

39. Wright to Werner Moser, 28 January 1952, in Pfeiffer(1984), 190.

40. "Message to France," April 1952, in Pfeiffer(1984), 192

41. "To Holland," Pfeiffer(1984), 195. Corrected in the catalog *Frank Lloyd Wright* (Rotterdam, 1952), Wright misspelt names: Dudok was "Dudock," van 't Hoff was "Can T. Hoff," and Wijdeveld was twice spelt "Widjeveld."

42. "Wright Makes New York!" *Architectural Record*, 114(October 1953), 20.

43. These figures are based upon Sweeney's bibliography, and while there are omissions, the ratio of numbers of articles may be accepted as reasonably accurate.

44. For examples, *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 74(1956), 264 translates Morassutti, "Considerazioni Sugli Uffici Johnson di Frank Lloyd Wright," *Domus*, no 305(April 1955), 2-6, and *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 73(1955), 527, which translates *Werk*, 42(September 1955).

45. "Woestijnhuis van Wright," *Bouw*, 8(1953), part 2, 774-75, translated from "Frank Lloyd Wright: this new desert house for his son ... ," *House and Home*, 3(June 1953), 99-107. *Bouw* incorrectly cited the July 1953 issue.

46. "Verjaardagsportret van een Bouwmeester," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 75(1957), 340-41, translated from Relman Morin, "Wright: much-slandered, much-acclaimed but justly arrogant at 88 years old," *Los Angeles Times*, (4 June 1956). The occasion was Wright's eighty-*ninth* birthday.

Chapter 14

1. Wijdeveld to Mumford, 22 April 1959, unidentified published version, Wijdeveld archive. Wright's biographers have given more clinical accounts. See, for example, Secrest(1992), 11-12; Gill(1987), 499 and Twombly(1979), 390.

2. A.W. Thunnissen, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Katholiek Bouwblad*, 26(1959), 209-10.

3. "In memoriam Frank Lloyd Wright, Pionier van het Moderne Bouwen," unidentified clipping, dated 10.4.59, *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, The Hague. "We announced [Wright's death] in our previous edition," suggests that news reached Holland by wire service on or about 9 April.

4. The words "grand old man" were in English. Dudok used the title in his acceptance speech for the 1955 AIA Gold Medal, *AIA Journal*, 22(August 1955), 51. It is unlikely that he wrote the obituary.

5. J.J. Vriend [Obituary for Wright], *Groene Amsterdammer*, (18 April 1959), 9.

6. J.J.P. Oud, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Groene Amsterdammer*, (18 April 1959), 9.

7. "Spiegel van de week," *Bouw*, 14(18 April 1959), 417.

8. "Frank Lloyd Wright †," *Bouw*, 14(25 April 1959), 447.

9. "Architect Frank Lloyd Wright," *Bouwwereld*, 7(21 April 1959), 393.

10. A Dutch translation of Ayn Rand, *The Fountainhead*, (New York, 1943), entitled *De Eeuwige Bron* (*The Eternal Spring*) appeared in 1959. Reviewed W. Wagener, "Frank Lloyd Wright's geest wart rond in een lijvige roman," *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad*, (30 January 1960).

11. Dudok(1959), 532-33.

12. Werner Moser, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 77(1959), 535-40.

See also *idem*., "Die Bedeutung Frank Lloyd Wrights' fur die Entwicklung der Gegenwartsarchitektur," *Werk*, 46(December 1959), 423-27.

13. Wright(1931). See also Wright, "Advice to the Young Architect," *Architectural Record*, 70(August 1931), 121.

14. Following F.E. Röntgen, "Het Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum te New York," *Polytechnische Tijdschrift (B)*, (11 August 1960), 580-81, translated. from John Lloyd Wright, "Appreciation of Frank Lloyd Wright," *Architectural Design*, 30(January 1960), 31, nothing significant was published in Holland for fifteen years, until is Auke van der Woude, "Variaties op een Thema," in Asselbergs(1975), 28-40. All later publications may be categorized as architectural histories.

15. Wright to Berlage, 30 November 1922. Berlage archive.

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