

**Building Protestant Modernism:  
John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the Architecture of an American  
Internationalism (1919-1939)**

by

**Azra Dawood**

S.M.Arch.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2010  
B. Arch., University of Texas at Austin, 2001

Submitted to the Department of Architecture in Partial  
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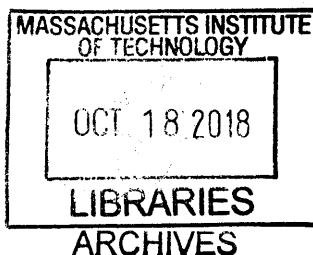
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Department of Architecture  
August 10, 2018

Signature redacted

Certified by: \_\_\_\_\_  
Nasser O. Rabbat  
Aga Khan Professor of the History of Architecture  
Dissertation Supervisor

Signature redacted

Accepted by: \_\_\_\_\_  
Sheila Kennedy  
Chair, Department Committee on Graduate Studies







## **Committee Members**

Nasser O. Rabbat  
Aga Khan Professor of the History of Architecture  
Dissertation Supervisor

Mark Jarzombek  
Professor of the History and Theory of Architecture  
Reader

Caroline Jones  
Professor of Art History  
Reader

Christopher Capozzola  
Associate Professor of History  
Reader



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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on August 10, 2018 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture: History and Theory of Architecture

## **Abstract**

Following the First World War, American philanthropist and heir to the Standard Oil fortune, John D. Rockefeller Jr., financed an international body of cultural and scientific institutions, which he presented as sites of global “brotherhood,” intellectual cooperation, and shared world heritage. Combining religious history with an architectural and urban-spatial analysis of the built environments associated with these institutions, this dissertation argues that Rockefeller’s putatively secular and inclusive promotion of culture and science was, in fact, designed to arrest the rise of “savage” nationalisms and a “godless” communism. While scholars have recognized the imperialism inherent in Rockefeller’s philanthropy, they have largely ignored its *theopolitical* dimensions and its unexpected instrumentalization of secular buildings and landscapes towards religious concerns. Focusing on the so-called Orient (which valued modernity, sought freedom from European powers, and understood Western Christianity as an accomplice to imperialism), Rockefeller, a devout capitalist and Baptist, underwrote projects reconciling Christianity with modernity. Simultaneously, he presented Protestant America as a new civilizational leader to diverse audiences, including nationalists in the former Ottoman territories abroad and students from China and other modernizing nations studying in the U.S. Concentrating on two groups of buildings from his larger patronage—the International Student Houses and the museums and archaeological expedition-houses of the University of Chicago’s Oriental Institute—I show how Rockefeller leveraged architecture to present an American internationalism and its scientific and religious modernity as a “logical” fit for diverse regions and conditions. From the Pacific Coast to the Middle East, his team of architects, theologians, archaeologists, and social reformers attempted to harmonize each of their buildings within its immediate geopolitical and aesthetic site. I show how Rockefeller’s “re-Orientation” of Christianity (and America) coheres these eclectic, geographically dispersed buildings and landscapes into a rational or deliberate oeuvre, and is further revealed in specific erasures and accentuations of the built environment. Finally, this dissertation counters a widespread belief that religion in the modern era is solely contained within explicitly ecclesiastical architecture, or limited to societies “outside” the technoscientific modernity and secular progress of the global North.

Thesis Supervisor: Nasser O. Rabbat; Title: Aga Khan Professor of the History of Architecture

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As far as I can recall, when I was working as an architect in New York in the early 2000s, Rockefeller, Christianity, and internationalism were not *active* concerns in my mind. In hindsight, however, my choice of topic makes sense to me. Researching and writing this dissertation, my education and experience around it, and the people I have met in the process have helped me to begin to understand cultural and political currents in the U.S. and larger world that, in many ways, also affect *me*. I am grateful to many mentors, teachers, and friends for their support as I worked on this dissertation. What follows is almost certainly an incomplete accounting.

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## **Index of Acronyms**

ABES:	American Baptist Education Society
ACC:	Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs of the United States of America
ASCSA:	American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens
BSH:	Bureau of Social Hygiene
CIW:	Carnegie Institution of Washington
CFIC:	Colorado Fuel and Iron Company
CFRFS:	Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students
EAS:	Egyptian Antiquities Service
GEB:	General Education Board
ICC:	Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club of the Students of New York
IEB:	International Education Board
I.I:	International Institute at Teachers College (institution funded by the IEB)
I.I.E:	Institute of International Education (funded by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)
IWM:	Interchurch World Movement
I-House:	International (Student) House
ISRR:	Institute of Social and Religious Research
LSRM:	Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial
LON:	League of Nations
OI/O.I:	Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
NEM:	New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo
PAM:	Palestine Archaeological Museum (now Rockefeller Museum)
RF/R.F:	Rockefeller Foundation
RIMR:	Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (now Rockefeller University)
WCC:	World Council of Churches
YMCA:	Young Men's Christian Association

## Notes on Nomenclature

This dissertation is filled with references to both John D. Rockefeller Jr. and John D. Rockefeller Sr. To distinguish between the two, the name “Rockefeller” by itself will *only* refer to John D. Rockefeller Jr., who is this dissertation’s central protagonist. Rockefeller may also be referred to by his full name, by “Junior,” or “JDR Jr.” Meanwhile, John D. Rockefeller Sr. will be referred to by his full name, by Rockefeller Sr., or by “Senior.”

When speaking of *all* the foundations created by John D. Rockefeller Sr. and John D. Rockefeller Jr., I will use the phrase, “the Rockefeller family foundations.” Meanwhile, “The Rockefeller Foundation” refers only to one specific foundation within this larger group.

Finally, in discussing Rockefeller’s personal philanthropy, the term “Protestant internationalism” will sometimes be used as a shorthand, combining within it a reference to both “Protestant Modernism” and “American internationalism.” I will always clarify when the discussion turns instead to church-led or -affiliated Protestant/Christian internationalism(s).

## Introduction

Following the First World War, American philanthropist and heir to the Standard Oil fortune, John D. Rockefeller Jr., financed an international body of cultural, social, and scientific projects, both at home and abroad: museums, student housing, research institutes, and archaeological excavations in the United States, Europe, and the so-called Orient were all presented as sites of equitable cultural exchange, intellectual cooperation, and shared world heritage, and their program as the promotion of peace and “brotherhood” for all.<sup>1</sup> Combining religious history with architectural and urban-spatial analyses of the buildings and landscapes associated with these projects, this dissertation interprets Rockefeller’s putatively secular and aesthetically eclectic promotion of culture and science as the architectural outcrop of an extensive—and largely unexcavated—theopolitical program to counter “savage” nationalisms and the spread of a godless communism.<sup>2</sup> Advancing Protestant Modernism, a theological movement that reconciled religion with science and modern culture, Rockefeller sought to build a moral foundation that could simultaneously support scientific progress, international amity, and capitalist expansion.<sup>3</sup> Focusing on China and the former Ottoman territories, where Christianity’s image was suffering because of its support for Western imperialism, and on Europe, the instigator of recent wars, he

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<sup>1</sup> “Brotherhood” was a widely used term in the Rockefeller circle. See for example the transcript of a speech he gave in 1918: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., *Brotherhood of Men and Nations* (n.p., 1918), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006738454>. The term is obviously religious in origin, but in this speech Rockefeller uses it to describe friendly relations between business and labor, government and business, amongst nations, and across Protestant denominations.

<sup>2</sup> The word “savage” was used by Rockefeller’s chief advisor, Raymond Fosdick, to describe nationalists and patriots at home and abroad. See Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Old Savage in the New Civilization* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1931)—originally published in 1929. Fosdick was writing to warn of the danger he believed might befall civilization if destructive weapons or scientific knowledge were seized by such groups.

<sup>3</sup> For more on Protestant Modernism, see William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1976). See also my further discussion of this term later in the Introduction and in Chapter One of this dissertation.

also privileged the United States as a new civilizational leader—one that he believed would help prevent the next major war.

Built and natural landscapes emerged as an important medium for Rockefeller's philanthropic and ideological goals. These projects were executed by different architects, and in styles ranging from Italianate to modernist. Given that architectural history has traditionally privileged the architect as author of a body of work, stylistic modernity as the aesthetic of progress in the twentieth century, and coherency over eclecticism as a necessary ingredient for good architecture or for the creation of a clear oeuvre, most scholars from our field have neglected to conceptualize Rockefeller-financed buildings and landscapes as a cogent body of work, delving only into individual iconic high points (New York City's Rockefeller Center) or controversial landscapes (the reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg as a living history museum in Virginia).<sup>4</sup> The near-dismissal of Rockefeller's other—lesser-known—projects, such as the design and construction of four International (Student) Houses in New York, Chicago, Berkeley, and Paris (1921-1936), or the creation of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute and the construction of its regional outposts in the Middle East (1919-1939), is an unfortunate omission that, I argue, prevents us from fully appreciating how Rockefeller intended his diverse and largely historicist collection of early to mid-twentieth-century buildings to produce a specific kind of modernity.

This dissertation investigates the modernity in question: its parameters, how it shaped architecture, and how it was, in turn, impacted by the built environment. To critically examine

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<sup>4</sup> For architectural history's traditional position against eclecticism and historicism in the architecture of the twentieth century—as well as of the late nineteenth century—see for example the work of Sigfried Giedion, who wrote the first history of modern architecture. On the problem of historical styles, for instance, Giedion wrote: "The whole organism of architecture was riddled by [this] fatal disease." Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 3rd ed., enlarged (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 354—originally published in 1941.

the buildings and landscapes associated with Rockefeller's philanthropy, I turn to his wide-ranging interest in aesthetics, theological modernity, and capitalist internationalism—all of which come together to bind this vast and seemingly disparate body of work and give it conceptual clarity. By positing Rockefeller not only as a patron or financial sponsor of these projects, but also as an architectural and ideological author, I show how, instead of dismissing these eclectic buildings and sites as the whimsy of a rich man, we may see them as an intentional and political corpus emanating from his advocacy for an American-led internationalism rooted in Protestant Modernism.

In order to preserve American Protestantism's hegemony over scientific progress (in the wake of the Darwinian Revolution), world religions, and communism alike, this now-obscure early-twentieth-century *theological* movement controversially promoted the reconciliation of religion and modernity—rather than adherence to Biblical miracles or the inviolability of Scripture—as the new foundational principles of Christianity; eventually, many Modernists and their benefactors also embraced ecumenism over proselytization.<sup>5</sup> But in America, in the 1920s, the Great War's devastation had brought a stringent critique of modernity, and thus of theological modernism, from fundamentalist camps. Abroad, in places like the Middle East,

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<sup>5</sup> See again Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*. Note that Hutchison focuses primarily on modernist theology and its impact within the United States, and he does not write on modernism's encounter with communism or on modernists' attempts to preserve Protestantism's hegemony. On the issue of hegemony see, Albert F. Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Protestant Establishment* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Pub, 1996). On Protestantism's encounter with communism, see Gene Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism," *Religions* 8, no. 17 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel8020017>. Note that Zubovich's article is not focusing solely on Protestant Modernism; rather, he is writing on liberal American Protestantism as a whole. For a primary document on Protestant Modernism, see David C. Torrey, *Protestant Modernism: Or, Religious Thinking for Thinking Men* (New York; London: G.P. Putnam's Sons; Knickerbocker, 1910). Although Torrey's book is not cited in critical histories of Protestant Modernism, it serves a useful purpose: its title shows that "Protestant Modernism" is not a term that is retroactively applied by historians to the movement; rather, the movement I am writing about here was given this name by at least some of its adherents during the period of its greatest activity. Finally, on Protestant Modernists' embrace of ecumenism, it is important to note that Modernists *did* initially pursue direct conversions abroad, but later advocated ecumenism and tolerance as better paths to the spread of Christian morality and to the realization of an earthly Kingdom of God.

Protestant Christianity's image as a whole suffered on account of its association with Western colonialism.<sup>6</sup>

I argue that to facilitate his controversial ideology's passage into these "hostile" regions, whether at home or abroad, Rockefeller turned to the "soft" medium of philanthropy.

Architecture, meanwhile, became an important tool in the promotion of his philanthropic and ideological goals. Pursuing what can be understood as a two-pronged policy, he financed projects that seemed to be programmatically secular (though their legal-administrative conception demonstrates otherwise) and, alongside his architects, he tried to aesthetically harmonize the infrastructure associated with these projects into the built environments of their different geo-political sites—a strategy that produced an eclectic group of buildings that can easily obfuscate the real meaning and purpose behind Rockefeller's patronage for us today.

In using architecture and philanthropy to advance theopolitical aims on a global scale, Rockefeller's work aligns itself with what scholars have called "cultural internationalism," a movement in which elite individuals and institutions in the West used education and the arts to promote international cooperation on a range of issues.<sup>7</sup> As practiced by Rockefeller, this internationalism was a heroic—if ultimately asymmetric—movement that positioned the United States as a kind of new theopolitical prophet after the First World War: one that would show how modern science and culture, when properly grounded within a modern and scientific Christianity, could lead the world towards capitalist prosperity and away from "savage" nationalisms and the next major war.

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<sup>6</sup> Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism," 1-6.

I began this study because, while researching in the archives a single Rockefeller-financed project—the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo—I was struck by references within the Rockefeller team’s correspondence to a much larger body of architectural, archaeological, and preservation projects that Rockefeller had also sponsored in the same period. In addition to the buildings and landscapes I mentioned earlier, these projects include, amongst others, an extensive decade-long restoration of three major French monuments, which had been badly damaged in the First World War, as well as a massive excavation of the ancient Agora in Athens. Although one can find plaques dedicated to Rockefeller somewhere in these sites, most visitors are unaware of the exact depth of his financial sponsorship or the enormity of the scope of work he undertook. In addition to restorations and other building projects, Rockefeller was also involved in land conservation, for example helping to create Acadia National Park in Maine (1913-1940).

I wanted to understand why he was involved in these projects—why so many, and why these over others—and also why his involvement is not better known today by architects, historians, and the general public. I further wished to understand how our comprehension of these architectural and conservation projects might change or be enhanced if we focused our critical lens on the patron (rather than his architects) and on the socio-cultural and political interests that drove Rockefeller’s patronage.

The authorized narrative presented by Rockefeller’s in-house publicists and biographers asserts brotherhood, peace, and a benevolent internationalism as the central goals of his philanthropy. His official biographer and primary philanthropic advisor, Raymond B. Fosdick, writes that Rockefeller’s gift of a library and archive building for the League of Nations emerged

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<sup>7</sup> See for example Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). Note that Iriye interprets cultural internationalism as an apolitical strategy, but I disagree with this



from a five-year study that the philanthropist had funded on how to “[flag] the next war before it plunges suddenly around the curve to pile into us as it did in 1914.”<sup>8</sup> Other projects, such as International House New York, were presented by Rockefeller and his advisors and publicity agents as sites of equitable cultural exchange or shared world heritage.

And yet, a quick review of the politico-cultural context and archival correspondence around these projects’ administrative and legal structures, when read against their architectural execution, presents Rockefeller’s work at least in part as cultural imperialism or an American Orientalism. Edward Said’s classic work on the cultural assumptions and political power that formed the foundation of “Orientalism” as a field of Western scholarly inquiry into the East (specifically the Middle East), focuses mostly on Britain and France; Said argues that American interest in the Orient was mostly limited to the “Far East” (China and Japan) until after the Second World War.<sup>9</sup> But Rockefeller’s projects in the Middle East, and their cultural assumptions and political intentions, predate this war and suggest an earlier beginning point for American concerns in the region.<sup>10</sup>

However, what has become *most* compelling to me in thinking through Rockefeller’s projects is their shared theopolitical underpinning: their specific theological modernity, which Rockefeller then used as a necessary foundation for an American, Christian capitalism and internationalism. To assert theology as a central impulse in Rockefeller’s philanthropy is not, however, to preclude other factors: the discovery of oil in the Middle East, the United States’

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interpretation. See Chapter One for more on different understandings of internationalism—cultural and otherwise.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr., A Portrait*. (New York: Harper, 1956), 395, 465n11. Fosdick is actually quoting himself. He was part of the group that conducted the five-year study. The study focused on problems in Europe and was apparently inspired by Winston Churchill’s article, “Shall We Commit Suicide?”

<sup>9</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 284-328.

<sup>10</sup> See also Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945* (London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 2003). Although Little primarily focuses on American interests in the Middle East after 1945, he does acknowledge a deeper history of American thought regarding the Middle East.

increasing interest in these crude oil reserves, the expansion of capitalism, and the articulation of American exceptionalism.<sup>11</sup> Rather, I argue that because one of Protestant Modernism's central tenets is that religion is *of* this world and its concerns, Rockefeller's theopolitical patronage is in conversation with each of these factors.

### **I.1. A Brief Note on Existing Views of Rockefeller's Architectural Patronage and Religious Philanthropy**

The relationship between theology and architecture in Rockefeller's philanthropy—and in modern-day American cultural production generally—has gone largely unnoticed by Rockefeller's biographers, scholars of architecture, and religious historians alike, owing perhaps to the disciplinary boundaries, entrenched assumptions, and conceptual frameworks of our respective fields. For example, architectural historians, guided by the post-Enlightenment belief that reason and religion are distinct from each other in the West, have mostly overlooked the lingering influence of religious ideas in architectural criticism and historiography, and in the built environments of the U.S. and Western Europe—except perhaps in explicitly ecclesiastical structures.<sup>12</sup> The Rockefeller Center, a real estate development, is one of the most written-about projects of the twentieth century in our field.<sup>13</sup> But can we really know its architectural, urban-

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<sup>11</sup> On American engagement with the Middle East over oil, see *Ibid.*, 45. See also Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*, (London: Verso, 2013).

<sup>12</sup> For some exceptions in recent architectural history scholarship that intersect or grapple with religion or theology, see for example Renata J. Hejduk and Jim Williamson, *The Religious Imagination in Modern and Contemporary Architecture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Reinhold Martin, "The MIT Chapel: An Interdiscursive History," in *A Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the "Techno-Social" Moment*, ed. Arindam Dutta (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2013), 72–105. For recent writing on architecture and religion—with an emphasis on the instability of historical accounts—see Edward Eigen, "INSTRUIRE/DÉTRUIRE Mary Stuart, Catholic Modernism & the Breton Cult of Monuments," *Perspecta* 43 (2010): 145–90.

<sup>13</sup> For some noteworthy texts on the Rockefeller Center, see Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1994); Manfredo Tafuri, "The Disenchanted Mountain: The

spatial, and conceptual significance if we do not also turn our lens to its patron's strong theopolitical agenda, and to Athens, Maine, Egypt, and wherever else Rockefeller built or restored architecture and landscapes? My work is the first consideration of Rockefeller as an author of this vast body of architecture—of a built environment that cuts across a wide geographic region, aesthetic spectrum, and theopolitical program.

Although the Rockefeller name is imprinted in the American public consciousness due to its identification with an enormous fortune and powerful philanthropic foundations, the specific interests and outlook of John D. Rockefeller Jr. himself have been largely forgotten—particularly in terms of his impact on architecture, religious life in the United States and abroad, and politics. Rockefeller was frequently profiled in the American and foreign press during his lifetime (1874-1960), but in later years his philanthropy and business interests were eclipsed by the more recent careers of his own progeny; for example, his youngest son David Rockefeller, one of the fathers of neoliberalism, only died in 2017.<sup>14</sup> John D. Rockefeller Jr. is also frequently confused with his father, John D. Rockefeller Sr., who founded Standard Oil, was the original “robber baron” alongside railroad mogul Jay Gould and others, and was a powerful philanthropist in his own right.<sup>15</sup>

Adding to this confusion, Rockefeller Jr., unlike steel magnate-turned-philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, left no major treatises on his approach to philanthropy or architecture (though

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Skyscraper and the City,” in *The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal*, ed. Giorgio Ciucci (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983); Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 744-758.

<sup>14</sup> For coverage of Rockefeller Jr. during his lifetime, see for example John K. Winkler, “A Scientific Santa Claus-I,” *The New Yorker*, June 2, 1928. For David Rockefeller as a father of neoliberalism, see Erik Wallenberg, “David Rockefeller: An Alternative Obituary,” *Jacobin*, March 31, 2017, <http://jacobinmag.com/2017/03/david-rockefeller-an-alternative-obituary/>.

<sup>15</sup> The term “robber baron” was first popularized—and applied to Rockefeller Sr., Andrew Carnegie, Jay Gould and other industrialists of nineteenth-century America—by the following book: Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1934).

he did speak publicly on religion).<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, Raymond Fosdick’s authorized biography on Rockefeller—published in 1955, five years before the latter’s death—has actually served to obscure as much about Rockefeller’s intentions as it has revealed.<sup>17</sup> In this first book-length appraisal of his life by anyone, Fosdick acknowledges that faith and religious duty were central to Rockefeller’s work, and that he was influenced by theologically liberal ideas, but ultimately concludes that his interest was in creating an ethical and moral society:

his concern was ethical, not theological, and if any sort of theology or apologetic emerged from his talks, it represented a mixture of liberalism and orthodoxy, a creed dotted, perhaps, with some contradictions and inconsistencies, but related in a vital way to the sum of his experiences.<sup>18</sup>

Although Fosdick notes Rockefeller’s attempts to create interdenominational unity (what he calls Rockefeller’s vision of a “reborn church”) and apply scientific methods to study religious institutions—and even though he observes that the changing landscape of Protestantism in the first half of the twentieth century was due to such efforts—he dilutes the significance of these aims and achievements by asserting that the spread of peaceful relations “too, was Mr. Rockefeller’s faith,” and that Rockefeller believed that theology did not constitute religion.<sup>19</sup> Faith, in most other writings on Rockefeller, is similarly presented as something intrinsic and personal: a driving instinct at most, rather than a purposeful end-goal of his cultural and scientific philanthropy.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Carnegie wrote a famous essay on wealth and—though he did not use the word directly—philanthropy. Andrew Carnegie, “Wealth,” *The North American Review* 0148, no. 391 (June 1889).

<sup>17</sup> See Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.* Other writers have rightly called Fosdick’s biography a “hagiography.” See John Ensor Harr and Peter J. Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century* (New York: Scribner, 1988). I should note that Harr and Johnson’s book, too, may have a hagiographical aspect: as employees of Rockefeller’s eldest son, John D. Rockefeller III, their narrative remains relatively faithful to the Rockefeller family.

<sup>18</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 129-130.

<sup>19</sup> For brotherhood as faith, see *Ibid.*, 394. For Rockefeller’s position on theology, see *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>20</sup> An important exception to this approach can be found in Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*. I will discuss Schenkel’s work in greater detail in Chapter One.

Combining architectural analyses with religious history—and placing the secular buildings and landscapes that he financed alongside the theological books and surveys that he funded simultaneously—I show how architecture and urban-spatial planning were central to Rockefeller’s campaign for Protestant Modernism and American internationalism. I organize Rockefeller’s projects under these terms because, while my work is informed by the important post-colonial discourse around cultural imperialism and Orientalism, the latter categories can mask the specific nuances and mechanics of Rockefeller’s theopolitical agenda.<sup>21</sup> In an attempt to knit together diverse and sensitive geopolitical regions into an American-led, Protestant, and capitalist internationalism, Rockefeller’s philanthropy wavered between outright religious and American imperialism, calls for brotherhood, and an uneasy accommodation to the nationalist struggles of the global South. The story of his architectural patronage and theopolitical philanthropy is most illuminating if we pay attention to the spectrum of his responses and ambitions.

### ***A Note on American Internationalism***

I use the term “American Internationalism” in a few different ways. First and foremost, I understand the movement as a “*Protestant* internationalism”—especially in the context of the philanthropy of deeply religious figures like Rockefeller. I will frequently use this latter term in my text as a shorthand to refer to an American internationalism that is grounded in Protestant Modernism. Scholars of religion in America agree that despite threats to its hegemony from “demographic transformations” and scientific progress, the Protestant establishment and the men

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<sup>21</sup> To many historians and scholars, cultural imperialism and Orientalism are deeply familiar terms. I argue that because they are so recognizable, we may assume (perhaps wrongly) that we understand how and why a particular imperial-internationalist project is carried out. In other words, our very familiarity with these terms can obscure the nuances, methods, and motivations of a particular case.

and women who supported it managed to remain strong at least up till 1960.<sup>22</sup> Power in philanthropic foundations and in the U.S. government was firmly in the grasp of these figures. Within the establishment and its support system, I am most interested in proponents of Modernism, which I understand as the foundation for the internationalism that Rockefeller envisioned and pursued. These proponents came from different sects. As I will explain in Chapter One, theological modernism was particularly nurtured within Presbyterian and Congregationalist circles, though Baptists were amenable to the movement, too. Rockefeller, as is well known, was a Baptist; he was also more than just amenable to the movement.

Rockefeller's philanthropy also contains a strong element of Wilsonian internationalism, even though most scholars do not associate Wilsonianism with religion.<sup>23</sup> We can attribute the Wilsonian dimensions to Raymond Fosdick, an important actor within Rockefeller's circle, who was a disciple of Woodrow Wilson.<sup>24</sup> However, in addition to its emphasis on religion, Rockefeller's internationalism exceeds Wilsonianism in other ways: for example, the latter movement concentrated its efforts primarily on Europe, whereas Rockefeller's philanthropy also focused on China and the Middle East. (Incidentally, these are also the regions where most traditional proselytization efforts were concentrated.)

Given my emphasis on Protestantism's significance in Rockefeller's internationalist efforts, my work is also in conversation with recent literature by scholars of Religion and American Studies who write on a series of interlinked movements and attempts, led by Protestant theologians, preachers, and religious leaders of the "North Atlantic West" between 1900 and

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<sup>22</sup> David A. Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Protestant Liberalism in Modern American History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 1; William R. Hutchison, *Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>23</sup> See Michael G. Thompson, *For God and Globe: Christian Internationalism in the United States between the Great War and the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

<sup>24</sup> I talk about Raymond Fosdick and Wilsonianism at greater length in Chapters One and Two.

1960, which strove to create an institutional voice for Protestant Christianity that might help establish and assert a unifying and peace-keeping *political* authority for the faith encompassing the entire globe.<sup>25</sup> Scholars describe how this movement—which they interchangeably refer to as international Protestantism, Protestant universalism, and Christian internationalism—attempted to engage with the global South, where nationalist movements threatened Western and Christian hegemonies. Internationalists were eventually pushed towards ecumenism and the political left by their encounter with communism, a rival internationalism that supported independence movements around the globe. Protestant internationalists realized that if they were to win the global South, they must strip Christianity of its associations with the West by disavowing support for colonialism and imperialism, and “return” the faith to the so-called Orient.<sup>26</sup> To investigate this (what we might call) *re-Orientation* of Christianity, the existing scholarship focuses on particular books, missionary conferences, and actors that were central to the internationalist movements. John R. Mott, a famed missionary, features heavily in this scholarship, as does philosopher William Ernest Hocking, whose book *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen’s Inquiry After One Hundred Years* is presented as a game-changer: the pivot on which American Protestant churches and missionary movements turned from supporting outright imperialism to making space for nationalisms—albeit on their own terms.<sup>27</sup>

My work introduces an important layman, and a member of the Protestant establishment’s extended social network, as a crucial agent in these Protestant internationalisms.

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<sup>25</sup> Specifically, I am engaging with: Justin M. Reynolds, “Against the World: International Protestantism and the Ecumenical Movement between Secularization and Politics, 1900-1952” (PhD diss., Columbia University in the City of New York, 2016) – cited with author’s permission; Thompson, *For God and Globe*; Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism.”

<sup>26</sup> See Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,” 4.

<sup>27</sup> William Ernest Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen’s Inquiry After One Hundred Years* (Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1932).

As one of the wealthiest men in the world, Rockefeller probably commanded more resources and people than most church-affiliated figures and institutions at that time; in fact, his philanthropy and money often shaped church-affiliated movements. For example, Hocking's very controversial and important book was actually financed by Rockefeller, even though Rockefeller himself is left out of scholarship that examines this book's importance.<sup>28</sup> Mott, meanwhile, was a major figure in the extended Rockefeller network, playing an important part in the Rockefeller-created Institute for Social and Religious Research (ISRR), an organization that attempted to apply the methods of social sciences to modernize religion and create interchurch unity. It is important to note, however, that Rockefeller was not completely aligned with church-affiliated internationalisms. His version of internationalism placed Protestant Modernism's self-conscious embrace of science, alongside his own capitalist enthusiasm, at the heart of all internationalist projects. Note that existing scholarship is not particularly interested in the modernist strand of Protestantism.

### ***Architecture's Central Role in Rockefeller's Internationalism***

In addition to theological modernism, my dissertation calls attention to the instrumentalization of architecture in Rockefeller's internationalism. The existing literature privileges other "sites" of activity, interrogation, and discourse—such as books, journals, and conferences.<sup>29</sup> I argue that in his attempts to create a fertile ground for internationalism, Rockefeller understood architecture and the city as media too. These physical and aesthetic sites emerged as important communication tools and physical registers of his attempts to undermine a range of other “-

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<sup>28</sup> For more on this, see Chapter One.

<sup>29</sup> See for example Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 10. Thompson uses a journal (*The World Tomorrow*) and a theological conference (“Oxford 1937”) as “sites” of investigation.



isms,” which he believed opposed his project: socialist internationalism, communism, fascism, nationalism, European colonialism and imperialism, Protestant fundamentalism, and both jingoism and American isolationism. If this description of Rockefeller’s goals appears to be shot through with a sense of personal or national hubris, that is only appropriate: the concepts and themes of American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny form a strong undercurrent in his projects.<sup>30</sup> By examining the architectural conception and execution of the buildings and sites that housed his cultural, scientific, and intellectual philanthropy, we see this fuller picture of Rockefeller’s ideology, the obstacles to it, and its place within American history. Finally, given the obfuscation through eclecticism that I mentioned earlier, I argue that the clues for understanding Rockefeller’s philanthropy in the built environment lie beyond—and also

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<sup>30</sup> The terms (and ideas behind) “American Exceptionalism” and “Manifest Destiny” have an important history. Countless public figures and writers have referenced the idea of “American Exceptionalism,” beginning with John Winthrop, who urged his fellow pilgrims to build “a city upon the hill” in America. Thomas Paine, meanwhile, wrote of America’s exceptional pursuit of freedom. Alexis de Tocqueville, too, described American democracy as “exceptional.” Other figures who held American society and institutions to be exceptional or extraordinary include Henry Luce, who described the twentieth century as the “American Century,” and Presidents Woodrow Wilson, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, the Bushes, and—somewhat hesitatingly or equivocally—Barack Obama. But the phrase was first coined either by Joseph Stalin or American communist leader Jay Lovestone to criticize American ideas of uniqueness and exceptionalism. See Uri Friedman, “‘American Exceptionalism’: A Short History,” *Foreign Policy* (blog), Accessed June 30, 2018, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/06/18/american-exceptionalism-a-short-history/>. For Winthrop’s use of “city upon the hill” from the viewpoint of charity, see discussions of his sermon in Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960), 7-9. See also Henry R. Luce, “The American Century,” *LIFE*, February 17, 1941, 61–65; Alexis de Tocqueville, “Democracy in America, Volume 1 (of 2),” trans. Henry Reeve, 2013, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/815/815-h/815-h.htm>. “Manifest Destiny,” meanwhile, is the belief that the United States’ westward expansion to the Pacific Coast was inevitable because it was destined by God, and that this territorial expansion (through aggression) was moreover *beneficial* because, through it, civilizing institutions, democracy, and capitalism could be spread far and wide. The phrase was coined in 1845 by John L. O’Sullivan in reference to the annexation of Texas and appeared in an editorial of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. But though this idea’s early proponents invoked God to justify American expansion, Manifest Destiny also found its supporters in so-called secular spheres, most notably with Thomas Paine, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson. See Eric Foner, John A. Garraty, Society of American Historians, *The Reader’s Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1991), 364-369, 697-698. See also Julius W. Pratt, “The Origin of ‘Manifest Destiny,’” *The American Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (1927): 795–98, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1837859>.

beneath—the scale of an individual building. I focus in particular on architectural ornament and on the interface of each building with its larger site.

It is important to note that even though Rockefeller turned to experts in matters of law, philanthropy, medicine, science, and religion, in the case of architecture he was not simply a client who deferred to his architects and planners' professional opinions. Archival correspondence shows that he fully grasped how architecture and site could communicate ideas to a large audience. It also demonstrates how much thought and deliberation he, alongside his team of architects and advisors, personally put into the buildings associated with his philanthropy. By the time of the First World War, Rockefeller had already spent several years sharpening his aesthetic skills overseeing the design, construction, and landscaping of Kykuit, the Rockefeller family estate in New York's Hudson River Valley (1906-1917). The project marked a pivotal moment for Rockefeller, who would go on to become an enthusiastic—if amateur or hobbyist—designer. Fosdick dedicates a chapter in his biography to Rockefeller's interest in architecture and to his love of “beauty”:

Certainly the aesthetic sense became a vital influence in his life. The graceful lines of a piece of statuary, the rich colors of a medieval tapestry, or the delicate design of a Chinese porcelain brought him increasing pleasure. To be sure, his satisfaction in such things was not that of the scholar or specialist. He claimed no wide acquaintance with art, and his formal preparation in the field had been limited to college courses... But it was a genuine delight none the less [sic] and one which was enlarged and refined by a lifetime of association with great art, artists, architects, and scholars.<sup>31</sup>

And again,

He had an amazing knowledge of the technical aspects of architecture and often astonished the experts with his facility in reading blueprints and his intimate acquaintance with materials and the intricacies of building. He could not find satisfaction in any undertaking, whether it was

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<sup>31</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 327-328.

Rockefeller Center or Williamsburg, until he had thoroughly mastered all the complex and often tortuous factors that lay behind the development.<sup>32</sup>

This image of a client well-versed in architecture, and in the act of building, is further reinforced with archival photos and film reels from the period showing Rockefeller “at work,” such as a widely published photo that shows him ceremoniously drilling the last rivet into Rockefeller Center, or the footage of Rockefeller poring over architectural blueprints in his office (**Fig. I.1-I.2**).<sup>33</sup> In fact, so central was building to his life’s work that Rockefeller often listed his occupation as real estate developer.<sup>34</sup> The focus of this dissertation is not on Rockefeller’s financial and legal strategies for land acquisition; mostly, I only study the use of this land *after* acquisition. But it is important to acknowledge that, in addition to his deep fascination with architecture, Rockefeller was savvy about acquiring and developing prime urban sites for his philanthropic and commercial ventures.

## I.2. Context

The work of this wealthy and enthusiastic aesthete, developer, and philanthropist must be contextualized against the pursuits of other powerful American industrialists who also dealt in

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 416.

<sup>33</sup> On many of his projects—though not all—Rockefeller communicated at length with the official architects and building committees. Later in the dissertation I present evidence that his particular design wishes frequently prevailed.

<sup>34</sup> Albert I. Berger, *Father’s New House at Pocantico Hills: The Design and Construction of Kykuit* (Unpublished Manuscript) (1985), 4, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY (hereafter RAC). Note that the section discussing Rockefeller’s interest in real estate is crossed out in the manuscript. Given clear evidence of this interest in the archival documentation of Rockefeller’s projects, I will stand by Berger’s statement despite his own cancelation of it. Note also that Berger’s manuscript was financed in part by the Rockefeller network, and that this source of funding could explain why these words were struck: they suggest a pursuit or possibility of profit underlying Rockefeller’s carefully crafted persona as philanthropist. I present here the full (canceled) section: “In later life, JDR Jr. would describe himself as a real estate developer on various official documents, and so he was. Even many of the most important philanthropies for which he is best-known involved the direction of major property development and building plans.”

real estate, erected buildings, or promoted socio-cultural and political causes in the early twentieth century. This group includes steel tycoon Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), automobile manufacturer Henry Ford (1863-1947), his son Edsel (1893-1943), coke and steel mogul Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951), magazine publisher Henry Luce (1898-1967), banker and financier J. P. Morgan (1837-1913), his son Morgan, Jr. (1867-1943), and real estate developer William Zeckendorf (1905-1976). Frick, Carnegie, and Morgan Sr. are actually contemporaries of John D. Rockefeller Sr., but they are included here because the tail end of their careers coincides with the beginning of Rockefeller Jr.'s philanthropy.

Of all these figures, it is Rockefeller Jr. who very early on deliberately presented himself as a philanthropist rather than an administrator of his family's industrial empire. This is not to say he had no relationship to Standard Oil; rather, as Chapter Two emphasizes, he gave up an *official* role in Standard's administration, leaving this job to people outside the Rockefeller family, and presented himself primarily as a philanthropist trying to responsibly dispense the wealth acquired by his father. In comparison, Edsel Ford, founder of the Ford Foundation and a second-generation industrialist like Rockefeller, was President of the Ford Motor Company from 1919 until his early death in 1943.

In terms of architecture, this group of men built innumerable libraries, museums, schools, residential developments, office towers, and other buildings and institutions. Perhaps Rockefeller promoted his image as a keen builder because he was aware that other elites were also indulging in this same activity.<sup>35</sup> For example Andrew Carnegie financed the construction of nearly three thousand libraries and understood the significance of leaving a legacy in stone, even calling the

Carnegie Free Library of Allegheny his “domestic Taj [Mahal].”<sup>36</sup> But Carnegie is not celebrated for his aesthetic sophistication and, outside of some important stipulations regarding ornament and material for major buildings, I cannot find (published) evidence that he was intimately involved in the construction of his projects. Rockefeller did not supervise the construction of *all* of his projects either, but he was famously involved in—amongst other things—the landscaping at Kykuit and the long-running reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg. He also paid attention to the smallest details at International House New York, and he spent years laying out carriage roads at Acadia National Park. William Randolph Hearst, a poster child for yellow journalism who split his time between San Francisco and New York City, is a more likely comparison to Rockefeller. A Hearst biographer writes that the publisher was also a formidable art collector (Hearst and Rockefeller even took part in bidding wars for the same art objects), a builder (most notably of his estate at San Simeon, designed by Julia Morgan), and apparently New York City’s “number one realtor”—though evidence for this latter qualification is unclear to me.<sup>37</sup>

In terms of real estate developments, William Zeckendorf was another important figure at that time. Amongst his countless properties, Zeckendorf—for whom real estate was his primary source of wealth rather than a side venture—owned the option to a large parcel of land on Manhattan’s East side, which Rockefeller purchased from him in 1946 on behalf of the United Nations.<sup>38</sup> Another important figure at this time, publisher Henry Luce, was an enthusiastic

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<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, real estate is an avenue for investing and make large sums of money. It is therefore possible that such wealthy figures would have turned to it, regardless of any motivation to compete with what others around them were doing.

<sup>36</sup> David Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006), 268, 327.

<sup>37</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000). Note that the estate at San Simeon, designed by Julia Morgan, was started in 1919, nearly a decade after Rockefellers Sr. and Jr. began work at Kykuit.

<sup>38</sup> Zeckendorf had hoped to build on this parcel a complex that could rival Rockefeller Center. See Robert Selmer, “The Man Who Wants to Build New York Over,” *LIFE*, October 28, 1946, 67.

admirer of Rockefeller Center, even moving his magazine empire into the new development.<sup>39</sup> He eventually sought a more suburban campus and enlisted architect Eero Saarinen to design it. But based on both his staff and Saarinen's advice, he abandoned the project and remained at Rockefeller Center. Luce had more modern tastes than Rockefeller, hiring Edward Durell Stone to design his house in South Carolina. His interest in architecture is also reflected in the magazines he owned: he purchased *Architectural Forum* and started *House & Home* magazine.

These builders and industrialists were also deeply interested in America's relationship to the world and in associated socio-cultural enterprises. Rockefeller's attempt to flag the next war is hubristic, but Henry Ford, too, believed he could prevent—or at least halt—a global war. Ford, who was a firm isolationist during the Second World War, chartered a steamer to Europe in the midst of the First World War, either as a publicity stunt or because he was certain he could persuade European leaders to end the war. Either way, the plan failed.<sup>40</sup> Hearst, meanwhile, has been called an isolationist, but his isolationism is complex and relative.<sup>41</sup> He called for America to remain neutral in the First World War not only because he was an anti-monarchist—and Europe's war was between monarchies—but also so that America could conserve its military strength to fight a battle with Japanese forces in the Pacific, which Hearst believed was imminent. He also tried to force the United States into a war with Mexico, and his papers helped sell the Spanish-American War of 1898. In this respect Rockefeller Jr. is very different from Hearst.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Alan Brinkley, *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 237.

<sup>40</sup> For more on Henry Ford, see Richard Bak, *Henry and Edsel: The Creation of the Ford Empire* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2003); Vincent Curcio, *Henry Ford* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> Nasaw, *The Chief*.

<sup>42</sup> Hearst and Rockefeller differed in other ways too. First, Hearst was a politician, serving in Congress and running unsuccessfully for President on the Democratic ticket (and for mayor of New York); Rockefeller was not *directly* involved in politics. Second, Hearst was a self-serving proponent of the trust-busting that finally broke up Standard Oil. Third, when America eventually entered the Great War, Hearst reluctantly lined up behind Woodrow Wilson,

While Rockefeller actively supported American participation in the First World War—largely because he believed it would right the world—he does not appear to have advocated American occupation or invasion of countries outside of this, urging instead cultural and scientific avenues for political and economic pursuits. He was not a staunch patriot like Hearst and he did not articulate a stringent position of American exceptionalism like Luce, who, in 1941, wrote of an “American Century.”<sup>43</sup> Rockefeller was more careful in his choice of words with regards to America’s relationship to the world, but, like Luce, he *did* believe that America—and elites in particular—should lead the world.<sup>44</sup> Henry Luce’s vision of remaking the world in America’s image is but a few steps away from Rockefeller-funded institutions, such as International House New York, which sought to influence the politico-economic thinking of future world leaders.

It is in his exceptional emphasis on religion where Rockefeller truly parts ways with these other figures. While Hearst, a Presbyterian, opposed the First World War partly on moral, Christian terms, he was not an overtly religious person or one who supported religious causes. In fact, if he did use Christianity in any way, it may have been to advocate *for* American militarism.<sup>45</sup> Carnegie, born to a Scottish Presbyterian family, was “devoutly agonistic.”<sup>46</sup> Turned off by the Presbyterian Church’s constant emphasis on human guilt and sin, his father instead joined the Swedenborgian church, and his mother, who was a major influence in

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but he had spent a great deal of money and ink on denouncing the war, and denouncing Britain in particular, even publishing accounts of the war from the German perspective. Rockefeller campaigned on behalf of American entry in the First World War. When the war ended, Hearst became an isolationist and deeply anti-communist (though all of the men featured in the text above were anti-communist). Hearst had always been anti-Japanese as well.

<sup>43</sup> Luce, “The American Century,” 61–65.

<sup>44</sup> Though not quite like Luce in his patriotic fervor, Rockefeller’s reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg would appear to have a nationalist flavor.

<sup>45</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 64.

<sup>46</sup> Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie*, 8.

Carnegie's life, became a Unitarian. She was particularly interested in the teachings of William Ellery Channing, an important early figure in the theological modernist movement.<sup>47</sup>

Henry Luce is an important exception.<sup>48</sup> The child of Presbyterian missionaries to China, he remained interested in religion throughout his life. His magazine, *Time*, routinely featured religious figures, theologians, and writers. Although Luce appears to have been a theological modernist, he had a wide range of interests: at one time, he considered conversion to Roman Catholicism; later in life, he became intrigued by the evangelical movement in Protestantism—especially the figure of Billy Graham. Luce helped build the National Presbyterian Church in Washington D.C., as well as a chapel in a Taiwanese university.<sup>49</sup> The Luce Foundation, meanwhile, actively earmarks a portion of its funds for religious causes.

But Rockefeller's repeated and explicit calls for a united church—which could then unite the world—are not really echoed in the lives and words of most of those who occupied the same economic bracket as him. Rockefeller came from a famously devout Baptist family. He began to embrace modernist thinking and Christian ecumenism under the influence of modernist theologians and pastors in New York. He appears to have given more money than Luce—and given it earlier—for religious purposes.<sup>50</sup> His many explicitly religious causes have led me to approach his secular philanthropy and architectural patronage through the lens of religion as well. I should note that despite this difference between Rockefeller and his fellow philanthropists and elites, my research can have important implications for scholarship on Luce, Hearst, and

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<sup>47</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 17-19, 22-23.

<sup>48</sup> Another exception is J. P. Morgan, an Episcopalian, who remained active in the church and was an important leader. Morgan is also an interesting figure because he pursued archaeology in Egypt around the same time that the Rockefellers began some early limited funding for the Egyptologist James Henry Breasted (before the Oriental Institute was officially launched). For more on Breasted, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

<sup>49</sup> Brinkley, *The Publisher*, 437.



others. While most of these figures did not indulge in religious philanthropy quite like Rockefeller, if we keep in mind that these men came largely from a Christian background (Zeckendorf is an important exception), what might we find if we examine their philanthropy and building through the lens of religion? But from here on in this dissertation, and in terms of contextualizing Rockefeller, I will focus primarily on studying his work in light of the church-affiliated figures and movements for internationalism between the two World Wars, rather than in terms of what his fellow industrialists were doing at the same time.

### I.3. Methodology

Rather than attempting an encyclopedic analysis of the scope of Rockefeller's extensive architectural legacy and patronage, my dissertation will focus primarily on two projects that, even in their titles, represent the diversity of his concerns and intended audience: the "Orient" and the "International." The Orient—obviously a subset of the international—nonetheless possesses a particular geographic, historic, and intellectual flavor. In Rockefeller's work, it refers to both China, which was an area of special interest to Americans in the early twentieth century, and to the region we know today as the Middle East.<sup>51</sup>

With the design and construction of **International (Student) Houses** in New York, Berkeley, Chicago, and Paris (1921-1936), Rockefeller aimed to address elite foreign students who had traveled to the United States to acquire economic and technological expertise for their

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<sup>50</sup> Rockefeller unquestionably focused on a *Christian* brotherhood, but he did attempt to make space for other religions. This was not an equitable project, as we will see, but he was also nowhere near the views of some of his compatriots, like Henry Ford, who was deeply anti-Semitic.

<sup>51</sup> Writing on the church-led campaign for internationalism, Gene Zubovich describes the movement as an attempt to form a relationship with "peoples living beyond the North Atlantic West." See Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism." Rockefeller, too, aimed to overcome the religious, cultural, and economic distances and differences that he perceived between the Orient on the one hand and America and Europe on the other. But within the United States, too, there was considerable intellectual

modernizing nations.<sup>52</sup> In the 1920s, China was an important source of these students. Archival and architectural analyses reveal that Rockefeller and other liberal American elites saw foreign students as ambassadors who could be prevailed upon to transmit an idealized image abroad of America as a place of moral superiority, economic bounty, and industrial justice, as opposed to a site of labor-capital strife. I will analyze how the transmission of this image was aided by the architectural design and ornament of the I-Houses—as these residences are popularly known—and by their larger urban-spatial settings.

Meanwhile, Rockefeller's support for the **Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago**, its publications, and the construction of its expedition-houses and museums in the Middle East, demonstrates his use of archaeology and architecture to help pry the Middle East's oil-rich, Biblical lands open to capitalist American influence, and to put Christianity on an evidentiary basis. By the time of the O.I.'s creation in 1919, control of Near Eastern archaeology was widely exercised as a proxy for political power by European imperialists—a fact that was not lost on Arabs, Egyptians, Turks, and other groups in the region, who sought independence from British and French empires. Using the rhetoric of science, the Oriental Institute attempted to distance itself from the political aspirations of fading empires and emerging nations, while simultaneously incorporating the region's ancient civilizations into the narrative of Rockefeller's

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distance between liberal East Coast elites like Rockefeller, and their countrymen, who were either religiously more orthodox or politically more left. Rockefeller's projects address both sites: America and the world-at-large.

<sup>52</sup> For the elite status of these foreign students, see Liping Bu, *Making the World Like Us: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2003), 85. Bu writes, "Most foreign students came from the elite class of their countries and would rise quickly to leadership positions after their return." She also notes that the students coming in to the United States were graduate students. See also section 4.3. of this dissertation for a more in-depth discussion on the foreign student population in America at the time.

internationalism and its emphasis on American leadership—a narrative that incidentally conflicted with local nationalist movements.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to their slightly different geopolitical emphases and sites, the I-Houses and the O.I. also show two different approaches to internationalism. Writing to an associate some years after the creation of the I-House, Rockefeller described the institution as “a laboratory for...the...practice of international fellowship among men and women.”<sup>54</sup> References to laboratories occur repeatedly in Rockefeller’s projects and reflect his belief—often implemented quite literally through eugenics—that observation, research, and experimentation could create a more perfect religion and human being. Archival evidence shows that although the I-House was built to accommodate foreign students within a cosmopolitan and religiously equitable setting, it simultaneously used cultural programming to create world leaders and thinkers in sync with

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<sup>53</sup> A note on nomenclature: the Oriental Institute operated (and to a reduced extent still operates) in a region that we now call the Middle East. According to the United States’ State Department today, this region includes Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, as well as some places where the Institute did not operate: the modern-day states of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates and others. Historically, however, the term Middle East is relatively new. In the nineteenth century (and for much of the early twentieth century) the term in use (by Europeans and Americans) was actually “Near East,” and this included, as Zachary Lockman notes, southeastern Europe, the Levant, Eastern Mediterranean lands, and “their hinterlands.” The Far East, meanwhile, was used to refer to India, China, Japan, and southeast Asia. Together, the Far East and the Near East made up “the Orient.” In 1902, “Middle East” was first coined by an American military historian, Alfred Thayer Mahan, who used it to refer to everything from west of (what is now) Pakistan to Arabia. Mahan reserved the use of Near East for the Balkans, western Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean. The distinction between the two terms no longer holds. The Balkans are now considered to be part of Europe; meanwhile, the terms Middle East and Near East refer to roughly the same area, “usually encompassing the present-day states of Turkey, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian territories it occupies, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, the smaller Arab principalities along the Persian Gulf,” and parts of Africa (Egypt, Sudan, and others). Since the Second World War, Middle East is the more popularly used term. As Lockman notes, the “Near East,” while still used, is generally recognized to be an antiquated term, much like “the Levant” or “the Orient.” It is clear from Lockman’s description that all of these terms do not merely refer to a geographic area. Coined by Europeans and Americans, their use indicates pejorative notions of what people or places may be considered “civilized,” with Europe and the West as bearers of civilization. Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 66, 96-97. In my work, to refer to the Institute’s field of operations, I will interchangeably use “Middle East” and “Near East,” reserving the latter mainly for “period” use.

<sup>54</sup> The full quote is as follows: “International House is a laboratory for a new kind of experiment - the day to day practice of international fellowship among men and women. Such a community of university students, representing all nations, living together beneath one roof, will further the case of peace throughout the world; for peace is the product of knowledge and understanding.” John D. Rockefeller Jr. (hereafter Rockefeller) to Robert G. Sproul, September 29, 1930, Folder 109, Box 17, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller (hereafter OMR), RAC.

Protestant Modernism and an American-led internationalism. These mostly graduate-level foreign residents came primarily from elite backgrounds and could be expected to assume influential positions after their stint in the US. By including select American students in the I-Houses, Rockefeller also attempted to address American isolationism.

While the I-House grounded internationalism within Protestant Modernism (and American leadership), the Oriental Institute helped produce this modern faith. The Institute was created in 1919, immediately after the Ottoman Empire's collapse. Its inception was guided by American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted, who vividly described to Rockefeller the project's timeliness. Publicly, the Institute described itself as an archaeological "research laboratory" that would study the ancient Near East to reveal how humans advanced from primitive savagery to early modern Europe, eventually resulting in the American civilization.<sup>55</sup> Although the Institute emphasized science, it *did* affirm Biblical narratives as well (and this is the central tension within Rockefeller's support for Protestant Modernism). Finally, by using the rhetoric of science and international intellectual cooperation, and by claiming democratic intentions towards emerging nation-states, the Institute distanced itself from European institutions in the region while simultaneously attempting to hold off local archaeologists' incorporation of ancient ruins into nationalist narratives, seeking instead to link modern America to the great civilizations.<sup>56</sup> While its emphasis on knowledge production and science put the Institute in the same sphere of action as American Protestant missionaries, who learned early on that education and medicine were easier spheres of influence and charity in the Middle East than

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<sup>55</sup> James Henry Breasted, *The Oriental Institute* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933), 1-2.

<sup>56</sup> On the Oriental Institute's use of science to distinguish itself from European archaeologists and institutions, there are many sources to choose from. See for example, John A. Wilson's quote in George W. Gray, *Education on an International Scale: A History of the International Education Board, 1923-1938* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1941), 79. Wilson was the Oriental Institute's Director after James Henry Breasted.

proselytization, the Institute was, with a few exceptions, not focused on building up local archaeological institutions and expertise.

In terms of my work's periodization, note that scholarship on *church-affiliated* internationalist movements situates the trends that make up this movement between 1900 and 1960. Meanwhile, religious historians who write about Protestant Modernism's trajectory within liberal Christianity in the United States and about the waning influence of the Protestant establishment within the US—which theological modernism sought to reverse—also study this same period. The philanthropic timeline for Rockefeller, who was active right up until his death in 1960, coincides with this periodization. Within this larger duration, my case studies are bookended by the two World Wars: the war that sparked Rockefeller's philanthropy and the one that his philanthropy was *designed to prevent*.<sup>57</sup>

The outbreak of the Second World War can cast Rockefeller's philanthropy and architectural patronage as an unmitigated failure, but it would be a mistake to think that buildings—and sometimes archival evidence of unbuilt projects—are the only remainder of his massive philanthropic effort. The public claim of Rockefeller's philanthropy was to prevent the war and promote theological modernity: these goals are not apparent in some aptly titled manifesto, but instead have to be figured forth from an analysis of his few speeches, from the writings of his interlocutors, and from other scholarship on his philanthropy. As we know, his aim of preventing the next war failed. And, while Protestant Modernism received a boost through his projects because of his exceptional monetary power, its explicit scientific enthusiasm was eventually suppressed and the term was retired due to persistent attacks by secular humanists,

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<sup>57</sup> It is in this inter-war period that Rockefeller initiated the bulk of his cultural and social projects.

neo-orthodox groups, and fundamentalists.<sup>58</sup> However, there *are* other things that have been realized in lieu of these goals, and these deserve to be studied because they persist today in some fashion. Foremost amongst these is the idea that America should lead the world. Internationalism persists but it has been transformed into imperialism. Capitalism, another tenet of the American gospel, is well and alive too. And, while some writers on the liberal Protestant establishment note that its hegemony ended around 1960, recent scholarship shows that a more orthodox interpretation of religion in America—of Christianity, specifically—was given a considerable boost by the onset of the Cold War, and that the US government assumed a leading role in this.<sup>59</sup> In other words, the *method* that Rockefeller employed to aim for internationalism, and his underlying motivation for theological modernism (i.e., American and Protestant hegemony), became the things that survived and thrived.

Recognizing that Rockefeller's built projects have, with the passage of nearly a century since their inception, become sites of "ambient" Protestantism and American exceptionalism, my dissertation is trying to bring out the urgency and deliberation with which Rockefeller positioned Protestantism and America as the means to international peace and how this ideology was inscribed in the architecture and urban sites he funded.<sup>60</sup> With regards to Protestantism

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<sup>58</sup> For the attack by secular humanists, neo-orthodoxy, and fundamentalists on theological modernism, see Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 257-287.

<sup>59</sup> See Jonathan P. Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>60</sup> Matthew Engelke writes on "ambient faith," describing it as a condition where religion or religious expression occupies a gray area between private and public: religious expressions and symbols, when intentionally placed in the background in a public space, can still emotionally move people and thus come forward depending in part on each individual's personal inclinations and faith. See, Matthew Engelke, "Angels in Swindon: Public Religion and Ambient Faith in England," *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 1 (February 28, 2012): 155-70, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2011.01355.x>. In her study on Catholicism's lingering power in contemporary France, Elayne Oliphant borrows Engelke's concept of ambience and applies it to architecture, noting that for a particular religion to operate in the background (suggesting the possibility that it can be easily ignored) requires immense power and privilege. She emphasizes this point by noting the hypervisibility of Islam in the French public sphere. Islam—specifically some of the rituals, costumes, aesthetics, and beliefs associated with it—does not have the ability to go unnoticed, in contrast to Catholicism, which goes largely unnoticed and unmentioned and is thus allowed to prevail. See Elayne Oliphant, "Working Paper," Presented at Pious Technologies and Secular Designs,

specifically, this is easily evident in ecclesiastical buildings, of which Rockefeller sponsored several, but it is the mechanics by which these ideas appear in his secular philanthropy that are more interesting and telling, particularly since Rockefeller did not see a distinction between secular and spiritual philanthropy.

What do Protestant Modernism and American Internationalism look like in the built environment? To advance theopolitical modernity—and to create an environment of “ambient faith”—Rockefeller and his architects, builders, and engineers did not adopt a new or consistent architectural language that could be easily identified with their work. Neither did they embrace the architectural modernism of the early 1900s. To understand how and why they turned to architectural historicism and eclecticism, I pay particular attention not only to each project’s final aesthetic but also to the processes and discussions leading up to the Rockefeller team’s selection of architect, their identification of the appropriate architectural prototype or style for each building, and their deliberations as they selected the ideal urban or rural setting for each project. These discussions and debates reveal the significance of particular geopolitical sites for the Rockefeller team. In addition to looking at how ideology is spatially realized in architecture, I also examine attempts by geo-political so-called peripheries to resist American internationalism, and how this too is articulated in the built landscape. These negotiations are, by and large, richly documented in American and foreign archives. Where design-related correspondence is not available, I instead examine drawings and photographs, triangulating these with administrative correspondence and secondary literature.

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Conference at Columbia University in the City of New York, October 13-14, 2017 (cited with permission of author). Borrowing from Engelke and Oliphant, I suggest that although Rockefeller’s projects do not seem overtly theopolitical to us today, this is not evidence of their impotence. In fact, they are ambiently theopolitical, and this ambience was achieved through deliberate administrative and architectural decisions, which are chronicled in the archives.

What shall we call this building style? Taken out of context, the term “Protestant Modernism” may be mistaken for an aesthetic movement. Since it lends itself so easily to a conversation on style, I propose to use it for dual purposes: as both a theological term (which is its origin) and as an architectural term that refers to the buildings and landscapes that support the theological movement. (To reduce confusion, I will always clarify when I use it as an architectural term.) I want to emphasize that Protestant Modernism *is not a coherent aesthetic*. It is, in my argument, ideologically unified, albeit stylistically eclectic. If there is any kind of aesthetic consistency across these projects, it is to be found in their site specificity (the way each building or complex responds to its larger site). My formulation and study of an aesthetic category thus marks a departure from standard architectural histories that focus instead on stylistic and iconographic coherence rather than on the historicist site-specificity we see in Rockefeller’s projects.

A final note regarding method: this dissertation contains within it a prosopography. While Rockefeller communicated his thoughts on the design of a building or the use of ornament very forthrightly, he only occasionally stated his ideological aims outright. (When he does, I make sure to include that evidence here.) To properly draw out Rockefeller’s intentions, it is thus important to also look to his extended network of advisors and beneficiaries, who sometimes acted as his interlocutors. These figures were not fully or unequivocally in concert with his thinking and actions, but the values and goals he held dear are clear in the manner that those around him adapted their own ambitions and language to appeal to him.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> I should note here that, in my opinion, Rockefeller’s reticence on the ideological front makes his communications over architecture even more crucial, particularly because it was such an important medium for him.



## I.4. Organization

The architectural projects sponsored by Rockefeller and examined here are shaped by myriad concerns: religion, politics, philanthropy, culture, and science. To understand his projects' architectural and urban-spatial conception and execution, and to gauge their scholarly reception, it is necessary to look simultaneously across multiple disciplines. Although I have sketched the status of some of the existing scholarship in this introduction, **Chapter One** provides a more extensive literature review from Architectural History, American Studies, histories of philanthropy, and biographical accounts of Rockefeller. As Protestant Modernism and the church-led Protestant internationalisms are obscure movements to us today, I also use this chapter to give a sense of the scholarly work on these two topics and, through this work, to clarify the history of these movements and introduce important figures, terminology, and dates.<sup>62</sup>

**Chapter Two** provides an overview of Rockefeller's larger business interests and philanthropic oeuvre, against which the theopolitical concerns and architectural realization of the International House movement and the Oriental Institute are later read. I have organized these interests and projects within a system that is simultaneously chronological and thematic: the chronological order is used to give a clear picture of the timeline of Rockefeller's developing interest in architecture and philanthropy, and his first contacts with the theological and architectural ideas and figures that would recur throughout the course of his philanthropic career; within this chronological structure, the thematic grouping is used to identify larger ideas that recur in his philanthropy, such as his identification of foreign monuments as "world heritage," or

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<sup>62</sup> Note that Chapter One focuses on literature that broadly addresses Rockefeller's oeuvre as a whole and its larger themes. Detailed literature survey on the two case studies appears instead in the chapters dedicated to these projects.

his interest in creating a centralized, corporate-like system for interdenominational unity.<sup>63</sup> I also sketch the political and historical context for his philanthropy, touching on the so-called Gilded Age, the emergence of scientific philanthropy, labor issues in the United States, and other related topics.<sup>64</sup>

Four subsequent chapters present a closer look at the two projects at the center of my dissertation. **Chapter Three** focuses on Rockefeller's first major transatlantic project: the creation of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1919. I introduce American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted, who first approached Rockefeller with the idea to create an institution dedicated to Near Eastern archaeology and demonstrated to him how the work of such an organization could be relevant to his religious and scientific interests. I also describe the deep history of foreign archaeological and political activity in the Middle East, which I argue is necessary for understanding the American enterprise. This chapter does not focus on architectural projects; rather, it establishes the context for an in-depth discussion of the design and construction of the Institute's museums and expedition-houses in Chapters Five, Six and, to an extent, Seven.

**Chapter Four** focuses on the design and construction of the first International Student House in New York (1921-1924), which was planned as nothing less than the global center for internationalism. It also looks at the subsequent construction of Riverside Church across from the I-House, and the re-design of the city-owned Claremont/Sakura Park in between the two buildings. I situate these projects' ideological conception and social programming within the larger interest in foreign students in America at that time. I show how Rockefeller's motivations

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<sup>63</sup> Individuals who are specific to only the I-House movement (Harry Edmonds) or the Oriental Institute (James Henry Breasted) will be properly introduced in the chapters dedicated to these case studies.

<sup>64</sup> Note that Chapter Two will not delve further into the life and works of other industrial elites—like Carnegie, Hearst, Ford—unless these relate directly to Rockefeller's philanthropy or advance our understanding of it.

differed from some of these other movements—particularly in his focus on modernist theology instead of either secularism or evangelical Christianity as the basis of internationalism. I then use the larger historical context, and Rockefeller’s specific agenda, to understand the I-House’s architectural and urban-spatial realization within its immediate neighborhood and the larger city.

**Chapter Five** focuses on Rockefeller’s first architectural project on behalf of the Oriental Institute: a proposal to build the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo. While most of the Institute’s later projects were successfully built, this proposal was rejected by its intended audience. The project and its rejection were covered in the American and foreign media at the time, but they have since become a side note to Rockefeller’s other projects, which in contrast were successfully realized. In my work, I give it space because the failure of this project—and of Breasted and Rockefeller’s attempt to use monuments located in a distant land to privilege a narrative of America and Christianity over Egyptian nationalism and European imperialism—reveals the complex political and cultural moment in which he had attempted to intervene. By paying attention to this project’s architectural and urban-spatial design, alongside its legal-administrative conception, I reveal the imperialism inherent in Rockefeller’s internationalism. The project also reveals an instance in which the geopolitical periphery—Egypt in this case—likewise leveraged architecture as a medium to respond to Rockefeller’s theopolitical message. The Oriental Institute’s next major attempt to design and build its infrastructure (archaeological dig-houses in the Middle East and a headquarters in Chicago) all happened in a quick and successful burst between 1929 and 1931, a few years after the Egyptian Museum’s failure. This story, and the significance of these buildings, is covered in **Chapter Six**.

Having thus far confined my two examples to separate chapters (in order to better discern the different textures of Rockefeller’s philanthropy, aims, and methods), I bring them back

together to see how they might productively complicate each other. **Chapter Seven** does this work and concludes my analysis of these projects. In it, I examine the O.I. and I-Houses' architectural and financial trajectories in the years leading up to the Second World War. Rockefeller's stated aim had been to prevent this war. Sometimes, in speaking of a person or institution's work, it can be easy to mistake it as a preformed unilateral, unidirectional, and unchanging ideology. But such an ideology is usually born out of many competing impulses and can be recalibrated with each project and each succeeding year to adjust to new conditions and to flaws in the original approach. I grapple with the apparent failure of Rockefeller's ideology, and use the I-Houses' and Oriental Institute's paths to study the flaws in Rockefeller's internationalism and show how his program was successful in other ways—for example in America's more overt assumption of power in the world after the War.

In selecting my examples, I chose primarily to look at Rockefeller's secular philanthropic projects, instead of the explicitly religious ones, because the most interesting aspect of his philanthropy—to me—is the strength of its theological impulse, which underpins religious and secular projects alike. In this final chapter (Chapter Seven), I briefly bring in a third kind of project, a for-profit real estate development: New York City's Rockefeller Center. Built over the course of the Great Depression and the Second World War, in the latter half of the interwar period I have chosen to study, this project—particularly in its unrealized and little-known plan to build a chapel at the summit of the main tower—embodies the ideology of Rockefeller's philanthropic oeuvre as well as its flaws and relative successes.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> I have put my discussion on Rockefeller Center at the very end because the chapters that will precede it—and their in-depth analyses of Rockefeller's religious philanthropy and of the I-Houses and Oriental Institute—will provide a firm basis for a discussion on Rockefeller's Center's religious meaning and purpose. Otherwise, the proposed chapel could merely appear to be a fascinating but irrelevant deviation from his larger architectural patronage. For the unrealized plan to build a chapel at the summit of the main tower, see *Specifications Rockefeller Center Development: Thematic Synopsis; Blanket Spec's; Plaza, Ramp & Tunnel*. Call number AA 6230 R324.

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Of Rockefeller's pursuit of internationalism, Fosdick observed architecture's role as a support system as well as its ultimate limitations:

Of course neither an appropriate site nor lofty buildings of stone and glass can bring to fulfillment the ideal of international amity. Peace and security must exist in the desire and emotions, the purposes and plans of men. Mr. Rockefeller's own comment on his gift [of land for the United Nations headquarters] was confined to this laconic observation: "I hope it helped."

Later he [Rockefeller] said: "The real values of life are not purchasable with money. You can't buy peace and good will. If you could, the problems that face us would be simple. **All you can do, at most, is to help provide a setting, a scaffolding, an atmosphere, a soil, perhaps, where these values can have at least some chance to grow** [emphasis mine]."<sup>66</sup>

Bearing in mind my argument that the values Rockefeller pursued are more complex than what he and Fosdick present here, my work, then, is an attempt to study the details of the *architectural* "scaffolding" behind Rockefeller's philanthropy, the actual values it intended to support, and to determine their trajectory, evolution, relative successes and failures.

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Source & Courtesy: Avery Drawings and Archives Collection (hereafter Avery Archives), Columbia University in the City of New York, NY (hereafter Columbia University).

<sup>66</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 401.

# 1

## Literature Review

John D. Rockefeller Jr. serves as the glue for an intricate web of theopolitical, aesthetic, and socio-cultural ideas that I will investigate in this dissertation. His vast interests and network of actors (architects, archaeologists, astronomers, lawyers, philanthropic advisors, scientists, and theologians) made an architecturally and ideologically complex patronage possible. And so, although my interest in Rockefeller's work has emerged from the field of Architectural History, it necessarily relies on the scholarship of—and has important implications for—a broad body of literature representing Religious Studies, American Studies and U.S. in the World, and the history of philanthropy. Embracing a kind of post-disciplinarity can enable a fuller comprehension of his multifaceted oeuvre. I have divided the literature review into two broad sections: literature on theopolitical ideas and terms; and, literature on architecture, philanthropy, and American Studies.

### **1.1. Protestantism, America, and the World (1900-1960): Literature Review & History**

In this section, I take a closer look at the two theopolitical terms and movements that are central to my understanding of Rockefeller's philanthropy: Protestant Modernism and Protestant internationalism. (The latter is a useful combination term for the interrelationship between Protestant Modernism and American internationalism). Any mention of Rockefeller's internationalist projects is bound to elicit one of two assumptions. On the one hand, the term

“internationalism”—on its own—suggests a movement or state of affairs that is equitable or symmetric in terms of the distribution of power amongst the various entities that are involved within it. This may lead us to assume that Rockefeller’s internationalism was entirely fair and just or designed to produce such a world. On the other hand, the association of the Rockefeller name with the Standard Oil Company—the first multi-national corporation in the world and a focus of trust-busting actions and “muckraking” journalism in America in the early 1900s—can cast Rockefeller’s philanthropy as unmitigated imperialism and his overtures as Janus-faced. As I have already suggested, neither of these positions is absolutely true nor fully explains his motivations. Here, I will clarify and complicate Rockefeller’s internationalism through an elucidation of its theological underpinnings.

I seek here to provide both a broad overview and some sense of the texture of movements that acted as context or foil to Rockefeller’s work. I begin by explaining the genealogies of internationalism, as well as the different *kinds* of internationalism during the first half of the twentieth century, of which Rockefeller’s internationalism was just one variety. The application of Protestantism to internationalism itself did not constitute a single cohesive movement. For example, in the view of former Chief of Staff of the United States Army, General Douglas MacArthur, Christianity dictated that such an internationalism should be held together militarily—not through pacifism (or culture).<sup>1</sup>

I also review recent literature that examines the North Atlantic West’s church-affiliated

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<sup>1</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 21, 63-64. Thompson shows us that religion could be used as a weapon by Americans who supported militarism at the same time that it was being used as a force for creating solidarity with the larger world. He writes that in 1931 *The World Tomorrow* published the results of a survey, which showed that a majority of Protestant clergymen in the United States were opposed to American interventionism and nationalist-military rhetoric. In response, General Douglas MacArthur accused the journal (and the clergymen) of violating the proper relationship between religion and patriotism in the United States, and even of being unChristian. Newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst chimed in on MacArthur’s side: “It was high time for someone in authority to voice the contempt of the nation for [this] sapping expedition against the national defense.” MacArthur and his supporters believed, as Thompson puts it, that “Jesus had come not to bring peace but ‘a sword,’” and that in

ecumenical movements for internationalism, with which Rockefeller's private patronage and philanthropy at times corresponded in goals and actors. These movements, as I have already indicated, attempted to engage with non-Western churches, and the non-West generally, in order to establish both a centralized and official global authority for Protestantism, and Protestantism as the basis for a global community. Scholars of these church-led movements have referred to them variously as international Protestantism, universal Protestantism, and Christian internationalism. For ease of reference, and to distinguish them from Rockefeller's independent and private version, I will refer to these movements as **church-led (or church-affiliated) Protestant internationalism**.

I place John D. Rockefeller Jr. and my case studies in relation to this rushing, swirling stream of internationalisms—Protestant and otherwise—in order to identify and demarcate the contours of his particular approach. Between 1900 and 1960, the time period of Rockefeller's philanthropic projects, the web of internationalist movements in the world was so thick that it can be quite hard to distinguish where a church-led internationalism begins and Rockefeller's network of projects and institutions ends. Often, his projects not only intersected with the various internationalist streams, they also helped shape their direction and flow. But demarcation—however difficult—is necessary because, despite overlaps, the methods and motivations of Rockefeller's philanthropy are unique.

Just as there were many different kinds of internationalism, there were also many different understandings of Protestantism. I have attributed Rockefeller's program, in part, to one particular—now-obscure—movement within Protestantism that was quite controversial in this period: **Protestant Modernism**. The second half of this section presents Modernism's deeper

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American religion and patriotism went "hand in hand."



history as well as the controversies associated with it that ultimately led to its censure in America. Once again, Rockefeller was not a passive recipient of this theology, and I show his important advocacy on its behalf.

### ***Different Internationalisms***

Citing the work of international relations scholar Fred Halliday, historian Michael G. Thompson, who writes on “Christian internationalism,” notes that the term internationalism “[contains both] an empirical observation—the world is interconnected—linked to a normative claim: people should better realize their interconnectedness.”<sup>2</sup> But thoughts on how this interconnectedness should be achieved, and towards what purposes it should be marshaled, have varied. Historically, the term has been mobilized by opposing groups (socialists, Wilsonian liberals, ecumenical Protestants) through different sites (institutions like the League of Nations or journals like *The World Tomorrow*) depending on the end-goal or perceived threat.

To trace the origins of internationalism, we must first turn to the coining of “international” by English philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1780.<sup>3</sup> Bentham used this word to describe a legal framework that could exceed individual states and help govern “mutual transactions of sovereigns.”<sup>4</sup> Glenda Sluga has traced the genealogies of “internationalism” that followed Bentham’s conception of “international.”<sup>5</sup> In her view, modern Western

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 6. See also Fred Halliday, “Three Concepts of Internationalism,” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 64, no. 2 (1988): 187–98, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2621845>. Thompson provides a very useful overview of the term “internationalism” and its genealogy. I rely on his work heavily in my own literature review, but I have also included in this section the work of other scholars I find helpful, such as Akira Iriye and his view of a “cultural internationalism.” Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2007) - a republication of Bentham’s work from 1780.

<sup>4</sup> Bentham quoted in Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 3-4. See also Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 6-7.

internationalism has two major intellectual genealogies. The first can be traced back to the Enlightenment ideas of German philosopher Immanuel Kant who, in a 1784 essay titled “Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent,” argued that peace could only be achieved through a “universal, *cosmopolitan* state [emphasis original].”<sup>6</sup> In a further essay written in 1795 and titled, “Toward Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch,” Kant reinforced this argument, arguing for a universal and cosmopolitan community of nations.<sup>7</sup> In the latter essay, produced during the French Revolution and specifically responding to the Treaty of Basel between Prussia and France, we find that Kant was not interested in negotiations or transfers of power, which he understood as “the suspension of hostilities, not a *peace*”; rather, he was interested in a type of total peace that would be mandated by reason and governed by cosmopolitan law, and he held the eventual attainment of such a peace as the only real measure of human progress.<sup>8</sup> But Kant did not use “internationalism” to describe his vision; the term was only officially coined (in English and French) for a later mid-nineteenth-century version that elevated class solidarity over nationalism and “support[ed] ... transnational, non-state-bound class interests as the stepping-stone to radical economic egalitarianism.”<sup>9</sup>

I argue that Rockefeller’s internationalism, although deeply critical and wary of the excesses of nationalism at home and abroad, reflects the Kantian possibility of a federation of nation-states. But unlike Kant’s vision, which imagines a symmetric internationalism attained

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<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 4. The italics are Kant’s. See Immanuel Kant, “Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent” (1784) in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays on Politics, History, and Morals*, translated by Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1983), 29-40.

<sup>7</sup> See James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann, *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant’s Cosmopolitan Ideal* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997); Immanuel Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch,” in *Kant’s Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss (Cambridge University Press, 1970); Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*; Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Bohman and Lutz-Bachmann, *Perpetual Peace*, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 4. Quoted in Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 7.

through a law that nations would submit to voluntarily after rational consideration, Rockefeller attempted to rely on one religion (Protestantism)—and one country (America)—for the attainment of a world community through *cultural* projects. As we will see in Chapter Four, the administrative and urban-spatial organization of International House New York illustrates this approach.

Within *American* movements for internationalism—which include the various official and unofficial strands of ecumenical Protestant internationalism and Wilsonian internationalism—some scholars recognize two main methods of achieving global interconnectedness: political internationalism and community internationalism.<sup>10</sup> Political approaches, advocated by state actors or their advisors, held that a “legal or institutional apparatus” such as the League of Nations or the Outlawry of War movement was necessary for achieving “a peaceful, non-revolutionary world order—a world order, incidentally, in which American interests and power might peacefully expand.”<sup>11</sup> An example of the political approach may be found in Wilsonian internationalism—i.e. in American President Woodrow Wilson’s attempt to create an international sphere of cooperation, as realized in the League of Nations (which the United States did not join). Supporters of the League included Raymond Fosdick, who spoke of the nationalist and the patriot in urgent and adverse terms as a “savage.”<sup>12</sup> Fosdick believed that a central organization, made up of all the nations of the world and promoting international cooperation, would be the most effective way of tempering nationalist movements and—eventually—

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<sup>10</sup> Sondra R. Herman, *Eleven Against War: Studies in American Internationalist Thought, 1898-1921*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1969); Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 7-8.

<sup>11</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 8, 86-88. Motivated by Prohibition and other such movements that fought for wholesale bans, the Outlawry of War movement advocated what we might call a more totalitarian view of peace (Thompson uses the word “perfectionist”): a complete ban on war, to be achieved through an international law that nations would sign voluntarily.

<sup>12</sup> Fosdick, *The Old Savage in the New Civilization*, 51-52; David Steigerwald, *Wilsonian Idealism in America*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1994), 13-14.

achieving a stable world order.<sup>13</sup> Cooperation, as an avenue to peace, was a widely promoted concept in the League. In addition to political avenues for achieving cooperation, the League launched the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, which sought to bring together teachers, artists, scientists, and other cultural and intellectual figures from all nations in an effort to work side by side in archaeology, arts, universities and other so-called non-political spheres.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, radicals and intellectuals within America proposed instead a “community” internationalism that advocated “subversive” acts of agitation and activism against the dangers of the moment: “imperialism, racism, militarism, and nationalism.”<sup>15</sup> They understood these dangers to be “cultural, political, and indeed religious phenomenon,” rather than legal or institutional problems that might be resolved through the League of Nations or through international law.<sup>16</sup> It is important to note that proponents of community internationalism (social worker and activist Jane Addams or economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen) did not dismiss political approaches, but believed that official institutions were ultimately instruments of the powerful, and that a community-based approach could properly achieve an “organic world consciousness, a sense of international community among the peoples of different nations.”<sup>17</sup>

To these views of the different *strategies* of internationalism, I want to add the concept of

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<sup>13</sup> Thompson notes that the Outlawry of War advocates sought instead to literally outlaw war. They were less interested in slower “incremental” approaches, which they felt the League was advocating. Many critics of the League also thought that the latter was corrupt or that it “presupposed” the possibility of another war. Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 86-87.

<sup>14</sup> Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 10.

<sup>15</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 88.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Advocates of community internationalism sought directly to agitate against the Jim Crow South, for example. (The League of Nations’ intellectual cooperation program might fall into the sphere of community internationalism, were it not for its reliance on an institutional framework for achieving its goals.) Note that while community internationalism was different from the approaches of both the League and the Outlawry of War movement, it was particularly opposed to the latter.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. See also Herman, *Eleven Against War*, 114-178.

cultural internationalism, as defined by Akira Iriye, as a third approach. In contrast to community internationalism, this approach was favored not by radical intellectuals but by elite persons in America (and the rest of the West), who used it to try to unify the world along their values and beliefs after the devastating First World War. Iriye defines “cultural internationalism” as,

an idea, a movement, or an institution that seeks to reformulate the nature of relations among nations through cross-national cooperation and interchange [outside official diplomatic relations.]<sup>18</sup>

He notes that in the interwar period—the 1920s and 1930s—cultural internationalism confronted “geopolitical realism”: whereas the former was espoused by elite figures and the League of Nations as a strategy for maintaining peace, the latter was espoused by war planners around the world to combat the rise of fascism. Iriye argues that in the 1920s internationalism largely won out, with “students, tourists and literary exiles” entering nations instead of soldiers; in the 1930s, realism took greater precedence.<sup>19</sup>

These three methodological categories of internationalism—political, community, and cultural—are complex and, in my view, do not entirely preclude aspects of each other. In a way, this complexity in qualifying internationalism and the chosen method of its delivery is useful because it highlights the proliferation of internationalist attempts and theories in the interwar period. Rockefeller’s internationalism is similarly complex and actually borrows from each method.<sup>20</sup> Of these three approaches, he was, at first, perhaps least interested in the so-called political approach. Under Fosdick’s direction, Rockefeller aided *cultural aspects* within this

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<sup>18</sup> Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism*, 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>20</sup> The League of Nations is similarly complex, too. Iriye believes that the League’s program of intellectual cooperation was a type of cultural internationalism. Sondra Herman believes that it is part of a political approach. Perhaps the way out of this tangle is the obvious acknowledgement that the political and cultural are not entirely opposed to each other.

approach. Specifically, he funded the construction of a library and archive for the League of Nations' campus in Geneva—despite American non-participation in the organization. He also emulated the League's focus on intellectual cooperation—the word “cooperation” appearing repeatedly in his gifts to foreign countries.<sup>21</sup> Arguably better-funded than League-sponsored programs, and not subject to this organization's rules, Rockefeller's projects had probably greater freedom to pursue internationalist goals—unless of course they were rejected by actors in the countries that they were intended for. Note that some of Rockefeller's projects appear to fall into the sphere of—or perhaps mimic—community internationalism. I use the word “mimic” because while proponents of the community approach were radical and egalitarian, Rockefeller relied largely on creating a network of international *elites* who would speak the same capitalist, pro-American language—an alternate form of class-based internationalism. An example of this kind of “community” internationalism from Rockefeller's oeuvre is the I-House, which espoused an equitable atmosphere for all, but “all” here referred to all elites.

It is important to note here some obvious problems with the following terms: political, community, and cultural. Just as Rockefeller's projects defy complete classification in any of these categories, the categories themselves are more fluid than their theoreticians suppose, and each scholar uses them for slightly different purposes. For example, Iriye appears to see the use of culture for internationalism in the interwar period as apolitical or benign. He sees power (which he defines in the Hobbesian sense as “man's present means to obtain some future apparent need”) and culture (““structures of meaning,” including ‘memory, ideology, emotions, life styles, scholarly and artistic works, and other symbols’”) as two different entities: while they may work together, he argues that in the period and case studies he is looking at, culture charted

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<sup>21</sup> See for example Rockefeller's proposal to King Fua'd I for the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo in, *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (England: Oxford University Press, 1925).

a separate (and apolitical) course.<sup>22</sup> As we will see in Rockefeller's philanthropy, culture *is* power. Finally, none of these theoretical definitions take into account the role of religion or theology in the political, community, or cultural approaches to internationalism. In this respect, the following section on historians who have recently written about the internationalist movement(s) in Protestantism is relevant to my work.

### ***Protestant Internationalism - Existing Literature***

Recent scholarship on Protestant movements for an ecumenical internationalism focuses primarily on the words and actions of church leaders, missionaries, theologians, and associated intellectuals, roughly in the six decades between 1900 and 1960.<sup>23</sup> Since this is also the period of Rockefeller's philanthropy, I want to describe in some detail how historians have split up these sixty years, and what events, trends, and figures they deem to be most important within them. As I show in this and the next section, Rockefeller's philanthropy indisputably engaged with and influenced these church-led attempts at ecumenism and internationalism. Many of the important figures and texts of these church-affiliated movements were actually funded by Rockefeller, and the concerns of many of his earlier projects forecast later trends in church-led movement(s). But his very conscious use of architecture, his enormous wealth, his modernist beliefs and techno-scientific interests distinguish him from other Protestant internationalists and allowed for, I believe, a more ambitious scope.

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<sup>22</sup> For Iriye's definition of culture, see Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism*, 3. For his definition and writings on power, see *Ibid.*, 10-12.

<sup>23</sup> The year 1960 emerges as a crucial bookend in most studies on liberal (i.e. mainline) Protestantism—regardless of whether these focus on the international sphere or the domestic American sphere. The general consensus is that after 1960 evangelicals emerged as the politically stronger force at home in the United States; abroad, as we will see, in terms of attempts to create a global world order based on Protestantism, scholars acknowledge that these attempts were modified, or had been defeated by 1960, by accommodations to local particularities and struggles, such as nationalism. For domestic studies on liberal Protestantism and the changes wrought to it by 1960, see Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*, 11. See also Hutchison, *Between the Times*.

In the context of American Protestantism, I should note that while there is much scholarship that rightfully focuses on the complicity of Protestant leaders and churches in American expansionism and imperialism, I engage here with work that instead studies their attempts to transition from supporting imperialism to adopting ecumenism and internationalism to eventually accommodating nationalist movements.<sup>24</sup> I do this because Rockefeller's *public* claims for his philanthropy exist on this very same spectrum. Early in his career as a philanthropist, Rockefeller attempted to create a unified authority for all churches in America in order to establish a strong domestic faith that would then make possible a more concerted attempt by Americans to overcome the challenges posed to the Kingdom of God by rampant nationalisms abroad. In most of his projects, Rockefeller also positioned himself in the forefront of the transition from imperialism to accommodation. He claimed that he was placing democracy and self-government abroad at the center of his philanthropy; in practice, he privileged Western (mostly American) control of these very same projects.<sup>25</sup> Focusing on the literature that investigates the transition from imperialism to accommodation within the theological circles to which Rockefeller was adjacent, and familiarizing myself with the language used by theologians around this transition, gives me an opportunity to properly contextualize Rockefeller's claims and projects and to scrutinize them more firmly.

Note that in much of the scholarship that follows, ecumenism is defined as the movement

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<sup>24</sup> As an example of scholarship that focuses on the missionary connection to imperialism see, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism," in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 336–73. Michael G. Thompson has noted the "staleness"—and problems—of literature that focuses entirely on the relationship between American missionaries and imperialism. He writes that because of the emphasis on the imperial support provided by missionaries in the first decade of the twentieth century, what has been overlooked is that many of these same figures eventually transitioned into anti-imperialist positions. As an example, he offers the career of John R. Mott, a Rockefeller associate. See Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 191. I argue that it is this supposed transition from imperialism to anti-imperialism, whether complete or flawed, and the language around it that is most interesting to parse.

<sup>25</sup> Chapter Five on the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo illustrates this contradiction very



within Protestantism to embrace all churches—Eastern, western, orthodox—in the “quest for [their] reunification.”<sup>26</sup> Ecumenism was thus not envisioned as a stepping-stone towards secularism, but rather emerged to counter it and to make Protestantism stronger.<sup>27</sup> Some scholarship assumes that ecumenism and internationalism are the same thing; other works note that internationalism existed independent of ecumenism but eventually became associated with it.<sup>28</sup> Although each author inevitably emphasizes different aspects of the movement, the literature has some common themes, which are helpful to keep in mind as you read ahead. First, the authors note that Christianity, in its attempts to engage with and influence the world-at-large, is itself transformed by this process. Second, Christian leaders and intellectuals were forced to embrace ecumenism and nationalist struggles owing to outside forces: secularism, communism, and the specter of another major global war.

In his 2016 dissertation, *Against the World: International Protestantism and the Ecumenical Movement between Secularization and Politics, 1900-1952*, Justin M. Reynolds argues that the ecumenical movement in Protestantism, in the West, grew out of an attempt to “secure international consensus on the public role of the church among a politically polyglot

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clearly.

<sup>26</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 95. Note that “evangelical” and “ecumenical” are thorny and confusing terms. Today we understand evangelicals and ecumenists to be on very different sides of the theological debate. However, most Protestant denominations in America, including liberal groups, called themselves evangelicals after the Second Great Awakening (roughly 1790-1850). The meaning—and application—of the term changed only around 1942, when the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) was founded by fundamentalists (who had earlier challenged modernism in the 1920s) to organize against the more dominant liberal interpretation of Christianity that was espoused by the Federal Council of Churches (1908-1950) and later the National Council of Churches (1950-today). In comparison to the NAE, The FCC and NCC were “decidedly ecumenical” enterprises—as we would understand this term today: shaped by liberalism, they emphasized social work as an important part of religion, whereas the NAE argued that such an emphasis displaced actual religion and obscured important notions of human wickedness and Biblical infallibility. So, from this moment (i.e. around 1942), “evangelical” came to represent the fundamentalist position, and “ecumenical” was used to define the modernist-liberal position. See also Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*, 21-23.

<sup>27</sup> Reynolds, *Against the World*, 12.

<sup>28</sup> For the latter view, see Thompson, *For God and Globe*.

constituency that included liberals, conservatives, communists, and fascists.”<sup>29</sup> He writes that this attempt at creating a political authority for the church that would be widely recognized and accepted in an “age of global fracture” underwent three distinct phases.<sup>30</sup> Between 1900 and 1925 Protestant intellectuals drew upon theologically liberal ideas of God’s immanence in modern society to build an earthly Kingdom of God. Reynolds writes that to achieve this Kingdom, Protestants “sought to ‘Christianize’ the social order at home and extend Christianity abroad through missionary activities” and “the conversion of souls.”<sup>31</sup> According to Reynolds, this movement was strongest before the start of the First World War in 1914.

Having failed to achieve their goal—as was evident in the outbreak of a devastating war between Christian nations—between 1930 and 1950 Protestant leaders tried instead to create an official “worldwide church” that could then be “the basis of universal community.” Essentially, they decided that an official and widely recognized organization was necessary in order to realize a Christian world. Reynolds argues that it is this latter period that ushered in the ecumenical project as the basis of global Christian solidarity or internationalism, and that this project identified secularism (“repudiation of God”) as the root cause of instability in the world and thus as a common enemy that could unite Protestant churches regardless of their specific geopolitical or sectarian orientation.<sup>32</sup>

The fight against secularism began at first by trying to find a language that could appeal to secular groups, but it became less accommodating as the movement progressed: intellectuals and church leaders came to see secularism as something “pagan” that was deep-rooted in a variety of intellectual and political movements, such as Enlightenment rationalism, communism,

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<sup>29</sup> Reynolds, “Abstract” in *Against the World*.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Reynolds, *Against the World*, 4, 27.

and nationalism, which all posed a challenge to achieving a universal and Christian society.<sup>33</sup> Christianity, in contrast, came to be seen by its leaders as the only viable ground for world peace, and anti-religiousness became associated with “political polarization.”<sup>34</sup> The institution that marks the high point of the ecumenical project is the World Council of Churches (WCC), which was created in August 23, 1948, after the cessation of the Second World War.<sup>35</sup>

Reynolds notes that despite the fight against political polarization, in the end radical politics saved Protestantism. Between 1946 and 1952—the third and final period of Reynolds’s study—the WCC was attacked by critics in the West for being an arm of communism and, conversely, denounced by Eastern European churches as a vehicle of American imperialism. To find its way out of this controversy, the organization turned for direction to theological leaders in the Global South, who, instead of staying above politics, which had been the previous *modus operandi* of church leaders, proposed an interpretation of Christianity that no longer attempted to be the peace-keeping element in the globe but rather “its revolutionary solvent.”<sup>36</sup> In other words, Christianity was re-oriented to express solidarity with marginalized peoples and mobilized to support political revolutions.

Reynolds’s scholarship provides a useful—and at times contrasting—background for Rockefeller’s projects. For example, Rockefeller announced the International House New York project in 1921, at the tail end of a period during which, according to Reynolds, Protestant

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 409. See also Reynolds’s “Abstract.”

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 17. Note that the identification of secularism as pagan is interesting to me because it approaches the Rockefeller network’s conceptualization of nationalists as savages and nationalism as an alternate religion to Christianity. I will discuss this in greater detail in Chapter Two.

<sup>34</sup> Reynolds, “Abstract” in Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Based in Geneva, the World Council of Churches is an inter-church organization that aims to bring together Protestant churches in the Global North and South. The Catholic Church is not part of the WCC, but it does send observers to the Council’s conferences.

<sup>36</sup> Reynolds, *Against the World*, 6.

leaders had sought to create an earthly Kingdom of God through proselytization. As such, the I-House suggests the ecumenical movement ahead, and its design and urban placement show how Rockefeller imagined this ecumenism and internationalism would be structured (metaphorically speaking): asymmetrically, with America and Protestant Modernism in the lead. But while Reynolds argues that the ecumenical project was positioned against the theological liberalism “on which earlier forms of Protestant internationalism [were] based,” and grounded instead in a return to the Word of God, in the administration and internal correspondence of the I-House, Rockefeller and his advisors affirm theological liberalism as the reason for their success.<sup>37</sup>

Gene Zubovich’s 2017 piece, **“The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,”** charts the progression of

American Protestant thought about peoples living beyond the North Atlantic West, in Asia in particular, from 1900 to the 1960s.<sup>38</sup>

Zubovich’s work is important because he notes a tension between Christian ecumenists’ insistence on Christianity as a universal religion and their eventual realization that, to be effective, such a global religion would need to pay attention to local particularities. Rockefeller’s projects—particularly the New Egyptian Museum—demonstrate this same tension. This tension is particularly evident in the architectural decisions that were made to help projects relate to their particular geopolitical and physical sites while still maintaining a larger internationalist agenda.

Zubovich notes that American Protestants’ theopolitical engagement with nationalists and communists abroad underwent three different stages, and by the end of the third, it had

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<sup>37</sup> Reynolds, “Abstract” in *Ibid.* For more on theological liberalism and modernism as the basis of the I-Houses, see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

<sup>38</sup> Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,” 1. Zubovich concludes his study by challenging the widely-held belief that American Protestant “exclusivism” was ended only by the emergence of Catholics and Jews in the public life of the United States, arguing instead that it was ended in part by Protestant encounters with communism and emerging nation-states

transformed Protestantism itself.<sup>39</sup> He writes that at the century's beginning—roughly coinciding with the early part of Reynolds's "Kingdom of God" period—an internationalist-evangelical and white supremacist project envisioned Protestantism as a global uniting force, and that this project went hand-in-hand with Anglo-American imperialism. But by 1910, a year that many scholars see as the beginning of the global ecumenical movement, Protestantism's position of accommodating, supporting, and even relying on imperialism began to shift.<sup>40</sup> At a defining meeting between Protestant denominations in Edinburgh that year, Anglo-American Protestants acknowledged for the very first time that,

non-Western religions, including Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism, were not enemies of Christianity and that non-Western Christians would be partners in a global Christian movement.<sup>41</sup>

Zubovich writes that the main figure in this shift—the one who symbolizes *both* positions—was John R. Mott, a missionary and a general-secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA. Earlier in 1900 Mott had famously called for "the evangelization of the world in this generation," and put forward his ambition for Christianity to become,

a means to the mighty and inspiring object of enthroning Christ in individual life, in family life, in social life, in national life, in international relations, in every relationship of mankind.<sup>42</sup>

Zubovich writes that by 1928—the end of Reynolds's "Kingdom of God" period—Protestants

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abroad.

<sup>39</sup> Zubovich does not specifically distinguish between secularism and ecumenism, but in other ways he studies similar theopolitical phenomena as Reynolds.

<sup>40</sup> Note that Justin Reynolds is an exception and dates the ecumenical movement to post-1925.

<sup>41</sup> Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism," 3. Reynolds notes a similar acceptance of non-Western religions, but he dates this to a later period between 1930 and 1950.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism," 1. Originally, these phrases were published in John R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in*

began to understand that in order to establish Christianity as the basis of international relations, and as a global political force, they had to strip it of all associations that could be deemed hostile to actors and regions in the global South, particularly its support for Western colonialism. At an all-important International Missionary Council conference that year in Jerusalem, Mott and others noted that Christianity, if it were to remain relevant, had to embrace diversity—and the East.<sup>43</sup> The choice of Jerusalem as the site of the conference was intended to reinforce this growing ecumenical-international realization.

Mott was an important advisor and associate to Rockefeller. In fact, Rockefeller had helped sponsor the 1928 conference in Jerusalem. And so, the concerns of the ecumenical movement—and the turn to the East it advocated—explain Rockefeller’s own interest in the former Ottoman territories (as evidenced in his support for the Oriental Institute) and in China (as seen in his support for the I-Houses). What Christianity’s turn to the East meant, how it was implemented, whether it was equitable, and how it used architecture is a central question for me with respect to Rockefeller’s philanthropy.

Zubovich notes that the 1928 conference’s position of de-Westernizing Christianity was more firmly consolidated and articulated in 1932, when William Ernest Hocking critiqued the imperializing ideology of American Protestant foreign missions in his classic and controversial book, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen’s [sic] Inquiry After One Hundred Years:*

The world must eventually become a moral unity: to this end, it was necessary that the apparent localism of Christianity should be broken down. It must not be thought of as solely the religion of the West. It was because Christianity is *not* western, but universally human, that it must be

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*This Generation*, (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1900), 16.

<sup>43</sup> So, this moment—the 1928 Jerusalem conference—is seen to be pivotal for the ecumenical movement by multiple scholars. Essentially, it is a conference that acknowledged that for Christianity to survive, it must turn to the non-West. Meanwhile, Reynolds notes that secularism was first identified as an enemy in this conference.

brought back to the Orient and made at home there.<sup>44</sup>

Zubovich argues that at this stage Hocking and other American Protestants tried to have it both ways: they attempted to particularize the Protestant faith to local customs and needs while still advocating for a universalist Christianity. This duality—which I argue is apparent in Rockefeller’s architectural strategy—was the “central, unresolved ambiguity in the Protestant international project”: how to create a universal and unifying religious authority that would still be sensitive to local needs.<sup>45</sup>

As in Reynolds’s narrative, Zubovich notes that church leaders’ and theologians’ recognition of local struggles and needs was forced by the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922 and its support for nationalist movements around the globe—a move that made the USSR a champion for the cause of oppressed people, and threatened Christianity’s global claims. Zubovich notes that ecumenical Protestants were changed by their contact with Christian groups in China and the USSR, and by the threat of a socialist internationalism, and that in this they were different from other Protestants and Christians:

while [Protestant] fundamentalists and many Catholics positioned their faith as communism’s polar opposite, ecumenical Protestants had a more ambivalent relationship with the Soviet Union, which was full of fear, jealousy, mimicry, and compromise. In the complicated relationship with the USSR, communism acted as a mirror to the parochialism of American Protestantism, moving them further in their aspiration to discard their cultural baggage and emerge as a yet more universal force on behalf of social justice in the world.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,” 4. See also Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions*, 8.

<sup>45</sup> Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,” 4. Although Zubovich does not mention this, Hocking’s book was the result of a massive field study that had actually been financed by the Institute for Social and Religious Research, which Rockefeller had created. So, Zubovich’s choice of figures, books, and sites for the work of a church-led ecumenical Protestant internationalism is *overwhelmingly* tied to Rockefeller, even though Zubovich does not acknowledge this source of funding. I discuss this issue in greater detail later in this chapter.

<sup>46</sup> Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,” 5.

Communist and socialist regimes also embraced secularism and science. Liberal Protestants, too, had to embrace some part of these concepts and values, which resulted in their fundamentalist counterparts at home labeling them “communistic.”<sup>47</sup>

Zubovich notes that the Second World War briefly halted the ecumenists’ move towards particularism or pluralism, because unity was emphasized in this period. Protestant figures, such as Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxman, found a way around this problem by asserting that the protection of human rights, everywhere, should be the political ground for Christianity.<sup>48</sup> This position was affirmed in 1943 by another Methodist Bishop, Francis J. McConnell, who argued that the realization of a Christian civilization was a long-term project, and that advocacy for basic human rights and for liberalism would lay the groundwork for this civilization. This long timeline that was finally articulated by McConnell and others actually contrasts with the work of Rockefeller, whose pace and scope of philanthropic projects suggests that he believed the Christian civilization could be achieved—as Mott had said early on—within the century.

Bishop McConnell’s advocacy for liberalism as the ground for Christianity was opposed by Christian Realists, who argued that it was liberal democracy that needed Christianity as a foundation for survival—not the opposite. The quintessential Realist for Zubovich is Reinhold Niebuhr, a reformed theological modernist and former pacifist who argued for Christianity’s unquestionable primacy.<sup>49</sup> Niebuhr sought to return Christianity to its more conservative roots

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Zubovich identifies G. Bromley Oxman as a central and characteristic figure within the ecumenical liberal sphere, who had earlier supported Anglo-American imperialism. In 1919, after witnessing riots in which Hindus burned churches in Amritsar, Oxman had actually supported the brutal British suppression of Hindu nationalists there, but a trip to the USSR in 1926 showed him how “the Soviet Union was leading a great anti-imperialist drive across the world,” and he changed his position on Protestant support for imperialism so significantly that by the 1950s he was being investigated for communist ties and activities during the McCarthy era.

<sup>49</sup> Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and



and understood it as “a power beyond mankind”—quite different from how Protestant modernists and liberals approached the religion. In this, he appeared to advocate for a more Catholic version of Christianity.

Finally, Zubovich writes that, between 1940 and 1960, Protestant intellectuals were pushed even further towards upholding human rights and recognizing nation-states by their “coreligionists” in China and the USSR, who upheld communism at such important events as the WCC’s inaugural meeting in Amsterdam in 1948. Showing how much Protestantism and its language had changed over this period, Zubovich notes that, by 1960, Harvard scholar Wilfred Cantwell Smith could argue openly against Western and Christian “chauvinism” and “domination,” and ridicule the notion that Christianity could be a global unifying force.<sup>50</sup>

In his 2015 book, *For God and Globe: Christian Internationalism in the United States between the Great War and the Cold War*, Michael G. Thompson examines American Protestants’ opposition to *American* nationalism and imperialism in the 1920s and 30s—which he notes as a distinct development from earlier missionary support for these movements—and he analyzes these internationalists’ eventual engagement with the emerging ecumenical movement.<sup>51</sup> Thompson writes that (American) Christian internationalism was characterized by

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Communism,” 7. Michael G. Thompson has argued that rather than pushing a Christian imperialism, Niebuhr and the Realists actually sought to prevent this imperialism and saw the use of force, when needed, as a way to achieve this. Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 9 (and other pages). For more on the larger Realists’ group, see Mark Thomas Edwards, *The Right of the Protestant Left: God’s Totalitarianism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). Note that Niebuhr’s views on the necessity of American military intervention in the Second World War have been leveraged by many American Presidents as a justification for America’s military “activism” abroad.

<sup>50</sup> Zubovich notes that with such criticism against Western and Christian domination, Mott’s earlier call for a Christian world in this generation was instead carried on by neo-evangelicals in the 1960s and 1970s, who were led by theologians like Carl Henry, who in 1958 criticized China’s inclusion in the United Nations, arguing that recognition of difference and “admission into the family of nations” would not have a “reformatory effect” on non-Christian nations; only conversion to Christianity could achieve this. Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,” 1, 9.

<sup>51</sup> Thompson notes that he uses the descriptor “Christian” instead of “Protestant” because this is how the actors described themselves, not because this movement was indeed encompassing all of Christianity or even all of Protestantism. These actors were by and large ecumenists—not evangelicals, who are instead associated with the “crusading rhetoric” of the Cold War era or the earlier proselytization zeal—and they did not collaborate with

three things in the 1920s and 30s. First, after coming into increasing contact with the changing geo-political conditions of the interwar period, these internationalists sought to find new ways and means to think about “international ethics” and international relations. Chastened by the social and moral flaws they saw in their own country, internationalists jettisoned their earlier superior attitude towards other nations—which had been based upon their self-perception as the Christian nation *par excellence*—as well as their earlier call for evangelizing the world.<sup>52</sup> Second, Christian internationalism acted as a “check against [American] nationalism.”<sup>53</sup> Unlike 1917, when many Christian figures supported Woodrow Wilson’s “war for righteousness,” interwar internationalists did not support militarism; their position was also distinct from the later “crusading rhetoric offered by many mainline or evangelical Protestants in the early Cold War.”<sup>54</sup> In other words, if an attempt was made to mobilize Christianity for the advantage of the American nation, they opposed it. Third, they went beyond debating the merits of peace over war; rather, they opposed *everything* related to the “white peril.” The term is Sherwood Eddy’s—a missionary, philanthropist, and anti-nationalism advocate—and was used to encompass “American capitalism, imperialism, nationalism and racism in world affairs.”<sup>55</sup>

Thompson’s internationalists had their intellectual roots in the missionary movement and, like missionaries, understood international relations to be predicated and built upon interpersonal racial relations through community or intellectual apparatuses. Like liberal Wilsonian internationalists, Christian internationalists sought to combat communism, too, but they did not pursue Wilson’s political approach to internationalism. Thompson examines two particular

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Catholics. Catholicism had its own smaller internationalist movement. Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 5-6.

<sup>52</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 1-2.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* Thompson is quoting Harry Emerson Fosdick when he uses the phrase “war for righteousness.”

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

strands of Christian internationalism: radical anti-imperialist internationalism and the ecumenical internationalism that succeeds it. He picks two corresponding sites to investigate these strands. The first, *The World Tomorrow*, was a New York-based religious journal owned by Eddy and operated by minister and pacifist Kirby Page. The journal was a site for “radical anti-imperialist” thought.<sup>56</sup> Thompson notes that the journal eventually produced two kinds of thinkers: neutralists or pacifists, and realists/interventionists. Despite the opposite views that these terms might suggest, both camps claimed to seek an end to imperialism and racism.

The second site that Thompson examines is the ecumenical conference of the 1920s and 1930s, where the unification of churches became internationalism’s goal. He focuses on the 1937 Oxford Conference in particular, where he notes that realists and continental neo-orthodox theologians took over from anti-nationalist pacifists and idealists and asserted that neither nationalism nor internationalism would work on its own.<sup>57</sup> The key figure here is the American John Foster Dulles, who helped create the United Nations. Although acknowledging nationalism around the world as a problem, Dulles presented the American nation as an exceptional case. He saw the United States of America as a federation of states that had successfully created a kind of internationalist sphere amongst themselves. This is where Thompson’s work becomes particularly relevant for my dissertation. Thompson notes that Dulles held that the United States needed a civic faith—which he argued did not have to be Christianity, properly understood—that could unify its citizens and ignite within them the desire to go forth in the world and establish peace. Here, Thompson sounds a lot like Rockefeller. Thompson believed that England and France had once had this kind of faith but that the war had sapped it—a pronouncement that we

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>57</sup> Thompson is careful to distinguish American internationalism from Protestant internationalism. He writes that the latter was *Anglo-American*, and notes that the movement was only Americanized after the 1937 conference, and that the agent of this transformation was John Foster Dulles. See Thompson, *For God and Globe*.

will see echoed in some of Rockefeller's projects, particularly the Oriental Institute. Thompson's work on Christian internationalism ends here with Dulles and the story of how he "yoked" Christianity back to the idea of an exceptional American nation.<sup>58</sup>

Note that although Protestant internationalism—as defined by Zubovich et al.—was, like Wilsonian internationalism, a response to communist or socialist internationalism, other movements like pan-Arabism and transnationalism also emerged as important regional or cross-national challenges to western-led internationalisms in this period. Pan-Arabism was the idea that Arabs were united in their struggle against Western colonialism. It saw them as part of a single cohesive nation. Egypt did not subscribe to this thinking until the 1950s; instead, her nationalists identified with other more distant "brothers" in their fight against the British Empire (i.e. Indian nationalists) and formed a type of transnational anti-colonial movement.<sup>59</sup>

### ***Protestant Internationalism - Rockefeller's Status in the Literature***

John D. Rockefeller Jr. is rarely featured in this scholarship on ecumenical Protestant internationalism.<sup>60</sup> He was notably *not* a religious leader or theologian. But his private philanthropy does intersect with—and often foreshadowed—the concerns, actors, and sites of the church-led movements. For example, Thompson has described Hocking's *Re-Thinking Missions*—which Rockefeller helped finance—as the biggest example of critiques from *outside* the missionary world that forced intellectuals within it to re-think their enterprise, and to launch

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<sup>58</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 186-189.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Noor-Aiman I. Khan, *Egyptian-Indian Nationalist Collaboration and the British Empire* (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2011), 132.

<sup>60</sup> An exception here is Michael G. Thompson, who does note that Rockefeller funded the research and writing of *Re-Thinking Missions*. Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 17.

ecumenical and internationalist movements.<sup>61</sup> This is an important piece of information. It helps us locate Rockefeller with respect to the church-led movements: as a non-theologian or church-leader, he was outside of official movements to create a political voice for American Protestantism in the world; yet, as one of the wealthiest men in the world, and as someone interested in theology, his philanthropy intersected with, and helped shape the church movements, at crucial moments.

Meanwhile, Mott, who shows up repeatedly in the work of Reynolds et al., was an important figure in Rockefeller's advisory circle, too. Mott's views on proselytization as the main goal of foreign missions changed over time, and he instead came to believe that fighting secularism rather than other religions was the need of the hour. These beliefs emerged at the Jerusalem Conference, and they meshed with Rockefeller's own growing unease with the work of traditional Baptist missions, to whom he was giving money at least up until 1928. These changes in Rockefeller's thinking, and in Mott's, were eventually further bolstered by contact with Harry Emerson Fosdick—who was opposed to proselytization—and resulted in Rockefeller funding a massive study that led to *Re-Thinking Missions*.<sup>62</sup> I should note that Rockefeller also helped finance the all-important Jerusalem conference, where Mott et al. identified secularism as the enemy and declared that Christianity needed to embrace the Orient. Lastly, John Foster Dulles, who eventually harnessed Christianity to the American nation—despite decades of efforts by Christian radicals and intellectuals against this very possibility—was *also* a Rockefeller associate. Dulles was a Rockefeller Foundation trustee from 1935 to 1952; he was also U.S. Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959. While Rockefeller's association with Dulles, and the

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>62</sup> For the reasons behind the study that led to *Re-Thinking Missions*, see Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 155-156.

latter's coupling of Christianity to nationalism, may seem contradictory to the stated goals of Rockefeller's philanthropy, they also help explain the underlying American exceptionalism that I noted earlier in Rockefeller's projects.

Thus Rockefeller's actions on behalf of ecumenical American Protestantism and internationalism carry weight and deserve careful scrutiny. Indeed, William R. Hutchison, who has studied the domestic career of the mainline (liberal) Protestant establishment in the United States in this period, notes that it is the personal network of the establishment—i.e., those who they played or interacted with outside of official theological circles—that allowed the “seven sisters” or denominations within Protestantism to function as an established and powerful church, even without parliamentary sanction.<sup>63</sup> As one example of this personal network, he notes the extra-religious relationship between Harry Emerson Fosdick, his brother Raymond, and Rockefeller, as well as between Rockefeller and Mott. These connections between religious figures and other elites worked to mutual advantage, giving the former an aura of foreign and political clout and the latter the air of religious sanction.<sup>64</sup>

Hutchison argues that it is important to turn our lens to the members that make up the establishment's personal networks.<sup>65</sup> Although Hutchison himself does not do this, his call was taken up by his student, Albert F. Schenkel, who in 1996 wrote a book on Rockefeller's religious philanthropy: *The Rich Man and the Kingdom: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Protestant Establishment*.<sup>66</sup> Despite its relative obscurity the book is important because Schenkel presents

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<sup>63</sup> Hutchison, *Between the Times*, 6-13.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Here, Hutchison's definition of the “establishment” is useful. He defines it as “the group of churches and network of leaders that appear, prima facie, to have dominated American Protestantism in the earlier twentieth century, and to have enjoyed considerable religious and cultural authority in the envioning society.” Hutchison, *Between the Times*, x. Note that Hutchison is more interested in the career of the establishment within the United States, rather than in internationalism, per se.

<sup>66</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*.

Rockefeller as the last century's "foremost religious philanthropist" and examines his role in the establishment of Riverside Church, the World Council of Churches, and other projects that either forecast, correspond with, or *are* the major sites of internationalism studied by Zubovich et al.<sup>67</sup>

Schenkel writes that Rockefeller directed his philanthropy in support of theological modernism, and that he did so in order to preserve American Protestantism's hegemony at home, in a new milieu marked by modernity, world religions, and secular science.<sup>68</sup> He also notes that Rockefeller aimed for an international order based on modernism, though he does not focus on this aspect of his philanthropy as much. In the domestic sphere, Protestantism had long enjoyed a privileged status in the cultural and social life of America, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, regardless of the separation between church and state. This status may be attributed to the make-up of the American population at this time. In 1790, Protestants made up 95% of the population.<sup>69</sup> Although by 1860 their numbers had dropped to 60%, Protestant hegemony over the nation's cultural, religious, and political life continued in many respects into the twentieth century. The real challenges faced by the establishment began to appear only around the second decade of the twentieth century, and when they did it was partly because of secularism and science, the devastation caused by the First World War, and Higher Criticism—in addition to the changing demographics of the country. Rockefeller's personal philanthropy begins exactly at this time. To preserve Protestant hegemony in the U.S., modernist theologians and their benefactors embraced the very things that threatened Protestantism, placing science and ecumenism (if not secularism) at the heart of Protestantism, and Protestantism at the heart of global peace.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>69</sup> Hutchison, *Between the Times*, 19.

The most crucial aspect of Schenkel's work is his assertion that Rockefeller would not have made a distinction between his religious and secular philanthropy: these are terms that we apply retroactively to his projects from our present-day perspective.<sup>70</sup> This assertion opens up an opportunity to think about how student housing, museums, and scientific archaeology can serve a religious purpose, and to investigate how the larger trends in ecumenical Protestant internationalism—which we saw in the previous section—along with modernist concerns are reflected in these projects. As we saw, Reynolds et al. noted that Protestants were pushed to the left by communism and forced to embrace anti-imperialism, secularism, and science. Certainly, communism (or Bolshevism, as it was often called in this period) was a major concern in Rockefeller's work, and probably nudged him to the left as well in terms of the language he used when presenting his gifts of money, buildings, or institutions to foreign governments.

My work differs from Schenkel's in two major ways: first, although Schenkel takes notice of the international aspect of Rockefeller's philanthropy, writing that "[it] reflected... a desire to preserve Protestant moral governance in the affairs of the modern world," he largely focuses on strategies for Protestantism's preservation within the United States, arguing that Rockefeller sought to create a "national religion" for American life based on a Protestant theology that would be modern and interdenominational enough to embrace different Protestant sects and even Catholics, Jews, and secularists.<sup>71</sup> Schenkel does mention Rockefeller's internationalism, and shows how it comes together with his other interest—interdenominationalism—in his support for the World Council of Churches. But again, this is a brief

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<sup>70</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 3-4. As Schenkel notes, "Rockefeller's religious charity was the counterpart of his secular charity. Both featured harmony between the religious and the secular; they were variations on the same theme. Together they expressed the conviction that the world needed a common religious devotion to the well-being of humankind, expressed in the modern idiom and served by modern science. Rockefeller envisioned modernist Protestant America, and this vision was a major motivation for the whole of his philanthropic work."

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 58.



moment in the larger story. Second, Schenkel, with his focus squarely on religious history, does not investigate how Rockefeller used buildings and landscapes to articulate his philanthropy and religious worldview. He does mention the I-House briefly, and writes at greater length about Riverside Church as an important site for Rockefeller's philanthropy, but finds these projects' social and theopolitical programs to be of greater interest than the carefully planned and constructed environments in which they were housed.

My work aims to invigorate the existing scholarship by describing how Rockefeller advocated for his controversial, complicated, and ambitious Kantian-federalist and community-intellectual strand of Protestant internationalism by turning to cultural mediums and endeavors that appeared deceptively apolitical and ecumenical—even secular—such as architecture, education, archaeology, and the arts. As I described earlier, Akira Iriye sees the use of culture for internationalism in the interwar period as an alternative to political methods.<sup>72</sup> I show that Rockefeller's cultural projects—though they too sought to flag the next war—trafficked in power, and were inlaid with the theopolitical concerns of Protestant Modernism and an American Internationalism.

### ***Protestant Modernism***

It is hard to note many facts about Protestant Modernism with certainty: because it became mired in a controversy with fundamentalists, secular humanists, and the neo-orthodoxy in the 1920s, the term was eventually struck from the vocabulary of theologians and church leaders. Even today, some historians of religion refer to theological modernism, liberalism, and ecumenism

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<sup>72</sup> Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 3, 11-12.

interchangeably.<sup>73</sup> In this respect, William R. Hutchison's classic and pioneering historiography and reappraisal of modernist thought, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, has been a helpful and illuminating corrective, and much of the information below is synthesized from this book.<sup>74</sup>

Hutchison notes that although Protestant Modernism, as a “self-conscious movement,” lasted only from 1870 to 1930, it was part of a larger history of religion's rapprochement with culture and contemporaneous philosophy that first began in the Unitarian and Transcendentalist circles as “liberalism.” This theology eventually found its way into mainstream Protestantism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries where it was particularly nurtured in the Presbyterian and Congregationalist traditions—though Baptists, too, were “generally friendly to liberalism.”<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> See Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*, 21. Hollinger acknowledges that there are (and were) different kinds of belief systems and thoughts within the more liberal or left-leaning Protestant groups, but for the sake of simplicity he uses “ecumenical” as a catch-all phrase.

<sup>74</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*. I see this book as a “re-evaluation” of Protestant Modernism because Hutchison recovers the term from relative obscurity, where it had been consigned in the 1930s after its downfall, and presents the movement in a positive light.

<sup>75</sup> The movement within Unitarianism began in New England, in a tradition known as “Rationalistic Liberalism,” which began in the eighteenth-century but persisted into the 1900s. In this movement, the first development of modernist thought took place within a debate over the relative merits of reason, and of whether the scripture should be subjected to it. The idea that God or the Holy Spirit were immanent in modern life was not yet a concern. Rationalists—as their name would suggest—believed in the merits of reason, but not all theologians associated with the movement at this time believed that modern institutions, life, and thinking could—or should—reform theology. For example, reason and theology remained separate in the minds of rationalists like Thomas Jefferson. But Thomas Paine, whose famous *Age of Reason; Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* was published in three volumes between 1794 and 1807, believed that modern institutions must transform Christianity, and postulated a theory of common origins between religion and science. The next stage in the evolution of modernist thinking is the “Positive Theology” movement, which began in the 1820s—also in New England—and looked to the spirit of the age, rather than to debates over scripture and reason, to inform religion. Here, the main figure is William Ellery Channing, who believed that the spirit of the age could reveal corruptions in religion. Channing also believed that religion had a duty to respond to the spirit of the age—in all ages—but that the present times were particularly important because in them human civilization had affirmed the role of the mind as arbiter instead of the sword or the physical body. Romantic Unitarians (or Transcendentalists) formed the third wave of modernist intellectuals. They expressed a faith in humankind that successive theologians in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries came to regard as “nearly inexcusable,” and as a prime cause for the Great War. Critics believed that by rejecting the premise of human fallibility and wickedness, these theologians and intellectuals had led the world into the greatest conflict it had yet seen. Hutchison argues that in reality, though, the Transcendentalists - or Romantic Unitarians - were even more circumspect and cautious about modernism and the spirit of the age than Channing or the rationalists. Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), the best-known philosopher of his time, was famously averse to technological modernity, such as railroads, and not entirely unique in this respect. In addition to his aversion to technological modernity, Thoreau was also opposed to the cultural and social problems of the modern age, such as slavery and warfare. These

Other writers have noted that modernist thought, despite being mired in controversy, has lingered and continued to shape American religion well into the present period.<sup>76</sup> So, although its official *durée* lasted only about six decades, the story of modernism extends deeper into either side of this period.

The development of modernist thought includes notable figures like Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), who controversially questioned Christian traditions of the past in an address to graduates of Harvard's Divinity School in 1838, and Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), who placed his faith in science—though at the time he could not yet envision how science might reform religious institutions, which he deemed to have been corrupted beyond redemption.<sup>77</sup> In the twentieth century, modernist circles included Reinhold Niebuhr, who later emphatically renounced the movement, and Harry Emerson Fosdick, in whose figure and speeches the modernist controversy peaked in the early twentieth century—though he too was forced to distance himself from the movement after the 1920s.

Geographically, modernism's history covers the American Midwest, the East Coast

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social problems persuaded him that the present age—any age—was not to be trusted blindly. So, while the transcendentalists believed that the past was on trial, modernity would not get a free pass either. Despite this cautionary note, the general writings and critiques by transcendentalists do reveal them to be more amenable to contemporary culture and modernity, and in this they helped pave the way for the theological modernism of the 1920s. In terms of making modernism possible, transcendentalists were also the first to translate European philosophical works relevant to the further progression of modernist thought in America, such as the work of the German scholar Friedrich Schleiermacher and his student Ernst Troeltsch, who argued that culture and religion were bound together. Transcendentalists' third contribution was the study of world religions, which complicated American Protestants' views about the finality of Christianity and the diversity of the world. Finally, transcendentalists and Unitarians spread the idea of God's immanence or indwelling in humankind—and not just in individuals or in nature. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 1, 5, 9, 13-15, 17, 20, 22, 195. Thomas Paine and Kerry S. Walters, *The Age of Reason* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Editions, 2011)—note that Paine's work was originally published in 1794.

<sup>76</sup> Hollinger quotes a study by two sociologists who note that theological modernist Harry Emerson Fosdick would be interested (or somewhat shocked) to find that today evangelical youth extol the same ideals he had advocated, which their parents only a generation ago had criticized. Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*, 47. For the sociologists' work, see Christian Smith and Patricia Snell, *Souls in Transition: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of Emerging Adults* (New York, 2009), 288.

<sup>77</sup> Hutchison notes that although the beginnings of modernist thought can be traced back to Emerson and Jefferson, neither of these figures would have called himself a modernist at the time. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in*

(specifically Boston and New York), and Europe. Hutchison argues that even though theological modernism drew heavily from German philosophical writings, it received its greatest expression and expansion in the United States, where it emerged as a self-conscious movement. Meanwhile, Catholic modernism, which begins at roughly the same time and has some overlaps with Protestant Modernism, is thought to have been centered within the work of French and British intellectuals.

Although modernism (in the Protestant sphere) was a “central” “impulse” within the larger movement for theological liberalism, it is incorrect to equate the two.<sup>78</sup> **Theological liberalism**, which we can date to the aforementioned developments of the 1800s in Unitarian and Transcendentalist circles, began by prying loose closely held beliefs in what Hutchison calls “the more rigorous doctrines concerning God’s sovereignty, human wickedness, and the exclusiveness of Christian revelation,” which had been adhered to for centuries, and embracing instead good deeds (charitable works) over “confessions and professions” and formal displays of religion.<sup>79</sup> Liberalism espoused the belief that any idea can be Christian—and therefore valid—as long as it passes an individual critical and rationalist evaluation within the believer: in other words, dogma, religious authority, and doctrine were no longer necessary to assert the validity and Christian-ness of an idea.<sup>80</sup> In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this belief came to occupy a central place in American Protestant thought and manifested itself in the acceptance of a historical Jesus, the subjection of the Bible to Higher Criticism, and the assertion that a belief in Biblical miracles was not necessary in order to be Christian. By the early twentieth century, liberal ideas were

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*American Protestantism*, 14-15, 18-22.

<sup>78</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 2, 4.

<sup>79</sup> Liberalism also advocated for a more inclusive worldview that made space for other religions, which then actually ended up threatening the idea of Christian finality. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

<sup>80</sup> See also Gary J. Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Idealism, Realism, and Modernity, 1900-*

preached from a third of all pulpits in America and had found currency in at least half of all Protestant educational institutions.<sup>81</sup>

But while the ideas we have discussed may appear to be modern ones, Hutchison notes that many liberals would have argued that any of these concepts could be derived from intuitive reasoning—or even from the Bible itself—not necessarily from modernity. Modernism, a term commonly used within Protestant circles in the twentieth-century, refers instead to a tighter and more radical theological movement within liberalism that peaked in the early twentieth century, but had been brewing for several decades prior. It is distinguishable from liberalism by its “scientific enthusiasm” and the primacy it placed on reconciling religion with developments in modern science, technology, and culture. These characteristics can be described through three inter-related ideas: the adaptation of Protestant thought to modern culture; a belief in God’s immanence in modern capitalist society; and the idea that humans are headed towards a constantly improving culture and thus a more perfect religion.<sup>82</sup> These three ideas show that theological modernism was a movement that was optimistic about the scientific work and culture of humans, going so far as to believe that this work could produce a more perfect religion.

Modernism’s optimism and hubris came under fire from secular humanists, fundamentalists, and neo-orthodox groups. While these three groups may seem to be strange bed-fellows, they did each have a particular grievance against modernism. Fundamentalists believed that modernism blinded its adherents and proponents to faults in modern culture and had resulted, for example, in their failure to prevent the First World War (**Fig. 1.1**).<sup>83</sup> Some

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1950 (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 1.

<sup>81</sup> For more on this, see Hutchison, *Between the Times*.

<sup>82</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 2.

<sup>83</sup> Fosdick, for example, had actively supported the war. For a critique of modernist preachers and their complicity in the War, see Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 1st ed. (Round Table Press, 1933).

fundamentalist critics of modernism, in fact, believed that modernists were not even Christians. Meanwhile, secular humanists like American writer Walter Lippmann critiqued theological modernism from a different angle, arguing that it was, as Hutchison puts it, religion's attempt to "insinuate its way into a modern world."<sup>84</sup> Neo-orthodox critics, on the other hand, critiqued "the liberal overestimate of human nature."<sup>85</sup>

Modernism was so strongly attacked because its adherents and advocates were seen to have made significant inroads into American society and the Protestant establishment. The fundamentalist-modernist controversy—by far the biggest controversy over modernism—peaked over two incidents. The first was Harry Emerson Fosdick's 1922 sermon, *Shall the Fundamentalists Win?*, in which Fosdick criticized fundamentalists for short-sightedness and ridiculed their insistence on a separation between science and religion:

The new knowledge and the old faith cannot be left antagonistic or even disparate, as though a man on Saturday could use one set of regulative ideas for his life and on Sunday could change gear to another altogether. We must be able to think our modern life clear through in Christian terms, and to do that we also must be able to think our Christian faith clear through in modern terms.<sup>86</sup>

The second incident was the 1925 Scopes Trial, in which the State of Tennessee took one of its public school teachers to court for defying a new state-level legislation against teaching evolution. The state won the case. Although the defense led by the American Civil Liberties Union had succeeded in publicizing information about evolution, the official victory against

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<sup>84</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 273. For Lippmann's critique, see Walter Lippmann, *A Preface to Morals* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929).

<sup>85</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 258.

<sup>86</sup> Harry Emerson Fosdick, *Shall the Fundamentalists Win? A Sermon Preached at the First Presbyterian Church, New York, May 21, 1922* (New York, 1922). For a quick look at the text, see: "'Shall the Fundamentalists Win?': Defending Liberal Protestantism in the 1920s," accessed March 21, 2018, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5070/>.

Scopes put this topic on the back-burner of school syllabi until the 1960s.<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile, although Fosdick's career survived the war, and his own 1922 sermon, liberals did retire the term "modernism" and the idea of "divine-human continuities"—though not of scriptural interpretation.<sup>88</sup> When modernism died in the 1930s, liberalism continued, but without the former's optimism and bravado; in other words, liberalism was shorn of its more radical ideas.<sup>89</sup> By 1960, according to David Hollinger, liberalism, too, had weakened: while it did succeed in sowing its basic values into American culture, it paid the price by politically losing out to the evangelical right.<sup>90</sup>

Rockefeller's philanthropic projects were largely—though not exclusively—executed in the latter-half of the sixty-year period of modernism's varying influence in America—that is, between 1900 and 1930. With the important exception of Schenkel's work, and with some incidental notes in Hutchison's books, much of the literature on Protestant Modernism does not address the support given to modernist theologians by people outside the church establishment.

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<sup>87</sup> "Evolution: Library: Scopes Trial," accessed March 30, 2018, [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/evolution/library/08/2/1\\_082\\_01.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/evolution/library/08/2/1_082_01.html). Of course, the debate over teaching evolution continues today. For more on the Scopes Trail, see also Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998).

<sup>88</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 10.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 10-11. A note about terminology: broadly speaking, modernists, liberals, and ecumenicals are part of the same lineage and opposed to—respectively—fundamentalists, conservatives, and evangelicals. However, none of these terms has ever been stable, and those grouped together on one side of the equation do not fully translate into each other. For example, as I have noted, there is an important distinction between modernists and liberals. To reiterate, all modernists were liberals but not all liberals were modernists. So, to recap, modernist is a term that applies to a group of liberals from 1860 to about 1930 and denotes a specific pro-science and pro-modernity position. And ecumenical is a term officially used from 1940 onwards, even though the movement towards ecumenism began much earlier around 1910—as Zubovich, et al. show. "Liberal" is a term that runs through all these periods. In my work, I will often use the term ecumenical for Protestants who followed the ecumenical strand before 1940s as well, and I will sometimes use it interchangeably with modernism, despite the fact that not all ecumenists were modernists. Suitable distinctions and qualifications will be made where necessary. See also Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*, xiii.

<sup>90</sup> David Hollinger writes that the negative view of modernism and liberalism has not continued till today: rather, these movements' ecumenical positions and scientific embrace has seeped into the American cultural consciousness, although they have lost their political strength, which in turn has been seized by the evangelical right. See Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*, 47.

Yet, Harry Emerson Fosdick's career was arguably saved only because Rockefeller came to his support. While Rockefeller was establishing the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1919) and announcing the project to build International House New York (1921), he was also publishing and widely distributing Fosdick's controversial 1922 sermon. Following Fosdick's delivery of the sermon, he even persuaded his own congregation at Park Avenue Baptist Church to take him on as their minister. With Rockefeller's crucial financial support, the Park Avenue congregation built the new and bigger Riverside Church as a dedicated ministerial seat for Fosdick. Schenkel notes that Rockefeller was able to hang on to the modernist position much longer in his elite privileged circle than other supporters outside of this circle, who retired it in the 1920s, and I argue that his philanthropic work is crucially tied in to his interest in modernism.<sup>91</sup>

## 1.2. Architecture

### *On Religion*

My research on Rockefeller's architectural patronage posits religion as a critical agent in the production and funding of the built environment associated with his philanthropy. In doing so, my work troubles scholarly and popular views that have long-assumed that religion is absent from the American public sphere and its cultural production—assumptions that, in turn, have thus far allowed the theological underpinnings of Rockefeller's architectural oeuvre to escape our notice. The movement for modern architecture and its advocacy for rationalism and "presentness" swept away the study of religion from Western architecture, except perhaps for explicitly ecclesiastical buildings. While scholars from anthropology, philosophy, political

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<sup>91</sup> See Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*.



studies, and feminist and queer theory (Talal Asad, Judith Butler, Saba Mahmood, et al.) have recently contested the post-enlightenment idea that religion is absent from the public sphere of the West, architectural historians—with few exceptions—primarily relegate the influence of religious ideas instead to the material culture of the so-called Islamic world abroad, or to other groups similarly deemed to be outside the techno-scientific modernity and secular progress of the Global North.<sup>92</sup> The much-charted decline in the authority of the mainstream Protestant establishment in the United States (around 1960) has further led us to imagine that religious ideas are absent from the design of secular and modern spaces and art practices here in the U.S.<sup>93</sup> I argue, however, that Protestantism’s absence arises from centuries of privilege and normalization. It has become, as I noted earlier, an “ambient” faith: Protestantism is so deeply embedded in this country’s social fabric that its operative presence in secular arenas does not appear discordant.<sup>94</sup> With respect to Rockefeller’s architectural patronage, my work explores how this absence is produced in—and *by*—the buildings and landscapes he financed.

### ***On Architectural Historicism***

Architectural modernism dismisses and obscures Rockefeller’s projects in yet another way. The

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<sup>92</sup> For books that critique the view that religion is absent from the public sphere of the West see Talal Asad, Wendy Brown, Judith Butler, and Saba Mahmood, *Is Critique Secular? Blasphemy, Injury, and Free Speech* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007). For a discussion of the role that religion plays in the public sphere, see also Judith Butler, Jürgen Habermas, Charles Taylor, and Cornel West, *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*, ed. Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, Afterword by Craig Calhoun (Columbia University Press, 2011). For exceptions in recent architectural history scholarship and criticism that intersect or grapple with the role of religion or theology, see again Renata J. Hejduk and Jim Williamson, *The Religious Imagination in Modern and Contemporary Architecture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Reinhold Martin, “The MIT Chapel: An Interdiscursive History,” in *A Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the “Techno-Social” Moment*, ed. Arindam Dutta (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2013), 72–105. See also the work of religious historian Courtney Bender, who is currently writing about religion and architecture in twentieth-century America. Courtney Bender, *Religion in the Sky*, (Publisher TBD, forthcoming - cited with author’s permission).

<sup>93</sup> For the decline of the authority of the Protestant establishment see Section 1.1. of this dissertation. See also Hutchison, *Between the Times*.

movement's earliest and most significant proponents—Walter Gropius, Sigfried Giedion (who wrote architectural modernism's first coherent history) and others—elevated modernism's rational and functional aesthetic over architectural historicism, a nineteenth-century movement that lingered into the first decades of the twentieth century. They saw historicism as an aberrant movement—a “fatal disease” that severed form from structure and disregarded the conscience and spirit of its time.<sup>95</sup> Giedion was especially critical of historicist styles in the United States, noting that they are,

particularly uninformative with regard to what was actually going on in America. They arrived here [from Europe] fully grown and give little insight into the constituent facts of the native development.<sup>96</sup>

There were, however, some critics who did not see architectural historicism as a great rupture from modernism, but these writers did privilege the historicism of the mid-nineteenth century over that of the twentieth, noting that while the former relied on models from the “further past,” the early decades of the twentieth century were simply relying on or regurgitating examples of the preceding century. Henry-Russell Hitchcock's *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* is a good record of what architectural historians thought at the mid-century

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<sup>94</sup> Engelke, “Angels in Swindon.”

<sup>95</sup> Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 354.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. Giedion writes that imported historicist styles, when combined with the “mercantile classicism” of New York, had “choked” off the possibilities for a thoughtful and place-appropriate future development of American architecture, which had earlier been inherent in the buildings of the Chicago School and by Frank Lloyd Wright. In the years since his book was released—and indeed even in the moment of its publication—other critics and historians have taken issue with Giedion's approach towards historicism. See for example Henry-Russell Hitchcock's review of *Space, Time, and Architecture*, as well as Spiro Kostof's later essay on the significance of Giedion's work. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, “Reviewed Work(s): *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, by Sigfried Giedion,” *Parnassus* 13, no. 5 (May, 1941): 179-180; Spiro Kostof, “Architecture, You and Him: The Mark of Sigfried Giedion.” *Daedalus* 105, no. 1, In Praise of Books (Winter, 1976): 189–204. Nevertheless, Giedion's work—alongside the writings of Corbusier and the teachings of Gropius and the *Bauhaus*—has had undeniable influence on the way architects and historians perceive historicist architecture.

mark.<sup>97</sup> First published in 1958, only a couple of decades after the construction of most of Rockefeller’s architectural projects, the book serves as an important record of the critical attitudes of the time, which perhaps have influenced how we think of Rockefeller’s architecture today. Grappling with the “sluggish” but “resilient” historicism of the twentieth century, Hitchcock insists that historians “*must*” try to write about this movement despite its lack of “plot” or development. His own attempt to do so includes a few general dismissive observations. He notes that these projects, in the wake of the historicist horrors of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, are decidedly more ““tasteful,”” stylistically correct, and characterized by ““restraint,”” none of which, however, he sees as resulting in truly exceptional or exciting buildings. That Hitchcock, despite his interest in and previous careful study of the historicism of the Victorian Era, would have to motivate himself to write about the architectural historicism of the twentieth century—such as Cass Gilbert’s Woolworth Building (1910-1912)—suggests a mid-century boredom with the style that characterizes much of Rockefeller’s architectural legacy.<sup>98</sup>

### *The Anomaly*

Given these critical attitudes towards historicism—and eclecticism—it therefore comes as no surprise that a building like International House New York has not featured in the writings of these historians. Perhaps it is unnecessary carping to demand that it should (by the standards of architectural history at the time, the I-House is not an architecturally or structurally remarkable project), but its omission is made even more interesting by the unfailing presence in these same

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<sup>97</sup> Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 4th ed. (Harmondsworth, Eng.; New York: Penguin Books, 1977).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 531-532.

texts of Rockefeller's other project, the Rockefeller Center in New York City. An interesting exercise is to see how the Rockefeller Center is treated—what assumptions or omissions are made of both its form and patronage and which oeuvres it is placed into—by all who write about it. Giedion lauds it for bringing the scale of the parkways and bridges into the city, for overcoming New York's "tyranny of the tower," for recalling "stroboscopic studies," and for being the first many-sided civic center in the world (**Fig. 1.2**).<sup>99</sup> Like most architectural historians and activists of modern architecture, Giedion was not interested in any kind of religion—scientific or otherwise, internationalist or not—consequently, he cannot read religion in this building. Hitchcock, departing from Giedion's almost-giddy engagement with the project, writes merely that the beginning of the Rockefeller Center's construction around the 1929 Stock Market Crash (at the end of the building boom) heralded the conclusion of the second age of skyscrapers.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile, Thomas Tallmadge calls the project the "greatest super-skyscraper of all time":

Old Icarus would not have looked more enviously at Lindbergh's silvery plane than would the builders of Amiens and Beauvais, could they stand on Fifth Avenue, and follow with astonished eyes the ascending shafts of Rockefeller Center to a height that makes their own towering cathedrals seem puny and infantile.<sup>101</sup>

The comparison of Rockefeller Center with towering Gothic cathedrals could be said to have a religious element to it, but judging from the larger text it does not appear that Tallmadge sees any real religious aspect in this building.

More recent scholarship on the Rockefeller Center includes Robert A. M. Stern's book on New York architecture and urbanism in the 1930s, in which he devotes considerable space to this

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<sup>99</sup> Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 744-758.

<sup>100</sup> Hitchcock, *Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 544.

complex and describes it as a great civic project.<sup>102</sup> Meanwhile, Rem Koolhaas, writing a “retroactive manifesto” for Manhattan’s evolving and artificial “culture of congestion,” calls the Center a “utopian fragmen[t]” within the city. Calling attention to all the different urbanistic and aesthetic ideas and authors that come together and co-exist in the project, Koolhaas *does* present Rockefeller as an author on the project, but by no means one that is as important as the lead architect, Raymond Hood: he notes that while Rockefeller handed over the logistical and practical aspects of this large real-estate project to another, he “remain[ed] responsible for preserving the idealistic dimensions of the project” and suggested “spiritual details such as the Gothic decoration at the top of the [main tower].” Beyond this passing reference to Rockefeller’s interest in spirituality (as evident in the Gothic detail he suggested), Koolhaas does not examine the Rockefeller Center’s design in terms of a larger theological modernism that, I think, could have revealed different dimensions of the theory of “Manhattanism,” which he has set out to write. Finally, Koolhaas also notes Rockefeller’s general interest in architecture, and his sponsorship of Riverside Church and Colonial Williamsburg around the same time:

Simultaneously with Rockefeller Center, he is preparing the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg; one enterprise is the fabrication of the past, the other—in a collapsing economy—the restoration of a future.<sup>103</sup>

This quote taken from Koolhaas’ book is an exception to an otherwise overwhelming disregard in existing literature for the relationship of one Rockefeller project to another.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Thomas Eddy Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America* (W.W. Norton, Incorporated, 1936), 296.

<sup>102</sup> Robert A. M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin, and Thomas Mellins, *New York 1930: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Two World Wars* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987).

<sup>103</sup> Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 9-10, 183. Rockefeller’s other contributions, as noted by Koolhaas, were to veto the name “Stratosphere” for what is now the Rainbow Room.

<sup>104</sup> Another notable exception is Annabel Jane Wharton, who groups Rockefeller’s Cloisters Museum in New York and his Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem together in her study on buildings as agents. Annabel Jane Wharton, *Architectural Agents: The Delusional, Abusive, Addictive Lives of Buildings* (Minneapolis: Univ Of

### *On the Patron as Author*

The claim of Rockefeller's authorship is integral to my dissertation: I am only able to posit that religious ideas can shape secular architecture by first declaring the architectural patron as a kind of unifying agent or ideological author of an oeuvre. My position differs from most existing scholarship on modern-day Western architecture, which typically focuses on the *architect* as primary author of a building. Consider for example the huge quantity of monographs on (usually male) architects produced by our discipline. As Spiro Kostof has noted, Giedion elevated the architect as a moral force and hero, over both the client and the average person.<sup>105</sup> It was therefore impossible for him to see that the Rockefeller Center may have had some aesthetic precedents in its client's other projects. For example, early proposals for the Riverside Church—which at that stage combined private development with a non-private civic mission (the church, in this case)—show a central skyscraper around which other smaller buildings are clustered (**Fig. 1.3**). Another unbuilt Rockefeller project—an actual skyscraper for religion—is an even closer sibling to the Rockefeller Center (**Fig. 1.4**). If we leave aside aesthetic comparisons, we find that Giedion and other scholars could not note ideological similarities between the Rockefeller Center and the lesser-known I-Houses and Oriental Institute dig-houses, either.<sup>106</sup> And while Giedion does (unfavorably) compare other projects in New York City with the Rockefeller Center—the United Nations headquarters, the Lincoln Center, and the International Trade Center (World

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Minnesota Press, 2015).

<sup>105</sup> Kostof, "Architecture, You and Him: The Mark of Sigfried Giedion," 201.

<sup>106</sup> Giedion, who commented approvingly on the simplicity and accidental modernity of American buildings that had been erected when the United States was young and material hard to come by, might actually have approved of the simple and modern architectural volumes of some of the dig-houses. In a way, the physical terrain and other difficulties of parts of the Middle East in the early twentieth century mirrored this earlier moment in American architectural development, and necessitated simpler buildings than might have otherwise been built by Rockefeller at the time. Though, as Chapter Six shows, many of the O.I.'s dig-houses were still much more elaborate than those belonging to other American or European institutions in the Middle East. For Giedion's comments on how material and financial hardship in the United States at first led to good architecture, see Giedion, *Space, Time and*

Trade Center)—he fails to recognize or acknowledge that these other projects were *also* funded by the Rockefeller family. To me, this oversight is surprising given the power and money wielded by the Rockefellers, and the complicated financial, theological, aesthetic, and political ideas they were advocating.

In Tallmadge’s survey of American architecture, an amazing lithograph produced by the author himself, called “A Vista of American Architecture,” acts as the book’s frontispiece (**Fig. 1.5**).<sup>107</sup> Through the framing device of a Classical arch, it shows several rows of famous American buildings gathered together. In the front—and more fully fleshed out in detail—are what looks like a building from Colonial Williamsburg, the University of Virginia’s Rotunda, and the United States Congress, in the middle rows, we see a building by H. H. Richardson, several Gothic-Revival buildings, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue’s State Capital of Nebraska (Grosvenor also designed the afore-mentioned skyscraper for religion), and the Chicago Tribune building by Raymond Hood (an architect for the Rockefeller Center). In the rear, the silhouettes of the Rockefeller Center, the Empire State, and the Woolworth are visible. It is noteworthy that Rockefeller’s architectural and reconstruction projects open and close the story of American architecture—as one historian saw it in 1936.

Recently, some notable publications on the role of institutions and actors as clients have enriched and productively complicated the study of who—or what—helps to shape the constructed environment. Much of this work focuses on the postwar period, and on corporate institutions and government clients.<sup>108</sup> Other important work related to patronage includes Alice

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*Architecture*, 354-355.

<sup>107</sup> Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*, Frontispiece.

<sup>108</sup> See for example Daniel M. Abramson, *Building the Bank of England: Money, Architecture, Society 1694-1942* (New Haven Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2005); James Sloan Allen, *The Romance of Commerce and Culture: Capitalism, Modernism, and the Chicago-Aspen Crusade for Cultural Reform, Revised Edition*, Revised, Subsequent edition (Boulder, Colo: University Press of Colorado, 2002); John Harwood, *The Interface: IBM and the*

T. Friedman's *Women and the Making of the Modern House*, which examines how female clients, such as Edith Farnsworth, Vanna Venturi, and others, influenced the famous architects who they had hired to design unconventional homes.<sup>109</sup> Another book, *Building Seagram*, focuses on Phyllis Lambert's role in the design of the famous Seagram building in New York City.<sup>110</sup> Lambert, the book's author, persuaded her father—who financed the project—to hire Mies van der Rohe, and was involved in the design process throughout. My work builds on this kind of literature by introducing a patron who was involved in not just one but many different kinds of architectural projects around the world and by turning the lens on to this client's *theological* interests.

I am, however, wary of elevating another powerful white American man to the position of architectural author. If diversity and social justice are to be central concerns in the telling of architectural history, as I believe they must be, the act of transferring some portion of authorship from a group of overwhelmingly white male architects to a single wealthy white American male patron may seem like taking several steps backwards: in elevating Rockefeller as builder across these varied projects, the dissertation risks remaining in the trap of “great man” narratives, which is a form of exceptionalism, as eloquently demonstrated by Linda Nochlin with respect to art history.

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*Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945-1976* (Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2011); Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005); Elihu Rubin, *Insuring the City: The Prudential Center and the Postwar Urban Landscape* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012); Conway Lloyd Morgan and Jack Masey, *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War*, 1st ed. (Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller Publishers, 2008); Andrew James Wulf, *U.S. International Exhibitions during the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds through Cultural Diplomacy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015).

<sup>109</sup> Alice T. Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House*, 1st ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>110</sup> Phyllis Lambert and Barry Bergdoll, *Building Seagram* (New Haven, Connecticut; London, England: Yale University Press, 2013).



To encourage a dispassionate, impersonal, sociological and institutionally-oriented approach [to art history and the question of Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists] would reveal the entire romantic, elitist, individual-glorifying and monograph-producing substructure upon which the profession of art history is based, and which has only recently been called in to question by a group of younger dissidents.

**Underlying the question about woman as artist, then, we find the myth of the Great Artist—**subject of a hundred monographs, unique, godlike—**bearing within his person since birth a mysterious essence**, rather like the golden nugget in Mrs. Grass's chicken soup, called Genius or Talent, which, like murder, must always out, no matter how unlikely or unpromising the circumstances [emphases mine].<sup>111</sup>

But I will argue that acknowledging Rockefeller's authorship *is* important because without it the buildings, programs, and landscapes in question are simply individual, discrete projects. But with his patronage as our framework, we can cohere these projects to reveal the politico-economic, theological, and cultural asymmetries that underpin their conception.<sup>112</sup>

### *Architecture and Landscape in Theological Writings*

Scholars who write on Protestant modernism and internationalism do not see the buildings associated with these movements as a self-conscious architecture whose aesthetic and urban-spatial design might also be worth exploring; largely, they see the *programs* these buildings house as worthier of their interest. Still, this scholarship does contain some incidental, fortuitous references to space and architecture—both in the literal and metaphoric sense—from which we can draw some ideas for thinking about Rockefeller's architectural legacy.

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<sup>111</sup> See Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, And Power And Other Essays*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1989).

<sup>112</sup> It is necessary to note that Rockefeller was advised in the task of building by other non-architects as well. On the International Student House project in New York, he brought on Dr. Katherine Davis (a noted eugenicist) as advisor. Rockefeller's first wife, Abby Aldrich, too, was a crucial advisor on many projects. On the Oriental Institute's many projects, the Egyptologist James Henry Breasted is also an important shaper of the built environment, often going as far as to draw up plans for expedition-houses himself in the absence of the availability of a suitable architect. Rockefeller's authorship is thus significantly aided and shaped by these men and women. But again, he is the binding agent for this authorial group.

In his book on Protestant Modernism, Hutchison briefly eases up from a relentlessly theological focus to describe how the opposition to theological modernism and its attendant idealism in the 1900s can be understood as part of a larger reaction to idealism that was also felt in other spheres, such as architecture:

Reformers in one area of American thought after another were seeking to combat a formalism that at this particular stage of history had embodied itself, allegedly, in the cool, ordered Greek temples of a nonfunctional architecture and psychology, a literature and painting hamstrung by classical rules and the *Beaux-Arts*, and a remote Platonic idealism inflecting various sectors of the academy.<sup>113</sup>

The *Beaux-Arts* and its use of classical revival styles—the aesthetic favored by Rockefeller in so many of his projects—is here equated with the idealism of theological modernist thought. Hutchison identifies Chicago architect Louis Sullivan as the major agitator in architectural circles against idealism, noting that Sullivan argued that architectural idealism did not address the reality and truth of the project and site at hand.<sup>114</sup>

Meanwhile, modernist theologians and religious thinkers, too, employed space and architecture as metaphors. For example, David Swing—a Chicago-based Presbyterian minister, who was unsuccessfully tried for heresy in 1874 for preaching that the Bible should be reinterpreted according to the spirit of the times—spoke of the power of places in fostering religious attitudes. This message from Swing’s sermons is reflected in the later observations of historians who have credited the open prairies and spatial expanse of the Midwest with fostering the independent thinking of the region’s inhabitants as well as their strength and humor when confronted with strict theological restrictions.<sup>115</sup> Another example of spatial metaphors comes

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<sup>113</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 206-207.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

from theologian Theodore Thornton Munger, who, in the late 1800s, cautioned that although fellow liberals were covering quite a bit of ground in terms of uncovering knowledge, this breadth was attained at the expense of depth of understanding. In other words, knowledge was “panoramic” rather than “thrust[ing] upward.”<sup>116</sup> Munger noted that panoramic knowledge was not incorrect; it was just incomplete. He remained optimistic that the moment of realization and full understanding would come to liberals and that it would be sudden, like reaching into the sky. This is an interesting spatial metaphor that I want to think about with respect to the Rockefeller Center, the skyscraper for religion, and the early proposal for Riverside Church.

Finally, coming back to Hutchison, the author notes the symbolic uses of actual architecture. He writes that Swing and other controversial ministers, like Theodore Parker of Boston, had patrons or congregations who rescued their careers from criticism by building dedicated church spaces for them.<sup>117</sup> Although Hutchison does mention Rockefeller several times in his other book, *Between the Times*, he does not focus on the architectural flank of Rockefeller’s support for theological modernism and therefore does not connect Riverside Church with these earlier predecessors (or with Rockefeller’s other projects).<sup>118</sup>

### 1.3. American Studies

My work also overlaps with recent developments in the fields of American Studies and U.S. in the World. Traditionally, American Studies was a cultural studies field with a domestic focus; U.S. in the World, meanwhile, was designed to study American diplomatic relations and foreign policy. Since the mid-1990s, scholars from both disciplines have attempted to merge their

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 103-104.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>118</sup> Hutchison, *Between the Times*, 115.

interests, arguing that American cultural projects (books, for example) cannot be understood independent of American foreign relations, and that national developments must be understood within a larger transnational context.<sup>119</sup> My writing on Rockefeller's cultural patronage, in the context of a Protestant-American internationalism, is thus not only topical, it also introduces art, architecture, urban spaces, and their means of funding as mediums through which American Studies and U.S. in the World may be brought closer together.

In this respect, my dissertation expands upon some existing scholarly work on how architecture has been used to advance American interests abroad. Jane C. Loeffler's research on American embassies demonstrates how architecture was used to define an official American presence abroad during the Cold War.<sup>120</sup> Meanwhile, Annabel Jane Wharton shows how hotelier Conrad Hilton understood his Hilton International Hotels—and their architectural modernism—as an attempt to counter communism in the Global South after the Second World War. Hilton hotels were designed to present tempting images of an “aestheticized technological efficiency” and consumer lifestyle abroad, both of which were associated with the U.S.; Hilton called them “little Americas.”<sup>121</sup> Focusing on a slightly earlier period (the decades immediately preceding the Second World War and the Cold War), I show how Rockefeller's patronage and philanthropy functioned as an unofficial but nonetheless important avenue for American presence and influence within the borders of other states. Rockefeller's projects show that unofficial American diplomatic efforts through architecture began earlier than the Cold War era. They also introduce a theopolitical agenda alongside—or intermixed with—capitalism.

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<sup>119</sup> The turning point occurred in the field of American Studies, with books such as: Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1994).

<sup>120</sup> Jane C. Loeffler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998).

<sup>121</sup> Annabel Jane Wharton, *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* (Chicago:

## 1.4. Philanthropy

To fund the architecture, environment, and programs of Protestant Modernism and an American internationalism, Rockefeller used the instrument of philanthropy, a powerful and ever-expanding institution of American society, whose public claim has been the improvement of the human condition. Given that Rockefeller purposefully created a public image for himself as philanthropist, and that his family name is associated with major foundations, texts on American philanthropy inevitably include him, but they do not engage with the architectural aspect of his projects. Often, they do not address religion either.

Most authors on Western philanthropy unfailingly note that while giving one's money, resources, or services for reform, welfare, and improvement of the human condition became an important part of Western society everywhere, in the United States it took on a unique character owing to the country's democratic structure and eventually its economic surplus.<sup>122</sup> Specifically, philanthropy in America underwent a transformation from charitable Christian giving to a well-administered "scientific philanthropy," which is associated in particular with the foundations created by Rockefeller's father, John D. Rockefeller Sr.<sup>123</sup> But what is overwhelmingly lost in the course of such an assertion is the simple fact that religious impulses have lingered, and indeed thrived in American society, and that it has been possible for scientific giving to have a purposeful religious end-goal or to be leveraged by religious actors for religious purposes.

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University of Chicago, 2001), 6, 198.

<sup>122</sup> Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 1-4. For more on the American philanthropic tradition, see Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

<sup>123</sup> "Scientific philanthropy" at first meant only that donors carefully scrutinized applications for help, in order to weed out unworthy recipients and prevent "pauperism," but later it came to refer to a system whereby philanthropists and their advisors extensively studied and decisively attacked the *source* of a social or cultural problem, rather than merely its symptoms. This kind of philanthropy was driven by the massive financial fortunes of the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Morgans, and other industrial elites, and was organized using rational business methods and market practices in which America was then taking the lead. For more on scientific philanthropy, see Bremner,

There exists a vast historical body of critical and anecdotal literature, observations, and evidence on American philanthropy, its transformation over time, and its distinguishing characteristics. Commentators range from the English Puritan lawyer John Winthrop (1587-1649) to nineteenth-century French historian, political writer, and connoisseur of American society, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1849), and include one of the original robber barons and future philanthropists himself: Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919).<sup>124</sup> More recently, starting around 1960, scholars like Robert Bremner and Merle Curti began to reflect back on American philanthropy, compiling a social history and overview of the institution and noting how it has changed over the years and how it, in turn, has changed America.<sup>125</sup> This scholarship has increased in size and scope and become more critical in recent decades with the opening of major foundation archives and research institutes geared towards philanthropy.<sup>126</sup>

In America, the idea of improving the human condition first emerged within a religious context. Early pilgrims saw philanthropists as “instruments sent by God.”<sup>127</sup> In his famous 1630 sermon, “A Modell of Christian Charity,” Winthrop understood philanthropy as a necessary component of a model Christian society, and exhorted his fellow pilgrims to,

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*American Philanthropy*, 89-104.

<sup>124</sup> For John Winthrop’s commentary on philanthropy, see Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 7-9. For Tocqueville’s writings, see Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Volume 1 (of 2), trans. Henry Reeve, 2013, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/815/815-h/815-h.htm>. Tocqueville’s first volume was originally published in 1835. Note that Tocqueville does not actually use the word philanthropy, though he does write about it. See also Carnegie, “Wealth.”

<sup>125</sup> See Bremner, *American Philanthropy*; Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad; A History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1963).

<sup>126</sup> Judith Sealander, whose work was groundbreaking in the late 1990s for her use of previously sealed-off archival sources, has described the internal (to foundations) and external (governmental) changes that have led to increased availability of archival material and more rigorous scholarship on philanthropy. I will not go into detail about these changes here, but more information can be found in her book, Judith Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 5-6.

<sup>127</sup> William Bradford quoted in Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 6.

love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently, we must bear on another's burdens, we must not look only on our own things but also on the things of our brethren. Neither must we think that the Lord will bear with such failings at our hands as He doth from those among whom we have lived.<sup>128</sup>

Winthrop did not question the unequal distribution of wealth in society, believing instead that God had created both wealth and poverty to make charity possible and, in this way, to bring the rich and poor closer together “in the bond of brotherly affection.”<sup>129</sup> Compared to what was to come, wealth disparity in America was rather limited at this time anyway. Even in 1830, two centuries after Winthrop, Tocqueville would observe the absence of a distinct upper class in America, which, he said, would have bound average Americans together in a rigid and hierarchical society. In his classic, influential, and widely cited two-volume book, *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville notes that the absence of such an aristocratic class in the United States allowed—and even necessitated—the American habit of creating “associations” for the purposes of coming together under (not a noble dictate but) a common cause.<sup>130</sup> These associations, he believed, furthered the democratic character of American society and allowed average Americans to participate in government by demonstrating what was important to them. So, in Tocqueville's view, philanthropy was a necessary part of a democracy and helped to strengthen and bolster it.

Only fifty years later, Andrew Carnegie would hail the emergence of an influential rich social stratum in the United States.<sup>131</sup> The arrival of this class introduced a different kind of philanthropy—one that was not democratic but, I argue, significantly imperial in character. Men

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<sup>128</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 7-8. Note that Winthrop uses “charity” and “love” interchangeably.

<sup>129</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>130</sup> See Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*.

<sup>131</sup> See Carnegie, “Wealth.” In 1880, there were less than one hundred millionaires in the United States, but by 1916 there were more than forty thousand. Of these, twenty were in an upper echelon of their own. In 1901, when Carnegie sold his assets in U.S. Steel, he became worth \$350 million. Between 1910 and 1912, John D. Rockefeller Sr. outstripped him in wealth and became a billionaire when the Anti-Trust legislation forcibly dissolved Standard

like Carnegie, and his contemporary Rockefeller Sr., had acquired massive fortunes during the Gilded Age and the early decades of the twentieth century. These fortunes allowed them to dedicate huge, unprecedented resources to any particular cause that they chose or determined necessary for society-at-large.<sup>132</sup> By adopting methods and techniques first developed in business, philanthropists carefully scrutinized the applications for help they received, in order to prevent “pauperism,” and used their vast resources to hire advisors and experts who could decisively study and attack the source of a cultural or social problem rather than merely alleviate its symptoms.

Calling this approach to philanthropy “scientific” has served to obscure any religious dimensions within American giving today. Bremner does acknowledge that there are instances where religious ideas—as driving forces—persisted well into the twentieth century, and where religiously motivated actors often took the lead in secular philanthropy. He presents Rockefeller Sr. as the clearest counterpoint to the irreligion of Carnegie and others, and notes that although Rockefeller Sr. engaged in large-scale secular philanthropy, he was motivated by a sense of duty that came from “the old-fashioned religious doctrine of stewardship rather than ...the new gospel of wealth.”<sup>133</sup> But he goes no further than this in examining the role of religion to Rockefeller Sr.’s philanthropy. And although Bremner mentions Rockefeller Jr.’s philanthropy as well, he

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Oil. Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 10.

<sup>132</sup> The fortunes were large in comparison not only to the average American—even if he or she were prosperous—but also for a while in contrast to public agencies. For more on this, see Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*.

<sup>133</sup> Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 111. Sealander, too, notes that early-twentieth century philanthropists did have a “religiously inspired or quasi-religious commitment to engineer the ‘revival’ of their society.” As an example, she quotes Frederick T. Gates, Senior’s advisor on philanthropy, who asserted that Senior and his foundations were doing “God’s work”: “Do not smile if I say that I often think [of the work of the Rockefeller Institute] as a sort of Theological Seminary... If that Being has any favorites on this little planet, I must believe that those favorites are made up of that ever enlarging group of men and women who are...studying Him and His ways with men. That is the work of the Institute. In these sacred rooms He is whispering His secrets.” Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 4. See also Michael S. Mayer, “Reviewed Work(s): Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal by Judith Sealander,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (December 2000): 1755–56.



does not speculate on any religious impulse in his work, let alone note his outright support for religious causes *through* scientific means. As we have seen earlier, Albert F. Schenkel, writing from the field of religious studies and history, provides the antidote to this absence of religion in the scholarship on Rockefeller Jr.'s philanthropy.

In terms of architecture, Bremner does note that Rockefeller gave money towards the “resurrection of Colonial Williamsburg,” the French restorations, and the construction of I-House Chicago, Cloisters Museum, and various parks. But he presents these projects as being removed from politics and policy, merely the act of—what Bremner would call—a “master tinkerer.” I attribute Bremner’s erroneous reading to his lack of in-depth engagement with both Rockefeller’s architectural patronage and his theopolitical interests.<sup>134</sup>

Finally, many of these authors also grapple with philanthropy’s role in cultural imperialism. Relevant to Rockefeller’s philanthropy—though not directly referencing it—Bremner makes two interesting observations on the unique roots of philanthropy in the New World. First, he notes that philanthropy took root in the future United States as strongly as it did because it was an accompaniment to another powerful force there: colonization.

The age of colonization coincided with one of the great periods of European philanthropy... Almost every effort at colonization had, or claimed to have, a philanthropic motivation: there were natives to be converted to Christianity, poor men to be provided with land and work, and a wilderness to be supplied with the institutions of civilization. It is not too much to say that many Europeans regarded the American continent mainly as a vastly expanded field for the exercise of benevolence.<sup>135</sup>

But he then goes on to write that Winthrop’s exhortation to his fellow pilgrims to create “A

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<sup>134</sup> Bremner actually uses the term “master tinkerer” for Henry Ford. But the context and sequence in which he uses it gives me some liberty to apply it to Rockefeller’s architectural patronage as well. For Bremner’s description of the reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg, see Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 139; for Ford as “master tinkerer,” see *Ibid.*, 157-158.

<sup>135</sup> Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 7.

Modell of Christian Charity” in the New World suggests the real reason for the strength of American philanthropy: in America, the real mission of pilgrims was “to establish communities that would be better than, instead of like or different from, the ones they had known at home.”<sup>136</sup> Ultimately, in Bremner’s view, philanthropy in America is not the re-making of a people and place in the image or interests of a human empire, rather it is the realization of the Kingdom of God.

I argue that these ideas—colonization and philanthropy, religious utopia and philanthropy—need not be mutually exclusive, and that all are applicable to Rockefeller’s philanthropy in the early twentieth-century.<sup>137</sup> Like other fellow philanthropists, Rockefeller believed he was helping to build up modern civilizing institutions for other continents and regions—for example the Middle East and China. At the same time, he expanded America’s reach and influence abroad through these very institutions. So, while it was not colonialism per se, Rockefeller’s philanthropy was not a disinterested exercise in benevolence either. At the same time, although he presented the U.S. as a theopolitical leader, Rockefeller’s projects aimed at

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> An interesting though somewhat obscure reference to national self-interest as philanthropy appears in the work of the late-nineteenth-century American writer, Herman Melville. In a chapter titled, “Flogging Not Necessary,” taken from his book *White-Jacket: Or, The World in a Man-of-War*, we find the following passage describing America’s confidence in its actions and her embrace of Manifest Destiny as a kind of philanthropy for the world-at-large: “Escaped from the house of bondage, Israel of old did not follow after the ways of the Egyptians. To her was given an express dispensation; to her were given new things under the sun. And we Americans are the peculiar, chosen people—the Israel of our time; we bear the ark of the liberties of the world. Seventy years ago we escaped from thrall; and, besides our first birthright—embracing one continent of earth—God has given to us, for a future inheritance, the broad domains of the political pagans, that shall yet come and lie down under the shade of our ark, without bloody hands being lifted. God has predestinated, mankind expects, great things from our race; and great things we feel in our souls. The rest of the nations must soon be in our rear. We are the pioneers of the world; the advance-guard, sent on through the wilderness of untried things, to break a new path in the New World that is ours. In our youth is our strength; in our inexperience, our wisdom. At a period when other nations have but lisped, our deep voice is heard afar. Long enough, have we been skeptics with regard to ourselves, and doubted whether, indeed, the political Messiah had come. But he has come in us, if we would but give utterance to his promptings. And let us always remember that with ourselves, almost for the first time in the history of earth, **national selfishness is unbounded philanthropy; for we can not do a good to America but we give alms to the world [emphasis mine].**” Herman Melville, *White-Jacket: Or, The World in a Man-of-War* (New York; Chicago: United States Book Company, 1892), <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/10712/10712-h/10712-h.htm>. Melville’s passage is an apt summation of the obligations and opportunities that Rockefeller, his advisors (Fosdick, et al.), and applicants for his

creating a better America, too: so, he was engaged in the re-making project, both at home and abroad.

Bremner's comments regarding colonization and philanthropy actually appear incidental in his larger narrative, which tends towards lionizing philanthropy rather than critiquing it. The thread of cultural imperialism is instead picked up more critically in the work of other writers, like Robert F. Arnove, who notes that,

foundations like Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford have a corrosive influence on a democratic society; they represent relatively unregulated and unaccountable concentrations of power and wealth which buy talent, promote causes, and, in effect, establish an agenda of what merits society's attention. They serve as "cooling-out" agencies, delaying and preventing more radical, structural change. They help maintain an economic and political order, international in scope, which benefits the ruling-class interests of philanthropists and philanthropoids...—a system which,...has worked against the interests of minorities, the working class, and Third World peoples."<sup>138</sup>

Judith Sealander, meanwhile, shows how modern philanthropy, though it aimed to advance a cause that was deemed valuable by a single private individual or by a representative corporate body, did not remain isolated from the work of the American government or from international life. It frequently "blurred the lines between private wealth and public life," and often partnered with government.<sup>139</sup> For example, one of Rockefeller Sr.'s primary advisors, Frederick T. Gates, had this to say of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commissions' efforts to prevent hookworm in the South:

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funds saw for American leadership and philanthropy at home and abroad.

<sup>138</sup> Robert F. Arnove, *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1980), 1. Arnove uses the term "philanthropoids" to refer to "the trustees, executive officers, and staff who design and implement foundation policies." See *Ibid.*, 19. I should note that Rockefeller had many philanthropoids working for him, whom I have referred to as "actors," "advisors," "experts," and "associates." When I refer to "the Rockefeller team," or the "Rockefeller network," I am including these figures along with him. However, as we will see, Rockefeller was also involved in designing and implementing foundation policies himself.

<sup>139</sup> Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 15.

The hookworm work is done in every state...under the guise of the state health boards, while it is in fact minutely directed and paid for by the Rockefeller Commission.<sup>140</sup>

Did something similar happen in the case of Rockefeller Jr.'s philanthropy? Were government projects pushed through under the guise of philanthropy, or did his philanthropy show the way to the American government? The evidence suggests a bit of both, though, in the early days, the latter was particularly true. Rockefeller's cultural and theopolitical projects—which are my focus in this dissertation—sought to shape international relations in an era when the American government had not assumed its overt role as a global power, which it would only do after the Second World War. Sometimes, Rockefeller and his associates also used philanthropic projects to correct what they believed were mistakes made by the American government, or to lead them into uncharted territories.<sup>141</sup> Here, we have moved far from Tocqueville's assertion that American philanthropy is a necessary accompaniment to democracy, enhancing and bolstering it, and closer to my own reading of its effects—both at home and abroad.

In terms of the outcome of major ventures by American philanthropists, some authors argue that the impact was neither as great nor as devastating as has been thought.<sup>142</sup> While Rockefeller's philanthropy may be said to have failed (given that the next major war did “come

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<sup>140</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> Rockefeller's gift for the League of Nations is one example of this, as is the work of the Rockefeller Sanity Commission and the General Education Board. For more on the GEB, see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

<sup>142</sup> Sealander argues that the impact of foundations in the arena of public policy-making, and their danger to democratic institutions, has been exaggerated by other scholars—that there were by far more failures, complications, and checks to the power of foundations than is commonly understood—and that by and large the outcome of the efforts of major foundations in this respect has been to show to the American government the value of relying upon a neutral expert in determining public policy. She writes that the foundations did not form a secret or shadow empire that sought to maintain the status quo, but that they were in fact progressive, and that, “They believed that a harmonious and well-ordered society would not emerge from the operation of market-forces alone.” So, Sealander presents foundations as a balm to capitalism, not destroyers of democracy—though she does admit that philanthropists were more likely to dictate policies from a top-down position. Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 4, 67.

around the curve”), according to Albert Schenkel it did allow Protestantism to extend its hegemony in America much longer than it would otherwise have done on its own.<sup>143</sup> Furthermore, as other writes have noted, although the liberal Protestant establishment is weakened today, Protestantism is by no means gone from American society, though more conservative elements within it have seized political control.<sup>144</sup> Regardless, partial failure of a project should not discount the intention behind it and the impact it may have had in unintended directions—architectural, urbanistic, and others.

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<sup>143</sup> See Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*.

<sup>144</sup> See Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*.

# 2

## **Growing a Philanthropy, Becoming a Builder** **John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the turn to Philanthropy & Patronage** **(1890-1946)**

In lieu of a conventional biography of John D. Rockefeller Jr., of which there are already many examples, this chapter instead describes the origins, trajectory, and major themes of Rockefeller’s architectural patronage, philanthropy, and ideology in order to clarify how the Oriental Institute and the International Houses—and their corresponding concern with the “Orient” and the “International”—are signature projects of his larger oeuvre.<sup>1</sup> Given the scope of this oeuvre, it is not possible to recount every project here; in fact, there were times in later years when the Rockefeller team itself could not recall whether he had been involved in a particular project. So instead I have chosen to include only those projects that reveal something about, or complicate our understanding of, the two main case studies. The selected projects also act as a lens through which we can understand the many ways in which Rockefeller leveraged architecture in his philanthropy and internationalism, and how he became an ideological and architectural author in the process. I posit that Rockefeller’s interest in architecture did not develop independently from his larger worldview, to be merely attached to it later; rather, I argue that a large part of his interest in architecture is related to how this medium could be instrumentalized for the purposes of his theopolitical internationalism.

The main body of this chapter is organized under various themes (religious interests,

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<sup>1</sup> For biographies of Rockefeller, see: Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*; Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*;

restorations, creation of foundations and so on) and simultaneously follows a chronological template in order to give a clear picture of the timeline of Rockefeller's developing philanthropy and interests, and his first contacts with the actors and ideas—both architectural and theopolitical—that would recur throughout the course of his philanthropic career. The chronological approach also has the advantage of allowing the reader to see which projects and movements Rockefeller was pursuing—and the actors with whom he was speaking—while he was financing the International Houses and the Oriental Institute. In particular, I more fully introduce figures who show up repeatedly in later chapters, such as Raymond Fosdick, Harry Emerson Fosdick (one of the most controversial modernist preachers of his time), and others. I clarify these actors' relation with and influence on Rockefeller. Furthermore, I also clarify Rockefeller's relationship to the various Rockefeller family foundations, in which he took an active role. This clarification is important because there is some continuity in themes and actors between the foundations and Rockefeller's personal philanthropy. And, in the case of the Oriental Institute, his personal funding of the project was supplemented by some of the family's foundations.

I also use this chapter to situate Rockefeller's projects, and his personal development into a philanthropist and builder, within the larger cultural, religious, and political movements of his time, and to distinguish his work and interests from that of other actors in American public life as well as from members of his own family, most notably his first wife Abby, his father, and his sons, John D. Rockefeller III, Nelson, Winthrop, Laurance, and David.<sup>2</sup> The "Rockefeller

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Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*.

<sup>2</sup> The dissertation's Introduction has already discussed Rockefeller's philanthropy, real estate interests, and ideological goals in comparison to those of Henry Luce, William Randolph Hearst, Andrew Carnegie and other wealthy American elites. To a limited extent, the comparison continues in this chapter. With regards to his family members, note that Rockefeller and Aldrich also had a daughter who was given the same name as her mother: Abigail Aldrich Rockefeller. She later used the last name, "Rockefeller Mauzé." Mauzé was a philanthropist too, but

brothers,” standing easily on the formidable foundation of power and money that was put in place for them by their predecessors, rose to unsettling heights of influence in banking, conservation, modern art, foreign policy, and government. By virtue of their more recent occupation of the public stage in American and international life, these men tend to eclipse their father’s oeuvre and impact.

Many scholars—and certainly the general public—often mistakenly attribute some of Rockefeller Jr.’s more iconic projects to others in the family.<sup>3</sup> Yet, Rockefeller was not only the pivotal figure in his own family, he was also, as I have already pointed out, a major political and cultural protagonist in American life. With respect to the first point, without his intervention in the philanthropic affairs of his father in the early twentieth century, and his strategic stewardship of these going forward, the future public admiration of his sons’ careers (within elite capitalist circles) would have been impossible. But it is the way in which Rockefeller Jr. leveraged philanthropy and architecture in an attempt to shape international religion, society, and culture—as well as influence America’s perception abroad—that is perhaps least understood and most crucial to parse.

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because she was a lone female in a male-dominated family, she appears to have not had as big of a presence in the family’s philanthropic sphere as her father and brothers—or even her mother. Note also that a few years after Abby Sr. died in 1948, Rockefeller married Martha Baird. Compared to Abby Sr., Baird appears to have been a much less influential figure in Rockefeller’s philanthropy. As she was not in the picture at all during the period that I am focusing on, I make no further mention of her in the dissertation. Finally, note that although this dissertation does not focus on Rockefeller Sr. per se, comparisons of Rockefeller Jr. to Sr. are an unavoidable aspect of any project that looks at either of these men. These comparisons can be useful because they also help establish the ways in which Rockefeller Jr.’s philanthropy was distinct from—rather than a mere continuance of—his father’s vision and ideology.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in Annabel Jane Wharton’s book on buildings as agents—which I rely on heavily in my analysis of the Palestine Archaeological Museum—the author attributes the founding of the University of Chicago to Rockefeller Jr., but it was his father who created this institution. Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 33.



## 2.1. Early Influences in Architecture, Social Sciences, and Ethics (1893-1897)

In 1893, John D. Rockefeller Jr. moved from New York City to Providence to attend Brown University.<sup>4</sup> That same year, Rockefeller Sr. purchased land in New York State's Pocantico Hills for his future family estate, Kykuit. (In 1906, Kykuit would become Rockefeller Jr.'s first major architectural project.) As Albert Schenkel has noted, 1893 was also the year that Chicago hosted the World's Columbian Exposition, which Rockefeller visited during the summer.<sup>5</sup> The Exposition (and the year) mark what those architectural historians who are in sympathy with architectural modernism have seen as a declension in American aesthetics: the event is singled out as the moment when American architects squandered an opportunity to develop a uniquely American and modern architectural style—whose promise was evident in the work of Chicago architect Louis Sullivan—and instead embraced the French *Beaux-Arts* aesthetic.<sup>6</sup> Derived from the academic teachings of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, which had opened in France in 1797, this style went on to have an enormous influence in the United States. The *École* emphasized a thorough knowledge and grounding in the architecture and aesthetic of classical Greco-Roman antiquity, which resulted in the neoclassical designs associated with the school and its graduates. Within this general neoclassical aesthetic, *Beaux-Arts* planning principles emphasized spatial hierarchy, clear transitions, frontal axiality, and logical circulation, all of which are clearly expressed and articulated in the buildings' facades, sections, and plans. Ornament was usually

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<sup>4</sup> Rockefeller was born in Cleveland, Ohio but had moved to New York City with his family as a child. New York was his primary home for the rest of his life.

<sup>5</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 15. In this sub-section, I am building up off of Schenkel's organizational structure: he opens a discussion of Rockefeller's years at Brown by listing the important events and developments that took place in the United States and the larger world in the year he joined the University.

<sup>6</sup> Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 273.

instrumentalized for symbolic purposes and to provide a suitable character for the building. The choice and placement of ornament was determined by the function of the building, its social relevance, its specific cultural affiliation, or the particular message that the client and architect wished to convey. The Beaux-Arts was deemed particularly suitable for institutional buildings (law courts, university campuses, and so on), where architectural symmetry, spatial hierarchy, and clear circulation were understood by viewers as conveying the power and authority of the institution in question.<sup>7</sup>

When the *École* opened in 1797, the United States did not yet have any formal architecture schools. All architectural education and influence therefore came from Europe—primarily from France, since most Americans were more sympathetic to Gallic culture than British culture at the time. American students attended the *École* in increasing numbers and brought the style back with them to the United States. Inevitably, when the first school opened in the U.S. in 1865, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it used the *École* model and hired French teachers or Americans who had trained in France.<sup>8</sup>

The buildings of the 1893 Exposition and its associated “White City” were overwhelmingly designed in the Beaux-Arts style, with Sullivan’s Transportation Building being the only exception (**Fig. 2.1-2.2**).<sup>9</sup> After 1893, the center of architectural production and thought moved from Chicago to New York, whose wealthy patrons and developers applied Beaux-Arts

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<sup>7</sup> For more on the Beaux-Arts aesthetic, see Arthur Drexler et al., *The Architecture of the École Des Beaux-Arts* (New York; Cambridge, Mass.: Museum of Modern Art; Distributed by MIT Press, 1977). See also, Mark Jarzombek, *Designing MIT: The Architecture of William Welles Bosworth* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> For the influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts on American architecture, see James Philip Noffsinger, *The Influence of the École Des Beaux-Arts on the Architects of the United States* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1955).

<sup>9</sup> Scholars today agree that the Transportation Building—the anomaly—was the masterpiece of the White City. See for example Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America’s Global Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 110. Most European visitors of the Exposition back in 1893 felt the same.

historicism and eclecticism to their homes and institutions.<sup>10</sup> The Exposition buildings and the White City must have made an impression on the nineteen year-old Rockefeller, who would go on to leverage this style in nearly all of his future architectural projects, including Kykuit and the modernist Rockefeller Center, whose urban footprint bears an unmistakable Beaux-Arts influence.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to this important development in architecture, the year 1893 was significant for political, demographic, economic, and territorial reasons: it marked the closing of the American frontier as well as increased immigration from abroad to the country's East Coast. The United States' first federal immigration station would open in Ellis Island in 1902 (**Fig. 2.3**). And, after nearly three decades of immense economic growth at the end of the Civil War, the United States was plunged into an economic depression called the "The Panic of 1893," which in terms of severity in America was topped only by the Great Depression. The recession ended in

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<sup>10</sup> These wealthy clients also applied the Beaux-Arts' aesthetic to the newly emerging skyscraper form—often with disastrous results. As Daniel Okrent has noted, architects and clients were at first unprepared to "clothe" tall buildings and to recognize the new opportunities presented by this building form. He writes that they looked at the New York skyline but could only see Paris. He is referring specifically to these architects' Beaux-Arts training. Attempting to apply historicist styles to tall buildings, the architects created a "distorted fun-house mirror" aesthetic, where the Beaux-Arts, with all its ornamental heaviness and eclecticism, was stretched out, resulting in buildings that looked quite disproportionate. See Daniel Okrent, *Great Fortune: The Epic of Rockefeller Center* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 71-81. See also Guy Nordenson, Terence Riley, and N.Y. Museum of Modern Art, *Tall Buildings* (New York: Museum of Modern Art: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by D.A.P., 2003); Roger Shepherd, *Skyscraper: The Search for an American Style, 1891-1941: Annotated Extracts from the First 50 Years of Architectural Record* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003). For criticism on the application of Beaux-Arts aesthetic to skyscrapers, published during the period in which these skyscrapers were designed and built, see Claude Fayette Bragdon, *Architecture and Democracy* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1918); Claude Fayette Bragdon and Louis H. Sullivan, eds., *Kindergarten Chats on Architecture, Education and Democracy*, 1st ed., (Lawrence, Kansas: Scarab Fraternity Press, 1934).

<sup>11</sup> Note that Rockefeller's biographers have a different reading on the influence of the White City on Rockefeller's aesthetic development. They note that his only recorded impression of the Exposition was that he had gained "a very good idea of its vastness and immensity." Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 35; also quoted in Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 15. However, given the dominance of the Beaux-Arts style in Rockefeller's patronage later on, it is clear that it probably had a greater impact than is evident in his recorded observations. As for the Beaux-Arts influence on the Rockefeller Center, see Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 197-199. Actually, Koolhaas suggests that New York's grid makes the Beaux-Arts' axial layout and carefully selected vistas impossible to achieve, and that in the Rockefeller Center, the Beaux-Arts is buried underground, where the vista leads to a subway entrance rather than a monument. As I will show in Chapter Seven, in fact there *are* axes and a vista above ground, and they do lead to a monument.

1897, the year that Rockefeller graduated from Brown.

Rockefeller's selection of Brown is important. His choice was endorsed by many of his mentors at the time, who noted Brown's Baptist affiliation—an important consideration for devout Baptists like the Rockefellers.<sup>12</sup> But Brown, according to some biographers, also became the place where Rockefeller was exposed to new ideas, such as the emerging field of social sciences and the question of industrial ethics.<sup>13</sup> At the time, Brown was run by Elisha Benjamin Andrews (1844-1917), an American economist and educator who was apparently a big influence on Rockefeller and other young students. Rockefeller took classes with Andrews and other professors who taught that socialism was consistent with Christianity and discussed “the failure of capitalism to distribute equitably the gains of industrial progress,” and he is said to have read Karl Marx's *Capital*.<sup>14</sup> But lest Rockefeller begins to appear more politically left than he actually was, we should note that while at Brown he also delivered a speech on the negative impact of immigration into the United States.

To what extent should we take his early education and speeches as indicative of his intentions and future career? Perhaps only to the extent that a clear link is visible. The cause of industrial relations, for example, did re-emerge for Rockefeller in the aftermath of the “Ludlow Massacre” of 1914—though it grew out of the public condemnation he received for his handling of the situation and his initial response to the tragedy. Furthermore, as we will see in Section 2.4., Rockefeller's solution to improving industrial relations was overwhelmingly paternalistic, and designed to maintain the status quo rather than to introduce any radical changes. As for his position on immigration, Rockefeller did support restrictions, as evidenced in his communication

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<sup>12</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

with **John B. Trevor**, a lawyer and beneficiary of Rockefeller's private funds, who helped push a major anti-immigration bill in the 1920s.<sup>15</sup>

Rockefeller's time at Brown University was important for another reason: while in Providence, he met **Abigail Greene "Abby" Aldrich**, future co-founder of the **Museum of Modern Art (1928)** and the daughter of Nelson Aldrich, a Republican Senator from Rhode Island and a major ally of big business (**Fig. 2.4**). (I will hereafter refer to Abby by either her first name or as Aldrich Rockefeller.) She married Rockefeller in 1901.<sup>16</sup> Abby was an important patron of art and architecture, and her aesthetic preferences often ran counter to Rockefeller's more traditional tastes. Nevertheless, she is credited by Rockefeller's official biographer, Fosdick, as the figure who most nudged Rockefeller towards an interest in art and architecture.<sup>17</sup> Abby also participated directly in some of Rockefeller's projects: she was part of the interior design committee of the New York I-House, for example. Aldrich Rockefeller kept company with artists like Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, and Henri Matisse, and was a much more irrepressible personality than Rockefeller, who has been described as "unemotional," blandly efficient, and ascetic.<sup>18</sup> She was also much less interested in her husband's theopolitical agenda.

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<sup>15</sup> Yoni Appelbaum, "The Trouble with Keeping America 'American,'" *The Atlantic*, December 15, 2011, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2011/12/the-trouble-with-keeping-america-american/249960/>, Accessed January 1, 2018.

<sup>16</sup> For more on Abby Aldrich, see Bernice Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller: The Woman in the Family* (New York: Random House, 1993); Clarice Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women: Dynasty of Piety, Privacy, and Service* (San Jose: iUniverse, 2000).

<sup>17</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 328.

<sup>18</sup> For Rockefeller as "unemotional," see Winkler, "A Scientific Santa Claus-I," 27. Unflattering comparisons of Rockefeller Jr. to his wife Abby are also found in their children's memoirs. See, David Rockefeller, *Memoirs*, Reprint edition (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2003).

## **2.2. The Gilded Age, the Break-up of Standard Oil, and Rockefeller's Conscious Turn from Business to Philanthropy (1910)**

After graduating from Brown, Rockefeller joined his father's business and philanthropic projects. At this point, his own philanthropic career—as a thing independent from Rockefeller Sr.—had not yet taken off. But in 1910, Rockefeller officially quit most business ventures with which he had been involved and made philanthropy his full-time occupation. His self-conscious and very public turn to philanthropy has to be contextualized against two related landmark periods and events in American history. The first is the late nineteenth century and its complex social, economic, and political history, which immediately preceded and significantly shaped Rockefeller's turn to philanthropy. The second is the notorious rise and legislatively imposed break-up, in roughly this same period, of John D. Rockefeller Sr.'s oil empire, the Standard Oil Company.

My dissertation does not trace the specific path that money takes in Rockefeller's philanthropy: how this money, coming from shares of Standard Oil and other companies, is invested in philanthropic projects at home and abroad that, in turn, undoubtedly created goodwill for America and helped smooth the passage for American businesses in sensitive geopolitical regions abroad.<sup>19</sup> I am more interested in the theological underpinnings and justifications of these philanthropic projects. But one set of motivations (theology) cannot cancel out another set (money), and vice versa. The following section acknowledges where the money came from, under what circumstances it was amassed, and Rockefeller's relationship to its source.

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<sup>19</sup> Other authors also argue that Rockefeller's philanthropy created goodwill for American businesses abroad. See for example, Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*.

## The Gilded Age

The late nineteenth century is a period of major scholarly study and work because it was a period of huge upheaval and transformation. It is the period that Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner satirized as the “Gilded Age,” a term that was appropriated some decades later by historians to reflect on the economic and social excesses and corruption of the three decades following the American Civil War, which had ended in 1865.<sup>20</sup> Most historians agree with this periodization, ending the Age in 1900, but they acknowledge that its causes and effects extend in either direction of this three-decade period. Alan J. Trachtenberg provides a slightly shorter timeline: he ends the Gilded Age in 1893, with the opening of the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, whose White City he sees as the aesthetic visualization of the changes that incorporation had brought about in America: he calls the period the “age of incorporation”—when modern corporations and big businesses took over and radically changed American life, culture, and politics.<sup>21</sup> It was also the age of the Second Industrial Revolution, which historians situate between 1870 and 1914.

As historian Charles Calhoun notes, “the [America] that entered the twentieth century was vastly different from the one that had emerged from the Civil War.<sup>22</sup> Specifically, there existed a much greater economic gulf between the moneyed classes—Rockefellers, Carnegies,

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<sup>20</sup> Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of To-Day* (American Publishing Company, 1874). See also Charles W. Calhoun, *The Gilded Age: Perspectives on the Origins of Modern America* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007). Calhoun’s edited volume is intended as a reconsideration of the Gilded Age. The authors’ aim is to show that despite its excesses, the Age was one of “considerable accomplishments.”

<sup>21</sup> Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, 1st edition (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007). Business historian Alfred D. Chandler Jr. has also studied this period with an eye to how the shift from small businesses to large corporations, along with their new management practices in this period, changed the landscape of American business and economy. See, Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Calhoun, *The Gilded Age*, 2.

and others—who were white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and the labor class, which increasingly was immigrant and non-Protestant. This widening gulf was reflected in the tense debates that took place between “Capital” and “Labor” over what America should mean or become.<sup>23</sup>

Describing the many changes wrought by the Gilded Age, Calhoun has noted:

During [the late-nineteenth century] the central fact of American life was the evolution of the nation from a largely agricultural, rural, isolated, localized, and traditional society to one that was becoming industrialized, urban, integrated, national, and modern. The process began before the 1870s and continued after 1900, but the last third of the century—roughly the period known as the Gilded Age—saw a rapid acceleration in the country’s transformation.<sup>24</sup>

What Calhoun does not note here—but what Trachtenberg and others do—is the sheer cultural and social upheaval caused by this transformation, and the real struggle of workers’ rights against corporations’ might. Making money was the “poetry of the age,” but it was also a frightening time and many businesses failed.<sup>25</sup> This was also the age before workers’ compensation laws were passed in the United States and before the eight-hour day was made mandatory, so industrial workers toiled in physically, emotionally, and economically precarious conditions. Organized labor emerged to combat the long working hours, the dangers posed by fast-moving machinery, and the hold of the wage system over individuals. The conflict between Labor and Capital that began in this era would become an important public relations issue for Rockefeller Jr. later.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 70-100.

<sup>24</sup> Calhoun, *The Gilded Age*, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.*, 2nd ed. (Vintage, 2004), 97-98. Chernow notes that he has borrowed the phrase from Dean Howell, who wrote, “There’s no doubt but money is... the romance, the poetry of our age.”

<sup>26</sup> Further numbers and figures are perhaps a good way of representing the changes that took place in the Gilded Age. Before the Civil War, corporations were limited to providing only public or semi-public services, and the charter to incorporate was bestowed sparingly. But by the 1870s, incorporation had turned into a simple and easily accessible process—especially in states like New Jersey—rather than a privilege to be granted by a monarch or a government. And by 1904, three hundred private corporations controlled two-fifths of all manufacturing in the U.S.



## Standard Oil

The characteristic problems and opportunities of this age are reflected in the career of Standard Oil—the forerunner of the modern corporation—and in the career of its founder.<sup>27</sup> The Standard Oil Company was incorporated in 1870 in Cleveland by Rockefeller Sr. who was the quintessential and pioneering figure of early capitalism in the decades after the Civil War, when he grew the company into an industrial and corporate behemoth (a Trust, essentially) that controlled all aspects of the petroleum business and that, due to its fast growth, attracted governmental and public scrutiny.<sup>28</sup>

The thing about trusts and corporations that gives them an advantage over small businesses—and the thing that is most challenging for a historian to untangle—are the

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and “affected” four-fifths of the nation’s industries. Between 1870 and 1900, the American population nearly doubled, and much of this was due to increased immigration. In 1870, there were only twenty-five cities (population of 25,000 or more); by 1900 the number of cities had tripled. Increased urbanization went hand-in-hand with significant increase in processes of mechanization, industrialization, incorporation, and secularization. Railroads were the biggest industry, and railroad mileage quadrupled during this period, demonstrating the greater territory under American control (the West, for example), and the improving communication and transportation networks between the different regions of the U.S., which were necessitated by the increasingly nationwide reach of most corporations. Steel production increased. The telephone, invented in 1876, became more widely used by the end of the century. Republicans helped acquire an “overseas island empire.” More women were employed in industry than before, and more Americans in general were employed in industry. Discrimination against specific classes and races continued: despite their emancipation, Black Americans were strictly controlled by Jim Crow laws. Finally, the Protestant establishment was very slowly beginning to lose its grip on the country, due to immigration and due to the processes of secularization brought about by scientific advances, such as the Darwinian Revolution—though this process would become more noticeable between 1900 and 1960. On the changes that occurred in the Gilded Age, see Calhoun, *The Gilded Age*, 2 (and other pages); Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*. For more on the Protestant establishment, see Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*; Hutchison, *Between the Times*.

<sup>27</sup> The personal and political motivations behind John D. Rockefeller Sr.’s inexorable rise in business are mapped quite thoroughly in Ron Chernow’s biography of Senior, and much of the following information on him is taken from this book. See Chernow, *Titan*.

<sup>28</sup> Standard Oil had started small. It began in 1858 as a partnership called Clark and Rockefeller, dealing mostly in produce. The Civil War brought important trade and business to Cleveland, where Rockefeller was then based, and helped the company prosper. Flush with money, the partnership began to focus on the emerging petroleum industry in Pennsylvania. Soon, Rockefeller made the decision to shift his focus entirely from produce onto petroleum as the chief product of his business. Through a series of maneuvers, he ousted his business partners and at a young age became the sole owner of the largest refinery in Cleveland—Excelsior Oil Works—which produced or treated twice as much oil as its “nearest local rival.” With new partners, including his brother William, Rockefeller Sr. eventually incorporated the Standard Oil Company. All this happened against the backdrop of the war, which had set forth important mechanization and industrialization processes in the country that proved favorable to the growth of large corporations. Chernow, *Titan*, 87. See also Calhoun, *The Gilded Age* and Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of*

labyrinthine legal structures and relationships that give rise to them. These legal systems make it difficult to fully decipher how a trust or corporation operates—and *how far* it operates. In reading the following description of how corporations and trusts are built upon the idea of a small central body that represents a larger number of stockholders, and in reading about Standard Oil's methods of expansion and control of a particular market, keep in mind Rockefeller Jr.'s program of Protestant Modernism and American internationalism. The enormity of Rockefeller's philanthropy and theopolitical program, the difficult for us in delineating their extent, their attempt to organize and control a large body of nations and people, and the intentional (as I see it) obfuscation built into their architectural flank, recall Standard Oil.<sup>29</sup>

Trachtenberg defines the corporation as a body of owners (a *corpus*) that allows for greater access to capital—and thus provides a greater bulwark to competition—as opposed to a single owner business or partnership. His definition suggests the anonymity built in to the corporation, which can be exploited to conceal its aims and the extent of its reach:

Based on minority ownership—that is, on the legally established authority of a small group of directors and managers to act in the name of a larger, amorphous body of otherwise unrelated stockholders—the corporation provided capitalists with a flexible and far-reaching instrument than earlier forms of ownership such as simple partnerships and businesses.<sup>30</sup>

This form of a business entity became more permissible and wide-spread during the Civil War because of the country's increased expansion at this time and the material needs of its population. The available capital was insufficient to establish big businesses and the corporation's ability to draw on the resources of a group of owners, rather than one owner, was useful.

Standard Oil was built in this manner by mergers of smaller companies and by the

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*America.*

<sup>29</sup> As we will see in Section 2.4., philanthropic foundations, too, recall the corporate structure of a small body holding colossal power.

accumulation of wealth in one central body, which then allowed this body to influence and control infrastructure, resources, and people in the government. Before the Civil War, a business might sell one item or focus on one aspect of its production, and it would have a limited and mostly local market. But a post-war business like Standard Oil, with its much greater access to capital, did not invest in only one aspect of the manufacture, transportation, or marketing of its product (petroleum); aside from actual production, it controlled everything related to petroleum—especially refineries—and thus controlled the market. Petroleum was concentrated in Pennsylvania, but its market was wide. The company’s extensive “nationwide operations” took advantage of the rapid advances in mechanization and transportation processes (development of the railroads, etc.), which first occurred in the North during the Civil War when goods and people had to be moved around with increasing urgency and efficiency.<sup>31</sup> Finally, as much of the world’s oil production at this time happened within the United States, Standard Oil also became a multinational corporation.

In the beginning there was immense competition in the petroleum industry, and Rockefeller Sr. resorted to various methods to snuff it out. Petroleum became a highly necessary and widely available raw material, and its product—oil—was an important illuminant and lubricant.<sup>32</sup> While some business owners tried to create trade associations that could control the price of the product, Senior used the instrument of incorporation as well as bribery, open violence, coercion, and espionage against his competitors. In the first decade of Standard Oil’s operations, Rockefeller integrated horizontally, creating secret alliances with railroad companies

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<sup>30</sup> Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Chernow, *Titan*, 78.

<sup>32</sup> Chernow, *Titan*, 72; See also Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*.

in the process.<sup>33</sup> Then, in the 1880s, he began to integrate forwards and backwards (vertically) from the refining business: he started to operate oil wells and market oil, thus controlling the entire process of oil production and supply—not just refineries. In 1882, the company was transformed into the Standard Oil Trust, which controlled multiple corporations and allowed Standard Oil to gain control of nearly 90% of the oil business. As Trachtenberg notes, “Submitting chaos to order, Rockefeller created in Standard Oil a virtual state of his own.”<sup>34</sup> The methods employed by Standard were so notorious that a U.S. Congressman declared:

It is well understood in commercial circles that the Standard Oil Company brooks no competition; that its settled policy and firm determination is to crush out all who may be rash enough to enter the field against it; that it hesitates at nothing in the accomplishment of this purpose.<sup>35</sup>

Standard’s critics noted that the effects of the Trust could be felt even if the Trust itself was not visible.<sup>36</sup> During and even after the period of intense scrutiny directed at it, the company was repeatedly referred to as an “Overshadowing Octopus,” with its many tentacles reaching mysteriously into other businesses and even the government, affecting and influencing all of these **(Fig. 2.5)**.<sup>37</sup>

For American businesses the year 1910 brought greatly heightened scrutiny of large corporations, particularly of Standard: the company eventually became the focus of trust-busting legislation in the United States, which, after a series of missteps and small ineffectual gestures by

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<sup>33</sup> This means that he bought out the refinery competition by striking deals with railroad companies: he offered rebates to railroads if they agreed to deny other refineries the right to transport their goods. He also purchased warehouses and machinery that his competitors would need, and often controlled the stations in which oil-laden trains rolled in, thus making it extremely difficult for other refiners to operate. See Calhoun, *The Gilded Age*, 24; Chernow, *Titan*, 243-269; Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 84-86.

<sup>34</sup> Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 85.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> See Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York: McClure, 1905), <http://archive.org/details/historyofstandar01tarbuoft>.

the government, was pursued with great zeal by Presidents Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909) and William Howard Taft (1909-1913). Actually, the scrutiny had been on-going since the 1880s, but it reached its height with the publication of an investigative report on Standard Oil's business practices by journalist Ida M. Tarbell, whose book, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, was published in 1904.<sup>38</sup> Tarbell was relentless in her portrayal of the company's equally relentless drive to snuff out all competition. Rockefeller Sr. had technically retired from the company's management around 1890 but remained the major shareholder and thus beneficiary of its continued monopoly. Tarbell devoted the final section of her book to analyzing Senior's character and even his aesthetic taste—which she found lacking.<sup>39</sup> Her writing whipped up public opinion against Standard Oil, and against Senior, and led to the legislatively imposed break-up of the company in 1911-1912—an action that incidentally made Senior the richest man in the world.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See John K. Winkler, "A Scientific Santa Claus-I."

<sup>38</sup> Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*. Tarbell's book was made known to the public earlier by *McClure's Magazine*, which serialized it between 1902-1904.

<sup>39</sup> Chernow, *Titan*, 183.

<sup>40</sup> In 1890, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act to break up legal trusts and monopolies. But the Depression of 1893 allowed the merger practices to continue so that businesses could survive. It was only with Tarbell's investigative journalism against Standard Oil—also labeled "muck-raking" by her detractors—that the trust-busting process geared up. Standard lost a lawsuit in Ohio resulting from the Sherman Anti-trust Act, but it was later able to create a holding company under New Jersey's more permissive laws. (It was probably to access New Jersey—and the banks of New York, which would allow him greater financial expansion—that Rockefeller Sr. moved his family to New York City when Rockefeller Jr. was young.) President Theodore Roosevelt apparently plotted the break-up of Standard Oil in a secret meeting at the White House in 1906. Eventually, in 1909, two decades after the passage of the Sherman Act, the Department of Justice filed a Federal anti-trust lawsuit against Standard Oil. On May 15, 1911, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Standard Oil was in violation of the Sherman Act, and ordered the break-up of the company. Interestingly, before this breakup happened, Rockefeller Sr. had effectively resigned from the management of the company (around 1890) and had begun to turn to philanthropy. But although he did not manage Standard Oil anymore—a fact that many biographers have used to distance him from the company's troubles—he owned so many shares in the company that when it broke up in 1912, his net worth was apparently \$900,000,000. See "Obituary: Financier's Fortune in Oil Amassed in Industrial Era of 'Rugged Individualism,'" *New York Times*, May 24, 1937, <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0708.html>, Accessed June 28, 2018. See also, David E. Sanger, "The Nation: Big Time; From Trustbusters To Trust Trusters," *The New York Times*, December 6, 1998, sec., Week In Review, <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/12/06/weekinreview/the-nation-big-time-from-trustbusters-to-trust-trusters.html>, Accessed July 27, 2018.

## **John D. Rockefeller Jr., Standard Oil, and Philanthropy**

The fortune that Rockefeller Sr. and other industrialists made from their corporations enabled—and the massive negative publicity they all gained in the first decades of the twentieth-century forced—them to engage in large-scale, organized, philanthropy, which looked nothing like the charitable Christian giving of earlier decades.<sup>41</sup> As a direct beneficiary of Standard Oil and of Rockefeller Sr.’s business practices, and as a one-time Director at Standard Oil, Rockefeller Jr.’s philanthropy, too, was made possible by this fortune.

According to the official story of his resignation from Standard Oil and other companies, Rockefeller Jr. was “repelled by the tough give-and-take of the business world” and felt used for his contacts.<sup>42</sup> So in 1910, at the age of thirty-six, he decided to resign from most of his business ventures—retaining control only of Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CFIC)—and focusing thereafter primarily on philanthropy. Crucially, however, he resigned from these ventures around the time that Standard Oil was under investigation, which was probably no coincidence. Many biographers routinely argue that as Rockefeller had severed his connection to the family business, he had nothing to do with its profit-making tactics, but in a profile of the man in 1928, *The New Yorker* instead noted:

Most business days find him in an oak-panelled suite on a floor high up in the Standard Oil

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<sup>41</sup> For more on this transformation in American giving, see Bremner, *American Philanthropy*; Thomas Adam, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Zunz, *Philanthropy in America*. See also Chapter One of this dissertation.

<sup>42</sup> Raymond Fosdick provides the full official version of Rockefeller’s resignation from most businesses at this time. He writes that Senior had already retired from the administration of Standard Oil, which had been turned over to his associates, H. H. Rogers, John D. Archibald, and A. C. Bedford. Rockefeller Jr. apparently later stated that under the business administration of Archibald et al., he had been made Vice President of Standard Oil only because the public seemed to respond to him positively—because Archibald and others had realized the value of a “live Rockefeller”—and he felt used for his name and contacts. Finally, upon learning of unsavory and ethically dubious aspects of the business administration of Standard Oil and other companies with which he was involved, such as the National City Bank and the United States Steel Corporation, Rockefeller Jr. decided to resign from all of these, focusing thereafter only on philanthropy. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 140-142.

Building [26 Broadway]. The office is rented by his father and himself from the Standard Oil Company of New York. Both Rockefellers insistently feed the fiction that they have completely severed active connection with the Oil Trust.<sup>43</sup>

Even if Rockefeller did not manage internal operations, the money for his philanthropy and lifestyle came from these businesses. Rockefeller-family biographers John Enson Harr and Peter J. Johnson write that towards the end of his life, Rockefeller Sr. distributed a great percentage of his fortune to the various foundations and causes he had championed, but that still left him with half a billion dollars. In addition to the money and shares that Rockefeller Jr. already controlled by this point, he received an additional \$465 million of his father's remaining fortune. The transfer of money between Senior and Junior happened between 1917 and 1921, and included:

241,000 shares of Standard of California, 186,000 shares of Standard of New York, 113,000 shares of Standard of New Jersey, 110,000 shares of the Consolidation Coal Company, and smaller amounts in Standard of Indiana, Vacuum Oil, Prairie Oil and Gas, Chase National Bank, Bankers Trust, the Equitable Trust, and the New York Central, as well as bonds of the United States, New York State, and New York City. Also transferred were real estate holdings in New York, Ohio, and Florida, and \$5.2 million in cash, which came to Junior in the form of checks in a rapid series of installments over a three-week period in 1920. In this fashion, Junior's net worth increased from about \$20 million in January 1917 to about \$500 million by the beginning of 1922.

These holdings steadily increased in value throughout the 1920s, with Junior's net worth peaking at slightly less than a billion dollars (\$994.7 million) in 1928. Junior achieved this not by functioning as an active trader or entrepreneur, but in the main simply by holding on to his blue-chip petroleum stocks. His fortune yielded an income ranging from a low of \$14 million in 1920 to a high of \$50 million in 1928. Because federal and state income taxes were relatively low after the war--his annual payments ranging from \$3.2 to \$6.3 million--Junior had plenty of income available for his personal expenses and philanthropy without touching principal.<sup>44</sup>

Rockefeller's philanthropy and its use of, and impact on, architecture is thus particularly crucial to study because he had such demonstrable financial ability to pursue his goals in a way that few

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<sup>43</sup> Winkler, "A Scientific Santa Claus-I."

<sup>44</sup> Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 158.

others—and certainly no one outside the United States—could match.

### **2.3. Early Religious Interests & The Turn to Liberalism (1905-1910)**

Rockefeller first began to wade into public discussions controversies over Christianity and the church when he graduated from Brown and was building up his business interests in New York City. His early interest in religion emerged from his orthodox upbringing but it eventually morphed into a modernist position. In 1899, he began teaching a Men’s Bible Class on Sundays, at Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, and continued to do so for eight years until about 1907. Sunday Schools were important sites for shaping young men’s socio-economic and theopolitical outlooks, and Rockefeller took his work seriously (**Fig. 2.6**).<sup>45</sup> As Fosdick notes,

no single activity during young Rockefeller’s early years absorbed so large a proportion of his time or was followed with such genuine preoccupation [by the media] as his leadership of the Men’s Bible Class.<sup>46</sup>

Upon assuming teaching duties, Rockefeller opened himself up to criticism in the press not only because of the evident absurdity of a wealthy young capitalist teaching thrift and religion, but also because he made some damning statements. In 1902, at a Brown University YMCA, he gave a speech entitled “Christianity in Business,” which became infamous as the “American Beauty Rose” speech.<sup>47</sup> In it, he argued that while businesses needed to be guided by Christianity, the church too could benefit from the business method of consolidation. He also tried to absolve Rockefeller Sr.’s competitive tenure at Standard Oil by comparing the company’s

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<sup>45</sup> For the significance of Sunday Schools, see Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880* (New Haven, 1988).

<sup>46</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 125.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 130-131.



forced closure of rival businesses to the pruning of “all but the hardiest buds” of an American rose in order to get the best possible specimen.<sup>48</sup>

Despite the criticism directed at him, Rockefeller did return to these ideas when he created a much greater role for himself as savior of the church and advocate for interchurch unity between the two World Wars. Raymond Fosdick claims that despite its orthodox appearance, the act of teaching Bible Class enabled Rockefeller to work out his own ideas regarding religion, and that a close examination of his notes and speeches shows how Sunday School in fact allowed him to progress towards liberalism.<sup>49</sup>

## **2.4. The University of Chicago, the Early Rockefeller Family Philanthropic Foundations, and the Ludlow Massacre (1900-1914)**

Ida Tarbell’s claim that Standard Oil’s presence could be felt in the changing fortunes of other businesses and in unexpected changes in the markets, but not fully seen, is important to keep in mind as we get into the work of the Rockefeller family foundations and philanthropies, whose influence extended into all avenues of American and international life. Rockefeller Jr. carried out his philanthropic projects through a few different avenues. First, he gave money as a private individual for projects in which he was interested, independent of any family member or family foundation. Rockefeller’s support for the International House New York is an example of such a project. The second avenue involves the initiation of projects by the Rockefeller family foundations. In this case, decisions were—technically speaking—made by the various foundations’ Board of Directors and did not reflect any family member’s personal interests.

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<sup>48</sup> This quote is from Reverend Charles D. Williams, a critic of Rockefeller, who was describing the latter’s talk. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 131-133.

However, while it is true that the foundations included advisors and experts who had different interests than the family members, and whose counsel often prevailed over the Rockefellers, Rockefeller Jr. sat on many of these foundations' Boards for quite some time. So this fact should caution us that more than likely there were at least a few foundation-initiated projects that were part of the same constellation of ideas as Rockefeller's individual philanthropy. Finally, some projects may have been started by Rockefeller Jr., but for economic or other reasons later picked up by one of the family foundations. The Oriental Institute illustrates this latter kind of funding. For these reasons, it is crucial to understand how the foundations worked, what ideas they propagated, who were the actors involved in them, what was Rockefeller's particular role in these foundations' inception and direction, and in what ways the foundations' work corresponded with or shaped the scientific and theopolitical aims of Rockefeller's individual philanthropies and in which ways it did not.

### **1890 | University of Chicago**

To begin, any account of Rockefeller's philanthropic work has to be contextualized against the projects of his father, who, with the help of advisors, appears to have invented scientific philanthropy.<sup>50</sup> By all accounts, Rockefeller Sr. gave to charity even before he had created Standard Oil. But his giving increased in size and scope and became more systematic, organized, and focused from the 1890s onwards, when he employed **Frederick T. Gates**, a Baptist clergyman, businessman, and philanthropist, to help him manage his money. Gates (1853-1929) came into Rockefeller Sr.'s service in 1889 by way of the American Baptist Education Society

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<sup>50</sup> Bremner gives the credit for scientific philanthropy to both Rockefeller Sr. and Carnegie, whereas Sealander sees Rockefeller Sr. (via Frederick T. Gates) as the main originator of scientific philanthropy. Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 21; Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 120-121.

(ABES), where he and other actors had first formed the idea to create a Baptist university in Chicago. Persuaded by Gates, Rockefeller Sr. worked through ABES to create the University of Chicago in 1890, and appointed Dr. William Rainey Harper, a prominent scholar of the Old Testament, as its first President.<sup>51</sup>

Rockefeller Sr. chose education as his first major benefaction because it was an unobjectionable way of responsibly “discharging” his wealth.<sup>52</sup> He had previously provided smaller sums of money to other pre-existing academic institutions, and so the endeavor also felt familiar—though Chicago would be on a much larger scale than the earlier projects. Although he hoped to be joined in the effort by other philanthropists (and to an extent he was) he did become the biggest benefactor of the university under the direction and famed perseverance of President Harper (**Fig. 2.7**). It is important to note that Rockefeller Sr. had intended not only to create this one institution in Chicago, but also a network of smaller colleges in the Midwest that would be controlled by Chicago—although this vision was never realized. His preference to concentrate money in one large controlling institution or in a network of connected institutions, rather than donating to many small ones, aligned with his philosophy that it was useless to prop up many weak entities: consolidation in both philanthropy and business was, in his and Rockefeller Jr.’s views, the best course of action.

Prior to the University of Chicago’s creation, Rockefeller had been beseeched by thousands of individual requests for alms. Chernow calls the creation of the University as the process that enabled him, with the help of Gates and others, to clarify the kind of giving he was interested in—large-scale, “wholesale,” and primarily educational—as well as the type of

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<sup>51</sup> The story of the creation of the University of Chicago—how it almost became an orthodox institution that would have been located in Manhattan’s Morningside Heights instead of a liberal Baptist university in Chicago’s South Side—is recounted in detail in Ron Chernow’s book and in other texts. Chernow, *Titan*, 300-326.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

philanthropic structure best-suited for identifying worthy projects and disbursing large sums of money.<sup>53</sup> Gates was instrumental in moving Rockefeller Sr. away from small philanthropic donations (that were disbursed amongst many different organizations) towards philanthropy on a large, organized scale. As a result of his assistance and vision throughout the process of creating the University, Rockefeller Sr. hired Gates to oversee all of his business and philanthropic work.<sup>54</sup> At first, the two used ABES to distribute money to primarily Baptist causes, but after 1900 they adopted a scientific, business-minded approach to philanthropy that was no longer tied to a particular denomination—thus paving the way for the interdenominational activities of John D. Rockefeller Jr. Gates also assembled a team of advisors to whom Rockefeller Sr. could delegate responsibility for identifying suitable philanthropic projects, vetting them, and ensuring that the money would be used wisely. Despite Gates' importance, eventually Rockefeller Jr. took over the reins of the Rockefeller philanthropic network, bringing in his own advisors, lawyers, and experts.<sup>55</sup> As we will see later, there were some important differences between Rockefeller Jr. and Gates. For example, Rockefeller was much more interested in architecture as an important medium for philanthropy.

## **1901 | Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research**

In 1901, John D. Rockefeller Jr., together with Frederick T. Gates, persuaded Rockefeller Sr. to create the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research (RIMR, now Rockefeller University), which was the first biomedical research center in the United States. Modeled after the Koch and Pasteur Institutes in Berlin and Paris respectively, and located in New York City, the RIMR used

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid. For more on “wholesale” philanthropy, see also Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 21.

<sup>54</sup> From 1912 onwards Gates began to focus exclusively on Rockefeller Sr.'s philanthropic projects.

<sup>55</sup> As we will see, the Ludlow Massacre helped precipitate Gates' fall. Regardless of Gates' later fate, it was at his

laboratory science and experiments instead of bed-side observations to cure dangerous medical diseases. The idea for RIMR came from Gates, who was fascinated by medicine and who, along with Rockefeller Jr. viewed scientific and medical work with a sort of spiritual awe; Rockefeller Sr. himself was an adherent of folk medicine and mostly stayed out of the RIMR's work, visiting the campus only once in his lifetime.<sup>56</sup> Gates believed that medical work in the United States mostly relied on nature to cure diseases and that a scientific approach was needed to make real progress.<sup>57</sup> A focus on science, in turn, required money. In a memorandum he prepared for Rockefeller Sr., Gates argued:

Medicine can hardly hope to become a science until it can be endowed, and qualified men enabled to give themselves to uninterrupted study and investigation, on ample salary, entirely independent of practice.<sup>58</sup>

It was Rockefeller Jr. who finally secured his father's approval as well as an initial donation of \$200,000.<sup>59</sup> He also discussed the proposed institute at length with doctors and experts in the field, who all agreed that scientific discoveries could only be made through a great expenditure of time and money. (This is incidentally the same argument later used by James Henry Breasted to secure Rockefeller's financial support over at least ten years for the work of the Oriental Institute.) The RIMR's scientists made big advances in medicine—all of which is evidence of the impact of the Rockefellers' money in any given field.<sup>60</sup> In addition to helping

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suggestion that Rockefeller Sr. initiated his major philanthropic projects.

<sup>56</sup> For Senior's adherence to folk medicine, see Chernow, *Titan*, 404.

<sup>57</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 110-111.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>60</sup> RIMR scientists worked on cancer, polio, pneumonia, yellow fever, diabetes, and heart disease and they made advances in cell biology. They were the first to note that the undifferentiated liquid in cells was actually necessary to their particular purpose and proper functioning. One-time RIMR scientists went on to later make major discoveries elsewhere, including that of the role of DNA, and have been the recipient of many Nobel Prizes.

create this scientific institution, Rockefeller Jr. was actively involved in the architectural articulation of its campus. He was a member of the Board of Trustees and was part of the team that determined the institution's physical interface with the city, taking a keen role in the selection of its site on Manhattan's East side.<sup>61</sup> The laboratory buildings for RIMR were opened in 1906. In 1910, the Institute added a hospital. The campus' original buildings were laid out in a Beaux-Arts style towards the East River (**Fig. 2.8**).<sup>62</sup>

### **1903 | General Education Board**

The General Education Board (GEB) was one of the largest Rockefeller family foundations in terms of endowment, income, and scope. While the RIMR worked only with private institutions, the GEB specifically sought to influence public policy on domestic education. Officially launched in 1903, and headquartered in New York City, the GEB had spent most of its substantial endowment and income (some estimates put this at \$180,000,000) by the 1950s, and its work was absorbed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1960.<sup>63</sup> Its work is a source of contention amongst scholars, critics, and the public: was the GEB—along with other Rockefeller

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>62</sup> Several decades later, when the RIMR added a university, which eventually began to offer graduate programs in physics and mathematics in addition to biomedical education, the architect Wallace Harrison, who served as a kind of personal architect for Nelson Rockefeller, built a new “front” for the university. This front tier to the campus comprised of a line of modernist buildings facing the main entrance on York Avenue, on an “upper terrace.” Harrison's design does not obliterate the original site's main axis—which still leads to the 1906 Founder's Hall in the rear, designed by the Boston-based firm of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge—but the facades closest to the street are now clearly modernist. There are plans today to extend the campus on the other side of the original buildings, farther towards the water, essentially sandwiching the Beaux-Arts buildings in between more modern structures on either side. Note that the first modern addition was done during the Institute's chairmanship by David Rockefeller, and reflects the more modern aesthetic tastes of Rockefeller's sons, who eschewed their father's reliance on the Beaux-Arts style. It is of a piece with the postwar international style of Harrison's other projects. David was an enthusiastic participant in the Institute's work. He first joined the Board of Trustees in 1940, later acting as its chairman from 1950 to 1975. From 1975 to 1995, he was head of the board's executive committee.

<sup>63</sup> In 1940, most of the GEB's programs were closed, except for some that supported Black education. The GEB's closure in 1960 was not sudden nor unplanned. The Foundation was deliberately designed to expend all of its money by the time that 1960 came around.

family foundations—a “sinister” empire, controlling the American people and government to its own advantage, or was it, in the words of Starr Murphy, an advisor to Rockefeller Sr., exhibiting “true patriotism” in its mission to address education and—later—agricultural productivity in the South?<sup>64</sup>

Although the organization was created with a \$1 million initial donation by Rockefeller Sr., it was actually the brainchild of Rockefeller Jr. and therefore deserves careful scrutiny. In 1887 Rockefeller had been put in charge of his father’s philanthropic donations to schools in the South, a task for which he apparently showed great enthusiasm.<sup>65</sup> These schools mostly addressed Black education. The cause for improving education in the South was not limited solely to Rockefeller—or to the GEB. Rather, it was on the minds of countless wealthy industrialists, foundations, and funds.<sup>66</sup> But owing to the considerable fortune of Rockefeller Sr., and his decision to dedicate a chunk of it to the GEB at the behest of Rockefeller Jr., the organization became one of the more powerful ones in the field.

The seed for its creation can be traced to 1901, when businessman Robert C. Ogden organized the first of several train tours through the South that were intended to inform and educate Northern philanthropists and leaders on the educational issues facing this region, which was seen after the Civil War through a missionary lens as a kind of foreign, alien land that needed to be saved.<sup>67</sup> Ogden invited on board some of the most influential men and women from the North, including Rockefeller Jr. Dubbed as the “millionaires’ special” by Southern newspapers critical of Ogden’s mission, the train began its journey in Philadelphia and made its

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<sup>64</sup> Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 2, 54.

<sup>65</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 116-117.

<sup>66</sup> Black education was an important issue for George Peabody (and the Peabody Fund), Jon Fox Slater (and the Slater Fund), and businessman Robert C. Ogden (and his Southern Education Board).

<sup>67</sup> Natalie J. Ring, *The Problem South: Region, Empire, and the New Liberal State, 1880-1930* (University of

way to Hampton Institute, North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro, Spelman College (funded by Senior), Atlanta University in Georgia, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and other Black colleges. This dramatic reconnaissance and fact-finding trip, taken by wealthy American men from the industrialized North through an unknown or uncharted territory, is a trope repeated later in many Rockefeller projects, including in the creation of the Oriental Institute in 1919; it was presented as an objective and scientific undertaking in which only the facts on the ground affect the decisions that are made. The reality is of course more complicated and, as Edward Said has shown in relation to European scholars and the so-called Orient, what one sees in a foreign land is determined by power structures and by what one *expects* to see.<sup>68</sup> Of the 1901 trip through the American South, historian Natalie J. Ring writes,

Passengers making the trip called it [the train] the “Ogden Special” and the “Special School for Uplift,” reflecting imperial overtones. ... Edward Ingall, managing editor of the *Manufacturer’s Record* in Baltimore and a prominent New South ideologue, described with great derision the New York philanthropist’s train as being equipped “with state rooms, bathrooms, barber-shop, etc.” and full of “Mr. Ogden’s collection of millionaires, educators, philanthropists, and sundry curios.” No better instance of southern neo-orientalism can be found. The South became a spectacle, a foreign land to be surveyed, catalogued, and scrutinized by northern eyes. One man from Cambridge, Massachusetts, recounted a story in which a Parisian asked him if he was planning on traveling to Europe that summer. “‘No,’ I answered, ‘I am going on a much more interesting journey [through the South]’ ...”<sup>69</sup>

After returning from the trip, Rockefeller discussed the possibility of focusing on educational efforts in the South in a more sustained manner with his father, Gates, and others. In 1902, along with a group of other interested men—and Abby—the name General Education Board was chosen for this enterprise. To me, “General,” like “Standard,” reveals an intent to

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Georgia Press, 2012), 21.

<sup>68</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 52.

<sup>69</sup> Ring, *The Problem South*, 166-167.



address and manage the entire market, so to speak, and suggests great ambition. But the word probably also helped to allay white fear that the Rockefeller network would be uplifting Black Americans only—which was in fact the original intention—and simultaneously allowed for a more open-ended charter.<sup>70</sup> The official goal of the GEB was, “the promotion of education within the United States without distinction of race, sex or creed.”<sup>71</sup>

Although the GEB apparently focused everywhere—and on everyone—it expended nearly \$15 million between 1902 and 1903 solely on Black education, and in this respect was the biggest spender in the early twentieth-century. While other philanthropies working on Black education, like the Rosenwald Fund founded by Chicago businessman Julius Rosenwald, focused on the public-school system, the GEB gave money primarily to individual “favored” schools, like the Tuskegee Institute and Spelman College—all “private black colleges that emphasized agricultural and industrial training.”<sup>72</sup>

The GEB did work somewhat secretly with the government, particularly in its focus on agriculture—a second field of concern for the foundation. At first the Board wanted to improve basic education by building schools and schoolhouses and equipping these with teachers: a somewhat straightforward idea of how to educate. It then began to realize that what the South needed was an increased tax base, which would allow the states to build schoolhouses themselves. This money, the GEB concluded, could only come from increased agricultural

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<sup>70</sup> Although the focus of the train trip was on Black education, Ogden and others had quickly adjusted their larger mission to include poor rural white communities. Educating the South after the Civil War was a major enterprise for Northern businessmen, ministers, and do-gooders, who believed that it might lead to a proper reconciliation between North and South, and an improvement of living conditions. But while initial efforts focused on freed slaves, philanthropists quickly realized that poor white groups presented a greater and more pressing challenge: because they were actually allowed to vote, it was imperative that they be educated in particular ways, so that their suffrage should prove to be favorable to the goals and aims of the North. *Ibid.*, 162-163.

<sup>71</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 118.

<sup>72</sup> Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 68.

productivity.<sup>73</sup> To help improve agricultural productivity, the GEB partnered with the local, state, and federal governments, and particularly with the Department of Agriculture—a collaboration that remained out of the public’s sight for some time.<sup>74</sup> When it was revealed that the GEB was actually paying the salaries of some Department of Agriculture workers to push its own policies in the field, there was a major outcry in Congress and in the press. Despite the GEB’s “frantic efforts,” the relationship between it and the Department of Agriculture was terminated.<sup>75</sup>

Sealander notes that while this may have seemed like a victory to the GEB’s critics, the Department did, in fact, adopt the Board’s policies and programs largely unchanged, and private policy was turned into public policy.<sup>76</sup>

Sealander sees the reaction against the GEB in 1914 as being based upon hysteria and an unfounded fear that the Rockefellers were seeking to secretly change America, but the GEB itself made a remarkable statement of its imperial and paternal approach to the American South:<sup>77</sup>

In our dreams, we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands. The present education conventions fade from their minds, and unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk. We shall not try to make these people or any of their children into philosophers or men of learning, or men of science. We have not to raise up from among them authors, editors, poets or men of letters. We shall not search for embryo great artists, painters, musicians nor lawyers, doctors, preachers, politicians, statesmen, of whom we have an ample supply... The task we set before ourselves is very simple as well as a very beautiful one, to train these people as we find them to a perfectly ideal life just where they are.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 44-45. I am relying here upon Sealander, who in turn is relying upon the recollections of Wallace Buttrick. Sealander notes, “The GEB’s long-term goal was a higher level of taxation by state and local governments to support public education. To achieve that objective, it championed scientific agriculture as a technique that would earn farmers the extra money necessary to gain their support for additional taxation.”

<sup>74</sup> Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 53.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. As we will see later, the Ludlow Massacre of 1914 had generated intense criticism against John D. Rockefeller Jr. at this time. In light of this, the revelation of the GEB’s behind-the-scenes arrangement with the government was particularly badly timed.

<sup>76</sup> Note that after 1920, the GEB also began to operate in medical, sanitary, and other spheres. It was responsible for the eradication of hookworm in the South.

<sup>77</sup> Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 54.

<sup>78</sup> These words belong to Gates. They are reproduced in a few different sources. See for example, “Statement by Peter J. Brady, Chairman, Committee on Education, New York State Federation of Labor,” in *The Paper Makers’*

The South, with its freed slaves and poor white communities, was seen as a potential breeding ground for radical ideas. The GEB intended to transform these communities through social programming (an important aspect of its work), education, and agricultural training, thus forestalling conflict. Notably, though, this transformation would be limited in scope and dictated by the GEB. These strategies of control and cautious approaches to progress are later reproduced across the ocean, in the *global* South, in the work of the Oriental Institute. Rockefeller was the initial benefactor of the O.I., and for the first decade his support was supplemented by the GEB.

As the GEB only had a domestic charter from Congress, in 1923 Rockefeller Jr. (not Senior) created another foundation, the International Education Board, specifically to handle overseas educational interests that could not legally be managed by the GEB.<sup>79</sup> The IEB was intended as a “bird of passage” foundation—that is, as a foundation that was expected from the very beginning to fully expend its endowment of \$28 million and thereafter be dissolved, which happened in 1938. In terms of international projects, it gave the most money to projects, institutions, and people in Europe, which was reeling from the aftereffects of the First World War. However, regardless of its European—and international—focus, the IEB’s largest endowment was actually towards an American project: the construction of Mt. Palomar Observatory and its 200-inch “Hale Telescope” in California (see Section 2.14.). The project was started in 1928, under the management of astrophysicist George Ellery Hale, and was completely only in 1948. The IEB also provided significant support to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

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*Journal* 20, no. 4, (March, 1921), 3. This is a periodical issued by a labor union. See also Noliwe Rooks, *Cutting School: Privatization, Segregation, and the End of Public Education* (The New Press, 2017).

<sup>79</sup> Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 169.

## 1913 | Bureau of Social Hygiene

In 1910, the City of New York appointed Rockefeller to head a Grand Jury that was convened to investigate “white slavery” (sex work). This assignment was unsolicited, but once Rockefeller took charge of the grand jury, the group sat for six months and eventually published substantial recommendations. As the city appeared unwilling to act on the Grand Jury’s recommendations, Rockefeller, accustomed by now to doing things on a massive scale, decided that since temporary committees could not achieve the desired results of eradicating crimes and sex work. Given his strict Baptist upbringing, he was precisely interested in the eradication of anything that he determined was a vice. And so in 1913 he created the private Bureau of Social Hygiene for the following purpose:

the study, amelioration, and prevention of those social conditions, crimes, and diseases which adversely affect the well-being of society, with special reference to prostitution and the evils associated therewith.<sup>80</sup>

The work of the BSH is an interesting counterpoint to Rockefeller’s claims elsewhere for promoting brotherhood and equality because the Bureau eventually entered the field of eugenics, a science that uses forced sterilization to restrict the growth of groups who are in some way deemed undesirable. Katherine Bement Davis, a prison reformer and criminologist was named general secretary of the BSH in 1917. She was one of the few women to head a major organization at that time. Davis’ research interests lay in female sexuality, and she sought to use the Bureau to:

undertake systematic comprehensive research in sex in its individual and social manifestations, the prime purpose being to evaluate conclusions now held and to increase our body of

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<sup>80</sup> “Bureau of Social Hygiene - The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History,” Accessed June 27, 2018, <https://rockfound.rockarch.org/bureau-of-social-hygiene>.

scientifically derived data.<sup>81</sup>

Before she became secretary of the Bureau, Davis was associated with it in other ways. For example, she was an original Board member. And, in 1911, with the Bureau's funding, she set up the Laboratory of Social Hygiene next to the Bedford Hills Reformatory in New York, where she was superintendent. The Laboratory was used to conduct research into female "sexual offenders" at the Reformatory, and to determine which inmates could be reformed and who should be condemned for more dire treatment. In 1914, Davis left the Laboratory and became Commissioner of Corrections in New York City. When she joined the BSH in 1917, she sought to continue research into women's sexuality. However, the BSH found this too prurient and concentrated on criminology and eugenics—minus the focus on women's sexuality.<sup>82</sup>

The Bureau's focus on criminology is important for two reasons. First, it had a significant impact on public policy: as Sealander notes, the BSH was one of the major foundations in the early part of the twentieth century that sought to transform private wealth into public policy.<sup>83</sup> Second, Rockefeller appointed Davis as a consultant to the Building Committee for International House New York, where she helped shape the distribution of male and female dormitories in the building so as to prevent possible 'licentious' behavior. The appointment of a criminologist to the design of an institution intended as an equitable place for *all* students reveals the asymmetric nature of many of Rockefeller's projects as well as their focus on policing behavior. Davis left the Bureau in 1928. In 1931, the BSH began to wind down its operations, and it was formally

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> For more on Katherine Bement Davis' association with the Bureau of Social Hygiene, see Vern L. Bullough, "Katherine Bement Davis, Sex Research, and the Rockefeller Foundation," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 62, no. 1 (1988): 74–89. See also Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 170–188. Note that the Bureau's most famous grantee is Alfred Kinsey, who studied male sexuality. The Bureau's support for Kinsey marked a change in the organization's earlier conservative stance towards studying human sexuality.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

dissolved in 1940—though its work had stopped a few years earlier, in 1934.<sup>84</sup>

### ***Raymond Fosdick***

Before he created the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Rockefeller spoke at length with experts in different fields regarding how best to control vice and corruption, and it is in this process that he first met Raymond Fosdick, who was then New York City's Commissioner of Investigations. Rockefeller was impressed with Fosdick's work on White Slavery and appointed him to the BSH, where he carried out an extensive research project into European and American police methods.<sup>85</sup> Fosdick became Rockefeller's "closest and most trusted advisor" and his "chief interpreter of the outside world."<sup>86</sup> His name shows up in the correspondence of virtually every philanthropic project undertaken by Rockefeller. It is therefore important to take a closer look at him.

Raymond Fosdick trained as a lawyer, but politics, government affairs, scientific pursuits, peace efforts, and (Wilsonian) internationalism were his real forte. During the First World War, he was chairman of the War Department's Committee on Training Camps between 1917 and 1918, and later civilian aide to General John J. Pershing in France.<sup>87</sup> He accompanied Wilson to

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<sup>84</sup> "Bureau of Social Hygiene - The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History," Accessed June 27, 2018. <https://rockfound.rockarch.org/bureau-of-social-hygiene>. The BSH received funding from other Rockefeller family philanthropies--such as the Rockefeller Foundation—and from private individuals. But its greatest financial backer was Rockefeller himself. The RF's official website distances itself from the controversial projects pursued by the BSH, and emphasizes that Rockefeller created the Bureau to pursue "**his own personal** concerns and interests [emphasis mine]."

<sup>85</sup> Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems* (New York: The Century co., 1920), <http://archive.org/details/cu31924030326999>; Fosdick, *European Police Systems* (The Century Co., 1915), <http://archive.org/details/europeanpolices00fosdgoog>.

<sup>86</sup> "Chief interpreter" is quoted in Jeffrey Abt, "The Breasted-Rockefeller Egyptian Museum Project: Philanthropy, Cultural Imperialism and National Resistance," *Art History* (December, 1996), 552. "Closest and most trusted advisor" is taken from Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 160.

<sup>87</sup> Pershing was a commander of the American Expeditionary Force during the First World War. See "Raymond B. Fosdick Dies at 89; Headed Rockefeller Foundation," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1972, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/07/19/archives/ramond-b-fosdick-dies-at-89-headed-rockefeller-foundation-l.html>.

the Paris Peace Talks, was a major proponent of the League of Nations (1920-46), and would have been Wilson's representative to it if the American Senate had voted to join the League.

But although he was a disciple of Woodrow Wilson, it was to Rockefeller Jr. that Fosdick finally attached himself. Fosdick worked in a few different capacities for Rockefeller. First, he participated in many of the Rockefeller family foundations. For example from 1920 to 1936 he was President of the RF. And, although most writers (including Fosdick) attribute the Rockefeller Foundation's creation to Gates, some sources suggest that the RF grew out of the BSH and that Fosdick was an important agent in its birth.<sup>88</sup> Second, and most important for my purposes, Fosdick also acted as a counsel and advisor on Rockefeller's private philanthropy. Given that Rockefeller was at first opposed to the League of Nations, his eventual gift of a library building for the League's headquarters in Geneva, in 1927, is probably attributable to Fosdick. In addition to seeking Fosdick's legal advice on political and philanthropic matters, Rockefeller also appointed him as a Trustee on some projects, for example the New Egyptian Museum. In other cases, Rockefeller would appoint Fosdick to the Building Committee of a project, and this often carried with it a responsibility to make architectural decisions or to convey Rockefeller's wishes to other team members. The International House New York is an example of such a project.

As a professed atheist, Fosdick may seem to be a surprising counsel for a man devoted to a *Protestant* American internationalism—and perhaps a surprising brother and friend to a theologian and pastor (Harry Emerson Fosdick). In this respect, it is helpful to keep in mind the following facts. First, Fosdick was completely aware of Rockefeller's religious views. In his book on Rockefeller, he devotes considerable space to his advisee's religious convictions, noting that faith and religious duty were important to him. He sees Rockefeller's interest in religion as

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

an interest in finding a moral and ethical basis for personal life and for the world at large—an interpretation that incidentally left some space for an atheist and internationalist like Fosdick to embrace him. Second, Fosdick’s interest in science and technology was actually quite compatible with the modernist bent of Rockefeller and Harry Emerson’s faith and theology.

The application of this scientific knowledge—and who would have control over it—was also of concern to Fosdick, his brother, and Rockefeller. Raymond Fosdick feared that this knowledge might fall into the hands of the “old savage” (the patriot or nationalist), and he believed that the laboratory was the space where such savage and dangerous impulses might be tamed.<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile, Harry Emerson called nationalism—American and otherwise—“a competing religion . . . the most dangerous rival of Christian principles on earth.”<sup>90</sup> If we combine the Fosdick brothers’ views, we approach Rockefeller’s own motivations: the only way to ensure that science would be used properly, and the only way to ensure that it would not be exploited for anti-Christian or nationalist principles, was to present Christianity as an ethical system compatible with it and with modernity, and to make this modern Christianity the basis of world order and international relations.

In this respect, archaeology in the Middle East—through the aegis of the Oriental Institute—held the promise to achieve all of these goals at once. As we will see, the O.I.’s scientifically advanced excavation and documentation methods aimed to unearth knowledge and monuments, and its didactic museum displays in Cairo, Jerusalem, and Chicago presented this evidence to support the narrative of Protestant Modernism and American internationalism. In doing so, it partially succeeded in keeping this material out of the hands of nationalists as well as European imperialists, who would have used it for their own particular narratives. As we will see

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<sup>89</sup> See Fosdick, *The Old Savage in the New Civilization*.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 4.



in Chapters Three, Five, and Six, in this process Protestant internationalism became Protestant imperialism.

### **1914 | Ludlow Massacre, Labor Relations**

In the midst of the creation of major foundations, a horrific incident in a CFIC (Colorado Fuel and Iron Company) coal mine—and Rockefeller’s initial response to it—almost derailed his philanthropic career. In the end, his revised reaction to the tragedy, and the socio-cultural strategies of appeasement he employed there, actually improved his public image, had implications for labor-capital relations at home and abroad and, I argue, influenced his philanthropic approach going forward.

Although Rockefeller had withdrawn from most of his father’s business affairs, he still retained control of the CFIC. In 1913, as part of the “Colorado Coalfield War,” a workers’ union at CFIC—comprised of first generation immigrants from Italy, Serbia, and Greece—struck to demand improvements in their wages and working conditions. Company representatives refused to discuss these demands, and in the interim forced union workers and their families to leave company-owned housing. The workers began to live in temporary camps; the largest one was called the Ludlow Camp. A Rockefeller-financed detective group and the Colorado National Guard (subsidized by Rockefeller) began to police these camps. On April 20, 1914, the Ludlow camp was set on fire. The detective group and the Guard claimed that workers had attacked their men, but this has never been proven. Approximately sixty workers died in the fire and the ensuing riots, including women and children.

Although there have been bigger industrial labor tragedies in the history of the United States (such as the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire), the Ludlow Massacre was a turning

point in the public opinion of corporate recklessness and of labor rights. Many biographies on John D. Rockefeller Jr. have generally excused him by arguing that he was not truly in charge of the day-to-day management and even the big decisions surrounding the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.<sup>91</sup> But scholarship on labor rights, and on the Ludlow Massacre itself, has not exonerated Rockefeller.<sup>92</sup>

The disaster is often cited as one reason that Rockefeller transitioned from industry to philanthropy, and why he turned away from his father's trusted advisors to bring on his own team of lawyers, counsels, and aides. Certainly Gates, whose uncle was manager of the coal mine, began to take a back seat, and Rockefeller brought on Raymond Fosdick, future Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King (who came up with a plan that would alleviate the workers' grievances), Ivy Lee (public relations manager), and other actors to help him chart a path to improve his image via philanthropy. But there is another outcome of the disaster. I argue that it showed Rockefeller that instead of using force to quell unrest, he could use socio-cultural spaces and gestures to undercut opposition in the first place.

In a public relations' move, Rockefeller took the unusual step of visiting Colorado to study the situation for himself.<sup>93</sup> He spent two weeks visiting eighteen mines operated by his company, meeting with workers in groups and individually at their homes, and dancing with their wives. With the help of King, he put forward a plan that, in lieu of allowing workers to form a union, permitted them to elect representatives from amongst themselves who would then

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<sup>91</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 143-166. See also Chernow, *Titan*.

<sup>92</sup> A lot of information in this section is taken from Ben Mauk, "The Ludlow Massacre Still Matters," In *The New Yorker* (April 18, 2014), <http://www.newyorker.com/business/currency/the-ludlow-massacre-still-matters>. For more on the Ludlow Massacre, see Howard M. Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre: A Chapter in American Industrial Relations* (Philadelphia: Univ of Pennsylvania Pr, 1988).

<sup>93</sup> Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 137.

meet with company managers at least three times a year to resolve problems.<sup>94</sup> Under Rockefeller's direction, the CFIC also built community gathering spaces that were overseen by the YMCA. Rockefeller described the progress and strategies in these terms:

A community spirit has been fostered in many ways.

Club houses have been constructed in a number of the camps, and are under the direction and operation of the Young Men's Christian Association. These buildings provide recreational and social facilities not only for the men and boys, but for the women and children as well....

One of the most important features of the community life is the gardens that have been generally cultivated. This has been made possible by fencing around each miner's house a plot of ground which is developed in grass, in flowers, or in vegetables, and always adds interest and attractiveness to the home.<sup>95</sup>

Although his reforms and "industrial representation plan" won him the respect of opponents at the time, such as Mother Jones, "company unions" fed the fiction that employees and managers have equal power, whereas in reality the unions were completely ensconced within the company, which merely accommodated employees' grievances in a limited way without having to radically overhaul its practices. In the case of the CFIC, company unions prevented employees from joining the larger United Mine Workers union. Many other American businesses began to adopt this plan, because it offered them a way around dealing with independent labor unions. Some other countries, too, began to follow the system. But in 1935, the United States banned company unions. And in 1949, the International Labor Organization did the same.

For two decades, though, the Rockefeller-owned CFIC was able to maintain control and order over workers who would have otherwise unionized and perhaps achieved better working

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 141-142; Rockefeller, *Brotherhood of Men and Nations*, 13. See also Stephen Millies, "The Ludlow Massacre and the Birth of Company Unions," *Workers World*, January 26, 1995, <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45b/030.html>.

<sup>95</sup> Rockefeller, *Brotherhood of Men and Nations*, 17-18.

and living conditions. Club houses and other socio-cultural spaces, placed under the religious control of the YMCA, emerged as important tools of control and re-socializing. They forecast the later I-Houses, which tried to accomplish a similar program of re-socializing but this time for an elite audience, with the benefit going not to one particular business but to one person's idea of achieving a world modeled in the image of a liberal, capitalist, Protestant America. Rockefeller's successful attempt to undercut efforts at independent unionization at CFIC by offering a seemingly more generous plan—and through appropriate gestures—is also reminiscent of his (less successful) proposal for the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo, where nationalism took the place of unionization as the savage enemy.

### **1914 | Rockefeller Foundation**

In 1905, two years after the GEB was created, Frederick T. Gates articulated to Rockefeller Sr. a forceful vision of a series of all-encompassing funds or foundations that, collectively, would have a sweeping, grand mission: “a great fund for the promotion of higher education in the United States”; “[a] fund for the promotion of medical research throughout the world”; fund “for the promotion of the fine arts and the refinement of taste in the United States”; “a fund for the promotion of scientific agriculture and the enrichment of rural life”; “a fund for the promotion of Christian ethics and Christian civilization through the world”; and, “a fund for the promotion of intelligent citizenship and civic virtue in the United States.”<sup>96</sup> Gates continued,

These funds should be so large that to become a trustee of one of them would be to make a man at once a public character. They should be so large that their administration would be as much a matter of public concern and public inquiry and public criticism as any of the functions of the government are now. They should be so large as to attract the attention of the entire civilized

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<sup>96</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 119.

world, their administration become the subject of the most intelligent criticism of the world, and to their administration should be addressed both directly and indirectly the highest talents in those particular spheres of every generation through which the funds would go...<sup>97</sup>

The seed for the conception of the Rockefeller Foundation was laid down in this letter. Rockefeller Jr. followed up Gates' letter to his father with a supporting one of his own. Within two weeks of this, Senior contributed an additional \$10 million to the GEB and a large sum to the RIMR to enhance these organizations' work and scope. Then, in March 1908, Rockefeller Jr. wrote to Senator Nelson Aldrich to ask for his help in steering the charter of a new foundation through the federal government, this one to be endowed with \$100 million. Unlike the GEB and the RIMR, the proposed foundation would be devoted to many different causes, including education, science, and religion (at least this was the vision during the planning stages).<sup>98</sup> And it would not be limited to domestic work only.

Experiencing delays in getting the government's approval, Senior created a deed of trust and named Harold McCormick (a son-in-law), Gates, and Rockefeller Jr. as trustees, calling these men, The Rockefeller Foundation (R.F.). He gave the R.F. 72,659 shares of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, which were then valued at \$50 million.<sup>99</sup> In March 1910, the year in which Rockefeller resigned from his father's businesses and turned to philanthropy, a bill was finally introduced into the United States Senate to incorporate The Rockefeller Foundation or, as President William Howard Taft put it sarcastically, "to incorporate John D. Rockefeller."<sup>100</sup> Taft's administration was opposed to the bill, and there was significant critique from the media as well. This period, as the reader will recall, was marked by increased governmental and public scrutiny

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<sup>97</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>98</sup> Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1952), 15.

<sup>99</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 120-121.

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 18.

of big corporations, of which Standard Oil was one of the largest. The public opinion of the Rockefeller family was quite low at this point: Tarbell's exposé of the Standard Oil had come out earlier; there was a fine of \$29,000,000 levied against the Standard Oil Company in one state; the Supreme Court had decided to break up the Standard Oil monopoly entirely; and, five days after the introduction of the bill to create the R.F. in the Senate, Standard Oil had filed an appeal against its break-up.

The RF bill was tossed around and debated in the Senate for three years. Taft's Attorney General, George W. Wickersham, noted:

Is it ... appropriate that, at the moment when the United States through its courts is seeking in a measure to destroy the great combination of wealth which has been built up by Mr. Rockefeller [Sr.]...the Congress of the United States should assist in the enactment of a law to create and perpetuate in his name an institution to hold and administer a large portion of this vast wealth?<sup>101</sup>

Rockefeller Sr.'s supporters and representatives claimed that he had no ulterior motive in the creation of the RF: no interest in cleaning his public image, no interest in perpetuating his wealth and evading taxes, and no interest in helping Standard Oil in its appeal against the Supreme Court's decision. They claimed that he could have chosen to use his money privately in whatever manner he desired, but that he was trying instead to use the act of incorporation to extend the benefits of his money for public good, long past his own mortal life.<sup>102</sup> Congress was not persuaded, the bill was rejected, and the Rockefeller Foundation was instead incorporated quietly in the State of New York.

Fosdick romantically notes that the RF operated at first out of just one room in 26

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>102</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 121. Fosdick is here paraphrasing Gates, who actually explained one of the benefits of incorporating the RF in these terms internally to the team.

Broadway, but 26 Broadway was also the headquarters of Standard Oil, the world's most powerful corporation.<sup>103</sup> Besides, it was the size of the RF's endowment that mattered most: the endowment and the income from it eventually allowed the RF to conceive of the entire world beyond this single room as its laboratory. In the early years, though, the RF's programs were tentative. Its guiding statement was open-ended, vague, and all-encompassing: "To promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."<sup>104</sup> What constituted the well-being of mankind was, as Fosdick put it, unclear at this early stage. The RF rejected pleas for small projects, like repairs to YMCA buildings, and searched instead for bigger, more ambitious projects—though Fosdick notes it did buy a bird sanctuary in Louisiana and then gifted this to the state.<sup>105</sup> As its creation coincided with the onset of the First World War in 1914, in the early years the Foundation mostly used its endowment to address the problems of the war, spending in all \$22,000,000 in war relief.<sup>106</sup>

The RF found its footing conversely as a result of further governmental scrutiny. Almost immediately upon its creation, the Foundation was investigated by the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations in the wake of the Ludlow Massacre. All of its officers were subpoenaed as Congress attempted to determine—again—whether the Foundation was merely an extension of Rockefeller Sr.'s personal empire. (Recall also the scandal involving the GEB's secret relationship with the Department of Agriculture at this time.) Based on the testimony of experts, who argued that wealth concentrated in one individual was much more dangerous than that given

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<sup>103</sup> Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 21-22.

<sup>104</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 121.

<sup>105</sup> Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 28.

<sup>106</sup> The Foundation chartered ships to supply food to Belgium, appropriated large sums of money to the American Red Cross, carried out relief-related inquiries throughout Europe, and supported programs for troop morale. See *Ibid.* Note that its work included the creation of the War Relief Commission, a neutral body under Wickliffe Rose, headquartered in Berne, Switzerland. When the U.S. entered the war, the WRC was disbanded. See, "World War I & the Rockefeller Foundation - The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History," Accessed January 4, 2018.

over to an organization, the RF was allowed to continue its work. The inquiry led to the RF's decision that it would focus primarily on non-controversial 'heroic' areas, like public health and medicine. Gates believed that while science was the brain and nervous system of the human civilization, health was the heart, and he attributed vice and corruption to disease. Essentially, ignoring disease was unChristian. Accordingly, the RF's first sub-division was the International Health Division, which took the fight against hookworm abroad.<sup>107</sup>

China was of particular concern to the Rockefeller Foundation—and the Rockefeller family, who had previously given money to Baptist missions in China. In 1914, Rockefeller Jr. presided over a meeting of officers and representatives from the GEB, the RF, and major missionary boards active in China, to chart a more organized course forward. The team determined that medicine would be their entry point into the country. China was deemed politically unstable: it had lost a series of wars and rebellions to Western powers (most recently the Boxer Rebellion of 1900); and, the Republican Revolution of October 1911, just three years earlier, had forced Emperor Xuantong to abdicate the throne. The RF determined that this was a good moment to enter the country in the form of a philanthropic cause: an unstable China would

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<https://rockfound.rockarch.org/world-war-i-the-rockefeller-foundation>.

<sup>107</sup> The focus on hookworm eradication came from another major organization that the Rockefellers had created around this time. In 1909, Gates and Rockefeller Jr. asked Rockefeller Sr. to give \$1 million to be spent over five years for the eradication of hookworm in the South. Senior accordingly created the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm Disease (RSC), and it was later absorbed by the Rockefeller Foundation. While the RSC was ostensibly created to fight hookworm—a task it accomplished to some extent—this particular disease provided an entry point through which the Commission overhauled the entire public health system in the rural South. The campaign was led by Wickliffe Rose, under whose guidance the RSC used traveling dispensaries, public demonstrations, and other means to educate people in the South about disease prevention, as well as to interest the government to take on this work. It was the first targeted campaign—at least in the United States—to wipe out a disease. At the end of five years, the RSC was shut down, to the surprise of its officers who felt that it was doing good work and who expected its lease to be renewed. But the campaign against hookworm was transferred instead to the RF, where it continued to be led by Rose. Note that while the Rockefeller philanthropic network was gearing up, other foundations, too, were proliferating. Two years before the RSC was created, Olivia Sage established the Russell Sage Foundation in 1907, in the name of her husband, with an initial investment of \$10 million. This information is largely taken from, "Rockefeller Sanitary Commission (RSC) - The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History," Accessed January 5, 2018. <https://rockfound.rockarch.org/rockefeller-sanitary-commission>.



be easy to mold.<sup>108</sup> Second, this group of American elites decided that Chinese people lacked the capacity for inductive reasoning, and that an overhaul of the medical education in the country would introduce China to scientific thinking. The RF accordingly created the China Medical Board, which focused on this task and which eventually launched the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) in China—“the outpost of modern medicine in the Far East—the symbol and synonym for high quality in professional education in China.”<sup>109</sup>

The RF’s other medical and public health projects included successful attempts to eradicate malarial and yellow fever outbreaks all over the world. It also created public health institutes in Warsaw, Prague, Zagreb, Tokyo, Calcutta, Manila, and São Paulo, and “training stations in malariology” as far away as Karachi.<sup>110</sup> Not only was public health an unimpeachable endeavor in the eyes of the American and international public, but the RF also saw it as a diplomatic or ice-breaking tool, with Fosdick later claiming:

Public health work has become one of the techniques of international cohesion. It provides a new language by which Brazil can speak to Egypt, and the knowledge and experience of one nation can be available to all.<sup>111</sup>

Gates, meanwhile, saw in the RF the work of God, and he exhorted his fellow RF trustees in 1923 with the following “fiery” statement:

When you die and come to approach the judgment of Almighty God, what do you think He will demand of you? Do you for an instant presume to believe that He will inquire into your petty failures or your trivial virtues? No! He will ask just one question: ‘What did you do as a Trustee

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<sup>108</sup> Incidentally, missionary literature repeatedly warned that an unstable China could also prove to be a danger, and that it was important to get in there and create an impact early on. For more on this, see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

<sup>109</sup> Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 24-25.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 29, 48.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

of The Rockefeller Foundation?’<sup>112</sup>

John D. Rockefeller Jr. was a crucial actor in this God-like organization, serving as a trustee from May 22, 1913 (when the RF was officially incorporated) until April 3, 1940. From 1913 to 1917 he was also President of the RF; from 1917 to 1939, he was Chairman of the Board of Trustees.<sup>113</sup> These dates are important because, as I argue in Chapter Four, Rockefeller’s interest in the movement to create an International House New York is tied to his interest in China, and we can see that the RF, under his Presidency, had taken on the PUMC project with the ambitious goal of using it to turn China into a scientific-thinking, capitalist nation that would at the same time be compatible with Christianity. Furthermore, it was during his Chairmanship that the Rockefeller Foundation took on some of its funding commitments to the Oriental Institute.

## **2.5. Kykuit, William Welles Bosworth, & Rockefeller’s Turn to Architecture (1906-1917)**

Around 1906, Rockefeller embarked on his first major architectural and landscape undertaking, at Kykuit, the seat of the Rockefeller family, located in New York’s Pocantico Hills in the Hudson River Valley (**Fig. 2.9**).<sup>114</sup> In the context of the Rockefeller estate, Kykuit, a Dutch word, is popularly translated as “lookout”—a reference to the excellent prospects provided by the main house’s location atop a peak. The term’s standard Dutch translation, however, can mean a slightly more urgent “look out!” or even a “peep-hole.”<sup>115</sup> For me, even though this is not a

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<sup>112</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>113</sup> Around 1940 Rockefeller appears to have retired from many organizations and boards, with his sons taking over the responsibility of representing the family’s interests and views on these boards.

<sup>114</sup> Actually, there is no evidence of an earlier smaller project that Rockefeller may have been involved with, so Kykuit was probably his first ever architectural project, regardless of size.

<sup>115</sup> Wayne P. Tebrake to Albert I. Berger, October 16, 1984, folder 176, box 19, series I, OMR, Homes, RAC.

philanthropic project, Kykuit takes on the latter meaning—acting as a sort of window into Rockefeller’s recognition of architecture’s communicative potential, and into questions of purposeful authorship, aesthetic influence, and spatial strategies with respect to a Protestant American internationalism.

The project also reveals the difference in aesthetic sensibilities between Rockefeller and his father. Senior, who purchased the land in 1893 in consultation with Rockefeller, was content to live on existing houses on the property and to tinker instead with engineering projects and road layouts—which is where his real interest lay.<sup>116</sup> His lack of enthusiasm for building a formal mansion, or focusing on aesthetic niceties, translated into his philanthropic strategy as well. Guided by Gates, Senior focused on ideas, not material buildings or cultural projects. As Sealander notes, Gates had a strong distaste for the inclusion of buildings in any kind of philanthropic scheme:

Frederick Gates barely bothered to conceal his contempt [for Carnegie’s philanthropic projects]... In 1906, for instance, he urged that Rockefeller moneys be spent for research, ideas, or endowments. They should not be used for buildings. The actual building housing an enterprise was, in fact, usually easy to secure. [Gates wrote to Sr.] “The building bears the name of the donor and furnishes a splendid family memorial.” “Sentimental” people, “especially ladies,” loved to build libraries, with their “alcoves, their special sets of books, their special funds.”<sup>117</sup>

Gates’ statement shows a lack of sophistication regarding architecture and how buildings could be leveraged to achieve certain ideas or goals. His mission was not just to do away with buildings, but to do away with finite projects and small ideas—what he called “retail” philanthropy. Rather, he was interested in “wholesale” philanthropy: big ideas, like effecting

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<sup>116</sup> Hugh J. McCauley, “Visions of Kykuit: John D. Rockefeller’s House at Pocantico Hills, Tarrytown, New York,” *The Hudson Valley Regional Review*, Date unknown, [http://www.hudsonrivervalley.org/review/pdfs/hvrr\\_10pt2\\_mccauley.pdf](http://www.hudsonrivervalley.org/review/pdfs/hvrr_10pt2_mccauley.pdf), 5.

<sup>117</sup> Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life*, 21.

public policy change, that no one else had the means to pursue.<sup>118</sup>

While Rockefeller Jr. agreed with Gates and his father on the advantages of pursuing big ideas, he brought to his own philanthropy and personal projects an aesthetic sensibility, eye for details, and passion for architecture and site. His turn to architecture happened first at Kykuit, where he saw the project as an opportunity to create a brand for his family, and insisted on a mansion and elaborate gardens. In 1906 he took the project over from his father, overseeing it for the next thirteen years. Major work on the project was completed in 1914, with some additional work taking another three years. Some authors suggest that Rockefeller spent so much time and money on the project because he wished to address and counter accusations regarding his father's character, such as those made by Ida Tarbell, who argued that Senior's miserly or mean character could be determined from his homes: their lack of beauty suggested that he had "no pleasure in noble architecture" and pursuits.<sup>119</sup> However, the excessive time and expenditure on Kykuit may have had something to do with the principal architect as well.

William Welles Bosworth, an American Beaux-arts neo-classicist who would go on to design the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's campus, met Rockefeller at a party in New York City when the latter was beginning to take over Kykuit from his father (**Fig. 2.10**).<sup>120</sup> Rockefeller had already hired the newly-formed firm of Delano and Aldrich, who were by then constructing the main house, when he asked Bosworth for his opinion regarding the estate gardens.<sup>121</sup> While Delano and Aldrich remained the architects of record for the house, Bosworth was hired to design the landscape around it and this commission included the approach to the

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Quoted in McCauley, "Visions of Kykuit," 16.

<sup>120</sup> Quentin Snowden Jacobs, "William Welles Bosworth: Major Works," (Master's Thesis, Columbia University in the City of New York, 1988), 21. Jacobs' thesis provides a very good and useful overview of Bosworth's life, education, major projects, and architectural style.

house, the forecourt, gardens, and smaller buildings.<sup>122</sup> His influence on Rockefeller in matters of taste was so complete that Rockefeller later hired him to redo the facade of the main house so that it might better reflect the high societal position of the family as well as suit the elaborate and eclectic gardens that Bosworth was designing around it (**Fig. 2.11**).

Most scholars of Kykuit recognize Bosworth as the main architect of the project, but it is also the site where Rockefeller became an architectural patron—or was turned into one by Bosworth, who thus ensured future work for himself.<sup>123</sup> Rockefeller paid close attention to every detail of the project, down to the color of the glass used in lamps.<sup>124</sup> Alfred Berger, who has written a detailed unpublished manuscript on Kykuit, calls the thirteen years that Rockefeller spent on the project his architectural “apprenticeship.”<sup>125</sup>

The design elements and decisions at Kykuit recur in later Rockefeller-financed projects. Kykuit featured a Japanese-inspired landscape. Japanese gardens recur in Rockefeller’s oeuvre, for example in his and Abby’s vacation home at Seal Harbor, Maine and briefly in the

<sup>121</sup> Delano and Aldrich’s co-founder Chester Holmes Aldrich was a distant relative of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller.

<sup>122</sup> Jacobs, “William Welles Bosworth,” 44-45.

<sup>123</sup> My thinking on the idea of a client being turned into a long-term patron by an architect comes from a publication that came out of a conference held by the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University, in 1987. See, Harvard University Graduate School of Design, *Patronage*, vol. 6 of *Harvard Architecture Review* (Rizzoli, 1987). This conference and publication addressed the changing nature of patronage in architecture, as well as the different kinds of patronage and paths to becoming a patron. The conference and volume make a distinction between the financier of a project and the patron, noting that the two may be different people. Kykuit was financed entirely by Rockefeller Sr., but Rockefeller Jr. managed the architectural work and aesthetic, held a vision of what the project should be, and made decisions to enable that vision to be realized. One of these decisions included giving Bosworth nearly free rein on the project. Only in 1922 did Rockefeller agree to take over half the cost of running Kykuit from his father. See Folder 329, Box 33, OMR Home Series I, RAC. On other projects that I examine in my dissertation, Rockefeller is both patron and financier—though this relationship begins to get complicated with the Oriental Institute, when the Rockefeller family foundations start funding some of the Institute’s construction work in the Middle East. Note that later on in his life, there are examples in which Rockefeller was only the financier and someone else was the patron. This happens when his sons start taking over philanthropic responsibilities from him. They had very different aesthetic tastes. See for example, the modernist Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Hall, at the Rockefeller University, which was financially sponsored by Rockefeller but whose patron was David Rockefeller. For more on the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Hall, see Folder Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Building 1956-1960, Box 46 OMR/Rockefeller Boards, RG III, RAC.

<sup>124</sup> See correspondence in Folder 144, Box 15, OMR, RG III 2 I RAC.

<sup>125</sup> See Berger, *Father’s New House at Pocantico Hills*.

Rockefeller Center as well.<sup>126</sup> Awareness of different national or cultural traditions, and how these might be strategically incorporated within an overall American building or landscape, may also be seen in the New Egyptian Museum at Cairo.

Bosworth too recurs in Rockefeller's oeuvre. In 1913, Rockefeller hired him to design a townhouse for his young family in Manhattan: the tallest single-family home that has ever been designed in the city (**Fig. 2.12**).<sup>127</sup> Then, in 1921, Bosworth was brought on as a supervising architect for International House New York, where he substantially revised the elevations drawn by the architect of record, who was technically proficient but not aesthetically accomplished. In 1924, Rockefeller brought him on as architect for the proposed New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo. Around the same time, Rockefeller also appointed Bosworth to oversee restoration work in France. A few years later, he appointed Bosworth to oversee the architect of record of *La Maison Internationale* in Paris. As Hugh J. McCauley has written (in the context of Kykuit):

All the other designers and builders were found wanting, but Bosworth could literally do no wrong. He was the *divine artist* in the Classical tradition who created magic for the Rockefellers [emphasis McCauley's].<sup>128</sup>

What was this magic? It was Rockefeller's introduction to the power and possibility of the *Beaux-Arts* style for elite homes and philanthropic institutions. It was his introduction to eclecticism and its virtues, which the *Beaux-Arts* made possible, and to the use of antiquity. It

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<sup>126</sup> There was a trend of Japanese gardens in American homes at the time, so it is quite possible that the Rockefellers picked the aesthetic up from publications or from visiting other wealthy homes and gardens. But Bosworth's role in introducing Rockefeller to how such a garden could work for him is significant.

<sup>127</sup> The Museum of Modern Art now owns the land on which this house stood. Christopher Gray, "Streetscapes: Readers' Questions — The Fred Goat Building and a Vanderbilt Neighbor," *The New York Times*, October 18, 2012, sec. Real Estate, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/21/realestate/streetscapes-readers-questions-the-fred-goat-building-and-a-vanderbilt-neighbor.html>.

<sup>128</sup> McCauley, "Visions of Kykuit," 21.

was an aesthetic “opening up” to places and traditions beyond the United States, and how these might be incorporated into an imperial and international American landscape. Finally, it was Rockefeller’s introduction to architecture as an important tool with which to project a public image and articulate an ideal of the larger world and one’s place in it.

Bosworth, like many other American architects at the time, had been trained at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, which, as we saw earlier, promoted the synthesis of ornaments and visual elements from different aesthetic traditions within a larger axial and symmetric neoclassical frame. Accordingly, in designing the gardens at Kykuit, Bosworth drew freely from horticultural and aesthetic traditions from Japan (teahouse, brook, bridge in a designated Japanese landscape), Holland (clipped trees), England (roses, ivy), France (“orange trees from a château near Le Mans,” apparently superior to those at Versailles), and Italy, and organized these elements and traditions around a few major axes to create an *exceptional landscape* (Fig. 2.13-2.14).<sup>129</sup>

I mean this latter phrase in two ways. First, the gardens *are* beautiful—though apparently not Bosworth’s best work.<sup>130</sup> Second, they suggest an idea of the exceptionalism of both Rockefeller and America. In an article he wrote for *The American Architect* in 1911, Bosworth explained his general design strategy and how it is exemplified by Kykuit.<sup>131</sup> He writes that America did not inherit a specific tradition for garden design, which had left the field wide open to aesthetic and horticultural influences derived from the English garden, from the Beaux-Arts, and from images of pavilions and gardens that Americans had found in books or acquired

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<sup>129</sup> Information regarding the different horticultural and aesthetic elements at Kykuit is taken from William Welles Bosworth, “The Garden at Pocantico Hills, Estate of John D. Rockefeller, Esq.,” in *The American Architect* XCIX, no. 1828 (January 4, 1911), Folder 174, Box 19, OMR Series I Home, RAC. And from Jacobs, “William Welles Bosworth.” Jacobs explains that an alternate axis had to be determined for the gardens at Kykuit, which could not be aligned with the main axis of the house because, as designed by Delano & Aldrich, this axis lined up with service spaces underneath, which presumably prevented planting of trees above ground in this area. So the gardens had to be put on a parallel axis, to the side of the house.

<sup>130</sup> See Jacobs, “William Welles Bosworth.”

through travel—and thus full of not a little confusion. But he then writes of the freedom that such a lack of styles and traditions can provide, if harnessed or exploited strategically, and with good taste:

Thus in America to-day, the gardens have no pure historic style; and, we believe, very fitly so.

A country composed of a population of such varied ancestry, so large that its local traditions are equally varied, and yet so bound together by the rapidity of intercommunication and the multiplicity of its publications—illustrating to the people in Maine what the people in Southern California and Seattle are building—should rightly be bound down by no fixed historical styles.<sup>132</sup>

As a historian of Bosworth's work has noted, this passage may be interpreted to suggest that eclecticism was the natural choice for representing the boundless business and cultural interests of American elites like Rockefeller.<sup>133</sup>

Could it be that Protestantism is the hidden unifier of Kykuit's eclectic landscape? After all, Bosworth does present Kykuit's natural and man-made landscapes as an extraordinary—almost paradisiacal—site:

For miles around the country was levied upon for its richest soil and most perfect trees. Every boulder and moss-faced stone was gathered and much of the granite also was quarried on the estate, while the water is brought from a reservoir on one of the neighboring heights. This hilltop has become a "spoiled child" of nature. All the best that neighborhood could produce of soil,

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<sup>131</sup> Bosworth, "The Garden at Pocantico Hills."

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>133</sup> Jacobs, "William Welles Bosworth," 46. Jacob writes, "Herein lies the key to the eclectic character of Bosworth's designs for both Kykuit and Greystone. The terraces at Kykuit provide a platform for formal and botanical features of divergent national traditions synthesized into an American garden, as befit a garden for patrons, father and son, whose business and cultural interests ranged no less widely than their gardens' historical sources." Note that this idea that eclecticism was a quintessentially American style can be found in some critical circles as well, during the period of Kykuit's design. For example, see the writing of Thomas Tallmadge. Tallmadge, who dates the beginning of "architectural eclecticism, or choice in styles" in America to the 1850s and 60s, attributes the onset of eclecticism with the increasing number of graduating American architects from Beaux-Arts programs, and writes that "the greatest gift of Eclecticism" was in the creation of a distinctively American style: a "distinctly national" style. Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*, 266-267.



vegetation, rocks and water has been devoted to it. Because man chose it, above its fellow, it becomes an example of the “survival of the fittest.”<sup>134</sup>

This passage and the accompanying photographs are all replete with a sense of abundance. It is hard not to read in them echoes of Manifest Destiny, of America as an exceptional, messianic chosen nation, and of Rockefeller as its most exemplary citizen—echoes, too, of a divinely favored “city upon the hill.”

Finally, Bosworth’s design for Rockefeller shows how history—and historical artifacts—might be exploited to legitimize a new site, or a young project or endeavor, through age and association:

... one must not forget the note of antiquity, never neglected by the Chinese. They will carefully incorporate some old tree stump, if nothing better offers, to remind the passer-by of the past and of his little moment of existence in which to enjoy nature to the utmost.<sup>135</sup>

Bosworth writes that to give the project some patina, workers were asked to bring in box trees from an old estate nearby and old ivy from England. You can almost imagine the ivy being pinned on to the house, to cover up its embarrassed newness. A third example of “borrowing”—with some internationalist dimensions—occurs with the Oceanus Fountain which was installed at the entrance to the estate. (Bosworth was also responsible for the statuary at Kykuit.) The thirty foot fountain is modeled after Giovanni da Bologna’s sixteenth century sculptures in the Boboli Gardens in Florence, and features Oceanus, the father of rivers, commanding the three Gods beneath him, who represent the Nile, Euphrates, and the Ganges rivers.<sup>136</sup> That this fountain is

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<sup>134</sup> Bosworth, “The Garden at Pocantico Hills,” 6.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>136</sup> Rob Schweitzer, “A Legacy of Grandeur: Kykuit’s Magnificent Fountains,” May 23, 2014, <http://www.riverjournalonline.com/villages/sleepyhollow/3297-a-legacy-of-grandeur-kykuits-magnificent-fountains.html>.

located along the Hudson River suggests the symbolic elevation of this River to the central rivers of the world—and perhaps of Kykuit to the central sites of the world. Above all, Bosworth noted, “the garden should express ‘unity for the sake of harmony and in the hope of beauty here’” (**Fig. 2.15-2.16**).<sup>137</sup>

It is important to note that Rockefeller did not see Kykuit as a purely personal space. Although his biographers suggest that he did not court publicity—an image he actively cultivated, in my opinion—Rockefeller did allow Bosworth to promote his home’s design in various publications.<sup>138</sup> And in 1919, the year in which the First World War ended, Rockefeller and his father produced a booklet on the gardens at Kykuit. All this suggests that the site’s public reception was an important consideration for him.

I have presented the Great War as a major watershed moment in Rockefeller’s philanthropy. While I still hold this to be true, and his big philanthropic projects do come on or after 1919, Kykuit shows us that Rockefeller’s interest in architecture began just before the war. An interesting question is whether a germ or seed of internationalism was planted at Kykuit *through architecture* by Bosworth himself, who had been involved in many international exposition designs in 1893, 1901, and 1904, and who introduced elements from around the world into the Rockefeller family home?

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<sup>137</sup> Bosworth, “The Garden at Pocantico Hills,” 4.

<sup>138</sup> Examples of publications featuring Kykuit are: Bosworth, “The Garden at Pocantico Hills”; Bosworth, “The Relation of Classic Example to Architectural Design, With Particular Reference to the Work of Welles Bosworth,” in *The American Architect: The Architectural Review* CXXII, no. 2397 (July 5, 1922): 1–12.

## 2.6. The First World War and the United War Work Campaign (1917-1918)

Schenkel writes that Rockefeller's religious philanthropy began in 1917, when the United States entered the First World War, and when the Bolsheviks took over Russia, and it began with the aim of unity or—what I would like to call, borrowing corporate terms—spiritual merger. As we have seen, religion was present as a theme even in the creation of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1914, but 1917 was the year in which it began to be expressly articulated by Rockefeller in his personal philanthropy: the social changes wrought by the War gave Rockefeller a foundation from which to launch a series of interdenominational and ecumenical campaigns. In that year, he organized Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant funding drives intended for the procurement of more wholesome entertainment for American troops abroad under one umbrella: the United War Work Campaign (**Fig. 2.17**). Under his leadership, the Campaign raised \$170,000,000 in late 1918.<sup>139</sup> Schenkel notes that Rockefeller took on this task because he was particularly troubled by the animosity between different sects and religious organizations at this time, and that the Young Men's Christian Association was “the biggest offender.”<sup>140</sup> This perception of the YMCA as a strictly denominational and non-ecumenical organization repeats itself in the International House movement, where Rockefeller took specific steps to administratively and architecturally sever the I-Houses from the Association's chapters.

Rockefeller aimed to centralize the work and authority (of primarily Protestant denominations) for two related reasons: one, the attainment of peace and the Kingdom of God;

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<sup>139</sup> Ceasefire had already been already declared when the drive took place, but the various religious groups—and Rockefeller—felt that since American troops would be stationed abroad for several more months, they would need acceptable forms of entertainment.

<sup>140</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 52.

second, the *efficient* attainment of both. He also sought to unite Protestant denominations in order to help maintain and strengthen their hegemony. He made two important speeches leading up to the United War Work Campaign's funding drive that demonstrate his view of where Christianity needed to go next in order to survive and that reveal his developing idea of "brotherhood" and "co-operation" as a solution to denominational and global strife. As the speeches immediately precede the formation of the Oriental Institute and, by a few years, the International House New York, they help to indicate some of the reasons he may have pursued these projects.

On December 11, 1917, he gave a speech titled "The Christian Church—What of Its Future?" at the Baptist Social Union of New York's monthly luncheon.<sup>141</sup> In it, he questioned doubtfully whether returning servicemen and women would be satisfied with a Christian church that upheld strict sectarian divides. In place of the existing sects, he envisioned a "reborn church" that would look at the spirit of cooperation that had emerged naturally during the war amongst people from different backgrounds, and in it recognize a living breathing practical Christianity—not a Christianity that focused on rigid doctrines. The "reborn church" would take this "religion of the inarticulate" as its basis. It would embrace many more than it would reject, value good deeds over confessions, focus on "applied religion, not theoretical religion," and strive for co-operation and efficient use of resources. Rockefeller prophesied:

I see all denominational emphasis set aside.

I see co-operation, not competition.

In the large cities I see great religious centers, wisely located, adequately equipped, strongly supported and inspiring their members to participation in all community matters.

In smaller places, instead of half a dozen dying churches, competing with each other, I see one or two strong churches, uniting the Christian life of the town. . . .

I see the church moulding the thought of the world as it has never done before, leading in all great

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<sup>141</sup> For more on this speech, see Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 205-206.

movements as it should.

I see it literally establishing the Kingdom of God on earth.<sup>142</sup>

Such a revitalized church would be called “Church of the Living God.”<sup>143</sup> When the *New York Observer* printed part of this speech, it received a favorable reaction. Encouraged, Rockefeller allowed another paper, the *Saturday Evening Post*, to print the entire speech on February 9, 1918, and instructed his publicist Ivy Lee to distribute copies of it to “every one of the 125 thousand clergymen in the United States.”<sup>144</sup> With such resources behind it, the speech became immensely popular, receiving both praise and—from conservative circles—censure.<sup>145</sup>

Later in 1918 Rockefeller delivered a speech in Denver, Colorado entitled, “Brotherhood of Men and Nations.”<sup>146</sup> In it he suggested the Great War was a Holy war—“[n]ever was battle joined in holier cause”—and that it was waged between materialism (German ambition for “territorial expansion, commercial extension, military supremacy, world dominion”) and spiritualism (the Allies’ defense of “the sacredness of a promise, the inviolability of womanhood, the rights of the weak, the freedom of the individual.”)<sup>147</sup> And he asked—and answered—one of the questions that would drive his philanthropy in the coming years:

The war is obviously the central thought in the minds of all of us, and such questions as these are always presenting themselves: What, if anything, might have been done to prevent this great conflict? Is there nothing which can render impossible its recurrence in the years to come?

I am wondering whether there may not be something suggestive as an answer to these questions in the subject of which I desire to speak very simply and informally, and which is summed up in

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<sup>142</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>143</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 54.

<sup>144</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-57. In terms of criticism, Schenkel writes that those on the political left asked incredulously if capitalism could ever “beget the Kingdom of God.”

<sup>146</sup> Rockefeller Jr., *Brotherhood of Men and Nations*.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

the single word, “Brotherhood.”<sup>148</sup>

The rest of the speech expounds the values of this brotherhood (which Rockefeller traced to Jesus of Nazareth) in personal and social interactions, in industrial relations, amongst businesspeople, between business and government, between Protestant sects, and amongst nations. Speaking in the aftermath of the Ludlow Massacre, he devoted most of the text to the discussion of brotherhood in industrial relations. He stopped only at extending the branch of brotherhood to Germany, asserting that brotherhood with Germany would only be possible if it would renounce its “savagery” and completely reconstruct its philosophy.<sup>149</sup> Rockefeller noted that the war had broken down class, national, and sectarian ties amongst men and women, and that these changes must be capitalized upon. He argued that soldiers and servicemen and women would no longer be content returning to churches that reinforced those divisions. Again, he was asking for a new church—for interdenominational unity and internationalism.

## **2.7. Interchurch World Movement (1919-1921)**

Rockefeller’s interest in applying scientific data and business methods to unite Protestant churches and improving Christianity’s efficacy is further crystallized in the short-lived but explosive Interchurch World Movement (1919-1920), and in the Institute for Social and Religious Research (1921-34). In May 1919, when Rockefeller was creating the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, representatives of American mission boards and other religious groups announced the creation of the Interchurch World Movement (IWM), an organization that sought to bring together the benevolent and missionary work of all Protestant

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 4.

sects under one umbrella in order to create a “united church uniting a divided world.”<sup>150</sup>

Although authors on Protestant internationalism (Reynolds et al.) do not mention the IWM, the organization was an early attempt to create a central official authority for Protestantism—though with a focus on America. The organization’s scope and its ambitious agenda of becoming the main representative of Protestant forces and voices (despite the existence of other cooperative organizations in the U.S. at this time) was compared by some with that of the League of Nations: potentially useful but would need more work.<sup>151</sup>

Rockefeller became associated with the IWM in January 1920, at which point he gave it his enthusiastic financial support, immediately skewing the organization’s goals towards his particular vision of centralization. It is important to clarify what I meant earlier by the “efficacy” of religion—or rather, how Rockefeller might have understood this concept. His primary purpose in joining the IWM and underwriting its massive bank loans was to implement a central corporate structure in Christianity. For example, one idea floated was the creation of a common pension fund for ministers of *all* churches—of *all Protestant denominations*—under the control of the Movement. As Schenkel puts it,

For Rockefeller and the enthusiasts of the I.W.M., the lesson of the war was that cooperation under centralized leadership was essential to victory.<sup>152</sup>

But this was also the lesson to be learned from the massive gains that Standard Oil had made by swallowing up its competition and creating one giant monopoly, which could then exert

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 33-35.

<sup>150</sup> Quoted in Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 130. The quote is originally taken from William Adams Brown, *The Church in America*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), 119. For more on the IWM, see Schenkel, *The Rich Man & the Kingdom*, 130-148.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 132.

near-complete control of the oil market and related industries. This marriage of business methods, corporate organization, and scientific research is summed up in a pamphlet published by the IWM, which stated:

Do you know why nine out of ten business ventures fail? *They lacked the facts! ... The church today has the facts.*<sup>153</sup>

However, Rockefeller's particular approach to unifying the church came into conflict with other members of the Movement, who believed in allowing the denominations to remain distinct from each other, and simply sought to promote cooperation amongst them. These men saw the IWM as a somewhat loose organization that could foster ideas of inter-denominational harmony, whereas Rockefeller envisioned it as a highly sophisticated organization, led by a few elite men, who would tightly knit together the individual churches and denominations. But religion was not as great of a unifying force after the war, and centralization—as Rockefeller had imagined it—was not a popular concept amongst church leaders.<sup>154</sup> The movement ended in 1921 after financial failure, mismanagement, and scandal.<sup>155</sup> Some newspapers ascribed the organization's failure to its centralized control, which they—in apparent reference to the Bolshevik revolution—actually saw as a “Christian Soviet” concept rather than a democratic approach.<sup>156</sup>

The IWM also provides the first architectural iteration of Rockefeller's theopolitical

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<sup>153</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>154</sup> Schenkel writes that the IWM's failure revealed Protestantism's waning influence in American public life at that moment. A public drive for funding did not take into account the larger populations' lack of enthusiasm for yet more charitable giving after the war efforts, and failed massively. Schenkel notes that Rockefeller personally appealed for funds from leading figures and families in the United States, and that his requests were overwhelmingly rejected. One-third of what the IWM did manage to raise was in fact somewhat unwillingly donated by John D. Rockefeller Sr. at Rockefeller Jr.'s urging. *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>155</sup> Charles E. Harvey, “John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Interchurch World Movement of 1919-1920: A Different Angle on the Ecumenical Movement,” *Church History* 51, no. 2 (1982): 198–209. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3165836>.



ideology, and it is as ambitious as the failed organization's far-reaching goals and purpose (**Fig. 2.18**). The organization, presumably at Rockefeller's urging, hired architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue to design a skyscraper home for it that has been called one of the "finest" skyscraper designs to be produced at a time when architects and critics were grappling with the problem of "tall buildings" and what these should look like.<sup>157</sup> The building was called the Convocation Tower, it was designed in a "streamline Gothic," and it was slated to be located on the present site of Madison Square Garden in Manhattan. The building heralded a new typology of "skyscraper churches," whereby many congregations in New York City started to seek out homes in tall buildings, using their new striking locations to better compete with businesses and other attractions.<sup>158</sup> In the IWM's Convocation Tower, church activities would be located on the ground floor in a "cavernous auditorium" with income-producing offices above it.<sup>159</sup>

Had it been built, the Convocation Tower would have become the tallest building in the world at the time. Using an evocative rendering produced by noted architectural illustrator Hugh Ferriss, Goodhue unveiled the Tower's proposed design in 1921 at the Architectural League of New York's annual exhibition to rave reviews.<sup>160</sup> One critic, Matlack Price, called the design, "A splendid flight of imagination" and "Goodhue's finest architectural achievement."<sup>161</sup> Another, William Ward Watkin, praised the expression of structural steel on the facade of the church.

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<sup>156</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 146

<sup>157</sup> See Nick Van Mead, "Never Built New York: The City That Might Have Been – in Pictures," *The Guardian*, January 12, 2017, <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/gallery/2017/jan/12/new-york-never-built-skyscraper-cathedral-pneumatic-railway-in-pictures>. Note that although Van Mead dates the Convocation Tower to 1929, most other writers have noted that it was designed in 1921. See Stern et al., *New York 1930*, 149-150. Note that Goodhue also designed the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago campus, which we will briefly encounter in Chapters Three and Six.

<sup>158</sup> See Stern et al., *New York 1930*. For more on skyscraper churches, see also Courtney Bender, *Religion in the Sky*, (Publisher TBD, forthcoming - cited with author's permission).

<sup>159</sup> Stern et al., *New York 1930*, 150.

<sup>160</sup> See *Ibid* for reviews of the building.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 149-150.

More recently, Robert Stern has admiringly likened the Tower's design to a "traditional church spire conceived at a metropolitan scale."<sup>162</sup> Though never built, the Convocation Tower had an interesting afterlife. For example, one of the early designs for the future Riverside Church recalls the Convocation Tower's height as well as its marriage of office and church functions. Its architectural and ideological style is further reproduced in a proposal for an unbuilt chapel atop the Rockefeller Center (see Chapter Seven).

## **2.8. Science and Religion at ISRR and PUMC (1921 – 1934)**

Around the time that Rockefeller embarked on the International House movement, he also launched two projects that attempted to reconcile science and religion, at home and abroad: the Institute of Social and Religious Research (ISRR) in New York City and the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) in China.

Upon the IWM's quick collapse in 1921, Rockefeller created the longer-lasting Institute of Social and Religious Research, which sought a slightly less hubris-laden approach to inter-church unity, choosing instead to apply the newly emerging tools of social science to determine how and whether such a unity might be achieved. This organization was envisioned as a scientific think tank and foundation for the advancement of religion. On this project Rockefeller received the counsel and intellectual support of many people, including John R. Mott, whom he assigned as Director of the ISRR. Mott, as we have seen, was an important figure for both the pro-imperial stance of American foreign missions in the beginning of the twentieth century and the ecumenical internationalist movement of the later years. In addition to Mott, Rockefeller

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<sup>162</sup> Stern observes that more so than the "abstract articulation of the wall surface," the building was noteworthy because Goodhue had figured out how to clothe office spaces in an "emotionally charged" "ecclesiastical expression." *Ibid.*, 150.

recruited Raymond Fosdick and other advisors to the organization. But there were also those who refused his invitation to join the ISRR. For example Robert Speer, a leader in the Presbyterian foreign missions' field, felt that an "independent self-contained endowment" could not bring about the desired unity amongst all American churches.<sup>163</sup>

The ISRR's initial purpose was to complete some of the tasks that the IWM had left unfinished (such as conducting surveys on religion) and, as Schenkel notes, to "moderniz[e] and promot[e] Protestantism" at home.<sup>164</sup> Fosdick described one of the surveys carried out by the organization as "the first scientific approach to the problem of religious development."<sup>165</sup>

Meanwhile, Schenkel notes that,

[the] survey of theological seminaries and religious training schools [carried out by the ISRR] was the religious equivalent of the survey of colleges done by the G.E.B. for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive system [for black education].<sup>166</sup>

Over the course of the organization's life, the surveys became more ambitious—and more international—in scope. As Schenkel notes:

Rockefeller was willing to fund new projects...including "investigations in any part of the world, and in reference to any phase of the life of society which in important ways affects or is affected by organized religion."<sup>167</sup>

In my view the ISRR had three major contributions or projects. The first is a much-written about research project that was carried out on the city of Muncie, Indiana in an effort to

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<sup>163</sup> Quoted in Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 149.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 148

<sup>165</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

understand how to “Christianize the American social order.”<sup>168</sup> The project resulted in the publication of a book, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*, by Robert and Helen Lynd.<sup>169</sup> The second is Rockefeller’s donation, through the ISRR, of \$1.5 million for the all-important meeting of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem where, as Reynolds and Zubovich have shown, Protestant leaders first equated irreligion and secularism with radical politics and articulated how best to counter these threats: through the promotion of particularism and the accommodation of non-western churches.<sup>170</sup> The third major project was the publication of *Re-Thinking Missions* in 1932, which we have seen was the culmination of a major investigation into the efficacy of foreign missions.<sup>171</sup> The book’s author, William Ernest Hocking, argued that Christianity must be returned to the Orient.<sup>172</sup>

The Peking Union Medical College, meanwhile, was actually a project of the Rockefeller Foundation’s China Medical Board (CMB). Rockefeller was involved in the PUMC’s development through his role and exceptionally strong influence at the RF at this time.<sup>173</sup> There is much to write about the PUMC, but the most important aspect of the project for our purposes is that it demonstrates an attempt to merge religion and science by grafting a modern medical college—the “Johns Hopkins of China”—upon an existing medical school run by British and

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>169</sup> Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Javanovich, 1959).

<sup>170</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 154. See also Reynolds, “Against the World”; Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism.” See also Chapter One of this dissertation.

<sup>171</sup> See Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions* and Chapter One of this dissertation.

<sup>172</sup> In addition to these three contributions, the ISRR also used data to determine where exactly a church should be built. Again, this was an attempt at consolidating money and effort so that churches would not all be built in the same area where they would compete with each other to fill their pews.

<sup>173</sup> A Rockefeller network member, Jerome Greene, accused Rockefeller of holding inordinate power and influence over the workings of the Rockefeller Foundation. Such accusations highlight that the RF was not entirely independent of Rockefeller, who served on its board till 1940. Schenkel dismisses Greene’s claim, noting that no one else complained that Rockefeller was abusing his power, but he does acknowledge the validity of the claim to

American missionary organizations in Beijing.<sup>174</sup> The project was born out of a confusing mix of evangelizing and civilizing aims, articulated by Gates and John R. Mott—aims that were then tempered by Rockefeller into a more theologically modernist and scientific project. But despite Rockefeller's attempts, the PUMC brought scientific-minded men from the Rockefeller network in conflict with missionaries and with Chinese students.<sup>175</sup>

Aesthetically, the PUMC is an early articulation of Rockefeller's strategy of ideological normalization through architectural eclecticism. To help facilitate the acceptance of PUMC's focus on the introduction of a Christian-led scientific approach to medicine in China—and to normalize this goal within Chinese society—the campus was designed using architectural motifs derived from historic Chinese buildings. The idea behind this design decision appears to have been the creation of a campus that would seem to be *of* the place, rather than a clearly foreign construction (both ideologically and architecturally). As the Rockefeller Foundation's annual 1917 report stated:

While the buildings will embody all the approved features of a modern medical center, the external forms have been planned in harmony with the best tradition of Chinese architecture. Thus they symbolize the purpose to make the College not something foreign to China's best

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some extent. Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 116-118.

<sup>174</sup> The Rockefeller network found the existing medical system in China lacking in facilities and education. Schenkel notes that they probably should have focused on providing basic health care, but instead launched a much more advanced medical education system that was only available to elite Chinese students because instruction was provided only in English. This focus on elites shows up repeatedly in Rockefeller's projects. *Ibid.*, 105-120.

<sup>175</sup> The problems with the project's attempt to reconcile science and Christianity can be traced to the promise that the RF and CMB had made to missionary doctors, from whom they had bought the hospital and who continued to work there. They promised them that religious work would be carried out alongside scientific work. Accordingly, the PUMC included within it a Department of Religious and Social Work. But many faculty members, along with the highest-ranking RF executive in China, Roger Greene (Jerome Greene's brother), were uncomfortable with this department and interested entirely in promoting secular education. Rockefeller, meanwhile, was uncomfortable with abandoning this Department (and religion) and sided with its faculty members on the need to continue it. Eventually, he recalled Greene from China and fired him from his position. But regardless of this move, the PUMC plodded along in much the same way, with an indifferent attitude towards religion. *Ibid.*, 120. The PUMC shows the Rockefeller network's embrace of the teachings of Protestant Modernism and their attempted marriage of science and religion. It also shows the problems of such an endeavor. Schenkel notes that despite Rockefeller's attempts, in the PUMC secularism won out over religion.

ideals and aspirations, but an organism which will become part of a developing Chinese civilization.<sup>176</sup>

But the disclaimers against introducing something foreign into China do not entirely reflect the actions and attitudes of the PUMC. For example, Chinese medicine experts had hoped that PUMC would collaborate with them, but as Schenkel notes, “The purpose of the PUMC, however, was not to learn, but to teach both science and religion.”<sup>177</sup>

## 2.9. “Shall the Fundamentalists Win?” (1922)

The ISRR, IWM, PUMC, the I-House, and the Oriental Institute were all launched between 1919 and 1922, a four-year period that, as we have seen, was marked by a theological and political controversy between internationalism, centralization, modernism and fundamentalism within the United States. Rockefeller placed himself at the center of this controversy, squarely on the side of a theological modernism that attempted to hold science and religion together.

On May 21, 1922, at New York’s First Presbyterian Church, Harry Emerson Fosdick delivered a now-famous sermon, *Shall the Fundamentalists Win?*, which tied concern over international events to this theological controversy.<sup>178</sup> Modernists and liberals had managed to gain important positions on missionary boards and in American universities, both of which had traditionally been recruiting grounds for the faith.<sup>179</sup> In response, Protestant fundamentalists had mounted a campaign criticizing modernists’ faith in science, in the Darwinian Revolution, and in

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<sup>176</sup> *The Rockefeller Foundation, Annual Report 1917* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1917), 224, <https://rockfound.rockarch.org/documents/20181/28210/Annual-Report-1917.pdf/7ea23554-d883-4563-855e-dd7becef5ba2>

<sup>177</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 108.

<sup>178</sup> See Fosdick, *Shall the Fundamentalists Win?*

<sup>179</sup> See Hutchison, *Between the Times*.

the Higher Criticism of the Bible. Although Fosdick argued that both modernists and fundamentalists should be more tolerant of each other, he pilloried the fundamentalist position in particular, ridiculing their rigidity towards those liberal views that went against the Virgin Birth, divine inspiration, and the second coming of Jesus. “The world situation,” he wrote, in a reference to catastrophes like the Armenian genocide in Turkey, “stinks to the high heavens!”<sup>180</sup> and he expressed horror that such dire events were being ignored by the church and attention diverted instead to petty bickering.

But this was no petty fight, as Fosdick himself proved by picking a side. Fosdick believed that Jesus would be on the side of the liberals, and that science and religion were part of the same search for truth and could not be compartmentalized. He called for a reconciliation between religion and the unprecedented knowledge that modern science had laid at the disposal of modern man, believing that such a reconciliation was possible because all truths—whether scientific or religious—came from the same source (God). Together with the 1925 Scopes Trial, Fosdick’s sermon is believed to represent the peak of the theological fundamentalist-modernist controversy in America in the 1920s. Fosdick appears to have escaped heresy hearings only because he resigned from his position at First Presbyterian. He also escaped possible ignominy, or being sidelined completely, because he was approached almost immediately by Rockefeller, who persuaded him to join his own congregation—then at Park Avenue Baptist Church. Soon thereafter, the Park Avenue congregation, under Rockefeller’s leadership and with his money, built Riverside Church as a dedicated ministerial seat for Fosdick, giving him a prominent pulpit for several decades to come.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> See Fosdick, *Shall the Fundamentalists Win?*

<sup>181</sup> Fosdick was the most famous liberal preacher in the United States in the 1920s, well known to the public through his weekly radio sermons, which ran from the 1920s to the 1940s, and through his articles published in national magazines and newspapers. He also taught at Union Theological Seminary in New York, which gave him great

Fosdick's modernist credentials and the support shown to him by Rockefeller are the clearest evidence that Rockefeller was interested in theological modernism, and that this was the version of the faith that he put at the center of his internationalism—at least in the early formative years. Note that the association between the two men is actually of an earlier date. Fosdick was a board member of the Rockefeller Foundation and stayed on until his brother Raymond joined. So, a theologian had been part of the Rockefeller network's scientific endeavors from its earliest days—an involvement of religion in the affairs and concerns of the world that Protestant fundamentalists would have been uncomfortable with, and a collusion with capitalists that later Christian Realists would have denounced.<sup>182</sup>

## **2.10. Restorations, Excavations, and the Conceptualization of French and Greek Sites as “International Treasures” (1920s)**

In the 1920s, just a few years after the Oriental Institute began its work in the Middle East, Rockefeller took on archaeological and preservation work at two other sites: the first in France and the second in Greece. Together with the O.I., these projects show his deep interest in unearthing and reconstructing monuments associated with other sites and cultures and incorporating them into the story of his unfolding modern-day civilizational program. These projects also suggest the expanding geographic scope of Rockefeller's internationalism, whereas his previous endeavors, like the IWM, had a domestic focus. As I noted earlier, Michael G. Thompson has argued that although church-led internationalist movements shared some of the same concerns as Wilsonianism, they were primarily influenced by the missionary enterprise. To

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influence over younger theologians. For more on Fosdick, see Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire*; Hutchison, *Between the Times*; Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*.

<sup>182</sup> For more on the Christian Realists, see Edwards, *The Right of the Protestant Left*.



illustrate this, Thompson points out Christian internationalists' emphasis on the Asia Pacific and Africa, which had traditionally been regions of interest for foreign missions, and notes that Wilsonianism focused instead on Europe.<sup>183</sup> But despite Rockefeller's emphasis on projects in the Orient, he did not eschew Europe, and this suggests the wider scope of his theological internationalism—and conversely the wider scope of his American internationalism—as compared to the figures in Thompson's study.

In Greece, Rockefeller made a gift through the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for the excavation of the ancient Agora at the foot of the Acropolis. The Agora had been buried thirty feet under a densely populated neighborhood. Rockefeller's donation was intended for the demolition of this neighborhood and its subsequent excavation. By the time the project was completed nearly three decades later, the scope of work had expanded to include landscaping of the uncovered Agora and the reconstruction of the ancient Stoa of Attalos, which is now used as a museum and archive (**Fig. 2.19-2.21**).

The project began in 1924 with the Greek government's offer of a concession for the excavation of the Agora to any foreign archaeological school that could find funding for this work. The government was unable to fund the entire work on its own because of the economic depression resulting from the First World War, but it said it would assist by expropriating the houses that sat atop the Agora.<sup>184</sup> As I have noted elsewhere, this was a complicated and potentially controversial endeavor. The expropriation presented a financial, legal, and civic problem, and the excavation would take a sustained financial, diplomatic, and administrative

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<sup>183</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 17.

<sup>184</sup> In addition to the economic depression, the property values in the Agora neighborhood were quite high, and this added to the Greek government's inability to take on all the work required at the site. See, Azra Dawood, *Obligation, Opportunity: John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Philanthropic Projects and the Aesthetic Visualization of U.S. Identity - an Overview* (Chicago: SOM Foundation, 2012), <https://somfoundation.som.com/repository/files/submissions/azra.dawood/files/assets/basic-html/page-1.html#>, 68.

effort over several years to see the whole project through to completion.<sup>185</sup> As in the Middle East, European archaeological outfits just did not have this kind of money after the war. And so with Rockefeller's help, the ASCSA seized the opportunity instead. The Greek government officially granted the ASCSA a concession in 1930, excavation began in 1931, and the project was completed in 1956. It appears that the Rockefeller Foundation also became involved in it after Rockefeller's initial personal pledge. There is a lot to unpack with this project, and I will not attempt it here, but I want to merely note the recurring theme of Rockefeller's financial stability and ability in this period to take on massive cultural projects at home and abroad.

In France, Rockefeller carried out four projects around this time. In this section I will address three—the restoration of Château de Versailles, Château de Fontainebleau, and Notre-Dame-de-Reims—all of which can be grouped into a discrete unit called the “French Restorations.” The fourth project is the construction of *La Maison Internationale* (the last of the I-Houses) and will be dealt with separately. The French Restorations reportedly began after Rockefeller visited France in 1923, after a gap of seventeen years, and noticed the ruined condition of the country's major monuments. In 1924, after doing a fair amount of reconnaissance work in terms of whether a gift from him would be agreeable to the government, he officially contributed \$1,000,000 towards an extensive and massive restoration effort. The donation was appreciated at home and abroad but also lightly mocked (**Fig. 2.22**).<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> To gauge French reaction to his future gift, Rockefeller had consulted with the architect Bosworth, who had relocated to Paris. He also spoke with the French Ambassador to the U.S., Jean Jules Jusserand, and had written to a contact at the Vacuum Oil Company's Paris location, Harold Sheets. (The forced break-up of Standard Oil in 1912 had resulted in the creation of a number of smaller companies. Vacuum Oil Company was one of them. Vacuum later merged back with a Standard Oil outfit.) Sheets cautioned Rockefeller that exterior repairs, particularly at Reims, were “herculean.” This Gothic cathedral had been devastated in the First World War, first at the hands of a German shell and then by a fire that had caused its roof to collapse. Sheets advised Rockefeller to focus instead on interior work. Harold Sheets to Rockefeller, September 17, 1923, Folder 1231, Box 140, Series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC. As it turns out, Rockefeller was interested in precisely the herculean tasks—in making a big impact—and ended up repairing ten hectares of roof at Versailles, putting in a new one at Reims, and so on. Some of the work

To accomplish all of the envisioned work—which included extensive roof repairs at Versailles and putting in an entirely new roof at Reims—Rockefeller eventually had to increase the amount of his donation. To supervise the work, he stipulated the creation of the “Comité Franco-Américain pour la Restoration des Monuments.” The Comité was structured more fairly than the proposed governing bodies of the New Egyptian Museum would be just two years later, and suggests that despite Protestant Internationalism’s apparent support for self-governance in Egypt and elsewhere, and despite its criticism of European imperialism, Rockefeller and his advisors were much more comfortable working with fellow Christian (if not Protestant) governments and actors. William Welles Bosworth, who had relocated to France, acted as Rockefeller’s representative to the committee. Payments by Rockefeller were made through companies in which he was a major shareholder, such as the Vacuum Oil Company and the Equitable Trust Company. Work everywhere was completed in 1936 (**Fig. 2.23-2.25**).

Why did Rockefeller pick these three monuments in France? What is their significance for Protestant Modernism or American Internationalism? Although Versailles was seen to be the symbolic center of France, it was also an important site for American history—which suggests that the gift was as much for American purposes as it was for the French. It was where the Treaty of Versailles had been signed in 1783 between Great Britain and the United States of America, thus ending British control of its thirteen colonies, a fact that was repeated in newspaper articles and reports that sought to understand or explain this unusual American involvement in restoration work in another country.<sup>187</sup> Reims, meanwhile, is the site of the coronation of thirty-six French Kings. But in addition, its devastation in the First World War, at the hands of the German Army, had turned the Cathedral into a powerful symbol of Germany’s barbarism. In fact,

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was criticized at the time due to conflicting views on how preservation should be conducted.

<sup>187</sup> Dawood, *Obligation, Opportunity*, 110.

American architect Ralph Adam Cram had done a great deal to make known, in America, the destruction of French Gothic cathedrals by the Germans during the War. Scholars argue that images of French cathedrals on fire had played an important role in eventually mobilizing American public and state support for the war (**Fig. 2.26-2.27**).<sup>188</sup> So both Versailles and Reims were important for French pride and, despite their association with Catholicism and the French empire, American history. In a sense, they were monuments for both countries, and their restoration was a monument to civilized nations—a category in which many felt Germany had no place.<sup>189</sup>

Most telling about the French restorations—and about the projects in Athens and the Middle East—is Rockefeller’s interpretation of monuments in other countries, regions, and cultures as world heritage, on the basis of which he then felt obliged, or justified, to help in their upkeep and in some cases their interpretation. As he wrote in a letter to President Poincaré of France:

Returning to France last summer..., I was impressed anew with the beauty of her art, the magnificence of her architecture, and the splendor of her parks and gardens. Many examples of these are not only national but international treasures, for which France is trustee...<sup>190</sup>

In addition to helping with their physical maintenance, Rockefeller also used the concept of “international” heritage to incorporate the monuments into his own particular civilizational

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<sup>188</sup> Elizabeth Emery, “The Martyred Cathedral: American Attitudes toward Notre-Dame de Reims during the First World War,” in *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages*, eds. Alyce A. Jordan and Janet T. Marquardt (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle, 2008), 313.

<sup>189</sup> As for Fontainebleau, which was part of the French Restorations, at the advice of French experts it was demoted to third place in terms of receiving Rockefeller money. It did not have the same symbolic value as the other projects. It also had not suffered as much damage as Versailles and Reims. Dawood, *Obligation, Opportunity*, 107.

<sup>190</sup> Excerpt from JDR Jr.’s official offer letter to the French government in 1924. I found this quote reproduced in Memorandum (by unknown), May 5, 1924, folder 1233, box 140, series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC. A draft of Rockefeller’s letter was privately submitted to Raymond Poincaré, French President, who approved it before Rockefeller officially submitted it to the French government. Again, this is a very different set-up as compared to

narrative. Historians typically date the beginning of the global preservation movement—where an international committee of experts and financiers would come together to identify and save “world” heritage—to the period after the Second World War.<sup>191</sup> The French Restorations and the Agora Excavation instead suggest an earlier conceptualization of historic architecture and ancient ruins as global heritage, regardless of their origins or location. Such a re-conceptualization allowed the creation of symbolic international links as well as real financial and political pathways for restorative work.

Note that the term “internationalism” was used repeatedly at the time to describe Rockefeller’s gift, and to suggest a like-minded appreciation of art and culture held by civilized people everywhere. Gabriel Hanotaux, a French member of the Comité overseeing the restoration work, noted:

The Gift ... which Mr. Rockefeller Jr. recently made to France is an act of far-reaching significance; it is proof that an **intimate fellowship is to link henceforth, all enlightened minds, all noble hearts in a common love for the monuments** handed down by centuries past to present and future generations. **This internationalism of beauty is a great attainment of the human mind.** And it is likewise a lesson for humanity. No one would ever presume, in the future, to despoil an ancient temple in order to enrich the collections of a museum; no one would again be permitted to remove the monuments of art by virtue of the right of conquest: and if, in the course of the last war, they dared to fire on the cathedral of Reims under a military pretext, this crime has resulted in arousing the indignation of the entire civilized world. All humanity declares itself responsible [sic] for such a war debt. True civilization, so different from “Kultur”, - rises forever against such a violation of the rights of the living and of the dead, by pledging itself spontaneously to make reparation. [emphasis mine]<sup>192</sup>

Meanwhile, a writer for the *Columbus, O. Journal* called Rockefeller’s gift an act of “Patriotic

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Egypt. Note also the use of the word trustee, a corporate term here.

<sup>191</sup> Lucia Allais, *Designs of Destruction: The Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).

<sup>192</sup> Gabriel Hanotaux de l’ Académie Française, “Une Grande Libéralité Américaine,” Folder 1232, Box 140, Series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC.

Internationalism” motivated not by senseless nationalism but by a desire to “foster friendly international relations” that would be beneficial to America.<sup>193</sup> What is particularly interesting about both these comments is the shared use of the term “internationalism” in that very moment by two commentators geographically separated by an ocean.

## **2.11. Marking the American Revolution at the Cloisters and Colonial Williamsburg (1927)**

Rockefeller sponsored controversial architectural restorations and reconstructions within the United States, too. This section briefly considers two representative projects: the first is the Cloisters Museum, where architectural fragments and art from medieval French and Spanish cloisters were incorporated within a Beaux-Arts design and set in an artificially “pastoral” landscape in New York City; the second, the reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, a project that occurred on a huge scale over a long period.<sup>194</sup> Both these projects are included in Rockefeller’s personal philanthropy, not in the work of the foundations.

Rockefeller’s gift for Colonial Williamsburg was announced in 1928, though he was in negotiations with the project’s main facilitator, Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, earlier than this. The Cloisters project, meanwhile, officially began in 1925, with Rockefeller’s purchase of medieval French relics from the American sculptor George Gray Barnard, who had managed to acquire and export these artifacts to New York in 1913 just before the French government passed a law intended at protecting its patrimony from exactly such pillage and resale.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> “Patriotic Internationalism,” in the *Columbus, O. Journal*, May 28, 1927, Folder 1244, Box 142, Series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC.

<sup>194</sup> Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 10.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

These two projects' importance to Protestant Internationalism lies in their architectural, environmental, religious, and American-centric themes. First, although the Cloisters is a museum for medieval religious objects and art, it should also be seen as a religious space. Annabel Jane Wharton writes that the artifacts in it no longer carry any practical use, as they might have in their original settings, and that the new setting, despite all efforts, does not actually reproduce the original "sense of the medieval habitus."<sup>196</sup> I agree with this critique, but argue that regardless of its failure, the Rockefeller team's original intention actually *was* to reproduce this environment, though the translation of this intent into a modern-day American setting—and perhaps into a modern theopolitical program and its architectural language--did transform these objects' lives and the experience and function of the architectural fragments in which they are housed. With respect to religion, consider also that the Cloisters' medieval architectural and art fragments recall an age when Western Christianity was whole—that is, the period before the Reformation—and speak perhaps to the desire for ecumenism and unity within Christianity.

Rockefeller's preferred Beaux-Arts style is incorporated in both projects. The Cloisters' fragments are re-arranged within a larger Beaux-Arts plan, that naturalizes overt religious functions and associations into a symmetrically arranged museum. In Williamsburg, the Colonial style, too, has been sublimated into Beaux-Arts symmetry and axially (Fig. 2.28).<sup>197</sup> While the Cloisters building is not an accurate reproduction of medieval sites, Rockefeller's money *was* able to reproduce the environmental isolation that is typical of monasteries.<sup>198</sup> Earlier, in 1917, Rockefeller had bought a 57-acre tract in a secluded part of Upper Manhattan—the former

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>197</sup> Williamsburg's sublimation of the Colonial style to a Beaux-Arts symmetry and axially has been frequently criticized. See, Carl R. Lounsbury, "Beaux-Arts Ideals and Colonial Reality: The Reconstruction of Williamsburg's Capitol, 1928-1934," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 4 (December 1, 1990): 373–89, <https://doi.org/10.2307/990566>.

<sup>198</sup> Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 10.

Billings Estate—which he then gave over to the city as Fort Tryon Park.<sup>199</sup> The Cloisters sits on the highest point in this land, which is also the highest point in Manhattan. The building overlooks another Rockefeller-assembled landscape across the Hudson River—the Palisades Parkway—with whose preservation Rockefeller had been involved for many years.<sup>200</sup> The Park and the Parkway both contribute to the actual and aesthetic seclusion of the museum (**Fig. 2.29**).

Rockefeller's commitment to creating a total environment for the Cloisters Museum and other projects (his pre-occupation with how they interfaced with nature or the urban fabric in terms of aesthetics and municipal services) emphasizes his deep pockets, suggests strong connections with important figures in the city government, and reveals his nuanced engagement with architecture and urban design. At Williamsburg, too, he quietly scooped up property in the modern town at first and then, when his project to reconstruct the Colonial-era city became known, he more publicly bought out remaining home owners. And so, as in many of his other projects, he acquired and then rewrote the larger landscape to suit the ideals of Protestant Modernism and American Internationalism.

But it was not enough to merely buy land and reconstruct medieval cloisters or colonial-era towns. These sites' meanings and potential to spread Rockefeller's ideological program could only be properly activated if they were accessible to ordinary citizens. Providing access was thus an important part of any Rockefeller project. To make the Cloisters accessible to the public, he gave money to the city of New York to ensure that a public bus would run up to the Park and

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<sup>199</sup> Back then, the site could command an uninterrupted view down to the Statue of Liberty on a clear day, and further north towards Storm King Mountain. See, "ROCKEFELLER BUYS \$5,000,000 TRACT FOR CITY PARK GIFT; John D., Jr., Revealed as Purchaser of Billings, Hays, and Sheaffer Plots. PLOTS COMPRISE 57 ACRES Historic Ground, Matchless View, and Massive Structures Make Ideal Park Site. HIGH SPOT OF MANHATTAN Hudson Scenery Greets Eye for Miles; Notable Rockefeller Benefactions in the Past. May Follow Pocantico Plans. Includes Auto Test Road. Some Rockefeller Benefactions. ROCKEFELLER BUYS TRACT FOR PARK GIFT \$200,000 to Y.M.C.A." *The New York Times*, January 6, 1917, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1917/01/06/archives/rockefeller-buys-5000000-tract-for-city-park-gift-john-d-jr.html>.

<sup>200</sup> Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 10.



Museum. Wharton writes that on the opening ceremony of the Cloisters in 1938, Rockefeller expressed his hope that the project's art and environment would provide a spiritual retreat for the masses (who, incidentally, had just been awarded with an eight-hour work day):

With the changes that time has brought, the wholesome and profitable use of leisure, now so startlingly prevalent, is one of the great *problems* of the day. ... May it not well be that The Cloisters in their new environment, surrounded by nature at her best, will become another stimulating center for the profitable use of leisure? If that should prove to be true, if what has been created here helps to interpret beauty as one of the great **spiritual** and inspirational forces of life, having the power to transform drab duty into radiant living; if those who come under the influence of this place go out to face life with new courage and **restored faith** because of the peace, the calm, the loveliness they have found here; ...those who have builded [sic] here will not have built in vain [emphases mine and others].<sup>201</sup>

Such a retreat would help discipline the behavior of American people and engage them in recreation that was pre-approved by liberal elites like Rockefeller. Essentially, Rockefeller expresses his hope that the project might prevent social tensions or licentious behaviors that elites like him feared from ordinary citizens. In terms of access, at Colonial Williamsburg, the emerging automobile culture helped: while cars were not allowed inside the historic district, people were at least able to drive up to it.

In terms of Rockefeller's description of the Cloisters as a spiritual retreat for the public, since he made this reference in a speech that was not religiously explicit, his choice of words can be taken in a general metaphoric sense. Yet, we know enough about Rockefeller's philanthropy and theological interests by now to recognize that even behind a modernized Protestantism and general references to spirituality there was still a deep interest in faith and theology. Barnard, in subsequent letters to Rockefeller in which he urged the latter to purchase additional relics, even

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<sup>201</sup> Address by John D. Rockefeller Jr. on the Occasion of the Opening of the Cloisters in Fort Tryon Park, May 10, 1938, Cloisters Papers and Correspondence Files, quoted in Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 16, 224n36. The emphasis on "problems" is by Wharton.

tried to exploit this interest by noting that the relics he wanted to sell would add to the “heroic history of Christian art” that the Cloisters Museum would tell.<sup>202</sup>

A final and important connection between the Cloisters and Colonial Williamsburg is that both sites are associated with the American Revolution. The Cloisters is located close to the last redoubt of Fort Washington, which was built in 1776 during the American Revolution. Some scholars appear to suggest that in addition to commanding the finest view, the museum’s location was meant to mark this monument.<sup>203</sup> The erection of medieval Christian relics from Europe—part of “the heroic history of Christian art”—onto a site recalling the American Revolution suggests the binding together of an ecumenical international Christianity with the American nation. Historic Williamsburg, meanwhile, had been the capital of the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia, and had thus been at the center of American Revolutionary activities. Rockefeller’s reconstruction of a large swath of the original capital occurred around the time the Colonial-Revival style had emerged as type of national style in the late nineteenth century.<sup>204</sup> Rockefeller’s commitment to the American Revolutionary history was so complete that he even purchased a reconstructed colonial-style house for himself in Williamsburg, where he spent a considerable amount of time. Thus, we can say that both these sites celebrated the Revolution and indicate the patriotism in Rockefeller’s internationalism.

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<sup>202</sup> Quoted in Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 22. In terms of religion, Colonial Williamsburg’s facilitator—the man who brought Rockefeller onto the project—was an American pastor, Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin. There is probably more to explore in his profession.

<sup>203</sup> Timothy B. Husband, “Creating the Cloisters,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* LXX, no. 4 (Spring 2013), [https://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/creating\\_the\\_cloisters#](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/creating_the_cloisters#), 20.

<sup>204</sup> Donald Albrecht, Thomas Mellins, and Museum of the City of New York, *The American Style: Colonial Revival and the Modern Metropolis* (New York: Museum of the City of New York: Monacelli Press, 2011).

## 2.12. League of Nations, United Nations, and Different Internationalisms (1927, 1945)

While Rockefeller's donation of \$2 million for the construction of a library at the League of Nations headquarters in Geneva did have an architectural impact (the League had to search for a bigger site to accommodate their planned headquarters), the gift's significance for my work lies in how it situates Rockefeller's internationalism in comparison to Wilsonianism and to the position of other American elites and politicians regarding the nature of American engagement in world affairs (**Fig. 2.30**). The gift can seem to be a strong censure of the American Senate's vote against joining the League. At the same time, the donation was not exactly in the vein of political internationalism, with which both Wilsonianism and the League are associated. Rather, as a library and archive for intellectual work, the gift aligns more closely with cultural internationalism but within a political structure.

The library represents a sub-group of philanthropic projects that Rockefeller pursued related to intellectual work, broadly defined. In 1927, he gave \$3.3 million for the reconstruction of the library at the Imperial University of Tokyo; the original had been destroyed four years earlier in an earthquake. He also provided \$700,000 to the Library of Congress to create a sophisticated bibliographic system. The Oriental Institute's techno-scientific and intellectual projects, and their rhetoric of cooperation with Iraq, Egypt, and other Middle Eastern countries, too, fits in this category. But it should be noted that despite Rockefeller's larger abstinence from political internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, cultural internationalism's failure to produce a long-lasting peace eventually led him—through his sons—to political internationalism, and to his purchase and donation of a large property on Manhattan's east side for the headquarters of the

United Nations.<sup>205</sup>

### **2.13. John B. Trevor and Keeping America American (1927-1933)**

Rockefeller's internationalist aims curiously went hand-in-hand with a project led by John Bond Trevor to restrict immigration into the United States. Trevor (1878-1956), who was a lawyer and a long-time associate, friend, and adviser to Rockefeller, does not attract as much scholarship in the context of Rockefeller's philanthropy as do the Fosdicks, Mott, or other actors. Yet, he was an important figure in Rockefeller's life and projects and beneficiary of his funds. He had a major—and negative—impact on the United States' immigration laws. In 1919, Trevor was made Special Deputy State Attorney General in New York, and in this capacity was appointed to the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities, more popularly known as the "Lusk Committee." This committee was created by New York State to target anyone suspected of anarchy and sedition. The Committee took particular aim at the newly created Communist Party—raiding its headquarters and branches—and at any other person or group that was thought to represent a danger to conservative white values in American society. In 1920, Trevor was appointed associate counsel of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where he investigated Russian propaganda.

Trevor used his growing influence in government circles to successfully push a racist immigrant quota law—explained below—in 1924. In 1927, he founded a Citizens Committee on

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<sup>205</sup> In 1946, John D. Rockefeller III, Nelson, and Laurance—who were powerful public figures by this time—were working alongside Robert Moses and Mayor William O'Dwyer to bring the United Nations headquarters to New York City. They briefly considered the Rockefeller Center, an idea that was abandoned due to union issues, and they also brought up the idea of using the larger land around the exceptional and internationalist landscape that Rockefeller had created decades ago with Bosworth at Kykuit. Rockefeller vetoed this latter option and ultimately suggested the purchase of a piece of property on Manhattan's east side. The property was purchased from developer William Zeckendorf. Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 431-433.

Immigration Legislation to defend this law from any changes. In 1929, this Committee became the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, which described itself as “An Organization to Coordinate Patriotic Efforts to Keep America American.”<sup>206</sup> Trevor served as the organization’s president until the 1950s. He was opposed to the “cross-breeding” of races, believing that it was an error to suggest that, “human beings may mongrelize without degeneration,” and claimed that science supported his views.<sup>207</sup>

The immigration law of 1924 was based on such views of race. A law passed a few years earlier had set a quota system for visas: the number of new immigrants coming into the U.S. would be limited to only two or three percent of their compatriots who were already in the United States. This percentage had been calculated off the 1910 census. The new law instead used the 1890 count, when the population was lower, thus further reducing the number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. Moreover, where previously the base figure of foreign nationals within the U.S. was determined by the number of immigrants in the country who had been born *outside* the U.S., the new law “traced the origins of the whole of the U.S. population, including natural-born citizens.”<sup>208</sup> So, as there were large numbers of British descendants in the U.S., more people were allowed in from the U.K. than from anywhere else. The new law also barred the entry of any immigrant at all from a national-racial background that would not have been allowed to naturalize under existing laws. So, this excluded *all* Asians, including Japanese immigrants; Chinese immigrants were already barred under the Chinese Exclusion Act passed in 1882. The 1924 law was revised only in 1952.

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<sup>206</sup> This quote is taken from the official letterhead of the ACPS. See, John B. Trevor to Rockefeller, January 31, 1931, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2 H, OMR, Friends and Services, RAC.

<sup>207</sup> Trevor to The Editor of the *Scientific American*, January 30, 1925, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2H, OMR, Friends and Services, RAC.

<sup>208</sup> “Milestones: 1921–1936 - Office of the Historian,” Accessed January 2, 2018. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>.

Between 1927 and 1933, Rockefeller contributed funds privately to Trevor to assist him in his work on immigration restriction. For example, in 1927, he gave Trevor \$10,000.<sup>209</sup> He repeated this gesture and amount in 1928, 1929, and 1930. In 1932, he gave Trevor \$7,500 and in 1933, he gave him \$5,000.<sup>210</sup> These donations appear to have been some of the largest that were given to Trevor's various organizations, including the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.<sup>211</sup> The latter organization managed smaller fraternal and patriotic organizations with a total membership of 1,250,000 people. Trevor noted in a letter to Rockefeller that the ACPS was responsible for "the successful defense of the National Origins Provision of the Immigration Act of 1924 ... ample justification for the continuation of the organization as a potent force in keeping America American."<sup>212</sup> In the archives, information regarding Rockefeller's donation in 1933 to this organization is accompanied by a large map, compiled by the American Coalition, that shows the "Relation Between The Distribution Of Foreign Stock And Negro Population With The Dissemination Of Communist And Socialist Propaganda During The Summer Of 1932 (Fig. 2.31-2.32)."<sup>213</sup>

The specter of communism hung over liberals like Rockefeller, who pursued an alternate internationalism to mitigate its threats. The Communist Party USA had been created in August 1919, and was strongly involved in the labor movement in the United States. It went

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<sup>209</sup> Rockefeller to John B. Trevor, June 17, 1927, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2H OMR Friends and Services, RAC. In this letter, Rockefeller enclosed a check of \$10,000 for Trevor's efforts on behalf of immigration restriction at this time.

<sup>210</sup> Memo "Mr. John B. Trevor for Immigration Work," c1933, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2H, OMR, Friends and Services, RAC.

<sup>211</sup> Trevor to Rockefeller, December 9, 1930, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2H OMR Friends and Services, RAC; Trevor to Rockefeller, March 14, 1930, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2H OMR Friends and Services, RAC.

<sup>212</sup> Trevor to Rockefeller, March 14, 1930, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2H OMR Friends and Services, RAC.

<sup>213</sup> "Map of the Borough of Manhattan of the City of New York Showing Relation Between The Distribution Of Foreign Stock And Negro Population With The Dissemination Of Communist And Socialist Propaganda During The Summer Of 1932," Prepared by C. S. Hammond & Co. Map Specialists, New York - Brooklyn - Boston, Box 118, Series H, Friends and Services, FA317, OMR, RAC.

underground due to government prosecution but then re-emerged in 1921 as the Workers Party of America. The tension over labor and capital, so apparent in Rockefeller's work, is part of this story against immigration and communism.

From communication between Rockefeller and Trevor, we know that Trevor was influential in determining the architectural style for Riverside Church.<sup>214</sup> That Trevor, a proponent of theories of racial superiority and an advocate of restrictive immigration quotas, had a hand in designing the Riverside Church, which sought to be ecumenical and all-inclusive, suggests racial undertones in Rockefeller's theopolitical program and complicates his motivations. It is unclear why Rockefeller stopped funding Trevor's activities, but we do know that the two maintained friendly relations up until Trevor's death on April 11, 1955.

Rockefeller's name appears nowhere on the official list of contributors for Trevor's projects.<sup>215</sup> At one point in his authorized biography of Rockefeller, Fosdick pauses to consider the various actors who, despite Rockefeller's early "restricted social and religious background," had influenced his "extraordinary intellectual development....tolerance, and catholicity of understanding which characterized his middle and later years."<sup>216</sup> He credits Wallace Buttrick, Simon Flexner (Director of the RIMR), George E. Vincent (a President of the RF), Wickliffe Rose, Jerome Greene, Abraham Flexner (a reformer of medical education), "Eliot of Harvard, Alderman of the University of Virginia, Wilbur of Stanford, Angell of Yale, Hopkins Young, John W. Davis, and a score of others."<sup>217</sup> He does not mention Trevor, who also does not appear anywhere else in the biography. Trevor's clear absence from Fosdick's narrative—and

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<sup>214</sup> Trevor and Rockefeller's correspondence over Riverside Church is kept in a largely unprocessed box at the Avery Archives. See Box 1 Riverside Church Correspondence, Avery Archives, Columbia University.

<sup>215</sup> See Trevor To Rockefeller, March 14, 1930, Folder 1, Box 118, RG III 2H OMR Friends and Services, RAC.

<sup>216</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 122.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

Rockefeller's absence from the roster of people supporting the ACPS—must not blind us to the possibility of Trevor's impact on Rockefeller's theopolitical internationalism, which we should now understand at least to some degree as a communist-fearing, anti-immigrant stance that promoted internationalism primarily on elite American terms.

## **2.14. Mt. Palomar Observatory, the Rockefeller Center, and the marriage of Science, Internationalism, Capitalism, and Religion (1928-45)**

Immediately after the International Missionary Council met in Jerusalem between March 24 and April 8, 1928, and articulated secularism and irreligion as the enemy to peace, Rockefeller embarked on two of his biggest projects: the Rockefeller Center, a private development in New York City; and the construction of Mt. Palomar Observatory and the Hale Telescope at the California Institute of Technology (Caltech). This section considers their relevance for internationalism and Protestant Modernism.

In 1928, through the International Education Board, Rockefeller agreed to help fund the construction of Mt. Palomar and its telescope, which is named after George Ellery Hale. Hale, incidentally, was an important friend and advocate for the work of the Oriental Institute's founder and first Director, James Henry Breasted.<sup>218</sup> One of the premier astrophysicists of his time, Hale, who spearheaded the Palomar project and guided its construction for ten years, is credited with turning his field into a leading scientific discipline. Earlier, in 1897, he had founded Yerkes Observatory while at the University of Chicago, where he first met Breasted.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Funding for the Palomar Observatory also came from The Carnegie Institution, which managed the Mt. Wilson Observatory, where Hale had previously been Director.

<sup>219</sup> Hale is also known for inventing a machine called the spectroheliograph, which discovered the sun's gaseous



The latter, inspired in part by the funding that Hale could garner for his many scientific projects, presented the O.I. as a scientific laboratory for Near Eastern studies.

Astronomy had not really been a focus of the IEB before this project.<sup>220</sup> Yet, the Board and later the Rockefeller Foundation together donated \$6,550,000 over the course of twenty years to see the project through.<sup>221</sup> Before the Hale Telescope, the largest telescope in the world was at Mt. Wilson Observatory, also in California and also a Hale project, which featured a 100-inch lens. The Hale Telescope would instead feature a 200-inch curved mirror, the largest reflector that had ever been planned or built. It took forty years to complete the job, in part because of the outbreak of the Second World War (**Fig. 2.33**).<sup>222</sup>

The IEB's willingness to fund the observatory over such a long period, and the fascination of the American nation with this project, says a lot about the scientific enthusiasm in the country—and within the Rockefeller network—which Breasted made sure to tap into each time he went back for funding for the Oriental Institute. It also says a lot about religion and science at this moment. Hale tried to keep the project under covers for a while, but as word started leaking out about an attempt to build the largest telescope in the world, he eventually

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outer shell. He invented the machine while a student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Hale was instrumental in the creation of Mt. Palomar observatory but died ten years before it was completed.

<sup>220</sup> “Astronomy - The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History,” accessed February 18, 2018, <https://rockfound.rockarch.org/astronomy>.

<sup>221</sup> Ronald Florence, *The Perfect Machine: Building the Palomar Telescope* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1995), 388.

<sup>222</sup> During the outbreak of the Second World War, a small team of workers was maintained at the job site for continuity, but work on the large mirror had essentially stopped and it was crated up in a timber box for safety. Figuring out how the mirror should be cast in the first place took time and money too. The buildings of the Palomar Observatory, and the general body of the telescope, had been completed before the mirror was successfully cast: the site was readied in 1935, and the observatory dome was built between 1936 and 1939. Given the large surface of the mirror, and the need to minimize expansion or changes from fluctuations in temperature, regular glass could not be used. The Palomar team first experimented with using fused quartz, and turned to the General Electric Company for help with this. But after several years of experimentation, and \$600,000 later, this avenue was deemed a failure. Hale and his team eventually found a new solution. They turned to Corning Glass Works of New York, which, after one failed attempt, managed to pour the 200-inch mirror using Pyrex, which was a new material at the time. The glass was cooled over ten months. “The 200-Inch Hale Telescope,” accessed February 18, 2018,

released a statement that was designed to both quell rumors about scientific hubris and temper high expectations for the telescope. In his book on the observatory, Ronald Florence notes the American quest for “superlatives” in ordinary life and in their technological progress in the 1900s.<sup>223</sup> He also notes that Christian evangelicals or fundamentalists saw such progress as irreligious, and that Hale was aware of this problem:

California ... had more than its share of fundamentalist and revivalist movements, led by evangelists who were quick to brand science and technology as the work of Satan. A few had already spoken out against the telescopes on Mount Wilson. A larger telescope designed to reach even deeper into the mysteries of the universe, would be a prime target for their sermons. A campaign by fundamentalists would be an even greater threat than the union strikes and picket lines..., because the police couldn't be expected to show the same eagerness for scuffles with men and women of the cloth that they demonstrated against the unions.<sup>224</sup>

When news of the telescope broke, the project generated a great deal of positive publicity in the media, alongside some negative criticism from fundamentalists. It made front page in the *New York Times* on October 29, 1928, not far from a column noting the return journey to Germany of “the first commercial transatlantic airship.”<sup>225</sup> The *Times*' heading for the Palomar news was somewhat hyperbolic: “Giant Telescope of Immense Range to Dwarf All Others.” Florence writes that no other scientific undertaking in the United States had ever generated this much interest.

While the Rockefeller-family foundations technically operated independently of the family members who had created them, because the telescope was such an unusual undertaking

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<http://www.astro.caltech.edu/palomar/about/telescopes/hale.html>.

<sup>223</sup> Florence, *The Perfect Machine*, 89.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>225</sup> “Giant Telescope of Immense Range to Dwarf All Others; the 200-Inch Telescope Compared with the 100-Inch.,” *The New York Times*, October 29, 1928, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1928/10/29/archives/giant->

for the IEB, Raymond Fosdick and others apparently ran the idea first by Rockefeller, who approved it.<sup>226</sup> So the creation of the observatory is in some ways directly tied to Rockefeller, through his money and approval, and demonstrates his personal interest in pursuing such a major scientific project. It also shows his disregard for fundamentalist opposition to the project. To understand how much of a monetary risk and a departure from typical projects this undertaking actually was, note that, first of all, it was not an international project, whereas the IEB was intended for international education, and even in the beginning it was understood that the project “would deplete the funds of the IEB.”<sup>227</sup>

What makes this project particularly interesting is that just at the moment when some Church-affiliated internationalists were beginning to articulate secularism as the enemy, here, at Mt. Palomar, Rockefeller was proposing a major scientific project in which these internationalists would have fearfully recognized secularizing possibilities. That he put so much money behind Palomar suggests that in Rockefeller’s mind, science and religion were on the journey to internationalism together. In fact, the following year Rockefeller visited the Middle East to inspect the work of the Oriental Institute, which, too, was an attempt to merge science and religion.

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[telescope-of-immense-range-to-dwarf-all-others-the-200inch.html](#).

<sup>226</sup> Florence, *The Perfect Machine*, 88. Actually, in a classic mix-up, Florence assumes that the Rockefeller in question is John D. Rockefeller Sr., and notes in passing how “his frail health had restricted him to a bland milk diet by 1928.” Certainly, Rockefeller Sr. was alive—and very frail—in 1928, but the Rockefeller in question has to be Rockefeller Jr., who created the IEB in the first place. Senior had no relation to this organization. See also, “John D. Rockefeller, Jr. - Biographical - The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History,” accessed February 18, 2018, [https://rockfound.rockarch.org/biographical/-/asset\\_publisher/6ygcKECNI1nb/content/john-d-rockefeller-jr-?](https://rockfound.rockarch.org/biographical/-/asset_publisher/6ygcKECNI1nb/content/john-d-rockefeller-jr-?). Note that Rockefeller Jr.’s biographers Harr and Johnson, on the other hand, write that Rockefeller did not influence the projects that the IEB took on, and let Wickliffe Rose and others make the important decisions. See Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 170. Yet, we know enough about Rockefeller’s involvement in the RF and other organizations to at least consider that he may have been involved in the telescope project to some degree as well.

<sup>227</sup> Florence, *The Perfect Machine*, 88.

***Rockefeller Center in the City of New York: The Great Depression & an American Internationalism (1929-39)***

In 1929, after his visit to the Middle East and immediately before the stock market crash that launched the Great Depression, Rockefeller arranged to lease twelve acres from Columbia University between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, south of Fiftieth Street in New York City. There, he planned to build office buildings, but also reserved a prime location in the center of the site for the Metropolitan Opera. In fact, the project had begun at the urging of the Opera, which needed a new home. The Opera would get this central site for free and then raise money to erect its own building. With the stock market crash, the Opera pulled out of the project, leaving Rockefeller with a long-term lease on the land. He went ahead anyway, and built an ambitious commercial-entertainment center (**Fig. 2.34**).<sup>228</sup>

The project will be covered in more detail in Chapter Seven; for now, the most important thing to keep in mind regarding the Center is the long duration of its construction, and the projects and world events with which it overlapped. The last three I-Houses in Berkeley, Chicago, and Paris were built around this time. The construction of Mt. Palomar Observatory happened at the same time that the Center was being built. Though they began a few years earlier, the Agora excavations, French restorations, and the reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg overlapped with the design and construction of Rockefeller Center. And the Oriental Institute embarked on a major architectural campaign at the same time as Rockefeller committed to the Center. The project to build Rockefeller Center began just after the Jerusalem Conference in 1928 and was completed just before the Second World War. Its construction also

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<sup>228</sup> This project, not technically philanthropic, has often been presented in that light because it provided work for thousands of construction workers and artists during difficult times. See for example Harr and Johnson, *The*

overlapped with that of Riverside Church, which opened to the public in 1930. While not technically a philanthropic institution like these other projects, the Rockefeller Center is one of Rockefeller's largest architectural and urban undertakings, and its gardens, layout, proposed programs, and artwork bring together the different strands of the intellectual, cultural, capitalist, and religious themes and tensions of Protestant Modernism and American Internationalism. But first, Chapters Three through Six will pull these strands apart, carefully analyze their nature and character, and study how they were purposefully brought together in the Oriental Institute and the International Student House movement.

# 3

## Breaking Ground

### The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1919)<sup>1</sup>

In 1908, John D. Rockefeller Sr. gave \$1 million to the University of Chicago for the construction of a chapel, stipulating that it be the most prominent building on campus. This donation was Rockefeller Sr.'s final gift to an institution that he had helped create and generously endowed under the guidance and perseverance of its first President, Dr. William Rainey Harper. The building's proposed site at the corner of S. Woodlawn Avenue and the Midway Plaisance, on the south side of Chicago (formerly the location of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition), came to be known as the "Chapel Block."<sup>2</sup> Early plans for its proposed layout show the Rockefeller chapel surrounded by YMCA and YWCA "Houses"—a configuration of institutions that befit Rockefeller Sr.'s more traditional outlook on religion, as well as the university's denominational roots (Fig. 3.1-3.2).<sup>3</sup>

But when construction on this block was finally completed several decades later in 1931, the proposed YMCA and YWCA Houses had been replaced with the headquarters of John D.

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<sup>1</sup> Some portions of this chapter are derived from my previous work. See Azra Dawood, "Failure to Engage: The Breasted-Rockefeller Gift of a New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo (1926)" (Master's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2010); Dawood, "Archaeological Ambassadors-at-Large and the Making of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (1919)," in *In the Distance: \*research-in-Progress 2010*, eds. Ana María León and Alla Vronskaya (Cambridge, MA: Puritan Press, 2010), 8-11. Where possible, I have noted the information and language that has appeared in these earlier texts.

<sup>2</sup> Jean F. Block, *The Uses of Gothic: Planning and Building the Campus of the University of Chicago, 1892-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1983), 152-161.

Rockefeller Jr.'s Oriental Institute (**Fig. 3.3**). The Institute, which still exists today, was officially launched in 1919—over a decade before its headquarters was built—as a two-pronged research facility with an interpretative arm consisting of a home-based philology department (the existing Department of Oriental/Semitic Languages), and a new field operations arm responsible for archaeological expeditions in the Middle East: an archaeologically rich, scripturally significant, and politically strategic frontier for Western Europe and eventually the United States.<sup>4</sup>

The Institute owes its inception to the indefatigable efforts of its first Director—and one of America's first professionally trained Egyptologists—James Henry Breasted.<sup>5</sup> Its headquarters building, built between 1929 and 1931 and also known as the Oriental Institute Museum, was aggressively promoted by Breasted as a scientific laboratory engaged in the study and “recovery” (excavation or translation) of “records” (archaeological fragments) that revealed the earliest emergence of human civilization, which scientists and scholars agree occurred in the cities and

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<sup>3</sup> As the reader will recall from Chapter Two—and see again in Chapter Four—the Young Men's Christian Association was a conservation institution at the time, and emphasized religious conversions and strict sectarian divisions.

<sup>4</sup> James Henry Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, vol. XII of *The University of Chicago Survey* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933), 2.

<sup>5</sup> Breasted, an academically accomplished and politically ambitious figure, had been recruited to Chicago by President Harper. Breasted had actually entered professional life as a pharmacist but eventually decided to join the ministry. However, despite mastering Hebrew and making other inroads into his studies, he worried about “his intellectual receptivity to the ministry which lay imminently beyond,” and he abandoned his training as minister and instead became a scholar of Hebrew and Oriental languages at Yale University, where he met Harper, himself a Hebraist. When Harper moved to Chicago, Breasted was considering a career in Egyptology. Harper promised him a position at the new university if he pursued this career. Breasted did pursue it, traveling like other American academics at the time to Germany to study: German universities were better established than American universities at this time, and they offered education in fields that were new or unusual in America. When Breasted returned from Germany, he was eventually offered a position at Chicago. For more on Breasted's life and career, see Jeffrey Abt, *American Egyptologist: The Life of James Henry Breasted and the Creation of His Oriental Institute* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Charles Breasted, University of Chicago, and Oriental Institute, *Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted, Archaeologist*, Reprint ed. (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009); Dawood, “Failure to Engage.” See also Donald Malcolm Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser* (Cairo; New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015).

empires of the ancient Near East.<sup>6</sup> Archaeological excavations, surveys of ancient architecture, and epigraphic studies carried out *in situ* formed the core of the Institute's work.<sup>7</sup>

But the Institute also owes its inception and, as I will argue, its scientific-*religious* bent to Rockefeller Jr. Both the O.I.'s archaeological work in the Middle East, and its architectural output at home and abroad, were sponsored by him and by the various philanthropic organizations of the Rockefeller family between 1919 and 1939. Support for the institution was one of Rockefeller's longest-running and earliest philanthropic commitments independent of his father and—in the early stages—the family's foundations. As Breasted once said of Rockefeller's deep dedication to the Institute's work:

I have never seen anything like the interest he displayed in everything [in Egypt], but especially in the salvaging of the evidence. ...As Arthur Woods [a Rockefeller advisor] said to me when I came through New York this time, he has now got something which he wants to support because he is deeply interested in it and not because it is his duty to do so, as is the case with most of the things he does in New York.<sup>8</sup>

Using his position as financier, Rockefeller turned the O.I. into a vehicle for Protestant Modernism and American internationalism. Despite its public emphasis on *scientific* archaeology, the Institute did attempt to prove the Biblical associations of the ancient Near Eastern civilizations. In this way, the Institute helped transform Biblical archaeology (the study of the Bible Lands) into a scientific discipline, and thus supported Rockefeller's larger agenda of

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<sup>6</sup> I will use the more recently coined term, "Middle East," to refer to the political and geographic regions of Egypt and West Asia; "Near East," meanwhile, will be used in reference to the ancient sites and civilizations as well as to refer to the cultural and symbolic geography of the region—as imagined or articulated by European (and later, American) archaeologists, historians, Orientalists, and Biblical scholars.

<sup>7</sup> The Oriental Institute is still an active organization, but it does not operate as many field expeditions as it did during its heyday (1919-1935).

<sup>8</sup> Breasted to George Ellery Hale, April 2, 1929, Folder 1929, Box Correspondence between George Ellery Hale and James Henry Breasted [hereafter GEH-JHB], James Henry Breasted Papers, Oriental Institute Archives, Chicago, IL (hereafter OIA).



re-organizing and modernizing the foundations of Christianity: of moving the religion beyond its adherence to orthodox tenets, and embracing instead science, modernity, and ecumenism. An integral part of this project was to prove religion through science. The Institute's expeditions sought out the Bible Lands, not in any mystical sense, but rather to find hard evidence of religion. But because the Institute's officers were certain of this evidence's existence, they inevitably "found" it. In some instances, they misread archaeological ruins because they were looking at them through the lens of the Bible.<sup>9</sup>

While existing literature on the Institute focuses primarily on its ambitious archaeological work in the Middle East during a time of political uncertainty after the First World War, I am interested in how it married science to religion; its role in Rockefeller's internationalism; and the importance of the now-obscure body of architecture it spawned—one that is impressive for both its occasional quality and its strategic geo-political siting.<sup>10</sup> The headquarters in Chicago is the Institute's only building in the United States, but globally it is just one of nearly a dozen structures financed by Rockefeller on behalf of the O.I. As a necessary accompaniment to the precise, scientific work of teams of men and women during long periods in the hot malaria-

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<sup>9</sup> In the 1920s and 1930s, the Institute's expedition at Megiddo (Biblical Armageddon) found "a group of pillared buildings," which the Field Director misidentified as King Solomon's Stables. It was only in the 1960s that an archaeologist proved that the O.I.'s interpretation was incorrect. Recent scholarship undertaken by the Oriental Institute acknowledges that this incorrect interpretation was driven by "the strong desire of the site's excavators to link their archaeological findings with biblical history and, in particular, the golden age of King Solomon." But in the years following the discovery of "Solomon's Stable"—and even several decades after this label was proven incorrect—the old interpretation was featured in lectures and documentaries and represented in an architectural model of the pillared buildings, which was a star attraction in docent-led tours of the Institute's Exhibition Hall. Eventually, as the explanation of the building further shifted, the model's interpretation shifted as well. And when the Exhibition Hall was renovated in the 1990s, the model was removed from display altogether. Jack Green, "Model of 'King Solomon's Stables' at Megiddo (Cat. 34)," in *Picturing the Past: Imaging and Imagining the Ancient Middle East*, ed. J. Green, E. Teeter, and J. A. Larson, OIMP (Oriental Institute Museum Publications), (2012), 161–64.

<sup>10</sup> For a study of the Institute at the intersection of politics and archaeology, see Jeffrey Abt, "Toward a Historian's Laboratory: The Breasted-Rockefeller Museum Projects in Egypt, Palestine, and America," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33 (January 1, 1996): 173–94, <https://doi.org/10.2307/40000614>; Magnus Thorkell Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq* (University of Texas

ridden sites of the distant and foreign Near East, the Institute constructed at least ten archaeological expedition-houses in the field. The region where these buildings were erected, and where the Institute carried out its work, may be divided into three parts: Egypt, Asia Minor/Anatolia and adjoining areas, and Iran.<sup>11</sup> The Institute's construction activity was not limited to these more or less practical buildings. It also helped plan or build more elaborate structures abroad. For example, in Cairo it helped propose (but was never able to build) an imposing design for a New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute (1924-26), and in Jerusalem it successfully aided in the construction of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (**Fig. 3.4-3.7**).

Apart from projects related directly to the Oriental Institute, Breasted and the Institute's officers appear to have acted as a sort of General Contractor for the Rockefeller network. The experience of designing and building projects, acquiring land, and negotiating with local governments had turned the Institute's officers into experts on construction in the Middle East. Their recruitment by the Rockefeller network to plan an unrealized library for the remote monastery of St. Catherine in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula is an example of this kind of work.<sup>12</sup>

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Press, 2005); James F. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007); Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*.

<sup>11</sup> Breasted refers to these regions a little differently. He notes that the Institute built expedition-houses in Egypt, *Western Asia Minor*, and *Eastern Asia Minor*. But *Asia Minor*, on the whole, technically corresponds only with *Anatolia*. Meanwhile, in Breasted's usage, "*Western Asia Minor*" refers to *Anatolia*, present-day Iraq, Palestine, and other regions; *Eastern Asia Minor* is really just Iran (then Persia).

<sup>12</sup> In 1929, Raymond Fosdick asked Breasted to oversee the construction of the Sinai Library Project. This work was actually recommended by Harry Emerson Fosdick, and involved the construction of a simple building for the proper storage and study of a collection of early manuscripts at the remote monastery. The manuscripts held at St. Catherine's form the second largest such collection in the world, after the Vatican's. The Institute agreed to supervise the construction work but ultimately the library was never built. Rockefeller had anonymously offered seven thousand dollars for its construction around 1929. But in 1931 he withdrew his financial support because the Institute's officers stated that they had discovered that the monastery had access to large sums of funds from other sources as well—enough money to enable it to embark on a major expansion and construction plan. (The identity of the new sources of money is not clear to me.) For more on the Sinai Library Project and its withdrawal see, Arthur W. Packard (Rockefeller advisor) to Breasted, October 20, 1931, Folder JDR, Jr., 1931, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. See also Charles Breasted to Thomas Applegate (Executive Secretary to Rockefeller), March 18, 1931, Folder RF 1931, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. **A note on archival citations: some of the material I**

Together, these built and unbuilt expedition-houses, museums, and libraries may be thought of as the regional outposts of a Protestant internationalism.

Due to Breasted's close identification with the Oriental Institute, the influence of John D. Rockefeller Jr. has not been fully understood or articulated by scholars who have studied the organization.<sup>13</sup> As with many of his other projects, Rockefeller did not initiate the O.I. entirely on his own. Given his modernist religiosity, and the intense though amateur interest in Egyptology and Biblical archaeology widespread in the United States at this time, the seeds may have already been sown within Rockefeller, but the impetus was provided by Breasted, who presented Near Eastern archaeology as a field for both theological and scientific enquiry. An ambitious figure, Breasted was drawn to the limelight and thus attracted much of the media attention.

Another reason for the general lack of focus on Rockefeller may relate to the funding structure of the Institute. Unlike my other case study (the construction of the International Houses) the Oriental Institute was not funded solely through Rockefeller's personal philanthropy.

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**saw at the Oriental Institute Museum Archives came in boxes that were not numbered or labeled. Therefore, I had to assign numbers and names to the boxes. Where this happens, I will note that the number or label is "self-assigned" or "by author."**

<sup>13</sup> See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*; Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, Abt, *American Egyptologist*; Abt, "Toward a Historian's Laboratory." As its founder and first Director, Breasted dedicated his life to the Institute, which in turn became closely identified with him. For example, despite all the support that the various Rockefeller boards had lent the Institute in its formative years, they were hesitant to endow it in later years because they felt that the institution's success rested entirely on his shoulders: he *was* the institution. The Rockefeller officers were concerned about the future of the Institute if he were to die: whether, in the absence of his leadership, the Institute could successfully continue the many projects that he had started. See for example Frederick T. Gates to Rockefeller Jr., December 26, 1923, Folder 802, Box 111, Series 2G, RG III, OMR, RAC. It did not help that when Breasted ran into trouble with funding, he often swerved around institutional hierarchies and existing rules and instead chose to appeal directly to Rockefeller, with whom he had developed a close relationship. By choosing this path, Breasted unwittingly further undermined the Institute's image as a bona fide *institution* made up of other competent archaeologists and administrators, and reinforced the general sense that the institution's work was entirely carried by him and by his personal access to Rockefeller. For more on the problems caused by this later, see Chapter Seven. Another reason for the Institute's identification with Breasted rather than Rockefeller is that the former did little to discourage the spotlight. And his numerous books on the ancient history of the Middle East had gained him a wide lay and intellectual audience. An example of the latter type of audience is Sigmund Freud, whose work was in some cases influenced by Breasted's writings. For Freud's references to Breasted's scholarship, see Sigmund Freud and Katherine Jones, *Moses and Monotheism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

We find instead a complicated and entangled funding system in which Rockefeller sometimes acted together with the various boards associated with him and his family. Usually, he would act first to launch a certain aspect of the Institute's work, and then turn its funding over to one of the foundations. In other instances, he provided funding for some of the Institute's projects that the foundations were uninterested in and never took over. This funding set-up has rendered Rockefeller's personal contributions and influence more difficult to decipher. Finally, due to our discipline's focus on architects as authors, on the rare occasions when the Institute's architectural projects *are* studied in any depth, Rockefeller's role as patron and his larger ideological and architectural legacy are frequently overlooked.<sup>14</sup>

This chapter positions Rockefeller's interests in religion, science, and internationalism as primary factors that influenced Breasted's creation of the Oriental Institute and his particular design of the organization's mission and focus. By highlighting Rockefeller's influence on the Oriental Institute's conception, I also turn my lens onto the institution's architectural output and show how to understand it within the patron's larger oeuvre of diverse buildings and their shared ideological basis. In other words, I argue that the design and siting of the Oriental Institute's physical plants is an *architectural materialization* of the inter-linked dynamics of politics, scientific archaeology, and religion that are at play in the conception of this institution and in the relative successes and failures of its subsequent work, and is representative of Rockefeller's larger patronage. While Chapter Six focuses on the Institute's architectural oeuvre, this chapter will focus on the O.I.'s initial creation.

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<sup>14</sup> Annabel Jane Wharton's work is a notable exception. She studies the Cloisters Museum and the Palestine Archaeological Museum side-by-side in her book because she sees Rockefeller as an important shaper of these projects. Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 3-56.

### 3.1. The Bible Lands and the Creation of a New *American Science* (1902-1919)

The beginning of Western archaeological interest in the Middle East is inextricably linked with the Christian yearning for knowledge of the so-called Bible Lands *and* the cultural and economic advantages of their political possession.<sup>15</sup> Given Europe's imperial ambitions towards the Ottoman territories, and archaeology's role as a soft medium for the expression of these political aspirations or power, European archaeologists had become well entrenched in the Middle East, leading up to the First World War.<sup>16</sup> The eventual dominance of American institutions in the field was made possible by two developments, one at home and one abroad. First, it was enabled by America's economic and techno-scientific prowess. Second, it was rendered possible by the unusual political circumstances following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. As one of the O.I.'s officers would later put it:

Europe was exhausted [at the end of the War], both financially and spiritually. America was prosperous and alert for opportunity. The Near East was freed of the incubus of the old Turkish state and lay open to research under a series of friendly mandates and states. Archaeology had

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<sup>15</sup> On the Bible and Christianity as a primary motivation for archaeology in Palestine, for example, see Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 272-273. See also Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 22; Robert T. Handy, *The Holy Land in American Protestant Life, 1800-1948: A Documentary History* (New York: Arno Press, 1981).

<sup>16</sup> Egypt forms the classic example of how Europe's archaeological interests in the Middle East were intertwined with political ambitions. It also illustrates the resulting European monopoly over archaeology in this region, which lasted for some time. For scholarship that addresses the formation of Egyptology as a Western (specifically European) field that was driven by colonial and imperial ambitions, see Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*; Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*, 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). For an account of Egyptology as a European pursuit with racist origins, see Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987). Bernal's influential book, as many readers may know, has its critics and detractors. For an examination of Egyptology as a contested political and cultural field that was leveraged by multiple actors for opposing reasons (colonial archaeologists for the purpose of controlling Egypt, Egyptian nationalists for the purposes of asserting their rights, and Egyptian elites for controlling rural populations) see Elliott Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

been the preserve of a small number of European scholars. The interval of the war and an insistence on technology in archaeology opened up the field to new scholars who could compete on an equal footing with the old. The time was ripe for a major attack on the ancient Orient.<sup>17</sup>

Focusing on the first reason for America's success in archaeology in the Middle East—that is, on America's techno-scientific (and economic) capabilities—this section unravels and examines the dual strands of religion and science that Breasted had so shrewdly knit together, and that were so integral to the Oriental Institute's eventual domination of the field. The intertwining of religion and science, I argue, aligned quite perfectly with Rockefeller's interest in projects that could promote American internationalism and its attendant scientific, religious, and political components, and thus attracted his significant largesse.

The marriage of science and religion occurred gradually. Starting in 1903, Breasted applied thrice to the Rockefeller network for funding. The first proposal was successful but the project it resulted in was prematurely aborted by the Rockefeller network. The second was rejected outright. But by the third attempt, Breasted had fine-tuned his vision and scope of archaeological work in the region, bringing both the scientific mission and religious significance of the proposed endeavor into sharp focus (at the same time) to appeal to the Rockefeller network's particular goals. This proposal resulted in the creation of the Oriental Institute.

When he first began looking for funding, Breasted's aim had been “[to gather] the story of human progress in Egypt, as no one had done it before him in history.”<sup>18</sup> While his general idea of investigating and drawing the arc of human progress remained till the end, he expanded his scope of work *territorially* beyond Egypt to encompass the larger Near East and *intellectually*

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<sup>17</sup> This rather dramatic statement was made by the Oriental Institute's second Director, John A. Wilson. He is quoted in Gray, *Education on an International Scale*, 79.

<sup>18</sup> Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 78.

to include a new focus on the origins of the United States itself. These twin expansions, I argue, proved attractive to Rockefeller, given his propensity for big visions and consolidation of work.

### **The Absence of Religion: The Proposal to the Carnegie Institution (1902)**

Before approaching Rockefeller and his advisors for financial support, Breasted had attempted to solicit funds from other philanthropic groups, most notably the Carnegie Institution of Washington, which had been created in December 1901 with a \$10 million gift by Andrew Carnegie for the purposes of supporting research that could demonstrably improve the condition of mankind. By this time Breasted had been recruited to the University of Chicago. Although his request was rejected by the CIW, it is instructive to take a closer look at the proposal he submitted to them, as it is quite different in character and emphasis from the one he sent the following year to the Rockefeller network.<sup>19</sup> The contrast between the two proposals and their different outcomes (the Rockefeller proposal was partially successful) shows us how Breasted used the same work plan—“to copy all the inscriptions of Egypt and publish them,” using modern photographic techniques and surveys—but put a new twist on it through language and ideas that catered to the very different issues that mattered to the Rockefellers.<sup>20</sup>

The proposal to CIW failed for two reasons. Having just been inaugurated, this foundation was still undergoing internal organization and was thus not in a position to take on a major endowment immediately.<sup>21</sup> Second, in his proposal Breasted did not adequately explain

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<sup>19</sup> For details of Breasted’s proposal to the Carnegie Institution of Washington, see Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 118-120.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 117. The specifics of the work plan proposed to the CIW are as follows: the University of Chicago would maintain an expedition in Egypt for a period of ten to twelve years, consisting of six people: a director (Breasted), two assistants, a photographer, and two unpaid student assistants. The expedition would also employ the best modern photographic and surveying equipment available. The team would work nine months each year, with an annual budget of \$10,000. *Ibid.*, 119-120.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

what the photographic reproduction of ancient Egyptian monuments could contribute to science or the humanities. As the scientific or historical importance of ancient Egypt was not yet self-evident to many, Breasted's oversight posed a problem: the production of "new [scientific] knowledge" was key to the CIW's goals, and Carnegie officers could not see how Breasted's proposal to photograph ancient monuments would accomplish this.<sup>22</sup>

Most significantly, as Jeffrey Abt notes, the proposal sent to the Carnegie Institution in February 1902 is devoid of any mention of religion, whereas the proposal sent to John D. Rockefeller Jr., in May 1903, emphasizes the need to document "the fast vanishing civilization of *Bible Lands*."<sup>23</sup> Because the Carnegie Institution is understood to have been uninterested in undertakings of a religious character, the failure of the Carnegie proposal probably does not rest on Breasted's omission in it of any reference to the Bible Lands. However, for our purposes, the absence of religious allusions in Breasted's proposal *is* important because in his later proposals to the Rockefeller network the geography and stories of the Bible occupy a central place. This, to me, is a clear indication that Breasted tailored the significance of his work based upon his audience, and that religion may *never* have played a major role in the Oriental Institute were it not for the Rockefellers' personal interest in it.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Ibid., 121. The emphasis is mine. The proposal to Rockefeller also outlined a more ambitious work plan. Despite these differences, it is important to note that the 1902 (Carnegie) proposal does have a few themes that Breasted also reproduces for the Rockefeller proposal: specifically, the lack of support from American patrons for Egyptology and the subsequent continuation of European domination of the field—despite American superiority in scientific and technological methods. In both proposals, Breasted also emphasizes the role of photography in accurate epigraphy and archaeology: he saw photography as a scientific way of reproducing and preserving Biblical sites and lands. As Abt notes, there was a different notion of preservation at the time. Preservation was understood to mean not in-site preservation, but rather the removal of either the actual monument/ fragment itself or its documentation through an accurate life-size photograph, which would then forever be preserved safely in an American archive.



## **John D. Rockefeller Sr. as Donor: Oriental Exploration Fund (1903-07) & the Nubian Expedition (1905-1907)**

In 1903, when Breasted approached the Rockefeller network for funding, he bypassed Rockefeller Sr., even though the latter was actively involved in the University of Chicago's affairs, and instead directed his proposal to Rockefeller Jr.<sup>24</sup> This was the first contact between Rockefeller and Breasted. As we have seen, at this time Rockefeller (along with Gates) was overseeing his father's philanthropic and business interests, of which the University of Chicago was a major component, and Breasted may have seen him as Senior's representative.<sup>25</sup> The proposal, which Breasted wrote on behalf of Chicago's Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures, was much more ambitious in scope than the one he had earlier sent to the Carnegie Institution because it took into account the larger region of the Middle East. It is likely that Breasted expanded his proposed area of focus outwards from Egypt to strengthen the Biblical aspect of his project, keeping in mind his new audience.

While the birth and early life of the Prophet Moses is famously linked to the River Nile, the geography of the Old Testament—the sites where events are said to have taken place and where Biblical figures lived and roamed—extends beyond Egypt, and is spread out over the larger Middle East. For example, the location of the Garden of Eden is thought to correspond to the confluence of four rivers, including the Tigris and Euphrates. These rivers flow through modern-day Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. As Abt has noted, in Breasted's letter to Rockefeller, the archaeologist contextualized the proposed physical area of study with specific reference to the

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<sup>24</sup> For details of this proposal, see *Ibid.*, 120-122.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

stories of the Old Testament. His proposal is thus a classic example of the field of Biblical archaeology.<sup>26</sup>

Breasted divided the proposed region of study into three areas: Syria-Palestine; Assyrio-Babylonia (Mesopotamia-later Iraq); and Egypt. A headquarters at Beirut would serve as a base for reconnaissance journeys and excavations in Syria-Palestine and Assyrio-Babylonia; another one at Cairo would oversee work in Egypt. Breasted also proposed publishing the expedition's findings in "an elaborate volume."<sup>27</sup> To carry out this work, he envisioned an annual budget of \$17,000 to \$18,000 for a period of at least five years, of which \$10,000 per annum was requested of the Rockefellers.

Rockefeller Jr. and Gates approved this proposal, and forwarded it to Rockefeller Sr., who agreed to donate the requested money for a period of five years and stipulated that other sources of wealth and income be tapped to make up the difference.<sup>28</sup> To administer Rockefeller, Sr.'s donation, the University of Chicago created an Oriental Exploration Fund (OEF) and

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<sup>26</sup> One of the most influential and central figures of Biblical archaeology is William F. Albright (1891-1971), an American scholar who founded the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) in 1900. Although Albright practiced in the twentieth century, the discipline's foundation dates back to eighteenth-century European Orientalists. But Albright gave the discipline impetus and defined its modern scope: using archaeology, Biblical scholars sought to test the historicity of the Bible. Note that Albright was not really challenging the Bible's accuracy; rather, he mostly expected its confirmation. Americans, a largely religious people at the time, devoured the prolific Albright's many publications, giving the discipline and its leaders greater clout. American philanthropists, too, supported the field with their donations. But in the later twentieth century, its methods and findings were frequently called into question, with Biblical archaeology becoming a contested site featuring intellectual conflicts between maximalists (or literalists) and the later minimalists. Minimalists hold that certain aspects of the Bible *may* be considered historical only if they are proven to be true through archaeology. Breasted should be understood as a minimalist who nonetheless supported (or pursued) Biblical narratives, and made reference to them in his correspondence with Rockefeller, in order to acquire funding. For more on William F. Albright, including criticism of his work, see Peter Douglas Feinmen, *William Foxwell Albright and the Origins of Biblical Archaeology* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2004.) For more on the ASOR, see Philip J. King, *American Archaeology in the Mideast: A History of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1983). For more on Biblical archaeology and the debates around it, see Thomas W. Davis, *Shifting Sands: The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*. For Breasted's proposal to Rockefeller as a classic example of Biblical archaeology, see Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 121.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-123.

divided the expedition work amongst three faculty members, with Breasted receiving the responsibility for Egypt. In the fall of 1905, Breasted was given the green light to start a three-year Nubian Expedition, in which he would document all the monuments along the Nile, from Southern Egypt to Northern Sudan (**Fig. 3.8-3.9**).<sup>29</sup>

### **Proposal for a Floating Laboratory: How the Failure to Address American Origins sank an Ambitious Plan (1906-07)**

During the Nubian Expedition's second season, Breasted proposed a scheme to Gates for expanding the University of Chicago's documentation efforts in Egypt. At this time, Gates' opinion probably carried more weight within the Rockefeller family than that of Rockefeller Jr., who fully asserted his authority only after the Ludlow Massacre.<sup>30</sup> In his letter to Gates, Breasted begins by presenting his plans for the upcoming third (and final) season of the Nubian Expedition, in which he intended to travel up the Nile from Aswan, documenting ancient monuments along the way. He argued that to do this properly—if “we can go on and ‘march to the [Mediterranean] sea’”—would take many more years, and he proposed putting the work and its funding on a more permanent basis.<sup>31</sup> As part of this expanded project, Breasted envisioned a major publication showcasing all the monuments of Egypt. In its ambition and anticipated

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<sup>29</sup> The OEF actually began by authorizing work in Mesopotamia (Assyrio-Babylonia) under Robert Francis Harper, brother of the University of Chicago's President. Breasted, meanwhile, was asked to raise funds from other sources to match Rockefeller's gift. He once again appealed to the Carnegie Institution, where he knew the trustee—and again left out any mention of Bible Lands—but his appeal was rejected, and he turned instead to completing his work on several books. The Mesopotamian mission meanwhile did poorly, and raised suspicions at home and abroad with its handling of antiquities. The Ottoman government brought a lawsuit against the expedition. After the Mesopotamian expedition was canceled, Breasted received permission to go ahead with the Nubian Expedition and was allotted a seven thousand dollar per annum funding from the larger reserves. *Ibid.*, 125-126.

<sup>30</sup> Jeffrey Abt has described in detail the negotiations between Breasted and Gates as well as the collapse of these talks. For more on this, see *Ibid.*, 153-163. Here, I will recount only the more salient details and then move on to the proposal's architectural component.

product, this proposal recalls Napoleon's sponsorship of *Description de l'Égypte* a century earlier—a scholarly project ensconced within a military campaign—and suggests Breasted's own political ambitions.<sup>32</sup>

Gates was interested, particularly if the publication could be dedicated to Rockefeller Sr., and asked for a more comprehensive plan with budgetary details.<sup>33</sup> Breasted aimed too high, asking for \$354,450 over a period of fifteen years, and Gates ultimately rejected this proposal, even pulling the plug on the Nubian Expedition, which was well under way.<sup>34</sup> Breasted was later told by colleagues at the University of Chicago that Gates believed that Assyria and Babylonia had contributed more “to the civilization of which we are heirs.”<sup>35</sup> In light of this, Gates could not advise the Rockefellers to expend so much money on Egypt alone. To Breasted, Gates simply wrote that an exhaustive study of Egypt could have no possible incentive for an American sponsor or foundation, and that the Egyptian government itself should undertake a project of this scope.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>32</sup> Later in his career, around 1925, Breasted, who had contacts in the administration of President Calvin Coolidge, held some hopes of becoming the United States' representative to Egypt. See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 89.

<sup>33</sup> In the proposal submitted by Breasted, we find the very first written description of the more-permanent organization that Breasted had begun to envision. He wrote of a “great opportunity for a compactly organized, efficient expedition, reinforced by the best modern mechanical equipment available.” Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 155.

<sup>34</sup> The two seasons of the aborted Nubian expedition resulted in 1,200 miles of travel and an equal number of records. But these photographic records were not officially published at the time because, despite Breasted's efforts, they did not fully capture the details and nuances of the monuments. *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>35</sup> Ernest DeWitt Burton to Breasted, September 11, 1907, James Henry Breasted Papers, OIA quoted in *Ibid.*, 161-162, 431n45.

<sup>36</sup> Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 212. This is an interesting and quite different view of the responsibility and rights of the nation-state with respect to archaeological work within its borders; we will not come across it again in the Rockefeller team's work and correspondence related to the Middle East after 1919. Gates argues that archaeological work within the boundaries of a state should be undertaken by that state. He could not see the relevance of such work for America. It is important to note that in the early twentieth century, despite some increasing American interest in Ancient Egypt and surrounding civilizations, there were still many American archaeologists, historians, and philanthropists who could not see a connection between the cultural production of ancient Near Eastern civilizations and the modern United States. Consider architectural historian Thomas Tallmadge's *A Story of American Architecture*, where he notes right off the bat that Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia—basically,

Despite its failure, the proposal and its fallout are illuminating for architectural and ideological reasons. The proposal had two architectural components to it. The first of these was a custom-designed “floating headquarters and working laboratory,” which would be towed on the Nile from site to site (**Fig. 3.10**).<sup>37</sup> Such a laboratory could be thought of as a more elaborate version of the *dahabiyah*, a traditional Nile boat that Breasted had rented in previous seasons.<sup>38</sup> The proposal also called for a more permanent “European headquarters, with work-rooms and filing rooms” in Germany, where Breasted had trained as an Egyptologist and where he proposed the expedition should continue its work in the off-season between April and October.<sup>39</sup> The absence of an American headquarters from this proposal is striking, and suggests that Breasted could not yet see how Egyptology could be severed from its European origins and sources of expertise (See section 3.2). Then, too, the physical distance between Egypt and the United States

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anything outside of Europe—while important had no bearing whatsoever on American architecture. Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*, 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 156.

<sup>38</sup> The *dahabiyah* appears to have had a long history as archaeological headquarters and temporary floating home base for Western visitors to Egypt. In a recent book recounting the life and times of Theodore M. Davis, a Gilded Era lawyer who developed a great interest in Egyptology and made significant discoveries in the Valley of the Kings, the author John M. Adams notes that in 1896 Davis commissioned a custom-built *dahabiyah* for his winter stays in Egypt. This was no ordinary riverboat: it was decked out in rugs, chandeliers, a grand piano, and an enormous United States flag. Davis hosted visiting archaeologists and tourists on his boat, including the American financier J. P. Morgan, who, like Davis, was enthusiastic about Egyptology. See John M. Adams, *The Millionaire and the Mummies: Theodore Davis's Gilded Age in the Valley of the Kings* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2013); Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*, 28. For more on *dahabiyahs* see Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 156, 430n40. Abt gives the following bibliographic sources for further discussions on the use of *dahabiyahs* in Egyptology: James P. Allen, “The American Discovery of Middle Kingdom Texts,” in *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Nancy Thomas (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1995), 46; Gerry D. Scott, III, “Go Down into Egypt: The Dawn of American Egyptology,” in *Ibid.*, 44-45; Wilson, *Signs and Wonders*, 101-102. See also, “Researching the History of Egyptology • t3.wy Projects.” *t3.wy Projects*, Accessed April 24, 2017, <http://www.t3wy.nl/>. This website is a great source of information on the people, projects, buildings and boats related to Egyptology.

<sup>39</sup> Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 156-157.

must have proven too formidable to overcome at the time: Germany was nearer, and could be a more effective off-season worksite for the expedition.<sup>40</sup>

Breasted's proposal to build the main headquarters outside of Egypt in the first place—regardless of whether this building was located in Germany or the U.S.—is also noteworthy. This decision could suggest that, for him, the study of Ancient Egypt had no real relevance to modern Egypt itself. I discuss this point more in Chapter Five. But the decision may also reflect obstacles to creating an American headquarters in Egypt at a time when French archaeologists (and a British colonial administration) were much more firmly entrenched there than they would be after the First World War. Meanwhile, the idea to house the expedition's *Egyptian* quarters in a traditional boat—while tying in to a larger tradition in Egypt of boats serving as Western archaeological or tourist quarters—is also of a piece with the Rockefeller network's later strategies of using the architectural vernacular of a particular site to present the infrastructure of Protestant Internationalism as something growing naturally from the local environment, rather than causing it to stand out through a new or striking structure in the landscape.

Gates' purported reasons for rejecting the proposal suggest the ideological weakness in Breasted's plan, which he later rectified. Gates, as I mentioned earlier, had claimed to be interested in studies that could reveal something about the first emergence in the ancient world of moral, social, and legal values that he and many others believed had reached a high point in the modern United States. Breasted would make sure that his later proposals addressed how Ancient Egypt was relevant for the study of *American* origins and would at the same time be inclusive of Assyria, Babylonia, and other ancient sites. Another reason for Breasted's later success is

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<sup>40</sup> An interesting question (to which I do not have an answer) is whether it was the Rockefeller network that pushed for an American headquarters in Chicago later, or if Breasted himself saw the possibilities of locating the headquarters in the U.S. after the First World War.

probably due to the fact that Rockefeller Jr. eventually edged Gates out from the Rockefeller network. In Rockefeller, Breasted found a more willing accomplice.

### **Emphasizing Science**

Reflecting on the failure of his early schemes to launch a comprehensive organization or expedition that could focus on Near Eastern studies, Breasted lamented that the discipline was still seen as “an oddity at a county fair”—as something “on the outer fringes of science.”<sup>41</sup> To make things worse, within the humanities itself, Near Eastern studies was subordinate to scholarship on the Greco-Roman era. But, as I have noted elsewhere:

“... years later, one of the [General Education] Board’s former President[s] would write that of all the humanistic fields eventually funded by the GEB and other Rockefeller foundations, and through personal endowments by Rockefeller, Sr. and his son John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Near Eastern archaeology received the most money, with the largest share going towards the creation of the Oriental Institute...in 1919.”<sup>42</sup>

To be able to secure such sustained and significant funding from the Rockefeller network, especially after the failure of two earlier proposals, Breasted had to marshal a variety of issues into one comprehensive institution. Most notably, he had to address the relevance of Near Eastern archaeology for America, the field’s religious and internationalist significance, and the question of its contribution to scientific knowledge. Breasted tackled all three issues by maturing Biblical archaeology into a distinctively American science, and by demonstrating that Egypt was the site of the “the earliest internationalism.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The first phrase is quoted in Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 96; the second is from Dawood, “Archaeological Ambassadors-at-Large and the Making of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (1919),” 9.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>43</sup> James Henry Breasted, *The Earliest Internationalism* (Berkeley, 1919), [http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$c13049](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$c13049). It should be noted that although Breasted played quite an important role in the scientific turn that Near Eastern

Why this turn to science? Historian of technology Thomas P. Hughes has called the century from 1870 to 1970 the “American Genesis,” and writes that the United States is “the modern technological nation.”<sup>44</sup> These hundred years were “a time of technological achievement and innovation in the U.S., when processes of acquiring, archiving, and studying [data] were celebrated.”<sup>45</sup> American philanthropists and foundations came to believe that science held the answers to the problems they sought to address: scientific research could make a healthier human, a more modern religion, and a more peaceable world. Indeed, American advancement in science and technology was recognized around the world, including in the Middle East.<sup>46</sup>

Cognizant of this scientific enthrallment within the Rockefeller network, and of its recognition abroad, Breasted positioned himself as a new Orientalist—a man of science and action.<sup>47</sup> Describing the tasks of an older generation of orientalist scholars, Breasted wrote that these figures were engaged in philological pursuits, and were uninterested in evidence that took the form of an object or an architectural site or landscape. By limiting their work to the

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archaeology took at this time, he was by no means alone in the effort. In fact, his contemporary and nemesis, George Reisner, who led the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard University’s joint expedition to Egypt, is also credited with introducing scientific techniques for clearing ruins and for methodically documenting the context of each archaeological find. In fact, James F. Goode believes that Reisner was the main force of change here. See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 86-87.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Parke Hughes, *American Genesis*: (New York, N.Y., USA: Viking, 1989), 2-3.

<sup>45</sup> Dawood, “Archaeological Ambassadors-at-Large and the Making of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (1919),” 10.

<sup>46</sup> See Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*.

<sup>47</sup> For Breasted’s self-positioning as a new kind of Orientalist, see Chapter 1, “The Task of the Orientalist and Its Place in Science and History” in Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 1-26. In Breasted’s usage, “Orientalist” simply refers to a scholar who studies the civilizations of the ancient Near East. In the early twentieth-century, the term did not have the negative connotations that it does today, nearly four decades after the publication of Edward Said’s seminal book, *Orientalism*. Note that Breasted does not coin the term “new Orientalist,” as far as I can tell. This is my term. He does, however, describe the tasks of the old Orientalist and then shows at length what kinds of new expertise were required to fully exploit the opportunity provided by the end of Ottoman rule. Here is what he writes, “[We] need... the assistance of men thoroughly trained not only in oriental languages and archeology, but also in physical anthropology, botany, paleontology, geology, meteorology, and anthropogeography. These men cannot of course all be orientalists, nor do they need to be so. But one or more such men should at different times accompany every American expedition which goes into the field.” Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 25. Note that Edward Said does speak of a new phase in Orientalism after the Second World War, but my use of the term “new Orientalist” is unrelated to this. See Said, *Orientalism*, 284-328.



compilation of dictionaries for ancient languages, Breasted argued that these scholars had failed to devote time to uncovering archaeological evidence with which to reconstruct the story of how humans became civilized and how the ancient Near East fits into what we might call today a global perspective:

It has long seemed to the writer that the commanding position of the lands of the Near East in the career of man has been obscured by failure to view them in a deep and broad perspective of world history.<sup>48</sup>

The new Orientalist, on the other hand, would be concerned with precisely this endeavor: with collecting and deciphering physical evidence of ancient civilizations and of their relationship to world history. Breasted believed that the Near East—and the Americas—were the two main regions in the ancient world where an independent civilization first emerged.<sup>49</sup> He argued that the new Orientalist should keep this broader historical perspective in mind and, learning from Americanists, use the latest technologies and developments to aid in this work and to help provide a link between:

...the paleontologist with his picture of the dawn-man, enveloped in clouds of archaic savagery, and on the other hand the historian with his reconstruction of the career of civilized man in Europe.<sup>50</sup>

To construct such an Orientalist, Breasted looked to and borrowed from the methods and work of archaeologists, Americanists, and astronomers—scientists, in other words (**Fig. 3.11**). He imagined a free-lance historian not tethered by university protocol or limited by funding, a

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<sup>48</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Breasted writes, “there are only two regions on the globe in which man has *independently* risen from Stone Age savagery to the possession of agriculture, metals, and writing. ... They are geographically widely separated. One of them is in the New World and the other in the Old; and each of them lies along, or on both sides of, a great intercontinental bridge, one joining the two Americas, the other connecting Africa and Eurasia.” See *Ibid.*, 3-4.

person equipped with the tools of modern technology—the camera and the airplane—and assisted by a team of specialists fully equipped and organized around a scientific laboratory and archive: the future Oriental Institute, in fact.

Breasted's strategy was formulated after his initial failed attempts at fundraising and eventually, starting in 1919, it allowed him to hold the attention of the Rockefeller philanthropic network for nearly fifteen years. As we saw in Chapter Two, the network's financial outlay for scientific research in health, medicine, agriculture, and Black education was well known. Rockefeller wished to apply this kind of scientific thinking to religion. I argue that Breasted began to emphasize science so strongly in his proposals—and intertwined it with religion—because he had finally understood the language that his patron spoke.

Consider Breasted's frequent invocation of astronomy—an established and well-funded science in the Rockefeller circle—as a sister discipline to archaeology. As we have seen, astrophysicist George Ellery Hale, who was funded by the Rockefeller network, championed Breasted's work and encouraged him in his quest for funding. As foreign secretary of the National Academy of Sciences, Hale also nominated Breasted as a member. Breasted was the first archaeologist on the Academy. He leveraged his association with Hale in his dealings with the Rockefeller network. His correspondence and texts suggest that as American astronomers used scientific technology to study the skies to understand Earth's place in the galaxy, archaeologists needed similar scientific and financial support in order to travel to the distant Near East, excavate its ancient sites, and reconstruct the story of modern humans.<sup>51</sup> And, like the

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>51</sup> Note that just as Breasted frequently referenced astronomy, Hale was quite interested in Egyptology. When the tomb of Tutankhamun was discovered in 1922, Breasted and Hale corresponded at length about objects and inscriptions in the tomb that revealed the Pharaoh to be—in their opinion—the first astronomer in the world. So, perhaps the association between archaeology and astronomy was beneficial to the latter field as well, and helped give it a deeper history. Hale and Breasted also corresponded about advances in astronomy made by early Muslim

astronomer, the Orientalist needed an organized, scientific home base. Without such a facility, he argued, the Orientalist would be akin to an astronomer studying the skies without a telescope

**(Fig. 3.12):**

The orientalist cannot do his work without a properly equipped building, which should be a veritable laboratory of systematic oriental research, containing all the available evidence of every kind and character, whether in originals or in reproductions, in photographs, hand copies, drawings, surveys, maps, plans, notebooks, and journals, filed in systematically arranged archives.... This equipment is as necessary to a proper study of the career of man, I repeat, as an astronomical observatory with its files of observations, computations, and negatives to an investigation of the career of the universe.<sup>52</sup>

Breasted borrowed from other techno-scientific professions and mediums, too, to demonstrate the scientific superiority of the United States' archaeological methods and to show how Americans could be responsible custodians of ancient monuments. Consider his use of photography, particularly some of the images that were produced for his popular 1900 guidebook, *Egypt through the Stereoscope* (**Fig. 3.13-3.14**).<sup>53</sup> Stereoscopy was a familiar and popular technology at the time, and this book was sold with a set of stereographs that were used to transport Americans to the ancient sites of Egypt, while still remaining in the comfort of their homes. Breasted used the three-dimensionality achieved through stereoscopy to present Egypt's landscapes, monuments, and natives as true reproductions—as good as being in Egypt and seeing for oneself. Having thus established the veracity of what the reader was seeing, he then writes with equal authority about the people in Egypt that one would find on an actual trip:

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scholars. For example, Hale was interested in medieval Egyptian scholar Al-Maqrizi's account of an astronomical instrument built in Cairo in the 1100s. On the latter, see Hale's Secretary to Breasted, July 23, 1928, Folder 1928, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>52</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 26.

<sup>53</sup> Breasted, *Egypt Through the Stereoscope* (New York, London: Underwood & Underwood, 1900).

Egypt still survives with a people of the same mental characteristics and the same physical peculiarities as we find in those **subjects** of the Pharaohs who built the pyramids.

They have changed their language once and their religion twice, but they are still Egyptians as of old, pursuing the same arts, following the same occupations, holding the same superstitions ... which the student of the monuments finds among their ancestors five thousand years ago [emphasis mine].<sup>54</sup>

Breasted here presents an unchanging simple people, and their simple, unchanging lives, art, and technology. In other instances, he takes this a step further, and contrasts the apparent backwardness of native populations with the sophistication and advances of modern American technology: a kind of technological Orientalism.<sup>55</sup>

Note that Breasted performs this technological Orientalism repeatedly. This performance is apparent in photographs of the Nubian Expedition at work and later reproduced in images of the Oriental Institute's expeditions, and—as I show in Chapter Six—in the architecture and physical environs of the Institute's many dig-houses and museums (**Fig. 3.15-3.16**). It became a kind of linchpin for his continued campaign for American presence in the Middle East, and a running justification for the use of private American money for Near Eastern studies. He emphasized the technological backwardness of modern-day Egyptians by calling attention to the destructive methods of local diggers in his many correspondences and writings.<sup>56</sup> If modern Egypt's lack of systematic and careful archaeological work was destroying sites and evidence that could reveal something about the origins of the United States, then it was imperative that American archaeologists and philanthropists take over this work and protect these sites.

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, "Plan for the Organization of an Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago," January 13, 1919, folder 6851, box 659, sub-series 4, series 1, GEB, RAC. In this document, which led to the founding of the O.I., Breasted contrasted American archaeology against both the "alleged" scientific excavations carried out by an Italian team in the Middle East and "illicit native diggings."

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

Breasted's correspondence with family and colleagues during his visits to Egypt is filled with a condescension towards non-Western governments, people, and religion in the Middle East that ranges from mild to jarringly ugly.<sup>57</sup> His son, Charles, who later became his Executive Secretary at the Oriental Institute and was also his biographer, describes how Breasted believed that—politically at least—the British were helping to recover Egypt from “some two thousand years of depredation, persecution, enslavement and warfare” and to free the country's *fellahin* (peasants) from the “infinitely cruel, dissolute, shambling sovereignty of Egypt's foreign [Ottoman] overlords.”<sup>58</sup>

This condescension is also apparent in Breasted's reconstruction of the arc of civilizational progress in Egypt, where ancient Egyptians represent the peaks of cultural and technological advancement, whereas later periods—such as Islamic rule, which had continued into the present—represent the relative valleys. Alongside ancient Egyptians, Breasted's narrative also presented British governance and American science as civilizational high points, because together the two could “recover” the country from political failure and simultaneously salvage the story of its past achievements. I argue that these views are actually derived from the

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<sup>57</sup> Breasted was given to grandiose statements and was unguarded in his self-expression. Rockefeller was much more guarded, and one gets the feeling that the latter often censored his thoughts. So, while similar condescension is occasionally found in the latter's writings, it is much less frequent—and usually subtler—than Breasted's. As an example of Rockefeller's attitude towards the Egyptian government and people, see for example his initial suggestion during the planning of the New Egyptian Museum to move Egyptian antiquity wholesale to a Western city, where it would be more accessible for study. I argue this suggestion was based on the presumption that the collection could be of little scientific or cultural interest to Egyptians, who would instead be willing to sell it to erase their national debt. See Rockefeller to Fosdick, October 28, 1924, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC.

<sup>58</sup> Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 60-61. These quotations are actually Charles's description of Breasted's feelings and writings. I argue that they can be a reliable measure of Breasted's actual impressions. Father and son were very close and often traveled and worked together. Certainly, similar expressions are found in James Breasted's own writings of later years, which are accessible in the archives. Some of these are noted below. On King Feisal of Iraq: “**In spite of his Oriental blood**, Feisal is a man of a high type of character, in whom such a leader of men as Lord Allenby, as he himself assured me, has great confidence [emphasis mine].” Breasted to Appleget, January 03, 1931. Folder RF 1931, Box 1 (self-assigned number), OIA. I want to be clear that my end goal is not to prove that Breasted adopted an Orientalist position towards Arabs or Muslims. That is an easy task and ultimately pointless as

Western and Orientalist foundations of Egyptology itself, rather than from actual facts or observations (see Section 3.2).

The problem at the heart of Breasted's technological Orientalism is that even as he disparaged local methods and reduced local laborers to little more than scale figures in the field, the Institute was built on the backs of these groups (**Fig. 3.17-3.19**). Local guides led the Institute's officers to archaeological mounds and provided know-how for their sheer survival in the desert and unfamiliar environs (**Fig. 3.20**).<sup>59</sup> Laborers from the immediate regions toiled on archaeological sites and built the expedition-houses. They were supervised by men from the larger region, who often traveled out of their immediate countries (mostly Egypt) to oversee archaeological work in other areas—though these supervisors remained subservient to the Institute's American and European Directors and officers. And so Breasted built the reputation of the Institute and its officers in a textbook case of privileging American innovation over the local labor and maintenance work that made it possible.

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Until the First World War, Europeans had maintained an upper hand in the field due to their physical proximity to the Bible lands and the funding they received from their governments.<sup>60</sup> When France built the first Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1902, its facade prominently displayed the names of European archaeologists alongside Egyptian Pharaohs, suggesting that the two were equal: the Pharaohs had commanded the resources and labor of their time to build great monuments; modern Europeans, meanwhile, had used their funding and skills to unearth and

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an end in itself. Rather, I am interested in investigating how Breasted's position or attitude emerged from Egyptology itself, and how it then fed into or shaped Rockefeller's version of Protestant internationalism.

<sup>59</sup> This last part becomes particularly evident in the reconnaissance trip, which we will see towards the end of this chapter.

<sup>60</sup> See, Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*

decipher these monuments, thus fully restoring them and their meaning to civilization (**Fig. 3.21**).<sup>61</sup> No American Egyptologist was included on the facade. American archaeologists were a late arrival to the discipline of Near Eastern studies, and to the Middle East itself, due to the United States' geographic distance from the region as well as the government's lack of interest in Near Eastern archaeology. Breasted was part of the first generation of officially trained American Egyptologists, which included Reisner and Albert Lythgoe. In the absence of graduate programs in Egyptology in the United States, these three men had studied in Berlin—the “land of [their] scientific salvation.”<sup>62</sup> When Breasted first visited Egypt in 1894, he did so not as a representative of an American organization at this early stage of his career, but rather under the auspices of the Royal Prussian Academy.<sup>63</sup>

As pioneers in their field in the U.S., Breasted, Reisner, and Lythgoe needed to each secure an institutional base and a generous patron in order to work. Reisner found a position with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard, and undertook his first expedition on their behalf around 1906. Lythgoe worked for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where board member J. P. Morgan had decided that the museum needed a dedicated Egyptian department. And, many years later, Breasted would be based at the Oriental Institute, under the much larger financial backing of Rockefeller and the various family foundations. Rockefeller's funding allowed Breasted and the O.I. to conquer geographic distance and overcome the lack of official American interest in the Middle East. By presenting Near Eastern archaeology as a scientific enterprise in which only Americans had the proper expertise, Breasted had managed to address Gates' earlier call to

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 3-5.

<sup>62</sup> On Berlin as the choice of Americans looking for higher education, see Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*, 26. Later in their careers, these men created advanced programs in Egyptology at undergraduate American colleges by copying the German programs in which they had studied. On Germany as the “land of [their] scientific salvation,” see Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 128. Although Charles uses these words with respect to Breasted, I am expanding their use to include his colleagues.

pursue research that could trace the history of the United States' cultural, technological, and religious origins. The elevation of American archaeologists as people of science above Europeans and local archaeologists was central to this strategy—as were Breasted's many textbooks, lectures, and correspondences. Throughout, he argued that the qualities esteemed by American figures like Rockefeller—social justice, philanthropy, science, *and* internationalism—first took root in the ancient Near East.<sup>64</sup>

### **“The Earliest Internationalism”**

In 1918, at the Conference on International Relations held at the University of California in Los Angeles, Breasted delivered a remarkable paper on Ancient Egypt in which he called the kingdom's transition to an empire, “The Earliest Internationalism,” and one of the Pharaohs in this period—Thutmose III—as the first internationalist or the “first world-hero.”<sup>65</sup> He may as well have been speaking of America and Rockefeller. The paper is remarkable because its themes are so perfectly in sync with Rockefeller's internationalism that one suspects Breasted of having tailored his talk specifically for Rockefeller's ear. The alternative is that Breasted's paper affected Rockefeller's own thinking. Either way, it is a compelling paper and, together with his equally compelling third proposal to the Rockefeller network in 1919 for funding, was probably responsible for the successful creation of the Institute. The paper also explains the special

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<sup>63</sup> Breasted had been hired to undertake the compilation of an Egyptian hieroglyphic dictionary. See *Ibid.*, 51-80.

<sup>64</sup> See for example James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Times, A History of the Early World: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient History and the Career of Early Man* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1916); Breasted, *The Earliest Internationalism*; Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*. In much of Breasted's writings, he acknowledged that the ancient civilizations' innovations and values were picked up by Europeans. So far, his reading of ancient civilizations and their relevance is of a piece with the writings of European scholars. But he goes farther than them when he positions America as the ultimate heir of these advances. For more on this, see Chapter Six of this dissertation.

<sup>65</sup> Breasted, *The Earliest Internationalism*. All quotes in this section are taken from this paper.



significance of Egypt to Rockefeller's internationalism, particularly given that Palestine was Biblically much more important.

Breasted saw in Ancient Egypt a parallel for the opportunities and problems facing the Entente Powers in the twentieth century. Over the course of his speech, he made numerous references to the War ("our present world crisis") and spoke of the need for a "modern internationalism." Speaking of Britain's military strategy in Egypt, he argued that the British government should follow the course taken by the Pharaohs and secure vassals and allied states to the north of the all-important Suez Canal, in order to protect its control of this first "great inter-continental, inter-oceanic cross-roads."

In passages that suggest that an enlightened internationalist-imperialism would be good for *all* people, Breasted describes the local and global advances made possible by Ancient Egypt's military imperialism. As its international relations and interests expanded, Egyptian society developed a cosmopolitan outlook. The growing empire, Breasted argued, also brought civilization to South-eastern Europe and left its artistic and technological imprint in far-off lands where it could still be found. At home, new developments in Egypt's arts, horticulture (plants from Syria-Palestine) and fauna (strange animals) were markers of its international relations. He could have been speaking of Kykuit, where Bosworth and Rockefeller had synthesized different national horticultural and floral traditions into an imperial American landscape.

What is perhaps most interesting for our purposes is Breasted's contention that Egypt's imperial expansion inevitably led to a radical innovation in Egyptian religion: the advent of monotheism. The parallels with Protestant Modernism and ecumenism are striking. Breasted argues that, for the sake of political stability, the spread of Egypt's new religious outlook had to keep pace with the spread of the empire, uniting people of different "hues" and features into a

new “universalism.” Commenting on the efforts of the Pharaoh Akhenaten (whom he calls Ikhnaton) to bring these changes about, Breasted notes something that Rockefeller himself might have said:

Ikhnaton’s endeavor was to project an international religion, a world religion, and by it to displace the nationalism of the existing religions which had gone on for twenty centuries.

### **3.2. “The Obligation and the Opportunity”: The Formation of the Oriental Institute & its Political and Cultural Context (1919)**

On January 13, 1919, shortly after President Wilson’s departure for the Paris Peace Conference—which marked the end of the First World War—Breasted marshaled the myriad issues we have discussed so far, and wrote to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, President of the GEB, of an unparalleled historic moment and turn of events in the Near East:

As I realize that in these last few weeks since we last met in New York, the opportunity of the ages has come to us, - such an opportunity as no other generation has ever had or ever will have, - it thrills me beyond all expression. For the first time in history the birth-lands of religion and civilization lie open to unrestricted research and discovery. Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Assyria, and Babylonia have suddenly become ours.<sup>66</sup>

This letter was accompanied by a document (the “Plan”) detailing the organization of a proposed Oriental Institute, in which Breasted wrote:

The study of these lands is the birthright and the sacred legacy of all civilized peoples. Their delivery from the Turk brings to us an opportunity such as the world has never seen before and will never see again. Our allies in Europe are financially too exhausted. ... This makes both the **opportunity** and the **obligation** all the greater for us in America.<sup>67</sup> **[Emphasis mine]**

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<sup>66</sup> Breasted to Wallace Buttrick (hereafter Buttrick), January 13, 1919, folder 6851, box 659, sub-series 4, series 1, General Education Board Archives (hereafter GEB), RAC.

<sup>67</sup> “Plan for the Organization of an Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago,” January 13, 1919, folder 6851, box 659, sub-series 4, series 1, GEB, RAC.

Although Buttrick responded with interest to Breasted's plans, he believed that the University of Chicago or another educational institution should fund such a mission—not the GEB.<sup>68</sup> Undeterred, Breasted sent his proposal to Rockefeller Jr., accompanied by a new letter that was tailored for him.<sup>69</sup> In it, Breasted suggested that Rockefeller exhibited the same high moral and social values that were first found in the ancient civilizations. His direct appeal to Rockefeller was successful, and in May 1919 led to the creation of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Together with the paper Breasted had delivered just one year prior (“The Earliest Internationalism”), these masterful documents—the letter to the GEB, the letter to Rockefeller, and the “Plan”—show how he crystallized the themes of religion, science, and American origins into a proposal that would finally appeal to the Rockefeller network. But to fully comprehend the power of these documents, we must first step back in time to understand the deep political and cultural obstacles to American dominance in Near Eastern archaeology that had been in place for some time, which only the war's outcome had removed.

### **Europe in the Near East and Egypt: The Political & Cultural Context before WWI**

Historians of the Middle/Near East consider the long nineteenth century ending with the First World War as its “European century”; the United States—as an overt imperial power—rose to prominence in these lands only with the end of the Second World War.<sup>70</sup> In addition to their distance from the Middle East and relative lack of funding, the major obstacle to the work of

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<sup>68</sup> Later on the GEB did pick up some of the costs of the Institute's work. It could not, however, take on all of it because it only had a domestic charter for work. Although Buttrick does not use this as an explanation for rejecting Breasted's proposal in 1919, it was probably part of the reason.

<sup>69</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, February 16, 1919, folder 812, box 112, series G, Record Group 2, OMR, RAC.

American archaeologists prior to the First World War had been the strong tradition of French and British archaeological monopoly in the area, which went hand in hand with these countries' imperial interest in the region. With the exception of Persia (Iran), this region belonged to the weakening Ottoman Empire, and includes Egypt and the present-day countries of Iraq, Palestine/Israel, Syria, and Turkey. European archaeologists and amateur diggers had been active in these parts since the late eighteenth century.

Hailing from France, Britain, Germany, and Austria, these men and women were often driven by national competition and strove to outdo each other. Like the O.I.'s archaeologists and officers later on, they were less interested in Islamic-era buildings or ruins, focusing their efforts primarily on the area's pre-historic sites and civilizations, which they believed provided clues to the origins of western civilization and Christianity. The possession of archaeological fragments or monuments belonging to the ancient Hittite, Achaemenid, Egyptian, and Babylonian civilizations was used by European nations and institutions to bolster their own cultural significance and legitimacy as well as their imperial interests. Moreover, by presenting themselves as responsible custodians of ancient ruins in the Near East, archaeologists from a particular nation or empire could, by extension, also present themselves and their countries as responsible custodians of the region's modern-day resources and lands.<sup>71</sup>

European archaeologists' ambition was aided by a narrative that they propagated regarding local groups' lack of interest in the ancient ruins. While it is true that scientific

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<sup>70</sup> See John A. DeNovo, *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963).

<sup>71</sup> It is important to note that European archaeological work was not scientific or responsible in the beginning. The context of an artifact's discovery was often carelessly destroyed, and provenance was not usually a concern in the acquisition of objects. The British Egyptologist Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie was the first to introduce systematic methods of excavation. More precise and scientific methods were further developed by American archaeologist George Reisner, Director of the Harvard-Boston Museum of Fine Arts expedition at Giza, who was influenced by Petrie's work. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 6-7.

archaeology, as we understand it today, is a Western invention, some scholars have argued that people living in the region were in fact aware of the ancient sites and monuments—even before nationalist figures took notice of ruins and artifacts—and approached them with mysticism.<sup>72</sup> Others have argued that, in the context of Egypt, the modern view of Egyptology as a western science is based on Western archaeologists' dismissal or lack of knowledge of earlier Arabic writings on the subject.<sup>73</sup> European archaeologists instead emphasized their own rationalism and objectivity to strengthen their claims to the ancient artifacts and monuments. They also made a clear distinction between the ancient civilizations, who they believed embodied the highest artistic, ethical, and social values, and the local modern-day inhabitants of the lands, who they portrayed as incurious and uncultured.<sup>74</sup>

Legally, European archaeologists were further aided by the lax restrictions on excavations and repatriation of objects prevalent throughout the Middle East. After 1906, the Ottoman Empire did have—what Goode calls—“a strongly worded antiquities law,” but it was rarely

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 5-7.

<sup>73</sup> See for example Okasha El Daly, *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium: Ancient Egypt in Medieval Arabic Writings* (London: UCL Press, 2005). El Daly writes that medieval Arab scholars and historians studied the monuments and hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt at length between the seventh and sixteenth centuries. El Daly's perspective would suggest that even James F. Goode and others who are critical of the narrative of scientific superiority that was put forth by western archaeological interest in the Middle East are short-sighted in their focus on the locals' *mystical* reverence for monuments. Note that some critics of El Daly's work, while accepting his overall argument for medieval Arab interest in ancient Egypt, challenge his reading that Arab scholars deciphered the hieroglyphics. See for example, A. K. Eyma, “Review of Okasha El Daly's 'Egyptology: The Missing Millennium,’” *Egyptologists' Electronic Forum (EEF)*, June 28, 2005, <http://www.egyptologyforum.org/reviews/Missing1000.html>. Elliott Colla, who provides a very useful historiography of Egyptology, addresses El Daly's work as well, noting that the scholar is one of many who promote “a national enlightenment narrative” regarding Egyptian ruins and archaeology: specifically, El Daly argues that Arab scholars were the first Egyptologists and that Ancient Egyptians are direct ancestors of modern Egyptians. Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*, 13-14, 281n29.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid; Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 11-12. Later, when Egyptian, Arab, and Turkish nationalists made hereditary claims to these ancient civilizations in the years leading up to the Second World War, in order to strengthen their demands for self-rule and to create a powerful and illustrious lineage behind which to unite their citizens, Western archaeologists were at first unable to reconcile themselves to this new narrative and tried to use the distinction I have mentioned between the West's scientific approach and the local's unscientific or uninterested approach to dismiss these claims.

enforced, particularly in the peripheral provinces.<sup>75</sup> In Iran, meanwhile, French archaeologists had acquired a monopoly on archaeological digging as well as extensive rights to artifacts, owing to a concession signed by the country's fifth Qajar King, Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah, in 1900. This law remained in effect until the 1920s.<sup>76</sup> It was easy, therefore, for Western museums, archaeologists, and patrons to build up their collections during this time.

Britain and France were particularly interested in archaeology in the Middle East; their passion for discovering and collecting antiquities and controlling the scholarly narrative around these objects and monuments can be traced back to the French Revolution (1789-1799), which had sparked a series of imperial conflicts and rivalries between the two rivals in the so-called peripheries—especially in Egypt. Acting as “bridgehead” between Africa and the Old World, Egypt had attracted many ruling powers and kingdoms long before the British and French arrived on her shores.<sup>77</sup> From a civilizational perspective, the region was well suited as a stage for—what Breasted has called—the “human career”: the rise of humans from prehistoric barbarism to the high period of civilization.<sup>78</sup> The Nile created a fertile valley, which allowed for the presence of humans all the way back to the Paleolithic Period. The invention of writing, the first emergence of religion, and the construction of impressive monuments during the Pharaonic period made Egypt the birth-land of civilization, and thus a natural cultural touchstone for other civilizations and political figures. Alexander the Great's invasion of and subsequent rule over Egypt from 332-323 BC had marked the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. In the middle of the

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>77</sup> On Egypt as “bridgehead,” see Ian Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 16.

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in—amongst other sources—Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 239; John A. Wilson, “Biographical Memoir of James Henry Breasted, 1865-1935,” Paper presented at the National Academy of Sciences, The Autumn Meeting, 1936, Accessed July 2, 2018, <http://www.nasonline.org/publications/biographical-memoirs/memoir-pdfs/breasted-james-h.pdf>.

first century, Egyptians began to convert to Christianity, creating the Coptic Christian community and Church. In 639 AD, Arab armies conquered Egypt and introduced Islam. And in 1517, when the *Mamlūk* (slave) dynasty was in power, the Ottomans conquered Egypt and turned it into a province of their empire (but allowed the *Mamlūks* to continue their rule).

And so things remained, until this multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and religiously diverse country caught the attention and imagination of Napoleon, who, acting on a complex set of imperial motivations, invaded Egypt in 1798—in what became part of a series of political and territorial encroachments on the Ottoman Empire by other powers.<sup>79</sup> The invasion marked a turning point in Egypt’s history and in Anglo-French rivalry. Given Egypt’s location, French occupation threatened British trade routes to India, a consideration that had informed Napoleon’s decision to invade the country.

But Napoleon also saw himself as a successor to a long line of powerful empires that had conquered Egypt (**Fig. 3.22**).<sup>80</sup> Imperial control went hand-in-hand with knowledge of and mastery over the occupied territory’s culture. In the words of Edward Said, Napoleon’s march on Egypt was one of the first major Orientalist projects, marking the beginning of modern European scholarly interest in the region.<sup>81</sup> As is well-known by now, Napoleon included in his army a battalion of *savants*—scholars, artists, and scientists—who recorded, in precise detail, the monuments, people, and flora of Egypt. This scholarly interest was driven by a desire to control the “Other” through a so-called objective study that sought to elevate the French above the local

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<sup>79</sup> On Napoleon’s motivations, see Said, *Orientalism*, 79-81. See also Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750-1850* (New York: Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 2005).

<sup>80</sup> George Steinmetz’s theory of the significance of imagined relations between past and present empires helps illustrate how Egypt was an important notch in France’s imperial belt. George Steinmetz, “Imperialism or Colonialism? From Windhoek to Washington, By Way of Basra,” in *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power*, eds. Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper, Kevin W. Moore. (New York, London: The New Press), 135-136.

<sup>81</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 76.

people through claims to science and military vigor (**Fig. 3.23**). It was also accompanied by both symbolic and actual appropriation of monuments.<sup>82</sup> Under Napoleon's orders, the *savants*' work was compiled into the multi-volume publication, *Description de l'Égypte*. The following extract from Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Fourier's preface to the publication reveals the imperial nature of the project. It also demonstrates that although Americans like Frederick T. Gates may have at first dismissed the cultural and political importance of occupying or studying Egypt, Europeans had long understood its significance:

Placed between Africa and Asia, and communicating easily with Europe, Egypt occupies the center of the ancient continent. This country presents only great memories; it is the homeland of the arts and conserves innumerable monuments; its principal temples and the palaces inhabited by its kings still exist... Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, and Plato all went to Egypt to study the sciences, religion, and the laws. Alexander found an opulent city there, which ... witnessed Pompey, Caesar, Mark Antony, and Augustus deciding between them the fate of Rome and that of the entire world. It is therefore proper for this country to attract the attention of illustrious princes who rule the destiny of nations.

No considerable power was ever amassed by any nation... that did not also turn that nation toward Egypt, which was regarded in some measure as its natural lot.<sup>83</sup>

In 1801 the British joined forces with the Ottomans to drive the French out of Egypt. In the power vacuum that resulted, an Albanian soldier from the Ottoman army, Muhammad 'Ali, declared himself Viceroy of Egypt. While it would have been possible for the British or the French to directly occupy Egypt right away, and to remain there, for strategic reasons they refrained from doing so. Further battles over an Ottoman province could trigger the empire's immediate collapse. Although both the British and French were interested in such an outcome,

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid; Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, 79-81.

<sup>83</sup> Quoted in Said, *Orientalism*, 84.



the timing was not propitious.<sup>84</sup> Instead, their interest in Egypt and their rivalry found an alternate expression in a frenzied archaeological and collecting activity: the two powers turned from their attempt to colonize Egypt towards an attempt to “collect” Egypt.<sup>85</sup> Muhammad ‘Ali further facilitated Europeans archaeologists’ collecting activities when he embarked on a modernization campaign that was dependent on European technical and financial assistance. To secure this aid, he opened Egypt up to British and French archaeologists, allowing them to dig throughout the land and remove countless Egyptian antiquities out of Egypt and into Europe, where they found their way into museum collections in the British Museum and the Louvre.<sup>86</sup>

In the expansion of its territories, France had been motivated by its “*mission civilisatrice*”; the British, less ideological at first, were more concerned with their political and economic security.<sup>87</sup> British and French control over Egypt was crucial to their imperial rivalry, but its manifestation in each case was very different. The British eventually colonized Egypt militarily and administratively, but the French turned it into their “archaeological protectorate.”<sup>88</sup> As I have argued, Breasted’s prejudicial conception of the local population in Egypt and elsewhere in the region was shaped by the very nature of Egyptology itself, and of Western archaeological interest in the larger Middle East. The European-created discipline, and its emphasis on the study of Egypt’s ancient civilizations instead of its later Achaemenid, Arab, and Ottoman periods, indicates and propagates an inherent politico-cultural bias against the local

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<sup>84</sup> See Alexander Lyon Macfie, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, 2nd ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 1996).

<sup>85</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, 216.

<sup>86</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 55-56.

<sup>87</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, 120.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in, Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 175-176. Reid is quoting R. S. Poole, the founder of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. The quote is originally from Margaret S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 1st ed. (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 312.

populations, who were often belittled as “natives” in correspondences and publications.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, the imperial rivalry that had ultimately led to the foundation of Egyptology and of Near Eastern archaeology, survived the maturation of the field and later shaped Breasted’s own often-combative relationship with non-American institutions—and even with other Americans. In Breasted’s estimation, British rule had recovered Egypt from its Oriental empires and rulers and deliver it to Christian nations.<sup>90</sup> But he also believed that Britain’s relative lack of interest in the archaeology of its acquired territories had allowed French archaeologists and Egyptian officers to control archaeological commissions in the country, and he lamented the obstacles that such monopoly posed to his ambitions as a non-European Egyptologist:

[Breasted was] hypersensitized by the realization that he was a lone young American Egyptologist pitted against the rather self-superior complacency of Old World scholarship.<sup>91</sup>

## **American Interests in Egypt and the larger Middle East**

### ***Missionaries, Diplomats, and Archaeologists***

Americans made a late entry in the region.<sup>92</sup> In fact, although Ottomans were intimately and unavoidably familiar with Europeans, they had actually no clear conception of the United States as a geographic, cultural, or religious entity when, in 1819, the first American citizens—Levi Parson and Pliny Fisk—arrived in the port city of Smyrna.<sup>93</sup> These two men were missionaries

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<sup>89</sup> On the pejorative use of “natives” versus “nationals,” see Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*, 57. Makdisi actually discusses this issue in the context of American Protestant missionaries and their attitude towards Arab converts to Protestantism.

<sup>90</sup> For more on this, see Chapters Five and Seven.

<sup>91</sup> Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 65.

<sup>92</sup> As we have seen, the physical distance between the Middle East and the United States certainly contributed to this, as did the forces of isolationism amongst Americans.

<sup>93</sup> Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*, 26.

and worked for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), which aimed to convert everyone—*everywhere*—to Christianity. The Ottoman Empire was an area of particular interest in this respect because its dominant religion, Islam, was considered incompatible with Christianity and modernity.

These views of Islam were to mark American engagement with the Middle East for the next century, but their practical application was somewhat modified due to realities on the ground. Under Ottoman law, missionaries were not allowed to convert Muslims to Christianity. Second, their attempts to proselytize members of the Empire's Eastern Christian churches ran afoul of the latter and—consequently—of the Ottoman imperial government itself, which had granted these churches legal rights and protection. Protestantism, meanwhile, was a foreign system within the Empire: as there were no native Protestants, the small American missionary community was not protected under any law and had to proceed carefully.<sup>94</sup>

Although American missionaries never quite gave up their original goal of proselytization, they softened their message and began to focus primarily on education as a medium through which to reach Ottoman citizens. Despite misgivings, some Arab and Turkish intellectuals came to see American education as a means for achieving modernity while avoiding the pitfalls of imperialism and colonialism that came with European interest and institutions in the region.<sup>95</sup> And so, although Arabs, Turks, and other people in the region were never entirely comfortable with American missionaries, many of them grudgingly admired the educational programs and institutions they had introduced in the Ottoman Empire, and for this reason came to see Americans as a mostly benevolent and politically disinterested force.

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 31-33.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 76-77. For example, Makdisi discusses the high status and public perception of Cornelius Van Dyck, an American missionary and medical doctor, who taught at the Syrian Protestant College (now American University of

Americans displayed an amateur interest in Egyptology quite early on, but a more substantial and organized archaeological presence in Egypt and the larger region only began in the late nineteenth century, with the entry of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the University of Pennsylvania, the Society for the Exegesis of Biblical Literature, and American Schools of Oriental Research. In addition to some of the obstacles already mentioned—such as the perception of Near Eastern studies as an unscientific past-time in the United States and the existence of an already-crowded field with entrenched European archaeologists and institutions—the physical distance of the United States from the Middle East was another factor in the late arrival of American archaeologists to the region. In his 1919 proposal to Rockefeller and the GEB, Breasted specifically mentioned the problem created by distance:

The sources for the recovery of the whole story [of the History of the Origin and Development of Civilization] lie thousands of miles away, scattered through the Near East and the museums of Europe.<sup>96</sup>

### ***First World War & American Benevolence***

As Breasted's letters to the GEB and Rockefeller on the eve of the Paris Peace Treaty suggest, 1919 was a pivotal year in overcoming these obstacles. The outcome of the First World War rendered the territories of the former Ottoman Empire more fully open and accessible to Western interests—and particularly to the United States, which had shaken off its previous obscurity in the region. The U.S. emerged as the world's largest financial creditor after the war.<sup>97</sup> Its techno-

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Beirut). The SPC/AUB is the most famous American educational institution in the Middle East. It was founded in 1866.

<sup>96</sup> Breasted to Buttrick, January 13, 1919, Folder 6851, Box 659, Series 1, Subseries 4, General Education Board, RAC.

<sup>97</sup> See, J. Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War, America and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931* (2004). See also David Frum, "The Real Story of How America Became an Economic Superpower," *The Atlantic*,

scientific progress was, as mentioned earlier, equally great and valued in regions like the Middle East. Furthermore, Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points and his advocacy for democracy and self-government became symbols of hope for Arab nationalists—at least before he walked back his support during the Paris Peace Conference.<sup>98</sup> In fact, the perception of the United States continued to be *relatively* positive until just after the Second World War.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile, the French and British empires had been financially weakened by the war and were furthermore unpopular with Arabs, who had become aware of the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, in which the two powers had agreed to divide up Ottoman-held Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestine amongst themselves. This agreement went against the promise of self-rule, which the British had made to Husayn ibn 'Ali, the Hashemite Sharif of Mecca (**Fig. 3.24**).

### *Nationalism*

The comparatively positive Arab view of the United States gave American philanthropists, corporations, and institutions unprecedented access to the resources and sites of the Middle East. American archaeologists worked fast to take advantage of this positive perception because they were aware that the window of opportunity for doing so was closing.<sup>100</sup> Following the war, archaeology became a contested site between Europeans and Arab, Turkish, Egyptian and other

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December 24, 2014, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/12/the-real-story-of-how-america-became-an-economic-superpower/384034/>.

<sup>98</sup> President Wilson's Fourteen Points had declared that the different nationalities previously under Ottoman rule should be granted absolute freedom for "autonomous development." But at the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson walked back this support and instead agreed with the decision to create British and French mandates and protectorates in the area. Still, America's image in the Middle East was significantly better than that of Britain or France, a situation that would change drastically after the Second World War. To read Wilson's speech, see Stephen Lucas and Martin J. Medhurst, *Words of a Century: The Top 100 American Speeches, 1900-1999* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>99</sup> For differences in America's relationship to the Middle East before and after the Second World War, see Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*.

<sup>100</sup> See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*.

nationalists in the region. The latter groups had come to recognize the political importance of controlling the historical and civilizational narratives that were being spun from the region's ancient civilizations. Hitherto, these narratives had been constructed by European archaeologists to aid their own political ambitions.<sup>101</sup>

To gauge the importance that control of ancient sites held for the myriad political actors active in the Middle East at this time, consider that at the end of the war British and French officials had been immediately dispatched from Versailles to the Ottoman Empire to investigate the state of its archaeological ruins. These officials even pushed to establish new rules regarding archaeological control in the Treaty of Sevres. Article 421 of the Treaty called for the abolition of the 1906 antiquities law, under which no archaeological items could leave the empire.<sup>102</sup> As the reader will recall, this law was not typically implemented but the danger of its enforcement—and thus of archaeology being re-oriented to serve Arab, Turkish, and Egyptian demands—increased with every rise in nationalist sentiment.

By establishing greater control over antiquities, and over the narratives constructed around them, nationalists in Egypt, Persia, Iraq, and Turkey did eventually forge links with the ancient sites in their lands.<sup>103</sup> As Goode notes, they looked across their borders to learn from each other: when the 1922 conflict over the ownership of the Tutankhamun tomb and its contents was resolved in favor of Egypt, Iran and Iraq took note.<sup>104</sup> As for Palestine and Syria, they too had important nationalist movements, but the political control of the British and French mandates was relatively strong in these two countries in the early stages. Thus, Palestinian and Syrian

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*; Johanne Lamoureux and Donald Preziosi, *In the Aftermath of Art: Ethics, Aesthetics, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006); Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*.

<sup>102</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 33-34.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 1

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 3. For more on the Tutankhamun controversy see Chapter Five.

nationalists could not exert much control over archaeology, allowing British and French officials quite a lot of leeway in this matter.<sup>105</sup> But elsewhere in the Middle East, archeology was seen as an important aid to citizenship, and to creating the modern Egyptian, Turk, or Iraqi.

This was the context within which the Oriental Institute—under the aegis of Rockefeller’s money and Breasted’s management—entered the arena of Near Eastern studies and the region itself. While the weakening power of European empires helped the cause of American archaeologists, and of Protestant Internationalism, the Rockefeller network would remain concerned with nationalism throughout its tenure there.<sup>106</sup>

### ***Rockefeller, Religion, Oil***

In the years leading up to the First World War and immediately after, archaeologists and missionaries were the two main types of ambassadors or “chosen instruments” for safeguarding or representing American interests in the distant provinces of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>107</sup> But given Rockefeller’s interest in religion and the much longer history of American missionary work in the Middle East (as opposed to American archaeological work), it is important to ask why he would decide to finance the work of a new *archaeological* institution instead of providing

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>106</sup> Raymond Fosdick spoke against nationalism often, but he focused mostly on Germany in this respect. See Fosdick, *The Old Savage in the New Civilization*. Other Rockefeller officials, however, did worry about nationalism in the Middle East. I discuss this more in Chapters Five and Seven. Breasted was particularly concerned by the rise of “Oriental nationalism,” which he saw as a “fanatical” project that could destroy opportunities for American scientific research and superiority in Near Eastern studies. Breasted to Hale, May 9, 1934, Folder 1934, Box GEH-JHB Corr., Chicago, OIA. In this letter from the Institute’s later period, Breasted lamented the state of affairs in Iran. By the 1930s, French domination in Persian archaeology had ended, and the Institute had become the largest archaeological entity active in the country. Most notably, the Institute was digging in Persepolis. But in 1934, Persians (later Iranians) decided to remove Persepolis from the antiquities law that stated that half of all archaeological finds could leave the country. Breasted wrote to Hale saying that he would probably “have to invoke the aid of Uncle Sam” to resolve this issue in the O.I.’s favor. Note that Goode writes that archaeologists seemed innocent of the perception of archaeology as a political affair: they believed that nationalist rumblings had no consequence upon their ability to work. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 10. But I cannot justify this argument with respect to Breasted, who, in all of his correspondence with the Rockefeller network and with his friends and family, had always been very conscious of the threat that nationalists posed to his organization and ambitions.

financial backing for existing missionary organizations—particularly since he was still funding Baptist missions in China and other places at this time (despite his growing interest in theological modernism).<sup>108</sup> While the answer does lie in the cultural and political importance of archaeology, and the opportunities afforded to American archaeologists at this time, it is also illuminated by Rockefeller’s modernist approach to religion as well as by local discomfort with proselytization.

Before its dissolution, the Ottoman Empire had embarked on an aggressive campaign of modernization (*Tanzimât*), in part to forestall growing Western interest in its territories. This campaign focused on moving the Empire away from its administrative operations as a theocratic state.<sup>109</sup> European intellectuals had openly declared that even a reformed Islam would be incompatible with modernity.<sup>110</sup> And American missionaries, despite providing a mostly secular education for Arabs, remained intent on their religious conversion and believed in the imminent collapse of Islam.<sup>111</sup> Arab intellectuals and officials, in an effort to ward off these threats from Europeans and Americans, attempted to produce a modernity that could be compatible with Islam.<sup>112</sup> Against this backdrop of religious tensions between Western Christians and Ottoman Muslims, and of the latter’s modernist aspirations, we can understand why Rockefeller would choose to promote the work of a scientific American organization over that of American missionaries.

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 16-17.

<sup>108</sup> Rockefeller’s contributions to Baptist missions would stop around 1928.

<sup>109</sup> The *Tanzimât* were also an attempt at quelling nationalist movements within the empire and creating more centralized Ottoman control.

<sup>110</sup> See Makdisi’s discussion of French philologist Ernest Renan’s “major” lecture on this point at Sorbonne in 1883. Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*, 85.

<sup>111</sup> See Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*.

<sup>112</sup> For more on the *Tanzimât*, see, M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).



At the same time, the application of scientific data and methods for understanding Protestantism, and for improving its efficacy in America and abroad, was a primary concern for Rockefeller. The Oriental Institute's conception in 1919, and Breasted's reconnaissance trip to the Middle East immediately thereafter, coincided with Rockefeller's creation of the Interchurch World Movement and the ISRR. Breasted's adoption of a scientific approach towards Biblical archaeology meshed well with Rockefeller's theological belief in an inherent compatibility between religion and science. If God was immanent in science—as Protestant Modernists believed—then science must be able to explain and prove religion. Thus, Breasted's proposal to Rockefeller in 1919, in which he presented Biblical archaeology as a modern science, was one way of connecting the religion and science question. At the same time, Protestant internationalism's elevation of America as a messianic nation worked well with Egyptology, Hittitology and other such archaeological disciplines that equated the achievements of the ancients instead with the West. Protestant internationalism could thus graft its concerns and goals quite readily onto such disciplines.

The Institute as a scientific, knowledge-producing entity was thus compatible with the concerns of Rockefeller's larger philanthropies as well as with the modernizing interests of Arabs, Turks, Egyptians, and Persians. But its equal emphasis on religion—regardless of its modernist approach towards this subject—would not have gone over very well with the local population. Conversations about religion were, therefore, usually left to internal correspondence. Architecture is particularly relevant in this context. The spatial and aesthetic programs of the Institute's buildings at home and abroad exposed the internal religious and imperial bent of the Institute. This resulted in important consequences for Rockefeller's projects, as we will see in the chapter on the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo.

Rockefeller's interest in Near Eastern archaeology also cannot be divorced from Standard Oil's interest in the region's crude oil reserves. Despite the careful public separation of his image from the family company, Rockefeller's fortune, which parlayed into financial support for the boards and for projects such as the Oriental Institute, came from Standard Oil. Although the United States was not yet heavily dependent on oil, both the country's government and its oil companies had developed an interest in the Middle East's oil reserves. Oil had been discovered in Persia in 1908, and exploration had begun in earnest in Iraq in 1911 under the Turkish Petroleum Company (a British-German conglomerate, later renamed the Iraq Petroleum Company). The peace treaties after the First World War were heavily influenced by global interest in oil as well. Americans, too, wanted a share of oil reserves. It took until 1928 for Standard Oil of New Jersey (which Rockefeller Sr. once presided over) and a handful of other American companies to be finally included in the Iraq Petroleum Company.<sup>113</sup>

In my archival research, I have not found a clear link between American oil interests and archaeological activity—and, to be clear, this has not been my main focus—but there *is* correspondence which shows that the State Department believed that, by establishing good relations between an American organization and Middle Eastern governments in the processes of getting archaeological concessions and fulfilling them, the O.I. was laying groundwork which would help the United States' other "legitimate interests" in the region, though it is never stated

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<sup>113</sup> Standard Oil, as we have seen, was broken down into smaller firms around 1912. The largest of these, Standard Oil of New Jersey, lost a big share of its crude oil reserves in the United States as a result. It began to turn its attention to oil reserves in Latin America but eventually focused on the Middle East, which had greater reserves. The company did not need these reserves right away, because it felt that the domestic supply in the U.S. would last long enough for American needs, but Wilson anticipated the need for greater reserves after the war and eventually persuaded the Turkish/Iraq Petroleum Company to include American companies. See Little, *American Orientalism*, 45-47. Note that American oil companies were not interested in actually digging for oil in the 1920s; rather, they wished to restrict oil discovery in the Middle East, because they and their European partners in the IPC knew that, if it were to be drilled and produced, there was enough oil to drive down oil prices worldwide. See Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy*, 43-49; Little, *American Orientalism*.

clearly what these interest are.<sup>114</sup> This correspondence dates to the 1930s, a period when the American government had begun to take greater interest in the region.

Breasted could not have been unaware of the great advantage that the Institute's field operations could have for Standard Oil and other American businesses. And in his 1919 letters to the Rockefeller network, he uses this to press for the Institute's creation:

The presence of an American representative who is frequently on the ground in many different regions of the Near Orient would be of substantial value in other ways, —especially because it would keep Americans constantly informed of favorable opportunities, not only for purchases [of antiquities] as just indicated, but also for newly discovered openings or sites for excavation, to which the attention of American museums or interested patrons could be called. Eventually reports of the Oriental Institute on present-day conditions in the Near East might also be of value to our government, to our educational and relief organizations, and even to our business men.<sup>115</sup>

The Institute's later construction activities appear to have mirrored developments in oil exploration. In October 1927, oil was finally discovered by the IPC in Iraq; two years later, the Oriental Institute built its first expedition-house in the country. As Chapter Six shows, the personnel and equipment of oil companies also often came to the O.I.'s aid.

There is another interesting aspect to the relationship between oil and archaeology—one that goes beyond the facilitation of oil interests via the Institute's good relations with the various Middle Eastern administrations and governments. Perhaps to keep Rockefeller interested,

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<sup>114</sup> Cited in Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 172. In the 1930s, when the O.I. considered pulling out of Iran, the State Department wrote an official letter urging them to stay engaged with the country so as not to hurt the United States other interests in Iran. The letter did reflect the State Department's position, but it should be noted that it was written at the urging of Charles Breasted, in the hopes that an official government letter would persuade the Rockefeller network not to pull out. The plan worked.

<sup>115</sup> Breasted, "Plan for the Organization of an Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago," January 13, 1919, RAC. Note that many of these "American representative(s)" on the ground went on to work for the American military during the Second World War, because of their intimate knowledge of the terrain and culture of the Middle East. John Wilson, who took over as Director of the Oriental Institute after Breasted's death, is one such person whose career traversed archaeology and the military. In 1942, he left his position at the O.I. to lead the section on Near Eastern research in the Office of the Coordinator of Information. Goode, *NFTP*, 225-226. The Office was created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941, as both a propaganda machine and an intelligence agency. It is one of the predecessors of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Breasted frequently called attention to the contribution that the discovery of gasoline—and the manufacture of cars—had made to the Institute’s exploration of prehistoric sites in Egypt, which were generally at some distance from urban and semi-urban areas. He presented the ability to drive to these sites and to refuel vehicles at way stations, as opposed to depending on camels and other local means of transportation, as an important reason for the giant leaps that the Institute was able to make in archaeological work (**Fig. 3.25**).<sup>116</sup> And so oil, the tools and networks of its production, and the technology that it made possible, became entwined with Protestant internationalism.

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The themes and interests that anchor the Oriental Institute’s creation and work in the Near East—religion, oil, politics, civilizational claims, and museum finds—can appear disparate. How can we link these into a coherent narrative? The answer again lies in the specificities and innovations of Rockefeller’s religious beliefs. Rockefeller believed that a united religion could address industrial relations, create a more solid foundation for capitalist economy, and thus achieve unity in the world.<sup>117</sup> Expansion—including geographic or territorial growth—goes hand-in-hand with capitalism. The American economy was searching for new markets, and the Middle East with its emerging nation-states and slowly receding European empires was an important one. While Rockefeller was probably enthusiastic about the role that the Institute might play in helping to expand American businesses abroad, I argue that he was also interested in creating a modern world religion based on Christianity—through the data and information provided by the Institute

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<sup>116</sup> Breasted to Family, April 16, 1920 in “Letters from James Henry Breasted to His Family, August 1919-July 1920: Letters Home from the Oriental Institute’s First Expedition to the Middle East,” ed. John A. Larson, *Oriental Institute Digital Archives 1*, OIA. See also, JHB to Family, March 30, 1920 in *Ibid*: “The automobile and airplane are beginning to do what was attempted in vain for thousands of years by Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans and all the rest—the curbing and civilizing of the lawless Semitic or Bedwin nomads [sic].” In this quote, Breasted is in fact extending the automobile’s uses to other kinds of so-called civilizational work.

<sup>117</sup> See Chapters One and Two of this dissertation. See also Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*.

itself—which could then guide capitalist activity abroad and smooth the interactions of very different groups of people in the Middle East, such as Americans and Arabs.

Rockefeller’s support for archaeological activity may also be attributed to the fact that hitherto—and for some time to come after the War—archaeologists had a good deal of access to the region. There is no doubt that all groups realized that archaeology was political. Still, by the very nature of the work, it remained possible for archaeologists to outwardly display a scientific and politically disinterested engagement with ancient sites. And this allowed Western archaeologists to move with relative freedom within the Near East.

For all these reasons, American and European archaeologists were more knowledgeable about these lands than other Western professionals, hobbyists, or travelers: they understood the geography of the area and the politics of the various administrations, and believed that they had discerned the customs of the inhabitants. Thus, they often acted as diplomats and as government representatives for their countries of origin. Because Europeans had dominated Near Eastern archaeology in the period before 1919, their political informants and archaeologists—such as Gertrude Bell or T. E. Lawrence—were on the ground in greater numbers. American institutions, archaeologists, and patrons felt a burning need to catch up in terms of learning customs and geographies, stocking their museums with ancient artifacts, and gaining political access.

### **3.3. The Oriental Institute’s creation & Breasted’s Reconnaissance Trip (1919-1920)**

In the summer of 1919, immediately after the O.I.’s creation, Rockefeller financed Breasted and five other men as they undertook a six-month long reconnaissance trip through the Middle

East—before the political lay of the land had been determined—to gauge the archaeological and political state of affairs in the region that could affect the Institute’s work. Breasted and his expedition aimed to collect artifacts that had recently come on the market due to the War, to scope out future excavation sites, and to make diplomatic connections. The reader will recall that at this time European countries, too, had dispatched officers to the Ottoman territories to evaluate the situation regarding archaeological work. Thus, Breasted’s trip should be seen in this larger context of the race for Ancient Near Eastern sites and antiquities. Or, as the Institute later put it in more sensational terms:

[Breasted] made a bold exploratory dash to the Near East while guns were still exploding in that part of the world.<sup>118</sup>

The trip is both an ending and a beginning. It concludes the long campaign to create the Institute, and it signals the beginning of its nearly fifteen-year dominance in the field.

Though he believed in American ascendancy in the field, Breasted shrewdly realized that he would need the help of European allies to negotiate his passage through the newly (so-called) liberated territories. In fact, he would later write that diplomacy was an important part of his job:

It ought to be said at this point that, from the beginning of the Institute’s development in 1919, one of its important activities has unavoidably been the creation and maintenance of a diplomatic sphere of action, which has demanded a great deal of thought and investigation, a large body of correspondence, and much of the Director’s [Breasted’s] time and energy. It has now become one of the Institute’s permanent responsibilities, carried for the most part by the executive secretary of the Institute [Charles Breasted].<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> “Historical Brief on The Oriental Institute of Chicago,” File no. 139 Oriental Institute (Breasted Hall), Archival Buildings File, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, Chicago, IL (hereafter SCRC).

<sup>119</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 35.

The trip is a demonstration of the beginnings of this diplomatic sphere of action, and of the themes just discussed—science, technology (cameras, railways, airplanes), the post-war world, and America’s new place in it—and of how all these came together in the Institute’s formation. Much of the information below is taken from Breasted’s 1933 book, *The Oriental Institute*, and from letters he wrote to his family while on the road.<sup>120</sup>

The year 1919 was an opportune time for American archaeologists to visit the Middle East. The newly formed Oriental Institute was associated with the United States, which was seen as a benevolent power by local populations and politicians in the former Ottoman territories. The timing of the reconnaissance trip further coincided with the King-Crane Commission, which had been dispatched to Syria by Wilson to determine the public opinion and will there about Syria’s future.<sup>121</sup> From the perspective of European powers, during the War the United States had crucially come to the military aid of the Entente Powers. So the positive image of America held by both the local population in the Middle East and by the European powers there helped the expedition’s passage through the region. In some instances the Americans trail-blazed in areas that would have been dangerous for British or French persons, showing that despite their dependence on Europeans, Americans were able to rise beyond the latter’s limits due to Arab trust and hope in America. The expedition’s passage through the Middle East was also facilitated by the construction of railways, which many times were fortuitously completed just before the team’s arrival.

Let us take the trip piece by piece. The team of six (including Breasted) arrived in Egypt, where British High Commissioner Lord Allenby put a military plane at Breasted’s disposal. This

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 35-64; “Letters from James Henry Breasted to His Family, August 1919-July 1920: Letters Home from the Oriental Institute’s First Expedition to the Middle East,” Ed. John A. Larson, *Oriental Institute Digital Archives 1*, OIA.

<sup>121</sup> For more on the King-Crane Commission, see Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*, 137-146.

was Breasted's first airplane ride and he used the opportunity to photograph the demolished causeway of a ruined pyramid. In doing so, Breasted claimed to have pioneered the use of aerial photography in archaeology (**Fig. 3.26**).<sup>122</sup> To get to the larger Middle East while avoiding the Levant, which the Allies considered dangerous territory, he and his men then sailed from British-controlled Port Said to British-controlled Bombay and thence to Basrah, where the British once again intervened to arrange for a staff car and supplies.<sup>123</sup> Moving in a counter-clockwise direction, the Institute's expedition covered the Fertile Crescent—a term that incidentally Breasted claims he himself coined (**Fig. 3.27**). The expedition then took the Basrah-Baghdad railway, and claimed to be the first archaeological expedition to do so.<sup>124</sup>

Moving up the Euphrates they reached Mosul and Salihyah where, for security reasons, the British advised them to turn back around to Baghdad and return to the Mediterranean via India, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea. Breasted persuaded the British that they be allowed to proceed to Aleppo and then return to the Mediterranean overland, despite the danger. This permission was granted and the expedition passed areas where, Breasted claimed, British officers were killed just days later. Expedition members carried out some “air reconnaissance in [British] bombing planes” to gain impressions of the desert and the Euphrates Valley. They saw an ancient temple where Breasted reports that “strolling Arabs, practicing the barbarous iconoclasm which they regard as prescribed by the Koran, smashed and disfigured all these faces.”<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 39.

<sup>123</sup> It is unclear whether British army officers or British archaeologists provided the staff car and supplies on the ground, but we do know from Breasted's book that the order to do so was conveyed by “Mr. Balfour's and Lord Curzon's kind letters,” which Breasted either carried with him or which were mailed ahead of his arrival. *Ibid.*, 40. Mr. Balfour is probably Arthur James Balfour, the Earl of Balfour, who was Prime Minister of the UK from 1902 to 1905 and then foreign secretary from 1916 to 1919. Lord Curzon is probably George Curzon, Viceroy and Governor General of India from 1899 to 1905, and then foreign secretary from 1919 to 1924.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.



Breasted later wrote that the Oriental Institute expedition was the “first group of white men or non-Moslems to cross the Arab state after its proclamation” and that had they not been Americans they would have had little chance of surviving. (Breasted is referring here to Syria, where King Faisal presided over a short-lived independent Arab state.) He describes how Syrian officials—uncertain about their political future at the time—implored the United States for help along the way:

We had much opportunity to meet the sheikhs, and a deputation of officers of the Arab army called on me at Deir ez-Zor to send messages imploring assistance and advice from America. With appealing seriousness they voiced their need of guidance and counsel and their earnest desire for assistance from America.<sup>126</sup>

Besides making these contacts in Syria, the expedition dined with the King in Beirut, and attended Syrian parliamentary sessions. In Syria, a government official presented a copy of the new constitution to Breasted:

We listened with the greatest interest to their debates as they discussed the successive paragraphs of their tentative constitution. They gave me a copy of their Declaration of Independence, the first such document I had ever seen in Arabic.<sup>127</sup>

From Syria the expedition traveled via rail to Haifa and Jerusalem, where it boarded the train to Cairo. Exposing his political and cultural ambitions, Breasted tellingly writes that the expedition was “following the line of march of armies between Africa and Asia for five thousand years.”<sup>128</sup> All along the way, it met with Arab sheikhs and French and British officials, visited ruins, and acquired a series of maps, plans, and diagrams of the region, which had been prepared by Europeans. Despite his later claims of responsible custodianship, Breasted also managed to

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 60.

smuggle out ancient artifacts.<sup>129</sup> In exchange for their hospitality, the British asked Breasted to report his findings in the Arab state to their government, which he did.<sup>130</sup> In the summer of 1920, the expedition returned to the U.S.

The trip's geographic and diplomatic dimensions serve as a useful introduction to the larger context for the Institute's next stage of development: the establishment of its archaeological expeditions and, more importantly for our purposes, the construction of expedition-houses and museums. It demonstrates burgeoning Arab nationalism and waning Anglo-French power, against both of which Protestant Internationalism sought to establish itself as an alternative ideology and authority.

In 1922, William Arthur Shelton, one member from the original team that undertook the reconnaissance trip, published a small book about his experience of the journey. He writes that upon the American team's arrival in the Middle East, the British Foreign Office named the expedition, "The American Scientific Mission."<sup>131</sup> We can be sure that the B.F.O. intended a different meaning for "mission"—one that is quite removed from religion—but, to me, the juxtaposition of American, Scientific, and Mission is an almost perfect summation of the purpose behind the Institute's conception (**Fig. 3.28**).

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>129</sup> In *The Oriental Institute*, Breasted leaves out any mention of removing antiquities from the Middle East, but we can find this information in his personal correspondence. "Letters from James Henry Breasted to His Family, August 1919-July 1920: Letters Home from the Oriental Institute's First Expedition to the Middle East," ed. John A. Larson, *Oriental Institute Digital Archives 1*, OIA.

<sup>130</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 64.

<sup>131</sup> William Arthur Shelton, *Dust and Ashes of Empires* (Publishing house M. E. church, South, 1922), 5.

# 4

## Building “Brotherhood”

### The Design & Construction of International House New York (1921-30)

Popular accounts of the International House movement trace its origins to a chance encounter in 1909 on the steps of Columbia University between YMCA official Harry Edmonds and a lonely Chinese student, who famously said to him: “I have been in New York three weeks, and you are the first person who has spoken to me!”<sup>1</sup> Edmonds, the story continues, secured the fledgling movement in 1921 by successfully petitioning John D. Rockefeller Jr. to build, in New York City, the Western hemisphere’s first residence that would cater exclusively to the housing needs of foreign students—regardless of their nationality or religion (**Fig. 4.1**). Rockefeller, who would go on to finance three more residences in Berkeley (1928-30), Chicago (1933), and Paris (1933-36), stated that these projects were conceived and designed so “that brotherhood may prevail” in the larger world—a phrase that is also inscribed in stone on these buildings’ facades.<sup>2</sup>

But while Rockefeller and his network of cultural and political advisors did respond to very real instances of social dislocation within the foreign student community after the First World War, the archives show that they also leveraged this image of the alienated foreigner to push for their particular vision of internationalism. Specifically, they sought to safeguard

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<sup>1</sup> Harry Edmonds, *Excerpts from the Memoirs of Harry Edmonds Including The Story of International House* (1999), 8. There are many versions of this story across multiple sources. In each, the time spent by the lonely student in isolation from Americans varies. Sometimes it is noted as three weeks and sometimes it is as long as six months. But the nationality of the student and the location of the encounter remain constant.

<sup>2</sup> *The Work of International House New York*, November 18, 1923, Pamphlet of John D. Rockefeller Jr.’s speech, Folder 68A, Box 10, OMR, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY (hereafter designated RAC).

American interests by acculturating the world's elite youth (and presumably its future leaders) to a liberal and Protestant American religious and politico-economic model.<sup>3</sup>

The existing scholarship on the I-House movement has emerged primarily from the field of American cultural studies. As we have seen, Akira Iriye has argued that at the war's end American attempts at cultural internationalism—that is, “the fostering of international cooperation through cultural activities across national boundaries”—sometimes took the form of educational projects geared towards international students, who were seen by philanthropists and educators as the new foot-soldiers for American interests abroad.<sup>4</sup> While Iriye's formulation of “cultural internationalism” is useful for my work, he interprets these Western cultural projects as benevolent or apolitical.

A more critical stance can be found in the work of Liping Bu and Paul A. Kramer, who present American educational projects and student exchange programs as a key dimension of the country's foreign policy and interests.<sup>5</sup> Kramer cautions that the American pursuit of cultural internationalism through education should be seen neither as a consistent policy nor one that is always determined by state actors. Rather, it should be understood as a series of shifting programs and goals that—depending upon the period under consideration—are shaped by a heterogeneous mix of private, government, religious, and secular actors. As for the I-House movement, Bu and Kramer see it as an important tool leveraged by the Rockefeller team to

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<sup>3</sup> For the elite status of these foreign students, see Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 85. Bu writes, “Most foreign students came from the elite class of their countries and would rise quickly to leadership positions after their return.” She also notes that the students coming in to the United States were graduate students. See also Section 4.3. in this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 3.

<sup>5</sup> See Bu, *Making the World Like Us*; \_\_\_\_\_, “Education and International Cultural Understanding: The American Elite Approach, 1920-37,” in *Teaching America to the World and the World to America: Education and Foreign Relations Since 1870*, ed. Richard Garlitz and Lisa Jarvinen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Paul A. Kramer, “Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century,” in *ibid.*, 1-50.

promote the American model of democracy and capitalism abroad. Foreign students in American universities came from elite backgrounds and could be expected to occupy positions of power upon returning home. As I will show in this chapter, through their proper socialization, Rockefeller and his network of cultural and political actors sought to create a class of international leaders loyal to American interests. Such critical accounts of the American pursuit of an asymmetric internationalism through educational programs and student exchanges are new and can be attributed to the relatively recent cultural turn in American Studies.<sup>6</sup>

Despite this scholarly work, and the archival evidence I mentioned earlier, the sanitized narrative of International Houses as sites of equitable cultural exchange—and of their program as the alleviation of social dislocation and loneliness in the foreign student community—remains entrenched in popular imagination. Not only was it reproduced in virtually every liberal mainstream newspaper during the height of the movement’s popularity from the 1920s to the 1960s, but it is also prevalent today on college campuses (**Fig. 4.2**).<sup>7</sup>

I attribute this narrative’s persistence to the virtual absence of any critical literature on the architecture and urban siting of the I-Houses (as these residences are popularly known). Focusing primarily on the inaugural project in New York, this chapter aims to expand the existing scholarship on International Houses in three important ways. First, it will assert that Rockefeller and his team understood architecture and site as *essential* components of the movement. Therefore, to critically evaluate the movement’s goals, historians must put the I-Houses’

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<sup>6</sup> As noted in Chapter One, the turning point occurred with books such as: Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, ed., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> The International House movement was well received in many newspapers and magazines, such as the *Christian Science Monitor* and *The New York Times*. Articles date back to the founding of the residences but also cover the period after the Second World War leading into the Cold War. The movement has also been popularized through in-house publications, such as Lee Hall, *Living in the Future: International House, New York: 75 Years* (New York: International House, 2000).

architectural and urban-spatial design “front and center as the subject of inquiry.”<sup>8</sup> By “design,” I refer not only to the final aesthetic of each project but also to the processes and considerations that led to it, such as the selection of architects, identification of appropriate architectural and spatial prototypes, recognition of the domestic and international audience of each residence, and the adjustment and calibration of the different scales and spatial components of architecture and site to convey the ideological message. By “site,” I refer to each residence’s urban-spatial context as well as its placement within larger geo-political locales. I argue that, when studied side by side, the negotiations surrounding the design and site of International Houses illuminate Rockefeller’s larger ideological program.

Programmatically, International House New York serves a different function from Rockefeller’s other projects, such as the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo, which we will see in Chapter Five. Architecturally, it looks nothing like the Oriental Institute’s expedition-houses in the Middle East. But despite these differences of function and appearance, I-Houses reveal the same ideological basis as the rest of Rockefeller’s philanthropy: they were conceived and designed to promote the goals and concerns of Protestant Internationalism. While the Oriental Institute used the language of intellectual cooperation to gain access to the Middle East, where it attempted to use the regions’ archaeological sites to bind religion and science together, the I-Houses—as I will show—used their stated aim of providing a culturally equitable home for students from all parts of the world to in fact push American economic, religious, and political values as a model for emerging nations.

Finally, this chapter will parse each piece of the infamous origin story—Harry Edmonds’

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<sup>8</sup> The argument to privilege architecture and site as important categories of investigation with regards to early-twentieth-century cultural and religious institutions in America, that sought to remake the character or identity of large groups of people, is also found in the work of architectural historian Paula Lupkin, who has written on the transformation of the YMCA movement after the Civil War. See Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: YMCA*

affiliation with the powerful and evangelical Young Men’s Christian Association, the Chinese nationality of the lonely foreign student, and the location of their fateful encounter at a major Progressive institution in New York City—to trace the complex institutional origins of the I-Houses. This socio-historical context includes a wide range of Progressive Era projects, such as settlement houses, which focused on social work amongst disenfranchised or alienated poor immigrants living in American cities, or the post-Civil War YMCA, which addressed young men from rural areas who migrated to cities to find jobs in big industries and move up the social ladder. The I-House of course differed from these institutions in one crucial respect: it was launched to address the needs of alienated *elite* and *foreign students*. Given this focus, the work of American missionaries and experts abroad, and of myriad organizations at home, both of which sought to promote and manage the entry of foreign students into the U.S., is a particularly important aspect of the I-House’s socio-cultural context at this time. The “outward” flow of American religious and technical expertise, and the “inward” flow of students who were seeking American expertise on American soil, are both part of cultural internationalism.<sup>9</sup>

This analysis of the I-House’s institutional origins is important because a period of eleven years separates Edmonds’ infamous encounter with the Chinese student from Rockefeller’s involvement in the I-House movement, which began only in the fall of 1921. As we have seen previously, the end of the First World War was a pivotal moment around which Rockefeller launched his support for a variety of philanthropic projects. Like the International House movement, a few of these had existed in a nascent form prior to the war. To properly discern Rockefeller’s architectural and programmatic contribution to these projects, it is therefore necessary to trace their actual origins before his involvement, and to sketch out each project’s

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*Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2010), xvii.

<sup>9</sup> Kramer, “Is the World Our Campus?” 15.

original scope and scale.

#### **4.1. History: 1909-1920**

As I have noted, the institutional origins of the I-House movement lie within the myriad social organizations, clubs, and societies that sprang up throughout the American urban landscape, between the Civil War and the First World War, to address the problems of urbanization, industrialization, and the attendant migration of young men from rural and agrarian lands into the vast and alienating cities, where these men hoped to achieve social success by finding work in the rapidly growing industries. At the same time, foreign students began arriving in increasing numbers to study at universities and colleges on the liberal East Coast. Observing this unprecedented influx into American cities, America's liberal urban elite felt it imperative to ensure that these incoming groups would align themselves with the religious and economic interests of the country's Protestant establishment and captains of industry. Towards this end, these powerful men and women banded together to launch new social organizations and movements, and revamp existing ones.

Of these, the evangelical Young Men's Christian Association and the secular Cosmopolitan Club Movement are directly related to the International Houses.<sup>10</sup> A British transplant, which opened its first American location in Boston in 1854, the YMCA aimed at promoting youths' self-improvement through social and intellectual activities, and differed from similar organizations in its overt "religious purpose": the Association was dedicated to its members' spiritual development, and believed that this alone could lead to the social



improvement of their lot.<sup>11</sup> The crises and developments unleashed by the Civil War (enlistment, conflict over slavery, and the rapid proliferation of saloons and other entertainment that drew young men away from religious institutions) posed significant challenges to the organization's future and longevity. To respond to these challenges, the YMCA had to completely transform its mission, program, and physical spaces.

In this, the New York City YMCA led the way. At war's end, it had been depleted of its membership and resources.<sup>12</sup> By 1864, given its modest rental quarters and its inability to compete with the new and unwholesome attractions of the expanding city, the Association was declared “‘theoretically and practically’ dead.”<sup>13</sup> At this moment of apparent hopelessness, J. P. Morgan, William E. Dodge Jr., and other scions of New York's elite families came on board and, through a new architectural and ideological vision, revived the organization within five years.

The YMCA remained a Christian organization, but to attract donations from the city's elites and to increase its membership amongst young men, it was transformed to cater to the needs and exigencies of an increasingly capitalist, consumer, and urban society. After the Civil War, America's expanding economy was based on big business and industries, which required a continuous and dependable source of labor for smooth operations. Young men from small towns or villages were the obvious solution to this need. To ensure these men's compliance and dedication to industrial work, the YMCA's leaders decided that it was important to provide them

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<sup>10</sup> For a history of the YMCA that emphasizes how the movement's leaders used architecture and site to revamp their program and to once again attract young men, see: Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*. For information on the Cosmopolitan Club Movement, and on the origins of the International House movement within both this movement and the YMCA, see: Bu, “Education and International Cultural Understanding: The American Elite Approach, 1920-37.”

<sup>11</sup> Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 3. The YMCA's membership was initially restricted to young white Anglo-Saxon men belonging to Protestant evangelical denominations, though some gestures were later made towards other demographics, most notably young white women and—much later—people of color and immigrants.

<sup>12</sup> Whereas previously the New York City YMCA had boasted of more than one thousand members, after the war this number had been reduced to a few dozen. *Ibid.*, 1.

with a haven in the city and divert them from the perils of gaming halls and saloons.

To raise funds for the purchase of a suitable site, YMCA leaders approached the city's elites and presented the Association as a necessary institution through which a sizable population of young men could be groomed and governed to become amenable to the progress of American industry. Meanwhile, to attract young men to the new YMCA clubhouse, Morgan and Dodge Jr. presented the YMCA—with its elite backers and emphasis on self-improvement—as a necessary organization through which to navigate the demands and requirements of society and workplace.<sup>14</sup> As Paula Lupkin has argued, the Association's new self-conception as a place where the “young ... [white, male] stranger” could become culturally and socially assimilated to a degree that would also allow his upward mobility at work was a post-war fiction necessitated by the rapidly industrializing economy of the United States and the changing nature of capitalism **(Fig. 4.3)**.<sup>15</sup>

The architectural style and physical spaces of the YMCA—as well as the space it occupied in the city—played an important role in convincing young men to buy into this fiction. Morgan and Dodge Jr. believed that the construction of a dedicated and new building on a fashionable and prominent site would further rejuvenate the YMCA's image and attract new members. Leaving behind its rental quarters on Manhattan's Astor Place (where its work had been undermined by low-brow commercial activities along the nearby Bowery), the YMCA

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>14</sup> The YMCA's programs and spaces were presented as a substitute for older support systems that had fallen through after the war. Prior to the war, young workers would board with the men who employed them. This close relationship between apprentice and employer ensured the former's upward mobility at work and in society. But the post-war expansion of American industries resulted in large workforces and meant that employers and workers no longer shared a close personal or professional relationship. Young men were, in a sense, untethered in the city and vulnerable to corrupting influences or to disillusionment with American industries. By garnering the elites' endorsement of the YMCA, Morgan and Dodge Jr. presented the organization as a necessary institution in the lives of young men. See Ibid., 19-21.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 57.

moved into its first dedicated building, located on the Southwest corner of 23<sup>rd</sup> Street and Fourth Avenue, in a fashionable new district frequented by the city's elite.<sup>16</sup> The creation of a new purpose-built structure on land owned outright by the Association was thought to put the movement and its work on a more secure footing. (The I-House would later follow a similar path towards financial and ideological security.) The new building was designed by architect James Renwick Jr. in the Second Empire style, which helped distinguish it from ecclesiastical institutions, which were generally designed in a Gothic-Revival style (**Fig. 4.4**). Inside the new building, the YMCA offered reading rooms, libraries, and—for the first time—gymnasiums for the social, moral, spiritual, and physical improvement of young men.<sup>17</sup> These recreational spaces served to mitigate the image of the Association as an exclusively religious organization. Despite these transformations, the YMCA's leaders maintained that at its heart it was still an evangelical organization, though perhaps one that recognized that souls were saved not just for Christ but for America's business success.

The **Cosmopolitan Club Movement**, meanwhile, was a secular campus-based crusade that emerged as part of a larger peace activism in the United States that had begun just before the First World War. The movement's first chapter opened at the University of Wisconsin in 1903 and included both American and foreign members. It was followed by clubs on other campuses, the entire lot being federated into a national organization in 1907 called the Association of

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 27-30.

<sup>17</sup> The physical aspect of the YMCA's program (the gymnasium) was entirely new, and was introduced to offer wholesome athletic and recreational activities that could compete with the wayward delights of gaming halls and saloons. See Ibid., 33, 115-121. The emphasis on physical development coincided with the rise of Muscular Christianity in the United States. This movement began in Victorian England but was soon transplanted to the United States. President Theodore Roosevelt was a strong proponent of it. Simply put, Muscular Christianity emphasized the role of physical strength, fitness, and ability in religious life. It is an important concept within both Protestantism and Catholicism, but it began its decline (at least within Protestantism) with the rise of neo-orthodox theologians, such as Reinhold Niebuhr. For more on Muscular Christianity, see also Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*, ed. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Cosmopolitan Clubs (ACC) of the United States of America.<sup>18</sup> These clubs were not located in dedicated buildings, and do not appear to have offered housing to students.

Unlike the YMCA, which had developed an intercollegiate arm as well, the ACC was *entirely* focused on students and on peace activism. Its leaders were motivated by studies that demonstrated that peace activism was most effective amongst the youth, and its motto was the fostering of:

the spirit of human justice, cooperation, and brotherhood, and the desire to serve humanity unlimited by color, race, nationality, caste, or creed, by arousing and fostering this spirit in college and university students of all nationalities.<sup>19</sup>

The ACC's greatest proliferation came about after the First World War, when it spread from thirty-one educational centers to fifty chapters. Another point of difference between the YMCA and the ACC is the latter's secular charter—though it did maintain a close affiliation with the Association.

Despite their different emphases on religion, these two organizations shared the belief that education and intellectual improvement could shape or transform the social lives, culture and ideology of a place or people—regardless of whether the people in question were young white men from rural America or foreign students from other countries. If both could only be reached in time—before they were exposed to the nefarious attractions of the big city or the nativism of ordinary Americans—and introduced instead to the economic, ecumenist, and internationalist values of America's liberal elites, they might become converts to these values. In the case of foreign students, these young converts, by virtue of their ability to cross borders, could also become ideological emissaries and cultural ambassadors for the United States. Indeed, Paul

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<sup>18</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 20.

Kramer has argued that the:

history of foreign student migration ought to be explored as part of U.S. international history, that is, as related to the question of U.S. power in its transnational and global extensions.<sup>20</sup>

### **Harry Edmonds & The Founding of the ICC (1910)**

The International House movement's focus on countering early-twentieth-century American isolationism and xenophobia towards foreigners, its self-conscious promotion of the United States as an economic and political model for modernizing nations, and its efforts to establish stability in the world through cultural engagement with new arrivals into American cities fits

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus?" 12. Kramer identifies a few successive and at-times overlapping phases during which different American actors and institutions (whether secular or religious, private or state-sponsored) sought to influence developments in the larger world through education programs and the exchange of students. (Kramer notes that despite the popular usage of the term "student exchange," in the context of the early twentieth century in America it is perhaps more accurate to think of it as "student migration," since more foreign students came into America as opposed to the number of American students that went abroad.) To return to the phases, the first was the so-called "self-strengthening" movement in the late nineteenth century, in which students traveled outside their national borders to gain expertise and know-how. In this phase, Kramer does include American students, who mostly traveled to Germany at this time. (Incidentally, James Henry Breasted falls into this category.) But Kramer also includes in this category Chinese students who came to the U.S: he notes that these students were sent to the West to learn more about the institutions and methods of their "would-be colonizers," and that this move was intended to protect Chinese interests. The second phase was one of "colonial and neo-colonial migrations," whereby it was the more powerful state or country that would launch an exchange system that was intended to draw elite students from the "hinterlands" and make them "pliable" subjects. The third phase involved "evangelical migrations": i.e., the setup of an exchange system whereby "promising... 'native' would-be missionaries" from abroad were brought to "centers of theological intensity and fervor in the [U.S.]," trained, and then sent back. This was happening in the 1920s. The fourth category, also dating to the period immediately following the First World War, is called "corporate-internationalist," and it includes philanthropists and other elites who believed that by bringing elite students from different countries together in an American university setting, they could foster greater goodwill and prevent war while simultaneously promoting American business and political models. The work of Liping Bu and my own archival and architectural analyses show that the International Student House movement can be thought of as a category adjacent to the latter, but also distinguished from it by its emphasis on housing and by its simultaneous and deliberate self-distancing from the hard goals of foundations. It thus forms a fifth type of American intervention. Conceived primarily during the United States' period of official isolationism, it actually had similar goals as the foundations but couched them in more comforting rhetoric. With its emphasis on (liberal) Christianity, it also has *some* similarities with the "missionary" phase: the difference is that the I-Houses emphasized ecumenism and not proselytization. The arrival of state actors on the scene forms the final—and sixth—phase and category of the spread of American influence abroad through education. In its work to leverage student exchange for political purposes, the American government used the networks and precedents already established by missionaries, foundations, and philanthropists. This entry of the government into the sphere of education occurred primarily after the Second World War. Ibid., 12-38. See also Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 85-113.

within a rich landscape of American institutions and actors who also promoted the country's interests in similar ways.

Harry Edmonds had originally come to New York City to work with American students in his capacity as secretary of the YMCA's intercollegiate arm (**Fig. 4.5**). His focus, like that of many other Americans at the time, was on China. Working with medical students in the United States, Edmonds encouraged these young men to travel to China, where they might be able to assist in building a capitalist and Christian society.<sup>21</sup> After his chance encounter with the Chinese student at Columbia University, Edmonds began to realize that it was possible to address the world from *within* the United States as well. With his wife Florence, who was crucial in the early work of the I-House movement, he began inviting foreign students to his home for informal Sunday suppers. Edmonds would later note with interest the power of friendly social interactions in melting away dearly held nationalisms and cultural differences.<sup>22</sup>

Around 1910 or 1912, Edmonds realized the need to organize this work formally and to give it impetus and financial security by affiliating it with an existing organization. To this end, he created the Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club of the Students of New York (ICC) in 1910. The ICC was the immediate precursor of the International House movement. There had been a Cosmopolitan Club at Columbia University previously, but it had eventually disbanded. Edmonds appears to have adopted this Club's name and tacked on "Intercollegiate" in front of it to show that his particular organization was citywide and would thus welcome students from New York University and other educational institutions in the city.

In addition to its citywide focus, the ICC differed from other Cosmopolitan Clubs in its

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<sup>21</sup> For more on Edmonds' career, see Edith Mezirow, Harry Edmonds, Bancroft Library, and Regional Oral History Office, *Harry Edmonds: The Founding of the International House Movement: An Interview* (Berkeley: University of California, Bancroft Library, Regional Oral History Office, 1971).

<sup>22</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 87.

emphasis on religion. The ICC was not registered with the National Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, from which it took its name, because its emphasis on Christianity as a central tenet of its mission made it more like the YMCA, and it was instead administratively located within the International YMCA and the Columbia University Christian Association. The Club focused on socializing and welcoming foreign students through a four-fold program that emphasized their social, intellectual, physical and spiritual well-being. This program—at least in its choice of wording—was identical to the one that had been adopted early by the New York City YMCA after the Civil War. Underlying the ICC's stated program was an ideology that aimed for social cohesion by dismantling nationalistic tendencies: having wiped the slate clean, in a manner of speaking, the program then aimed to present the *American* political and economic model as one that could have universal application and that should thus be emulated.

The ICC achieved its goals through a variety of social activities in which students were introduced to a carefully curated selection of persons, institutions, and sites that interpreted America to them as a land of economic bounty and industrial justice rather than as a site of labor-capital strife. It also worked with other social organizations that similarly focused on welcoming students into the city, such as the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students (CFRFS)—an influential organization that had been established in the United States in 1911 by John R. Mott.<sup>23</sup> Over the years, CFRFS had built a global network that sought to bring foreign students into the United States; it also worked closely with the YMCA and the YWCA. After the ICC was founded, the CFRFS began to provide it with a list of incoming foreign students. The ICC's staff would then make provisions to meet students at their port of entry and find them

housing in the city.

Administratively, the ICC had two tiers of managers. The first tier was occupied by American leaders such as Edmonds, who held the position of Director and controlled the Club's overall mission. Meanwhile, the "President" of the Club was always a student. The first student President was a Lebanese Christian graduate student at Columbia University named Philip Khuri Hitti, who went on to become a famous scholar of Arabic and Islamic cultures.

For some time, the activities of the ICC did not have a dedicated home or fixed venue. Although Edmonds initially hosted informal gatherings of foreign students at his home, the increasing number of participants eventually forced him to secure the use of Earl Hall at Columbia University in 1910 (**Fig. 4.6**).<sup>24</sup> The new space allowed Sunday Suppers to become a more formal affair where famous New Yorkers were often invited to speak and mingle with foreign students. Students were also invited from time to time to visit the homes of those New York elites who were interested in the cause of foreign students. The group included important personages and families such as the Dodge Family, who had made their money in the copper industry and were actively involved with the YMCA, as well as the steel magnate Andrew

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<sup>23</sup> "The Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club," *Columbia Spectator*, October 22, 1920, Volume XLIV, Number 23, Retrieved Feb 27, 2016. <http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/columbia?a=d&d=cs19201022-01&e=-en-20--1--txt-txIN----->. The *Spectator* is an independent student-run newspaper covering news of Columbia University and Morningside Heights. Note that the formation of the CFRFS had been supported by Andrew Carnegie. See Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 5.

<sup>24</sup> Prior to Earl Hall, between 1912 and 1915 the ICC briefly rented some rooms in the general neighborhood and created a Club House whose program included a small residential component, but these accommodations were not adequate and the ICC decided to move out from this location and abandon the residential aspect of its services. See "The Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club," *Columbia Spectator*, October 22, 1920. Earl Hall, meanwhile, had been donated by William E. Dodge Jr. for the use of the Columbia YMCA (later the Columbia University Christian Association). In the years after its construction, Earl Hall was diverted towards other purposes on campus, but Edmonds was able to recover it for his use with the help of another member of the prominent Dodge family: William's son Cleveland H. Dodge.



Carnegie who often hosted gatherings of up to two hundred students at his home (**Fig. 4.7**).<sup>25</sup> The larger city, too, served as a site for the ICC's gatherings and explorations: students were often taken on excursions to industrial and municipal facilities where they could observe firsthand the workings of the American democratic and economic engine.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Club's Decision to Erect a Building**

The outbreak of the First World War diverted even those foreign students who would have attended European universities, bringing more of them to the U.S. Due to the relative nativism and newness of the West Coast, most of these students came to the liberal East Coast.<sup>27</sup> Edmonds conducted a survey amongst these students, which showed that, compounding the usual problems of social isolation and hostility, the housing stock available to them was inadequate and dispersed, further isolating the students from each other and from suitable Americans.<sup>28</sup> The near doubling of the foreign student community, the housing challenges it faced after the War, and the discouraging nativism of ordinary Americans towards them demonstrated a need for the erection of a building dedicated to their lodging.<sup>29</sup> The proposed building's stated aim was to:

unite for mutual benefit, socially, intellectually and morally, students of all nationalities in the colleges, universities and professional schools of New York; to promote friendly relations

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<sup>25</sup> The Dodge family were philanthropists and industrialists. William E. Dodge Jr. had been one of the leaders of the rejuvenated YMCA after the Civil War. He was a business partner in Phelps Dodge & Co., a mining firm. Cleveland H. Dodge later took over this position from his father. The Dodge family moved in political circles as well. Cleveland was an adviser to Woodrow Wilson. During the First World War, the Dodge family was involved in charity work related to the war.

<sup>26</sup> For more information on the activities of students, see "The Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club," *Columbia Spectator*, October 22, 1920.

<sup>27</sup> By 1919, the number of foreign students in New York had risen so much that the ICC was unable to host all of them adequately at events or even to extend equal services to each student. Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 89. Whereas in 1913, there were 4,222 foreign students in the country, in 1919 there were 6,636. In 1913 New York had hosted 697 students out of all foreign students in the U.S. The number nearly doubled to 1210 by 1919.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 89-90.

between foreign and American students; and to bring foreign students in contact with American home life.<sup>30</sup>

Edmonds found it difficult at first to raise money: many wealthy Americans thought the idea was admirable, but there were too many more pressing concerns that required their contributions.<sup>31</sup> Finally, in the summer of 1920, members of the Dodge family (Cleveland H. Dodge, his son Cleveland E. Dodge, and nephew Frederick Osborn) helped raise initial funds. And so in July 1920, Edmonds—under the aegis of the YMCA—was able to buy six lots on behalf of the ICC near Columbia University in the Morningside Heights neighborhood.<sup>32</sup> The land was situated just above West 122<sup>nd</sup> Street and was bounded by Claremont (now Sakura) Park to the South, Claremont Avenue to the East, and a row of buildings to the West, which separated it from the more scenic Riverside Drive (**Fig. 4.8**).<sup>33</sup> The building would be twelve stories high and house two hundred students. No longer an abstract and placeless concept, the ICC's goals would now be visibly embodied in architecture and, crucially, projected out into the city.

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<sup>30</sup> "The Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club," *Columbia Spectator*, October 22, 1920.

<sup>31</sup> Bu, "Education and Cultural Understanding," 114-115.

<sup>32</sup> Frederick Osborn to Raymond Fosdick, March 12, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educational Interests, RAC. In this letter, written a year later to describe to Fosdick the nature of transactions that took place in the purchase of the land, Osborn notes that the land was bought on July 29, 1920 (before Rockefeller appeared on the scene) and that the property was purchased for \$125,000 and taken over by the YMCA. The land was apparently chosen based upon the results of a questionnaire that had been filled out by the ICC's student members. Although this membership came from all over the city, it was particularly concentrated in institutions in the Morningside Heights neighborhood, such as Union Theological Seminary, Teacher's College, Columbia, and Barnard. The transportation to and from this neighborhood was quite good, and the area was thus attractive to even those students who attended institutions in other parts of the city. For the questionnaire, see "Report," prepared and submitted by Harry Edmonds to Rockefeller, March 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educational Interests, RAC, 21.

<sup>33</sup> Today the park is called Sakura Park—named to commemorate the gift of one thousand cherry trees that the Japanese government gave to the city back in 1910. But during the years of Rockefeller's involvement it was sometimes referred to as Claremont Park. See Anonymous note, 1930, Folder 82, Box 12, OMR, RAC.

## 4.2. Rockefeller's Involvement and the Program's Expansion

After purchasing the original site Edmonds tried to raise money for the actual building, but fundraising proved to be as difficult in this instance as it had been for the purchase of the land.<sup>34</sup> Fortunately, the ICC's announcement in the summer of 1920 of plans to create a dedicated building for foreign students caught Rockefeller's attention, with a little help from Edmonds, who invited him to speak at one of the Sunday Suppers in October. Impressed by the project's potential for wielding influence globally through its international membership, the following year Rockefeller pledged \$1 million towards the project, using this gift as an opportunity to take control of and transform the architectural, urban-spatial, and ideological scope of the proposed residence.

Some sources suggest that Rockefeller was drawn to the project because he had seen a sketch of the proposed building by the YMCA's chosen architectural firm, Jallade, Lindsay & Warren (**Fig. 4.9**). But other sources suggest that he was in fact concerned by the small size of this building. He was a savvy real estate developer and by his financial calculations a building of this size—one that could house only two hundred students—would not be financially stable or independent. And so it was that in 1921 he reportedly told Osborn that if the ICC would consider doubling its accommodations, he would donate twice the amount that the organization had originally budgeted (and was seeking) for the job. This sum would allow the ICC to purchase adjacent lots and thus expand the building's proposed footprint as well as its accommodations. The ICC's leadership acted upon these instructions, and Rockefeller accordingly made a pledge for \$1 million—\$175,000 of which was put towards the purchase of additional land. By the time

the project was completed, he had donated \$2 million to it. Altogether, he would spend nearly \$10 million for the design and construction of all four I-Houses.<sup>35</sup>

Rockefeller's insistence on creating a larger building in New York than originally envisioned was also tied to his emphasis on strengthening the project's commitment to countering xenophobia in the larger American population, and to promoting the democratic and capitalist values of the country's industrial elites—as well as his own personal interest in theological modernism, to which I will turn later. In addition to being seen as a necessary condition for democracy, capitalism was also thought to be an antidote to war: by spreading prosperity through surplus, capitalism would promote peaceful relations amongst all nations. As a first step to spreading these values, Rockefeller stipulated that the new residence should reserve one-third of its accommodations for American students: he believed that if foreign students and Americans could spend more time together, it would help counter prejudices held by either group, allow the sharing of values, and strengthen the cause of internationalism.

Working on the advice of Raymond and Harry Emerson Fosdick, he also engineered an administrative separation between the citywide YMCA and YWCA—which represented more conservative versions of Protestantism—and the I-House movement, which he hoped would promote a modernist interpretation of Christianity.<sup>36</sup> Despite its rejuvenated image, the YMCA

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<sup>34</sup> The Dodge family could not contribute any additional funds due to the post-war economic slump, which had affected the copper industry. Although Andrew Carnegie had passed away by this time, Edmonds did consider approaching his wife. However, she had not been left with a sizable disposable income: most of the Carnegie money was already spoken for in terms of philanthropic causes. See Mezirow, et al., *Harry Edmonds*, 46-47.

<sup>35</sup> For more on Rockefeller's financial expenditure on the I-Houses, and on his advice to expand its accommodations and footprint, see Bu *Making the World Like Us*, 5, 90.

<sup>36</sup> The YMCA, as we know, was interested in proselytization and sectarian divisions. While the I-House leadership too affirmed the need for Christianity as a moral basis for internationalism, there was one important difference: it advocated a liberal interpretation of Christianity. The emphasis on liberal Christianity, and the discomfort with the YMCA, is quite clearly stated in "Report," prepared and submitted by Harry Edmonds to Rockefeller, March 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educational Interests, RAC. For further discussion on this point, see also Section 4.4. of this chapter.

was considered by some to be an aggressively evangelical organization, which was integrated with the larger missionary movement abroad—the purpose of both being the conversion of people to Protestant Christianity (**Fig. 4.10**).<sup>37</sup> This separation between the I-House and its parent institution reflects Rockefeller’s growing commitment to a modernist and ecumenical Christianity that would see the acculturation of foreign students to the American and Protestant way of life—rather than their downright conversion or assimilation—as the key to successful internationalism.<sup>38</sup>

The separation between the YMCA, the YWCA, and the ICC was not absolute. The Associations’ long-standing presence within the city, and their influence and reputation within religious and business circles, necessitated the continuance of some type of formal relationship between the three organizations. At first Rockefeller advisors proposed that the deed for the ICC’s land should continue to be held by the Associations, and that they should have the power to take the land away from the ICC if it was found to have diverted from its original mission. YMCA and YWCA trustees would also be included on the board of the proposed residence, but the mission of the residence would be defined by the Rockefeller team, thus effectively curtailing

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<sup>37</sup> See “Supporting Statement by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick” in “Report,” prepared and submitted by Harry Edmonds to Rockefeller, March 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, RAC.

<sup>38</sup> It should be noted that despite the discomfort with the YMCA in this case, the Rockefeller family did have a history of supporting the organization. Beginning in 1919, their donations to the YMCA were earmarked for its intercollegiate branch, suggesting that both Rockefeller and his father were aware of this branch’s work and of the potential of directing their own resources towards college youth. With the creation of the ISRR (also in 1921), Rockefeller became increasingly interested in bringing science and rational thought to bear on the question of religion—and a modern religion to bear on the question of internationalism—and so he chose to go in a different direction from the foreign missions and their affiliated institutions, such as the YMCA and the YWCA. Note that this was not a clean break from supporting proselytization and turning towards accommodation. Rather, Rockefeller continued to give some money to Baptist missions, stopping the practice only around 1928. But the important point is that he was slowly moving away from supporting missions. For Rockefeller’s support of missions till around 1928 and his growing discomfort with this, see my earlier discussions in Chapters One and Two, as well as Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*. Note also that another reason for the parting of ways between the I-House and the Associations was the fact that the latter felt that the I-House was encroaching upon their membership. The YWCA Association in particular believed that it was doing more substantial work with foreign women: they argued that in the co-ed I-House the concerns of women would be marginalized due to the greater number of men. For more on the Association’s concerns regarding the I-House, see Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 90-93.

the power of the Associations to change this in any way.<sup>39</sup> Ultimately, however, Raymond Fosdick proposed—and achieved—a stronger separation. The I-House was made completely independent of the YMCA and YWCA, though Edmonds tried to reassure the Associations’ members and other “church workers” that the I-House would promote much the same concerns as the Ys. Links to the Associations were also maintained in other ways: the property of the I-House was deeded to a board that comprised the chairman of the International Committee of the YMCA, president of the National Board of the YWCA, president of the YMCA of the City of New York, and president of the Metropolitan Board of New York’s YWCA.<sup>40</sup> Crucially, the fifth board member represented an institution that was quite secular by comparison: this figure was the President of the GEB. In addition to these administrative and ideological changes and decisions on the ICC’s proposed I-House, Rockefeller used his position as financial sponsor to create the “ideal building” for the enterprise.<sup>41</sup> His architectural authorship is detailed later, in **Sections 4.4-7.**

### **4.3. The Lonely Foreign Students**

Rockefeller’s extensive financial and architectural campaign to address foreign students can be understood properly only when seen within the context of the latter’s heterogeneous national affiliations, their *homogenous class identity*, the context of America’s immigration laws, and the ethnic and racial composition of her population at this time.

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<sup>39</sup> This proposal was largely Edmonds’, who was concerned that by cutting off all ties with the YMCA and the YWCA, the I-House and its foreign charges would be dangerously adrift in the city (socially and morally speaking). To alleviate this concern, he proposed that ties be maintained in the manner that I have described above, in the main text. “Report,” prepared and submitted by Edmonds to Rockefeller, March 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educational Interests, RAC.

<sup>40</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 90-93.

<sup>41</sup> Rockefeller to Fosdick, August 10, 1921, Folder 70, Box 11, RG III 2G, OMR, RAC.

In its coverage of the ICC's announcement that it would be erecting a dedicated building for foreign students, the *Spectator* noted that between 1919 and 1920 the Club had comprised 760 student members representing seventy nations in the world (more than the League of Nations, the paper pointed out) and thirteen educational institutions in New York City.<sup>42</sup> Represented countries included nation-states that had been newly carved out of old empires after the First World War, such as Turkey, alongside countries that had cast off their imperial rule, such as China.<sup>43</sup> These varied polities were united by one thing: they were all seen to be on the cusp of modernization. America's liberal elites felt that it was imperative that these countries should choose the "correct"—i.e. democratic and capitalist—model of modernization.

In comparison to actual immigrants in the city—most of whom were engaged in blue-collar industrial jobs—foreign students hailed from relatively privileged backgrounds.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, although the foreign students who arrived in the United States came from different national backgrounds, many of them appear to have belonged to the same type of elite cadre of teachers, staff of Ministries of Education, and government officials in their respective countries, and could be expected to resume these positions upon returning home.<sup>45</sup> These students were slightly older

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<sup>42</sup> "The Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club," *Columbia Spectator*, October 22, 1920.

<sup>43</sup> Members came from new nation-states that were formed from the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War, such as Mesopotamia (now Iraq), Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. They also came from other countries that were modernizing, such as China and India. The nature and direction of modernization of these countries was of particular interest to American businesses. Students also came from the former Allied countries: England and France. Also on the list were students from Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Philippine Islands, Persia (Iran), Russia. The exact numerical distribution was as follows: there were 154 Chinese, 105 Japanese, 60 Latin Americans, 40 Filipinos, 36 Scandinavians, 65 Middle Easterners, and 300 others (including a small percentage of Americans). Of the institutions represented, the *Spectator* highlighted the active participation of those that were located on "the hill": Union Seminary, Teacher's College, Columbia, and Barnard. *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Bu, "Education and International Cultural Understanding," 113.

<sup>45</sup> \_\_\_, *Making the World Like Us*, 85, 116, 123. In her work on the I-House movement, and on foreign students generally in the United States in the early twentieth century, Bu repeatedly mentions that these young men and women belonged to elite circles back home. Moreover, in her discussion on the Rockefeller-funded International Institute at Teacher's College, which was just around the corner from the I-House, Bu writes that foreign students in this institution came from relatively established positions back home: some had been teachers and others had even belonged to the Ministry of Education in their home countries.

than the average college student and were studying at the graduate level. For American elites, the importance of these students in the scheme of things was two-fold. First, they would be educated in the American system and thus indoctrinated with American values, which they would then carry back home and—through their positions of influence and privilege—spread there. Second, in the spirit of the Progressive Era (from which the Club itself had emerged) the ICC sought to enlist these students towards the improvement of their fellow countrymen’s lot within the United States.

Alongside details of the ICC’s student membership, the *Spectator* also described the Club’s activities. In addition to National Nights and Sunday Suppers, the ICC sponsored “Social Service,” which the paper described in the following terms:

There are about 10,000 Chinese in New York, 2,000 Japanese and over 60,000 Latin-Americans, as well as many hundreds of men of other nationalities. Most of these are engaged in industrial pursuits, and are eager to learn the English language, American customs, and improve their condition generally. No one can render service to these men so well as the students of their respective countries, who are the men of privilege and opportunity.<sup>46</sup>

This suggests that the Club was using foreign students to “improve the lot” of immigrants in the country. We have already seen that America’s industrial labor force was largely composed of immigrants, so it may be that, by encouraging foreign students to tend to their fellow countrymen in the U.S., the ICC’s leadership also hoped to mitigate the grievances of immigrant labor against American industries.

Given his own position as the son of the wealthiest man in the world, as well as his experience of powerfully effecting change from the strength of this position, Rockefeller, like other American elites, believed that economic and political change could be produced only from a paternalistic top-down position. The ICC’s elite student membership—and the chance to speak

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<sup>46</sup> “The Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club,” *Columbia Spectator*, October 22, 1920.



directly to these future leaders and make their values compatible with his own—was an attractive proposition for him. Additionally, as Bu notes, Rockefeller and his advisors believed that world peace “depended, to a large extent, on the personal relations of international leaders.”<sup>47</sup> Indeed, much of the I-House’s internal correspondence is replete with the suggestion that it is only by addressing the individual mind and character of the students (i.e. future leaders) that lasting change could be most productively made. By educating foreign students in the American system, and by instilling in them the values of democracy, capitalism, and theological modernism, the I-House tried to play its part in ensuring that these future leaders would guide their countries towards prosperity and good relations with the U.S.

Rockefeller and the I-House team were by no means unique in thinking along these lines. As we saw, other industrialists and elite families such as the Carnegies and Dodges held similar views and had supported the activities of the ICC and other such organizations. Religious groups and individuals, too, worked towards these same goals. The difference lay in Rockefeller’s financial ability to pursue his goals on an impressive scale that included architecture and site, and in his emphatic focus on foregrounding Protestant modernism as both a necessary condition and an end goal of this pursuit.

This interest in addressing elite foreigners is mirrored in the support extended by the International Education Board towards the International Institute at Teacher’s College. The I.I. may be seen as a parallel philanthropic undertaking to the I-House Movement: it forms the second arm of the Rockefeller network’s large-scale efforts on behalf of cultural internationalism on American soil through education. It was initiated by the educator Paul Monroe, who is in many ways a complementary figure to Harry Edmonds. As Bu writes, Monroe argued that

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<sup>47</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 85.

“cultural relations were superior to other types of international interactions,” and that another country or people’s culture could be shaped and transformed through a variety of mediums, particularly education. Or, to put it another way, the fastest route to shaping another country’s culture lay in training its educational leaders.<sup>48</sup> As mentioned already, American elites in this period generally believed that the individual could be targeted for change and that “war was waged in the minds of men.”<sup>49</sup> In this way, by focusing on the education of individual elite members of different societies, movements and institutions like the I-Houses and International Institute could bring about the *correct* revolution: they could help modernize important countries like Turkey and China along the American economic and political model.<sup>50</sup> An influential figure in education, Monroe was a leader in the American Council on Education, overseas Christian colleges and universities, and a trustee of the Institute of International Education.<sup>51</sup>

As envisioned by Monroe, the proposed International Institute would provide education and instruction to graduate-level experienced students from abroad. Monroe deftly presented the I.I. as a parallel philanthropic undertaking and a necessary accompaniment to the International House. Rockefeller was suitably impressed and, through him, the IEB responded by making a 10-year grant for \$1 million.<sup>52</sup> In its day-to-day work, the Institute trained international students in the U.S. and, when approached, assisted foreign countries directly.<sup>53</sup> As part of their training, foreign students were taken on field trips to regions like the American South, where they were shown Reconstruction-era sites and institutions as an example of the path that modernization

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 118; Bu, “Education and International Cultural Understanding,” 112.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>51</sup> The I.I.E. was run by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Ibid., 112.

<sup>52</sup> Like other projects of the Rockefeller network, the stated goals of the I.I. are both remarkably lofty and vague at the same time. The project aimed to promote “a better international understanding, a more definite sympathy, and a more effective cooperation.” Ibid., 118.

abroad might follow. And the students' curriculum included courses such as "American Institutions and Ideals," "Rural and Village Education for Students from Foreign Lands," and "Visitations and Observation of American Schools and Practices."<sup>54</sup>

In the interwar years the I.I. focused strongly on students from East Asia and the Middle East.<sup>55</sup> In the 1930s, the newly formed state of Iraq attracted American resources and attention. But in the early years—the 1920s—it was China and the American colony of Philippines that were the main centers of attention. Indeed, China was one of the most important countries for student migration to the United States, and the first Chinese students arrived in the country in 1885, before China had become a Republic.<sup>56</sup>

The future of China, and the political, religious, and economic path it might adopt, was of paramount interest to American observers in the early twentieth century. The rule of China's last imperial dynasty—the Qing—ended in 1911. The intervening period between the overthrow of the Qing dynasty and the creation of the People's Republic of China by Mao Zedong in 1949—that is, the years of the Republic of China—were years of struggle between leftist intellectuals, who had moved away from Western philosophy and influenced instead by Communist thought, and the right. American interest in China's future—and concern over which model of

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>54</sup> For more information on trips to the South and the students' curricula, see Ibid., 120. Monroe, who was Director of the I.I., also worked to secure funding for many of these students. The IEB helped to an extent with scholarships, and grants from other sources covered living and travel expenses. These funds were mostly appointed and distributed by ministers of education in the students' home countries and sometimes by the I.I. itself. Monroe often attempted to select candidates himself.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 121. Bu writes: "Both East Asia and the Middle East were undergoing a 'cultural renaissance' of modernization in these decades, which enticed American educators to try reconstructing the educational system in those ancient cultures along modern American lines."

<sup>56</sup> Note that, following the example of Paul Kramer, I sometimes use the term "student migration" instead of "student exchange." Kramer, as I have mentioned elsewhere, writes that the former term is more reflective of what was actually happening in the era. More foreign students were coming into the United States; not as many American students were going abroad. Kramer also uses "foreign student" and "international student" interchangeably, although his sources use foreign student for someone who is from abroad rather than from an immigrant community within the United States. Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus?" 39*n*3.

modernization it would pick—peaked during this period.

As we have seen, the religious elites of the U.S. were interested in China too. The country was one of the so-called “missionary lands,” where the presence of American (and other) Protestant foreign missions was markedly high. *The Missionary Review of the World*—a monthly conservative magazine—spilled much ink contemplating the future of China and of China-U.S. relations. In an article titled, “China: The Coming Power,” published in 1916 during the First World War, the Reverend Charles E. Scott described China as a sleeping giant that held vast resources of land and people (**Fig. 4.11**).<sup>57</sup> Referencing directly the early imperial writings of Mott on the same subject, Scott described the character of Chinese people as their greatest strength. Mott had called the Chinese the “Anglo-Saxon” of Asia: determined, intelligent, resourceful, “freedom-loving,” physically strong, and enduring. He contrasted the strength and endurance of the Chinese with their “ancient contemporaries,” such as the Egyptians, who he lamented had “gone into mournful oblivion.” The Chinese were also commendable because of their ability to solve the Jewish and “Mohammedan problem.” They had successfully molded and absorbed these nations and races into themselves:

No other race has ever, so far, solved the Mohammedan problem. Russia has forty millions of Mohammedans in Central Asia. France has sixty million in Africa. England has eighty million in India. Tho England is a past master of subject races, even she can do nothing with her Mohammedans in the way of amalgamation with other races. As troops, they must have special diet, special food, special clothing, special wages, ceremonials. In western China there are millions of Mohammedans who have all been molded into Chinese.<sup>58</sup>

Such characteristics and abilities made the Chinese quite powerful and potentially quite dangerous. Scott quotes past and present world leaders, such as Napoleon or Lord Beresford,

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<sup>57</sup> Reverend Charles E. Scott and Tsing Tau, “China: The Coming Power,” *The Missionary Review* 39 (February 1916): 89–98.

who had each declared that the nation that could intellectually master the concepts and characteristics of the Chinese, and who could influence them, would control the world. Reminiscent of James Henry Breasted's argument for American leadership in Near Eastern archaeology, Scott goes on to declare that Europe was financially and spiritually too stretched to properly focus on China. It was therefore up to the Americans to show the proper path to the country. Americans, unlike the British, Russians, French, and Japanese, were not militaristically interested in China and were thus better positioned to carry out this work. He even drew a direct line between the future of China and that of American Protestant churches: a militarized—and pagan—China could destroy American Protestantism.<sup>59</sup>

In the 1920s, China became the focus of the YMCA's international building campaign, which had been launched in the first decade of the twentieth century. China's imperial civil service system had ended in 1905, just before imperial rule itself.<sup>60</sup> The political, economic, and social conditions there were thus ripe for the YMCA: relying on tactics it had used to appeal to young and untethered men in American cities after the Civil War, the YMCA presented itself as an institution through which Chinese youth could find their footing in an "unfamiliar capitalist world."<sup>61</sup>

Back in the U.S., CFRFS and other such organizations had been organized specifically to engage with students from China, and only later expanded their work to include other foreign students. Not only were America's industrial elite focused on ensuring that China would choose the right path for modernization, they were also trying to combat the prejudice towards Chinese immigrants within the United States that also affected students. Much of the nativism towards

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 89-98.

<sup>60</sup> Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 144.

Chinese immigration was heavily concentrated on the West Coast, which served as an entry point for Chinese immigrants and often became their final destination as well. The influx of immigrants from China to California during the Gold Rush in the late nineteenth century had caused social tensions in the latter region. America's East Coast states were generally unsympathetic to the West Coast's ill-treatment of Chinese groups (**Fig. 4.12**).<sup>62</sup> However, when it became clear that the anti-Chinese vote in California could determine the fate of political parties in *national* politics, the continued discontent against Chinese immigration resulted in the federal government's capitulation to California's demands. Starting in 1882, the U.S. Congress ratified a ten-year prohibition on Chinese immigration.<sup>63</sup> In 1892, a Chinese Exclusion Act extended the earlier ban for ten additional years, and in 1902, a permanent restriction was put into place, which was only revoked by Congress in 1943.<sup>64</sup>

As the United States did not have a dedicated student visa at this time, any incoming students were treated within the country's increasingly restrictive immigration laws and quota. Often, even if a student's papers were in order, he or she could be turned away from the port-of-entry if the immigrant quota had been exceeded. During these restrictive immigration years, Mott's CFRFS and other organizations took special measures to ensure that Chinese and other students were allowed in the country. CFRFS entered into an agreement with Congress, whereby students were paroled into the former's custody, and could stay one year in the United States. In exchange, CFRFS helped enforce strict departure guidelines amongst students as well as any

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> For a basic overview of Chinese immigration, see: James Rawls and Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Education), 2011.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 384. This repeal did not have a huge impact. For the next twenty years there was a restrictive quota that allowed only ten thousand Chinese to enter—total.

penalties for non-adherence.<sup>65</sup>

Once inside the U.S., Chinese students—along with other international students—continued to face problems. For example, in New York City they could not mix freely with Americans, regardless of their elevated social status back home. The situation was much worse in Berkeley and Chicago—the future sites of the I-House movement. Students also found it challenging to find decent housing. Again, New York was slightly better in this respect whereas Chicago and Berkeley presented special challenges.

Edmonds and other religious liberal elites feared that this mistreatment of foreign students would convey a poor impression abroad of the American democratic model. They felt it was imperative that these future world leaders, who might one day hold the power to determine their country’s political and economic relationship with the United States, be left with an emphatically positive impression of American society. The ICC and its supporters played their part in aggressively putting across a positive view of American society. At a party he hosted for the ICC’s student members, Andrew Carnegie took the opportunity to exhort to his audience: “Service is the characteristic of the real American... This is the America I want you to carry home to your countries.”<sup>66</sup>

Rockefeller, too, tried to speak about the United States in glowing terms, painting a picture of peaceful and brotherly relations between labor and capital in the country and of America’s support for internationalism.<sup>67</sup> Rockefeller had met these foreign students for the first time at a Sunday Supper in 1920, just a couple of months after the ICC had announced its plans to build a residence. He was invited to speak on the importance and “meaning of Christmas,” and

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<sup>65</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 35-38.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>67</sup> Bu writes that to many foreign students, Rockefeller’s words appeared to be at odds with the facts that they knew about America. *Ibid.*, 99.

later reportedly told an associate about the experience: “It quite bowled me over.”<sup>68</sup> No doubt he was impressed by the project’s ability to reach Chinese and other foreign students. As we saw in Chapter Two, the Rockefeller network was deeply interested in modernizing China along American lines, and so the design phase of International House New York, under Rockefeller’s supervision, coincided with the inauguration of the Peking Union Medical College (**Fig. 4.13**).<sup>69</sup> In the I-House, China was heavily represented. There were so many Chinese student members in the 1920s that the period was called the “decade of the Chinese.”<sup>70</sup>

Keeping this information in front of us, the presence of the Chinese student in the origin story of the International House movement does not appear so arbitrary after all. It is not possible to verify beyond the shadow of a doubt whether Edmonds did in fact run into a lonely Chinese student, or if the story is merely apocryphal and was used because its optics helped convey—for fundraising purposes—the urgency and usefulness of the ICC’s mission. Regardless, because this story was so heavily and consistently reproduced in books, pamphlets, and speeches, it is a powerful lens through which to understand Rockefeller’s support for the I-House.

#### 4.4. Site

It is at the register of site—both macro and micro—that Rockefeller’s ideological authorship of the I-House is most apparent. At the scale of the neighborhood, his vision of grounding internationalism in the principles of Protestant Modernism led him to spearhead the construction of the theologically modernist Riverside Church across from the I-House shortly after the latter’s completion. Rockefeller also financed the redesign of an existing park between the I-House and

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 86-87; Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 391.

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter Two for more on the PUMC.

<sup>70</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 96-97.



the Church, using it to visually tie the two buildings together despite their different architectural styles, thus further bringing religion and internationalism into conversation with each other. At the scale of the land owned by the I-House, the project's increased programmatic scope under Rockefeller's patronage necessitated, as I mentioned earlier, a larger footprint and the purchase of additional lots. I will describe each of these moves below.

When Rockefeller formally pledged his support for the I-House movement in February 1921, nearly seven months after the YMCA had purchased land on behalf of the ICC, one of his first acts as patron was to appoint architectural, legal, and cultural personnel who he felt would adequately represent him and safeguard his interests. He began by installing Raymond Fosdick in the ICC's "Board of Four" (later the Building Committee), which included existing Club personnel Harry Edmonds, Frederick C. Osborn, and Cleveland E. Dodge.<sup>71</sup> After accomplishing this, Rockefeller immediately began to correspond with Fosdick about the architecture and site of the proposed building.

All decisions regarding the building's size, ornamentation, and appearance were made keeping the larger city and goals in mind, and the site itself was modified and re-arranged in ways that enabled the building to properly convey its mission. As we know, in the Beaux-Arts tradition, architectural presence and the importance and loftiness of an institution are conveyed through symmetry in a building's plan and elevations. Rockefeller extended this concept to the I-House's relationship with the surrounding land. Of the six lots of land purchased by the YMCA, the Club had only planned to build on the Park (or south) side of this parcel. Rockefeller enlarged the site to increase the programmatic scope of the I-House, and to give the movement's goals a commanding urban presence, in order to attract the support of high-ranked domestic and

international leaders, which he deemed necessary to the project's long-term success.<sup>72</sup>

On February 18—after he had entered into talks with the Building Committee but before his involvement in the project had been publicized—Rockefeller authorized the purchase of additional lots west of the club's property, so that the entire strip of land between Riverside Drive and Claremont Avenue now belonged to the I-House. One reason for this step was to prevent the construction of a tall apartment building next to the project, where it might overshadow the structure and visually cut it off from Riverside Drive, which was a more prestigious address. As Rockefeller stated,

I merely wished to secure the extra land on Riverside Drive ... because I didn't want an apartment building going up here and making our building a distinctly Claremont Avenue one.<sup>73</sup>

But the additional lots that he purchased did not remain empty, nor were they turned into recreational grounds. Rather, the footprint of the residence was enlarged to accommodate women and Americans alongside foreign male students. In this way, the I-House would now extend all the way from Claremont Avenue to Riverside Drive and it would be symmetrically aligned with Claremont Park—rather than off to one side of it (**Fig. 4.14**).

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<sup>71</sup> Rockefeller to Osborn, February 22, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, OMR, RAC. In this letter, Rockefeller tells Osborn that, if agreeable to the ICC, his principal advisor Raymond Fosdick should be taken on as a member of the Building Committee and as his representative in all matters.

<sup>72</sup> To some extent, even before Rockefeller joined the project other ICC leaders had understood the need to use a building to create support for the movement. In 1920, Edmonds had mailed out a questionnaire to foreign students to gauge their level of interest in the project. In it, he included very prominently an image of the proposed building (by Louis Jallade). Moreover, he instructed the students to pin this image above their desks and refer to it when answering questions such as whether they would be interested in a new residence that brought together foreign students with some American students, and if they would be willing to pay for the accommodations. See "Report," prepared and submitted by Harry Edmonds to Rockefeller, March 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educational Interests, RAC. The questionnaire/pamphlet—which was sent out earlier in 1920—is included in the report on p.21. Note that although the ICC did recognize the importance of a beautiful building in terms of gaining support for their project, Rockefeller's architectural and urban-spatial vision for the I-House was much more sweeping in its scope.

## City Upon the Hill: Morningside Heights

The immediate neighborhood of International House New York is called Morningside Heights. If a site can be considered to have ideological character, then in the 1920s this area had it in spades. The neighborhood hosted many educational institutions where Progressivism had taken hold, such as Columbia University, Barnard College, Teacher's College, and the Union Theological Seminary. The ICC drew its members and leaders primarily from these institutions, and Edmonds described the area as a new “city upon the hill”—a provocative statement of American and Protestant exceptionalism.<sup>74</sup>

The selection of an evocative site is not an extraordinary concept in the history and practice of architecture. Still, it is revealing to examine how a particular site within a city becomes associated with progress, intellectualism, religion, and internationalism. As New York City's population increased, institutions that focused on moral, spiritual, and intellectual excellence—such as the YMCA or Columbia University—moved progressively northwards, away from the center of commercial activities, until eventually around the turn of the twentieth century Morningside Heights in Upper Manhattan emerged as *the* center for progress and learning. Located on Manhattan's west side, the neighborhood is today bounded by West 125<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Rockefeller to Fosdick, July 26, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, OMR, RAC. Apartment buildings were a new addition to the immediate neighborhood around this time, so Rockefeller's concern for the visual protection of the new building is not unfounded.

<sup>74</sup> Edmonds to Rockefeller, Date unknown but probably 1923, OMR, RAC. Edmonds' use of “city upon the hill” is an obvious reference to John Winthrop's famous speech, “A Modell [sic] of Christian Charity,” which he delivered in 1630 aboard the *Arbella*. Winthrop used the phrase to exhort his companions to live up to the highest possible ideals in their new land (America) because the world would be watching their example. The phrase is inspired by the Biblical parable in Matthew 5:14, in which Jesus tells his followers: “Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.” Edmonds was not the first person to refer to the neighborhood in such exceptional terms. One newspaper had described it in 1896 as “the Acropolis of the new world.” A similar reference to the Acropolis had been made even earlier, in 1887, when the Episcopalian community announced that it would construct the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on the neighborhood's eastern edge. Since then, the construction of other important institutions has cemented the reputation of the neighborhood as a cultural and religious center for New York, America, and indeed the New World. See Andrew S. Dolkart, *Morningside Heights: A History of Its Architecture and Development* (Columbia University Press, 2001), 1, 43.

Street on the North and 110<sup>th</sup> Street on the South, and spans East to West from Morningside Drive to Riverside Drive. It has become the location of the largest concentration of educational and cultural institutions in the city.<sup>75</sup> Much of this development took place between 1887 and 1910, so that by the time the ICC decided to build International House New York in 1920, Morningside Heights was the obvious choice.<sup>76</sup>

But just like the site of another Rockefeller project—the future United Nations Headquarters in East Manhattan—Morningside Heights was originally seen as a blighted area. In some ways, this led to its preservation for future use. Set up high on a plateau and topographically cut off from the rest of Manhattan, it escaped the city’s large-scale urbanization; instead, it was home to two isolated (and isolating) institutions: the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum, which commanded a central location in the area where Columbia University is now located, and the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum. Compounding these problems, due to its elevated topography Morningside Heights was also not well-served by public transportation until much later. All these factors—its resident pariah institutions, unfavorable topography, and lack of connectivity with the rest of the city—meant that the area saw no major residential developments until the 1920s. Instead, after the Asylum was forced out by real estate interests, educational institutions were the first to move in. They used the large and undeveloped tracts of land to build architecturally impressive campuses, which, due to their size, could not have been built anywhere else in the city.<sup>77</sup>

In keeping with its founders’ philosophies and with Rockefeller’s program of cultural

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3. Probably campuses could be built where residential buildings could not because the former are self-contained and do not require much connectivity with the rest of the city, whereas in residential neighborhoods, people would need to commute on a regular basis to get to their places of work.

internationalism and intellectual cooperation, the I-House embraced these educational and cultural institutions, but positioned itself ideologically in opposition to a nearby military structure: the General Grant National Memorial, which was located just across from it on Riverside Drive (**Fig. 4.15**). Completed in 1897, Grant's Tomb—as it is popularly known today—was designed by architect John Hemenway Duncan in the Classic-Revival style as the final resting place for Ulysses S. Grant and his wife. Grant, who was the 18<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, had led Union Armies to victory over the Confederacy in the American Civil War. Duncan described his design for the mausoleum as one that purposely eschewed any “resemblance of a Habitable Dwelling,” and was instead military through and through.<sup>78</sup> Edmonds saw the construction of the I-House as an architectural reproof to this military monument, and to what he understood was its message: that conflict can be resolved with a call to arms. In his speeches before I-House residents, and in his correspondence with I-House leaders, he often referenced the tomb. While careful not to mock or criticize the monument of an American President and Civil War hero, he did make unmistakable references to the folly of soldiers and generals in assuming that the path to peace is through war.<sup>79</sup> Rockefeller's extension of the I-House frontage all the way to Riverside Drive helped bring a monument to

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<sup>78</sup> Quoted in David M. Kahn, “General Grant National Memorial Historical Resource Study,” January 1980, <https://www.nps.gov/gegr/learn/education/upload/Kahn-Historic-Resource-Study-1980.pdf>, 78.

<sup>79</sup> Edmonds to Rockefeller, September 13, 1923, Folder 68A, Box 10, OMR, RAC. In this letter, Edmonds discussed the wording of an inscription that the Building Committee wanted to put above the entrance to the I-House. He writes, “The first thought was to have the inscription an antithesis of that on Grant's Tomb on which are Grant's famous words, ‘Let us have peace.’ These were spoken after one of the bloodiest wars in history. Grant said in effect, ‘The sword has settled this issue; let us have peace.’ That was the old way of adjusting differences... The new method, which we hope International House will help to establish, is, ‘...peace comes through international appreciation, justice, and goodwill.’”

internationalism in direct confrontation with Grant's military tomb.<sup>80</sup>

## **Christianity & Internationalism**

International House New York did not become the evangelizing organization that the city's more conservative institutions, like the YMCA and CFRFS, had hoped for.<sup>81</sup> Yet, it was still rooted in religion. Indeed, the Rockefeller team's private correspondence attributed the success of the International House movement to its emphasis on promoting morality within a framework of Christianity; crucially, this Christianity had been "freed from theological and ecclesiastical entanglements."<sup>82</sup> This emphasis on religion is described in rather architectural and scriptural terms by Edmonds, who, using the word "moral" to stand in for Christianity, describes one of the reasons for the success of the ICC in the following manner:

The Club has a moral purpose, thereby going one step further than the other clubs of the country, whose objects are "to unite for their mutual benefit, socially and intellectually," - but not morally. That is the weakness of the other clubs. Right there is the strength of the New York Club. It is not by accident that the New York Club, with the inertia of a great metropolis to overcome, has siezed [sic] the stone that was cast out by other builders and made it conspicuously helpful in rearing an

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<sup>80</sup> The positioning of the I-House in contrast to a military structure is echoed a just a few years later, in Rockefeller's oeuvre, with the proposed design and urban placement of the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo. Here, Rockefeller's team had entered into negotiations with the British Army, whose barracks were located on the site where the team hoped to build the museum. The site was seen as the team's "trump card"—a potential selling point for the project with regards to Egyptian nationalists, who were agitating against British military occupation. There is no direct evidence that the proposed location of the NEM in Cairo was inspired by the urban context of International House New York, but the similar aesthetic strategy of attempting to overpower or render obsolete a military institution through a cultural project is hard to ignore. See Chapter Five.

<sup>81</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 33. The Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students (CFRFS) was disappointed in the International House's focus on promoting secular internationalism versus evangelism. The CFRFS had hoped that the I-House would be part of the YMCA system and ideology. Instead, at Fosdick and Rockefeller's instigation, the ICC had cut off administrative ties from the YMCA.

<sup>82</sup> "Report," prepared and submitted by Edmonds to Rockefeller, March 11, 1921, RAC. In this document describing the principles underlying the International House movement, Edmonds suggests that the moral character—i.e., the Christian character—of this project will make it more successful than other such enterprises in internationalism. He even quotes the leader of the secular Cosmopolitan Club Association, who had commended Edmonds' efforts and attributed his success thus far to the emphasis placed on religion. In terms of the identity or nature of this religion, this report includes a statement by Harry Emerson Fosdick, who writes that only a modernist interpretation of religion will ensure the enterprise's continued success. Fosdick also wished to protect the future I-House from the YMCA (and its more conservative approach to religion).

organization which has been acclaimed by those who come from other clubs as the “best in the country.”<sup>83</sup>

In Morningside Heights, Rockefeller’s emphasis on Christianity—and on its modernist and ecumenical interpretation—as the basis of internationalism is underscored by the second architectural project he undertook in that neighborhood. In 1925, just one year after the International House was inaugurated, Rockefeller announced plans to erect a church in its immediate vicinity. Eventually called Riverside Church, this new building and institution unmistakably tipped the site’s ideological balance towards Protestant Modernism.<sup>84</sup> The Church was built at the corner of Riverside Drive and West 122<sup>nd</sup> Street, with one side facing International House across Claremont Park and the other facing Riverside Drive. Upon its completion in 1930, the high-rise church became an iconic landmark that could compete with Grant’s Tomb and other monuments in the area (**Fig. 4.16-17**).

It is unclear whether the idea for Riverside Church originated with Rockefeller or whether it was instigated by someone else within his larger cultural network or advisory circle. There is some evidence that suggests Edmonds was involved in its conception. The archives show that as early as 1923—*before* the I-House had been completed—Edmonds had written to Rockefeller outlining his vision for a church in Morningside Heights that would crown this “city upon the hill.”<sup>85</sup> And in 1925, just before the announcement had been made public, he already

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<sup>83</sup> Emphases are original. See Harry Edmonds, “The Christian Background,” in “Report,” prepared and submitted by Harry Edmonds to Rockefeller, March 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educational Interests, RAC. Edmonds’ use of “the stone that was cast out” is reminiscent of several Biblical passages. The first is from Psalm 118:22: “The stone *which* the builders refused is become the head *stone* of the corner” (King James Bible). Another similar passage is in Matthew 21:42: “Jesus saith unto them, Did ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes?” (King James Bible)

<sup>84</sup> Note that the nearby Union Theological Seminary, completed between 1908 and 1910, was also a liberal institution. But the Riverside Church’s placement directly across from the I-House made it, as we shall see, into a more prominent symbol of Protestant Modernism.

<sup>85</sup> Edmonds to Rockefeller, 1923, OMR, RAC.

knew about its impending arrival. In July of that year, he wrote an ecstatic letter to Rockefeller, expressing his joy at the latter's strategic purchase of land for the church:

The purchase of the Morningside plot as a definite move to obtain the one on Riverside was clever and I applaud the business sagacity of all who had a part in the transaction. The potential value of International House as gone up at least ten percent. Bless your heart for doing this.<sup>86</sup>

Apart from Edmonds' advocacy for a new church across from the I-House, Rockefeller was probably also motivated by his disappointment over the sectarian exclusivity of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, a massive ecclesiastical project undertaken by the Episcopalian community: the Cathedral had been under construction since 1889 on the eastern edge of Morningside Heights.<sup>87</sup> While Episcopalians were not a majority sect within Protestantism, they were wealthy and very influential: Episcopalian families such as the Astors and the Vanderbilts had contributed funds for the Cathedral's erection. Still, the project ran into financial trouble due to its lengthy construction schedule and the paucity of funds during the First World War. In 1925, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was Episcopalian, presided over a fundraising gala in Madison Square Garden for the Cathedral, which helped jumpstart the project. The committee in charge of the Cathedral took the opportunity to declare that the project would now be ecumenical. In February 1925, Rockefeller donated \$500,000 towards the church's construction budget and expressed his hope that the committee's repeated pledges of ecumenism might finally be reflected in the opening up of its board to people from outside the sect. But while Rockefeller's gift was accepted, his application to be a board member was refused. The date of these

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<sup>86</sup> Edmonds to Rockefeller, July 27, 1925, Folder 68, Box 10, OMR, RAC. In this quote, Edmonds is referring to Rockefeller's purchase of land along Morningside Drive, which the patron had held onto while looking for a more suitable site along Riverside Drive. Eventually, the price of the land on Morningside Drive rose enough to offset the cost of buying a smaller plot on Riverside Drive.

<sup>87</sup> Dolkart, *Morningside Heights*, 38.



developments—in early 1925—suggests that Riverside Church was conceived partly in response to Rockefeller’s disappointment at the Cathedral’s dismissal of his application.<sup>88</sup> With Rockefeller’s funds, Riverside Church was built at such a speedy pace that it overtook the Cathedral, which was still under construction by the time Riverside opened in 1930.

As we have seen, Rockefeller intended Riverside Church as both a new home for his congregation, which had formerly gathered at Park Avenue Baptist Church, and as a dedicated ministerial seat for Harry Emerson Fosdick after the scandal of the latter’s 1922 sermon.<sup>89</sup> Fosdick wanted to preach his views to a large non-denominational audience. To persuade him to join, Rockefeller promised to build him a church that would be big enough to accommodate people from different sects. Rockefeller also helped change the name of the church to Riverside Church, playing down its Baptist affiliation so that it could be more inclusive.

Harry Emerson Fosdick had been around the I-House team for some years. In 1920, to ensure a high attendance at a fund-raiser, Edmonds had recruited the popular Fosdick to come and speak about the project. Rockefeller was not present at this gathering. But later, when Rockefeller became interested in the project, Edmonds requested Fosdick to issue a formal statement expressing his approval of the proposed Clubhouse. Fosdick affirmed the project’s ambition and goals while arguing—like his brother Raymond—that it would be imperative to ensure that the proposed residence was administratively independent from the more conservative

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>89</sup> At this point, the wealthier congregations were moving north from the city’s congested centers, and Riverside’s construction in Morningside Heights was probably, in some ways, part of this move as well. For more on churches in New York in the 1920s and 30s, see Stern et al., *New York 1930*, 147-169; Courtney Bender, “Religious Horizons in New York’s 1920s,” in *Religion in the Sky*, (Publisher TBD, forthcoming - cited with author’s permission). A quick note about Park Avenue Baptist Church: until 1922, this congregation had been located at Fifth Avenue, in the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 221. In this dissertation, I use both names—Park Avenue Baptist Church and Fifth Avenue Baptist Church—depending on the time period under discussion. So, in Chapter One, where I discuss Rockefeller’s leadership of Bible classes at his church in the early 1900s, I call the church “Fifth Avenue Baptist Church.”

and evangelical YMCA.<sup>90</sup> Edmonds included this statement in a report that he sent to Rockefeller.

Like the Cathedral of St. John the Divine—which stands imposingly on the edge of Morningside Heights’ plateau and overlooks the area below—Riverside Church crests an elevated site, which slopes down towards the Hudson River on the west and, as we know, also features a sharp drop on the east towards Claremont Avenue and towards the north. Its entrance at the base of a twenty-two-story bell-tower faces Riverside Drive and the Hudson River beyond. Although the church takes up only half of the short end of the block facing Claremont Park, a small warren-like portion of it does extend to Claremont Avenue, where it has a utilitarian entrance. Meanwhile, a circular apse faces the Park and the I-House, allowing close proximity and overt juxtaposition with internationalism.

The Church’s prominent location and its speedy construction, wealthy benefactor, and outspoken minister can obscure an important point: the project did not necessarily emerge from a place of unfettered power. Rather, the Church—and for that matter, the I-House—was a response to the real and perceived challenges posed by the emergence of secular universities and the mixing of races and faiths in the United States. While Protestant fundamentalists reacted by closing themselves off to other races and faiths, modernists took a different view of things and believed that Protestant Christianity would have to make some concessions to these new groups: by finding a way to accommodate rather than reject non-Protestants, liberals and modernists felt that they might be able to exert some influence over them. With respect to the emergence of secular universities, it is important to note that this development was particularly problematic for

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<sup>90</sup> “Supporting Statement by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick,” in Harry Edmonds, “Report,” March 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, OMR, RAC. Harry Emerson Fosdick had many other interactions with the I-House. He was also invited to speak to foreign students on the occasion of the official announcement of the I-House project. See: “The Opening Reception,” *Columbia Spectator*, October 22, 1920.

the religious community because earlier, in nineteenth century America, Protestant colleges and schools had been the leading educational institutions in the country. But the twentieth century emerged as the age of secular and government-supported universities. One solution adopted by the Protestant establishment between 1925 and 1960 was to try and regain influence in American society by building churches near secular campuses. While some modest efforts were made towards this at the turn of the century, it is really only in the 1920s that this movement gained strength. With Riverside Church, not only was the ecclesiastical institution following American college-age youth, but it was also trying to stay in proximity to the all-important foreign student community.<sup>91</sup>

Rockefeller's attempt to bind together students from different linguistic and national origins through religion, reflects a deeper understanding and history of the ability or use of a common religion to temper a more virulent type of nationalism within the university. Guido Zernatto and Alfonso G. Misretta's essay on the history of the word "nation," describes how, in medieval European universities, students from different language groups chose to live together as *nationes*.<sup>92</sup> In living and studying together, they naturally also formed "a *community of opinion*" that differed from other *nationes* or even their professors. However, this common linguistic origin and shared intellectual foundation did not develop into the nationalism associated with a state—as nationalism came to be understood in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—because the larger university community was still bound together by the shared faith and culture of Roman Catholicism.

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<sup>91</sup> For more on the movement to build churches near universities, see Dorothy C. Bass, "Ministry on the Margin: Protestants and Education," in *Between the Times*, 48-71.

<sup>92</sup> Guido Zernatto and Alfonso G. Misretta, "Nation: The History of a Word," *The Review of Politics* 6, no. 3 (1944): 351-66.

## 4.5. Architectural Authorship & Design

Rockefeller's concern over excessive nationalist sentiments at home and overseas, secular universities, and the threat of communist movements and religious orthodoxy from different quarters, crucially shaped the architecture of International House New York (and Riverside Church). Here, too, his authorship was critical. Archival correspondence not only confirms his active involvement in the design and execution of the project, but it also introduces authors previously not considered.

As a hands-on patron who, by 1921, had already gained plenty of experience regarding site selection, building layout, and architectural details on other projects, Rockefeller drove many key decisions on International House New York, and determined its overall aesthetic effect: substantial in size and appearance but not ornate. He also doubled his initial financial outlay and appointed personnel necessary to achieve his desired outcome for the project.

Before Rockefeller came on board, the ICC had asked Louis Jallade of the firm Jallade, Lindsay & Warren to propose an initial sketch for the building. A Canadian by birth and naturalized American citizen, Jallade (1876-1957) had built a long career in the United States designing institutional buildings. He was also one of many twentieth-century American architects who had traveled to Paris to study at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*. Upon returning to New York, he was hired by the Boston-based architectural firm Allen and Collens to oversee the execution of their design for Union Theological Seminary on Claremont Avenue, two blocks down from the future I-House.<sup>93</sup> By 1906, Jallade had started his own practice, in which he designed and built

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<sup>93</sup> Dolkart, *Morningside Heights*, 249. Union Theological Seminary was started by the Presbyterian Church, but by 1893 it had taken its liberal credentials further and had become a non-denominational institution.

YMCA projects on the East Coast.<sup>94</sup> Although Jallade was adept at providing adequate facilities along the YMCA model, he was not as skilled in the Beaux-Arts tradition, which was Rockefeller's preferred style. Despite his training in Paris, Jallade's architectural practice was primarily known for prioritizing the practical demands of a building. Paula Lupkin categorizes him as a "specialist architect" for the YMCA: someone who was technically skilled but not necessarily aesthetically accomplished or focused.<sup>95</sup>

In correspondence with Fosdick, Rockefeller raised doubts regarding Jallade's suitability for the project, and revealed that he had discussed the matter with Abby, an emerging architectural patron herself, who had instead suggested the architect Duncan Candler as either a lead or supervising architect for the project.<sup>96</sup> Like William Welles Bosworth, Candler often acted as a personal architect for the Rockefellers. Abby in particular was quite fond of him, and had worked with him at the Grace Dodge Hotel in Washington D.C. and on other projects, such as the "Playhouse" at Kykuit, Abeyton Lodge (another house on Pocantico Hills near Kykuit, where Rockefeller and Abby lived until Senior's death), and The Eyrrie, their summer getaway in Maine (**Fig. 4.18-19**).<sup>97</sup> In passing along Abby's recommendation to Fosdick, Rockefeller questioned the latter whether Jallade was as aesthetically competent as Candler and even whether he could handle the programmatic concerns of the I-House equally well or better.

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<sup>94</sup> Edmonds once said of Jallade, "[he] had built more dormitories for the YMCA and the YWCA in the United States than any other man." Mezirow et al., *Harry Edmonds*, 46.

<sup>95</sup> For Jallade as a specialist architect, see Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 160-161. Note that although Lupkin's book includes descriptions of other kinds of social spaces that later emerged from the YMCA model, she does not mention the International House, which I see as an important innovation on the YMCA model.

<sup>96</sup> Rockefeller to Fosdick, February 22, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, OMR, RAC.

<sup>97</sup> Despite the fact that Candler was a prolific architect, I cannot find many books or articles on him. But there is a lot of information about him available via the Internet. He appears to have worked for both the Rockefeller families and the Ford families. He designed Edsel and Eleanor Ford's Skylands in Seal Harbor, Maine (completed in 1925). Rockefeller's country get-away, The Eyrrie, was located on another hilltop close to the Skylands. The Eyrrie was originally purchased as a cottage in 1910. Candler helped to expand it into a nearly 100-room estate. He was also the designer of the art gallery in the Rockefellers' 9-story townhouse. (The townhouse was designed by Bosworth.)

For reasons that are not clear, Candler did not make the cut. Instead, the Building Committee gave the project to Jallade but retained Bosworth as a consulting architect. We do not have correspondence that proves that Rockefeller had expressly asked for Bosworth's appointment, but his past association with him, his relief upon hearing the confirmation of this news, and his immediate correspondence with him thereafter suggests that he played some part in his selection. But Bosworth's appointment was no mere act of appeasement by the Building Committee towards their financier: while the limited published literature on the I-House presents Jallade as the architect of this project, archival correspondence strongly indicates that Bosworth was an integral part of the design process.<sup>98</sup>

As a building that attempted to bring together students from different nations in harmony, and provide them with housing and recreational spaces that would promote the values of

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<sup>98</sup> The Building Committee's selection of Bosworth to supervise Jallade can be read as another act of distancing the I-House from the YMCA, this time in terms of its architectural appearance. On the other hand, this selection interestingly mirrors the YMCA's decision to move away from specialist architects at this time as well. In the initial days of the YMCA's post-Civil War revival, the Association hired technically proficient architects to work out the spatial requirements for its new program, and to design an appropriate floor plan that would both accommodate these requirements and allow for the easy surveillance of members. Jallade was an important contributor to this work. His recommendations were employed in a whole slew of YMCA buildings that sprang up across the United States at this time. In the second phase of the YMCA's architectural developments, having worked out the practical requirements, the YMCA tried to attract "general-practice" architects—i.e. non-specialists whose strength lay in their ability to design aesthetically commanding buildings according to the best principles of the Beaux-Arts. This decision was made to introduce stylistic sophistication to the Y's buildings. But Beaux-Arts architects proved notoriously unreliable when it came to staying true to the YMCA's programmatic considerations. To compensate for this, the Association created a new administrative department called the Building Bureau, which oversaw the generalists' designs and ensured that these met the technical and programmatic needs of each facility. The Building Bureau was a specific evolutionary strategy of the YMCA. By extracting best practices and technical recommendations from the work of specialists, and then turning these into requirements and guidelines, the Bureau enabled the YMCA to hire generalists while simultaneously ensuring that the completed buildings would be both aesthetically impressive *and* programmatically appropriate. See Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 159-171. The I-House, too, tried to marry stylistic considerations with technical requirements—albeit through the simultaneous hiring of two architects. Jallade probably brought his knowledge of the technical requirements of dormitory-type buildings with large assembly spaces to the project. Meanwhile, Bosworth acted the part of the generalist, substantially revising Jallade's elevations and enhancing various architectural details on the project. The fact that Rockefeller did not create a separate department or committee that could advise architects across his many projects, unlike the YMCA, can perhaps be read as a sign of his hands-on patronage. A final note about Louis Jallade: In her illuminating book on YMCA architecture, Lupkin writes extensively on Jallade's career as a YMCA specialist as well as on his post-YMCA career, when he was called upon to design memorial community centers. And, she writes about his partner's design for the Young Women's Hebrew Association building. Lupkin presents these various buildings as successors or competitors for the YMCA. But she does not mention Jallade's work for the International

Protestant Modernism and an American-led internationalism, the I-House was a new and distinct type of building. I argue that although neither Bosworth nor Jallade had designed such a building before, together they were able to draw on spatial ideas from their substantial experiences on other projects. The available archival material does not provide us with clear evidence as to the exact role and impact of each architect on the building's appearance and layout, but it is possible to use incidental information from meeting minutes and letters to reconstruct the design process. We can also glean relevant information from our prior knowledge of each architect's strengths.

Since Jallade had significant experience in designing hostels, it is safe to assume that he took the lead in determining solutions to any practical and technical problems for the project. Meanwhile, Bosworth, being an aesthetic sophisticate, probably took charge of the building's massing, elevations, and formal spaces. Bosworth did not attend every construction meeting, but his name is mentioned often in the minutes. Attendees typically included the members of the Building Committee, the architect (generally Louis Jallade along with one of his partners and sometimes an employee), and the Contractors Marc Eidlitz & Son. The minutes refer frequently to various design issues on which Bosworth's approval was required, and these include even relatively minor items such as the projection of granite nosing at the steps or the designs of wrought iron railings.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, towards the end of the project, while discussing the architectural fee to be paid to Bosworth for his contribution, Fosdick wrote that the architect had substantially re-designed Jallade's elevations and interiors and that, were it not for him, they would have had a much inferior building:

What we would ever have done without Bosworth I do not know. Certainly the building would

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House—or the project itself—at all.

<sup>99</sup> Minutes of Meeting, September 2, 1924, International House New York Archives (hereafter IHNYA); Minutes of Meeting, February 26, 1924, IHNYA. At some meetings, such as one on July 2, 1924, Bosworth was actually present.

have been far less complete and attractive. He has added immeasurably to its appearance, inside and out.<sup>100</sup>

But Bosworth is not solely responsible for the final appearance of the building. In fact, were it not for Rockefeller, the building under Bosworth's direction might have looked quite different—more ornate, perhaps. Immediately after receiving news of Bosworth's appointment, Rockefeller wrote to him to convey his aesthetic preferences regarding the project. Acknowledging that the building would, of necessity, be tall, Rockefeller identified architectural precedents that he thought would be most appropriate for it:

Since the building projected will be of necessity quite high, may I say to you in the utmost frankness but with no desire to criticize, that I regard the design of the new Cunard Building as more beautiful and appropriate for a high structure than the Western Union Building with its many horizontal lines, which seem to me to produce an effect far less restful than the longitudinal lines of the Cunard Building.<sup>101</sup>

Built between 1920 and 1921, the Cunard was designed as a 22-story “Renaissance Revival” structure by Benjamin Wistar Morris with Carrere and Hastings as consulting architects (**Fig. 4.20**). It functioned as a ticket venue for the Cunard Passenger Ship Line as well as an office building. Although its immediate neighborhood, the Bowling Green, featured Alexander Hamilton's famous U.S. Custom House, the Cunard became a landmark in its own right. Meanwhile, the Western Union (later AT&T) Building was actually Bosworth's project, and it was under construction at the time of Rockefeller's writing. It is a different kind of tall building in which the horizontal slab of each of its twenty-nine floors is emphasized, giving the whole structure a layered appearance as opposed to the Cunard's more streamlined vertical aesthetic (**Fig. 4.21**). The building's facade is punctuated by columns, which are not continuous from top

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<sup>100</sup> Fosdick to Rockefeller, August 31, 1924, Folder 68, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>101</sup> Rockefeller to Bosworth, July 4, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.



to bottom but instead repeat every three floors. Perhaps Rockefeller felt that these columns aesthetically countered the building's height, further enhancing its horizontal layers and making it appear too ornamented.<sup>102</sup>

Bosworth argued that Rockefeller's dislike of the Western Union Building was perhaps premature as it was still under construction.<sup>103</sup> But the final aesthetic of the I-House bears no resemblance to this building, which shows that Rockefeller did prevail in this matter. That he felt comfortable enough to tell Bosworth that he did not approve of one of his projects—and that the final building looks nothing like this design—points to Rockefeller's decisive authorship on this project as well as to his changing relationship with Bosworth. At Kykuit, he had deferred to the architect in most cases, but by 1921 he appears to have gained confidence in his own architectural abilities.

The building's facade also bears no resemblance to the initial sketch of the project prepared by Louis Jallade. As built, International House New York is a simple yet imposing Italianate building finished in beige face brick (**Fig. 4.22-23**).<sup>104</sup> In plan, it is a squat H-shaped building. In elevation it is symmetrical—in keeping with the best principles of the Beaux-Arts—and tall (thirteen floors high). It is comprised of three wings. The central wing is the widest and it is set back from the two end wings: basically, it forms the horizontal band of the “H” in plan, except that this band is quite thick. The two narrower side wings or stems of the “H” are not as tall as the central wing, which rises above them by three stories as well as bulkheads. The building's wings feature classicizing details, such as a base, a main body, and a pediment. A large

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<sup>102</sup> The radically different approaches to the Cunard and the Western Union Building are emblematic of the problem of tall buildings in this period. The Western Union exemplifies an application of neoclassical details to a building-type for which it is not necessarily suited.

<sup>103</sup> Bosworth to Rockefeller, July 11, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>104</sup> The building continues to function as International House today. It appears less imposing today because there are many more buildings around it and its mass is concealed behind mature trees.

arched entrance faces Claremont Park. On the East side, the building drops down three levels to reach Claremont Avenue, which is at a much lower elevation than Riverside Drive and Claremont Park. In Jallade's sketch, the proposed sloped roof line of the building suggested a residential or domestic structure. However, in the actual building, this is replaced by sophisticated orthogonal lines.

### **Plan - Prototype**

The I-House's inclusion of particular social spaces (gymnasium, auditorium, management offices)—and their configuration to each other (the central location of management offices allowing for surveillance of members)—suggests that the Building Committee and architects used the post-Civil War, revamped YMCA buildings as prototype, and hints finally at Jallade's particular contribution to the project.

Until the 1860s, YMCA programs were limited in scope, did not require special or unusual spaces, and were thus housed in rental facilities. Starting with the 1869 YMCA in New York, the Association began to create dedicated buildings that could provide athletic facilities (to accommodate the Y's new focus on physical self-improvement) as well as offices, informal social spaces for intellectual and recreational past-times, and a large assembly hall for more formal events. The New York City YMCA also had to be an aesthetically competent structure that could fit into its fashionable neighborhood, while also being financially viable and self-sufficient—particularly given the value of Manhattan's real estate. After it was completed, the 1869 YMCA was described by commentators as: “a building that would represent before the

public the social element of religion”<sup>105</sup> and as a “new kind of building...the latest in a long line of Christian structures adapted to the needs of their time: the basilica, the monastery, the cathedral, and the meeting house.”<sup>106</sup> It was a building that declared that the proper socialization of young men to a capitalist society was a necessary accompaniment to religion and spirituality.

To design the building, architect James Renwick Jr. and YMCA leaders studied existing instructional and social facilities in Manhattan such as Richard Morris Hunt’s proposed design for the elite Union League’s Club, the Cooper Union, and the central performance space at Booth’s Theatre. These buildings and proposals featured large halls for instruction and entertainment as well as gathering spaces for formal and casual recreation. Hunt’s proposal for the Union League’s Club also featured artists’ studios on the upper levels and stores on the ground floor to generate income. It also incorporated a gallery at the top of the building. The YMCA incorporated all these spaces and their associated functions into its new building.

As built, the YMCA was a six-story structure that housed a bowling alley and gymnasium below street level, income-producing shops at street level, and parlors, game room, reception room, offices, a double-height lecture hall and a reading room on the floors above. The fourth floor was taken up with spaces for reading and instruction (library and classrooms). Meanwhile, the fifth and sixth floors provided studio spaces for artists, complete with a public art gallery. At the very top, the presiding YMCA officer had his private quarters (**Fig. 4.24**). Each space was intended to be accommodating and inviting.

A notable feature of the new building was its attempt to control the activities of young men through an architecture of surveillance. This is best encapsulated in the central Reception

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<sup>105</sup> William Adams, pastor of Madison Square Presbyterian Church, quoted in Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 38.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. Here I am quoting Paula Lupkin, who is describing the comments of The Reverend Joseph P. Thompson (Broadway Tabernacle) on the new YMCA.

Room, through which passed all the building's stairways, exits, and entrances. The Reception Room was described as corresponding "to the bar, the gambling table, or other focal point of interest in the various demoralizing resorts with which young men are familiar."<sup>107</sup> Unlike the bar, however, the Reception Room became a spatial device that would regulate the movement and behavior of young men through the space. Lupkin rightly associates the room's function with the principles of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon.<sup>108</sup> The YMCA's concern with regulation and surveillance is very well represented in a diagram produced by none other than Jallade in 1915 (**Fig. 4.25**). Here, describing an ideal layout for YMCA buildings, Jallade has shown a central office space around which all other spaces are arranged in a wheel-like fashion. The diagram was printed in the *Association Building*, a magazine that tried to codify the best practices of designing YMCAs.

In later years, the prototype of the 1869 YMCA and of Jallade's later diagram from 1915 both underwent a few significant transformations. As some of these are also reflected in the design of the I-House, I will outline them here. At the turn of the century, the YMCA eliminated its street-level store fronts—which were previously income-producing features—in order to give the highly visible ground floor entirely over to the activities of the institution. In a sense, this gave the YMCA a stronger institutional appearance rather than one weakened by reminders of commerce. Income, however, was still necessary for the smooth operation of the Ys, and so the Association introduced for-rent dormitories and office spaces above the ground floor.<sup>109</sup> YMCA buildings also dispensed with their staid parlors and revival halls to appear modern and in step with the latest trends. Instead of separate parlor rooms, men met in hotel-like foyers, where space

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<sup>107</sup> Richard C. Morse quoted in *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>109</sup> The YMCA picked up the idea of for-rent spaces from hotels, fraternity houses, student unions, and theatres. *Ibid.*, 111-112.

was organized and punctuated by columns. Then, to compete with the even greater number of attractions for young men that had emerged at this time, the YMCA fully embraced leisure and physical activities. This was reflected in a more careful and specialized design of the gymnasiums. Finally, the YMCA began to accommodate the needs of another demographic: teenage boys.

The Chicago YMCA built between 1893-94 and the Brooklyn Central YMCA completed in 1913 are good examples of these changes. In Chicago, the revival-hall came to be seen as an outmoded space with religious overtones and was instead renamed the Auditorium. This same name is used in the I-House. In accordance with the Age of Muscular Christianity, the gym became more specialized and included a swimming pool, which is now a standard feature of YMCAs. Both Brooklyn and Chicago were tall buildings unlike their predecessors, which typically topped off somewhere between four to six floors. The new YMCAs were thirteen stories high, just like the future International House. This increased height was necessary to accommodate enough income-producing dormitories and offices that could make the building a viable enterprise in cities with high real-estate value. In Chicago, the tower housed office spaces. In Brooklyn, the tower housed more than four hundred dormitory rooms. The introduction of a domestic space was new for the YMCAs—though these spaces were much more common in YWCAs.<sup>110</sup> The provision of boarding for young men was seen as another way to govern them: it increased the time they spent at the YMCA, and provided the Association's leaders with more opportunities to influence them. Finally, the inclusion of young boys alongside men necessitated the creation of spatial devices through which the interactions between two different

demographics could be limited and monitored. The Brooklyn YMCA was a single building mass but inside it was divided into two separate zones. It also featured different entrances for boys and men. In a YMCA at Atlanta, this division was expressed in the building's exterior.

### **Plan and Layout of International House New York**

The I-House is an amalgamation of the two phases of YMCA design, but further modified to take into account Rockefeller's interest in restricting vice (i.e., sexual activities). This was probably a major concern for him (given his strict upbringing) because the building would house women alongside men. In addition to Bosworth and Fosdick, Rockefeller brought other actors and voices onto the design team to help him resolve these issues.

For example, Rockefeller asked the Building Committee to retain the eugenicist and head of the BSH, Katherine B. Davis, as a consultant.<sup>111</sup> As we saw in Chapter Two, Davis was particularly concerned with women's spaces and sexuality. In an early version of the I-House plans and elevations, the women's wing was apparently shown facing Claremont Avenue. Davis criticized this plan, arguing that women would be more likely to spend time in their rooms, and thus deserved the better view, which could only be provided by rooms that faced Riverside Drive and the Hudson River beyond. Furthermore, she argued that if the wing facing Riverside Drive would prove to be a better location in other ways as well, then such a fact would only *strengthen* her argument to house women there. She reasoned that by giving women the more superior

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<sup>110</sup> YWCA buildings had always acted the part of a home away from home for young women. As for YMCAs, branches in smaller towns had offered housing. But the main YMCAs in prominent locations did not offer housing. However, as boardinghouses shut down across American towns, the YMCA began to take on the job of offering rooms for young men. These rooms resembled those in student dormitories, which were beginning to be built around 1885. *Ibid.*, 123.

accommodations, the I-House would send a message to its foreign male residents—who she probably presumed came from less socially and culturally progressive lands—on the proper way to treat women.<sup>112</sup> When the I-House was completed, the women’s wing did indeed face Riverside Drive.

As built, the I-House comprised three inter-connected wings under one roof (**Fig. 4.26**). Programmatically, it featured residential accommodations for 525 male and female students (more men than women), two-thirds of whom were foreigners. The I-House also featured offices for the administrative staff, circulation corridors and a few discrete hubs for elevators and staircases, a kitchen and dining area, a shop (“Bazaar”), a large gymnasium, a large auditorium (which could be rented out for independent events), a Main Lounge, National Rooms (with kitchenettes), and—like the earlier YMCAs—parlors or sitting rooms.<sup>113</sup> Following Davis’ advice, men and women were housed in distinct sections of the building but by and large they shared common social spaces.

The first or main floor is at the level of Riverside Drive and Claremont/Sakura Park. Three floors lie underneath it, stepping down towards Claremont Avenue. “A” and “B” are partial floors and feature utilitarian and service spaces, such as a truck bay, entrance from Claremont Avenue, Carpenter’s Shop, Pump Rooms, storage facilities, HVAC facilities, laundry facilities, and a small residential area possibly for staff. “C” is the first full floor but it—together with A and B—gives no hint of the formal spaces that are located above it. The Kitchen and

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<sup>111</sup> In addition to Davis, Abby Rockefeller participated in the design process as well. Actively involved in establishing housing and social spaces that catered specifically to women in large urban centers, she may have been the one to insist that the I-House include accommodations for female students in the first place.

<sup>112</sup> Fosdick to Rockefeller, November 30, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>113</sup> In its current iteration, the I-House appears to have retained many of these features but it has also acquired a new building that had previously been constructed to its North by the Union Theological Seminary. This building is now used to house graduate students who have families—a provision that was not available in the main building.

Dining Room are on this floor, along with the Bazaar.<sup>114</sup>

Floors 1-3 provide the main formal and social spaces for the I-House and it is here that we finally see the axial layout and symmetry associated with Beaux-Arts plans. The first floor is also the first *formal* floor, with a large, spacious, and central Main Lounge facing an outdoor patio and the Park (**Fig. 4.27**). The Lounge resembles the hotel-style foyers of later YMCA buildings. The park-facing Main Lounge and the rear-facing Gymnasium form the central bar of the H-shaped plan. Sandwiched in between them—and also centrally located—are offices and a “Controller” Room. The latter appears to be the equivalent of the YMCA’s Reception Room. On either side of the Main Lounge, stairs and elevators lead up to the women’s wing (on the West side) and the men’s wing. Each side also has a social room and some other spaces. The East wing features residences and the “Dodge” or East Room, whereas the West wing at this level features administrative spaces, an entrance from Riverside Drive, and a social room called the “Babbitt” or Mural Room. Unlike later YMCA buildings, these rooms served as parlors. In the context of the YMCAs, Lupkin has described parlors as spaces of “masculine morality and middle-class respectability.”<sup>115</sup> The retention of old-fashioned parlor spaces in a 1920s project may be attributed to the problem of housing men and women together in the building. Parlors—and separate ones at that—perhaps helped to endow the entire project with respectability and decorum.

Purely instructional spaces such as libraries or classrooms are not included in the I-House because this building was not meant for young workers (unlike the YMCA) but for students, who would have had access to libraries at their respective institutions. It was probably deemed more

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<sup>114</sup> In the absence of plans that are clearly dated to 1924, I am working off of some plans I found at the IHNYA, whose date is unclear.

<sup>115</sup> Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 62.



necessary to provide social spaces to accommodate all nationalities and genders instead. However, there were limits to the mixing of genders and nationalities even in the International House. For example, a pool that had been planned at the ground level was not built because the mixing of races and genders through this activity was thought to be too intimate and scandalous.<sup>116</sup> On the Second Floor, the central bar is also made up of formal spaces (**Fig. 4.28**). The floor featured National Rooms with kitchenettes (which could be rented out by students), directly above the Main Lounge and overlooking the park.<sup>117</sup> A foyer beyond them leads to a central Auditorium, which is positioned above the Gymnasium and offices of the First Floor. The Auditorium was a central social space in the I-House, where Sunday Suppers and other popular and large events such as the “Candlelight Supper” or ceremony could take place.<sup>118</sup> In designing the I-House, Rockefeller and the Building Committee envisioned that the Auditorium would be accessible for independent events as well, and it was therefore given two entrances: one from Riverside Drive, accessible via a staircase for non-resident guests, and one from inside the building. A Home Room was located in the West wing along with women’s dormitories. Men’s rooms were located on the East side, along with a sitting room.

On the third floor, the central bar is a continuation of the double-height Auditorium below. It also features galleries that overlook the Auditorium (**Fig. 4.29**). The residential wings on either side have their own separate access into the upper galleries, which lie between them and separate them. Each wing also features an entrance onto the Roof Terrace, and some small rooms that look out onto it. Technically it would have been quite possible for someone from the Men’s section to go over into the Women’s section (and vice versa) through these intervening

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<sup>116</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 95.

<sup>117</sup> It is unclear to me if the “National Rooms” are still called and used as such.

<sup>118</sup> In the Candlelight Supper, a candle would be passed from one person to the next, perhaps symbolizing unity and brotherhood. See Hall, *Living in the Future*, 10. Edmonds began this tradition long before the I-House was built.

spaces. However, the distance between the wings and the intervening gallery spaces and rooms were meant to discourage such casual movement.

Floors 4-8 have similar layouts. Here the central bar is reduced to a thin double-lined hall (similar to the side bars). Large formal gathering spaces are absent from these floors, although each wing does have its own sitting room. Sometimes there is a clear separation between men's and women's wings. At other times, there appear to be no intervening walls. Floors 9-13 begin to shrink even farther, pulling away from the edges of the floors below. Floors 12-13 are bulkheads that house machine rooms, house tanks, and other equipment.

International House New York thus features a simple plan but one that takes into consideration the necessity for approved behavior between the genders, which are contained within separate wings. (There is no evidence that suggests that nationalities were self-contained.) Formal and specialized spaces—the gymnasium, the auditorium, the main lounge, and national rooms—form the central wing of the building on the first three levels. Their central location close to or at ground level emphasizes the importance of these spaces, which were integral to the program of the I-House and to its gathering of multiple nationalities under one roof. The I-House, we could thus say, was yet another innovative building—as Lupkin might put it, “the latest in a long line of Christian structures adapted to the needs of their times”—where a Protestant space is not necessary a space of traditional or sectarian worship, but rather of an international gathering and “brotherhood” shaped and controlled by American business elites and their theological and geopolitical interests.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 38.

## 4.6. Tying the Projects Together: Claremont Park

The adjacency between religion and internationalism further manifests itself in the architectural treatment of the city-owned Claremont Park, which lies between Riverside Church and International House. (This park is now officially called Sakura Park: it was renamed at some point to commemorate the gift of one thousand cherry trees, which the city received from the Japanese government.)<sup>120</sup> The Rockefeller team's re-design helped to spatially tie Riverside Church and International House together into a coherent whole, particularly given their very different architectural styles. This city-owned park is bounded by Claremont Avenue on the east, Riverside Drive and Grant's Tomb on the west, Riverside Church and West 122<sup>nd</sup> Street on the south, and International House on the north. (I-House abuts the park, whereas Riverside Church and Grant's Tomb are across a street.) The earliest sketch of the proposed I-House prepared by Louis Jallade in 1920 shows that the park was level with Riverside Drive but, along the length facing Claremont Avenue, it presented a steep and rocky bluff. A few irregular or picturesque pathways are also visible at this stage (**Fig. 4.30**).

During the construction of International House and Riverside Church, Rockefeller financed the re-design of this park from an uncontained and irregular interstitial space into a flat and formal park that is held in along Claremont Avenue by a buttressed wall inspired by the Abbey of Cluny in France.<sup>121</sup> This Gothic style wall helped relate the park visually to Riverside Church. The park's irregular pathways were replaced with formal and axial paths, which were laid out in a symmetric relationship to both International House and Riverside Church (**Fig. 4.31-**

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<sup>120</sup> Vincent Vesce (Borough Clerk, Manhattan) to W. Earle Andrews, Intra-departmental memorandum at the Department of Parks, City of New York, October 18, 1935, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>121</sup> See Charles Collens (architect of Riverside Church) to Rockefeller, August-September, 1931, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

4.32). In this manner, the new park helped stitch the Church and I-House into an aesthetically harmonious whole and spoke to their coordinated goals.

Efforts to renovate the park first began in 1923 with Bosworth initially at the helm. In addition to bringing the park into aesthetic harmony with the I-House—which, at this point, was the only Rockefeller project near it—both patron and architect had requested the city to grant the I-House its own private access into the space. But the project stalled because the Parks Department worried that if it allowed Rockefeller to renovate the park and create a private entrance for the I-House, the public would perceive that the Department had capitulated to private interests. Bosworth tried to spin the Rockefeller proposal by emphasizing that the I-House was a charitable institution, but he did not succeed.<sup>122</sup> Negotiations began again in 1924, with Rockefeller agreeing to build the retaining wall on the Claremont Avenue side of the park in exchange for special access for the I-House, but again the talks stalled.<sup>123</sup> In 1927, with Riverside Church underway and International House completed, these negotiations were re-started because the situation was now more urgent: both the firm of Allen & Collens (architects of Riverside Church) and Bosworth felt that the park's existing layout and condition did not complement their respective buildings.

At Rockefeller's instructions, Fosdick requested a proposal from the Boston-based landscape design firm Olmsted Brothers, which was headed by Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.—the son of the noted landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, who had designed the nearby Riverside Park. At the time, Olmsted Jr.'s firm was also working on Fort Tryon Park, another

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<sup>122</sup> Bosworth to Rockefeller, August 30, 1923, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>123</sup> Rockefeller to Fosdick, April 17, 1924, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR Educ. Interests, RAC. Francis D. Gallatin Commissioner of Park to Marc Eidlitz & Son, Inc., May 20, 1924, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR Educ. Interests, RAC.

Rockefeller project that was located farther north.<sup>124</sup> At Claremont Park, Olmsted Jr. suggested re-grading the land to eliminate its unsightly dip on the East and South sides. He also suggested that the pathways be re-arranged to give them an axial relationship with the I-House—with which he felt the Park was most intimately associated—and a more picturesque relationship to the Church and to Grant's Tomb.<sup>125</sup> The firm was retained, and Rockefeller more or less followed their advice. At the north end, the front facade of the I-House stretches along the entire length of the Park and sits in symmetric alignment with this land and its pathways. On the opposite end, however, Riverside Church does not extend along the entire short end of the Park. It actually takes up only half of the block (towards Riverside Drive). Keeping this in mind, the Park's entrance along West 122<sup>nd</sup> Street is not placed in the center of the block; rather, it is off to the side, which allows it to be symmetrically aligned with the Church (**Fig. 4.33**). In this way, the Park's pathways and entrances help to tie together these two buildings, which are otherwise quite different in terms of their placement within their respective city blocks as well as their architectural style: with respect to the former (architectural style), the I-House, recalling the design strategy of the 1869 YMCA in New York City, is dressed in a style that was deemed secular and that would differentiate it from an overtly religious building.<sup>126</sup>

In terms of authorship, we find that Rockefeller was once again intimately involved in the project. As the site was in New York—where he was primarily based—he found the time to visit it often. He would follow up these visits with his recommendations in letters to Fosdick or

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<sup>124</sup> Rockefeller to Fosdick, March 8, 1927, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR Educ. Interests, RAC. For more on Fort Tryon Park, see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

<sup>125</sup> Olmsted Jr. to Fosdick, May 18, 1927, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>126</sup> As we have seen, internal correspondence unmistakably shows that the Rockefeller team attributed the International House's success to its (liberal/modernist) Christian foundations. Equally important, however, was the need to present the institution as something accessible to all religions and nationalities. A religious style—like the Gothic-revival—would probably not have achieved the desired result. Instead, we find the Gothic aesthetic reserved for Riverside Church.

Olmsted Jr. For example, in 1933—a year before the Park was officially completed and turned over to the city—Rockefeller wrote to Olmsted and Brothers and commented on the park’s fences and stone gateposts, and on how these related to the overall aesthetic of the project. I will quote at length from Rockefeller’s letter to give an example of the attention he paid to—what might be termed as—rather tedious details. But the letter is also an example of his ability to keep the larger architectural and urban-spatial whole in mind:

Your representative called my attention to the proposed iron fence on the Riverside frontage, also to the proposed stone gateposts to be used in connection with the iron fence. I thought the ornament at the top of the fence unnecessary and not desirable. I was told that it followed more or less the ornament on the International House fence. An ornament of this kind only adds to the upkeep, expense and painting; then too it is very apt to rust and fall off. My thought would be that a perfectly plain picket fence with one bar in the upper part and one at the bottom would look better and be more serviceable...

As to the stone gateposts, I feel that the overhanging caps are not in tune with the type of architecture adopted throughout Claremont Park. I was told that the caps of these posts at least recall the International House caps. There again it seems to me that it was more important to have Claremont Park consistent in its architecture than to try to tie it in with International House by departing to a degree from the type of architecture of either structure. As I studied the question further, I came to feel that a perfectly flush cap, pyramidal in shape, would go best with the park masonry architecture and with such a fence as I have above described, and at the same time not be inharmonious with the International House architecture. By pyramid cap I mean not just a slight rise of an inch or two but a rise of from six inches to a foot, depending upon the proper proportion of the rise to the height of the post and its diameter.<sup>127</sup>

The final aesthetic of the park was one of a refined, restrained, and deliberately planned space, which is in stark contrast to its previous wilder and more natural appearance.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Rockefeller to Olmsted Jr. and Fosdick, February 21, 1932, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC. In principle, Rockefeller’s suggestion was adopted.

<sup>128</sup> A final point about the park is that Olmsted Brothers designed it in a way that was meant to integrate it within “the whole park area on top of the hill”—not just with the I-House and Church. In this way, we can imagine that the goals of the latter two projects are disseminated farther out from their immediate sites. The landscape designers spaced the trees around the Park farther apart at one point along its western edge, in order to provide a clearing and view towards Grant’s Tomb and Riverside Park beyond. This information is noted in Rockefeller to Edmonds, June 6, 1934, Folder 82, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

## 4.7. Ornament | Center-Periphery

The concerns that spurred Rockefeller’s architectural patronage also left their trace in the smallest details of his projects. I have argued that Rockefeller conceived of International House New York and Riverside Church as part of the same logic of Protestant Internationalism, and I have shown that this united conception is aesthetically manifested in the siting of these projects. There is, however, a notable difference between the two buildings: whereas the I-House is a simple building, Riverside Church features an ornate Gothic-Revival façade that one critic described as “a late example of bewildered eclecticism, of cultural servitude to europe [sic], a travesty on thirteenth century Gothic.”<sup>129</sup> Given the financial resources of its architectural patron as well as the programmatic symmetry between the two projects, the near lack of architectural ornament in International House New York is a curious point.<sup>130</sup> I argue that Rockefeller’s ideological construction of the U.S. as a theological and political center, and the nations of the world as a periphery to be acted upon, is encapsulated in this difference.

Letters exchanged between Rockefeller and the I-House Building Committee repeatedly emphasize the necessity for an architecturally plain building. In 1921, in an apparent reference to an earlier discussion, Frederick Osborn sought to reassure Rockefeller about the proposed building’s aesthetic:

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<sup>129</sup> Quoted in *New York City Guide: A Comprehensive Guide to the Five Boroughs of the Metropolis--Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond—Prepared by the Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration in New York City* (New York: Random House, 1939), 388.

<sup>130</sup> The I-House is not completely bare. It features some ornamentation, such as the horizontal coursing of stone on the facade at street level. It also features a few engravings at the Claremont/Sakura Park entrance, including the inscription, “That Brotherhood May Prevail,” and two medallions on either side of it that emphasize the movement’s ideology. But this ornamentation is quite sparse compared to Riverside Church, which features numerous wood, metal, and marble decorations. For example, the Church’s doorway is modeled after an entrance portal at Chartres Cathedral, and features rich marble carvings of religious figures and philosophers as well as modern scientists—a juxtaposition that serves to emphasize one of Protestant Modernism’s basic tenets: that God is also immanent in modern science and culture.

Do not think we have lost sight of the necessity that these students should have only the greatest simplicity and the essentials and no more, during their stay here; we believe that these things can be retained by the interior design and furnishing and by the use of the Claremont Avenue entrance for ordinary occasions, and we want to see that this atmosphere is strictly maintained while, at the same time, we take full advantage of the site and, ultimately, it is hoped, of all the available land.<sup>131</sup>

Rockefeller's response reiterates the necessity of a plain façade and indicates the reason behind this:

The clubhouse, while well designed from an architectural point of view and tastefully furnished, should be severely simple, both outside and inside. **Otherwise it might do more harm than good to the members, most of whom come from and will doubtless return to simple home surroundings** [emphasis mine].<sup>132</sup>

There are two related ways of understanding the ornamental simplicity of International House New York: the first is from the perspective of religion and the second from nationalism. I will take each in turn. Recall Akira Iriye's description of the role of foreign students in American educational projects after the First World War: Iriye interprets these young men and women as the new foot-soldiers.<sup>133</sup> Criss-crossing borders with relative ease at a time of restrictive immigration acts, students could be counted upon to transmit cultural and political values from one land to another. But the International House movement privileged the sharing of American values abroad, which could only be accomplished by ensuring that foreign students returned to their homes. Edmonds frequently delivered speeches encouraging students to take the battle for peace and internationalism home, where he believed these messages were most needed. His

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<sup>131</sup> Osborn to Rockefeller, August 2, 1921, Folder 70, Box 11, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>132</sup> Rockefeller to Osborn, August 10, 1921, Folder 70, Box 11, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>133</sup> Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 184.



speeches were also published in the form of pamphlets and distributed widely.<sup>134</sup>

The successful return of foreign students was a concern shared by other organizations. The Carnegie-funded Institute of International Education (I.I.E.), which had been founded in 1919 to provide guidance to foreign governments and exchange students regarding fellowships at American universities, gauged the success of cultural-internationalism-through-education not only by whether the students returned home but also by how well they were able to re-adjust to their surroundings once there. They found that undergraduate students were particularly likely to struggle with re-adjustment because they were too young to have been sufficiently exposed to the unique social and bureaucratic problems of their countries before leaving for the U.S. Their experience in American universities and cities during formative years further eroded their ability to adjust back home and resulted in greater “denationalization.”<sup>135</sup>

The International House, I argue, was designed to discourage excessive nationalism while simultaneously ensuring that students would not be denationalized to the point of no return. This desire to maintain just the right amount of distance between the United States and other nations, while still enveloping foreign students in a Protestant internationalism, recalls our earlier discussions on the attempts of church-led internationalist movements to promote both particularism and universalism in religion. That ornament was spared from a building not from any financial necessity or an interest in architectural modernism but rather to maintain the ideal level of nationalism necessary for the success of Protestant internationalism is fascinating. The

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<sup>134</sup> To ensure that students would continue to work towards the goals of the I-House movement after returning home, the institution’s leaders also founded the Alumni Association and began publishing the *International House Quarterly*, which was used to keep alumni abreast about current I-House activities, and current residents informed about the achievements of their predecessors. For mention of these two initiatives, see John D. Rockefeller III to Allen Blaisdell, December 1, 1939, Folder 109, Box 17, RG III 2G, OMR, Educ. Interests, RAC.

<sup>135</sup> This term belongs to Liping Bu. See Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 75. In 1924 American and Chinese scholars organized a conference around the problem of denationalization and came to the conclusion that certain types of fellowships should only be made available to graduate students, who would be better able to cope with life and work back home.

stripping of ornament, and the simultaneous act of allowing the building full park frontage in order to make it substantial, resulted in an imposing yet spare aesthetic.

I also argue that the contrast in ornament between Riverside Church and International House was purposefully made to highlight Christianity as the central tenet of internationalism.<sup>136</sup> The Church's profuse ornamentation suggests that Rockefeller conceived it to be the more powerful institution. In the opinion of Edmonds and Rockefeller, modern religion provided a lens through which America could be properly interpreted for foreign students. Meanwhile, to prospective residents, the I-House promised to deliver an environment where no imposition would be made regarding faith. In practice the I-House could not exactly deliver on its promise. In 1927—one year into the Church's design and construction—foreign students complained of a type of religious pressure. The impending arrival of Riverside Church had made it clear that freedom of faith was perhaps an illusion. In response, I-House leaders had to explicitly emphasize their mission's secularity in their by-laws:

...one of the cardinal principles of International House is, particularly in matters of religion, that it is and ought to be open and free and unattached. Its purpose will not be served to the highest degree unless the students have the fullest freedom and independence and feel that whatever they arrive at is the result of their own independent thought and action.<sup>137</sup>

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Yet, New York was positioned as the ideological nerve center and determinant of the I-House movement and indeed of internationalism itself. A map printed by the ICC in 1923 strikingly

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<sup>136</sup> At Kykuit, Rockefeller had acted in a similar manner to highlight one building or function over another. During the design of the stables, which were at some distance from the main house, he instructed that this building should not be ornate in its details—in the design of its lamps, for example—because functional buildings, such as stables, must not compete with the main house in their architectural details. See Folder 144, Box 15, OMR - Homes, RAC. Perhaps we can think of Riverside Church—the House of God—as the main house in Morningside Heights, and International House as merely its functional instrument. While the I-House would need to be well-designed, it could not be seen to compete with the House of God.

depicts the center-periphery relationships at the heart of the I-House movement, and presents New York as internationalism's ideological and imperial fulcrum (**Fig. 4.34**). Lines from all corners of the world—from Asia, Africa, Australia—converge upon New York. It is, however, possible to imagine another kind of center-periphery map, which also positions New York as the locus, but where the geopolitical fringes of Protestant internationalism are located in the Western Hemisphere itself. Around 1927, Rockefeller began extending the I-House movement to Berkeley, Chicago, and Paris, owing to these cities' strategic locations on the Pacific Coast, the American Midwest, and Western Europe respectively.<sup>138</sup> I-Houses were used to extend Protestant Internationalism's reach into these regions and—through their sizable foreign student populations—farther afield into countries like China or Turkey.

Although the three cities were presented as gateways to this larger geo-political periphery, internally they were positioned as subsidiary to New York, which set the global agenda. This positioning caused ideological conflicts between the outposts and their center. In Berkeley, where Progressivism had not yet made an impact, the I-House movement was met with particular suspicion: not only were Berkeley residents distrustful of the foreign student community, to whom they were asked to extend their hospitality, they also doubted the motives of New Yorkers.

The built environment can record a particular ideology. But it can also contain evidence

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<sup>137</sup> “The Religious Policy of International House,” Edmonds to Rockefeller, August 9, 1927, Folder 68, Box 10, RG III 2G, OMR – Educ. Interests, RAC. See also Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 96.

<sup>138</sup> I discuss Rockefeller's extension of the I-House movement in greater detail in Chapter Seven. Note that there are many I-Houses today in addition to the New York, Chicago, Paris, and Berkeley projects. These are from a later date, and Rockefeller was not involved in their construction. His son John D. Rockefeller III, however, was involved in two additional projects: one in New Delhi and one in Tokyo. These projects were built in part by funding provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. They were built after the Second World War: Tokyo, in 1952; New Delhi, in 1962. As these projects belong to a different era, were programmatically different from the ones in Chicago, New York, Berkeley, and Paris, and were not funded by Rockefeller Jr., I will not discuss them further in this dissertation. For more on the Tokyo and New Delhi projects, see John Ensor Harr and Peter J. Johnson, *The Rockefeller Conscience: An American Family in Public and in Private* (New York: Scribner, 1991), 106-111.

of the periphery's resistance. With respect to peripheries that lie within the American border and Western Europe, the architectural eclecticism of International Houses may be read as a recognition—on the part of the Rockefeller team—of this resistance. The Berkeley project was designed in a Spanish-Colonial Revival style in vogue in California, the Paris I-House resembled a French château, and the Chicago project took on an Art Deco/Gothic aesthetic that fit in with the Gothic-Revival campus of the University of Chicago, where this project is located. The buildings were, in this manner, aesthetically appropriate to their function and context (**Fig. 4.35**). I contend that by purposefully harmonizing this infrastructure within the diverse domestic and international built environments in which it landed, Rockefeller attempted to facilitate his asymmetric program of brotherhood, which asserted the values of the East Coast over sovereign nation-states and other American cities alike. In such a program, any misstep in the identification of the “appropriate” historical style for a given location could have serious consequences, as the next chapter will show.

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# 5

## Stumbling in Egypt

### The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo (1924-26)<sup>1</sup>

In 1926, seven years after creating the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and just two years after officially inaugurating International House New York, John D. Rockefeller Jr. authorized James Henry Breasted to present plans to Egypt's King Fua'd I for a New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo: a handsome leather-bound proposal book featured formal letters to the King from Rockefeller (the project's financier) and Breasted (its facilitator), alongside a series of stunning gouache and watercolor drawings executed by well-known illustrator William Walcott.<sup>2</sup> The drawings depict a neoclassical Beaux-Arts complex—ornamented in neo-pharaonic motifs—that was intended to replace Cairo's existing Egyptian Museum, which had been built by the British and French in 1902 (**Fig. 5.1-5.2**).<sup>3</sup>

Breasted was the project's mastermind and had persuaded Rockefeller to pledge \$10 million for the museum's construction and endowment as well as the services of his personal architect, William Welles Bosworth. Attempting to leverage Arab goodwill towards the United States in this moment, the Rockefeller team presented the museum as a gift of "science" from the

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is partly derived from Azra Dawood, "Failure to Engage: The Breasted-Rockefeller Gift of a New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo (1926)," (Master's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2010.)

<sup>2</sup> *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (England: Oxford University Press, 1925). This citation refers to the proposal book itself.

<sup>3</sup> The 1902 museum was designed by a French architect, Marcel-Lazare Dourgnon, but its construction was administered and paid for by the British-controlled Ministry of Public Works. (The British had occupied Egypt in 1882.) See Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 192-195.

“great Democracy of the West” to an Egypt desirous of independence from the British empire (and from French archaeological control) at the end of the First World War.<sup>4</sup> To the team’s surprise, the Egyptian government ultimately rejected this lavish gift, and the museum was never built. But while the Americans attributed the project’s failure to “suspicious” nationalism and “Egyptian vanity,” the archives paint a more complex picture.<sup>5</sup>

When seen against the context of Rockefeller’s larger philanthropic oeuvre, archival correspondence over both the project’s legal framework—which put Western archaeologists in charge of the museum’s administration and contents—and its architectural conception suggests that the proposed museum was another site for the advancement of Protestant Modernism and American internationalism. This internationalism, as I have argued, inhabited a complicated ideological spectrum: Rockefeller and his network of cultural and political advisors teetered between, on the one hand, supporting the cultural and political hegemony of the North Atlantic (Christian) West over Asia and Africa as the best way of maintaining peace and, on the other, recognizing that any kind of Christian internationalism would have to support or respond to, in some fashion, the particular concerns of countries and people in the Global South—particularly their struggle against Western (European) imperialism.<sup>6</sup> The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo was conceived within this complicated geopolitical and theological context. Its conception lies towards the hegemonic, imperialist end of the spectrum, and its legal and architectural design and fallout reflect this.

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<sup>4</sup> *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo*, 13-14.

<sup>5</sup> Oriental Institute employee and future Director, John Albert Wilson, attributed the project’s failure to Egyptian nationalism. Meanwhile, Rockefeller’s lawyer, Chauncey Belknap, pointed his finger at Egyptian vanity. See John Albert Wilson, *Thousands of Years: an Archaeologist’s Search for Ancient Egypt* (New York: Scribner, 1972), 51. See also, “Egyptian Museum Negotiations: 1925-1926. Report by Chauncey Belknap,” Belknap to Rockefeller, March 10, 1926, folder 258, box 25, series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC.

In this chapter, I show how the Rockefeller team attempted to arrest the growth of Egyptian nationalism—and displace overt Western imperialism—through the control of Egyptian antiquity, as well as through the proposed museum’s architecture and urban placement, in order to help Protestant internationalism gain a cultural foothold in Egypt. I also describe the Egyptian and European response to this attempt. Given British military presence in the country, archaeology had become the only viable arena where different groups of political actors could jockey for control. Near Eastern archaeology as a whole was being recast as a scientific pursuit at this time, which gave American archaeological organizations such as the Oriental Institute an advantage: under Breasted’s guidance, the O.I. had distinguished itself from treasure-hunters, amateur diggers, and even the older generation of Biblical archaeologists, by advertising instead its techno-scientific methods and aims. As we know by now, alongside architecture, science was another tool with which Protestant internationalism could assert itself. By emphasizing its scientific credentials, the Rockefeller team believed it could pre-empt any charges of political interest in Egypt, and gain the upper hand in the management of Egyptology.

But they miscalculated the moment. The French, having conceded formal control of Egypt to the British, considered Egyptology their domain. Meanwhile, Egyptian nationalists, following in the footsteps of Western archaeologists, had realized the political value of Egyptian antiquity, too, and had begun to use it as a tool for nationalism—something that had been made

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<sup>6</sup> For more on the tension between particularism and universalism in *church-led* Protestant internationalist movements, see Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism.” See also Chapters One and Two of this dissertation.



painfully clear to Egyptologists in the recent Tutankhamun controversy.<sup>7</sup> British, French, and Egyptian actors all recognized the political significance of the Americans' bid for archaeological control over Egypt, and acted to oppose it.

I will ask, how did the Rockefeller team aesthetically and spatially respond to Egypt's complicated political and cultural moment in its proposal? The museum's legal structure was disadvantageous to the other political and cultural actors in Egypt—in particular the nationalists, but also the British Army and the French. Did the museum's proposed design reinforce this legal structure? We know of the growing recognition among Protestant internationalists that particularism (attention to local conditions) was important for larger universal gains. One might expect this observation to extend to the aesthetic of internationalist projects, and we have certainly seen how the architecture of other Rockefeller projects (I-Houses in Berkeley, Chicago, and Paris for example) appear to respond to some idea of the local architectural vernacular. So why did the Rockefeller team reject the prevalent Islamic-revival style in Egypt, and choose instead a neoclassical, neo-Pharaonic, Beaux-Arts design? What was the significance of the team's preferred location for the museum in Tahrir Square (then known as *Maidan al-Isma'ili'yah*)? What would have been the implications for Egypt if the project had succeeded, and how did the failure and fallout of the Rockefeller team's strategy impact Egypt and the region politically, architecturally, and archaeologically—and how did it shape Rockefeller's internationalism going forward?

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<sup>7</sup> On November 4, 1922, the British archaeologist, Howard Carter, discovered Tutankhamun's intact tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Foreign archaeologists working in Egypt hoped to get a share of the findings for their respective national museums, but the Egyptian government believed that the tomb's contents belonged to Egypt. At a time of increasing Egyptian nationalism, the French Director-General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service – Pierre Lacau – chose to act in the interests of the Egyptian government. Carter, refusing to play by Lacau's rules, shut down the tomb of his own accord. The government responded by taking it over, resulting in a lawsuit between Carter and the Egyptian government. See also Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 67-97.

## 5.1. Existing literature

The New Egyptian Museum is a somewhat obscure project within Rockefeller's oeuvre as well as in architectural history and museum studies. The existing scholarship on the museum's conception and execution is of two kinds: earlier, relatively contemporaneous writing on the project by actors who were closely involved in formulating the proposal or had some knowledge of it; and, more recent articles and book chapters by scholars writing on American cultural imperialism and the history of archaeology in the Middle East. I will consider these works in the chronological order of their publication.

The first category includes the following: Raymond Fosdick's authorized biography of Rockefeller; a biography of James Henry Breasted by his son Charles; and, the memoirs of the Oriental Institute Egyptologist (and future Director) John A Wilson. These books present the proposal as an altruistic gift of science and democracy to Egypt, and its failure arising primarily from the pettiness or extreme nationalism of members of the Egyptian government and monarchy, with hints of French and British interference.

Writing in 1943, not long after his father's death, Charles Breasted presents a detailed account of the conception, offer, and rejection of the Egyptian Museum.<sup>8</sup> Until recently, Charles' book was the only major publication available on Breasted's life, and of events related to the Oriental Institute, so his version of the Egyptian Museum's conception and failure is important for us to understand. Charles presents the project as a selfless gesture of goodwill that would have enabled the training of native Egyptian archaeologists—an aspect of the gift that is incredibly slight in the archival correspondence. He suggests that the project was defeated by a series of petty jealousies, rather than by any real concerns that the various political actors in

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<sup>8</sup> Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 376-397.

Egypt might have had regarding the Rockefeller team's interest in Egyptian antiquities at such a delicate political and cultural juncture in the country's history. The Egyptian King is presented as unfit for rule: peevish and resentful for not having thought of the idea to build a new museum himself.<sup>9</sup> The Frenchman controlling the Egyptian Antiquities Service, Pierre Lacau, is presented as "garrulous and excitable," and fearful of losing control of Egyptian antiquities to an American team.<sup>10</sup> And the Egyptian government is ultimately presented as inept and baffling for refusing a project whose terms and conditions were—according to Charles—modified at their request, and upon their instructions, without a single objection being raised in New York. Again, the archival correspondence does not corroborate this reading, as later scholars have shown.

Meanwhile, Raymond Fosdick, writing in 1956 four years before Rockefeller's death, notes that the museum would have been Rockefeller's greatest monetary contribution to Near Eastern studies.<sup>11</sup> Of this failed opportunity, Fosdick notes:

Unfortunately it [the museum] was consigned to the limbo of rejected gifts, where it has never ceased to haunt the dreams of many an archaeologist. But the story is nevertheless worth telling.<sup>12</sup>

In telling the story, Fosdick, who is typically more restrained and solemn in his recollections and descriptions than either of the Breasteds, nevertheless presents the Egyptians—particularly King

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 388-389.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 390.

<sup>11</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 360. In terms of funding for Near Eastern studies, Rockefeller of course also gave money to the Oriental Institute's other projects. Fosdick notes that Rockefeller gave \$1 million of his personal money to the Institute's many expeditions, publications, and construction projects. The O.I. received even greater support from the Rockefeller family foundations (around \$10 million), who picked up many of Rockefeller's personal pledges. From all these sources combined, the O.I. received over \$11 million. But the museum, had it succeeded, would have received \$10 million by itself, and all from Rockefeller alone. I want to note here that while Rockefeller's monetary contributions towards the O.I. were outmatched by the foundations, he played a crucial role in the organization's development. As Chapters Three and Six of the dissertation show, it was Rockefeller who launched the institution, gave money to those O.I. projects in which the foundations were uninterested, and remained an important contact person, referee, and champion for Breasted in terms of securing funding from the boards.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Fua'd I—as overly suspicious and demanding, and he repeats Charles Breasted's assertion that the Americans had made all the changes to the contract that the Egyptians had asked for.

However, we know from Fosdick's private correspondence in the 1920s that he felt that the Rockefeller team had insisted upon more severe contractual restrictions with regards to the New Egyptian Museum as compared to their projects in Palestine, where they believed the British to be more firmly in control, and that this discrepancy could result in negative publicity if it were ever made known to the public.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, reflecting in 1972 on his own career and that of the Oriental Institute, Egyptologist John A. Wilson saw the failure of the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo as a “major setback” in the progress of Egyptology as a serious scientific discipline rather than a “treasure hunt.”<sup>14</sup> He also notes that the Rockefeller gift was intended “for a new museum and an institute to train Egyptians to administer their **own** antiquities [emphasis mine].” This is a significant statement by Wilson (one of the early O.I. Officers) in which he departs from the Rockefeller-Breasted team's position on the matter and recognizes Egypt's right to administer the antiquities within its borders. But Wilson was writing nearly half a century after the proposal, a period of time that had somewhat tempered his and other American archaeologists' views regarding the ownership of Middle Eastern antiquities.<sup>15</sup> These archaeologists had experienced firsthand the will and the ability of native archaeologists and nationalists in the Middle East to control the archaeological discovery and narrative of ancient civilizations whose ruins fell within their borders. Of the museum, he merely writes:

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<sup>13</sup> See Jeffrey Abt, “Toward a Historian's Laboratory,” 173-194.

<sup>14</sup> Wilson, *Thousands of Years*, 51.

<sup>15</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 223-228.

We shall never know all of the forces of uncertainty, suspicious nationalism, and international jealousy that led to the withdrawal of this offer in the spring of 1926.<sup>16</sup>

These three writers—Breasted, Fosdick, and Wilson—were part of the Rockefeller network. More recent work on the proposed museum attempts to restore balance to the narrative by emphasizing the imperialism of the American team. Art historian Jeffrey Abt has written two articles on the museum and also included an analysis of its design and conception within a larger book on Breasted's career.<sup>17</sup> Abt examines the museum in light of “successful nationalist resistance to western cultural hegemony,” cultural philanthropy, Breasted's ideological view of the ancient Near East, and Breasted's Orientalism.<sup>18</sup> He also notes that, “The seed of the project's failure was contained within its very conception.”<sup>19</sup> Abt spends considerable time on the museum's design and interior layout, noting in particular that the extravagant exterior facade was intended as bait for the Egyptians. But he dismisses the importance of the original site, which I consider crucial.<sup>20</sup>

Historian James F. Goode, meanwhile, does note the negotiations over the original site and indicates that it was central to the Rockefeller team's proposal—but he does not further interrogate this significance.<sup>21</sup> Drawing more widely from the archives than Abt, whose work concentrates primarily on Breasted's career and role, Goode contextualizes the failed

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<sup>16</sup> Wilson, *Thousands of Years*, 51.

<sup>17</sup> Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 317-336; \_\_\_\_\_, “The Breasted-Rockefeller Egyptian Museum Project: Philanthropy, Cultural Imperialism and National Resistance,” *Art History*, December 1996; \_\_\_\_\_ “Toward a Historian's Laboratory: The Breasted-Rockefeller Museum Projects in Egypt, Palestine, and America.”

<sup>18</sup> Abt, “The Breasted-Rockefeller Egyptian Museum Project,” 551.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 567.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 570n28.

<sup>21</sup> Goode notes that the site was important to the Rockefeller team, but does not mention why: how they felt it was their trump card, allowing them to very visibly and dramatically replace British military barracks with an American cultural institution; the symbolic advantages of this institution's proximity to the French-run museum; etc. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 104-105.

negotiations over the museum within a larger region-wide struggle by nationalists to assert control over governance and cultural projects in Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, and other countries in the Middle East. He begins the story with Breasted's role as a mediator between Howard Carter and the Egyptian government in the Tutankhamun controversy, and describes Breasted's resulting contentious relationship with Lacau (the French Director-General of the EAS). He writes that in advocating for a new museum, Breasted was probably motivated by the new antiquities law in Egypt, which restricted acquisition of archaeological artifacts by Western museums and institutions, and that he was concerned by what he perceived as the unscientific methods of native Egyptologists.<sup>22</sup> Goode also gives more agency to the British and French players than Abt does, and he mentions official (governmental) American support for the museum.<sup>23</sup>

My Master's thesis, completed in 2010, also approaches the museum proposal as an example of cultural imperialism, but it does not perceive its failure in terms of a unified nationalist Egyptian resistance against a homogenous West.<sup>24</sup> Rather, I argue in it that the project's conception and failure reveal rivalries and shifting alliances within—and between—the Western bloc and the Egyptian ruling elite. I note in particular the significance of the team's original proposed site in Tahrir Square, where the museum would have replaced the British Army's "Kasr al-Nil" barracks. I use this site—along with the museum's proposed architecture and interior layout, and the legal contract drawn up by the Rockefeller team for the Egyptian government—to demonstrate a range of themes and issues: the cultural-imperial ambitions of the Rockefeller team; their appropriation of Egyptian antiquity within a narrative of the rise of American and Western civilizations; their dismissal of Egypt's right to control archaeological

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 100-101.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 99-125.

<sup>24</sup> See Dawood, "Failure to Launch."

work within its national borders (and thus their view with regards to Egyptian nationalism); their interference in Egypt's political and cultural affairs; and, their attempts to limit British and French power in the country. I also examine the "afterlife" of the museum—that is, projects that either emerged from the ashes of the museum (so to speak) or that use the Kasr al-Nil site in its stead. Finally, I analyze in detail the Rockefeller team's rejection of the Islamic-Revival style as an appropriate aesthetic for its proposed museum. However, the thesis focused much more on Breasted's motivations for the project, rather than on the religious dimensions of Rockefeller's ideology that are the focus of this dissertation.

The story of the New Egyptian Museum is also told by Donald Malcolm Reid in his 2015 book, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*. Reid describes the Rockefeller proposal as "imperial overreach." He writes that the museum and the O.I.'s headquarters in Chicago and Luxor "reveal the sweep of Breasted's imperial dreams." While he notes that the Kasr al-Nil site was important to the Rockefeller team, he does not say why, and writes that although they were disappointed at the loss of their original site, they "readjusted" to the new location: the tip of an island in the middle of the Nile River, across from the British Army barracks. Reid does not spend much time on the architecture of the museum, but does go into much greater depth regarding the fractures within the Egyptian, American, French, and British groups over the control of Egyptian archaeology.<sup>25</sup>

This dissertation chapter aligns—to an extent—with these recent re-evaluations of the project. While continuing to see the work as an example of American cultural imperialism and Orientalism, I also situate it within the complex Christian internationalist endeavor of the Rockefeller team, which ranged from uneasy accommodation and support for nationalist

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<sup>25</sup> See Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*, 81-107. "Imperial overreach" is quoted on p.101, "the sweep of Breasted's imperial dreams" is noted on p.97, and the comment about the site is noted on p.103.

struggles to outright interference in the nationalist movement in Egypt and an attempt to halt nationalist gains through a modern Protestant- and American-led internationalism. The following sections demonstrate this thesis through a discussion of the museum's legal contract, the larger context of Anglo-French political ambitions in Egypt, the corresponding history of museum-building in that country, the nationalist struggle and the communist threat, and the Rockefeller museum's proposed architecture and site/s. I end by considering the architectural and political significance of the project's failure for Egypt.

## **5.2. Significance of Site, Style, and Materiality for the Rockefeller Team**

From the beginning, site, style, and materiality were major considerations in the Rockefeller team's formulation of an overall strategy for asserting American control over Egyptology, and for introducing a major American-led cultural institution into Cairo, which was mostly populated by Anglo-French and Egyptian institutions at the time.

Under this land, the limestone lies thirty or forty feet deep. Rising on imperishable piers of concrete based on this limestone, the new museum should adorn this square. It should be built of massive white limestone masonry, a structure as enduring as the Pyramids themselves, and suited to shelter the priceless collections with[in] its walls to the end of time. It makes my blood tingle to think of it even in imagination!<sup>26</sup>

In this excerpt, which is taken from one of the first communications between Breasted and the larger Rockefeller team over the museum, the Egyptologist envisions a building and site that suggest permanence, strength, and solidity. Note the dramatic picture he paints of the new

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<sup>26</sup> Breasted to Fosdick, October 7, 1924, Folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence: Curtis, Fosdick and Belknap, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA. The NEM would have been one of only a handful of American cultural institutions in Egypt at the time. Other institutions include the American University in Cairo, which had just been inaugurated in 1919.



museum's concrete piers connecting to the ancient limestone underground, and the history that could be metaphorically transmitted between ancient Egyptian strata and the new American museum through this connection. Invoking the "enduring" Pyramids as symbols not only of long-lasting construction, but also of a great empire and civilization, Breasted used them to link the greatness of ancient Egypt and its monuments with the great scientific mission of the American civilization and the monument *it* proposed to erect in Egypt. This monument (the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute) would replace the existing Egyptian Museum, which in turn was a monument to French control of Egyptian antiquities.

### 5.3. Division of Culture

In the manner of its proposed American replacement, the existing French controlled museum dealt with the Pharaonic era, leaving out Egypt's Islamic, Coptic, and Greco-Roman periods. This division and classification of the country's material culture into four distinct periods and fields of knowledge was crystallized at the turn of the twentieth century by the creation of four corresponding (and separate) museums in Cairo and Alexandria, each dealing exclusively with a different period. In addition to the French controlled Egyptian Museum (built in 1902), this group includes the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (1892), the Museum of Arab Art in Cairo (1903), and the Coptic Museum also in Cairo (1908). Each museum was built in an architectural style and an urban location that was deemed appropriate to its contents (**Fig. 5.3-5.7**).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Although the Greco-Roman Museum was created in 1892, it moved into its present building in 1895.

The European community in Egypt was primarily responsible for this division, initiating it at a time of their increasing political and cultural influence in the country.<sup>28</sup> The beginning of this influence can be traced back to 1798, when Napoleon Bonaparte and the French Army invaded Egypt, which was then an Ottoman province ruled by the *Mamlūk* (slave) dynasty. As Edward Said, Maya Jasanoff, and other scholars have noted, Napoleon’s invasion was the first “overt imperial conquest in modern history”: French occupation of Egypt was not necessary for security or protective measures and was motivated instead by Napoleon’s ambition to outdo the British, who were similarly interested in Egypt, and to model himself along the lines of Alexander the Great and other major political and military figures in history who had occupied Egypt on their way to establishing great empires (**Fig. 5.8**).<sup>29</sup>

However, the French occupation was short-lived: the Army was expelled from the country by combined Ottoman and British forces. Nonetheless, their invasion of and brief presence in Egypt allowed the French to begin their archaeological mastery over the country's ancient civilizations. In addition to his soldiers, Napoleon had brought with him one hundred and fifty *savants* (artists and scientists) who were tasked with documenting the country’s flora, fauna, monuments, and people as well as with conducting archaeological work. This work resulted in two major cultural victories for France: the publication of the *Description de l’Égypte*, a multi-volume lavish folio of drawings; and, the seizing of major Egyptian artifacts and monuments that

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<sup>28</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 1-2, 6-7, 258-59. The Coptic Museum was actually created by Marcus Simaika, who belonged to the Coptic Christian community. But instead of viewing this as an exception to the rule, we could understand Simaika’s motivations within the context of the European creation of the Egyptian Museum, the Museum of Arab Art, and the Greco-Roman Museum—all of which had been created prior to the Coptic Museum.

<sup>29</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, 122; Said, *Orientalism*, 79-81. See also Chapter Three of this dissertation.

were then transported to the Louvre in Paris.<sup>30</sup> Modern Egyptology has its roots in this work, and the French would ensure that they retained control over the field for a long time.

After the French were expelled, Egypt was ruled by Muhammad ‘Ali, an Albanian officer in the Ottoman Army, who declared himself Viceroy and retained only nominal ties with the Ottoman Empire. Regardless, French politico-cultural interest and influence in Egypt actually continued to increase during the Khedivate (Viceroyalty) of ‘Ali and his descendants. The latter launched major modernization campaigns in Egypt, for which they needed the expertise of French and other European governments, bankers, engineers, and scholars, who were keen to establish control in the region. Of these modernization schemes, the incomplete urban re-design of Cairo along the lines of Baron Haussmann’s Paris is a major project. Another significant undertaking, which had serious consequences for Egypt, was the construction of the Suez Canal, completed in 1869 under French supervision. Egypt took on significant debt in order to complete this project and was eventually forced to sell its shares in the Canal to Britain.<sup>31</sup> From this point on, each Egyptian government ministry or department included one British and one French representative, and these European officers essentially ran the country. Eventually, in 1882, Britain formally invaded and occupied Egypt. Throughout their tenure in Egypt, the British were

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<sup>30</sup> *Description de l’Égypte* was compiled and published on Napoleon’s orders between 1809-1822, after France’s expulsion from Egypt. Regarding the monuments and artifacts seized by the French, some of these were left behind when the French retreated from Egypt. The Rosetta Stone is one of the more famous ones: it was seized by the British, who transported it to the British Museum instead, where it now remains.

<sup>31</sup> During the American Civil War, the Union Army blocked Southern states from exporting cotton to Europe. The American South’s loss was Egypt’s gain—at least for a while. Egyptian cotton filled European demand. Isma’il Pasha used the money from the export of cotton to finance the re-design of Cairo and the construction of the Suez Canal, amongst other projects. But when the American Civil War ended, and trade between the U.S. and Europe resumed, the conditions of the cotton market changed, sending Egypt into debt. It is at this moment that Britain and France took over Egypt’s economy. See, Michael Collins Dunn, “The Egyptian Army in Politics, I: The ‘Urabi Revolt of 1881-1882,” *MEI Editor’s Blog* (blog), Accessed July 12, 2013, <http://mideasti.blogspot.com/2013/07/the-egyptian-army-in-politics-i-urabi.html>. See also David S. Landes, *Bankers and Pashas: International Finance and Economic Imperialism in Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1980).

engaged in constant negotiations with the French—and later with Egyptian nationalists—regarding control over the administration of Egypt.

Control over Egyptian antiquities—and their incorporation into the construction of historical narratives that justified and emboldened European presence in the country—was an important part of Britain’s administrative work, and an accomplice to European ambitions in general. The aforementioned division of the country’s material culture was used to clarify the hierarchy of Egypt’s major civilizations—as interpreted by British and other European scholars and officers. In his essay, “The Crystalline Veil and the Phallic Imaginary,” Donald Preziosi links the creation of the four museums in Egypt to the colonial exhibitionary order that was displayed in the essay title’s referents: the Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.<sup>32</sup> Preziosi writes of Europe’s vision of itself as the “brain of the earth’s body” and the Crystal Palace as a “laboratory table upon which all things and peoples could be objectively and poignantly compared and contrasted in a uniform light,” scientifically examined, and categorized. Objects represented the cultures and individuals that produced them, and art had a history that was presented as being coterminous with the history of the people who produced it. Like art history and the colonial exhibitionary order, Egypt’s four museums were seen as “pantographic instrument[s] for projecting that larger abstraction, ‘Egypt’, up from its relics and minutiae.”

Europeans emphasized Egypt’s Pharaonic past over its Coptic and Islamic pasts. By creating separate museums for each period, by assigning the name “Egyptian” to the museum housing almost exclusively Pharaonic art, and by giving this museum “urban centrality,” these archaeologists and scholars created a museological order that reflected their “perspectival” view

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<sup>32</sup> Donald Preziosi, *In the Aftermath of Art: Ethics, Aesthetics, Politics*, Critical Voices in Art Theory and Culture, ed. Saul Ostrow (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 95-113.

of Egyptian history. Early twentieth-century European guidebooks endorsed this narrative by instructing tourists to visit the museums in “chronological” order, starting at the neo-classical Beaux-Arts Egyptian Museum in Cairo, followed by a train ride to the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria with its classical facade, returning to Cairo for the Coptic Museum in the old quarters of the city, and ending their journey at the neo-*Mamlūk* Museum of Arab Art, located in the “Arab” or “Muslim” quarters.<sup>33</sup>

### **Egyptology as a European Domain**

European—particularly French—achievements in Egyptology were strengthened and made possible by these figures’ central role in the establishment of the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1858 (*Service des Antiquities* in French, *Maslahat al-Athar* in Arabic, and hereafter EAS), which they controlled for a full century until the 1950s. Europeans were also responsible for the first successful experiment in creating an Egyptian Museum, in Cairo’s Bulaq neighborhood, in 1859.<sup>34</sup>

It must be noted that modern Egyptians had earlier tried to create similar institutions and extend legal protection to ancient sites. Rifa’a al-Tahtawi (1801–1873), a writer, intellectual, and modernist, had tried to do so in 1835, on the orders of Viceroy Muhammad ‘Ali, but this attempt failed, due to both ‘Ali’s own policies (his ambitious project to construct eighteen saltpeter factories in Egypt apparently necessitated the partial destruction of some ancient monuments for building blocks) and the actions of European archaeologists, who were unwilling at the time to

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<sup>33</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, “The Museum of What You Shall Have Been,” in *Making Cairo Medieval*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad, Irene A. Bierman and Nasser Rabbat (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books, 2005), 134.

<sup>34</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 103-107.

follow a decree that would seriously limit their opportunities to stock their national museums with Egyptian artifacts.<sup>35</sup>

But many years later the French conceded to the need to establish a governing archaeological authority in the country, and the EAS was initiated, at their urging, by Egypt's then-Viceroy, Sa'id Pasha (r. 1854-1863). The EAS oversaw archaeological work in Egypt and was responsible for three major tasks: determining the governing rules of archaeological excavations (mostly undertaken by foreigners at that time); determining the ownership of unearthed antiquities; and operating museums. The first Director-General of the EAS was French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette, who had been sent to Egypt in 1850 by the Louvre Museum to find early Christian manuscripts. Mariette instead made a different but important archaeological discovery at Saqqara: the Temple of Sérapeum. This discovery eventually catapulted him to a position of great influence and renown within Egypt (and France).

Although Mariette directed the EAS in its early years, it was in fact his own transgression that had necessitated such an organization in the first place. After his major discovery at Saqqara, he began to send the antiquities he found there to the Louvre, without applying for permission from Egypt's then-Viceroy Abbas Pasha (r. 1812-1854). When the Viceroy discovered this, he ruled to prevent any further antiquities from leaving Egypt. In this act, he was encouraged by the British and Austrian rivals of French archaeologists. To protect their own position and remedy the situation, the French pressured the next viceroy, Sa'id Pasha, to create the EAS, ostensibly for the proper management of antiquities; they also persuaded him to appoint their man, Mariette, as Director-General.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 54-57, 93.

Mariette's tenure as Director-General was highly lucrative for French archaeologists, who received exclusive digging rights in Egypt—much to the chagrin of the British, who had been the more prolific diggers prior to this moment, and the German archaeologists. As Reid notes, Mariette was granted significant powers, which included the use of corvéé labor and “excavation rights throughout the country.”<sup>36</sup> His successor, Gaston Maspero, would later say, “This was like taking possession of Egypt for the cause of science.”<sup>37</sup> The EAS also instituted a lenient antiquities law, which was a compromise between the previous law that had been enacted in Egypt and what the French desired: half of all discovered antiquities would be allowed to leave Egypt. The French were in a position to influence Sa'id Pasha and the Egyptian government in this manner because, as I have noted, their technical expertise was crucial to Egypt's infrastructure projects.<sup>38</sup>

### **France's Egyptian Museum (1902 - Present)**

The choice of location and architectural style for the 1902 Egyptian Museum, built by the French and by the British-administered Ministry of Public Works, was calculated to emphasize Europe's political sway in Egypt, and to present her archaeologists in particular as responsible guardians of Egyptian antiquity. Although the British actually controlled the financial expenditure on the building's construction, the museum was primarily a testament to French leadership in

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Much of the information on Mariette is taken from Reid, “Chapter 3, Egyptology under Ismail: Mariette, al-Tahtawi, and Brugsch, 1850-1882,” in *Whose Pharaohs?*, 93-136. After Mariette, the work of the EAS continued to be overseen almost exclusively by French archaeologists for many decades until the rise of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt in the 1950s. Nasser, a nationalist who overthrew the European-instated Egyptian monarchy, also dismissed Étienne Drioton, the last Frenchman to hold the post of Director-General.

Egyptology: French architect Marcel Dourgnon designed the building, and the Director-General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service (also French) oversaw its administration.

The museum's precise location in Cairo was an important part of the European campaign to present Egyptology as a modern European (again, primarily French) discipline. It was strategically built next to the British-occupied Kasr al-Nil barracks (the symbol of Britain's power in Egypt), in *Maidan al-Isma'ili'yah* (now Tahrir Square) (**Fig. 5.9**). The *maidan* was so named because it is located in *Isma'ili'yah*, a modern city quarter that had been newly designed using principles of French city planning.<sup>39</sup> As a result of growing European influence in Egypt, in the latter half of the nineteenth century parts of Cairo began to take on the appearance of a European city, resulting in the popular colonial phenomenon of a dual city with clearly distinct older “native” (Arab) quarters and modern European or “Western” quarters. Typically, such urban design is initiated by colonial actors to create more salubrious environments for their officers. These colonizing regimes would then use this carefully crafted aesthetic and urban-spatial distinction between colonizers and natives to distinguish themselves as modern and progressive.<sup>40</sup> In the case of Cairo, however, local rulers (particularly Khedive Isma'il Pasha) were the ones who initiated this modernization, but relied upon the technical expertise of French designers and engineers.

In 1867, in preparation for the upcoming opening ceremonies of the Suez Canal—during which he expected to entertain Empress Eugenie of France and other foreign dignitaries—Isma'il, who had just returned from the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, instructed his Minister of Public Works, 'Ali Mubārak Pasha, to revamp Cairo's narrow gridlocked streets along the

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<sup>39</sup> Janet Abu-Lughod, “Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7, no. 4 (July, 1965), 429-457.



principles of Haussmann's redesign of Paris. This urban design of Cairo was motivated by problems of congestion and traffic in the older city fabric. The most notable changes were the creation of boulevards radiating out from *maidans* (squares). The neighborhood of *Isma'ili'yah*, where the Rockefeller team would later hope to build their museum, was an outcome of this campaign. In an unusual move, the city supplied these new neighborhoods with water and gas, and laid out broad streets and sidewalks. Land was gifted to Egyptian nobles, if they agreed to build substantial palaces and gardens to beautify the area.<sup>41</sup> Significantly, *Isma'ili'yah* was, in the words of art historian Irene Bierman, "unaccented by religion."<sup>42</sup> In a city known for its innumerable minarets, this modern quarter featured not one mosque or other religious building. I will come back to this point—this purposeful absence of religion—later.

Isma'il's urban campaign was criticized by Europeans, who, traumatized by the modernization of their own cities, preferred a Cairo with the exotic street scenes of Orientalist texts. In 1881, under Isma'il's successor, these figures formed the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* (the *Comité*) to preserve the older city to the east, strengthening its Arab and religious character, and specifically rendering it medieval.<sup>43</sup> For the World's Columbian Exposition, actual parts of a building here were sent to construct an exotic "Street in Cairo," incidentally right across from the future Chapel Block. Design decisions made there traveled back to Cairo, with Chicago's fantasy influencing Cairo's fantastical medievalization, as

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<sup>40</sup> Gwendolyn Wright has written about French colonial urbanism, in this respect, in Morocco, Indochina, and Madagascar. Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

<sup>41</sup> Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), 98-117.

<sup>42</sup> Irene A. Bierman, "Disciplining the Eye: Perceiving Medieval Cairo," in *Making Cairo Medieval*, 9-27.

<sup>43</sup> See Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*

many historians have observed.<sup>44</sup> Noting the crafted difference between native and Western quarters in Cairo, a visitor described the city as an “English town,” carefully curated with “novel oriental sights” for its inhabitants, much as the proprietor of a country place might keep a “deer park” for his own amusement.<sup>45</sup>

Egypt’s bankruptcy under Isma’il left the Haussmannization of Cairo incomplete, and resulted in the bifurcation of the city into what were perceived (by Europeans) as “Arab” (native) quarters and “modern” (European) quarters. Today, Tahrir Square, one of the more famous *maidans* resulting from this design, is surrounded by buildings, but in 1902 there were only select structures in this area, adding to the importance of the site. The area contained several palaces of the royal family on the western and southern parts and, more centrally, the museum and the barracks—respectively the symbols of French and British imperialism.

The French-controlled museum’s location in the Square, and the Square’s location in the so-called Western quarter of the city, emphasized the European control of Egyptology. Dourgnon’s design—a neoclassical building in the tradition of the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*—strengthened this emphasis. The building incorporates neo-Pharaonic ornamental elements on its exterior, which were intended by Dourgnon to relate the façade to the collections housed within (**Fig. 5.10**). Donald Malcolm Reid finds in Dourgnon’s design strong visual statements of a European—specifically French—claim to Egypt’s Pharaonic past.<sup>46</sup> He notes that honorary plaques on the façade placed ancient Greeks (who wrote about this past) and modern European

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, 98. Full quote: “Cairo begins to impress upon you as an English town in which any quantity of novel oriental sights are kept for the aesthetic satisfaction of the inhabitants, much as the proprietor of a country place keeps a game preserve or deer park for his own amusement.” The date of this observation was 1889.

scholars alongside the ancient Pharaohs themselves (**Fig. 5.11**). France's superiority in this science was literally inscribed on the façade: the plaques honored more French Egyptologists than those from any other country.

Reid writes that the number of names awarded to each European power was determined by two principles:

scholarly achievement of the individual named (the ideal of scholarly internationalism) and the balance of foreign power in Egypt (competing imperialisms).<sup>47</sup>

The balance of power seems to have won out: although the French did dominate the field for quite some time, in 1902 German Egyptologists were equally—if not more—well-known. Germany, however, did not have the same political influence in Egypt compared to the French and British, and this was evident on the façade, where fewer Germans were included. (This kind of bias against German Egyptologists would be repeated in the proposed legal-administrative structure of the Rockefeller museum in 1926, when German influence was further eroded and when the country was seen by the Rockefeller network as a savage nation.)<sup>48</sup>

Although Reid does not note this, no American Egyptologists were named or honored in 1902 either, showing both the beginner status of American scholarship and leadership in the field at this time, and the lack of American political interest and power in Egypt. Local (Arab) Egyptologists were also excluded, which sent a clear message to modern Egyptians that "official" Egyptology was a European—specifically French—science and pursuit.

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<sup>46</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 2-6. See also Reid, "French Egyptology and the Architecture of Orientalism: Deciphering the Façade of the Cairo's Egyptian Museum," in *Franco-Arab Encounters: Studies in Memory of David C. Gordon*, eds. David C. Gordon, L. Carl Brown, and Matthew Gordon (Beirut, Lebanon: American University of Beirut, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> See Reid, "French Egyptology and the Architecture of Orientalism."

<sup>48</sup> See Fosdick, *The Old Savage in the New Civilization*; Rockefeller, *Brotherhood of Men and Nations*, 33-35.

## **The Argument for a New (American) Museum**

In contrast, Rockefeller's proposal for a new American-led museum tried to speak of scientific and intellectual cooperation with Egyptians, and emphasized America's democratic credentials (**Fig. 5.12**). But in the proposed building complex, and in its ornamental details and urban interface, traces of an imperialist position towards Egyptian culture became evident. To understand this proposal in all its complexity and contradictions, we must take a closer look at the political and archaeological developments of Egypt at the time, to which Rockefeller's Protestant Internationalism was attempting to respond.

By 1926, in archaeology as in politics, nationalist fervor had risen in reaction to the corresponding tightening of British control over the country. In the 1870s, Egyptian general Ahmed 'Urabi (1841-1911) had helped launch the nationalist movement in response to the Anglo-French penetration of the country's government (**Fig. 5.13**). This penetration persisted, however: in 1904, the Anglo-French Treaty assigned control of Egypt's archaeological administration to the French, and military control to the British. In 1914, Egypt was officially declared a British Protectorate and its local head of state—who was declared a Sultan (King)—essentially became a British puppet. These two moves were intended by Britain to help it retain control over Egypt in the face of new nationalist movements, and to sever any lingering nominal ties that Egypt still maintained with the Ottoman Empire.

In 1919, nationalist leader Sa'd Zaghlul led an Egyptian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, where he demanded that Britain grant independence to Egypt and Sudan (**Fig. 5.14**). His demands were not fulfilled. In fact, the American government disappointed the Egyptians by not supporting their call for independence, despite President Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points. Zaghlul was exiled by the British to Malta and then to Seychelles. His banishment led to

the first official uprising of Egyptians against the British (the Egyptian Revolution of 1919) and the latter were forced to welcome Zaghlul back into the country and to declare Egypt's independence on February 22, 1922. But they (the British) still retained military control of Egypt. In the parliamentary elections of 1924, Zaghlul and the Wafd party (which he had created) won again. He became Prime Minister of Egypt but later resigned in the fracas over the assassination, in Cairo, of Britain's Governor-General of Sudan: Britain was demanded major capitulations and official apologies from the Egyptian government in response to the assassination. To replace Zaghlul, the Egyptian King chose Ahmad Ziwari Pasha. And it was the latter who was in power when the Rockefeller proposal was presented.<sup>49</sup> (Zaghlul would assume the Prime Ministership again in 1927, shortly after the defeat of the Rockefeller proposal and just before his own death.)

While the French continued to control Egypt's archaeological administration through this period of turmoil, their position was no longer secure because Britain's declaration of independence on behalf of Egypt in 1922 had voided the 1904 Anglo-French Treaty. Archaeology had thus become a field where other interested political actors—such as Egyptian nationalists and Americans—could eventually enter the contest for control.<sup>50</sup> An important development in this respect took place in November 1922, approximately nine months after Egypt's independence and just two years before the Rockefeller team started the initial planning on their project. A British archaeologist, Howard Carter, made an important discovery in the

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<sup>49</sup> The timing of the Rockefeller proposal was probably carefully calculated in this respect. However, the Rockefeller team did not realize that, though a nationalist government was not in power at the time they presented their proposal, the strength of nationalist sentiment and of corresponding opposition parties was so high that the handover of Egyptian antiquities to another foreign power would never be accepted.

<sup>50</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 54, 80-86. The French Director-General of the EAS was interested in retaining control of Egyptology in the country but, because he was in a vulnerable position, he had to be more amenable to nationalist goals. In other words, to the nationalists he was perhaps more easily controllable.

Valley of the Kings. After years of searching for a major ancient Egyptian site, he had found the nearly intact tomb of Tutankhamun, an Egyptian pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty (**Fig. 5.15**).

Unfortunately for Carter and his British backer, Lord Carnarvon, by this time modern Egyptians had come to see the Pharaonic past as their heritage: Egyptian writers, poets, and politicians spoke of finding Egyptian origins in this past, and attempted to use ancient Egypt as a kind of national symbol that could unite Egypt's Muslim and Coptic Christian populations in their struggle for independence against the British and French. While foreign archaeologists hoped to get a share of the tomb's contents for their own country's museums, the Egyptians leveraged the discovery as a metaphor for nationalism. Egyptian poet Ahmad Shawqi wrote of,

the pharaoh rising from the tomb only to be shocked by the lowly state of his country under foreign domination.<sup>51</sup>

And at least one local Egyptian guidebook dismissed Carter's role in the tomb's discovery, attributing it instead to Hussein Ahmad Sayed, an Egyptian overseer who worked for him (**Fig. 5.16**).<sup>52</sup>

Carter (or Sayed) discovered the tomb intact on November 4, 1922. News of the discovery swept through Egypt and the West, and famously launched a revival of ancient Egyptian motifs in architecture and design—what we now know as Egyptomania. Carnarvon entered into an exclusive agreement with the *London Times* for the story, and in the process upset other foreign press members as well as the local Egyptian press. Aggravating matters further, Lacau and the Egyptian government asserted that the tomb's contents belonged to Egypt itself,

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<sup>51</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 83-84.

and that access to them had to go through Egyptian authorities.<sup>53</sup> Carter, refusing to play by Lacau's rules, shut down the tomb in protest. The government responded by taking it over, and Carter countered by launching a lawsuit against the government.

Signifying the complicated nature of Egyptian politics at this time, the British authorities chose to remain in the background and apparently approached Breasted, who was present at the tomb's opening, to sort out the mess.<sup>54</sup> Breasted sided emphatically with Carter, and in the process made an enemy of Lacau, and of the Egyptians (as it turned out). Observing the pro-Egyptian attitude of the French Director-General, and faced with the Egyptian government's decisive take-over of the tomb from Carter, Breasted became concerned with the rising trend of local interest and talent in Egyptology, seeing it as a threat to western control of the monuments and to his own finally-rising Rockefeller-backed career. And so when George E. Vincent, President of the Rockefeller Foundation and an important figure in the larger Rockefeller network, visited Egypt in 1924, Breasted lost no time in showing him the existing French-built museum and lamenting its condition.

Only twenty years since its construction, Breasted described this monument to French authority and supremacy in Egyptology as dilapidated, crowded, and "hostile" to science.<sup>55</sup> Falling ceilings, flooded basements, cramped quarters, and the supposed negligence and lethargy of the French administration in the museum's maintenance had, according to him, put the

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<sup>52</sup> Alexander R. Khoori, *Luxor: How to See it, including Tut-ankh-amen's Tomb, Thebes, Aswan, & Upper Egypt* (Alexandria: Anglo-Egyptian Supply Assoc., 1926), 67. In fact, this book does not even name Howard Carter, referring to him merely as Lord Carnarvon's "agent." The author writes that Sayed ignored his supervisor's instructions and ordered his team of workers to dig in a different direction, where the tomb was eventually discovered.

<sup>53</sup> By most accounts, Lacau was not just pandering to the Egyptians. He sincerely believed that the tomb's contents ought to stay in Egypt. In this respect, he was at odds with fellow Frenchmen and with British archaeologists. Again, his own vulnerable position in the country at this time probably also contributed to his sympathy with the Egyptian desire to control their own archaeology. See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

greatest collection in the world in “serious danger.”<sup>56</sup> French negligence apparently extended to the scientific facilities required of such a museum, which Breasted found seriously lacking. Breasted also commented disparagingly on aesthetic decisions that had been made back in 1902, such as the choice of materials and the exterior finish work. (William Welles Bosworth reportedly declared the building “grotesquely ugly” during his reconnaissance trip to Cairo in early 1925.)<sup>57</sup> Summing up the situation, Breasted remarked in a letter he wrote to Raymond Fosdick--after Vincent had returned to New York--that even if the collections were to survive in such a dangerous and unremarkable building, the lack of proper facilities would make it “impossible for Science to utilize them.”<sup>58</sup>

The charge of scientific negligence was a calculated dig at the French, who, since Napoleon’s Expedition, had imagined themselves as restorers of science to Egypt, and it was Breasted’s greatest weapon since he predicated both the need for a new museum, and of American dominance in Egyptology, on American Egyptologists’ superior scientific approach to archaeology.<sup>59</sup> Breasted presented the existing museum’s structural, architectural, and scientific defects as visible and tangible signs of the coming end to European—specifically French—domination over Egyptology and Egyptian antiquity and, by association, the Euro-centric power structure in Egypt. His appeal to Vincent, who eventually reported back to Rockefeller, led

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<sup>55</sup> For Breasted’s meeting with George E. Vincent, see “The Breasted-Rockefeller Egyptian Museum Project,” 552.

<sup>56</sup> Breasted to Fosdick, October 7, 1924, Folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence: Curtis, Fosdick and Belknap, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA.

<sup>57</sup> Breasted to Fosdick, February 26, 1925, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC.

<sup>58</sup> Breasted to Fosdick, October 7, 1924, Folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence: Curtis, Fosdick and Belknap, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA. See also, Breasted to Fosdick, February 26, 1925, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC.

<sup>59</sup> On the French claim of restoring science to Egypt, see Todd B. Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism, 1798-1836* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998). On the scientific methods used by the Americans, recall Breasted’s claim that he pioneered aerial photography in archaeology. Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 39.



directly to the proposal for a new American-controlled Egyptian museum and administrative body for Egyptology. If the contents of Tutankhamun's tomb, and other major finds, could not leave Egypt, at least an American institution could frame their display and in this way assert some control over their interpretation.

#### **5.4. The American Contract**

Why was Rockefeller attracted to this project? Breasted's motives are easier to discern, primarily because he was not shy in expressing these: American takeover of Egyptology; disdain of French dominance in the field so far; and clearly imperialist attitudes towards Egyptians. These reasons may also be attributed to Rockefeller, but I argue that an interest in science, ecumenist religion, and religious internationalism--all Western-led, of course--were his primary motivating factors. In the proposal for the New Egyptian Museum, we see how imperialism (in the form of Breasted's motivations) dovetails seamlessly with these internationalist goals. First, the Rockefeller team's goal of safeguarding the knowledge and discoveries of scientific disciplines from—what the team understood as—the primitive and dangerous narratives of nationalism, jibed with Breasted's desire to reverse or halt nationalist gains in Egyptology. Such a view on behalf of Rockefeller and his advisors ignored the strong desire and will of Egyptians, and saw them as incapable of managing their own affairs or discerning what was good for them. Second, Christian internationalists' growing realization that they needed to disavow Western colonialism and imperialism, in order to present Christianity as a global religion, was just around the corner and would be articulated in 1928. In the case of Egypt, this disavowal took the form of the museum's carefully proposed physical and symbolic displacement of imperial European institutions: the British Army barracks and the existing French-controlled Egyptian Museum.

Third, a "neutral" site of cultural internationalism or scientific-intellectual cooperation would be a more suitable vehicle or instrument for Christianity's return to the Orient: Breasted's desired museum appeared to be a perfect combination of these two forms of internationalism.

In its proposed venture, the Rockefeller team was interested in pursuing two kinds of structural integrity to ensure that the suggested museum would herald a new *American*-led era in Egyptology and that Americans would control the terms of the proposed intellectual cooperation. The first involved the pursuit of architectural and physical soundness, practicability, and beauty. The second involved an ironclad legal, administrative, and financial structure that would control and govern all aspects of the museum's operations. Before I get to a more detailed analysis of the museum's architecture, I want to spend some time describing this legal structure, because it would have worked in tandem with the proposed architecture and site to delay the nationalist dream of controlling Egyptian antiquity, at least until 1976. (In contrast, because this proposal was defeated, Egypt actually managed to assert control over its antiquity by the 1950s).

The beautiful leather-bound proposal book presented by the Rockefeller team to King Fua'd I contained only a very slight and gentle reference to the most significant aspect of this legal structure: the creation of an international corporation—rather than a local, national entity—for the purposes of managing the museum and its contents. The details around this corporation were noted separately, in an accompanying "Indenture of Trust" and "Agreement"—two related documents that were drawn up by Rockefeller's lawyers in New York.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> I was unable to locate the original Indenture of Trust and Agreement in the archives. However, I did find the revised Indenture of Trust as well as several significant letters between the Rockefeller team, which, together with Jeffrey Abt's writings on the museum, allowed me to reconstruct the original Indenture and Agreement. For the revised documents, see: "[Revised] Agreement," March 10, 1926, Folder 260, Box 25, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC; "[Revised] Indenture," March 10, 1926, Folder 260, Box 25, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC.

The two parties named in the Agreement were the Council of Ministers (the Egyptian Cabinet, headed by the Prime Minister) and the proposed Board of Trustees for the Museum: Breasted (Chair), V. Everit Macy (an American industrialist and philanthropist, who was a member of various New York and national government organizations in the U.S.), and Raymond Fosdick. The Indenture of Trust, meanwhile, was between the Donor (Rockefeller) and the Board of Trustees, and would go into effect only if the Egyptian government signed the first document. The Board of Trustees—the common denominator in each document—was chosen entirely by Rockefeller and was comprised only of Americans. We can thus safely assume that it would represent and uphold Rockefeller's viewpoint, rather than that of the Egyptian government. The legal documents also included a site map of the proposed plot of land for the museum and research institute (**Fig. 5.17 a-b**).

These combined Indenture-Agreement documents also called for the creation and incorporation of an Egyptian Museum Commission, consisting of six foreign and two Egyptian members. Of the foreign members, there would be two each from the U.S., Great Britain, and France. The Commission seems to have been modeled on the earlier colonial administrative make-up in Egypt after 1882, in which each Department or Ministry included one British and one French officer. But now the Americans were also included and actually granted more power than representatives from any other country (including Egypt): not only would Americans partake of the antiquities department, the Board of Trustees was entirely made up of Americans, and the Director of the Research Institute would have been an American as well (most likely Breasted). Of the two members from each Western country on the Commission, one would be chosen by a major museum in that country (in all likelihood, probably the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art) and the other would be chosen by an overarching

archaeological or scientific organization within that country. Egyptian representation was outnumbered by Western actors, but the Egyptian government was expected to agree to this,

in recognition of [the] generous offer [by Rockefeller] and in order to demonstrate its great appreciation of the value of foreign scientific collaboration in the preservation and study of Egyptian antiquities.<sup>61</sup>

The two Egyptian members were the Director-General of the EAS (who at the time was French) and the Minister of Public Works. Additionally, the Commission could choose to include, for brief periods, members from other countries active in Egyptology.<sup>62</sup>

The Commission would be the main administrative and finance body for the project. It would manage Rockefeller's funds and appoint all staff members without any interference from the Egyptian government, beyond the one or two votes the latter had in an overwhelmingly foreign body. Reflecting just how much the Commission was not an Egyptian body, a provision in the Indenture-Agreement stated that it—the Commission—could be incorporated in “such jurisdiction as they [Trustees] shall deem best.” Although the Indenture does not state possible options, the Rockefeller team was internally considering England as a way of safeguarding the funds.<sup>63</sup>

As for the plot and proposed buildings, the Indenture-Agreement eschewed discussions of the buildings' architecture—leaving these to the proposal book—and only stated that the Egyptian government would agree to authorize the Trustees to build the new museum on Plot A on the map (more on these Plots later). The government would issue the Trustees a license

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<sup>61</sup> “[Revised] Agreement,” March 10, 1926, Folder 260, Box 25, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC, p.1.

<sup>62</sup> Breasted appears to have left this clause in to be able to add German members. Remember that although the Rockefeller team had no interest in including Germany in its projects, Breasted was loyal to German institutions and archaeologists given his own training there.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas Debevoise (hereafter Debevoise) to Gumbel, July 28, 1925, Folder 0258, Box 025, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC.

granting them permission to take over the land. For the Research institute, the Indenture-Agreement asked for a more permanent “absolute title” to Plot B. (This is an important point, and I will come back to it.) Both buildings would be constructed according to plans approved by the Trustees, but these could be modified at the suggestion of the EAS. However, the Trustees reserved the right to make the recommended changes only if they were “practicable.” This language was clearly designed to allow the Rockefeller team to maintain overall control of the design and layout—a lot could be vetoed on the basis of practicability, as we will see later—and underscores the importance and centrality of architecture to the Rockefeller team’s conception and strategy with regards to the museum.

The Egyptian government was also asked to permit importation and entry of all materials and equipment needed for the construction and maintenance of these buildings and for future work, without levying any import or tax. Upon the buildings’ completion, antiquities from the current French-operated museum would be transferred over to the new museum. All future items that the Egyptian government acquired through native excavation, or as a result of its share from foreign excavations, would be turned over to the Western-controlled Commission for handling. This is a significance clause because many countries in the Middle East were on the verge of declaring (or had already done so) that they would be holding on to greater quantities of the items discovered by foreign archaeological institutions. Such declarations and laws were intended to assert control over Western archaeological institutions. In Egypt, the Indenture-Agreement would have served to reverse this process of gaining control.

Rockefeller’s total monetary contribution to the entire project would be \$10 million, as already stated. Upon Egypt’s acceptance of the terms and conditions stated in the Indenture-Agreement, he would transfer \$5.4 million of this money to the Commission, via the Board of

Trustees, for construction of the new buildings. After the completion of construction, the remaining \$4.6 million would also be handed over to the Commission, whereupon the latter would undertake to move all the items from the existing museum to the new one. By this design, the Indenture-Agreement ensured that the money would be handled either by a) a completely American body (the Board of Trustees) or b) an overwhelmingly Western body (the Commission).

Finally, in the “spirit in which the ... gift [was] proffered,” the Egyptian government was asked to agree to an incredible timeline: it would have to turn over its antiquities to the Commission for a period of thirty-three years. During this period, the antiquities would remain government property, but the government would have no say over their display or handling. The somewhat-arbitrary stipulation of thirty-three years—which would have meant that the Commission would control the antiquities until around 1959—arose from Breasted’s argument that it had apparently taken about this long for Americans to develop their own scientific expertise in the field, and thus it would take at least an equal amount of time for Egyptians to do the same.<sup>64</sup> The principal of \$4.6 million, which Rockefeller would only give after the completion of the museum complex, would remain untouched by the Commission during this period: only the income derived from it would be used to run the museum and research institute.

At the end of the thirty-three-year period, the Commission would hand back the museum's collection to the government, or to “such Service [organization] as it [Egyptian government] may designate.” Though the government would get control of the collection at the end of thirty-three years, it would have *no* further claim on the principal of the sum or the income from it. Instead, the Commission would keep this sum (and resulting income) for the

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<sup>64</sup> Regarding the thirty-three-year stipulation, it is interesting to note that Jesus was this age when he died. However, I do not have any prove that his age or biography was a factor in the Rockefeller team’s calculations.

work of the Research Institute for seventeen more years, a total of fifty years of Western control that would have ended only in 1976.<sup>65</sup>

In comparison to the proposed museum, the Research Institute would be housed in a much smaller building. But because it would be controlled by the Commission for a longer period and, because of its proximity to the museum, it would exert an outsized influence over the museum's operations and over Egyptian antiquity, even though the latter would no longer be under Western control after three decades.<sup>66</sup> (Seen from this perspective, the architecture and proposed size of the museum versus the research institute are misleading, and perhaps intentionally so.) The Egyptian government was asked to take whatever legal or parliamentary steps necessary to achieve the goals of the project.

Finally, in the Indenture-Agreement, Rockefeller's lawyers noted that the money would be "devoted primarily" to research and museum administration in Egypt. The word "primarily" was added for legal reasons, as a qualification to the original statement, to protect Rockefeller, since the latter intended that the funds would actually be used for whatever purpose and in whichever way the Commission saw fit.<sup>67</sup> They could be used for archaeological research anywhere in the world—not just in Egypt. Essentially, Cairo would be used as a base to exert archaeological and cultural control over the larger Middle East, and perhaps an even larger area. (We will see the aesthetic visualization of this in the Research Institute's interior furnishings and research apparatus.) And so, contrary to the claims made by the Rockefeller team in their

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<sup>65</sup> I have calculated the end of Western control of the museum and the research institute using the year 1926 as my starting point. Of course, this assumes that the museum and research institute would have been successfully erected in the very same year that Rockefeller offered the gift to the Egyptian museum—an unlikely possibility given the size of the proposed buildings.

<sup>66</sup> Breasted would later suggest a similar strategy of using a neighboring research institute for maintaining control over a museum in Baghdad, which was never built. See Chapter Seven.

proposal book of aiding Egyptian sovereignty, the Commission in effect was designed to solidify foreign control of Egyptology, and to launch perhaps an even more ambitious scheme region-wide.

### **5.5. (Rejecting) The Islamic-Revival**

As a monument to the ambitions and prestige of a new American institution (the Oriental Institute), the proposed architecture of the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute was necessarily evocative and spectacular. Similar to other major museums at the time, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the British Museum in London, the Rockefeller team proposed a Beaux-Arts scheme for their buildings. There does not appear to have been much discussion on this point: it was taken for granted that this style was necessary for a project of this stature, and Bosworth was chosen in part because of his deep familiarity with the aesthetic. As one of Rockefeller's advisors, Martin Ryerson, a Trustee for the Field Museum in Chicago, noted:

He [Bosworth] undoubtedly has very good taste and is also, I understand, a Beaux Arts man - a distinct advantage for the monumental and formal treatment this building should receive.<sup>67</sup>

In the manner of its French predecessor in Cairo, the museum's proposed design incorporated neo-Pharaonic elements within the larger Beaux-Arts scheme. (Despite these similarities, the proposed design, scale, and scientific facilities of the new museum were far superior, mainly because of the great size of Rockefeller's proposed donation.) Although

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<sup>67</sup> See Debevoise to Belknap, June 13, 1925, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC. See also Debevoise to Gumbel, July 22, 1925, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC and Debevoise to Gumbel, July 28, 1925, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC.

<sup>68</sup> Martin A. Ryerson to Rockefeller, August 24, 1925, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG 3, OMR, RAC.



Breasted enthusiastically approved of the museum's proposed design, he appears to have originally suggested an alternate ornamental style—to be incorporated within the general Beaux-Arts layout and aesthetic—for Bosworth's consideration:

I wish you would think about the feasibility of a new building in Saracen style, - especially as represented by the mosques of Cairo. Such a mosque as that of Sultan Hassan below the citadel suggests some imposing and grandiose exteriors; while the court of Mohammad Ali's mosque, with reservations for its Stamboul [Istanbul] tawdriness, furnishes interesting hints of what a museum court in this style might be. All this brings up the whole question of the appropriateness of such a style, for a museum building, which might thus obtrude itself upon the observer at the expense of the collections it shelters.<sup>69</sup>

This is the only recorded communication in which the “Saracen” (Islamic or Islamic-Revival) architectural style was mentioned. I believe that the team's evident dismissal of this style, despite its prevalence in Egypt at the time, indicates a rejection of what the style represented: Egypt's native population, from whom the American architect, patron, and archaeologist were trying to wrest control of Egyptology.

The team's rejection of this style may also be seen as a reflection on its visual merits. But in fact the style had great aesthetic potential. Of the two buildings that Breasted suggests as possible models for the New Egyptian Museum, the Sultan Hassan mosque is the older one. This *Mamlūk* structure was built between 1356 and 1363 (**Fig. 5.18**). It was considered the greatest mosque in the Muslim world at the time of its construction, and its design is a visual expression of the artistic and territorial range of the *Mamlūk* Empire during the fourteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Owing

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<sup>69</sup> Breasted to Bosworth, February 9, 1925, Folder “Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence: Bosworth,” Box “Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M,” Breasted Papers, OIA. This is an ambiguous passage. I interpret it as Breasted's suggestion to Bosworth to consider a Saracen-style building. But, it can also be read as Breasted's ambivalent or non-committal response to Bosworth's suggestion for the same. In the absence of such a suggestion by Bosworth in the archives in the first place, the first reading seems more appropriate.

<sup>70</sup> Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (London; New York, New York: I.B. Tauris; in the United States and Canada distributed by Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 201-14. All information regarding the Sultan Hassan mosque is taken from Behrens-Abouseif's book.

to a shortage of labor in Egypt at the time, craftsmen from all over the *Mamlūk* Empire were summoned to Cairo to aid in the design, construction, and decoration of this mosque. They brought with them stylistic and ornamental variations that were specific to their lands, thus creating an eclectic and hybrid structure featuring architectural elements and details that are not typically found in Cairo.

Breasted's second example is a mosque that was commissioned by Viceroy Muhammad 'Ali. It was the largest mosque built in the nineteenth century, and it is imposingly and very visibly located in the Citadel of Cairo (**Fig. 5.19**). Begun in 1828 and completed in 1849, it departs aesthetically from other important nineteenth-century Cairene structures, which were predominantly neo-*Mamlūk*. Rejecting this prevalent style, Muhammad 'Ali instead chose an early Ottoman style.<sup>71</sup> The mosque also incorporates some European and neo-Pharaonic motifs. The former aesthetic had come to Egypt through Istanbul. Neo-Pharaonic motifs in architecture, meanwhile, were not local Arab innovations: they were introduced to Egypt by European architects. So in this manner, the mosque shows how an international and multicultural array of design motifs could be incorporated within an overall Islamic design.

The Muhammad 'Ali Mosque's construction and location had symbolic significance in its day. There was no practical need for a new mosque in the citadel. The mosque had actually been built adjacent to an existing functioning one, which could quite adequately have continued to serve all congregational needs. It was thus clearly intended as a symbolic monument to herald Muhammad 'Ali's rule in Egypt. Furthermore, the unprecedented architectural appropriation of

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<sup>71</sup> Mohammad Al-Asad, "The Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 9, (1992): 39-55. All information regarding Muhammad 'Ali's mosque has been taken from this article. In addition to appropriating Ottoman architecture, Muhammad 'Ali chose to build the mosque over a *Mamlūk* "hall of justice." Although the Ottomans took over Egypt in 1517, the Mamlūks continued to rule it until Napoleon's short-lived invasion of Egypt, the French surrender to the combined British and Ottoman forces, and Muhammad 'Ali's subsequent rise to power. By choosing to build his mosque over an existing *Mamlūk* structure, Muhammad 'Ali sought to symbolically replace this ruling dynasty as well.

an Ottoman imperial style by a province (Egypt)—in the largest mosque of its time—symbolized the political power of the Albanian rule and his dynasty, which had gained control of Egypt from the Ottomans. For these reasons, historians consider this mosque to be the first modern Islamic structure.<sup>72</sup>

Thus, both the Sultan Hassan and Muhammad ‘Ali mosques are historically and architecturally significant examples of the Islamic- and Islamic-Revival styles respectively. And, they incorporate diverse architectural traditions and elements from powerful Egyptian and foreign sources, thus demonstrating the complexity and elasticity of an Islamic style, and showing how it could serve as a ground against which neo-Pharaonic and other motifs could be incorporated. With a little effort, it might have worked well for the proposed New Egyptian Museum. But here, instead, the neoclassical aesthetic was used as a ground for the incorporation of neo-Pharaonic motifs.

The reason for this decision may have been the fact that the Islamic/Islamic-revival style—even in all of its cosmopolitan-ness—would have made the building feel *too* local. The history of the Islamic-Revival aesthetic in Egypt at the turn of the twentieth century, and how it came to be associated with Arabs and with nationalism, is important here. Although Muhammad ‘Ali consciously employed Islamic architecture in his mosque between 1828 and 1849, in secular and private structures the style was at the time actually on the decline. Even in his mosque, Muhammad ‘Ali’s inclusion of non-Islamic elements was intended to demonstrate his embrace of a more cosmopolitan aesthetic, suggesting that the general architectural trend in the country was moving away from a strictly Islamic style. Wary of this cosmopolitanism, and perhaps of what it suggested in larger socio-political terms about Egyptian ambitions, Europeans (who were already

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

financially, politically, and culturally engaged with Egypt in this proto-colonial period) more aggressively advocated Islamic-Revival architecture in Egypt, in the mid-nineteenth century, as a style that was “appropriate” for native use. Back in Europe, the Islamic-Revival had been considered suitable primarily for exotic or pleasure buildings. But in Egypt the style was expected to (and did) have a greater reach, assuming national as well as religious significance.<sup>73</sup> It was used in such prominent Egyptian buildings as the Palace for Khayri Bay (1870), the Museum of Arab Art (1902), the Ministry of Waqf building (1915), and the first national bank of Egypt, the Bank Misr headquarters (1927). But in the wake of the division of culture, as initiated by the European community at the turn of the century, Islamic-Revival architecture was *not* used in European-built and -controlled museums and structures, such as the existing Egyptian Museum.

Breasted’s consideration of the Islamic-Revival style for the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute suggests that he may have hoped to appeal to local Egyptians.<sup>74</sup> Or, he may have truly admired the style—as in fact many Westerners did. But although he brought it to Bosworth’s attention, he remained uncertain about its appropriateness, perhaps because the museum in question was essentially a Protestant American institution, in which an Islamic aesthetic would have been hyper visible and discordant, and he instead deferred to the architect.

As an “unabashed Beaux-Arts neo-classicist,” Bosworth probably played a part in steering Breasted away from the Islamic-Revival style.<sup>75</sup> Instead, the architect likely drew

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<sup>73</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, “The Re-invention of Tradition: Neo-Islamic Architecture in Cairo,” *Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Berlin*, 15. - 20. Juli 1992 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993): 425 - 36.

<sup>74</sup> Perhaps Breasted imagined a hybrid aesthetic that could take elements of “Saracen” style and combine it with the neo-classical. (The neo-classical was the prevalent museum style.) An example of a hybrid Eastern and Western aesthetic would have been the Indo-Saracenic Victoria Memorial in India (built between 1906 and 1921), which combined Mughal elements with Britain’s favored Gothic Revival style.

<sup>75</sup> Jacobs, “William Welles Bosworth,” 1.

inspiration from his own past architectural projects, which included notable commissions such as the American Telephone and Telegraph headquarters in New York and the campus for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, as well as Kykuit and the recently executed I-House in New York (**Fig. 5.20a-b**).<sup>76</sup> The practical and symbolic needs of these projects were similar to those of the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute: all of them had to convey a sense of arrival, permanence, and institutional legitimacy.<sup>77</sup> For these projects, and for private commissions for men like Rockefeller, Bosworth turned consistently to the formal language of Beaux-Arts neo-classicism, which, as we well know by now, was widely understood to embody the desired values. And so, despite Breasted's initial suggestion of a "Saracen" style, the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute was designed in a neo-classical Beaux-Arts tradition, with neo-pharaonic ornaments.

That the "Saracen" style was not used though it too could demonstrably incorporate ornamental and architectural elements from diverse styles and civilizations, and though it was in fact used for other institutions in Egypt at the time of the Rockefeller proposal, further reinforces the team's biases and the Western perception of Egypt in 1926. Whereas in the past an Islamic style could indicate the strength and achievements of the ruling party in Egypt, in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century, and in the eyes of the Rockefeller team, the Islamic-Revival conveyed very different qualities. European colonialism and imperialism, and the resulting division of culture in Egypt at the turn of the twentieth century had worked to sever

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 85. Jacobs terms the AT&T building as "the most consistently classical skyscraper ever built." For Bosworth's design at MIT, see Mark Jarzombek, *Designing MIT: The Architecture of William Welles Bosworth* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

<sup>77</sup> Jacobs, "William Welles Bosworth," 87. AT&T had recently come under suspicion from the U.S. government because of its market monopoly and was also beginning to face local competition. Bosworth was hired to create a building that could make a statement of corporate stability, reliance, and legitimacy. For the MIT campus, Bosworth was entrusted with a similar task. Apart from practical considerations, the Institute's architecture had to send a clear, definitive message to Harvard – and the Boston public – that MIT would not be merging with the more-established school. Kykuit, though a residential project, too addressed questions of legitimacy.

connections between ancient Egypt, which European and American scholars believed was the truly valuable cultural epoch of the country, and the modern Arab—and largely Muslim—civilization. In a letter to Rockefeller, Bosworth wrote that the proposed buildings were designed to give them a “typical Egyptian character while making [them] at the same glance look like a museum.”<sup>78</sup> The Rockefeller team, like the Europeans before them, used the term “Egyptian” to refer to ancient Egypt. The idea that the Islamic style, or any variation on it, could represent Egypt—as this country imagined by Western actors—was discarded.

But the Rockefeller team *could* have chosen to at least incorporate Islamic ornaments and decorative elements within the museum's larger Beaux-Arts design. In fact, Bosworth had great fondness for some aspects of Islamic (or Saracen) architecture and, like other American and European architects, understood it as a decorative style that could be incorporated within a more dominant neoclassical structure or aesthetic. Around 1916, Bosworth had been hired by Samuel Untermyer, a wealthy American lawyer, to design the landscape at Untermyer's estate in Yonkers, a city on the Hudson River. Along with Kykuit, the gardens at Untermyer were one of Bosworth's most notable landscape projects.<sup>79</sup> In Yonkers, Bosworth incorporated several Islamic elements: a crenellated wall enclosing three sides of the “Greek” gardens; octagonal structures at the corners of these walls; and axially laid out water channels throughout (**Fig. 5.21**).<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Bosworth to Rockefeller, April 9, 1925, Folder 258, Box 25, Series 2E, RG III, OMR, RAC.

<sup>79</sup> Jacobs, “William Welles Bosworth,” 67. Jacobs notes that a former director of the New York Botanical Gardens, Thomas Everett, believed that Greystone was Bosworth's finest project.

<sup>80</sup> See Jacobs, “William Welles Bosworth.” Jacobs points out the crenellated wall and the octagonal structures as aspects of Islamic architecture. I am including here the axially laid out water channels as well.

We learn about Bosworth's incorporation of these elements in a letter he sent to Rockefeller, with whom he had by then developed a friendship of sorts (forged through a mutual love of the Beaux-Arts):

[The garden is] based on the Ispahan epoch of Indo-Persian miniatures- - you know I love so much [sic].<sup>81</sup>

In the letter, Bosworth also made a reference to painter C. M. (Constance Mary) Villiers-Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals* as a "fine book" on the subject.<sup>82</sup> So, while Bosworth does not use the term Islamic architecture directly, referring instead to Isfahan and to Mughal and Indo-Persian aesthetics, he was aware of—and used elements from—the different eras and styles of Islamic architecture, as they are traditionally understood today.<sup>83</sup>

But these elements were used in garden follies and pavilions rather than in the main or institutional buildings. At the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute, we do not find these elements in the design of the proposed buildings. Instead, the neo-Pharaonic was identified as the "vernacular" aesthetic and used in ornamental details. If some aspect of Islamic architecture did influence the design or layout of the museum—perhaps the use of axes or interior courts—they are not described as such in the proposal book: amidst the heavy preponderance of neo-Pharaonic capitals and wall painting, they appear mostly to be derived from the general architecture of ancient Egyptian temples, which Breasted directly references in

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<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Quoted in Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Islamic art history was not an established field in the United States in 1916; it was a field first invented by European scholars, who dominated it for a long time. The first professor of Islamic art history in the U.S. would be appointed only in 1933, when the Turkish Islamic Art Historian Mehmet Ağa-Oğlu was made chair of the History of Islamic Art at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. See, "Number 6 June 2012." *Journal of Art Historiography* (blog), May 31, 2012, <https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/number-6-june-2012-2/>. So the fact that Bosworth does not use the term "Islamic architecture" in his correspondence can perhaps be attributed to the state of Islamic art history in the U.S. at the time.

the text, or from Beaux-Arts planning principles. In light of his interest in Islamic architecture, the fact that his proposed design did not even include the slightest reference to this aesthetic, suggests that the design of the New Egyptian Museum was not just influenced by Bosworth's Beaux-Arts predilections, but rather by the overall religious program of Rockefeller's internationalism.

While he positioned Protestant Modernism as sympathetic to cultural internationalism, Rockefeller was not ready to give other religions equal control over cultural resources. In Cairo, the Rockefeller team's preferred site, long associated with Western control over Egypt, demonstrates this hegemonic impulse. Archival records show that, by building next to the French-run museum and physically displacing the British military, Rockefeller wished to appear supportive of Egypt's struggle for complete independence, while actually bolstering—what one Rockefeller advisor described as—an Anglo-American alliance in ancient cities that “have been recovered from Mohammedan rule.”<sup>84</sup>

When news of Rockefeller's proffered gift to the Egyptian government had first broken, an American publication (*The New Yorker*) satirically praised Rockefeller—who had earlier funded the ill-fated Interchurch World Movement as well as been ridiculed for teaching Bible class—for giving money instead to archaeology:

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr.--Whose gift to Egypt of \$10,000,000 for a museum and archaeological institute more than makes up for his previous gifts of \$8,833,334 to the theologians.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Breasted to Fosdick, June 23, 1925, Folder Cairo Museum Project—Correspondence A, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA.

<sup>85</sup> “Heroes of the Week,” *The New Yorker*, February 27, 1926.



But as I have shown elsewhere, Rockefeller hoped to leverage secular institutions and symbolic sites to plant a modernized Protestantism in the so-called Orient. Cairo's incomplete urban redesign during Isma'il's reign had created a bifurcated city, the modernized half of which was purposefully devoid of religion. This French-influenced, modern, and secular ground of Cairo was, I argue, deemed by the Rockefeller team as the perfect site for a new scientific-American "city upon the hill" and for a religion that allied itself with forces of modernization and opposed both Islam (which the West saw as incompatible with modernity) and orthodox Protestantism. In such a museum, the Islamic-Revival style could have no space.

## 5.6. The Proposed Design

In the proposal book, the Rockefeller team eschewed any discussion of the merits of neo-classical or neo-Pharaonic architecture over the Islamic-Revival, declaring instead that scientific requirements and the spirit of (ancient) Egypt had dictated the general aesthetic and layout of the complex:

The new building...in lighting, planning, distribution of space and methods of construction, is to be thoroughly modern. ... it is at the same time to be Egyptian in spirit. In the words of the architect himself, "it is to be given a treatment as to style-expression which relates it harmoniously with what it is to contain, or as Viollet-le-Duc phrases it in his definition of style, 'an expression appropriate in every respect to its use'."<sup>86</sup>

Probably inspired by the wall paintings at Saqqara—where the Oriental Institute would soon launch an archaeological expedition—neo-Pharaonic designs embellish the walls of the proposed museum buildings but are subsumed or framed within a larger neo-classical aesthetic. That the

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<sup>86</sup> *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo*, 23-24. This passage is found in Breasted's letter to the King, which is included in the book.

neo-classical style should frame the ancient Egyptian “spirit” demonstrates the long-existing Western narrative of the Greco-Roman origins of Western civilization--a narrative that, despite the recent advances in Egyptology, remained entrenched. This is particularly true of the Research Institute: the portico and inner vestibule feature Egyptian columns, and a pair of sphinxes guard the entrance, but the overall proportions and general plan fit the mold of a typical neo-classical, Beaux-Arts institutional building (**Fig. 5.22**). The proposed design for the museum building features neo-Pharaonic elements, too: a clerestory hypostyle hall in the center of the building, for example, is “suggested by the great colonnade of the Karnak hypostyle,” and interior courts feature graceful palm columns “reproducing those discovered in the pyramid Temple of Sahure, the oldest colonnades yet known.”<sup>87</sup>

This use of neo-Pharaonic elements in an American-funded cultural institution helped to forge an imagined link between the U.S. (seen by Rockefeller as the originating site of a new internationalism) and ancient Egypt (presented by Breasted as the birth land of the earliest internationalism) at the expense of the modern Egyptian nation.<sup>88</sup> The buildings’ stone-surfaced facades engage the Nile waterfront in the manner of ancient temples, but they do not engage the complexities of Cairo, which, in the drawings, is represented by an indistinct background.<sup>89</sup> Plate I (**Fig. 5.23**) of the proposal book shows a bird’s eye-view of the entire complex. The museum is

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>88</sup> For Egypt as the birth land of the earliest internationalism, see Breasted, *The Earliest Internationalism*. See also Chapter Three of this dissertation.

<sup>89</sup> *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo*, 24. Drawings at the OIA show that the museum’s proposed construction method would actually have comprised of structural steel columns, concrete walls and foundations, and, in the roof and ceiling, I-beams. But, aware of the message of solidity and permanence that the use of stone facing would send, Bosworth chose to hide the structural system beneath the stone façade. There were also other reasons why the image of stone was important for the project. Stone facing was used to evoke ancient Egyptian temples, where stone blocks had been used in the construction. And, earlier, Breasted had criticized the French-built Egyptian Museum for its use of cheap bricks, which were then stuccoed over. The beautiful stone exterior of the new proposed buildings would have been a significant improvement on the French-built museum. (Note that elsewhere in the proposal book, Breasted does make more of the concrete foundations of the museum, and of how these would connect structurally and metaphorically with the ancient limestone in the ground.)

the larger building; the smaller one is the research institute. The complex features a riverside entrance, in which sphinx-lined ramps and staircases lead up from the water. On the street level, a driveway leads to a forecourt with steps leading up to a double-colonnaded porch, composed of tall, richly painted columns that feature ancient Egyptian motifs. In an unusual move, the grand scale continues throughout the building: both the porch and the interior of the building feature columns of the same height. The scale (the columns are forty-five feet high) is appropriate to the monumental statues inside, but overwhelms the visitor (**Fig. 5.24-5.25**). The museum's architecture recycles elements from Bosworth's earlier projects and also foreshadows his later designs. The riverside entrance is a feature he had proposed for the campus of MIT, but had been unable to implement. As Mark Jarzombek has noted, the continuation of tall columns inside the building may have inspired his later design for a new entrance at MIT, and we can see it there today in "Building 7" of the main campus.<sup>90</sup>

An inscription on one side of the New Egyptian Museum's portico reads: "Erected in the Reign of His Majesty King Fua'd I" (**Fig. 5.26**). In contrast with the Latin inscription in the French-built museum, which local Egyptians were unable to read, this inscription was in Arabic, English, and French—one of the few attempts made by the museum's architects to appeal to a variety of political actors in Egypt. But the British-enforced parliamentary monarchy in Egypt, of which Fua'd I was a beneficiary, was antagonistic to the country's nationalist movement, so the ability to read his name was unlikely to have appeased nationalist sentiments.

The museum's plan consists of a main axis that aligns with the river dock, forecourt and portico on the outside, and, on the interior, stretches from the vestibule to the rear chamber of the building, with three successive exterior courts in between, featuring pools and desert foliage

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<sup>90</sup> Jarzombek, *Designing MIT*, 113.

(**Fig. 5.27**). The courts are ringed by halls, which form the interior exhibition and circulation spaces and act as transitions between individual courts—the whole giving an impression of airy outdoor rooms. A composition of two small courts, separated by a larger court, is symmetrically arranged on either side of the main axis. Each side features an exit for relieving congestion. Running in between each side exit is a second (transverse) axis linking these exits to the central courts on each side and cutting across the transition space between the courts along the main axis.

## 5.7. A Chronological Layout

The formal Beaux-Arts axes and symmetry of the museum's plan allowed the Rockefeller team to impose a clear, hierarchical layout and tightly controlled circulation in the museum. In contrast to the French-run Egyptian Museum, the antiquities in the New Egyptian Museum would adhere to a strict chronology, moving from the Stone Age to the rise of Western civilization. In the proposal book, positioning the West as heirs to the ancient Egyptian civilization, Breasted writes of surveying the development of man from:

...primitive savagery to a highly refined culture expressing itself in marvelous monuments and works of art, through a magnificent culmination to a decline which eventually resulted in European supremacy, and after the Sixth Century B.C. in European leadership of civilization.<sup>91</sup>

To emphasize this European leadership of civilization, Breasted prescribed a corresponding exhibition layout and circulation path through the museum (**Fig. 5.28**).<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo*, 26.

Beginning at the entrance, visitors would move through the museum in a clockwise direction. Turning left, they would enter a hall containing Stone Age artifacts, after which they would slowly proceed towards the rear, where they would find “monuments of the successive ages of Egyptian civilization,” until eventually they reached the sacred apse, at the farthest point of the central axis cutting through the building. Here the visitors would find colossal statues of the important Pharaoh Amenhotep III and his wife Tiy, symbolizing the apex of Egyptian civilization. In the preceding areas, on either side, visitors would find items from the newly discovered Tutankhamun tomb, which had caused so much conflict in Egypt just a few years back. Continuing down from the rear apse, visitors would survey the “monuments of Egypt’s decline.” Then, they would enter the period of Greco-Roman supremacy followed by the monuments of Christian Egypt, after which the visitors would exit the museum. In this “exclusively Egyptian museum,” there is no space for monuments from Egypt’s later Islamic period.<sup>93</sup>

This proposed chronological display of artifacts and circulation is made to appear rational—particularly since Breasted had previously noted that everything in the museum would be determined and dictated by science—and distinguishes the museum from the cramped quarters and ambiguous narrative presented by the existing French-run museum. The impression of rationality and science is aided by the Beaux-Arts layout, which does not merely allow for, but actually forces, hierarchal displays. But despite the Rockefeller team's assertions of scientific display, it is the human element (the Americans) that determines what items will be given preference. The layout, display of artifacts, and the omission of Islamic art from this display,

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 25-27. There is no specific mention of America here, but it is evident in so many other aspects of this project. I believe that Breasted emphasized “European” leadership in this passage because the document was presented to British officials before it was shown to Fua’d. As such, it had to be diplomatically worded. Unfortunately, while this particular passage may have appealed to Europeans, it probably offended Egyptians.

reinforce a narrative of Christian and Western civilizational superiority. And in this manner, the museum's plan belied the Rockefeller team's public assertions that the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute was a gift motivated solely by scientific concerns.

## 5.8. A Larger (International) Ambition

The Research Institute, though a much smaller building than the museum, nevertheless exhibits an even larger ambition. (This corresponds with the longer-term American use of the Research Institute that was stipulated in the Indenture-Agreement documents.) The building's key feature is a handsome library aligned with the central axis, looking out on to the Nile. Invisible in the plan layout, but revealed in a water-color perspective, are two charged cartographic presences in the room, reminiscent of "a general's command-centre map for a major campaign [sic]" or of palace map rooms: a map of the Nile Valley (with an East-West orientation) covering an entire wall, and a large globe situated in the center of the room (**Fig. 5.29**).<sup>94</sup> In the proposal book, Breasted writes of creating a cultural condominium, unconstrained by geographic considerations and the boundaries of emerging nation-states:

It should be noted that its [Research Institute's] researches would not be subject to hampering geographical or cultural restrictions. The terms of the great endowment permit the extension of its investigations to follow the lines of diffusing culture in all directions and if necessary into other continents. In future generations, therefore ... **the new Cairo Egyptian Museum and its Research Institute seem destined to become a far-reaching focus of scientific research in the**

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> See also Abt, "Toward a Historian's Laboratory," 562.

**ancient lands of the Near East as a whole, including all the lands where the cultural ancestors of the civilized peoples of the West once had their home [emphasis mine].<sup>95</sup>**

While the wall map in the library marks the ruins of ancient Egypt, the globe in the center of the room covers the world! It hints at the Rockefeller team's internationalist, political ambitions and at a corresponding large-scale instrumentalization of antiquity towards this purpose.

### 5.9. The Site

The political intent of the Rockefeller team is further manifested in a final piece of the team's aesthetic strategy: its choice of site. Originally, the team planned to include an additional drawing in the proposal book: a map that showed the museum complex located on the site of the British-occupied Kasr-al-Nil barracks along the Nile, in *Maidan-al-Isma'ili'yah* (**Fig. 5.30**). Before the proposal could be presented to the Egyptians, the Rockefeller team had entered into secret negotiations with the British army in order to persuade them to evacuate the barracks site for the museum. In rather crusading terms, Breasted assured the British Viceroy that his help in facilitating the museum in this way would bolster the development of a mutually advantageous "Anglo-American alliance" in ancient cities, "which have been recovered from Mohammedan rule, ... by a great Christian nation [England]..."<sup>96</sup> While the British appeared enthusiastic about the project at first, they eventually refused to evacuate the barracks, citing security concerns, and the team had to settle instead for a site on the Gezira Island across from the barracks. But the

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<sup>95</sup> *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo*, 36. Again, Breasted's easy appropriation of the ancient Near East for glorifying the West, in a book intended for Egyptians, seems like a careless slip, but perhaps it merely reveals how entrenched the Western interpretation of Near Eastern antiquity was at this time: it was hard to shake off even in a carefully thought out document.

<sup>96</sup> Breasted to Fosdick, June 23, 1925, folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence A, box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA.

drawings—and in fact the entire project—was conceived with the barracks site in mind.<sup>97</sup> The team had envisioned this original site, and the proposed displacement of the British Army and destruction of their military barracks, as their “trump card” in negotiations with the Egyptian government.<sup>98</sup> In fact, Rockefeller originally insisted on withdrawing the proposal entirely if the barracks site could not be obtained.<sup>99</sup> This site is, therefore, a good indicator of American intentions.

The waterfront location had rendered the site ideal for military barracks, and the Rockefeller team believed that it would be ideal for their new museum, too. By physically displacing British barracks, and by building over the site and next to the existing French-run museum (further emphasizing its obsolescence), the Rockefeller team could be understood as helping the Egyptians, in their struggle for nationhood, by removing the two dominant imperial forces in the country. At the same time, their chosen site, long associated with Western control of Egypt, demonstrated their own ambitions and view of Egypt. This ambition was no doubt evident to the British. The Rockefeller proposal to raze British barracks and build over them recalls similar actions by military conquerors and imperial hopefuls throughout time. One does not have to look too far for examples. The ancient Pharaohs tore down and added to important ancient sites at Luxor and Karnak, and the British army itself had turned what was originally an Egyptian Khedival palace into their barracks at Kasr-al-Nil. In view of this, the British army probably

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<sup>97</sup> Although the watercolor drawings show very little of the larger site, if we look very closely, we can see evidence of the original site in two of them. [more here]

<sup>98</sup> Bosworth to Breasted, August 4, 1926, Folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence: B, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA.

<sup>99</sup> Breasted held numerous meetings with the British army but was unable to acquire the site and began to realize that if he convinced the British to shift their troops to new barracks, the project would risk “being regarded as the occasion for the building of new British barracks in Cairo.” Keeping this in mind, Breasted eventually convinced Rockefeller to agree to the alternate Gezira site. Breasted to Fosdick, November 29, 1925, Folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence: Curtis Fosdick Belknap, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA.



perceived the Rockefeller team's proposal to remove the barracks, and to erect the new museum in the vicinity of the nearby French-run museum, as a symbolic assertion of American presence in Egypt.

Situated along the Nile and effectively turning its back on to the city, the museum seems to be excluding Cairo and its urban, political, and religious anxieties. Two points support this argument. The first is that the museum—in Rockefeller's mind—could have just as easily been in the West. When the project was in the planning stages, he had wondered if the Egyptian government could be persuaded to sell the entirety of its Pharaonic collection, including the artifacts from Tutankhamun's tomb, to the U.S. or England in order to pay the national debt, and if the museum could thus be built in a Western city.<sup>100</sup> A trace of this thought lingers in the illustrations, where the urban context, aside from the river, is quite indistinct.<sup>101</sup> The second point is that Breasted, who facilitated the project, preferred most other locations in Egypt to modern Cairo. He was very fond of Luxor, for example, where he could focus on archaeological sites and block out the messy complexities of a modern-day Egyptian metropolis. When in Cairo, he stayed at the Shepherd's Hotel, a resting and meeting place for foreign elites that was like a world unto itself. In the book presented to the King, he mentions Cairo once, when he writes that the museum will be in the greatest Muslim city of the world. But where, one might ask, *is* Cairo? There is no depiction of the city. One only sees the Nile and the Egyptian sky. The museum may well have been in an ancient Egyptian site, and in an era when there were no nationalists to contend with. The only image in the book that is not of the museum depicts a timeless Arab Bedouin walking in the desert towards the Pyramids (**Fig. 5.31**).

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<sup>100</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 101.

<sup>101</sup> Though, it should be noted that illustrations for a past project by Bosworth in the U.S. (the campus for MIT) showed the same disregard for the surroundings, which in turn allowed the building to stand out.

## 5.10. Failure to Engage

Despite the Rockefeller team's assurances to the various political actors in Egypt, the museum's legal and architectural conception exposed some of its underlying assumptions and intentions regarding Egypt and Egyptian archaeology. The British army refused to evacuate the site, the French Director-General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service reportedly did not lend his support to the American team, and Egypt's Prime Minister Zivar Pasha declared the project's terms and conditions, "unacceptable" and "[an infringement] upon the sovereignty of Egypt!"<sup>102</sup> This pronouncement caught the Rockefeller team off-guard: they were so confident of the gift's acceptance that they had already printed five thousand copies of the richly illustrated proposal book, which they hoped to send to archaeologists and political leaders around the world upon the project's acceptance.<sup>103</sup> Equally surprising to them must have been the fact that Egypt's rejection of the proposal was visually expressed in the Egyptians' unprecedented and triumphant architectural *re*-appropriation of Egyptian antiquity.

## 5.11. A National Style for Egypt

In 1927, just one year after the Egyptian government rejected the Rockefeller museum, the death of Sa'd Zaghlul (who had taken over from Zivar Pasha as Prime Minister) sparked an eight-year long debate within the country regarding the appropriate architectural style for his proposed mausoleum in Cairo. Although neo-*Mamlūk* designs were proposed in the early stages, ultimately

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<sup>102</sup> Quoted in Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 396.

<sup>103</sup> See Abt, "Toward a Historian's Laboratory," 175. See also Publisher to Fosdick, December 2, 1925, Folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence, Curtis, Fosdick and Belknap, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA.

the Department of Works elected to build the tomb in a neo-Pharaonic style (**Fig. 5.32**).<sup>104</sup> The author of the tomb's design was Egyptian architect Mustafa Fahmi, who worked at the Department of Construction. The tomb's aesthetic has been compared to ancient Egyptian funerary architecture and to late Roman and Hellenistic versions of the Pharaonic style.<sup>105</sup>

Historian Ralph Coury suggests that Fahmi's design ultimately prevailed, despite protests over its supposed un-Islamic character, for two reasons. First, the neo-Pharaonic aesthetic presented itself as a neutral or secular architectural style behind which nationalist leaders could unite Coptic and Muslim populations in the 1920s. Second, in elite circles in Egypt, "a virulent form of [self] Orientalism that conceived of Arab/Islamic civilization as universally inferior and impoverished" may have encouraged the use of the neo-Pharaonic style as an attempt at gaining the approval of a Western audience.<sup>106</sup>

I agree with Coury's analysis, but I contend that the proposal for the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute, and the publicity generated by it just prior to the mausoleum's design, *also* influenced the selection of a neo-Pharaonic architectural style. Prior to the Rockefeller proposal, there had been little precedence for neo-Pharaonic architecture in Cairo. As Aly Hatem Gabr notes, there are only three extant examples of this style in Cairo, from the earlier colonial and proto-colonial years, of which the French-controlled and -designed existing Egyptian Museum is one.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, in all three examples neo-Pharaonic influence is limited

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<sup>104</sup> Ralph M. Coury, "The Politics of the Funereal: The Tomb of Sa'd Zaghlul," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 191-200.

<sup>105</sup> See *Ibid.*, 195; Aly Hatem Gabr, "Neo-Pharaonic Architecture in Cairo: A Western Legacy," *Medina Magazine* (1998): 44-51.

<sup>106</sup> Coury, "The Politics of the Funereal," 194.

<sup>107</sup> See Gabr, "Neo-Pharaonic Architecture in Cairo."

to ornamental applications within a larger neo-classical design.<sup>108</sup> Bosworth's proposed design in 1926 for the New Egyptian Museum displays the most elaborate use of such neo-Pharaonic elements—and even of neo-Pharaonic massing; in 1927, this was the example that must have been fresh in everyone's mind. Consider, for example, that at least from one (physical) perspective, Zaghlul's tomb looks almost exactly like the facade of a “suggested main court” in the New Egyptian Museum (**Fig. 5.33**).<sup>109</sup>

Both Egyptian and American newspapers had covered the Rockefeller proposal, with criticism and praise flowing from either side. For example, an op-ed by writer and anti-imperialist Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a, published in the weekly Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram*, represents an important dissenting opinion on the museum at the time:

Can a wealthy Egyptian venture to make such a proposal to Greece or the Island of Sicily for instance? Or can our friends the westerners allow us to restitute all the monuments and antiquities that fill the museums of London, New York, Paris and Berlin? Those who are acquainted with real facts know how those monuments happened to be in those museums and what price was paid for them.

If this Haroun [Rockefeller] or any other thinks that by means of his money he can buy the Pyramids or Pharaoh's obelisk, as it is possible to buy anything in his country, then let me state, by virtue of my being the humblest heir of my forefathers, that I totally refuse to sell my share.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid. The other two buildings with neo-Pharaonic elements are a Jewish synagogue and a “commercial residential apartment block” on Ramses Street. Of these projects, Gabr writes: “The massing, rhythms and organization remain European, with Egyptianizing features included simply to enliven the façade. While the Ramses Street block bristles with Neo-Pharaonic heads and scarabs, these are tailored to fit into a Neo-Baroque façade that pays homage to European style... In each case, where the detail is Neo-Pharaonic, its context and the reason for its placement are classical. Even the details are modified in an almost Piranesian manner to make them more European in character. The result? An eclectic European version of Pharaonic decoration.”

<sup>109</sup> *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute*, Plate IV.

<sup>110</sup> Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a, *Al-Ahram*, February 24, 1926, Folder “Cairo Museum Project - Correspondence A,” Box “Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M,” Breasted Papers, OIA. American archives contain clippings from Egyptian newspapers that Breasted and his son Charles sent from Cairo back to New York. Mostly, the Breasteds included positive reviews of the proposal but they did send back a couple of dissenting op-eds, which they claimed represented only a small handful of nationalists in the country. I argue that all this media coverage—whether positive or negative—ensured that the museum proposal was publicly known and discussed, and that this publicity eventually played a part in the design of the tomb of Sa'd Zaghlul.

Egypt's rejection of the Rockefeller museum's imperial mission, along with the re-appropriation of its neo-Pharaonic design in Zaghlul's mausoleum, was perhaps *both* a moment of nationalist triumph *and* an approval-seeking gesture directed at a Western audience: these archaeologists, officers, and philanthropists had emphasized ancient Egypt in their archaeological and museological projects in Egypt, and made it obvious that they held this period to be culturally and artistically superior to anything else that Egypt had to offer.

If we keep in mind the former reason—the design as nationalist triumph—this shift in architectural style, indicative of a parallel political and cultural struggle, recalls Muhammad 'Ali's calculated appropriation of Ottoman architecture nearly a century earlier in his mosque in the citadel of Cairo. Both Muhammad 'Ali's mosque and Sa'd Zaghlul's mausoleum are important buildings of their time, and demonstrate how particular political rulers or groups in Egypt leveraged a historically charged and contested architectural style to assert themselves, and their legitimacy, amidst other competing and perhaps more powerful groups. The decision to use neo-Pharaonic architecture in Zaghlul's mausoleum reflects a very brief and controversial movement within Egypt, in which nationalist leaders sought to propagate neo-Pharaonism in thought, writing, and to some extent in art and culture as a means towards a political end (**Fig. 5.34**).<sup>111</sup> Ultimately, however, architecture in Egypt returned to an Arab/Islamic base.<sup>112</sup>

## 5.12. Conclusion

The Rockefeller team had tried to assure the Egyptian government and press that their proposed project was born out of a desire to offer technical assistance to a politically young country, and to

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<sup>111</sup> See Coury, "The Politics of the Funereal: The Tomb of Sa'd Zaghlul."

foster international cooperation in the management of the monuments of ancient Egypt, which, they said, were the cultural heritage of all the people of the world. Certainly, this idea of a shared heritage—and its shared maintenance—is one way of fostering cultural internationalism, and we see this in Rockefeller’s financial support for the restoration of monuments in France, China, and Greece as well. The Rockefeller team also presented itself, to the Egyptians, as advocates of democracy and self-determination, yet, as Abt and others note, they did not consult any Egyptian official when putting together their proposal, speaking instead with the British army.<sup>113</sup> Amongst themselves, they spoke with pride of displacing the British Army from its barracks; with the British they spoke of creating an Anglo-American cultural condominium—through the museum—in lands liberated from Ottoman Islamic rule.

Given this subterfuge, and these conflicting statements and positions, it is important to ask who were the Americans—as represented by the Rockefeller team—in this moment? Were they liberators, internationalists, imperialists, scientists, or businessmen? What exactly were they trying to achieve? How did the Egyptians see them? The archival evidence, if placed in the context of Egypt’s complex political history and Rockefeller’s larger advocacy for Protestant Modernism and an American-led internationalism, shows that at this stage the Rockefeller team was still finding its footing in its philanthropic-internationalist agenda and in the Middle East. It had made a grave error in thinking that the museum and its unfavorable terms and conditions could be slipped in during the governance of Ziwar Pasha, who had briefly replaced Zaghlul in 1926. Rockefeller and his associates misjudged the gravity of the situation as well as the Egyptians’ political awareness and understanding. This was a time of political and cultural

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid. See also Mercedes Volait and Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-Wathā’iq al-Igṭiṣādīyah wa-al-Qānūnīyah, *L’Architecture Moderne en Egypte et la Revue al-‘Imara* (1939-1959) (Le Caire: CEDEJ, 1988), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002712168>. (Volait’s work is referenced in Coury’s paper.)

<sup>113</sup> Abt, “The Breasted-Rockefeller Egyptian Museum Project,” 553.

upheaval in Egypt, and the Americans' alliance with the British, along with the urban-spatial and legal details of their proposed museum, made it manifestly clear that the project was more imperialist than internationalist. We can say that the museum may have been born out of a desire for international cooperation, but it turned out to be another example of international co-option of Egyptian archaeology.

From the perspective of Breasted and the Oriental Institute, this was also an early project for the O.I.: had the museum been built, it would have only been the Institute's second building anywhere in the world, though probably its grandest. (The first one—the old Chicago House—had just been completed in Luxor.) The O.I. would later go on to build nearly a dozen expedition-houses and other structures across the region, as we will see in the next chapter.

In terms of the larger, more official, Protestant internationalist movements of the era, with which Rockefeller's internationalism often intersected, most Protestant leaders and theologians at this time had not yet publicly stated that Christianity, if it were to survive and be a basis for global peace, had to be stripped of its associations with Western colonialism and returned to the Orient. These statements would be articulated just two years later, during the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928.<sup>114</sup> In some ways, the New Egyptian Museum's attempt to further a narrative of the rise of Christian civilization, in Cairo, forecasts the 1928 conference's focus on the Orient, but there was one big difference: the NEM continued to emphasize Christianity as a Western religion, and attempted to create an alliance with European empires, rather than with nationalists. In other words, the Rockefeller team was not attentive to the particular concerns of Egyptians, and in this we can recall the tension over particularism and

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<sup>114</sup> An interesting point to consider is whether the failure of Rockefeller's proposal may have informed the view and position of the Jerusalem Conference—a meeting that he, in part, funded.

universalism at this time, which Zubovich has written about.<sup>115</sup> Elsewhere in my dissertation I have stated that the Rockefeller team pursued an aesthetic strategy whereby it identified the vernacular style within a particular geographic and historic environment, and then designed its own buildings to match this style. By blending its buildings into the local context, the team tried to ensure that the underlying agenda of Protestant Internationalism would appear to grow from these local conditions, rather than being imposed from outside. In Egypt, their selection of a neo-Pharaonic style over the Islamic-Revival style that was then prevalent amongst the local population shows that the Rockefeller team's identification of a vernacular style, while it may seem to be a gesture of goodwill, was not an unambiguous act: it was political. The Rockefeller appear to have not recognized the rights of the Arab-Islamic population in Egypt, and of their hopes of independence from Britain: this dismissal carried over to the Islamic-Revival aesthetic. The Pharaonic era, meanwhile, could be considered local too. But its artistic achievements and turn to monotheism had also become associated with Anglo-French and, most importantly, American cultural and civilizational narratives, and so the Rockefeller team decided upon the neo-Pharaonic style—framed within the neoclassical, of course.

The museum's failure is not the end of the story for Rockefeller's version of Protestant internationalism in the Middle East. In 1927, he offered \$2 million to the British Mandate for a museum in Palestine. This offer was accepted, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now known as Rockefeller Museum) opened in Jerusalem in 1938 (**Fig. 5.35**). As Chapter Seven will show, the terms of this gift were much more lenient than those presented to the Egyptian government: the Rockefeller team did not try to control the operation and finances of the museum in Jerusalem as tightly, because they believed that in Palestine the British Mandate was

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<sup>115</sup> See Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism."



more fully in control and nationalism was not yet a concern. The lenient terms of the Palestine Archaeological Museum further underscore Rockefeller's support for continued Western control of the Near East as opposed to self-determination in this region. Rockefeller and his advisors went on to fund the Institute's infrastructure in other locations as well, building luxurious expedition-houses in places such as Egypt (Luxor and Saqqara), Palestine (Megiddo/Armageddon), and Iraq (Tell Asmar). In these later projects, which I cover in greater detail in Chapter Six, the team proceeded more carefully. When purchasing land for the Chicago House in Luxor, for example, they concealed the fact that the buyer was Rockefeller, and instead used a proxy to carry out the deal.

In Cairo, the French and British-built museum continues to stand. But recently, in 2002, the Egyptian Ministry of Culture, then headed by Farouk Hosny, sponsored an international competition for a Grand Egyptian Museum in Giza, near the Pyramids.<sup>116</sup> After the failure of the Rockefeller proposal, the GEM is the first attempt at building a new Egyptian museum in Cairo. Significantly, it is an attempt initiated by the local Egyptian government, rather than by foreign actors. The competition was won by an Ireland-based firm, Heneghan-Peng Architects and groundbreaking began in 2009, though the museum is not yet complete (**Fig. 5.36**). I will not analyze its proposed design here, but merely want to note the ambition and scale of this (perhaps first) truly *Egyptian* museum—that is, an Egyptian museum that is a national or local undertaking.<sup>117</sup>

In terms of American influence in Cairo, and with regards to the site in Tahrir Square that the Rockefeller team had identified as being their "trump card," there are two more events—both

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<sup>116</sup> *The Grand Museum of Egypt: International Architecture Competition* (Zamalek, Cairo, Egypt: Egyptian Ministry of Culture, 2003.)

architectural-urban and political—that are noteworthy. On June 18, 1953, Egypt became a republic. And on November 12, *The New York Times* announced that hotelier Conrad Hilton had signed an agreement with Gamal Abdel Nasser, the President of Egypt, to build the first Hilton hotel in Cairo (**Fig. 5.37**). For this project, the government agreed to provide the site of the former Kasr al-Nil barracks. Hilton hotels were conceived as “a little America”: Hilton was honest about the profits he made, but he also argued that these hotels promoted the American way of life in countries most susceptible to communism after the Second World War.<sup>118</sup> Then, in 2011, Tahrir Square, the larger site of the former Kasr-al-Nil barracks and the still-extant French-built Egyptian Museum, became the site of the Arab Spring’s revolutionary protests (**Fig. 5.38**).<sup>119</sup> The Kasr al-Nil barracks and the larger area have thus been the sites of choice not only of foreign intervention into Egypt’s governance on different occasions, but also nationalist resistance against these interventions and local resistance against Egypt’s more recent dictatorial government.

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<sup>117</sup> Interestingly, the division of culture initiated by Europeans in the early 1900s is so deeply entrenched that this locally initiated museum will only showcase monuments and art of ancient Egypt, thus continuing the Western imperial view of the term “Egyptian” as referencing only to this particular era in Egypt’s history.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Wharton, *Building the Cold War*, 1.

<sup>119</sup> Nasser Rabbat, “Circling the Square,” *Art Forum* 9, no. 8, (April 2011): 182-191.

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# 6

## **Constructing a “New Past”** The Architectural Campaign of the Oriental Institute (1929-1931)

Between the two World Wars, John D. Rockefeller Jr.’s financial support enabled the Oriental Institute to propose, build, restore, or occupy at least sixteen documented buildings. Except for the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago, these projects were located in—or, in the case of unbuilt projects, proposed for—the Middle East. Apart from the New Egyptian Museum, a later proposal for a “Baghdad Museum,” and a proposal for a “Persian Museum” in Chicago, most of these projects were successfully built. In his missives and other communications with the Rockefeller network, James Henry Breasted, who largely oversaw these buildings’ construction, refers to them interchangeably as “physical plants,” “laboratories,” and “outposts”—terminology that is quite revealing of their purpose and the types of actual and intellectual work that they were called on to perform for the Institute.<sup>1</sup>

As laboratories, the buildings emphasized the scientific nature of the Institute’s work and strengthened Breasted’s presentation of Near Eastern archaeology as a legitimate science alongside other fields such as astronomy or medicine. Breasted’s repeated references to the “laboratory” may also have strengthened his appeals for funding from the Rockefeller network;

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<sup>1</sup> For example, in a letter to University of Chicago trustee Harold H. Swift, Breasted wrote, “Chicago House at Luxor is really a graduate outpost of the University of Chicago [emphasis original].” See, Breasted to Harold Swift (hereafter Swift), August 2, 1927, Folder 3, Box 168, The Harold H. Swift Papers, Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago, Chicago, IL (hereafter SCRC). Breasted also frequently referred to the expedition-houses and the Institute itself as a laboratory. See for example a proof of his article for *Scribner’s Magazine* titled, “A Laboratory for the Investigation of Early Man,” July 20, 1928, Folder 12-9, Box 12, Office of the President. Mason Administration, SCRC.

we know, for example, that Raymond Fosdick believed that the laboratory was where the savage could be defeated.<sup>2</sup> As physical plants, the buildings may be seen as practical work spaces for the excavation and study of ancient sites. But as outposts of the Institute, dotting contested modern lands in a frontier that were difficult for foreign archaeologists to access without “spiritual strength,” political goodwill, and a considerable financial outlay from some private or government source (funds that the British and French were lacking at this point), the buildings expressed the power and technological expertise of the Institute’s American backers, and assumed a symbolic function which is not unlike that of a vanity project.<sup>3</sup>

Existing for us today primarily in the form of architectural descriptions and financial pleas in Breasted’s missives, or as photographs mainly found in the Oriental Institute’s archive,

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<sup>2</sup> Fosdick, *The Old Savage in the New Civilization*, 35-49. Fosdick believed that “inductive technique and quantitative method of the natural sciences”—if applied to the social sciences—could produce a more perfect human. He does not use the term “eugenics,” but the idea is similar.

<sup>3</sup> There are other examples of American vanity projects abroad from this period (i.e. the period of construction for the Oriental Institute’s projects, roughly between 1924 and 1935) and earlier. By “American,” I mean projects sponsored by a range of actors, including private citizens, state actors, engineers, missionaries, etc. By “vanity” project, I really mean projects that emphasize—or were intended to emphasize—certain strengths and powers of the United States in this period, such as American goodwill (and goodwill towards America), financial solvency, emerging military prowess (in the Philippines, for example), and technological modernity and expertise. The Panama Canal—although executed earlier—is a major example. The U.S. took over the faltering project from France in 1904 and the Canal opened in 1914. Also in South America, the design competition for the Columbus Memorial Lighthouse in 1931 is one example. Farther away in the Philippines—which became an American colony in 1898—Daniel Burnham’s 1905 proposed plan for Manila is an example; Burnham had been hired by William Howard Taft, then-Secretary of War. A Rockefeller network project in China—the campus for the Peking Union Medical College built in 1921—is another example. Also, in China, the YMCA was constructing several branches to attract Chinese youth. Embassy buildings, too, represent American goodwill, state power, etc. The United States began building embassies in 1926, but greatly expanded their construction around the world only after the Second World War. Many of the embassies built in the 1940s and 50s were architecturally modern: they used their structural openness to emphasize the political goodwill and democratic credentials of the U.S. at this time. This openness began to change during the height of the Cold War, in the 60s and 70s. In the Middle East, there are fewer examples of such vanity projects from the period. The Syrian Protestant College—now American University in Beirut—could be seen as an early exception. The cornerstone for its building was laid in 1871. However, it should be noted that Breasted does not refer to any of these projects when raising funds for construction. He primarily sees the Oriental Institute’s buildings and excavations in the context of other European archaeological projects in the Middle East. At home, in the U.S., he compares them to archaeological observatories funded by the Rockefeller foundations. For more information on the projects listed here, see David Brody, *Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines* (University of Chicago Press, 2010); Robert Alexander González, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (University of Texas Press, 2011); Jane C. Loeffler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America’s Embassies* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998); Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*.

we might be tempted to interpret these buildings as the architectural oeuvre or infrastructure of *just* the Institute. This inclination might be strengthened when one realizes that Rockefeller did not actively direct the construction of these projects or their design. Unlike at Kykuit or International House New York, he was not involved in the day-to-day minutia of the erection of the Institute's construction program. Although he paid attention to the purchase of land in several instances, and appointed his architect William Welles Bosworth to design the New Egyptian Museum in Cairo (see Chapter Five), he mostly observed the work from afar. However, using the lens of his theopolitical beliefs—and bolstered by the knowledge of his larger architectural oeuvre, his demonstrable architectural sensibilities, and the very real fact of his financial support for the Institute's expedition-houses and headquarters—this section will present these expedition-houses, headquarters, and museums as infrastructure or embodiments for his two primary interests: theological modernism and an American-led internationalism.

As many of these buildings--particularly the expedition-houses--have not been analyzed in much detail, my first task will be to present some basic information regarding their dates of construction, location, style, material, architect, funding, and associated archaeological projects (**Table 6.1**). My purpose here is not necessarily to give a detailed account of how every one of these buildings was conceived and built or designed, as I did with International House New York in Chapter Four and the New Egyptian Museum in Chapter Five. Rather, it is to catalogue them as infrastructure for Rockefeller's internationalism, and as buildings of architectural interest. My second task is to interpret their design, site, and historical reception in terms of the scientific and academic aspirations of the Institute, and the theopolitical goals of Protestant Internationalism.

## 6.1. Macro Site

In 1933, just a few months before his sudden death, Iraq's King Faisal I visited the Oriental Institute's Assyrian expedition at Khorsabad (**Fig. 6.1**). The reason for Faisal's visit is not immediately clear from photographs of the day, nor is it stated in the available archival correspondence. We can guess, however, that it was probably related to a number of issues: Iraq's recent declaration of independence from the British Mandate the previous year in 1932, Western interest in controlling Iraqi oil (which had just been discovered in 1927), the lingering question of Iraqi national identity and, perhaps most importantly, the proposed changes to the country's antiquities law.<sup>4</sup>

The physical backdrop and context of the luncheon portion of the visit is striking. Served by attendants in formal suits and ties, the King's group is nevertheless seated in front of a modest, nearly ramshackle building, which we know from the records to be the Khorsabad expedition-house. Built of sunbaked clay bricks and topped off with a thatched roof, the

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<sup>4</sup> The question of Iraqi identity was an important one for Faisal, who was himself an outsider in Iraq and who sought to create a unified state out of many different groups. Numerous authors have written about the multiplicity of ethnicities, religious groups, and cultural mores in Iraq during this time. This diversity undercut any idea of one "Iraqi" people or nation. In fact, one of archaeology's major uses in Iraq was to help craft a common identity through claims that the ancient Islamic and pre-Islamic empires in the region were ancestors to the present-day citizens by virtue of having flourished on the same soil, and within the arbitrary boundaries of the modern state. Regarding the proposed changes to the country's antiquities law, note that around the time of independence in 1932, Iraqi newspapers began to challenge the claims that Western archaeological missions had hitherto made to Iraqi antiquity. For example, the Iraqi newspaper *Sawt al'Iraq* (Voice of Iraq) wrote a strongly-worded editorial along these lines in February 1933, just prior to Faisal's visit to Khorsabad, arguing for the passage of a much more restrictive antiquities law. This law was ultimately passed and first implemented in 1935. Although the Oriental Institute at first maintained neutrality on the issue—at least on the surface—like other Western expeditions in Iraq, it was highly concerned at losing its digging privileges as well as the ability to claim the artifacts that it uncovered there. These two things—using archaeology to forge a national identity, and "reclaiming" antiquity from Western archaeologists and museums through changes in the law—are related. For more on Iraqi identity, archaeology, and antiquities laws, see Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past* and Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 185-221. Given the importance of archaeology at this time, and the impending end of British governance, perhaps Faisal's visit to Khorsabad was a way to personally keep an eye on archaeological work. Or he may have been invited by the American expedition to negotiate matters and discuss the future law. He may have been building stronger ties with this representative group from the United States, for the purposes of garnering technological and political aid. He may also have been interested in the issue of Iraq's right to oil royalties, which the country did not get until much later. (The reader will recall that Standard Oil of New Jersey and New York had stakes in the IPC, and that the Institute was linked to these companies through the public figure of Rockefeller.)

expedition-house is unimposing. And yet it served as a setting for a gathering of Iraqi officials and American archaeologists.

Although the Institute's expedition-houses in sites like Luxor or Persepolis are significantly grander in their appearance, I argue that *all* of the Institute's physical plants—whether modest or palatial—are important to study because they draw equal cultural significance and political capital from their association with a wealthy American institution and patron, and from their larger site: the so-called Fertile Crescent (**Fig. 6.2**). Situated in the cultural context of ancient Near Eastern civilizations, and the modern geo-political context of European mandates and emerging Arab nation-states, the Fertile Crescent was recognized by Western Orientalists and politicians as the birth land of civilization, the Old World, and the site of Biblical events. It was also the site of the modern-day discovery of oil, a former territory of the Ottoman empire, and a political battlefield for all ages. These real and symbolic associations endowed this area with a potent and urgent significance for the economic, political, and religious theology of Rockefeller's internationalism.

This “theatre of operations” for the Institute—as one Rockefeller Foundation officer described the area in 1932—was spread over a quarter of the Earth's surface, and thousands of miles across the ocean from the United States.<sup>5</sup> Although in his writings and public statements, Breasted presented the headquarters on the University of Chicago campus as the center of the Oriental Institute and its vast network, it is more accurate to think of the Fertile Crescent as the heart of the Institute's archaeological, architectural, and ideological enterprise. A closer look at Breasted's correspondence in fact supports this reading. His 1919 letters to the Rockefeller network—for example—are rife with anxiety at the geographic distance between the United

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<sup>5</sup> For “theatre of operations,” see Max Mason to Breasted, October 21, 1932, Folder RF 1932, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA. For the Near East as one quarter of the Earth's surface, see Breasted, “Budget for 1932-



States and the Middle East, because he understood the latter as the locus of all important political, economic, religious, and intellectual activities.<sup>6</sup> Breasted's first act upon the creation of the Institute was to traverse this same land, following in the footsteps of European scholars and ancient civilizations.

Thus, the eventual and strategic distribution of the Institute's expedition-houses along the arc of the Fertile Crescent was recognized by Breasted's colleagues, confidants, and adversaries alike as one of the Institute's best strategies for exposure and as evidence of its domination in archaeology. For example, in 1932, a couple of years after the Rockefeller network had appropriated money for the construction of many of these houses, George Ellery Hale wrote to Breasted:

The extraordinarily comprehensive character of your work, with its many stations so strategically distributed throughout the Near East, impresses everyone, myself most of all.<sup>7</sup>

The Khorsabad expedition-house—though humble—was thus an important symbol of this impressive enterprise.

## 6.2. Rockefeller's Role

Aware of Rockefeller's deep interest in architecture, Breasted, I argue, probably skewed the later program of the Oriental Institute towards construction in order to keep the donor interested, and may rightly be understood as an important architectural author himself. Breasted's authorship,

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33," Folder RF 1932, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>6</sup> See, Breasted to Wallace Buttrick (hereafter Buttrick), January 13, 1919, Folder 6851, Box 659, Sub-series 4, Series 1, General Education Board Archives (hereafter GEB), RAC. See also, "Plan for the Organization of an Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago," January 13, 1919, Folder 6851, Box 659, Sub-series 4, Series 1, GEB, RAC.

<sup>7</sup> George Ellery Hale to James Henry Breasted, January 29, 1932, Folder 1932, Box GEH-JHB Correspondence,

however, does not diminish Rockefeller's role. As I have already acknowledged, Rockefeller was never the only architectural author on his many projects: he listened to and was influenced by many of his advisors and actors. More crucially, it was *his* money that propelled these projects and their designs, and, as the preceding chapters show, in many cases there is clear evidence of his active interest and contribution to the architectural, ornamental, and urban-spatial layout of a project. As a hands-on architectural patron on these other projects, Rockefeller had learned well the effect that a structure's physical presence could have on its surroundings and audience, and was likely aware of the strong impression that American-built expedition-houses and museums dotting the Near East would have on an international audience. Arab state actors or public might be reminded of the (erstwhile) benevolence of Protestant Americans, which they earlier saw in the educational projects of American missionaries to some extent. As we know, until the American government's support for the creation of Israel in 1948, Arabs would look upon the United States—as compared to Britain or France—with a little more faith and trust.<sup>8</sup>

The Institute's construction of buildings on such a wide scale, and in such symbolic and difficult-to-access sites, would also remind European mandates and archaeologists of America's scientific and financial prowess. I argue that Rockefeller understood this impact that architecture could have on an audience, and that this, along with his financial contribution, is itself an important component of architectural patronage.

In terms of the funding and timeline of the Institute's construction campaign, note that although the Oriental Institute was created in 1919, its first building was not erected until 1924, when the Institute embarked upon the construction of the Old Chicago House in Luxor. This expedition-house was constructed in part with the financial help of Julian Rosenwald;

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OIA, Chicago.

meanwhile, Rockefeller's big architectural contribution around this time was the (failed) proposal for the New Egyptian Museum. The first successful, major, and almost entirely Rockefeller-funded spurt of construction took place even later, between 1929 and 1930, when the Institute began to build its headquarters in Chicago and expedition-houses in the Middle East, ten years after its official creation. Funding for these projects was at first provided by Rockefeller after his first and only trip to the Middle East, where, between January and March 1929, he traveled up the Nile and toured Palestine and Syria at Breasted's invitation and in his company. On the ship back to the United States, Rockefeller wrote a letter to Breasted expressing his interest in pursuing some of the archaeological and construction projects the latter had proposed.<sup>9</sup> We can thus assume that Rockefeller was pleased by what he saw in the Middle East. His interest in investing in a major building campaign on behalf of the Institute is a clear sign that the O.I., in his opinion, was working in sympathy with his own interests and worldview.

Note that Rockefeller's financial funding for the Institute's many buildings and archaeological projects is more complicated as compared to his support for the I-Houses. While these latter projects were financed entirely by him, the Institute's buildings present a slightly different case. The construction of the "new" Chicago House is a good example. Although this project began with a personal pledge by Rockefeller to buy land in Luxor, and to fund the construction of a new building there, by September 1929, only a few months after the land had been purchased, the newly formed International Education Board (IEB) took over this commitment, and Breasted was asked to release Rockefeller from his pledge.<sup>10</sup> The IEB appears

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<sup>8</sup> Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*, 2-4.

<sup>9</sup> Mention of Rockefeller's letter can be found in: Breasted to Hale, April 2, 1929, Folder 1929, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>10</sup> Proof of Rockefeller's personal commitment to buying land in Luxor, and building an expedition-house there, can be found in Charles Breasted, Memo, April 29, 1929, Folder 1929-1930 JDR, Jr., Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

to have taken over the construction of some other “stations” of the Oriental Institute as well.<sup>11</sup>

However, Rockefeller initiated the Institute—as well as the IEB itself—and it is only because of his initial donations that the Rockefeller philanthropic boards became involved. Furthermore, a few projects were funded exclusively by Rockefeller till the end, and the museum projects at Jerusalem and Cairo were entirely propelled by him.<sup>12</sup>

### 6.3. The Expedition-house as Typology

Although I cover both the Institute’s museums and its expedition-houses in my work, this chapter is mostly concerned with the latter. Not only are the Oriental Institute’s expedition-houses little-studied, but there is also an absence of scholarly literature on archaeological expedition-houses in general. They are reliably mentioned in biographies or memoirs of archaeologists as accessories or backdrops to their work, but rarely feature in architectural history texts and are only briefly touched upon in history of archaeology texts.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Robert W. Gumbel (hereafter Gumbel) to Breasted, September 19, 1929, Folder JDR, Jr. (1929-30), Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>12</sup> In terms of the archaeological expeditions, there is some confusion as to which ones were funded solely by Rockefeller and unrelated to the funding provided by the larger Rockefeller network. Archival correspondence sometimes suggests that Saqqara was one such project. At other instances, it appears that Khorsabad too was funded by Rockefeller. Rockefeller’s biographers note that it was Megiddo. For the latter, see Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 172.

<sup>13</sup> Magnus T. Bernhardsson, who provides a detailed historical overview of archaeology and nation-building in Iraq, does not spend much time on the Institute’s expedition-houses in Tell Asmar or Khorsabad, except to note that most other archaeologists were jealous of these buildings because of their superior working and housing facilities. James F. Goode mentions some of the more notable expedition-houses constructed by Western institutions in the Middle East, particularly the dig-house belonging to the French expedition at Susa (Persia), but does not linger on issues of their aesthetic, cultural, or political significance. Jeffrey Abt, who has written a substantial biography on Breasted, notes that the latter, wishing to ensure the comfort of the men and women working under him, built expedition-houses: Abt notes that some of these were at the practical end of the spectrum, but others—especially for longer-lasting expeditions—were often “criticized [by rival institutions] for being needlessly grand.” Donald M. Reid, who writes about the history of *Egyptian*—i.e., local/native—Egyptology, *does* mention the symbolic importance of the new Chicago House in Luxor and describes it as an imperial project: “Its ... buildings were a striking monumental statement at a time of global depression and ostensible American isolationism.” Nicholas Warner, a conservation expert, has recently analyzed the expedition-houses built by the Metropolitan Museum, Howard Carter, and the O.I. in Luxor, in the early 1900s, as revivers of the region’s domed and sunbaked mud-brick vernacular construction. He traces this aesthetic and construction technique back to the designs of the British architect and Egyptologist Somers

Given the importance of archaeology to Western interests in the Middle East, it is surprising that so little research or writing has been done on these buildings. Perhaps these structures pale in comparison to the actual archaeological fragments and monuments that were unearthed or studied by the men and women they housed, or by the grander museums in the region. But, during the heyday of Western archaeological activity in the Middle East, these dig-houses appear to have been important buildings and destinations.<sup>14</sup>

What is an archaeological expedition-house? How do we understand this building type, and what other kinds of buildings can it be grouped together with? Functionally, an expedition-house or dig-house is perhaps best described as the center of an archaeological expedition—its locus of residential and professional activity. Located in the immediate vicinity of an active dig, and on the most sanitary site available, the dig-houses of the Oriental Institute were used to house expedition members, such as Field Directors, photographers, and assistants, and they almost always included libraries, dark rooms, drawing studios, and other working facilities. In

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Clarke, and “forward” to the work of notable Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy. A website, “t3.wy Projects: Researching the History of Egyptology,” has compiled very useful and fascinating information on dig-houses in Egypt using archival research and literary accounts, but it does not—at this moment—provide a comprehensive look at the subject. For example, it makes no mention of the Oriental Institute’s impressive expedition-house at Saqqara. An article by Colleen Morgan and Daniel Eddisford (from within the field of archaeology) presents a good analysis of dig-houses as spaces that structure the knowledge production that happens within them, and which “mediate interaction” with the excavation site around them. The authors’ theoretical and critical analyses are also accompanied by a historical overview and compilation of memorable-dig houses belonging to English-speaking expeditions, including the Oriental Institute’s Tell Asmar dig-house. See Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 361; Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*; Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*; Colleen Morgan and Daniel Eddisford, “Dig Houses, Dwelling, and Knowledge Production in Archaeology,” *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 2 (n.d.): 169–93; Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*, 98-99; Nicholas Warner, “Building with Mud: The Evolution of the Archaeological Expedition House in Egypt,” probably 2014, <https://www.architecture.com/Files/RIBAProfessionalServices/Education/Funding/2014/AdditionalReport.pdf>; \_\_\_\_\_, “Somers Clarke and the Revival of Mud Brick Architecture in Egypt,” probably 2014, <https://www.architecture.com/Files/RIBAProfessionalServices/Education/Funding/2014/FinalReport.pdf>; “Researching the History of Egyptology • T3.Wy Projects,” t3.wy Projects, Accessed April 24, 2017, <http://www.t3wy.nl/>.

<sup>14</sup> Guestbooks and photographs show that the O.I.s’ expedition-houses were visited by European and Arab royalty, American diplomats and businessmen (including Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan), and many other western travelers to the Middle East, for example British novelist Agatha Christie, whose husband was also an archaeologist. See, “Iraq Khorsabad Visitors Book 1930-1935,” Folder 9, Box 1, (record group or collection information missing), OIA.

the Middle East between the two World Wars, these houses not only had to provide shelter from the elements, but also from potentially incapacitating diseases such as malaria, which was quite prevalent due to poor water management techniques in the nearby villages.<sup>15</sup>

In terms of siting, and their relationship to the landscape around them, the houses were typically built far from the nearest urban or semi-urban areas and were thus stand-alone—and sometimes stand-out—structures in desolate landscapes. With respect to Iraq, Magnus T. Bernhardsson has noted that to the earliest European diggers at Babylon and “Nineveh” the desolate condition of the ancient sites seemed familiar or expected because they recalled Biblical prophecies about their destruction. He also notes that if villages were present in the area, these archaeologists would often ignore their presence and instead describe the ancient sites as abandoned or devastated, writing of how the mounds were left unexplored by uninterested locals. This evident lack of local interest in these sites allowed European archaeologists to stake a claim to the artifacts found therein.<sup>16</sup>

The idea of empty or desolate landscapes is quite powerfully captured in archival photographs of the Oriental Institute’s many expedition-houses. These photos were taken by expedition members in the interwar period, almost immediately after the construction or repurposing of these buildings. While it is possible to objectively infer some details of the structures and landscapes through these photographs, I also propose to read them as subjective and creative statements by the Institute on archaeology, science, power, and political relations, which were then forwarded to the Institute’s financial backers (i.e., the Rockefeller network) or occasionally published in literature for specialized audiences.

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<sup>15</sup> For the malaria problem, see Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 238.

<sup>16</sup> Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*, 25-30, 33-38, and other pages.

In some photographs and perspectives, the houses appear to be the only permanent-looking structures in the landscape, with workers' tents and other makeshift structures interspersed in between (**Fig. 6.3**). Their singularity in the landscape imbues the dig-houses with authority. That they were built by an American organization, and financed by one of the United States' wealthiest men, would have increased their symbolic power in the eyes of European archaeologists, Middle Eastern officials, and other elite actors.

These houses also interfaced in interesting ways with the archaeological sites and ruins themselves. At times the expedition-houses are photographed in a dialogic relationship with prominent archaeological ruins and monuments. For example, the old Chicago House in Luxor (ancient Thebes) was built next to the former site of the funerary temple of Amenhotep III, a powerful Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaoh, whose rule marked the height of ancient Egypt's cultural and political power.<sup>17</sup> A photograph found in some Oriental Institute publications of the time presents the house in conversation with the "Memnon Colossi," two gigantic statues that previously guarded the entrance to Amenhotep's temple, and which are the only remains of that architectural complex (**Fig. 6.4**). The photograph's clever perspective suggests that these statues now guard access to the expedition-house—their presence, and the memory of Amenhotep III, endowing the "American Scientific Mission" of the Oriental Institute with legitimacy.

A few of the Institute's expedition-houses do disappear or blend into the surroundings, becoming indistinguishable in photographs from ruins, nearby villages, and the general landscape. (There may have been a strategic reason for this "merging"—such as security—but there is no actual proof of this in the archives.) In an aerial view of the Khorsabad region, the Institute's dig-house is hard to distinguish from the general surroundings: as a repurposed village

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<sup>17</sup> In the proposal for the New Egyptian Museum and Research institute at Cairo, Breasted had placed a colossal statue of Amenhotep III and his wife Tiy at the choicest spot within the plan. See Chapter Five.

dwelling, it fits into the architectural vernacular of the region (**Fig. 6.5**). In Saqqara, Egypt, the expedition-house is an impressive structure, but it is shown nestled within a tall grove of palm trees (**Fig. 6.6**). The Megiddo expedition-house, meanwhile, appears more like the old Chicago House: both buildings are photographed so that they are prominently placed within an important landscape or background (**see Fig. 6.3**).

Although often photographed as the only major structures in the vicinity, it is important to note that the Institute's dig-houses were also in conversation (and competition) with expedition-houses of other institutions—both American and European, past and contemporaneous. In other words, despite the lack of critical analyses on dig-houses today, there was a fairly long tradition and awareness of these structures amongst the archaeological community at the time. Here, I am not referring to expedition-houses in the rest of the world, but to those that were built in the Middle East and that would have been politically, culturally, and aesthetically relevant to the Institute's architectural campaign. In Iran, for example, in the early part of the century, the French Archaeological Mission at Susa built what Goode calls a "château," financed by the French government (**Fig. 6.7**).<sup>18</sup> It cost \$60,000 at the time, and housed expedition members as well as artifacts. As Goode describes it:

It was an impressive structure that towered above the countryside. With its high walls, towers, and massive gate, it could easily be mistaken for the fortress of some local magnate were it not for the French tricolor flying from the highest point.<sup>19</sup>

The Susa house had defensive properties as well: when tribal skirmishes broke out, the French team would retreat to their fortress. A local Arab chief once stayed there to escape cholera.<sup>20</sup> The

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<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 128.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 128-129.

<sup>20</sup> Goode notes that this Arab chief was named Sheikh Khazal. He presided over the local Arab (not Persian) tribes. The year was 1923. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 129. Although Goode does not give us more information on



house was held by British soldiers during the First World War, by Persian officers battling local tribes in the 1920s, and by American engineers in the early 1930s. It is in this competitive and architecturally and politically variegated context that the Institute built its many expedition-houses in the Middle East.

#### **6.4. A Closer Look at the O.I.’s Architectural Projects in the Middle East**

In this section, I examine seven of the Institute’s expedition-houses—and the strategies of land acquisition, design, and construction that were employed with each—through the lens of Protestant internationalism. Note that **Table 6.1** lists several more projects, which I am omitting here. The New Egyptian Museum has been covered in Chapter Five. The Baghdad Museum and the Palestine Archaeological Museum will be covered in the dissertation’s conclusion (Chapter Seven). I am also omitting any discussion of the Sinai Library Project (which I have already briefly covered in Chapter Three) as well as expedition-houses in Rihanie and Abydos, on which I do not have any information. The Institute’s headquarters in Chicago and a proposed (but never built) Persian Museum will be covered in Section 6.6.

Although I speak often of a general and larger Middle East, each country within it did have singular political, economic, and cultural issues that often affected the construction of the expedition-houses. I will describe these specificities below as well. Finally, note that the status of most of the Institute’s expedition-houses today is unclear. We know that the new “Chicago House” in Luxor is still in use, but access to it is strictly controlled for security reasons, and I

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the Arab chief, there was, in fact, an important person known as Sheikh Khazal in Persia at this time. He led an Arab separatist uprising against Reza Shah and Persia in 1924 in Khuzestan, which is now a province in the southwestern part of Iran, bordering Iraq. The uprising was put down by Reza Shah. Sheikh Khazal had once been allied with the British. So it seems that, in addition to staging archaeological activities, the French château at Susa provided shelter for quite conflicting political groups and people, including the Arab chief who later revolted against the Persians, Persian officers who put down this revolt, British soldiers who were once allied with the Arab chief, and so on.

have been unable to visit it despite several attempts. Others, like the house in Saqqara, appear to have fallen into disrepair. On many other dig-houses, particularly those that are in Iraq, Syria, and other regions that can be challenging to visit, we have little to no information regarding their present use, or even whether they continue to stand. Therefore, my analysis of these houses is limited to archival photographs and correspondence, and secondary sources such as biographies and memoirs of the Institute's officers.

#### **6.4.1. Old Chicago House (1924-31); New Chicago House (1930-present)**

The “new” Chicago House in Luxor, Egypt—the Institute's main expedition-house in the Middle East today—was built to replace an older structure that the Institute had been using since 1924.<sup>21</sup> The old Chicago House, the Institute's first erected building anywhere in the world, was located on the western bank of the Nile near the archaeological site of Medinet Habu, where the Institute's Epigraphic and Architectural Survey Expeditions began their work in the 1924-25 season (see **Fig. 6.4**).<sup>22</sup> In 1931, upon substantial completion of work there, the team turned its attention to the Karnak temple on the opposite bank, where Breasted constructed the new Chicago House (**Fig. 6.8**). The older building, meanwhile, was left intact for a period, with Breasted imagining it as the Institute's “western outpost on the Nile.”<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> I assume that this particular expedition-house was called the “Chicago House” because it was the first—and main—outpost of the Chicago-based Oriental Institute in the Middle East.

<sup>22</sup> In addition to these expeditions, the Chicago Houses also served as occasional base for the Pre-historic Survey. Note that in 1932, probably in response to budgetary concerns, the Architectural Survey was eliminated. For more on budget issues and the Institute's retrenchment, see: Breasted, Budget for 1932-33, Folder RF 1932, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA. A note regarding Medinet Habu: it is the location of several monuments of ancient Egypt but primarily it is associated with the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III.

<sup>23</sup> Breasted to Hale, April 2, 1929, Folder 1929, Box GEH-JHB Corr., OIA. The older building was used till at least 1931 by the Institute's Architectural Survey, which at that point was still active. The Architectural Survey still had some work to complete at Medinet Habu. One reason why the old expedition-house was ultimately shut down, and why a new Chicago House had been built at a different site, was that the older building had an unsanitary water supply, which led to an outbreak of hepatitis amongst its inhabitants. Materially, too, it was thought to be subpar. It had a timber roof or ceiling in places, which had been weakened by white ants, and it was built with sun-dried brick,

Funding for the new project resulted from Rockefeller's aforementioned successful trip to the Middle East in 1929. On his return journey across the Atlantic, Rockefeller wired Breasted from his ship and authorized the purchase of land for the construction of the new Chicago House.<sup>24</sup> This decision—and his trip to the Middle East—came just one year after the International Missionary Council met in Jerusalem and declared secularism as the enemy and acknowledged that Christianity must turn to the Orient. The Jerusalem conference, as I have mentioned, was also funded in part by Rockefeller's ISRR.

The new Chicago House's site, which was considered "excellent" by Rockefeller's representative on the ground, was located on the east bank, north of a series of small hotels on the way from Luxor temple to Karnak temple (**Fig. 6.9**).<sup>25</sup> Initially, the property hugged the river, but some time later the Egyptian Government expropriated a hundred-foot wide strip along the shore to continue an existing boulevard that ran in front of the hotels, in order to connect these more readily with Karnak, which was an important tourist attraction to their north.<sup>26</sup> The new Chicago House was designed by L. LeGrande Hunter and L. C. Woolman, two graduates of the University of Pennsylvania's architecture school.<sup>27</sup> (The Institute had earlier recruited Hunter and

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which was deemed to be a temporary material and unattractive. Information regarding the use of the old Chicago House by the Architectural Survey is taken from, Breasted to Rockefeller, September 25, 1931, Folder JDR Jr. 1931, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

<sup>24</sup> As mentioned earlier, Rockefeller also set aside a sizable building fund for the construction of dig-houses for the Institute's other existing expeditions in this same year, as well as for the inauguration of new expeditions. Mention of Rockefeller's wire regarding Luxor is found in Breasted to Hale, April 2, 1929, Folder 1929, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>25</sup> F. H. Henry to Gumbel, June 5, 1929, Folder JDR, Jr. (1929-1930), Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>26</sup> Although the land expropriation happened several years after the purchase of the plot, in early 1929 Breasted had already discovered that the Egyptian Government wished to eventually take over a hundred-foot wide strip along the shore to build a highway. At Breasted's urging, Rockefeller purchased an additional 1.25-1.5 acres at the rear of the plot to make up for this future loss and to move the compound farther back from the bank slope and the noise and dust from the proposed road. Breasted to Gumbel, April 25, 1929, Folder RF 1929, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA. Rockefeller was personally involved in the details of the land purchase, asking questions about the Egyptian government's intentions through his secretary, Robert W. Gumbel. See: Charles Breasted, Memo, April 29, 1929, Folder 1929-1930 JDR, Jr., Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>27</sup> The identification of the architects as former students at University of Pennsylvania is taken from Breasted, *The*

Woolman in July 1929 to work alongside its archaeological expeditions in Egypt.) Ground was broken in May 1930 and the building was completed in June the following year.

The house is constructed of fired brick, steel, and concrete. It consists of two centrally located buildings linked by an arcade. One building houses the expedition's libraries, offices, and workrooms; the other consists of living quarters. A third cluster of buildings—with spaces for servants' quarters, kitchen, and a dark room—hugs the rear end of the lot. Two tennis courts were also laid out and a high boundary wall fences in the entire area.<sup>28</sup> While the buildings and compound do not rigidly adhere to Beaux-Arts planning, there is a general sense of aesthetic balance and symmetry within each building and in their general layout in the landscape. Highly formal pathways link the different buildings to each other and to the sizable grounds. Meanwhile, from the building's terraces and windows, there was a fine prospect towards the Theban cliffs across the water (**Fig. 6.10-6.11**).

The view across the Nile to ancient Thebes, the vastness of the dig-house's compound, and its superior facilities allowed the Chicago House to participate in—and perhaps to “win”—the larger discourse of European- and American-built structures in Luxor and its environs. As the site of the ancient Egyptian city of Thebes, which had been the New Kingdom's capital and a political, military, and religious center of Egypt for many dynasties,<sup>29</sup> Luxor became the site for important architectural achievements, which later attracted the lion's share of archaeological activity and foreign tourists in Egypt during the country's engagement with Europe. Now part of the independent Arab Republic of Egypt, Luxor continues to be a major archaeological

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*Oriental Institute*, 100.

<sup>28</sup> This description is taken from photographs, maps, and correspondence, including: Breasted to Hale, April 2, 1929, Folder 1929, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>29</sup> When the capital was eventually moved further north in ancient times, Thebes lost some of its political significance but it remained a religious center.

attraction. The modern city—which has outgrown its ancient predecessor—is long and linear, and straddles the River Nile (**Fig. 6.12**). The Temple of Amon-Ra at Karnak, one of the most important religious sites in ancient Egypt, is located on the river’s east bank, where the new Chicago House was built, just north of the actual site of ancient Thebes. But the west bank—the location of old Chicago House—boasts important sites and monuments, too. The mountains further inland from the shore include the Valley of the Kings, where British archaeologist Howard Carter discovered Tutankhamun’s tomb just two years before the Institute erected the old dig-house.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the area should have attracted so many Western buildings, such as hotels for tourists.<sup>30</sup> Dig-houses, meanwhile, went up on both banks of the Nile. In Luxor, the Oriental Institute’s two expedition-houses were preceded by several important dig-houses. Nicholas Warner has provided a good overview of these buildings in Luxor, from the point of view of their structural and material properties and lineage.<sup>31</sup> The first dig-houses in the area date back to the first European treasure-hunters there: the Englishman Henry Salt (1780-1827) and Bernardino Drovetti (1776-1852), an Italian (born in what was then the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia) who gained French nationality and served as consul general for Napoleon in Egypt.<sup>32</sup> Salt’s agent, Giovanni d’Athanasio, built for him a mud-brick house on top of a pharaonic tomb, west of the Nile. His French rival built a mud dwelling atop the first pylon at Karnak, on the east bank, thus establishing a general pattern for the location of future British and

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<sup>30</sup> On the east bank, just south of Luxor Temple, a British hotel called the Winter Palace had been built in 1907. It became a famous gathering spot for diplomats, travelers, and archaeologists. Breasted, in fact, drew up the plans of the old Chicago House while he was staying at the Winter Palace.

<sup>31</sup> Warner, “Building with Mud: The Evolution of the Archaeological Expedition House in Egypt.,” probably 2014, <https://www.architecture.com/Files/RIBAProfessionalServices/Education/Funding/2014/AdditionalReport.pdf>; \_\_\_\_\_, “Somers Clarke and the Revival of Mud Brick Architecture in Egypt,” probably 2014, <https://www.architecture.com/Files/RIBAProfessionalServices/Education/Funding/2014/FinalReport.pdf>.

<sup>32</sup> I am calling Salt and Drovetti “treasure-hunters” instead of “archaeologists” on purpose. They did not indulge in

French projects that may be thought of as mirroring the two countries' actual locations on either side of the English Channel, and which was adhered to closely in later years for the most part.

These expedition-houses were statements of power. Here is a description of Drovetti's expedition-house from the early 1800s:

In the midst of the ruins of Karnak...rises a portal sixty feet high, where M. Drovetti...has caused an earthen house to be constructed, from where he appears to command the precious relics of antiquity that surround him.<sup>33</sup>

However, the first "official" expedition-house for a bona fide archaeological expedition was built by the Germans in 1905, on the west bank. Unlike the French and British houses, this one was constructed out of fired brick, suggesting perhaps the German expedition's intention to stay in the region for a long period. However, it was purposely destroyed in 1915 during the First World War.<sup>34</sup> In 1911, Howard Carter built a mud-brick building on the west bank called the "Carter House," which was financed by his patron, Lord Carnarvon, and located at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings, where Carter would later discover Tutankhamun's tomb (**Fig. 6.13**).<sup>35</sup> The Metropolitan House, designed by William John Palmer-Jones and financed by J. P. Morgan for the exclusive use of the Museum's expedition-team, was completed in 1913 in the same general area (**Fig. 6.14**). The First World War halted archaeological work in Luxor, but when it ended, one of the first expedition-houses to be built was the old Chicago House, which matched the recently built foreign expedition-houses in its construction, materials, and general location.<sup>36</sup>

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the scientific methods that are now associated with professional archaeologists.

<sup>33</sup> E. de Montulé, *Travels in Egypt during 1818 and 1819* (London: Sr R. Phillips & Co, 1821), 26, quoted in Warner, "Building With Mud."

<sup>34</sup> It is unclear who destroyed the German dig-house.

<sup>35</sup> Carter's house was sometimes called "Castle Carter."

<sup>36</sup> The website "t3.wy Projects" has documented some of these architectural predecessors and provides examples of other dig-houses not mentioned above, such as the fortress that a retired Dutch businessman and explorer built for

It was built in 1924 and, as we have seen, located immediately behind the Colossi of Memnon (See Fig. 6.4).

So the new Chicago House was conversing with its immediate predecessor as well as with other dig-houses and with other European outfits (such as hotels). Given my previous discussions on archaeology's involvement in imperial and national rivalries, the political nature of this "architectural discourse" is evident: each institution's dig-house acted as a kind of monument or symbol of its financial backing, techno-scientific expertise, and political relations with Arab, Persian, Turkish, and European state actors.

The Carter, Metropolitan, and old Chicago Houses have a few things in common. They were built on the west bank (the "British" area) and were constructed out of mud-brick--an early demonstration of the adaptation of vernacular architecture to western needs, which Warner argues was probably inspired by the work of the British architect Somers Clarke, who had lived, worked, and built in Egypt. The three dig-houses also feature domes reminiscent of "Coptic monastic architecture"—another feature found in Clarke's designs.<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, the new Chicago House—which is not included in Warner's analysis—broke with these three immediate predecessors in significant ways. Like the German dig-house, it was built out of fired brick. And, unlike the Carter, Metropolitan, and old Chicago House, it was built in the "French" zone.<sup>38</sup> Subsequent expedition-houses in the area, including those constructed as recently as the 1990s, have relied on the older mud-brick construction, thus rendering the new Chicago House as something of an anomaly. The Chicago House also eschews the domes that are

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himself in Luxor.

<sup>37</sup> Warner, "Building with Mud"; \_\_\_\_\_ "Somers Clarke and the Revival of Mud Brick Architecture in Egypt."

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

typical of the Carter, Metropolitan and old Chicago Houses, and is in fact rather modern in appearance.

So how do we explain these divergences in aesthetic and location? In the absence of access to full archival records, it is difficult to make definite claims, but we can hypothesize. The location may have been determined by the availability of land. It is also possible that the Rockefeller team wished to distinguish its new dig-house from the Carter and Metropolitan dig-houses, which were built earlier and may be seen to belong to an earlier era in Egyptology. The new expedition-house, located in line with glamorous hotels, seems to be of a more modern age. Another consideration may have been its proximity to the Karnak temple, where the Institute's expedition was turning its attention. Then, too, a map from 1914 shows that an American mission was located in this general area and perhaps proximity to this American institution was another consideration (**Fig. 6.15**).<sup>39</sup> Finally, I hypothesize that the expedition-house's location on the west—French—bank of the Nile may also have been intended as a purposeful encroachment on French archaeological interests in the country, or as an affront to Breasted's nemesis: Pierre Lacau, Egypt's French Director-General of antiquities.<sup>40</sup>

The divergence in aesthetic is harder to explain, and for this we might look at Rockefeller's larger oeuvre. My research shows that reconstructions, renovations, and new construction sponsored by him often employed materials that his team proclaimed would outlast vernacular or historic technologies. For example, in the New Egyptian Museum, concrete was thought to create a strong and unbreakable bond with the physical site and the historic past.<sup>41</sup> It is

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<sup>39</sup> It is unclear if the Institute hoped to use its new expedition-house to metaphorically render the religious mission obsolete, or if it welcomed the association with another American institution. Given my reading of Rockefeller's ideology, I would guess the former. (But it is also unclear whether the mission was a religious mission or a diplomatic mission.)

<sup>40</sup> For more on the contentious relationship between Breasted and Lacau, see Chapter Five.

<sup>41</sup> Breasted to Fosdick, October 7, 1924, Folder Cairo Museum Project – Correspondence: Curtis, Fosdick and



possible that the new Chicago House, too, was proclaiming its long-term plans and its access to American technoscientific expertise through the materials it employed.

These material, aesthetic, and geographic changes appear to mark a concerted effort on behalf of the Oriental Institute to stand out in the landscape. But I have argued elsewhere that the Rockefeller team often identified and attempted to follow an idealized vernacular aesthetic in their construction projects to allow these buildings to appear site-appropriate or to blend in. Breasted described the Chicago House's aesthetic as "Spanish-Colonial," which he argued fit in quite well with the area's sub-tropical vegetation. While blending in may have been the intention, photographs reveal a complex that is quite striking in the landscape. This suggests a dissonance between the Rockefeller team's stated claims and actual intentions.

However, in terms of land purchase for the new Chicago House, the Rockefeller team *was* discreet. The site to be purchased was a two-acre lot, split amongst four people. Rockefeller did not buy the options for these lands directly from the owners. Rather, he was persuaded by Breasted to use a proxy: Henry Flagler, General Manager of the Egyptian branch of Vacuum Oil Company—an American petroleum company with strong ties to Standard Oil.<sup>42</sup> The contracts for construction were also signed during the proxy's ownership. Breasted argued for secrecy because he claimed it would allow him to strike a good bargain with the original owners and with the builder(s), but probably it also allowed the project to fly under the radar of the Egyptian media and public at first, which had earlier paid close attention to the 1926 proposal for the New

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Belknap, Box Cairo Museum Project Correspondence A-M, Breasted Papers, OIA.

<sup>42</sup> Flagler as the buyer is identified in Charles Breasted to Gumbel, March 28, 1929, Folder JDR, Jr., (1929-30), Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. For more on Henry Flagler's purchase of the land, see also other correspondence in this same folder. Vacuum Oil Company, as we have seen previously, was a formerly independent American oil business that had been swallowed up by Standard Oil before the passage of the anti-trust laws. In the early 1900s, the company once again became an independent entity after the trust was broken up, but maintained ties with Standard's various outfits. In Egypt, its headquarters was located in Cairo's European district, on Sharia Nubar Pasha, a coveted address for European and American banks and businesses. Within a year of Henry's purchase in Luxor on behalf of the Oriental Institute, Vacuum was recombined with Standard Oil New York.

Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo (which had been rejected by the Egyptian government).<sup>43</sup> Under Egyptian law, land purchases by foreigners were closely monitored, and a special tax of 3.5% was levied on these transactions. For the sake of confidentiality, the Rockefeller network preferred to pay the tax twice over: first, for Flagler's purchase and then for the transfer of the title to the Oriental Institute.<sup>44</sup> (Rockefeller had pledged \$25,000 for the land purchase. The land itself cost \$20,000, leaving out the tax.)

It is important to note that the new Chicago House was not just an exemplary mini-institution, building, and site in Luxor, but within the larger Oriental Institute network as well. To the Rockefeller Foundation, Breasted recommended the methods and work carried out in the Chicago House—"the Chicago House method," as he called it—as a model for the Foundation's proposed archaeological work in China.<sup>45</sup> The size of the house and its beauty, too, were extolled by Breasted at every occasion. Writing in 1935 to his friend George Ellery Hale, Breasted enthused about the dig-house, calling it "a heavenly place" and "far and away the most efficient and elaborately organized and equipped archaeological laboratory that has ever yet been available."<sup>46</sup>

Breasted preferred Luxor and its environs to Cairo, whose modern complexities and politics posed a challenge to the alternate narrative of American science and Protestant internationalism that the Institute was so actively constructing.<sup>47</sup> The Chicago House conveys

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<sup>43</sup> Note that this latter reason—the association with the New Egyptian Museum—is hypothesis on my part.

<sup>44</sup> James Henry Breasted to Gumbel, April 25, 1929, Folder RF 1929, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>45</sup> Breasted to Arthur Woods, May 14, 1929, Folder RF 1929, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>46</sup> Breasted to Hale, November 2, 1935, Folder 1935, Box GEH-JHB, OIA. Breasted's full quote is presented here: "I shall never be content until you and Eveline [Hale's wife] have seen this Luxor home of our Egyptian work. It is really a heavenly place and a most successfully arranged archaeological laboratory. It is indeed far and away the most efficient and elaborately organized and equipped archaeological laboratory that has ever yet been available." For more on Hale and on his friendship with Breasted, see Section 3.1. of this dissertation. See also section 2.14.

<sup>47</sup> Breasted's preference for Luxor is stated in Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 99.

these narratives quite boldly. As Donald Reid—one of the few scholars to comment on its design and importance—notes:

Its low “California-Spanish style” buildings did not loom over the landscape like Ramesses III’s temple but were a striking monumental statement at a time of global depression and ostensible American isolationism.<sup>48</sup>

Much of the scholarly work on American archaeological expeditions in the Middle East suggests that the Institute’s expeditions (and related property) were the only American interests in the region for quite some time, and eventually came to be of prime importance to the State Department when it began to take an active interest in Egypt. The situation, it would appear, is still true today. Access to both the archival records and the actual site of Chicago House, which is maybe the only major dig-house that is still under the Oriental Institute’s ownership and use, is denied to scholars.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, it has been possible to find information incidentally in some books and publications, from the perusal of Google maps and photographs available online, and in archival records of other Oriental Institute projects, to which access is not denied. All the information presented here on the Chicago House comes from these sources.

#### **6.4.2. Megiddo, Palestine (c. 1925)**

The expedition at Megiddo was the Institute’s first project dedicated to excavation rather than to the study of already found or exposed objects in the field or in museums. During the Institute’s

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<sup>48</sup> Ried, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*, 99.

<sup>49</sup> Email from John A. Larson Jr. (Former archivist at OIA) to Author, June 2, 2016. When I contacted the Oriental Institute’s archivist, John A. Larson Jr., to see papers for this project, he replied that the Field Director of the Epigraphic Survey, Dr. W. Raymond Johnson, “has denied all parties access to these records” for security reasons. In person, he told me that the U.S. State Department, too, has requested that access to these papers be denied, because the Chicago House is the only American-owned property left in Egypt. Access to the physical house, too, has been restricted. When I contacted Dr. Johnson in 2011 to see if I could visit the Chicago House, he too had cited security concerns as the reason for not allowing me to do this.

early years, Breasted maintained that he was uninterested in excavation per se—an assertion that allowed him to distinguish the Institute’s work from the kind of frantic, illicit digging that was so prevalent in many parts of Egypt and the Middle East. (And in Luxor, the Chicago House had been built at first for carrying out surveys only.) But this state of affairs did not last long. In 1921, Breasted obtained his first concession to dig, at Megiddo (now in Israel), which is thought to be one of the most important “Biblical” sites.<sup>50</sup> The Megiddo expedition was also the Institute’s first push into Asia from Egypt, after which the O.I.’s operations eventually circled the entire Fertile Crescent, culminating with the establishment of the expedition at Persepolis, Iran. Given its status as the “first” on so many fronts, the dig-house at Megiddo acted as the Institute’s headquarters in Western Asia.<sup>51</sup>

Breasted had obtained the concession for Megiddo despite knowing that Rockefeller had not made any gesture to finance excavations at the time. But he beseeched Rockefeller and enlisted the help of University of Chicago President Harry Pratt Judson, who wrote on his behalf to Rockefeller, explaining the unique opportunity for exploration at Megiddo that had been

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<sup>50</sup> With respect to Rockefeller’s interest in Biblical sites like Megiddo, it is important note that this was part of a larger trend within Protestantism, in which people of this faith—who were in search of a personal relationship with God and were at first uninterested in the materiality of Biblical sites and of their associated shrines, relics, and pilgrimages—began to turn towards archaeology in the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries for two main purposes: evangelical or imperial (or a combination of both). See Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 86-98. Instead of priestly mediation, Wharton writes, Protestants began to rely on the work of scholars and archaeologists who could decipher these sites as empirical evidence of religion. So far, Wharton’s interpretation of Protestant interest in Biblical sites corresponds with my reading of Rockefeller’s aims. Wharton then writes that German-trained American archaeologists, such as Breasted (whom she names here), “tended to be more critical in the application of archaeology to the Bible and vice versa.” I do agree with Wharton that Breasted, left to his own devices, would not have seen his work in light of Biblical archaeology. But as we have seen earlier, in the work of the O.I. religion becomes an important factor because of the personal interests of Rockefeller. Breasted appears to realize this rather early on, and shows no hesitation in leveraging the Bible to appeal to his patron. To read more on Biblical archaeology in Palestine and on scriptural geography, see Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*; Davis, *Shifting Sands*; Daniel Bertrand Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2002).

<sup>51</sup> Breasted, “A Laboratory for the Investigation of Early Man,” in *Scribner’s Magazine*, July 20, 1928. See, Box 12, Office of the President (Mason Administration), SCRC.

provided by the fall of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>52</sup> Judson and Breasted subsequently approached Rockefeller with a request for \$300,000 for a five-year excavation project. At first Rockefeller limited his contribution to \$60,000 for just one year and made this support contingent on the Institute's ability to raise the rest of the money elsewhere. But by 1925, when no other donors had stepped forward, he agreed to fund the entire work himself for a reduced five-year total of \$215,000.<sup>53</sup>

We can probably trace this change of heart to a letter that Breasted wrote to Rockefeller in May 1925, which, given its successful outcome, is one of the clearest examples of Rockefeller's religious interest in the Institute's work, and of the manner in which Breasted interpreted ancient sites in the context of this interest:

It is one of the extraordinary things about Megiddo that the boyhood village of Jesus is perched upon the hills looking directly down upon the Megiddo plain. ... It is the task of those who look back upon His wonderful life to piece together, without a gap, the marvelous development which culminated in His teaching. And we cannot do this without Megiddo.<sup>54</sup>

Here, "boyhood village" probably refers to old Nazareth, which is described in the New Testament as the childhood home of Jesus and is located north of Megiddo. By tying excavation work in Megiddo to the figure of the historical Jesus—and to the necessity of reconstructing his life—Breasted persuaded Rockefeller to give the green light for the project the following month.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Harry Pratt Judson to Rockefeller, March 10, 1921, Box 168, Harold H. Swift Papers, SCRC.

<sup>53</sup> Rockefeller to Judson, April 19, 1921, Box 168, Harold H. Swift Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 8.

<sup>55</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 72.

During Rockefeller's visit to the Middle East in 1929, Megiddo was an important destination in his itinerary (**Fig. 6.16**). Rockefeller's son David, who accompanied him on the trip, described the effect that Megiddo and the larger region had on his father:

We drove on to Palestine through the Nile delta and along the coast. We toured the holy places in Jerusalem and traveled down to Jericho, where I took a swim in the salty Dead Sea, a thousand feet below sea level. We then proceeded north to Beirut through the Jordan Valley and along the Sea of Galilee. The associations of this area with the Bible and the ministry of Jesus Christ made this a deeply meaningful part of the trip for Father and, I confess, for me as well.<sup>56</sup>

According to archival sources, such as a memo by Breasted, work here was financed entirely by Rockefeller at least until 1928 or 1929, after which the IEB and the Rockefeller Foundation took over, as they did with so many other Oriental Institute projects.<sup>57</sup> But according to some published sources, the cost of work here was carried entirely by Rockefeller.<sup>58</sup> More likely, it was a combination of these two sources. Breasted's memo, for example, predicted that due to its Biblical associations, the Institute would continue to "[enjoy] the incidental contributions of Mr. Rockefeller, Jr." at the same time that the boards were funding the project, and this suggests combined funding.<sup>59</sup>

Apart from Megiddo's strong Biblical associations—which include its identification in the New Testament as the fortress-city guarding the Plain of Armageddon, the site of the final battle between good and evil in end times and, in Breasted's words, a "proverbial battlefield of the ages"—Megiddo had other symbolic and practical associations and values, too.<sup>60</sup> Megiddo

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<sup>56</sup> David Rockefeller, *Memoirs* (Random House Trade Paperbacks: New York, 2003), 48.

<sup>57</sup> Breasted, Memo, August 10, 1928, Archival Buildings File 139, SCRC.

<sup>58</sup> Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 172.

<sup>59</sup> Breasted, Memo, August 10, 1928, Archival Buildings File 139, SCRC.

<sup>60</sup> Breasted, "A Laboratory for the Investigation of Early Man," SCRC. Breasted writes, "Megiddo was the fortress-city guarding the historic Plain of Esdraelon, which as the Plain of Armageddon became the proverbial battlefield of the ages."

and larger Palestine/Israel are located at the eastern terminus of the Fertile Crescent, at a crucial and historic joint that connects the African continent with Asia and Europe (See. **Fig. 6.2**). Megiddo is also known to historians and archaeologists as a major urban center of the ancient world. The city was continuously occupied between 6000 BCE till about 500 years before the birth of Jesus and was coveted by nearly every major Near Eastern civilization—what Breasted has referred to as the site’s “ancient international connections.”<sup>61</sup> (Only its later years—1200 BCE to 500 BCE—are strongly associated with Biblical events.) From a practical viewpoint, the construction of a new railway line between Egypt and Palestine made it feasible for the Institute to expand its operations into Asia. Given Palestine’s historically important position as a geographic and civilizational “bridgehead” between Asia and Egypt, and the new technological advances in travel there, Breasted’s decision to begin excavations at Megiddo is easy to understand.<sup>62</sup>

In his book on the Oriental Institute, Breasted wrote that archaeological work in Western Asia, which began about a century earlier, had emerged from “sentimental” interest in the Biblical lands, which had led scholars to Jerusalem, but it had soon become evident that this city dated only to the time of the Holy Crusaders, and that to really get at “Hebrew history in the pre-Christian era” some other sizable site had to be tackled. Megiddo, known locally as Tell el-Mutesellim, turned out to be this site.<sup>63</sup> The first attempt at excavation here had been made by German archaeologists under G. Schumacher, in 1903-05, but this had been insufficient and did not reveal much.

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<sup>61</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 75.

<sup>62</sup> Breasted, “A Laboratory for the Investigation of Early Man,” SCRC.

<sup>63</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 234. A Tell (or tell) is a hill that is created over time by the repeated constructions of cities, fortresses, or villages on top of each other. The mound, hill, or tell is the real site of archaeological ruins and interest. Tell is a Hebrew word.

Given Megiddo's largely untapped potential as an excavation site, Breasted had tried to visit it during his reconnaissance trip in 1919, but apparently a guide's mistake prevented this, and his team could only see the fertile mound from across the plain by a few miles:

we could... discern what great opportunities for excavation still await the investigator there. We here had opportunity of studying the earliest great battlefield between Egypt and Asia, - the scene of so many dramatic struggles between the nations that it has become proverbial as Armageddon.<sup>64</sup>

After securing Rockefeller's financial support, the Institute began its operations by leasing a small portion of the larger site (on the Tell or mound) from 1925 to 1928. The expedition's early staff of five local workers and five American men worked out of makeshift camps near the mound. But these tents proved highly susceptible to malaria attacks, and a proper building was soon put up.<sup>65</sup> When the land's lease came up for renewal, the Institute applied to Palestine's Antiquities Department to see if the British Mandatory government could expropriate this land—along with the larger historical parcel—and vest the title in the Institute. If this could be achieved, the Institute felt that it would be in a more confident position to build a bigger and more permanent expedition-house here.

As it turned out, changes in the Palestinian law required that any expropriated land had to remain vested in the government. Still, the Institute was satisfied with this arrangement. It felt that the rent that it was paying to present owners for its current parcel was too high; its elimination alone, made possible by expropriation, would be compensation enough for the cost of constructing a new building where expedition members might live and work in greater comfort. The O.I. even agreed to compensate the government for its expropriation of the land

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<sup>64</sup> "Report of the First Expedition of the Oriental Institute, 1919," Folder 12-9, Box 12, "Office of the President. Mason Administration. Records," SCRC.

<sup>65</sup> Malaria was fought with the help of the Palestinian government and the Rockefeller Foundation. See also



and to turn over the expedition-house to the government at the end of the Institute's work.<sup>66</sup>

Significantly, the "end" of the Institute's work was not anticipated to be anytime soon. Upon the Institute's request, the government granted it permission to stay and work for an indefinite amount of time: as long as it would take to gather complete historical evidence from the site.<sup>67</sup>

Such arrangements between the British Mandate in Palestine and the O.I. suggest the existence of mutual interests between the British and the Americans. In an example further illustrating this close relationship, the Megiddo expedition was for some time run by the British acting Director of Palestine's Antiquities Department, P. L. O. Guy.<sup>68</sup>

Under Guy, the Megiddo expedition became known for devising new strategies for archaeology, such as using a meteorological balloon to take aerial photographs of the site, and in this way probably contributed to the Institute's reputation as a technologically advanced organization (**Fig. 6.17**).<sup>69</sup> Breasted frequently called his crew and operations at Megiddo "one of

Breasted to Rockefeller, September 25, 1931, Folder JDR Jr. 1931, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

<sup>66</sup> Breasted to H. C. Luke (Acting High Commissioner of Palestine), October 12, 1928, Folder 1928, Box "Palestine, Government Of," OIA. See also Archival Buildings File 139, SCRC. This folder has newspaper clippings arranged on a sheet. The earliest clippings note that the Megiddo expedition house was being expanded, and the entire site was being purchased from the Palestinian government (the latter of course does not happen). In this clipping, the Institute alleges that the native owners to whom they had been paying rent were not the actual owners—they apparently could not produce deeds to the land—and that the Palestinian government should therefore begin expropriation proceedings on this basis. In his book, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, Dan Monk writes that the earliest Westerners (Europeans) in Palestine (Jerusalem specifically) saw the local villages and buildings as "debris," which had to be cleared away to get at the Biblical ruins underneath: "Relying on topographical surveys of Jerusalem prepared by... the Palestine Exploration Fund... upon the close of the Crimean War, Gordon [a British General] traced the peculiar pattern of contour intervals in Warren's plan of the city (as it would appear) without what the general referred to as the cumulative 'debris' of oriental history—that is, architecture." Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 19. Breasted and the Oriental Institute appear to have adopted a similar attitude towards inhabitants of archaeological sites. At Megiddo, the total area of land commanded by the Institute as a result of its dealings with the British Mandate was thirteen acres, including the slopes of the mound. And this land was cleared of its previous inhabitants.

<sup>67</sup> An indication of this arrangement can be found in Breasted to H. C. Luke, October 12, 1928, Folder 1928, Box "Palestine, Government Of," OIA.

<sup>68</sup> This kind of relationship—and sharing of personnel—between an American organization and European mandates serves to further disprove the claim that the mandates were established in the Middle East to protect the people who lived in these regions and to safeguard their claims to archaeological sites and monuments.

<sup>69</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 249.

the most efficient, economically operated excavational expeditions ever developed in the Near East”—a claim that was probably designed to demonstrate business logic and scientific credentials and thus to appeal to the Rockefeller network.<sup>70</sup> The claims of efficient and scientific work at this site went hand-in-hand with Biblical archaeology, and may have obscured incorrect interpretations of ruins. For example, the Institute discovered there a stable for nearly three hundred horses, which Guy, misled by the Institute’s quest for Biblical sites, erroneously identified as the stables of Solomon (Old Testament).<sup>71</sup>

The apparent stability of the expedition’s future—owing to the British Mandate’s decision to allow the O.I. to work at the site for as long as needed—led to an enlargement of its expedition-house. In 1929, shortly after government assurances, the Institute commissioned Woolman—who had designed the new Chicago House in Luxor—to enlarge the Megiddo dig-house, and in June 1930 this work was completed. The entire complex was located on the eastern slope of the mound (**Fig. 6.18-6.19**). Much of this mound—29,000 sq. meters—was eventually dug up by the Institute—the first time that a Palestinian city had been revealed in this manner (**Fig. 6.20**).

Again, the use of Rockefeller funds to enlarge the Megiddo expedition-house took place immediately after the 1928 conference in Jerusalem, where missionary groups decided that in order to make Christianity the basis of world unity, the faith would have to be stripped of its associations with the Western world—i.e., its support for Western colonialism—and returned to

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<sup>70</sup> Breasted, “Comments on Oriental Institute Budget for 1932-33,” June 1932, Folder RF 1932, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA. Breasted claimed that even a French expert on Palestine shared his view. The significance of this claim is that generally he presented French experts as being jealous of the Institute’s success. Breasted to Rockefeller, September 25, 1931, Folder JDR Jr. 1931, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

<sup>71</sup> Jack Green, “Model of ‘King Solomon’s Stables’ at Megiddo (Cat. 34),” in *Picturing the Past: Imaging and Imagining the Ancient Middle East*, ed. J. Green, E. Teeter, and J. A. Larson, OIMP (Oriental Institute Museum Publications) 34 (2012): 161–64. The Institute’s discoveries at Megiddo also included pottery, the city wall, a gate, streets, houses, and an important ancient water system.

the Orient.<sup>72</sup> So the Rockefeller network's financial support for the O.I.'s construction campaign in this period, both in Megiddo and elsewhere in the Fertile Crescent, seems related to this theological trend in the larger ecumenical movement.

### **6.4.3. Khorsabad Expedition-house, Iraq (1929) | Neo-Assyrian Civilization (722-705 BCE)**

In 1932, in a lengthy report on the discoveries of the Institute's Assyrian expedition near Khorsabad (Iraq), *The Illustrated London News* described this native village as "poor, malaria-stricken... largely populated by Kurds."<sup>73</sup> This apparently unremarkable village was located on the site of Dur Sharrukin, a palace-city built by Sargon II, a neo-Assyrian emperor who ruled northern Mesopotamia between 722 BC and 705 BC (**Fig. 6.21**). Sargon had intended the city to replace ancient Nineveh as the capital of the empire; although he succeeded, his son later reversed this decision. The site is about fifteen miles north-east from Mosul, a city that a German technical commission had declared in 1901 as "a veritable 'lake of petroleum' of almost inexhaustible supply."<sup>74</sup> By 1928, it had become the center of the Assyrian arm of the Institute's Iraq Expedition.<sup>75</sup> The article in the *News* was focusing on the results of the Institute's dig at this site.

The Iraq Expedition had been created to study two different civilizations: Babylonian and Assyrian. Although Khorsabad became the center of Assyrian research, much of the financial

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<sup>72</sup> See Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism."

<sup>73</sup> "The City King Sargon Founded to Replace Nineveh: Excavations on the Site that marks the Murdered Ruler's Abortive Attempt to Change the Political Geography of Assyria," in *The Illustrated London News*, October 15, 1932, 571, Folder 22, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.

<sup>74</sup> Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy*, 48.

<sup>75</sup> Excavations here began under the directorship of Assyriologist Dr. Edward Chiera and, after 1929, were

resources, personnel, and time of the expedition were directed towards the Babylonian sites, which were perhaps considered more important.<sup>76</sup> The discrepancy in resources is also reflected in the aesthetic difference between the two dig-houses maintained by the expedition, the one in Khorsabad and the other—which focused on Babylon—in Tell Asmar.<sup>77</sup>

While the expedition-house in Tell Asmar has been described as palatial, the dig-house at Khorsabad was built from simple sunbaked mud-bricks—rather than the more durable kiln-fired bricks—and topped with a thatched roof (**Fig. 6.22**).<sup>78</sup> It was described by Dr. Henri Frankfort, the second Director of the Iraq Expedition, as an “adapted Kurdish house.”<sup>79</sup> Meanwhile, a more detailed description is provided by the Ukrainian-born archaeologist Pierre Pinchas Delougaz (1901-1975), who was recruited by the first Director of the Iraq Expedition, Edward Chiera, to work in Khorsabad.<sup>80</sup> Delougaz has described the Institute’s gradual acquisition of the expedition-house as well as its original and renovated conditions. He writes that the house was located on a steep mound with reddish clay, and originally belonged to Majid Agha, a “Kurdish ‘nobleman’ [emphasis and quotation marks are Delougaz’s].” Delougaz describes the original building as a “substantial” house with “character” but also one that was neither big enough nor appropriately arranged for the expedition’s needs.

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continued under Dr. Henri Frankfort.

<sup>76</sup> One reason for the Institute’s emphasis on Babylonian sites could have been that, at the time, legendary structures like the Tower of Babel and the Hanging Gardens were thought to be associated with the Babylonian civilization. Today, however, scholars attribute these to the Assyrian Empire. For example, some believe that the Tower of Babel is associated with Khorsabad. See Steven W. Holloway, ed., *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press Ltd, 2006), 89.

<sup>77</sup> The Iraq Expedition was spread out over these two dig-houses for logistical and administrative reasons.

<sup>78</sup> Abt notes that the Tell Asmar house was “denounced as a ‘palace,’” and other writers make similar comments. See Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 361; Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 196.

<sup>79</sup> Henri Frankfort, “The Grandeur That Was Assyria,” *The Illustrated London News*, July 14, 1934, p40, Folder 22, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.

<sup>80</sup> P. Delougaz “The New Colossus,” Spring 1929, Folder 1, Box 01, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.

Originally the expedition had planned to rent one long room inside the house, but by the time expedition members moved in, in the spring of 1929, they had taken over most of the property, with Majid Agha's family relegated to the back of the house. Some of the larger rooms were subdivided to fit the expedition's need for many different types of working and living spaces (Fig. 6.23-6.24). Delougaz writes that the expedition's architect at the time, a Mr. Wilensky, repurposed the house "with great foresight and efficiency." Eventually, Majid Agha was paid to move from the house and the mound entirely.<sup>81</sup> In fact, the entire village was removed so that the Institute could be the sole occupant of the mound. Delougaz claimed that because the land was an archaeological and historic site, the villagers could be thought of as squatters.<sup>82</sup> His argument recalls other instances when the rights of local residents to archaeological artifacts, and the land they were found in, have been dismissed by western expeditions in a show of arrogance or indifference to locals that is quite far removed from the veneration showed to the ancient civilizations. We do not have to work too hard or look too far to find other instances. In the previous section, I described how the Institute encouraged the British Mandatory government in Palestine to remove the previous residents on or near the archaeological mound at Megiddo. We can also see this type displacement occur in Rockefeller's

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<sup>81</sup> Delougaz writes that Majid Agha used the money paid to him, by the expedition, to build himself a "real castle," in a village near the mountains. Note that aside from this draft of Delougaz's article, which I am not sure has been published anywhere, there is no other mention of Majid Agha in the Institute's literature.

<sup>82</sup> The renovation of the house and its occupation by the Expedition necessitated the provision of a desirable new site for the villagers to move into. The village at the foot of the mound was infested with malaria because of stagnant water, and thus had to be flushed from a nearby stream (which happened after some engineering effort). Thus, the construction of an expedition-house had far-reaching consequences for the landscape around it and for this land's inhabitants: from the relocation of people to localized changes in the irrigation of land. See Delougaz, "The New Colossus." Note that the description in the *Illustrated London News* of Khorsabad as a Kurdish village, and Delougaz's mention of the past Kurdish owner of the Institute's expedition-house, should clue us in to the larger ethnic dimensions of the region and of the Institute's work. Khorsabad is presently part of Iraqi Kurdistan, an autonomous region within Iraq. Kurdish presence in the area has been strong. Back in 1920, almost immediately from the moment that Britain assumed control over Iraq, Kurdish leaders began to call for a separate state. When their demands were denied, revolts and uprisings against British rule started and continued for several decades, right through the Institute's appropriation of a Kurdish man's house in Khorsabad and the relocation of the rest of the village from the site. An important question to ask is whether the Americans were working together with the British

other projects. For example, his sponsored excavation of the Agora in Athens necessitated the expropriation and demolition of the modern-day houses covering the ancient site: an entire neighborhood was displaced.

Despite the impressive size of Majid Agha's house, its structural components appeared to have caused problems. The thatched roof apparently doubled as a nesting place for swallows (who flew in through unglazed window openings), mice, rats, and snakes. Unbleached muslin awnings were hung below the ceiling, "so that if a snake did fall down, at least it will not fall on to a bed, but presumably slip off the side of this tent onto the floor." Additions and renovations to the house were frequently made with the bricks of dwellings that had originally belonged to the villagers. A special deal had been struck with the villagers, which stipulated that they would leave these bricks behind.<sup>83</sup>

Despite the Khorsabad expedition-house's impermanence—as evidenced in its construction material—and its clear status as aesthetically the humblest building associated with the Oriental Institute in the Middle East, the structure did serve as a backdrop for political maneuverings between American, Iraqi, and British actors.<sup>84</sup> As mentioned earlier, a photograph of King Faisal visiting the expedition-house in April 1933—a year after Iraq gained independence from the British Mandate and just a few months before the King died—shows how the nondescript structure's association with the Oriental Institute and with Rockefeller's financial power endowed it with significance in the landscape (**See Fig. 6.1**). It was considered so significant and powerful that an entire village was relocated to accommodate it.

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administration to relocate Kurdish tribes and villages in the name of archaeology.

<sup>83</sup> Delougaz, "The New Colossus."

<sup>84</sup> The expedition attracted many types of visitors, including British mystery novelist Agatha Christie, the consulate general of Netherlands in Baghdad (1932), Arthur Wauchope, and others. See, the "Iraq Khorsabad Visitors Book 1930-1935." Folder 9, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.

Although the expedition-house was architecturally unremarkable, the surrounding landscape was quite different. As with the Institute's other projects, photographs and maps of the Khorsabad expedition present the dig-house as an integral part of this larger archaeological site. Consider **Fig. 6.5**, which shows an aerial photograph of Khorsabad taken by Britain's Royal Air Force. At the top of the photo, the expedition-house is marked with the letter "K," without which it might be indistinguishable to an untrained eye from the archaeological dig below it, or from the village on the other side of the stream or river (to the left of the photo).

Members of the Oriental Institute first visited Khorsabad in April 1920 during the reconnaissance trip organized by Breasted.<sup>85</sup> The palace had previously been excavated by the Frenchman Paul-Émile Botta, who had discovered it in 1842. Botta erroneously thought he had found the site of Biblical Nineveh, which was actually twenty kilometers south. His excavations at Khorsabad were followed by those of another Frenchman, Victor Place. Breasted believed that Botta and Place had taken away almost everything of value from the site. However, he did discover that they had left intact the city gates and, in the south, a large building as well as a "mighty stone paving block about five by ten feet in size, bearing in stately cuneiform characters the annals of the great King."<sup>86</sup> Writing in 1920 of the importance of these gates and stones, Breasted lamented the damage he believed would be done by local diggers during the time that it might take the Institute or another foreign archaeological enterprise to set up operations here; paradoxically, he also revealed his own interest in acquiring these items as museum pieces, despite his frequent renunciations regarding any desire to amass a museum collection:

They [remaining archaeological fragments] are of the greatest importance, for Sargon came to the throne during the Assyrian siege of Samaria, whence he sent the so-called Ten Tribes away as

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<sup>85</sup> Charles Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 280.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

captives. The evacuation of these gates alone would bring a fine return in museum monuments—but in the meantime, this particular block will of course be broken up and sold in fragments by the Arabs!<sup>87</sup>

As at Megiddo, excavations at Khorsabad were begun through a personal pledge by Rockefeller. Some sources suggest that Rockefeller continued to fund work at Khorsabad entirely on his own, without the Rockefeller Foundation or the IEB's help, up till the expedition's last season in 1935. As Breasted put it in a letter to Robert Gumbel, Rockefeller's Office Manager, the work was "his [Rockefeller's] Assyrian expedition."<sup>88</sup>

Biblically speaking, Nineveh is more important than Khorsabad. But given its association with the Assyrian Empire—which features repeatedly in the Old Testament—Khorsabad is also quite important to Biblical archaeology. Botta and Place's excavations at Khorsabad in the nineteenth century, and the resulting transfusion of Assyrian monuments into European museums (the British Museum, for example), made ancient Assyria come alive for Christians. Bibles in Europe and in America began to feature illustrations of cuneiform tablets and other objects and monuments discovered at Assyria: it was no longer enough to read the Bible, rather it was important to see pictures of the artifacts themselves.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.* James Henry Breasted's statement, drawn from either a letter he wrote back to his family during the reconnaissance trip or a journal he kept at the time, suggests a double standard with respect to Near Eastern antiquities. As Annabel Jane Wharton has noted, American collectors excused their trafficking of antiquities by noting that, had they remained *in situ*, these items would have been destroyed. See Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 24-29. Wharton is not referring to Near Eastern antiquities. Rather, she is speaking of French patrimony that was acquired through barely legal means by the American artist George Gray Barnard. Barnard later sold these relics to Rockefeller, who incorporated them into both the actual building of the Cloisters Museum in New York City as well as its collection. We might ask, what makes the sale of antiquities by Arabs or other non-Americans any different from their acquisition by an American archaeologist—an acquisition that adds value (monetary or otherwise) to an American museum? Is it the relative intactness of the items in an American or Western museum? But this was not always the case, as we will see a little later in this section.

<sup>88</sup> Breasted to Gumbel, May 1, 1929, Folder JDR Jr. 1929, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

<sup>89</sup> Holloway writes about the growing trend of illustrated Bibles. See Holloway, "Introduction: Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible," in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, 14.



Khorsabad was also significant beyond the Bible. The neo-Assyrian empire, which was spread out over northern Mesopotamia, is widely considered to have been the first empire anywhere in the world and, at its height—around 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE—it was the most powerful state in the world.<sup>90</sup> Under Sargon, it underwent its biggest territorial expansion, including (briefly) occupying Egypt. These are major achievements and, in hindsight, it appears significant that a new emerging political and cultural entity such as the United States would be so fascinated by the world's first empire and its accomplishments.

Architecturally, the complex is thought to have been breathtaking. It covered 740 acres and consisted of a walled city with two clusters of buildings. The main cluster or royal enclave, located on the northwest side, was elevated above a platform and protruded slightly outwards. It included over two hundred rooms, thirty courtyards, and a ziggurat. The city was strategically sited so that it controlled an important mountain pass that would otherwise have brought invading armies from the mountain tribes up north.<sup>91</sup> It is also thought that Sargon built the new capital here at Dur-Sharrukin because he may have usurped the previous emperor—his brother Shalmaneser V—and wanted to launch his reign from a fresh site that might help erase the story of his treachery.

In terms of the more recent history of archaeological activity here, Botta and Place's excavations are an important episode in the frantic race between Great Britain and France to acquire Near Eastern antiquities, and to establish economic and political presence in Mesopotamia. In fact, Khorsabad was the first site in Western Asia to be substantially excavated by any archaeologist. These excavations began during the Ottoman reign, but as Mesopotamia

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<sup>90</sup> Robert Tignor, *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: 600 to 1500* (W. W. Norton, 2008).

<sup>91</sup> Mark M. Jarzombek, Vikramaditya Prakash, and Francis D. K. Ching, *A Global History of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2010), 110-111.

was under local rather than centralized control, it was possible for British and French archaeologists to bypass the Empire's antiquities laws and to proceed almost unimpeded in their digging and collecting activities. Botta, who preceded Place, came to Mesopotamia as the first French consul to nearby Mosul, but while this may suggest that his primary duties there were political or administrative, in fact he had been purposely selected for the position because of his previous archaeological experience. A British Resident at Baghdad, Claudius James Rich, had earlier visited the nearby sites of Babylon and Nineveh, where he acquired artifacts, which he then gave to the British Museum. These objects and Rich's writings generated international interest in the larger region. The French Asiatic Society wanted France to have an even greater impact in Mesopotamian archaeology. At the Society's insistence, the French government chose a diplomatic representative for Mesopotamia (Botta) who could also dig and collect antiquities.<sup>92</sup>

When a site such as Khorsabad becomes associated in this manner with political power and cultural prestige—both ancient and contemporaneous—it is inevitable that future political and cultural actors will see it as an important destination for making subsequent claims. In the 1920s, it was no longer the French or British that were dominating Khorsabad and surrounding regions. The appearance of the Oriental Institute on the scene in support of an American-led internationalism and theological modernism—and the absolute dominance of this American archaeological expedition there—may be seen in light of the history of neo-Assyria's imperial achievements, their mention in the Bible, and the more recent archaeological race there between two imperial powers. We can understand the Khorsabad expedition as a way of returning Christianity to the Orient, in the wake of the Jerusalem conference.

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<sup>92</sup> Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*, 39-41.

The Institute was fashioning itself as the successor to these different political and cultural powers while simultaneously making an important distinction around its interest in the land: Breasted argued that the O.I. was scientifically motivated, not materially or politically interested. However, we have plenty of evidence that refutes this claim. For example, consider his part in the long race to remove antiquities from Khorsabad. In the mid-nineteenth century, Botta had attempted to transport the archaeological artifacts he discovered at Khorsabad to France. These attempts were overall quite disastrous. Some ships and boats bearing heavy sculptures sank under the weight of their cargo; others were attacked by pirates. A few items—such as sculptures of winged bulls (also known as *lamassus*)—did eventually reach France and can be viewed today in the Louvre Museum.<sup>93</sup> The British Museum in London and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York own *lamassus* from Iraqi sites as well. Hoping to compete with these well-established museums in terms of intellectual legitimacy and material objects, when the O.I.'s Iraq Expedition started work at Khorsabad, Breasted specifically instructed his officers to look for winged bulls for the Institute's new headquarters, which was then being planned for Chicago. When a sculpted winged bull was in fact found, Rockefeller paid for its arduous passage to Chicago.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> A similar loss occurred when the Metropolitan Museum in New York attempted to ship archaeological artifacts from the Middle East to New York during the First World War. In this case, the ship was sunk by German bombs. See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*.

<sup>94</sup> The importance of the site and its artifacts is further gauged if we fast forward to more recent times and contemporary events, and to a narrative of purposeful destruction as opposed to the one of safekeeping that is deployed by most world museums. On March 9, 2015, Iraq's Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities announced that Khorsabad had very likely been destroyed by ISIL. Around the same time, Nineveh, the Mosul Museum, the Mosul Library and other important sites had also been either completely or significantly destroyed by the militant group. <http://www.cnn.com/2015/03/09/world/iraq-isis-heritage/>. But ISIL has not limited its engagement with antiquities to their destruction. Recognizing the monetary value of these objects, it has engaged in illegal trafficking of antiquities out of Iraq. At the same time, the Green family in the United States—owners of the craft store Hobby Lobby and financial sponsors behind the newly opened Museum of the Bible in Washington, DC—have come under suspicion for acquiring ancient artifacts from Iraq without clear provenance. There is a lot of evidence now that these items were made available for purchase through ISIL. The ruins of ancient civilizations in the Near East have thus consistently attracted new actors in the region (or on the world stage), whether these are British or French administrators and archaeologists with imperial ambitions, American archaeologists/Protestant missionaries, Arab, Turkish, or Persian nationalists, American patrons, or militant groups.

#### 6.4.4. Tell Asmar, Iraq (1929) | Babylonian Civilization

In 1929, Dr. Edward Chiera, then the Director of the Iraq expedition, claimed that Arab nomads were looting some promising mounds east of Baghdad, and that the artifacts found there were being sold in the city.<sup>95</sup> At the end of the year, Breasted asked Chiera's successor, Henri Frankfort, "to look into this whole situation on the east of the Tigris."<sup>96</sup> As a result of Frankfort's efforts, the O.I. received concessions to dig at four sites in the region, within a twenty-mile circle (**Fig. 6.25-6.26**). These sites are located near the modern-day cities of Tell Asmar, Khafaje, Abu Khazaf, and Ishcali. Tell Asmar (the site of Eshnunna, an ancient Sumerian city that was later incorporated into the Old Babylonian Empire) was chosen as the site of the expedition-house. It is located farther north than the other three sites, south of Khorsabad, east of the Diyala and Tigris Rivers, and, as the crow flies, about twenty-four miles northeast of Baghdad. The house was built in 1930, in anticipation of at least ten years of work to be done by the Oriental Institute in the surrounding region—although like other expeditions it was shut down much earlier than Breasted had anticipated.

As the headquarters of the Iraq expedition's Babylonian arm, the building at Tell Asmar was more elaborate than the repurposed village dwelling at Khorsabad (**Fig. 6.27**). In fact, it was considered to be one of the more luxurious dig-houses in the Middle East at the time. Breasted writes that he asked the architects Gordon Loud and Seton H. F. Lloyd to design "a considerable building" that could meet the expedition's needs.<sup>97</sup> What was built has been described as a surprisingly palatial complex. One critic wrote, "Chicago has built a palace at their new dig here

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<sup>95</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 339.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>97</sup> In addition to these architects, the Tell Asmar building was completed under the supervision of a contractor from Baghdad and a structural engineer from Jerusalem, D. B. Abulafia. *Ibid.*

- a scandal among expedition houses [that] ... cost ... 6,000 [pounds].”<sup>98</sup> This dig-house became a symbol of what Wharton, in a reference to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem, would term as the “economic excess” and ability of the Rockefeller network.<sup>99</sup> Of course, what passed for a palace in the desert, back in 1930, can seem rather ordinary today. The key is to compare it to the kinds of expedition-houses that were at the disposal of other field expeditions in this region—both those belonging to the Institute and to other institutions. While some of these were also thought to be on the grander end of the spectrum, most were quite rudimentary.

The Tell Asmar expedition-house was organized around three courtyards (**Fig. 6.28**). It appears to match the general description that Breasted provides in *The Oriental Institute* for the ancient Eshnunna Palace, whose ruins were discovered by the Tell Asmar crew, and whose general layout and massing were deciphered by Seton Lloyd, around the time of the expedition-house’s construction (**Fig. 6.29-6.30**). With regards to the Eshnunna complex, Breasted notes that the palace and the two temples at either end are punctuated in the center by open-air courts, and that while the entrance to the temples is straightforward and on axis, to reach the royal apartments one must make a sharp left and go down a narrow corridor, which eventually opens up into the middle court. Breasted writes that this arrangement was:

in accordance with the residential architecture of the ancient Near East, where every house had a staggered entrance, so that by no possibility could the interior be visible through the front door.<sup>100</sup>

While the expedition-house’s general layout does not correspond exactly to the Eshnunna palace, its plan does show that it too comprised three groups of spaces, each arranged around an open-air court. Servants’ quarters were grouped around the Outer Court, which formed the main entrance

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<sup>98</sup> Quoted in Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 196.

<sup>99</sup> Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 31.

into the whole complex. From this court, the visitor could proceed to the Second Court, which served the office spaces and dark rooms. And from here, the visitor would finally enter the Main Court, around which the expedition's main staff would reside (**Fig. 6.31-6.32**).

The Iraq expedition shared personnel between its various dig sites. Work at Khorsabad had already started by the time Director Henri Frankfort arranged for concessions at the four sites east of the Diyala River, and it was thought best to continue with it. Because the core directorial personnel were thus limited, the Institute decided to focus at first on only two of the new sites: Tell Asmar and Khafaje. As Khafaje was at some distance from Tell Asmar, the Institute set up a small camp there for its crew. The crew did, however, return to the main expedition-house at Tell Asmar when possible. Khorsabad's crew, meanwhile, remained primarily at the Khorsabad expedition-house, but could occasionally be redistributed amongst the other sites as the need arose.<sup>101</sup> In addition to Henry Frankfort, other notable expedition members included the architects, Lloyd and Loud.<sup>102</sup> In addition to these personnel, the expedition at Tell Asmar could, at the height of the archaeological season every year, employ several hundred local laborers. This large crew was not based in the main expedition-house but in separate dwellings or camps around it. The larger site was not hospitable. It lacked a local water supply, and the ground water was too brackish for use or consumption. So the expedition-house depended on water deliveries through tankers, to serve its large foreign and local crew. The ability to maintain such a

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<sup>100</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 351.

<sup>101</sup> Breasted to Trevor Arnett, February 27, 1931, Folder RF 1931, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

<sup>102</sup> Lloyd (1902-1996) was a British architect, who had previously worked under Sir Edwin Lutyens. He began working with archaeological expeditions in the Middle East because his ability to think spatially was useful in reconstructing archaeological spaces and—in the case of the Tell Asmar house—in designing substantial expedition-houses. By 1939 he had gained enough expertise and general knowledge of the region to be offered an advisory post to the Director of Antiquities in Baghdad. Gordon Loud, meanwhile, began his career at the Institute as an architectural assistant, but eventually took over the Assyrian expedition in Khorsabad, under the general guidance of Henri Frankfort. For more on Loud, see Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 343. For more on Lloyd, see J. D. Hawkins, "OBITUARY: Professor Seton Lloyd," *The Independent*, January 13, 1996. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-professor-seton-lloyd-1323750.html>.

big team, and to provide hard to acquire resources, demonstrates the Institute's extraordinary financial ability at that time.

Regarding Babylon, the commission there was not held by the Institute. We do not know why this was so—whether Breasted had in fact wanted to dig here but could not because another institution got there first. Regardless, Breasted justified the Diyala site by asserting that sometimes more can be learned about a civilization or a country from monuments that are discovered outside its borders. The Diyala region formed this potentially interesting periphery to Babylon, and it is here that the Institute decided to concentrate its efforts.

Excavations at Tell Asmar did not last as long as Breasted had intended. In Iraq, for a while, antiquities were split equally between excavating organizations and the government. This practice was quite favorable for western archaeologists. But soon Iraqi nationalists began to challenge this lax division of antiquities. Sati` al-Husri—a Director of Antiquities and a major figure in the pan-Arabism movement—proposed abolishing the practice of a fifty-fifty division between the government and foreign expeditions.<sup>103</sup> Although a new stricter law was not passed until 1936—and although there were other foreign expeditions in the country at this time—in February 1935 the Oriental Institute's Tell Asmar expedition was the first to undergo a slightly stricter division.

Breasted, who had previously claimed that the Institute was uninterested in the physical acquisition of objects, was vociferous in his opposition to al-Husri's proposed division. To appease the situation, the American Resident in Baghdad, Paul Knabenshue, and Iraq's foreign minister, Nuri Said, got involved. Al-Husri eventually modified his original division plan for the

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<sup>103</sup> The government officials in charge so far had been British, such as Gertrude Bell. Sati` al-Husri was the first Iraqi nationalist to come to this post.

Institute, but it had by then become clear that his rules would prevail in future divisions.<sup>104</sup> The Institute continued to maintain the Iraq expedition for a few more years, but it was eventually shut down by the Rockefeller Foundation around 1939.

#### **6.4.5. Sakkara, Egypt (1930) | Old Kingdom, Ancient Egypt**

In Egypt, in addition to the Chicago House in Luxor, the Oriental Institute also maintained an expedition-house at Sakkara and, according to some correspondence, another one at Abydos. I have found little information on the Abydos expedition-house, but there are plenty of photographs and some information regarding the house in Sakkara. This house and its associated expedition are particularly important because they appear to have been funded entirely by Rockefeller, instead of being turned over to the Rockefeller Foundation or the IEB.

Sakkara (or Saqqara) was a royal necropolis that served Memphis, an ancient capital of Egypt and the “longest lasting major metropolis in the history of the world.”<sup>105</sup> The site is visited by many tourists today, but even in the ancient world it was part of what we might call a thriving tourist industry. The monuments at Sakkara date to the Old Kingdom and were already over a thousand years old during the age of the New Kingdom, but cultured elites in the latter period could understand these monuments and situate them within the larger cultural and historic context of their world. The monuments were thus important pilgrimage or tourist sites.

John D. Rockefeller Jr. and Breasted’s interest in Sakkara lay primarily in the reliefs and painted scenes in the Sakkara Mastaba Tombs, which they hoped to reproduce and publish. When

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<sup>104</sup> Interestingly, Henri Frankfort later admitted to Breasted that in fact al-Husri’s original division policy had been correct, that he was fair-minded, and that what they had received was far more than what could have been expected. This information about the division of the Tell Asmar expedition’s finds, and about Sati al-Husri is taken from Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*, 186-197.

<sup>105</sup> Steven Snape, *The Complete Cities of Ancient Egypt*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 170.



Rockefeller visited the Middle East in 1929, he spent two days at Sakkara with Breasted, who very likely informed him of his belief that these paintings were the earliest known graphic representations of man's life—a statement that Breasted repeats often in his published literature.<sup>106</sup> In terms of the chronological study of the arc of civilization, which was one of the main reasons for the Institute's establishment, Breasted believed that the O.I.'s work on the Sakkara paintings took over from where the Institute's prehistoric survey left off, and that in this way the paintings were an important and logical piece of the larger puzzle of the emergence of human civilization. Here is what he writes to Rockefeller regarding the project (about a year and a half after the latter's initial donation of funds):

You will recall that we drove out by motor one afternoon into the Sahara Desert behind the Pyramids of Gizeh [during Rockefeller's Middle Eastern trip] and had tea with the young men of [the Institute's] Prehistoric Survey. That Survey has now made a great discovery and has been able to assign to its proper place in the human history the terrible disaster which transformed the fertile plateau of North Africa into the desolate Sahara, among the sands of which you had tea that pleasant afternoon...[The desiccation of North Africa] drove the Stone Age hunters down into the Nile Valley to seek water, and was one of the great causes which made Egypt the source of the earliest civilization...

Thus arose in the Nile Valley the first great human society made up of several million souls. The earliest revelation of the life and activities of that society is found in the beautiful painted relief scenes now surviving on the walls of the limestone tomb chambers, among which you spent two afternoons at Sakkara.<sup>107</sup>

On January 31, 1930, Rockefeller green-lighted three different projects for the Institute, one of which was the reproduction of these paintings. He set aside \$200,000 for this work. Rockefeller was primarily interested in the educational value of the publications that might result from the work and had in fact actively increased the scope of the project, which is an unusual fact: usually it was Breasted who had to be talked down from ambitious projects. Specifically,

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<sup>106</sup> Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 145.

<sup>107</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, September 25, 1931, Folder JDR Jr 1931, Box 1 (self-assigned number), OIA.

Rockefeller suggested printing larger folios. Breasted agreed: these folios, he believed, might be of interest to art museums and students.

In siting the Sakkara expedition-house, Breasted very consciously sought to engage with the memory of past American and French archaeological expeditions in the area. Initially, Breasted had hoped to build the Institute's expedition-house near the former house of Auguste Mariette, who, as we have seen, was the founder of the Egyptian Antiquities Service (which the French had controlled ever since) and the first person to discover Sakkara. But Breasted eventually decided to reuse and significantly expand upon an old sun-dried brick house that had belonged to a University of Pennsylvania expedition (**Fig. 6.33-6.34**). This house was twenty minutes by car from the *mastabas*, "standing among the palms at Memphis, not very far from the prostrate colossus of Ramses II."<sup>108</sup>

Breasted's initial desire to build close to Mariette's house can be related back to his competitive streak with French archaeologists in Egypt, and this becomes apparent through his writings and correspondence. At the beginning of the expedition, before the Institute's house had been built, Breasted had applied to Egypt's Director-General of Antiquities, Pierre Lacau, for permission to eventually publish the *mastaba* paintings (when they would be completed); Lacau refused. Breasted believed that Lacau had withheld permission because he had heard of the Institute's plans to build their dig-house next to Mariette's and did not relish the prospect of this historic French cultural figure's former quarters being overshadowed by what would probably be a better and bigger American dig-house:

We wanted to put up some kind of building in the background near Mariette's old house, but it was this proposition which frightened Lacau and led him to refuse us the Sakkara concession.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Breasted to Hale, April 21, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>109</sup> Breasted to Hale, April 21, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

He went on to argue that probably Lacau took this position to “save his own official skin” and to prevent the American house from “loom[ing] more noticeably than that of the French.” Although Breasted does not admit that this is in fact what he had in mind when he picked the original site, the Rockefeller team’s earlier selection of a similarly advantageous site for the New Egyptian Museum in Cairo between 1924 and 1926 would have given Lacau enough cause for suspicion at Sakkara. Ultimately, Breasted picked another site for the expedition-house, and Lacau granted him permission to publish the paintings.<sup>110</sup>

Expansion of the old Penn expedition-house began in the winter of 1930-31 and was completed shortly thereafter (**Fig. 6.35-6.37**). This large new house was spread out over the ground in a series of low, stacked volumes that appear to be concealed within the palm grove. It is composed of interior courts and has a modern, stripped down aesthetic (**Fig. 6.38-6.40**). In addition to the house, the Egyptian government also gave the expedition a large room in one of the tombs, which the Institute then equipped with a skylight and turned into a drafting room (**Fig. 6.41**).

Despite the reputation of the Tell Asmar expedition-house as a palatial building, to me it is the Sakkara expedition-house that appears to be the grandest of the Institute’s dig-houses. It is this structure that suggests an “economic excess,” one that is not as visually apparent in the other dig-houses, except perhaps the Chicago House in Luxor and the Persepolis expedition-house in Iran (see Section 6.4.6.). The individual work and living spaces are large and well-appointed (**Fig. 6.42-6.44**). The design with its northwest-facing entrance is organized around three zones, from front to rear. The first contains, to the right of the main hall or entrance, a suite of bedrooms

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<sup>110</sup> Breasted wrote to Hale that he had to put pressure on Lacau through indirect channels to get the permission. Breasted to Hale, April 21, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

which open around an inner courtyard and, to the left of the hall, the library, lounge, studio, and dining room. The main entrance hall is symmetrical and formal. Behind this, centered around a triangular inner courtyard, is a zone dedicated to studios, dark room, and storage—basically, work spaces for the archaeologists and expedition members. The kitchen is here as well. The last zone (behind this one) contains “service” spaces: a garage, further storage, and servants’ quarters. Apart from the creation of three zones and of a symmetrical entryway in the front, the design is relatively relaxed and aesthetically quite modern. The bedroom zone and some other spaces are at a 45-degree angle, which is used to create interesting and gracious pockets of outdoor space and inner courtyards. The complex is surrounded by a wall. The access road approaches the complex obliquely from the north, and curves and swoops around it, creating a formal entrance in the front, and one in the rear for the expedition’s automobiles.

Director Prentice Duell’s personal apartment was particularly luxurious. Duell used some of his own finances to make his accommodations within the expedition-house more comfortable and beautiful than they might otherwise have been. But, really, the entire dig-house exceeded practical concerns and was aesthetically sophisticated. The Institute took care to document the spaces and furnishings thoroughly, which suggests that the dig-house’s aesthetic sophistication was purposeful and valued (**Fig. 6.45**).

The newly expanded expedition house had been built to last fifteen years, but the expedition was liquidated in the mid-to-late 1930s—in nearly half the amount of time that it had been planned for.<sup>111</sup> In light of the effort and money put into the Sakkara dig-house, the end of the expedition must have come as a blow. We know from financial documents and letters that shutting down the house required some work: the furnishings, for example, had to be auctioned

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<sup>111</sup> According to Charles Breasted, the expedition was expected to last till 1940. Charles Breasted to John D. Rockefeller III, September 24, 1930, Folder JDR Jr. 1930, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

off. I am not clear on the current status of the house, but we do know from the *Chicago House Bulletin*—an annual report put out by the still-operating Chicago House in Luxor—that the Sakkara house could be seen in the landscape as recently as December 1997—though it was no longer owned by the Oriental Institute.<sup>112</sup> The current Field Director of the Chicago House in Luxor, Dr. Raymond W. Johnson, writes in the *Bulletin* that he took officials of Egypt’s Supreme Council of Antiquities, and the Director of the Chicago House operations, to what was left of the old Sakkara house.<sup>113</sup> His statement suggests the former importance of the house, which, as I mentioned above, can also be gauged from the quality of its design and furnishings, the thoroughness of its documentation, and the Institute’s extreme dismay at its closure:

At Memphis I made sure to point out the sad remains of the old Oriental Institute Saqqara Expedition headquarters, for a number of years a ‘Chicago House North’ [sic] housing the team of epigraphers and artists who copied the exquisite reliefs in the Saqqara tomb of Mereruka, which we also visited. The house was forced to close due to lack of funds, and is now part ruin, part magazine, and part local SCA offices, and may be torn down soon to make way for a new museum. The loss of that facility was a blow to epigraphy and the Oriental Institute, and an example of what must never, ever be allowed to happen again.<sup>114</sup>

If we were to guess what it is that must never be allowed to happen again, we could with some certainty say that Johnson is lamenting the surprising attrition that the Oriental Institute underwent within only a few years of the construction of its extensive network of expedition-houses (see Chapter Seven). It also seems as if Johnson was concerned about the fate of the Institute’s remaining expedition-house in Egypt: the (new) Chicago House in Luxor.

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<sup>112</sup> W. Raymond Johnson, “The 1997-1998 Season at Chicago House,” in *Chicago House Bulletin* IX, no. 1, November 9, 1998, <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/epi/chicago-house-bulletin-13>.

<sup>113</sup> The Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) is the successor organization to the *Service des Antiquities*.

<sup>114</sup> See, Johnson, “The 1997-1998 Season at Chicago House.”

#### 6.4.6. Persepolis, Iran (1930-39) | Achaemenid Empire (550 to 330 BCE)

The Oriental Institute's expedition at Persepolis (Iran) was one of Breasted's most prized projects (**Fig. 6.46**). He compared the importance of the site's discovery (in 1620) to that of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in Egypt in 1922, and called it "the most valuable archaeological concession in the world."<sup>115</sup> Work here constituted the Institute's eastern-most presence in Western Asia.

Persepolis, a World Heritage Site today, was the ceremonial capital of the Achaemenid Empire between approximately 515 to 326 BCE. Chronologically speaking, Breasted saw it as the last great site of the so-called Oriental world, which he believed was thereafter taken over in importance and stature by Athens. The Institute's concession, which was granted by the Iranian government in December 1930, was initially limited to the clearance and restoration of palaces that had been built by emperors Darius and Xerxes, while they were fighting the Greeks.<sup>116</sup> Later, the Iranian government expanded the area covered under the concession to a radius of fourteen miles. Breasted believed that Persepolis "was the Versailles of the Persian royal family" and expected to find the equivalent of a Paris within the newly expanded area:

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<sup>115</sup> Breasted to David Stevens, August 12, 1935, Folder 29 - RF David Stevens - 1935, Box 2 JDR (Jr) + RF (self-assigned box number and label), OIA. Persepolis has been imagined and understood as a glorious site and former seat of power for centuries. As Talinn Grigor (and others) note, it "had attracted rulers from Alexander of Macedonia to Mughal Sultan Shah Jahan," to "Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925-41) and his secularist ministers." Grigor writes that it was during Pahlavi's reign that Persepolis underwent "systematic excavation." Pahlavi's government granted rights to Herzfeld and the Institute to dig there. In 1971, long after the O.I. left, Pahlavi famously mounted a spectacular celebration at Persepolis that was intended to forge a continuity between ancient Persia and the modern state. See, Talinn Grigor, "Preserving the Antique Modern: Persepolis '71," *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 2, no. 1 (Summer 2005).

<sup>116</sup> Ali Mousavi writes that it is often erroneously claimed that the O.I.'s initial concession also included further excavation. It did not, but this technical detail did not stop Breasted's team from excavating. Note also that other people had excavated the site and that the Institute is not the first expedition here, although it presents itself as such. Ali Mousavi, *Persepolis: Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder* (Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 163.

... we have known for some time that a huge mound some kilometers away was the Paris of the situation, where we might expect to find the older Persian civilization before it had developed into a world state.<sup>117</sup>

The Rockefeller network actually arrived late to the project. In 1928, when the Persian—later Iranian—government overturned a longstanding law that had given France a monopoly on excavation throughout Persia, German archaeologist Ernest Emile Herzfeld, who had been interested in Persepolis for many years, immediately cast about trying to find an institution that might support his ambition of undertaking a full and proper excavation of the site. Herzfeld had been based in Iran since 1926, and was held in great esteem by Persian elites and officials because he was one of the foremost experts in the world on Iran's ancient heritage, as well as a supporter of Iran's Aryan claims. With his encouragement, the Persian government had abolished the French archaeological monopoly in the country. He also helped draft the new antiquities law. But as soon as the French monopoly ended, Herzfeld began to face competition from other notable figures in the field, especially the American Arthur Upham Pope. The cost of excavating in Persia was quite high at this time, which immediately ruled out financially stretched European institutions as potential contenders. Herzfeld reached out to the University of Pennsylvania first, but after they got Pope involved in the negotiations he turned his attention to Breasted and the Oriental Institute, which was one of the best-established archaeological enterprises at this time anyway.<sup>118</sup>

Breasted responded enthusiastically, and asked Herzfeld to get an option on Persepolis. Herzfeld went one step further, acquiring a concession. Yet, no funds had been secured from the

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<sup>117</sup> Breasted to Hale, December 12, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>118</sup> Note the changing fortunes of German archaeologists. Whereas Breasted had received his start in Egyptology and Near Eastern archaeology through the Prussian Royal Academy, and then had to work tirelessly to persuade an American group to support him, in the 1930s a German archaeologist had to look to America for help.

Rockefeller network for excavation work at this site: the network had actually discouraged Breasted from taking on more work.<sup>119</sup> In a departure from the American government's lack of interaction with the O.I., the American representative to Persia insisted that the Oriental Institute take immediate advantage of the concession because, as the only American enterprise in the country (archaeological or otherwise), it could assist in putting forward an efficient and benevolent image of the United States.<sup>120</sup>

Breasted found a donor outside the Rockefeller network: although she wished to remain anonymous, the archives show that this benefactor was Ada Small Moore, an important art collector, archaeological enthusiast, and Rockefeller's neighbor in Manhattan (**Fig. 6.47**). Moore funded excavations at Persepolis until 1935, when the forced devaluation of the dollar prevented her from making any further commitments. It is at this time that the Rockefeller Foundation (not Rockefeller the individual) stepped in, funding work at Persepolis for another four years. Moore is the first financial patron of the Institute's work at Persepolis. Her recognition of Persepolis as an important archaeological site and her money helped the Institute start the project. Furthermore, given that the Institute's expedition-house was built during Moore's support—before the Rockefeller Foundation took over the expedition's work—it is open to debate whether the building can be included here as infrastructure for Protestant internationalism.

I will argue for its inclusion. The Institute was able to build up its work in the Middle East, and construct expedition-houses and museums there and in Chicago, largely through the

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<sup>119</sup> When Rockefeller and his advisors agreed to provide funding for the Institute's many archaeological expeditions in the late 1920s, they discouraged Breasted from pursuing a concession in Persepolis. They felt that Breasted was too ambitious and that the Institute was already quite stretched in terms of managing its existing projects. But Breasted decided to proceed with Persepolis anyway. When Herzfeld acquired a concession on the Institute's behalf, Breasted apparently tried to hold off on finding funding for a while. But the State Department, worried about the impression that an inactive concession might make in Persia, apparently announced the concession's acquisition through the Associated Press, forcing Breasted to search urgently for funds. Breasted to Hale, April 21, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>120</sup> In the archives, this is one of the first instances of American state actors urging the Institute to start excavations.



financial backing of Rockefeller and then the RF and the IEB. These visible signs of its commitment to archaeology (i.e., the construction of expedition-houses and museums), and of its financial “plumpness,” endowed the O.I. with the stature that ultimately allowed it to land the Persepolis concession, albeit independently of Rockefeller, and to persuade a benefactor—Moore, in this instance—that it was a worthy institution to back. Furthermore, as the Persepolis expedition was one of the last projects started by the O.I. in the interwar period, by this point the program of Protestant internationalism was fully baked into the Institute’s mission and techniques.

Architecturally, both the expedition-house and the archaeological finds at Persepolis are of interest. The expedition-house, in fact, was itself an archaeological fragment: the ruins of the harem of Xerxes. The Institute decided to rebuild the harem, putting new walls, columns, and a new roof on top of the existing ruins and foundation, and using this reconstructed building as a residence, office, and temporary museum (**Fig. 6.48-6.49**).<sup>121</sup> Note that the original stone columns and capitals were here made of wood. In photographs, the walls look like they were whitewashed, but these were probably originally covered with colorful decorative patterns. The reconstruction clearly did not remain absolutely accurate to the original ruins, and suggests an approach to historic preservation and “redesign” that was not overly concerned with accuracy and sought instead to experiment with new materials (such as the large wood beams, which must have been difficult to transport to the site). One question we might ask is whether this lack of focus on architectural accuracy reflects a similar lack of accuracy (or license to be “creative” and “loose”) in the interpretation of archaeological evidence?

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<sup>121</sup> Note that many archaeologists oppose the label of “Harem” for this building. See, Mousavi, *Persepolis*. Note also that, at the time, the building had been erroneously identified as the harem of Darius.

The idea to reconstruct an ancient building at Persepolis—though not as a dig-house—preceded the Institute’s involvement, and shows the active interest displayed by local officials in the archaeological sites of Persia.<sup>122</sup> In 1924, Firouz Mirza, a Qajar prince and governor of Fars, commissioned Herzfeld to prepare a report on the state of Persepolis (**Fig. 6.50**).<sup>123</sup> In that report, Herzfeld had proposed reconstructing one of the ancient buildings to house a museum. Initially Herzfeld wanted to reconstruct the Palace of Darius. But when the Institute took over the project, the harem was picked instead—at the urging of expedition member Friedrich Krefter—because it was bigger and off to one side (and thus easily accessible to workers). It is also located on a lower plane than the rest of the ruins, which would allow its reconstruction to least interfere with the ruin aesthetic of the site.<sup>124</sup>

Work on the project began immediately in the first season. The harem was originally laid out in an L-shaped plan. The Institute excavated and restored only the main wing of the harem, most of which was reserved for the Institute’s living and work spaces, and for the conservation and care of archaeological finds. The front of the harem—towards the north—was turned into a museum (**Fig. 6.51-6.54**). Today, preservation experts condemn the practice of reconstructing an ancient structure from its ruins, but in the 1930s such an act was not unheard of. In fact, we find the same practice in other Rockefeller-sponsored projects, such as the reconstructions of Colonial Williamsburg and of the Stoa of Attalos in Athens.

Before the Institute’s reconstruction of Xerxes’ harem, the only other expedition-house of note in Persia had been built by the French at Susa. As I mentioned earlier, this building was

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<sup>122</sup> Such an interest by local officers disproves Breasted’s many statements regarding a general lack of interest in archaeology in the Middle East at the local or “native” level; he frequently brought up this perceived native disinterest to argue for a division of archaeological finds that would be most favorable to the Institute rather than to the state or government that had granted the concession.

<sup>123</sup> Mousavi, *Persepolis*, 159, 166-167.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

described by many observers as a “château.”<sup>125</sup> Certainly, the Institute’s takeover of a royal Achaemenid harem building could be seen as trumping a French château. Robert Byron, a noted British traveler and writer who visited Persepolis, described the Institute’s expedition-house in the following terms:

a palace, reconstructed of wood on the site, and in the style of its Achaemenid predecessor, whose stone door and window frames are incorporated in it, ... the outcome is a luxurious cross between the King David Hotel in Jerusalem and the Pergamum [sic] Museum in Berlin.<sup>126</sup>

The reconstruction of the harem into an expedition-house is not the only architectural feat of interest at Persepolis. Under Herzfeld’s leadership and, this time, the Rockefeller network’s direct funding, the Oriental Institute’s expedition team excavated two beautifully carved monumental staircases that were part of the *Apadana*—a massive hypostyle hall that has become one of most celebrated spaces at Persepolis (**Fig. 6.55-6.57**). Breasted enthused that these huge architectural fragments were “magnificently embellished with sculptures, making altogether a total of nearly thousand linear feet of reliefs and almost doubling the volume of known Old Persian sculptures.”<sup>127</sup> For Breasted, this discovery was the greatest one in Western Asian art after the German excavation of the Pergamon Altar in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (**Fig. 6.58**). The massive Altar—nearly thirty-five meters wide—was built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE by the Greek King Eumenes II.

There is no direct archival evidence of Breasted’s intentions regarding the Persepolis stairway, but the references he made with respect to the Altar—which has been on display in Berlin’s Pergamon Museum since the beginning of the twentieth century—suggests that he may

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<sup>125</sup> See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 128.

<sup>126</sup> See Mousavi, *Persepolis*, 167.

<sup>127</sup> Breasted to Hale, January 16, 1933, Folder 1933, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

have been interested in similarly transporting the massive staircase to Chicago, where it could be permanently displayed. Certainly, in his correspondence he notes that the discovery of the staircase would mean that the Institute would now *own* the “leading collection of Persian sculpture in the world,” and he hoped that such a collection would enable him to raise money for a “special museum of Persian art.”<sup>128</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation, too, was fascinated by the grandeur of the staircases, and asked the Institute to send a glossy photograph of the monument, which they could use in their annual report (**Fig. 6.59**).<sup>129</sup>

For political reasons, Herzfeld was replaced in 1934 by another German expert, Erich F. Schmidt.<sup>130</sup> The Institute’s work in Persepolis lasted another four years, ending in 1939. Under the Iranian government, the harem of Xerxes is used as a museum today. It also houses a supervising office space for the larger site.

#### **6.4.7. Calneh 1930-32 | Syrian-Hittite Expedition**

In 1930, Breasted quietly started planning an expedition in what he said was Calneh, another site associated with the geography of the Old Testament.<sup>131</sup> The timing was apparently ideal because

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<sup>128</sup> Breasted to Hale, January 16, 1933, Folder 1933, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>129</sup> The photograph was first published by the *London Times* on February 4, 1933. See H. B. van Wesepe to Breasted, July 7, 1933, Folder RF 1933, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. It is unclear whether the RF did include this photo in their annual report.

<sup>130</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 159-162. Goode writes that Tehran’s insistence on Herzfeld’s resignation from the Institute’s expedition to Persepolis was bound up in “offenses both real and imagined.” Despite his initial respected status, Herzfeld had eventually developed a poor relationship with officials in the Iranian government. By all accounts he appears to have been undiplomatic in his transactions and correspondence with them. He was also accused of smuggling antiquities out of Iran. Goode notes that as the conflict worsened, Iranian officials made anti-Semitic remarks about him. He notes that his Jewish identity was not solely responsible for his dismissal from Iran, but that it added to the complex situation.

<sup>131</sup> Breasted to Hale, April 21, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA. In this letter to Hale, Breasted wrote that Calneh had been “mentioned by Isaiah and Amos as a powerful western city-kingdom fighting Assyria.” He wrote that he was keeping the beginnings of the work a secret, which I assume is because the Rockefeller network was unaware of it. (See more in the main body above).

enough funds were available for the construction of a “good” field-house.<sup>132</sup> While Calneh is included here as a legitimate part of the Institute’s infrastructure in the Near East, it is in some ways incidental to Rockefeller’s financial support: although the money did come from Rockefeller’s initial gift for buildings in 1929, it had not originally been allocated for Calneh. The application for a concession to dig at Calneh, the leasing of the necessary land for the work, and construction of the field expedition-house here were done without the knowledge of the Rockefeller network. In a later letter clarifying his use of Rockefeller’s money, Breasted describes the origins and funding of the project.<sup>133</sup> By making certain economies, such as shifting his Anatolian staff down from the north to the milder climate of Syria in the winters, he had managed to carve out an undisclosed sum from the Institute’s larger overall building fund (that had been granted by the Rockefeller network) for purchasing a concession for Calneh and the land as well as \$15,000 for the construction of the dig-house.<sup>134</sup>

The Rockefeller Foundation became aware of the expedition at Calneh only later, when it decided upon a policy of “retrenchment” around 1931 and began to take a closer look at the Institute’s finances. When asked to explain the necessity for the Calneh expedition, Breasted argued that its inclusion was required to give a complete picture of the Hittite civilization, whose ruins—because of modern politics, he said—had been divided across the Syria-Turkey border. Thus, two separate expeditions were necessary to carry out the full scope of work.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Breasted to Hale, April 21, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>133</sup> Breasted to Trevor Arnett, February 27, 1931, Folder RF 1931, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA. The use of one staff for two expeditions was a common practice for the Oriental Institute. It happened in Iraq, too, between Khorsabad and Tell Asmar (Babylonia). At Calneh, Breasted hoped to get some additional funding from a non-Rockefeller source, specifically Myron C. Taylor, CEO and Chairman of U.S. Steel (1932-38) and later a major diplomatic figure. I am not sure if this funding ever came through. See Breasted to Hale, April 21, 1931, Folder 1931, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>134</sup> Again, this is an example of business logic at work in archaeology and philanthropy.

<sup>135</sup> Breasted, “Memorandum On Oriental Institute Hittite Researches,” Report to Rockefeller Foundation (David Stevens most likely), June, 1932, Folder RF 1932, Box 1, OIA.

Nationalism, too, presented a problem—or, rather, an excuse in this case. Breasted claimed that the French director-general of the Department of Antiquities in Syria had informed him that nationalist sentiments were making it difficult for the Department to grant archaeological concessions to foreigners, and that the Institute should seize the relative leniency of the present moment to apply for a concession and to work as quickly as it could to unearth the ruins. French officers also allowed the Oriental Institute to keep a share of what it found in Calneh, and to move it out of Syria and back to the United States.<sup>136</sup>

Actually, nationalism in Turkey was yet another reason for the Institute's interest in Calneh and other Syrian Hittite sites. The Oriental Institute had pioneered the field of Hittitology, carrying out important archaeological work in Turkey. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey's first President, had a life-long interest in archaeology and helped steer the nation's interest towards the region's ancient Hittite ruins (which the Institute was doing much to uncover) and, in an interesting but by now familiar twist, presented the ancient Hittites as Turks. Turkey became one of the first countries to develop a strong antiquities law. Facing trouble over the division of antiquities there, many Western Hittitologists—including the Institute's expeditions—turned their attention to Syrian sites. And so, despite Breasted's claim that the problems of *Syrian* nationalism led him to Calneh, the situation there was much more favorable for Western institutions, owing to the more absolute control of the French Mandate in Syria.<sup>137</sup>

The site was officially discovered around 1930 by an Institute employee, Dr. Emil Forrer, who was carrying out archaeological work in nearby Cyprus. Using Biblical evidence and clues, he made some enquiries amongst local villagers, who led him to the mound of what was

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<sup>136</sup> Breasted, "Memorandum On Oriental Institute Hittite Researches." Note the different French attitude towards the O.I. in Syria, as compared to in Egypt.

<sup>137</sup> For more on this, see Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*.

presumed to be Biblical Calneh (or Kunulua), located in the valley of the Afrin River, west of Aleppo and a short distance north of the village of Rihanie (**Fig. 6.60**). A short while later, another mound—Tell Jedeidah or Biblical Aribua or Hazazi—was discovered in the same vicinity by the Institute’s Executive Secretary, Charles Breasted. Concession for the two mounds was granted in 1931, a modern-day cemetery atop the Calneh mound was cleared—supposedly with the approval of local villagers—and an acting field director, Richard A. Martin, was assigned the task of building an expedition-house: a one-story building in which the volumes are angled together, white walls are punctuated by windows, and the only ornamentation are Spanish-styled corner quoins (**Fig. 6.61**). In February 1932, a permanent director, M. Claude Prost, was appointed. Prost was also an employee of the Syrian government’s Department of Antiquities, which granted approval for him to work simultaneously for the Institute and the government. Excavation began on November 1, 1932, with the hopes of finding cuneiform tablets.<sup>138</sup>

### 6.5. Significance, Impact, Analysis

Although ranging widely in style from a reconstructed Achaemenid-era ruin in Persepolis to a new “Spanish-Colonial” construction in Luxor, the Institute’s individual expedition-houses form a coherent corpus of buildings, whose diverse aesthetic, consistent scientific credentials, and careful siting amongst ruins and geographic features were used by the Rockefeller team to propel forward the idea of an American-led internationalism grounded in theological modernism. Breasted, as we have seen, variously referred to these buildings as physical plants, laboratories, and outposts. The first two labels suggest practicality, rational methods, and science. The third

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<sup>138</sup> This information on Calneh is taken from Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 87-89, 306-309.

term, meanwhile, evokes structures that mark their builders' ability to negotiate tough frontiers—both political and physical. In this section, I examine these conceptions of the buildings in the context of Rockefeller's aim to return Christianity to the Orient, where he sought to put it on a solid scientific basis and turn it into a strong foundation for a modern internationalism. I analyze how the details and meaning of this re-Orientation of Christianity are materialized in the architectural and urban-spatial layouts of the dig-houses, and in their presentation as physical plants, scientific laboratories, and luxurious outposts.

I also look at how Breasted and Rockefeller leveraged these buildings' diverse aesthetics and their consistent site specificity to elevate America's scientific mission, economic and spiritual vigor, and internationalist aims above those of Europe's financially-strapped and imperial archaeological institutions and governing bodies in the Middle East. To further distinguish America from Europe, the Rockefeller team used the O.I.'s expedition-houses—and the interpretation of archaeological narratives that happened in and through them—to link America's religious, moral, and social values to the revered ancient civilizations and ruins of the Middle East: a classic imperial strategy. Linking America to the ancient civilizations also necessitated blocking any claims that the Middle East's modern inhabitants and nationalists were trying to make for these same civilizations and ruins. Again, each of these complicated moves is manifested in and explained by the Rockefeller team's expedition-houses, and these structures' architecture and their interaction with their larger sites.

### **6.5.1. Showcasing American Science, Goodwill, and Spiritual Vigor**

The expedition-houses showcased the Oriental Institute's superior financial resources and helped position and present the organization as a leader in the study of Near Eastern civilizations.



Around 1930, at the height of its activities, the O.I. maintained thirteen expeditions and associated expedition-houses—in varying degrees of luxury—traversing the region from Egypt to the Persian Gulf. Although other foreign archaeological organizations also maintained expeditions and dig-houses in the Middle East between the two World Wars, none could manage the regional comprehensiveness, scientific credentials, and architectural visibility of the Institute, because none were backed by the economic strength of the Rockefeller network. Hampered by their institutions' and patrons' financial limitations, the accommodations and work places of European archaeologists, in particular, could not compare with the Institute's dig-houses. Morgan and Eddisford have described, for example, the various accommodations in Egypt of the famous British archaeologist Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), who first lived in a large but monastically furnished room in a Pharaonic tomb infested with fleas and rodents and, later, in a “ramshackle” building. In comparison, here is an account of life in the Institute's Tell Asmar expedition-house, only a couple of decades later:

One whole wing was given over to common rooms, a living room and a dining room. Our routine when we came back dusty and tired after the day's work on the dig was to get into a hot bath to relax, have a drink, change into fresh clothes and join the others for cocktails in the living room. This was a large attractive room with a fireplace, easy chairs, a good gramophone and a small side table that served as a cocktail bar... For festive occasions like Christmas and New Year's we would dress for dinner in tuxedo and black tie. At the dinner table our servants would stand behind our chairs, removing empty plates and bringing new ones.<sup>139</sup>

The O.I.'s success shows the amount of political goodwill that American institutions could draw upon at this time. We know from communications between the O.I. and the United States' State Department that actors in the Middle East were watching the Institute's performance

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<sup>139</sup> Thorkild Jacobsen, “Crusading to the Past,” *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 133 (1992), 7, quoted in Eddisford and Morgan, “Dig Houses, Dwelling, and Knowledge Production in Archaeology,” 173.

carefully, as a gauge of American competence, ability, and commitment to their projects.<sup>140</sup>

Relatedly, we have seen that local Middle Eastern leaders, along with American diplomats and millionaires and well-known European travelers and writers, visited the expedition-houses, where they observed and marveled at American expertise and luxury. The so-called Fertile Crescent had, it would seem, proven to be a particularly fecund site for the intellectual and ideological goals of Protestant Modernism and an American-led internationalism. These buildings likely signified many things to their audiences. For example, they may have been seen or understood as a visible reminder of the purportedly peaceful presence of Americans in the Arab world, in contrast to the clearer colonial and imperial presence of British and French institutions.

### **6.5.2. The Institute's Scientific Credentials and the Re-Orientation of Christianity**

They were also intended as signs of American material and techno-scientific prowess, which the Arab, Turkish, Egyptian, and Persian governments and nationalists aspired to. The superior facilities provided in the Institute's expedition-houses, the sheer quantity of these structures, their historical scope (in terms of the civilizations they studied), and their territorial distribution provided a clear indication to local (and European) audiences in the Middle East of the Institute's impressive ability to put together a massive infrastructure from the ground up, hire personnel (archaeologists, assistants, and laborers), bring resources (water) to inhospitable sites, fight disease (malaria), relocate villages, and so on—all in the name of science and modernity.

Another audience for this effort, however, were Americans themselves, including the Rockefeller network. Breasted often leveraged the houses to ask for additional favors from the

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<sup>140</sup> See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*.

network for various projects and expeditions. He emphasized the houses' beauty, but also their role in science. At one point, writing to an officer of the Rockefeller network regarding the dire need for a museum in Iraq (which was never built), Breasted wrote that countless antiquities were being recovered by archaeological work but that many were prone to start perishing, as soon as they were out of the ground and before they could be delivered into the "hands of science," because of inadequate storage and preservation facilities.<sup>141</sup> Breasted envisioned the museums and expedition-houses as crucial sites where artifacts unearthed from the soil of the Fertile Crescent could be safely delivered to American scientists, bypassing entirely the "inadequate" local institutions and the vagaries of the natural environment.

Representing these structures as laboratories, he appealed to both the Rockefeller network's interest in science and the Middle East's interest in modernity. At the time, laboratories were becoming well-respected spaces of innovation, precision, and knowledge, both within American society (particularly the Rockefeller circle) and abroad.<sup>142</sup> Raymond Fosdick, as I have shown, even argued that if the "rational" methods of the laboratory were applied to humans, they could have a civilizing potential. And we know that as early as 1919—a decade before the Institute embarked upon a major construction program—Breasted had already envisioned a network of expedition-houses, whose function he compared to that of observatories.<sup>143</sup>

A clue to understanding the significance of this comparison may be found in a *New York Times* obituary on George Ellery Hale (an astronomer and close friend of Breasted's), in which the writer noted the unique achievement of the spectroheliograph, which Hale had invented: "It

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<sup>141</sup> Breasted to Edward Capps, December 21, 1929, Folder RF 1929, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>142</sup> For more on America's fascination with laboratories, see Hughes, *American Genesis*.

<sup>143</sup> Breasted imagined these houses as archaeological laboratories, akin to the observatories of astronomers. Without the strategically located observatory, as Breasted argued in many correspondences with the Rockefeller network, the astronomer would not be able to observe the skies, collect data, and carry out precise calculations; similarly, the archaeologist would need a fully equipped expedition-house near his or her excavation site, which could then

was almost as if the sun, 93,000,000 miles distant, had been brought into the terrestrial laboratory.”<sup>144</sup> The sentence is powerful because it suggests an ability and ambition not only to collapse or telescope enormous physical distance, but to also metaphorically bring something as big and uncontainable as the sun into a man-made space, where it could then be systematically studied and perhaps even controlled. I argue that the Rockefeller network and the O.I. displayed similar hubris: they tried to bring complex and “unknowable” entities and tasks (God, Christianity, and the making of the perfect human) into their terrestrial laboratories. Breasted also brought the Biblical lands and ancient civilizations alive on American soil—and in American minds—through photography, scientific exploration, and the impressive (and technically complicated) transportation of ancient artifacts from the Middle East to America. The expedition-houses were a central piece of equipment in these techno-scientific feats. This infrastructure was both technologically and aesthetically well-appointed, with the large spacious work rooms, studios, and dark rooms presenting an aesthetic of plush technical efficiency.

### **6.5.3. Architectural Universalism**

What vision of brotherhood is apparent in the Rockefeller team’s scientific assertions, their manner of returning Christianity to the Orient, and especially their architectural and urban-spatial strategy for the dig-houses?<sup>145</sup> The team’s architectural strategy shows the same tension between

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become a center for collecting historical data related to the evolution of human civilization.

<sup>144</sup> See clipping “George Ellery Hale,” *New York Times*, February, 1938, Folder Clippings, Box GEH-JHB, OIA.

<sup>145</sup> There are many lines of enquiry that can be followed with respect to the design and construction of the expedition-houses, which I will not pursue here but would like to briefly note. We can study, for example, how American expertise in architecture and construction is at times embedded in these houses, and what that might have meant for a wider audience or for the region’s building trades. The Institute’s buildings were primarily designed by American architects. (The Palestine Archaeological Museum is an exception; note also that Seton Lloyd—one of two architects of the Tell Asmar expedition-house—was British.) They were built, however, by regional labor and it is unclear to what extent these masons and craftsmen may have utilized local building technology and methods. So another study of the expedition-houses might look at the cross-fertilization of technologies, materials, know-how,

“particularism” and “universalism” that Zubovich attributes to the work and writings of Protestant theologians, who, in the same time period, tried to be sensitive to the particular conditions and needs in the Middle East, China, and other parts of the Orient, while continuing to strive towards a universal Christianity.<sup>146</sup> Although the Rockefeller team claimed to be sensitive to the local conditions of the lands they were working in (for e.g., the political wishes and techno-scientific needs of the people who lived there), if we look through the lens of the built environment, we see that they were selective in terms of *which* conditions they chose to address. For example, they responded positively to the Middle East’s ancient civilizations and the more recent Western imperial presence in the region but were less interested in the needs of modern Arabs, Turks, Egyptians, or Persians, ignoring their movements and calls for self-governance and

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and design sensibilities between Americans and Arabs, Turks, and Persians—as well as amongst the different countries in the Middle East at this time. Evidence for the transfer of knowledge and techniques from workers, builders, and engineers in the Middle East to America is not available—at least in the American archives. What is available, however, is evidence of a one-way transfer of technical know-how from American engineers to the Middle East. Apart from recruiting American architects to work in the Middle East, the O.I. also drew on the technical expertise of the Rockefeller Boards and officers and of Breasted’s own acquaintances and colleagues. In 1928, Breasted wrote to Hale regarding the necessity for earthquake design in the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Breasted to Hale, May 22, 1928, Folder 1928, Box GEH JHB Correspondence, OIA. Hale, in response, asked an engineer at the California Institute of Technology to send over all necessary data regarding earthquake construction that had been compiled at CIT with respect to construction in Japan and the United States. Hale to Breasted, June 18, 1928, Folder 1928, Box GEH-JHB, OIA. (The engineer’s last name was Martel.) Breasted later sent the information to Lord Plumer, the Governor-General of Palestine—and to the museum’s architect, Austen St. Barbe Harrison—and noted in a letter to Hale, “I have no doubt that this California experience will be incorporated in the new museum plans.” Breasted to Hale, June 22, 1928, Folder 1928, Box GEH-JHB, OIA. There is some evidence that this information was, in fact, incorporated, and that its incorporation contributed in some manner to the long timeline of the museum’s construction, but it would be interesting to also trace its subsequent impact on architecture and construction in the region. Chapter Five, for example, shows how the Rockefeller team’s design for the New Egyptian Museum was appropriated by Egyptian nationalists and used as a national style for a short period. The Oriental Institute’s officers also drew on the medical and scientific expertise of the Rockefeller Foundation for the eradication of malaria from excavation sites. We do not have detailed information regarding this, but, as I have shown previously, we know from the Institute’s correspondence and publications that malaria was a recurring problem on these sites because of poor water management practices by the adjacent villages. There were times when an entire expedition would be struck by the disease, especially if its members were housed in makeshift camps. The transition from temporary structures to proper buildings can be attributed, in part, to the problem of malaria. At Khorsabad, we have seen how the Institute’s officers used water management techniques to re-situate the existing village (see Section 6.4.3.) So one kind of enquiry into the design of the expedition-houses might look at the manner in which mosquito control affected the landscape and immediate environs of the expedition-houses.

<sup>146</sup> For more on the tension between particularism and universalism, see Zubovich, “The Protestant Search for ‘the Universal Christian Community’ between Decolonization and Communism,” 1.

independence in favor of an internationalism whose conditions and values would be determined by the needs, preferences, and ambitions of America and Christianity.

These ideological goals and maneuvers are distributed amongst two types of physical and aesthetic registers: architecture (in which the team shows a distinct preference for internationalism) and site (where they show a distinct preference for *selective* local conditions).

### ***Architecture***

Vernacular precisionism was not a meaningful concept for the Institute's architects and builders, who instead approached design with a kind of architectural universalism and confidence, producing at Luxor domes and arches, offering at Sakkara a casual modernity, inverting that at the Harem of Xerxes with a formal space, and creating at Tell Asmar a type of ranch (single-story, pitched roof, verandahs) crossed with a Mesopotamian structure (interior courtyards) (**Fig. 6.62**). While we can think of this diversity as eclecticism, it might be more useful to think of it instead as an *architectural* universalism: a relaxed and purposeful confusion of now and then, in which "local" realities of history were seen through an internationalist lens in which the specificity of ancient time and local place gets washed away, to be replaced instead by an American internationalism.

### ***Site***

The texture of this architectural universalism purposefully left out certain *present* vernacular environments and concerns (e.g., the erasure of villages), despite Protestant internationalism's claims of sensitivity towards local specificities, and took note instead of evidence in the landscape of *past* empires and ancient civilizations. The artificial severance with local place is reminiscent of what we have seen with Rockefeller's proposal for the New Egyptian Museum,

where the proposed building turned its back on to modern Cairo and faced the Pyramids instead. In fact, in the Fertile Crescent, given the Institute's active rewriting of the landscape (draining the land, relocating villages), perhaps we can think of the expedition-houses as responding to a context of their *own* making, choosing to ally themselves with ancient civilizations, reconstructing, expanding, building anew as needed, purposefully collapsing past and present in their buildings. Local sites, ruins, and people were rearranged and re-interpreted to put Christianity, American exceptionalism, and an American-led internationalism on firm evidentiary basis. The creative freedom with which the team approached the spatial and architectural treatment of the expedition-houses mirrors their scientific interpretation of archaeological evidence, which was similarly incorporated into a universal and creative narrative of American internationalism.

The expedition-houses (generally speaking) drew a great deal of their symbolic power from their dialogic relationship with the memories of past and present European expeditions in the vicinity—both archaeological expeditions as well as military and colonial expeditions—and from the ancient ruins, iconic events, and figures with which these expeditions engaged. To understand how this symbolism affected the Institute's expeditions and dig-houses, the reader only has to recall the tombs of Sakkara. Their original discovery by Auguste Mariette had launched French control of Egyptian archaeology. In Sakkara, as I have noted earlier, the O.I. at first intended to build their massive expedition-house near the now-ruined house from which Mariette started his career in Egyptology. The aesthetics of such competition and comparison are unmistakable. By building on sites that, due to their role in the history of Western archaeology and imperialism in the Middle East, have been singled out as sites of power, and by publicly focusing on "science," the Institute was presenting itself—and Protestant Internationalism—as a

kind of cultural heir of the Hittites, the Babylonians, Assyrians, and ancient Egyptians, and at the same time as a benevolent force of modernity in the region.

Elsewhere with the I-Houses I have noted that Rockefeller's intention was to show that internationalism was not a foreign concept, but instead grew from the soil of the country in which each house was built. Translating this into architecture, his team adopted a strategy of "blending in" by suggesting it was an attempt to show that scientific thinking and international cooperation were not foreign values, but instead grew from the soil, culture, and history of the country in which each project was built. Here, I would argue a slightly different but related line. These buildings were designed to harmonize with (but not necessarily disappear into) certain aspects of their immediate environment to show that an American institution and its technoscientific expertise and theopolitical ideology are natural contenders for the larger region. At Persepolis, the expedition-house is a reconstructed ruin. It does stand out in the larger site because of its completeness and relative newness, but it remains *of* the site. In Sakkara, although the house was impressive, it was submerged within a palm grove. In Luxor, it is quite striking, even though Breasted claimed that its "Spanish California" style allowed it to blend in with the existing vegetation and landscape. At Khorsabad, from the air, we can barely distinguish the dig-house from the larger archaeological site, landscape, and nearby village. At Tell Asmar, it does stand out in the desert, but is built of the local material. This strategy of "blending in" was not necessarily a sinister or wily method of camouflaging the infrastructure of Protestant internationalism: rather, it was an attempt at responding to particular needs, but it was not a foolproof strategy. As we saw in Chapter Five, the identification of a "vernacular" aesthetic could reveal the imperialism underlying Protestant internationalism.



#### 6.5.4. Representing America

Collapsing past and present, and frequently inhabiting the ancient ruins themselves, these expedition-houses are spaces through which the archaeologist mediates with the excavation site, as Morgan and Eddisford have stated: focusing specifically on how the production of archaeological knowledge may be shaped by the living environs of the archaeologist, the authors call these buildings “structuring structures.”<sup>147</sup> I would argue that the buildings also help the archaeologists—and their patron—structure or shape their political interactions with the local residents, visitors, and the state itself. What does it mean, for example, when American archaeologists are confidently ensconced within a reconstructed ruin whose historical significance is widely recognized by both their European colleagues and competitors, and by local state actors? Here, I am thinking specifically of the Institute’s Persepolis expedition, which received Reza Shah Pahlavi, Iran’s monarch, on at least two occasions. The former harem of Xerxes becomes, in these instances, a mediating space between American archaeologists and the Persian state, in which the former appear to be more dominant by virtue of their occupation of the space.

At the time there were few American institutions in the Middle East. American-owned buildings in the region—prior to archaeological dig-houses—were largely religious missions and schools and colleges, such as the Syrian Protestant College (now American University) in Beirut. The expedition-houses came to represent a different understanding of “America” abroad, helping to identify the country less with religion and *more* with science and progress. But while they are not *overtly* religious structures, if we look at them from the perspective of Rockefeller’s

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<sup>147</sup> Eddisford and Morgan, “Dig Houses, Dwelling, and Knowledge Production in Archaeology,” 169–93.

theopolitical beliefs, we can begin to think of them as buildings that investigate and verify religion—and as sites where religion becomes modern.

## 6.6. Chicago as Center

To observers, the expedition-houses might appear to have been divisions or branches of the Institute abroad, and Chicago might appear to have always been the ideological and physical locus of the Oriental Institute. Certainly, it is where the Institute's headquarters was built in 1931 (**Fig. 6.63**). But the organization's field expeditions, many of which began a few years before the headquarters was completed, crucially shored up financial support for the entire enterprise through their success—and thus also for the construction of its main administrative center. The eventual construction of the headquarters in Chicago, and the installation of ancient artifacts within it, marks a purposeful attempt at reversing the original relationship between the United States and the Middle East in the Institute's work, in which the Middle East had been the center of Biblical, imperial, intellectual, and scientific imagination. Chicago was now being posited as the central laboratory and a showcase for the Institute's archaeological success in the periphery. This section examines both the metaphoric and structural construction of Chicago as center.

When the Institute was first launched, its operations were managed from the Haskell Oriental Museum, where the University of Chicago's Department of Semitic Languages—a precursor for the O.I.—had moved in 1896 (**Fig. 6.64**). This building also housed a small collection of ancient Near Eastern artifacts and some plaster cast reproductions: before Rockefeller joined the project, the Institute could not engage in substantial collecting activities. Eventually, however, driven by the ambitions of its Director and powered by Rockefeller money, the O.I. outgrew the space and facilities of the Haskell building. Breasted, taking advantage of

Rockefeller's triumphant trip to the Middle East, successfully lobbied him for financial support for the construction of a new dedicated headquarters. The new building, designed by the architectural firm of Mayers, Murray & Phillip, was dressed in an eclectic Art Deco and Gothic style, which allowed it to fit nominally into the larger University of Chicago campus.<sup>148</sup> But in contrast to its older and more traditional surroundings, the building featured a more modern take on the Gothic, as well as the discernible influence of Egyptomania in its interior decoration and on its facade (**Fig. 6.65-6.66**).<sup>149</sup>

In terms of the immediate site, as mentioned in Chapter Three, the headquarters was erected on the Chapel Block, next to the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, on a site formerly reserved for YMCA and YWCA houses (**Fig. 6.67**). It is not clear from archival evidence why the Houses were never built. However, the displacement of proposed buildings associated with an orthodox and evangelical organization by an institution that advocated instead a close—and indeed, necessary or essential—relationship between religion and science, is consistent with Rockefeller's financial and architectural authorship on many of his other projects, including the International Student House in New York.

Below, I will focus my examination of the building's *ideological* construction through an aesthetic and structural analysis of two “ornamental” elements: the first element is a massive

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<sup>148</sup> As the successor firm to Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's famous architectural practice, the firm of Mayers, Murray & Phillip was perhaps a natural choice for the design of the Oriental Institute Museum. Goodhue had been the designer of the nearby Rockefeller Memorial Chapel. After his death in 1924, his practice was renamed Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue Associates, and, under the direction of its principals, Francis L. S. Mayers, Oscar Harold Murray, and Hardie Phillip, it proceeded to complete many of Goodhue's outstanding projects. In 1931, the principals changed the firm's name again, this time to assert their position within it. Mayers, Murray & Phillip built private residences and churches in New York City—where they were officially based—and in New York State and the rest of the country.

<sup>149</sup> The building eschews the more conventional elements of Egyptomania, such as hieroglyphics or lotus capitals on columns, but it does have an Art Deco inspired interior (including the gates to the museum space). Furthermore, an obsession with the ancient Near East is also evident in the subjects and style of the tympanum, as we will see later.

ancient stone bull installed inside the museum; the second, a tympanum above the entrance to the building.

### **6.6.1. “Sargon’s Bull”**

As we have seen, in his correspondence with Rockefeller officers and in his published writings, Breasted had repeatedly asserted that the acquisition of museum objects was not a central goal of the Institute’s work in the Middle East. Yet most of the ground floor of the new three-story building was given over to an exhibition hall for the Institute’s archaeological finds (**Fig. 6.68**). And Breasted’s reconnaissance trip through the Middle East between 1919 and 1920 was in part designed to acquire ancient objects that had come on the market due to the upheaval of the First World War: as we have seen, these purchases or acquisitions were not always above board. Moreover, in his personal letters to Hale, and to the Oriental Institute’s Directors and officers in the field, Breasted was quite frank about the need to acquire archaeological items—though this was never put forward as the only objective of the Institute.<sup>150</sup> In the context of this evidence, it is unsurprising, then, that many of the archaeological objects that eventually found their way from the Institute’s field expeditions to Chicago—and that were so prominently installed in the exhibition hall—were in fact specially unearthed for this purpose and were not accidental finds. As we will see below, in addition to the scholarly or financial construction that we have been talking about in this chapter, the expeditions and their archaeological discoveries also played a role in constructing the actual physical fabric of the O.I.’s headquarters.

In 1929, the first Director of the Iraq Expedition, Dr. Edward Chiera, discovered four Assyrian *lamassus* (human-headed bulls) at Khorsabad, in the throne room of Sargon II’s palace.

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<sup>150</sup> Whatever Breasted’s personal or public convictions about the acquisition of archaeological finds, he understood the attractiveness of ancient artifacts for patrons and collectors.

Of the four, only one bull was in a passably intact condition. Apparently, it had survived because it broke apart into four large pieces and fell face down into the soft rubble of ancient bricks. Other falling bricks covered it, effectively protecting it for millennia (**Fig. 6.69**). Chiera shipped these pieces to Chicago, where they were re-assembled to represent the original bull and installed on the main axis of the Exhibition Hall (**Fig. 6.70**).

At least, this is the official story. But from an essay penned by Delougaz, a member of the Khorsabad expedition, it would appear that the winged bull was not merely discovered in the regular course of work at the site.<sup>151</sup> In 1929, as the Oriental Institute building was nearing completion, Breasted expressed hope that the expedition might discover a bull amongst the archaeological ruins that could then be housed in the new museum in Chicago. (By this time, all major museums of the world held at least one *lamassu*, which served to represent these institution's accomplishments in Near Eastern archaeology.) Breasted and the expedition's members had some evidentiary basis for expecting to find such a bull. Historic documents from previous archaeological expeditions, and the O.I.'s own present records, suggested the availability of such pieces in Khorsabad as well as their possible locations.

Chiera and the Khorsabad team actively went on the hunt for a bull. At first, they were discouraged by the mere discovery of scattered fragments, but eventually at the end of the season they discovered the body of a bull from hooves to knees. In the hopes of finding the rest of the body, the men proceeded to clear the immediate area and discovered the first of the bull's large fragments:

Clearing the sides of the break [of the new fragment] showed first that it may fit the break on the supper [sic] surface of the colossal knees, and further along the edge of the slab we were soon

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<sup>151</sup> P. P. Delougaz, "The New Colossus," 1929, Folder 1, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.

able to recognize first the curls of the beard and then the side of a colossal face. m [sic] Lying there, with its face down, was the body of a colossal bull that slipped off its front knees.<sup>152</sup>

In May, Breasted began to push Rockefeller to arrange for the transportation of these pieces and other archaeological finds to Chicago. He was in a hurry because the rapidly-lowering waters of the Tigris River presented a potential obstacle to the fragments' transportation by water to the relevant ports, from where they could be shipped out to Chicago.

Aside from photographs, official details of the bull's transportation are difficult to find in the archives, but news stories are plentiful in the press—although it is unclear if, maybe, these accounts have been exaggerated for effect. Nevertheless, the reporting style suggests what the discovery and transportation of this bull signaled to American and foreign observers: namely, the technological and financial capabilities of the Oriental Institute. The *Jackson Michigan Tribune* wrote that the bull had been hauled over the desert on a cart made of cannon wheels, and on railroad rails that had been abandoned by the Germans after the First World War (perhaps remnants of the Baghdad-Berlin Railroad.) It also claimed that Delougaz, who was responsible for the *lamassu*'s transportation at the end of the 1929 Spring digging season, had chopped the bull into three pieces for ease of handling. (Delougaz, meanwhile, maintained that the bull was found broken in pieces to begin with.) The *Tribune* also describes how these pieces were loaded onto a Tigris River barge and the “bottom of the boat nearly fell out” (**Fig. 6.71**).<sup>153</sup> Back in the U.S., the three fragments were apparently too large to fit the railroad tunnels that led to Chicago

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> *Jackson Michigan Tribune*, December 5, 1931, “Bad Bull of Bulbul Finally Placed Where Its 40 Tons Will Cease to Cause Grief for Man Who Located It,” Folder 3, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.

from New York (where they had first entered the U.S), so the bull had to be transported by way of Canada and New Orleans, “so that its ears wouldn’t be nicked off enroute [sic].”<sup>154</sup>

When the *lamassu* arrived in Chicago, the new building had not yet been completed, and the bull had to be stored—along with other archaeological fragments—in the University of Chicago’s main athletic grounds for three years. At this point the archival documentation goes up a notch and shows that eventually the bull was moved out of the field and installed in the new building. The bull’s installation directly impacted the building’s structural and architectural design, and its construction schedule. A large portion of the east wall had been left un-bricked to provide an entryway for the large fragments (**Fig. 6.72-6.73**). Once inside, these pieces were assembled into place, and the building was then closed up (**Fig. 6.74**). Through plans, we can see that the final resting place of the bull juts out slightly to the north from the line of the rest of the building. This jog reflects the structural accommodations that were made to carry the bull’s weight. The slightly protruding portion of the building was built out on a separate and stronger foundation than the rest of museum, effectively acting as its own building.<sup>155</sup>

The publicity generated by the Bull’s arduous journey down the Tigris and across the ocean, its arrival on American shores, and the circuitous route it took through Canada and New Orleans, is reminiscent of celebrations surrounding the removal of other feted archaeological monuments from the Middle East and their passage to Western museums, cityscapes, and parks. Much has been written about Egypt’s obelisks, sphinxes, and other monuments in this regard.<sup>156</sup> Another famous example is the removal of a *lamassu* from Nineveh to the British Museum in

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<sup>154</sup> Fredrick C. Othman, “Bulbous Bull is Tethered Permanently,” *Du Bois PA Courier*, December 11, 1931, Folder 3, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.

<sup>155</sup> Although some articles suggest that original plans had not called for the extension to be on a separate foundation; rather, when the building was nearly finished, the architects realized that “Sargon’s pet” would need additional structural reinforcements, so they threw in extra steel girders to achieve this. See *ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> See for example, Brian A. Curran et al., *Obelisk: A History*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2009).

1851. This work was supervised by British archaeologist and excavator of Nimrud and Nineveh, Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894), who included an etching of the *lamassu*'s transportation in his book, *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh* (Fig. 6.75).<sup>157</sup> Such images, which show Arab onlookers standing by in stunned admiration, celebrate the technological and physical prowess of Western archaeologists and institutions at the expense of those who lived in the region. Similar to Layard, Breasted's photographs from the Institute's various expeditions and missions consistently juxtapose listless local onlookers, diggers and assistants against members of his own expedition, who are shown engaged in important, active scientific work. Even the Chicago Bull's physical and structural incorporation into the Oriental Institute Museum is part of a long lineage of projects in which archaeological fragments are built heroically and suggestively into the walls of western museums.<sup>158</sup>

In each of these instances of removal, transportation, and re-installation in a Western building, there is a transfer not only of the object but also of the power and myth associated with it to its new location. The latter transfer is effectuated through the writings of the archaeologists and museums who do the removing, and through the images they choose to circulate.<sup>159</sup> In Chicago, the engineering feat and the money involved in hauling the massive bull, its transportation, and its installation in a building that was structurally bolstered to accept and support such an object is a purposeful declaration of the symbolic transfer of power from one place to another—and of the “center” from the Middle East to Chicago.

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<sup>157</sup> Austen Henry Layard, *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh* (London, J. Murray, 1851), <http://archive.org/details/apopularaccount02layagoog>.

<sup>158</sup> For examples of the incorporation of archaeological fragments into the very structure of Western museums, see for example T. J. Barringer and Tom Flynn, ed., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>159</sup> Bernhardsson refers to this phenomenon in his discussion of the twin themes of archaeological “recovery” and “removal.” See Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*.



My point with all this is to show how the acquisition, transportation, and installation of the bull—and the publicity around it—was a self-conscious act. It could not have been otherwise. Breasted and Rockefeller were hugely knowledgeable about the Institute's place within the long history of western archaeological expeditions to the Middle East, and its unprecedented success. They—and at this point everyone else involved in the project or an audience to it—were also aware that the possession of antiquity, its careful handling, and the technical prowess demonstrated by uprooting artifacts from the Middle East and installing them in the West, served a political purpose. It acted as proxy for American power and influence, and for its scientific and cultural superiority. Essentially, it made the case for the United States as inheritor of these ancient civilizations and, perhaps, of the modern lands and their resources (such as oil). It also bolstered the central conceit or idea at the heart of Protestant internationalism: the United States, due to its exceptional scientific and spiritual qualities, should lead the world.

The language surrounding the bull's transportation was replete with oriental imagery and puns—all the better to create a sharp distinction between scientific Americans and astonished locals—and with a sense of marvel at this feat. On December 14, 1931, around the time the new building was inaugurated, *TIME Magazine* put Breasted on the cover and—in a passage replete with politically incorrect imagery—wrote about the importance of Sargon's Bull:

No great number of Chicagoans, even of the select 300 who attended the Oriental Institute's opening, could begin to comprehend the myriad minute implications of the million-&-one mummies, skeletons, sculptures, potteries, cuneiform tablets and other miscellaneous objects with which the new building was nearly packed. Yet even an early Swift or Cudahy would have understood and taken solid satisfaction from Dr. Breasted's prize exhibit — a monster, 40-ton stone bull, set up in the main (Egyptian) hall facing the big bronze gates. No U. S. bull was ever like this one, with magnificent wings, a beard, three sets of horns and five legs. But an unmistakable bull it is. Even as U. S. tycoons of a past generation put cast-iron animals on their lawns as symbols of wealth and security, so King Sargon II of Assyria had this stone bull—and another one just like it—placed at the gates of his palace 2,600 years ago to celebrate his conquests and, superstitiously, to ward off evil spirits. Dr. Breasted's sharp-bearded little

colleague, Dr. Edward Chiera, dug up both bulls two years ago at Khorsabad on the upper Tigris. The Iraq Government kept one but after much sweating & swearing, an expensive ocean carry, a perilous rail trip, Dr. Chiera got his bull to Chicago. He kept it out on a football field under tarpaulins until the new building was ready. Now, until Chicago decays and disappears and future diggers wonder if Sargon's Bull is a monument to the prehistoric Chicago stockyards, it will stand as a most tangible piece of archaeological evidence, an irrefutable argument for digging into humanity's past.<sup>160</sup>

Towards the end of this passage, in an accidentally apocalyptic vision of the world, *TIME* anticipates the end of the American civilization and presents the bull as possibly an artifact of this civilization—and of Chicago's infamous cattle stockyards (the Union Stockyard, most likely)—not of the ancient Assyrians or the Middle East. The bull, stripped of its superstitious religion, is now part of the evidence of the spiritual-scientific vigor of Protestant internationalism. The excerpt also suggests the anachronistic and geographical confusion that the Bull's removal to Chicago has caused. Its presence deepens the city's history by many millennia, giving it—and its stockyards—an artificial patina. The quote suggests the successful (and problematic) transfer of not only an artifact but also of what it is believed to represent: achievements in culture, politics, theology, and (in reference to the larger Middle East) an early internationalism.

The *lamassu* is one of several striking pieces that have been transported and installed in the museum's exhibition hall with great care and planning. Today, visitors to the Exhibition Hall can view a magnificent bull's head from Persepolis, carved out of dark gray limestone, as well as a seventeen-foot replica statue of Tutankhamun—the latter having been gifted to the Institute by Pierre Lacau (after his relations with the Institute had gradually improved), and installed in the building in September 1934 (**Fig. 6.76-6.80**).<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> "East Gone West," *Time Magazine*, December 14, 1931, p23.

<sup>161</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 113. Lacau's gift symbolized the improving relations between the Institute and

Finally, while the larger site of the former Chapel Block only holds the Institute's headquarters, the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, and, at some distance, the President's house, there had once been talk of putting in a dedicated Persian Museum adjacent to the Institute (**Fig. 6.81**). This museum would undoubtedly have held further precious archaeological artifacts. As we know, in January of 1933, the Institute had discovered two monumental ancient stairways at Persepolis. Breasted believed that the Institute's discovery could secure the construction of a new Persian Museum.<sup>162</sup> Architectural drawings in the archives show a proposed Persian Museum south of the Oriental Institute headquarters, but it was never built.<sup>163</sup> I could not locate further correspondence over the museum's conception and failure, nor find information on it in secondary literature, but its brief mention in the archive is still a noteworthy fact—one that reveals the extent of the Persepolis Expedition's success, what Breasted thought the discovery of artifacts there and at other sites could be worth, and further evidence of the metaphorical and literal construction of the Institute through these artifacts.<sup>164</sup>

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French authorities in Egypt, after a period of great animosity over the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute proposal.

<sup>162</sup> Breasted to Hale, January 16, 1933, Folder 1933, GEH-JHB, OIA. Breasted also wrote that although he had nearly exhausted the existing available funds for the Persepolis Expedition, he expected to be able to attract more money on the strength of these discoveries.

<sup>163</sup> Plan File 9, Drawer 12, Folder 23, "Proposed Persian Museum, The University of Chicago," SCRC. See also correspondence between Robert Hutchins, Harold Swift, and a Thomas E. Donnelley, where the three discuss Breasted's proposed museum: Donnelley to Hutchins and Swift, January 27, 1933, Folder 13, Box 168, The Harold H. Swift Papers, SCRC; Hutchins to Donnelley, January 30, 1933, Folder 13, Box 168, The Harold H. Swift Papers, SCRC. According to Donnelly, Breasted had told him that the "University is going to come into possession of some marvelous Persian antiquities and that he [Breasted] will have the material to make the most outstanding collection of Persian antiquities outside of Persia itself." With this in mind, Breasted apparently asked for a preliminary sketch from the chapel and museum architects for a building south or east of the Oriental Institute, with three exhibition halls, each about hundred feet long by forty feet wide.

<sup>164</sup> The Chapel Block appears to have been a contender for another "Iranian" building in later years: the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, or, the Iran Center. Drawings from 1969 show a geode-like modernist building located to the east of the Oriental Institute Museum. This building, too, was never erected. It was designed by the Chicago firm of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) and resembles another building of the same era designed by the same firm for the University of Chicago's satellite campus in west Chicago. Early funding for the Iran Center had been provided by the Shah of Iran, but additional money could not be raised for the project's construction, and the Shah's offer was rescinded. See drawings in Plan File 9, Drawer 15, Folder 3, SCRC.

Coming back to the main Chicago headquarters itself, Breasted wrote with pride about its design and construction, and many American and foreign newspapers and magazines celebrated the installation within it of important archaeological objects. This celebration of the Institute's ability to create a purposeful and appropriate setting for ancient objects may also be read as a critique against local or native archaeologists and inhabitants of the Middle East. Here is why: while the Rockefeller team conceptualized and presented Western archaeologists and patrons as scientific, objective, and knowledgeable about the ancient Near East, the modern-day inhabitants of the land were presented as ignorant about antiquity and aesthetically unsophisticated—both in comparison to their Western contemporaries and to the ancients, who were seen “to be quite distinct from and decidedly superior” to modern-day inhabitants of the region.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, as Goode notes, critics decried the destruction of ancient sites by natives and their appropriation and haphazard incorporation of archaeological remnants into native architecture:

At the turn of the century one archaeologist lamented the looting of an ancient church, writing that “the miserable Moslems of the present generation have simply destroyed the beautiful relics of antiquity to furnish material for putting together their hideous little hovels.” Almost forty years later, also in reference to the plain of Antioch, a publication of the Oriental Institute reported that “the scattered miserable villages in this plain today, with their incredible reed hovels[,] . . . are in striking contrast to the numerous stately city-mounds—the material of ancient civilizations—which are characteristic of the present landscape.”<sup>166</sup>

Breasted took pains to ensure that the experience of the exhibition hall, including the atmosphere surrounding its official opening ceremony, evoked an aesthetic that would befit these objects and recall their original settings. A photograph commemorating the dedication ceremony

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<sup>165</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 12. The enthusiastic and positive publicity surrounding the O.I. headquarters, by comparison, helped underscore the fact that Breasted and his patrons had the means and wherewithal to create an appropriate setting for the incorporation of these monuments. Extrapolating from this point to a case for the legitimacy of the Institute's presence in the Middle East (and its possession of these finds) was an easy task.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

of the hall and building captures the moment before Breasted unlocked the bronze Art Deco gates (embellished with Egyptian and Assyrian motifs) to the exhibition hall, under the gaze of Raymond Fosdick (Rockefeller's representative), Hutchins (the University of Chicago's President), and John H. Finley (then-associate editor of *The New York Times* and President of the American Geographical Society). The photograph is reminiscent of descriptions of the opening and viewing of Tutankhamun's tomb in the presence of important officials, and the first glimpse of solid gold coffins and other precious objects therein **Fig. (6.82-6.83)**.<sup>167</sup>

### 6.6.2. Tympanum

The scientific, theopolitical and ideological feats made possible by Rockefeller's support for the Oriental Institute are also inscribed on the very surface of the institution's headquarters, in the tympanum above the main entrance (**Fig. 6.84**). This ornamental display was designed by sculptor Ulric Henry Ellerhusen, who had earlier worked on the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel. Breasted collaborated closely with Ellerhusen on this piece's design, even instructing him on how the animals on either side should be posed and sculpted. Breasted described the final tableau of objects, buildings, and figures as one that was "intended to suggest the transition of civilization from the ancient Orient to the West," and in this sense the scene recalls other depictions of either the discovery of civilizations or "civilizational handoffs" in art history, such as Picot Francois Edouard's *Study and Genius Unveiling Ancient Egypt to Greece* (an 1827 painting on the ceiling of the Louvre Museum), or the depiction of Napoleon Bonaparte on the

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<sup>167</sup> The presence of Rockefeller's right-hand man (Fosdick) and of the associate editor of the *New York Times*, one of the nation's largest papers, suggest the importance of this moment. These two men also gave speeches at the inauguration ceremony.

frontispiece of *Description de l'Égypte*, where he is shown “returning” arts and sciences to Egypt (Fig. 6.85-6.86).<sup>168</sup>

In the tympanum at the Oriental Institute Museum, the figure on the left, bearing writing implements on his back, represents ancient Egypt and other major civilizations of the Near East. The young man on the right symbolizes the West, and holds a hieroglyphic tablet that reads, “... We behold thy beauty,” which—given the evidence of the O.I.’s career and Breasted’s scholarship—I interpret as, “our ability to recognize your beauty makes us worthy heirs to it.” Important figures from the ancient Near East and the West line up respectively behind these two main figures. Behind the Western youth, for example, we see crusaders, soldiers and scientists—three kinds of explorers of the Middle East. Ancient ruins denoting the monuments of the East—such as the columns of Persepolis, the pyramids, and the Sphinx—are shown behind the Egyptian figure, whereas behind the Western man, we see the Parthenon, the Cathedral of Notre Dame and the Nebraska State Capital, which may have been the tallest building west of the Mississippi River at the time.<sup>169</sup> These latter monuments represent western art and architecture. Perhaps most tellingly, a bison, an animal found only in the North American continent, reclines at the foot of the young man. The bison (and the Nebraska State Capital) suggest that despite the inclusion of both European and American monuments in the right half of the tympanum, the man in the front is meant specifically to represent the U.S., and that the gift of civilization is being passed on to *him*, in particular.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> For the “transition of civilization” suggestion, see Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 103.

<sup>169</sup> See Charles Jones, “The Oriental Institute: Fragments for a History of an Institution: The Tympanum within the Arch on the Doorway to the Oriental Institute,” Accessed August 3, 2018. <http://oihistory.blogspot.com/2008/08/tympanum-within-arch-on-doorway-to.html>.

<sup>170</sup> See also Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt*, 100-101.

These architectural elements, human and beastly figures, and accoutrements of civilization span multiple geographies and time periods, from the ancient Near East to modern America. But the tympanum represents something even bigger: it represents an idea or a vision of the world where the material culture, intellectual production, and technological achievements of all these different groups of people could be incorporated into the contemporary theopolitical and scientific ambitions of a philanthropist and a scholar in a country that was much younger than any of the other empires represented. As Breasted noted in a lecture to graduating college students in 1920, the study of these civilizations helped in creating a “New Past”—i.e. a deeper history—for a new world power.<sup>171</sup>

The symbolism of the tympanum is also reminiscent of a mural in the dome of the U.S. Library of Congress executed by Edwin Blashfield and titled, *Evolution of Civilization* (c. 1896), which shows the civilizations and nations arranged in a circle, starting with the personification of Egypt, which represents “Written Records,” and ending with America, which represents “Science” (**Fig. 6.87**).<sup>172</sup> America is shown facing Egypt. If we imagine writing as an early innovation or technology, then perhaps it is fitting that the gift would be presented to—or rather, appropriated by—the new leader in innovation, science, and civilization: the United States.

In showing the progress of humans, and how it resulted in the arc and emergence of American civilization, the tympanum may also be read as a depiction of Protestant internationalism. Annabel Jane Wharton makes a distinction between Biblical archaeology and Breasted’s focus on the story of Western man.<sup>173</sup> But is the history of Western—specifically American—civilization inseparable from religion? The history of Western civilization, at least as

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<sup>171</sup> Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 316.

<sup>172</sup> See also Dawood, “Archaeological Ambassadors-at-Large and the Making of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (1919),” 11.

Rockefeller saw it (and conveyed to the O.I.), was a history of the emergence of a scientific *and* spiritual civilization. This view is reflected in one of Protestant Modernism's central beliefs: that God is immanent in science. Coming at it from another angle, while Breasted's scholarly interests did not entirely mesh with Biblical archaeology, he did adjust them to match Rockefeller's interest in a scientifically proven religion, and a religion that could be compatible with science. While delivering remarks at the opening ceremony of the Oriental Institute headquarters, Breasted went off-script to take to task fundamentalist theology. *Time Magazine* notes the following:

In his own speech Dr. Breasted interrupted an account of the Institute's work to take a rap at "old school theologians" whom he blamed for claiming that man's character was produced by divine inspiration. Bright eyes flashing earnestly behind his spectacles, he declared: "It was the outgrowth of man's own social experience. It sprang out of his own soul, and no outworn theological doctrine of inspiration, no conception of a spotlight of Divine Providence shining exclusively on Palestine, shall despoil man of this crowning glory of his life on earth, the discovery of Character."<sup>174</sup>

But the Institute was not outside of religious work: it not only helped turn religion scientific, it provided an American headquarters for the evidence of this "turn."

Despite Rockefeller's active decision-making on the architecture of other projects in his oeuvre, such as International House New York or Kykuit, there is no such evidence of his involvement in the design and construction of the Oriental Institute Headquarters—beyond his financial sponsorship of the project. But we do have an idea of his impression of the final building, and what he thought it symbolized. Rockefeller and Abby visited the building before it opened to the public, touring it with Breasted. They probably discussed its architectural merits at

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<sup>173</sup> Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, 33-45.

<sup>174</sup> "East Gone West," in *Time Magazine*, December 14, 1931.



length in person, but we have no evidence of the nature of this discussion. The only written record of his impressions is one that he provides himself, very briefly, in a letter to Breasted:

It was a great pleasure.... to have an opportunity of going over with you in its nearly finished state the beautiful new building of the Oriental Institute. We were pleased beyond expression at what we saw, and congratulate you heartily on what you have accomplished.<sup>175</sup>

Rockefeller continued that Breasted should be proud of, and satisfied with, the existing scope and scale of the Institute and its projects. He wrote that he imagined that Breasted probably felt some relief at the successful construction of the Headquarters, because it crystallized the success of the institution. For Rockefeller, the headquarters building marked the crowning moment of the Institute: an end to its long campaign for recognition and money, and the “closing” of the new American frontier in Near Eastern Studies. Actually, the construction of the headquarters building meant something else for Breasted than it did for Rockefeller. For the former, the Chicago Headquarters signaled an important peak in Near Eastern archaeology, but by no means the culmination of this project. Breasted believed that it could be the source of further expansion of the Oriental Institute’s work: just one of many “tent poles” in the *upward* trajectory of the Institute. Indeed, the Persepolis Expedition, arguably one of the Institute’s most successful ones, began while the Chicago building was being completed. Unfortunately for Breasted and the Institute, the two had stretched the Rockefeller network’s financial commitment too far; they also did not adequately grasp the political, cultural, and ideological changes that were afoot.

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<sup>175</sup> Rockefeller to Breasted, December 14, 1931, Folder JDR Jr. 1931, Box 1 (self-assigned number), OIA.

# 7

## **Lessons from the Periphery** The Next War Comes Crashing Around the Curve (1930-1940s)

In 1948, construction on the Mt. Palomar Observatory and “Man’s Biggest ‘Eye’” at Caltech was finally completed.<sup>1</sup> The project had been started by the International Education Board and eventually taken over by the Rockefeller Foundation. In his book on the construction of the observatory and telescope, Ronald Florence notes that the inauguration day was “bright and sunny,” and that the ceremony was attended by a thousand scientists and celebrities.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, there was a lot to celebrate. After twenty years, and despite significant technical issues and global crises, the project had finally been realized. Although it would require some fine-tuning, the telescope was the largest one ever built—a major techno-scientific achievement even for a philanthropic network that had made advancement in science one of its primary goals. *The New York Times* called it the “mightiest astronomical eye ever constructed by man for extending his power to explore the vastness of his cosmos”—a description that suggests a triumphant expansion of Rockefeller’s internationalism into a literal universalism (**Fig. 7.1a-b**).<sup>3</sup>

But in his capacity as representative of the Rockefeller Foundation, Raymond Fosdick

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<sup>1</sup> William L. Laurence, special to the *New York Times*, “MAN’S BIGGEST ‘EYE’ WILL BE DEDICATED; 200-Inch Mount Palomar Telescope, Not Finished, to Be Viewed by Scientists Today A NEW ‘LADDER OF LIGHT’ Giant Camera May Solve Many Cosmic Mysteries, Such as Expanding Universe,” *The New York Times*, June 3, 1948, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1948/06/03/archives/mans-biggest-eye-will-be-dedicated-200inch-mount-palomar-telescope.html>, Accessed March 1, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Florence, “Finishing Touches” in *The Perfect Machine*, 393.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence, “MAN’S BIGGEST ‘EYE’ WILL BE DEDICATED.”

delivered a speech in which he struck a dark, somber note.<sup>4</sup> Fosdick did acknowledge the project's achievement, but mostly he reflected on how and where science and the search for knowledge had gone wrong in the preceding decades:

Twenty years ago, when the 200-inch telescope project came up before our group in New York, one of the trustees raised an objection. It was in the form of a question—a question which finds an echo everywhere today. “What are we going to do with our new knowledge?” he asked. “Aren't we acquiring more knowledge than we can assimilate?” The shattering events of the last two decades have underscored the relevancy of his query. Knowledge and destruction have joined in a Grand Alliance that has made the history of our generation a history of deepening horror. ...

Today, in dedicating this telescope, we are face to face with the problem of the unpredictable consequences of knowledge. We cannot even guess what will come from this mighty instrument, or to what ends the fresh insights which we gain here will be employed. ...

There is a sense, of course, in which the problem we face is not new. ... But never before have his curiosity and ingenuity led him [man] within the space of a few years to weapons by which he could completely obliterate his own institutions and decimate the planet on which he lives.<sup>5</sup>

Fosdick's anxiety over the “unpredictable consequences” of the telescope, or any technology for that matter, was tied directly to the larger historic circumstances in which he found himself.

Because in that moment, in 1948, both Fosdick and Rockefeller knew firsthand that the years of scientific progress had been *interwar* years, and that the public claim of Rockefeller's massive internationalist project—i.e., “flagging the next war”—had, in fact, failed: the Second World War had come crashing “around the curve.”<sup>6</sup>

Focusing primarily on the 1920s and the early 1930s, I have examined how Rockefeller attempted to mobilize cultural, social, and scientific projects—and their architectural

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<sup>4</sup> Raymond Fosdick, “The Challenge of Knowledge,” in California Institute of Technology, “Dedication of the Palomar Observatory and the Hale Telescope,” 100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation, Accessed February 18, 2018, [https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset\\_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/dedication-of-the-palomar-observatory-and-the-hale-telescope](https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/dedication-of-the-palomar-observatory-and-the-hale-telescope).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-12.

<sup>6</sup> Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 395.

materialization—to create an internationalism that, while it recognized other nations, sought to manage and steer their politico-economic aspirations and ethical values through a world religion. Based on a modernist and ecumenical theology, this religion would be compatible with science, other religions, and the larger world, while simultaneously promoting the hegemony of American capitalism and Protestantism. In other words, Rockefeller sought to create an asymmetric internationalism. Having proven this, I now turn my attention to the trajectory and outcome of Rockefeller’s ideological program, and to the impact of its failures and relative successes (as evident in the architectural outcome of his projects).

As we saw, Rockefeller indicated his internationalist, theopolitical, and hegemonic goals in some of his early speeches, such as “Brotherhood of Men and Nations,” “The Christian Church—What of its Future?” (where he talked about the need for a united church), and the infamous “American Beauty Rose” talk, where he argued that certain business methods, such as consolidation of resources and elimination of weaker competition, could, like a well-pruned rose bush, bear bolder and bigger results: that is, these methods could achieve a stronger church and tighter interdenominational unity.<sup>7</sup> He reinforced these arguments by coming to the support of Harry Emerson Fosdick (who spoke up in defense of theological modernism and its scientific enthusiasm), by funding the IWM and ISRR, and by initiating cultural, intellectual, and architectural projects internationally.

As I have shown in Chapter One, Rockefeller’s private-philanthropic internationalism corresponded with and crucially shaped the internationalist efforts of missionaries, theologians, and church figures. In 1928, these men and women had selected Jerusalem as the site of the

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<sup>7</sup> See Rockefeller, *Brotherhood of Men and Nations*. For “The Christian Church—What of its Future?” see Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 205. As for the American Beauty Rose speech, as I have mentioned, it was actually called “Christianity in Business.” Rockefeller delivered it to the Brown University YMCA in 1902. See *Ibid.*, 130. For a detailed discussion of these speeches, see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

International Missionary Council's conference—a choice that is considered by some scholars to represent a growing awareness that Christianity, if it were to survive, had to be divested of its associations with the West and returned to the Orient.<sup>8</sup>

Earlier, in 1919, Rockefeller had created the Oriental Institute, under the directorship of James Henry Breasted, to re-present Biblical archaeology (carried out in the Middle East) as a scientific discipline and to thus affirm Christianity's place in a secular age. In addition to the Middle East's Biblical significance, Rockefeller was also drawn to its sensitive geopolitical reality, in which burgeoning nationalist movements conflicted with still-entrenched but financially weakened European empires, and he sought to structure and manage all of these within his alternate theopolitical matrix. This matrix inevitably needed an infrastructure to support it, and in 1929 Rockefeller launched a massive architectural campaign on behalf of the Institute. Coming on the heels of the Jerusalem conference, Rockefeller's commitment to the construction of technically efficient, scientifically sound, and handsome dig-houses and museums—in hard-to-access strategic sites throughout the Middle East—endorsed the conference's message on the need to re-Orient Christianity.

Rockefeller pursued internationalism through a few different routes. The O.I. represents one strand: cooperation in scientific-intellectual, knowledge-producing pursuits with emerging nations and entrenched empires in the Middle East. The International Houses, meanwhile, represent the social programming aspect of Rockefeller's internationalism. While they also had an intellectual component (many of the students housed in the I-Houses were in the United States to learn about the country's techno-scientific, educational, and economic model), primarily these spaces represented a social experiment that sought to bring together elite young men and women

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<sup>8</sup> Zubovich, "The Protestant Search for 'the Universal Christian Community' between Decolonization and Communism," 4.

from around the world and house them with American students under the same roof, based on the belief that better interpersonal relationships amongst future world leaders could solve global tensions. In the early days the project was particularly geared towards Chinese students, who represented another important region of the Orient. Again, the “brotherhood” pursued here by Rockefeller was not equitable, but rather advanced *America* as the model for foreign nations and Christianity as the basis of a world religion. The I-Houses’ success was predicated on a delicate balance that would be difficult to achieve: these institutions’ architectural and administrative conception was intended to mitigate the extremes of nationalism (thus opening up students’ minds to American political and economic ideas) while also ensuring that students would not be denationalized to the point of no return to their home countries. Gene Zubovich’s argument that the official church-led internationalist movements at this point aimed for both universalism and particularism is clearly also applicable to Rockefeller’s internationalism.<sup>9</sup>

But as Fosdick noted in 1948, despite these architectural, urban-spatial, and administrative maneuvers by Rockefeller and his advisors, the next war *did* come around the curve, and it was far more global and ate up more resources—and lives—than the Great War. For men of science and religion, like Rockefeller and Fosdick, the Second World War (1939-1945) was particularly horrific because it suggested how technology might be abused if scientific advances and knowledge were to fall into the “the wrong hands.” For Fosdick, as for Rockefeller, the right hands belonged to liberal factions of America, and the wrong hands belonged to the “old savage”—the nationalist at home and abroad.<sup>10</sup> Rockefeller’s internationalist projects were geared towards remaking the world’s elite in the image of America’s liberal elites, thwarting the attempts of nationalists to control knowledge production

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Fosdick, “The Old Savage at the Helm,” in *The Old Savage in the New Civilization*, 51-56.

and cultural artifacts, and creating a strong Christianity-based world religion that could provide moral and spiritual strength in these endeavors. The apparent failure of Rockefeller's internationalism was briefly evident in some of his early missteps, which at the time seemed peripheral to his larger philanthropic success: the failure to create a united church in America is one example; the Egyptian nationalists' rejection of Rockefeller's attempt to control Egyptology and create a cultural presence in Cairo is another.

This chapter concludes the dissertation by speculating on the failure of Rockefeller's ambitious, and remarkably hubristic, theopolitical agenda (averting the next war, aligning the world with American interests and beliefs) and strategy (using architecture and religion to do so). Having already examined the institutional launch of my two case studies, as well as examples of their architectural and urban-spatial strategies to achieve internationalism, I now turn briefly to their maturation and trajectory in the years leading up to the war. I describe the (limited) expansion of the I-House movement and the forced retrenchment of the Oriental Institute. If this attempt to ground internationalist efforts within a modern religion, elite audience, intellectual cooperation, and architecture failed, what took its place?

In Chapter Two, I described Rockefeller's larger oeuvre, which forms a constellation within which his concern for the "Orient" and the "International" must be understood. Here, I briefly revisit one of those projects—New York City's Rockefeller Center—to speculate on the shifts and changes in Rockefeller's internationalism, and to think about the war that it was unable to stop. The Rockefeller Center's design process extended over a long period: from the late 1920s (when Rockefeller was pursuing a large variety of architectural and cultural projects and interchurch unity) to the late 1930s, when he began to walk back his commitment to some of these projects. On one hand, as a private project, the Rockefeller Center allowed our protagonist

greater freedom to express the ambitions of his internationalism. On the other, as a project within his larger constellation, its design trajectory must inevitably reflect the concerns, recalibrations, and relative successes and failures of Rockefeller's internationalism.

### **7.1. Expansion of Internationalism: The Extension of the I-House Movement (1930-1936)**

In the early to mid 1930s, Rockefeller continued to privilege the strategies of social programming and cultural internationalism that were integral to International House New York, but he did have to curb his original vision of building centers in many major cities of the world. As Chapter Four has shown, in 1927, a few years after the successful launch of the New York I-House, Rockefeller formed a "Committee for the Extension of the International House Movement" to determine other cities where such an institution might be useful, appointing both Raymond Fosdick and Harry Edmonds to it. Rockefeller created the committee just before he became involved in the Rockefeller Center (1928-1939)—his biggest financial undertaking of the 1930s—and before the Stock Market Crash of 1929. So, economically speaking, in 1927 he had no reason to be anxious about the cost of extending the I-House movement. In fact, around this time we see a burst of philanthropic commitments from him. For example, in 1925 he launched the Cloisters Museum project in New York City with his purchase of medieval artifacts and architectural fragments, and in 1928 he formally announced his financial support for the reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg. Additionally, in 1927 he gave a gift of \$2 million to the League of Nations to encourage international intellectual cooperation and research. Finally, complicating his program of establishing brotherhood with other nations, between 1927 to 1933, Rockefeller also privately funded John B. Trevor's work on immigration restriction into the



United States: his silent but financially-enabling anti-immigration “philanthropy” shows that the hand of brotherhood would, ironically, be extended only to other elites, such as the foreign students at the I-House, not to those who came to the US to work at industrial jobs, and it was furthermore predicated on these privileged figures’ temporary stay in the US.<sup>11</sup>

### 7.1.1. Identification of Sites

In thinking about extending the I-House movement beyond New York, the Rockefeller-appointed Committee initially focused on the foreign student populations of Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago, but the idea of an I-House abroad was not out of the realm of possibilities: Edmonds, for example, had suggested Geneva—the home of the League—as a potential site.<sup>12</sup> In the end, the Rockefeller team stuck with Chicago, but replaced the other options with Berkeley and Paris.<sup>13</sup> These three cities were selected owing to their high concentration of foreign students as well as their strategic locations on, respectively, the American Midwest, Pacific Coast, and Western Europe. Chicago was a natural choice for a Rockefeller-financed project, given the family’s long association with the University of Chicago, next to which the I-House was built.<sup>14</sup> The Berkeley project was tasked with the promotion of friendly relations between Asia and the

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<sup>11</sup> For a refresher on John B. Trevor, see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

<sup>12</sup> Edmonds to Rockefeller, January 23, 1925, Folder 85, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR, RAC. Rockefeller to Fosdick, February 24, 1925, Folder 85, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR, RAC.

<sup>13</sup> While Philadelphia was a strong candidate, the project for an I-House there fell through largely because Edmonds went above and beyond Rockefeller’s directions, giving assurances to people in Philadelphia before Rockefeller was ready to commit. See Rockefeller to Edmonds, May 20, 1925, Folder 85, Box 12, RG III 2G, OMR, RAC. With regards to Philadelphia, note that a so-called “International House” had been created much earlier, in 1918, by the University of Pennsylvania Christian Association. But this appears to have been a lesser-known project with perhaps limited funds and scope. See Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 104. For more on the failed project in Boston/Cambridge, see Section 7.1.4. of this dissertation.

<sup>14</sup> Note that in 2016 the University of Chicago announced plans to temporarily convert the Chicago I-House into a dormitory for undergraduate students. They have claimed that they will revert to the I-House’s original function after a few years. See, Marwa Eltagouri, “Residents at U. of C. International House Fear Changes May Compromise Traditions,” *Chicago Tribune*, Accessed June 8, 2018, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-university-of-chicago-international-house-closing-met-20160131-story.html>.

United States, in a region where Americans were particularly xenophobic towards Asians. *La Maison Internationale* was the last I-House to be built.<sup>15</sup> It was inserted into an existing campus of foreign student residences called the *Cite Internationale Universitaire de Paris*.

### **7.1.2. Administration of Gift**

As we saw in Chapter Four, residents and businesses in Chicago and Berkeley were wary of the International House movement: in Berkeley, there were outright protests; in Chicago, the atmosphere was less contentious, perhaps because Rockefeller's father had been the university's founder.<sup>16</sup> In an attempt to counter or soften the public's resistance to their projects, the Rockefeller team made some strategic administrative decisions. At Berkeley, Rockefeller asked the University of California's President, Robert G. Sproul, to issue a formal letter of invitation so that the Rockefeller team would not appear to be imposing their will and ideology on Californians against the wishes of local leaders.<sup>17</sup> Although Allen Blaisdell—a resident and staff member from I-House New York—became Executive Director, Rockefeller also stipulated that the International House's Board of Directors comprise of internationally-minded men and women from California. He followed a similar strategy in Chicago. As he explained, with regards to the Chicago project, by selecting prominent citizens from the cities themselves, he

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<sup>15</sup> As I have noted elsewhere, there are many International Student Houses today in addition to the New York, Chicago, Paris, and Berkeley projects. These are from a later date, and Rockefeller was not involved in their construction.

<sup>16</sup> For the protests in Berkeley, see Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 100-102. For the situation in Chicago, see *Ibid.*, 102-103. Bu writes that the University of Chicago was more interested in the project, and that there was less conflict about it there, though there was some concern from local businesses that the I-House would compete with them in providing dining and residential services.

<sup>17</sup> For Rockefeller's desire to be formally invited to Berkeley, see for example Rockefeller to Fosdick, May 11, 1927, Folder 108, Box 17, RG III2G, OMR, RAC.

would be planting interest in the movement at a local level.<sup>18</sup> Only in doing so, he felt, could the movement truly take root. This strategy of desiring to appease and include local elites in the formulation of a project is different from the one of clear imposition that Rockefeller adopted in Egypt, in the case of the New Egyptian Museum.

### 7.1.3. Urban Interface, Architectural Specificity

As in New York, Rockefeller and his advisors chose urban sites for the Berkeley, Chicago, and Paris I-Houses that allowed these buildings to project internationalist and modernist goals to a large audience. But the Rockefeller team also tried to respond to the local context by determining an idealized vernacular style for each site, and by building the I-Houses in these styles.

#### *Berkeley*

International House Berkeley, the first of the three new student houses to be completed, was situated on Piedmont Avenue, a fashionable street next to the University of California campus (**Fig. 7.2-7.3**). The campus was laid out West to East, facing the Golden Gate. Piedmont Avenue, meanwhile, ran perpendicular to the campus, along its western edge. It was laid out in 1865 by Frederick Law Olmsted as a broad tree-lined curvilinear roadway that followed the topography of the land and provided strategic vistas—a relatively new concept in road design at the time.<sup>19</sup> The street was part of a larger campus plan Olmsted had drawn up at the request of the then College of California. He envisioned the Avenue as an upscale residential neighborhood that

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<sup>18</sup> Rockefeller wanted to generate interest amongst Chicagoans to, as Bu notes, “expand internationalism in the heartland of America, where isolationist sentiments had a strong appeal.” See Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 103.

<sup>19</sup> Historic American Landscapes Survey, “Piedmont Way & the Berkeley Property Tract, East of College Avenue between Dwight Way & U.C. Memorial Stadium, Berkeley, Alameda County, CA,” Documentation compiled after 2000, <http://loc.gov/pictures/item/ca3441/>, p1.

would help provide a respectable and influential cultural and social context for the university. By the time the International House was built there in 1930, the Avenue featured the California Memorial Stadium at its northern end and “architect-designed” houses elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

Piedmont Avenue was also lined with the University’s Greek chapters, all of which were segregated by race and gender. According to Edmonds, the International House was built in this particular spot to “strike” at the heart of racism.<sup>21</sup> Although the University itself agreed with Rockefeller’s mission, as I mentioned earlier there were protests from local residents and homeowners, who were opposed to the project’s mixing of genders and races.<sup>22</sup> But the project went ahead, and the I-House was built in a commanding position at the Southeast corner of campus, from where the land slopes down towards San Francisco Bay. Facing the Golden Gate, the building has a magnificent view of the water (**Fig. 7.4**).

The choice of a high topographic site recalls the “city upon the hill” idea that was so present in International House New York. Like so many other Rockefeller projects—such as the O.I.’s expedition-houses in the Middle East—some part of the “hill” was redesigned and evacuated of “inconvenient” buildings and people to make space, both literal and figurative, for American internationalism. The Berkeley I-House was larger than other residential buildings around it, and its construction necessitated the demolition and removal of these historic residences. But despite the significant urban changes that were made to accommodate the I-House, the Rockefeller team also attempted to pick a style (the Spanish-Colonial Revival) that they thought suited the region—one that would prevent the building from appearing to be a

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>21</sup> Mezirow et al., *Harry Edmonds*, 134.

<sup>22</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 101-102. As Bu writes, at this time there was no co-ed student housing west of Mississippi, and so the Rockefeller team’s proposal to house women and men together seemed outrageous to Berkeley residents. This feeling was further exacerbated by the proposed mixing of races in the I-House.

foreign object espousing a foreign ideology.

Writing to the University's President upon the project's completion, Rockefeller described his thinking behind the building and its site in strategic terms. Since he expressly wrote that his letter was intended to act as a statement of the project's aims for posterity, I present a substantial part of the text here:

The idea of the establishment of this institution on the Pacific Coast was suggested by the success of a similar one on the Atlantic Coast, in New York City, which has become well and favorably known throughout the world. Situated in a beautiful position on the high east shore of the Hudson River, carefully planned, and furnished and equipped with quiet dignity, the house has seemed to be uniquely adapted to its purpose. By bringing together in unfettered cooperation the educated young people of all lands, many of whom will in years to come be leaders in their several countries, and by giving them full opportunity for frank discussion on terms of equality, there is being performed... a service for the well-being of the world, the importance of which it is difficult to over-value. **International House is a laboratory for a new kind of experiment - the day to day practice of international fellowship among men and women.** Such a community of university students, representing all nations, living together beneath one roof, will further the case of peace throughout the world; for peace is the product of knowledge and understanding.

The situation in California resembles that of New York in this respect: that there is passing into metropolitan San Francisco, and into Berkeley especially, a large number of students from all lands; that living accommodations have been inadequate and difficult to obtain; and that the splendid location of the new International House in Berkeley, directly across the ... Golden Gate, through which pours so much of the world's commerce and travel, will provide both a community and an opportunity much fuller and richer than now obtains [emphasis mine].<sup>23</sup>

## *Chicago*

In Chicago, the I-House was located on a prime spot in the historic Hyde Park neighborhood surrounding the University of Chicago, where most foreign students were concentrated.<sup>24</sup> Here,

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<sup>23</sup> Rockefeller to Sproul, September 29, 1930, Folder 109, Box 17, OMR, RAC.

<sup>24</sup> Edmonds, "International House, Chicago," report submitted to the Committee on the Extension of International House, May 31, 1927, Folder 111, Box 17, OMR, RAC. A report prepared by Edmonds for the Extension Committee and for Rockefeller provides us with some key information regarding the project's conception. The

the Rockefeller team decided upon a site along the Midway Plaisance, which was deemed “most comparable to the New York and Berkeley properties.”<sup>25</sup> The Midway, “one-eighth of a mile wide,” connected Washington and Jackson Parks (**Fig. 7.5**). Along this parkway, the Rockefeller team picked the site of an existing hotel because of its close location to the University and to the electrified Illinois Central. The site was thrice the size of the New York property, but cost about the same. There was another reason for selecting this site. The University was concerned that if the owner of the hotel put it on the market, the cost of purchasing the site would require future buyers to put up a very tall hotel or co-op apartment building in order to fully recoup their investment. The University, meanwhile, wanted to maintain the existing low skyline along the Midway Plaisance.<sup>26</sup>

Edmonds described Midway Plaisance in exceptional terms as the “‘Champs Elysees’ of

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report presented the details of an investigation that Edmonds had carried out jointly with officials from the University of Chicago, including: Max Mason (President), Trevor Arnett (Trustee of University of Chicago, one-time member of the Rockefeller Foundation, and one-time President of the IEB), F. C. Woodward (Vice-President of University of Chicago), N. C. Plimpton (Auditor) and a Mr. Jackson, who is listed as consulting architect. The report stated that the city of Chicago had 750 foreign students, 450 of whom were enrolled in institutions on the South side of the city (which is also the location of the University of Chicago campus), 100 were enrolled at Northwestern University in the North and 50 were enrolled in professional schools in the West, with about 150 enrolled in places near mid-town. It was deemed that a site on the South side—where most foreign students were concentrated and which was accessible to students in other parts of Chicago owing to the presence of rapid transit lines—would be ideal.

<sup>25</sup> Edmonds had at first recommended the Grant Park area, which was south of the Midway. Trevor Arnett suggested a site north of Midway and east of the University: he argued that this would be more accessible to graduate students at the University and closer to public transportation. Edmonds agreed and wrote accordingly in his report: “A thorough canvass of the University of Chicago neighborhood leads one to conclude that a site on the Midway would be most comparable to the New York and Berkeley properties.” Edmonds, “International House, Chicago.” See also, Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 102-103.

<sup>26</sup> The University probably also wanted to maintain control over the demographic in the Hyde Park neighborhood. Rockefeller’s financial means made it possible to not only acquire this commanding site, but to also build a lower building there than would have been financially feasible for any other developer. The building’s low height (eight stories as opposed to International House’s twelve) was also in accordance with Edmonds’ opinion: he advised that a tall building (like the one in New York) “would not harmonize with the prevailing architecture of the university community.” Instead, the building in Chicago should be low and spread out on its site, taking full advantage of the available sunlight along its southern exposure. He also advised that it should have “charming courts and an ensemble in harmony with the beauty of the Midway and the architectural rhythm of the University.” For Edmonds’ remarks, See Edmonds, “International House, Chicago,” 9.

America [sic].”<sup>27</sup> Very likely, he was referring to the Midway’s role in the World’s Columbian Exposition, which heralded Chicago’s transformation into a global city.<sup>28</sup> Jackson Park—which abuts Lake Michigan—had hosted the Exposition’s “White City.” The Midway, meanwhile, had been the site of the Exposition’s former (and now-controversial) ethnic village (**Fig. 7.6**). The entrance to the White City and its formal Beaux-Arts buildings had been made up of this long, narrow parkway filled with attractions like belly dancing and the “Street in Cairo,” which reinforced Orientalist stereotypes (**Fig. 7.7**). Back in the 1890s, the University of Chicago’s campus was laid out near this same area. The University campus is just west of the former White City, north of the Plaisance. The exposition and the university campus even shared architects: the university’s main designer, Henry Ives Cobb, had also participated in the design and planning of the White City (**Fig. 7.8**).<sup>29</sup> In 1931, just one year after the I-House’s erection, the Oriental Institute’s headquarters was completed on the nearby Chapel Block: while the Institute’s headquarters faced the opposite direction from the Midway, the front of the Block faced the Midway at the exact spot that had previously hosted the Street in Cairo.

On this campus built with oil money, and near which were constructed Orientalist stereotypes that show up repeatedly in Rockefeller’s projects in the Middle East, International House Chicago was built. In addition to its location on the prominent parkway, the I-House’s site

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>28</sup> For the Exposition’s role in heralding Chicago as a global or “world city,” see Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America’s Global Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 100.

<sup>29</sup> Cobb had designed, for example, the Fisheries Building, which was one of the main structures in the White City. In the view of Rockefeller Sr.’s biographer Ron Chernow, who wrote about the Exposition’s proximity to the University of Chicago, Cobb’s role as architect or contributor for both sites helped to tie the University and White City together. It also helped tie Standard Oil to the university: from the top of the Ferris Wheel, located on Midway Plaisance, visitors to the Exposition could theoretically view the university campus that had been generated by the money of Standard Oil, a corporation whose pavilion was further included in the Mines and Mining Building in the White City. But apparently this is a connection that Rockefeller Sr. did not personally try to highlight. Chernow claims that Rockefeller was loathe to use the university to clean his image and his dealings at Standard Oil, and that he chose Chicago because its distance from New York’s Wall Street would help to cancel any such associations. Chernow, *Titan*, 323.

is notable because it is directly across from the Chicago Theological Seminary, on the opposite side of the Parkway. The Seminary was (and is) a liberal institution and the first higher education institution in Chicago. The grouping of I-House with this progressive theological seminary is reminiscent of New York, where the International House was paired with the Protestant Modernist Riverside Church, not too far from the very liberal Union Theological Seminary (**Fig. 7.9-7.11**).

### *Paris*

In Paris, by the time Rockefeller launched the I-House project between 1933 and 1936, the *Cité Universitaire* campus already featured nineteen national residences, each housing students from a specific country. Plans to build the larger campus had begun in 1920, as part of a pacifist movement to attract students once again to Paris after the First World War and apparently to create a neighborhood where they could be brought together to live in harmony (**Fig. 7.12**).<sup>30</sup> Basically, the idea behind the campus seems to have been the promotion of pacifism through cohabitation. But the houses acted instead to segregate students from each other.<sup>31</sup> Rockefeller's intervention in the campus acted as a social gathering space for all students—thirty thousand at the onset of the project—irrespective of their nationality.<sup>32</sup> Unlike his other I-Houses, this one did not have any residential function. Its central location on the campus may be read as an architectural rebuke to its neighbors' excessive nationalism. *La Maison Internationale* was formally inaugurated in 1936.

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<sup>30</sup> "History of Cité Internationale," Cité internationale universitaire de Paris, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.ciup.fr/en/home/>.

<sup>31</sup> On segregation within the Cité campus, see Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 393.

<sup>32</sup> See "Paris Cité Center, Rockefeller Gift, To Be Erected Soon," *New York Herald*, January 25, 1934, Request No. 20090013 407, Archives Nationale Site de Fontainebleau, France.



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In addition to their strategic urban sites, the architectural style of each I-House was also carefully chosen and calibrated to achieve optimum internationalism.

Completed in 1932, the Chicago I-house was designed in an Art Deco-Gothic style that was a more updated version of the University's Gothic-Revival campus. The architects were Chicago-based firm Holabird & Root, with the University's architect Emery B. Jackson acting as a consulting designer. The building included similar spatial provisions as International House New York: an auditorium, separate men's and women's wings, and a Bazaar. Since Holabird & Root were known for designing hotels, the I-House was featured in *The Hotel Monthly*, which claimed that the design team had studied cathedrals and other types of monumental architecture around the world as precedents for the new building—evidence for which I cannot find in the archives.<sup>33</sup> Regardless, in an insightful reading of the project's mission, the magazine has this to say about the ideological work done by the building's architecture:

Ideas were gleaned [from the study of Cathedrals and other monumental structures] that could be consistently incorporated in a polyglot habitation. The idea was just the opposite of what took place at the building of the Tower of Babel—the confusion of tongues and the scattering of the builders. Rather it was to bring to this house people of the world who spoke different languages, who, by living together in fellowship, would become familiar with one language that all could understand.<sup>34</sup>

The Paris I-House, meanwhile, refers back to a project *within* Rockefeller's philanthropic oeuvre while simultaneously recalling French history and architecture. Each national residence in the *Cité Universitaire* campus appears to be striving to epitomize the architectural essence of the

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<sup>33</sup> See "Chicago's International House," Reprinted from *The Hotel Monthly*, December 1932, Folder 113, Box 18, RG III2G, OMR, RAC. If *The Hotel Monthly's* claim is true, then the design process of the Chicago I-House was quite different from that of International House New York. In fact, it sounds similar to the design process for Riverside Church.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

country it represents. This has made for a diverse group of buildings, almost like a petting zoo of national styles as determined by a particular group of people at a given time (**Fig. 7.13-7.16**). *La Maison Internationale*, on the other hand, was not intended to represent America. Despite its American sponsor, it was proposed as a neutral building within a sea of national styles. The building, designed by American architect J. F. Larson under the supervision of Lucien Bechmann (the general architect of the campus) and William Welles Bosworth, was modeled on Château de Fontainebleau; Larson termed this Château an example of France's classical architecture (**Fig. 7.17-718**).<sup>35</sup> To me, this is an ingenious solution because the building's design references not only a French monument, but it also has an aesthetic connection to Rockefeller's philanthropic vision: through the French Restoration projects (1924-1936), Rockefeller interpreted France's history and architecture as shared world heritage. With *La Maison Internationale*, he used one aesthetic unit of this heritage (Fontainebleau) to create an internationalist space for the different nations of the world. The idea behind both projects was to build cooperation amongst nations, and to ensure that this cooperation would be directed by America and American Protestantism.

#### **7.1.4. War and Internationalism**

This outward movement of International Houses from New York to the rest of the country—and world—is similar to the YMCA's proliferation in an earlier period and appears to have tried to mimic its geographic range.<sup>36</sup> In America, the Association had spread to the West Coast, the Midwest, and the South—areas that acted as hinterlands for industries back in New York. YMCA leaders felt that these regions had to be knit into the Association's larger network. Eventually, the

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<sup>35</sup> See Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 393. See also "Histoire," Cité internationale universitaire de Paris, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.ciup.fr/maison-internationale/>.

<sup>36</sup> For the spread of YMCAs outwards from New York City, see Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, xvi. The first dedicated YMCA buildings, erected after the Civil War, were in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.

YMCA also made its way across the ocean into China, India, and the Middle East, where it similarly tried to mold the younger generation. As I argue in Chapter Four, the design and ideology of International Houses can be considered an innovation on the YMCA model, so it is unsurprising that Rockefeller also intended to copy—and improve upon—the latter’s geographic distribution. But we also saw how Rockefeller and his advisors had engineered a degree of administrative separation between the Associations and the I-Houses, so it is probably more accurate to say that Rockefeller envisioned a rival institutional network that would advance an ecumenical and internationalist vision (within certain limits).

But the Great Depression, along with the increasing militarism of the 1930s, forced Rockefeller to limit the geographic scope of the I-House movement.<sup>37</sup> Although he would build I-Houses in three other cities, he did not build the extended network of institutions originally envisioned. For example, Rockefeller had hoped to build an I-House in Boston. But although he purchased a site along the Charles River in 1932, close to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he had to sell it owing to a bleak economic outlook that had decreased the foreign student population in the area.<sup>38</sup> The withering economy and deteriorating global affairs also affected the personnel, student residents, and physical plants of the four I-Houses that *were* successfully built. Many foreign students could no longer afford to study in the United States. In New York, as the number of foreign students fell in the mid-30s, the number of American residents in the I-House had to be increased to offset the loss of income.<sup>39</sup> This demographic shift

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Eventually, each major city in the United States featured a YMCA building.

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion on the Depression’s and militarism’s role in the limits posed to the expansion of the I-House movement, see Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 104. Note that although Rockefeller was personally unable to match the number and distribution of I-Houses, there are now many institutions other than the original four that call themselves “International Houses” and that seek to emulate Rockefeller’s projects.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* Rockefeller sold the land to MIT.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 105-106. As the number of foreign students declined, more than half the rooms in the I-House had to be given over to Americans—whereas previously the latter only occupied a third of the available dormitory space.

led to a dramatic change from the more optimistic atmosphere of the 1920s, and was chronicled by foreign students in critical articles published in *International House Monthly*.<sup>40</sup> The student writers complained that their American housemates were no longer as inclusive and open-minded as they had been when they were in the minority.

When the next war did come around the curve, the I-Houses actually “became the handmaidens of war”: they were taken over by the US armed forces, who used these strategically sited and well-appointed buildings to accommodate troops and other military operations.<sup>41</sup> On July 1, 1943, the Berkeley I-House was taken over by the United States Navy and renamed Callaghan House (to honor a war hero).<sup>42</sup> The residents of the I-House—the foreign students who I argue had earlier been conceptualized as a new breed of foot-soldiers—were moved into four fraternity houses nearby to make room for actual soldiers, and the cost of this move was subsidized by the American Navy.<sup>43</sup> In a report submitted to Rockefeller in November of that year, President Sproul of the University of California tried to strike an optimistic note: he wrote that despite the Navy’s take-over of International House, foreign students continued to arrive on campus. To normalize the situation as much as possible—to show that the war was just a temporary hurdle on the path to internationalism—the I-House committee continued to carry out social events in alternate locations, even inviting Rockefeller’s son Nelson as an honored guest at

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 105-106.

<sup>41</sup> Report by Kathryn Close, Folder 133, Box 21, OMR, RAC.

<sup>42</sup> Sproul to Rockefeller, May 15, 1943, Folder 109, Box 17, RAC, OMR.

<sup>43</sup> The fraternity houses were collectively and temporarily renamed “International House Center” and housed 130 students. Meanwhile, 800 sailors moved into “Callaghan House.” Elsewhere, *La Maison Internationale* was first taken over by German troops during their occupation of Paris. After it was recovered by the Allies, the Information and Education Division of the Army Service Forces was housed there. The Director of this division was Frederick H. Osborn, now a Major General, who had helped create International House New York. Meanwhile, in Chicago, armed forces were putting pressure on the University of Chicago for space. In a report, Ernest B. Price noted that the I-House was called upon to house 75 officers, who were training to be meteorologists, but would probably need to house more later. He recommended limiting occupancy for armed forces to 200 only, and of keeping their use of social spaces to forty percent. Ultimately, however, the I-House was taken over completely by the Armed Forces. Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 105-108.

one of these.<sup>44</sup>

Despite this attempt at normalization, there *were* other casualties of war. At the State Department's request, the Director of the Chicago I-House resigned from his position in order to help in the war effort, joining the Office of the Coordinator of Information in 1942.<sup>45</sup>

Rockefeller's son David, one of the Trustees of the New York I-House, left his position for similar reasons. Meanwhile, as if to make a mockery of the inclusionary aims of the International House Movement, the American government evacuated Japanese students in the Berkeley I-House to internment camps.<sup>46</sup>

The quick and easy transition of these houses of peace into sites of America's military effort in a global war is unsettling. At the same time, if we think of the types of "soft" violence done by asymmetric internationalisms, then perhaps the functional change in the I-Houses does not appear so drastic.<sup>47</sup> While Rockefeller did not conceive of the I-Houses as physical plants

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<sup>44</sup> Sproul to Rockefeller, November 3, 1943, Folder 109, Box 17, OMR, RAC.

<sup>45</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 107.

<sup>46</sup> See I-House Berkeley, *The Visionaries: International Houses*, documentary, Accessed May 29, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zFnffhOoCPg>.

<sup>47</sup> I am thinking of a few different things here. First, the I-Houses gently but unmistakably pushed an American and Protestant Modernist agenda on to other students from different nationalities and religion. Second, I am thinking of the I-Houses' role in the gentrification of their larger neighborhood. In New York, during the Great Depression and Second World War, Morningside Heights showed signs of losing its status as a metaphorical—and elite—"city upon the hill." In the 1920s, residential apartment buildings had made their entry into the neighborhood. These buildings were relatively high end and featured large apartments. But during the Depression, owners and tenants could no longer pay the high rents and taxes on these places. During the Second World War, many more young men and women than usual began to arrive in the city for military work and other jobs. Owners of apartment buildings and houses in Morningside Heights began to split up the large apartments into smaller ones and also began to rent out individual rooms. The result was an increase in the neighborhood's population and a change in its demographic. Long-time residents and observers complained that the incoming residents were inappropriate in their sexual mores, but the real source of tension between the old-timers and the newcomers lay in the latter's racial and ethnic make-up. African American and Puerto Rican communities began to grow alongside the existing--mostly white--communities. In 1947, representatives of Columbia University, St. Luke's Hospital, Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, Teacher's College, Barnard College, Corpus Christi Church, International House, Jewish Theological Seminary, Juilliard School of Music, The Riverside Church, Union Theological Seminary, and other such institutions in the area formed Morningside Heights Inc., and Rockefeller's son David was appointed President of this corporation. The alliance embarked upon a major fact-finding mission, studying the demographics, property values, and other issues related to the neighborhood. Upon its recommendation, the neighborhood of Morningside Heights was expanded along its northern and southern edges, so that the corporation could control the minority communities that were located predominantly in these areas. Towards this end, in 1949 David and others (in

that could be used in a war effort—and while he was resigned rather than enthusiastic about their appropriation in this effort—the projects’ take-over by the U.S. military suggests the fragile nature of peace and of Rockefeller’s internationalist project, and the possibility of its easy annexation by alternate (i.e. military) engagements with the world.<sup>48</sup> As to what made the I-Houses so relevant and attractive to the war effort: any available building is useful real estate in a war, but I would argue that part of these buildings’ attraction (their selection over fraternity houses, for example) probably lay in their superior facilities and commanding locations, which were made possible by Rockefeller’s financial abilities. These houses were sited “militarily.” Berkeley for example was situated high up, with a view of the Bay spread out in front of it.

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Michael G. Thompson writes that opponents of the League of Nations had argued that its very creation “presupposed the possibility of [another] war.”<sup>49</sup> So easily did I-Houses, and their Directors and Board of Governors, become part of the war effort, that—although the I-House

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conversation with Rockefeller) created REMEDCO, a real estate development firm that was an offshoot of Morningside Heights, Inc. REMEDCO began to focus on controlling the demographics of the area. It created public schools that would appeal to elites—both liberal and conservative—and thus prevent their departure from the neighborhood. They also created public housing but stipulated that only thirty-five percent of the apartments could be occupied by African Americans and other non-white communities. This percentage, in REMEDCO’s opinion, enabled the ideal blending of cultures and ethnicities. International House was one of many institutions that supported these sweeping and largely successful efforts at gentrification. Although these actions appear to be in stark contrast to the I-House’s stated policy of encouraging brotherly relations between diverse people within its premises, they are perhaps not completely out of character if one considers that I-Houses was directed at elite population of foreign countries—not to the local population of working or even middle-class minorities and foreigners. For more on Morningside Heights, Inc. and REMEDCO, see Dolkart, *Morningside Heights*, 329-335; Joel Schwartz, *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals, and Redevelopment of the Inner City* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993).

<sup>48</sup> The I-House Berkeley presents a good example of Rockefeller’s inability to prevent the temporary reversal of the function of the I-Houses. The Berkeley project was taken over by the Navy on July 1, 1943, despite the protests and resistance of the University of California and the Board of Directors. Rockefeller had no real say in the matter. He had chosen not to retain administrative power over any of the I-Houses he had built, but he did install leaders who he felt were closely aligned with his views on internationalism and he was always kept abreast of developments. When Rockefeller heard about the proposed takeover, he approached Raymond Fosdick, who told him that there was no other option but to acquiesce: “It’s a pity but it is one of the casualties of the war. The Navy is always generous in payment of rent and I assume they will be in this case.” Sproul to Rockefeller, May 15, 1943, Folder 109, Box 17, OMR, RAC. Fosdick to Rockefeller, May 18, 1943, Folder 109, Box 17, OMR, RAC.

movement did seek to prevent the war—perhaps it too presupposed its possibility. Despite the failure of the movement’s stated goal (“That brotherhood may prevail”), the I-Houses did revert to their original purpose at war’s end, but with a slightly new orientation. During the Cold War they became popular instruments of pushing the United States’ political and economic policies abroad. In this instance, however, their goal was aligned with that of the state, which became much more active in international affairs after the Second World War.<sup>50</sup> So, perhaps Rockefeller’s internationalism was merely saving the seat for official actors, who took some time to assume their role in world affairs.

## **7.2. Retrenchment of Internationalism: The End of Support for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1931-39)**

With the construction of its impressive architectural oeuvre—the last building of which was completed in 1931 in Calneh, Syria—the 1930s should have been years of confident work and growth for the Oriental Institute. But although its expedition-houses and museums, and their commanding sites, cemented the Institute’s reputation as the most active archaeological enterprise in the Middle East at the time, their triumphant erection was followed by an almost immediate downturn in the O.I.’s fortunes. Although there were many reasons that led to this downturn, it was initiated officially by Rockefeller and his extended network. To some extent, Rockefeller also reined in the International House movement in the mid-30s, but his departure from the Oriental Institute was much more drastic. The I-Houses he built in the U.S. and France

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<sup>49</sup> Thompson, *For God and Globe*, 87.

<sup>50</sup> For the American government’s recognition of the importance of foreign students, see Bu, “Changes in Government Cultural Policy and the Realignment of Private Forces in Worldwide Educational Exchange,” in *Making the World Like Us*, 145-174.

continue to stand today. As I demonstrated, they even assumed an important role during the Cold War. But the Institute actually lost many of its dig-houses—suggesting perhaps the precarious nature of pursuing an asymmetric internationalism in non-Western lands as well as the transfer of American representation on the ground from archaeologists to oil diplomats.<sup>51</sup>

If the I-Houses' persistence through the Cold War and into today suggests the strength of their eventual alignment with the state, as well as the greater value placed by the Rockefeller network on social control and programming, the Oriental Institute's retrenchment suggests the apparent failure of Rockefeller's chosen strategy in the Middle East: scientific-intellectual cooperation in archaeology, putting Christianity on a firm evidentiary basis through this field, and an attempt to control the historical and cultural narrative spun from archaeological discoveries. As evident in their internal correspondence over the years, the Rockefeller network was interested in maintaining control of archaeology in the Middle East. However, nationalists in Iraq, Egypt, and elsewhere began to implement policies and laws that benefited the development of their own museum collections and their own experts; they also incorporated the ancient civilizations into narratives that promoted their own national aspirations and unity rather than the objectives of Protestant Internationalism.

Breasted and the Institute were not willing partners in the Rockefeller network's withdrawal from Middle Eastern archaeology, so the story of the end of the network's support for the Institute also includes a personal struggle within the Rockefeller-Breasted team. Given that Breasted had been one of the most important actors in the Institute's formation and rise, and

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<sup>51</sup> In fact, despite Rockefeller's move to curtail the I-House movement, it's important to note that construction on the final building (in Paris) was started in 1933, when the Rockefeller network was beginning to pull out of the Oriental Institute's work. Note also that Rockefeller gave further donations to the New York I-House in the 1950s, suggesting his continued faith in the work the I-Houses were doing. Mention of Rockefeller's later donations to the I-House is found in a few different places. See for example, Arthur Jones to David Rockefeller, December 5, 1955, Folder 109A, Box 17, RG III 2G, OMR, RAC. Jones was calling David's attention to his father's recent donation to the New York I-House and asking whether further donations to Chicago and Berkeley might also be useful.



considering his very close relationship and personal access to Rockefeller himself, his death in December 1935 tore down the Institute's last bridges to the Rockefeller network and hastened the latter's withdrawal.

### **7.2.1. Financial Retrenchment, Internal Reorganization**

Two letters bookending the short period from 1931 to 1935, during which the Rockefeller network and Breasted contested the Institute's future, provide a useful lens to the O.I.'s changing economic and political fortunes.<sup>52</sup> Both were penned by Breasted and intended for Rockefeller, even though the latter had passed most of his financial commitments related to the Institute on to the International Education Board around 1929, which then passed these same commitments on to the Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board in 1932. Despite the takeover of the larger Rockefeller family foundations, Rockefeller did, however, continue to fund a few of the Institute's expeditions himself. Some archival accounts suggest he financed Saqqara and Khorsabad on his own; meanwhile, a biography suggests that he reserved Megiddo for himself.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The first letter is Breasted to Rockefeller, September 25, 1931, Folder JDR Jr. 1931, Box 1 (self-assigned number), OIA; the second letter is Breasted to Rockefeller, October 25, 1935, Folder 12, Box 106, The Harold H. Swift Papers (hereafter HSP), SCRC.

<sup>53</sup> Regarding the exact sources of funding for the Institute from the larger Rockefeller networks, the reader should note that there is conflicting information as to when the funding passed on from Rockefeller to the IEB, the RF, and GEB. Information regarding which projects were passed on from Rockefeller to these organizations is also conflicting. I will recount the various sources and what they say here, but the exact details are perhaps not very important, as long as we keep in mind two things: first, the O.I. owes its very existence to Rockefeller, who acted first to fund it, and committed to many of its archaeological expeditions, construction programs, and museum projects on his own; second, Rockefeller and the foundations formed a continuum of financial support and critical feedback, which in turn shaped the organization's mission, helped it reach great new heights in American archaeological work in the Middle East, and then conversely led to its downfall. Having established these two points, I now present some funding details. Raymond Fosdick notes that the Institute began with a five-year commitment from Rockefeller, for \$10,000 per year. In 1924, Rockefeller renewed his pledge for an additional two years, and quintupled the Institute's yearly allowance for this period. In 1925, he also allocated an additional \$60,000 for the Megiddo expedition. Soon, the Rockefeller family foundations started to fund the Institute as well, and their funding eventually surpassed his. Fosdick writes that altogether the Rockefeller network gave more than \$11 million, of which \$1 million came from Rockefeller's personal funds. But in addition to this money, Rockefeller also allocated \$10 million dollars for the New Egyptian Museum project. In his calculations, Fosdick seems to understand this project as being independent of the O.I., but as I have shown in Chapter Five, the NEM was an

Regardless of which of these three projects he was tending to himself, it seems that Rockefeller had chosen to fund projects that neither he nor Breasted could be certain that the IEB, the GEB, or the RF would elect to support, and this suggests that he remained personally (and to an extent financially) invested in the Institute's future—thereby explaining why Breasted might have directed these important letters to him.<sup>54</sup> The first letter dates to September 25, 1931, and was sent on the eve of the Oriental Institute Museum's inauguration in Chicago.<sup>55</sup> Breasted sent the second letter from Memphis (Egypt) on October 25, 1935, just two months prior to his death.<sup>56</sup> Within these four years, the landscape completely changed for the Institute in terms of financial support and political atmosphere—but also with regards to the status of its dig-houses.

The 1931 letter is full of hope about the Institute's future, and hints at the further expansion and blossoming of its work. Breasted lists the individual field expedition-houses in the letter and describes their work with special emphasis to each site's Biblical importance and to

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outpost of the Oriental Institute. Upon the failure of the NEM, Rockefeller allocated some of this money instead to the Palestine Archaeological Museum. He also green lighted the Sakkara and Abydos projects (for the documentation of wall paintings), and apparently continued to fund these independently of the foundations. See Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 357-365. George W. Gray, who has written about the IEB, adds that in 1925, the GEB, in addition to Rockefeller's personal funding of the Institute, started a "limited endowment" focusing on the Institute's Chicago operations and on fellowships, publications, and other expenses. In 1928, Breasted approached—or was redirected to—the IEB, for further funding. The IEB voted to give \$8,433,370 over ten years for the construction of the Chicago headquarters and for teaching, research endowment, and publications. The GEB seems to have ended its role at this point, leaving only the IEB (and Rockefeller) in the field. But in 1932, the IEB, about to be terminated, gave some of the O.I.'s work back to the GEB and also turned over a larger share to the RF. Meanwhile, Rockefeller continued his funding too. See Gray, *Education on an International Scale*, 78-82. My archival research corroborates the 1932 takeover by the RF. See for example, Breasted to Max Mason, June 6, 1932, Folder RF 1932, Box 1, OIA. (Mason had briefly been President of the University of Chicago, but in 1932, when Breasted wrote to him, he was President of the RF.) The RF asked Breasted to release Rockefeller from most individual pledges. This was done, although Rockefeller continued to personally fund work at a few sites.

<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, as I show in Chapter One, Rockefeller was actively involved in the family foundations, so this is another reason why the letters were still directed to him. A third reason is that the enormous financial support that was scooped up by the Institute happened largely because of Breasted and Rockefeller's close personal relationship, so it was inevitable that Breasted would turn to Rockefeller again for help. See for example, Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 392.

<sup>55</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, September 25, 1931. Folder JDR, Jr. 1931, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

<sup>56</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, October 25, 1935, Folder 12, HSP Box 106, SCRC. Breasted writes about the tragic closing up of this "fine machine" (the Oriental Institute) and of the "fine headquarters buildings now stretching across Western Asia from Persia through Lower Nile at Memphis to Upper Egypt at Luxor."

how these sites illuminate the rise of “Western” civilization. Speaking of the region at large, for example, he notes:

In this region civilization arose, including the religious teachings of the Hebrews and of Jesus, and in this region are found the roots of European culture which we have inherited.<sup>57</sup>

The 1935 letter, meanwhile, is laced through with Breasted’s anxiety at the sudden financial retrenchment forced onto him by the Rockefeller network. At the same time, the letter has all the hallmarks of Breasted’s sense of occasion, timing, and his ability to weave together science, religion, architecture, Rockefeller’s self-image, and the achievements of the Institute into one (previously irresistible) presentation. Breasted began the letter on a high note, describing the newly finished (but not yet inaugurated) Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem:

The white limestone building is a structure of great beauty and impressiveness, much enhanced by a noble simplicity. Looking out toward the Mount of Olives and the Temple Mount, this building will always be a symbol suggesting the immeasurable debt of the West to the East, - - a symbol of which I am sure you will always be proud.<sup>58</sup>

Using this account of the museum’s architecture as both a hook for his audience and a launching pad for his larger concerns, he then goes on to emphasize the Institute’s major accomplishments and expresses his dismay that these may soon become a “memory,” if support to the Institute were to be ended prematurely.

Drawing also on science to bolster his appeal to the Rockefeller network, Breasted describes the Institute as “the leading organization of the world devoted to the study of the Rise of Man,” and notes that it was recognized as such by “authoritative scientific periodicals” in

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<sup>57</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, September 25, 1931, Folder JDR Jr 1931, Box 1 (box number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>58</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, October 25, 1935, Folder 12, HSP Box 106, SCRC.

Europe and America. He describes how Rockefeller's support for the Institute had put it at the forefront of historical research, and compares this achievement with the Rockefeller network's support for medical research internationally. Then, comparing the Institute's work with that of other well-funded and recognized sciences—such as astronomy, geology, and physics—Breasted writes that, like these other endeavors, the work of the Institute was monumental and on-going and that it would take generations to complete all the necessary research. Defunding and shutting down the Institute would be akin to wrapping up physics as a field of useful inquiry, he argued.

It is interesting to note that even fifteen years after the Institute's establishment, Breasted was still making a case for Near Eastern Archaeology as a valuable science. The suddenly precarious nature of the Institute's work can be traced to changes in the structure and goals of the various Rockefeller family foundations. In 1928, the GEB, RF, IEB, and LSRM underwent a major reorganization to reduce redundancies and overlaps in their work. We can think of this reorganization as the application of the business principle of consolidation-for-the-purposes-of-greater-strength to foundations.<sup>59</sup> The RF took over everything "*relating to the advance of human knowledge* [emphasis original]."<sup>60</sup> This included natural sciences, social sciences, humanities and arts, agriculture, and forestry. As a result, the IEB was eventually discontinued and the Oriental Institute's funding was transferred from this foundation to the RF, where it was put under the control of its Humanities division. This categorization of the O.I. as a humanities project was a blow for Breasted, given his tireless efforts to promote Near Eastern archaeology as a science

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<sup>59</sup> Previously, medical education was divided between the GEB, which focused on the domestic front, and the RF, which focused abroad. Natural sciences were covered by the GEB, the IEB, and the RF. The Humanities and the Arts were addressed by the GEB but also by the LSRM and the IEB. The social sciences were the domain of the LSRM. Mental hygiene was addressed by both the RF and the LSRM. Work on public health—in tandem with government agencies—was the domain of the RF, whereas public health—in cooperation with private agencies—was the domain of the LSRM. Agriculture and forestry were addressed both by the GEB and the IEB. None of this, however, is very important to remember: I am mostly trying to convey the general confusion at the time. See also Fosdick, "The Foundation Enters New Fields," in *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 137.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

and given that the Institute claimed its superiority over other archaeological institutions based on its scientific credentials and use of technology. Furthermore, the RF—under new leadership—now had a very different concept of the humanities.

The RF's revised conception of the humanities may be traced to Fosdick and other officers. In 1931, immediately after the Rockefeller boards' reorganization, Rockefeller was still Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, but it was Raymond Fosdick who was newly President of the Board. Under Fosdick's direction and that of David Stevens, who eventually became the RF's new Humanities director in the mid-30s, the Rockefeller Foundation began to reconsider its earlier emphasis on "traditional humanistic research"—a category into which the Oriental Institute's work now fell.<sup>61</sup> The RF began to move away from the perceived snobbishness of academic pursuits like archeology and museums, questioning whether such disciplines had any relevance to the economic depression of the 1930s, or to the political troubles on the horizon. Stevens, Jerome Greene, and other RF officers began to push for what they understood to be more "democratic" interests: libraries, drama, language programs, radio, and film.<sup>62</sup> In the classical fields, they began to push for synthesis of knowledge rather than continuous expansion. The RF believed that, to qualify for funding, a humanist should be able to show how the objects and scholarship of their work could be applied to present circumstances and needs, and not merely add to a stockpile of inapplicable and somewhat obscure knowledge.<sup>63</sup>

These new ideas on the humanities were ultimately concretized in the RF's policies in the mid-1930s, but they were probably first circulated much earlier, perhaps in 1928, when the RF

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 240-241.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>63</sup> See, Helmut K. Anheier and David C. Hammack, *American Foundations: Roles and Contributions* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010); Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*.

and other Rockefeller family foundations were being reorganized. Either way, as early as 1931, these ideas ensnared the Oriental Institute. Breasted was aware that changes were afoot. His 1935 letter was intended to manage these changes, but he was unable to find his footing in the RF's new conception of humanistic knowledge. His assertion that there was still much more to uncover in the Middle East, and his claim to scientific work, neither fit in with the Foundation's new position on humanism nor the Institute's new position in the Foundation's Humanities Division.

In the 1935 letter, Breasted also—once again—turned to God. Sandwiched between his claims to scientific work, he argued that the Oriental Institute held the key to the emergence of Christianity:

In the work of the Institute a comprehensive effort has been made for the first time to recover the whole process of the Rise of Man in all its stages and in all countries of the Near East where he struggled up from Stone Age savagery till he gained the earliest visions of a higher world of character and conduct, - - **a development which at last brought us Christianity** [latter emphasis mine].<sup>64</sup>

And in speaking of the vast enterprise that the Institute had set up, and of the team of researchers and scientists it had trained, he emphasized these scholars' religious backgrounds.<sup>65</sup> This recourse to Christianity does not necessarily reflect Breasted's actual interests or beliefs; rather, it recalls his growing realization, back in the early 1900s when he was trying to woo the Rockefeller network, of religion's importance and attraction for Rockefeller.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, October 25, 1935, Folder 12, Box 106, The Harold H. Swift Papers, SCRC.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. Note that alongside the religious credentials of the Institute's officers, Breasted also focused on these men and women's elite status. For example, with respect to the latter, he took care to mention that a scientist working at the Institute was the son of one of Rockefeller's neighbors in Manhattan. This example indicates again the elitism at the heart of Rockefeller's philanthropic projects: as we have seen with the I-Houses, not only did these projects focus primarily on privileged foreign students, they were also staffed by privileged Americans, who often came from within Rockefeller's social and business circles.

<sup>66</sup> For more on this, see Chapter Three.

As for Rockefeller's opinion regarding the usefulness of the Institute's work and its ongoing need for funds, the donor had actually hoped that the foundations would consider supporting the Institute as long as Breasted was tied to it.<sup>67</sup> But, persuaded by his advisors' new direction and probably by his own substantial financial commitments to other projects, he sent a strongly worded reply to Breasted's 1935 letter, stating that he had never set out to support the Institute into perpetuity.<sup>68</sup> While this might appear to be a harsh position or even an illogical one from our viewpoint—the Rockefeller network has at least some resources, and the Institute needs them for God's work—in fact, a project's financial dependency on the Rockefeller network alone was always a source of concern for Rockefeller, who was interested primarily in providing initial financial backing to institutions and projects that could then support themselves in the long run. He may have understood these projects' self-sufficiency and financial independence as a sign that their ideological basis was sound, and that he himself had made a sound decision in extending support to them.<sup>69</sup> So, despite its almost tailor-made credentials—its mix of scientific language, religious sites, political influence, and portfolio of projects and attractive buildings—Rockefeller must have come to see the Institute's lack of financial self-sufficiency and the withdrawal of smaller donors (like Ada Small Moore) as a sign that perhaps it was not, after all, quite the strong armature for Protestant Modernism and American internationalism that he had initially imagined. Funding from the Rockefeller network passed through several stages of attrition before petering out entirely in 1939.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 387.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 388-389.

<sup>69</sup> There were, however, some projects to which Rockefeller continued to give money throughout his life, such as the reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg.

<sup>70</sup> The 1932-3 budget—just one year after the erection of most of the Institute's dig-houses—was the first instance when Breasted was asked to cut back on the Institute's campaign. Amongst other changes, he terminated the Architectural Survey part of the new Chicago House's work; the Prehistoric Survey, meanwhile, was continued. The Megiddo Expedition, which Breasted held to be the most efficient and pared down expedition anywhere in the Near

### 7.2.2. Fatigue with Religion; Spiritual Fatigue?

The foundations were primarily responsible for the Oriental Institute's financial retrenchment. But Rockefeller did go along with their plan. Apart from pressure from the RF officers, spiritual fatigue may have played some part in his decision. Albert F. Schenkel writes that the massive fieldwork and inquiry into foreign missions that led to the publication of *Re-Thinking Missions* was the last big project undertaken by Rockefeller's ISRR.<sup>71</sup> Rockefeller shut down the organization in 1934. Schenkel and other Rockefeller biographers believe that the end of the ISRR suggests recognition on Rockefeller's part that the idea to use Protestant unity as the basis of "a peaceful and harmonious world" was "utopian."<sup>72</sup> He had done all he could towards this end, and with the onset of the Great Depression he had to cut back his massive spending on interdenominational unity. But he did continue to focus on Riverside Church. He also gave money to other interdenominational organizations, which were not led by him but which had picked up "the Protestant quest for a Christian America that would lead a Christian world."<sup>73</sup> The

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East, was also continued. At the end of 1932, he dropped Hittite Research in Anatolia, and either let go or absorbed its personnel in other expeditions. The expedition-house at Khorsabad had been shut down, with the result that all the Iraq expeditions were now operating from one headquarters at Tell Asmar. Despite these concessions and cutbacks, the Rockefeller Foundation attempted to squeeze a little more out of Breasted, which forced him to state that any further changes to the Institute's budget would result in a complete wreckage of the work it was doing and reflect badly on the Institute and the Rockefeller Boards. See, Breasted to David Stevens, June 21, 1932, Folder RF 1932, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. Eventually, in August 1935, Breasted made one final appeal to the Boards. After laying out the larger accomplishments, achievements, and contributions of the Oriental Institute in terms of general knowledge, history, evolution, and the United States, he actually attempted to garner even greater support for the Institute: to put it on a more secure footing once and for all, and to end the cycle of incessant appeals for money and of retrenchment. See Breasted to Trevor Arnett, August 12, 1935, Folder 29 "RF-1935," Box 2 (self-assigned number), OIA. He followed this letter up with the October 1935 letter, which we have seen earlier—and which was sent separately to Rockefeller, whom he assumed would be a stronger ally and more personally invested in the Institute's mission. But these letters only resulted in the afore-mentioned harshly-worded response from Rockefeller. See Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 388-389. Breasted never saw this response, dying suddenly in December of that year, while in New York. His death and the greater problems it caused for the Institute resulted in a softening of the Rockefeller boards' stance, and they attempted to find a more graceful way of cutting down the Institute's overseas commitments and bringing their funding of the Institute's expeditions to a close, both of which they accomplished by 1939.

<sup>71</sup> Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 164-165.

<sup>72</sup> Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, 180; also quoted in Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, 165;

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.



major change that occurred is that he no longer saw it as primarily his duty to spearhead this effort. As the Oriental Institute, too, had been a major undertaking for modernizing and promoting Christianity, it is unsurprising that the end of the ISRR and other interdenominational efforts coincided with the end of the Rockefeller networks' funding for the Oriental Institute.

### 7.2.3. Changing Political Opportunity

One theme absent from Breasted's desperate 1935 letters—but present in his other correspondence over the years—is the changing political condition in the Middle East in the 1930s: these conditions caused the Rockefeller network to proceed with caution when it came to taking on new O.I. projects. Local officers in the various Departments of Antiquities in the region had begun handling the archaeological affairs of their respective countries with increasing confidence in their own abilities, and in their right to exert tighter control over the work of foreign institutions.<sup>74</sup> This confidence went hand-in-hand with nationalism and pan-Arabism, both of which conflicted with the goals of Rockefeller's internationalism. Although many Arab intellectuals and leaders were interested in the scientific advances and modernity that American projects in the Middle East promised, the Oriental Institute had sought to keep an *American* institution in control of Middle Eastern archaeology and the uses to which this discipline's knowledge could be put. And while Arab nationalists had been inspired by American emphasis on self-government, which at first created goodwill towards Americans and opened doors for the Institute, the American government ultimately did not support political demands put forward by Arab leaders, seeing them as culturally incapable of governing without Western oversight.<sup>75</sup> The Rockefeller network, too, maintained a similarly wary attitude towards local authorities and

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<sup>74</sup> See Goode, "A New Era," in *Negotiating for the Past*, 223.

nationalist movements, which led to discontent, frustration, and changing attitudes towards the O.I. at a local and regional level.

The Egyptian government's rejection of Rockefeller's proposal for the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute in Cairo, in 1926, was an early sign of local wariness regarding American-controlled archaeological and cultural projects in the Middle East. Two other museums, the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem (1927-present) and the unbuilt Baghdad Museum proposal (1929-1931), further reveal the tensions between nationalism in the Middle East and Rockefeller's internationalism. They also show the Rockefeller network's obvious preference for financing museums only in areas under strong British control, despite the team's disavowal of support for British imperialism and their claims of an inclusive brotherhood.

### ***Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem (1927-present)***

With the Palestine Archaeological Museum, we have an example of a major museum that was successfully erected in the Middle East by Rockefeller—due in large part to the greater control exerted by the British Mandate in Palestine at the time—but whose narrative of an American Protestant internationalism was, at first, delayed by Palestinian revolts against the British Mandate and Zionism, and later altogether derailed by the Israeli government's ideology.

Of all the buildings that Rockefeller financially sponsored on behalf of the Oriental Institute, the Palestine Archaeological Museum—now Rockefeller Museum—in Jerusalem is the best known amongst scholars, but it is not known as a site of Protestant Modernism or American internationalism (**Fig. 7.19**).<sup>76</sup> For example, historians Ron Fuchs and Gilbert Herbert understand

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<sup>75</sup> See for example Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy*, 68-71.

<sup>76</sup> For scholarship on the museum, see Abt, "Toward a Historian's Laboratory: The Breasted-Rockefeller Museum Projects in Egypt, Palestine, and America," 173-94; Ron Fuchs and Gilbert Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine: Austen St. Barbe Harrison and the Representational Buildings of the British Mandate in Palestine, 1922-

the museum within two other entirely different contexts: first, they see it as an important component of the larger oeuvre of its Welsh designer, Austin St. Barbe Harrison (1891-1976), who was Chief Architect in the Public Works Department of Palestine under the British Mandate; second, they view the museum as part of the late-colonial architecture of the British Empire, calling it the Empire's "last intellectually ambitious architectural statement."<sup>77</sup> Though they acknowledge Rockefeller as the project's financial sponsor, Fuchs and Herbert do not attribute architectural or ideological significance to his role.<sup>78</sup>

Yet it is Rockefeller's interest in the narrative of a modern and Christian-American civilization that led him to greenlight the project. As Wharton has noted, while the antiquities of Palestine are not as aesthetically impressive as those of Egypt, they have the "singular advantage of an intimate association with scripture."<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the museum was proposed just before the second conference of the International Missionary Council met in Jerusalem. As we have

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37," *Architectural History* 43 (January 1, 2000): 281–333. doi:10.2307/1568698; Wharton, "Spoils," in *Architectural Agents*, 31-56.

<sup>77</sup> In doing so, Fuchs and Herbert use the museum to extend the history of late British imperial architecture past Edwin Lutyens' design for New Delhi. Focusing on the buildings designed and constructed by Harrison in Palestine (or on behalf of Palestine), they argue that these buildings crystallized debates of the time over what should be the appropriate architectural expression of a region that was under mandatory rule. They write that these buildings, including the museum, demonstrated a regionalistic and paternal approach to design, rather than an aesthetic strategy of overt imperial control or—given the medieval history of Palestine—of explicit crusader references. They variously describe the final design of the museum as "abstract Orientalism" or "colonial regionalism." See Fuchs and Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine," 281-282, 320. Wharton, meanwhile, describes Harrison's preferred aesthetic and the building's design as "Islamic-vernacular/modern building style." Wharton, "Spoils," 36.

<sup>78</sup> Fuchs and Herbert do write that Rockefeller was probably responsible for the preservation of both an ancient tree and an eighteenth-century Arab summer house on the site, and that he saw and approved the final model for the museum, but they do not see the museum within the context of his larger patronage or within the context of the Oriental Institute's other buildings in the Middle East. Fuchs and Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine," 313-315. Note that although the project is today disassociated from Rockefeller's authorship and oeuvre, the situation was different back when the building was being constructed. In order to appease Rockefeller after many delays to the building's construction, Sir Arthur Wauchope, then-High Commissioner of Palestine, had written to him describing the beauty of the building and noting what a fine addition it made to his (Rockefeller's) larger philanthropic oeuvre: "I am confident that the new building will not only fully respond to the needs of Palestinian archaeology, but will be worthy of taking a prominent place among the many institutions that owe their existence to your munificence and to your devotion, in many fields, to the advancement of knowledge." Arthur Wauchope to Rockefeller, January 31, 1933, Folder RF 1933, Box 01 (Number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>79</sup> Wharton, "Spoils," 34.

seen in Chapters One and Two, the Council's decision to meet in Jerusalem reflects Protestant theologians' intention to re-Orient Christianity. Rockefeller's decision to fund a museum in Jerusalem at the same time underscores his commitment to this same vision. Finally, the museum's proposal was followed by Rockefeller's trip to the Middle East in 1929 and by his subsequent pledge to support the Oriental Institute's campaign to construct expedition-houses throughout the Fertile Crescent. I argue that these chronological adjacencies reveal the Palestine Archaeological Museum's dual role: first, to promote Rockefeller's Christian agenda, and second, to aid Breasted's ambitious archaeological and architectural agenda on behalf of the Oriental Institute in the Middle East.

Wharton notes that Breasted himself did not seem to care about Biblical references in the formulation of the museum, and that he was merely interested in explaining the arc of civilization in Palestine from the Stone Age to 1700—as it pertained to Western civilization. But she also notes that, for Rockefeller, the Biblical connection was key and that this was evident in a statement he released at the museum's opening:

That the Museum may prove of great use to scholars and that it may be a powerful factor in the promotion of a deeper and fuller knowledge of what the Holy Land means to Christendom, is my earnest hope.<sup>80</sup>

And while Wharton argues that the architecture, ornament, and curatorial narrative of the museum privileged Western civilization—not Christianity—over everything else, we know by now that Christianity was a crucial component of Western civilization for Rockefeller.<sup>81</sup> These are important things to keep in mind because, as I have argued elsewhere, for Rockefeller the

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<sup>80</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>81</sup> For Wharton's argument that the museum's narrative was not concerned with "the truth of Protestant Christianity," see *Ibid.*, 43. But at the same time Wharton notes that people other than Rockefeller also interpreted the museum's role as being the verification of the Bible. *Ibid.*

Oriental Institute and its outposts were doing scientific-*religious* work: the Institute's scientifically advanced excavation methods were finding evidence of religion, and their didactic museum displays were presenting this evidence to a larger public that included the so-called Orient.

Suggesting the often-imperialist undertones of Protestant Modernism, the Palestine Archaeological Museum's siting and ornament do, in my view, appear to highlight Christianity, despite arguments to the contrary by other scholars.<sup>82</sup> For example, describing the building's architectural ornamentation, Wharton notes that each of the eight spandrels of the museum's "lateral arcades" is devoted to a figure associated with a "culture of the region," and that these figures appear in the following chronological order (rather than in some ideological hierarchy): Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Phoenician, Canaanite, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic, Crusader (**Fig. 7.20**). And yet, it is where the narrative leaves off—at Crusader—that suggests a slight privileging of this latter period.<sup>83</sup> The siting of the museum further reinforces this. When Breasted broached the possibility of a new museum to Lord Plumer, who was British High Commissioner of Palestine during the initial stages of the project, the latter offered the site of Karam-El-Sheikh—a large plot of land immediately outside the Old City on the Northeast, owned by a prominent Palestinian family. The mandate would expropriate this plot. This location coincides with the area from which the Crusaders entered Jerusalem.

The curatorial narrative's particular end-point—with the Crusaders instead of with the story of Hebrews or modern Jews—eventually came in the crosshairs of regional conflict.<sup>84</sup> In its

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<sup>82</sup> See for example Fuchs and Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine," 281-333; Wharton, "Spoils," 43-44.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Wharton notes that Israelites were excised from the tympanum of the University of Chicago's headquarters as well. (I have described this building in greater detail in Chapter Six.) The removal of Jews from the visual narrative of the rise of Western civilization in two of its buildings indicates an anti-Semitic stance, which is also apparent in some of Breasted's personal correspondence.

early years, the museum flourished because it was managed by British mandatory officers, who upheld the Rockefeller network's narrative.<sup>85</sup> While Breasted had helped facilitate the project, and made important architectural and museological decisions about it—such as determining the height of the central tower, the layout of artifacts, and preferred historical narrative—once the project was completed, it was turned over to the British Mandate. The takeover by the Mandate had always been the plan, and part of Rockefeller's attraction to the project was that he and his advisors would not have to administer it: rather, the British Mandate would take on this work and help maintain the original curatorial vision and purpose.<sup>86</sup> The museum continued to thrive after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, when East Jerusalem was taken over by the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan.<sup>87</sup> Under Jordan, the museum used much of its endowment money from Rockefeller to

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<sup>85</sup> Wharton, "Spoils," 42. Wharton sees the museum as originally an agent of British imperialism and of Breasted's Western-centric historical view, both of which omitted Jews from the narrative of Palestine, to which the museum was devoted.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>87</sup> Here are the important dates for the design, construction, and control of the Palestine Archaeological Museum—up till its takeover by Jordan. In 1926, Breasted visited Palestine to check on the work of the Institute's Megiddo expedition; he was also taking a break from the negotiations in Cairo over the New Egyptian Museum, which would soon break down. In Jerusalem, Breasted began to discuss plans for a new museum there with the British Mandate's officers. Actually, preliminary planning by the Palestinian government for such a museum was already underway, and had been led by a few different planners, including Patrick Geddes, the famous Scottish geographer and town planner, but the available money for such a project was scarce. Breasted recognized a greater opportunity in Jerusalem than in Cairo for a museum that could tell the story of the rise of civilization, and of Western man: he believed the British Mandate was strongly in place and that there would be no nationalist struggle over the terms and conditions of such a museum as there had been in Cairo. *Ibid.*, 34-35. See also Raymond Fosdick's letter to Thomas M. Debevoise, in which Fosdick cautioned against making the terms of Rockefeller's gift for a museum in Jerusalem public: these terms were much more lenient than those that were pursued in Cairo. The leniency, as Fosdick states very clearly, was because of the British mandate's firmer control of Palestine as compared to Cairo. Excerpts of this letter are reproduced in Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 333-334. With an offer for the museum commission from the British Mandate in place, Breasted contacted Rockefeller, who agreed to provide \$2,000,000 in construction and endowment money. (This amount is much more than the British Colonial Office might have approved if the museum were to be built and maintained solely by British money.) In October 1927, Rockefeller made his offer in a formal letter to Lord Plumer. The letter reads as if the Palestine government was already embarking on the museum project, and that Rockefeller was merely supplying it with funds. But in fact Rockefeller was stipulating the terms and conditions of the gift very clearly. For example, he insisted on the relocation of a municipal incineration plant from the site. He also insisted that the adjacent terrain be included in the Jerusalem "town planning scheme." By this, he meant that the adjacent land be zoned as a "Public Open Space" on which no construction activity could take place. (As we know, Rockefeller was conscious of the geographical proximities of his projects and how they might affect his program, and he always insisted upon controlling the land around his buildings.) Finally, he stipulated that the museum be administered by the Palestine Government, and that an International Advisory Committee consisting of foreign archaeologists should be formed. The deadline for the use of funds was January 1, 1931. But construction

acquire the major portion of the Dead Sea Scrolls: ancient religious manuscripts in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek languages, discovered between 1947 and 1956.

But when East Jerusalem was annexed by Israel in 1967, the museum entered a new phase of its life.<sup>88</sup> Wharton writes that the Israeli state immediately moved the Israel Antiquities Authority into the museum's premises, and the Dead Sea Scrolls and any other artifacts of major interest out of it. With its star attractions now at the Israel State Museum, the Palestine Archaeological Museum no longer attracts any appreciable audience.<sup>89</sup> Israel also disbanded the international advisory committee, which Rockefeller had created for the museum's administration. Each of these moves went against the terms and conditions of the original gift. In addition to moving the museum's most famous artifact out, the Israeli state also changed the institution's name to "Rockefeller Museum."<sup>90</sup> These developments suggest that even though the museum was "successfully" built, it could not uphold Rockefeller's envisioned internationalism

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took much longer than the time allotted by Rockefeller's gift. On December 2, 1930, the expiration date of the pledge was extended. For these dates and extensions, see Packard to Breasted, September 9, 1932, Folder JDR Jr. 1932, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. For Rockefeller's stipulations to the Palestinian Government/British Mandate, see Rockefeller to Plumer, October 11, 1927, Folder RF 1933, Box 01 (number self-assigned), OIA. (The 1927 letter may be found attached to one that was sent in 1933.) By January 1933, the museum had still not been completed. As Breasted explained, the construction was delayed due to several factors: the decision to incorporate earthquake resistance techniques in the structure; Palestinian revolt against both the British Mandate and Zionism; and the lack of good quality stone. Breasted to Packard, May 4, 1933, Folder RF 1933, Box 01 (number self-assigned), OIA. On June 29, 1933, a final gift was made to speed up construction. Packard (on behalf of Rockefeller) to Wauchope, June 29, 1933, Folder RF 1933, Box 01 (number self-assigned), OIA. The building was officially opened to the public on January 13, 1938.

<sup>88</sup> In 1948, as the British Mandate was ending, its officers had turned the advisory board composed of foreign members into a Board of Trustees—essentially privatizing the museum—because they did not believe that the incoming government would be able to manage the museum effectively on its own. Immediately thereafter, the museum was shut down because of the Arab-Israeli war, at the end of which East Jerusalem was taken over by Jordan. Jordan operated the museum as a private entity, much as the British Mandate had left it. In 1966 Jordan re-nationalized it, but in 1967 the museum was seized by Israel, which changed its operation method as well as its contents. Wharton, "Spoils," 46-56.

<sup>89</sup> Wharton, *Architectural Agents*, xxiii, 31, 48-56.

<sup>90</sup> It is interesting to note that aside from the Rockefeller Center, which was built around the same time, this is the only major building financed by John D. Rockefeller Jr. that bears his family name. The Rockefeller Center was a commercial project and perhaps in that capacity it could more easily assume the family name. But in his cultural philanthropy and patronage, Rockefeller made sure that his name was never prominently displayed, lest he be criticized of pursuing philanthropy for the sake of publicity. At the PAM, the name is retroactively applied by the museum's new owner (the Israeli state) as part of a larger oppressive move to erase Palestinian history.

and became a contested site between Arabs and Jews.

### ***Baghdad Museum, Iraq (1929-1931)***

Whereas the New Egyptian Museum was rejected by the Egyptian government (and its architectural proposal co-opted in the mausoleum of Egypt's nationalist leader), the project to build a museum in Baghdad, variously referred to in the archives as the Baghdad Museum or the Iraq Museum, did not materialize because the Rockefeller network itself decided that museum-building in a highly nationalist context no longer fit its goals, even though the funding required was a relatively paltry \$200,000.<sup>91</sup>

In the archives, the Baghdad Museum is first mentioned in 1929, with related correspondence peaking between 1930 and 1931, when the movement for Iraqi independence, too, was increasing in intensity.<sup>92</sup> By 1929, Iraq did have the beginnings of a national museum. It had been created six years earlier by the British explorer and officer, Gertrude Bell, whom King Faisal had appointed as Iraq's first Director of Antiquities.<sup>93</sup> But this museum primarily

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<sup>91</sup> For comparison, note that Rockefeller had been prepared to contribute \$10 million towards the New Egyptian Museum, and that the project to build the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem had just received \$2 million dollars from Rockefeller.

<sup>92</sup> For information on the Baghdad Museum, see letters in Folders "RF 1929," "JDR Jr. 1929," "JDR Jr. 1930," "RF 1931," "JDR Jr. 1931," Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

<sup>93</sup> In Egypt, we saw that the creation of the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1858 was led by French archaeologist Auguste Mariette, who had in fact precipitated the loss of this antiquity in the first place. In Iraq, too, the colonial or imperial officer (Bell) had a mixed record: she passed an antiquities law—over the opposition of nationalists—that favored foreign museums, arguing for the "universal relevance" of artifacts, by which she really meant that foreign museums and expeditions should be allowed to take and display significant quantities of the items they had discovered in Iraq. Bell reasoned that these artifacts did not belong to any one nation and therefore deserved to be displayed in a major established museum in Paris or London that would be more easily accessible to those who wished to view them. (She was not thinking about an Arab audience or viewers.) See Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*, 12. As for Bell's museum, this project was actually launched at the advice of the archaeological community at large as well as of some British officers in the India Office, the Foreign Office, and the Colonial Office, who, in opposition to Bell, believed that without a local museum it would be difficult to resist the demands of British institutions, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum. These museums expected that artifacts from Britain's mandatory and colonial regions would be passed on to them. *Ibid.*, 150-155. A further reason for creating a museum in Baghdad was that, as part of the British Mandate, Iraq must appear to be modern, and museums are understood to be modern institutions. *Ibid.*, 150.



functioned as a storage room and focused on the pre-Islamic period. In the summer of 1926, it was moved to a new location north of Baghdad, and here too it continued with its previous program. But it soon proved too small to accommodate Iraq's share of the objects and artifacts that were being unearthed by foreign expeditions, and in 1932 plans were drawn up for a new building. It is not clear what happened to these plans, but it was not until 1966 that the museum moved to a new building, where it has remained ever since.

None of the existing literature mentions that the Oriental Institute and the Rockefeller network were once entangled in plans to provide for a new museum between 1929 and 1931. The proposal to build such a museum in Iraq was initiated in the spring of 1929 by James Curtis, a partner in Raymond Fosdick's law firm, who—independent of the rest of the Rockefeller network—offered \$100,000 to the Iraqi Government towards this project. This amount was not enough to properly build and endow a museum, and Curtis probably intended it as an initial gift that might be supplemented by other gifts. In December 1929, the Rockefeller network heard about Curtis' offer for the first time; Breasted later claimed he had not helped initiate this offer, but that he enthusiastically supported it, and he appealed to the Rockefeller network to provide the additional funds needed to realize the project.<sup>94</sup>

For Breasted, the increasing nationalism in Iraq was a source of concern. He spent a fair amount of time looking at the situation from every angle, mentally trying on endless combinations of scenarios to understand what would jeopardize the Institute's work and what would instead save it from Iraqi nationalism. On the one hand, he believed that even if the British Mandate did pull out of Iraq, Britain would retain naval control of the Persian Gulf—to secure access to oil—and would thus militarily control Baghdad, which was nearby. In this

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<sup>94</sup> Breasted to Thomas Appleget, March 26, 1930, Folder JDR Jr. 1929-1930, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

scenario, Western archaeology might fare well and a favorable division of antiquities could continue. On the other hand, with the Oriental Institute's Assyrian expedition at Khorsabad already under way, he was desperate to garner absolute security for his work and not leave this up to British actions. He and other foreign archaeologists had also been warned by the British Director of the Department of Antiquities in Iraq that Iraqi nationalists were hostile to Western interests.<sup>95</sup>

In his communications with the Rockefeller network, Breasted argued that an American gift for an archaeological museum would solve the problem by creating goodwill, and claimed that what had happened in Cairo (rejection of the Rockefeller gift) would not repeat itself in Baghdad, because Iraqi nationalists were more skillful and less “fanatical” than Egyptians.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, he was encouraged by the positive gestures that the Iraqi government and King Faisal had already made towards the Institute and towards accommodation for the proposed museum. These gestures, however, were predicated on a problematic foundation. The Iraqi government had been given plenty of assurances from different channels of a forthcoming gift of a museum from the United States. The first assurance came through Curtis, who had made the initial gift. The second came from the Honorary Director of another Rockefeller-funded project, the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) in Baghdad, who had approached the King and asked for a site for the ASOR's building in exchange for the anticipated American gift of a museum.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 197.

<sup>96</sup> See for example Breasted to Appleget, December 21, 1929, Folder RF 1929, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. See also Breasted to Appleget, February 19, 1930, Folder JDR Jr. 1930, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. Note that in his discussion on Iraq's changing antiquities laws, Bernhardsson writes that of all the foreign expeditions in Iraq at the time, the Institute's expedition showed much less public concern than the others and would not at first join with the rest in condemning the proposed changes. My archival research shows that Breasted, in fact, was playing it cool because he had this other trick (of an American gift for a museum) up his sleeve—so to speak.

<sup>97</sup> See Breasted to Appleget, February 19, 1930, Folder JDR Jr. 1929, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA.

Enthusiastic about a gift it expected to receive any day, the Iraqi government appointed Harold Clayforth Mason, official Government Architect and Executive Engineer from 1926 to 1932, to draw up plans for a museum. King Faisal set up a committee to oversee the project. And the Iraqi army began to excavate the citadel—a valuable site—in preparation for the museum. The government also set aside land next door to the site of the proposed museum for the ASOR’s building. (The Oriental Institute was helping in the construction of the ASOR’s building, which it planned to use jointly with this organization.)

Breasted tried to appeal to the Rockefeller Foundation, arguing that if plans to build a museum failed, it would cause Americans to lose face with the Iraqis and throw into jeopardy the work of all American expeditions there.<sup>98</sup> What is of particular interest here is that Breasted uses the lure of architecture—specifically photos of the newly built and well-equipped Tell Asmar expedition-house—to show what the Rockefeller network and the Institute together had been able to achieve so far, and to imply what they stood to lose if they backed down now. He further claimed that the US State Department was very interested in the project and was willing to help with official negotiations.<sup>99</sup> In light of what could be gained, and of what they stood to lose if the

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<sup>98</sup> Breasted claimed that in Jerusalem, the Rockefeller gift of a museum had erased all previous nationalist outcries over excavations and antiquities laws. And he believed that the same could be achieved in Iraq, if only the Americans would demonstrate—through the gift of a museum—that they were committed to helping Iraqis develop local archaeology and museums. See Breasted to Appleget, February 19, 1930, Folder JDR Jr. 1929, Box 1 (number self-assigned), OIA. Of course, as we have seen with Cairo, the Rockefeller team’s museum gifts were not so straightforward and came with many stipulations of Western control rather than local or “native” control. Around this time, in 1934, the Institute had discovered two winged bulls and associated reliefs at either Khafaje or Tell Asmar, and hoped to get one pair (consisting of one bull and one relief) for the Oriental Institute’s headquarters in Chicago. All of this was quite dependent on the delicate negotiations around the museum gift. (Note that Breasted was unable to get the bull and relief to Chicago, perhaps because the museum gift fell through. These items remained in Iraq and are perhaps located at the present Baghdad Museum there. There is, however, one winged bull in Chicago. This one was found earlier, in Khorsabad, and moved to Chicago before the antiquities debate heated up in Iraq. For more on this, see the section titled “Sargon’s Bull” under 5.6.)

<sup>99</sup> In a final appeal to the Rockefeller Foundation’s interests, Breasted emphasized that the museum would be a *research* institution, and that its work would be overseen only by Americans and Europeans. Furthermore, as the site was next to the ASOR-Oriental Institute building, the museum’s administrators would naturally come to the O.I. for support and advice, but without jeopardizing the latter’s independence: “Indeed, the whole arrangement, for which the Baghdad Government insures the situation, will dove-tail the American organization directly into the Museum

Foundation rejected the idea, Breasted argued that this was the most important project he had *ever* advocated for.

Given the Rockefeller network's well-known generous funding of archaeological work in the Middle East, and its ongoing construction of a museum in Jerusalem, Rockefeller's advisors became concerned that the Iraqi government believed they were the mystery donors, whereas neither the RF nor Rockefeller had made any such decision to support the project. The Foundation admitted to Breasted that the speed at which the Oriental Institute and other expeditions were digging throughout Iraq did necessitate a new museum, but that it was not sure whether the Rockefeller network should be the one to provide the additional funds necessary for its construction. The RF's primary concern was that Iraq was intending to become an independent kingdom, and that British fairness (as the RF saw it) was the only thing that the Iraqi archaeological administration had going for it. In the absence of British oversight in the future, the RF wondered whether such an investment of capital would be wise.<sup>100</sup>

The Rockefeller Foundation knew that it had invested quite a lot of money already in Iraq, and understood the need for securing the archaeological governance of the country in case the British Mandate did pull out—or was forced out—from the country. As Edward Capps, then an officer at the RF noted:

From the international point of view I suppose there is no doubt that whatever may happen to the Government of Iraq when a more independent status is granted the kingdom, the interests of archaeology must be considered regardless of prospective changes. In fact it seems to me highly desirable that a really governable archaeological service, including the necessary policing of the country, should be set up before England's mandate is given up. And the Americans ought to have

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organization, although the American organization retains full control of its own operation and administration under its own home institutions." See Breasted to Appleget, February 19, 1930, Folder JDR Jr. 1930, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>100</sup> Thomas Appleget to Breasted, December 17, 1929, Folder RF 1929, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA. Appleget at this stage did note that while the Rockefeller Foundation was unsure about the idea of a museum in general, he could not say the same for Rockefeller himself.

a good deal to say and to be in position to render valuable service in connection with the care of antiquities, both in storage in Baghdad and lying exposed in the country.<sup>101</sup>

But ultimately, both Rockefeller and the Rockefeller Foundation rejected Breasted's appeals for funding, even though Iraq, unlike Egypt, had been enthusiastic about the proposed museum. This is a significant change in the Rockefeller network's approach and shows perhaps their greater understanding at this moment of their increasing inability to control the narrative in the Middle East—an understanding that seems to have dawned in tandem with the realization by colonial mandates of their inability to do the same. It also reflects the network's changing views regarding which genres of knowledge and types of cultural or intellectual projects were relevant to the condition of the world in that moment—as I described in Section 7.2.1.

#### **7.2.4. Government Efforts to Forestall Departure**

We have looked at Breasted's personal efforts to fight the Rockefeller network's attempted curtailment of the Institute's projects, but he did receive some assistance from the American government as well. In the 1930s, the government ramped up its interest in the foreign affairs of the Middle East. Archaeology was perhaps the biggest American undertaking in the region at the time, and the Oriental Institute was the largest American institution operating in this field. Under Wallace Murray, who was Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs from 1929 to 1944, the State Department determined that the Institute's archaeological work was in the country's long-term interests, and it began to keep a close eye on its work.

While the government's apparent support for the Baghdad Museum had not been enough

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<sup>101</sup> Edward Capps to Breasted, December 31, 1929, Folder RF 1929, Box 1 (number assigned by author), OIA. Capps, formerly of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, was in charge of organizing the humanities department in the RF around this time. He left his post in 1930.

to persuade Rockefeller or the Rockefeller Foundation to fund that project, the government did succeed in other instances, sending direct requests on official letterhead. Murray had extensive experience in Iran, and one of the best examples of how the State Department coaxed more money out of the Rockefeller network for the Institute's work comes from the Persepolis expedition.<sup>102</sup> In 1935, Ada Small Moore informed the O.I. that she would end her financial support for the Persepolis expedition because of the impact that the economic depression had made on her income. Breasted turned to Rockefeller for support, lamenting how the lack of funds could mean the end of one of the biggest American archaeological concessions of all times as well as the loss of "magnificent monuments which America has almost in her grasp."<sup>103</sup> At this early point in this decisive year, Rockefeller responded positively and the Rockefeller Foundation provided an emergency subvention. In 1936, after Breasted's death, the Institute's new Director, John Wilson, submitted a report to the RF asking for a further five-year grant of \$250,000 to bring the work at Persepolis to a proper, graceful conclusion.<sup>104</sup> In case the Rockefeller Foundation would be tempted to turn down this request, Wilson included a letter from the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, which was addressed to the Institute. In it, the State Department urged the Institute to find funds for the continuation of its work, and warned of the possibly unfavorable consequences, to America, of not doing so:

The failure of the Institute to carry out its implied obligations to pursue the Persepolis program might give currency in Iran to the impression that American archaeological expeditions are lacking in seriousness and might also have the additional and unfortunate effect of impairing the efforts of the Department to obtain favorable consideration for other legitimate American interests in Iran.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 141.

<sup>103</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, March 1, 1935, Folder 1935, Box 2 (number assigned by author), OIA.

<sup>104</sup> John Wilson, "Recommendations for the Future of the Iranian Expedition of the Oriental Institute," Folder 9, Box 158, Office of the President Hutchins Administration, SCRC.

<sup>105</sup> Secretary of State to Wilson, February 7, 1936, Folder 9, Box 158, Office of the President Hutchins

### 7.2.5. War

The Second World War finished the job of attrition that the RF's internal reorganization and reorientation had started. In 1939, the Institute still maintained two expeditions in the field, one in Egypt (at Luxor) and the other at Persepolis.<sup>106</sup> But by 1940, the Persepolis Expedition finally shut down.<sup>107</sup> In 1946, showing how the Institute and Rockefeller's internationalism had been defeated by nationalism, on a reconnaissance trip of his own to the Middle East at the end of the Second World War, the O.I.'s Director John Wilson reported to the State Department that the US must turn towards "cooperation" and could not expect "unilateral" control of archaeology anymore.<sup>108</sup> The loss of control to the "old savage" (the nationalist or the patriot) had always been Fosdick and Rockefeller's greatest fear.

### 7.2.6. The State of the Infrastructure

The expedition-houses and museums—what I am calling the infrastructure of Protestant Modernism and American Internationalism—had helped bolster the Institute's image and work internationally. As the Rockefeller network began to tighten its purse strings, Breasted tried to leverage these buildings' beauty, utility, and symbolism to help slow or reverse this process. In his 1935 letter to Rockefeller, he writes of the expedition-houses as if they were all visible to him

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Administration, SCRC.

<sup>106</sup> John Wilson to Harold Swift, November 13, 1939, Folder 7, Box 168, The Harold H. Swift Papers, SCRC.

<sup>107</sup> Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 182-183. After American departure from Persepolis, the Iranian Director of Antiquities, Godard, put Iranians in charge of Persepolis. The O.I. had left behind some antiquities that it hoped to collect. During the war, the American diplomats tried to get these objects, but the Shah refused to relinquish them. Eric F. Schmidt—the then-Director of the Institute's Persepolis expedition—was accused by Iran of being a spy. Just before the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941, the matter was resolved. Iran was facing a political crisis and needed American support. In exchange, Iran released these antiquities to the O.I. Unfortunately, the items—of which Iran only kept 33 out of 519—were lost when a German submarine sank the ship carrying them.

<sup>108</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 228. Wilson's emphasis on cooperation as if it were a new concept is curious because the Institute had always stated that it intended to cooperate with local governments and archaeologists.

at once:

As I write these lines I look down some 6,000 feet from a bumping airplane and survey a wide stretch of Asia and Africa where civilization first arose. I am returning from an inspection of the Institute expeditions in Palestine and Syria, where I found our devoted young scientists more efficiently and harmoniously at work than ever before. I find it difficult to imagine that ... this splendid machine may possibly be doomed to collapse, .... that we may be obliged to close up and abandon the fine headquarters buildings now stretching across Western Asia from Persia through Babylonia and Assyria to Syria and Palestine; and extending in Africa from the Lower Nile at Memphis to Upper Egypt at Luxor.<sup>109</sup>

Crucially, he presents this machinery—these buildings and the work they accomplished—as an “imposing monument to [Rockefeller’s] enlightened vision,” the termination of which would be lamentable. As he did during the Baghdad Museum negotiations, Breasted tried to leverage these buildings’ presence in the Middle East not only as a sign of the Institute’s accomplishments, but also as returns on Rockefeller’s investment, and reminders of what his network stood to lose from its policy of retrenchment.

Purpose-built new structures not only provided a unique public marker of the Institute’s work, and a means of housing more comfortably its personnel and resources, they also put its work on a more secure footing. In another letter, also written in 1935, Breasted responded to the Rockefeller Foundation’s attempts to squeeze the budget of the Oriental Institute into ever-tighter sums by pointing to his recent closure of the Khorsabad expedition as a sincere attempt on his part to cut back on costs. Elaborating on that expedition’s closure, Breasted writes that, compared to the Institute’s other expeditions, Khorsabad was relatively easy to shut down because here a new headquarters had never been built.<sup>110</sup> So the other houses’ very existence, and their more polished appearances, rendered it difficult—though ultimately not impossible—for

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<sup>109</sup> Breasted to Rockefeller, October 25, 1935, Folder 12, Box 106, The Harold H. Swift Papers, SCRC.

<sup>110</sup> Breasted to David H. Stevens, July 2, 1935, Folder 29 “RF David Stevens-1935,” Box 2 (number self-assigned),



Rockefeller officers to advocate closing an expedition or diverting funds from it. A cancelled expedition meant the loss of an investment that had been made in the form of a physical plant, which had been put up in a sensitive geo-political area with great difficulty, and which was a testament to the abilities and perseverance of the Oriental Institute and its backers. It was both an actual loss and a loss in hindsight of the money that the Rockefeller network had invested in the expedition. Closing an expedition required reckoning with a visible reminder of the important work that the Institute was doing and the inroads it was making into a desirable and increasingly difficult territory. Given that the Rockefeller network's defunding of the O.I. happened gradually over nine years, such arguments and strategies by Breasted perhaps helped delay the closure of some of the expeditions.

The change in ownership and condition of the Institute's dig-houses tells us something about the nature of American internationalism that Rockefeller hoped to establish. It is not possible to determine the status of *all* the dig-houses we have looked at. But we do know that the new Chicago House remains in the Institute's control today, even though details of its construction and layout are tightly guarded. It is one of the few expedition-houses that I can say with confidence still exists. Its existence probably has something to do with the fact that, in the West, there has always been greater interest in Ancient Egypt.<sup>111</sup> Luxor was also the Institute's first expedition in the field and closely associated with Breasted's memory. The dig-house in Persepolis survives but is now being operated as a state-run museum.<sup>112</sup> The expedition-house at Megiddo serves as the entrance pavilion to the Megiddo National Park, which is managed by the

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OIA.

<sup>111</sup> See Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*, 8-9.

<sup>112</sup> See, Ali Mousavi, *Persepolis: Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder* (Walter de Gruyter, 2012).

Israel Nature and Parks Authority.<sup>113</sup> The Khorsabad expedition-house as we know was shut down, and it is not clear whether the building still stands in the landscape. The Tell Asmar expedition-house, too, was eventually shut down. Its status today is unknown to me, but as it stood on government property, quite possibly the Iraqi government has retained use of it. The Sakkara expedition-house stood at least until 1997, but in a dilapidated state. There was a house in Rihanie, Turkey, too. I spoke with an archaeologist at the Oriental Institute who told me that an archaeological expedition from the Institute recently went to Rihanie and, while there, managed to locate the ruins of the old expedition-house.<sup>114</sup>

### **7.2.7. Return to the Orient: What It Looks Like**

Cultural internationalism, achieved through interpersonal relations amongst foreign elites on Western soil—as seen in the International House movement—proved a bit safer and more predictable than the thornier business of knowledge production and control in the Middle East. While the contents in the O.I.’s museum in Chicago have been by and large naturalized and made permanent within their environments, the contrasting fate of the Institute’s dig-houses and museums in the Middle East exposes the precariousness of foreign non-Western sites for an American-led internationalism that, though it claimed to be cooperative, instead co-opted the region’s archaeological sites in order to put *American* religion and an American-led internationalism on a firm evidentiary basis.<sup>115</sup> Built to study ancient ruins, the Oriental

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<sup>113</sup> See brochure, “Megiddo National Park,” date unknown, Accessed October 7, 2017, <http://www.parks.org.il/ParksAndReserves/megiddo/Documents/brochureEn.pdf>.

<sup>114</sup> Tasha Vorderstrasse, oral conversation with author, Summer 2016. Note that in an email exchange later in 2018, Vorderstrasse writes that she recalls the conversation about dig-houses but does not recall mentioning that the Rihanie house’s ruins had been discovered. Vorderstrasse to author, email, July 8, 2018.

<sup>115</sup> Recently, a challenge to the Oriental Institute’s Persepolis collection was overturned by the US Supreme Court. See, “Supreme Court Forbids Seizure of Ancient Persian Artifacts,” *Reuters*, February 21, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-court-iran/u-s-top-court-forbids-seizure-of-ancient-persian-artifacts->

Institute's expedition-houses and museums have now themselves become ruins of a once-ambitious but ultimately aborted endeavor by Rockefeller to return to the site of former empires and Biblical events through science rather than proselytization or militarism. This hoped-for scientifically and historically shaped American presence is different from the more muscular and hawkish one that is there now.<sup>116</sup>

### 7.3. “Rockefeller City”

In 1939, the year the Rockefeller Foundation put the final nail into the coffin of the Oriental Institute (funding-wise), Rockefeller ceremonially drove the last rivet into the Rockefeller Center in New York City (**Fig. 7.21**).<sup>117</sup> The triumphs and failures of Protestant Modernism and American internationalism (and of the Oriental Institute and the I-House movement) are embodied in this best-known—and *for-profit*—project from Rockefeller's oeuvre. One of the most written-about group of buildings of the early-to-mid twentieth century, the Center has been celebrated and criticized from different aesthetic, urbanistic, and political viewpoints.<sup>118</sup> But no

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idUSKCN1G51X9. See also “Victims of a Jerusalem Bombing Want to Seize Artifacts from a Chicago Museum as Damages,” *Hyperallergic*, July 21, 2017, <https://hyperallergic.com/391778/victims-of-a-jerusalem-bombing-want-to-seize-artifacts-from-a-chicago-museum-as-damages/>.

<sup>116</sup> Note that American educational and scientific institutions like the American University in Cairo and the American University of Beirut survive and remain strong. But aside from these institutions, American presence in the Middle East is now largely—and undeniably—militaristic.

<sup>117</sup> For more on this ceremonial moment, see Merle Crowell, *The Last Rivet; The Story of Rockefeller Center, a City Within a City, as Told at the Ceremony in Which John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Drove the Last Rivet of the Last Building, November 1, 1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940). Some work on the Rockefeller Center did continue after this official ceremony. For more information on the complete timeline of this project, please see Robert A. M Stern, Gregory Gilmartin, and Thomas Mellins, “Rockefeller Center: From Metropolitan Opera to Miniature Metropolis,” in *New York 1930: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Two World Wars* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 617-672 and Daniel Okrent, *Great Fortune: The Epic of Rockefeller Center* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004).

<sup>118</sup> Sigfried Giedion celebrated the Center's many-sidedness. See, Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*. Rem Koolhaas sees the Rockefeller Center as an embodiment of the theory of Manhattanism. See Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1994). Robert Stern describes the Center as a civic success. See Stern et al., “Rockefeller Center,” 617-672. The critic Lewis Mumford

author has seen it as a theopolitical complex, primarily because no author has seen it side-by-side the larger oeuvre of its financial sponsor, which helps bring out the project's ideological texture.

The Center's verticality—one of its key features—is of a piece with other tall buildings in this era, such as the Empire State Building, which was completed in 1931. But given our focus on Protestant Modernism, American imperialism, and the Rockefeller network, the Center's height also appears symbolic of conversations that took place in theologically liberal circles and amongst Rockefeller's advisors around the acquisition of *knowledge*. For example, in the late 1800s, when theologian Theodore Thornton Munger cautioned his fellow liberals for exerting all their energies on gaining more and more knowledge, he did remain optimistic that their quest would eventually lead to greater understanding, and that this breakthrough would be sudden and vigorous: Munger described the breakthrough in physical terms, noting that it would be akin to reaching suddenly into the sky after having stayed low to the ground with only a panoramic vista.<sup>119</sup> Several decades later, in the 1930s, the Rockefeller Foundation's officers too would worry that “snobbish” academic pursuits like archaeology—which they were then funding—were leading mostly to the discovery of a disorganized mass of cultural fragments rather than the synthesis of knowledge from this material or its proper application to the needs of the moment.<sup>120</sup> Collapsing these two concerns together, I propose to think of New York City's Rockefeller Center as the moment of synthesis and the moment of truth for Protestant Modernism and American internationalism (**Fig. 7.22**). The “moment” is of course not just a brief instance: it is

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was not impressed by the Rockefeller Center at first but later conceded that it was exciting. For more on Mumford's views, see *Ibid.* Praise for the Rockefeller Center also came from Jane Jacobs. See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities: 50th Anniversary Edition*, Anniversary edition (New York: Modern Library, 2011). For an interpretation of the Rockefeller Center as capitalist enterprise, see Manfredo Tafuri, “The Disenchanted Mountain: The Skyscraper and the City,” in *The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal*, ed. Giorgio Ciucci (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983).

<sup>119</sup> Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, 103-105.

<sup>120</sup> Jerome D. Greene quoted in Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 241.

the long duration over which the complex was built. Most intriguingly, the Rockefeller Center is the architectural project where Rockefeller literally inhabits his own internationalism, placing himself and his philanthropic and business operations right at its center.<sup>121</sup>

The construction of the Rockefeller Center occurred side by side the expansion and--later--the retrenchment of the Oriental Institute and I-House projects, from 1928 to 1939. In December 1928, just after the Jerusalem conference and a year after he committed to building the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Rockefeller partnered with New York's Metropolitan Opera, which was looking for a new home, and formulated plans to build a real estate development on a parcel of land between Fifth and Sixth Avenues and Forty-Eighth and Fifty-First streets in Manhattan; a central spot on this site would be reserved for the Opera's home. In January 1929, at the end of the "Roaring Twenties" and just before the Stock Market Crash, Rockefeller signed a renewable twenty-year lease with Columbia University, the owner of this property. Early in 1930, the Opera withdrew from the development, citing financial reasons but also because of the rather commercial direction the architects' proposals had taken.<sup>122</sup> And so, at the onset of the Great Depression, Rockefeller decided to pursue the real estate development on his own—a risky undertaking that many of his biographers interpret as a heroic, philanthropic gesture to the city and to America and a strong declaration of faith in capitalism.<sup>123</sup> The various buildings of the complex were completed and opened to the public at different times throughout the 1930s.

The long design and construction timeline of the project, and the many different actors

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<sup>121</sup> Rockefeller had previously run his philanthropic ventures out of rooms at 26 Broadway—the headquarters of Standard Oil. There, his private office was outfitted with antique Spanish furniture. With the completion of the Rockefeller Center, and with the complex's inability to find tenants, he moved his operations into the complex, ordering the dismantling of his antique office, its transportation to the Rockefeller Center, and its installation on the fifty-sixth floor of the central building. See Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 269 and Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 180.

<sup>122</sup> Stern, et al., "Rockefeller Center," 633.

<sup>123</sup> See, Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 264-265.

and architects involved in it, resulted in continuous changes to the original design, and each of these phases reflect larger stylistic trends in that period (**Fig. 7.23-7.25**).<sup>124</sup> As built, the Center has an underground area that features a vast shopping space and a transit hub. Above ground, two small buildings—the British Empire Building and *La Maison Francaise*—sit at the threshold to the larger site, facing Fifth Avenue. A narrow strip of greenery and water features, nicknamed the “Channel” Gardens by the press at the time, separates these two buildings and leads to the main office tower in the distance, which shoots out of the ground, dwarfing most other structures around it. The tower, referred to in books as the “central slab,” is more popularly known as 30 Rock (**Fig. 7.26**). To the north, just further up Fifth Avenue, the complex features a miniature version of this same configuration: two low buildings, which are the same height as the British and French buildings, separated by a forecourt that is shorter than the length of the Channel Gardens, terminating in a tower (the International Building) that is about half the height of the central slab (**Fig. 7.27**). These buildings once featured rooftop gardens, including the “Gardens of the Nations” (**Fig. 7.28**).<sup>125</sup> Together with the forecourt, the International Building overlooks St. Patrick’s Cathedral across the street. At ground level, before shooting up into the sky, the Rockefeller Center’s various buildings pause long enough to display a public art and mural program that is executed in the sculptural wall aesthetic of the Art Deco. The footprint of the larger complex is, in various places, symmetrical and axial.

While these architectural and spatial elements of the Rockefeller Center (Gardens of the Nations, International Building, the British Empire Building) are—to me—replete with suggestions of internationalism, historians of the development and the architects who were

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<sup>124</sup> Its urban layout went from an inward-looking design to a more extroverted one; and the buildings’ facades and massing transformed from a stepped pyramid style, featuring at one point an obelisk, to a more modernist Art Deco aesthetic. See Stern, et al., “Rockefeller Center,” 617-672.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 647.

involved in it repeatedly note that an intention to economize construction costs and maximize financial returns dictated all aspects of the complex's design and layout. For example, they write that the Gardens of Nations were added to beautify the project only *after* the design had received unfavorable reviews in the press. They also suggest that these Gardens were shut down within just a few years because they did not attract as many paying visitors as had been hoped.

Meanwhile, the two small buildings that guard the central slab were named after the British and French empires mainly to attract British and French tenants and businesses. The same was apparently true of the International Building.<sup>126</sup>

These designers and historians also indicate that there was no one authorial voice.<sup>127</sup> While Rockefeller was the development's owner and financier, his son Nelson was also actively involved in the project, thus complicating issues of patronage and authorship. Moreover, the builder-developer hired to oversee construction, John R. Todd, was famous for controlling the design of his projects. The Rockefeller Center was also one of the earliest design-by-team projects in which independent architects and practitioners were grouped together to create the anonymous-sounding "Associated Architects" (**Fig. 7.29**). This team included the firm of Reinhardt and Hoffmeister (Todd's preferred architects). It also included Harvey Wiley Corbett, a designer and advocate of tall buildings and modernism, his partner Wallace Harrison (who began to assert himself towards the latter half of the project and later became Nelson Rockefeller's go-to-architect), and Raymond Hood, one of the star designers of skyscrapers in that era, who was largely responsible for the central tower and for the rooftop gardens, envisioning the latter initially as an elaborate "fabled living tapestry of the Hanging Gardens of

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 617-672.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

Babylon.”<sup>128</sup> (Hood died before the complex was fully completed.)

How should we reconcile these facts and historical readings of the project—its mixed and untraceable authorship, its emphasis on recouping costs rather than privileging design or anything else—with my assertion that religion and politics are at the center of Rockefeller’s architectural projects? First, I have stated repeatedly that capitalism—and profit—were absolutely compatible with theological modernism and Rockefeller’s internationalism. Second, important aspects of Protestant Modernism and American internationalism (religion, science, anti-Bolshevism, brotherhood, capitalism, and American ascendancy) are in fact emphasized in one of the few existing archival documents of the Rockefeller Center: a little-known, thick specifications book.<sup>129</sup>

Architectural specifications are typically dry, technical documents addressed to contractors and the building trades, laying out in detail the manner in which a building is to be constructed, and the level of craftsmanship expected by the architect and client. It is significant then that the specifications for the Rockefeller Center begin with a lengthy note on the building’s “thematic” construction. It is also noteworthy that the document appears to have been created in 1928, before design on the Center started, suggesting that the sentiments expressed in it were *not* designed to appease a dissatisfied public or press. In other words, the specifications present an *ideal* conception of the Center, in many ways transcending the actual buildings.

The authors of a specification book are typically architects, but it is understood that their main job is to represent their clients’ best interests. The Rockefeller Center’s authors and client tell us that this real estate development’s subject matter is “Homo Faber, or Man the Builder.” In

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<sup>128</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 647.

<sup>129</sup> *Specifications Rockefeller Center Development*, Avery Archives, Columbia University. The issuance date of the specifications is unclear. A handwritten note suggests December 1928 as a possible date. The author is similarly unclear. No author is stated in the specifications, but typically these are issued on behalf of clients by their



this theme, I see encapsulated Rockefeller's career as builder. The authors affirm that the improvement of nature—either through the planting of crops where there were none previously, the reshaping of an existing environment, or the construction of a new one—is the “finest” sign of human civilization and occupation:

Civilization is our name for what Man adds to nature.... In brief, we perceive the possibility of becoming better creatures, better men than we are; we turn our energies to the task of the builder; and in performing this task we come into the realization of a finer humanity. The work before us may be the clearing of a waste land or the planting of fruits in soils that have known them not; it may be the labor of a craftsman at his trade; it may be the composition of a work of art or the laying out of a city, —it may be any labor of civilization that is set to our hands, but in its performance, if we are true to ourselves, we are executing the commission which was made ours when Human Nature was first conceived: we are become builders in the noblest sense.<sup>130</sup>

The profuse decorations at ground level, and the layout of the Rockefeller Center, were meant to emphasize this view, and to celebrate the notion that in tinkering with Nature or adding to it men approach Divine work and a better humanity. Though the authors do not use this phrase, one could say that man achieves the **Kingdom of God** here on Earth.

What kind of civilization should man build? What does the Kingdom of God look like, and what are the obstacles in its way? We find that the Kingdom, as envisioned by the specifications' authors, is harmonious with the goals and visions of Protestant Modernism and American internationalism:

It [Rockefeller Center] will be influential, first, as a building enterprise, in the narrower sense of this phrase, —for both the nature of its architecture and the character of the venture as a business enterprise are bound to be watched with a keen eye to the following or rejection of its leads. It will be influential secondly in its effect upon American taste, for the conscious effort to create beauty in the center will compel the development of expressions which are novel, and which if successful will open new avenues to American art. Finally, it will be influential socially, for it has

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architects.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 3.

at least the chance of becoming the first clear expression in our economic life of a new social idea... if a whole population, such as Rockefeller City will possess, can be lifted into a finer life in their working hours, then the economic democracy of America will have begun its answer to the Bolshevik challenge. In all of these phases, then, ... it is appropriate to announce its theme as Homo Faber, Man the Builder.

...the expression of such a theme should follow our American understanding of the new civilization that is growing up in the world. Since the World War Europe has ceased to be the unchallenged leader of human culture; new political boundaries are established; new conceptions of society are arising; and science is transforming our image of the universe and of man's place in it. We live actually in the hour of as radical a transformation of human thought as has ever affected men's destinies. Obviously, the decorative scheme of Rockefeller City should magnify this understanding, and reveal in its temper and its design at least the fact that its builders are looking towards a long future.<sup>131</sup>

The specifications call out Europe's decline, nationalist movements ("new political boundaries"), and America's new charge to manage these changes and to eliminate communism (the "Bolshevik challenge"). Scientific progress would further help achieve and enhance the Kingdom of God. Finally, these transformations and progress would be evident in the act and art of building, which Frederick T. Gates had so disdained just a few decades earlier. The authors describe their ambition for Rockefeller City to become a model of American architecture and business in New York City, the larger country, and indeed around the world, and they make an explicit assertion of a new world order in the aftermath of the Great War, where Europe is no longer leading the world and scientists are making unprecedented discoveries about the universe and of "man's place in it." (This latter phrasing is remarkably similar to James Henry Breasted's frequent explanations of the O.I.'s work.) Rockefeller City was intended as the architectural embodiment of this ambitious vision; its plazas, ramps, and street-level sculptural murals were designed to emphasize each part of this theme (**Fig. 7.30-7.32**).

In the New Egyptian Museum, the Rockefeller team had used a Beaux-Arts layout to

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

propose a hierarchical curatorial narrative of the rise of a Christian and Western civilization. Similarly, despite its modernist aesthetic, the Rockefeller Center's main buildings are largely laid out in a symmetrical and axial arrangement, which, when read against the specification book, enforces a very clear chronicle of the ascent of America. Giedion, delirious about the "space-time conception" of the Rockefeller Center, and looking *up* the entire time, paid great attention to its towers but dismissed its ground plan:

Nothing new or significant can be observed in looking over a map of the site. The ground plan reveals nothing.<sup>132</sup>

Yet, it is the ground plan that reveals that in this project, after having restored monuments in other parts of the world, Rockefeller was building a monument to America and capitalism. The French and British Empire buildings that stand at the threshold to the larger site suggest the importance of the European allies, but their diminutive size echoes the specifications' commentary on the new limits to European power. Instead, the Channel Gardens lead straight up to the central tower, which I read as a symbol of the new American civilization.

This tower physically articulates so much of the language and metaphors we have seen in Rockefeller's larger oeuvre. In addition to representing the synthesis of knowledge and ideology, it is also a concrete manifestation of a religious metaphor that was often exploited in the Rockefeller team's publications and speeches on the International House movement. The I-Houses were frequently described as "Shining forth as a beacon of light."<sup>133</sup> And Edmonds described their purpose to Rockefeller at the very beginning of the I-House movement in this manner:

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<sup>132</sup> Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 849.

<sup>133</sup> Bu, *Making the World Like Us*, 98.

International House ought to be a Christian home center and lighthouse extending its influence around the world.<sup>134</sup>

At the Rockefeller Center, this metaphor is realized in material form. Given the lack of other competing high-rises in the immediate region at that time, photographs and drawings of the central slab from the 1930s *do* evoke the Biblical stories of towering columns of smoke, fire, and light that were used to guide the nation of Israel (**Fig. 7.33-7.34**).

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I want to take a moment here to return to James Henry Breasted's 1918 lecture, "The Earliest Internationalism," in which he presented Ancient Egypt's internationalist imperialism as advantageous to both Egypt and other regions.<sup>135</sup> Speaking about the cosmopolitanism acquired through internationalism, Breasted noted that it was reflected in a greatly diversifying flora and fauna in Egypt: the presence of horticultural and animal types not previously seen in the country. Egypt's religion necessarily changed as a result of this internationalism--to keep pace with its diffusion and to knit together different groups of people into one body in harmony with Egypt's interests.

But towards the end of this talk, Breasted struck a dark note on architecture's relative inability to support lasting change in a society. He began by describing the architectural-urban impact that internationalism, cosmopolitanism, and universalism necessarily had in Ancient Egypt. The city of Thebes, he writes, was transformed into "a worthy seat of empire" and the "symmetrical monumental structure of the city" was "imposing in the extreme." This architectural innovation was inevitable given the larger changes in Egypt.

Thrown for the first time into a larger arena, the men of Egypt, like ourselves at the present crisis

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<sup>134</sup> Edmonds to Rockefeller, October 31, 1921, Folder 68A, Box 10, OMR III 2G, RAC

<sup>135</sup> Breasted, *The Earliest Internationalism*. (See also Chapter Three of this dissertation.)

in our own history, were suddenly confronted by a more spacious outlook and were obliged to think in larger terms.<sup>136</sup>

But he then notes that architecture was ultimately not enough to preserve this new outlook: even though Thebes' landscape was rewritten with new temples, gardens and homes--and the plural gods expunged from old temple inscriptions—the city still held the memory of old ways and the old religion. Breasted tells us that the Pharaoh at first tried to overcome this problem by creating a new capital at Tell-el-Amarna for his newly cosmopolitan, monotheistic civilization, but he discovered that architectural and urban changes might be harder to translate into a change in the “social fabric”:

Ikhnaton had annihilated the old gods and exalted a sole god in their place; but he had failed to understand that he could not expunge the old gods from the habits, customs, and daily life of the people themselves as he had expunged the names of those gods from the monuments. Unlike a monument, a social fabric is powerfully dynamic, and cannot be fashioned like potter's clay. Hence it was in a whole land darkened by clouds of smouldering discontent that this marvellous [sic] young king and his group of followers had set up their tabernacle to the daily light, in serene unconsciousness of the fatal darkness that enveloped all around and grew daily darker and more threatening.<sup>137</sup>

Breasted was clearly evoking the horrors of the then-ongoing First World War, but with the advantage of hindsight, one can easily imagine that he was forecasting the Second World War, and that the “marvellous young king [sic]” is Rockefeller. Of course, Rockefeller did not rely only on architecture. Rockefeller believed that materialism could not achieve much without the proper spiritual basis, and so he sponsored books and theological conferences and facilitated social interaction. But our focus here is primarily on architecture, and what we see is that ultimately architecture was not enough to preserve the kind of internationalism Rockefeller

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 201.

hoped to achieve and it was replaced by a very different and state-sponsored American imperialism.

These fractures and problems are reflected in some aspects of the Rockefeller Center's design and spaces. Recalling Egyptian Viceroy Mohammad 'Ali's construction of a vanity mosque in the citadel of Cairo in the 1800s, when there was already a functional mosque next to it, we now know that there was no functional need for additional office spaces in New York City in the 1930s. When the Center was completed, Rockefeller's son Nelson resorted to extreme measures to pressure businesses in nearby office towers to relocate to the Rockefeller Center. To facilitate this attempt to populate the complex's empty spaces, Rockefeller himself moved into the building, ordering the removal of his antique Spanish-style office from 26 Broadway and its installation on the fifty-sixth floor of the central slab (**Fig. 7.35**).

Absent tenants were not the only ghosts in Rockefeller Center when it opened. Some spaces and artwork, originally planned for the complex, were never realized. Of aesthetic absences and vanishings, the smashing (or concealment) of Diego Rivera's mural is the best-known example. Guided by Raymond Hood, the Rockefeller family planned an elaborate system of sculptural planes and murals at the entrance to each building and in the lobbies. To execute these murals, Rockefeller's team contacted well-regarded artists.<sup>138</sup> Rockefeller was uncomfortable with the selection of Rivera because of his communist affiliation, but Abby Rockefeller was a great enthusiast of his work, and so Rivera was asked to create a mural depicting:

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<sup>138</sup> These artists were recommended by Rockefeller's wife Abby and their son Nelson, and included Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. But Matisse demurred against executing a mural in a public lobby, whose atmosphere and sound he felt would make it impossible for viewers to appreciate his work; Picasso reportedly refused to meet with Rockefeller's representatives. In the end, the commissions were given to José Maria Sert, Frank Brangwyn, and Mexican artist Diego Rivera. Abby was enthusiastic about Rivera, having previously commissioned portraits of her grandchildren from him. See Stern, et al., "Rockefeller Center," 652.

Man at the Crossroads Looking with Uncertainty but with Hope and High Vision to the Choosing of a Course Heading to a New and Better Future.<sup>139</sup>

As Robert Stern writes, Rivera's choice of motifs and his final interpretation of the theme was at odds with the Rockefeller name and what it stood for. This is how the mural's contents and style were reported by one journalist:

microbes given life by poison gasses used in war . . . germs of infectious and hereditary social diseases . . . so placed as to indicate them as the results of a civilization revolving about night clubs . . . a Communist demonstration . . . iron-jawed policemen, one swinging his club. . . . The dominant color is red—red headdress, red flags, waves of red . . . in a victorious on sweep. . . .<sup>140</sup>

Newspapers cried out that Rivera was depicting, “Scenes of Communist Activity and John D. Jr. Foots Bill.”<sup>141</sup> Stern, noting the hysteria caused by this painting in capitalist quarters, writes that,

in Rockefeller Center, the very symbol of America's beleaguered capitalism, a Marxist was painting his vision of the world—a *Götterdämmerung* the Rockefellers would not survive.<sup>142</sup>

To make matters worse, just before the big reveal Rivera altered the face of a labor leader to make him resemble Lenin. Most historians know what happened next: the destruction (or concealment) of the mural, Rivera's dismissal from the project, and his reproduction of the mural in Mexico City's *Palacio de Bellas Artes*. Had Rivera's mural remained in place, lined up horizontally with the central axis of the Channel Gardens, it would have dramatically interrupted Rockefeller's monument to a capitalist America (**Fig. 7.36**).<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Quoted in Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Quoted in Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> A story told about the horticultural ornaments of the Rockefeller Center suggests another violent destruction that occurred in the process of tending the landscape of Protestant Internationalism. The lower rooftops of the Rockefeller Center had once featured a medley of national gardens (Chinese, Japanese, American Wild, English Tudor, French, and Dutch), called the Gardens of the Nations. This landscape echoes the International Houses'

Had Rivera's mural remained in place, it would *also* have lined up vertically with a proposed chapel at the summit of the central slab. A few pages into the specification book, we learn that religion, too, was envisioned as an explicit theme in the Rockefeller Center. Specifically, the architects intended to place a chapel (the "Chapel of the Pattern Man") at the top of the central building—now the location of the Rainbow Room, where American folk legend Woody Guthrie once reluctantly auditioned (**Fig. 7.37**).<sup>144</sup> This chapel, completely unmentioned in any published literature on the Rockefeller Center, was described in the following terms:

In the general plan for Rockefeller City, the daily interests of men and women are liberally provided for. There are restaurants and recreation centers as well as office and working facilities. ... But there is one important element in human nature for which no provision is made, and without which no edifice of culture can be complete. This is our spiritual interpretation of life...Certainly, in a sense, this spiritual interpretation of man's life in America in the Twentieth century will pervade the decorations as a whole—for no genuine artist can analyze the day's work or its plays without turning his deepest attention to its inner and essential meaning. But this alone is hardly sufficient...

Obviously Rockefeller City is not and cannot become a church. But it might readily provide a chamber which should memorialize the heights of human aspiration, and which would play into the essential utility of the whole...

Obviously it should not be sectarian, nor even a church; its symbolism should be as universal as man's aspiration for a deeper self-understanding. And as this, in every religion, takes the form of figuring forth some pattern of a higher humanity, it could be called the **CHAPEL OF THE PATTERN MAN**. Central in it, for Christendom, there could be but one image, and the story of but one passion. But if this be rendered with its universal humanity, its appeal to all men, and divested of every ecclesiastical implication, then this chapel might open a vista not only to the aspirations of the individuals who should come there, but perhaps to our whole civilization offer a

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mission of brotherhood; in their arrangement within an American complex, the gardens also recall Kykuit's much-earlier imperial landscape. With the arrival of the Second World War, the presence of the Japanese Garden at the Rockefeller Center became offensive and it "was shorn of its chrysanthemums and replaced by a Chinese garden." See Kenneth Goldsmith, *Capital: New York, Capital of the 20th Century* (Verso Books, 2015).

<sup>144</sup> Woody Guthrie, "Chapter XVIII: Crossroads," in *Bound for Glory: The Hard-Driving, Truth-Telling, Autobiography of America's Great Poet-Folk Singer*, Reissue edition (New York: Plume, 1983), 290-296. Unable to see himself performing for the kind of "high society" that would frequent the Rainbow Room, and unwilling to change his songs and manners to appeal to the managers of the Rainbow Room, Guthrie, who sang about those whom capitalism crushed—laborers, maintenance workers, the "hobo"—writes that he walked out after his audition.



suggestion and a challenge.

In such a feature Rockefeller City would become completely a city — crowned with the true mural crown [emphasis original].<sup>145</sup>

Despite their claim that the chapel would be non-denominational, the specifications' authors do turn to Christianity and "Christendom" to explain what image might best represent the theme of their proposed chapel. They seem to suggest that the Pattern Man is Jesus, and that he is a universal figure behind which *all* people can gather.<sup>146</sup> Translating this into the design of the chapel and its symbolism, they argue that if it were stripped of explicit ecclesiastical references, it could become a place for the "whole civilization." These and other passages of the Rockefeller Center's specifications that I have provided in this section are some of the clearest examples of Rockefeller's larger philanthropic project, and its marriage of science, internationalism, and American and Protestant exceptionalism.

In addition to the Chapel of the Pattern Man, the entire central slab recalls the proposal for a Convocation Tower for the Rockefeller-backed Interchurch World Movement, as well as a rejected tower proposal for Riverside Church. In the Convocation Tower, the church would have been on the ground level. At Rockefeller Center it was elevated to the top. That it was taken out altogether is fascinating. Its absence may hint at either economic reasons (the Rainbow Room is inarguably more profitable) or at Rockefeller's own fatigue with trying to achieve interchurch unity, as I mentioned earlier. But it may also signify something else: by the time the Rockefeller Center was completed, in 1939, American Protestantism had become so normalized in (and in part, through) Rockefeller's projects—so much a part of the scientific society, capitalist

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<sup>145</sup> *Specifications Rockefeller Center Development*, 14-16.

<sup>146</sup> The term "pattern man," in direct reference to Jesus Christ, appears in the writings and sermons of some Protestant ministers. For example, see Henry Ward Beecher, *The Original Plymouth Pulpit: Sermons of Henry Ward*

economy, and internationalist-imperial culture that he and others were advocating—that it no longer needed a dedicated architectural space to call attention to it. The chapel’s absence, then, actually speaks to religion’s strength. Protestant Modernism may have been abandoned in the 1930s, but the strength of the liberal mainstream establishment persevered in this period.

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*Beecher in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn* (Pilgrim Press, 1871), 44.

## Conclusion

John D. Rockefeller Jr. spoke publicly on religion, calling and campaigning for a consolidated church and arguing that a modern brotherhood based on Christian *and* capitalist principles—and led by society’s elite—could ensure that the world did not descend into another war. As we have seen, he also built and restored extensively, both in America and abroad. Although Rockefeller did not speak at length on how architecture could help promote the modern and international American-led brotherhood he envisioned, he *did* note that it could provide a “scaffolding” for his value system—and in the preceding chapters we have seen the religious, cultural, and economic dimensions of these values.<sup>1</sup>

Drawing from his speeches on religion, his clear and evident enthusiasm for building, and from my architectural reading of his projects, this dissertation has argued that Rockefeller leveraged architecture, urban space, and landscapes to build—with varying degrees of success—an American-led internationalism rooted in Protestant Modernism. Rockefeller’s attempts to prevent the next great war, through the *proper* management of knowledge and spread of capitalist brotherhood, relied upon the reconciliation of American Protestantism with science, world religions, and modernity—a transformation of the faith that was also designed to *maintain* its hegemony in an increasingly secular and diverse age. As we have seen, to its orthodox detractors, theological modernism seemed much closer to secularism or irreligion. To modernists and their benefactors, however, Protestant Modernism was an attempt to keep religion alive in the American public sphere, politics, and culture. For Rockefeller, architecture became an important medium for this effort.

But, judging from the state of architectural history scholarship in general, and from most

of the existing scholarship on Rockefeller's philanthropy and patronage in particular, the post-Enlightenment belief in a clean split between reason and religion has created the impression that in the West—in the modern era—God and religious concerns are sequestered to clearly demarcated realms. Finding evidence of God in modern-day built environments can be effortless only if the building in question is explicitly ecclesiastical or religious in function or appearance. If the environment we are examining belongs to the medieval era, it can be easy to locate religion in other kinds of spaces as well. As Charles Taylor has noted regarding “early Christendom,” in that age governments, guilds, feasts, and many other political and social aspects of life revolved around religion.<sup>2</sup> In short, religion was life, and it is an accepted fact that scholars studying this period will also find it in most aspects of medieval architecture.

As for how our discipline understands religion in the *non*-West, we must first acknowledge that architectural history has unquestionable Euro-centric origins, which, when combined with post-Enlightenment beliefs, have resulted in the assumption that the “Islamic world” and other cultural groups that are supposedly outside the techno-scientific modernity of the global North have been—and are still—rooted in religion and spirituality. We assume that religion operates in the non-West everywhere, and in all eras—that it is omnipresent in society, culture, politics, and aesthetics.<sup>3</sup> But to find God or ideas about Divinity in non-ecclesiastical built environments, in an age and geography that self-consciously promotes itself as secular (i.e., the modern West), is much harder and more revealing.

My research on John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s architectural patronage in the early twentieth century, in American-produced environments both at home and abroad, grapples with this

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 401.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*, (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> As an example, we still use the term “Islamic Architecture” to organize scholarship on the built environment of the so-called Islamic world, regardless of whether this architecture is secular or sacred.

challenge. In doing this work, I have drawn upon the writings of Talal Asad, Wendy Brown, and other anthropologists and political scientists, who have argued that religion is present in the Western public sphere and that secularism and critical thinking—cherished Western ideals—are not devoid of religion or religious bias either.<sup>4</sup> With respect to the field of architectural history, my work aligns itself with some emerging scholarship that acknowledges and studies the presence of religion in the technology and environment of the West.<sup>5</sup> An important contribution of my project—and of the work of these other scholars—is to demonstrate that religion does not always assume a particular form or aesthetic (spire, cathedral, Gothic) or become evident in the environment in traditional or routine ways (cross, crescent, star).

Another contribution of my project is to show that a building does not have to “‘look’ modern” in order to produce modernity: for example, with respect to an *explicitly* religious building, note that Rockefeller used Gothic forms in Riverside Church to advocate for Protestant Modernism.<sup>6</sup> In other buildings, Rockefeller’s vision of an American-led internationalism (based upon this theological modernism) was often clothed in a diverse aesthetic that can be understood as a kind of architectural universalism (for example, the Oriental Institute’s eclectic and historicist expedition-houses), or it was dressed in a simple Italianate facade (International House New York), or in a towering and axial modernist complex (the Rockefeller Center).

I began this dissertation by asserting that Rockefeller intended these and other projects to “[flag] the next war” through a combination of international cooperation, American leadership,

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<sup>4</sup> See Asad et al., *Is Critique Secular?* Wendy Brown, one of the contributors to this book, asks whether in the West a secular environment is simply modern or if it is presumed to be *Christian*.

<sup>5</sup> Recent conferences and panels have showcased this emerging scholarship. See “Pious Technologies and Secular Designs,” Conference and Workshop at Columbia University in the City of New York, 2017, and “Religion in Secular American Architecture,” Panel organized by the author for the Society of Architectural Historians Annual Conference, 2018. See also Hejduk and Williamson, *The Religious Imagination in Modern and Contemporary Architecture*.

<sup>6</sup> I am quoting here Paula Lupkin, who has argued similarly for the importance of studying YMCA buildings. See

and a liberal and capitalist Christian brotherhood. As such, his sponsored architectural constructions, additions, and absences should be understood in the context of this mission. The mission, though, had a complicated outcome. When John D. Rockefeller Jr. died in 1960, he had not only failed to prevent the Second World War, he had also failed to achieve a united church in America. Neither was he able to prolong the tenure of Protestant Modernism. These goals were improbable to begin with. But if we take his aims at face value, how should we understand the “failure” of his theopolitical agenda, and does this failure diminish the importance of his projects?

Although Rockefeller’s internationalism and theological modernism proved insufficient to maintain international peace, I argue that their associated social and intellectual processes and architectural projects had other significant outcomes. For example, they helped normalize Protestantism in secular environments, turning the religion into an “ambient faith.”<sup>7</sup> In other words, Protestantism, even if it is just minimally liberal, is today thought to be compatible with a secular and diverse society, and thus has a barely noticeable presence in America and in the world. This in turn makes it harder for us to discern the theological urgency from which institutions like the I-House or other academic and cultural organizations originated in the first place. Protestantism’s power and influence in these environments and institutions is now normalized.

The opposite process has happened with American internationalism: its imperial undercurrents are *more* pronounced and starkly obvious today than ever before, fulfilling the idea of American exceptionalism that was so evident in the relationship of the towering central slab of Rockefeller Center to the diminutive *La Maison Francaise* and British Empire Building. If the

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Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, xxii.

First World War spurred Rockefeller and other liberal American figures and institutions towards participation in world affairs, the Second World War hastened and transformed this participation into robust intervention. During the ensuing Cold War, some of Rockefeller's internationalist projects became important once again. The International Student Houses again assumed an important role, but in this new phase came to reflect the American government's ambitions rather than those of a private philanthropic network. Jonathan P. Herzog has noted that in this period the American government *also* took over the campaign to make religion central in American life, creating what Herzog calls the "spiritual-industrial complex."<sup>8</sup>

At the heart of the dissertation is a question about religion. What is the extent of its influence in Western politics and foreign affairs and what does it look like in a cultural program, an intellectual mission, a building, a landscape, or the city? If the distinction between religion on the one hand, and reason, secularism, and science on the other, is not as sharp as we think it is, then secular environments and spaces of religious practices or concerns are closer than we might imagine.

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<sup>7</sup> For more on ambient faith, see Engelke, "Angels in Swindon," 155–70. See also my discussion of Engelke's concept in the Introduction and Chapter One.

<sup>8</sup> Jonathan P. Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

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# Illustrations



Installation of a crated Assyrian bull in the newly-completed Chicago headquarters of the Oriental Institute, c.1931. Rockefeller Memorial Chapel is in the rear. Source: loose document, Oriental Institute (Museum) Archives, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL (hereafter OIA). Courtesy: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (hereafter O.I.)

## Introduction

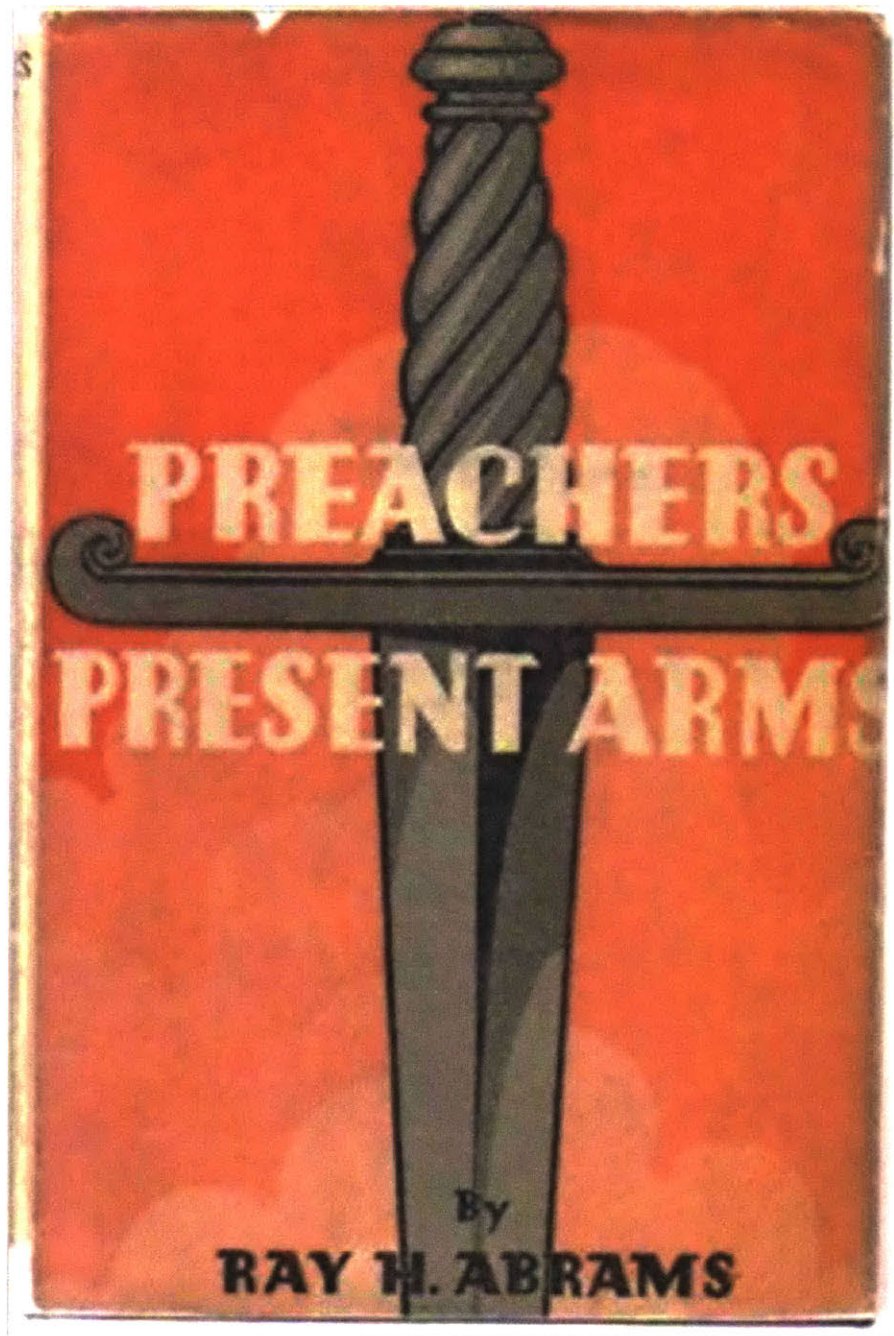


**I.1.** John D. Rockefeller Jr., seen here ceremonially driving the last rivet into New York City's Rockefeller Center, c.1940s. Source: Merle Crowell, *The Last Rivet* (Columbia University Press, 1940).

# Image Redacted

**I.2.** A still of John D. Rockefeller Jr., seen here going over blueprints in his office in New York City's Rockefeller Center.

## Chapter 1



1.1. A cover for Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, (Round Table Press, 1933). This book roundly criticized modernist theologians, like Harry Emerson Fosdick, for their support for American entry into the First World War.

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**1.2.** LEFT A photomontage of Rockefeller Center. Source: Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 754.

**1.3.** ABOVE “McKim, Mead & White’s proposal for Riverside Church, rendered by Hugh Ferriss, 1925.” Source: Dolkart, *Morningside Heights*, 75.

**1.4.** ABOVE “Proposed Convocation Tower, Madison Square, northeast corner of Madison Avenue and East Twenty-sixth Street, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, 1921. Perspective rendering by Hugh Ferriss.” This was the intended home for the Interchurch World Movement, with which Rockefeller became closely associated. Source: Stern et al., *New York 1930*, 147.

# Image Redacted

**1.5.** “A vista of American Architecture - From a lithograph by the author.” Source: Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*, Frontispiece.

## Chapter 2

# Image Redacted

**2.1.** “The Court of Honor,” White City, 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago.

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**2.2.** Entrance to Louis Sullivan’s Transportation Building, 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago. Source: Getty Images.

**Image Redacted**

2.3. Immigrants at Ellis Island.

**Image Redacted**

2.4. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller  
Source: Getty Images.





2.5. Standard Oil as an Overshadowing Octopus. Artist Udo J. Keppler, Illus. in: *Puck* 56, no. 1436 (September 7, 1904), centerfold. Source & Courtesy: Illus. in AP101.P7 1904 [General Collections] (Case Y) [P&P], <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001695241/>, public domain.

## Image Redacted

2.6. Cartoon lampooning John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s Sunday School class.

NATURALLY THERE WAS A PANIC.



2.7. "Naturally There was a Panic," *Chicago Daily News*, December 9, 1904. Newspaper cartoonists frequently caricatured University of Chicago's President William Rainey Harper chasing John D. Rockefeller Sr. for money, tin cup in hand. Source: "The Presidents of the University of Chicago: A Centennial View." [https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/projects/centcat/pres/pres\\_img11.html](https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/projects/centcat/pres/pres_img11.html), Accessed Feb 8, 2017.

# Image Redacted

2.8. View of the RIMR (now Rockefeller University) from across the East River. Source: RAC.

**Image Redacted**

**2.9.** A recent view of Kykuit.

**Image Redacted**

**2.10.** Architect William Welles Bosworth (1869-1966).

**Image Redacted**

**2.11.** Bosworth's revised facade for Kykuit.

# Image Redacted

**2.12.** Bosworth designed the high-rise townhouse on the far right for Rockefeller Jr. and his family in Manhattan.

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**2.13.** Plan of Kykuit and surrounding landscape.

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2.14. Kykuit and surrounding grounds.

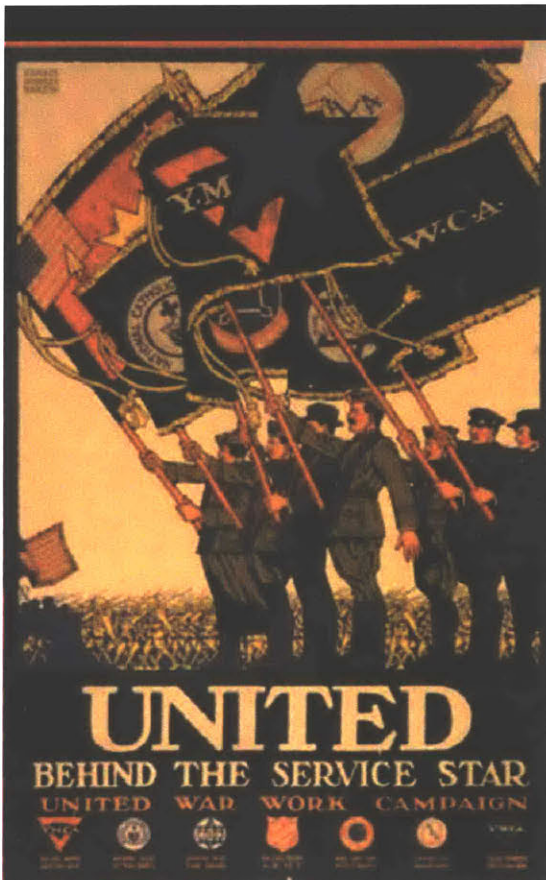
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2.15. The Japanese landscape at Kykuit, c.1920. Source: Cynthia Bronson Altman, "The Japanese Garden at Pocantico," n.d., 6, [https://www.rbf.org/sites/default/files/attachments/pocantico\\_japanese\\_garden.pdf](https://www.rbf.org/sites/default/files/attachments/pocantico_japanese_garden.pdf), Accessed July 31, 2018.





2.16. Oceanus Fountain at Kykuit. Source: Author photo.



2.17. Poster for the United War Work Campaign. Source & Courtesy: Ernest Hamlin Baker, Artist, "United behind the service star," (Carey Print Lith., N.Y. United States, 1918), Photograph, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002699394/>, public domain.



**Image  
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**2.18.** LEFT Convocation Tower.

**2.19.** BELOW “Aerial view of the Agora Excavations taken by the Greek Topographical Service, July 5, 1933.” The image shows the houses and lots that were eventually expropriated and demolished to excavate the Agora. Source: Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece (hereafter ASCSA).

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# Image Redacted

**2.20.** LEFT “Aerial view of the Athenian Agora archaeological park, May 1975...The archaeological remains are clearly visible with paths and walkways to lead the visitor through the park.” The reconstructed stoa is visible to the right. Source: Agora Excavations, ASCSA.

**2.21.** BELOW A photo of the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos, with the Acropolis in the background. Source: Author photo





2.22. "Rockefeller Mends Versailles Leaky Roof," a 1924 Cleveland newspaper report on Rockefeller's "French Restoration" projects included this illustration. Source: Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).

# Image Redacted

**2.23.** Restoration work at Fontainebleau: Source: Archive at Château de Fontainebleau

# Image Redacted

**2.24.** Restoration work at Versailles

# Image Redacted

**2.25.** Rockefeller at the ceremony marking the completion of restoration work at Versailles, France, c.1930s. Source: RAC.



**2.26.** Notre-dame-de-Reims under attack during World War I. Source: *Collier's New Photographic History of the World's War* (1919).

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**2.27.** An image of the destruction at Reims Cathedral.

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**2.28.** Governor's Palace, 1930.

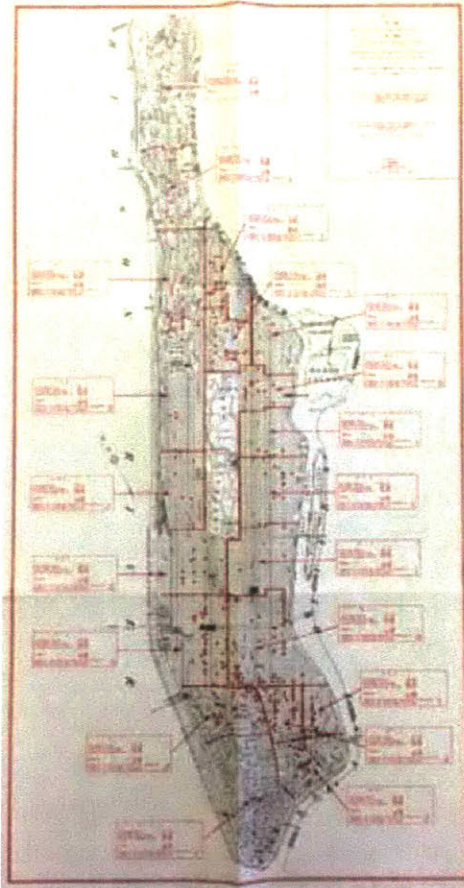
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**2.29.** Cloisters Museum in the City of New York, photo c. 1938.

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**2.30.** Archival photograph of the League of Nations Headquarters, showing the library and archive building to the right. Source: League of Nations Archive, Geneva, Switzerland.

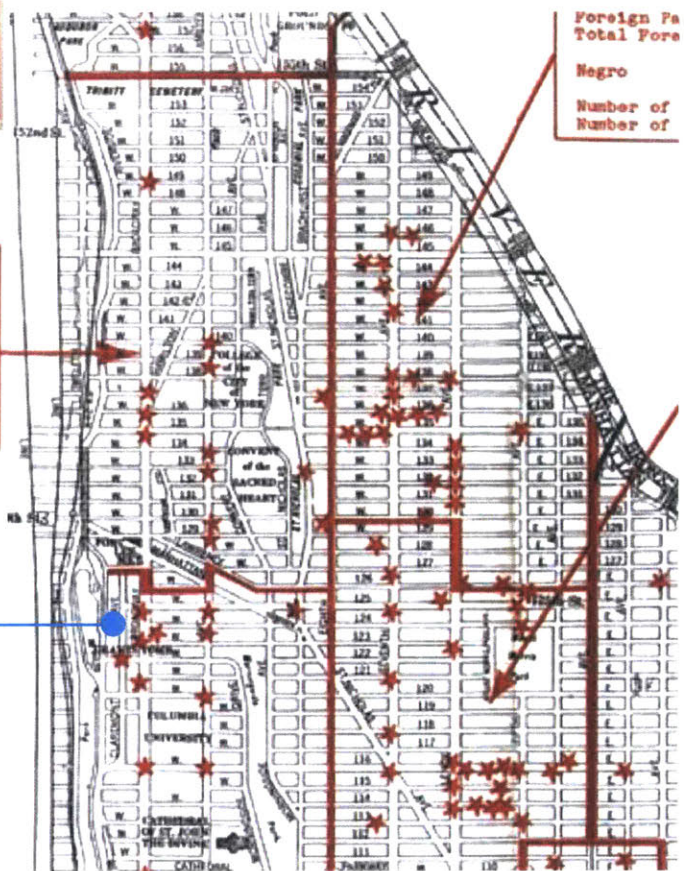




**2.31.** LEFT “Map of the Borough of Manhattan of the City of New York Showing Relation Between The Distribution of Foreign Stock and Negro Population With the Dissemination of Communist and Socialist Propaganda During the Summer of 1932. Star shows Approximate Location of Place of Meetings Advertised in Leading Communist and Socialist Newspapers. The political and population data embodied in this map have been compiled under the auspices of the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic and Fraternal Societies.” Source & Courtesy: Box 118, Series H, Friends and Services, FA317, OMR, RAC.

**2.32.** As an example, an expanded view of one area (the Morningside Heights neighborhood) is shown below. For reference, I have shown the location of Rockefeller’s International House New York project as a blue dot. (For more on the I-House, see Chapter Four.)

M 7	
Foreign Born	24.6%
Foreign Parentage	24.6%
Total Foreign Stock	49.2%
Negro	31.7%
	80.8%
Number of meeting places in district 11	
Number of meetings recorded	23



International House





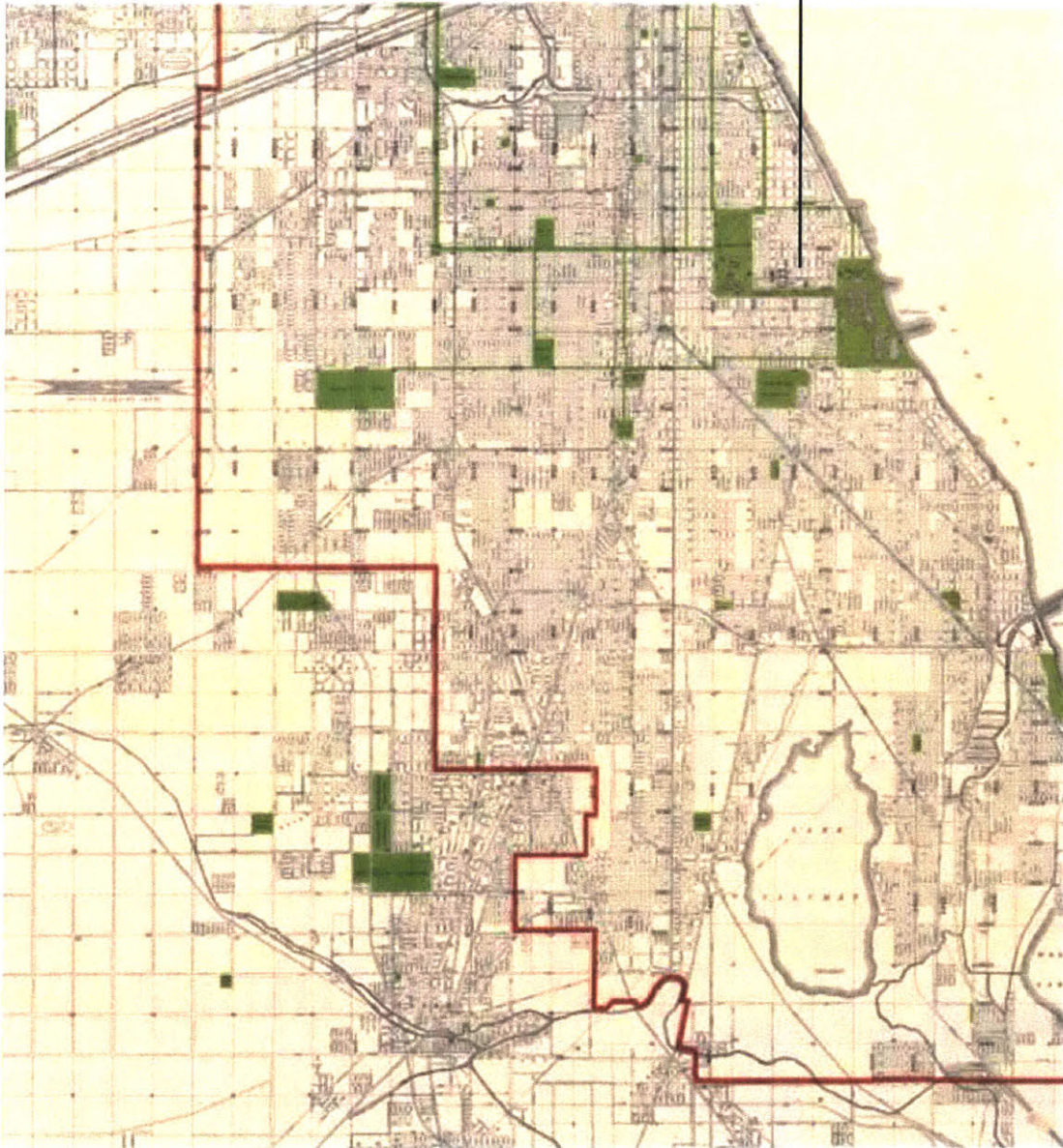
**2.33.** ABOVE “Nighttime long exposure of the open Hale Telescope dome, 2005. Source & Courtesy: Palomar Observatory/California Institute of Technology.

**2.34.** RIGHT A photograph of the Rockefeller Center’s “central slab” building, c. 1939.

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## Chapter 3

Approximate location  
of University Cha-  
pel (now known as  
Rockefeller Memorial  
Chapel)



**3.1.** Portion of “The Rand McNally New Standard Map of Chicago,” showing south Chicago (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co, c.1910). Source: Series Chicago, 1900-1914, University of Chicago Digital Preservation Collection, <http://pi.lib.uchicago.edu/1001/cat/bib/1595363>, public domain.



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**3.2.** Proposed New Chapel for University of Chicago, Plot Plan. Date unknown, but probably around 1908. This site, bounded by Midway Plaisance, S. Woodlawn Avenue, East 59th Street, and S. University Avenue, came to be known as the “Chapel Block.” The proposed YMCA and YWCA Houses shown here were never built. Instead, the area outlined in red (top left) is where the Oriental Institute Museum was eventually built in 1931. Although the President’s House (visible on lower left) *was* built, it is not actually connected to the Chapel as shown here. Source: Plan File 9, Drawer 3, Folder 17, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago, Chicago (hereafter SCRC). Red dashed line, by author.



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**3.3** Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago. c. 1930s. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 110.



**3.4** Interior view of the proposed New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo. Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo*, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library. Copies of this book are also located at the Rockefeller Archive Center.



3.5 “Luncheon Beside the Oriental Institute Expedition House, April 11, 1933: His Majesty King Feisal is seated at the table fourth from the left.” This photo shows the Oriental Institute’s modest expedition-house in Khorsabad, Iraq. It was built of sun-baked bricks and purchased from a Kurdish villager or nobleman. Source: Folder 20, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, Oriental Institute Museum Archives, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL (hereafter OIA). Courtesy: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



3.6. “Megiddo: Expedition-house from east slope,” Folder 4, Box 92, Records of the Megiddo Expedition, Location: 1080.6, OIA. Courtesy: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

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**3.7. Map Showing the Field Operations [and architectural projects] of the Oriental Institute, c.1931.** The map was drawn to indicate the major cities of the Middle East, and the expeditions of the Oriental Institute. As the expeditions were served by archaeological dig-houses, the “stars” also indicate the locations of these buildings. In addition to the dig-houses, the Institute’s architectural oeuvre includes two museums. The proposed New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute was intended for Cairo but never built. The Palestine Archaeological Museum - now Rockefeller Museum - was built in Jerusalem. Sources: Archival Building File, Folder 139, SCRC.

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**3.8.** Map showing the proposed course of the Nubian Expedition. Source: Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 127.



**3.9.** A young James Henry Breasted (center) with his wife Frances Hart and son (and future biographer), Charles, during the University of Chicago's Nubian Expedition, 1906, public domain.

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**3.10.** Breasted's sketch for a floating laboratory.  
Source: Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 212.

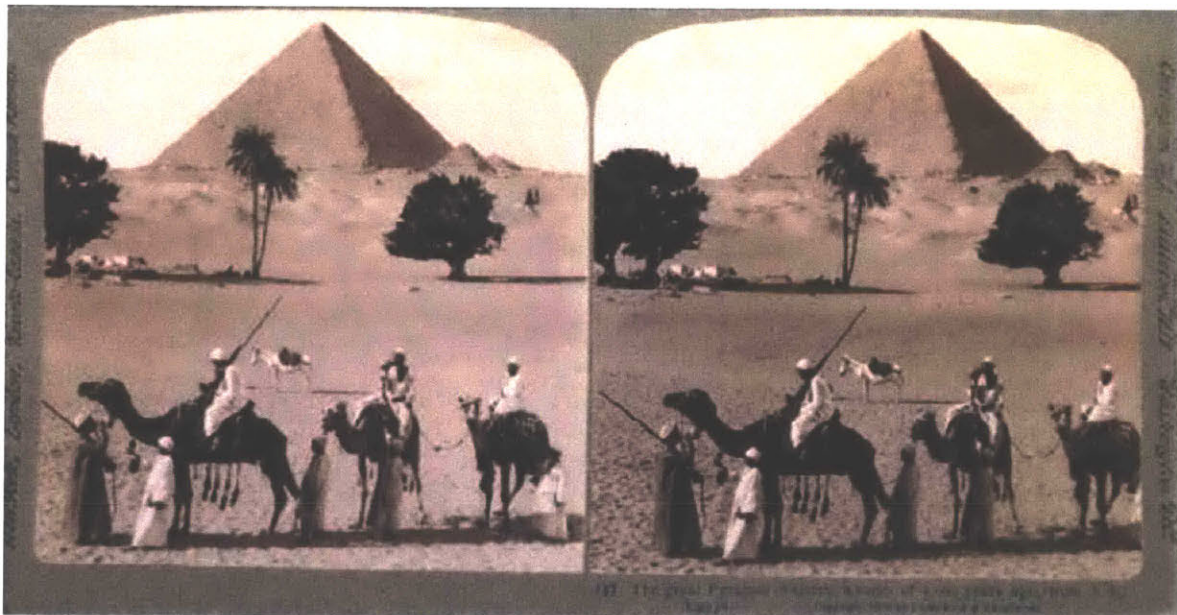


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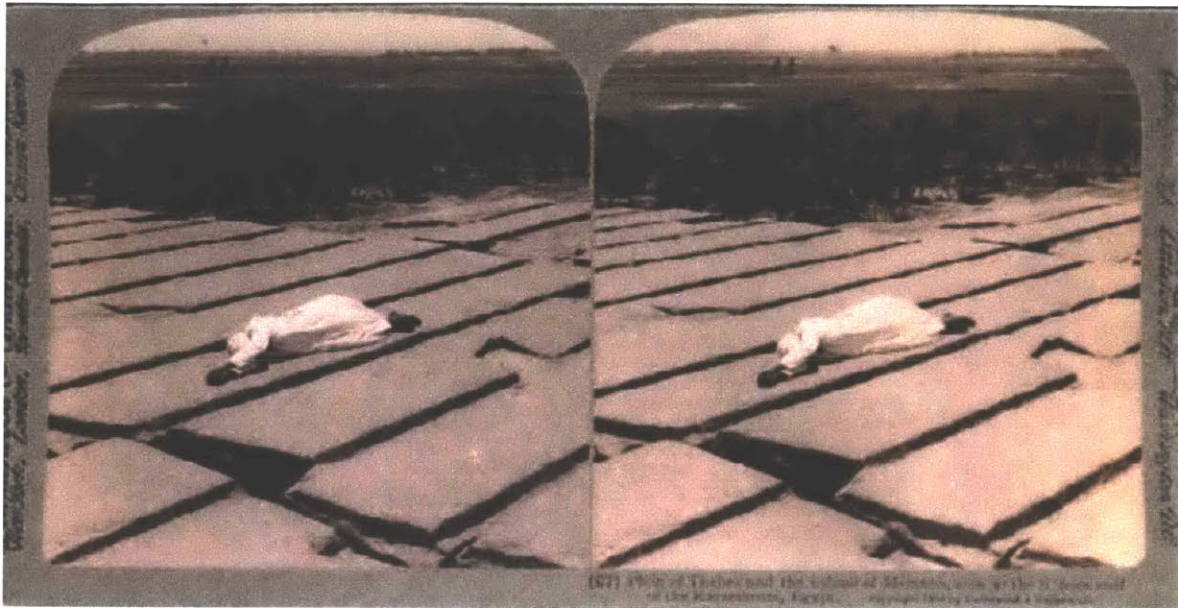
**3.11.** Photo of Oriental Institute expedition-member in the field, measuring the height of the Nile. This photo represents the figure of the untethered “new” Orientalist, no longer confined to university campuses. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*.

# Image Redacted

**3.12.** A view of the Mt. Palomar Observatory and related buildings in California. The project was spearheaded by George Ellery Hale and financed in part by the IEB.



**3.13.** A stereograph from James Henry Breasted and Underwood & Underwood, *Egypt Through the Stereoscope: A Journey Through the Land of the Pharaohs* (New York, London: Underwood & Underwood, 1905), <http://archive.org/details/egyptthroughster00brea>, public domain.



3.14. Another stereograph supplied for the reader in *Egypt Through the Stereoscope*.

## Image Redacted

3.15. Photographing the Great Stela of Thutmose I at Tumbos. James Henry Breasted, photographer (1907). Breasted took this photograph to document a staff member of the Nubian Expedition engaged in large format photography. Source: <http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/oimp24.pdf>, public domain.



**3.16.** “Men going to work: House in background.” March 11, 1929, Folder 4, Box 92, Records of the Megiddo Expedition, Location: 1080.6. This photo documents the newly completed Megiddo expedition-house in the background, and the excavators and workers in the foreground. Source: OIA. Courtesy: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

## Image Redacted

**3.17.** The labor force at Khorsabad, Iraq, where a winged bull was found in situ. In the foreground, the wife of the expedition’s Director sits on a piece of the bull’s foot. Source: OIA.





**3.18.** This is a remarkable photo of two sculpted pieces - claws of beasts - found at Persepolis. To provide a reference point for their scale, a worker's clenched fist is photographed next to them. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 3, OIA. Courtesy: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

**3.19.** University of Chicago Expedition at the Temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel. Photographer unknown (1906). This photo shows Breasted sitting just above the uraeus of the pharaoh, and just below a local worker, who either appears to be holding him in place through ropes or helping in the measurement of the Pharaoh's sculpted head. Source: Charles Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted, Archaeologist, Told by His Son Charles Breasted* (Chicago, IL: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009), public domain.

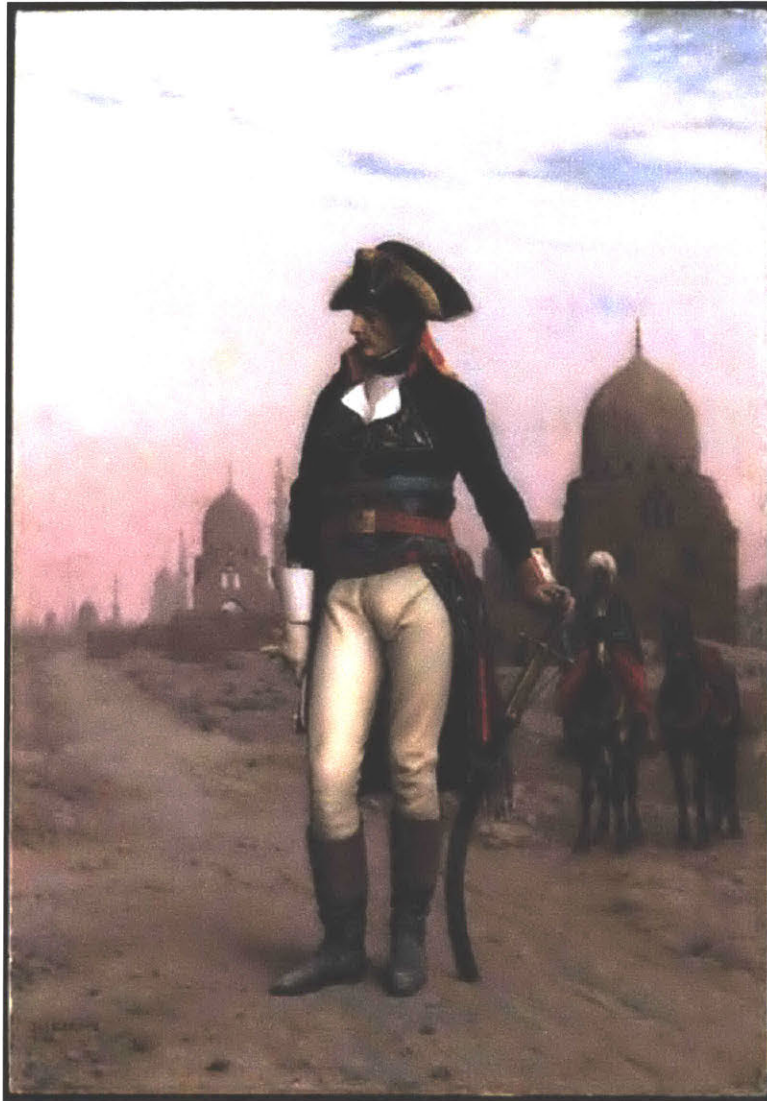


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**3.20.** “Our Drivers at Salihyah on the Second Lap from Baghdad to the Mediterranean.” This photo shows Arab drivers (for local wagons) provided for Breasted during his reconnaissance trip. These drivers took Breasted and his group beyond the British frontier and into Arab territory. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 55.

# Image Redacted

**3.21.** Present-day Egyptian Museum in Cairo, built by the French in 1902.



3.22. “Napoleon in Egypt,” by Jean-Léon Gérôme, French, 1824–1904. This painting depicts Napoleon in a commanding pose in front of local Egyptians and a fictional avenue of Mamluk-esque tombs. Source: Princeton University Art Museum

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3.23. Image from *Description de l'Égypte*.

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**3.24.** The Hashemite sharif of Mecca, Husayn ibn ‘Ali.

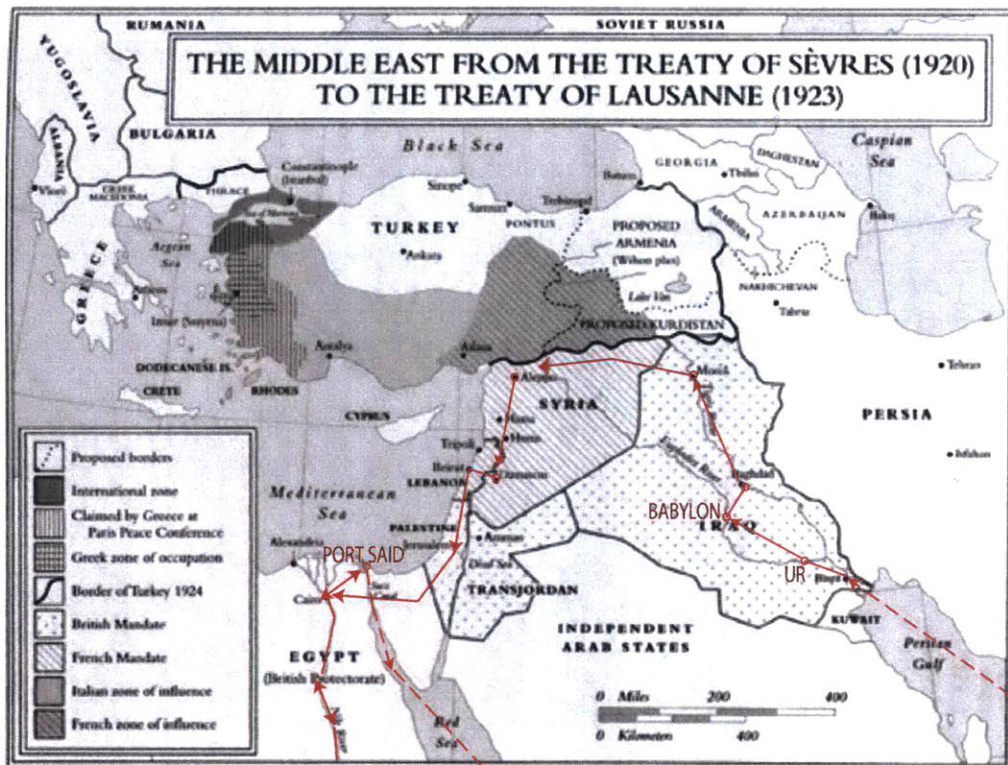
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**3.25.** “Our Seven Cars Near the Euphrates Crossing at Fallujah (Upper Babylonia) on the First Lap from Baghdad to the Mediterranean.” This photo shows the automobile caravan that facilitated Breasted’s journey through British controlled territory on his reconnaissance trip. As Breasted and his team approached the Arab territories, they had to return these cars to the British army, who were aiding them in their journey at this point, and instead continue their journey on local wagons driven by Arab men. This is just one of many photographs highlighting the automobile as a necessary component of an efficient archaeological expedition. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 51.



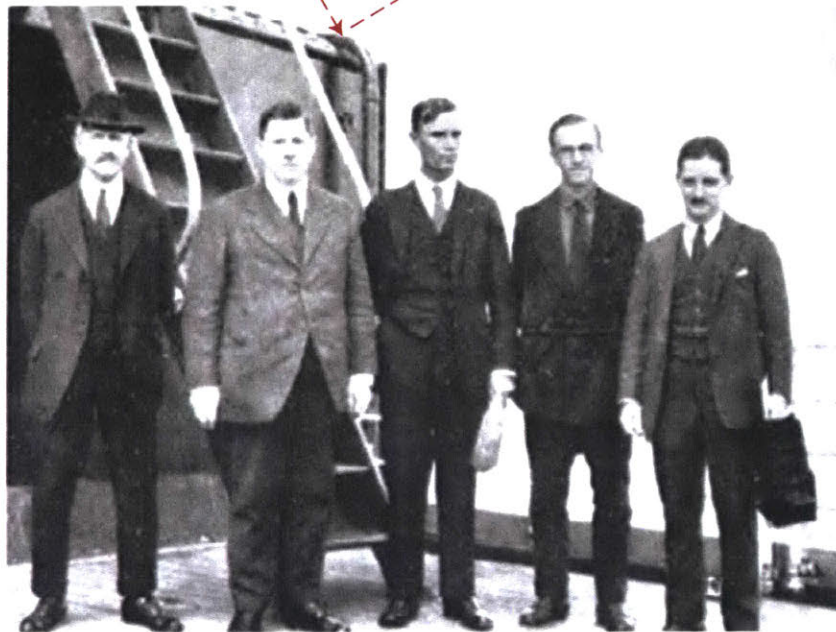
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**3.26.** “Airplane View looking North across the vast construction causeway of the demolished pyramid of Abu Roash, Egypt.” This photograph demonstrates Breasted’s use of technology - specifically, aerial surveying - in archaeology. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 38.



3.27. Breasted's "bold exploratory dash" in the Middle East, 1919-1920. Although the map shows the Middle East as it was between 1920 and 1923, it is still suitable for identifying Breasted's route on his reconnaissance trip. Source: map source unknown; route marked by author.

3.28. "The American Scientific Mission, Aboard 'The City of Benares,' Crossing the Red Sea. From Left to Right, Dr. J. H. Breasted, Director; Prof. D. D. Luckenbill, [William Arthur Shelton], W. J. Edgerton, and L. S. Bull." This photograph shows members of the newly-formed Oriental Institute during their reconnaissance trip to the Middle East, 1919-1920. Source: Shelton, *Dust and Ashes of Empire*, public domain.



## Chapter 4

# Image Redacted

**4.1.** A drawing of International House New York. Source: Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY (hereafter RAC).

# Image Redacted

**4.2.** An article from 1947 in the *Christian Science Monitor*. Source: RAC.

# Image Redacted

4.4. The new YMCA building in New York, completed in 1869.

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4.3. “Going Up Young Man?” An Advertisement in *Association Men*, c. 1905. Source: Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, xviii.

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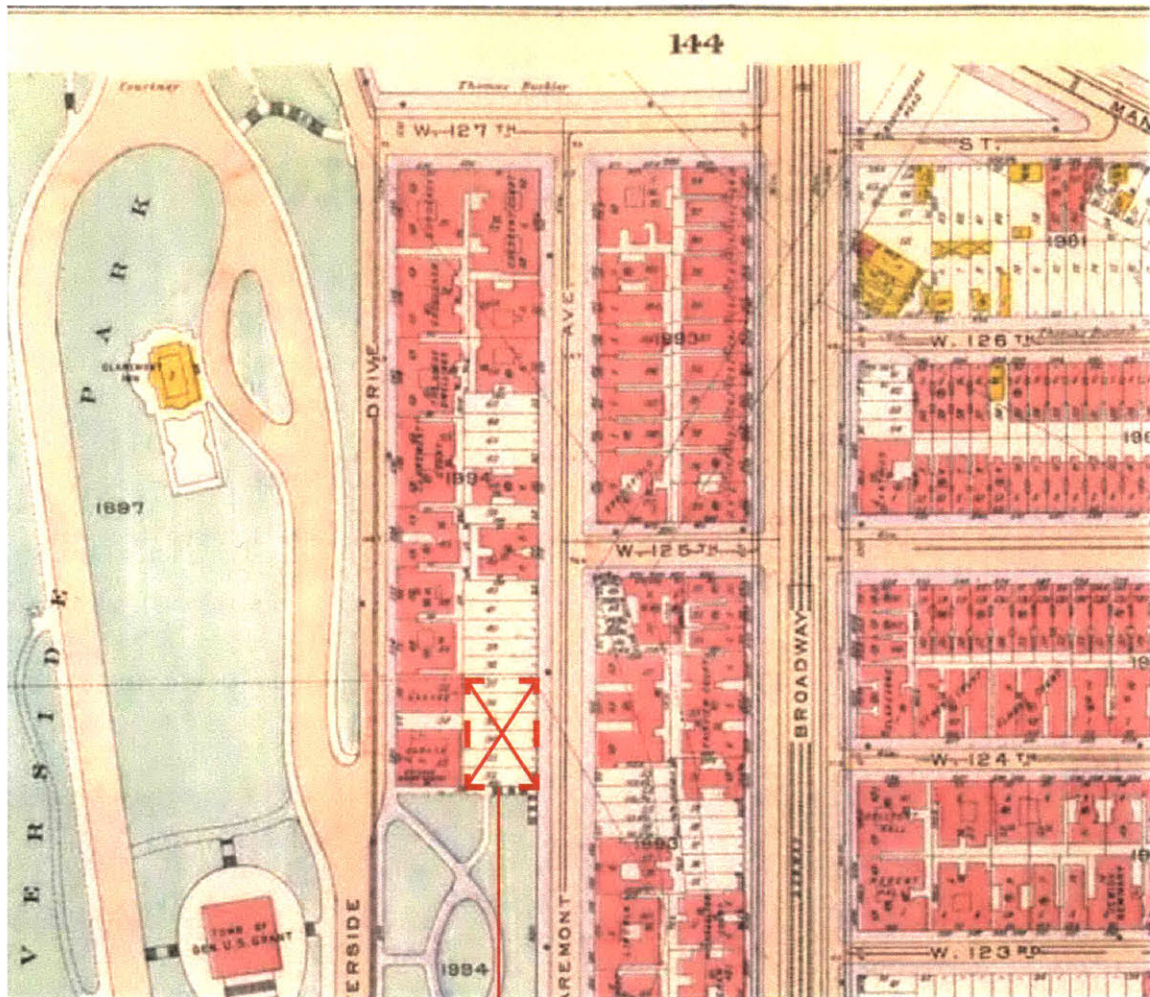
4.5. Harry and Florence Edmonds, the founders of the ICC. Source: International House New York website.

4.6. Earl Hall. Source: RAC.



4.7. Christmas Reception for Japanese Students at the Home of Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie in 1917. Source: *The Japanese Student* Vol. 1 (1916-1917).





These [6] lots were purchased for the future International House New York

4.8. Portion of a map showing Morningside Heights in Upper Manhattan (1916). Source & Courtesy: Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library, "Plate 138" New York Public Library Digital Collections, Accessed, May 10, 2016, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-0b1a-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>, public domain.

# **Intentionally Blank**



# The Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club

**Affiliated with the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association and the Columbia University Christian Association**

## Object

The object of the Intercollegiate Club is to do for the student body, both within and without the University, what the Y.M.C.A. and the Christian Association do for the Christian community. To do this, the Club will... [text continues]

## Members

All students who desire to further the objects of the Club and to accept the... [text continues]

## Sunday Supper

Supper on the last day of October... [text continues]

## Natural Rights

Regarding the last evening of the year... [text continues]

## Message to Women

Now at the time... [text continues]



## Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club to Have New Building

### SITE SECURED ON CLAREMONT PARK (Near Riverside)

#### ERECTION OF TWELVE STORY BUILDING TO HOUSE TWO HUNDRED STUDENTS

The student members and friends of the Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club... [text continues]

The Cosmopolitan Club... [text continues]

It is... [text continues]

The... [text continues]

**International Organizations**  
Several... [text continues]

**Departments**  
The... [text continues]

## The Opening Reception

The... [text continues]

- | Department            | Members |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Accountants           | Hugh    |
| Architects            | Edward  |
| Business              | James   |
| Engineering           | Robert  |
| Law                   | John    |
| Medicine              | William |
| Physics               | George  |
| Public Administration | John    |
| Public Health         | John    |
| Public Welfare        | John    |
| Religion              | John    |
| Social Work           | John    |
| Teaching              | John    |
| Writing               | John    |

## Local Student Leaders in Cosmopolitan Club

**MANagers**  
... [text continues]

**Treasurers**  
... [text continues]

**Editors**  
... [text continues]

4.9. CENTERFOLD Louis Jallade's proposed design for the I-House was featured in a two-page spread in *The Columbia Spectator's* October 22, 1920 issue, which covered the ICC's plans to erect a new building. Source: Columbia Spectator Archive, Accessed, February 26, 2016, <http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/columbia?a=d&d=cs19201022-01&e=-----en-20--1-txt-txIN----->. (Note for "Claremont Avenue" by author.)





The Lustrous Ceremony of the Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club

The "Golden Era" members of the club... The ceremony is the first of the year...

The general theme for the evening... The general theme for the evening will be "International Understanding and Good Will..."

Theme of Sunday Suppers Earl Hall, Six O'Clock

The weekly suppers held at Earl Hall... The general theme for the evening will be "International Understanding and Good Will..."

The club members will meet at Earl Hall... The general theme for the evening will be "International Understanding and Good Will..."

WOMEN POINT DISCUSSION

Through the courtesy of Dr. E. E. Clark... The general theme for the evening will be "International Understanding and Good Will..."

The club members will meet at Earl Hall... The general theme for the evening will be "International Understanding and Good Will..."

The club members will meet at Earl Hall... The general theme for the evening will be "International Understanding and Good Will..."

MONROE RECEPTION

Through the courtesy of Dr. E. E. Clark... The general theme for the evening will be "International Understanding and Good Will..."

CALENDAR

INTERCOLLEGIATE COSMOPOLITAN CLUB

1920-1921

- Oct. 26 Opening reception, 8 p. m.
27 Banquet at West Point
28 Sunday Supper, 8 p. m.
29 Halloween Party
30 Sunday Supper
Nov. 7 Sunday Supper
14 Sunday Supper
20 Saturday—National Night
21 Sunday—Dinner at Young People's Societies in City Churches
25-26 Thanksgiving Dinner—Members invited at West Point
28 Sunday Supper
Dec. 2 Sunday Supper
12 Sunday Supper
14 Saturday—National Night
15 Sunday Supper
22 Christmas Party, 8 to 11 p. m.
Jan. 9 Sunday Supper
16 Sunday Supper
Feb. 6 Sunday Supper
13 Sunday Supper
15 National Night
22 Sunday Supper
27 Sunday Supper
Mar. 6 Sunday Supper
13 Sunday Supper
15 Saturday—National Night
16 Two Sunday Suppers—Golden Era
Apr. 14 Friendly and Handy—Special meeting at "Cherrydale"
15 Sunday—Dinner at Young People's Societies in City Churches
16 Saturday—National Night
17 Friendly afternoon—Ball committee seated at "Cherrydale Island"

Object

The object of the Cosmopolitan Club is to unite for mutual benefit, socially, intellectually, and morally, students of all nationalities in the colleges, universities, and professional schools of New York...

Membership

Any student who desires to further the object of the Club and is accepted by the Committee on Admissions, may become a member on payment of \$2.00. This fee is renewable annually.

Office

The office of the Club is at 2375 Broadway (near 134th Street). Mail to the officers should be sent to this address.

Committee of Management

- FREDERICK GREEN, Chairman
HARRY E. EDWARDS, Secretary
HAROLD HOLT, Treasurer
DR. WM. SEAMAN BURNETT
LUTWELL B. BROWN
IRVING W. TUNCK

INTERESTING FACTS

INTERCOLLEGIATE COSMOPOLITAN CLUB

1919-1920

- I. Foreign Constituency
124 Canada
155 Japanese
84 Latin American
43 Filipinos
35 Scandinavians
65 New Englanders
89 Miscellaneous
260 students representing 27 nations and 41 banks from the Club
III. Activities
21 Paid speakers representing 44 nations
41 Foreign students serving as consultants
18 Sunday suppers attended by more than 125 p. m.
23 Social and reception attendance 2046
24 Entertainment at dinner at M. American Palace
17 Special dinners attended by 257
1 "Christmas Party" attended by 300
1 Luncheon attended by 418
21 Students participating in 18 expeditions
1 Meeting on "Christianity" attended by 123
17 Students engaged in total service among 569
291 Contributions to Church Young People's societies
IV. Service Rendered Students from Other Lands
91 Men in service
92 Women in service

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COMPARATIVE SIZE OF UNITED STATES AND CHINA

**4.10.** An example of the proselytizing fervor of foreign missions. This table of contents is taken from *The Missionary Review of the World* (Princeton Press, 1916).

**4.11.** This illustration accompanied the article "China: The Coming Power." It was published in *The Missionary Review of the World* (Princeton Press, 1916).

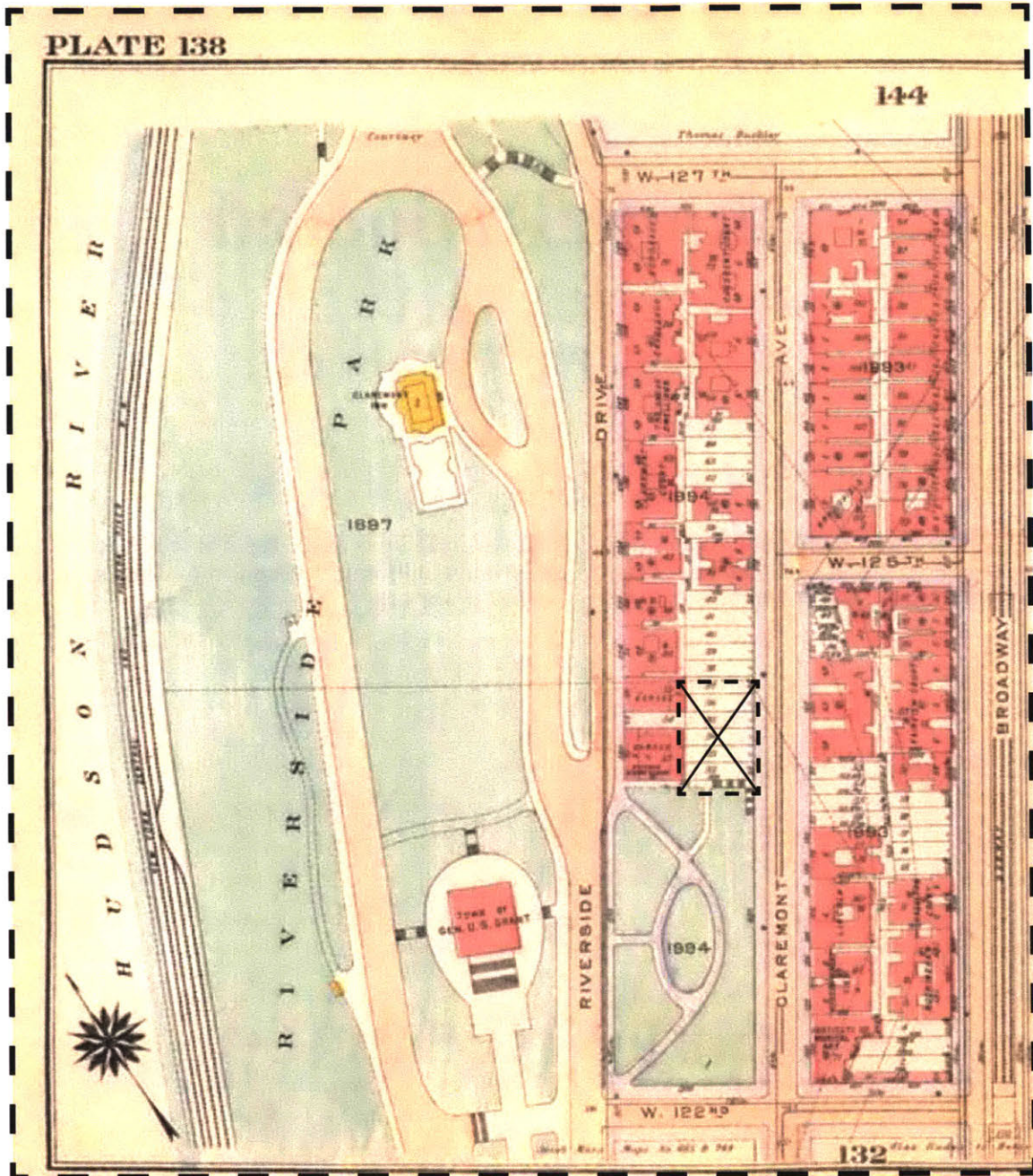
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**4.12.** This illustration, published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1879, is an example of the critical position taken by East Coast newspapers and elites towards California's treatment of Chinese immigrants. Source: Bean, *California: An Interpretive History*, 178.

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**4.13.** Photo of Peking Union Medical College's campus, shortly after its inauguration. Source: Rockefeller Foundation, China Medical Board, "Snow covered Peking Union Medical College," 100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation, Accessed July 6, 2018, [https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset\\_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/snow-covered-peking-union-medical-college](https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/snow-covered-peking-union-medical-college).

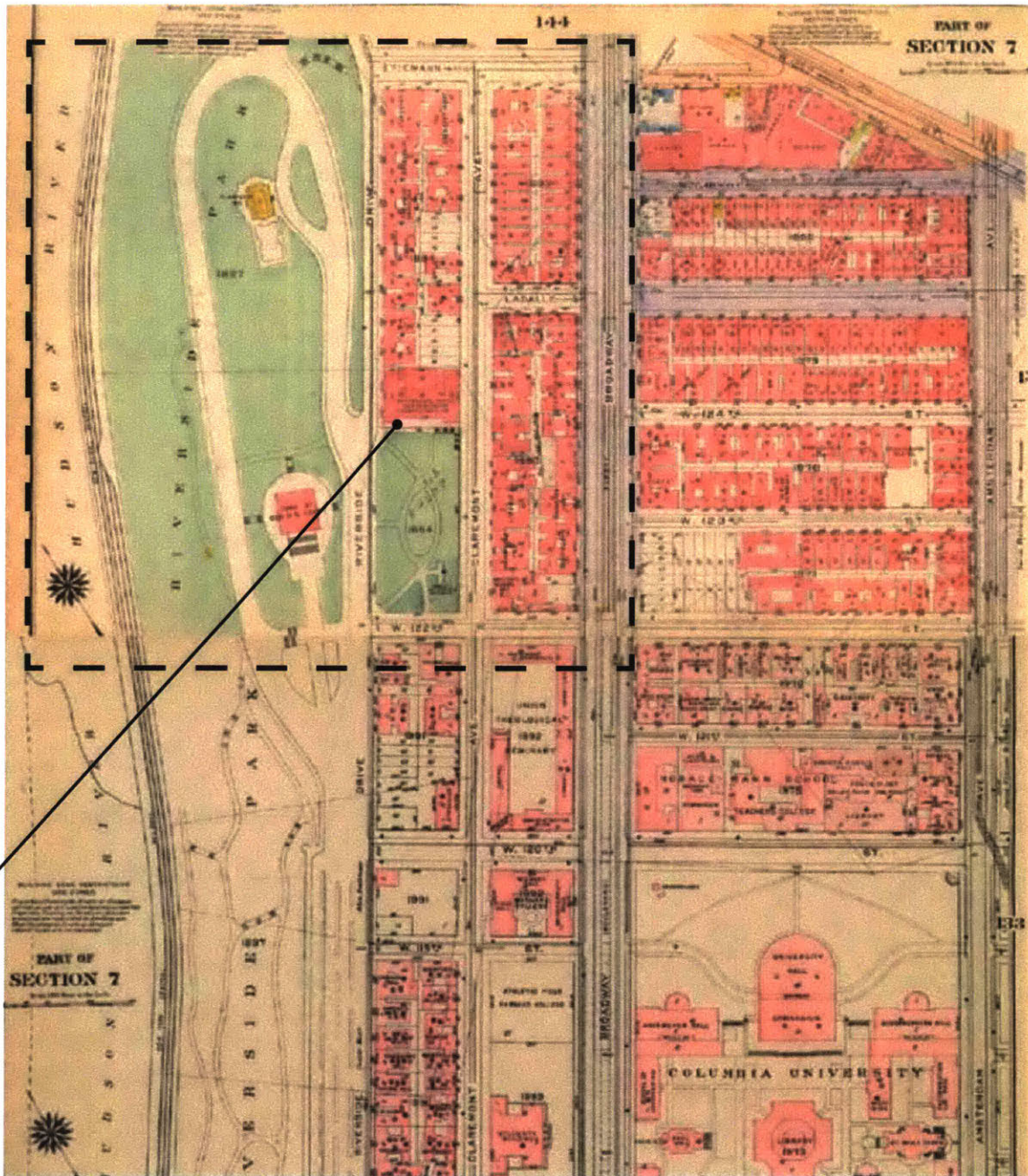




4.14. Map showing a portion of Morningside Heights in Upper Manhattan (1916). Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary are not shown here, but they are located just outside the frame: below Sakura Park, to the right. Source & Courtesy: Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library, "Plate 138" New York Public Library Digital Collections, Accessed, May 10, 2016, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-0b1a-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>, public domain.

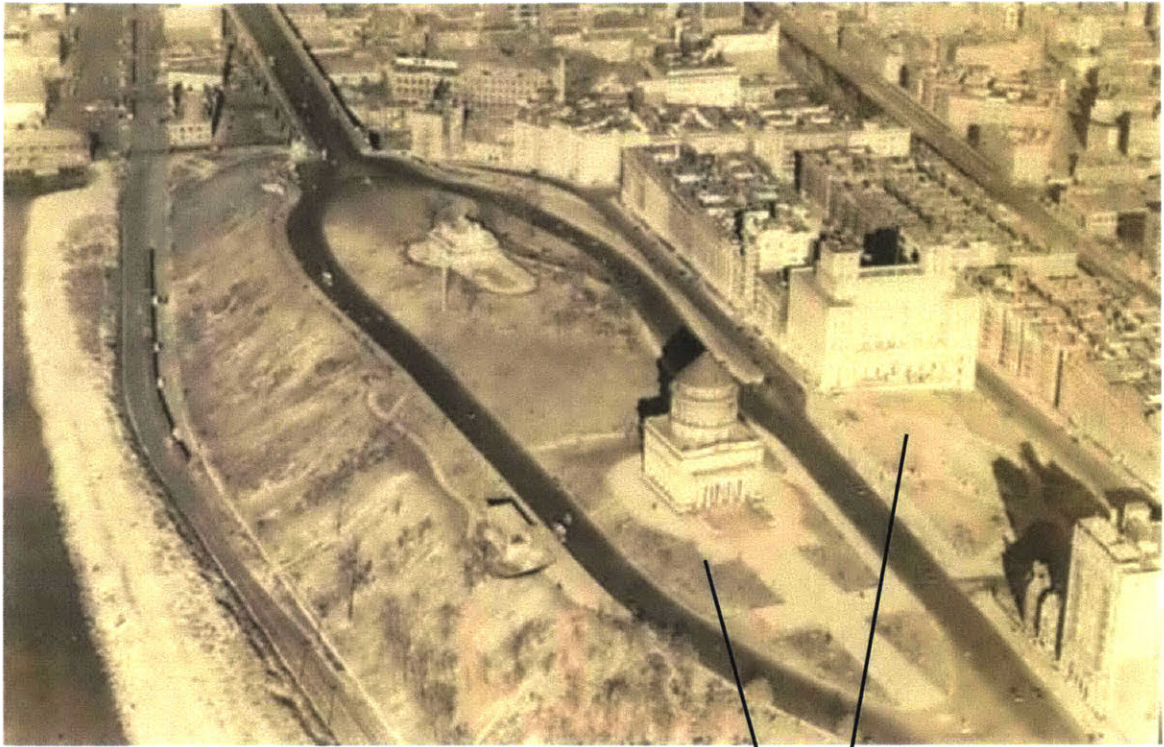
After Rockefeller came on board, the site for International House New York was extended all the way to Riverside Drive.





Map showing a portion of Morningside Heights in Upper Manhattan (1921-1923). Although the I-House is shown here as it was built, the building was not completed until 1924. Perhaps the map-makers decided to include it here because the project was already under construction by 1923. Source: Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library, public domain.



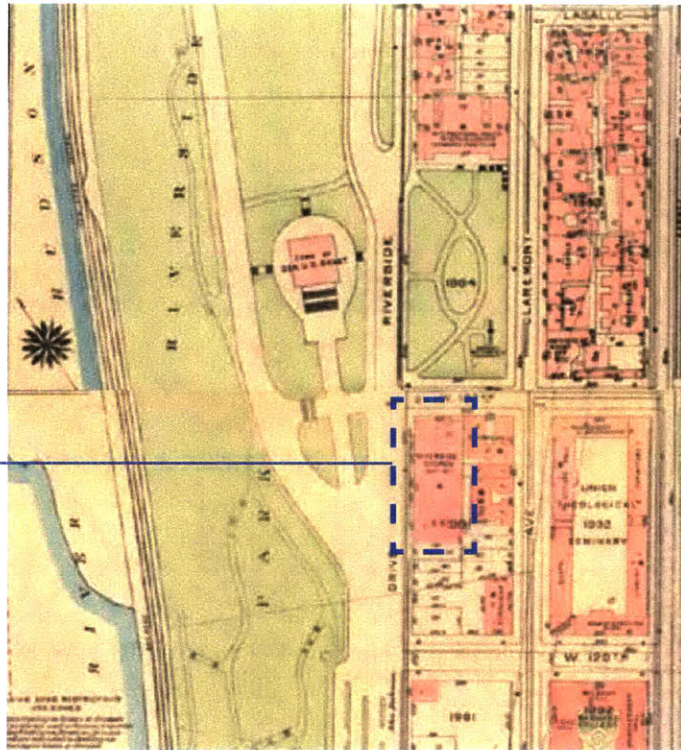


**4.15.** Aerial view of International House and General Grant National Memorial, c.1924. Source: Folder 72, Box 11, OMR, RAC. Courtesy: RAC.

International House NY

Grant's Tomb

**4.16.** Map showing Riverside Church across from International House New York (1927). Source & Courtesy: Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Plate 138" and "Plate 132" New York Public Library Digital Collections, Accessed, 2016, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/ed6b5cc0-2586-0132-e9d7-58d385a7bbd0>; <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/71f50f60-2584-0132-771f-58d385a7b928>, public domain. Dashed box by author.



**4.17.** BELOW RIGHT Photograph showing Riverside Church with Grant's Tomb to the left. Source: Getty Images.

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**4.18.** Grace Dodge Hotel in Washington DC. Architect Duncan Candler.

# Image Redacted

**4.19.** The Eyrie, the Rockefeller mansion in Maine (c. 1960). The building was substantially expanded from an initial cottage. Architect Duncan Candler. Source: playle.com.



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**4.20.** LEFT Cunard Building. Architects Benjamin Wistar Morris with Carrère & Hastings.

**4.21.** BELOW AT&T Building. Architect William Welles Bosworth.

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**4.22.** Louis Jallade's sketch for the International House New York

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**4.23.** International House New York, as built. Source: Getty Images.

**4.24.** FACING PAGE An exploded axonometric view of the 1869 YMCA, designed by architect James Renwick Jr. Source: Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, center-fold.

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**4.25.** A diagram created by Louis Jallade in 1915, for *The Association Building*, showing the ideal layout of spaces for surveillance of members in a YMCA building. Source: Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, 67.

**4.26.** FOLLOWING TWO PAGES Floor plans, International House New York, n.d. Source: International House New York Archives (IHNYA).

**Images Redacted**

**Images Redacted**

**Image Redacted**

**4.27.** First Floor. Source & Courtesy: IHNYA.

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**4.28.** Second Floor. Source & Courtesy: IHNYA.

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**4.29.** Third Floor, International House New York. Source: IHNYA.



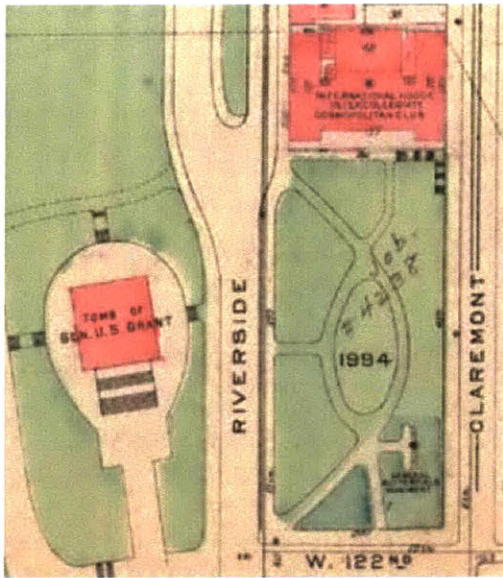
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**4.30.** Sakura Park as it appeared in 1920. Drawing by Louis Jallade. View looking from across Claremont Avenue. Source: RAC

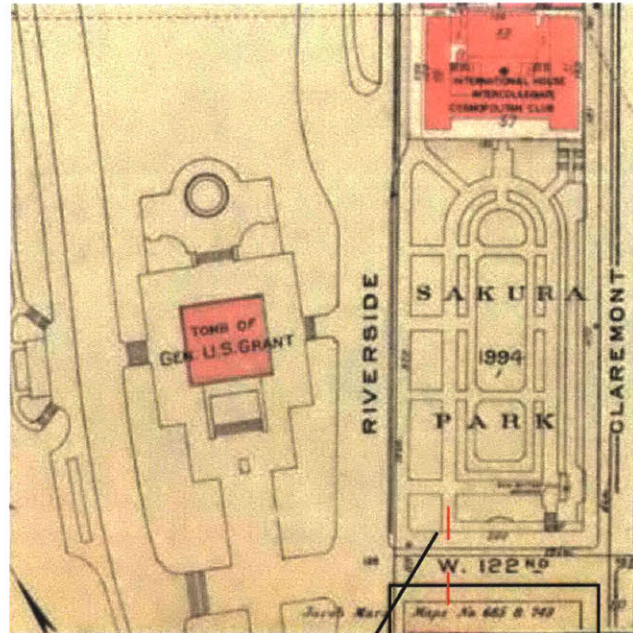
**4.31** Sakura Park, c. 1930s. Source: *The Rotarian*, RAC.

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**4.32.** Sakura Park looking towards Riverside Church, c. 1930s, *The New York Times*. Source: RAC.

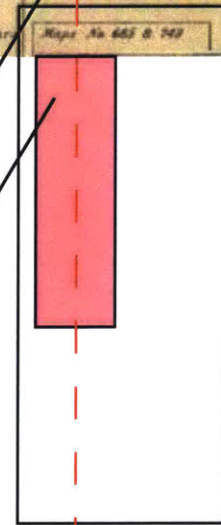


**4.33 (a)** ABOVE Closeup of a map showing Claremont/Sakura Park, c.1927, before renovation. Source & Courtesy: Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library, "Plate 138" New York Public Library Digital Collections, Accessed, May 10, 2016, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-0b1a-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>, public domain.



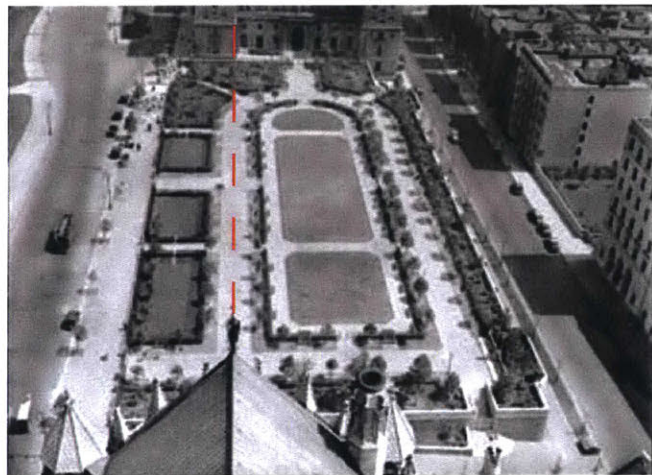
An entrance into  
Claremont/Sakura  
Park

Riverside Church



**4.33 (b)** ABOVE RIGHT Claremont/Sakura Park (1955), many years after its renovation. The new pathways are axial and symmetric, rather than picturesque. Source & Courtesy: Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Plate 138" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed, May 10, 2016, public domain.

**4.33 (c)** Claremont/Sakura Park post-renovation, looking from Riverside Church towards International House New York, May 20, 1934. Source & Courtesy: New York City Parks Photo Archive.



# Image Redacted

**4.34.** A map showing the ICC's international membership. Source: *The Work of International House*, November 18, 1923, RAC.

# Image Redacted

**4.35 (a)** A photo of I-House New York taken from Riverside Drive. Source: Ward, *Living in the Future*, 23.

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**4.35 (b)** Architectural eclecticism as a response to resistance. A recent photograph of International House Berkeley.

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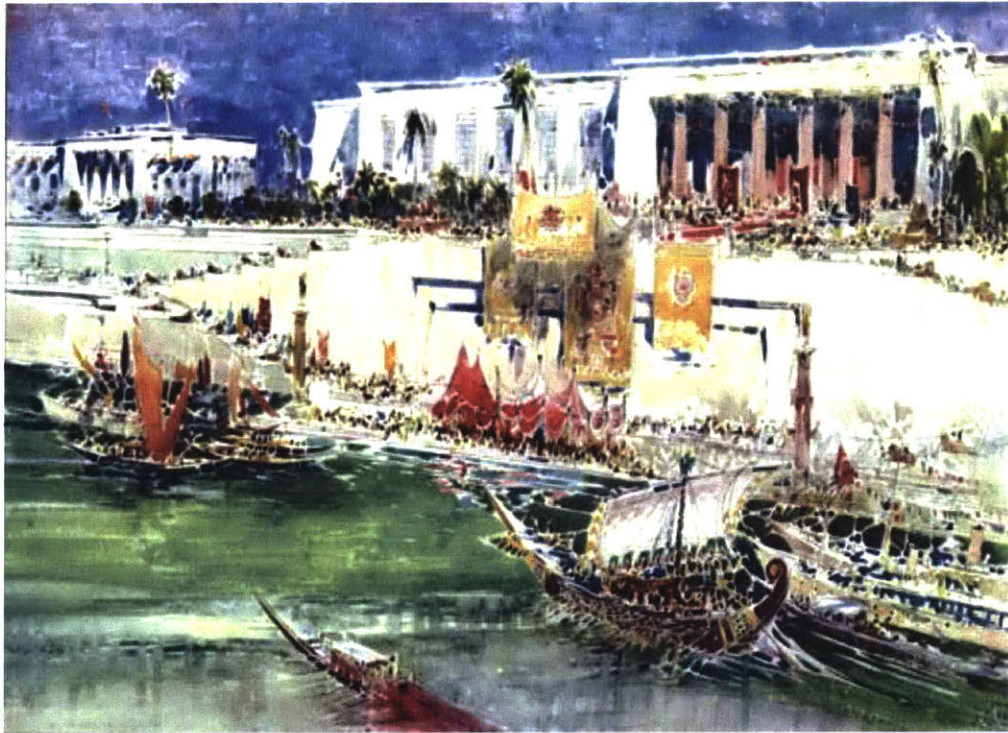
4.35 (c) A 1930s photograph showing the then newly-completed International House Chicago. Source: RAC.



4.35 (d) A recent photograph showing La Maison Internationale in Paris. Source: Author photo.



## Chapter 5



**5.1.** “Suggested Treatment of Water Approach to the New Cairo Museum Buildings Seen from Mid-Nile As They Might Appear At Ceremonial Dedication.” Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Plate II, located at Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

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**5.2.** Photo of the older French-built Egyptian Museum in Cairo, taken shortly after its construction in 1902.

**Image Redacted**

**5.3.** Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria (built 1892).

**Image Redacted**

**5.4.** Egyptian Museum, Cairo (built 1902).

**Image Redacted**

**5.5.** Museum of Arab Art, Cairo (built 1903).

# Image Redacted

5.6. Coptic Museum, Cairo (built 1908)

# Image Redacted

5.7. Map of Museums in Cairo, showing the location of three of the four museums created at the turn of the nineteenth century. The Greco-Roman museum is not shown here: it is located in Alexandria. This map also shows previous iterations of the Egyptian Museum. The first version was located farther north of Tahrir Square. Then, the collection briefly moved to Gezira Island, and finally it moved to Tahrir Square. Source: Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*



**Image Redacted**

**5.8.** *Battle of the Pyramids*, painted by Baron Antoine-Jean Gros (1810)

**Image Redacted**

**5.9.** Kasr el-Nil barracks

**Image Redacted**

**5.10.** Neo-pharaonic details on the facade of the 1902 Egyptian Museum.

**Image Redacted**

**5.11.** Plaques honoring European scholars alongside the ancient Pharaohs.

## YOUR MAJESTY:

**T**HE world is following with the greatest interest and good will the political evolution of Egypt, which, though *politically* perhaps the youngest of the nations, is in culture the oldest of them all. The earliest of its venerable monuments were erected at a time when all Europe was still shrouded in darkness and savagery. As a heritage of civilization, these documents, so impressively distributed along the Nile, or installed in the Cairo Museum, form in themselves a bond between Egypt and all other nations; for these noble survivals from a great past are the earliest evidences of human civilization, and at the same time a graphic demonstration of the fact that modern peoples must regard Ancient Egypt as their cultural ancestor, to whom they naturally look back with gratitude and veneration.

It is but an expression of this regard and veneration that other nations should desire to cooperate with the people of Egypt in the further preservation and maintenance of the great monuments of the past, thus far so marvelously preserved in your ancient land. The scientific administration of these precious survivals is a great and difficult responsibility. In this connection it may be of interest to Your Majesty to know that a little over thirty years ago there was not a single teacher of the Ancient Egyptian language and writing in any American university. We in America, like you in Egypt, are politically a very young nation; and culturally too, the higher development of America has been very recent. In view of the fact that American development in the matters under discussion has taken place within the last thirty years, we feel that we are in a position to understand the difficulties with which Egypt is confronted, in a similar situation. If, therefore, there is anything in our recent experience which may be of value, we would gladly offer it to Your Majesty and the Egyptian people, together with our cooperation. It is in this spirit that the present letter has been written, and that the gift which it outlines is proffered.

5.12. Excerpt from the proposal book for the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo, showing the Rockefeller team's language of scientific and intellectual cooperation and assistance. Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

**Image Redacted**

**5.13.** Ahmed ‘Urabi (1841-1911).

**Image Redacted**

**5.14.** Portrait of Sa’d Zaghlul

# Image Redacted

**5.15.** Tomb of Tutankhamun. This photo shows Howard Carter removing items from the tomb with the help of an unnamed worker.

# Image Redacted

**5.16.** Hussein Ahmed Sayed, Egyptian overseer who has been credited in a guidebook with discovering the tomb of Tutankhamun. Source: Khoori, *Luxor: How to See It, Including Tut-Ankh-Amen's Tomb, Thebes, Aswan, & Upper Egypt*.

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**5.17 (a)** Exhibit B, Site Plan

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**5.17 (b)** Aerial photograph showing Gezira Island, the proposed site listed in the legal documents. After the Rockefeller team failed to secure the site of the British barracks across the river for their museum, they chose the tip of this island as their site instead. Source: OIA; green box drawn by author.

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**5.18.** Photo of Sultan Hassan Mosque.

# Image Redacted

**5.19.** Mosque in the citadel of Cairo (Muhammad 'Ali's mosque).

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**5.20 (a)** Campus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Architect William Welles Bosworth.



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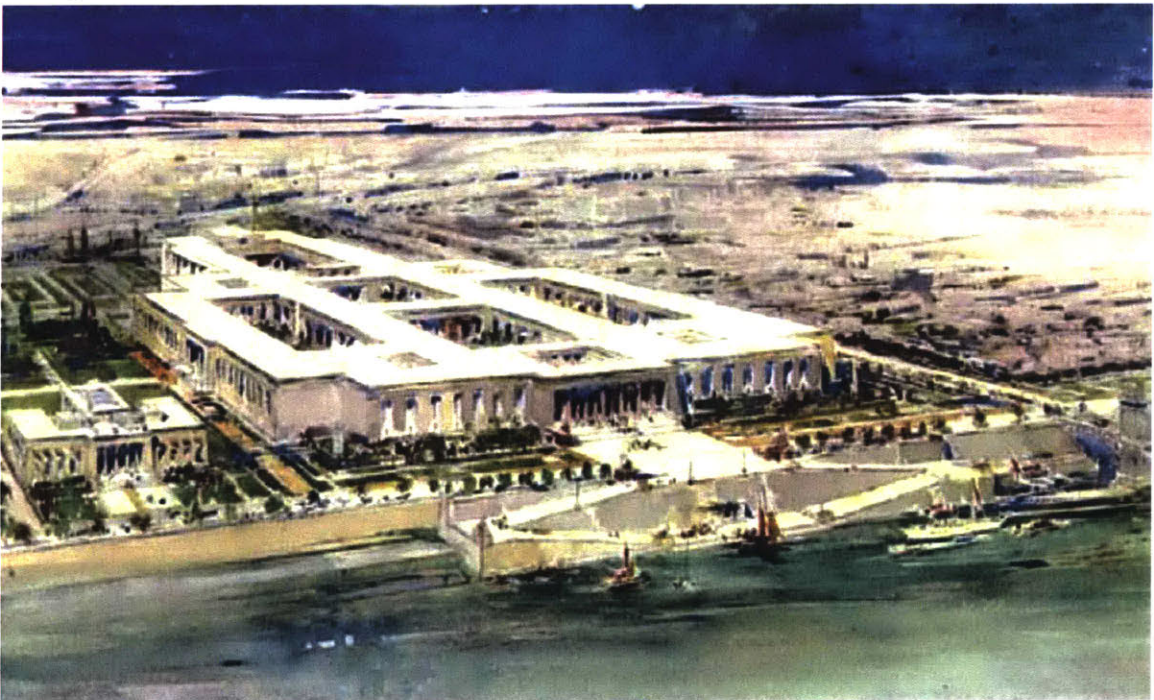
**5.20 (b)** Another view of the MIT campus. Architect William Welles Bosworth.

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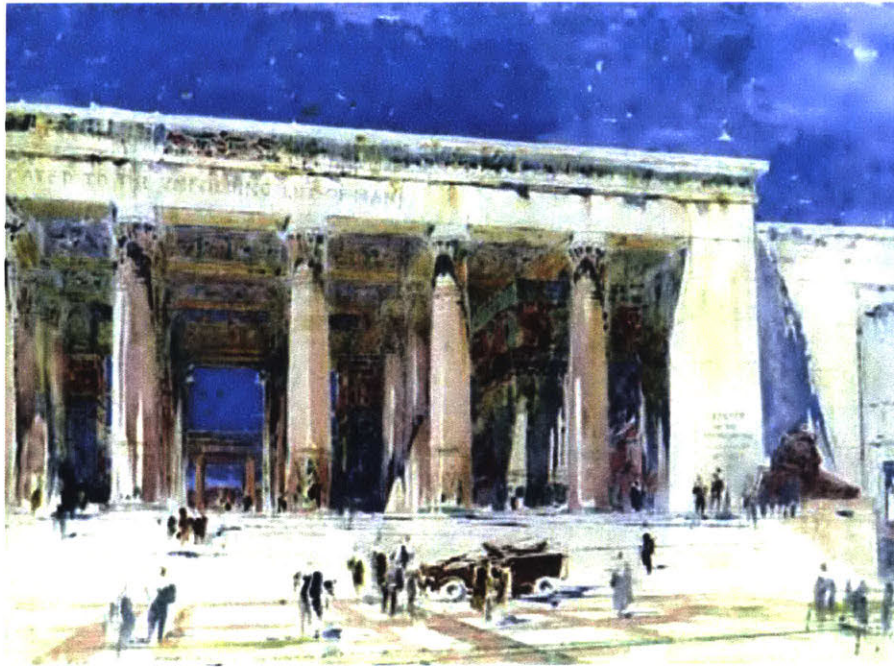
**5.21.** Bosworth's design for the gardens at Samuel Untermyer's estate in Yonkers, as seen today.



5.22. "Suggested Facade Of New Research Institute Building." Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Plate XI, located at Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



5.23. "General View of Suggested New Cairo Museum Buildings Seen From Across The Nile: The Museum on the Right, The Research Institute On the Left." Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Plate I, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



5.24. “Suggested Entrance Portico Of The New Cairo Museum Building Facing The Nile.” Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Frontispiece, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

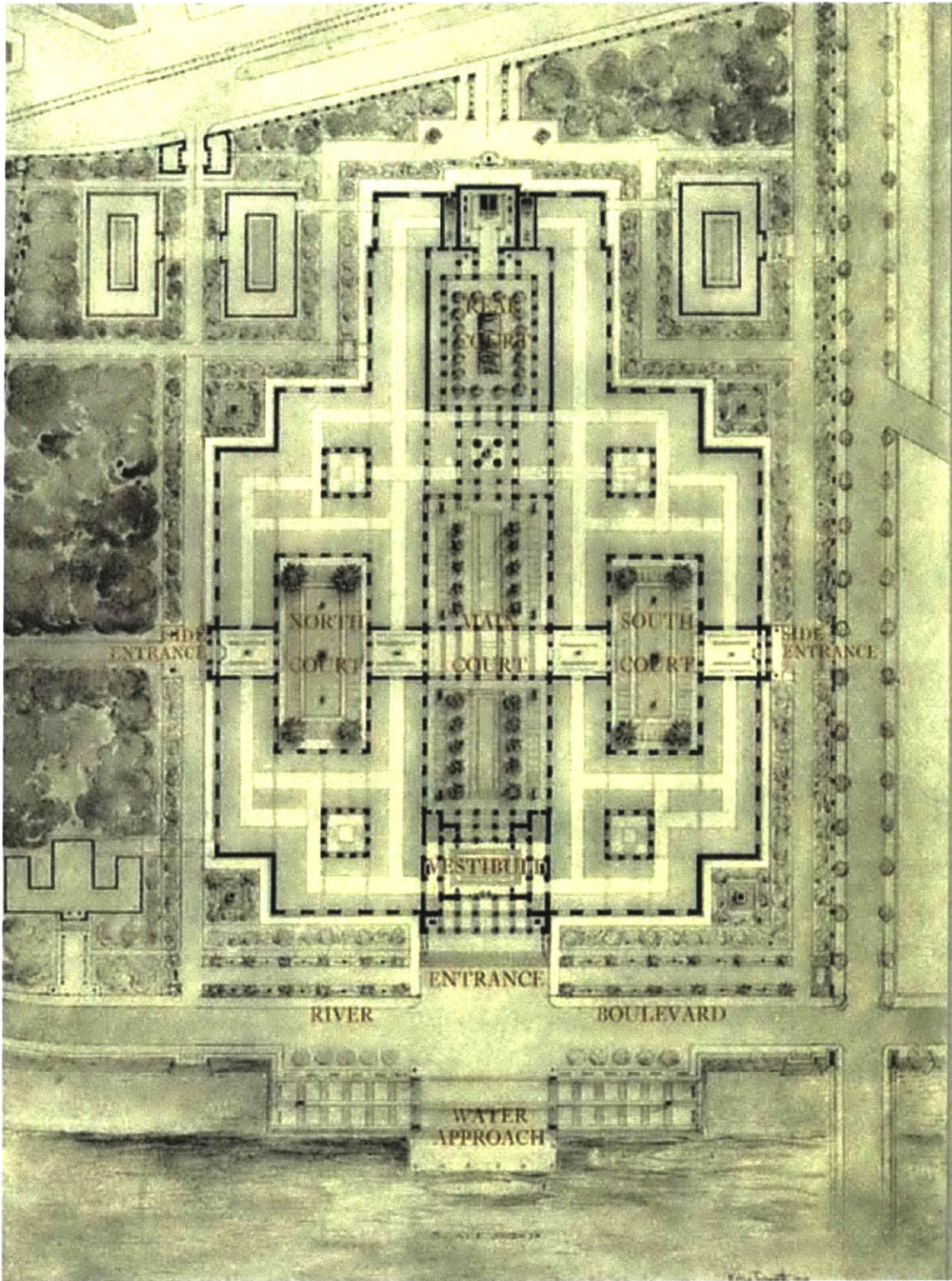
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5.25. “Suggested Alcove Off Main Vestibule Of The New Cairo Museum Building.”

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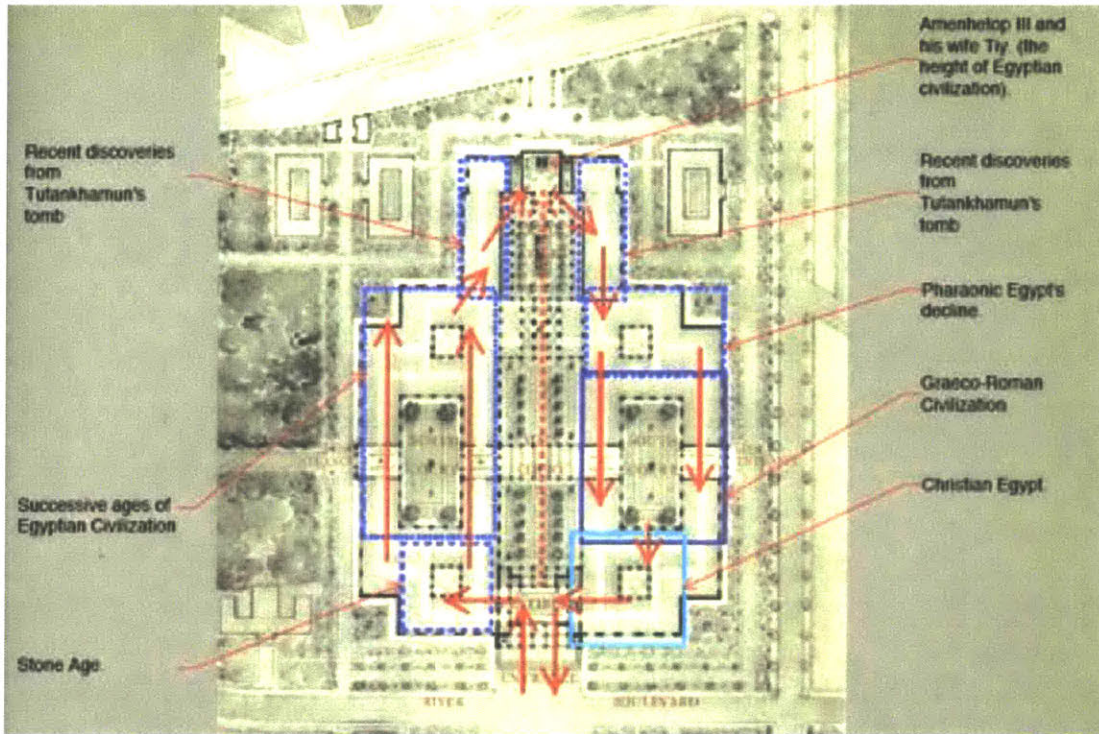
**5.26.** Proposed inscription for the New Egyptian Museum's facade.



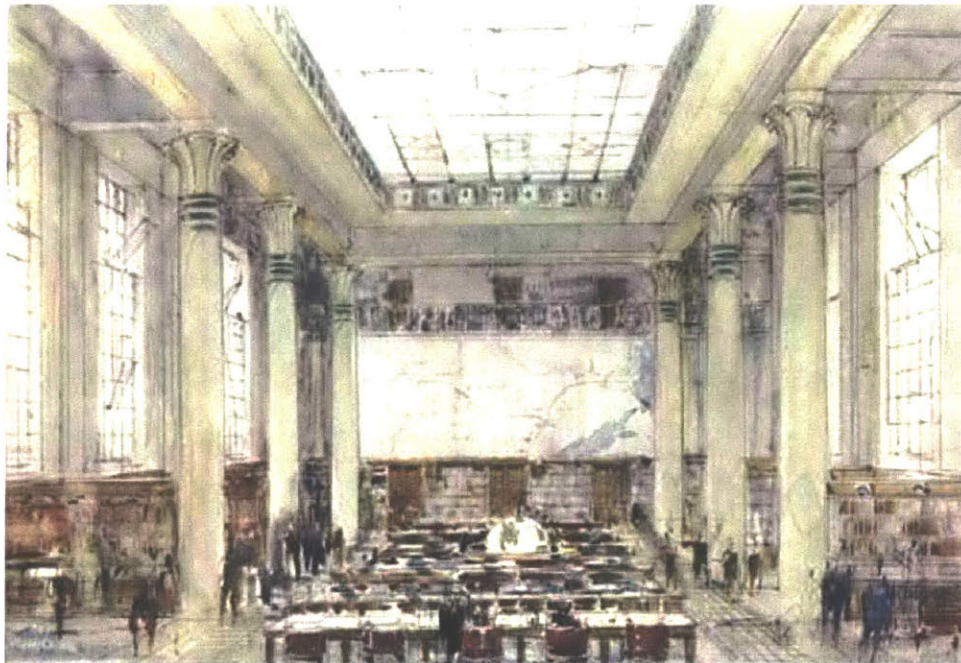


5.27. Plan of New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute. Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.





5.28. Breasted's Proposed Layout and Circulation. Source: By Author over Proposal Book Plan.



5.29. "Suggested Library In The New Research Institute Building." Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Plate XIII, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

**Image Redacted**

**Image Redacted**

**5.30.** TOP Suggested (original) site plan of the New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo, showing the proposed buildings on the site of the barracks. Probably prepared by Bosworth on the directions of Breasted. Breasted originally planned to include this map in the proposal book. BOTTOM Another (similar) version of the suggested site plan, this one showing the new buildings superimposed on the barracks. This particular drawing was not meant for inclusion in the book, but was probably used instead as a schematic drawing. Source: OIA

# Image Redacted

**5.31.** Watercolor illustration of an Arab bedouin in the desert. Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Plate XV, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

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**5.32.** Sa'd Zaghlul's Mausoleum (built 1927).





**5.33.** A view of the proposed New Egyptian Museum's interior facade - facing an interior court. Note the striking similarities between this view and the mausoleum. Source: *The New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo* (1925), Plate IV, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

## Image Redacted

**5.34.** *Nahdet Masr* (Egypt Awakening), unveiled 1928. Sculptor: Mahmoud Mukhtar.

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**5.35.** Palestine Archaeological Museum, photograph taken c. 1938. Source: RAC.

# Image Redacted

**5.36.** A computer rendering of the Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza, designed by Heneghan Peng Architects.

**Image Redacted**

**5.37.** The Nile Hilton.

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**5.38.** A view of the Arab Spring protests, Tahrir Square.

## Chapter 6

	Name of Building	Country	Associated Projects / ruins	Date
1	Old Chicago House	Egypt	Medinet Habu, Architectural/Epigraphic/Pre- historic Surveys	1924
2	New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo	Egypt		1924-26
3	Megiddo Expedition-house	Palestine		1925- 1928
4	Palestine Archaeological Museum	Palestine		1927-38
5	Khorsabad Expedition-house	Iraq	Dur-Sharukkin	1929
6	Tell Asmar Expedition-house	Iraq	Tell Asmar, Khafaje, Abu Khazaf, Ischali	1930
7	Baghdad Museum	Iraq		1929- 1931
8	Sakkara Expedition-house	Egypt	Sakkara <i>mastaba</i> paintings	1930-31
9	New Chicago House	Egypt	Karnak Temple, Architectural/Epigraphic/Pre- historic Surveys	1930-31
10	Persepolis Expedition-house	Persia (Iran)	Persepolis	1930
11	Calneh Expedition-house	Syria	Calneh	1930
12	Abydos Expedition-house	Egypt		
13	Rihanie Expedition-house	Turkey		
14	Sinai Library Project	Egypt	St. Catherine's monastery	1929-31
15	Oriental Institute Museum & Headquarters	United Sates		1931
16	Persian Museum	United States		1933

**Table 6.1.** CENTERFOLD A list of the Oriental Institute's architectural projects in the Middle East and Chicago. Source: by author.

Status/type of Construction	Architect	Style	Donor
New construction	James H. Breasted		GEB (maybe); Julius Rosenwald (library)
Design proposed	William W. Bosworth	neo-Pharaonic, Beaux-Arts	Rockefeller
New construction	Original architect unknown; Enlarged by Woolman		Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
Construction and official inauguration	Austin St. Barbe Harrison	"abstract Orientalism" or "colonial regionalism"	Rockefeller
House taken over		mudbrick village dwelling	Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
Built	Gordon Loud; Seton H. F. Lloyd	ranch/Mesopotamian architecture	Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
Never built			Rockefeller and Rockefeller network (suggested donors); James Curtis
Major expansion of old Penn expedition-house			Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
New construction	L. LeGrande Hunter, L. C. Woolman; Emery Jackson	"Spanish-Colonial"	Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
Reconstruction of Harem of Xerxes		Achaemenid	Ada Small Moore
Construction			Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
			Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
			Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
Never built			Rockefeller
Completed	Mayers, Murray, Phillip; Emery Jackson	Art Deco; neo-Gothic	Rockefeller and/or Rockefeller network
Considered			unclear



**Figure 6.1.** “Luncheon Beside the Oriental Institute Expedition House, April 11, 1933: His Majesty King Feisal is seated at the table fourth from the left.”

This photo shows the Oriental Institute’s modest dig-house in Khorsabad (Iraq), built of sun-baked bricks and purchased from a Kurdish villager or nobleman. Source: Folder 20, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Exp., Oriental Institute Museum Archives (hereafter OIA). Courtesy: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (hereafter O.I.).

## Image Redacted

**6.2.** Map of the Oriental Institute’s architectural projects in the Near East.





**6.3.** “Megiddo: Expedition-house from east slope,” Folder 4, Box 92, Records of the Megiddo Expedition, Location: 1080.6, OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

**Image Redacted**



**6.4.** Old Chicago House. Source: University of Chicago, “The Oriental Institute,” Figure 1, Folder 4, Box 168, The Papers of Harold Swift, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago, Chicago (hereafter SCRC). Red dashed line, by author.

Expedition-house



## Image Redacted

**6.5.** This aerial view of Khorsabad and environs was included in a series of articles on the Khorsabad expedition in *The Illustrated London News*, September 28, 1935. Source: Folder 22, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA.





**6.6.** “Air View of the Palms of Memphis. The ruins of an Egyptian temple in the upper right-hand corner; in the center the buildings containing the studios and living quarters of the Sakkara Expedition of the Oriental Institute.” Source: Folder “Egypt: Sakkarah Expedition-House,” Box and Record unknown, OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

## Image Redacted

**6.7.** The French expedition-house or “château” at Susa, Iran, photo taken c. 1976. Some sources suggest that the expedition-house was destroyed during the Iran-Iraq war. Source (of image): <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jddorren/3076566663/sizes/z/>

# Image Redacted

**6.8.** The (new) Chicago House, Permanent Egyptian Headquarters of the Oriental Institute. The house is located on the Nile's east bank. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 101.

# Image Redacted

**6.9.** Map showing the location of the Chicago House in relation to hotels, and temples.

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**6.10.** “Air view of the new Oriental Institute Headquarters at Luxor. Residence of the Staff (right) and Offices, Studio, and Library (left).” Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 189.

# Image Redacted

**6.11.** “The Western Cliffs of Thebes seen through an Arched Window.” Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 195.

**Image Redacted**

6.12. Map of Luxor

**Image Redacted**

6.13. The expedition-house of Howard Carter.

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**6.14.** Exterior view of Metropolitan House, Luxor, c. 1912.

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**6.15.** Map of Luxor, 1914.

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**6.16.** John D. Rockefeller Jr. (fourth from right), Abby (fifth from right), and family visit Megiddo with Breasted (third from right), 1929. Source: <https://magazine.uchicago.edu/0212/features/pyramids.html>

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**6.17.** A meteorological balloon in use at Megiddo, 1931. Source: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/museum-exhibits/special-exhibits/picturing-pastimaging-and-imagining-ancient-middle-east>.



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**6.18.** View of expedition-house at Megiddo, Palestine. Source: OIA.

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**6.19.** The mound of Megiddo, view from northwest (1926). The expedition-house is visible to the left. Source: Folder 2, Box 92, Records of the Megiddo Expedition, OIA.

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**6.20.** “Valley of Esdraelon” or the Jezreel Valley, at the foot of Megiddo, (date unknown). Source: Folder 5, Box 92, Records of the Megiddo Expedition, OIA.

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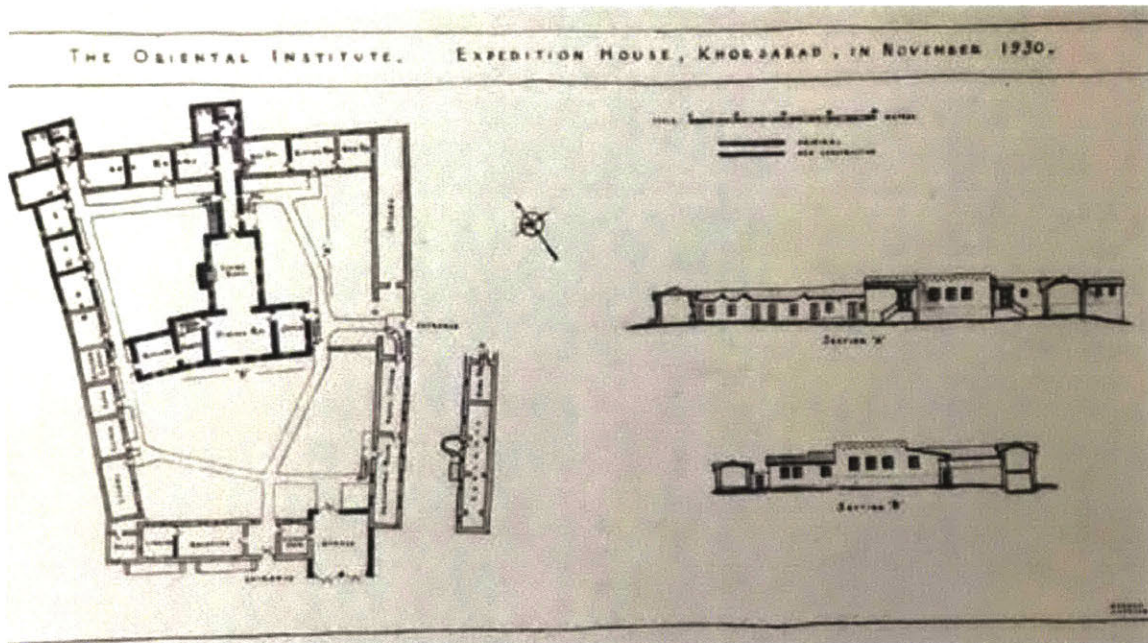
**6.21.** Diagram of Dur Sharrukin.

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**6.22.** Khorsabad expedition-house. Photo showing expedition workers transporting large archaeological fragments in crates over and around the house. Source: OIA.

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6.23. ABOVE Khorsabad expedition-house before expansion and renovation. Source: OIA.



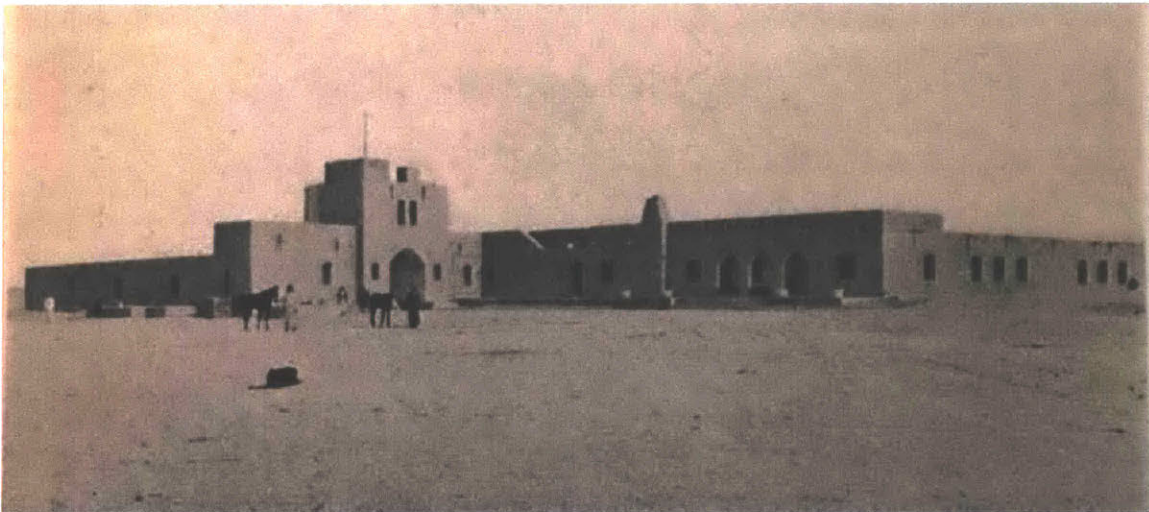
6.24. ABOVE Khorsabad expedition-house after its expansion and renovation. Source, black album in Folder 8, Box 1, Records of the Khorsabad expedition, OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

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**6.25.** Present-day map of Iraq, showing the general site of the Diyala region.

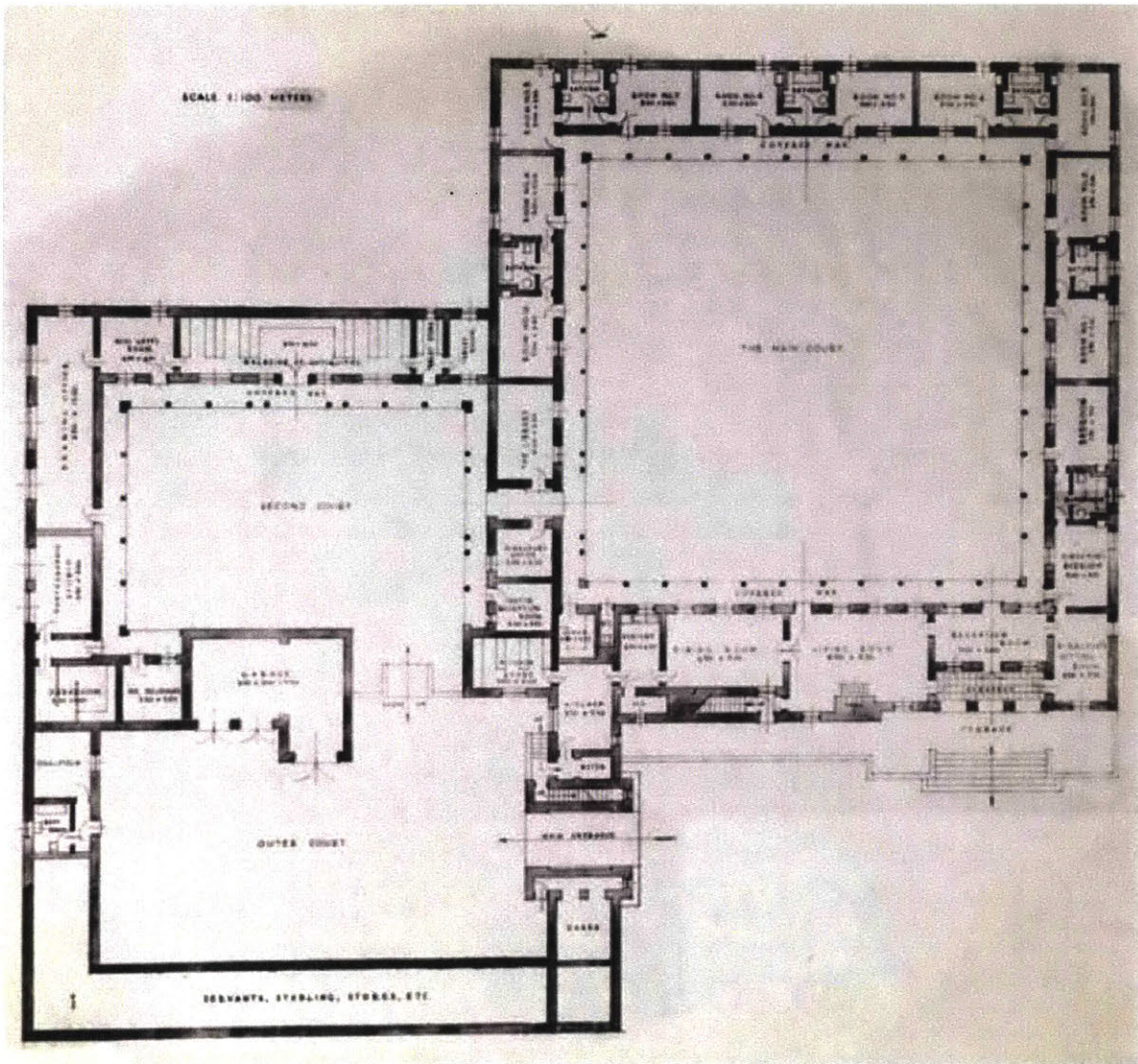
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**6.26.** This map was recently produced by the Oriental Institute to show a close-up of the Diyala region. Abu Khazaf seems to be missing from the map, and a new site--Tell Agrab--has been added. Abu Khazaf would have been part of the original Khafaje-Ishchali cluster.



**6.27.** The Oriental Institute's headquarters at Tell Asmar, c.1930-31. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 343.





6.28. Plan of the Oriental Institute's headquarters at Tell Asmar, c.1930-31. Source: Folder 6, Box 6 (number assigned by author), OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

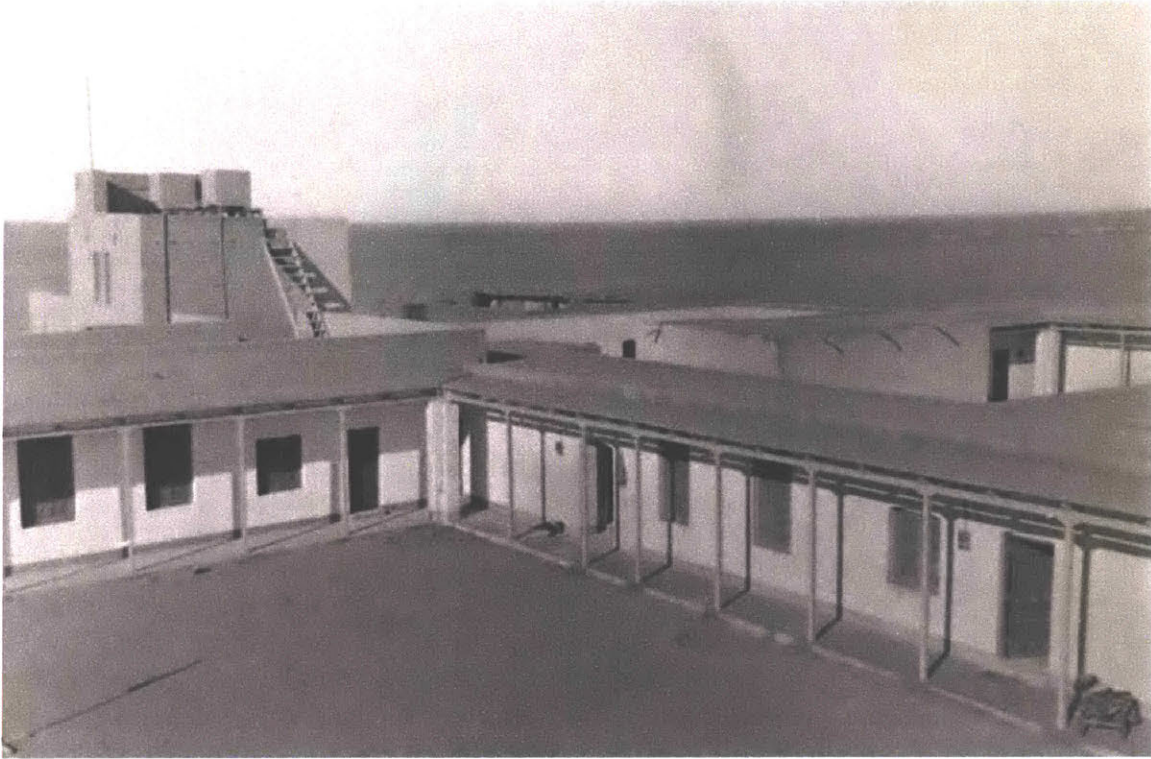
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**6.29.** “Ground plan of the Eshnunna Palace (middle), the Palace Chapel (Left), and the Gimilsin Temple (right) during the reign of Ilushuilia, Son of Itura. Drawing by Seton Lloyd.” Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 349.

# Image Redacted

**6.30.** The Palace and Temple Group at Eshnunna under Ilushuilia. Reconstruction by Seton Lloyd. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 350.





**6.31.** “The House,” December 31, 1930. This view shows the Main Court in the foreground, the Second Court to the right, and the Outer Court in the middle background. According to labels and descriptions on other photographs, the tall structure on the left may have been a water tank. Source: Folder (no name, no number), Box 6 (number assigned by author), OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

## Image Redacted

**6.32.** Some interior shots of the expedition-house. The living room is shown above, and a work room is shown to the right, c. December 1930 or January 1931. Source: Folder (no name, number), Box 6 (number assigned by author), OIA.

# Image Redacted

**6.33.** The old expedition-house of Auguste Mariette, Sakkara. Date unknown but probably early twentieth-century or earlier. Source: <http://www.t3wy.nl/t3-wy-lectures-dig-houses-in-egypt/>

# Image Redacted

**6.34.** The expedition-house of the University of Pennsylvania at Saqqara, immediately before the Institute's take-over, renovation, and expansion. Source: OIA.



**6.35.** “Air View of the Palms of Memphis. The ruins of an Egyptian temple in the upper right-hand corner; in the center the buildings containing the studios and living quarters of the Sakkara Expedition of the Oriental Institute.” Source: Folder “Egypt: Sakkarah Expedition-House,” Box and Record unknown, OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

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**6.36.** Saqqara Expedition-house, approach and exterior shots. Source: OIA

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6.37. Sakkara expedition-house under construction. Source: OIA.

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**6.38.** Plan of Sakkara house. Source: OIA.





**6.39.** “Three Staff Members outside Expedition-House,” a photo showing staff members in an inner courtyard. Source: Folder “Egypt: Sakkarah [sic] Expedition-House,” OIA. Courtesy: O.I.



**6.40.** “Memphis,” Sakkara expedition-house, view from the roof/terraces. Source: Folder “Egypt: Sakkarah [sic] Expedition-House,” OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

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**6.41.** “Epigraphers and artists copy texts and scenes in 1934 in the Tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara.” This photograph shows the room that the government provided for the Oriental Institute.

**Image Redacted**

**6.42.** Living room in the expedition-house. Source: OIA.

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**6.43.** Drafting room. Source: OIA.



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**6.44.** Photographer's room, dark room. Source: OIA.

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**6.45.** "Photographing the Oriental Institute's new headquarters for its Sakkara Expedition at ancient Memphis, 20 miles from Cairo." Source: OIA.

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**6.46.** Aerial view of the concession area for Persepolis, April 20, 1936. Source: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/persian-expedition>

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**6.47.** Ada Small Moore

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**6.48.** Ruins of the so-called Harem of Xerxes, before reconstruction.

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**6.49.** The reconstructed Harem of Darius. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 3, OIA.

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**6.50.** This photo dates to c.1928, and shows the Cabinet members of Reza Shah. Note the central figure holding a camera. The man on his right is Firouz Mirza, who commissioned a report on Persepolis from Ernst Herzfeld in 1925. At the time of the photo, he was Minister of Finance. Earlier, he had been Governor of Fars. Source: Yuka Kadoi, *Arthur Upham Pope and a New Survey of Persian Art*.

# Images Redacted

**6.51.** The Harem of Xerxes, restored. This interior view of the reconstructed harem shows the Persepolis expedition's office space. On the left, is a doorway with an original sculpted jamb. This room was probably located off the large centrally located columned hall in the main wing. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, OIA.

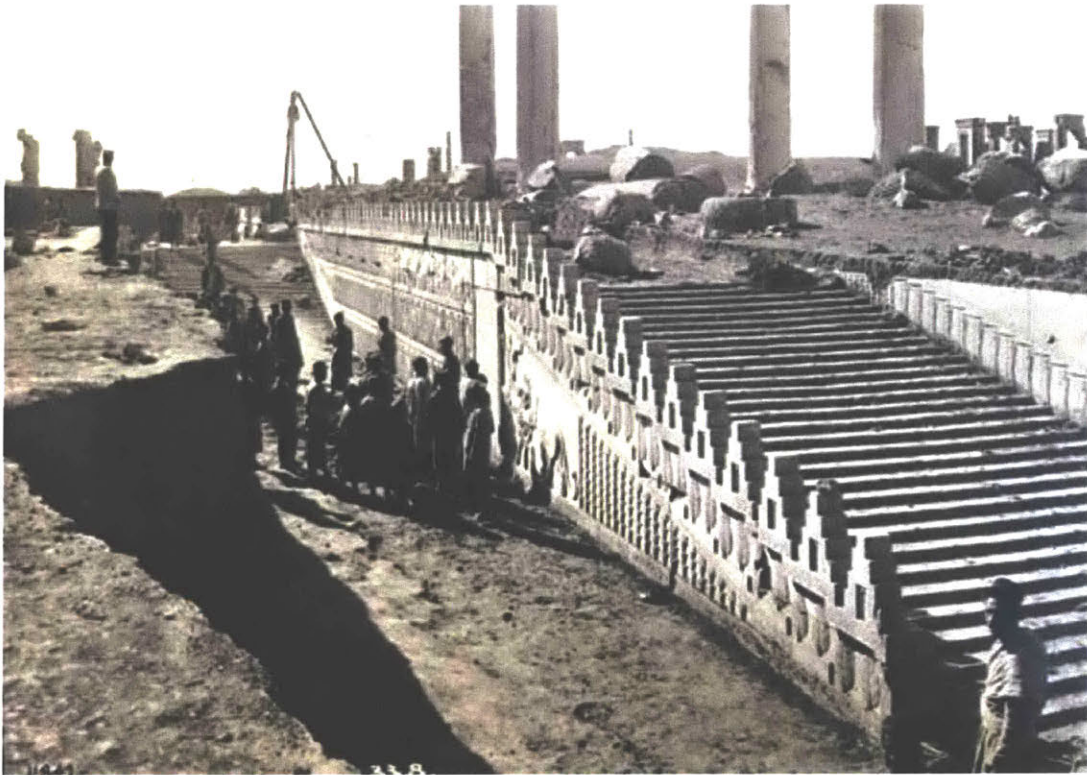
**6.52.** The Harem of Xerxes, under reconstruction. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 2, OIA.



**6.53.** The Oriental Institute expedition team outside the reconstructed Harem of Xerxes. Ernst Herzfeld is seated in the center. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 4, OIA, Courtesy: O.I.

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**6.54.** The reconstructed Harem of Xerxes, northern portico. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 1, OIA.



**6.55.** Monumental staircases, discovered by Ernst Herzfeld's team. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 1, OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

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**6.56.** Monumental staircases, discovered by Ernst Herzfeld's team - seen from a distance.  
Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 1, OIA.



**6.57.** Monumental Staircases, detail. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, Album 1, OIA.  
Courtesy: O.I.

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**6.58.** Pergamon Altar, today.

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**6.59.** Photograph of staircase.



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**6.60.** “Tell Jedeideh, one of the ancient cities of the north syrian [sic] kingdom of Hattina. This mound is the prominent one at the right. At left is the expedition-house. In the center background rises Chatal Hüyük, the other site which the Syrian-Hittite Expedition is investigating.” Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 307.

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**6.61.** The Field Headquarters of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition, constructed 1931-32

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**6.62.** THESE PAGES The Oriental Institute's Middle Eastern Infrastructure

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**6.63** Oriental Institute Museum & Headquarters, Chicago. Photo taken shortly after construction was completed. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*, 110.

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**6.64** Haskell Oriental Museum (old location of the Oriental Institute), date unknown. Source: Wikimedia.

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**6.65.** Library at the new Oriental Institute Museum & Headquarters, Chicago.

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**6.66.** Art Deco style in the Lobby of the new Oriental Institute Museum & Headquarters, Chicago. Source: OIA.



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**6.67.** Proposed New Chapel for University of Chicago, Plot Plan. Date unknown, but early. This entire site was known as the “Chapel Block.” However, the proposed YMCA and YWCA Houses shown here were never built. The President’s House (visible on the lower left) was built, but it was not connected to the chapel as shown here. The area outlined in red (top left) is where the Oriental Institute Museum was later built. Source: Plan File 9, Drawer 3, Folder 17, *Special Collections Research Center*, University of Chicago, Chicago (hereafter SCRC). Red dashed line, by author.

# Image Redacted

**6.68.** Ground floor plan, Oriental Institute Headquarters. This plan, dating from around 1931, shows the initial layout of the exhibition halls. Probably as a response to Breasted's particular interest in Egyptology, visitors enter the Egyptian Hall first, and then move around in a clockwise direction. Source: Breasted, *The Oriental Institute*.

# Image Redacted

**6.69.** Winged Assyrian bull or lamassu in situ, Mrs. Chiera (wife of the Khorsabad Expedition's Director) sitting on the feet. Source: Folder 16, Box 01 Records of the Khorsabad Expedition, OIA. (Note: Plan above shows final resting place of the winged bull: extreme left end of the floor plan, on axis with the Egyptian Hall and the Lobby.)

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**6.70.** Sargon's Bull installed on the central axis of the museum's Assyrian Hall.

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**6.71.** Pieces of the Assyrian bull being loaded on a barge. Source: OIA.





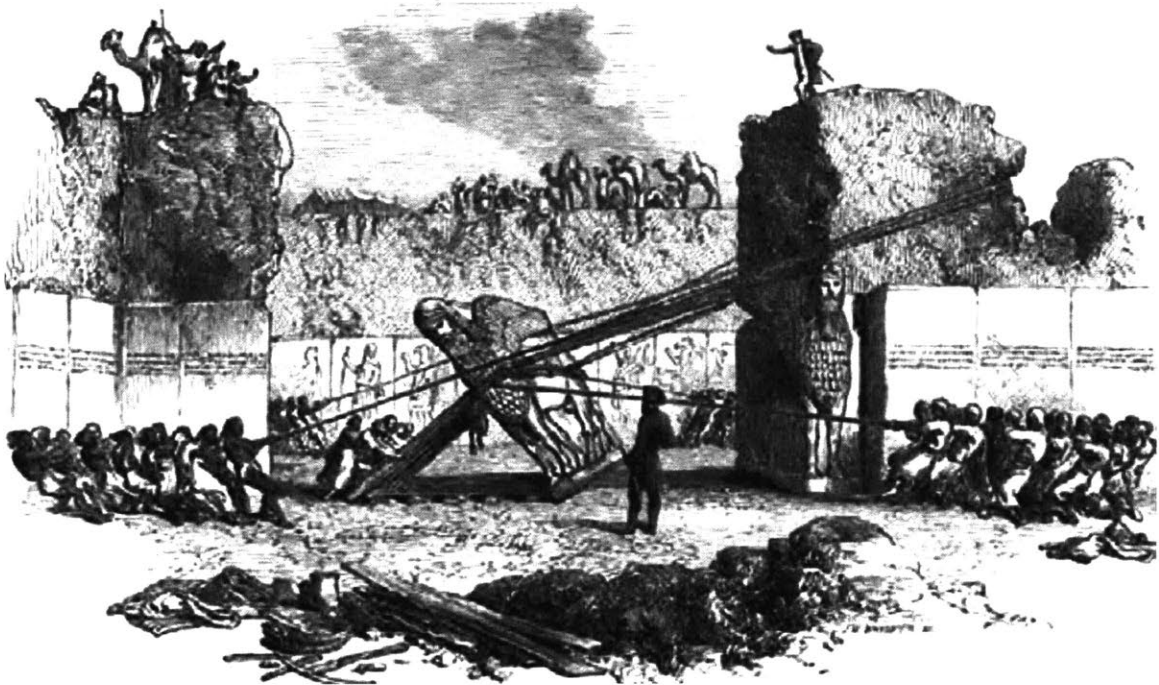
**6.72** A truck bearing the bull backs up towards the Oriental Institute building. The bull was then lifted and hauled in to the building through the hole in the wall. In the rear, we can see the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel. Source: OIA. Courtesy: O.I.

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**6.73** Sargon's Bull, being lifted into the Oriental Institute Museum.

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6.74. *Lamassu*, joined back together and in its final resting place. Source: OIA.



6.75. "Lowering the Bull." Source: Layard, *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh*, public domain.

# Image Redacted

**6.76.** Fragment of bull, shown immediately after being hauled out of the ground. Source: Album of Ernst Herzfeld, OIA.



**6.77.** The bull as it is installed in the Oriental Institute today. Source & Courtesy: By author.

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**6.78.** “Steel work in Iranian Hall to hold human-headed bull capital, bull’s head and element of capital, also brick-work for striding-lion relief and lintel.” Source: OIA.

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**6.79.** ABOVE Front view of the statue of Tutankhamun. Source: OIA.

**6.80.** LEFT “Column in the basement to support the statue of King Tutenkhamon [sic].” Source: OIA.

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**6.81** Proposed Persian Museum, The University of Chicago. June, 1933. Source: SCRC.

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**6.82** “Opening the Gates to the Treasures of the Orient.” Photograph and caption taken from an Oriental Institute publication. Left to Right: Raymond B. Fosdick, John H. Finley, President Hutchins, James H. Breasted. Source: OIA.

**6.83** BELOW View down the Egyptian Hall towards the Assyrian bull, with the gates open.

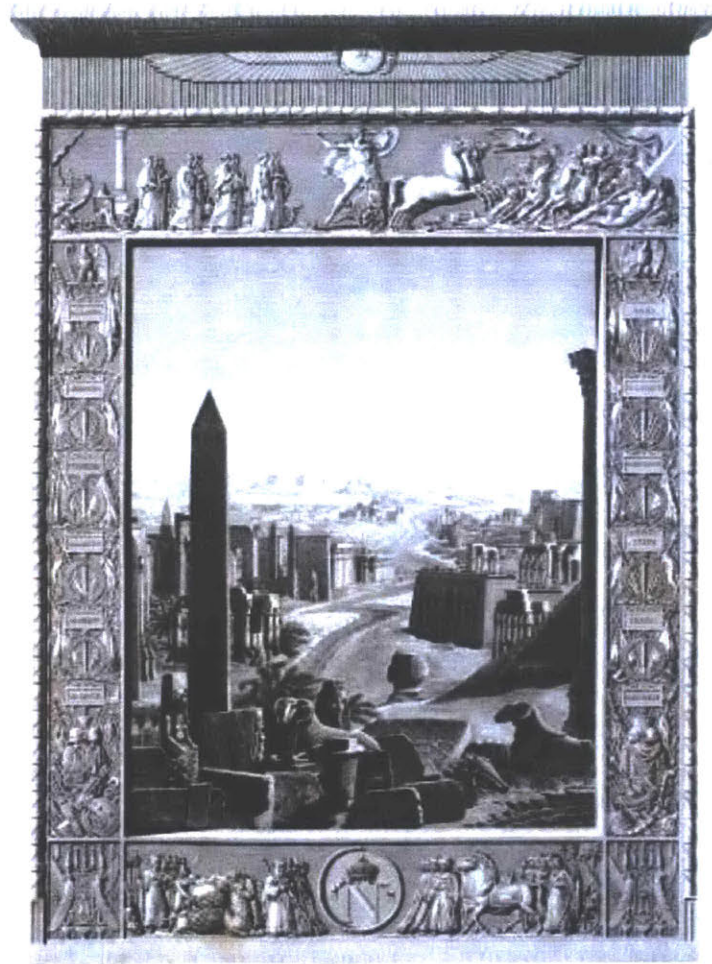
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**6.84** Tympanum.

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**6.85** Picot Francois Edouard's *Study and Genius Unveiling Ancient Egypt to Greece*, Musée du Louvre, Paris (1827)



6.86 *Description de l'Égypte* (Frontispiece)

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6.87 Mural in the dome of the Library of Congress.



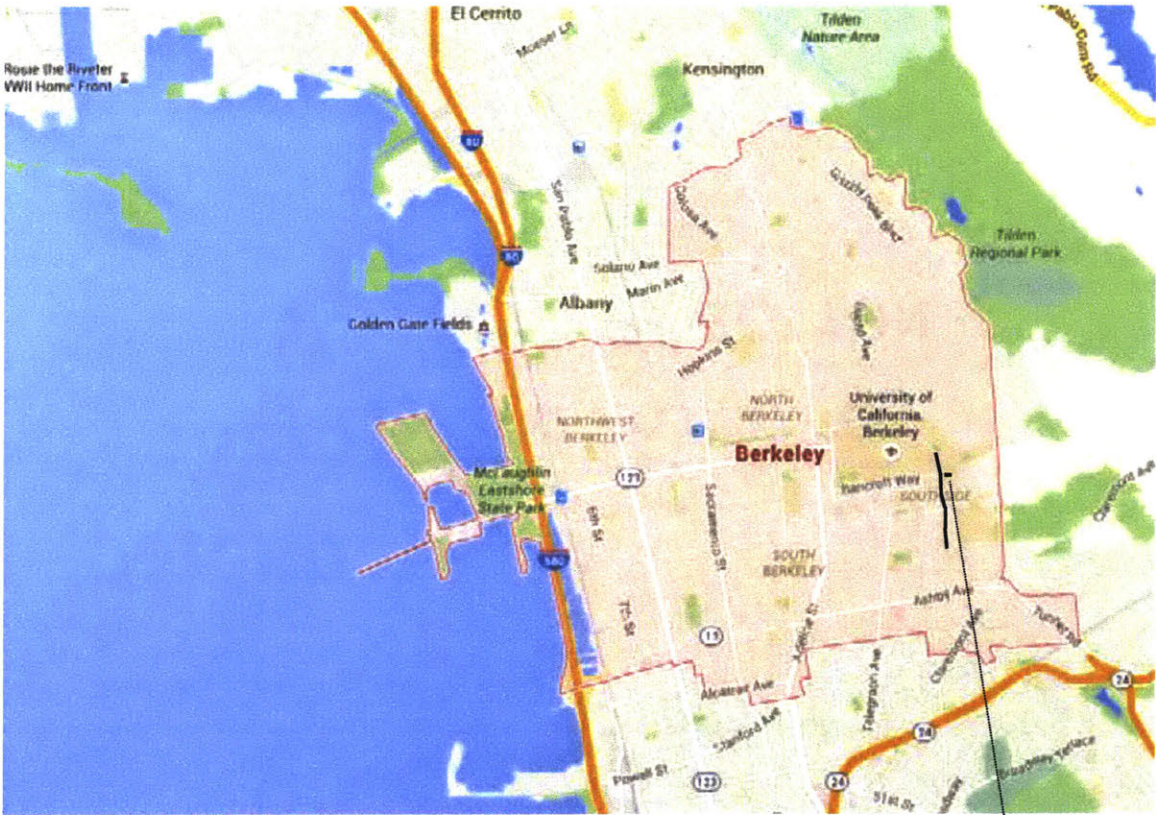
## Chapter 7

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7.1 (a) Dedication of the 200-Inch Hale Telescope, June 3, 1948 (Palomar/Caltech)

# Image Redacted

7.1 (b) Mt. Palomar at night (Palomar/Caltech)



7.2. ABOVE Map of Berkeley, 2016. Piedmont Avenue is marked on it in black. Source & Courtesy: Map data © 2016, Google, with author's overlay.

I-House Berkeley  
located along  
Piedmont Avenue

7.3. Site of Berkeley I-House shown within the larger Bay Area, map circa 1933.

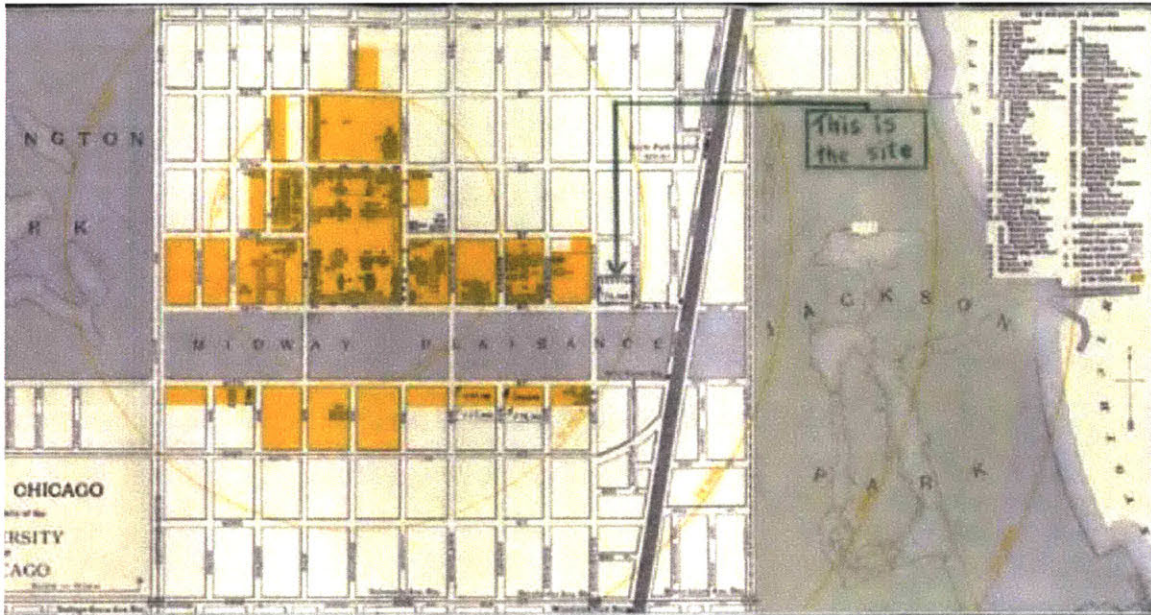
I-House Berkeley

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7.4. A recent photograph of the Berkeley I-House.

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7.5. Site map from Harry Edmonds' report showing the proposed (and final) location of International House Chicago. Source & Courtesy: I-House Chicago Site Map, F111, B17, RG III 2G, OMR, RAC.

7.6. BELOW Map showing grounds of World's Columbian Exposition, 1893.

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7.7. Ethnic Village, Ferris Wheel.

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7.8. The buildings of the White City.

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Break line, to allow figure to fit on page, approximately three blocks are missing in this photo.

7.9. The Chapel Block as it exists today. Source & Courtesy: Map data © 2016, Google Earth, with author's overlay.

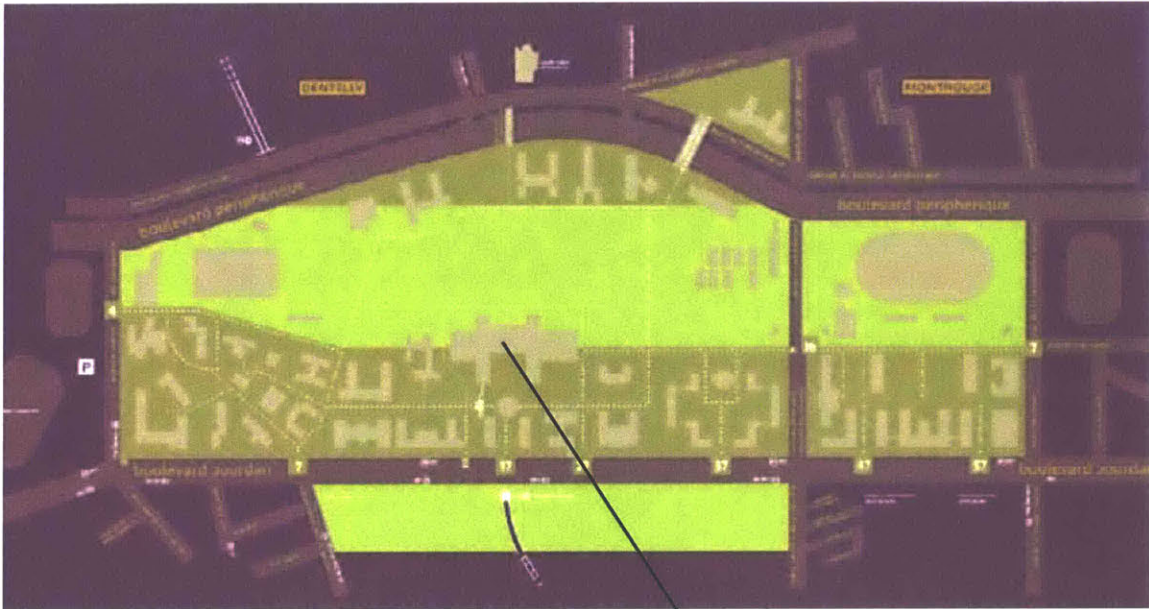


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7.10 Rockefeller Memorial Chapel

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7.11. International House Chicago, as built. Source: RAC.



7.12. Map of *Cite Universitaire* campus. Source: Author photo.

BELOW Historic photograph of the campus.  
La Maison Internationale is located in the center of both map and photo.

**Image Redacted**



7.13. Fondation Suisse. Source: Author photo



7.14. Maison du Mexique. Source: Author photo



7.15. Fondation Hellénique. Source: Author photo



7.16. Maison du Cambodge. Source: Author photo





7.17. La Maison Internationale, Cite Universitaire campus, Paris. Source: Author photo.



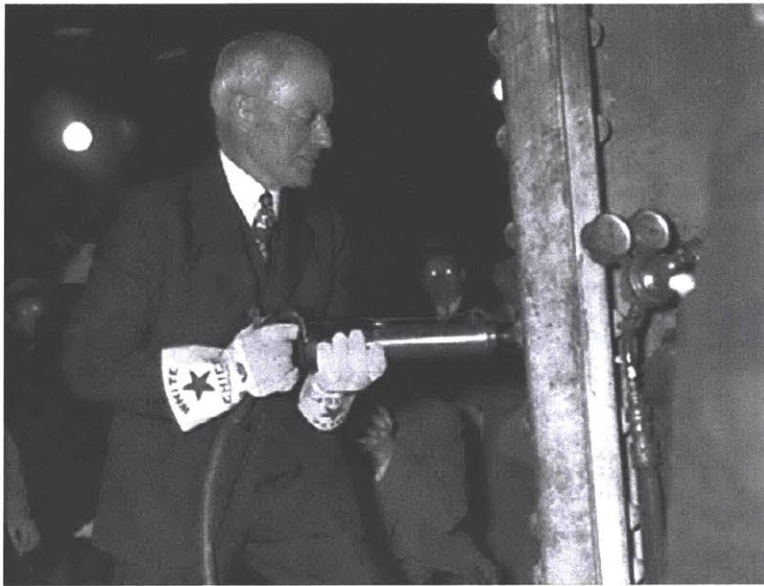
7.18. A view of Château de Fontainebleau. Source: Author photo.

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7.19. Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem

**Image Redacted**

7.20. Detail of Palestine Archaeological Museum.



7.21. John D. Rockefeller Jr., seen here ceremonially driving the last rivet into New York City's Rockefeller Center, c. 1940s. Source: Merle Crowell, *The Last Rivet* (Columbia University Press, 1940).

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7.22. Rockefeller Center, c. 1930s.

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7.23. An early design for the Rockefeller Center complex.

# Image Redacted

7.24. An early design for rooftop gardens and bridges at the Rockefeller Center.

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**7.25.** Another early design for the Rockefeller Center.

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**7.26.** A drawing showing Rockefeller Center as built.



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**7.27.** ABOVE “View from the Northeast of Rockefeller Center showing, from left to right: La Maison Francaise, British Empire Building, Palazzo d’Italia, and International Building North. Associated Architects, buildings completed 1933-35. MacRae. MCNY.” Source: Stern, *New York 1930*.

**7.28.** RIGHT “Rockefeller Center, Fifth to Sixth Avenue between West Forty-Eighth and West Fifty-First streets. Associated Architects, 1931-1940. Rendered plan by John Wenrich of proposed rooftop gardens, 1932. MCNY” Source: Stern, *New York 1930*, 640.

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**7.29. ABOVE** Three members of the Associated Architects, posing next to a model of the Rockefeller Center. Raymond Hood is to the left, circa 1930s.

**7.30. RIGHT** “Associated Press Building, 50 Rockefeller Plaza. Associated Architects, 1938. View of entrance showing the stainless steel plaque *News* by Isamu Noguchi. Lincoln. PENN.” Source: Stern, *New York* 1930, 670.

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**7.31.** “30 Rockefeller Plaza. GE Building. Interior mural painting in main hallway by Frank Brangwyn.” 1933. Source: Museum of the City of New York.

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7.32. A Mural at the Rockefeller Center.

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7.33. A view of the then-recently completed Rockefeller Center. La Maison Francaise and British Empire building are in the front, and the Channel Gardens are shown leading to the central slab in the rear, c1930s.

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7.34. *Joshua passing the River Jordan with the Ark of the Covenant*, Artist Benjamin West, 1800.

# Image Redacted

7.35. Rockefeller's Spanish-style antique office, which he had re-installed in the Rockefeller Center.

# Image Redacted

**7.36.** “Man, Controller of the Universe,” by Diego Rivera. Rivera modeled this mural after the one that was destroyed in the Rockefeller Center. This mural is located in *Palacio de Bella Artes* in Mexico City.

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**7.37.** A still from a promotional video created in the 1930s for Rockefeller Center. The image shows the Rainbow Room. Source: RAC.

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