

THE CARSON-PIRIE-SCOTT BUILDING IN CHICAGO

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Joseph Michael Siry

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 4 1984 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental Studies.

ABSTRACT

The dissertation is a history of Louis Sullivan's Carson-Pirie-Scott Building in Chicago, originally the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, built 1899-1904. Carson-Pirie-Scott was the last major structure designed by Sullivan and has long been considered a pivotal work in the history of modern architecture.

The study documents the origins of Sullivan's design in the context of the architecture and urban development of Chicago's main shopping street, State Street. As one of a number of department stores built along this commercial street in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Carson-Pirie-Scott was at the center of a transformation of urban life. Rapid change in the scale and character of commercial architecture on State Street was linked to changes in retailing practice, building technology, and transportation. The thesis shows how designs for department stores by architects such as Jenney and Mundie, Burnham and Root, and Holabird and Roche responded to

these distinctly modern conditions. Adler and Sullivan's early renovations of a pre-existing Schlesinger and Mayer Store and the character of the client firm are studied in relation to Sullivan's drawings and the executed scheme for the new building.

Carson-Pirie-Scott is analyzed in relation to the culture of shopping and the architecture of commercial streets as these had developed in Chicago and elsewhere by the turn of the century. Sullivan's design was linked to the development of the show window as a mode of decorative art, and to the emergence of the department store as a new use type with both modern and festive associations. Carson-Pirie-Scott's exterior and special interior spaces responded to expectations for the architecture of these commercial institutions. Sullivan's building is compared to earlier development of the department store in New York and Paris, as well as neighboring stores on State Street.

As a work representative of its place and period, Carson-Pirie-Scott also emerged from a regional school of architectural thought. Reconstruction of the theoretical position of Sullivan and his Chicago contemporaries shows how their understanding of their art may have developed from that of earlier theorists of the 19th century, including Ruskin, Semper, and Viollet-le-Duc. Analysis of the writings of Sullivan, Adler, Root, Jenney, and Wright also suggests how their view of architecture was linked to

fundamental changes in the practice of building in Chicago in the late 19th century. Their attitude toward the possibility of a new art and craft of the machine may be understood as a response to the rapid development of both materials and techniques of commercial construction. Sullivan's attempt to work creatively with these new conditions of his art is demonstrated in the design of Carson-Pirie-Scott.

There is a final assessment of the building in relation to Sullivan's development as an architect. Study of selected earlier works, including the Rothschild Store, the Wainwright Building, the Chicago Stock Exchange Building, the Gage facade, and the later Van Allen Store lends comparative perspective on the place of Carson-Pirie-Scott within Sullivan's oeuvre. These buildings are compared to related works by other Chicago architects to suggest how Sullivan's individual artistic personality evolved in the context of surrounding developments. Sullivan's vision of the role of architecture in modern civilization is considered.

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CHAPTER I
CRITICISM AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CARSON-PIRIE-SCOTT,
SULLIVAN AND THE CHICAGO SCHOOL

Since its own time Carson-Pirie-Scott has been understood as a work of modern architecture. Contemporaries viewed the completion of the building in 1903 as one event within an ongoing development of new forms in Chicago architecture and in the work of Louis Sullivan since the 1880s. Since the appearance of this work, critics and historians have offered alternative assessments of its importance and the degree to which it can be considered representative of Sullivan's and Chicago's contribution to architecture in this century. The appropriation and neglect of Carson-Pirie-Scott in successive accounts reveals the evolution of attitudes toward the idea of a modern architecture over the past eighty years. Study of the building's historiography clarifies the relation between American and European views about the roles of Chicago in the course of architecture since 1900. For these reasons this account of Carson-Pirie-Scott's origins begins with a resumé of critical thought about the building, and the place of Sullivan and Chicago within the international development of a new architecture.

By 1890 critics acknowledged that Chicago possessed characteristic conditions enabling innovation in building. Observers from eastern cities and from Europe remarked on the distinct combination of factors that were shaping Chicago as an urban environment.¹ As the regional center of the mid-west the city was then undergoing a demographic expansion of

phenomenal rapidity and scope. Between 1870 and 1900 Chicago grew from a population of about 300,000 to over 3,000,000. The prevailing impression of the city was of an ever multiplying concentration of inhabitants whose collective energy and industry were evinced most strikingly in the number and scale of commercial structures. Chicago's geographic position had fostered its growth as the principal link between the surrounding agricultural prairie and the eastern United States. Since its beginnings the economic life of Chicago had centered around the exchange of commodities between these sections of the country. The city's origins as a frontier settlement early in the nineteenth century and the circumstances of its growth as a center of commerce and transportation had nurtured the values of utility and economy to an extreme degree. Among its powerful circles these values were complemented by a renowned public spiritedness, an openness of mind, and high aspirations for the city's future based on its expansive potential. These characteristics of Chicago were the rudiments of a civilization whose way of life and habits of mind were typified in its architecture and urbanism, the most representative artifact of which was the tall business building.

The condition for the series of experiments in the building arts which led to the creation of the skyscraper was the concentration of commercial activity within central Chicago bounded by Lake Michigan on the east, the Chicago River on the north and west, and the city's major railroad terminals on the south (Figure 1). This confined commercial core of

the city had been obliterated in the great fire of 1871. The apparent disaster, however, stimulated vigorous investment in the downtown's reconstruction during the 1880s when the history of Chicago's innovations in building began. In this decade the combined effects of burgeoned population growth of the whole city and areal limits to the expansion of the central commercial district made Chicago real estate an attractive focus for investment of local as well as eastern capital. The financial criterion of maximizing return on a given square footage of land encouraged a series of experiments of tall structures which predated the use of the steel frame. A characteristic early work was Burnham and Root's Montauk Block of 1881 (Figure 2).² This eight story brick structure was designed around the principle of strictest economy, providing the greatest amount of rentable office space within the most utilitarian simplicity of form. The Montauk's severity was prophetic of the character of Chicago commercial architecture that followed the development of the steel frame. The first successful experiment with this new means of construction as a device for deriving maximum profit from valuable commercial real estate was the Home Insurance Building designed by William Le Baron Jenney in 1883-84 on LaSalle Street, Chicago's main financial corridor (Figure 3). The building was to serve as the western headquarters of the Home Insurance Company of New York and provide an investment for the company's capital. The client's original instructions to Jenney specified that the building was to contain "the maximum number of well-lighted small offices" necessitating

the use of very small piers, smaller, the clients anticipated, than those necessary in masonry construction. Jenney's solution was to enclose iron columns within small masonry piers for protecting the structural metal from fire. The system of construction was designed to minimize the proportion of floor area occupied by the structure. The techniques for assembling iron and steel members in the building were borrowed from the engineering of railway bridges, which provided the only existing models for skeletal frames of metal. Thus the key structural innovation of Chicago architecture represented the convergence of conditions characteristic of modern times: urbanization, which created the impetus for tall construction via the medium of land values, and industrialization, which had developed steel as a new material for use in railroads which proved adaptable to building. At the time of their completion, buildings such as Jenney's were interpreted as evidence of a regional modernity in the architecture of Chicago. In 1891 Montgomery Schuyler wrote of the city's new steel structures:

...Upon the whole these buildings, by far the most successful and impressive of the business buildings of Chicago, not merely attest to the skill of their architects, but reward their self-denial in making the design for a commercial building out of its own elements, however unpromising these may seem; Hence it is that, without showing anywhere any strain after originality, these structures are more original than structures in which such a strain is evident... The designer did not permit himself to be diverted from the problem at hand by a consideration of irrelevant beauties of Roman theatres, or Florentine palaces, or Flemish townhalls, and accordingly the work is not reminiscent of these nor of any previous architectural types...⁴

Within this development of commercial monumentality in

Chicago, Adler and Sullivan in 1890 completed the Auditorium Building whose architecture was proclaimed as representative of the city's aspirations to that time (Figure 4). The Auditorium at its unveiling was a symbol of Chicago's intention to become "the one great American city having a civilization of its own, a sense of the beautiful in nature belonging to itself, and ideas of applied art based upon its own wants, its own ideas, its own appreciations."

Contemporaries asserted that the building as a step toward cultural identity "explains the passionate attachment that all feel for the Auditorium, which is of Chicago to the smallest detail."⁵ The structure assumed the importance of a cathedral to a medieval city. The completed work won for Adler and Sullivan an immediate national and international reputation. Critical response to the Auditorium may thus be considered the starting point for assessments of Sullivan's work within the context of Chicago's developments. Initial reaction to the exterior of the building was mixed, as the street front assumed the form of a commercial block whose severity belied the festive nature of the theater as the heart of the program. Yet the expressive power and architectonic character of the base and tower were acknowledged as demonstrations of Sullivan's abilities. His chief renown, however, derived from the ornamentation of the interior of the auditorium itself and other major public rooms. Their spatial generosity and decorative enrichment earned for the building a pre-eminent reputation as opera house and hotel, surpassing the virtues of New York's Metropolitan

Opera House opened in 1883. Adler and others drew particular attention to the ornamentation of the Banquet Hall whose aesthetic they cited as representative of Sullivan's intentions for the whole building (Figure 5). Adler wrote of this room's "peculiar artistic conception and treatment, at once aggressively unconventional and original and still extremely delicately refined. In fact, the banquet hall is the culmination of the boldness, originality and refinement which are characteristic of the decoration of this building."⁶ The polychromy, the woodwork, and the architectonic character of the decor established Sullivan's reputation as the voice of Chicago's aspiration for distinctly regional forms of expression in art and architecture.

Though it marked the beginning of Adler and Sullivan's important work, the Auditorium was among the last of the great Chicago constructions that preceded the city's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The building thus marked the closing of an era when the aesthetic of commercial buildings had derived primarily from the lithic character of Richardson's Romanesque. The completion of the Auditorium coincided with the approval of Chicago as the site for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The Exposition as an array of white classical buildings (Figure 6) transformed national taste in architecture, marking a decisive shift away from interest in Romanesque forms. The renewal of enthusiasm for Greek and Roman precedent coincided with the deaths of Richardson (1886) and John Wellborn Root (1891), the most able designers in the Romanesque mode. Within the historiography of American architecture,

the Columbian Exposition has been understood to have cut short a progressive development of Chicago architecture represented by the Romanesque work of Root and Sullivan in favor of a sudden revival of interest in the possibilities of classicism.⁷ Sullivan's own account of the Fair in his autobiography has been accepted as an accurate assessment of its influence in favor of an academic reaction that dominated American architecture for a full generation after 1893.⁸ The effect of the Fair in Chicago itself is evident in projects for civic architecture of the late 1890s such as Henry Ives Cobb's Federal Post Office and Custom House of 1896 (Figure 7) which may be compared to Richard Morris Hunt's Administration Building for the Fair. As the city's first major public building after 1893, Cobb's structure was described as "simple Corinthian classic," with light granite walls and gilded dome recalling the imagery of the Exposition.⁹ Chicago's Public Library (1897) and its Art Institute (1893) both designed by Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge of Boston, were similar monuments understood in their time to represent the progress of the city's architecture toward a civic classicism whose model had been the temporary buildings of the fair grounds.

It was in this same period of the Exposition that Sullivan achieved artistic maturity in his handling of the novel problem of tall steel frame construction for commercial building. Apart from the adaptation of classical forms to public monuments, the principle architectural challenge of the 1890s in both Chicago and New York was the development

of an appropriate aesthetic treatment for tall steel structures. Though frame construction had originated in Chicago before 1890, critics evaluated early attempts such as Jenney's Home Insurance less as decisive achievements for architecture than as suggestive experiments with a novel way of construction. The early skyscrapers had raised but not resolved the question of an aesthetic for the tall building. The scale and commercial character of such buildings made them phenomena that designers found difficult to subsume within existing conventions of architecture. In his essay on "The Evolution of the Skyscraper" of 1903 Schuyler stated the conceptual dilemma posed by this new structural type:

The skyscraper is a frame building and not a concretion of masonry. There are almost no precedents applicable to the expression of such a structure in the whole of architectural history... In fact, what the architects of skyscrapers are called upon to do is to create a new architecture, an architecture which in its problems has immensely more affinities with modern engineering than with historical architecture.¹⁰

The work of Adler and Sullivan that drew the most critical attention in the early 1890s was the Schiller Theater Building (1891-92) in Chicago (Figure 8). The Schiller, as a combination theater and office block, was the successor as a type to the Auditorium. However, the newer structure employed a steel rather than an iron frame with the exterior as a cladding of terra cotta in place of an encasement of granite and limestone. The design of the Schiller stressed the height of the building through the use of continuous vertical lines in the elevation, with ornament developed at the street and cornice levels. At the time of its completion, the

Schiller Building, even more than Adler and Sullivan's Wainwright Building (1890-91) in St. Louis, was considered exemplary of the most progressive aesthetic direction for the tall steel frame. In his review of American architecture of 1893, Sir Bannister Fletcher wrote of Sullivan's latest Chicago work: "This building appeals to me as being the best designed tall structure, not only in Chicago, but in the States...I take it in fact that the Schiller Theater is in the same relation to the new style of tall building as the Parthenon bears to the architecture of Greece."¹¹

Sullivan's performance through the nineties did not always garner unqualified praise, yet his work was consistently understood to represent possibilities for future development whose uniqueness in this respect made it worthy of attention. Such a climate of critical expectations may have induced Sullivan to collaborate with his friend Lyndon Smith to design the front of the Bayard Building (1897) in New York (Figure 9). The project's location enabled its reception, perhaps intended by Sullivan, as a polemic contrast to the classically inspired architecture of tall commercial structures in lower Manhattan. The Bayard as a rational yet expressive treatment of the modern high building did in fact succeed as a suggestive influence for eastern architects' later works nearby. Russell Sturgis included the Bayard as a notable work in his resume, "Good Things in Modern Architecture" of 1898, characterizing the front as exemplary of "the architectural treatment of the future metal building of our cities in the form which it must pass through if it is to reach any serious architectural success."¹²

The momentum of Sullivan's critical success thus continued to build after his separation from Dankmar Adler in 1895, and culminated just before the turn of the century through his de facto leadership of the nascent Architectural League of America founded in 1899. The League, as an association of younger architects and draftsmen headquartered in Chicago, adopted Sullivan's writings and buildings as the embodiment of their aim to free themselves from the domination of academic architecture whose formally educated practitioners had formed The Architectural League of New York in 1881. Thus, by 1900, Sullivan had emerged as articulate champion of an alternative architectural culture whose self-consciously progressive ideology bespoke a reaction to historicism based on the study of classical forms.¹³ In conjunction with these aspirations of the League, Sullivan's artistic position by the turn of the century had matured to become a philosophical point of reference for a new architecture. Summarizing Sullivan's achievement to 1901, A.W. Barker wrote that he had not only brought forth new works, unlike what had gone before, but had more importantly established an independent point of view which at the time was "one of the few visible centers of organization of architectural thought of this country." Barker offered this paraphrase of Sullivan's credo as adopted by his followers in the League:

The attempt to develop a living style from the relics of one that is dead, fails, not because the forms themselves are outworn, nor because the masterpieces have lost any of their power to interpret between us and those who went before, but because, being constructed to fill one need, they are not the logical expression

of another, which in its turn must find itself new forms, desired from its own character...

A crystal is built on an inward law, not in an external mold, and spontaneous expression is of the same sort. So, if the need that calls forth the work of art is able to define itself, and is allowed to work in freedom in its environment, a form of beauty and dignity will result as a matter of course.

The part of genius is to know this need, and to measure it, to live and feel, to have positive emotions, and as definite as strong; emotions that will not satisfy themselves in the forms which grow about other ideas, but which build with regard only to their own demand and the opportunities of their environment.

This, we take to be the perennial foundation of art...¹⁴

In the midst of such expectation Sullivan designed and built the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as his last major work of commercial architecture in Chicago (Figure 10). The critical response to this building upon its completion was rooted in the development of Sullivan's position and attitudes toward his work over the previous fifteen years. During the period of this project, Sullivan published the most succinct and comprehensive statement of his position up to that time in the form of the Kindergarten Chats, first serialized in 1901-02. Given the intensity of anticipation that centered on his work by the turn of the century, Henry W. Desmond prefaced his criticism of the completed Schlesinger and Mayer Store stating that Mr. Sullivan at that moment occupied "the unusually isolated position of the prophet, the fore-runner, the intensely personal force...For let it be understood, Mr. Sullivan is really our only Modernist. To say

that he has invented a style would, of course, be to say too much, but he has certainly evolved and elaborated a highly artistic form of superficial surface expression in logical connection with the American steel skeleton building."¹⁵

Thus the building itself came to be regarded by 1906 as the work in which Sullivan had "carried his logic to extreme lengths. It is a crystal palace of glass and masonry, overwrought with ornament-like flowers and frost. Here indeed is a new architectural art, superior to l'Art Nouveau of Europe in that it is born of reason and not of whim."¹⁶ In 1905 another critic praised the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as evidence of the possibility that steel could be treated as an architectural material with a system of expression derived from its unique proportions and lightness. The Schlesinger and Mayer Store was paired with Ernest Flagg's Singer Building in New York (Figure 11) as works whose architects "had not feared to discard conventional models and to make modern structures in a modern way with modern means and materials even as the ancient Greeks and Medieval masons did, and like them, to even found a new style in architecture."¹⁷

The Schlesinger and Mayer Building culminated the period in which Sullivan's historical position was first consolidated not only in America but in Europe. As early as 1901, A.W. Barker had asserted that " since Richardson, no American architect has attracted the interest of foreign critics to the degree that Mr. Sullivan has. Recently, a Danish reviewer, writing on the art of optimism, quoted his work to uphold his belief that Europe would ultimately have to learn architecture

in America, and French and English critics in general take him much more seriously than his own countrymen."¹⁸ That general European awareness of Sullivan extended to specific interest in Carson-Pirie-Scott immediately upon its completion is not easy to document. However, the building did receive close attention from Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Sullivan's exact contemporary and counterpart as founder of modernism in Holland. On his visit to America and Chicago in 1911, Berlage was already familiar with the work of Sullivan and Wright. William Purcell, who escorted Berlage around the city, recalled that of all Sullivan's buildings, he was particularly intrigued with Carson's, noting that " his questions were very penetrating and concerned every aspect of the building-- its plan, engineering, economic relations, relation to the community, what people thought about, how the designs were produced, what was the background of the people who worked on it, the relation of Sullivan to his engineer-- nothing escaped the man's examination."¹⁹ Berlage may have included discussion of the building in his lecture tour of Europe following his American trip, though no mention of Carson-Pirie-Scott appears in his published accounts of the journey's highlights.

In Chicago there continued to develop a body of commercial and residential work by younger architects "working in a similar and original manner, and actuated by identical principles".²⁰ These designers who had emerged directly from Sullivan's office or who had benefited from his local inspiration, were first termed in 1908 the "Chicago School"

of architecture, whose work was an aspiration toward indigenous, appropriate forms that eschewed the use of any of the historic styles. The pivotal nature of Sullivan's example for his midwestern colleagues was that he had been "the first man--in Chicago or anywhere else--who boldly cast off the thralldom of precedent and treated the new condition of structure in a frank and artistic manner."²¹ This assessment of 1905 suggests the way in which Carson-Pirie-Scott, finished the previous year, had emerged as the last of Sullivan's definitive monuments which could be appropriated for a regional school engaged in the cause of a new architecture.

The historiography as opposed to the criticism of Sullivan's contribution may be said to date from the era of his death in 1924 which coincided with the publication of his Autobiography of an Idea and a series of early compendia on the history of American architecture.²² Sullivan's obituaries and the immediately subsequent histories to 1928 document a shift in attitude toward the Chicago achievement whose vitality by then had dissipated. Sullivan himself stressed his contribution to the architecture of the tall building as a structural novelty, a modern use type, and a monumental form. However, neither he nor his chroniclers cited Carson-Pirie-Scott among his important works.²³ The accounts of the twenties tended to isolate Sullivan's followers

at the radical fringe of American developments. The work of the Chicago School was interpreted as an anomaly which was unrelated to a renewed interest in eclectic historicism. In 1928 George Edgell, while acknowledging Sullivan's contribution to the form of the skyscraper, argued that structural expression was no longer the issue which should pre-occupy its designers. Writing in the wake of the Chicago Tribune Competition and the successful adaptation of historic styles to a range of contemporary types, Edgell concluded that "More classical formulae may be applied to (steel structure) without producing reactionary work."²⁴ Only one account mentioned the Schlesinger and Mayer Store in passing, though not in relation to Sullivan's major contribution to the tall building, but as an example of his characteristic foliate ornament. The building was thus compared not with the earlier skyscrapers but with the Transportation Building of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.²⁵ Like Sullivan's writings, the ornament at his death appeared as a worthy but discontinued episode in the history of architecture which could be only awkwardly discussed as precedent for the contemporary mainstream.

At the same time Carson-Pirie-Scott had all but disappeared from historiography of American architecture, the building and its contemporaries in Chicago were incorporated into the first polemic histories of the modern movement in Europe. Compendia of key monuments by Ludwig Hilbersheimer (1927) and Bruno Taut (1928) cited Sullivan's last major work as that most representative of his city's contribution

to the new architecture. In his analysis of modernity, Hilbersheimer noted that the centralization of business life in metropolitan areas had created the department store as the most characteristic of recent commercial building types. He cited in particular the Wertheim store in Berlin by Alfred Messel (Figure 12) whose vertical expression of piers and gabled roof contrasted with the horizontal emphasis of Sullivan's building. Hilbersheimer preferred the latter work's articulation of story upon story for its clarity in expressing the steel frame as a rational form of independent cubic volumes. He criticized the Wertheim store as a romanticization of the type whose lines contained reminiscence of historic architectures. In contrast, Hilbersheimer maintained that Sullivan's building continued the tradition of formal horizontality of department stores deriving from the Bon Marché of Paris, a tradition that continued to inform recent variations such as Mendelsohn's Schocken department store in Chemnitz (1929) (Figure 13).²⁶ Thus, for Hilbersheimer, Carson-Pirie-Scott fit within a tradition of structural expression uniquely associated with the department store as a commercial type of both the 19th and 20th centuries. Taut took a similar stance, extolling Carson-Pirie-Scott as that work most representative of Sullivan, whose whiteness and rectilinearity prefigured the forms of the Bauhaus theoretically derived from the same principle of functional expression.²⁷

European awareness of Chicago developments as precedent and corrective for their own architecture soon inspired their reconsideration by American historians sympathetic to the

nascent modern movement. Lewis Mumford laid the foundation for a new historiography in a series of lectures on American art and architecture in the late nineteenth century first published as The Brown Decades in 1931. Focussing on the work of Richardson, Sullivan, and John Wellborn Root, Mumford asserted that "between 1880 and 1895 the task and method of modern architecture were clarified through the example of a group of American architects whose consistent and united efforts in this line antedated, by at least a decade, the earliest similar innovations in Europe."²⁸ In making a case for the American origins of modern architecture, Mumford discussed several then obscure works which he considered anticipations of the Neue Sachlichkeit. Echoing Hilbersheimer's account, Mumford cited "Sullivan's neglected masterpiece, the old Schlesinger and Mayer (Carson-Pirie-Scott and Company) Building." The building's "bold system of horizontal windows" expressed the steel frame as "a system of articulated cubes". This seemed to Mumford "a more logical solution for the problem, more decisive in every way...than his skyscrapers."²⁹

In 1933 the Museum of Modern Art mounted a small exhibition entitled Early Modern Architecture in Chicago 1870-1910 as a sequel to its major show on the International Style of 1932. The Chicago exhibition focused on the technical and aesthetic development of the skyscraper, citing the formative contributions of Richardson, Adler and Sullivan, Burnham and Root, and others. MOMA's choice and characterization of monuments followed the historiographic

schema developed by Mumford two years earlier. Sullivan's designs from the Auditorium through the Schlesinger and Mayer Building were described as "applying the basic stylistic discipline of Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store to the new skeleton construction." Works such as the Wainwright and Schiller Buildings were cited for their emphasis on vertical lines, a stylism altered in the Schlesinger and Mayer Building wherein Sullivan "found a more logical expression of the underlying construction with a scheme of wide windowed horizontality."³⁰ The implicit assumption that these buildings represented an idealized progression toward ever more rational forms accounts for the exhibition's emphasis on Sullivan's last work. However, this same assumption disavowed any romanticization of form as illogical, describing Sullivan's cornices as "inexplicable" and the base of the Schlesinger and Mayer store as "an ornamental incrustation...excessive on a commercial building."³¹ The MOMA exhibition thus defined clarity of expression to exclude consideration of forms that could not be readily appropriated as precedents for the International Style.

The reconsideration of Sullivan and Chicago prompted by new awareness of the modern movement in Europe underlay Hugh Morrison's biography of Sullivan published in 1935. Morrison acknowledged the programs of MOMA and the writings of Taut and Mumford as inspiration for his research into Sullivan's life, yet his account displayed a sympathetic

balance and concern for evidence that distinguish it from polemic.³² Morrison characterized Carson-Pirie-Scott as "of equal significance with the Wainwright Building ..., and as revolutionary and influential (a) solution in its field as was the Wainwright Building in the field of office structures." He noted that as an aesthetic choice the horizontality of the Carson-Pirie-Scott Building was unique to its function as a department store. He concluded that "therefore the great interest which the building has for modern European critics as a forerunner of the 'International Style' is accidental."³³ Morrison was also among the first to reconsider the building's ornament for its virtuosity, its technical execution, and its relation to window display.

The primary interest in Sullivan and Chicago architecture, however, continued to be its role as prophetic for modernism. Upon arriving in America and first visiting Chicago in 1938, Walter Gropius is said to have remarked that "had the avant garde in Europe known the Carson-Pirie-Scott Building, the evolution of modern architecture there might have been accelerated by fifteen years."³⁴ The fusion of the imagery of Carson-Pirie-Scott with the polemic of the modern movement is evident in Gropius' entry in the Chicago Tribune Competition of 1922 (Figure 14). In this project the motif of frame and fenestration derived from Sullivan's building is incorporated into a vision of a glass skyscraper. It is as if Gropius took the form of what he understood to be the canonical work of early modern architecture in Chicago as an historical reference for the design of this later assertion

of the ideals of the modern movement in the same city. A decade later Gropius' collaborative historian, Siegfried Giedion, developed this sense of Chicago achievement in his compendium on the sources and rationale of the modern movement first published in 1941 as Space, Time, and Architecture. In the tradition of Burckhardt and Woelfflin, Giedion attempted to define conditions of the 19th and 20th centuries that characterized the era as a period in the history of European civilization. In identifying the Zeitgeist of modernity Giedion focused on the phenomena of science and mechanization. Given this historiographic schema, American developments in general and the industrial growth of Chicago in particular became important topics. Giedion characterized the city's architecture and urbanism as the representative crystallization of modern conditions. He asserted that from 1880 through 1893, the business quarter of Chicago was the center of architectural development not merely for the United States but for the whole world where "for the first time in the nineteenth century the schism between construction and architecture, between the engineer and the architect was healed...the Chicago School strove to break through to pure forms, forms which would unite construction and architecture in an identical expression."³⁵ Within this framework of values, Giedion described Carson-Pirie-Scott as distinct from Sullivan's earlier works, concluding that the building, as "one of the late productions of the Chicago School, seems to be molded more by the anonymous spirit which

ruled the work of that school than by Louis Sullivan's personal tendencies...it is the neutral and impartial equilibrium inherent in skeleton construction which Sullivan chooses to project upon the facade of the building."³⁶

Giedion's theory of modernity, the role which he assigns to Chicago as representative of its age, and his focus on Carson-Pirie-Scott as a culminating monument formed the historiographic framework for the writings of Carl Condit. The germ of Condit's thesis first appeared in an article of 1948 entitled "The Chicago School and the Modern Movement in Architecture" which became the outline of his later works.³⁷ Condit characterized Chicago building as representative of science, technology, and industrialization as "the chief cultural phenomena" of modernity. His selection of monuments closely follows that of the MOMA exhibition of 1933, and he discussed all works to demonstrate a consistent morphological development through which Chicago building "ceased to be a solid mass of masonry" and approached "the dissolution or dematerialization of the wall into glass".³⁸ Thus Condit treated nineteenth century developments as the antecedent of the aesthetic of Mies Van der Rohe. Mies transparent expression of steel and glass then dominated architecture in Chicago where he had built and taught after arriving from Germany in 1937. Condit's attempt to link Sullivan to Mies brought forth his characterization of Carson-Pirie-Scott as "the ultimate achievement of the Chicago School" whose linear simplicity and clarity were the realization in architecture of "the logic and precision of science and technology."³⁹

The resounding assertions of Giedion and Condit fixed the historical position of Sullivan's last major building as the work most representative of his own inclinations and those of his place and period. Revision of Giedion's and Condit's assessment appeared in Colin Rowe's article on "Chicago Frame" of 1956.⁴⁰ Rowe's essay called into question whether the commercial buildings of the Chicago School were indeed representative of a 'modern' architecture, citing the distinction between Sullivan's interests in expressive structure and later European interest in the frame as a means to spatial expression. He contrasted the spatially experimental use of the frame by Wright with its first development in Chicago as a more prosaic, utilitarian solution to the specific commercial problem of the office building. Rowe maintained that the earlier Chicago architects saw the frame as simply a convincing fact and empirical convenience for the building tasks determined by a capitalist order. Later European innovators, he argued, invested the frame with an ideational or iconographic significance which contained a symbolic potential developed in projects from the Domino House through the VilleRadieuse as statements of a new social order. Rowe thus consigned Chicago developments to a subordinate place in modern architecture in order to reaffirm the primacy of Le Corbusier's visionary achievement.⁴¹

The contrasting views of Condit and Rowe have recently given way to more refined reconsideration of Chicago architecture exemplified in the writings of William Jordy. In a suggestive review of Condit's work published in 1964, Jordy

sketched the possibility of a more comprehensive understanding of the city's commercial building in the context of its development within a regional school of architecture and urbanism.⁴² Jordy pursued this idea in a later essay on Chicago's commercial style and in a separate analysis of Sullivan's work and thought in 1972.⁴³ The strength of Jordy's studies lay in his formal analysis of familiar monuments wherein he suggests the range of aesthetic considerations that lend depth and complexity to each work. His commentary on Sullivan's major buildings exemplifies his gift, nowhere more evident than in his description of the expressive subtleties of Carson-Pirie-Scott. As an inclusive summary of earlier sources and as the most consistent discussion of Sullivan's forms to date, Jordy's writings are a credible foundation for current study. The challenge implicit in his and other recent scholarship is not to remove Sullivan and Chicago from the history of modern architecture, nor to perpetuate either superficial praise or denigration, but rather to know and understand the work of a place and time.⁴⁴ Seen in this historiographic context, study of Carson-Pirie-Scott, as a building worthy of a monograph, serves as an appropriate point of entry for coming to terms with the larger question of Chicago's achievement and with Sullivan as its pivotal figure.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. An anthology of descriptions of Chicago by American and European travelers in the late nineteenth century is Bessie Louis Pierce (Ed.), As Others See Chicago; Impressions of Visitors, 1673-1933. Chicago, 1933. Literary characterization of Chicago urbanism is found in Henry Blake Fuller's novel The Cliff Dwellers (1891) while aspirations for a regional culture are described in his fiction With the Procession (1893). The first extensive critiques of Chicago commercial architecture include Henry Van Brunt, "Architecture in the West", Atlantic Monthly LXIV (December 1889), 772-784, and Montgomery Schuyler, "Glimpses of Western Architecture: Chicago", Harper's Magazine, LXXXIII, August 1891, 395-406; September 1891, 554-570. Reprinted in William Jordy and Ralph Coe (Eds.), American Architecture and Other Writings, Cambridge, MA., 1961, 246-291.
2. On the Montauk Block, see Carl Condit, The Chicago School of Architecture, Chicago 1964, 51-56.
3. Review of the Work of Mssrs. Jenney and Mundie. Architectural Reviewer (Chicago) I (1), February 1897, 13-15. Cf. William LeBaron Jenney, "The Construction of a Heavy Fireproof Building on a Compressible Soil" Sanitary Engineer (New York) XXII (2), December 10, 1885 32-33.
4. Schuyler, American Architecture and Other Writings, II 274-75.
5. Edward A. Garczynski, The Auditorium, Chicago 1890, II. This commemorative illustrated volume published for the building's opening contains extensive description of its architecture which may have originated with Sullivan.
6. Dankmar Adler, "The Chicago Auditorium", Architectural Record I, October 1891, 417-18; On the ornament and craftsmanship of the Banquet Room, see Garczynski, op. cit., 102-106. On the spatial and decorative character of the theater see "Chicago" American Architect and Building News, December 28, 1889, XXVI (1), 299-300.
7. On the impact of the Columbian Exposition, see Thomas Tallmadge, The Story of Architecture in America, New York 1927.
8. Louis Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, New York 1924, 317-325.

9. "Chicago Will Be Proud; The New Post Office for the Western City", New York Times, September 13, 1896. Cf. "Architectural Progress in Chicago", Inland Architect and News Record XXXIV (5), January 1900.
10. Montgomery Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Skyscraper", Architectural Record XIV, November 1903, 329-330.
11. Sir Bannister Fletcher, "American Architecture through English Spectacles", Engineering Magazine VII, June 1894, 318.
12. Russell Sturgis, "Good Things in Modern Architecture", Architectural Record VIII, (July September 1898, 101.
13. The formation and ideals of the League are chronicled in the Inland Architect and News Record beginning in 1899. The League also published The Architectural Annual (1899-190) as an account of its goals and programs. Several of Sullivan's important essays during this period were also first delivered at the League's annual conventions, including. "The Modern Phase of Architecture", Inland Architect XXXIII(5), June 1899, June 1899, 40; and "The Young Man in Architecture", Inland Architect XXXV (5) June 1900, 115-119, "Education" Inland Architect XXXIX (5), June 1902, 41-42. The Kindergarten Chats in Interstate Architect and Builder (Cleveland) 2, 16 February 1901, to 3, February 8, 1902 were inspired by the success of Sullivan's ideas with the League. On the relation between Sullivan and the League, See Narciso Menocal, Architecture as Nature, Madison 1980, 78-541
14. A.W. Barker, "Louis H. Sullivan, Thinker and Architect", The Architectural Annual, Philadelphia, 1901, 49-50.
15. Henry W. Desmond, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Another View-What Mr. Sullivan Stands For." Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 67.
16. Claude Bragdon, "An American Architect: Being an Appreciation of Louis Henry Sullivan", House and Garden VII, January 1905, 53.
17. H.A. Caparn, "The Riddle of the Tall Building; Has the Skyscraper a Place in American Architecture", Craftsman X, April 1906, 488.
18. A.W. Barker, op. cit., 52. On European responses to Sullivan's work, See also Hugh Morrison, Louis Sullivan; Prophet of Modern Architecture, New York 1935, 188-191.
19. William Purcell quoted in Leonard K. Eaton, American Architecture Comes of Age; European Reactions to H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan. Cambridge, 1972, 214.

20. Thomas E. Tallmadge, "The 'Chicago School'", The Architectural Review (Boston). XV (4), April 1908, 69, Reprinted in W. R. Hasbrouck (Ed.), Architectural Essays from the Chicago School from 1900 to 1909, Chicago
21. F. W. Fitzpatrick, "Chicago", Inland Architect and News Record XLV , 1905, 46, quoted in H. Allen Brooks "'Chicago School': Metamorphosis of a Term", J.S.A.H. XXV (2), May 1966, 116.
22. Obituaries of Sullivan include Fiske Kimball, "Louis Sullivan--An Old Master", Architectural Record LVII (4), April 1925, 289-97; Frank Lloyd Wright, "Louis H. Sullivan--His Work", Architectural Record LVI (7), July 1924, 28-32; Andrew N. Rebori, "Louis H. Sullivan (1856-1924)", Architectural Record LV (6), June 1924, 587; Claude Bragdon, "Louis H. Sullivan", A.I.A. Journal XII(5), May 1924 1924, 241; William L. Steele, "Tribute to Louis Henri Sullivan", A.I.A. Journal XII (6), June 1924, 275-76; C. Howard Walker, "Five Architects and One Truth", A.I.A. Journal XII (9), September 1924, 401-05.
23. Louis H. Sullivan, Autobiography of an Idea, New York, 1924, 257-59, 298-99, 310-314. Discussions and Sullivan and the Chicago School appear in S.F. Kimball, American Architecture, New York, 1928, 153-60, 191-99, Thomas E. Tallmadge, The Story of Architecture in America, New York 1927, 214-233; George C. Edgell, The American Architecture of Today, New York, 1928, 69-84.
24. Edgell, op. cit., 76.
25. Fiske Kimball, "Louis Sullivan--An Old Master", Architectural Record LVII (4), April 1925, 299.
26. Ludwig Hilbersheimer, International neue Baukunst, Stuttgart 1907, 43.
27. Bruno Taut, Die Neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika, Stuttgart 1929, 36-37.
28. Lewis Mumford, The Brown Decades, New York 1931, 113-114.
29. Ibid., 156.
30. Museum of Modern Art, Early Modern Architecture in Chicago 1870-1910. Catalogue of the Exhibition, New York 1933, Part I.
31. Ibid., 18, 19.
32. Morrison, Louis Sullivan, XVIII-XIX.

33. Ibid., 197, 199.
34. Quoted in John McAndrew, "Who Was Louis Sullivan?" Arts Magazine XXXI, November 1956, 23.
35. Siegfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture, 3rd Ed., Cambridge, MA., 1954, 380.
36. Ibid., 388.
37. Carl Condit, "The Chicago School and the Modern Movement in Architecture", Art in America XXXVI, January 1948, 19-36. Cf. Condit, The Rise of the Skyscraper, Chicago 1952; The Chicago School of Architecture; Commercial and Public Buildings in the Chicago Area 1875-1925. Chicago 1964.
38. Condit, "The Chicago School and the Modern Movement in Architecture", Art in America XXXVI, January 1948.
39. Ibid.,
40. Colin Rowe, "Chicago Frame; Chicago's Place in the Modern Movement", Architectural Review CXX, November 1956, 285-89. Reprinted in Rowe, The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays, Cambridge 1976, 90-117.
41. Ibid., 106-108.
42. William Jordy, "The Commercial Style and the 'Chicago School'", Perspectives in American History I, 1967, 390-400.
43. Jordy, "Masonry Block and Metal Skeleton: Chicago and the 'Commercial Style'"; "Functionalism as Fact and Symbol Louis Sullivan's Commercial Buildings, Tombs and Banks", American Buildings and Their Architects Progressive and Academic Ideals at the Turn of the Century. New York 1972, 1-83, 83-179.
44. More recent monographs on Sullivan that offer divergent interpretations of achievement include Narciso G. Menocal, Architecture as Nature; The Transcendentalist Idea of Louis Sullivan. Madison 1980, which contains a brief chronology of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, Appendix B, 168-178. In contrast to Menocal's generally sympathetic assessment, David Stevenson Andrew, "Louis Sullivan and the Problem of Meaning in Architecture", Ph.D. dissertation. Washington University 1977, seeks to show the inconsistencies in Sullivan's ideological position as revealed through his writings.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE STREET TO 1898

Sullivan's last important building in Chicago can be understood as one event in the city's urban history. The Schlesinger and Mayer Store participated in the development of Chicago's major shopping street, State Street, whose origins coincide with those of the town plan. The settlement of Chicago began with the construction of Fort Dearborn near the mouth of the Chicago River at Lake Michigan in 1803. As a village in the wilderness, the Fort Dearborn settlement relied for transportation on the Lake and a network of trails inland. Among the most important of these was the Vincennes trail that ran south from the settlement to the farmland of the Wabash River Valley in Indiana. The path of the Vincennes Trail corresponded to the later north-south lines of the old State Road which formed the eastern edge of the original grid plan of Chicago. The nucleus of this plan dates from an 1830 survey of an area of plats encompassing the earliest settlement at the mouth of the river (Figure 1).¹ This survey followed Thomas Jefferson's plan for subdivision of lands contained in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.² Under this ordinance the territory around Chicago had been surveyed as a regional grid of north-south and east-west section lines set one mile apart. The 1830 survey was bounded on the south and east by two of these section lines. The eastern line ran roughly parallel to the State Road. Thus, when this line was absorbed into later expansions of the street grid, it became known as State Street. The southern boundary

later became Madison Street. The intersection of State and Madison Streets occurs at the juncture of four separate early groups of plats surveyed at different times. The area northwest of the site was the first to be laid out in 1830, the area to the southwest was part of an expansion of the original grid in 1833, that to the southeast was laid out in 1836, and the northeast surveyed in 1839 (Figure 2).³

The intersection of State and Madison, however, contains subtle nonalignments, one of which may be a vestige of the sequence of early surveys around the site (Figure 3). Madison Street, running west to east across State, is shown in later mappings to shift slightly to the north and to increase in width. This break in Madison Street makes the southeast corner of the intersection especially prominent when viewed from the west along Madison and from the north down State. This anomaly of the site suggested the architectural treatment of the rounded corner in the Bowen Building of 1873 and the retention of this feature in Sullivan's Schlesinger and Mayer building.

The official incorporation of State Street into the town plan dates from 1839 when the first segment of the street was laid out from the Chicago River south to Madison.⁴ That same year the Common Council, the town's governing body, established Chicago's first publicly controlled food market on State Street between Lake and Randolph.⁵ Thus the town brought under its authority the large trade in farm products brought to market over the old State Road from the south. Such a public market was enfranchised as the only location where

certain fresh foods could be sold, with the town collecting rent for market stalls. Thus State Street's earliest identity was as a link between town and country. From this economic activity came the first structure of significance built on the street: a new market hall commissioned by the Common Council in 1848 (Figure 4).⁶ This two story brick building was sited in the center of the Street facing south at its intersection with Randolph. The building was designed by the first trained architect to settle in Chicago, John Van Osdel (1811-1892). As a type, it was modelled on the colonial market halls of eastern cities, such as Faneuil Hall in Boston (1740-42). The Market Hall contained thirty two rented market stalls and a police station on the ground floor arranged along the 180 foot flank of the building. The upper floor contained a library, offices, and meeting rooms of the city's governing body, the Common Council. A bell tower marked the doorway to the council chambers as the north terminus of State Street. A central entrance pavilion marked the doorway to the lower market hall on the eastern side. The Market Hall may have been the centerpiece of an effort to develop State Street as a main thoroughfare of early Chicago's South Side. The building, facing south away from the town's existing commercial center along the Chicago River, appears in a city view of 1857 (Figure 5) at the center of a widened section of State Street extending south from Lake to Madison Streets. The market appears surrounded by activity in the street, as if its exchange of agricultural commodities were a focus for a more expansive, varied shopping

district which served as the main meeting place for this section of the town. The structure also appears as the head of an allée of trees lining both sides of the street for two blocks south to Madison, as if the building and the widened street together formed a distinctive communal place within the grid plan of the settlement.

While State Street originated as a country road leading to market. Chicago's commercial center lay along Lake Street which ran parallel to and south of the river (Figure 5).⁷ Lake Street's role as the town's main street from the earliest settlement through the late 1860s derived from its position and orientation. The east-west orientation of the first plat survey anticipated that Chicago would grow inland on the line of the proposed Illinois and Michigan Canal completed in 1848. In these years before the railroads the Chicago River front served as the center of trade. Thus, waterfront streets served the boat traffic directly, while the adjacent Street became the town's commercial main street. The four central blocks of Lake between State and Wells were the first to be paved with plank in 1844. Lake Street contained Chicago's first post office, hotels, newspaper offices, and the major dry goods stores. As the city's first shopping promenade, Lake Street became the model for the later development of State Street as the main retail corridor after the Civil War. The architectural character of this early main street is evident in a rendering of the elevation of the north side of the block between Clark and LaSalle dating from 1860 (Figure 6). By 1856 there were no vacant lots on Lake

between Michigan Avenue and the south branch of the Chicago River . The resulting potential for continuity of the street elevation appears in the glazed lower floor of shop fronts. Adjacent stores contrived to maximize area for window display along the sidewalk between doorways. The length of show windows was shaded by a series of awnings that marked the division between the street floor devoted to sales space and upper floors used for storage or residence. This distinct architecture of a retail street served as backdrop for the flow of pedestrians, whose movement along the sidewalk corresponds to the motion of vehicles in the road.

The rendering depicts the raising of buildings to a new grade some four feet above the old street level to comply with a City Council ordinance of 1855. These ordinances initiated an extended period of street improvement through raising of buildings to literally lift the city out of the mud of the river plain.⁸ The view of this section of Lake Street shows that adjacent property owners had agreed to have shops and sidewalk along their shared, continuous frontage raised in one operation, with new foundations to be placed under the uplifted structures and walkway. Thus the sidewalk itself and first floor of the shop fronts are treated as inseparable parts of the street's architecture, raised together to accomodate passing shoppers and prevent loss of trade during the uplifting.

The only break in the continuity of the street elevation occurred at the west end where the Marine Bank Building was

completed at the northeast corner of LaSalle Street in 1856.⁹ This marble faced, brick structure was the headquarters of one of the city's principal financial houses, designed in the style of an Italianate palazzo. Its distinctions as a use type implied a different relation to the street, with stairs leading up through a central arched entrance to the main banking floor above a rusticated basement. Later Chicago office blocks built after the fire often had raised entrances, with exterior stairs leading from sidewalk to doorstep. The related needs of window display and easy access necessitated a different treatment for the base of buildings designed as shopfronts.

The Marine Bank Building was an early representative of an era of more substantial and pretentious commercial construction which characterized newer building on Lake Street during the 1850s. On that street in that decade were established those dry goods stores which were to evolve into Chicago's major department stores. The most successful and prestigious of these was the house of Potter Palmer (1826-1902), which became Marshall Field & Co. Potter Palmer was born and began his career as a merchant in the Hudson Valley. He migrated to Chicago in 1852 when he opened a dry goods store in a four-story frame building in the block to the east of that shown in the Mendel drawing of Lake Street. Palmer's early success as a retailer was based on importing women's fashions to Chicago from New York. Together with the quality of his stock, he introduced unprecedented standards for credit and return of goods to cultivate a

respectable clientele. In 1858, P. Palmer & Co. moved into what may be described as the first forerunner of the department store as an architectural type in Chicago. His expanded quarters were a newly constructed marble fronted building at 112, 114, and 116 Lake Street east of Clark (Figure 7).¹⁰ The relative spaciousness of the main floor stretching over three adjacent properties contained a range of departments. The floor area included both open sales space and "apartments" or rooms set apart for inspection of special categories of finery. In both his interior fixtures and exterior imagery, Palmer's store imported standards for the architecture of dry goods stores from A.T. Stewart's in New York. Founded in 1846, Stewart's store at 280 Broadway was known as the "Marble Palace" and in the ensuing decade came to be regarded as the pre-eminent retailing establishment in the country.¹¹ Palmer thus advertised his new Lake Street store as a "business palace" that housed the "A. T. Stewart of the West".¹² The interior of the Chicago version contained no elegant rotunda and atrium for which Stewart's was known. However, Palmer, within the constraints of his Lake Street loft buildings, fitted up his sales rooms "after the manner of first class stores", probably alluding to those of Manhattan.¹³ Thus, at its inception, the Chicago department store as merchandising idea and as an architectural type can be understood as the importation of precedent to a provincial city. The precise form of its adaptation derives from local conditions.

While Lake Street was the center of innovation in commercial architecture in Chicago before the Civil War,

State Street had remained a street lined with two story frame buildings housing shops and trades below living quarters.¹⁴ Yet during the 1850s, the infrastructure for its future development was put in place. In 1850 State, Madison, and Clark Streets followed Lake in being paved with planking. State Street was so improved for over two miles of its length south of Lake. Over one and one half miles of the same surface extended west along Madison Street. The paving contributed to a rise in property values and enabled the installation of first omnibus (1852) and later horse car lines (1859) over these streets.¹⁶ The system of horse car routes was the first transportation system conceived to serve the city as a metropolitan area. Branch lines serving outlying districts on the South and West Sides fed like tributaries to the main axial lines into the downtown along State and Madison Streets. The convergence of this extensive network at the intersection of the two streets was the origin of its reputation as "the world's busiest corner."¹⁶

The decisive shift from Lake Street to State Street as the principal commercial axis of Chicago began in 1867. In that year Potter Palmer, having retired from the dry goods business, began to buy properties along State Street south of Lake to amass control of over three fourths of a mile of frontage.¹⁷ Palmer's real estate strategy corresponds to the apparent anticipation of State Street's development to the south of Lake Street suggested in the orientation of the old Market Hall in this direction. At about the same time Palmer persuaded the city to agree to widen the street from Lake to

Madison to create a thoroughfare 120 feet across. Palmer accomplished this by moving back buildings on the west side of the street and persuading or forcing adjacent owners to follow suit. In 1870 the City Council voted to further widen State Street from Madison to Jackson by 27 feet along its east side. Water, gas, and sewer lines were laid, and permanent sidewalks replaced wooden walkways along several blocks.¹⁸ Having acquired control of the street frontage and effected improvements, Palmer financed the construction of two monumental commercial buildings at either end of the street. To the south on the northwest corner of State and Quincy he commissioned John Van Osdel to build an elegant eight story hotel as the second Palmer House (Figure 8). On the northeast corner of State and Washington Palmer financed a palatial six story dry goods store to which he persuaded Field, Leiter & Co. to move in 1868 (Figure 9). The departure from Lake Street of its largest and most prestigious merchandiser induced neighboring smaller dry goods stores to relocate on State Street.¹⁹ To accomodate this dramatic shift of retailing activity, there were erected between 1869 and 1871 between thirty and forty marble-fronted buildings on State Street (Figure 10). This unprecedented extent of new construction completed State Street's transformation into the new commercial center of Chicago before the Great Fire.

Potter Palmer is credited personally with the successful origins of State Street as the city's main retail corridor. Yet his instrumental role in the process derived from both

opportunity and vision. The rebirth of State Street was the most visible event within a pattern of relocation of commercial activity along north-south streets south of Lake that had begun in 1865.²⁰ The re-orientation of downtown development also affected LaSalle, Clark and Wabash Avenue. State Street's distinction was primarily the presence of the horse car lines that linked it directly to rapid growth of the South Side as a fashionable residential area. Palmer's capital enabled him to rebuild State Street as an opportunity created by surrounding patterns of urban development.

Palmer's vision of the street was evidently rooted in his familiarity with the simultaneous urban transformations of New York and Paris. Before 1865 Palmer regularly traveled to the East and to Europe to oversee buying operations for his dry goods firm. The prelude to his energetic investment in State Street had been an extended vacation trip to Europe in 1867 where he observed the later phase of Napoleon III's rebuilding of Paris.²¹ Thus, a contemporary described Palmer's program for urbanism as the "Haussmannizing of State Street".²² The widening of the street to approximate a boulevard and the explicit importation of French Second Empire forms in its new architecture suggest that Palmer's vision was rooted in Parisian precedent. Yet, in the same years as Palmer's transformation of State Street, Manhattan's Broadway emerged as the premier retail street in the United States. Its major new dry goods stores included the second A. T. Stewart's between 9th and 10th Streets (1859-1862), the Arnold Constable Store at 831-37 Broadway (1868-76) (Figure 11),

and McCreery's Dry Goods Store at 801 Broadway (1868) (Figure 12). The Constable and McCreery stores featured cast iron exteriors with continuous arcades of windows on the upper floors articulated by pilasters, attached columns, cornices, and quoins to recall lithic vocabularies of classic forms. The street levels of these stores were continuous plate glass show windows set within a colonnade of Corinthian orders, while the topmost floors were treated as mansard roofs to create curious conflation of French and Italianate motifs. These New York stores compare with the contemporary design of the Field, Leiter & Co. store on State Street, suggesting the degree to which the retail architecture of Broadway provided a model for Palmer's simultaneous development of the department store in Chicago. When Field, Leiter & Co. opened in its new location in October 1868 Palmer acknowledged that he intended to make its surroundings "the Broadway of Chicago." The store itself he praised as surpassing the standards set by its New York rivals Stewart's and Lord and Taylor's.²³

The Field, Leiter & Co. store was the largest and most important monument in Palmer's pre-fire development of State Street. The building established precedents for the architecture of later Chicago department stores as a regional variation of a commercial type evolving simultaneously in New York. Field, Leiter & Co. had originally been Palmer's own dry goods business. Weakened health and general economic uncertainty toward the close of the Civil War had induced Palmer to sell controlling interest in his firm to Marshall Field and

Levi Leiter who acquired complete control of the business in 1867. The combined abilities of Field and Leiter enabled them to surpass the success of their predecessor as the largest, best reputed dry goods firm in the city.²⁴ By 1868 Field, Leiter & Co. was engaged primarily in the wholesale trade, to which was devoted all but the ground floor and basement of their new building. The firm's retail operations were confined to these levels most accessible from the street. Retailing stocks were mainly elegant women's clothing such as full dress suits, embroidered evening gowns, ribbons, laces, cloaks and shawls.²⁵ The entrance floor displaying these goods served as an introductory showcase for the range of wholesale merchandise above. On the exterior, the street level featured a Corinthian colonnade framing a continuous range of display windows along State and Washington Streets as an invitation to entrance. The upper floors, devoted to packing, receiving and display of wholesale stock, were clad in arcades of white Connecticut marble.²⁶ From this elevation derived the store's identity as "the marble palace", the ornate house of Field, Leiter & Co.. The high proportion of window to wall area for light, the ornate relief of the wall surface, the continuity of horizontal molding courses, and the presence of marble distinguished the store as a type from Van Osdel's Palmer House at the opposite end of the Street. The hotel's brick exterior, residential scheme of fenestration, and chimneyed roofline differentiate it from the store building, the larger scale of whose gable motifs recalls a civic architecture. Thus Palmer's two principal

buildings read as distinct types treated with the same stylistic vocabulary to comprise a unified version of a streetscape modeled on those of Second Empire Paris. In post Civil War Chicago, as in New York, such architecture was equated with modernity. The progressive complement to such an exterior was the building's mechanical equipment. Internal innovations such as gas lighting, steam powered elevators, and pressurized sprinkler system were considered the technical equivalent of the French and Italianate exterior as the most up-to-date style of architecture.

The position of Field, Leiter & Co. as the chief commercial institution of the new State Street was effectively cultivated through the heavily publicized ritual of its grand opening on October 12th 1868.²⁷ During that day there was an informal opening for shoppers who toured an interior bedecked with floral arrangements and special showpiece goods ordered for the occasion. To the formal opening that evening were invited stockholders and the city's leading business figures whose sumptuously attired wives arrived in carriages at the Washington Street entrance. The store opening was thus analogous to a theater opening.

This analogy was reinforced by an elaborate scheme of lighting the building from the sidewalk, and setting gas jets in every window from street to roof. The opening constituted the inauguration of State Street as the showpiece of Chicago urbanism, with the Field, Leiter & Co. store as "the chief pride of Chicago's architecture which stood out in bold relief to the mere shanties which surrounded it."²⁸ The

building had a dual significance as both civic landmark and commercial enterprise. This association of meanings established before the fire persists in later characterizations of State Street through the time of Carson-Pirie-Scott.

Palmer's initiative spawned a range of building improvements along State Street between his principal monuments. The character of this development to 1871 established conventions of the street's architecture that persisted through 1900, despite late changes in scale and technique. Typical was a business block built on the southeast corner of State and Washington 1870-71 sited across Washington Street from Field, Leiter & Co (Figure 13).²⁹ The project was financed by a group of capitalists which included Hale, later the client of the Reliance and other buildings, and designed by architect Edward Jennison. The six story block, 90 feet on Washington by 100 feet on State, was planned for a range of uses. Retail stores were to be located on the first floor, light wholesale business on the second and third levels, with the upper three stories finished as office suites served directly by a steam powered elevator. The setting of office space above the noise, dust, and heat of the street and served directly by elevators at entrance was a feature copied from the earliest elevator buildings in the east, the Equitable Life building on Broadway and the first Sears Building in Boston. The merchants below were offered loft space "so built as to throw any floor into one large room if desired."³⁰ Their relative accessibility from the street was intended to profit from the then 40,000 to 50,000 people daily set

into the area by the surrounding horse car lines. On the exterior the street level was finished in iron framing French plate glass show windows between entrances. The upper floors were clad with a Cleveland limestone with arcades and cornice carved in Italianate forms. Thus the composite impression of the elevation was intended as "a model of taste and solidity".³¹ Underlying the block's planning and design was the sense of the surrounding location as one of the liveliest in the city. The illustration shows surrounding improvements of like character to promote the image of a new downtown district. The Landowner wrote of the project's situation: "State Street has taken the precedence over all others in point of substantial improvements, and is now the fashionable retail street--the Rue de Rivoli--of Chicago."³²

The initial development of State Street before 1871 provided precedent for its reconstruction after the Great Fire in October of that year. Histories of Chicago typically discuss the fire as the breakpoint which marks the beginning of important local developments in architecture and urbanism.³³ Its destruction of the central city included the entire State Street corridor from the Chicago River on the North through Harrison Street (now Congress Street) on the south. The leveling of so extensive an area provided an opportunity to replan the city's street system or to rethink its architecture according to new principles or alternative models. Yet, rather than providing a clean slate that inspired visions of a different Chicago, the destruction instead provided a pretext

for vigorous re-assertion of attitudes toward the physical city prevalent before the fire. From 1871 to 1873, the first business blocks to emerge from the desolated townscape were documented in a series of engravings with descriptions published in The Landowner, a monthly journal devoted to real estate interests. The theme of its commentary on the new architecture was that Chicago should become "the Paris of the Middle West."³⁴ The choice of models suggests that separate commercial buildings built on scattered sites were conceived after an aspiration for the whole city. These first speculative projects, like the monuments of Haussmann's Paris, were points of reference that embodied standards for the architecture of later interstitial development.

The vitality of these intentions was nowhere more evident than in the rebuilding of State Street. The commercial architecture that arose along State Street between Lake and Adams Streets from 1871 through 1873 included important landmarks of the city's general reconstruction. Determined not to see State Street ruined by the fire, Palmer reinvested heavily in its rebuilding, of which the construction of the new hotel was the most celebrated event. The building's erection became a symbol of widespread confidence in Chicago's overall recovery. Chief among these was the new Palmer House on the southwest corner of State and Monroe Streets. (Figure 14). When completed in 1874 this hotel was the largest and costliest structure in the city. The building was originally designed by John Van Osdel for Palmer before the fire as an expansive, more ornate version of the 1868

Palmer House three blocks to the south. Building had actually begun before the disaster with the structural iron work reaching the third floor. After the fire, the surviving remanant of this skeleton still stood, and the continuation of construction became a symbol of continuity with pre-fire urbanism. The unprecedented dimensions of the building, extending 254 feet on State and 250 on Madison and rising to a height of eight stories, indicated that the project was conceived as part of eventual development intended for the whole of State Street. In the boom of reconstruction from 1871 to 1873, building activity was measured in miles of new street frontage, the value of the front foot being then as later the key indicator of real estate values along different streets.³⁶ The potential for development along a particular street was thus in one sense determined by its overall length. According to this measure of possibilities, State Street's length, as well as its breadth, made it "the most important in a business way" of all of Chicago's thoroughfares.³⁷ An 1873 description of this first street of the new city noted that "it extends from North Avenue and Lincoln Park, in the North Division, to a point far down toward the south end of the county, where the surveying chain of man runneth not to the contrary--in all at least ten miles in a straight line, north and south."³⁸

The extensive frontage of the new Palmer House was conceived as part of the street's development along its entire length. Hence the finished structure reveals an emphasis on the length of its facades through continuous cornices across

repeated bays. These horizontal lines establish the scale of the building as indicative of the extent of real property it occupies. As a hotel the project was intended in its size, ornateness, and services to surpass those of Europe. Palmer, with his architect, "traveled over Europe and availed himself, not only of the hints of the architects there, but of the ideas to be gathered from the finest hotels in that center of civilization and luxury."³⁹ The significance of this derivation of sources for the architecture lay first in the design's emphasis on "massiveness and solidity". The structural iron was itself imported from Belgium, while the encasing brickwork surpassed in quantity that of any hotel building in America. The desire to endow the building with a substantiality helped distinguish it from the image of Chicago as a wooden frontier town and associate it with the more substantive architecture of the Old World. Thus the facing of the several fronts was of gray sandstone, with the first story and entresol of massive iron castings. This street level contained the separately rented quarters of specialty shops, such as jewelers, tailors, and confectioners, associated with the hotel's class of trade. Thus the elevation incorporates shopping activity along the street in its lowest glazed stories, whose division into ground floor and entresol is, like its upper elevation, a device imported from the architecture of Paris.⁴⁰

Apart from choices of scale and material, the exterior forms adapt the vocabulary of Second Empire Paris, the motifs of the streetscapes of which were known in America through

the publications of Cæsar Daly.⁴¹ Of these the most representative was the State Street doorway rendered in stone set on the title page of a book of engravings commemorating Chicago's rebuilding (Figure 15). The alternation of texture in the coursing of the attached columns, and the broken segmental pediment crowning the doorway bespeak the desire to express non-provincial urbanity and ornate erudition in the architecture of the new Chicago. The planning and interior of the Palmer House as the work which set the standard for State Street also provided precedents for the later design of adjacent department stores. The hotel was planned around interior courts, the largest being the carriage court 90 x 120 feet accessible through porte cocheres from the street. This entrance device derived from the Parisian hôtel corresponded to "the more than palatial richness of the interior finish" which included a grand staircase of Carrara marble and wainscoating and mosaic of colored marble throughout the special rooms. Among these the main dining room measured 64 by 76 feet with columns encased as Corinthian orders supporting a beamed ceiling (Figure 16). The room was thus "arranged so as to suggest an open Italian court, the sweep of the eye being relieved by massive fluted columns extending around the room, as if supporting piazzas (sic)."⁴² Thus the impression of a commercial architecture derived from European sources prevailed through the Palmer House as State Street's principal post-fire monument.

The application of this sensibility to neighboring speculative projects is evident in the Colonnade Building on

the east side of State between Madison and Washington (Figure 17).⁴³ The development, on the site of the pre-fire Bookseller's Row, stretched over adjacent properties so that each building formed one five floor store. Wheelock and Thomas, the architects, were replicating in stone the motifs of similar cast iron facades that had become common along Broadway before 1871.⁴⁴ The front of the building on State Street was however, rendered in Cleveland (lime)stone "elaborately and carefully cut and carved" in superimposed two-story arcades.⁴⁵ The historical source for the treatment of the street front was the Venetian palazzo, whose traditional arcade lent itself well to ample fenestration for maximizing light in the depth of commercial loft space. While such a streetscape was by 1872 familiar in Manhattan, such ornateness of frontage was still relatively unknown in Chicago.

The Land Owner wrote that "when one stands at the corner of Madison and State Streets, and looks northward, he is instinctively attracted down the street to get a nearer view of this marvelous piece of architecture, so solid and massive, and yet so graceful and beautiful...The style of architecture is something so new that the word Renaissance probably covers it as well as any. In this elaborate design Messrs. Wheelock and Thomas took a departure from anything ever introduced here...In the crown of Rebuilt Chicago these buildings are the rarest gems."⁴⁶

An 1878 view of State Street looking north from Madison documents the architectural character of Chicago's shopping

corridor after the fire and before the era of the high building (Figure 18). At the sidewalk a continuous range of plate glass display windows were set between colonnades defining successive shopfronts. The strip of sidewalk nearest the buildings was raised above the wider expanse of walkway nearer the curb to create a platform for outdoor showcases and placards flanking the shop entrances. The doorways themselves projected onto the sidewalk either as small vestibules or overhung with generous awnings. These extensions of the shopfronts reclaimed a portion of the sidewalk to introduce and attract passersby to the merchandise inside the stores. The enrichment of commercial detail within the perceptual range of the shoppers established an intimate architectural link between shop and sidewalk. It was along this narrow yet well defined spatial interval that the stores sought to initiate a psychological transaction between the passing crowds and displays of their stocks, the shopfronts forming a continuous invitation to browse and enter as people passed from window to window. Above the street level the carved surfaces and fenestrated relief of the upper elevations continue an imagery of commercial vitality. The repetitive rhythm of window heads and colonettes is accented by incidental enrichments of balconies, pediments, and signage. The perspective of the whole block front suggests the daily life of the street as informing the character of its architecture, which in turn defined the character of the place.

At the center of post-fire State Street, between the new Palmer House and the Colonnade Building, was the Bowen Building on the southeast corner of State and Madison (Figure 19). This building, designed by William Boyington and built in 1873, was the predecessor of Sullivan's Schlesinger and Mayer Building of 1903-04. The structure was named for its financiers, the Bowen Brothers, who developed the property for the Clement Morton wholesale clothing firm. Boyington was Chicago's second major architect of the period before and after the fire, a contemporary and rival of Van Osdel.⁴⁷ He evidently sought to create a variation of the elegant corner of the neighboring Palmer House one block to the south. Boyington perhaps authored the following description of the project which accompanied its engraving in The Land Owner of December 1872.

...From the accident of a break in Madison Street which brings this corner into prominent projection from the general line of the street, the corner doorway has a peculiarly commanding position, which has been evidently considered in the design by its accentuation. The general line of the wall front is here depressed and made a quadrant, with a large radius. Two columns, running through two stories, divide the quadrant and flank the entrance. From the column the door is deeply recessed with side windows, thus forming a portico at once imposing from its dimensions, the architectural arrangement, and prominent position. The circular corner is continued the whole height of the building, having two orders of disengaged columns running two stories each, and surmounted with a dome, dormer with a circular cornice, and broken pediment with a rich urn in the key, supported by two life-size Caryatides on moulded and panelled pedestals. The building is divided horizontally by two molded story courses: one at the height of the store ceiling, of slight projection, and one on the second story, of bold projection, on carved medallions, forming a cornice to the large columns and pilasters. The main cornice to the front is of light proportions, as required

by the second course of columns, and to bring into prominence the baluster and pedestal, and the rich dormers above. Behind the dormers is a steep French roof, crested with a role ornament and deep cresting. The ornament is continued round the dome, and a similar cresting at the flat termination forming a deck on the dome summit. We make remark that the view from the top is a most extensive one, and repays the climbing of upwards of ninety feet. The proportion of open and wall space is exceedingly pleasing, the absence of internal divisions giving a good opportunity for the exercise of good taste in this respect. The mouldings and ornament used are of the French modern character, with a good deal of Greek severity, and the latter are but sparingly used, but where they do occur are unusually rich and well carved.⁴⁸

Boyington thus sought to adapt compositional devices and motifs from what was then perceived as the modern architecture of contemporary Parisian hôtels to embellish a Chicago commercial building type. The treatment of the lower story and corner entrance, the horizontal division of the wall, the development of the rounded corner, and the sense of the wall as open to light for undivided loft space within for wholesaling activity all underlay the sense of Sullivan's later building. The Bowen Block in its time, in interior equipment as well as exterior appearance, "combine(d) all modern improvements of late introduction in the rebuilding of Chicago".⁴⁹ Both owner and architect "spared no expense to make this a model structure, in the race of rivalry to reach perfection."⁵⁰ Thus, programmatically, the Bowen Block prefigures its successor's pre-occupation with an understanding of modernity that embraced both a richly decorated surface as ornament to the street and a functional interior whose up-to-dateness lay in its metal structure, open plan, and mechanical appliances serving lower sales floors and

upper stories for manufacture and storage of clothing. Boyington's building was thus not only the formal precedent for the special condition of the corner. In a broader sense, as part of the overall rebuilding after the fire, it represented an inclusive set of criteria for a modern commercial architecture on State Street. Later projects would abandon its stylizations, but not the range of aesthetic and functional intentions that underlay Boyington's forms.

The years 1867-1873 constitute the first phase of State Street's development as Chicago's principal retailing street. Though building was interrupted by the Great Fire, that event did not mark a change in type, scale, and stylistic pretensions of the street's architecture. Throughout, Chicago reconstruction efforts were checked by the financial panic of 1873 and subsequent depression which deepened through 1877.⁵¹ The consequences were a decline in real estate values and withdrawal of capital from property development. These trends did not reverse themselves until about 1880, and it was not until 1883 that downtown land values recovered to the level of a decade before.⁵² The depression did not destroy State Street, whose properties when compared to those on neighboring streets, suffered the least decline in value during those years. However, new development of its frontage did not apparently begin again on an appreciable scale until the early 1880s. An important event in this stage of the street's development was the introduction of the cable car to State Street in 1882.⁵³ The first lines connected the central business district to the residential neighborhoods of the

South Side as far south as Jackson Park. The speed and dependability of the cable car relative to horse cars made commuting daily to the downtown feasible for most classes of South Side residents. Thus this change in mode of transportation helped greatly to build up that outlying district. The reciprocal effect on State Street was an increased number of shoppers along its retailing corridor between Lake and Adams Streets. Hence by 1885 property at the center of that corridor at State and Madison was the most valuable in the city, appraised at \$3000 per front foot. At that time, "...the east side of State Street for a distance of about two blocks is considered the choice locality of the city for a first class dry goods business. Custom and fashion have very closely restricted the localities available for such purposes. Anybody who wants to succeed must get into one of those localities, and the competition for them therefore makes the price high."⁵⁴ The common wisdom among appraisers of State Street real estate was that its east side was preferable as a location for retailing because the afternoon sun warmed that sidewalk to help offset the local wind chill and induce ladies to continue shopping on the city's many cold days.

The effect of high land values on the architecture of State Street was not, however, immediately apparent. The years 1885-1890 marked the introduction of tall steel frame buildings in Chicago. Yet the first of these were located not on State Street, where land values were highest, but on LaSalle Street, the city's financial headquarters three

blocks to the west. The first steel tall office buildings along LaSalle included Jenney's Home Insurance Building (1884-85) at Adams Street, Holabird and Roche's Tacoma Building (1887-89) at Madison, and Burnham and Root's Rookery also at Adams (1886-89). These structures were devoted to offices, and were thus dependent for their successful operation on the speed and capacity of elevators to connect the street level with the uppermost floors. However, State Street, devoted to retail shopping, derived its high land values from intensive use of the ground floor area which had direct access to the passing crowds along the street.⁵⁵ The habitual confinement of retailing activity to this level, and adjacent basement and mezzanine floors, at first discouraged the use of tall buildings on State Street. Their additional height was considered less valuable as rental space than additional frontage at street level for sales room. Thus through the '80s it was considered financially more advantageous to expand and remodel adjacent existing properties on State Street up to a height of about six stories, than to build new elevator buildings with floors more remote from the sidewalk. Typical development on State Street of this period include two remodeling projects designed by Adler and Sullivan. The projects are representative of both types of land use and business activity on the street that had developed since the fire and subsequent depression of the '70s. The first was a series of renovations for a retail store known as The Beehive on the west side of State south of Monroe in 1885 (Figure 20).⁵⁶ The Beehive dry goods

store began in 1883 as a popular merchandiser devoted to a type of retailing very different from such prestigious houses as Field, Leiter & Co. The Beehive advertised a wide range of cheaply acquired inventory sold in high volumes at bargain prices, its name deriving from the resultant intensity of sales activities within its walls. The potential for extreme fluctuation in the scale of such trade and the consequent need for sales space resulted in acquisition of neighboring properties at intervals. Thus by 1886, the store controlled four adjacent store buildings south from Monroe Street for a total frontage of 85 feet. The buildings, dating from the rebuilding period of 1871-73, were connected through their five floors and given a common identity at street level through the addition of a continuous front of display windows. Over the doorway there appeared a large beehive rendered in cast iron to carry through the metaphor of entrance into a den of intense merchandising activity as advertised in the name of the house. The emblem above the doorway of the Beehive was exaggerated in its scale and form, suggesting the importance of almost graphic effects in the design of State Street shopfronts. If this architectural signage could be attributed to Sullivan, it may be said to prefigure his design of enlarged ornamental motifs along the base of the later Schlesinger and Mayer Store.

In 1887-1888 Adler and Sullivan also remodelled the Springer Block, a four story office building at the southwest corner of State and Washington built in 1872 (Figure 21).⁵⁷

They added two floors to the original building, replaced its ground floor with a continuous band of display windows, and added two ranges of bay windows from the third through the sixth floor along the State Street (Figure 22). The transformation of the old building was intended to accommodate suites of fashionable offices for doctors and other professionals. Their location of State Street was intended to profit from the accessibility of shoppers who would combine their visits to stores with medical or other appointments in a single day's trip downtown. Adler and Sullivan undertook the remodelling of the Springer Block simultaneously with the design of the Chicago Auditorium. Though successful as a renovation, the relative insignificance of the Springer project, both in its scale and design, underscores the degree to which State Street was not a center of architectural innovation in Chicago before 1890. Though a range of classes of retail trade thrived along the street at the time, shopping was accommodated largely in post-fire buildings of about six stories like the renovated Beehive. Even Marshall Field's by 1890 still maintained its retail operations in the six story Singer Building built in 1878 at the northeast corner of State and Washington. The Singer Building replicated the scale and character of the original Field, Leiter & Co. building of 1868 on the same site. By 1890 Field's had been pressed to expand through two adjacent store fronts to the north of similar iron and brick construction and facade design. The Economist of February 1890 described the situation as follows:

There is one class of structures in respect to which capitalists and builders of this seem to have been blind not only to their own opportunities but to the crying needs of trade. Office buildings the best that money and ingenuity can produce, and wholesale houses combining all the conveniencies and elegancies known Chicago has in abundance, but retail stores possessing the conveniences and attractions which modern art produces so easily and at such moderate expense are entirely lacking. It may be truly stated that there is no truly first-class retail store in Chicago. This is no reflection on those famous stores on State street and elsewhere which command the trade of the public and which compare favorably with the best mercantile houses of that class in the world. It is simply saying that retail construction has not kept pace with office, hotel, wholesale and other business construction. There has been no radical change in retail stores for a generation. The retail stores of State street are an aggregation of old patched up structures which have been remodeled little by little in a makeshift way as the business of their occupants required.⁵⁸

The challenge implicit in this characterization of State Street's commercial architecture in 1890 suggests the scale and intensity of merchandising that had developed along its length since the fire. By 1890 the street was home for eight of the city's largest retailers. These ranged from more exclusive dry goods houses that cultivated an elite clientele to the first department stores, a term then applied to more popular merchandisers whose variety and volume of cheaper goods attracted a broader segment of the shopping public. Among these larger stores were an array of speciality shops and smaller retailers serving all classes of trade. Perhaps State Street's most distinctive feature as a shopping corridor was its degree of concentration wherein all the major dry goods houses and department stores were located along six blocks from Lake Street on the north through

Jackson on the south. At that time, by comparison, Manhattan's largest stores were located along 6th Avenue from 14th to 23rd Streets and along Broadway from 9th Street to 23rd. The relative distension of New York's larger retailers along Broadway and Fifth Avenue increased from 1890 to 1910. However, State Street's leading merchants such as Marshall Field continued to promote proximity of its major stores. The common wisdom was that the resultant density of the passing crowds over a smaller retail area benefitted all merchandisers more than would their dispersal.⁵⁹ Toward this end Field's encouraged two of his major competitors, Mandel Brothers in 1898 and Carson-Pirie-Scott in 1904 to remain nearby on State Street when these firms were contemplating remote relocation. The effect of this strategy combined with the daily influx of commuters along the principal cable lines to State Street was the extraordinary number of people on its sidewalks. Their presence created the impression of the street as "a giant bazaar that ran from early in the morning until well after dark."⁶⁰ In 1890 it was estimated that 7,500 people passed hourly along State from Madison to Monroe.⁶¹ The pervasive impression of the shopping crowds along State Street inspired more than one proposal to erect an elevated moving sidewalk for pedestrians to alleviate crowding at curbside.⁶²

The volume of foot traffic on State Street was the most visible evidence of the degree to which the success of its major retailers relied on the phenomenal growth of Chicago's population as a whole. The geometric rate of their stores'

expansion both in terms of sales volume and need for additional selling space was rooted in the rate of growth for the city as a whole. Between 1850 and 1870 Chicago grew by an order of magnitude from approximately 30,000 to 300,000 people. From 1880 to 1890 the city's population rose from just over 500,000 to nearly 1,100,000.⁶³ Thus, though State Street enjoyed special advantages of location, transport, and concentration, its success as a commercial environment depended on Chicago's overall rate of urban growth that had no precedent in history and no parallel in the 19th century.

The measure of State Street's unique demographic position that enabled its transformation as a built environment was the value of its real estate. By 1890 properties along its entire length to the southern terminus of the cable line at 69th Street sustained the confidence of investors in real estate to a degree enjoyed by no other north-south artery.⁶⁴ The years 1889-90 marked the peak of the city-wide rise in land values that had progressed steadily since 1883. The culmination of these trends in real estate was the decision reached separately by a number of capitalists at about the same time to invest in the rebuilding of State Street. By the spring of 1890 there were initiated at least four projects for tall steel-frame buildings in or near the heart of the shopping corridor. The first of these began in the spring of 1889 when Levi Z. Leiter succeeded in acquiring complete control of the east side of State Street between Van Buren and Congress Streets.⁶⁵ Leiter, the former partner of Marshal Field, had turned to real estate speculation after

his withdrawal from the dry goods business. He succeeded in obtaining control through purchase or leasehold of an entire block front then considered to be south of the center of trade. Leiter then commissioned William LeBaron Jenney to design an eight story building intended for occupancy by one or more retailing firms.⁶⁶ Leiter intended to erect a structure of unprecedented fifteen acre floor area extending 400 feet along State Street. An open interior plan derived from steel construction featured 21' X 21' square bay for maximum flexibility of subdivision by tenants. The Leiter Building thus represented the first adaption of the framing system to a commercial building intended for sales rather than office space. The bay size and ceiling height were greater than those of the prototypical Home Insurance Building planned for different use five years earlier. A separate central power plant was built east of the store building to create a common facility for several potential tenant firms. The building was thus conceived as infrastructure built on speculation for an anonymous occupancy. These origins account for what is habitually described as a monotonous exterior treatment. The State Street elevation of the Leiter Building has been described as Jenney's most important contribution to an aesthetic of modern architecture and thus one of the chief monuments of the Chicago School. Condit wrote that in this building "for the first time the steel and wrought-iron skeleton became fully and unambiguously the means of architectonic expression."⁶⁷ The original descriptions of the project suggest that the

exterior had a comparable significance for Jenney and his contemporaries. However, the original design also suggests subtleties in Jenny's approach to the problem of structural expression that give the building its particular character. The original scheme developed in the summer of 1889 was described as being in the old English Gothic style with square openings (Figure 23).⁶⁸ From the beginning of his practice in Chicago in 1868, Jenney had been a student of the English and French Gothic Revivals. He was a close follower of their development in the hands of his New York contemporary, Richard Morris Hunt. Jenney's most important post-fire commercial project in this mode was the Portland Block of 1872, an office building at the corner of Washington and Dearborn Streets (Figure 24). The Portland Block was Jenney's great work when Sullivan apprenticed in his office in 1873-74. Comparison of the original presentation renderings of the Portland Block and the Leiter Building suggest how the later building can be understood as the application of a system of expression derived from pre-modern architecture to a construction of new type and scale. In both designs, the principal elements are buttress-like piers which marked the interval of structural bays. Within each bay is a secondary rhythm of smaller members. In the Portland Block these are the Venetian Gothic arcades in each story whose colonnades form the mullions for window groups. In the Leiter Building distended colonnettes rising through three stories lend a similar secondary rhythm to the elevation. Paired colonnettes rising through the center of each bay are

flanked by single members with different carved capitals (Figure 25). Though the Leiter elevation does not contain explicitly archaeological polychromy or arches as did the Portland, its character as a system of expression follows from Jenny's earlier adaption of historic styles to commercial types. The nine bay composition of the elevation, the capitals of the main piers, and their surmounting architrave and dentiled cornice, and the Roman lettering of the name L.Z. Leiter are derived from classical architecture. The elevation reveals an underlying discipline and restraint, to which ornamental detail is strictly subordinated. Theodore Turak has suggested that this quality of the building derives ultimately from French theory of classical composition in architecture which Jenney had learned from students of J.-N.-L. Durand at the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures in Paris during the 1850s.⁶⁹ The Leiter thus represents Jenney's application of nineteenth century theory to a new architectural problem. Its modernity lay in the designer's willingness to adapt specific historical motifs to the composition of an exterior whose prime requirement was the maximization of window area for daylight. The character of the exterior, both in the drawing and the existing building, derives from the choice of a white Maine granite as the facing stone. As is evident from earlier works, Jenney believed that the place of origin, the geology, and the working qualities of a finish masonry enhanced the identity of his commercial buildings as architecture. The Maine granite he chose for the Leiter Building had been chosen for the Chicago Board of Trade Building

and other monuments.⁷⁰ Chicago's ability to import large quantities of such a pure crystalline stone from a remote quarry signified for Jenney the city's emergence from a frontier town to a national center of trade, distribution, and, hopefully, architecture. These associations of meaning perhaps underlay the lithic quality of the elevation described as "light-gray New England granite, dressed surface, with carved capitals." The descriptions suggest a fascination with surfaces not only for their aesthetic value but because of their power to suggest the stability of frame construction and its resilience to fire. As in the earlier Home Insurance Building, the facing stone served as an encasing protection for the peripheral steel columns. Thus the design invokes both a reminiscence of historical forms and the language of materials as a means toward an architectural solution for the structural novelty of the frame.

Upon its completion in 1891 the Leiter Building was rented to Siegel, Cooper & Co., one of the largest of the street's department stores, who had recently been burned out of their quarters on the southeast corner of State and Adams Streets.⁷² The store's fifteen acres of floor area housed a retail business with over 2,000 employees staffing 65 different departments. The store's tenants "practically offer all the conveniences of a small city," which in addition to its range of merchandise included "a bank, restaurant, butcher-shop, telegraph office, employment bureau, dentist's office, doctor's office, barber shop, and a hairdresser for ladies."⁷³ It was for such a range of activities associated with the

primary activity of shopping that the flexibility of the building's interior space was intended. The proliferation of functions associated with State Street stores by 1890 were ill-housed in the smaller structures of the post-fire era. Thus the Leiter Building marked the appearance of a new building type on State Street to house a newly emerging method of merchandising whose scale and character were at the time unique to Chicago.

The building most similar in type and style to the Leiter building was The Fair store also designed by Jenney and Mundie in 1890 and sited west of State Street along the north side of Adams at Dearborn (Figure 26). Though the original scheme dates from just after that of the Leiter Building, The Fair was built in two stages, the first completed in 1892 and the second in 1897. The history of The Fair as a merchandising institution typifies the development of other department stores on State Street. The Fair promoted itself as Chicago's first department store which, as distinct from a dry goods house, had originated the concept of "centralized shopping under one roof" or "retail merchandising for the millions".⁷⁴ The Fair began as a one-story 16 foot store front on the west side of State Street north of Adams in 1875. Its founder, Ernest J. Lehmann, adopted a merchandising strategy opposite from those of the older prestigious dry goods houses such as Field's. Beginning in the depths of a depression, Lehmann "deliberately ignored the trade of the rich and prosperous" in favor of "commerce with the common people".⁷⁵ He named his store "The Fair" to signify "that fair dealing would be given all customers

and also that the store was like a fair because it offered many and different things for sale at a cheap price."⁷⁶ Over its first fifteen years, the business grew exponentially through a policy of seeking volume of trade over all other criteria for development. Lehmann was famous for buying the stock of failing rival merchandisers regardless of the type of goods, and then adding the wares to his own store as a new department. The adoption of the term "department store" thus indicated that the business expanded through the addition of new departments to create an ever more inclusive range of merchandise and services. The rate of increase in The Fair's sales led to a program of real estate acquisition of neighboring storefronts. By the mid 1880s Lehmann had acquired control of the north side of Adams from State to Dearborn, the two story buildings identified as one concern by continuous signage along their block front, the graphic label of The Fair transforming a street of disparate shops into a single concern. By May 1890 the store had succeeded in gaining control over an entire half block bounded by State Adams, Dearborn, and Marble Place. The total leasehold was valued at over \$3,000,000, making it the largest consolidation of downtown property achieved in Chicago up to that time.⁷⁷ The original plan called for construction of a twelve story steel frame building on the site devoted entirely to the Fair's retail operation. The building was to be "the largest in Chicago and much the largest structure in the world devoted to similar purposes on the basis of the amount of floor space, far exceeding in extent the famous Bon Marche

of Paris, which has only four floors."⁷⁸

The construction of The Fair was to proceed in sections from the west side of the property on Dearborn toward completion of the easternmost section on State Street by January 1893.⁷⁹ The concept of construction in sections was here introduced for the first time in a Chicago department store to allow continuous sales operation in parts of the existing buildings as the new store was being built. At first it was not determined whether the retail activity would occupy the full height of the building or whether its upper floors would be rented as office space.⁸⁰ By the time construction began, the project had grown to a seventeen story building depicted in a rendering published in February 1892 (Figure 27). The design compares closely with that of Jenney's Home Insurance Building of 1884-85, Jenney's prototype for a tall steel structure sited one block west of The Fair. Comparison of these projects shows how Jenney adapted the formal as well as the constructive system of his earliest office tower to the novel problem of a department store. In the upper stories of both the Home Insurance Building and The Fair, Jenney's mandate had been to maximize daylight for both office suites and sales floors. Hence in the Home Insurance, the exterior piers, in Jenney's words, were "cut away to a minimum of strength while the same principle was applied in The Fair so that "the exterior can be almost entirely of glass, the windows separated only by the fireproof metal."⁸¹ In both structures, the peripheral metal columns are encased in stone or pressed brick forming continuous vertical piers,

with horizontal lintel panels recessed from these. Thus Carl Condit concluded that The Fair's elevations "are direct expressions of the wide-bayed steel and wrought iron frame that support them."⁸² That Jenney's central architectural intent was to express the structure, is not, however, the only reading of his original descriptions and renderings. These indicate that the designer viewed the required frame and glazed area as unavoidable conditions to be accepted but which did not in themselves constitute architecture. As in the Home Insurance Building, the aesthetic of The Fair's exterior lay in the composition of the elevation, the choice of surfaces materials, and their ornament. Along the main Adams Street front, the building was classically composed of tower blocks set atop a six story base articulated with continuous horizontal belt courses above the fifth and sixth story. In the rendering the central bay between the towers appears to be a wider span to accommodate a main entrance at street level below. Variation in width of span along the front elevation is also evident in the plan of The Fair as built (Figure 28), where the position of columns along the Adams Street front does not align with interior bays. The structural discontinuities at the front were evidently tolerated in order to achieve subtleties of symmetry in the elevation as built. The first six stories comprise the base or pedestal for the two surmounting blocks. Their rusticated pilasters correspond to the rock-faced piers that form the pedestal of the Home Insurance Building. In The Fair, the base is defined by cornice lines above the fifth and sixth

floor. In the upper blocks, the rustication and ornamented lintels continue upward through the corner bays with the distended piers between forming a pilastrade. The sixteenth and seventeenth floors, also rusticated, serve as attic stories surmounted by a bracketed cornice. Piers in both the base and upper zones of the elevations are capped with composite capitals and set on base moldings as adaptations of a classical order. This reading of the original scheme clarifies anomalies in the exterior as built. An 1893 view shows the westernmost seven bays of nine stories completed adjacent to The Fair's old three story quarters (Figure 29). This nine story block was extended east to State Street in 1897, with two floors added later.⁸³ Thus the horizontal cornices courses, originally intended to crown the base of the twin tower scheme, fell at the mid-section of the building as built. The formal intention of the completed work can thus be understood only with reference to the original project.

The concern for enrichment of surface evident in the exterior design of The Fair contrasts with the severity of the second Leiter Building designed less than a year before. The difference in treatment may reflect the fact that the Leiter block was built as a speculative venture for an anonymous tenant, while The Fair was commissioned by the retail corporation which both owned and occupied the building. Hence its name appeared in a bronze plaque on the building's southeast and southwest corners. The advertised image of the store as The Fair contributed to the building's

festive character along the street level, whose treatment is perhaps best understood in contrast to the lowest stories of the Home Insurance Building. The basement and first floor of the latter form what Jenney described as "the pedestal" for the upper floors made of "Fox Island granite, the walls rock-faced, but with considerable carving at entrances. The main entrance displays four of the finest polished granite columns ever placed in the West."⁸⁴ The entrance to the Home Insurance, as regional headquarters of a prestigious New York insurance firm, was sited near the south end of Chicago's financial corridor on LaSalle Street. Thus the entrance's rustication and monumentality corresponded to the pretensions of the business and its predominantly male clientele. In contrast, The Fair contains no basement and banking floor, but an entrance level at the sidewalk and mezzanine floor of display windows framed in decorative cast iron. The most generous and ornate of these was a pair of arched doorways on State Street, which adapted the traditional arched entrance of a Chicago office building rendered not in rusticated stone but in glass and ornamental iron (Figure 30). The delicacy of surface relief in the frame corresponded to the goods displayed in the adjacent windows and signified the building's identity as a retailing emporium. The Fair and its neighbors succeeded in attracting a predominantly female clientele, and prided itself on having helped to make State Street, as the city's permanent shopping thoroughfare, "the Women's Street of Chicago."⁸⁵ Thus the treatment of the building's lower exterior was that feature of the

architecture which identified it most clearly as a department store.

When The Fair opened its completed building in September 1897, its most advertised feature was the modernity of its interior planning and equipment. Christened as Chicago's oldest and largest department store, The Fair housed over one hundred departments staffed by over 3,000 employees. The business was thus described as "a city in itself", operating as "a combination of many stores."⁸⁶ The system of management developed to oversee the retail operations corresponded in contemporary eyes to the scientific modernity of the building as a construction. The principal feature of the interior that distinguished it from the older generation of stores was its sense of spaciousness as measured by the width and length of aisles, the height of the ceilings, and the seemingly infinite extent of the sales floors (Figure 31). Two interior light courts, perhaps adapted from Marshall Field's store building of 1878 up State Street, served the lower sales floors on either side of the block, with six of the twelve passenger elevators given a central position in lieu of a grand staircase serving the upper floors. Separate departments operated in competition for profits and a share of the trade, hence floor space was a hotly contested commodity. So strong was the priority of maximizing interior space for sales room that a conventional brick chimney for the store's power plant was unacceptable because of the dimensions of masonry required for its foundations. Thus, one of Jenney's technical innovations in The Fair was to

design an interior steel chimney whose stack area occupied a minimum of floor area.⁸⁷ The emphasis on openness of plan inside the building corresponded to the minimal encasing of its structural members on the elevation. Both facets of the scheme were controlled by The Fair's program for merchandising, which demanded maximization of daylight and floor area. Apart from planning and equipment, the building's identity as architecture lay in the decorative treatment of its exterior and interior surface to evoke a festive atmosphere for the experience of shopping.

In addition to the second Leiter Building and The Fair, the third project of 1890 that marked a rebuilding of State Street was the Masonic Temple at the northeast corner of State and Randolph Streets (Figure 32). This twenty-story structure was designed in the spring of 1890 and completed by May 1892. The Masonic Temple had the dual distinction of the being the tallest building in the world at that time and one of the last major works of architects Burnham and Root before the death of designer John Wellborn Root in January 1891. The building has previously been studied as an example of Root's search for an aesthetic solution to the problem of the tall building.⁸⁸ Yet the importance of the Masonic Temple in the development of State Street lies equally in the novelty of its program. The project was initiated and financed by Chicago Freemasons as a headquarters for their brotherhood and as an investment in rental property.⁸⁹ Yet the structure was not conceived to be solely an office building but rather a vertical "shop center", the first ten floors

housing small retail stores grouped around an open rotunda or atrium.⁹⁰ The scheme thus marked an attempt to appropriate the commercial function of the street, replacing the traditional pattern of shopping along its length by incorporating a comparable array of merchandisers within one facility dependent on the speed and capacity of its elevators. Anticipation of the project's success was predicated on the daily influx of commuters to State Street. Thus the Economist commented that on the site of the Masonic Temple:

The ground has a location which in many ways is unique. The intersection of Randolph and State Streets forms a business center in Chicago in a peculiarly marked way. It is reached by nearly all the streets cars in the city, being equally accessible from the South and West Sides, and the North Side as well. At all hours of the day, and late into the evening, throngs of people congregate about it....⁹¹

Thus the project's scale and pretensions were a response to the existing commercial environment of State Street. The scheme assumed the possibility of reorienting shoppers' habituation to the street. Yet in 1890, there was "still some doubt as to the extent to which retail business can be carried on in the upper stories of high buildings...while there are ladies who seriously object to ascending to those floors by means of elevators".⁹² However, the interior design of the Masonic Temple was conceived as an inducement to overcome lingering trepidation about elevator buildings for merchandising. Real estate observers suggested that :

...a great building of shops simply will best fulfill the demands of this locality...It would provide perfect shop facilities within itself upon an ideal plan; would avoid the inconvenience of having to pass along the crowded streets by slow and uncertain

means of locomotion in heat, or wet, or cold, and would present the tenants of the building attractions which could not be reached even on the street level in the magnificence of the ensemble and the grandeur of the architectural effect.⁹³

Thus Burnham and Root were charged with developing an environment for merchandising whose architecture would help overcome doubts of both pedestrians and retailers. They thus attempted to reproduce within the Masonic Temple a complete shopping district, "a city in itself", with "wide halls taking the place of streets and the whole composing a mammoth emporium".⁹⁴ In plan on each shop floor, a U-shaped arrangement of commercial space surrounded the open, skylit rotunda which extended through the full height of the building (Figure 33). The rear of the rotunda was shaped as a bay of fourteen passenger elevators for handling 36,000 people daily, the rear wall glazed behind the elevator shafts. The shops were linked by a gallery surrounding the rotunda forming a balcony ten feet wide with floors and soffits of marble and mosaic and balustrades of ornamental ironwork finished as bronze (Figure 34). The columns around the court were sheathed in alabaster with ornamental capitals while the curved fascia of the surrounding floors were lined with marble throughout. Upon emerging from the elevators, "the front of every shop upon the floor is plainly visible, and these fronts are arranged with great plate glass show windows, similar to the most attractive of street facades."⁹⁵ The floors themselves were not numbered but were named as streets, after individuals distinguished in the history of the Masonic Brotherhood. As the architect of this interior,

Root had thus adapted the rotunda as spatial type which he had developed for earlier projects such as the Rookery and the Chicago (later Great Northern) Hotel. He extended the familiar skylit lobby of these buildings through the full height of the Masonic Temple. The rotunda may also have been intended to recall the light court of the nearby Marshall Field Store, as a type of interior space then uniquely associated with State Street's finest dry goods house. The basement of the rotunda was to be a restaurant complex, with the street level housing "every class of such preliminary and accessory service as would apply to a great shop center", such as ladies' retiring rooms and parlours, telephone and telegraph offices, and an information bureau. The uppermost floors of the Temple were to house the Masons' lodge and meeting rooms, while the roof was intended as an observatory "inclosed with plate glass in such a way as it can be thrown open or closed as the condition of the weather or the occasion demands." The observatory, like a horticultural hall, was to be laid out "as a summer garden" decorated with flowers, plants, and statuary.⁹⁶

The original scheme for the Masonic Temple was an ambitious attempt to draw retail trade away from the length of State Street itself into the upper floors of an elevator building. However, the experiment of locating shops on the building's upper levels failed within three years of its completion in the midst of the depression which followed the panic of 1893, when the upper floors were converted entirely to offices. The consensus in the early 1890s was

that shoppers were habituated to the street level. Only when new structures housed a single department store, rather than an array of separate shops, would people be induced to explore the upper levels of a tall commercial building.

The exterior of the Masonic Temple is less closely related to the commercial environment of State Street and is better understood in the context of the development of Root's aesthetic. The base of the building was faced with a gray Wisconsin granite through the first three stories, and the shaft of the elevation in a matching gray pressed brick, with terra cotta in the ornamental attic story and crowning gables embellished with the insignia and symbols of Masonry. The principle feature of the exterior was the forty-two foot wide arched entrance, whose spandrel was also ornamented with Masonic emblems. As a pioneering experiment in steel construction, the Masonic Temple was among the first tall buildings to use a system of internal diagonal windbracing and continuous column sections extending through two stories. These devices to insure the rigidity of an unprecedentedly tall structure inspired the lithic architectural treatment of the exterior to convey the impression of stability. Root had hoped to reinforce this sense of solidity through conventional proportions of height to ground area. However, the addition of stories as the project progressed resulted in a distension of his original preferred massing scheme. At the base of the building, Root's desire to create a visually convincing foundation for the towering structure

conflicted with the need for extensive glazing of shop windows along the sidewalk. Root's biographer Harriet Monroe noted that some of his earlier works had relied on architectural devices to reconcile the "troublesome requirements" of open shop fronts at their base, where "a massive expression of structure is an artistic necessity."⁹⁷ The tentative quality of the solution for the base of the Masonic Temple was perhaps symptomatic of a larger contradiction between Root's traditional conception of the commercial building as a monumental type and its emerging role on State Street as enmeshed in the continuity of activity along the sidewalk.

Root's sensibilities enabled him to devise an alternative solution to this dilemma in his design for the lower level of the Reliance Building on State Street, a project initiated before his death. Although the upper floors of the Reliance were designed and built in 1894-95, the initial project for a fifteen story commercial building on the southwest corner of State and Washington Streets dates from 1889-90. In March of 1890 William E. Hale, a real estate investor, announced his plan to build on the site and had commissioned Burnham and Root as architects.⁹⁸ The project was the fourth tall steel building planned for State Street by that year. The Reliance resembled the Masonic Temple in that both were intended to house retail businesses on their upper floors, though Hale's building was smaller in ground area and had no institutional program to lend it special identity. Hale, initially controlled only leases to the street level,

basement, and entresol of the existing post-fire building on the corner. These lower floors were remodelled in 1891 after designs attributed to Root before his death in January of that year. (Figure 35).⁹⁹ The substructure and first floor of the old five story building were replaced with foundations for the new project. Along the sidewalk the existing storefront was replaced with large display windows, and the new steel columns faced with a Red Scotch granite with bronze ornament. The imported granite was considered exceptional not only in the beauty of its texture and resilience to weathering but in its ability to take a polish, thus lending to its surface a sheen akin to that of the adjacent plate glass show windows. The metalwork served to outline the joints of the granite facing. This decorative embellishment is thus rationally derived from its constructive role thereby exhibiting the stone as veneer for the steel (Figure 36). The design followed from the necessity of display windows for the lower stories which were leased to Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co. in 1890 to serve as their retailing headquarters on State Street.¹⁰⁰ No record of Root's intentions for the upper floors of the Reliance survives. However, the executed base suggests his reappraisal of the architectural problem of the tall building skirted by show windows at street level.

In 1890 Burnham and Root were also commissioned to remodel the lower stories of the Marshall Field store housed in the Singer Building on the northeast corner of State and Washington.¹⁰¹ The Singer Building, diagonally across the

corner from the Reliance, had been built in 1878 as a near reconstruction of Palmer's original Field, Leiter & Co., with a five story marble exterior crowned by a mansard roof (Figure 37). Unlike its predecessor the Singer was devoted solely to Field's retail operations, which, in 1881, had come under the inspired management of Harry Gordon Selfridge. His success in developing the State Street store led to its expansion through adjacent properties north of the Singer Building along State Street in 1888. The subsequent renovation of the exterior along the sidewalk was to be "quite elaborate and embrace entirely new fronts on the first story with handsome and attractive entrances".¹⁰² The doorway on State Street was widened to forty feet with the canopied carriage entrance on Washington doubled in width. The existing marble colonnade separating the show window bays were replaced with continuous windows framed in ironwork with glazed areas "the size of the largest sheet of plate glass manufactured" (Figure 38).¹⁰³ The building's location and the importance of Field's as a client indicate that the remodeling may have required the attention of Root as senior partner. If attributed to him this renovation together with the design for the base of the Reliance, suggests that Root was responsive to the architectural possibilities of the show window as a condition of the commercial environment of State Street. The novelty of this problem in design was at the time perceived as representative of unprecedented challenges for architecture inherent in the commercial buildings of Chicago. The transformation of the base of buildings

along State Street was a highly visible instance of new constructive technologies developed for new needs. Thus, in his 1889 essay "Architecture in the West", Henry Van Brunt observed that in Chicago,

There is no attempt to avoid the enormous difficulty forced by the requirements of modern shop fronts, and by the priceless invention through which they can be occupied with vast single sheets of polished plate glass set under girders of iron and steel,--a condition important enough in itself to set at defiance nearly all the precepts of all the academies, and, if frankly accepted by the architect, to create, perhaps, out of this nettle, the flower of a new art.¹⁰⁴

One of the first completed projects to work with the possibilities for expression implicit in broad expanses of plate glass was the Venetian Building of 1891 (Figure 39). This building, designed by Holabird and Roche, was located on the south side of Washington Street just east of State Street, opposite the carriage entrance to Marshall Field's. Though the structure did not front on State Street, it was conceived as part of the urban development of the shopping corridor. The design of the Venetian Building marks the appearance of Holabird and Roche near State Street. This firm had won recognition for their Tacoma Building of 1887, cited as being among the first tall steel frame office building in the world. Among those architects whose works are considered formative for the Chicago School, Holabird and Roche built more on State Street between 1891 and 1912 than any other firm. The preponderance of their designs on the street defined the character of its architecture during the years before and after the construction of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store.

Like the Masonic Temple and the Reliance Building, the Venetian Building was intended to house a combination of tenants all of whom would profit from their location near the heart of the shopping district. Sited across from Marshall Field's carriage entrance, its lower two stories were promoted as "very desirable for certain branches of fashionable custom and retail trade".¹⁰⁵ The street and mezzanine floors were thus fitted with large plate glass windows to provide "ample show and advertising facilities". The office suites for rent above were "peculiarly fitted for all branches of the medical profession", with the upper floors "being especially designed for their needs".¹⁰⁶ On the street elevation, the third through ninth floors were fitted with broad windows whose dimensions and proportion followed that of the steel bay, extending from column from floor to ceiling. The central pane of these windows was fixed with operable sash on either side. This fenestration of the Venetian Building was the first instance of the "Chicago window" used as the characteristic motif of a commercial building. Their purpose in this north facing wall was to provide ample daylight for professional offices. Yet their absence from the side elevation suggests that these windows, though ostensibly functional and fitted to the steel bay, were introduced to enhance the aesthetic of the street facade. Their elegant proportion and tripartite division may have been intended to recall the Palladian or Serliana window as a traditional motif of Venetian Renaissance architecture. The mullions themselves appear

as colonettes carved as spirals in the Venetian manner. As the project's name suggests, the exterior of the building was to be "in the Venetian style of architecture---light and graceful."¹⁰⁷ The wall was to be built of "a special Roman brick of a warm buff color, with terra cotta ornamentation." The design for the building's transom within the street entrance and the structures crowning two story arcade and attic gallery recall the motifs of the facades of Venetian palazzi. The projecting bracketed sills of the top floor "belvedere" correspond to projecting sills of the cornice bands separating the floors below. These continuous sills, like the fenestration, may be understood as adaptations of pre-modern architectural vocabularies to a new scale and constructive type of commercial building. That the Venetian Building was conceived as analogous to a pre-modern type, borrowing and transforming its imagery, is evident in its tile hip roof whose soffit is rendered as projecting roof beams to suggest the crown of a residence along the Grand Canal (Figure 40). The choice of Venetian sources was not entirely arbitrary, as contemporary commentary of Root and others cited Venetian and Florentine architectures as exemplary of the arts of commercial civilizations whose pre-modern sources of wealth and thus, civic identity, were analogous to Chicago's own. The type of fenestration in the upper stories of the Venetian may also be understood as deriving from the larger windows that appeared in the lower stories of Holabird and Roche's earlier office buildings. In projects such as the Tacoma, glass show windows extending the width

and height of the steel bay occur in the street level and mezzanine stories, though the fixtures themselves do not have the characteristic tripartite division of the Chicago window.

The Venetian elevation may be the first instance of the extension of Chicago windows through the full height of a commercial building a proportion of whose upper floors were intended for retailing. The restrained historicism evident in Holabird and Roche's first work near State Street remained characteristic of the firm's later building. Their work habitually included classicizing detail within designs whose lines were largely determined by the minimal requirements of use and construction. In the history of State Street, however, a more vigorous historicism emerged in projects directly associated with the Columbian World's Exposition of 1893. In February 1890 Congress officially announced that Chicago would host the exposition, though the choice of Chicago was expected as probable through 1889.¹⁰⁸ One could speculate that the initiation of large scale commercial projects on State Street from the summer of 1889 through the spring of 1890 was at least partially inspired by anticipation of the Exposition and the number of visitors the event would bring to downtown. However the gradual rise of land values through the 1880s also peaked in years 1889-1890.¹⁰⁹ Thus the profitability of rebuilding State Street was probably determined by the economic history of real estate over a broad period. The incentive of the Exposition was incidental relative to broader trends in the price of property.

Anticipation of the Exposition did, however, inspire the promotion of State Street as the city's premier retail corridor whose stores hoped to profit greatly from the coming influx of visitors to Chicago in 1893. The World's Fair also inspired characterization of State Street as a thoroughfare comparable to the great boulevards of the world (Figure 41). Chicago began to see itself in comparison not only with New York, but with the capitals of fin-de-siecle Europe whose citizens would be touring the city when they came for the Exposition. Thus, guidebooks to Chicago prepared for out-of-town visitors to the Fair described State Street as an avenue of cosmopolitan pretenses, whose retailers had transformed the material culture of the city from that of a provincial settlement to a consumer of the finest manufactures imported from overseas. One guidebook promoted the variety of State Street's architecture over the uniform frontages of boulevards characteristic of Second Empire Paris, concluding that:

If you are from Paris, State Street will remind you of Avenue de l'Opera, or the Avenue Malesherbes, from the steps of the Madeleine; if from Berlin, Friëderich Strasse or Leipziger Strasse will be recalled to your mind; if from Vienna, you will see a resemblance to some sections of the Ring Strasse; if from London, Regent Street may be suggested; if from Dublin, a part of Sackville Street, although you will miss the Nelson Monument. All of the great streets of the world to-day bear a strong resemblance to each other, although there is in reality a vast difference between them.¹¹⁰

Within the climate of expectation generated by the imminence of the World's Fair, there were at least two major structures on State Street whose architecture related to the fair's commemorative program and artistic goals. The first

of these was the Columbus Building designed by William Boyington on the southeast corner of State and Washington Streets completed in May 1893 as the Fair opened (Figure 42). The property owners, Messrs. Higgins and Furber, had commissioned the project in 1891 as a sixteen story building intended to house stores and offices for the city's wholesale and retail jewelry businesses.¹¹¹ The opulence and use of precious materials throughout the completed structure corresponded in part to the anticipated tenancy. However, the owners were also inspired to make the building a showpiece of the city's architecture in keeping with the spirit of the Columbian Exposition. The building was thus conceived as a memorial to Columbus and executed entirely "in the style of the Spanish Renaissance."¹¹² The two lower floors were planned for retailers with solid bronze framing the display windows around the base of the exterior. The metal was cast in low ornamental relief and hand chased in finish. Atop the arched entrance on State Street stood a bronze statue of Columbus commissioned from Rome, with flanking busts in relief of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella set in the spandrels of the arch. These and the other bronze ornaments of the building were designed by Lorado Taft of Chicago. In the main entrance hall an Italian mosaic floor depicted the crossing of the Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria, with bronze wall reliefs set between marble columns showing scenes from the life of Columbus. Mosaic was used for flooring through the upper stories of the building, together with an unprecedented profusion of bronze, marble, and mahogany as finish

materials for the office levels. On the rear walls on the ground level stores, glass mosaic panels, eight feet high by sixteen feet wide, depicted Columbus' departure from the court of Spain and his arrival in the New World. The interest in an authoritatively antiquarian historicism throughout the building appeared in the bronze balustrade of the stairways. For these details "the most characteristic buildings of the Renaissance periods have been studied to supply a motive for the metal work, which would be in harmony with the style. The result is that the ornamental ironwork of the Columbus Building is actually more Spanish in spirit than anything of the kind extant in Spain."¹¹³

The Columbus was of skeletal steel frame construction, with the upper stories clad entirely in a yellowish pink shade of terra cotta whose ornamentation included the coats or arms of the provinces of Spain and of individuals associated with Columbus. The roofscape was crowned by a corner dome surmounted by a glass globe with the continents shown in color and the position of Chicago indicated by a cut jewel through which shined a powerful electric light visible as a beacon for some twenty miles. The flanking gables were also ornamented with Spanish motifs and roofed in brown Spanish tile. The lines of the terra cotta cladding contributed to the vertical emphasis of the design which culminated in this array of motifs. The exterior of the Columbus was almost universally criticized in its time for its excessive and awkward appearance.¹¹⁴ Yet the building was deemed important as an early attempt to manipulate terra cotta surface as

cladding for steel construction. One critic noted both the fault and the potential of Boyington's experiment, concluding that:

---a construction which owes allegiance only to the principles of steel. In spite of this, however, the protective material has been disposed in masonry forms, subverted wherever necessary to the exigencies of the real construction. This tendency toward allowing the steel to determine the forms of the terra cotta, if carried to its legitimate conclusion, might have resulted in a truthful expression of a steel building, but for the insistence on an ultimate expression of masonry construction that now characterizes it, ...¹¹⁵

As a statement of competing values, the Columbus Building sought to be both ornate and monumental in its forms and up to date in its planning and fabrication. This contrast between an eclectic historicism and a commercial modernity is evident in the roofscape, whose motifs lend a scale and profile to the building alien to the office stories below. Similar competing priorities appeared in another project associated with the Exposition was Marshall Field Annex designed by D. H. Burnham and Co. (Figure 43) in the spring of 1892 for the northwest corner of Washington Street and Wabash Avenue. The architect of this building was Charles Atwood who had replaced John Root as Burnham's partner for design in 1891. Atwood played an important role in the World's Columbian Exposition as designer of the Fine Arts Building, the most celebrated example of neoclassical architecture at the fair. The Marshall Field Annex, made ready in time for the Exposition in the summer of 1893, was intended to be in keeping both with the spirit of the Fair and with

the pretensions of Field's as the host city's leading commercial institution.¹¹⁶ The Annex was not conceived solely as a dry goods store but as a nine story multi-use structure on the model of the neighboring Venetian and Columbus Buildings. The lower three stories were occupied by the retail store and tea room of Marshall Field's, the central three as workrooms connected with their business, while the uppermost three were rented as professional offices around a central light court. The interior structure was a steel frame, though the supports around the periphery of the building were of massive masonry. The visible outer wall was a stone veneer for a self-supporting masonry shell surrounding an interior metal frame (Figure 44).¹¹⁷ The exterior is treated as a Renaissance palazzo, similar in type to McKim, Mead and White's University and Metropolitan Clubs in New York. The composition and textures of the elevation follow the exterior scheme for McKim, Mead and White's Hotel Imperial of 1890 on 32nd and Broadway (Figure 45). Atwood had been familiar with these and related academic designs during his tenure as an architect in New York before joining Burnham's office in Chicago. Like the Fine Arts Building, the Field Annex in its time was praised as proof of his ability to work with the subtleties of an academic vocabulary as these were then being developed in the East.¹¹⁸ The lower three stories were faced with a light coloured granite whose piers and arches framed the display windows of the street level and mezzanine levels. The central three stories are faced in terra cotta, elaborately modelled and

ornamented to resemble rusticated, carved stone. Three-story arches are flanked by tiers of smaller openings and buttressed by wide corner piers. The two stories above are of brick and a lighter colored terra cotta, with the attic story and cornice faced entirely with decorative terra cotta. The accentuation of the coursing in all levels and their projecting divisions lend to the scheme a repose based on horizontal lines and foursquare proportion of height to breadth. Although generally regarded as successful on its own terms as an academic design, the Field Annex was criticized by both Montgomery Schuyler and Louis Sullivan for its disavowal of its commercial function and construction. Schuyler wrote that the tenuity of the piers in the lower stories prevents the design from appearing convincing as masonry construction. He concluded that:

The basement is obviously impossible in masonry and the ostensible construction, is evidently not the actual construction....true, the piers are thickened to the verge of commercial practicability, indeed what would be commercially practicable if this were an office building instead of a warehouse. But it will not do. The building still relies upon means of support that are not visible.¹¹⁹

Schuyler's condemnation of Atwood's design for its lack of rational expression of structure omits the fact that the building's periphery was indeed masonry construction. The tenuity of the piers in elevation contrasts with their mass in plan, where they occur within the depth of the show windows. Even the curved grand entrance to the store is set between the building's massive corner piers. Thus Schuyler was provoked by the competing priorities of structure

and show window along the street level. In his criticism of the building in The Kindergarten Chats Sullivan focused on this same area of the design. He claimed that the profusion of classical motifs obscured the building's function as a department store, noting that its identity as a use type could not be discerned from a design legible only as the Imperial Hotel. Sullivan concluded that:

Surely, if it were a department store, all masonry would be reduced to a minimum, and there would be an expanse of glass for light and display. If you doubt it, there are several department store buildings hereabout that will serve to illustrate my meaning...

(The Field Annex) stands, for our purpose as the type of a large class of structures, fortunately, for us, more rampant in the East than in the West, which represent what I might denominate the current jargon of architecture: the incapacity...to express in simple well-chosen language the casual current experiences of life.¹²⁰

When Sullivan wrote these words late in 1900, the first section of his Schlesinger and Mayer store had been completed a few blocks away. He thus presented Atwood's building as diametrically opposed to his own solution to the same problem. Yet his remark that there were "several department store buildings hereabout" that illustrated a viewpoint similar to his own suggests Sullivan's sympathetic familiarity with other works on State Street. Among those built after the Field Annex there were several experiments in commercial architecture that could have served as models for the original design of the Schlesinger and Mayer store in 1898. The first of these was the Champlain Building designed by Holabird and Roche on the northwest corner of

State and Madison Streets completed in 1894 (Figure 46). The original project for a sixteen story store building on the site pre-dated a Chicago city ordinance of October 1891 for limiting the height of new construction to 130 feet above the sidewalk. The earliest schemes developed by Holabird and Roche featured a steel frame clad not in masonry but in aluminum such that "the architectural conception of the facade is that of a metallic construction representing the metal construction within."¹²¹ This project was thought to be the first use of aluminum as an exterior cladding in the history of architecture. The specific alloy of that metal was to be an "aluminum bronze" to give the exterior "a pleasant gold color".¹²² The beauty of the metal complemented its weathering qualities, malleability, and ease with which it could be cleaned. Yet, apart from these standards, the novelty of aluminum enabled the architects to fulfill a theoretical ideal of "representing on the front of a 'modern' building what the building was, that is to say, a structure of metal."¹²³ The functional and technical complement to the aluminum cladding was to be the design of the window fixtures. To provide as much daylight as possible, plate glass was to extend the full height and length of the steel bays, fabricated in two 11 foot panes set in aluminum sash with operable panels on either side. The dimensions of the glazing also permitted merchant tenants to have "immense signs on the window if they choose...twenty two feet long and as may be desired."¹²⁴ Thus the Chicago window developed by Holabird and Roche for the Champlain derived not only from

demand for natural light in upper floors, but from its potential for advertising along State Street. This type of window was thus conceived as a frame for exhibition akin to the show windows on the sidewalk below.

In the later development of the project for the Champlain the aluminum scheme was abandoned in favor of an exterior clad entirely in terra cotta. The rendering of the project published in November 1893 shows the entire structure, from the show windows at the sidewalk to the attic story and cornice clad in a "white terra cotta".¹²⁵ The scale and color of the building stand out in stark contrast to adjacent facades of an earlier era of both State and Madison Streets. The sense of the building mass as a form susceptible to classical treatment is evident not only in the bracketed cornice and attic ornament, but in the contraction of the corner bays and the coursing of the terra cotta to resemble stone. The intention of the revised design was to make "a distinctly white and ornamental building". The casements and frames of the windows in the upper stories were rendered as Venetian colonettes. In the building as built, the upper stories were clad in white terra cotta, while the lower stories were treated with a darker reddish brown terra cotta overlaid with ornamental ironwork cast by the Winslow Brothers Company. The metal was originally intended to be finished in gold leaf. The decorative metalwork was continued from the sidewalk inside the lobby for the office building whose elevator grilles of wrought iron were "in the style of the French Renaissance".¹²⁶ When completed in the winter of

1894, the Champlain Building was criticized both locally in Chicago and in the East as offensively plain, the uncompromising severity of the street fronts relieved only by ornament at the base and cornice.¹²⁷ The shift in expressive intent from the aluminum design for the Champlain to its exterior as built may reflect the influence of the architecture of the Columbian Exposition. The Exposition's reintroduction of white classically ornamented surfaces to Chicago during the summer of 1893 was simultaneous with the design and construction of Holabird and Roche's building. The Champlain was thus the first major work of commercial architecture to reintroduce imagery of the white surface of the Fair to State Street. The minimal simplicity of the upper stories projected in the original scheme did survive in the built version. Yet the all metal exterior, praised as progressive design in 1892, was replaced by white terra cotta cladding in the wake of the Exposition's memorable vision of a White City.

The State Street structure that most closely followed the Champlain in its program and expression was the Reliance Building, whose upper floors were designed and built in 1894. The Reliance occupied a corner property extending 56 feet on State Street and 85 feet on Washington at the southwest corner of their intersection. Early in 1894 William E. Hale revived his 1890 project for a sixteen story building on the site, whose lower floors were then occupied by the retail headquarters of Carson, Pirie, Scott and Company. D. H. Burnham and Co. retained the commission, with Atwood succeeding

Root as the project's designer.¹²⁸ The building's steel frame was redesigned, with its carrying capacity modelled after that of The Fair's floor structure to accommodate either retail stores or professional offices in the upper stories. The size and proportion of the site encouraged the use of a novel system of windbracing in the frame whereby column sections were bound together by rigid connections to 24 inch steel girders around the periphery of each floor level (Figure 47). Atwood's exterior treatment was intended to give the building "as light and delicate an appearance as possible", with wide bays occurring on both fronts and sections of plate glass spanning from 18 inches above the floor to ceiling across each story.¹²⁹ The unglazed surface along sills and columns was to read as "simply a terra cotta sheathing to the iron construction, no attempt being made to give an idea of solidity but to practically recognize the fact that the strength lies in the steel frame."¹³⁰ Thus the sense of horizontal continuity along the sills may have been Atwood's attempt to associate the disposition of the clay with the rigid ring of structural girders that braced the frame (Figure 48).

The terra cotta itself was to be "a light cream color elaborately molded in the style of the French Gothic" as a continuation of the Gothic metalwork with which Root had framed the polished granite at the base.¹³¹ Atwood originally intended that "color may possibly be introduced in some of the wall panels by the use of either mosaic, marbles or colored glazes".¹³² On the interior a German Gothic motif

was chosen for the metal tracery of the elevator grilles, with the upper hallways and main staircase to be richly decorated in marble veneers. Though the building aspired to be among the most ornate of new quarters on State Street, its principal innovation was the enamelling or high degree of glazing of the exterior terra cotta. The Champlain's outer surface had been a "buff" or "dead white" terra cotta, while the Reliance was promoted as the first work of architecture clad entirely in enameled clay to create "the novelty of a veritable porcelain tower rearing itself two hundred feet above grade (Figure 49)."¹³³ The vitrified clay combined with polished plate glass created a composite exterior surface whose chief advantage was its washability. Through the 1890s there appear accounts of extensive disfiguration and damage to the exteriors of commercial buildings in Chicago caused by smoke and soot.¹³⁴ The principal source of pollution were steam boilers burning soft coals whose ash-like residue deposited on the brick and stone facings of downtown structures, discoloring and encrusting the walls. The commonplace solution had been for building owners to paint over the dirtied surfaces, often with a whitewash or white oil-based paint. However such repainting often obliterated polychromy and composition of textures that comprised much of the buildings' architectural effect. Thus the advent of enamelled terra cotta in the Reliance was praised for its potential as a material whose properties of resilience and washability recommended it for environments like State Street. Like the aluminum cladding originally projected for the

Champlain, the glazed clay recommended itself as an industrially fabricated material suited for the conditions of a modern streetscape.

Upon its completion the Reliance, though praised for its innovation as "a white enamelled building", was critically received as at best a first step toward a new commercial aesthetic.¹³⁵ To contemporary eyes its front "show(ed) more plate glass than anything else", with the minimal cladding interpreted as a literal treatment of the building's conditions of construction.¹³⁶ Schuyler appraised the Reliance as a statement of the problem of the tall steel frame building rather than a solution to it, concluding that "if this is the most and best that can be done with the sky-scraper, the skyscraper is architecturally intractable."¹³⁷ Others similarly hoped for an enrichment of surfaces in later exteriors of terra cotta "with the introduction of extensive color schemes and more elaborate ornamentation."¹³⁸ Aside from its finished appearance, the Reliance was a source of wonder in its speed and procedure of construction. The frame rose at the rate of one floor every two days, with the entire demolition and rebuilding completed in six months.¹³⁹ The construction of the upper stories proceeded above a platform that sheltered the ongoing retail activity within the base of the building. The Architectural Record commented on the novelty of "seeing a tremendous building pushing up into the air while one can safely stand at its base and look into shop windows crowded with the usual display,..."¹⁴⁰ Thus the process of construction itself underscored the architectural division between floors devoted to merchandising

along the street and upper stories perceptually removed from the life of the sidewalk. This traditional disjuncture was accentuated in the Reliance by the hands of different architects evident in the upper and lower zones.

The completion of the Champlain and the Reliance Buildings in 1894 indicates the continued vitality of State Street through the advent of the severe depression that began in the summer of 1893. Both these buildings were quickly filled with tenants, their rental success attesting to the pressure of merchants, doctors, dentists, and others to get accommodations along the shopping corridor during the economic downturn. One local factor in the street's development that heightened its desirability during general economic decline was the extension of the city's elevated transportation lines into the central business district. This process began in 1894 with the extension of the West Side elevated line from Market to State Streets and ended with the completion of the ring of elevated track known as the Union Loop in October 1897.¹⁴¹ The continuation of incoming elevated trains into the center of Chicago intensified the existing concentration of shopping on State Street perpetuating a rise in land values even during the leanest years. The project that emerged most directly from the rise in land values and the anticipated influx of shopping crowds on the elevated trains was the State Safety Building at the northeast corner of State and Van Buren Streets completed in 1894 (Figure 50). The project was initiated specifically in response to the extension of a surface cable line from the West Side into

the downtown along Van Buren Street which renewed interest in properties at what was then the southern end of the shopping corridor.¹⁴²

Like the adjacent second Leiter Building, the State Safety was financed and completed by a real estate investor, A.L. Sercomb, potentially for one or more tenants. The structure was at first projected for occupancy by stores on the lower floors and basement, with either offices or lofts above. Being only seven stories above grade, the State Safety Building was of semi-mill construction, meaning columns of cast iron and floors of heavy timber. An early description of the project stressed that as much glass as possible would be used on the exterior to light the depth of floor area.¹⁴³ The architect, Holabird and Roche, prepared at least two alternative designs for the street fronts. Surviving undated drawings for the Street Street elevation show a continuous range of show windows along the ground floor. In one scheme the upper floors are rendered in brick with continuous piers, recessed spandrels and ornamental terra cotta coursing along the topmost sill and cornice to define an attic story (Figure 51). The corner was designed as a projecting circular bay from the second through the seventh stories. Embedded along the corner of this bay rose an iron column extending above the roof. The column contained electric lights which culminated at the top in a revolving glass globe surmounted by an eagle. The alternative scheme retained this corner treatment (Figure 52). However, the masonry facing was replaced with cast iron over the upper floors with projecting

piers and continuous horizontal moldings along the sill and head of the windows. Emblematic reliefs were set in the shafts and capitals of the piers. The topmost sill was treated with a continuous ornamental relief with colonnettes replacing the piers to accentuate the attic story. The elevation was capped by a machicolated cornice rendered in iron. The building as built adopted the cast iron facade, with an additional ornamental iron fascia along the head of the first floor display windows on State and Van Buren Streets. The State Safety was the only major new building erected on State Street during the 1890s with a cast iron front. However, the relative lightness of the metal had encouraged its use as a facing for upper stories added to old masonry buildings during this period. Like the Holabird and Roche design, these added fronts shaped the iron to resemble stone motifs, often sealing its surface with a white paint as was done on the State Safety.¹⁴⁴ One account attributed the choice of the metal rather than the masonry design to the insistence of the client overriding the preference of the architects.¹⁴⁵ By the word "client" the account may have been referring not to the financiers of the project but to their tenant firm, A.M. Rothschild & Co., which leased the entire building while it was under construction. The firm of Abram Rothschild was founded in 1894 to create a department store to occupy the new building.¹⁴⁶ Rothschild had been a longtime partner in the wholesale clothing firm of E. Rothschild and Brothers. In 1881 this firm had commissioned Adler and Sullivan to design their store and

loft building at 205 West Monroe Street, which featured an ornamental cast iron and stone street front. This early building may have inspired Rothschild's preference for an elegant metalwork design for the new firm's quarters on State Street. The radical difference between the store of A. M. Rothschild & Co. and its neighbors on State Street was that the store's entire operation, including stock, equipment, and personnel was organized explicitly to profit from the properties available for retailing on State Street north of Van Buren. Rothschild in 1895 quickly consolidated a continuous frontage of 360 feet including two older adjacent buildings to the north of the Holabird and Roche structure.¹⁴⁷ An extensive traveler, Rothschild aspired to make his retail operation among the most complete in the world in terms of inclusive the variety of its departments. To this end he and his associates visited London and Paris to study department stores in those cities as models for their inaugural effort in Chicago.¹⁴⁸

Though demolished for the erection of a later Rothschild store in 1912, the State Safety Building in the lines of its upper elevation closely resembled Holabird and Roche's earlier Venetian and Champlain Buildings. These three designs anticipate Sullivan's solution for the upper stories of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store. The final project which immediately preceded Sullivan's intervention on State Street was the 1897-98 expansion and renovation of the Mandel Brothers Store on the northeast corner of State and Madison adjacent to Schlesinger and Mayer on the southeast

corner. These firms had established a similar identity among neighboring rivals. Both aspired to be prestigious dry goods houses on the model of Marshall Field's distinguishing themselves from the larger department stores like The Fair that catered to popular trade at the south end of the Street. The Mandel Brothers since 1874 had occupied the post-fire Colonnade Building or Booksellers' Row on the east side of State north of Madison. In 1896 they began a program of renovation by negotiating for the adjacent corner property. Anticipating their acquisition of extensive frontage along both State and Madison, Mandel's in 1897 commissioned Jenney and Mundie to remodel the lower floors of their existing State Street front (Figure 53). The original colonnade along the sidewalk was removed and replaced with heavy plate glass and ornamental iron show windows two stories high whose bays projected onto the sidewalk like enlarged versions of the showcases formerly placed in front of the store. The style of the ironwork was described as Louis XV with the decorative relief in the patterns of Persian arabesque whose intricate design represented the state of the art in metal casting. The counterparts to this form of show window were said to be "only found in the big stores of Paris, (Mandel Bros.) being the first to use this style in America."¹⁵¹ Between the show window bays were set new entrance vestibules with mahogany panelling and mosaic floor. The upper lights of the windows were fitted with prismatic glass which refracted sunlight into the building

to illuminate the interior depth of the lower floor sales rooms. The completed renovation was described as "one of the handsomest improvements that have been made on State Street in years."

Mandel Bros. remodelling of their State Street front was the first step in a transformation of their older facility composed of three adjacent buildings into "one modern structure". Early in 1898, they extended the new base of show windows around their entire State and Madison street frontage (Figure 54). The renovation entailed the removal of existing supports around the periphery of the building and the insertion of a steel frame to permit the largest possible expanses of glass along the sidewalk. Two additional stories were added to the existing buildings whose upper elevations replicated the Venetian arcade of the Colonnade Building, substituting cast iron for marble and repainting the whole exterior white. Thus, "above the lower stories the structural iron effect, with large plate glass windows, will be carried to the top of the building."¹⁵² Similarly, the ornamental character of the ironwork around the show windows, "small and delicately modeled, producing a pleasing sense of scale", was continued inside the renovated store.¹⁵³ The new stairways of the interior featured a similar pattern of wrought and cast iron decorative work plated with bronze. The initial transformation of the show windows along the sidewalk thus became the inspiration for the architectural character of the whole building. Contemporary accounts of Mandel's and neighboring renovations thus described a new

glass and iron style of commercial architecture derived from the related necessities of light and display. The Inland Architect characterized the emergence of this aesthetic within the shopping district along State Street:

Chicago streets are undergoing a change. In place of the crude stone carvings of "after-the-fire" architecture appears a style of architecture entirely American and of commercial origin. The style was invented by necessity. The demands of the (show) window dresser--an artist of recent development--was constantly for a more showy place in which to exhibit his goods; and the buyers demanded more light. The style had small beginnings. First, the glass was moved to the outside of the deep reveals. The muntins began to disappear and the pieces of glass became larger.

The woodwork was next removed and the glass placed close to the stone or brick, with only a stop to hold it in place. Some of the piers and columns were then removed and their places spanned by rolled iron beams, which took the place of cast iron lintels. Finally, the old work was removed complete and new steel columns, with steel lintels of long span, formed a frame for immense pieces of plate glass.

Still there was call for more light, and the Luxfer prisms, filling the upper portion and sending the surface rays to the rear of the store, seem to complete the development of a new style in commercial architecture.¹⁵⁴

This rational account of the evolution of style prefaced a description of the Mandel Brothers' renovation completed in May 1898. On the same day that the Mandel's remodelled store was formally opened to the public, Schlesinger and Mayer published the first announcement of their engagement of Louis Sullivan to rebuild their adjacent store on the southeast corner of State and Madison. Sullivan's design of the lower stories of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store thus had its immediate precedent in Jenney and Mundie's neighboring renovation of Mandel's. Yet, in a larger sense, both designs are clarified when seen in the context of the

development of State Street's commercial architecture wherein new forms emerged from a combination of unprecedented conditions of merchandising and new constructive technologies. Sullivan and his colleagues' challenge was first to perceive the aesthetic possibilities inherent in this set of conditions and then to elevate these to the stature of architecture.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

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148. Economist XI , June 30, 1894.
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CHAPTER III

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE SCHLESINGER AND MAYER STORE

Within the history of State Street's development through the turn of the century, one can trace the story of the dry goods firm of Leopold Schlesinger (1843-1914) and David Mayer (1851-1920). Schlesinger and Mayer's origins and character as a merchandiser, and the transformations of the business through the completion of Sullivan's work help explain their intent for their store's architecture. Sullivan's building of 1898-1904 emerged from a history of his and Adler and Sullivan's renovations and additions to a pre-existing Schlesinger and Mayer store. The chronology of these projects beginning in 1885 reveals what aspirations for the building were consistently developed and which were altered because of incidental circumstances or because of the building activity of neighboring stores. Finally, one can trace the dissolution of the Schlesinger and Mayer firm simultaneous with the construction of their building. The history of the building ended in its transfer to the ownership of Carson-Pirie-Scott in 1904 and the addition to Sullivan's structure designed by Daniel Burnham's office in 1905-1906. The account of the building's history reveals how the executed work derived both from Sullivan's and Schlesinger and Mayer's visions for the project and from external conditions.

Leopold Schlesinger was born in Bavaria and emigrated to Chicago at the age of fourteen in 1867. After what is described as "a thorough collegiate education" and a period of apprenticeship as clerk, Schlesinger entered the dry goods business on his own before the great fire of 1871.¹ In February 1872 he revived his store in partnership with David Mayer. Mayer, also a native of Germany, emigrated to America with his family as an infant and settled in Chicago in 1863. He was the eldest son in a family of eight children and had spent his youth as a clerk in different large dry goods firms in the city. His younger brother, Levy Mayer became a prominent Chicago attorney and real estate investor who served as counsel to his brother's business. The Schlesinger and Mayer store was located first at No. 136 West Madison Street west of Desplaines Street within the central shopping district of Chicago's West Side along the city's main east-west horse car line. The business first relocated to expanded quarters on the northeast corner of Madison and Desplaines Streets, opening a branch store further west at the corner of Madison and Peoria in the late 1870s. By 1880 West Madison Street was itself a thriving retail corridor whose shopping population and land values derived from its transportation line soon to be improved with early cable cars. However, in April 1881 Schlesinger and Mayer abandoned their locations on the West Side to secure a lease on one half of the ground floor of the Bowen Block at the southeast corner of State and Madison Streets. There "they consolidated their interests, desiring and

intending to confine themselves to building up a mammoth business in one spot."² Their choice of location confirmed the desirability of that thoroughfare over its nearest rival on the West Side. State Street had then been the first street in Chicago to be equipped with cable cars in 1881, with the same system extended to the west along Madison soon afterward. The value of their new location as the crux of the cable lines undoubtedly induced Schlesinger and Mayer to risk the transfer of their business to State and Madison. Their competitors in Chicago's dry goods trade estimated that this intersection was "perhaps the greatest retail trade center in America...The people have come to recognize one point as pivotal and cannot be changed from their conclusion. While extension must come, it will be from this point as a center."³

The existing Bowen Building handsomely defined Schlesinger and Mayer's location and cultivated the popular perception of the store as a landmark on State Street. The firm promoted the emblematic quality of the corner in their advertising through the 1880s. During these early years this literature indicates the attempt to define the store's identity relative to its adjacent competitors. Schlesinger and Mayer were an atypical firm in that they were at first devoted exclusively to retailing. Dry goods houses such as Marshall Field's and department stores like The Fair maintained wholesale divisions of which their retail trade was considered an adjunct or in some cases a subsidiary. The original occupants of the Bowen Block, Clement Morton & Co.,

was exclusively a wholesale firm, manufacturing and storing clothes on the upper floors and displaying their stocks for out-of-town buyers on the street level. Schlesinger and Mayer's appropriation of this space exemplified a relocation of wholesale merchandising away from State Street after recovery from the depression of the 1870s. The construction of Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store on the west side of the Loop in 1886-87 illustrated the tendency toward separation of formerly mixed commercial activities.⁴ By contrast, the Parisian imagery of Boyington's building lent itself well as a symbol for a firm engaged entirely in retailing to female shoppers. Catalogue renderings of the store noted buying offices in New York and Paris by 1887, with additional addresses for the firm in London, Vienna, and Berlin listed by 1889. Thus Schlesinger and Mayer aspired to create a cosmopolitan image to compete with houses like Field's for the best class of trade, distinguishing itself in the public mind from the inclusive variety of department stores at the south end of the street. David Mayer described his ambition in 1891 asserting that, "The house's pride is to have the most extensive exclusive dry goods establishment in the city, and with room ahead we will succeed. We are not branching out into any experimental lines but will carry on a strictly dry goods business."⁵ Yet apart from Schlesinger and Mayer's ambitions to emulate the cachet of a Marshall Field's, their advertising consistently through the 1880s presented the house as a less expensive alternative to Fields. Schlesinger and Mayer did follow

the example of the department stores in their willingness to stress "the power of its low prices" as "the greatness of the house", rather than scrupulous standards of fair dealing that Field's advertised as the foundation of its reputation.⁶ Schlesinger and Mayer's early reliance on exaggerated newspaper announcements also resembled the practice of department stores such as The Fair which pioneered in full page layout and boastful copy. Mayer stressed this facet of the business in 1886, saying that its success to that time was rooted in a continuous advertising campaign through which the store "spared no pains or expense to inform the public of the many advantages they have to offer."⁷ Thus Schlesinger and Mayer tried to attract patronage from both ends of the street, emphasizing their exclusive devotion to retailing imported wares and their simultaneous leadership in popular prices. The store promoted itself with both the pretense of a dry goods house and the populism of a department store, just as its building on State Street stood between Marshall Field's to the north and The Fair to the south. This duality of intentions persisted through the history of the firm's involvement with Sullivan as its architect.

Schlesinger and Mayer's relocation to State Street initiated a series of expansions and renovations of the Bowen Building that continued through the completion of Sullivan's structure. A first remodelling was undertaken in 1881 shortly after acquiring the ground floor. A two bay expansion was designed in 1885 when the firm acquired adjacent frontage at Nos. 133-135 State. A rendering of the store in

the firm's 1889 catalogue shows an extension of Boyinton's elevation two bays south of the original structure (Figure 1). No architect is mentioned in the notices of these first alterations. Yet in 1884 Adler and Sullivan did design a residence for Leopold Schlesinger on southern Michigan Avenue. Schlesinger was also a member of the Standard Club whose building at the southwest corner of Michigan Avenue and 24th Street was designed by Adler and Sullivan in 1887-88. Finally, Schlesinger was for many years involved in charitable activities, among which was his directorship of the Jewish Training School whose building at 554 West 12th Place was also designed by Adler and Sullivan in 1889-90.⁸ These early associations suggest that Schlesinger may have sought Adler's services for architectural remodellings of the store building through the 1880s as the business underwent remarkable growth in its volume of trade.

Early in 1890 Schlesinger and Mayer acquired an additional frontage of four stories south of the Bowen Block and commissioned Adler and Sullivan to design an expansion for their store. Their decision to increase sales space was simultaneous with announcements of large steel frame structures for State Street, such as the Masonic Temple and The Fair buildings. Schlesinger and Mayer, rather than rebuilding anew at that time, chose like Marshall Field's to expand through extending their control over neighboring real estate.⁹ By the summer of 1890 they had acquired adjacent stores at 137-139 State Street whose rental value at \$3000 per front foot made it the most costly real estate

in the city (Figure 2). The store was to grow from five stories of the Bowen Block and four in the newly acquired properties to a uniform height of six stories. A rendering of the projected renovation published in May 1890 shows the original corner dome and mansard roof of the Bowen Block removed, with the design of its lower four floors carried across the face of neighboring fronts down State Street (Figure 3). The fifth and sixth floors continue the character of the Boyington elevation up into the added stories with pairs of arched windows set between pilasters and crowned with a smooth architrave and balustrade. Since the building's foundations could not support added floors of masonry, the fronts of the added upper floors were made of galvanized iron and the whole facade was painted white. As portrayed in the rendering, Adler and Sullivan's design was intended to unify the appearance of the old and new properties to convey their consolidation under Schlesinger and Mayer's ownership. The remodelling of the exterior corresponded to the installation of equipment inside where four passenger elevators were installed and the building's steam plant moved from the basement to convert that level to sales space. The relative openness of the upper added floors was complemented by changes in the rear elevation in order to give light to every part of the building.¹⁰ Only the original building actually received two additional stories in 1890. However, the demand for space was so great as to provoke Schlesinger and Mayer into a second proposal for expansion the following year. In 1891 the

firm acquired control of an additional fifty feet of frontage at 141-143 State Street to extend their total holdings through 190 feet south of Madison. The new properties were to be "incorporated into the white corner", while the whole of the store was to be raised seven stories above the sidewalk, as shown in a rendering published in August 1891 (Figure 4).¹¹ The first phase of this project would be to raise the acquired four story structures at 133-143 State Street, south of the original building, to six stories beginning in May 1892. The whole store would then presumably have been raised to seven floors. The uniformity of the enlarged exterior effectively conveyed Schlesinger and Mayer's dual achievements of sales growth and real estate acquisition. Having successfully amassed nearly 200 feet of Chicago's most valuable frontage, the partners "resolved to change the various facades into one eight story building similar in style to the corner building."¹² The project aspired to transform a facility whose size was not commensurate with the value of its properties for which Schlesinger and Mayer had negotiated high annual rents. By 1890-91, the real estate around the four corners of State and Madison was experiencing a rise in value "so rapid that a new building each year would have been required to keep pace with it."¹³ Hence expansion was "obligatory on owners" in order to derive income from additional sales space to profit from their leasing of its ground area. The uniform continuity of the exterior was complemented inside the store by renovating the main shopping floors along the street and mezzanine levels to

extend the full 190 feet along State Street without a single interior partition wall. The destruction of the old party walls between the acquired adjacent store buildings completed the transformation of the block from a collection of shop fronts to a single commercial institution.

The image of a consolidated facility presented in the projects of 1890-91 eradicated the corner dome and mansard roof of the original Bowen Building. It is almost as if the disappearance of these motifs asserted that the future Schlesinger and Mayer Store could not be adequately contained in the building stock of the post-fire city. Instead the business' transformation into a new kind of merchandising operation necessitated an architectural expression whose central theme was the potential for continuing expansion. Hence the renderings show the distinctive corner absorbed in a sweep of renovated fabric whose uniform bays were girded with horizontal string courses and crowning cornice and balustrade. The drawings suggest a building apparently limitless in its capacity for enlargement along the length of the street. The projects for the renovated Schlesinger and Mayer Store may be compared to contemporary views of Paris' Bon Marché (Figure 5). This archetypal department store promoted its headquarters in the same years with the corners as the perspectival focus for block lengths of uniform frontage extending into the distance along adjacent avenues. Such architectural advertising was a forceful statement of the distinctive size of the department store as a merchandising institution which, in Paris as in Chicago

had grown through absorption of the trade of many smaller shops. In the new order of retailing, the building of these unprecedentedly large establishments appeared to have literally absorbed the piecemeal shopfronts of their diminutive competitors within the repetitive rhythms of their facades. Adler and Sullivan's remodelling of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, however, eliminated Second Empire motifs of the Boyington structure, as if to emphasize the nature of the use type. The stylisms of roofscape in the original building give way in the renovated scheme before a more fundamental idea of style as the expression of expansive continuity. The design in this respect is characteristically the work of Sullivan in Chicago, comparable to the Auditorium Building which had been completed in 1890. In both works historicism of detail recedes before the larger idea of buildings of novel scale and type whose potential as architecture lay in the assertion of these distinguishing qualities. The renovated Schlesinger and Mayer Store and the Auditorium transcend the imagery of French Second Empire and Richardsonian Romanesque to reveal this underlying principle.

The principal feature of the 1891 proposal which was actually built was a new main entrance to the store not at the corner but at the south end of Schlesinger and Mayer's holdings at 143 State Street (Figure 6).¹⁴ This improvement was designed by Adler and Sullivan to compete with recently renovated entrances of neighboring stores such as Marshall Field's. The remodelled ground story featured a

glazed vestibule 40 feet wide and 15-20 feet deep. The six central doors were flanked by 7½ foot plate glass windows and surmounted by 25 foot wide glass transom. The glass was framed in ornamental cast iron, with the interior of the vestibule finished in panelled oak and mosaic floors. The transformation of the entrance was intended as an introduction to the great main sales floor which, with the removal of partition walls, had been "rearranged and thrown into one large store."¹⁵ The entrance served as a novel invitation to passersby, linking display along the sidewalk to the continuation of shopping inside the store. The position of the doorway at the south end of the store's properties may have revealed Schlesinger and Mayer's intention to expand further south down the street. Thus Adler and Sullivan's doorway would have served as the central entrance to a sales floor extending the entire block front from Madison to Monroe.

Schlesinger and Mayer did not initiate further expansion and renovation of their store buildings until 1896, three years after the onset of depression and one year after the dissolution of the firm of Adler and Sullivan in July 1895. When Adler departed from architectural practice at that time, Frank Lloyd Wright recalled the situation in the office as follows:

As a matter of course the clientele had been mostly Adler's as Sullivan now had reason to know. Louis H. Sullivan, Architect, so faced the fact that he must take what was left to him from the Adler connection and start to build a practice for himself. Only one Adler and Sullivan client stayed on with lonely Sullivan: Mayer of

Schlesinger and Mayer. Dave Mayer employed him to design his new retail store building on State Street, Chicago. I remember the master's sense of outrage because Uncle Dan--D.H. Burnham... --by tactics usual to the profession--had tried to take this commission away from him.¹⁶

There is no corroborating evidence that Schlesinger and Mayer intended to erect a new store building as early as 1895, yet other sources do confirm that David Mayer was the pivotal figure who retained Sullivan and worked with him in later projects for the Schlesinger and Mayer store. Mayer's surviving daughter-in-law recalled that it was principally David Mayer "who worked with Louis Sullivan in designing the original (1898-1903) building."¹⁷ An account of the work after its completion in 1904 also noted that the building "was designed and constructed after plans by Louis H. Sullivan who had given the subject the most thorough consideration...The construction of the building had been given the closest attention upon the part of David Mayer of the firm of Schlesinger and Mayer, every detail having been gone into in the most thorough manner."¹⁸

David Mayer was evidently an interesting personality whose complementary facets were reflected in the dual aspirations of his business. On one hand he was consistently perceived as "a shrewd, keen and enterprising business man, thoroughly alive to the demands of the public and always ambitious to serve those who patronized his house."¹⁹ After his departure from the dry goods trade with the dissolution of the Schlesinger and Mayer firm in 1904, Mayer displayed acumen as investor in downtown commercial properties.

Throughout this second career, "his judgement in all his real estate deals has proved very successful and profitable."²⁰ On the other hand Mayer was also perceived as gregarious and cultivated. As early as 1886 he was "popularly known in social as well as commercial circles" and held a membership in the Union League Club.²¹ His wife, Florence Blum Mayer (1872-1934), was educated in France and travelled extensively in Europe. She was a collector of antiques and maintained a strong interest in music. Before 1909 David and Florence Mayer had been the patrons of Mary Gardner, a prominent Chicago singer, financing her musical education in Paris.²² Mayer's distinctions as a personality emerge from comparison with the heads of rival dry goods firms on State Street who, with the exception of Abram Rothschild, were remembered as financially astute but sober in conduct. Their activities outside their trade most often entailed charitable and institutional work, as was the case with Mayer's elder partner, Leopold Schlesinger.

David Mayer's other architectural commissions apart from those relating to his State Street store attest to his interest in profitable investments. In April 1905, less than a year after the completion of Sullivan's building and the dissolution of the firm of Schlesinger and Mayer, David Mayer, in cooperation with his brother Levy, commissioned a series of projects for renovation or new construction of office space.²³ For this work he relied consistently on D. H. Burnham and Company as his architects, who designed for Mayer the Chicago Business College at the southeast

corner of Adams and Wabash Streets in 1910 (Figure 7). Mayer's wide ranging interests led him to become one of the few individuals to commission designs from both Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright. In 1905 Mayer joined with a group of New York and Chicago capitalists in commissioning Wright to prepare a design for a large amusement park sited on acreage just south of the 1893 World's Fair grounds. The unexecuted project called for "the construction of a number of buildings, widening the beach and beautifying the tract with landscape gardens."²⁴ Mayer's partners modeled the program on amusement parks developed near Manhattan during the previous decade.

The minimal simplicity of the Burnham speculative project contrasts with the aesthetic richness with which Wright was to endow an amusement park as a different kind of commercial commission. As Sullivan's client in the 1890s Mayer perhaps conceived of his department store as falling between these extremes as a building type that demanded both economy of planning and a festive appearance. Such a project's commercial success depended on some evocation of public enjoyment as a complement to its maximization of sales space, thus combining the character of the suburban amusement park with that of the downtown office building. This fact may account for Mayer's retention of Sullivan as a designer capable of endowing the Schlesinger and Mayer store with just such a dual quality. By the spring of 1895 Schlesinger and Mayer had expanded to include a wholesale department "devoted to the sale of foreign silks and dress

goods."²⁵ The firm by that time had established buying offices not only in New York and Paris, but in London, Berlin, and Vienna as well. Their business had continued to grow despite a general economic decline, with sales having increased markedly from 1893 to 1895. In May 1895 they proposed "to enlarge their store as rapidly as possible" by appropriating space on the upper floors of added properties from 133 to 143 State Street whose leases to other merchants were about to expire.²⁶ Sullivan may have been retained to oversee the remodelling of these spaces, which would account for Wright's implication that Mayer continued his association with Sullivan through the months before and after Adler's departure. Mayer retained Sullivan as architect for the continuing accommodation of a store which demanded maximum spatial efficiency complemented by a measure of ornamental distinction, just as the business sought both sales volume and prestige as an importing retailer.

In May and June, Schlesinger and Mayer had acquired control of eighty feet of frontage on the west side of Wabash Avenue to the rear of their State Street holdings. The firm's decision to expand to the adjacent north-south street followed similar moves by their competitors, the Mandel Bros. and Marshall Field, in the two blocks immediately north of Schlesinger and Mayer. These firms had looked to Wabash Avenue both as an alternative to lack of space along State Street and in anticipation of the new elevated railroad to be built on Wabash as part of the completion of

the Union Loop in 1897.²⁷ Schlesinger and Mayer's decision to consolidate frontage and build anew on Wabash Avenue signified at the time that thoroughfare's prospects as a rival to State Street. The principal effect of the elevated loop was to create the impression that the shopping district would henceforth be less exclusively concentrated on State Street. Thoroughfares such as Wabash Avenue benefited from these expectations in the rise of their property values. The major State Street department stores contemplated expansion to Wabash as a means of connecting their sales floors with the anticipated crowds of commuting shoppers. In 1896, The Economist anticipated that " the Loop will carry several hundred thousand people a day when all the elevated roads are in full operation, and where people are, there the retailer of dry goods wants to be."²⁸

The high expectations that preceded the coming of a new form of transportation to the shopping district prompted a series of storefront renovations along Wabash Avenue that comprised a rapid development of the location as a whole.²⁹ Sullivan's scheme for improvements to the Schlesinger and Mayer properties of this avenue was closely related to renovations of the lower floors of neighboring commercial buildings around the intersection of Wabash Avenue and Madison Street. In anticipation of a station stop for the coming elevated line, the lower floors of post-fire masonry buildings were being ripped out and entirely remodeled and fitted with a modern iron front and large display windows.³⁰ Sullivan's work thus participated in a surrounding

transformation of an older, now outmoded building stock wherein cast iron and plate glass were recognized as characteristic of commercial modernity. Schlesinger and Mayer first commissioned Sullivan to reconstruct the lower two floors of a four story post fire masonry building at 141-143 Wabash Avenue.³¹ The sidewalk and mezzanine levels were to be "transformed into a very ornate combination of glass and ornamental iron. The entire first and second stories of the front will be removed and replaced with broad, high plate glass windows held in place by an ornamental iron frame. The entrance will be generous so far as width is concerned, and the vestibule will be finished in mosaic and marble."³² This work completed during the summer of 1896 survives today as the only fragment of Sullivan's work for Schlesinger and Mayer that pre-dates the new State Street store of 1898. The design and description follow closely from the 1892 Adler and Sullivan renovation of the store entrance at 143 State Street, where the extent of the glazing served to suggest the opening up of the old building fabric which, together with the dimension of the doorway, invited entrance off the sidewalk. The design when completed was perceived as an elegant novelty in the commercial architecture of the shopping district. The cast iron was painted white in keeping with the image of Schlesinger and Mayer as "the white corner". The Economist noted the suggestive power of the great area of glazing, commenting that " the value of apparent massiveness, the richness of plate glass and white paint are unquestionably emphasized

in this front, and few people pass without noticing it as it is in wide contrast with anything in that immediate vicinity."³³

Sullivan developed an architectural effect derived from the opening up of the traditional commercial street front in his subsequent projects for Schlesinger and Mayer on Wabash Avenue. By July 1896 the store announced their intent to rebuild their entire frontage as a new structure "in stone and steel". The revised project called for a ten story building of steel skeleton and fireproof construction to replace the post-fire four story structure at 141-143 Wabash (Figure 8) with the same design to extend later over the neighboring 40 foot frontage to the south at 145-147 Wabash Avenue. The upper stories contained as broad an expanse of glass as possible for daylight in sales floors whose depth was four times their width. The facing material is not specified in the descriptions, yet from the rendering and from the surviving fragment of the building still standing it appears that the surrounds of the windows would continue the cast iron treatment of the renovated lower floors from sidewalk to cornice. The project was Sullivan's first use of the Chicago window for the upper stories of a commercial building. The relation of this ten story project to the renovation of the first and second floors then under construction suggests that Sullivan extended the show window upward from its conventional role along the sidewalk to become the characteristic element of the whole elevation.

The 1896 project for 141-143 Wabash Avenue is shown in an 1897 advertising rendering as extending eight bays or about 160 feet over additional properties to the south (Figure 9). This illustration shows that the earlier two-bay project was designed with a repeatable bay motif to permit the continuation of the elevation over adjacent properties to be rebuilt at an indefinite time in the future. Both the Wabash and State Street buildings are shown as hypothetically complete and continuous fronts to emphasize the extent of Schlesinger and Mayer's holdings and to suggest their ambitions for ongoing expansion even when the precise extent of their plans was unclear. In this image the horizontal bay proportion and the continuous sill panels of the Wabash front follow the sweep of the train tracks below to suggest that the character of the elevation is associated with the line of the elevated railroad. The rendering also commemorates additions and renovations of the State Street Building designed by Sullivan and completed in 1897.³⁴ Two stories in cast iron were added to the Schlesinger and Mayer Buildings at 137-143 State Street to give the buildings a uniform height of six stories. A later rendering of the renovated building shows an ornamental cast iron fascia along the attic above the sixth story whose motifs recall the decorative patterns on the frames of show windows at the sidewalk. (Figure 10). Sullivan also designed a French cafe for the interior of the new upper floors whose "decorations were most beautiful" but of which no illustrations are known.³⁵ Thus the advertisement presented the refitted

and enlarged State Street store as the completed counterpart of the Wabash Avenue Building whose reconstruction was then anticipated but never realized.

The only additional construction on Wabash Avenue dates from 1897. The main advantage of securing property along Wabash was that the store could be extended through from State Street, making all the departments accessible to passengers from the elevated.³⁶ Schlesinger and Mayer remodelled their floors to accommodate a continuous flow of shoppers from the train platform, including the installation of a connecting bridge between the State Street and Wabash Avenue buildings similar to that erected by Marshall Field' in 1893 (Figure 11). Sullivan also designed a pedestrian bridge linking the elevated station with the second level of Schlesinger and Mayer's newly renovated front at 141-143 Wabash (Figure 12). This connecting bridge was opened in time for the Christmas shopping season of 1897, its girders spanning over the sidewalk from platform to storefront. The bridge featured a glazed passage the spacing of whose mullions became the rhythm of cast iron ornamental motifs above and below the panels of plate glass. The metalwork was painted white with an amber glaze in keeping with the window frames of the renovated store front. The roof of the bridge was a continuous skylight. The contrast of the minimal elegance of glass and mullion with the enframing ornamental surfaces recalls the architectural effect of these materials noted in the description of the rebuilt store front. The cadence of the foliate motifs and panels

of plate glass read as complementary means to celebrate the linkage of a new mode of transportation with a new of commercial front.

Schlesinger and Mayer's program of improvements continued through 1897 with the purchase of an additional thirty feet of frontage at 145 State Street.³⁷ To the five story stone front building they intended to add a sixth floor and remodel the elevation to make it conform to the corner. It is possible that this process of assimilating properties and gradually improving their facilities would have continued for some years had not Schlesinger and Mayer been compelled to compete with their rivals' improvements on State Street. The most provocative of these was Mandel Brothers' acquisition of the neighboring northeast corner of State and Madison Streets and their extensive renovation of the exterior. These moves gave Schlesinger and Mayer's nearest competitors a large amount of favorable advertising. During these years of intense growth, the State Street stores continuing transformation of their physical premises was a well publicized index of their commercial success. The announced changes in architecture served to keep rival houses' activities continually in the public mind, as they sought to emphasize the graphic correspondence between expansion in business and building. Mandel Brothers' success in so promoting their remodelled facility compelled Leopold Schlesinger in April 1898 to rethink the future of his firm. In that month he began to approach his landlord Levi Z. Leiter, to negotiate a long term lease for the stores properties at State and

Madison Streets with the intention of covering the corner with modern buildings, to be financed by Schlesinger and Mayer."³⁸ An executive of Carson-Pirie-Scott wrote that "Schlesinger and Mayer were moved to the necessity of this measure by the very superior advantages as to street frontage and external appearance, which the present changes being made by Mandel Brothers, and Stevens (Store) would give them. S. & M. are thoroughly stirred up by these moves and regard it as a prime necessity to make a corresponding one."³⁹ Schlesinger and Mayer's situation in the spring of 1898 resembled those of its neighbors. The department stores, which usually leased the ground on which their buildings stood, paid exorbitant annual rents which were continually renegotiated upward at the expiration of each short-term lease period. If they chose to rebuild, they incurred the financial burdens of construction at the same time they were forced to negotiate for long term leases whose rental would be based on the anticipated value of the new improvements. A new store building was thus a financial boon to the property owner whose costs were born by his lessees. The decision to build was thus a great risk to firms, yet they were compelled to maintain their competitive position along State Street in terms of the adequacy and attractiveness of their facilities.

This was evidently Schlesinger and Mayer's situation early in 1898. When Mandel Bros. celebrated the opening of their renovated store with illustrated advertisements on Memorial Day in May, Schlesinger and Mayer countered with

the announcement of their plans to build a \$1,000,000 marble building to be designed by Sullivan on the opposite corner.⁴⁰

A rendering and description of the project appeared in the Tribune on the weekend of May 28th-29th before Mandel Bros. opening on Memorial Day of 1898 (Figure 13). As was the custom in Chicago, the text describing the proposed structure was supplied to the newspapers by the architect. Thus the following announcement of Schlesinger and Mayer's project may be understood to express Sullivan's original intention for the building:

Schlesinger and Mayer will erect on the site of their present store a twelve story building of steel construction, with exterior of marble and bronze at a cost estimated at \$1,000,000. The size of the structure cannot be definitely stated; nor the day when work will commence...

Louis H. Sullivan has been selected as the architect. He has planned fronts that are of simple lines, leaving the beauty of the material to show for itself. The design represents the highest and most completely matured architectural thought of the day, in a type of what the modern mercantile structure should be. A union of the strictly utilitarian with the artistic; in short, a distinctively American product, a proper housing of a great enterprise, a blending of the genius of art with the genius of commerce. The two lower stories will consist of two story bay window show-rooms, a grand display of plate glass framed in statuary bronze work of unique and exquisite design, wrought into original elaborations of rare and delicate beauty. From this to the top of the cornice, the fabric will be pure white marble from the Georgia quarries, the same material that has been chosen, with successful results, for the Corcoran Art gallery in Washington and the Rhode Island statehouse at Providence. The material will be treated with a smooth surface, combined with a fine simplicity of line and molding. The main frieze under the solid marble cornice, will receive effective enrichment in flowing lines, accented by high points in the carving. On the Madison street front will be installed a spacious porte cochere and carriage court or rotunda, so arranged that patrons may drive directly to special elevators. All interior

finish will be in bronze and San Domingo mahogany. The store will be equipped with twenty four elevators, and the stairways will be so located as to insure facility and comfort of egress.

The construction will be thoroughly fireproof throughout, with a spacious arrangement of the columns of the interior. The structural frame will be entirely of steel, surmounted by a non-combustible covering, and every appliance known to modern science will be availed of to make the structure safe, sound, and enduring. It will be the effort of Messrs. Schlesinger and Mayer and their architect to make of this building, in every particular of design, arrangement, construction, finish, and equipment, the most complete structure of its class in the world.⁴¹

The rendering accompanying this description is centered on the rounded corner with the State and Madison Street fronts extending eight bays each and the whole structure portrayed as ten stories. On one level the scheme as drawn can be understood as a composite of elements from the pre-existing building and from neighboring works on State Street. The emphasis on the corner as the principal motif of the design and the use of a pure white marble facing both recall the existing Schlesinger and Mayer Store known as "the white corner". The show windows which form the base of the building follow Jenney and Mundie's design for the neighboring Mandel Brothers' Store with two stories of plate glass framed in cast iron projecting as bays onto the sidewalk. The upper elevations have their closest precedents in Holabird and Roche's Venetian, Champlain, and State Safety Buildings, all of which use the linear horizontal proportion of the steel bay as the formal basis for a continuous fenestration of Chicago windows. The porte cochere is a conventional entrance found in neighboring stores, while the

emphasis on such materials as bronze and San Domingo mahogany recalls the metalwork and interiors of the Reliance Building.

There are features of the design, however, that follow more closely from Sullivan's own renovations of the existing State Street Building and his projects for its extension on Wabash Avenue. In the lower stories, the architectural effect derives from the contrast of the enormous sheets of plate glass with their decorative metal frames, the same complementary impression noted in descriptions of Sullivan's remodelling of older fronts on both streets. An analogous effect at the scale of the whole building is evident in the contrast of the smooth unornamented marble of the upper wall set between the foliate embellishment of the base and cornice. Sullivan had similarly reserved ornamental relief for the cast iron show windows at the sidewalk and the surmounting cornice of the existing building. The corner show window derives from a bay window show room projecting from the corner of the existing building, itself a remodelling of the Bowen Block's original corner entrance. The ornamental attic and soffit of the cornice recalls the decorative relief of the cast iron fascia that crowned Sullivan's added fifth and sixth stories of the pre-existing buildings.

The horizontal extendability of the building recalls the continuous horizontal cornice lines of the existing store as indicators of its ongoing expansion over adjacent properties along both streets. At the moment the scheme was announced, Schlesinger and Mayer were continuing negotiations for properties at 52-56 Madison Street east

of their existing building with the intention of eventually acquiring the entire block front on the south side of Madison between State and Wabash Avenue.⁴² The firm continually sought to extend their control over neighboring properties of State Street and Wabash Avenue, "with no indications as to exactly where they (had) placed the limit of their desires."⁴³ The design as published represented the idealized beginnings of a building that in the minds of both owners and architect could be indefinitely extended in either direction from the anchoring rounded corner. The only limiting condition on its size was the city-wide height regulation of a maximum 130 feet above the sidewalk. This legal limit, in force since March 1893, constrained Schlesinger and Mayer later in the year to plan a nine story building even though the original project anticipated twelve floors above grade.⁴⁴ However, later renderings of the project show varying heights and numbers of bays. One implication of such potential for variation was that Sullivan could not use a set of fixed proportions to design the exterior of the building. He instead had to rely on the aesthetic servicability of the steel bay as a repeatable unit whose minimal simplicity facilitated the extension of formal continuity over what was likely to be an ever growing structure.

The building which had set the standard for department store design was Jenney and Mundie's The Fair, began in 1890 and finally completed and formally opened in the fall of 1897. More than any other project of its time, The Fair

was understood to have launched a new era in the history of State Street.⁴⁵ The announced cost, size, and equipment of Schlesinger and Mayer's project were intended to match those of The Fair. The anticipated cost of \$1,000,000 equaled the estimated cost of the completed Fair building, while Schlesinger and Mayer's twelve stories would surpass The Fair's nine to make it the tallest department store on the street and The Fair's rival in terms of total sales space. The twenty four elevators planned for Sullivan's structure would also surpass The Fair's total of seventeen. Finally Schlesinger and Mayer's would have been the only other department store beside The Fair to rebuild entirely and to adopt steel frame fireproof construction. The promotional value of such an ambitious project in itself bolstered Schlesinger and Mayer's position on the street. The scheme provoked neighboring Marshall Field's to announce an extensive renovation two weeks later which would include the dismantling of the store's mansard roof and expansion to eight stories.

However, Schlesinger and Mayer's original design was so extravagant that its announcement met with skepticism in both real estate and construction circles. In consolidating their position in preparation for building, Schlesinger and Mayer's most important step during the year between the announcement of the project in May 1898 and the start of construction in May 1899 was their negotiation with Levi Leiter for a long term lease for the corner property on which the building would stand.⁴⁶ In July 1898 the terms

of their agreement were disclosed to reveal that Schlesinger and Mayer were to pay an annual rent of \$112,000 for plots owned by Leiter and extending 180 feet on State Street by 144 on Madison. The terms of the lease required the completion of a new building to cost at least \$600,000 and to be not less than eight stories tall before 1908. The terms of the lease implied that the total property was worth approximately \$2,135,000, making it the most expensive piece of real estate in Chicago with a rental value unprecedented in the city's history. The successful negotiation of this long term lease convinced many skeptical observers of Schlesinger and Mayer's intention to fulfill their ambitions for the new building.⁴⁷

The disclosure of the proposed extent of the new store also aroused Schlesinger and Mayer's neighbors, control of whose properties would become essential for building. At the time the project was announced Schlesinger and Mayer were negotiating for at least two adjacent properties on State and Madison Streets. Their rival for control of parcels elsewhere on their block was Otto Young (1844-1906), half owner of The Fair and secretary treasurer of its corporation. As a real estate investor Young had assembled the half block of properties that enabled the construction of The Fair. His interest in plots adjacent to and including Schlesinger and Mayer's corner at State and Madison Streets was likely an effort to obstruct a rival store's expansion which would have enabled them to build an equally extensive facility. However, Marshall Field successfully outmaneuvered

Young in buying from Levi Leiter the title to Schlesinger and Mayer's corner property in the summer of 1898.⁴⁸

Leiter, Schlesinger and Mayer's landlord since 1886, had been forced to sell this prime real estate because of his son's disasterous losses on the speculative wheat market. As a prerequisite to the sale, however, Field's encouraged Schlesinger and Mayer's successful negotiation of a long term lease on the property that enabled them to go ahead with their new store building. These events were consistent with Field's policy of encouraging his rivals to maintain locations on State Street to concentrate the city's retailing near his own store for the benefit of its business.⁴⁹ Had Young succeeded in gaining control of Schlesinger and Mayer's properties, their project may never have been realized.

A presentation rendering of Sullivan's original project appeared in the catalogue of the Twelfth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club published in the spring of 1899 (Figure 14). The building in this drawing rises twelve full stories above the sidewalk and extends nine bays to either side of the rounded corner. This image corresponds to the original description in its concern for the rendition of materials over the exterior, from the reflective plate glass and burnished metalwork at the base of the building to the attic frieze of marble with decorative motifs carved over the heads of the columns. The viewpoint of the drawing effectively emphasizes the height of the building, then unprecedented for a State Street store.

The rendering also portrays the rounded corner as a tower whose circular curvature and attenuated attached colonettes are inserted between the rectilinear, horizontally proportioned fenestration of the street elevations. The corner as a memorable vestige of the existing building contrasts with the flanking fronts on State and Madison which exhibit the store's fireproof steel construction as symbol of the structure's up-to-dateness. George Elmslie, Sullivan's principal assistant at the time, recalled that this contrast resulting from the inclusion of the corner was not part of the original design, asserting that:

...he(Elmslie) was responsible for the curved corner at Schlesinger and Mayer's. The building was actually laid out in a perfect rectangle. Elmslie remembered that the earlier Schlesinger and Mayer store on the site had a curved corner and that it looked especially pleasing in some lights of the day. He suggested a curved corner to Sullivan, who approved tentatively and contacted the owner then in New York City who gave Sullivan the go ahead. Elmslie developed the curved front and entrance at State and Madison into what it is today.⁵⁰

Whether or not Elmslie was in fact responsible for the corner, his account does imply the form's problematic relation to Sullivan's original intention for the building. Later revisions of the presentation rendering show different versions of the exterior that suggest the ways in which the designer labored over the relation between the parts of the exterior. A second newspaper illustration of the project appeared in November 1898 wherein the original twelve stories were reduced to nine (Figure 15). The attic frieze was eliminated and the overhanging cornice extended to form

a right angle above the rounded corner. The variant of the scheme thus reasserted what Elmslie recalled to be the original rectangular treatment of the corner, subsuming the anomaly of the corner within an overall rectilinearity established by the lines of the steel frame.

The cornice and corner were altered again in a third variation of the original presentation drawing published in Chicago newspapers in January 1899 in anticipation of the beginning of construction May 1st of that year (Figure 16). This illustration returns a rounded profile to the cornice over the corner, with alternative versions of the uppermost story shown to either side. On the State Street elevation the eave projects directly over a row of Chicago windows on the ninth floor as a continuation of the lower stories. On the Madison Street front the topmost floor displays freestanding columns at each bay with windows recessed to create a depth of overhang and shadow along the top of the building. A final rendering of the project to be built was published in the Architectural Record in April 1899 which showed the building's true dimensions over the properties Schlesinger and Mayer had actually assembled on State and Madison Streets up to that time (Figure 17). The building would cover 140 feet in six bays on Madison and 182 feet in seven bays on State. The crowning ninth floor shows a development of the attic colonnade first visible on the Madison Street facade in the newspaper illustration. The recessed glazing along the topmost story was here carried around both the corner and street fronts, the attenuated

colonettes of the corner extending to the cornice to resemble those atop the flanking elevations. Thus the treatment of the ninth floor as an attic story with free-standing colonnade evidently served as a compositional device to integrate the inserted corner into an originally rectilinear scheme. Such a solution was preferable to the original marble frieze because of its provision for a daylight top story in place of a stone faced attic. The dimension of this attic had provided a classicizing solidity as termination to the elevation. By contrast the colonnade with continuous recessed glazing served as a logical continuation of the relative openness of the wall below.

Over the same period in which compositional devices were being explored for the building's exterior, Schlesinger and Mayer engaged both Sullivan and Adler in complementary capacities to develop their project. In June 1898 they had formally contracted with Sullivan to design and supervise construction of the main State Street building. At the same time Schlesinger and Mayer contracted separately with Dankmar Adler to design the store's power plant to be sited adjacent to Sullivan's building within the Wabash Avenue properties.⁵¹ After the dissolution of his partnership with Sullivan in July 1895, Adler for a short time served as consultant to the Crane Elevator Company in New York. Upon the failure of this arrangement, he had returned to Chicago to practice architecture with his sons early in 1896. From June 1898 through the time of Adler's death in April 1900, different notices about the progress of the Schlesinger and Mayer

project referred to Adler's collaboration with Sullivan. Two announcements listed Sullivan and Adler as associated architects, while another cited Sullivan as architect and Adler as engineer.⁵² The clearest, most complete statement of Sullivan and Adler's relative responsibilities appeared in a press release of July 1898 which stated that "in designing and constructing (the Schlesinger and Mayer) building Louis H. Sullivan and Dankmar Adler will join hands, the former designing and supervising the construction of the main building and Mr. Adler having charge of the immense power plant, its location and arrangement."⁵³ The construction expense account of Schlesinger and Mayer for 1899 building activity before Adler's death in April 1900 lists payments to him as "Mechanical engineer" with Sullivan's payments listed as "Architect fees". No payments were recorded for a structural engineer.⁵⁴ Thus Adler was involved in the development of the project as a technical consultant most probably for the store's power plant and possibly for related systems within the main building, though the precise extent of his contribution beyond these activities remains a mystery.

Sullivan's office prepared an original set of drawings for the Schlesinger and Mayer Building in the fall of 1898. A permit was issued on the basis of these drawings in early November.⁵⁵ The first set of drawings delineates a project for a nine story version of the project shown in the second presentation rendering published in Architectural Record in April 1899. Preparation of working drawings for this version of the project continued through the end of December

1898 to submit the project for contractors' bids during the winter.⁵⁶ The original set of drawings for the building dated November 1898 included 1/8" scale plans for nine floors plus basement and roof, State and Madison Street fronts plus rear elevations, and east-west and north-south sections through the whole building. Detailed drawings at 1/2" included plans, elevations and sections of the show windows at street level and of the attic colonnade and corner, interior stairways and elevator enclosures, and miscellaneous wall sections. Details drawn at 3"=1' include floor sections which show the terra cotta fireproofing for typical steel bays. Finally a set of full size details documents the proposed treatment of marble facing around the windows of the upper floors and at the rounded corner. Neither shop drawings nor full size drawings of architectural ornament for this first project are known, yet the surviving sheets do contain schematic renderings of Sullivan's initial intentions for these forms. No other major project by Sullivan alone or by Adler and Sullivan is as thoroughly documented in architects' drawings. The earliest set of drawings for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store are labelled in the title block with the firm name of "Louis H. Sullivan Architect" and are dated variously in November and December 1898, with the complete set of 1/8" scale plans sections and elevations dated November 13th 1898. None of the drawings includes the name or initials of an individual draftsman as delineator.

The most significant of the plan drawings for the 1898 design was that for the first or street level (Figure 18).

The store's floor area was conceived as undivided loft space whose typical interior structural bay measured 21'11" by 18'7". Such a bay size was typical for State Street department stores, though larger than that of office buildings designed for interior partitions such as the Wainwright whose column spacing along the exterior wall was 16'6". The choice of bay size and proportion in plan helped differentiate the character of the elevations of these two building types.⁵⁷ In the store, banks of passenger and freight elevators were set along the east or alley wall which was glazed between supports. Related special conditions link the store interior with the sidewalk. Entrances along State and Madison Streets were aligned inside with allees between columns to facilitate passage from the sidewalk to the elevators and stairways. Around the perimeter of the building, the entrance and display bays were on city property forward of the column line to engage shoppers' attention. The act of entering was made inseparable from contact with display, with doors positioned between showcases in the inner and outer vestibules. The sidewalk itself was to be paved with prismatic glass to light the basement sales room underneath. The outer structural bay along both streets was 24'6" to accommodate the depth of the display windows and continuous sales counters within. The projecting display windows, described as bay window showrooms, appear in the presentation renderings and in the drawings as an architectural adaptation of the earlier idea of the sidewalk showcase that served to display wares to passersby forward of the shop front. Sullivan's plan

incorporates this principle into the base of the building, making the display and entrance bays part of the permanent structure. According to a city ordinance of December 1898 Schlesinger and Mayer were required to pay a tax of one dollar per annum on each square foot of show window area extending onto municipal property forward of the building line.⁵⁸ This ordinance was one event in the city's ongoing campaign intended to inhibit encroachment of State Street department stores onto the public sidewalk to enhance the promotional value of their frontage. The incremental financial burden of projecting show windows under this city ordinance probably discouraged Sullivan's continuation of this feature on the State Street section of the building redesigned and built in 1902-03.

Sullivan's scheme for the base was apparently modelled on Jenney and Mundie's renovation of the neighboring Mandel Brothers Store. However, the design for Schlesinger and Mayer develops the device of the projecting show window into a two story construction that extends the width of several bays on both the Madison and State Street elevations. The full height of the combined first and second floor bays was 38'6" from the sidewalk to the top of the metalwork, a dimension sufficient to envelop passerby at street level with the impression of a continuous architecture of display. The major show window bay extended 100 feet along the State Street front. The plate glass was framed with such minimal mullions as to appear a continuous reflective surface over this entire dimension, reinforcing the ideal of an

uninterrupted display of merchandise. The renderings and working drawings also show a continuous transom of Luxfer prismatic glass running above the plate glass on the first and second floors.

The entrance vestibules themselves are less than one story tall, their incidental volume completely enveloped by projecting display glazing above and to either side of the doorways. One notable difference between this first scheme and the store as built is the presence of a show window bay turning the corner at the base of the building. (Figure 19). At some point between 1892 and 1898 Schlesinger and Mayer had commissioned Sullivan to replace the original corner entrance to the Bowen Building with a bayed show window framed in ornamental cast iron similar to the design for the remodelled entrance at 143 State Street. This corner show window set beneath the distinctive rounded upper stories had been an emblem of the house. The corner window had drawn the most careful attention from the store's staff of window trimmers, their designs for these particular focal displays cited as outstanding along State Street.⁵⁹ Sullivan commented in 1904 that the common wisdom for the design of department stores called for a corner site to permit display along two street fronts.⁶⁰ Thus the inclusion of an enlarged show window for the corner of Schlesinger and Mayer's underscored the importance of the store's location which enabled the show windows to extend over both faces of the building.

The description of the original project noted that the

metal frames of the show windows were to be of statuary bronze, with this same material used for the window frames of the upper stories. The use of bronze not only alluded to ancient metalwork but also to its revival in contemporary academic architecture. Bronze as the most permanent of metals for architectural hardware suggested the idea of a fireproof building whose exterior was faced with a metal renowned for its resistance to heat and flame.⁶¹ The detailed drawings for the show windows in the 1898 design, however, designate the material as cast iron (Figure 20). This substitute, like the bronze, was to be "of unique and exquisite design, wrought into original elaborations of rare and delicate beauty." Comparison of Sullivan's drawn metalwork to Mundie's ornament for the Mandel Brothers' windows reveals that while Mundie relied on Persian motifs for decorative relief, Sullivan's design eschewed allusion to any historic period of metalwork in favor of forms "unique" and "original". The description suggests that the motifs themselves were to appear drawn forth as "elaborations" of metal members and surfaces. The rendition of this ornament in the working drawings emphasizes its linear efflorescence either as the extension of slender mullions or as compositions spreading over the rectangular panels, whether these were along vertical columns or horizontal lintels. The rendering of this ornamental relief reveals a style of draftsmanship in ink characteristic of George Elmslie who claimed to have done "all the ornamental work" in the building.⁶²

The only surviving drawing for ornament around the show windows that has been attributed to Sullivan's hand is an undated fragment of a pencil study showing motifs for the upper column and crowning lintel above the second story below the projecting metal cornice (Figure 21).⁶³ The area studied in this drawing corresponds to that shown on the working drawings (Figures 19 and 20) on the State Street elevation in the upper portion of the first regular structural bay south of the rounded corner. Comparison of the pencil study and the inked working drawing at 1/2" scale (Figure 20) that shows the same surface area reveals a close correspondence between the motifs shown on the two sheets. The pencil study shows faint center and other drafted lines which evidently served as geometric armature for the graphic construction of the motifs. The motifs themselves are sketched in lightly, with touches of shadow added to indicate their degree of relief. In the lower right corner of the sheet is lettered the word "LUXFER" indicating the position of the prismatic glass transoms above the second story show windows. The style of lettering of this word corresponds to that shown on the inked working drawings. In addition, the outline of the leaf-like forms shown in the ornament and the hatching used to indicate shadow all recall the hand of Elmslie rather than that of Sullivan. The form of the repeated motif along the upper shaft of the column also closely corresponds to later interior ornamental motifs in a third floor sawed wood screen for the ladies restroom known to have been drafted by Elmslie.⁶⁴ This pencil drawing

appears to have been preliminary study on paper for those motifs which were later rendered in ink on the linen working drawings. The area rendered in the pencil study (upper column shaft, column capital, and half of lintel above second story) matches that inked in detail on the working drawing. Comparison of this study with the working drawings suggests that both were the work of Elmslie as draftsman and designer of the motifs shown. However, Elmslie acknowledged that in his own development as an ornamentalist, he was a student of Sullivan's vocabulary. He wrote that Sullivan explained his theory of ornament to him and that he labored a long time to achieve facility in drawing Sullivan's forms and then to compose forms himself. Elmslie wrote that Sullivan "looked over my efforts critically and judiciously and when he saw fresh interpretations and new shapes, he was greatly delighted. I never copied any of his motifs."⁶⁵ Comparison of this account with the 1898 drawings of the Schlesinger and Mayer ornament suggests that the question of attribution was not an issue for Sullivan or Elmslie, even though it has preoccupied later scholars of their work. Rather evidence of Elmslie's hand in works such as Carson-Pirie-Scott may be best understood as the development of an apprentice under the eye of a master who had developed a novel system of expression.

The attention to ornamental enrichment in the drawings attests to the importance both Sullivan as architect and Schlesinger and Mayer as clients attached to the design of the show windows. Their role in the shopping environment of

State Street necessitated their design as distinctive advertising for the store, while their position at street level gave Sullivan an opportunity to exhibit the artistry acknowledged as his personal forte. An announcement of the 1898 project recorded that "it is well known, . . . , that Mr. Sullivan has designed the ornate exteriors of all the Schlesinger and Mayer extensions, and his success in that direction has attracted wide attention."⁶⁶ These remarks echo Sullivan's own emphasis on the decorative richness of the lower stories in his original description of the building. The first renderings and working drawings bespeak enthusiasm for this most visible part of the design as representative the building's claims to being a model of its type. Sullivan's gifts were enlisted to endow the base of show windows with a distinctive presence along State Street in comparison with treatment of the show window in neighboring stores.

The upper exterior of Sullivan's 1898 design may be understood as both a contrast and a sympathetic complement to the lower floors. The upper wall in both the original description and in working drawings is a white marble curtain wall cladding the steel frame and its clay tile fireproofing (Figure 22). The first illustrations of the project echoed Sullivan's description of the fronts of simple lines, leaving the beauty of the material to show for itself. In both the upper and lower stories the principal material is the plate glass whose reflective polished surface is highlighted in the renderings. The marble and bronze serve as foils for the glazing, the traditional opaque materials heightening

by contrast the emphasis on transparency below and openness above. At the same time, the polish of the stone and the luster of the metal resembled the sheen of the glass they enframe. Like bronze marble would suggest resistance to fire, and its disposition along the lines of the steel advertised the fireproof encasing of the structural metal. The choice of marble with bronze, however, also alluded to a classical monumentality. That Sullivan's design shared an affinity for this quality with contemporary academic architecture in the East is suggested in his description of the upper stories. He dictated that "the fabric will be pure white marble from the Georgia quarries, the same material that has been chosen, with successful results, for the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington and the Rhode Island Statehouse at Providence." The choice of this particular stone had been a much discussed question among the New York academic architects who had designed these two civic neoclassical buildings. The original rendering of McKim, Mead and White's project for the Rhode Island capitol shows the importance of this choice of material for the effect of the architecture (Figure 23). Henry Russell Hitchcock noted that "the massing of its series of crisp rectangular blocks made it appear to have been sliced from the stone itself."⁶⁷ The architects had selected this stone over New England marbles because, as Mead recalled, Richard Morris Hunt had recommended that its chemical composition was "almost exactly like that of the famous Grecian marbles."⁶⁸ Similar reverence for Georgia marble, both because of its natural

beauty and its resemblance to the most celebrated stone of antiquity, is evident in Ernest Flagg's handling of the material in his Corcoran Art Gallery (Figure 24).⁶⁹

Published photographs of this building highlighted the courseing scheme developed for this particular marble, whose urbane refinement of surface complemented the bronze doors, window grilles, and statuary.

Sullivan was evidently sensitive to the authoritative elegance of these eastern works and attempted to appropriate this quality for his own commercial architecture. His choice of materials suggests he may have intended to borrow the sensibility but not the conventional forms of classical architecture as a resource to deal with the novelties of construction and use inherent in the problem of a State Street department store. The description and detailed drawings of his proposed use of the white Georgia marble, like his adaptation of bronze below, show how in the original project he subsumed these materials within what he at the time advocated as a nascent discipline of a modern architecture. He wrote that the marble cladding of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store "will be treated with a smooth surface, combined with a fine simplicity of line and molding." The presentation rendering of the original twelve story project highlights the lithic whiteness of the upper wall whose mural character is most apparent in the attic frieze which, recalling the ornamented base, was to "receive effective enrichment in flowing lines, accented by high points in the carving." The working drawings for the later

nine story project show a continuously regular coursing scheme for the marble over the upper exterior. Each horizontal lintel between floors was to be clad in two 1'5½" courses alternating with a narrow 6" course whose extreme horizontal proportion corresponded to that of the individual windows and the ratio of width to height of the building as a whole. The windows themselves were framed with a continuous molding around their reveals. An 1898 drawing of a window on the upper stories shows a design for the outer edge of the frame as a molding whose profile recalls that of a quirk molding (Figure 25). However, the marble in this position in the elevation was not to be carved, and the profile in the drawing was designed to be cut with a stone planing machine. Each curved contour is carefully separated from the next by straight surfaces to accommodate the design of a template of mechanized blades that would shape the edge of each piece of marble. Thus the material and the moldings of the upper wall recall a traditional aesthetic refinement, yet their fabrication was conceived within the parameters of a new way of building.

That Sullivan concerned himself with the expressive character of such details of the Schlesinger and Mayer Building is evident in the profile of these moldings which resemble the studied contours for similar transitions between surfaces throughout the interior woodwork of the building. Elmslie, though he claimed authorship of the ornamental metalwork along the base, did acknowledge that Sullivan "formed the window shapes in the upper stories

which were the characteristic element of the design."⁷⁰
That these windows and their intervening marble surface were considered architectural rather than strictly utilitarian forms is evident from comparison of the west front on State Street with the east alley elevation (Figure 26). Both fronts have the same size and proportion of openings yet the rear wall is faced with enamelled brick while the window fixtures themselves were divided into three stationary lights with three panes each surmounted by pivoted transoms. Only at the corner bay does the marble and bronze facing return from the Madison Street elevation. The window frames, of mahogany and bronze on the street, were on the alley made of wrought iron fitted not with plate but with wire glass as a translucent backdrop to the elevator banks. The test of Sullivan's system of the upper stories came in the topmost floor and at the corner. The combined constraints of the city height regulation and the need for daylight in all available floor space were probably factors in Sullivan's decision to abandon the carved attic frieze of the original project in favor of the crowning colonnade shown in the working drawings and later presentation renderings. A detail drawing of the upper colonnade (Figure 22) showed marble encased columns with carved capital set forward of a continuous line of glazing with three lights per bay. The overhanging soffit of the cornice was also marble panels with carved ornamental relief confined to those areas around the capitals of the columns. The design of the curved corner extends the idea of the freestanding colonnade. Marble

colonettes with Ionic base moldings rose upward from the third story to the cornice with windows recessed at the top floor. The corner windows were single sheets of curved glass whose frames were set tightly against the marble reveal behind the colonettes. The windows were operable on a pivoted sash, the same mechanism used for the central light in each bay of the top floor colonnade. The slender colonettes combined with the pivoted glazing endowed the corner with a lightness and openness in sympathy with the belvedere-like treatment of the upper most floor. These special conditions formed the vertical and horizontal edges of the two street fronts to underscore the openness of the upper wall expressed in an elemental vocabulary of column, cornice, and glass.

The interior of the building as developed through the 1898 working drawings is revealed in the north-south longitudinal section looking east (Figure 27). The street and mezzanine as the primary sales floors had ceiling heights of 18'10" and 14'6". The upper floors had a uniform floor to ceiling height of twelve feet except for the ninth story workroom with 10'6" clearance. The floor construction featured hollow arched tile fireproofing surrounding the steel framing members. Such a system had developed into standard practice in Chicago for commercial building types of the scale of Schlesinger and Mayer (Figure 28). The interior featured no light court such as the glass roofed atria of Marshall Field's and the Masonic Temple. The reason for the minimal vertical dimensions of the floors

and the lack of spatial amenity was probably the value of the land and the compounding constraint of the city height limitation. The architectural treatment of the interior in this early scheme was thus confined to ornamental embellishment of the stairways and elevator enclosures which formed a range of vertical services along the east wall. The enhancement of the novel experience of shopping by elevator was the implicit programmatic criterion behind Sullivan's design for their bronze coated iron grilles (Figure 29). The doorways to the cabs on each floor featured a wreath whose halves joined when the paired doors to the elevators were closed. The emblematic quality of this motif recalls the large scale coats of arms or crests set across the fascia of the canopied entrance to the store on Madison Street. The use of decorative insignia for the house of Schlesinger and Mayer at these two positions inside and outside the store signified an association between the carriage and the elevator as preferred forms of transportation. The appearance of these heraldic motifs may have been the ornamental vestige of the original plan to link the carriage trade with the elevator banks via the installation on the Madison Street front of what was originally described as "a spacious porte cochere and carriage court or rotunda, so arranged that patrons may drive directly to special elevators." The planned installation of twenty-four elevators implied that stairways were intended not so much for climbing as for "facility and comfort of egress". The three east stairways were spaced so as to provide passage in case of fire,

though they were not enclosed as fire stairs. Instead the staircases, though confined in their dimensions to maximize sales space, were fashioned as ornamental objects. The stairways' baluster design in this early scheme duplicated the wreath and grille motifs of the elevators fronts along the same east wall (Figure 30). The open-metalwork on both stairways and elevators was designed to be seen in silhouette against a background of translucent glazing. All the surfaces of the stairways except the treads were also given ornamental relief, including the undersides, to give the metal a decorative quality even when seen from below. The staircase most generous in its width and its ratio of tread to riser occupied the central position along the east wall.

The stairs served as backdrop to the sales space of the first floor. Their enhancement as decorative metalwork made them appear as provincial recollections of the ornate and spatially elegant stairways of Parisian department stores such as those of the Bon Marché which protruded into skylit atria as suspended iron constructions (Figure 31). Such stairways were typical features of the interior architecture of nineteenth century department store, reappearing in more constricted form in American versions of the building type in New York as well as on State Street. The only other suggestion of architecture in the 1898 projects for the Schlesinger and Mayer store was the original description's comment that "all interior finish will be in bronze and San Domingo (Cuba) mahogany." Thus the metalwork of both the stairways and elevators inside the store that appear in the

working drawings similarly have decorative capitals like those shown to be carved in marble on the uppermost colonnade outside. The San Domingo mahogany was also to be used outside for the window fixtures of the upper stories. Thus choice of the same finish materials for the interior and exterior suggest that Sullivan intended the building to have a thematic continuity as a unified work of architecture from the sidewalk to upper floors within. This principle of continuity was developed in later phases of the design.

Construction of the new Schlesinger and Mayer Store was undertaken in stages to permit continuing operation of parts of the old building. The first section was begun on May 1st 1899 with the destruction of an adjacent storefront at Nos. 52-56 East Madison Street whose lease Schlesinger and Mayer had acquired from that date.⁷¹ Sullivan and Adler were noted as architects-in-charge through the awarding of the contracts for this section comprising three bays and planned for an initial height of nine stories in compliance with the city's legal limit. The principal changes in the executed design for this section relative to its projected form in the 1898 drawings were the substitutions on the interior of cast iron for steel columns, and of a white enamelled terra cotta in place of marble on the upper exterior. The entrance canopy for the carriage trade remained at the east end of the facade, perhaps in anticipation of the project's eventual expansion down Madison Street.

The most important limiting condition on the process of construction was the need for rapidity. All decisions

about the sequence of building were subject to the overriding demand for speed in enclosing income generating sales space as quickly as possible to offset the continuing burden of high property rentals. The new skeleton was erected through the ninth story by October 1899, with the interior and exterior finishes rushed to completion for opening on the first Monday in December in time for the peak of the Christmas shopping season (Figure 32).⁷² Throughout the project Sullivan may have sought to develop its aesthetic from the process of construction. He evidently perceived in the demands of rigorous scheduling one determinant of form based on the potential of the machine. The power of this idea is legible in the finished first section, where the pre-fabrication of cast iron and terra cotta surfaces implied repetition and continuity of ornamental patterns. Such economies in the creation of architectural detail Sullivan hoped to develop as resources for the evocation of style from contemporary conditions. The finished front of the Schlesinger and Mayer Building thus in one sense represents his attempt to poeticize emerging tools of the construction industry which had developed to accommodate time pressure generated by the real estate market.

During a later phase of construction in 1903, one account assessed how Sullivan perceived his role in the creation of this particular building as exemplary of his position on the role of the architect in modern practice. Sullivan is credited not only with having designed the building, but also with having:

...devised all the mechanical expedients necessary to accomplish its completion within a given time. He has made his own time table and has lived up to it...

Mr. Sullivan is, above all things an opportunist. He accepts every exigency prescribed by modern commercialism. He solves every problem from the economic's standpoint. He adopts the best materials for his purpose before designing and then bends them to his will. He conceives the building as a whole and the way in which it should be built as essential features to control his final design. He accepts the modern machine, and demonstrates its capacity to assist him in evolving a work of art. He does not despise the task of designing a commercial building, but rejoices in it. Neither does he neglect to use hand work, but encourages it where practicable. He is an artist himself and has a following of skilled artists whom he uses in their proper vocation. In these respects he lives in the twentieth century.⁷³

Within the many facets of this statement, one can sense competing ideas which may reflect alternative conceptions of style. On the one hand, Sullivan portrayed himself to his interviewer as acknowledging and effectively mastering processes of construction dictated by commercial society. He thus implied the possibility and desirability of material conditions aiding in the creation of style. Yet these conditions would shape building only through the agency of the architect as the individual who wills the form of the finished work into being. The architect as "an artist himself" values the impress of his own hand in the work. Sullivan here refers to the ideal of style as expression of a distinct creative personality. He thereby defined his role in the design of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store somewhere within the complementarity of these rational and romantic positions.

There is a congruence between Sullivan's evaluation

of his contribution as architect and the descriptive criticism of the completed first section of building. Just as Sullivan acknowledged the pervasive conditions of modern commercialism, so the three bay front of the Schlesinger and Mayer store was cited as representative of a new commercial architecture emerging within Chicago's shopping district. To contemporary eyes the most striking feature of the building was its very ornate appearance. The front was seen as a distinctive presence on the street relative to older adjacent buildings, the new structure being "immediately recognizable to passersby as the work of Sullivan."⁷⁴ Thus the building itself bespoke its origins in surrounding material conditions and as a work with the stylistic signature of an individual artist/architect.

The surrounds of the show windows on the lower stories were described when completed as "ornamental iron in imitation bronze...of extremely unique design."⁷⁵ The lower floors gave the building an unusually large scale at the street level (Figure 33). One description mistook the base for three stories tall, so sizable did the street and second floors appear relative to the traditional shop fronts along the sidewalk which they replaced.⁷⁶ The impression of large scale in the lower stories was created in part by the size of the principal ornamental motifs. The cartouches along the fascia of the projecting canopy set at the height of the second floor were both over six feet in diameter. These emblematic ornaments, though set within the purview of the pedestrian, were scaled to the size of the building as a

whole, just as the sheets of polished plate glass filled an entire structural bay. The cast iron ornament in the first section contains motifs that do not appear in later sections built adjacent to it. Aside from those forms associated with the special condition of the canopy, the lintel panel above the easternmost bay of the first floor and the fascia of the bay above the second floor are designs unique to this first completed part of the building. The motifs of this first section have a literal quality that derives both from their degree of relief and the explicitly naturalistic representation of leaves, fruits, and other floral and vegetal forms. The chains from which the canopy is suspended were threaded with foliate pieces of cast iron to imitate a floral garland. The base and head of mullions in the second story bay and the projection of the crowning motifs over the profile of the cornice echoed the projection of the window itself from the body of the building. The ornament as a literal elaboration of surface recalls its portrayal in the early presentation renderings as architectural festooning of the show windows. The renderings' emphasis on the reflectivity of the lower floors recurs in the mirror backdrops for the displays within the built show windows at street level. Finally, the original intention to make a base of bronze was recalled in the painting of the cast iron. A base coat of bright vermilion red was overlaid with finished glaze of green whose chroma was recalled by Purcell, at the time Sullivan's assistant, as between those of sap and olive. The green overlay was flecked and burnished to

reveal some red, a treatment which Sullivan likened to the Venetian method of applying gold leaf to bronze. Louis Millet, a decorative artist and mural painter, probably collaborated with Sullivan in developing the scheme of polychromy for the cast iron.⁷⁷ Millet, a longtime friend of Sullivan's, had worked with him in developing the color systems for the surfaces of the Auditorium and Transportation Buildings, among other earlier projects. The iron was thus endowed with a finish whose lustrous translucence recalled the polish of bronzework. At the same time the finish evoked a sense of the metal as living substance analogous to the lifelike motifs of the ornament.

Sullivan's decision to face the upper stories with white enamelled terra cotta in place of Georgia marble may have resulted from a stonecutters' strike in Chicago during the summer of 1898. This event was one of a series of related job actions that culminated in a general strike of the city's building trades in 1900. The specific grievance of the stonecutters was the trend toward substitution of their numbers with mechanized equipment for dressing stone in the yards after its arrival from the quarries. One reason for companies having turned to finishing machines was the competition of the local terra cotta industry.⁷⁸ The lightness and lower cost of clay as a facing material for large commercial buildings such as Schlesinger and Mayer's also followed from Sullivan's use of the material on tall steel structures throughout the 1890s. His intention to use marble was thus an anomaly explicable in terms of that material's association

with the highest class of dry goods stores. In the first section of Schlesinger and Mayer's, the enamelled white terra cotta reproduced the marble coursing scheme shown on the original working drawings. The heights of the courses remained the same, though the width of the individual pieces of terra cotta were reduced to two feet as required to minimize the effects of shrinkage and warping in its manufacture. So effectively did the finish and joining of the clay resemble the marble originally planned that one description of the building in construction compared the terra cotta to stone, stating that the material "had a pure and beautiful appearance as if it were marble."⁷⁹ The special potentiality of the clay was developed by Sullivan through the insertion of ornamental bands above the heads and beneath the sills of the upper windows and within the reveals of their frames (Figure 34). These inventive moldings emphasize the continuity of linear motifs over adjoining pieces, the plasticity of the material highlighted in the unending, intertwined incisions and sculptings of its surface. The inclusion of ornament over the upper stories extended its presence upward from the show windows through the crowning colonnade with its terra cotta capitals and ornamented soffit. Thus the manipulation of the terra cotta lent a thematic unity to the street front from sidewalk to cornice, an intent evident in the original scheme's carved attic frieze as recollection of the ornamented base of bronze.

After completion of the first section on Madison Street in 1899, the project for the new Schlesinger and Mayer Store

lay dormant until the spring of 1902. Until that time the cost of additional construction was evidently prohibitive for the client firm whose total capitalization was estimated at \$1,000,000. The first section at 50-56 Madison Street alone had cost upwards of \$330,000.⁸⁰ As with their 1896-97 plans for frontage on Wabash Avenue, Schlesinger and Mayer as a corporation had only the ability to finance a representative part of much larger scheme. However, early in 1902, Henry Siegel (d.1913) of Siegel, Cooper and Co., began negotiating with Schlesinger and Mayer to acquire partial ownership of their firm. Siegel, one of the most enterprising department store magnates of his time, directed large scale merchandising operations in both Chicago and New York. He began with F.H. Cooper, the firm under their name in Chicago in 1886, developing a retail business similar in character and scale to The Fair, located in Jenney's second Leiter Building at the south end of State Street. In 1896 he established a branch of the Siegel-Cooper firm in Manhattan, erecting the first large steel frame department store in New York on Sixth Avenue between 18th and 19th streets. This store was founded and managed on the model of State Street department stores, intended to appeal to all classes of shoppers with a variety of stocks and services unprecedented on Sixth Avenue or Broadway, Manhattan's two principal shopping streets. In 1901 Siegel also bought the older, more elegant New York house of Simpson, Crawford, and Simpson, and sold his interest in the mammoth Sixth Avenue store, though he retained his interest

in the Chicago branch of the firm.⁸¹ Finally in June 1902 Siegel bought Schlesinger's half interest in Schlesinger and Mayer. Schlesinger retired from the business and the corporation was restructured with David Mayer remaining as president and executive head of the Chicago operations and Siegel as vice president and chief investor. The firm was to continue under the old name of Schlesinger and Mayer, without merger with Siegel-Cooper. The new arrangement increased Schlesinger and Mayer's capitalization to over \$6,500,000. This influx of resources enabled the building projects for both State Street and Wabash Avenue to resume. As principal financier Siegel was ambitious to reorganize Schlesinger and Mayer "along aggressive modern lines",⁸² merging its buying operation in Europe and its general sales strategies with those of Simpson-Crawford-Simpson, which commanded a prestigious corps of buyers on the continent for its New York clientele.

Siegel proclaimed of Schlesinger and Mayer that he and David Mayer intended "to make this house even of a higher grade than it is at present", dealing "only in the medium and the best" grades of merchandise. He stated upon closing the deal that " the present company will be reorganized. New blood, new methods, and new ideas will take the place of the old".⁸³ Siegel announced simultaneously with his acquisition that the existing store buildings on both State and Wabash would be torn down and replaced with a new twelve story structure.⁸⁴ Even before the official change in ownership, Schlesinger and Mayer had pushed ahead with plans to

revive the building campaign, evidently in anticipation of Siegel's capital. In March 1902 the firm had petitioned the city council to permit construction of a twenty story building 280 feet tall at State and Madison. The City Council, which had recently passed an ordinance limiting building height to 260 feet, declined the petition and instead issued a permit for reconstruction not to exceed the height of 260 feet.⁸⁵ No renderings or drawings survive for these schemes, though Sullivan was said to have prepared plans in March 1902 for a much taller building than he had projected in May 1898. Within days after Siegel's official entry into partnership in August 1902, Sullivan's office was at work on drawings for a twelve story building at State and Madison to cover the same ground area as the nine story project of 1898.⁸⁶ The series of drawings generated for this revised scheme through the fall of 1902 focussed on special features to be altered from the 1898 drawings, and no new complete set of working drawings for the 1902 campaign survives.⁸⁷ Thus the sheets detailing the revision and expansion of 1902 show changes based on Siegel's and Mayer's new aspirations for the store as a revitalized enterprise with firmer ties to both New York and Europe.

The single drawing that best documents the remodelled exterior is an elevation of the corner and first three bays of the State Street elevation which would comprise the second section to be built (Figure 35). This elevation shows the same treatment of the upper and lower stories on State Street, confirming the description of the new project

as being "after Mr. Sullivan's style of architecture, conforming to the present nine story building."⁸⁸ The heights of the added tenth and eleventh but not the twelfth stories were reduced relative to that of the floors below, perhaps because of their probable use as work and storage space.

A major change in the roofscape of the building corresponded to its increased size and more exaggerated height. A forty foot tall water tower was added to supply the store's enlarged sprinkler system. An earlier smaller version of a tank housing was included in the east elevation of the 1898 scheme. The size of the revised tower was based on the capacity of the sprinkler system which, according to Sullivan, had become an object of obsession on the part of fire insurance companies that underwrote department stores. The housing as redesigned recalls a miniature version of the Auditorium Tower. The exterior walls of the tower were of white enamelled brick, with splayed corner buttressing. A crowning motif of paired columns in a rectangular frame and surmounting cornice were of ornamental terra cotta. The distension of the body of the building to twelve stories was thus echoed in the proportion of the architectural shell for this novel functional element. Another subtle change in the design because of the increase in height occurred along the colonnade and cornice of the top story. There one of Sullivan's critics reported that "the terminal foliations of the stem-like columns and the cornice detail (were) correspondingly enlarged for their additional distance from normal viewing."⁸⁹ That Sullivan made these changes indicates

that he had conceived of the ornamental crown of the building as an element to be viewed from the sidewalk. This would imply that the ornamental detail over the face of the upper stories was also intended as complement and continuation of the building's decorative base. The adjustment of both the roofscape and the cornice area suggests that Sullivan sought to treat the whole building as an organic form whose continuity of scale corresponded to its plasticity of surface.

The most important change in the design visible in the 1902 elevation is the replacement of the corner show window's projecting bay with a circular corner entrance whose shape corresponds to the tower above and whose ornament continues that of the flanking show windows (Figure 36). The entrance as a special condition within the glass and metal fabric of the base was conceived as a rotunda with a pair of doors set in each of five curved sections around the corner. The arched doorways featured the most exquisite ornamental relief gracing the street level, with each entry crowned by a wreath-like lunette in which was to be set the cast iron monogram of the firm "S&M". The metalwork flanking the doors and in the spandrel of their arches appears as a lattice or trellis work, perhaps as extension of the idea of the base as evocative of living greenery. The lintel panels above the lunettes continue the ornamental pattern of the first floor show windows, while the fascia above the second floor contains forms in relief unique to the corner. Cast iron colonettes terminating in foliate relief at the second floor cornice separate the entrance bays, their attached attenuation

echoing that of the colonettes in terra cotta above. The design of the remodelled corner has been compared to the circular entrances at the corners of the Magasin du Printemps, one of the most prominent Parisian department stores, designed by Paul Sedille beginning in 1882 (Figure 37).⁹⁰ Sedille's entrances turned the corners of the irregular site of Le Printemps formed by the Boulevard Haussman and the Rue de Provence. The corners served as a device to link adjacent elevations of display windows along the sidewalk and to profit from the potential for access at the intersection. Sedille's entrances include four doorways separated by pilasters and surmounted by rondels, the whole first story crowned by a cornice with a high fascia. The Schlesinger and Mayer entrance similarly adopts the general form of a radial sweep of doorways surmounted by lunettes and separated by colonettes. Yet the expressive emphasis in Sullivan's building is a celebration of the lightness and delicacy of cast iron ornament. In contrast, Sedille's entrance adapted a classical vocabulary of lithic forms to make the corner entrance a continuation of the marble facing of the exterior. The corners of Le Printemps may well have been the model for the main entrance to the Schlesinger and Mayer Store. Yet Sullivan's building varied a Parisian precedent through the virtuosity of its metalwork set within a larger design for the exterior that eschews the historicism evident in Sedille's facades. It is possible that Le Printemps appealed as a model for the Schlesinger and Mayer building because of its extension over an entire city

block (Figure 38). Sullivan's clients similarly had sought control over the block bounded by State, Wabash, Madison, and Monroe Streets. They may have anticipated similar corner treatments around the envisioned perimeter of their building as a symbol of their consolidated holdings encompassing more than one intersection. The appeal of an architectural emblem for the corner entrance associated with one of the best known department stores of Paris would certainly have been consistent with Siegel and Mayer's avowed intent of raising the cachet of Schlesinger and Mayer. The remodelled corner would have effectively signified the firm's aspirations to the status of an internationally known dry goods house on a par with Parisian stores.

One impetus for Schlesinger and Mayer's renewal of both its financial position and its store facility was the completion in October 1902 of the first section of Marshall Field's new building (Figure 39).⁹¹ This twelve story structure, designed by Daniel Burnham's office, extended along State Street south from Randolph to connect with the 1878 Singer Building which stood on the northeast corner of Washington Street. The Field block featured a white granite exterior with a rusticated base of three stories within which the lower two framed show windows along the sidewalk. The continuous vertical piers were surmounted by a two story attic featuring a colonnade of attached Ionic orders crowned by a bracketed cornice and parapet wall. The principal feature along the street was a projecting two story entrance portico with four granite monolithic Ionic columns set on

pedestals and capped by a balustrade. This entrance portico led to a spacious vestibule sumptuously finished with mahogany veneer and floors of red marble. From the double height ceiling hung specially designed 1200 pound chandeliers. On the interior a twelve story light court recalled a similar space in the Singer Building. The new atrium with its tiers of colonnaded galleries was roofed with a domed skylight of Tiffany cut glass. The main north-south aisle was planned as an interior street whose generous width was flanked with columns fashioned as fluted Corinthian orders supporting a beamed ceiling. The display cases were of French plate glass with mahogany frame, the corners rounded and the base of coved marble. The elegance of the permanent architecture was enhanced with elaborate interior decorating throughout the sales floors, and special displays in the show windows along the sidewalk. Special ladies' tea, waiting, and rest rooms were also outfitted in the upper floors, on a grander scale than in the old building.

The completion of the north half of Field's new building undoubtedly caused repercussions along State Street. The inclusion of the new entrance and thematically ornamental special interiors in the revised plans for the Schlesinger Mayer building may be attributed to Field's success in defining a new standard for department store architecture in Chicago. The Field building's appointments on the inside were designed in the mode of an elegant residence, beginning with the entrance vestibule graced with mahogany panelling, mosaic floors, and crystal chandeliers. The Field vestibule

may have inspired the development of the corner entrance in the revised plans for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store (Figure 40). Elmslie may have developed the interior, as he claimed responsibility for "the design of the shape and the complete working out of the projecting curved corner." presumably including its vestibule.⁹³ It is possible to attribute the floor and ceiling plans of the 1902 corner entrance to Elmslie on the basis of their drafting style (Figure 41). The plan shows a mosaic floor with intricate and varied borders and motifs in the inner and outer vestibule. The most elaborate pattern was a circular design eight feet in diameter framing the monogram of the house. The ceiling featured curved beams with mahogany veneer composed to emphasize continuity of surface over adjacent pieces rather than book or other symmetrical matchings of the wood grain. The principal architectural objects in the outer vestibule were paired octagonal columns that supported the curved frame of the corner stories above. These columns as restored are notable for the finish of their plaster capitals, painted with a base of orange overlaid with an amber glaze. The lustrous effect of this treatment shows Sullivan's probable intention for the exterior cast iron finish around the show windows, where an olive glaze would originally have overlaid a vermilion base coat. The outer vestibule was fitted with ornamental cast iron bronze-plated grilles for the hot air ducts in the corner piers and semicircular air inlets of the same material and design set between the doors. The use of mosaic, veneers, plaster, and cast metal

within entrance vestibules was conventional for renovated and newly built stores on State Street in the 1890s. Yet the detail of the entrance interiors of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store reveal attitudes toward the expressive possibilities of materials and an explicitly unconventional system of ornament unique to Sullivan. The interiors will be analyzed within later discussion of his individual principles of architecture. The 1902 revision of the Schlesinger and Mayer design also included ladies rest rooms on the third and ninth floors, equipped with adjacent waiting and writing rooms set within the rounded northwest corner. The most important space enhanced in 1902 was a restaurant and tea room occupying the whole of the eighth floor. These interiors will be discussed in detail in the following chapter devoted to an analysis of Sullivan's building as an environment for shopping.

Sullivan commissioned two signed watercolor renderings of the 1902 design for the Schlesinger and Mayer building from Albert Fleury (1848-1924), a Chicago artist who specialized in renditions of the cityscape.⁹⁴ One of these, inscribed with the name of the architect and the date 1902 in the lower left, was chosen for publication in the Inland Architect as the structure was being completed in June 1903 (Figure 42). The viewpoint relinquishes the focus on the corner characteristic of the earlier illustrations of the idealized schemes, content instead to portray the asymmetries of the building as built. The drawing is notable for its depiction of Sullivan's work within the context of State

Street. The building is shown not only to tower to twice the height of its neighbors, but the breadth of its fenestration is emphasized in contrast to the distortedly narrow facades of the adjacent older stores. The view is idealized in the sense of its refusal to portray the building within State Street as a narrow, heavily trafficked thoroughfare. The foreground at the base of the building appears almost more like a curbless, trackless, wireless fairground with pedestrians roaming over the roadway as if it were a plaza. The base of the building is rendered in a soft luxuriant green, the water color making the show windows appear almost overgrown with foliage in contrast to the geometric whiteness of the upper stories. The drawing also shows a continuous bay window along the State Street sidewalk, matching the projecting central bay on the Madison Street front. Sullivan had intended to retain this treatment of the bay from his original scheme, hoping to create "one continuous glass show window extending over 100 feet in length along State Street".⁹⁵

The second undated watercolor chooses a more realistic and severe pedestrians' viewpoint to portray the towering corner whose verticality contrasts with the linear sweep of the main elevation down State Street (Figure 43). The rendering has been retouched to remove the cast iron monogram of S&M from the lunettes above the arched corner doorways, while the American flag above has been replaced with a pennant bearing the name of the store's later owner. Like the published view, this rendering stresses the novel

size of the building and the corresponding scale of the upper story bays, with reflected light emphasizing the slab like profile and overhang of the cornice, its soffit and top floor colonnade. The show window surrounds retain their verdancy, though the State Street bay has been suppressed to show the flattened lower elevation as built. Again the complement to the lush vitality of the ornament along the base are the State Street crowds whose numbers and movement blend with the architecture as if their animation were the source of its enlivened detail.

Construction on the twelve story second and third sections of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store began in October 1902. The second section included the corner and three bays to either side along State and Madison Streets, while the third section included four additional bays down State Street through No. 143. Throughout the final building campaign, the preeminent criteria were rapidity of assembly and minimal disruption of store operations during construction. Thus, to preserve sales space for as much continued use as possible, it was decided to build the new foundations beneath the existing corner store building.⁹⁶ This operation entailed shoring up the old structure on temporary foundations while caissons were excavated sixty to ninety feet below the sidewalk. The use of concrete caissons sunk to bedrock was not unprecedented in Chicago. However, their emplacement beneath an existing building and the speed with which the work was accomplished were without parallel in up to that time.

The complete grid of some fifty nine caissons for the new structure was in place by January 1903. Sullivan wrote an account of the foundation construction for the Engineering Record which was the only published account of the Schlesinger and Mayer Building that he authored under his own name.⁹⁷ His evident pride in this achievement as "unprecedented in the history of Chicago building" suggests the degree to which at that moment in his career Sullivan wished to proclaim his competence as a building architect to counter perhaps his main reputation as an ornamentalist.⁹⁸ The laying of the new foundations was the first major feat of construction which he supervised after the death of Dankmar Adler, who had previously undertaken all such technical challenges for their joint work, including the 1899 section of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store.

Construction on the corner site section began in early January 1903 immediately after the Christmas shopping season. The wrecking of the old corner was advertised as symbolic of the store's commitment to revitalize all facets of business during the process of rebuilding.⁹⁹ The retail operations were then continued in the new 1899 nine story section on Madison Street and the old six story section on State. David Mayer had hoped to begin selling in the lower floors of the corner section as early as May 1st 1903.¹⁰⁰ With this deadline in mind, its construction proceeded at a record pace through the winter and spring. The steel frame of the second section was completed through the twelfth story by the end of March, with the lower cast iron and

upper terra cotta facing by mid April. The demand for rapid assembly had dictated the substitution of cast iron columns in place of steel columns because the latter could not be procured from the rolling mills by the January 1st commencement. Steel girders and floor beams were obtainable by that time.¹⁰¹ The one notable structural condition in the frame of the Schlesinger and Mayer Building occurred at the corner (Figure 44). There a girder of circular curvature above the third floor is supported on three columns. Atop the second floor, however, a mammoth transfer beam shaped as a double cantilever and supported on two columns is inserted to obviate the need for a central column within the corner entrance vestibule below. The sense of the corner as supported on two columns visible inside the vestibule is evident in newspaper illustrations of the completed building. The height and span of the entrance columns not only facilitates movement of shoppers through the doorway but conveys an impression of spatial breadth and generosity in harmony with the upper elevations. The paired columns at the entrance also connoted the width of the aisles inside the store, whose shopping floors were envisioned as "a spaciousness arrangement of columns" (Figure 45). Thus the constructive device of the cantilever at the corner helped to create an initial impression of interior space as freed from the constraints of older building systems that had characterized the old store and its neighbors along State Street.

The destruction of the old third section on State Street, visible in the construction photographs, began in May, with

its steel frame complete by the end of July and enclosed from sidewalk to cornice by late August. The entire effort culminated in the formal grand opening during the week of October 10th 1903 in time for the height of the autumn shopping season.¹⁰² The building's opening coincided with the annual fall opening of State Street stores which in that year was subsumed within a city wide centennial celebration of the first built settlement of Chicago at Fort Dearborn in 1803. Sullivan's newly completed building, both because of its position at the center of the downtown and its participation in a street wide festival of merchandising, appeared as a symbol of a century of growth and building then being commemorated throughout the city. One editorial noted that along State Street as part of the centennial,

In the show windows of commercial palaces there were displayed photographs of the mud holes that were State Street; of the quagmires that were the very landmarks now covered by the noblest specimens of urban architecture of the world. Illustrations of the astonishing growth of some of the big mercantile emporiums showed them outgrowing in a quarter of a century the squalid, two and three story buildings erected since the fire and now actually cramped for spaced in ten story palaces covering acres of the most costly real estate.¹⁰³

In the series of newspaper illustrations announcing the opening of their new store, Schlesinger and Mayer echoed the promotions of the centennial. Sullivan's building was advertised as a showpiece of the fall's opening. The rebuilt corner ostensibly signified the firm's determination to claim a more distinctive position in the life of the city

than their outmoded facility had allowed them to do (Figure 46).¹⁰⁴ The advertising texts claimed that "Phoenix-like, a new building has arisen" which "architecturally...is the best piece of art adapted to business purposes yet produced in the great west." Thus equipped Schlesinger and Mayer could "give to the shopping public that absolute satisfaction that begets confidence" in order to insure their endurance not just as a dry goods house but as "a commercial institution" whose pretensions as a fixture in civic life would aspire to those of Marshall Field's up the street.

Even as the advertising texts and imagery surrounding the October opening stressed the permanence and elegance of the new house of Schlesinger and Mayer, the financial condition of the firm throughout 1903 had steadily worsened to the point of jeopardizing its survival. Since March, even as the new frame was rising, David Mayer had been engaged in intensive negotiation to save his business with new sources of capital and purchasing power. Several related circumstances had combined to compel Mayer to act. The first of these was the cost of the new structure itself which had far overrun even the original extravagant total of \$1,000,000. The total building effort by October 1903 had cost upwards of \$1,650,000 with additional interior work still to be done. The figure struck Mayer's contemporaries as surprising and extraordinary, amounting to the inexplicably high ratio of 31 cents per cubic foot.¹⁰⁵ Combined with the cost of construction was the continuing annual property rental of \$112,000 which, because of the disruption of business during

the rebuilding process, had become an exorbitant burden with temporarily reduced sales. Total losses in sales from January through May of 1903 had approached \$300,000, figures that would only be recovered after six or more months in operation in the new facility.¹⁰⁶ The loss of sales revenues was particularly burdensome because Schlesinger and Mayer, unlike some of its principal competitors, had remained primarily a retail operation dependent on sources of supply outside their nascent wholesaling branch. Their dependence on foreign manufactures and warehouses made quick and profitable turnover of goods more imperative than for a firm like Field's whose wholesale division supplied its State Street store, whose occasional retail losses would be adjusted in house.

Mayer pursued a range of alternatives to try to alleviate his situation. He first sought additional capital and help in managing debts from Henry Siegel and his New York partners. Siegel was at first uncooperative because his earlier 1902 investment had not yet shown dividends and bonds issued to finance construction had yet to be paid interest. Under these circumstances, in March 1903 Mayer approached Carson-Pirie-Scott about the possibility of their merging with Schlesinger and Mayer.¹⁰⁷ Carson's since 1898 had been searching for new and expanded quarters on State Street because their lease to properties in and adjacent to the Reliance Building was soon to expire and would not be renewed. David Mayer thus proposed to Carson-Pirie-Scott that they share Sullivan's building under a new firm name

such as "Carson, Pirie, Mayer and Company".¹⁰⁸ In exchange for a new facility, Carson's would contribute capital in the form of cash to absorb Schlesinger and Mayer's earlier losses. In addition, Mayer would contribute his existing stock to the new enterprise in exchange for purchasing privileges with Carson's wholesale division in order to increase his purchasing power and rebuild a profitable retail operation.¹⁰⁹ Mayer continued to talk with Carson's through the summer of 1903 even after Siegel had sought to accommodate Schlesinger and Mayer's financial difficulty in exchange for Mayer's willingness to risk managing the firm's continuation. Siegel in July 1903 also negotiated separately with Carson's to divest himself of his holdings in Schlesinger and Mayer, offering to guarantee sale of the business and building even if Carson's refused to assume its deficits. Carson's position through the fall of 1903 was that they would buy the business if another real estate financier would purchase the property and the building. In October, Otto Young offered to enter into just such a proposition, stating his willingness to assume the costs of Schlesinger and Mayer's facility which were then being carried at a loss by the contractor, George A Fuller & Co.¹¹⁰

None of these negotiations for the fate of Sullivan's building came to fruition. However, during the same months as he sought new sources of capital and means of financing to sustain his business, David Mayer negotiated for control of properties adjacent to Sullivan's building to facilitate its continuing expansion. The intensity with which he

pursued control of adjoining frontage suggests that he considered its acquisition essential to the survival of the firm. Only through a dramatic increase in floor area could Schlesinger and Mayer generate income to overcome the combined pressures of property rents, building costs, and decline in sales during construction. In June 1903 Mayer had leased thirty feet of additional frontage at 147 State Street.¹¹¹ His intention was evidently to give the firm continuous space from Madison to Monroe Streets. However, Mayer's scheme was blocked by Otto Young who had acquired long term leases to intermediary properties at 149-153 State Street in 1901-02. Mayer negotiated with Young for this frontage, agreeing at one point to pay the exorbitant rent of \$18,000 per front foot. However negotiations between Mayer and Young broke off when an "insurmountable difference" arose between them "regarding the building to be erected on the property." The failure of these negotiations in August 1903 resulted in Mayer and Young each attempting to block the other's amassing of properties around Sullivan's building. Late in August, Mayer acquired control of 155 State Street and of 45-47 Monroe Street abutting Young's frontage on both sides. Young countered by securing a long term lease for the property at the southwest corner of Madison and Wabash Avenues to prevent Schlesinger and Mayer's expansion in that direction. Mayer's failure to acquire continuous frontage on State Street prevented the creation of interconnected store facilities facing on all four surrounding streets, including

Monroe with State, Madison, and Wabash Avenue. Young had evidently been willing to deal with Mayer up to the point where their realty dealings could be highly profitable to him without permitting Schlesinger and Mayer to amass sufficient sales space to threaten Young's own store, The Fair. When his negotiations with Mayer ended in a stalemate, Young approached Carson-Pirie-Scott with the offer to combine to buy out Schlesinger and Mayer's business, with Young to gain control of their new building and its valuable State Street property.

By the fall of 1903 David Mayer had thus been unsuccessful in his gamble to continue operations either through merger with Carson-Pirie-Scott or through expansion of Sullivan's building down State or Madison Streets. Thus late in the winter of 1904 Mayer reversed his strategy and began again to negotiate with Young not for control over adjacent properties but for Young to purchase Sullivan's building and its corner property. However, while Mayer was seeking such an agreement, another party stepped in to combine with Young to buy out both the business and the building of Schlesinger and Mayer. The purchaser, Harry Gordon Selfridge, partner and general manager of Marshall Field's retail division, was one of the most flamboyant and successful figures on State Street. His success in developing Field's over eighteen years had, however, not netted him an equal partnership in that firm and he had ambitions to go into business for himself. When Selfridge heard of Mayer's determination to sell, he went to New York and,

after several weeks' negotiation, arranged to purchase the building, its leaseholds, and the business itself for upwards of \$5,000,000. Sullivan's building from June 1904 was to be known as quarters for H. G. Selfridge and Company, the newly created firm to devote itself to retailing on the model of Marshall Field's.¹¹³ In June, Selfridge, to fulfill a probable prior arrangement with Young, sold to him the building and leaseholds of his firm for \$1,485,000.¹¹⁴ Thus, Selfridge in collusion with Young had accomplished what Carson-Pirie-Scott had hoped to achieve eight months earlier, in successfully buying out Schlesinger and Mayer while turning the financial burden of the building itself over to Young as a real estate financier. Mayer offered only a short statement at the time of Selfridge's purchase, alluding perhaps obliquely to the frustration of his efforts to sustain a future for his firm in the wake of Sullivan's building. At the age of fifty-three, Mayer said that, "I have for some time been considering the matter of retiring from active work. I have been hard at work since 1872 without a rest of any kind. The size of Mr. Selfridge's offer was inviting, and the desire on my part for a long vacation became so keen that my associates and myself finally consented."¹¹⁵

The disappearance of the firm of Schlesinger and Mayer marked the end of Sullivan's architectural control of their building, the completion of whose interiors had continued through the spring of 1904. However Selfridge soon became discouraged over the condition of the business he had inherited. There were indications that he was initially

disappointed with the caliber and morale of Schlesinger and Mayer's personnel and the general state of their operation relative to the standards to which he had been accustomed at Field's. Accordingly late in the summer of 1904 he made his feelings known to John G. Shedd, Director of Field's whole-sale operations, who had independently known of Carson-Pirie-Scott's continuing interest in the fate of the building after Selfridge had outbid them for its occupancy. Shedd, in keeping with Field's longstanding policy of facilitating the concentration of neighboring stores on State Street, acted as mediator to facilitate Selfridge's sale of his business to Carson-Pirie-Scott in August 1904 only months before Carson's was to lose its lease on its existing quarters in the Reliance and adjacent buildings. Selfridge reported that Carson's offered him "a large bonus over and above what I paid for the business about eight weeks ago", and turned over Sullivan's building for new occupancy in time for the fall shopping season of 1904, with Young to continue as Carson's landlord.¹¹⁶

In December 1904 Carson's announced their intention to add a section to Sullivan's structure to extend 104 feet or five bays south along State Street (Figure 47).¹¹⁷ From the beginning it was understood that the addition would conform to Sullivan's design for the earlier section, the fireproof steel frame of twelve stories faced with ornamental iron on the lower stories and white terra cotta above. The architect for the addition was to be D. H. Burnham and Company. Carson's house architect for their store in the Reliance Building. Carson's did however, retain Sullivan as a

consultant for the addition, and Elmslie recalls that Sullivan did approve Burnham's drawings for the State Street addition.¹¹⁸ Though Carson's granted the commission for the addition to Sullivan's ideological and professional rival, they had praised Sullivan's design even as they had seen its completion under the ownership of Schlesinger and Mayer. In a recommendation for Sullivan written in 1906 Carson-Pirie-Scott commended the general style of the building and especially its corner entrance, citing "its excellence as a structure as well as its adaption for retail merchandising."¹¹⁹

Carson-Pirie-Scott's acquisition of Sullivan's building coincided with a general reorganization and upgrading of their retailing operation. The enlargement of their premises enabled expansion of stocks and the creation of additional departments. The ornamentation of Sullivan's structure evidently inspired enhancement of the decor and the goods of the store's principal departments. Thus the selection of fabric, linen, silk, and velvets exhibited in the first opening of the expanded building contained "materials and styles which embody exclusiveness as the keynote of their attractiveness."¹²⁰ An illustrated advertisement for this 1907 opening (Figure 48) shows a graphic border whose imagery of cornucopia and harvest abundance recalls the forms of Sullivan's ornamental surrounds for the exterior windows (Figure 32). The same decorative theme appeared in Schlesinger and Mayer's advertising four years earlier when the building was first opened. Thus Carson's sought to identify their renewal as a merchandiser with the ornate

elegance popularly perceived as the chief characteristic of Sullivan's architecture.

Though the new ownership professed deference to Sullivan's forms not all the details of the corner building were retained in Burnham's addition. On the top story, the colonnade was eliminated in favor of a continuation of the fenestration below to the overhanging cornice. In addition, though the ornamental scheme is continued across the face of the upper and lower stories, the decorative terra cotta reveals of the upper windows were eliminated in favor of smooth recesses to the glazing. The only break in the horizontal rhythms of the elevation was a doubling of the width of the pier separating the original and added sections. However the coursing of the terra cotta in the Sullivan building was continued without a vertical joint over the surface of this pier to preserve the continuity of the elevation. The Burnham addition thus revealed the degree to which Sullivan's design had the potential for continuing expansion inherent in the earliest vision of the project.

The present condition of the Carson-Pirie-Scott Building reveals a series of modifications to the Sullivan-Burnham structure. In 1905 the Public Works Department of the City of Chicago, under prompting from a reform-minded mayor, threatened to dismantle the corner entrance because of its protrusion onto the city sidewalk. This attack on the feature most symbolic of State Street department stores' encroachment onto public space forced Carson's to grant the

city the alternative concession of paying tax on their use of underground space beneath the State and Madison Street sidewalks.¹²¹ Beginning in 1925 Carson's considered an expansion of the building which resulted in the construction of a fifteen story block on the northwest corner of Wabash and Monroe Streets designed by Daniel Burnham's Sons whose elevation followed the scheme of the State Street fronts. In 1935 the present system of air conditioning, escalators, and elevators was installed.¹²² A ten story four bay addition was begun on Monroe Street in 1940 and completed in 1950. Some time before 1960 Carson's completed the removal of the projecting cast iron along the State Street facade and the shifting of the Madison Street canopy one bay to the west of its original corner position. In 1948 the cornice and colonnade atop Sullivan's section was removed in favor of a parapet wall and upper story windows set forward as in the floors below (Figure 49).¹²³ In the early 1960s the enclosure of Sullivan's original stairways was undertaken following a fire, though this change had been contemplated to comply with altered city fire regulations after the Burnham addition was completed in 1905. In 1961 Holabird and Root designed an eight story addition adjacent to Burnham's bays on State Street. This elevation continued a modification of the Sullivan treatment of the upper floors, though the cast iron treatment of the base was abandoned in favor of a glazed display entrance (Figure 50).

Finally in 1979 the exterior was cleaned and the terra cotta repaired with the cast iron base given a fresh red

undercoat showing through a green overlay to approximate Sullivan's original treatment of the metal. The corner vestibule was also remodelled to evoke if not reproduce Sullivan's treatment of surfaces within this most representative interior space.¹²⁴ Thus the present condition of the building contains alterations that both obscure and renew the fabric as it appeared when first completed at the turn of the century.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. Short biographies of Schlesinger and Mayer and an account of the firm's development through the early 1880s appear in A.T. Andreas, History of Chicago. III (1886), 718; Obituaries of Leopold Schlesinger in Chicago Tribune, March 16 1914, 4, and David Mayer in Chicago Tribune, March 16 1920, 17.
2. Andreas, op. cit., 718.
3. Chicago Inter Ocean, February 9, 1980, 10.
4. On the Clement Morton firm see The Land Owner IV (11) November 1872, 187. The rationale for the location and identity of the Field Wholesale Store, see James F. O'Gorman, "The Marshall Field Wholesale Store; Material's Toward a Monograph," J.S.A.H. XXXVII (3), October 1978, 179-195. Early wholesale and retail activity on State Street during the 1870s is discussed in Russell Lewis, "Everything Under One Roof: World's Fairs and Department Stores in Paris and Chicago", Chicago History XII (3), Fall 1983, 38- 39.
5. "Schlesinger and Mayer's Leases", Chicago Tribune July 26, 1891, 10.
6. Newspaper advertisements for Schlesinger and Mayer with thematic emphasis on the store's bargain prices appear in the Chicago (Sunday) Tribune from the mid 1880s. These may be compared with those of Marshal Field & Co. and the Fair for the same years.
7. Andreas, op. cit., 718.
8. On the first remodellings of the store building, see the Chicago Tribune, June 21, 1885, 8 Notice of Adler and Sullivan's commission for the Schlesinger residence in Inland Architect and Builder IV (5), December 1884, 70. The histories of both the Standard Club and Manual Training School are in Hyman L. Meites (Ed.) History of the Jews of Chicago, Chicago, 1924, 116-17, 671-72, 160-62.
9. Announcements of 1890 renovation appeared in Economist III (6), February 8, 1890, 139; Chicago Inter Ocean February 9, 1890, 10; Chicago Tribune March 9, 1890, 28; Economist, March 22, 1890, 348; Building Budget VI, May 1890, VII. For summary of rebuilding campaigns along State Street, see "The Expansion of Retail Houses", Economist V (8) February 21, 1891, 293-94.

10. The issue of adequate light for the store recurs in notice of lighting improvement in the Economist V(8), February 21, 1891, 293-94. The material and color of the added stories are noted in the Economist, August 16, 1890, 258.
11. Chicago Tribune, July 26, 1891, 10; Chicago Inter Ocean, July 26, 1891, 10 August 9, 1891, 10. Cf. A summary of improvements planned in Industrials Chicago I (1891), 230.
12. Industrial Chicago I (1891), 230
13. Chicago Inter Ocean, August 9, 1891, 10.
14. Chicago Tribune, July 1892, 22.
15. Ibid.
16. Frank Lloyd Wright, Genius and the Mobocracy, Second Edition, New York, 1971, 85.
17. Mrs. David Mayer, Jr. to Timothy Samuelson, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., September 7, 1978.
18. Economist XXXI (25), June 18, 1904, 860.
19. Andreas, op. cit., 718.
20. Economist, XLVII , December 28, 1078.
21. Andreas, op. cit., 718.
22. Biographical Files on Florence Blum Mayer (1872-1934) and David Mayer, Jr. (1893-1961), Printed Books Collection, Chicago Historical Society.
23. Notice of David Mayer's embarkation on a second career as real estate developer in Economist XXXIII (13), April 1, 1905, 461. A list of his major holdings and building projects appears in Economist, XLVIII December 28 1912, 1078.
24. On Mayer's amusement park project, see Construction News, XX August 19, 1905, 129. Notice of Construction News, XX July 29, 1905, 82 credits commission to D.H. Burnham & Co., while that of September 30, 1905, name Frank Lloyd Wright as architect.
25. Economist, XIII May 4, 1895, 24.
26. Ibid.
27. Chicago Inter Ocean, May 31, 1896, 20.
28. Economist XV May 30, 1896, 666.

29. Chicago Tribune, June 28, 1896, 39.
30. Economist XVI (12), September 19, 1896, 310.
31. Economist, XV , June 27, 1896, 789.
32. Schlesinger and Mayer's leasing agreements for Wabash Avenue properties were noted in Economist, May 30, 1896 666-67; Chicago Tribune, May 31, 1896; Chicago Inter Ocean, May 31, 1896, 20; Economist, June 27, 1896, 789; Chicago Tribune, June 28, 1896, 39.
33. Chicago Inter Ocean, July 5, 1896, 38; Economist XVII (9), February 27, 1897, 224.
34. Notices of the State Street additions of 1897, in Economist, XVII (11), March 13, 1897, 274; Chicago Inter Ocean, September 5, 1897, 21; Chicago Tribune, September 19, 1897, 34, and "A Big House Still Growing", Economist, September 18, 1897, 319-20, which details the history of the house and its expansions.
35. Economist XVIII , September 18, 1897, 320.
36. Chicago Tribune, June 28, 1896, 39
37. Chicago Tribune, September 19, 1897.
38. Andrew McLeish to S.C. Pirie, April 2, 1898, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
39. Ibid.
40. First announcements of the project appeared in the Chicago Tribune, May 28, 1898; Economist XIX May 28, 1898, 612-613; Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20 An illustration with description appeared in the Chicago Tribune, May 29, 1898, 30.
41. Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20. Tradition in Chicago suggests that Sullivan as architect would supply such a description for publication.
42. Economist XIX May 28, 1898, 612.
43. Ibid., 613.
44. Economist XX November 5, 1898, 538.
45. "The World's Largest Store" Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII (1), January 1 1898, 43.
46. Notice of the terms of the lease appeared in Chicago Tribune. July 14, 1898, 10; Economist XX July 16, 1898 77, and July 23, 1898, 105; Chicago Inter Ocean July 17, 1898.

47. Construction News, July 20, 1898, 51.
48. Chicago Tribune, July 14, 1898, 10.
49. Twyman, op. cit., pp. 84-85.
50. Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago/University of Illinois Microfilm Project, Daily Progress Records and Notes, II, March 31, 1952.
51. Economist XIX June 4, 1898, 644; Chicago Inter Ocean, June 5, 1898, 20.
52. Adler and Sullivan are mentioned as architects at the time of the building permit as noted in Economist XXI November 5, 1898, 538, April 8, 1899, 423. In the description accompanying the Chicago Tribune rendering of January 1, 1899, Sullivan is listed as "Architect" and Adler as "Engineer".
53. Economist, XX July 16, 1898, 78.
54. Real Estate Assets of the Schlesinger and Mayer Corporation 50-56 Madison Street, Construction Account, Memorandum of November 23, 1903, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
55. Economist XX , November 5, 1898, 538.
56. Economist XX , December 31, 1898, 772.
57. The significance of bay size and unit dimensions for the design of tall buildings and its implications for their form are discussed in Dankmar Adler, "The Tall Business Building; Some of its Engineering Problems", Engineering Magazine XII, November 1897, 197-99.
58. City Council of Chicago, Ordinance of December 5, 1898, 1067.
59. Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII (6), February 5, 1898, 37
60. Louis Sullivan to Joel Hurt , Atlanta, Ga., August 30, 1904, Copybook of Business Letters of Louis H. Sullivan April 1, 1903 - January 9, 1905. Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
61. Charles DeKay, "Decorative Work in Iron and Bronze" Architectural Record XV (6), June 1904, 529.
62. George Elmslie to Frank Lloyd Wright, June 12, 1936, J.S.A.H. XX (3), October 1961, 140.
63. Drawing No. 100, Frank Lloyd Wright Collection, Avery Architectural Library, New York, Attribution and catalogue

- description in Paul Sprague, The Drawings of Louis Henry Sullivan, Princeton 1978, Catalogue No. 100, 49.
- 64.
65. George Elmslie to Frank Lloyd Wright, June 1936, J.S.A.H. XX (8), October 1961, 141.
66. Economist XIX , May 28, 1898, 613.
67. Henry Russell Hitchcock and William Seale, Temples of Democracy: The State Capitols of the USA, New York, 1976, 213.
68. Rhode Island Capitol Commission, Minutes, February 15 to June 27 1896, Rhode Island Department of State quoted in Hitchcock and Seale, op. cit., 219.
69. On the Corcoran Art Gallery, See
70. George Elmslie to Frank Lloyd Wright, June 12, 1936 J.S.A.H. XX (3), October 1961, 140.
71. Economist XXI , May 6, 1899, 552.
72. Progress of construction was noted in Economist XXII (), October 7, 1899, 419. Announcements of the opening of the first section appeared in Chicago Tribune, December 4-5, 1899.
73. "The New Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Chicago", Brickbuilder XII (5), May 1903 101.
74. "Architecture in the Shopping District", Inland Architect and News Record XXXIV (6), January 1900, 46-47.
75. Ibid.
76. Economist XXII , October 7, 1899, 419.
77. William Purcell to Richard Nickel, July 10 1961, Richard Nickel Committee Files, Carson-Pirie-Scott Building, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
78. Mention of the stone cutters' strike appears in Brickbuilder VII (6) June 1898, 129. A brief history of the general Chicago building trades strike of 1900 while an account of the stonecutters' grievances is in J.E. George, "Chicago Building Trades Dispute of 1900", Quarterly Journal of Economics, XVI, 348-70.
79. Economist XXII October 7th 1899, 419.
80. Real Estate Assets of the Schlesinger and Mayer Corporation 50-56 Madison Street, Construction Account, Memorandum of November 23, 1903, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.

81. Notice of Siegel's activities and his agreement with Schlesinger and Mayer appear in Economist XXVII (24), June 14, 1902, 763; New York Times, June 14, 1902, 1 Chicago Tribune, June 14, 1902, 1, and August 6 1902, 13; New York Times, August 6, 1902, 2.
82. Chicago Tribune, August 6, 1902, 13.
83. Chicago Tribune, June 14, 1902, 1.
84. Chicago Tribune, August 6, 1902, 13.
85. Economist XXVII (9), March 1, 1902, 264 XXVII (14) April 5, 1902, 435.
86. Economist, XXVIII , August 23, 1902, 249.
87. Prints of Sullivan's working drawings for revisions of 1902-03 survive in the Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago. As of 1979 the original linen drawings from which the Vinci prints were made existed in the office of the Architect, Carson-Pirie-Scott and Company Building, Chicago.
88. Economist XXVIII , August 23, 1902, 249.
89. Lyndon P. Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building" Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 59.
90. The resemblance of Sullivan's entrance to that of Le Printemps was suggested in Narciso Menocal, Architecture as Nature, Madison, Wi., 1981, 69. On the building history of Le Printemps, see Bernard Marrey, Les Grands Magasins, Paris 1979, 97-110
91. On the planning and construction of the Marshall Field retail store 1893-1907 see Twyman, op. cit., 154-59.
92. Description of interior of the new Burnham building appear in Marshall Field & Co., The World's Greatest Merchandisers. Chicago 1907, and Views of the Retail Store of Marshall Field & Co. Chicago, Chicago, 1900 (?), Chicago Historical Society.
93. George Elmslie to Frank Lloyd Wright, June 12, 1936, J.S.A.H. XX (3), October 1961, 140.
94. On Fleury, one exhibition of his oil paintings, water-colors and drawings appeared as "Picturesque Chicago", Art Institute of Chicago, October 1900; Sullivan wrote of his interest in Fleury's work in a letter to Harriet Monroe. December 12, 1909. Louis H. Sullivan, Letters Harriet Monroe, Chicago 1905-18. Burnham Library Art Institute of Chicago.
95. Economist XXVIII , August 23, 1902, 249.

96. "Builders Work Under Shoppers", Chicago Tribune, January 4, 1903, 6.
97. Louis H. Sullivan, "Substructure at the New Schlesinger and Mayer Store Building" Engineering Record XLVII, February 21, 1903, 194-96.
98. Record of contemporary regard of Sullivan as principally an ornamental architect appears in A.W. Barker "Louis H. Sullivan, Thinker and Architect" Architectural Annual 1901, 52. For Sullivan's acknowledgement of and response to this characterization, see Louis H. Sullivan to J.M. Henderson, May 23, 1903, in Copybook of Business Letters of Louis H. Sullivan, April 1903-January 9, 1905, 58-60. Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
99. Chicago Tribune, January 4, 1903, 6.
100. Andrew McLeish to John T. Pirie, March 31, 1903, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
101. "The New Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Chicago", Brickbuilder XII,(5), May 1903 103-104.
102. Accounts of the opening appear in the Chicago Journal, October 12 ,1903, 2; Chicago Record-Herald, October 13, 1903; Chicago Inter Ocean, October 14, 1903, 7.
103. "Chicago's Centennial Guests" Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIII , October 3, 1903, 17.
104. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Tribune October 10, 1903, 5.
105. Andrew McLeish to John T. Pirie, October 22, 1903, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
106. Andrew McLeish to John T. Pirie, March 31, 1903, Pirie-Scott Archives.
107. Ibid.
108. Andrew McLeish to John T. Pirie, April 7, 1903, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
109. Ibid.
110. Andrew McLeish to John T. Pirie, October 14, 1903, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
111. Economist XXIX, (26), June 27, 1903, 856.
112. Chicago Tribune, June 19, 1904, 22

113. Accounts of Selfridge's acquisition of Schlesinger and Mayer appear in Economist XXXI , May 14, 1904; Chicago Tribune, May 15, 1904, 57; Chicago Inter Ocean, May 15, 1904, 5; Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, May 21, 1904, 37; Merchants' Record and Show Window, XIV (6) June 1904, 234-35; Twyman, op. cit.,
114. Chicago Tribune, June 15, 1904, 11; June 19, 1904, 22.
115. Chicago Tribune, May 15, 1904, 57.
116. "Selfridge Sells Out", Economist XXXII (7), August 13, 1904, 212-13; Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIV , August 1904. Memorandum of John G. Shedd on Carson Pirie Scott's purchase of H. G. Selfridge & Co., 1904, Carson Pirie Scott Archives.
117. Economist XXII (27), December 31, 1904, 871 .
118. George G. Elmslie to . Purcell and Elmslie Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
119. Carson-Pirie-Scott and Company, Letter of Recommendation for Mr. Louis H. Sullivan, Sullivan Centennial Exhibition File, Art Institute of Chicago.
120. Chicago Tribune, October 1, 1907, 20
121. Perry R. Duis, "Whose City? Public and Private Places in Nineteenth Century Chicago" Part Two, Chicago History XXII (2), Summer 1983, 11-12. Cf. Correspondence of 1905, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
122. On the 1927 addition see, Carl Condit, The Chicago School of Architecture, Chicago, 1964, Figure 184; Holabird and Roche's Estimates for renovations of 1925 and 1935 are filed under 1-29 South State Street. Building History, Carson-Pirie-Scott Archives.
123. The cornice was reputedly removed because of falling fragments of terra cotta. Henry Russell Hitchcock, Architecture; Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 4th Ed., Harmondsworth, 1977, 349. On the additions on Monroe St. of 1940, 1949-50. See Condit, op. cit. Figure 185. On the Holabird and Roche addition, see Condit, op. cit., 165.
124. John Vinci, "The Carson-Pirie-Scott Building" Chicago History, VIII (2), Summer 1979, 92-97.

CHAPTER IV
THE SCHLESINGER AND MAYER BUILDING AS A
DEPARTMENT STORE OF 1900

The building history of the Schlesinger and Mayer store, understood within the context of the development of State Street, suggests the degree to which its design was informed by its identity as a department store. Though each facet of its architecture may be interpreted in relation to Sullivan's aesthetic and principles, and forms of the completed work followed closely from the nature of the program they were intended to fulfill. The department store as an architectural problem was rooted in its character as a type of commercial institution. The scale and vitality of the department store as a new kind of business was recognized by Sullivan's contemporaries as one of the most representative developments of their era wherein one could discern the distinctive conditions of modernity. One observer of the State Street scene wrote early in 1898 that "one never loses the feeling in walking through a department store that he is in the presence of one of the great achievements of the age...As one of the chief industrial facts of the closing years of the century it commends itself to the careful study of all who would learn something of the tendencies of the times."¹ In its organization and development the department store was a distinctly modern phenomenon, whose methods as

business enterprise were thought to be the forerunner of the economic order of the twentieth century.² The rapidity and visibility of their success as mechanisms for merchandising at first made department stores the object of widespread popular resentment against their power to eliminate smaller competitors and to mistreat their work force.³ Yet their continuous and often burgeoning growth through the turn of the century also attested to their popularity as unprecedented means for retail distribution.

In his social criticism Sullivan demonstrated a penetrating awareness of the failings of commercial culture, within which he repeatedly singled out the department store as representative of the values of a society based on conspicuous consumption.⁴ He was equally vituperative in denouncing trends in architecture, such as Burnham's promotion of an academic classicism, which he understood to be the commercialization of his art.⁵ The stores of State Street from Marshall Field's south to The Fair, epitomized the erroneous cultivation of popular tastes that abetted the misdirection of Chicago art and architecture toward inappropriately imitative tradition.⁶ At the same time, however, both Sullivan and Wright foresaw the ultimate reversal of surrounding trends wherein architecture would appropriate the conditions of their civilization as means for its renewal. They sought to subsume commercial and industrial development within the province of their art, accepting both techniques of production and building programs as resources for the making of a new architecture.⁷ Thus

Sullivan, as architect of the Schlesinger and Mayer store, "accepts every exigency prescribed by modern commercialism" including the modern machine, and demonstrates its capacity to assist him in evolving a work of art."⁸

The first step toward the realization of this vision lay in architecture's ability to re-assert its powers in the design of such distinctively contemporary use types as the office building and the department store. This aspiration underlay Sullivan's essay on "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered". As preface to his discussion of this building type and its appropriate form of expression, Sullivan acknowledged its origins in the "evolution and integration of social conditions" which in all their essentials were basely materialistic. The resulting structure was thus "the joint product of the speculator, the engineer, the builder."⁹ The challenge to architecture was to impart to this crude and stark agglomeration of conditions "the graciousness of those higher forms of sensibility and culture." Within the limitations of a modern building problem, the architect would find the means to evoke "the peaceful evangel of sentiment, of beauty, the cult of a higher life."¹⁰ The fulfillment of this task would begin with the designer's decision to accept the conditions of the problem as the basis of his aesthetic. The hand of the architect would appear in the process at the point where the design began to exhibit "suggestion of a thoroughly sound logical, coherent expression of the conditions".¹¹ Their clear ordering and re-presentation in the form of the building Sullivan conceived

as the first stage in lifting the work out of the mire of its material origins. In this way architecture could appropriate the origins of its tasks in modern society as the basis for its renewal as art within an environment alien to its traditional values. This sense of architecture reviving itself not by denial but through acceptance of its situation in a commercial civilization appeared in Wright's assessment of Sullivan's Wainwright, the prototypical tall office building, as "Architecture living again as such in a new age--the Steel Age--living in the work of the world! The Practical therein achieving expression as Beauty."¹²

Sullivan presented this same ideal in his discussions of the department store as "a differentiation of the commercial problem", akin to yet distinct from the type of the tall office building.¹³ He praised a department store whose form, rather than denying its commercial purpose, would appear as "an unmistakable...index of the business conducted within its walls."¹⁴ A similar sense of the process of commercial activity accepted as a basis for architectural expression underlay Sullivan's earliest description of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as "a type of what the modern mercantile structure should be...a proper housing of a great enterprise, a blending of the genius of art with the genius of commerce."¹⁵ The completed building was "frankly a department store--an establishment where goods of many kinds may be retailed to many people and so displayed over large floor areas, that ease of examination and accessibility

to products may be speedily achieved."¹⁶ Sullivan's rigorously consistent acknowledgement of the conditions that underlay the project was evidently motivated not from the desire to exalt the conditions themselves. Instead adherence to requirements was understood as the means through which architecture could achieve renewed clarity and meaning.

Sullivan's friend John Edelman wrote that in works such as the Wainwright "commercial architecture is revealed ... direct and complete in itself--an embodiment of truth."¹⁷ That a modern building could claim to be such an authoritative statement Sullivan believed would serve to reassert architecture's capacity for authenticity of expression based in material fact. The infusion of purposefulness into the work was accepted as a discipline whose ultimate aim was to achieve significance beyond the material realm. Edelman, like Sullivan, sought that, through acceptance of the functional nature of a building problem as the origin of its existence as a form, "the emotional expression of the whole naturally rises...higher than the commercial ideal."¹⁸

In the design of the Schlesinger and Mayer building, however, Sullivan's aspirations for architecture were enlisted to fulfill the programmatic goals unique to a department store. This architectural problem was distinct from other commercial use types such as the office building because it accommodated a single business organization as either a tenant or owner-occupant. The store as an organization sought to maintain its identity as an institution whose corporate continuity as a large mercantile house

distinguished it from smaller retailers. The importance of a collective or institutional identity for the department store derived from its traditional system of management. The term "department store" signified the origin of a typical firm as a dry goods store whose central line of stock had been ready-made clothing. The increasingly depressed profitability of a single line of goods had inspired a multitude of attempts by stores to branch out into other stocks wherein the opportunity for enlarged sales and increased profit potential of the whole organization seemed greatest. The result of this gradual process was "the great collection of shops gathered together under one roof, conducted as a single organization, and generically known as the "department store".¹⁹

The significance of organization along departmental lines lay in the relative independence of each department, whose individual head was responsible for its profitability in competition with other departments. The intensity of rivalry between branches of the organization often meant that each sought to aggrandize itself at the expense of the other.²⁰ In some instances an individual department rented its floor space from the store's general management and conducted its operation as a kind of franchise for a certain line of goods. In this sense the department store resembled a bazaar wherein relatively separate shops were housed in a common facility within which they competed for a share of trade. From the viewpoint of the store management, in most cases meaning the owner-founder or founding partnership such as that of Schlesinger and Mayer, it was desirable to convey

precisely the opposite impression to the public. Rather than reveal the store to be a nexus of competing factions they sought to promote the full range of departments as a unified shopping facility in which patrons would find uniform policies in effect as to pricing, return or exchange of goods, and customer services. Having evolved as an array of merchandisers operating as a single organization, the advertising texts of a State Street store like Marshall Field's stressed the encompassing principles of its operation as counterweight to the competing diversity of its stocks.²¹

The power of buildings to suggest these values made them important symbols for the firms. The decision to construct a single building to house the operations of a department store signified the overarching organizational unity that distinguished it from smaller retailers along the street. By 1898 only two of State Street's largest retailers, The Fair and Siegel, Cooper & Co., were housed in large modern structures. The others, including both Schlesinger and Mayer and Marshall Field's, were still housed in facilities composed of adjacent older structures.²² While merchandising operations had radically changed in scale and character, the stores accommodated themselves in a building stock based on a pattern of land division developed in an earlier era. Their gradual growth over successive segments of street frontage and continuing programs of remodelling had prevented the stores from capitalizing on either the value of their holdings or the potential volume of trade offered by their

location. Before the rebuilding of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, Sullivan had noted that the "the property was occupied by an old fashioned building, or rather a collection of buildings erected shortly after the fire...Their general construction was essentially of a flimsy nature, they had various widths, depths and floor levels; and the arrangement of columns was such that in the different sections there was no definite alignment."²³ The new building replaced this heterogeneous assemblage with a structure whose stability, uniformity, and modernity were advertised as symbolic of the ambitions of the house.

The building of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as representative of an institution became a central theme of the announcements advertising its opening in 1903. In one rendering the graphic centerpiece is the corner tower (Figure 1). The rebirth of the white corner, which had for so long been the store's architectural emblem on State Street signified the endurance of the business and its revitalization within a facility that both recalled and transformed its predecessor. The drawing shows the rounded corner flanked by the squared edges of the elevations. The attached colonettes and the belvedere-like upper story recall the engaged columns and the ornamented fascia and cornice of the pre-existing building. It is as if the most memorable fragment of the old building had been recreated and slipped between the facades of its successor. The lunettes above the doorways at the base of the corner frame the monogram of the firm. The accompanying text proclaims that "a commercial institution,

to endure, must be rooted in the rock of public confidence. The shores of time are strewn with the wrecks of houses that were raised on the sands of promise without performance." The opening of an elegant and fully fitted new building was the visible sign that throughout the store, "The policy pervading the whole is as broad as the institution is beautiful and complete."²⁴

Fundamental to the State Street department store as a commercial organization was its importance as a center for the distribution of merchandise. Several of the largest retailers, such as Marshall Field's and Carson-Pirie-Scott, had begun as appendages to wholesale businesses headquartered in Chicago which supplied smaller dry goods stores throughout the surrounding midwest. In advertising literature, the alternative to emphasis on the stores as institutions was celebration of the unprecedented variety and volume of the merchandise itself. The State Street stores were in one sense the selling agents for manufacturers of their lines of stock. Their essential strength as retailers was their ability to buy entire outputs of eastern and European fabric mills and clothing makers. By 1900 the largest stores such as Field's had moved beyond their traditional role as distributor to develop their own manufacturing capability with finished goods made to the specification the retail departments.²⁵ The individual departments were managed by the buyers of their stock. A department's success in each season depended on the buyer's acumen in selecting the style and quantity of all its items. His

inspection and sampling of merchandise entailed regular travel to New York where he met with the selling agents of European manufacturers. In many cases the Chicago buyers traveled overseas themselves twice a year to tour factories on the continent or to meet with manufacturers in the store's European buying offices, whose resident staff oversaw the details of shipment after the buyers had made their choices.²⁶ This international apparatus maintained for purchasing the finest available lines of goods was a distinguishing feature of the largest State Street stores like Schlessinger and Mayer.²⁷ The legendary power of the buyers in the business life of the store encouraged advertising departments to stress the special qualities of imported merchandise as a leading index of the prestige of the house.

Their successful buying, which enabled the department stores' amassing of stock for distribution, made State Street the regional headquarters for retailing throughout the midwest. The stores served not only their Chicago clientele as merchandisers, but also served as showcases for fashions, sales techniques, and novel articles for smaller dry goods merchants throughout the surrounding states. These merchants visited Chicago semi-annually to simultaneously inspect the latest trends on State Street and to buy for their own stores in the city's wholesale houses.²⁸ The department stores thus had a pivotal role in the regional as well as the international dry goods trade. Their dual function was representative of the economic life of the city as a whole

as the central market for the agricultural commodities of the midwestern plains and transshipment center for industrial production from the east. The identity of the State Street stores as key participants in the economic life of their times is evident in the advertised descriptions of the completed Schlesinger and Mayer Store. In these texts the building's modernity in terms of structure, equipment, and design was promoted as the equivalent of the store's operation as a showcase for growth and improvement in systems of production and distribution of manufactured goods:

Because we strive for progress, we shall open next Monday a magnificent new building of the most modern construction and equipment. If all were content to do the same old thing in the same way, the world would still be riding in stage coaches, reading by the light of tallow dips, and wearing homespun, but the world must advance. That which was new yesterday is old today, and will be obsolete tomorrow. Each day brings forth something new, something better than the day before could yield, some addition to the joys and comforts of life which needs only to be brought to the user to be enjoyed. To meet this necessity, our new store has been comprehensively planned and constructed to serve as the connecting link between the people of Chicago and the best factories, workshops, and markets of the world.²⁹

Within their campaign to present themselves as amenable environments for shopping, the department stores of State Street stressed their role as institutions central to the collective life of Chicago. Promotional texts implied that the stores were, in one sense, purchasing agents for their shopping clientele, acting as suppliers of the material needs of the metropolis. Thus, an advertisement for Marshall

Field's in 1903 solicited suggestions from its clientele for improvement of its lines and operation, asserting that "this store belongs to the great buying public--it is their downtown home. It is an important factor in the lives of almost every family in and around Chicago."³⁰ The sense of the stores as inclusively democratic institutions enmeshed in the life of the city was understood in 1900 to be a hallmark of American retailing. The department store was thought to represent an advance over the traditional atmosphere of shops in such European centers as London and Vienna which were thought to sustain rigid distinctions between selected patrons and an unwanted public.³¹ Chicago merchandisers proclaimed that their facilities were accessible to all. The delights of wandering through the sales floors of State Street were "free to the public, with no regard to rank or station, the millionaire's wife or the workingman's."³² Within these buildings "each and every feature is entirely and absolutely for the convenience of the shopping public, and as such free to all the people."³³ Though in practice, the best stores such as Schlesinger and Mayer sought to cultivate a particular class of patronage, they consistently adhered in principle to the advertised image of their houses as popular emporia which served to clothe and equip the whole of Chicago's population.³⁴

As showcases for merchandise and centers for its distribution, the State Street department store as a building type was closely related to the exhibition hall or exposition palace. Descriptions of Sullivan's building and its neighbors

through the 1890s reveal their association in contemporary thought with the large temporary shelters for the display of goods from all over the world that had comprised the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.³⁵ The greatest of these had been the Manufacturers' and Liberal Arts Building designed by George B. Post (Figure 2). This structure was conceived as Chicago's answer to the Palais des Machines at the 1889 Paris exposition. The Chicago building was designed for a clear span of 370 or about six feet greater than that of the French structure to set the record for the widest span of roof ever erected. The purpose of the building's 1200 foot long main hall was to provide adequate space for exhibiting a range of manufactured goods from all countries of the world.³⁶ The vast floor area was allocated into sections for neighboring national displays of furniture, decorative objects, and myriad representative products. Each display was framed with elaborate arched entrances along a central alley traversing the length of the hall known as "Columbia Avenue" (Figure 3).

The effect of an array of competing displays within the great open space of the hall was analogous to the floors of a department store whose individual sections of merchandise, each decorated thematically, were arranged throughout the undivided loft space on each floor. The promotion of the sales floors as analogous to the great exposition halls suggested the stores' desire to present themselves as importing retailers offering a wide range of stock. This idea was stressed in description of the completed Schlesinger and

Mayer store, wherein, "most important of all to the shopper, one may wander at will through a permanent international exposition of the earth's choicest products in fabric and handicraft."³⁷ Individual departments used the same implicit comparison to the world's fair to promote the "exposition of Oriental rugs" and "the largest and richest exhibit of model hats and gowns ever assembled in Chicago."³⁸ Like an exposition, the store boasted of the number of visitors to its opening, especially those which had come from a distance beyond Chicago for the event. The opening was extended through a full week to enable as large a proportion as possible of the city's population of 2,000,000 to tour Sullivan's building.

As both an institution and a facility for merchandising, the department store accommodated large numbers of daily shoppers and visitors. In 1904 Marshall Field's, in addition to its own work force of between 8,000 and 10,000 persons, accommodated as many as 250,000 customers per day.³⁹ Assuming a comparable ratio of workers to shoppers in the Schlesinger and Mayer store, Sullivan's building, with about 3,000 employees, may have been planned to serve upwards of 80,000 people daily.⁴⁰ The unprecedented concentration of shoppers which had enabled the growth of the street as a whole demanded that the stores develop their facilities with the daily flow of customers ever in mind. The guidelines for design of department stores in the revised Chicago fire code for commercial buildings of 1905 included specifications for minimum aisle width and numbers of exits that resembled

regulations for theaters.⁴¹ The provisions were designed to insure safe egress for the crowds anticipated within the store at any given time, much like those for a full auditorium. Beyond minimal requirements for safety, it was noted that Sullivan's building, when sold to Harry Gordon Selfridge in 1904, was a model of department store design because the structure was "equipped with every labor and time saving device for handling the State Street crowds."⁴²

Apart from utilitarian demand for adequate space for goods and customers, the Chicago department store, like its counterparts in New York and Europe, aspired to create a distinctive atmosphere to enhance the experience of shopping. While merchandising policy was the central feature of their operations, the great stores competed intensively in their provisions of amenities to foster a stable clientele.⁴³ Benjamin Schlesinger, brother of Leopold and the superintendent of Carson-Pirie-Scott's retail store, observed in 1906 that eight of every ten customers were drawn to his store because of its special conveniences and accommodations.⁴⁴ Typical advertisements stressed the stores as simulating the range of services and special rooms found in a social club with its residential atmosphere. Thus shoppers at Marshall Field's in 1898 were offered,

...the many spacious floors of this great retail store as the "downtown headquarters" for all residents of Chicago and vicinity and for all visitors to the city. The waiting and resting rooms, the tea room, the many correspondence desks, the check room, the hundreds of conveniences-- make this store, to those who know of them, almost as homelike as home itself.⁴⁵

One central fact governing the development of store services, special facilities and decor was that the overwhelming majority of shoppers were women. The common wisdom was that ninety nine of every hundred purchases on State Street were made by ladies.⁴⁶ The great majority of personnel staffing the sales floors were also women. The life of a department store thus resembled, in the words of Boston's Edward A. Filene, "an Adamless Eden."⁴⁷ The imagery of luxury and femininity was a central programmatic issue for their architecture. The model department store on State Street in 1898 was thought to be "a palace with every convenience and beauty that money can provide...Being to so large an extent patronized by women, (the modern merchant) takes this into account, and surrounds the shoppers with an atmosphere of elegance and refinement, and provides every convenience for a woman's comfort and pleasure."⁴⁸ Sullivan evidently incorporated this ideal in the design of the Schlesinger and Mayer store. The large percentage of women among its clientele was understood to be a functional criterion that was to be unmistakably expressed in the form of the building. The department store as a use type thus contrasted with the office building, such as the earlier Guaranty, in which "the essential element is masculinity". Thus Sullivan's colleague, Lyndon Smith, asserted that the Buffalo building as a type was "dominated by men and devoted to the transaction of their business...--the elements of activity, ambition and directness of purpose, are all shown thereby in the architectural forms."⁴⁹ By contrast the

treatment of ornamental detail in the Schlesinger and Mayer store was thought to be "essentially appealing in its quality to femininity. It is sensitive to a high degree, delicately pleasing to the sympathetic eye and with fine feeling and movement permeating its most incidental ramifications."⁵⁰ The equation of the store's new architecture with a feminine clientele appears in another advertisement for the 1903 opening whose graphic design pairs a typical matronly shopper in the upper left with a perspective of the building in the lower right (Figure 4). These images are linked with a branch of oak leaves, the same motif whose rendering in the actual ornament of the building was designed according to contemporary views, as an attraction to feminine eyes.

The institutional, functional, and expressive nature of the department store as a characteristically modern type thus constituted an architectural problem for Sullivan comparable in its significance and complexity to the tall office building. To understand the Schlesinger and Mayer Store it is helpful to examine the full range of its features in comparison with contemporary designs for department stores within and beyond Chicago. Among the most characteristic features of the department store as an architectural type at the turn of the century was the show window. The display window set within the street front of smaller retail stores had been a familiar element of commercial architecture in early 19th century London and Paris.⁵¹ These windows were confined to the width of the traditional shop along the

sidewalk and within the wall plane of the shop building (Figure 5). The window area itself was often framed in decorative iron, though the size and expense of panes of plate glass had limited the development of the show windows.⁵² In the United States the device developed in conjunction with Manhattan's earliest department stores on lower Broadway. Of these, A.T. Stewart's, built in 1846, apparently established the convention of large sheets of imported plate glass set between columnar supports across the length of the store front at the sidewalk (Figure 6). This tradition of show window design was imported by Potter Palmer to his Lake Street store in the 1850s,⁵³ and extended to the Marshall Field Store and other commercial fronts on State Street built just prior to and after the great fire of 1871.

The show window developed as a prominent and artistic feature of New York department stores after the Civil War. In this period the art of window trimming, or the design of decorative displays within the windows, and the construction of continuous, projecting show window bays along the base of store buildings became characteristic of emporia along lower Broadway.⁵⁴ Among the first stores in Manhattan to develop display windows as a distinctive means of advertising its variety of merchandise was R. H. Macy's.⁵⁵ Macy's annual Christmas window displays of dolls and mechanical toys along its Sixth Avenue front, became popular downtown attractions. Such windows were featured in views of Manhattan street life in the city's illustrated newspapers (Figure 7). Chicago stores were undoubtedly familiar with the later development

of the show window in Manhattan as represented by Macy's. It is plausible to assume that both New York and Chicago merchants knew of the role of the show window in department stores of Second Empire Paris (Figure 8).⁵⁶ Both the entresol introduced to Chicago with the rebuilding of the Palmer House in 1871 and the use of bays within two story show windows in the Mandel Brothers' renovation of 1897, on which Sullivan's design was based, had their origins in the commercial architecture of Paris.⁵⁷ Sullivan, like his contemporaries, regarded Paris as the model of an ordered and enhanced urban environment, as well as the home of the department store as an architectural type and window shopping as a cosmopolitan activity.⁵⁸ However, by the 1890s the number and the concentration of large department stores on State Street was a phenomenon of commercial urbanism without parallel in the western world. In this environment, the show window as both a merchandising device and a form of decorative art, underwent intensive development as a characteristic feature of the commercial architecture of that time and place. The use and meaning of the show window in Sullivan's building are here understood within the context of the Chicago stores of 1900, though they may be compared with the development of the show window elsewhere.

Department stores considered the show window as a chief means of advertising. The direct display of carefully and attractively arranged merchandise along the sidewalk was developed as a primary method of drawing shoppers into the store. As a medium for advertising, the show window displays

were closely related to the stores' illustrated newspaper advertisements.⁵⁹ The full page, persuasively written, and graphically effective advertising copy supplied by the State Street stores to Chicago's dailies were a first means of reaching the shopping public throughout a metropolitan area. Chicagoans bought a range of newspapers and stores' advertising managers were careful to supply different information to different papers, seeking through each to reach a different class of clientele. The best stores competed primarily for the trade of upper middle class women who lived along "the avenues", the elegant residential streets that extended north and south from the Loop area.⁶⁰ The stores' assumed that such women and other commuting clientele became familiar with their lines of goods in each department through daily perusal of the newspapers. This initial invitation was intended to draw shoppers downtown, where they arrived at State Street either by carriage or train. Given the proximity of the major stores, all of whom placed comparable advertising in the newspapers, a shopper's decision to enter a particular house would be based on the show window displays' confirmation and enhancement of her expectations based on her memory of the newspaper illustrations and descriptions of goods. Thus the resemblance between the layout of the graphic advertisement and the arrangement of the displays within the windows was conceived as an important step in establishing a store's daily credibility. The turn of the century store manager was thus instructed to "strive to make his window displays accord with, or even

excel his newspaper descriptions of the goods he has upon his shelves."⁶¹ The window displays would carry out this policy of the store "by thus confirming the statements in the newspaper and furnishing a panoramic view of goods for sale within the store announced in the advertisements."⁶² Poster size reproductions of the newspaper advertisements are often placed in the windows, with their illustrations set next to the real articles. The displays were also changed several times per week to synchronize with daily change in the advertising copy.⁶³

The show windows' purpose as advertising allowed their architectural frames in Sullivan's design for the Schlesinger and Mayer store to become incorporated into the graphic design of newspaper advertisements. The ornamental surrounds for the great sheets of plate glass on State Street were easily adapted as the masthead and border for full page advertisements of the opening of the store. The interplay between the architecture and advertising graphics helped cultivate readers' image of the store in the printed medium in anticipation of the experience of the building itself along the sidewalk. Sullivan's style of architectural ornament, whose intricate repeated motifs conformed to lines of the window frames, lent itself to adaptation as a graphic border. In one full page advertisement for the store's opening, the upper border is a representation of the ornamental frieze which runs continuously over the second story show windows along State and Madison Streets (Figure 9).⁶⁴ In the upper center of the sheet is drawn the round

corner entrance to the store whose circular frieze is extended to either side. At the left and right edges of the page are vertical motifs which resemble the colonette-like mullions set between the upper level show windows. This representation of related elements of the building at different scales along the top of the sheet serves to frame and introduce the descriptions and illustrations of goods that continue down the page. In the real building, these goods would be displayed within the frame of the show window as an introduction to their availability inside the store. Thus the graphic representation of display window and entrance served as a kind of masthead for a text discussing goods found within, the order of these ideas on the sheet from top to bottom analogous to shoppers' experience of the building from the outside in. In both graphics and building, the introductory medium to the merchandise itself was the show window.

The pivotal role of the show window in the process of drawing customers into the stores lent importance to the development of their decorative trimming. The decorative art of the displays was the province of the window trimmer, a full time designer and manager of the rotating arrangements of merchandise in all the sidewalk windows of the large department store. The occupation of window trimming developed into one of the more highly regarded and artistic specialties of a store management, on a par with the advertising manager.⁶⁵ The simultaneous development of this novel field in Chicago and New York led to the founding of a trade organization,

The National Association of Window Trimmers of America, in 1898. In 1897, Baum had begun publication of a trade journal, The Show Window. The National Association also began a series of annual conventions, designed to promote the trimmers' line of work as a newly established profession.⁶⁶ The Chicago trimmers of the State Street department stores were evidently the moving force behind the Association, as the journal editorial offices in Chicago closely followed local developments. The Association held its 1899 convention in Chicago whose central event was a walking tour of the show windows on State Street, where many special displays were made by local trimmers for the occasion. The visitors' consensus following the inspection was that "Chicago led the world in originality of window display, as well as in the number of large and well arranged windows."⁶⁷ By contrast, The Show Window noted that New York, as the leading eastern metropolis, "has as a rule the poorest and most provincial show windows of any large city in America."⁶⁸

The trimmers took extraordinary pride in their work as a form of decorative art and competed intensely in the design of effective and elaborate displays. The chief criterion for a trimmer's success was the degree to which his designs would first attract the attention of passersby and then create a clear and enhanced image of the goods themselves. They conceived of their mission as professionals to create "store front advertising" which "bends the efforts of the artist to arranging each article or piece of goods in the fashion which presents it in the most readable manner

conducive to creating desire and inducing a buyer."⁶⁹ The aesthetic content of the displays was aimed particularly at women shoppers, who were thought to shop from window to window along State Street responding to the most appealing displays.⁷⁰ The window trimmers essential task was to attract attention. One measure of a trimmer's success was the size of the crowds which formed in front of his windows when new displays were periodically unveiled for inspection. The designs had to contain unusual and distinctive features to catch the eye and arrest the attention of busy people as they hurried along the street.⁷¹ When shoppers' interest was aroused to the degree where they would stop and gaze, only then would they notice the excellence of the goods and desire to purchase them. For this purpose State Street stores employed window gazers, or attractive, well dressed men and women whose role was to stroll along the street and appear to stop and window shop in front of their employers' windows. Their fixed stare and pretense of enrapt attention would attract a crowd of other passersby who would also stop to study the same displays.⁷²

The firm which consistently set the standard for the window dresser's art on State Street was, predictably, Marshall Field's. Though rival stores often mounted equally effective displays, the Field's windows were considered models of elegance. Field's head trimmer, Arthur V. Fraser, was a leading national figure in his field until his retirement in the 1920s, whose designs were frequently published in the trade literature around the turn of the century as examples of

standard practice.⁷³ One of Fraser's windows displaying women's formal evening wear, photographed in 1903, shows a background of mirrored panels (Figure 10). The frames of these panels were draped with white fabric, pleated vertically and pinned taut. This background was festooned with artificial blossoms threaded on ribbon bedecking the panels. To add interest in the foreground a crystal candelabra was set on an onyx table draped with lace, and a papier mache panelled screen with a carved gold frame was painted with an idyllic landscape in the court style of Louis XIV. The garments were lit from above after closing hours to form an attractive nighttime display in sequence with adjacent windows along the store's State Street front. Thus the background and foreground objects, combined with the lighting scheme, created a picture whose focal highlight were the gowns themselves. The attractiveness of a display depended on the artistry of its background. Within the depth of the show window the trimmer was charged with the creation of a scenic world in which elaborate, decorative backdrops extending the width and height of the window area framed an array of mannequins or smaller surfaces on which the goods were arranged in the foreground. The background display, legible within the window at the scale of the street, was the visual introduction to the apparel or other goods positioned for intimate inspection just inside the glass. The art of the trimmer lay in his ability to achieve this complementarity of effect whereby the virtuosity of the background would visually and thematically enhance but not overwhelm the

delicate immediacy of the merchandise itself. Among devices which trimmers habitually used to achieve a balance between the display of the merchandise and the decoration of the whole window were curved forms of either background or drapery. These lines of the temporary trimming were always arranged "in studied sweep of some dominant curve schemed to relieve the rectangle unavoidably made by a window frame of the Western type."⁷⁴ Among the styles of decoration used to achieve this effect were graphic backgrounds composed of motifs from the French Art Nouveau. Stylisms of contemporary European decorative art appeared on State Street in the windows of Marshall Field's. In one Field's window of the fall season of 1904, Fraser used scrolls of sawed wood set against white crepe (Figure 11). The graphic effect of the curvilinear silhouettes framed a display of decorative blouses and shirtwaists. Field's was undoubtedly familiar with current fashion in Parisian decorative art and adapted variations of the forms of Art Nouveau as emblems of the store's link to continental modes. Fraser's displays as examples of curvilinear backgrounds set as foils within the rectangular frame of the show window may also be compared with the permanent ornament of Sullivan's building. Its curvilinear relief similarly served as a visual complement to the rectilinear sheen of the glass show windows themselves, the architecture borrowing its attitudes from the prevailing imagery of temporary window displays.

The use of artificial and natural foliage was a convention of window trimming. Floral embellishment as a tradition in

display was related to the imagery of fashion. Women's styles at the turn of the century featured intricate decorative patterns of imported laces derived from floral forms, while trim on dresses and hats consisted of arrays of flowers and blossoms. The popularity of floral decoration made from crepe, papier mache, silk, linen, and ribbon developed as an extension of its use within the garments themselves, with both the display and the apparel intended to appeal to ladies.⁷⁵ Window trimmers' decoration of many kinds of stock almost always included backgrounds of vines, leaves, wreathes, garlands, boughs, whole plants, or flowers such as roses, irises, and carnations. Companies that surveyed European show windows dealt exclusively in the supply of artificial foliage for adaptation of continental modes of trimming to State Street stores.⁷⁶ Window trimmers advised that when the budget was limited, they might go out into the woods surrounding their towns during autumn to gather colorful clusters of leaves as decorative material for their show windows.⁷⁷ The simple appeal of foliage as ornamentation developed in the hands of the trimmer into highly formal, stylized backgrounds consisting of hundreds of artificial, handmade blossoms that gave a floral texture to the entire window scene (Figure 12).

The omnipresence of foliage as a decorative theme in window trimming was partially based on the seasonal nature of shopping. Variation of displays was coordinated with the rotation of stocks through the course of the year. The most elaborate displays were prepared for the stores' semi-annual

openings in early fall for the Christmas shopping season and in spring prior to the Easter holidays. The seasonal cycle of retail trade in Chicago was in turn rooted in that of the regional economy of the midwest. The fall openings of the major State Street stores coincided with the influx of dry goods merchants who came from surrounding states to buy from the city's wholesalers. The buyers came in fall after the harvest season on the prairies, planning to select a stock of the season's latest fashions and ship the goods to their local stores in time to meet the farming community's appetite for dry goods after their harvest had been sent to market. An abundant harvest meant that the dry goods trade throughout the midwest would prosper, thus implying a more successful year for Chicago's wholesalers and retailers.⁷⁸ This relationship was the theme of a cover design commissioned by Carson-Pirie-Scott for the Chicago Dry Goods Reporter in 1898 (Figure 13).⁷⁹ The cover featured an image of Ceres, the classical goddess of the harvest and symbol of agricultural abundance. In her right hand Ceres holds sheaves of rye and wheat, the two principal grains of the prairies, while her left holds a horn of plenty from which she scatters gold and silver coins over representations of the retail trade in the lower left and the wholesale trade in the lower right. The image of Ceres also appeared in a newspaper advertisement for the opening of the Schlesinger and Mayer store (Figure 14). The goddess stands atop a pedestal in the upper left of the page holding the literal fruits of the harvest in her apron, suggesting that the store building

in the lower right was similarly stocked to overflowing with an abundance of goods. The store's buying program was comparable to planting, with merchandisers reaping a harvest of sales like the maturation of a prosperous crop. One of the more dramatic decorations developed around this theme was a giant cornucopia made of artificial blossoms of fabric and hung in the central court of the old Marshall Field's store (Figure 15). At the base of the horn of plenty was a circular bed of flowers representing an abundance flowing from its mouth. The State Street stores thus appropriated the imagery of the bounties of nature as metaphor for the fullness of their stocks, their commercial success going hand in hand with agricultural prosperity.

The role of the show window in the life of the department store, both as a means of advertising merchandise and conveying associations through its imagery, made their design a central programmatic issue in Sullivan's scheme for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store. Their importance is particularly evident in the original ground floors plans of 1898 (Figure 16). One significance of Schlesinger and Mayer's corner site was the opportunity it afforded to develop a continuous base of display windows along two streets. In this they evidently followed the example of neighboring Mandel Brothers' whose acquisition of the northeast corner of State and Madison was the pivotal event that encouraged the renovation of their windows. In plan the main requirement of the show windows was their projecting depth forward of the structural column line. Conceived as "bay window

showrooms" the total depth of the windows varied from six to eight feet to create a sufficient area for the displays comparable to the showroom of an interior department.⁸⁰ As rooms in themselves the show window bays were given an elegant interior finish of mirrors set within panelled mahogany veneer along their rear wall and sides formed by the columns (Figure 17). The sense of the window depth as an architecturally finished environment included provision for forced air ventilation. The air prevented condensation on the inside face of the glass within the window compartment that obscured the displays and ruined the goods themselves.⁸¹ The lighting of the displays and the popularity of moving objects powered by electric motors within the windows necessitated wiring within the raised base of the windows. The inclusion of these features in Sullivan's drawings for the original project were intended to make the Schlesinger and Mayer windows a model of up-to-date technical solutions for show window design.⁸² Sullivan evidently attempted to make the permanent architectural background of the windows sufficient for the display of merchandise, so that the window trimmer would not have to obscure the fabric of construction itself with temporary decorations. A review of window displays along State Street in the summer of 1904 after Schlesinger and Mayer had sold the building noted that "No ornamental backgrounds are used in the windows of H.G. Selfridge & Co. These windows are exceptionally well constructed. They are wide, deep and roomy, without columns. The permanent background is expansive mirrors, framed with

highly finished dark wood, and this is all that is used to show off the goods."⁸³ Selfridge's head trimmer, who had previously worked for Schlesinger and Mayer before the business changed hands, "depends entirely upon the draping and arrangement of goods and the harmony of colors, for his effects which are invariably of the highest artistic order."⁸⁴

Sullivan may have conceived of the windows as showrooms analogous to those of an art gallery. The whole range of the windows constituted an ongoing exhibition of objects displayed in sequence along the base of the building. A professor of fine arts at the new University of Chicago recommended the windows of Marshall Field's as examples of decorative design, where artists designed displays and directed their execution by the window dressers.⁸⁵ He concluded that the window displays served to elevate public taste through exposure to their refinements which included motives from the historic styles of art as well as natural forms.

In view of this systematic art treatment, it is only fair to admit that these displays are powerfully co-operant even with the Art Institute in arousing the dormant art sense of this Philistine city. Here is an arts and crafts exhibition, not once a year but once a day, drawn not from Chicago and vicinity, but from Japan, India, Turkey, Austria, Italy, France, Germany, and England, all which countries are regularly visited by buyers to secure the best they afford.⁸⁶

Contemporaries believed that department stores' window displays contributed to the cultural life of Chicago, enhancing the popular experience of its main street. An observer of the shopping corridor wrote in October 1903 that when merchants and trimmers sought to draw attention to goods for

sale within their stores, they did also "aid in beautifying and adorning the business thoroughfares and thus relieving them of much that is coarse and repellant. Through their efforts the streets and avenues become vistas of attractiveness, delightful to the stranger within the gates."⁸⁷ The accessibility of the displays to all classes of people reinforced the image of the stores democratic institutions that sought to appeal to the widest possible shopping clientele. A daily scene on a commercial street at the turn of the century would include children "looking at toys, women at cravats or shirt-waists, while the day-laborer with his tin pail stops at sundown to study great paintings..." The windows were thought to be a form of cultural outreach to passersby who would not actually enter the stores to buy, those "men and women, preys to that timidity which poverty in great cities brings, who are afraid to go inside and look at that which, seen from the outside, becomes an education to them."⁸⁸ The show window thus represented a cultural transaction in the Chicago of 1900, whose role in the cultivation of local sensibilities would have inspired Sullivan to the architectural embellishment of their displays.

Among the most crucial functional issues related to show window design were provisions for admitting natural light into the store around the base of the building. Though the design included systems of artificial lighting for the show windows and the interior sales floors, the dim and discolored illumination of standard fixtures of the time

made maximization of daylight a high priority. The access to daylight at the base of the building was also decreased because of the height of surrounding building relative to the width of State and Madison Streets. At the same time, however, within the show windows themselves, daylight reflected off the plate glass fronts served to obscure the visibility of displays from the sidewalk.⁸⁹ The design of the lower level show windows included mirrored rear and side panels to reflect daylight and destroy reflection on the front window (Figure 18). In the upper section of the window compartment, the rear panels were clear plate to admit light into the interior of the store, while the upper sides and ceiling of the compartment were panelled in a dark mahogany veneer. Above the compartment of the show window, the exterior glazing was Luxfer prismatic glass. The Luxfer Prism Company in the early 1890s had developed a thickened glass whose serrated surface performed like prisms to bend rays of sunlight from the sky and refract them to diffuse horizontally through the depth of a standard commercial space (Figure 19).⁹⁰ Their placement in the upper lights of windows was designed to brighten an interior with limited frontage on the street by drawing daylight across the ceiling into areas farther back from the front. The use of Luxfer prismatic glass in the upper lights of the first and second stories of the Schlesinger and Mayer store was designed to cast an even ambient daylight through the interior of these lower sales floors. At the street level the prismatic lights above the show windows introduced light at the level of the

eighteen foot ceiling whose white plaster finish aided in its distribution. The tops of the interior show compartments were finished in a light toned basswood to help reflect the refracted light into the store interior. In the original scheme of 1898 the ground floor plan shows the intended use of blocks of prismatic glass as a paving material for the sidewalk around the perimeter of the store. This glazed surface was intended to light the extension of the basement salesroom beneath the sidewalk outside the area of the building line. Contemporary advertisements suggested that this sidewalk as built would have been made of heavy galvanized sheet steel forms whose corrugated profile allowed for the placement of individual glass lights (Figure 20).⁹¹ The steel would then serve as a form work for a layer of cement laid to a depth flush with the surface of the glass. The metal sidewalk would be canted at an angle to insure drainage toward the curb after frequent washings to remove street dirt from the lights. This series of provisions for daylight over the base of the building served to create a complete architectural environment enveloping would be shoppers along the sidewalk, the glass and iron of the show windows matching the materials underfoot.

Study of Sullivan's earlier commercial buildings of the 1890s suggests that the Schlesinger and Mayer store presented a novel problem in the expression of the show window as an architectural element. As in Root's later office buildings, Sullivan's skyscrapers after the Wainwright feature variations on a theme of how to incorporate maximal area for display

within the base of a tall building. In "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered", Sullivan acknowledged the special character of the street level as a part of the exterior whose expression derived from the distinct pattern of commercial activity that took place at the sidewalk. As the ground floor was "devoted to stores, banks, or other establishments requiring large area, ample spacing, ample light, and great freedom of access", so this story "we treat in a more or less liberal, expansive, sumptuous way--a way based exactly on the practical necessities, but expressed with a sentiment of largeness and freedom."⁹² The works preceding the Schlesinger and Mayer store that exemplify Sullivan's ideas for the street were the Guaranty Building (1895) and the Bayard Building (1897), both of which housed shops on their ground floors. The base of these structures appears as an artful but tenuous compromise between the necessity of the display window within the base whose treatment played a larger role in the expressive scheme for the whole exterior above. Along the base of the Guaranty, the primary elements are freestanding round columns (Figure 21). These members are set on plinths with base moldings, their shafts encased in ornamental terra cotta with decorative capitals of the same material. The columns are set within a two story base whose corner piers and mezzanine windows have squared edges. The setback of the glazing in the mezzanine and in the upper transom of the show windows on the ground floor creates depth of shadow, lending structural mass to the base of foundation for the lighter treatment of

the office stories above. The rounded columns participate in this expression of support, upholding the squared continuous lintel above the first floor. However, the relative slenderness of the column and its minimal area accommodated the glass display cases whose frame is raised from the sidewalk to reveal the columns' bases and whose upper lights are pulled back to allow the capital to stand free of the glass. The transparency of the glass itself reveals the continuous shaft of the columns, whose architectural primacy as variations on the classical orders is thus minimally compromised by the modern necessity of the show window. A similar solution is studied in a drawing for the base of the Bayard Building (Figure 22), whose rendering contrasts the lightness and transparency of the show window with the depth of shadow that emphasizes the columns as supports for the weight of the lintel above. An elemental sense of lithic trabeation as part of the expression of the whole building dominates the immediate issue of the display window and shop entrances whose minimal framing makes them appear secondary elements subservient to the tectonic statement of column and beam. Thus Sullivan, in the office building as a different type with a different relation to the street, chose to suppress the show window in favor of a columnar base serving as a platform for the upper elevation.

Sullivan's remarks on the character of the lower floors of office buildings resemble his comments on the nature of the department store wherein commercial activity was understood as the exchange of goods on sales floors as distinct

from the transaction of business in offices. He conceived of the department store's function implying an architecture wherein "all masonry would be reduced to minimum, and there would be an expanse of glass for light and display."⁹³

These words, which coincide with Sullivan's involvement with the Schlesinger and Mayer project, suggest the degree to which he saw the department store as demanding a distinct expression which began in the treatment of their base.

In the original scheme, the lower two floors of the Schlesinger and Mayer store contained no structural columns visible on the exterior which was to consist instead solely of "two story bay window show rooms" making "a display of plate glass framed in statuary bronze work" (Figure 23).⁹⁴ The absence of any suggestion of masonry support distinguishes the base of the early scheme from the preceding Guaranty and Bayard Buildings. Even compared to Jenney and Mundie's renovation of the adjacent Mandel Brothers' Store, Sullivan's 1898 project is notable for the decisiveness with which the base of the building has been transformed into a continuous projection of metal and glass. The precedent of the Mandel Store (Figure 24) did not extend the projecting bays through two stories, while the decorative metal facing the structural columns indicated the position and the width of steel supports as distinct from the thinner iron mullions framing the glass. The earliest drawing of the Schlesinger and Mayer store, however, appears to develop the Mandel design to its minimal limits in an effort to obtain as near complete continuity of glazing as possible. The metal surface is confined to the

horizontal depth of the first and second floors. What a radical act it must have been for Sullivan, confronted with the programmatic demands of the State Street department store, to completely suppress the column as the first constructive element of architecture in favor of a streetscape of show windows.

The larger scale drawings of the lower show windows when projected in 1898 suggest how this sense of the whole base may have informed the handling of its architectural detail (Figure 25). The plan and elevation of the projecting corner window show single sheets of polished plate glass 14'6" square forming the three sections of the bay as it turns the corner. The plan shows mullions at the connecting angles of an absolute minimal dimension sufficient to hold the glass in place. In the original rendering of the twelve story project, the panes of glass in the show windows are highlighted as a continuous reflective surface. The darker lines of bronze appear analogous to joints or fillets marking the limit of available glass sizes. Their constructive role as framing posts is lost to mind within the overall impression of a base of glass heightened by the near opacity of its reflections in the rendering. The lower portion of the completed building differs from earlier projects mainly because of the suppression of the projecting bays which permitted the outline of structural steel members to reappear as a more substantive frame for the show windows. Yet the intention of the original drawings evidently underlay the final design of the street level which Lyndon Smith,

perhaps paraphrasing Sullivan's viewpoint, characterized as "straightforward in its qualities of 'plate glass' architecture."⁹⁵

The ornamentation of the show windows marks a departure from conventions of Sullivan's earlier architecture comparable to the novelty of their projection and fabrication. A profusion of decorative forms over the base of a commercial building was not considered appropriate for office structures, except at the main entrance which "attracts the eye to its location." Root had subscribed to this view, noting that in the design of ornament:

...due consideration must be had to the attitude of the persons to whom it is intended to appeal. It is absurd to decorate with intricate ornament commercial structures on busy streets as to approach a man at the corner of Madison and State Streets and begin to talk of the last poem by (Henry) Austin Dobson. And the absurdity does not end with the failure to attract attention; the ornament so neglected becomes dead by virtue of such neglect, and we become like street venders, who, by constant crying in unheeding ears, stifle their own voices. In architectural vocabulary that speech is best which best addresses the mood of the person spoken to.⁹⁶

This traditional view of the propriety of ornament only in positions where it can be appreciated with an attitude of contemplative repose, Root had inherited from Ruskin.⁹⁷

Sullivan had exhibited a comparable restraint in the Wainwright whose base was left without ornament except for the reveal of the main entrance. In this prototypical design the upper surfaces of the office floors and the cornices featured a continuous enrichment through ornament. However, in the

Schlesinger and Mayer project, the show windows evidently inspired Sullivan to achieve a virtuosity of effect in his solution for an architectural problem where his gifts as a designer of ornament would be displayed to the fullest. It is as if the nature of the program became the excuse for the creation of an extensive, highly visible exhibition of Sullivan's individual style of ornament. While William Mundie's neighboring Mandel windows had relied on Persian motifs for the ornamentation of its cast iron, Sullivan's metalwork would eschew reliance on historical vocabularies to include forms "of unique and exquisite design, wrought into original elaborations of rare and delicate beauty."⁹⁸ In the completed building, the sense of the base as a field for the display of an individual style is suggested in Sullivan's placement of his monogram within the projecting wreathes above the first story show windows (Figures 26). Sullivan's initials, L.H.S., appear as the germinal origin of a foliate motif whose forms envelop the monogram S&M at its center. The ornamentation of the building, as the stylistic signature of its architect, served to cultivate a special identity for this retail house in the eyes of passers-by.

Elmslie intended that the ornament of the lower floors would form "a rather richly flowing picture frame...to surround the rich and ornate window displays."⁹⁹ One can interpret the ornament as an extension of the temporary decoration of the trimmers into the permanent architecture (Figure 27). The use of natural and artificial foliage in

displays corresponds to the representations of leaves, wreathes, tendrils, and other naturalistic forms projecting in relief from the cast iron frames. The underlying geometric patterns along the metal surfaces were also developed from motifs derived from sources in nature. The pattern along the vertical columns appears developed from the crystalline geometry of snowflakes, while the surface of the lintels is composed of quatrefoils resembling holly leaf (Figure 28).¹⁰⁰ The top border of the lintel is a series of interlaced plant forms sprouting from a succession of germinal ovals. The intersection of column and lintel above the first story was originally faced with a projecting motif reminiscent of a wreath of oak leaves (Figure 29). The lintels above the second story windows were treated as decorative friezes with symmetrical designs composed of interlacing leaves and tendrils. The crowning ornament of each panel surmounting each structural bay was a central projecting motif emerging from the soffit and curling over the fascia of the cornice above. The upper extensions of the columns were modelled in contrasting smooth, low relief, their embryonic ovules enveloped by tendrils emerging from a common central stem at the base of the panels (Figure 30). The edge of this and other iron panels framing the show windows have narrow borders consisting of ornamental fretwork. The windows' evocation of a seasonal imagery of shopping was originally heightened by the painting scheme for the cast iron. The use of a softened and lustrous combination of red and green over this surface may have been intended to recall the

seasonal colors of nature in passage from summer to fall. The suggestion of the gentle vitality of natural change over time would have been comparable to the suggestion of natural growth pervading the forms of the ornament. The seasonality of shopping in Chicago may have informed the choice of motifs and polychromy for the ornament surrounding the show windows of the Schlesinger and Mayer store. The use of wreathes, holly-like motives, and leafage resembling fall foliage suggested associations with the autumn shopping season as the most intensive of the year. Even the choice of red and green paint coating for these forms may have been suggestive of the pre-Christmas season which set the standard for all other shopping activity through the merchandising year. It is conceivable that the ornament was meant to represent these most intensive periods of retailing, thereby implying that such a level of festive merchandising was characteristic of the store all through the annual cycle of shopping.

The association between the naturalistic ornament in the building and the contemporary imagery of department stores is evident in another advertisement for the store's opening in 1903 (Figure 31). This graphic design shows a classically garbed female figure whose body emerges from its intertwining with the trunk of a tree to form the right border of the sheet. The figure is reaching up to place a wreath within the vine-like branches of the tree extending across to form the top border of the page. The act of adornment portrayed in advertisement corresponded to the placement of a stylized

wreath over the corner doorways of the building (Figure 32). This wreath combined recollections of all those natural forms found in neighboring motifs to form a distinctive emblem originally framing the monogram of the house, as if the excellence of the store was being acknowledged with a crown of laurel leaf.

Schlesinger and Mayer apparently hoped that Sullivan's building would give their house a special identity along State Street in comparison to such leading merchandisers as Field's (Figure 33). The north section on Field's new building opened in 1902 had featured a range of show windows set within its base. The windows, however, were not fashioned as a continuous skirt of metal and glass like the remodelled windows of Field's old State Street building to the south. Instead the 1902 building followed the model of Atwood's 1893 design on Wabash Avenue, setting the show windows within the rigidly classical frame of granite pilasters facing the street level and mezzanine stories. The old Field buildings, being a conglomerate of three adjacent structures, had been given architectural unity through the uniform treatment of their base. However the new building had obviated the need for this device, the store's Victorian streetscape giving way to a new scale of blockfront. The Burnham design for the new Marshall Field's duplicated the firm's building for the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company of 1900, constructed as an office building on properties owned by Field's who also financed the project (Figure 34).¹⁰¹ This project and the Marshall Field retail store designed less

than a year later by the same office for the same client represent only slightly distinguishable variations on an architectural type. Burnham's works show little attempt to differentiate between the commercial functions of a department store and those of an office building, containing both programs within almost identical elevations from sidewalk to cornice. It was such a principle of distinctive architectural expression for different use types that had formed the basis for Sullivan's criticism of Atwood's earlier building, and which informed his own design for the Schlesinger and Mayer store.

The distinctions between Burnham's and Sullivan's attitude toward the problem of a State Street store also derived from the different aspirations of their clients. Field's consistently sought to cultivate its image as the leading house on the street, a store whose conservative propriety was a measure of its power as arbiter of Chicagoans' tastes in all facets of merchandising. A sample of Field's advertising copy in 1904 expressed the store's position as:

THE AUTHORITY OF STYLE

Perhaps no other institution in the world has ever attained the unique distinction enjoyed by this store as the authority of style. This style supremacy has been attained by years of experience in touch with the best sources of style origin-- years of experience in supplying the exacting requirements of those who demand the best that can be produced. The distinctive interest which greets our first showings of new merchandise is explained by this fact--what we offer is correct.¹⁰²

The authoritative image of the Field establishment was conveyed through the design of its entrance as a portico of freestanding Ionic columns over forty feet tall, set on socles

and supporting a projecting balustrade above the second story cornice (Figure 35). These columns were advertised as the largest granite monoliths erected since those of the ancient Egyptian temple of Karnak.¹⁰³ A two story colonnade of attached Ionic orders also graced the upper floors of the building as an attic motif. The use of the orders on the store's exterior corresponded to their earlier appearance in the interior light court of the building which had featured Ionic and Composite orders with frieze, cornice, and balustrade at each floor level (Figure 36). The 1902 building featured fluted Corinthian columns throughout the interior of the main floor (Figure 37), along its main aisles as well as in the rebuilt central light court with its Tiffany glass dome completed in the 1907 section to the south at Washington Street. The use of classical orders as symbols of the stylistic authority of the house underlay the graphic layout of an advertisement for the 1902 fall opening of the new store (Figure 38). This advertisement shows a perspective of the Field complex at the northeast corner of State and Washington Streets. The new Burnham section appears on the left, the old Singer Building with mansard removed three stories added occupies the center, with Atwood's 1893 annex on the right. This perspective is framed within the transom lights of a show window set between two crudely drawn Corinthian columns. The house's name forms a mast-head for the page like a frieze with a cornice molding. The text occupies the position of the main light of the show window announcing details of the opening and special features

of the store's temporary decor. However, the text reminds the shopping public that Field's considered its reputation and policies as a retailer to be the foundation of its operations. The buildings were simply the housing for a store in which the process of retailing itself was considered the artistic act, the architecture only lending confirmation to an assumption of supremacy. The advertisement, concluded that, "while the premises are the best that can be erected, while the fixtures are the most carefully thought out and built, while the opening decorations are attractive in the extreme,...the real strength of this business is in the splendid qualities of our merchandise and the absolute dependability that our prices are the lowest."¹⁰⁴

The program of advertising for the opening of the Schlesinger and Mayer store the following year emphasized different values characteristic of the house and its new building. The advertisement for the opening day of Sullivan's building in fall 1903 also used the store's show window as the basis of its graphic composition (Figure 39). One bay of the street level shows the store's name as the upper frieze, with a perspective of the building in the center of three transom lights of the show window flanked by lights of prismatic glass. The text of the advertisement occupies the show window itself, with ornamental surfaces of the columns forming the left and right borders of the sheet. The heads of these columns are crowned with the projecting wreathes framing the monogram of the house. The foliate richness of Sullivan's show windows contrast with the bare columnar frame

shown in the Field's rendering. The metal as decorative foil creates an inviting lushness whose effect contrasts with the austere stiffness of the wooden members that serve as emblem for Marshall Field's. While the more prestigious house presented itself with an almost masculine rigidity, Schlesinger and Mayer surrounded the image of its store with ornament whose sensuous appeal as an inviting novelty was supposedly intended to attract a feminine clientele.

The association between the character of the architecture and the pretensions of the Schlesinger and Mayer store appeared in another advertisement featuring the building's corner entrance (Figure 40). The novelty and lightness of Sullivan's doorway contrasted with the antiquity and massiveness of Field's. The Schlesinger and Mayer entrance, as a probable adaptation of the corner rotunda of Le Printemps, had replaced the lithic stolidity of Sedille's design with an ornate filigree of metalwork. The entrance thus expresses the difference between its festal imagery rendered in a modern material and classical architecture as modified by Burnham which served as the doorway to Field's. The text accompanying Schlesinger and Mayer's entrance set in an upper show window quotes the conclusion of Ecclesiastes that "There is nothing new under the sun."¹⁰⁵ Both the store and its architecture were being presented to the public as a refutation of that old proverb. The modernity of the entrance design as a departure from historic styles paralleled Schlesinger and Mayer's ambition to become a progressive

alternative to Field's. The forms of Sullivan's building thus served to challenge the assumption of an unchanging world embodied in the architecture and policies of his clients' competitors. Schlesinger and Mayer asserted that their store was indeed something new under the sun. Its modernity as a building and institution was unknown to Solomon for "he had never been in Chicago" in the era of 1900 when "each hour of the day, the world over, brings forth something new for the use and adornment of the world's children."¹⁰⁶

The importance of the entrances in both the Field and Schlesinger and Mayer stores derived partially from their association with the show windows. The doorways formed the link between the high level of anticipation generated by the displays of goods along the sidewalk and its realization through direct contact with the merchandise within. Sullivan's original project of 1898 had included five doorways, three along State Street and two on Madison, their projecting vestibules interspersed between the show window bays. The multiple number of doorways signified the distinctive scale of the department store as having absorbed a series of floor areas which previously would have been occupied by adjacent shops each with their separate entrances. On the exterior elevation, the one story entrance vestibules were enveloped within two story display windows surrounding them above and to either side. The doorways recalled the shape and position of outdoor display cases set among the show windows.¹⁰⁷ The doors themselves were positioned in the

flanks of the bays with the front windows serving as display cases. Between a second set of doors linking the outer and inner vestibules, there were other display cases at the center of the entrance, with a third series set within the side walls of the inner vestibules. Around the perimeter of the street floor within these vestibules, the rear of the display windows became a continuous counter with shelving lining the backs of the windows with a continuous transom of plate glass above (Figure 41). The whole depth of the ground floor plan along the outer edge thus linked display outside with its continuation through the doorways. Inside stocks of merchandise formed an inner lining to accommodate as many shoppers as possible immediately within the doorways. This original plan was altered in the store as built with three entrances including projecting vestibules in the northeast and southwest corners of the floor serving Madison and State streets with the rounded doorway at the corner (Figure 42). The depth of the bay window showrooms was contained within the building line on State Street with one bay surviving on Madison as a vestige of the earlier scheme. On the interior of the main floor the continuous counters and shelving was retained to form a sales area which doubled as a service space for the trimming of the show windows.

Each of the three surviving entrances in the executed building had a slightly different role in the anticipated pattern of access to the store. The only entrance to be given a distinct architectural expression in the original scheme was the easternmost doorway on Madison Street. The

cast iron canopy projecting over the sidewalk from this entrance was intended to serve the carriage trade where shoppers arriving by their private or hired coach would descend to the curb to be attended by a uniformed doorman who ushered members of the more elite clientele into the store (Figure 43).¹⁰⁸ Mandel Brothers and Marshall Field's maintained similar canopied entrances for the carriage trade on the quieter cross streets off the main thoroughfare of State Street (Figure 44). The position of this entrance gave these patrons more direct access to the bank of passenger elevators along the east wall of the store near Madison Street. When the Madison Street section of the new building was completed in 1899, the canopy had defined the main entrance to the store, which may account for its large scale and ornamental enrichment which surpassed those of neighboring stores. The significance of the canopied entrance for department stores may have been related to its use over theater entrances. Adler and Sullivan had designed such a canopy for the renovation of McVicker's Theater on the south side of Madison Street west of State in 1883. There appears to have been a parallel between the ritual of arrival by carriage for shopping in the daytime and for theater going in the evening, the canopy in both building types marking a sheltered place for curbing horses of those who came downtown to be seen in leisure activities. The Schlesinger and Mayer canopy was suspended by cables originally threaded with cast iron floral ornament to resemble garlands. The canopy's translucent skylight was framed with a cast

iron fascia whose principal ornaments were stylized foliate wreathes whose central motif resembled a coat of arms as the insignia of the mercantile house (Figure 45). These implied the store's desire to cater to a class of trade with its own aristocratic pretensions. This row of naturalistic cartouches may have been intended to form an architectural background for a series of carriages beneath the ornaments stopped along the curb, as indicated in one of the advertising renderings for the store's opening (Figure 46). The size and rhythm of these motifs recalls the archways along the Michigan Avenue main entrance to the Auditorium Hotel (Figure 47). As the chief carriage promenade of Chicago, this avenue became the place for ceremonial entrance to Adler and Sullivan's building. The arches of the doorway almost suggest positions for a line of waiting coaches at the curb, these doorways partially sheltered by the overhang of the second story loggia.¹⁰⁹

An advertisement for the store's opening shows the canopied entrance on Madison Street as the focus of a crowd of well-dressed women shoppers moving toward the door (Figure 48). The drawing emphasizes the decorative effect of the cast iron as creating a festive atmosphere that attracted visitors to the opening almost as if it were a temporary ornament for a short-lived event. However, since the festive sense was to be recreated daily as a setting for shopping over the lifetime of the building, the decorative trimming was rendered in a permanent material as part of the architecture. The advertisement is crowned with a variant of the cartouche motif framing a perspective of the building as

symbol of a mercantile house renewed in both facilities and methods.

The only entrance vestibule on State Street had a different architectural character than that on Madison, and may have been intended for a different class of trade. This entrance at the opposite corner of the store was at one point planned to contain a stairway within its inner vestibule leading directly to the store's basement salesroom (Figure 49). The basement salesroom in department stores had been developed as a device for clearing merchandise at bargain prices, unburdening inventories of those lines of stock that had not been sold at full retail value on the upper floors. The entrance was thus planned to facilitate access to the least expensive goods, perhaps because those shoppers more likely to gravitate to the basement would be more likely to arrive at the store by the main line of streetcars on State Street. The outer sides of the vestibules of both the State and Madison Street entrances were finished in cast iron with ornamental relief as continuation of the metal facing the street (Figure 50). The inner vestibule featured Mexican mahogany panelling to match that of the show window compartments; the sides of this vestibule were fitted as mirror-backed showcases, making the experience of entrance inseparable from the architecture of display. The floors of the inner vestibule were bordered with ornamental tile mosaic whose soft red and green polychromy continued the naturalistic color treatment of the metal outside.¹¹⁰

The development of a corner entrance as the focal element of the building on the street continued the idea of the store's doorways emerging from the overall fabric of base evident in the original scheme (Figure 51). The corner rotunda is a continuation of the show windows along the flanking elevations, just as the earlier vestibule bays were conceived as showcases set within a continuous fabric of plate glass and metalwork. In reshaping the two story corner show window into an entrance, Sullivan took an element of intermediate size in the original project, a part smaller than the full height of the corner yet larger than one story showcase entrances, to lend an appropriate scale to the major doorway. As a special construction of cast iron, the corner entrance was composed of five curving sections of metal at each level, their juncture marked by the slender attached colonettes designed by Elmslie.¹¹¹ At the sidewalk, the linear profile of the arched doorways with their glazed flanking transoms and tympanum, the open filigree of the ironwork in their spandrels, and the clear glass within the frame of their surmounting wreathes, all combined to suggest a lightness and delicacy. The scale and treatment of the individual archways contrasts sharply with the mass and span of the Richardsonian arches that formed entrances of encompassing scale in Sullivan and Root's earlier office buildings. The use of the metal colonettes as the only continuous two story element in the Schlesinger and Mayer doorway similarly contrasts with the lithic columns between the doorways to Marshall Field's. Thus

architectural elements that conventionally denote entrance were given a special treatment consistent with the more feminine associations of the department store. The metalwork around the doorways may suggest the architecture of outdoor garden structures such as pergolas or pavilions, as if the green tinted foliate ornament were growing over wooden trellis or latticework. Such garden construction formed the armature for the floral decorations in interior displays to create idyllic backgrounds for women's apparel and other goods (Figure 52), just as the entrance itself served as backdrop for the parade of fashionable dressed clientele along State and Madison Streets (Figure 53). The circular curvature of the entrance logically derived from the round corner above which predated it in the original project. Yet just as the Madison Street canopy's cartouches were sized and spaced with reference to the curbing of carriages, so the circular sweep of the main entrance suggests the turning motion of streetcars whose tracks rounded the corner in the roadbed with a similar curvature and whose passengers formed the bulk of the shopping crowds (Figure 54).

In plan the corner entrance was originally designed with an outer vestibule containing the paired columns and an inner semicircular vestibule (Figure 55). In warmer weather the lower doors and upper windows behind the semicircular arches and surmounting lunettes could be opened as casements toward the inside to allow air into the building, transforming the outer vestibule into an open shelter behind the filigree of iron work. The interior of the entrance created an initial

impression similar to that of an elegant residence (Figure 56). The mahogany veneer of the ceiling and as panelling for the columns and side walls resembled the entrance hall of a stately home, as opposed to the traditional use of marble wainscoting in the lobbies of office buildings.¹¹² The stores' attempt to cultivate their image of being "as home-like as home itself"¹¹³ began with the suggestion of warmth and domesticity implicit in the choice of rich grain of veneer to envelope incoming shoppers. The sense of the building as the house of Schlesinger and Mayer was developed in the monogram of the firm laid as a circular mosaic in the inner vestibule. Apart from the associations of surfaces, the vestibules were equipped with registers for warm air encased in ornamental bronze (Figure 57). In the outer vestibule warm air was originally introduced into the space through half cylindrical outlets set between the doors along the inside of their outer wall (Figure 58). The decorative design for their covers also appeared in the bronze facing for the heating register of the inner vestibule, the color of the metal harmonizing with that of wood, though their textures as materials contrast. The most distinctive object of the original vestibule was a bronze plated cast iron light at the center of the ceiling. The color and finish of this fixture harmonized not only with that of the surrounding veneer but also with the decorative plasterwork of the column capitals which were painted orange overlaid with an amber glaze. Each architectural object connoted a residential degree of comfort, the hot air registers fashioned

as radiators and the ceiling light positioned as a chandelier. Thus the corner vestibule may be understood as the place of transition between the world of the street and that of the store whose character was that of a hospitable and elegant refuge for women. The room's residential associations could be interpreted as the suggestion of an individual's home or a home-like club for women analogous to the exclusive men's clubs elsewhere downtown.¹¹⁴ The sense of the store as a woman's club was further developed in the design of special rooms on the upper floors intended almost exclusively for the enjoyment of women.

Inside the entrances, the main floor of the Schlesinger and Mayer store was intended to give an impression of spaciousness (Figure 59). The open plan made possible by steel construction was of particular value to department stores who sought to maximize usable sales area with near complete flexibility in its arrangement. The lack of interior structural partitions was representative of a store facility's modernity. In older assemblages of annexed properties, masonry partitions survived as remnants of party walls whose structural necessity prevented their removal even when adjoining storefronts came under single ownership. By 1898 the consensus along State Street was that "partitions make a store seem crowded, cut off the light, and make the arrangement of counters and departments like so many stalls, giving no opportunity for deviation from this."¹¹⁵ In place of the patchwork sales spaces, the model interior arrangement was thought to be one large room for each floor. The dream

of the manager of every department was the control of a complete floor of uninterrupted sales space wherein every detail connected with the operation of his branch of the business could be expansively arranged to facilitate showing and selling of goods.¹¹⁶ Schlesinger and Mayer's series of renovations during the 1890s had achieved this ideal on the street level only, whose sales floor extended south from Madison Street without a partition wall for over 200 feet. This feat of remodelling was advertised as architectural evidence of the business' success , the store's increase in acquired square footage publicized as a measure of its growth in sales volume.¹¹⁷ The destruction of successive partition walls was celebrated in advertising copy, the sight of plaster falling and bricks flying described as the tangible sign of the store's successful methods of merchandising.¹¹⁸ Thus Sullivan's plans for the new building showed an uninterrupted grid of large bays on every floor (Figure 60), with all special conditions such as stairways and the elevators set along the edges of the sales areas. At the turn of the century, the possibilities of the open plan as the essence of a new architecture was thus realized in department stores to a unique degree among commercial use types.¹¹⁹

Closely related to the functional necessity of the open plan was the financial imperative of maximizing return on the most highly valued properties in Chicago. The uniform simplicity of the plans the Schlesinger and Mayer store included no interior light court comparable to that of

Marshall Field's. Such a generous spatial gesture had been a convention of Parisian department stores, where the need for interior daylight became the excuse for the creation of elegant stairways within the central atria. As a rule, however, the generation of large department stores along State Street built between 1890 and 1910 did not include these spatial amenities. In Chicago the concentration of the shopping district implied that more people passed the corner of State and Madison Streets each day than any other single commercial location in downtown New York or London.¹²⁰ While these cities were much larger in total population, their patterns of urban development had enabled the appearance of department stores along more than one commercial corridor or, in the case of Paris, within a range of neighboring arrondissements along different boulevards on both banks of the Seine. The density of large stores on State Street was not different in kind but surpassed in degree their concentration along Manhattan's Broadway, Sixth Avenue, and later, Fifth Avenue, or on London's Oxford Street. This unique condition had determined the value of property along State Street. The department stores' annual land costs as part of their total operating expenses necessitated that they maintain a certain level of gross daily sales. To increase sales volume they would either incur the cost of additional properties or the cost of rebuilding over existing square footage.¹²¹ In the case of Schlesinger and Mayer, both strategies were pursued. Yet the single enabling financial condition for the construction of Sullivan's building had

been Leopold Schlesinger's success in negotiating a long term ground lease with his landlord Levi Leiter before sale of the store's property to Marshall Field in 1898. The terms of the lease stipulated not only the annual rental charge for the ground but the value of the building to be constructed on the site. The size and cost of the first project followed from the terms of the lease, the fundamental rule of its design being that every available square inch show a return on the investment as usable sales space.

The diagrammatic efficiency of Sullivan's floor plans reflect the need for spatial economy in their smallest detail. The compact arrangement of the entrance vestibules and interior staircases, the fitting of hot air flues and pipe chases into awkward junctures of construction, even the use of cast iron panels and mahogany veneer as the thinnest of finish materials, all imply the severity of constraints stemming from property values which underlay the project. This principle of store architecture along State Street necessitated that much care and thought be given to the design of counters, shelving, and even the pillars of the buildings. The elevator was considered important because it permitted the reduction of stairways to a minimum in both their number and size. In 1898 it was noted that one of the large stores had included a variation of the Parisian grand stairway in the middle of its building between the first and second floors. The stairway "was an object of pride at first, but it was soon demonstrated that it had no practical utility, the elevators being preferred by

shoppers, and the floor space it consumed being valuable for other purposes. Besides it darkened quite a good sized portion of the first floor. It was taken out recently, and several small stairways were built along the side. These take up very little room, and are all that is needed for any emergency that may arise."¹²²

Within this utilitarian sense of priorities controlling the planning of interior space, the lone amenity in design of State Street stores was the width of their aisles. In the revised Chicago building code of 1905, the floor space of a department store was defined as "the actual amount of space which is available for employees and patrons, exclusive of the space occupied by counters, showcases, shelving, and other fixtures."¹²³ The code's regulations governing space planning were principally concerned with aisle and stair widths as provisions for egress of vast numbers of shoppers in case of fire. Beyond the minimal necessity of fire safety, the arrangement of goods and fixtures through the store's departments followed from the limiting condition of column spacing which determined the width of the aisles. This dimension was the key determinant of the sense of spaciousness that distinguished the experience of shopping in department stores as opposed to smaller dry goods stores. The aisle width of the State Street stores was advertised in published views of their interiors, where the perspective of the photograph emphasized the linear sweep of open space between the counters (Figure 61). Interiors from Field's to The Fair were designed around the admonition that "customers do not

like to walk through a store where there is a squeeze and a crush every few steps."¹²⁴ Shoppers' freedom of movement was considered higher priority than generous arrangements for storage of stock or elbow room for workers, "for where it means crowded aisles a limited space behind counters will suffice as plenty."¹²⁵ The spatial prerogative of the clientele in the Schlesinger and Mayer store is evident in the minimal dimension between counters and shelving shown along the perimeter of the ground floor interior plan. The standard structural bay of sales floors was larger than that of office buildings to create the effect of "a spacious arrangement of the columns of the interior."¹²⁶ In one advertisement for the store opening, Schlesinger and Mayer stressed that in Sullivan's building "avenue-like aisles lead from section to section", connoting a generously wide and elegantly lined thoroughfare as the urbanistic model for passage between the counters.¹²⁷ On opening day, the main aisle on the ground floor was described as the widest store aisle in the city, having a width of sixteen feet. In renderings of the rebuilt corner, an indication of the width of the aisles as characteristic of the new store appears in the second story windows above the entrance (Figure 45). There are shown the upper part of two columns set to either side of the central doorway, their span emphasized by the visible depth of the beam shown above. This presentation of the act of entrance between members that simulated a typical interior span of steel would have announced the modernity of the new building to shoppers familiar with the

constrained interior of the pre-existing structure and its older counterparts along State Street.

Apart from an impression of spaciousness the central functional requirement that underlay the interior planning of Chicago department stores in 1900 was the need for light. The dimness, discoloration, and unevenness of illumination from even the most improved artificial sources of that era were considered at best a poor substitute for adequate daylight as an essential condition of a setting for merchandising. The consensus among State Street retailers was that "money can buy plenty of gas or electricity, but nothing is so conducive to satisfactory shopping as the light of day."¹²⁸ Given the limited powers of artificial sources, introduction of a maximum of daylight into the depth of sales floors was considered the only means of preventing both customers and workers from being seriously handicapped in the daily operations of buying and selling. The usefulness of floor area for the display of goods was particularly dependent on natural light which permitted inspection of the subtleties of colors and fabrics which were often distorted by artificial illumination. The situation produced not only eye fatigue but generally discouraged decisions that led to sales. In 1903 one observer of Chicago retailing wrote that "it is because of the difficulty experienced in the selection and matching of colors that the selling period for certain fabrics is so largely confined to the daylight hours. It is because of this same difficulty that the procession is observed in some stores of women going to the doorway to match colors and fabrics."¹²⁹

Trade literature for merchandisers was filled with advertisements and reports of the reputed excellence of a range of devices for improving levels of interior daylight. Among those most characteristic of Chicago was Luxfer prismatic glass whose powers of distributing daylight into the depth of lower floors were advertised as a means of increasing trade at or near the street level (Figure 62). The ground floor and the adjacent mezzanine or second story were particularly problematic because they contained a high proportion of the total shopping activity within the stores, yet had least access to daylight due to its obstruction by neighboring buildings. Thus Luxfer prisms were most popular in the upper lights of windows on these stories. They were so adapted in Sullivan's design for Schlesinger and Mayer in 1898 following Jenney and Mundie's scheme for Mandel Brothers across Madison Street begun in 1897. The combination of projecting bays and prismatic glass was also adopted for the refitting of department store fronts all along State Street at the turn of the century as part of what one description termed an epidemic of remodelling and extension.¹³⁰ One firm named its facility "The Daylight Clothing House" while other of Schlesinger and Mayer's neighboring competitors were advertised as "daylight" store whose refitting with prismatic glass identified their interiors as progressive "in contradistinction to those stores which still depend upon artificial light to dispel darkness during the day."¹³¹

In citing the need for maximum daylight as the chief programmatic criterion for the design of the exterior

openings of the Schlesinger and Mayer store, Sullivan echoed a contemporary pre-occupation of State Street merchandisers. The resulting elevation (Figure 63) had a dual quality of accommodating the need for natural light unique to the spatial interiors of department stores, yet using the window shape as the means of articulating the lines of the steel frame construction. The elevation of the Wainwright had a similar duality, the spacing of the piers designed to accommodate flexible partitioning of offices on the inside, yet lending emphasis to the height of the frame on the exterior. In both prototypes the practical conditions of lighting and spatial division of the floor plan provided a rationale for the expressive theme of the exterior. However, the upper elevation of the Schlesinger and Mayer store differs from that of the Wainwright in that the windows of the department store are given terra cotta frames which project forward from the plane of the wall, so that the light-giving opening reads as figure relative to the neutral ground of the surfaces facing structural members. In the Wainwright, the pier as the tectonic element projected in relief from a receding plane of windows and lintel panels. The prominence of the store's window frames suggests the reduction of surrounding masonry to a minimum, creating a wall opened to daylight. The large window is the object celebrated through its purity of proportion and ornamented frame and reveal. This accentuation of the frame emphasized the identity of the department store as a use type deriving from the accessibility of light to its interiors.

The system of artificial lighting within the store's sales floors was advertised as a combination of arc lights and incandescent lamps.¹³² This system was evidently an adaptation of a similar combination of fixtures developed for Marshall Field's new building in 1902.¹³³ The principal sources of illumination were the arc lamps, which used a strong electric current bridging carbon poles to create a luminous arc through a chamber of air enclosed in glass. The arc lamp had originally been developed for use in street lights as an improvement over gas lights. Inside the sales floors of the department store they were intended to provide a more powerful areal illumination. The disadvantages of the arc lamp were the strength and expense of electric current it required, the harsh local intensity of the light which required a panoply of diffusers to even and spread its brightness, and its tendency to produce a blue violet glow that discolored the surrounding interior. Incandescent lights were used as supplementary sources, their warmer, softer illumination used to highlight displays or objects in showcases, offsetting the arc lights overhead with a complementary red-yellow glow. The outlets for the arc lamps were located in the ceiling in the center of the structural bays on each floor (Figure 64). The lamps were designed with ornamental bronze plated cast iron fixtures (Figure 65). The ornamentation of the fixtures gave them an architectural presence as designed objects whose attached motifs recalled the branches of an elegant chandelier. The same lamp without this decorative cast metal housing can

be seen in the early photograph of the ground floors. Sullivan's enhancement of this utilitarian device as an accoutrement of modernity resembles his designs for ventilation registers and elevator grilles elsewhere in the building. In each instance the devices themselves helped distinguish the department store from the less well-fitted retailing environments of smaller shops or stores. Their embellishment as part of the architecture helped establish the dual impression of technical up-to-dateness and decorative completeness cultivated by a leading mercantile house.

Closely related to the ideals of spaciousness and daylight as criteria for a modern retailing environment was that of air or ventilation. The traditional means of heating department stores used low pressure steam trapped and circulated as a byproduct of the steam engines used to provide an in-house source of power for the buildings mechanical equipment, primarily the elevators.¹³⁴ The common complaint about such systems was their unevenness of distribution of heat through the buildings and their inadequacy in winter weather when steam generated by a supplementary furnace was forced into pipes to augment that drawn from the engines. The heat was introduced through radiator coils set in the floors and walls of the lower floors to save sales room, and in freestanding steam radiators in the upper floors. Beyond this arrangement there were often no provisions for ventilating or circulating air through the store buildings. On less than cold shopping days women entered the building warm and flushed from walking along the street, and then arrived at

the departments to try on hats, cloaks, and dresses. The processes of selection and fitting took place on upper floors without means of changing or moving the air. In summer with the heat off and the doors and windows closed to keep out the dust and noise of State Street, the sales floors sweltered and the stores offered complimentary glasses of ice or mineral water and palm fans to their clientele. The lack of ventilation was perceived as linked to the issues of crowding and dimness to create an unpleasant interior that discouraged shopping.¹³⁵

The ventilation system in the rebuilt Schlesinger and Mayer store was considered one of the building's most outstanding features at the time of its opening. The store's mechanical plant had three main parts: first, a coal burning power plant for generating electricity designed by Adler and located within Schlesinger and Mayer's Wabash Avenue properties; second, a heating and ventilating plant located in the sub-basement of the new building forty feet below the sidewalk and; third, a machinery house on the roof which contained the large electric motors that powered the elevators and freight and package conveyors. The mechanical system from sub-basement to rooftop was a focus of a guided tour of the building arranged by Schlesinger and Mayer for visitors to its opening days. The tour which began underground culminated in the roofscape which also included the large tanks that supplied water for the store's sprinkler system of fire protection and the pumps that kept the tanks full. The store included one main 48" ventilating stack from basement

to roof supplemented by three other large stacks to carry off impure air and intake forced fresh air. The array of machinery was promoted as a crowning feature of the store's design, the equipment gathered at the vertical extremes of the building "thus taking far from the knowledge of the shoppers the heat, dirt, and noise incident to the mechanical equipment of such a structure."¹³⁶ The sense of the vitality of mechanical systems as central to the nature of a modern building made them objects of wonder worthy of architectural expression. Their description in contemporary accounts of the store's opening tour resembled Sullivan's comments on the physiological nature of mechanical systems in the tall office building. He wrote of the topmost attic story as that space in which "the circulatory system completes itself and makes its grand turn, ascending and descending. The space is filled with tanks, pipes, valves, sheaves, and mechanical etcetera that supplement and complement the force-originating plant hidden below ground in the cellar."¹³⁷ The most palpable evidence of these systems in the store building was the enveloping sense of moving air. Accounts of the opening cited mechanical ventilation as an important and innovative feature of the interior, the system providing a complete change of air every five minutes.¹³⁸ Warm air plenums set adjacent to the structural columns around the perimeter of the building were claimed to have provided an evenness of distribution over the floors "so well arranged that the atmosphere in the lowest basement forty feet below the street is as pure as in any part of the building."¹³⁹

Sullivan's fascination with such systems as novel phenomena which could be overlaid with an appropriate aesthetic appears in the design of the decorative metal registers within the entrance vestibule.¹⁴⁰ Cast iron registers in less prominent locations on upper floors were in some cases designed by Winslow Brothers.¹⁴¹ Yet those at the entrance became architectural objects that celebrated the passage of air through their grilles as emblems of the building's modernity readily appreciable by the shopping crowds. The tracery of the metalwork recalls that of an Islamic screen as an elegant ventilation device associated with feminine quarters.

Related concerns for spaciousness, daylight, and ventilation informed the design of the main sales floor. Underlying its ornamentation and furnishing were requirements for fireproof construction whose perfection demanded the creation of a complete covering for the steel structure to insure a smooth envelope of baked clay. Adler emphasized that the weakness of terra cotta fireproofing lay in the joints between individual pieces that surrounded columns, girders, and floor beams. He advised that the ideal system of fireproofing for steel assemblies would be attainable if "porous terra cotta could be applied to pillars and beams in continuous jointless masses."¹⁴² This principle underlay Sullivan's specifications for the interior finish of ceilings and columns of the Schlesinger and Mayer store. He noted that the thoroughness of protection depended on a continuous terra cotta soffit for the flooring of each level in the building "so as to make flat ceilings throughout without

disclosing the girders." Sullivan also intended to "finish all columns ...to a round section, and to avoid sharp angles wherever possible."¹⁴³ The rationale for cylindrical columns and other smooth surfaces was that angular edges represented weak joints between encasing pieces of terra cotta which would be most likely to sustain damage from heat and flame or in firefighting when water would tend to knock loose sections of fireproofing. The desire for continuity of surface as approaching an ideal of fireproof construction is evident in the early photographs of the interior of the main floor. The original finish for both columns and ceiling was a lime based whitewash known as calcimine. The image of an interior "finished in white" carried through the idea of the store as the white corner developed by the exterior of "pure white terra cotta".¹⁴⁴ The washability of the calcimine suggested a cleansed atmosphere in keeping with the movement of filtered air over the floor. The surfaces' heightened reflectivity also enhanced the brightness of the interior to suggest its illumination with "the pure white light of the sun".¹⁴⁵ To assert an image of fireproofing the sprinkler system's piping was left visible beneath the ceiling. The spatial impression of the main floor also depended on the design of the column capitals, which were executed in decorative plasterwork finished with calcimine. Neighboring stores such as Marshall Field's and The Fair had encased steel structural columns on their sales floors with the traditional fluting and capital of the Corinthian order sometimes

supporting beamed ceilings with classical moldings rendered in plaster. The Schlesinger and Mayer interior suggest spatial continuity in the flatness of the ceiling and roundness of the columns. The breadth of the capitals may have been proportioned not only with reference to the diameter of the column shaft but also with respect to the void of the ceiling's surface. The spread of their profile not only crowns the cylindrical monoliths but also shows the generosity of the columns' spacing as measured by the expansive form of the capital within the surrounding surface area of the ceiling. The resulting impression of the sales floor recalls that of a great temple hall or the interior of a mosque. One ultimate development of this type of interior in modern architecture would be Wright's central space for the Johnson Wax Building in Racine, Wisconsin of 1936 (Figure 66). There the continuous flare of the structural concrete columns expanded into circular crowns to form a ceiling as extension of the supports. Wright likened the effect of this interior to that of a mosque.¹⁴⁶ Sullivan's conception of the Schlesinger and Mayer interior as "a spacious arrangement of columns",¹⁴⁷ where continuity of surface was explored in the treatment of fireproofing and finishes, appears to point toward Wright's later recreation of an ancient spatial type.

Apart from elements of construction, the fixtures that shaped the spatial impression of the shopping floors were the showcases. As a novel commercial furnishing, the

showcase was particularly characteristic of the department store of 1900. The rebuilt State Street stores of the turn of the century featured long display cases set on marble bases with all surfaces glazed except for the minimal mahogany framing that formed the edge of their top and sides. The showcase had evolved from heavier cruder tables and closed cabinets into continuous counters of polished plate glass lining the aisles of the sales floors. As a means of display the interior showcases were analogous to the exterior show windows, displaying attractive arrangements of merchandise to customers as they moved through the Store interior, just as the show windows initiated shoppers' involvement with articles on display along the street. As the show windows formed a continuous base for the exterior of Sullivan's building, so they formed the visual base for the interior columns. In both cases the priorities of merchandising served to overwhelm the architectural tradition of the building's base or the columns' base moldings. At both scales a conventionally complete form was visually truncated in order to present merchandise within viewing distance of the passing crowds. The perfection of the glazing and the minimization of wood framing in the design of showcases corresponded to the reduction of metal work as frames for the show windows. The artfully stocked showcase was promoted as "the silent and persistent salesman that works while clerks are busy",¹⁴⁸ simultaneously fulfilling shoppers' needs and suggesting the desirability of other goods. The more elegant showcases such as those installed in Marshall

Field's 1902 building featured curved glass edges rounding the corners of the aisles (Figure 67). Their glazing and deliberately lower shelf and counter height was designed in part to reduce the number of opaque light-blocking surfaces in the store. The reduced height of the department store's showcases were considered marks of urbane modernity relative to the high shelves and vertical piling of goods familiar in older rural dry goods stores. The correspondingly lower height of shelving evident in Sullivan's drawings of interior elevations for Schlesinger and Mayer's main floor was also designed to increase the visibility and accessibility of goods to speed transactions. In addition the resulting opening up of a clerestory above shelving and showcases over the sales floor served to allow day light a clear passage into the depth of the sales floors from the windows. The sense of open passage for light above the floor fixtures also heightened an impression of ventilated spaciousness through the interiors. A State Street observer wrote of the newer generation of retail facilities that "on entering one of these stores now it is possible to see from one side or end of the huge room to the other. Goods are displayed on top of the shelving, . . . , but these displays are not carried to the extent that they detract from the airiness of the room."¹⁴⁹

The completeness and expense of fixtures varied from floor to floor in the original Schlesinger and Mayer interiors. The showcases on the main floor were representative of interior furnishing exclusively of mahogany and marble,¹⁵⁰ yet their comparatively solid rectilinear design lacked the

elegant glass curvature of the Field's showcases, a variation of which later replaced the original fixtures in Schlesinger and Mayer's. The design of the base of the showcases suggests that they were considered part of the permanent architecture. The lowest molding of the mahogany formed a continuous profile with the polished marble bases whose coved bottom merged with the marble flooring. The material continuity of floor and showcase may have corresponded in Sullivan's intention with that of column and ceiling, lending a consistent architectural treatment to the merging of surfaces underfoot and overhead. Above the first floor variations in the interior design were related to the rental value of each story. Schlesinger and Mayer paid a total annual rent on the corner property of \$112,000 which was composed of non-equal sums for each floor above the street. The largest proportion of the annual rent was paid for the street level, the next largest for the second floor, and so on, with each story farther from the sidewalk contributing proportionally less to the total rental value of the building.¹⁵¹ The most valuable floors nearest the streets were considered the most desirable sales spaces. The first three floors had a greater ceiling height than those above; the ground floor was 20 feet floor to floor, the second 16'3", the third 14'8", and those above a standard 13'9" (Figure 68). The first four floors were also completed with a suspended ceiling below the terra cotta arches between the steel beams which formed the flooring. Above these floors the terra cotta arches were left visible to form the ceiling of the sales spaces

(Figure 69). The columns on the second floor were crowned with capitals identical to those on the street level (Figure 70). Those on the third and fourth floors (Figure 70) were crowned with a smaller capital with a concave profile with different ornamental plasterwork. Above the fourth floor and round cylindrical columns were not finished with a capital below the ceiling arches. Thus the sense of the primacy of sales spaces nearer the street was embodied in these distinctions between the architecture of successive floors, as if a vestigial recognition of the older patterns of shopping in smaller buildings with goods nearer the sidewalk had been incorporated into the new department store.

The organization of the sales floors by departments derived both from the desire to induce trade and to ease handling of merchandise. The ideal arrangement of departments from the street level up would be that in which successive floors led customers' thoughts from purchase to purchase. Those articles nearest the sidewalk were those most capable of being sold to the casual shopper on impulse through the attractiveness of their display. From the viewpoint of managing stocks all merchandise arrived at the building from the east service alley for initial transfer to the topmost floors. In the upper stockrooms shipments were checked, sorted, and priced in preparation for their artful array over the sales floors. The more substantial heavier wares were arranged in departments nearest the stockrooms to minimize effort in their handling. This made room for the

ephemera of fashion in the lower floors which were given more complete architectural treatment. Above the basement the order of goods by floors in the Schlesinger and Mayer store at its opening was: first floor, gloves, handkerchiefs, hosiery, jewelry, laces, and ribbons; second floor, silks, fabrics, and material for dressmaking; third floor, millinery, lingerie, waists, women's dressing gowns, and infants' wear; fourth floor, women's costumes including suits, formal and evening gowns, wraps, and furs; fifth floor, an art exhibition of imported pottery, bronzes, and displays of cut glass; sixth floor, tapestries, draperies and curtains, and beds and bedding; seventh floor, rugs and carpets, with the store's administrative offices located in the southwest corner. The eighth floor was devoted to the restaurant, grill, and tea room with their kitchen facilities on the south side of the floor. The ninth floor housed a dressmaking department, while the tenth through twelfth stories housed stockrooms and workers' locker and rest rooms.¹⁵²

The decorative embellishment of the sales floors was intended to heighten the impression of the specialness of imported merchandise. Departments periodically advertised openings that featured stocks manufactured overseas and bought as novelties for sale exclusively by Schlesinger and Mayer.¹⁵³ As in neighboring State Street stores the prevalent theme for the decor of Schlesinger and Mayer's departments was their allusion to Paris or French culture as the pre-eminent center of fashionable style. In stores such as Marshall Field's, the sense of the building as a

mercantile palace was extended to individual sections, which were decorated as if they were parlours in an elegant residence, with comfortable waiting areas furnished and finished in the courtly style of a Parisian hôtel (Figure 71).¹⁵⁴ In the Schlesinger and Mayer store, the lingerie section of the third floor, set aside for French lace, was "decorated prettily as a French salon in white and gold," while the nearby millinery section was similarly advertised as a Parisian salon exhibiting the latest French designs. The decorative surrounds for fabrics in gowns on the fourth floor was reported to be copied after a chamber in the Louvre while the main show windows contained "a most elaborate display of Paris gowns."¹⁵⁵ Perhaps the most characteristic interior was the fifth floor "fitted up in art museum style, the walls being finished in red and black."¹⁵⁶ The floor contained a handsomely mounted exhibition of bric-a-brac and objets d'art set in a series of glass showcases and cabinets (Figure 72). The imported items included Japanese cloisonné vases and carved ivories, reproductions of bronzes from France, Austria, and Russia, sets of decorated china services from France and England, as well as Finnish, Dutch, Japanese and Viennese potteries and curios. The advertised descriptions of this exhibition characterized the items as if they were examples of original imported art works worthy of the attention of the collector or connoisseur as representatives objects of both primitive and cosmopolitan cultures abroad.¹⁵⁷

The distribution of merchandise over the upper floors of a

modern store building required Schlesinger and Mayer and their competitors to convince shoppers of the ease and safety of vertical movement by elevator. The use of the elevator was an unfamiliar form of behavior for much of the clientele.¹⁵⁸ Thus the tours of the store building on its opening days helped cultivate familiarity with the passenger lifts by taking visitors vertically through each shopping level from the basement to the roof. The floor by floor progression of the tour as a gentle tool for shaping behavior was accompanied by advertisements for Schlesinger and Mayer which noted that "roomy elevators run from floor to floor with the regularity of rail road trains."¹⁵⁹ The trustworthiness and modernity of the elevator was celebrated in the ornamental design of its cast iron, bronze plated grilles on each floor. The bank of elevators was set in front of the glazed east wall, which silhouetted the metalwork against a background of daylight. The east light wall not only brightened the sales floors but also perhaps recalled the more spatially generous settings for elevators in neighboring buildings such as the rotunda of the Masonic Temple. Linking the experience of ascending and descending with the welcoming quality of natural light may have been an architectural attempt to encourage the use of elevators by more wary shoppers. The elevators' ornamentation as a mechanized mode of movement fostered their image as special service to a higher class of trade, just as the railroad was then a more prestigious means of travel. In this sense the ornamental medallions set in the front of the elevator doors (Figure 73) recalled

the Madison Street cartouches or the wreathes at the corner entrance as a motif derived from traditional emblems of status. Compared with the elevator medallions of the earlier Guaranty Building, those of Schlesinger and Mayer's connote femininity in the delicate intricacy of their profile. Similarly the cast iron balusters of the neighboring stairways (Figure 74), compared with the bronze plated balusters of the Guaranty stairways (Figure 75), are formed of motifs whose slenderness and transparency perhaps suggested a feminine sensibility in keeping with the associations of the store. As indicated by their number, the stairways themselves were not considered the main means of facilitating movement of shoppers from floor to floor. They were primarily conceived as connections between the main floor and the adjacent major shopping levels on the second floor and in the basement. The 18 foot floor to ceiling height of the main floor required a mezzanine landing in the staircases. In the revised 1902 plan this intermediate level between the first and second floors was extended over the entire east wall of the store to provide additional selling space (Figure 76). The creation of a mezzanine as an extension of the stair landings in the original 1898 scheme not only increased floor space near the street entrances, but also provided a prospect or overlook onto the main floor as a spatially condensed version of the landings of grand staircases familiar in Parisian department stores. This economically expedient variation on an elegant architectural device seems representative of Schlesinger and Mayer Store as a project which sought an elegant

cachet within severe constraints of space and money.

The temporary decoration of interior departments corresponded to the trimming of the show windows, the adornment of rotating displays both within the store and on the street being the responsibility of the head trimmer. Interior decorative schemes, like the sidewalk displays, were varied seasonally to accommodate rotation of stocks and the special exhibitions that accompanied a series of openings through the shopping year. An instruction manual for trimmers published in 1903 advised store decorators to "make your spring trim light and airy. Your summer trim should be the lightest of the year, to give your store a cool appearance. Your fall trim should be of filled up, stocky effect, and your Christmas trim as gay and elaborate as possible."¹⁶⁰ The standard variation of interior trims relied on a vocabulary of artificial flowers and greenery bedecking temporary trellis and lattice work, festoons of vines, garlands of blossoms, arrays of palm plants, and displays of ferns, evergreens, and other naturalistic material. Arthur Fraser's decor for Marshall Field's 1904 opening was described as unexcelled in this vogue.¹⁶¹ The theme of his interior trimming was an autumnal woodland scene with lavish use of all the hues of October coloring in scenic backdrops created for the store's main aisles and interior courts. Down the block long central north-south aisle running parallel to State Street "stretched a vista of exquisite color harmony", the scene calling up "the charm that lies on the landscape and forest dressed in autumn's wonderous dyes." A series

of painted canvases draped with leaves and fitted with electric lights recalled "golden sunlight shining between branches and lending the radiance of Indian summer to the splendid coloring of the foliage."¹⁶² One year later Schlesinger and Mayer adopted a floral theme for the opening of their new facility as coinciding with the harvest time of retailing, featuring an interior "bedecked with flowers and full of music, light and color", the sales floors festooned with some 15,000 chrysanthemums, the state flower of Illinois, on opening day. The artificial flowers were each lighted by electricity with varying colors on each floor, illumined festoons recalling an exposition hall.¹⁶³

On these occasions temporary floral screens ornamented the sales floors to give spatial definition to different departments and highlight special displays of goods (Figure 77). The sense of the decorative screen as an architectural device appropriate to the floors of a department store may have informed Sullivan's design for the permanent ornamental wood partitions that surrounded special rooms for the convenience of women shoppers on different floors. These included ladies' waiting and writing rooms adjacent to restrooms set in the round northwest corner bay of the third and ninth floors (Figure 78). Surviving drawings and in situ fragments of the third floor writing and waiting rooms reveal these to be spaces deemed worthy of the architect's attention as opposed to the temporary constructed decor of the surrounding sales floors designed by the trimmers.¹⁶⁴ The ladies' waiting and writing rooms played a distinctive role in

defining the character of the turn-of-century department store, analogous to a parlour or reception hall in an elegant residence or club.¹⁶⁵ These rooms would serve as a shopper's first stop after entering the store where "she could arrange her toilette after a long ride to town through rain or dust" to prepare herself for a shopping excursion throughout the building. At the close of her visit she would return to these rooms where she "could rest, or while away the time until train hour."¹⁶⁶ The adjacent writing room included desks, chairs, and stationery to facilitate correspondence analogous to the telegraph offices in the lobbies of men's office buildings. Both spaces were included in commercial architecture to convey on either the male tenant or female shopper the sense of status that accompanied the prerogative to send messages. In the case of the department store, the letterhead of the stationary atop a handwritten note was comparable to the printed designs crowning the writing paper of a businessmen's club or hotel. In the more spatially generous and sumptuously furnished library and reading room of Marshall Field's, the analogy with comparable rooms in a men's club was carried further with carpeting, armchairs, panelled wainscoting, bookcases, tapestries, and reading lamps (Figure 79). Sullivan's writing room occupied only a single structural bay to the south of the third floor corner, serving as a vestibule to the circular rest room. In place of carpeting the floor was overlaid with a polychrome tile mosaic whose decorative border suggests that of an oriental rug similar to that used as a surface in women's

departments nearby. The screen of mahogany veneer included a single panel of Wainscoting extending the length of the room above which was set ornamental square panels composed of five overlapping layers of mahogany veneer. The overlapping of layers of veneer to create the ornamental silhouette of the wood was compared by Sullivan's followers to the orchestration of music wherein instrumental voices were overlaid as harmonic variation on the theme of a score.¹⁶⁷ The analogy to music with reference to interior partitions of the store was an expression of Sullivan's personal values in architecture, yet may also have been intended as the visual equivalent of music played in the store on its opening and perhaps on other occasions. Small orchestras were set on every floor to greet visitors coming off the elevators on opening day, while a permanent bandstand occupied a central position along the south wall of the eighth floor restaurant where violin recitals accompanied daily tea service.¹⁶⁸ An alternative early design for the ornamental screen separating the writing room from the corner rest room appears in a drawing of December 1902 (Figure 80). The intricate pattern to be created in fret sawed wood was suggestive of an outdoor latticed screen, the transparent silhouette of the wood set against the daylight from the windows of the corner bay. The analogy of the outdoors appeared in advertising of Schlesinger and Mayer's rest rooms "as soothing as shady nooks in a summer garden, await(ing) use by the weary. There one may repose in quiet, read, write letters, call friends by telephone and command every convenience and luxury."¹⁶⁹

The sense of these spaces as a cross between a club lounge and the parlour of a spacious residence appears in an early photograph (Figure 81) which shows a home-like melange of furnishings with decorative plants and oriental carpets overlaying the sheen of the mosaic floor. The focal architectural element of the corner room was a structural column at its circular center whose octagonal facing and carved wood capital recalls the veneer and plasterwork of the paired columns below within the corner entrance vestibule.

The most celebrated of the special rooms was the eighth floor dining facility that served as a composite grille, tea room, and restaurant (Figure 82). When Berlage visited Chicago in 1911, Sullivan's former draftsman, William Purcell, took him to lunch in the eighth floor restaurant of Schlesinger and Mayer's, showing him the details of this room as the building's representative interior.¹⁷⁰ Sullivan had in 1897 remodelled an upper floor of the pre-existing building as a French cafe. However, the model for the new restaurant was perhaps a space like the eighth floor dining room of Simpson-Crawford-Simpson's store in New York owned by Henry Siegel (Figure 83). Siegel's partnership in Schlesinger and Mayer's predates the drawings for their dining room, perhaps included as part of his attempt to heighten the elegance of the house. Simpson-Crawford-Simpson, one of the most elegant and established Manhattan stores, had created a dining facility intended to compare with those of exclusive metropolitan restaurants. The room's classically encased columns and beamed ceiling with frecoes, its grove of potted

trees, all enhanced its role as belevedere overlooking Sixth Avenue. The table ware, the bill of fare, the draping of tablecloths, and the folding of the napkins all bespoke a pretension intended to enhance women's sense of the store as an environment whose elegance engaged their sensibilities. Sullivan's variation of such a model was advertised as "the most sumptuous of its kind to be found in any mercantile house in America", with a seating capacity of 1,000 operating through the shopping day.¹⁷¹ The floors were of tessellated marble, the columns were of polished red African onyx with gilded plaster capitals. Jewel-studded holophotes or lenses which surrounded the electric lamps to create polychrome sources of illumination within the decorative plasterwork of the beamed ceiling. The restaurant itself was screened from the elevator lobby by mahogany partitions whose central panels were designed as an arcade featuring hemicycles of perforated fret sawed ornament. (Figure 84). This screen design complemented those of the rest rooms, each conceived by itself as just "one line of the score", with the whole of the building as the complete musical composition.¹⁷²

An advertising illustration of the restaurant shows women patrons as "devotees of the 'afternoon tea' or the 'kaffee klatsch'" for which the room was designed as an ideal setting (Figure 85).¹⁷³ The patrons at table display the fashions sold in the store. The figure in the lower right foreground was a cut from advertisements published elsewhere for Schlesinger and Mayer's new fall line of women's

costumes for 1903. The room as a setting for mutual display among the clientele thus served to shape as well as accommodate the material values of Chicago's variant of fin-de-siecle bourgeois culture. The attention to detailed refinement of the surrounding, the table settings, service, and the food itself was promoted as a characteristic of twentieth century civilization, just as the whole merchandising institution was a product of twentieth century commercial science. As Schlesinger and Mayer's "immense buying power and buying organization embrace the range of production for the world's great stores",¹⁷⁴ so the wealth of ornate materials in the restaurant garnered from abroad included gems, stones, woods, and glass from all over the world. Sullivan's interior was perhaps intended to convey the same message as a window display designed for Marshall Field's 1904 opening which celebrated that store's power to gather luxurious goods "from every corner of the earth."¹⁷⁵ The display featured an enlarged version of the seal of the city of Chicago made wholly of imported diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. The seal symbolized Field's capacity to bring a wealth of merchandise to the people of its metropolis.

The embellishment of special interiors fit within the larger idea of department stores as among the most decorative of commercial building types. As floor space for storing merchandise, the department store in its planning and construction was equivalent to the warehouse or the wholesale store. Yet the desired character of retailing environments encouraged the development of department stores as ornamented

structures distinct from more prosaic, less publicly accessible types. This contrast is illustrated in the two Chicago facilities of Marshall Field's (Figure 86). Richardson's wholesale store in the wholesale district on the west side of the Loop, completed in 1887, compares with the generation of post-fire wholesale stores and warehouses which may have served as models for this building for Field's.¹⁷⁶ Their emphasis on arcuated, masses of masonry to convey the image of fireproofing had established vocabulary which Richardson may have adapted to create a variation of a local type. By contrast Burnham's retail store for Field's completed in 1907 conformed to the conventional architecture of State Street in its light granite cladding and rectilinear elevation. The building's urbane classicism was advertised as the complement to the wholesale store's rusticated Romanesque, expressive of retailing as a cosmopolitan activity of women as opposed to wholesaling as the sober business of men from the countryside. A similar contrast is apparent in the retail and wholesale facilities of the James H. Walker Company. This firm specializing in home furnishing maintained a retail store on the southwest corner of Wabash and Adams Street just east of State (Figure 87). The retail building was designed with two-story arcades with attached columns and bracketed cornices similar to those of post-fire Bookseller's Row on State Street derived from earlier New York adaptations of Italianate palazzi.¹⁷⁷ The street level of the retail store was given over to show windows. The Walker Wholesale Store at the southwest corner of Adams

and Market Street adjacent to Richardson's building was designed by Adler and Sullivan in 1888 (Figure 87). Sullivan termed this building "the last word in the Romanesque", classifying it as one of the outstanding designs of his "masonry period".¹⁷⁸ The Walker Wholesale Store was imitative of Richardson's building in the shape and disposition of its openings, though the exterior wall itself was Bedford limestone treated as a smooth ashlar. The wall was without ornament except as carved in relief in the capitals of the piers flanking the entrance archways, giving the design a lithic severity expressive of its identity as a use type and its place in a particular kind of commercial district.

One model in pre-modern architecture for ornamental commercial buildings in Chicago as in New York had been the Venetian merchant's palace. Root had referred to Venice as an historical example of a commercial civilization which had produced rich regional tradition in art and architecture.¹⁷⁹ Venice's geographic situation in a lagoon by the Adriatic floating on marshy ground may have been reminiscent of Chicago's position on Lake Michigan's shore with fluid soils creating an analogous foundation problem. Such a comparison was implicit in Frederick Law Olmsted's site plan for the Columbian Exposition at the edge of the lake interlaced with lagoon and canal as waterways between the exhibition building groups served by gondolas. On State Street Venetian decorative culture was celebrated in a show window design featuring a small reproduction of the Ca d'Oro made of handkerchiefs before which passed a mechanically powered procession of

floats bearing dolls dressed as gondoliers (Figure 88).¹⁸⁰

The transfer of these ideas to the architecture of department stores and retail buildings was evident in Holabird and Roche's Venetian Building of 1891 and their later addition to Mandel Brothers' store completed on Madison Street in 1901. The Mandel Brothers annex may have been influenced by Sullivan's first section of the Schlesinger and Mayer store completed across the street in 1899.¹⁸¹ The Holabird and Roche building features upper stories clad in enamelled terra cotta with windows outlined in decorative relief derived from the polychrome surfaces of traditional Venetian moldings and colonettes (Figure 89-90) The building's decorative surface conveys the festive associations surrounding the activity of shopping in a department store.¹⁸² The adaptation of Venetian motifs to the lines of the structural steel bay related the annex to the neighboring renovated Mandel Brother' store which had featured upper stories remodelled as extensions of the Venetian arcades of the original Booksellers' Row from which the building had grown.

Sullivan's building across Madison Street contained a comparable ornamental treatment in the terra cotta of the upper story windows and the horizontal motif inset along the head and sill of the windows. These can be read as extensions of the ornament of the show windows below over the upper exterior. This interpretation is supported by the form of the mullions within the Chicago windows whose design as cast iron colonettes reproduced the mullion design in the show windows below. The upper windows in the original scheme

were to be framed in statuary bronze like the metal surrounding the plate glass display of the base. The continuous decorative pattern within the reveals and along the edge of the fenestration above may alternatively be read as comparable to garlands or festoons overlaying the wall not unlike the sense of embroidered trim on a plain fabric characteristic of fashions sold in the store.¹⁸³ At the opening expositions for these fashions the stores were decorated "in gala attire."¹⁸⁴ Though Sullivan's ornament does not derive explicitly from any historical source, its presence as a decoration of surfaces over the upper wall of Schlesinger and Mayer's reads as comparable in effect to Holabird and Roche's use of Venetian motifs as a decorative overlay to give identity to the department store as a type within the surrounding ornateness of a retailing district (Figure 91).

The idea of the individual department store as a decorated structure appears to have been linked to a more encompassing sense of State Street's role in the life of turn-of-the-century Chicago. State Street was the city's major parade route, having served as the avenue of celebration for processions marking the dedication of the Columbian Exposition in 1892 (Figure 92) and the victory celebration following the close of the Spanish American War in 1898.¹⁸⁵ For these occasions and for annual holidays such as the Fourth of July the department stores along the street were completely covered with bunting, pennants, and patriotic emblems, their cornices crowned by American flags (Figure 93). In the original project renderings of the Schlesinger and Mayer store

the flagpole atop the rounded corner had been crowned with the national colors as opposed to the flag of the individual house. The bedecking of State Street was Chicago's elaborate version of the street fair as an event that gained popularity across the country in the 1890s both to promote merchandising and to commemorate civic spirit.¹⁸⁶ The street fair was the downtown merchants' answer to the country fair, designed to draw people into the city to sample the stores as they partook of a staged celebration. The major celebration of this type in the era of 1900 was an autumn festival held in October 1899 to coincide with the fall opening of the State Street stores (Figure 94).¹⁸⁷ The event may have been modelled on the famous Diamond Jubilee in London of 1897 held to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the reign of Queen Victoria.¹⁸⁸ As a setting for comparable pageantry, State Street was decorated for a length of one and a half miles through the heart of the retail corridor as a Court of Honor, modelled on the original Court of Honor as the central space of the Columbian Exposition six years before (Figure 95). The department stores were each extensively decorated as analogous to the exposition buildings on the world's fair grounds. Large triumphal arches were erected at the northern and southern ends of the street. In between strings of electric lights were run along the flagpoles of the adjacent department stores, with vertical strings running the full height of the taller buildings. The resulting effect reproduced that of the Columbian Exposition illuminated by electricity at night. The individual stores were decorated with bunting

and special displays throughout their State Street windows.

Sullivan 's building was thus conceived within the context of State Street as setting for both daytime and nighttime civic celebration. Advertisements for the opening of Schlesinger and Mayer's in 1903 featured views of the building at night which show its structural cage silhouetted against the brightness of illuminated displays within the store advertised as evening attractions (Figure 96). The harsh brilliance of State Street at night made window shopping in the evening part of Chicago's life after dark comparable to nearby theaters with illuminated marquees.¹⁸⁹ In daylight the image of the store building was reversed, the ornamented whiteness of the upper wall conveying the image of an exposition building (Figure 91). The ambition of State Street stores to attract visitors from outside Chicago and to serve as the showpieces of its commercial culture was a consistent theme of the advertising texts accompanying the building's opening. In the sense Sullivan's design took its place within the sense of its street as the permanent commercial exhibition of Chicago. Its original white marble and completed white terra cotta may thus have been Sullivan's accommodation to the prevailing role of State Street as the retailing environment whose architectural imagery predated and may in fact have informed that of the World's Fair. The role of the street in the life of the city in the decade after the Columbian Exposition was thus to perpetuate the spirit of civic success realized to an unprecedented degree in 1893. Understood in this context it is ironic that Sullivan's last major

building whose whiteness was accepted as a forerunner of that of the modern movement, evidently rose as a continuation of the imagery of the White City. Sullivan had condemned the blanched classicism of the Columbian Exposition as the end of the development of a new architecture in Chicago.¹⁹⁰

Yet it appears that his one subsequent work which went farthest toward the realization of such an architecture was born of the sense of the department store as the type most analogous to the architecture of the Fair.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. "The World's Largest Store" The Fair, Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII (1), January 1, 1898, 43.
2. Samuel H. Adams, "The Conduct of Great Businesses (I); The Department Store", Scribner's Magazine XXI (1), January 1897, 3-27. Recent studies include Susan Porter Benson, "A Great Theater": Saleswomen, Customers, and Managers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940. Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1983.
3. A representative critique of the American department store at the turn of the century is found in two articles, "The Department Store in the East" Arena XXII, August 1899, 165-186, and "The Department Store in the West" Arena XXII, September 1899, 320-341. These reviews present the big stores as comparable to corporate trusts in their aggressive methods of merchandising and continuing expansion. Cf. Annie M. Maclean "Two Weeks in Department Stores" American Journal of Sociology IV (May 1899), 721 - 41, which exposes the stores' habitual treatment of sales girls.
4. Sullivan owned the works of Chicago's chief critic of its bourgeois culture, sociologist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), including The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899) in which Veblen introduced the phrase 'conspicuous consumption' to characterize the way of life of the city's upper classes. Sullivan's critique of Chicago's commercial culture appeared in his Democracy; A Man-Search (1908), Elaine Hedges (Ed.), Detroit 1961. Hugh D. Duncan develops a similar theme in his Culture and Democracy, Totowa, N.J. 1965, Part II, "Money as a Symbol of Life in the Middle West", 81-154.
5. On Sullivan's attitude toward the commercialization of architecture, representative texts include Kindergarten Chat XXIII, "An Office Building" (1901), in Isabella Athey (Ed.), Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings, New York 1947, 75-79. His views on Burnham's promotion of neoclassicism as the commercialization of his art first appeared in a letter to poet Harriett Monroe, April 10, 1905, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago. Sullivan developed these views with reference to the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in The Autobiography of an Idea, New York 1924, 317-30.
6. Sullivan equated the department store with the merchandising of classical or other historical styles in the

commercial architecture of his time in Kindergarten Chat V, "An Hotel" (1901), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 27, and in "The Young Man in Architecture" (1900), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 214. Cf. Frank Lloyd Wright's remarks on Marshall Field's and The Fair in "The Art and Craft of the Machine", (Chicago Architectural Club), Catalogue of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club, Chicago 1901, 8, 10.

7. The clear and complete statement of this position is Wright's "The Art and Craft of the Machine", op. cit.
8. "The New Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Chicago", Brickbuilder XII (5), May 1903, 101.
9. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" 1896, in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 202.
10. Ibid., 202.
11. Ibid., 205
12. Wright, "Louis H. Sullivan--His Work", Architectural Record LVI, July 1924, 29.
13. Lyndon P. Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building; An Attempt to Give Functional Expression to the Architecture of a Department Store", Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 59.
14. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XI, "A Department Store", 1901 in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 40.
15. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets", Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20.
16. Lyndon Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building", Architectural Record XVI July 1904, 59.
17. John Edelman, "Pessimism of Modern Architecture", Engineering Magazine III (1), April 1892, 48.
18. Ibid., 47.
19. Samuel Adams, "The Department Store", Scribner's Magazine XXI (1), January 1897, 4-6.
20. Ibid., 6-7, 10-12.
21. On Marshall Field's presentation of its uniform policies for merchandising, see Robert W. Twyman, History of Marshall Field & Co. 1852-1906, Philadelphia 1954, Chapter X: Customer Services, 121-135.
22. "Growth of the Big Stores", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, XXVIII, August 6, 1898, 25.

23. Sullivan, "Sub-structure at the New Schlesinger and Mayer Store Building", Engineering Record XLVII(8), February 21, 1903, 194.
24. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Tribune, October 10, 1903, 5.
25. On Marshall Field's expansion of its buying and manufacturing operations circa 1900, see Twyman, op. cit., 97-105.
26. On the world of the buyers, see Samuel Adams, "The Department Store", Scribner's Magazine XXI(1), January 1897, 9-10, 12-14.
27. By 1890 Schlesinger and Mayer advertised buying offices in New York, Paris, London, Vienna, and Berlin. Among State Street retailers, only Marshall Field's advertised a more extensive international purchasing network, with some sixteen offices world wide in Europe, the Near East, and the Far East.
28. On Chicago's central role in the regional dry goods trade, "Mercantile Annexation", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, XXVIII, September 10, 1898, 11.
29. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Inter Ocean, October 9, 1903, 12.
30. Advertisement for Marshall Field & Co., quoted in Merchants Record and Show Window XIII, 1903, 122.
31. H. Walter Scott, "One American Principle; Some Comparisons of the Manner in which American and European Merchants Treat Their Customers", Merchants Records and Show Window XV (4), October 1904, 17-18. Cf. J.H. Phillips, "London Shopkeeping Methods", Merchants Record and Show Window XII (1), January 1903, 3.
32. "Practical Store Service; Present Day Retailing", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIII, August 15, 1903, 41.
33. "Modern Store Making", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, October 15, 1903, 12.
34. On the meaning of clothing in democratic society, see Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans, Vol. III; The Democratic Experience. New York, 1973.
35. On the relation between State Street and the Columbian Exposition, see Russell Lewis, "Everything Under One Roof: World's Fairs and Department Stores in Paris and Chicago" Chicago History XII (3), Fall 1983, 28-47.

36. On the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building, see Joseph K. Freitag, "The Greatest of All Fair Buildings", Engineering Magazine III (4), July 1892, 503-511, and Donald Hoffman, "Clear Span Rivalry: The World's Fairs of 1889-1893", J.S.A.H. XXIX (1), March 1970, 48-50.
37. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Record Herald, October 7, 1903, 8.
38. Advertisements for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Inter Ocean, October 8, 1903, 12, and Chicago Inter Ocean, October 15, 1903, 12.
39. Clowry Chapman, "A Great Retail Store and Its System", System V, March 1904, 158.
40. On the size of the Schlesinger and Mayer work force, see Economist, XVII September 19, 1896, 310.
41. "Building Ordinances of the City of Chicago" in John H. Jones and Fred A. Britten (Eds.), A Half Century of Chicago Building. Chicago 1910, 168-172.
42. "New State Street Firm; H.G. Selfridge & Co. Buys Out Schlesinger and Mayer" Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIV, May 21 1904, 37.
43. On the range of special rooms, services, activities within buildings like Schlesinger and Mayer's, see "The Modern Department Store and the Features Which Most Tend to Make It So", Dry Goods Economist LVII, October 24, 1903 51-53.
44. Benjamin F. Schlesinger, "How to Bring Visitors into the Store", System IX, March 1906, 202, cited in Susan P. Benson, op. cit., 118.
45. Advertisement for Marshall Field's quoted in "Hints to Retailers and State Street Observations", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, October 22, 1898, 45.
46. "The Needs of the Retail Quarter", Economist III, February 22, 1890, 200.
47. Edward A. Filene quoted in Echo (New York) XXVI, November 4, 1927, cited in Susan Porter Benson, op. cit., 110.
48. "Modern Store Making", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, November 19, 1898, 12.
49. Lyndon Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building", Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 59.

50. Ibid.
51. On the use of the show window in the early 19th century helpful sources are English Shop Fronts from Contemporary Source Books 1792-1840. New York 1970. For documentation of French shop fronts of the same period, see Hector Lefuel, Boutiques parisiennes du Premier Empire, Paris 1925.
52. Harry E. Resseguie, "A.T. Stewart's Marble Palace-- The Cradle of the Department Store", New York Historical Society XLVIII, April 1964, 140-41. Resseguie suggests that the plate glass in A.T. Stewart's was an American adaptation of the show windows of London's Regent Street.
53. Robert W. Twyman, History of Marshall Field & Co., Philadelphia 1956, 5.
54. Early use of continuous show windows along the ground floor of New York department stores covering an entire block front appeared in the second A.T. Stewart Store (1866) on Broadway between 9th and 10th Streets, and in McCreery's Dry Goods Store (1868) at 801 Broadway. See Margot Gayle, Cast Iron Architecture in New York; A Photographic Survey. New York 1974, 160-163.
55. On Macy's development of the Christmas display window, see Ralph M. Hower, History of Macy's of New York 1858-1919, Cambridge, 1946, 118, 169, 275. Cf. Leonard G. Marcus, The American Store Window, New York 1978, 13.
56. On the appearance of showwindows in Paris department stores of the 1860s and 1870s, see Bernard Marrey Les Grands Magasins. Paris 1979.
57. Sources for Van Osdel's introduction of the entresol to State Street in post-fire Palmer House appear in Cesar Daly's presentation of the commercial lower floors of Parisian apartment houses in his Architecture privee sous Napoleon III, Paris 1864. On the Parisian origins of the Mandel Brothers' remodelled front of 1897-98, see Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, March 12, 1898, 25.
58. Sullivan noted his impressions of Haussmann's Paris and his recollection of window shopping along its boulevards after arriving to study at the Ecole in 1874 in The Autobiography of an Idea, 226-27. Cf. His remarks on Chicago's absence of Parisian virtues in Kindergarten Chat XXIV, "Another City" (1901), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 110.
59. On the relation between the show window and the newspaper advertisement, see A. Mershon, "Window Dressing an Art", Merchants Record and Show Window XIII (1),

- July 1903, 26; W. Sawyer, "Advertising That Pays", M.R.S.W. XIV (6), June 1904, 227-228, E. Oldham, "The Kinship between the Show Window and the Newspaper Ad", M.R.S.W.XV (1), July 1904, 33-34. Cf. Articles on "Window Trimming", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIII, (1-8), July 4 - August 22, 1903.
60. On the social class and pretensions of women who patronized State Street stores, a helpful source is Dorothy Aldis, We're Going to Town 1st Ed. Indianapolis 1952, Chicago Historical Society, an account of shopping at Marshall Field & Co. in the 1890s. On the ladies' society of the avenues, see Herma Clark, The Elegant Eighties When Chicago Was Young. Chicago 1941.
61. A. Mershon, "Window Dressing an Art", Merchants Record and Show Window XIII (1), July 1903, 26.
62. Ibid.,
63. On the placement of mounted newspaper advertisements in the State Street windows, see "Hints to Retailers and State Street Observations", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, October 15, 1898, 71. On the rotation of displays through the week, see "Window Dressing and Interior Store Decoration", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXIX, November 4, 1899, 51.
64. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Daily News October 14, 1903, 3.
65. "The World's Largest Store" (The Fair), Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII (1), January 1, 1898, 45-47.
66. Reference to L. Frank Baum, author of The Wizard of Oz, as a key individual in the founding of both The Show Window (1897) and the National Association of Window Trimmers of America in 1898 appears in Leonard S. Marcus, The American Store Window. New York 1978, 12, 16. Baum's publication first appeared as The Show Window (1897-1902) changing its editor and ownership in 1903 to become The Merchants Record and Show Window through 1939.
67. Report on the Third Annual Convention of the N.A.W.T.A., The Show Window V, 1899, 61.
68. The Show Window V, 1899, 43.
69. "Window Trimming", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIII (7) August 15, 1903, 59.
70. "Window Trimming", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, XXXIII, (8), August 22, 1903, 71.

71. On the attraction of the passing shopper to the show window, see L. Frank Baum, The Show Window V, 1899, 141.
72. "Window Gazers Earn Money", The Show Window V, 1899, 107.
73. On the theory of display design, two contemporary handbooks for trimmers were L. Frank Baum, The Art of Decorating Dry Goods Windows, Chicago 1899, and Charles A. Tracy, The Art of Decorating Show Windows and Interiors A complete Manual of Window Trimming, Chicago, Merchants Record Company, 1903.
74. "Art through Windows", Merchants Record and Show Window XV (6), December 1904, 29.
75. Windows representative of the relation between fashion and display with floral motifs include those of Charles A. Stevens & Bros., Chicago, a competitor for the highest class of trade situated between Marshall Field's and Schlesinger and Mayer on the east side of State Street. The Show Window XI, 1902, 207.
76. Representative of the trade in artificial foliate decorations for show windows were the notices of Carl Netschert, Chicago in The Show Window XV (2), August 1904. Netschert's company supplied Chicago stores with naturalistic trimmings based on "careful study of the windows on the boulevards in Paris, Berlin, Vienna and other large continental cities", the stock offering decorations imitative of the latest European trends.
77. For suggestive hints on the use of natural foliage in Window display, see the series of articles on "Window Trimming" in the Chicago Dry Goods Reporter which appeared weekly during 1899.
78. On the relation between agricultural prosperity and the dry goods trade, see "Another Big Wheat Crop", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII June 4, 1898, 9; "The Horn of Plenty", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII (30), July 23, 1898, 23.
79. Cover Design. Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII (30) July 23, 1898, 27.
80. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets", Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20. Published plans of the store as built also label the depth of the display bays along the street as "showrooms". Prominent Buildings Erected by the George A. Fuller Company. Chicago 1910, Plans of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co. Building.
81. Discussion of the condensation problem within show windows appeared in the weekly column "Hints to Retailers and

- State Street Observations", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, through 1898.
82. Specifications for the ideal construction of the modern show window appear (The Merchants Records Co.), The Art of Decorating Show Windows and (Store) Interiors, 4th Ed., Chicago 1909.
 83. "Along State Street", Merchants Record and Show Window XV (2), August 1904, 104.
 84. Ibid.
 85. Prof. Edmund Buckley, University of Chicago, cited in "Art Through Windows", Merchants Record and Show Window XV, (6), December 1904, 29.
 86. Ibid.
 87. A. Mershon, "Window Dressing an Art", Merchants Record and Show Window XIII (1), July 1903, 26.
 88. Lillie H. French, "Shopping in New York", The Century LXI (5) March 1901, 651.
 89. "Window Dressing and Interior Store Decoration", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII (30), July 23, 1898, 89.
 90. Promotional descriptions of the properties of Luxfer prisms included a publisher's announcement in the (Chicago) Architectural Reviewer I, 1897, 104-109.
 91. This method of construction for glazed paving was described in an advertisement for the "'Perfection' Luminous Sidewalk Light", Construction News XI, September 15 1900, 225. The published Fuller plan of the completed 1903 building noted an "Illuminating Prism Sidewalk" around the perimeter of the ground floor, as had the ground floor plan of the original 1898 design.
 92. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" (1896), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 203, 205.
 93. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat V, "An Hotel" (1901), in Athey (Ed), op. cit., 27.
 94. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets", Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20.
 95. Lyndon Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building", Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 59
 96. Root, "Architectural Ornamentation" (1885), in Donald Hoffmann (Ed.), The Meaning of Architecture; Buildings and Writings by John Wellborn Root, New York 1967, 18.

Henry Austin Dobson (1840-1921), English poet whose principal anthology Vignettes in Rhyme was published in the United States in 1880.

97. Ibid. Root cites Ruskin as his authority for subsequent thoughts in this same essay. He was apparently adapting Ruskin's views as developed in The Stones of Venice to the conditions of Chicago commercial architecture.
98. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets", Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20.
99. George Elmslie as paraphrased in David Gebhard, "Louis Sullivan and George Grant Elmslie", J.S.A.H. XIX (2), May 1960, 64. Cf. Morrison, Louis Sullivan, New York 1935, 201.
100. Sullivan published a selection of photographs of crystalline snowflakes under the title "Nature as an Ornamentalist", Architectural Record IX, April 1900, 441-449.
101. On the Merchants' Loan and Trust Building, see rendering and description in Inland Architect and News Record XXXIII (4), May 1899, 36, and Construction News XI, September 15, 1900. On Marshall Field's interest in the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company, see Twyman, op. cit., 86.
102. Advertisement for Marshall Field's quoted in "Short Lengths for Ad Men", Merchants Record and Show Window,
103. Contemporary description of the Field entrance cited in Robert Twyman, History Marshall Field and Company 1852-1906, Philadelphia 1952, 156. Cf. John Dennis, Jr. "Marshall Field", Everybody's Magazine XIV (3), March 1906, 297.
104. Advertisement for Marshall Field & Co., Chicago Tribune, October 1, 1902, 16.
105. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Inter Ocean, October 8, 1903, 12. The phrase "something new under the sun" appears in Sullivan's characterization of "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" (1896), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 202, and in his description of the steel frame in The Autobiography of an Idea, 313. This suggests that Sullivan may have authored some of the advertising texts for the opening of the Schlesinger and Mayer department store as a similar modern type.
106. Ibid.

107. The sidewalk display case was a tradition along State Street still in use at the turn of the century, as discussed in "Window Dressing and Interior Store Decoration", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXIX, November 4, 1899, 51.
108. On the ritual of arriving for shopping at Marshall Field's, see Twyman, op. cit., 123. Cf. Dorothy Aldis, We're Going to Town, 1st Ed., Indianapolis, 1952, Chicago Historical Society, for description of the shopping ritual at Marshall Field & Co. around 1890.
109. On the identity of Michigan Avenue as a promenade, and the character of the Auditorium entrance on that street, see Edward A. Garczynski, The Auditorium, Chicago 1890, 56-57.
110. The mosaic border of the floor of the south State Street doorway (Figure 49) and that of the floor of the corner circular entrance (Figure 55) consist of patterns similar to those rendered in white terra cotta forming the ornamental bands across the upper floors on the exterior. This resemblance suggests an attempt to create an organic unity through the surfaces of the building from inside to outside. The similarity in these forms also suggests a single designer of the ornament, most probably Elmslie.
111. Elmslie claimed responsibility on the Schlesinger and Mayer Building for "all the ornamental work and also the design of the shape and the complete working out of the projecting curved corner, which was not in the original design." George Elmslie to Frank Lloyd Wright, June 12, 1936, J.S.A.H. XX (3), October 1961, 140.
112. Alternative designs for the ceiling veneer of the outer vestibule are shown on two working drawings dated September 15, 1902. The first shows the ceiling made of ten sections, while a second shows the whole surface as a radial sweep of veneer without panelled sections. The second design as built demonstrates the more innovative capabilities of woodworking of that time.
113. Advertisement for Marshall Field's quoted in "Hints to Retailers and State Street Observations", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, October 22, 1898, 45.
114. On the analogy of the department store to a social club, see Susan Porter Benson, op. cit. 116-117.
115. "Window Dressing and Interior Store Decoration", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, October 1, 1898, 59.

116. The arrangement of the ideal department for dress goods as exemplified in that of Marshall Field's is described in "Modern Store Making", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, October 15, 1898, 37.
117. "The State Street Stores", Economist XV, June 13, 1896, 728-29.
118. On the destruction of partitions as indication of commercial growth, see advertisements for Schlesinger and Mayer's expansion through to Wabash Avenue in Chicago(Sunday) Tribune, May 31, 1896, 43; June 14, 1896, 41; June 21, 1896, 36; June 28, 1896, 33,39.
119. On the importance of the open plan, and the related arrangement of entrances stairways, elevators, and fixtures in buildings of Schlesinger and Mayer's type, see John L. Mauran, "The Department Store Plan", Brickbuilder XVII, 1908, 252-255.
120. "State Street Gets \$350,000 A Day in Trade", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXIX, September 2, 1899, 55.
121. "Growth of the Big Stores", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, August 6, 1898, 25.
122. "Modern Store Fittings; Suggestions from State Street", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, June 18, 1898, 17.
123. "Fire Protection in Department Stores", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIV, May 14, 1904, 17.
124. "Inside of the Store", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXIX, December 23, 1899, 15.
125. Ibid.
126. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets", Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20.
127. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Record Herald, October 7, 1903, 8.
128. "Modern Store Fittings; Suggestions from State Street", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, XVIII, June 18, 1898, 17.
129. "Modern Store Lighting", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, August 8, 1903, 53.
130. "Growth of the Big Stores", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, August 6, 1898, 25.
131. On the use of prismatic glass in State Street retail facilities, see, "Modern Store Fittings; Suggestions

- from State Street", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, June 18, 1898, 13, and "Modern Store Lighting", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, XXVIII (3), January 15, 1898, 13-15.
132. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Tribune, October 10, 1903, 5.
133. On Marshall Field's innovative system of combining arc and incandescent lights, see D. H. Howard, "Progress in Store Lighting", Merchants Record and Show Window XII (1), January 1903, 4-5.
134. "Store Heating", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, September 17, 1898, 15.
135. On perceived deficiencies in cooling and ventilating store interiors, see "Hints to Retailers and State Street Observations", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, June 4, 1898, 39, and XXVIII, October 22, 1898 45, Cf. "Modern Store Fittings; Suggestions from State Street", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, June 18, 1898, 13.
136. An account of the guided tour of the Schlesinger and Mayer Building at its 1903 opening appeared in, "New Store A Marvel", Chicago Record-Herald, October 13, 1903, 13. For description of the mechanical plant, see also "Large Crowds at Big New Store", Chicago Journal, October 12, 1903, 2.
137. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" (1896), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 203.
138. "Large Crowds at Big New Store", Chicago Journal, October 12, 1903, 2.
139. "Palatial Store for Chicago Shoppers", Chicago Inter Ocean, October 14, 1903, 7.
140. Sullivan recorded his interest in the architectural design of lighting fixtures in his retrospective "Development of Construction", Economist LV (2), June 24, 1916, 1252. His ornamental facings for ventilation ducts were incorporated in the interior architecture of earlier theater projects including the renovation of McVicker's Theater (1887), the Chicago Auditorium (1887-1889), and in the Schiller Building (1891-92).
141. Winslow Brothers' design for ornamental iron grilles for the upper restaurant and kitchen are mentioned in a letter from Sullivan to George A. Fuller Company the general contractors, November 1903. Copybook of Business Letters of Louis H. Sullivan, April 1903-

- January 9, 1905, Microfilm Frame 218. Burnham Library Art Institute of Chicago.
142. Dankmar Adler, "Slow Burning and Fireproof Construction (Part II)", Inland Architect XXVII (1), February 1896, 3-4.
 143. Sullivan, "Opinions on the Use of Burned Clay for Fireproofing", Brickbuilder VII (9), September 1898, 189-190
 144. "Palatial Store for Chicago Shoppers", Chicago Inter Ocean, October 14, 1903, 7.
 145. The purity and whiteness of sunlight as opposed to electric light were praised in discussions of store interiors, such as "Colors Under Artificial Lighting", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIII, August 29, 1903, 123.
 146. Neil Levine records Wright's analogy of the interior hall of the Johnson Wax Building to a mosque in a forthcoming monograph on the work of Frank Lloyd Wright after 1910.
 147. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets", Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898, 20.
 148. "The Modern Show Case", Merchants Record and Show Window XIII (1), July 1903, 6. Cf. "Practical Store Service", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXXIII, August 15, 1903, 46-47.
 149. "Modern Store Fittings: Suggestions from State Street", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, June 18, 1898, 17.
 150. "New Store a Marvel", Chicago Record-Herald, October 13, 1903, 13.
 151. Unsigned note dated 1903 regarding the total annual rental for Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Carson-Pirie-Scott and Co. Archives, Chicago. The note divides the total annual rental for the store property into subtotals for each floor which decrease with their distance from the street.
 152. Description of the interior arrangement of Schlesinger and Mayer's floors appeared in "Large Crowds at Big New Store", Chicago Journal, October 12, 1903, 2.
 153. For a description of imported goods at one such Schlesinger and Mayer opening, see "Spring Openings; Imported Costumes and Millinery", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, April 2, 1898, 18.
 154. "Modern Store Making", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, October 15, 1898, 12, 37. Description of

Retail Cloak and Costume Department of Marshall Field's.

155. "Large Crowds at Big New Store", Chicago Journal, October 12, 1903, 2.
156. "New Twelve Story Store Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago", Dry Goods Economist (New York), LVII, October 24, 1903, 82.
157. Description of Schlesinger and Mayer's stock of imported art wares appeared in Chicago Evening Post, November 21, 1903, 26.
158. "The Needs of the Retail Quarter", Economist III, February 22, 1890, 200.
159. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Record Herald, October 7, 1903, 8.
160. (The Merchants Record Company), "Interior Decorations", in The Art of Decorating Show Windows and Store Interiors, 4th Edition, Chicago, 1909, 171.
161. "A Magnificent Opening", Merchants Record and Show Window XV (5), November 1904.
162. Ibid.
163. "Large Crowds at Big New Store", Chicago Journal, October 12, 1903, 2.
164. For examples of temporary decorative interior screens designed by store trimmers, (The Merchants Record Co.) op. cit., "Interior Decorations", 168-181.
165. On the role of the waiting and writing rooms as characteristic of the department store, see "Comfort for the Shopper", Merchants Record and Show Window XII, 1903, 84.
166. "The Modern Department Store", Dry Goods Economist (New York) LVII, October 24, 1903, 51.
167. William G. Purcell. Unpublished Note in Correspondence File, Sullivan Centennial Exhibition (1956), Art Institute of Chicago.
168. The presence of "orchestras" on each floor at the opening was noted in "New Twelve Story Store (Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago)", Dry Goods Economist (New York) LVII, October 24, 1903, 82. Daily violin recitals in the restaurant were noted in an advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer October 30, 1903.

169. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Record Herald, October 7, 1903, 8.
170. William G. Purcell. Unpublished Note in Correspondence File, Sullivan Centennial Exhibition (1956), Art Institute of Chicago.
171. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Tribune, October 9, 1903, 8.
172. William G. Purcell. Unpublished Note in Correspondence File, Sullivan Centennial Exhibition (1956), Art Institute of Chicago.
173. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Post October 30, 1903.
174. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer, Chicago Journal, November 12, 1903.
175. "A Great Exposition; Magnificent Decorating a Feature of Marshall Field & Co.'s Fall Exposition", Merchants Record and Show Window XV (5), November 1904, 21.
176. Illustrations and descriptions of local wholesale structures that perhaps were sources for Richardson's building appear in (Chicago) The Land Owner 1869 - 73. Cf. James O'Gorman, "The Marshall Field Wholesale Store: Materials Toward a Monograph", J.S.A.H. XXXVII (3), October 1978, 175-194.
177. An account of operations and illustration of the wholesale and retail stores of the James H. Walker Company appear in the Chicago Sunday Inter Ocean, August 6, 1893, 6. On Adler and Sullivan's Walker Building, see Hugh Morrison, op. cit., 114-116.
178. Wright recorded Sullivan's description of the Walker design in Genius and the Mobocracy, 2nd Ed., New York, 1971, 63. Sullivan included the building with the Auditorium in his "masonry period" in a letter to Claude Bragdon, November 8, 1903, reprinted in Claude Bragdon, "Letters from Louis Sullivan", Architecture LXIV, July 1931, 9.
179. John Wellborn Root, "Architectural Ornamentation" (1885) in Donald Hoffmann (Ed.), The Meaning of Architectures; Buildings and Writings by John Wellborn Root, Baltimore 1973, 20.
180. Show window design for "A Scene in Venice", in (The Merchants Record Company), The Art of Decorating Show Windows and Store Interiors 4th Ed., Chicago 1909, 116-117.

181. Peter B. Wight, "Fireproofing; The Central Trading Company's New Building at Chicago", Brickbuilder X (5), May 1901, 103 and Plates 33, 40.
182. On Venetian polychrome masonry as one historical model for a modern polychromy in architectural terra cotta, see Elmer E. Garnsey, "Notes on Terra Cotta for Exterior Polychrome Decoration", Brickbuilder VII (6), June 1898, 119-121.
183. Description of the fashionability of elaborate trim in dressmaking appears in "Commercial Fashions", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, November 12, 1898, 39.
184. "Spring Openings; State Street Stores in Gala Attire", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, April 2, 1898, 17.
185. Photographs of the 1892 Dedication Day parade for the Columbian Exposition appear in Paul Gilbert and Charles Bryson, Chicago and Its Makers, Chicago 1929, 204, 206, 209.
186. "The Street Fair", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII, September 3, 1898, 12ff.
187. "Autumn Festival", Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXIX, October 7, 1899.
188. On the Victorian Diamond Jubilee of 1897 as model for comparable events in the United States, see "Street Pageantry; A New Field for Architecture and Sculpture", (Architectural League of America), Architectural Annual II, Philadelphia 1901, 233-240.
189. The possibilities for an illuminated downtown to create a nighttime Chicago were discussed in (Chicago) The Electric City a turn-of-the-century periodical promoting a range uses for electrification in the metropolitan region.
190. On Sullivan's involvement with the criticism of the Columbian Exposition, see David H. Crook, "Louis Sullivan and the Golden Doorway", J.S.A.H. XXVI (4), December 1967, 250-58.

CHAPTER V

CARSON-PIRIE-SCOTT AND ARCHITECTURAL THEORY AND PRACTICE
IN CHICAGO

Carson-Pirie-Scott may be understood to have emerged from a body of ideas unique to its place and time. Though the building can be studied solely in terms of Sullivan's personal achievement, its formal character, as Giedion noted, appears to represent the collective aspirations of the Chicago School. Study of earlier buildings on State Street shows one way in which Sullivan's forms owe their origins to surrounding precedents. Yet Carson-Pirie-Scott may also be understood as a work enmeshed in a theoretical dialogue that had developed among Sullivan's colleagues in Chicago since the mid 1880s and which continued to inform regional developments to about 1910. Though Sullivan's individual artistic position had matured by the turn of the century, it appears useful to explore how his speculations were associated with those of his contemporaries. Such a study helps clarify the ways in which their production derived from the history of 19th century thought on architecture. At the same time buildings such as Carson-Pirie-Scott show how theoretical resources were combined with the conditions of practice in Chicago, particularly the rapid and multi-faceted development of the building industry there after 1871. Particular works through 1900 thus become legible as products of both a tradition of ideas on

architecture and a transformation of possibilities for material expression specific to the Chicago of Sullivan's time.

Though Sullivan himself was repeatedly identified as the leading thinker of his generation among Chicago architects, his writings compare closely with those of an unusually thoughtful group of mentors, colleagues, and followers. Among the figures of the preceding generation, the architect acknowledged to have played a fundamental role in Chicago developments was William LeBaron Jenney (1832-1907).¹

Jenney's pioneering work with the metal frame in such buildings as the Home Insurance made his an authoritative voice in the city's architectural circle. Jenney had been Sullivan's first employer in Chicago in 1873-74, and during the same period both William Holabird and Martin Roche apprenticed in his office. Jenney's engineering education in France contributed to his architectural position informed by an affinity for both the French and English Gothic Revivals. His work in theory and practice displayed consistent sympathies with these broader movements of his time. Sullivan's closest colleague was his partner, Dankmar Adler (1844-1900), with whom he enjoyed a mutually formative working relationship during the years of their association from 1881 to 1895.² Adler enjoyed the highest regard of his Chicago colleagues, primarily because of the breadth and soundness of his technical knowledge which complemented a commitment to architecture's development as

an art. In this respect he evidently served as sympathetic critic to Sullivan's development during their collaboration. Among Sullivan's contemporaries the architect for which he consistently expressed high regard was John Wellborn Root (1850-1891).³ Root's writings and buildings during his maturity in the 1880s comprise the most outstanding individual achievement of the Chicago School outside of Sullivan's own, and were perhaps more influential for Sullivan's contribution than has yet been appreciated. Of those younger architects who either worked for Adler and Sullivan or acknowledged Sullivan's inspiration for their own work, Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) may be taken as the chief representative. His apprenticeship in Adler and Sullivan's office from 1887 to 1893 suggests that he developed the theoretical position of his mentors in his early writings on architecture dating from the turn of the century to about 1910.⁴ Wright's essays from this period will thus here be considered as exemplary of ideas current in Sullivan's office through the time of Carson-Pirie-Scott.

The range of speculative thought produced by these leading figures touched on almost every imaginable concern of architecture. One challenge is to select and order those ideas that comprised the essence of what may be understood as a collective position. Though their individual views were not identical, what is striking is the degree of common ground they shared in terms of basic principles that could guide their activity. Of these,

perhaps the most fundamental was their sense of the transformed conditions of their place and time as transforming determinants of a new architecture. They repeatedly acknowledged what was new in their historical situation, They cited facets of their civilization's modernity to which the building arts must conform. The ordering of society around commercial activity and the accommodations demanded for this purpose were considered to be without precedent. The scale, requirements and fabrication of modern commercial structures made them new in every essential characteristic. Architecture's task was to adjust itself to these radically changed conditions as the basis of its future development. Thus Root wrote in 1890:

We must grant that, to be true, architecture must normally express the conditions of life about and within it, not in a fragmentary and spasmodic way, but in the mass and structure; the life of the building, in large and comprehensive type....

If the new art is to come, I believe it will be a rational and steady growth from practical conditions outward and upward toward a more or less spiritual expression, and that no man has the right to borrow from another age an architectural idea evolved from the life of that age, unless it fits our life as normally and fully as it fitted the other. I say practical conditions, and this is fully meant--practical conditions without qualifications or abridgement.⁵

Root evidently sought a theoretical foundation for this belief not only in common sense or a popular pragmatism. One source for this statement in 19th century

thought on architecture was the work of Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), whose essay of 1869 "Über Baustile" Root translated and published in the Inland Architect several months before under the title "Development of Architectural Style".⁶ Root's translated essay included Semper's definition of the term 'style' as "the conformity of an art object with the circumstances of its origin and the conditions and circumstances of its development."⁷ Semper's ideas may have come to the attention of Root and other Chicago architects through the presence of Frederick Baumann (1826-1921).⁸ In a symposium chaired by Root on the present tendencies of architectural design in America held at a meeting of the Illinois State Association of Architects in Chicago in March 1887, Frederick Baumann quoted Semper in support of his argument that "in this modern age utility was the true base of architectural art."⁹ Baumann then concluded by reciting Semper's definition of style in the original German: "Stil ist die Übereinstimmung eines Bauwerkes mit den Bedingungen seines Entstehens".¹⁰ Very similar principles also underlay Viollet-le-Duc's theory of architecture as developed in his Discourses of 1872, with which Root was also reputedly familiar.¹¹ Viollet-le-Duc argued that the expression of truth in architecture began with strictest adherence to a building's program of material requirements. The executed work "is to fulfill with scrupulous exactness all the conditions imposed by necessity."¹² A principle of both natural and manmade forms was thus Viollet-le-Duc's

assertion that "A thing has style when it has the expression appropriate to its uses."¹³ Thus, in both Semper and Viollet-le-Duc, the idea of style is closely tied to the Chicago ideal of utility as the impetus for form-making. Chicago architects apparently appropriated the positions of these European theorists and applied them to their own regional situation.

The possibility of a new architecture derived from the conditions of its origin was central to Sullivan's thought as well as Root's. Sullivan's statement of this principle appears as preface to his essay "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" of 1896. There he noted that the phenomenon called the 'modern office building' represented an "evolution and integration of social conditions" which found in such structures "a habitation and a name".¹⁴ As a utilitarian object the tall office building lacked architectural character. Such character could only become apparent when its design could make apparent "the suggestion of a thoroughly sound, logical, coherent expression of the conditions" of its origin.¹⁵ Thus Sullivan's theoretical position, like Root's, appears partially rooted in Semper's and Viollet-le-Duc's equation of the style of an artifact with the circumstances of its existence.

Closely tied to this common concern for the conditions of a new architecture were Root's and Sullivan's understanding of the idea of type. This term had at least two distinct yet related meanings in Chicago texts both of

which were inherited from earlier 19th century discussions. In an 1883 essay on "The Value of Type in Art", Root argued by analogy to the evolution of natural forms that the fundamental meaning of type in architecture is the adherence to the same structural solution for a given constructive problem. Root wrote that:

By Adherence to Type is meant not only natural insistence on the unity of each created object, but persistence in certain solutions of given problems. Once the theory of creation has been ascertained of any class of created beings, it will be found that in all details it has been faithfully worked out, not fully in the individual, but entirely in the class; ...Now this adherence to type is one of the best tests of every good work of art, and forms one of the most infallible bases of criticism. Of every good art work it is true that the first thing necessary is to put before one's self the conditions of the problem to be solved, and then trace the consistency of the various solutions followed by the artist....This consistency, this adherence to type, is the reason why architectural olla podridas are bad, composed of bits from many periods and many styles. It is not so much that tradition and history are violated, but that type is violated. Greek and Gothic architecture are good because they are completed and perfect expressions of certain methods of structure, and are therefore typical.¹⁶

In this his rationale for praise of Greek and Gothic architectures, Root was paraphrasing the conclusions of Edward Lacy Garbett, whose Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture (1850) Root recommended to younger architects.¹⁷

This ideal of perfection of particular systems of structure as the basis for consummate architectural expression also underlay Sullivan's usage of the concept of type. For Sullivan the great innovation of his era was the novelty of the frame itself as a modern structural type. The phenomenon of steel apart from its association with a program of uses in itself constituted an architectural problem that called for a generic or typical solution. Thus Sullivan wrote of the appearance of the frame in Chicago that, while the social significance of the tall building was its most important characteristic, "In and by itself, considered solus so to speak, the lofty steel frame make a powerful appeal to the architectural imagination where there is any."¹⁸ This conceptual isolation of a structural form underlay Sullivan's attitude toward his achievement through the time of Carson-Pirie-Scott. He saw his work through the 1890s as directed almost solely toward the refinement of expression of steel as the constructive medium of modern times. Thus Sullivan wrote in November 1903:

As for my buildings: Those that interest me date from the Wainwright Bldg. in St. Louis 1890-91 (Figure 1). It was with that that I "broke" (see K.G. Chat 'The Tulip'). It was a very sudden and volcanic design (made literally in three minutes) and marks the beginning of a logical and poetic expression of the metallic frame construction. The Prudential Bldg. is the "sister" of the Wainwright. All my commercial buildings since the Wainwright are conceived in the same general spirit; and I believe my latest, the new Schlesinger and Mayer department

store in Chicago (opened to the public Oct. 12th) will interest you.¹⁹

Thus the Schlesinger and Mayer Building, considered in one broader sense of the issue of type as structure, was equivalent in Sullivan's mind to the office building because of the origins of its form in the condition of the frame. A second, equally encompassing sense of the term 'type' evident in the writings of Sullivan and Root is the use of the word to describe forms that could be rationally derived from their material requirement of use. The idea of type was thus allied with a utilitarian aesthetic. Such a principle underlies Sullivan's sense of the meaning of type in architecture as the crystallization or re-presentation of elemental conditions, as evident in his 1896 essay on "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered". After listing the utilitarian requirements of such a structure as an architectural problem, Sullivan noted that: he sought to define those most elemental conditions of function as the basis for deriving a definitive form for this new use type:

As I am here seeking not for an individual or special solution, but for a true normal type, the attention must be confined to those conditions that, in the main, are constant in all tall office buildings, and every mere incidental and accidental variation eliminated from the consideration, as harmful to the clearness of the main inquiry.²⁰

For Root and Sullivan the idea of type could be further broadened to denote those monuments most characteristic

of successive civilizations. In this sense type is understood as that class of buildings which embody not only the material conditions of an historical period, but its cultural condition as well. Such works of past architectures were the epitomizing symbols of their societies' ideals. Sullivan thus advocated that an historic architectural type such as the Parthenon not be referred to as a building "in the Greek style", but rather as "an object symbol of Greek civilization."²¹ This sense of the word 'type' derived in part from 19th century scholarship that developed a history of art as a corollary to the history of civilizations. A standard reference in this field was the work of Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), French historian and philosopher known to Root and Sullivan for his studies of art in Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands as the expression of cultural ideals.²² Such a viewpoint informed Root's understanding of the representative types of pre-modern societies:

In the great monuments of early Egypt, of Greece and even of medieval Europe, as well as in such smaller buildings as have survived to this day, very few and very simple ideas dominated the whole structure as well as its art expression....

In the expression of this straightforwardness of intention, this unity of idea, characteristic of earlier architecture, the Parthenon, the Erectheum, even the great medieval cathedrals like Chartres and Amiens, are the embodiment of ideas in their essence as direct as any picture or statue can be...²³

It was this quality of the work of architecture as the crystallization of a society's aspirations and reflection

of its common ideals that animated Sullivan's discussion of the tall office building. As the characteristic type of a world transformed, Sullivan sought that "the design of the tall office building take its place with all other architectural types made when architecture as has happened once in many years, was a living art. Witness the Greek temple, the Gothic cathedral, the medieval fortress."²⁴ The central condition of modernity that impressed itself on Sullivan was the organization of society around commercial activity as opposed to the 19th century view of medieval times whence communality of belief and endeavor had enabled the creation of the cathedrals as the last great monuments of western history. Sullivan developed this comparison in his description of his project for the Fraternity Temple, a 450' tall headquarters and speculative office building designed for the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, a social and benevolent order akin to Freemasonry [Figure 2]. The tower, designed for Chicago in 1891, would have been the tallest building in the world, surpassing the Masonic Temple then under construction on State Street. Sullivan wrote of the project:

The accompanying sketches show the solution of the resulting problem of creating and maintaining, under the conditions and environments of the 19th and 20th Centuries, a monumental structure, illustrating and embodying the ideals of its founders, and owing its origin to public and ideal purposes. Five hundred years ago these would have found expression in a great cathedral, a monastery or

a guild hall built upon public ground with material and labor donated by an enthusiastically self-sacrificing public. Today this is no longer possible; there are no longer tracts of ground held in common upon which structures of this character may be erected in the midst of the people of whose public spirit they are the memorial....²⁵

This sense of the modern commercial building embodying the collective identity of a civilization is the order of significance Sullivan sought for his own architecture. He alluded to this quality in his praise of Henry Hobson Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store as "a monument to trade, to the organized commercial spirit, to the power and progress of the age,...[I]t stands as the index of a mind, large enough, courageous enough to cope with these things, master them, absorb them and give them forth again." [Figure 3]²⁶ Root similarly wrote of the analogy of modern commercial structures as expressions of contemporary ideals comparable to the characteristic monuments of earlier civilizations that conveyed values characteristic of their world. As the medieval cathedral embodied "the restless aspiration of the soul after God", so the office building would express "the power and stability of a great corporation."²⁷ The forms of architecture should enable accurate and inclusive appreciation of the conditions of Chicago's social and business life. Perhaps alluding to Richardson's work, Root asserted that commercial structures "by their mass and proportion should convey in some large elemental sense an idea

of the great, stable, conserving forces of modern civilization."²⁸ A similar sense of building as re-presenting the modern condition is evident in Sullivan's description of the original 1898 project for the Schlesinger and Mayer store whose "design represents the highest and most completely matured architectural thought of the day, in a type of what the modern mercantile structure should be. A union of the strictly utilitarian with the artistic; in short, a distinctively American product, a proper housing of a great enterprise, a blending of the genius of art with the genius of commerce."²⁹ Thus, like the Wainwright, Carson-Pirie-Scott was intended as a typical solution to the encompassing problem of the commercial building as a class of structures characteristic of contemporary civilization.

Perhaps related to Sullivan's conception of the tall office building as the representative type of modern civilization was his assertion that it be "every inch a proud and soaring thing."³⁰ Sullivan's insistence on expressing the height of this modern type ran counter to popular feeling in Chicago in the early 1890s, when many citizens objected to the new tall buildings because they feared them to be structurally unsafe and damaging to public health because they blocked light and air from the street. Chicagoans also felt that it was inappropriate to have the tallest structures of the city be those devoted to commercial purposes, and that the traditional significance of height be reserved for religious or institutional buildings.

In the midst of debate over regulating building heights in Chicago in 1891, one observer noted:

The lofty buildings are a contradiction of the ideas which have been ingrained into the minds of most people through the traditions of centuries, and these people therefore think they must be objectionable. Accordingly it has become a popular thing to cry down what are called the "sky-scrapers."...No objection is raised to the lofty buildings of former times, the cathedrals and similar structures, because there is a sentiment associated with them. It is only when the lofty structure takes a utilitarian form that people think they must object.³¹

Thus, when Sullivan wrote that the verticality of the tall office building be the motive of its formal expression, he was proposing that architecture present the pre-eminence of utilitarian activity as the chief fact of contemporary life. Sullivan evidently wished his architecture to express this new condition of society. He intended buildings like the Wainwright as symbols of the prevailing conditions of modern civilization, which differed fundamentally from those which had given rise to historic architectures.

The program for architecture developed by Sullivan and his colleagues in their own time was rooted in an understanding of historical styles of building as naturally developed from the geographic and social conditions of pre-modern cultures. Thus Jenney wrote in 1890 that the monuments of successive historical epochs were "a sure indication of the habits, manners, customs, religion and the arts

of the people who built them, as adapted to the material obtainable."³² This rational reconstruction of the history of architecture was modeled on the 19th century science of ethnography, and the emergence of related disciplines like anthropology or sociology which presumed a positivist view of the evolution of societies. Jenney's analysis of the different ages of building from primitive to modern times closely paralleled one representative text of this school of thought, Viollet-le-Duc's, Histoire de l'habitation humaine depuis les temps pré-historiques jusqu'à nos jours, of 1875. The fundamental premise of Viollet's study was that there persisted in past cultures a demonstrable relation between ways of life and forms of dwelling. Thus the history of building was reconstructable as the confluence of "origins, natural aptitudes, climate, materials, or the novel conditions of social life".³³ Such an assumption underlay Sullivan's extended criticism of American architecture developed in the opening essays of the Kindergarten Chats.³⁴ There he stressed the inseparability of the analysis of contemporary stylistic trends from an encompassing critique of their surrounding culture and society. From this point of view he concluded that "the critical study of architecture becomes, ...in extenso, a study of the social conditions producing it; the study of a newly-shaping type of civilization. By this light the study of architecture becomes naturally and logically a branch of social science."³⁵

Sullivan's understanding of the task of the architect can be viewed as an extension of this principle of historical analysis. If study of past and present societies enabled comprehension of their architectures, then assiduous and sympathetic study of the conditions of modernity could yield an architecture authentic to the civilization of his time. The unique role of the architect was to divine the collective needs and aspirations of his contemporaries, and give material expression to their identity through the medium of building.³⁶ In a short address to the first meeting of the newly formed Architectural League of America in 1899 entitled "The Modern Phase of Architecture", Sullivan wrote:

Perceiving as I do the momentous sway and drift of modern life,...I urge that you...accept my assurance that [the architect] is and imperatively shall be a poet, and an interpreter of the national life of his time...

If you take the pains truly to understand your country, your people, your day, your generation; the time; the place in which you live; if you seek to understand, absorb, and sympathize with the life around you, you will be understood and sympathetically received in return. Have no fear as to this.³⁷

Sullivan's definition of the task of a new architecture thus drew on a range of ideas inherited from 19th century thought. He also drew on intellectual traditions to define methods which would enable him to proceed to its realization. Having identified his intention, his position

on how to pursue it may be said to have fallen within an opposition of rationalism and romanticism. Each of these encompassing ideals was central to the history of 19th century architectural theory. To understand their presence in Chicago, it may be helpful to explore their definitions. The champion of rationalism said to be known to both Root and Sullivan was Viollet-le-Duc, whose position Sir John Summerson clarified as the elucidation of how reason or logical processes operated in the development of the Gothic style of architecture.³⁸ Viollet-le-Duc's analysis of medieval forms inspired him to offer their evolution as the model for the development of architecture in his time. Summerson wrote that on the basis of perceiving "a certain play of rationality throughout the structure of a cathedral", Viollet-le-Duc "was led to the general conception of an architecture proceeding by a process of argument from the known terms of a problem to the unknown but discoverable solution."³⁹ This principle was the heart of Viollet-le-Duc's advocacy of rational methods as the foundation of a modern architecture.

Such a viewpoint resonates through the texts of the Chicago School. Root specifically referred to Viollet-le-Duc's analyses of Gothic architecture as rationally developed. As with Semper's definition of style, it is one vital core of Viollet-le-Duc's thesis that appears to have been appropriated by Sullivan and his contemporaries. Thus Root, writing of the novel problem of the tall office building,

commented that "we live in an age beyond all others reasonable. The ethical and art status apparently reached by the Greeks and Venetians through processes almost intuitive must be reached by us, if at all, by processes entirely rational."⁴⁰ Sullivan similarly defined the most fundamental attribute of the architect as he who would "tread an innocent path from his problem to its solution, and therein show an enviable gift of logic."⁴¹ Developing his position, Viollet-le-Duc wrote that "real beauty can only be obtained when developed in accordance with laws based upon reason. Every absolutely beautiful work must be the development of a rigorously logical principle."⁴² Sullivan's essay on "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" is such an attempt at the development of a form as a demonstration of the principle that "form follows function". Viollet-le-Duc includes similar demonstrations at the close of his influential Entretiens sur l'Architecture of 1872, where he methodically reasons out the design of building types starting from an explication of their requirements.⁴³

A conscious adherence to the ideal of rationality broadly conceived prevailed as one component of the theoretical position of the Chicago School. Adherence to this ideal translated into repeated references to science and the natural sciences as models of progress in knowledge which architecture could strive to emulate. Jenney observed that of all the professional disciplines, architecture remained the only field not to have incorporated some variation of

the scientific method as a means to knowledge and as a principle of its development. Among the most frequent references to the sciences in the writings of the Chicago architects were allusions to evolutionary theory from its sources in Darwin through its broadened application to social thought in the writings of Herbert Spencer.⁴⁴ The lesson garnered by Sullivan and his contemporaries from this field was not only the principle of evolution itself, but the principle as an example of the development of knowledge. For Sullivan evolutionary theory was one source of his understanding of the scientific method as a means to truth which he felt could be appropriated for architecture. From a program of reading begun after his return from the Beaux Arts in 1876, Sullivan wrote that he saw in the scientific method "a power of solution he long had fruitlessly been seeking":

For the scientific method was based on exact observation from which, by the inductive system of reasoning, an inference was drawn, an hypothesis framed, to be held tentatively in "suspended judgment" until the gathering of further data might raise it to the dignity of a theory, which theory, if it could stand up to further rigorous testing, would slowly pass into that domain of ordered and accepted knowledge we fondly believe to be Truth.⁴⁵

Sullivan invoked this method to derive the idea of functional form as a theory testable through observation of nature. The theory itself was closely allied to the

evolutionary idea of the adaptation of organisms to their environment as a natural principle of the development of species.⁴⁶ Sullivan thus understood that both the idea that forms derived from their functions and the principle of inductive reasoning from which the idea was developed were adaptations of 19th century science to the making of architecture.

The way in which Sullivan adapted his understanding of science in order to derive a theory of functional form is evident in his allegorical account of the origin of the idea. He wrote that he first sought to develop the principle while studying for his entrance examination in geometry for admission to the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Sullivan recalled that his tutor in geometry confronted him with the possibility of studying the subject not as a series of theorems with their proofs and special cases. Rather the tutor proposed study of the subject's universal principles such that "here our demonstration shall be so broad as to admit of NO EXCEPTION!"⁴⁷ The learning of geometry as an accretion of inherited knowledge codified in texts was to be replaced with understanding of its operative laws, just as Sullivan proposed to replace the canonical architecture of the treatises with a theory of form making discovered by modern scientific method. There arose:

...a vision and a fixed resolve; an instantaneous inquiry and an instant answer. The inquiry: If this can be done in Mathematics, why not in

Architecture? The instant answer: It can, and it shall be! no one has--I will!...The world of men, of thoughts, of things, shall be mine. Firmly I believe that if I can but interpret it, that world is filled with evidence. I shall explore that world to seek, to find. I shall weigh that world in a balance. I shall question it, I shall examine and cross-examine, I shall finally interpret-- I shall not be withheld, I shall prevail!⁴⁸

Thus Sullivan consciously sought a principle of architecture analogous in its power to those of mathematics, discoverable through a program of empirical research modeled on methods of inquiry in natural science. The assumption underlying this idea was that the development of such a principle would be conducted outside of any consideration of the traditions of architecture, relying solely on the resources of the individual intellect and will. Root touched on this consequence of a strictly rational approach to form making, noting that in the design of modern office buildings, traditions that did not correspond to requirements must be set aside.⁴⁹ Sullivan similarly wrote of his early work with Adler in the 1880s. During this initial period of growth, he claimed to have developed the principle to whose discovery he alluded above:

[Sullivan] could now, undisturbed, start on the course of practical experimentation he long had in mind, which was to make an architecture that fitted its functions--a realistic architecture based on well-defined utilitarian needs--that all practical demands of utility should be paramount as basis of planning and design; that no architectural dictum, or tradition, or superstition, or habit, should stand in the way. He would brush them all aside, regardless of commentators. For his view, his conviction was

this: That the architectural art to be of contemporary immediate value must be plastic; all senseless conventional rigidity must be taken out of it; it must intelligently serve--it must not suppress. In this wise the forms under his hand would grow naturally out of the needs and express them frankly, and freshly.⁵⁰

This sense of forms flowing from the hand of the designer, whose critical foundation was their rational correspondence to material utility, was thus to proceed without reference to inherited convention. Such a theoretical stance enabled Chicago architects to convince themselves that they were in fact operating outside what they cited as the arbitrary limitations of historicism. Central to this position was their faith in referring the development of architecture to individuals' powers of reasoning. This faith corresponded closely to the fundamental tenets of romanticism, traditionally regarded as the antithesis of rationalism. Romanticism had developed the complementary doctrine that all choice in the making of art and architecture could be entrusted to the individual's emotive sensibilities, with a pronounced disregard for the canonical authority of the past.⁵¹ The legacy of romantic thought weighed heavily on Sullivan who internalized its values with the same intensity as he did those of rationalism. Such a duality of aspiration may appear to later generations as a fundamental inconsistency in his thought. Yet Sullivan subsumed elements of both rationalism and romanticism into one encompassing vision of architecture. The common denominator of their appeal was

their rejection of inherited forms as useful conventions. While rationalism placed its faith in the intellect, romanticism adopted an ideal of sensitivity as the ultimate resource for form making. Adler expressed this conviction in an 1893 address on the question "Are There Any Set Canons of Art?", in which he concluded that:

...if a canon is something that is generally recognized, then probably there are no canons in art...Every artist in the highest sense of the term has his own ideas, which are entirely individual, which are the result of his surroundings, which are the result of his education, and which he expresses in his own way and not in the way of some other artist who has gone before.

The only thing perhaps in which all true artists join and agree is in the fact that they endeavor to tell the truth as they see it. But the underlying principle, or what should be the underlying principle of art, is to arouse the higher emotions of man, and to do it in a manner that is readily comprehended by those to whom the artist addresses himself. That is something which, if it is not a canon of art, certainly ought to be.⁵²

Adler may have developed this credo from his sympathetic contact with Sullivan's own views. One of the central ideas which Sullivan cultivated from the legacy of romantic thought was his definition of the concept of style. He and Root did on one hand espouse the rational belief that the style of an artifact emerged from the conditions of its origin. Yet they were equally enamored of an ideal of style as the attribute of the individual creative mind and hand. In the 1887 symposium where Baumann had offered Semper's definition of style as a basis for discussion, Sullivan

responded to his remarks by asserting that he did not believe that "the origin of style is outside, but within ourselves, and the man who has not the impulse within him will not have the style."⁵³ He instead equated style with the soul of the artist as "that mysterious essence which we call our identity", maintaining that the cultivation of that identity through memory and experience should yield a style unique to each individual.⁵⁴ As style in nature was "the response of the organism to its surroundings", so its development within the individual required the maturation of one's intimate inner life through continuous sympathetic responsiveness to outward surroundings.⁵⁵ The artist was thus one who "gifted with a capacity to receive impressions and to transmit them in a more or less permanent form" endows the work with "a certain quality of spirit characteristic of himself."⁵⁶

Sullivan's repeated articulation of the principle of style as originating within the individual corresponded to a faith in instinct, intuition, or emotion as sources of artistic imagination equal in importance to reason and intellect. Sullivan thus held that "the true artist is, as he should be, rather a creature of instinct than of reason," the attentions of the heart being the source of his powers of interpretation.⁵⁷ To the life of the intellect as practical knowledge of the world must be added the life of the spirit as sympathetic understanding of inner realities. Only through cultivation of emotive experience could the

artist endow his work with "a certain finer truth, a more subtle accuracy, a still more delicate touch, a yet more exact sense of reality" so as to "amplify the practical and give to it the keen intuitive incisiveness of life."⁵⁸

Knowledge as the product of the intellect must always be balanced with understanding as the fruit of sympathy. In order "to produce vigorous results in art the emotions must follow close upon the mind and give it sure support".⁵⁹

The power of sympathy "in its solvent action ever increasingly interprets, explains, stabilizes, and guides."⁶⁰

Sullivan's belief in the power of intuitive sympathy as counterweight to that of rational intellect derived from the American strain of transcendentalism as represented in the poetry of Walt Whitman.⁶¹ Sullivan acknowledged Whitman as a fundamental source for his conviction as to the primacy of individual artistic sensibility. Whitman may have been one immediate source for Sullivan's regard for "spiritual or psychic facts as the only permanent and reliable facts--the only solid ground."⁶² From this transcendentalist faith in a realm of human knowledge beyond that of experience of the material world, Sullivan developed his definition of style as originating within the emotive spirit of the individual.

The conviction that style in architecture originated within the spirit of the individual is most evident in Sullivan's system of ornament. Sullivan followed Ruskin in the conviction that the architect was he who created "a

fairy tale out of his head."⁶³ Above all else, the architect's work should evoke a romantic delight that originated within his individual imagination and for which he had found a means of expression in the form of his buildings. For Sullivan, that means of expression was principally his ornament.⁶⁴ The belief that the ornament of a building such as Carson-Pirie-Scott was such an individual expression cultivated in the life of the mind is evident in Sullivan's placement of his initials in the work [Figure 4]. The position of his monogram at the germinal center of foliate motifs may be understood as the literal expression of the idea of the ornament as emerging from his creative spirit. Contemporary critics took this view of Sullivan's ornament as a uniquely personal mode of expression representative of its author's particular gifts as a decorative artist. Thus a review of the ornamentation in Adler and Sullivan's Chicago Stock Exchange Building of 1893 noted that its "compositions, inspired by the genius of an individual, are so original and so striking that precedents there are none to measure them by--the critical judgement stands in abeyance...Here, behold, is a fairy tale, told not only in iron but in terra cotta, in marble and in color."⁶⁵

Thus, in Sullivan's view, the romantic idea that sympathetic impression was the source of creative expression was weighted equally to his faith in accurate observation as a principle of rational science. He viewed both these complementary powers as evidence of the more encompassing ideal

that all human insight was rooted in the faculty of the imagination.⁶⁶ According to this view, the knowledge of the scientist was comparable to the perception of the poet, both of whom were able to see beneath the surface of nature and human life. Root wrote that art and science were "parts of a co-related whole, complements of each other, standing to each other as the intellect to the affections,..."⁶⁷ The most powerful theories in science were thus in his view analogous to the vision of the artist or poet. In this sense Sullivan understood the principle of "form follows function" to have a dual character as both a principle of natural science and a poetic insight into nature.⁶⁸ The idea's inclusive breadth permitted its application to the making of architecture as both science and art.

Fundamental to Sullivan's simultaneous adherence to rational and romantic ideals was his view that these modern modes of thought should replace inherited styles as the source of knowledge about architecture. The resources of mind and heart were to be invoked against the authority of traditional forms known from books. The combined powers of the sciences and of poetry as these fields had developed through the 19th century were enlisted against historicism and in the cause of a new architecture. Only via rejection of the traditional forms of monumentality could architecture hope to regain its stature as the chief form of cultural expression. Thus Sullivan ironically sought the most up-to-date of means to recreate the most ancient sense of his art

that predated the codification of its antiquity. One forceful statement of these ideas appeared in Wright's 1901 essay on "The Art and Craft of the Machine". Following Victor Hugo, Wright asserted that the history of architecture from archaic through medieval times was distinguished by its primacy over all other forms of cultural expression.⁶⁹ Only with the advent of printing had this role for building begun to decline, the written word or the book replacing the edifice as an ever more powerful medium for transmitting thought and feeling. Thus Wright concluded that "down to the time of Gutenberg architecture is the principal writing --the universal writing of humanity. In the great granite books begun by the Orient, continued by Greek and Roman antiquity, the middle ages wrote the last page."⁷⁰ He then developed the parallel between the rise of academic classical architecture from the Renaissance and the rise of printing since the 15th century. In this period, architecture had been sustained through the medium of the treatise as the sources of its forms. The contemporary continuation of classicism relied wholly on archaeology and imitation until "the whole letter of Tradition, the vast fabric of precedent," had become "a beautiful corpse from which the spirit has flown."⁷¹

Sullivan throughout the Kindergarten Chats and essays dating from the same years develops a similar viewpoint. He maintained that the written word was one equivalent of the fixed canon of historical forms. In both cases the

inherent human power of expression, either through building or speech, had become stifled through texts as their medium of perpetuation. Thus he wrote in Chat XIV on "Growth and Decay" that:

...words, when written, can be modified or developed in significance only, or nearly so, by association with other words--when they are in rhythmical, organized motion. In speech, the word is rendered more plastic: hence the value of oratory. Statically words have little significance, as you may assure yourself by consulting any dictionary; but, when once they are treated dynamically and pictorially, their power to convey thought increases enormously.⁷²

Sullivan believed that the architecture of his era relied on inherited and conventionalized vocabularies of motifs that were analogous to written or printed words isolated from their original role in speech. These elements had thus lost both the wholeness of speech and its vitality of meaning. For centuries his art had developed along these lines, so that it "suffered from a growing accretion of words; it is now in fact so overgrown and stifled with words that the reality has been lost to view. Words and phrases have usurped the place of form and function. Finally phrase making has come to be an accepted substitute for architecture-making."⁷³ Sullivan sought to eradicate historicism derived from printed sources, reminding his contemporaries in 1900 that "while endeavoring to lead you toward a sane and wholesome conception of the basis of the architectural

art, I have not said a word about books, photographs, or plates...for I am convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that never can you acquire from books, or the like, alone, even a remote conception of what constitutes the real, the living, architectural art."⁷⁴

As Sullivan and Wright made the printed word the metaphorical object of their critique of architecture, so they exalted the spoken word, or poetry, as a metaphor for its renewal. Sullivan equated his ideal of a new architecture with the vitality of poetic expression wherein the rigidities of convention would be bypassed in favor of immediate realization of thought and feeling in its media. He asserted that "the real architect is first, last, and all the time, a poet who uses not words but building materials as a medium of expression."⁷⁵ The nature of materials was their latent potential equivalent to the power of suggestion in words. The architect in all times and places had possessed the intuition and sympathy of the poet in order to surcharge his medium with this power of suggestion and evoke the responsive imagination.⁷⁶ In this sense Sullivan characterized his buildings since the Wainwright through the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as essays in "the logical and poetic expression of the metallic frame construction."⁷⁷

Both Sullivan and Wright presented this critical position with reference in passing to the design of Chicago department stores. As objects of criticism they both alluded to the Marshall Field complex on State Street.

Wright cited Burnham's new Field building under construction in 1901 as an example of blind adherence to the letter of tradition. The building represented the attitude that "what is most truly like the past is the safest and therefore the best". Wright quoted Marshall Field as saying of its design that "a good copy is the best we can do."⁷⁸ Sullivan similarly had criticized Atwood's 1893 addition to the Field store for utilizing the inherited vocabulary of the historic styles as the equivalent of words conjoined without meaning. This building was "all inflection where there is nothing inflected; conjugation where there is not a verb; declension, without the noun. Then there are thrown in make-weights, bits of grammar, pronunciation, rhetoric, prosody, orthoepy, syllabication, etymology, punctuation, etc., but no syntax--surely no syntax."⁷⁹ In contrast Sullivan praised a nearby department store that clearly expressed its purpose, a building whose "directness of statement is its chief virtue."⁸⁰ Because its architect had left his knowledge of historic motifs in his portfolios he had, unlike Atwood, been able "to express in simple well-chosen language the casual, current experiences of life."⁸¹ Sullivan had similarly praised Richardson's Field Wholesale Store as "the oration of one who knows well how to choose his words, who has somewhat to say and says it..."⁸² As a monument to the commercial spirit of its age, Richardson's building had also fulfilled Sullivan's definition of architecture as exponent of its time and place. The architect as poet

was called upon to understand and interpret the life surrounding him.⁸³ Sullivan understood the architectural art to be "this seeking for a natural expression of our lives, of our thoughts, our meditations, our feelings" as the poet seeks to express his experience of the world and his own inner life.⁸⁴ Sullivan aspired to a comparable achievement whereby his works, like Richardson's, would express a sympathetic understanding of modern civilization. Their significance as poetry would derive from the breadth and accuracy of their interpretation of the life of their time.⁸⁵ The highest task of the architect as poet would thus be not only to vitalize building materials through his own sensibility, but also to "make them a visible part of the genuine social fabric, to infuse into them the true life of the people, to impart to them the best that is in the people, as the eye of the poet, looking below the surface of life, sees the best that is in the people."⁸⁶ Sullivan's friend John Edelman similarly characterized the achievement of a great architect such as Richardson as that which embodies "the hopes and fears, the aspirations and regrets, the unconscious ideals of his contemporaries."⁸⁷

Within the breadth of a position that borrowed a range of ideas from rational science and romantic literature for its intellectual foundation, Sullivan sought an internally consistent approach to the making of a modern architecture. He explicitly saw the possibility of such an architecture as embracing the traditional polarity of reason and emotion.

Thus he wrote of a future life of the mind as the basis for a new architecture in which "we may perhaps predicate the appearance of a new double-star within the human firmament, the star of intellect and the star of instinct each in its orbit, and each and both responsive to their common center of gravity."⁸⁸ In an address in New York before the convention of the American Institute of Architects in 1894 entitled "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual" Sullivan developed this thesis through an extended comparison of the two great historic styles of architecture, concluding that:

...classical architecture, so called (meaning the Greek), was one sided and incomplete because it was almost exclusively intellectual. That the emotional architecture (meaning especially the Gothic) was likewise one-sided and incomplete however great and beautiful its development, because of the almost total absence of mentality. That no complete architecture has yet appeared in the history of the world because men, in this form of art alone, have obstinately sought to express themselves solely in terms either of the head or of the heart.⁸⁹

In this passage, Sullivan presents a classic argument of 19th century French architectural theory, possibly derived from his reading of Viollet-le-Duc, which asserted that a modern architecture would emerge as the integration of the complementary virtues of the Greek and Gothic styles.⁹⁰ Sullivan evidently envisioned a new architecture which would similarly resolve the opposition between competing claims of rational and romantic thought on the 19th century

imagination then drawing to a close. Sullivan believed that "the Greek knew the statics, the Goth the dynamics, of the art, but that neither of them suspected the mobile equilibrium of it: neither of them divined the movement and the stability of nature. Failing in this, both have forever fallen short, and must pass away when the true, the Poetic Architecture shall arise..."⁹¹ He concluded that architecture "has failed to reach its highest development, its fullest capability of imagination, of thought and expression, because it has not yet found a way to become truly plastic: it does not yet respond to the poet's touch."⁹²

The challenge Sullivan set for his own work in buildings such as Carson-Pirie-Scott was to approach this ideal of a new architecture which would go beyond the conceptual limitations of the historic styles into an uncharted realm of expression. Such an architecture would be at once logical and poetic, reasoned and expressive. One can discern the working out of this theoretical aspiration in the material form of Sullivan's buildings. The inclusive character of the new architecture which he sought would include mastery of new processes of building. Sullivan's assertion that such an architecture was imaginable was in part based on the transformation of constructive techniques in Chicago after the great fire of 1871. This accelerated and wide-ranging development of new materials and methods of construction underlay Sullivan's and others' belief that their

art could be transformed in unprecedented ways. The sense of anticipation implicit in their theoretical discussions was heightened in the midst of the city's creation of a modern building industry. Speaking in 1916 on the development of construction in Chicago over the previous thirty years, Sullivan recalled that when he began working with Dankmar Adler in the early 1880s, the practice of architecture was based on "a crude and inarticulate form of building" when compared to "the exact and sophisticated science of construction we know today."⁹³ Changes in constructive techniques interacted with speculative thought about architecture's future. This process of practice informing theory, and vice versa, can be studied through examination of selected works such as Carson-Pirie-Scott.

The concept of progress in the building arts in Chicago centered on the development of the steel frame in the mid 1880s. As one of the inventors of the frame, William LeBaron Jenney frequently recalled that the only precedents for the design of metal structures in building were the great iron railway bridges of the earlier 19th century in England and America.⁹⁴ All the problems of construction in the skyscraper, including the sizing of members, systems of bracing, and assembly of the steel frames of the first skyscrapers were, according to Jenney, "calculated with the same science, designed with the same study, inspected and superintended with all the care that is devoted to a steel railroad bridge of the first order."⁹⁵ The resulting

structures as works of engineering were thus considered the equal of the bridges as the most advanced constructions of their times. Bridge design was in turn regarded as the most visible success of rational methods characteristic of engineering as a discipline. The powers of inventive construction evident in these works impressed themselves on Sullivan, who recalled his fascination with such structures as the triple arched Eads Bridge over the Mississippi at St. Louis completed in 1874 while he apprenticed in Jenney's office.⁹⁶ The performance of the bridge builders compelled wonder not only for the works themselves, but for the habits of mind which Sullivan and other presumed to underly them. For Sullivan they confirmed both his romantic faith in the powers of the engineers as individuals, and his conviction as to the utility of rationalism characteristic of their field. He wrote of this period before his departure for the Ecole des Beaux Arts that

The engineering journals kept close track of actual current doings, and thus Louis found himself drifting towards the engineering point of view, or state of mind, as he began to discern that the engineers were the only men who could face a problem squarely; who knew a problem when they saw it. Their minds were trained to deal with real things, as far as they knew them, as far as they could ascertain them, while the architectural mind lacked this directness, this simplicity, this singleness of purpose--it had no standard of reference, no bench-mark one might say.⁹⁷

The transfer of the actual constructive techniques of

the bridge engineers into architecture with the advent of the steel frame abetted the infusion of their methods into all facets of building design. The successes of engineering could be understood as evidence for the propriety and modernity of its approach to form making. Thus Sullivan wrote of Root's Monadnock [Figure 5] that its design was exemplary because of its "direct singleness of purpose" that excited in him the same response that he had had to the great bridges.⁹⁸ The sense of architecture appropriating the standards of reference characteristic of engineering is apparent in Jenney's description of the utilitarian ideal that directed the structural design of The Fair store in 1890-91:

The construction of tall buildings on a compressible soil much resembles, in the generalities, the construction of a railway bridge of the first order. The design must be such that the material is used in the most economical manner; every piece must be calculated. There must be sufficient material and no more, for it is essential, not only from economy but also to reduce the weights on the foundations, that the construction should be as light as possible consistent with stability.⁹⁹

Engineering's rigorously minimal economy as a principle of structural design may have provided one source for Sullivan's insistence that architecture would benefit from the most minimal expression of function as a standard of reference for its forms. In his praise for an anonymous State Street department store in the Kindergarten Chats,

Sullivan invoked such a standard as a principle of criticism. He wrote of the building as if its paring away of historical motifs were comparable to the elimination of excess material, resulting in a form whose virtues were those of a work of engineering:

It is evident, my son, that we are looking at a department store...Its purpose is clearly set forth in its general aspect and the form follows the function in a simple, straightforward way. The structure is a logical, though somewhat bald, statement of its purpose, and an unmistakable though not wholly gratifying index of the business conducted within its walls...Its directness of statement is its chief virtue. Its comparative freedom from verbiage causes it to approach eloquence of form. Its architect proceeded--if he proceeded in any manner approaching consciousness--by a process of elimination. He left his favorite "architecture," for the time being, in his portfolios--which is a clever thing to do. He used the eraser on his mind instead of on his paper,...Such things, such acts, such relatively sane mental processes are refreshing and uncommon.¹⁰⁰

In addition to the methods of its design, the material properties of the frame as an assembly of elements provided a suggestive model for Sullivan's conception of architecture. The newness of steel as a trabeated system of construction provoked Sullivan's contemporaries to compare its invention with past structural innovations that marked turning points in the history of western architecture. The evidence of equivalent transformations in the history of building supported a belief that their own moment in time prefaced a renewal of their art based on its new material

possibilities. Thus Adler wrote in 1896 on the "Influence of Steel Construction and of Plate Glass upon the Development of Modern Style":

The great epochs in the development of architectural styles are respectively characterized by the introduction of the beam and lintel, the Roman arch and vault, and the pointed arch and its characteristic vaultings. It is our good fortune to have inherited all that was accomplished by these many generations who lived and thought and worked in these epochs. We are still more blessed in being allowed the privilege of participating in the creation and witnessing the birth of another epoch of architectural design, the form or style of which will be founded upon the discovery of the steel pillar, the steel beam, the clear sheet of plate glass, electric light and mechanical ventilation, all devoted to the service of functions or wants created by the greater intensity of modern life,...¹⁰¹

The novelty and predominance of steel similarly underlay Sullivan's preoccupation with the simplest structural forms as the irreducible elements of architecture. The steel frame in practice provoked a rediscovery of the potential for expression inherent in column and the beam as structure. These antecedents for trabeated expression in the historic styles of architecture thus had new meaning for modern practice. Sullivan in the Kindergarten Chats focused on these shapes as the essentials of all architectures, writing of the pier and the lintel as "the elements, the basic origins of our art--elements and origins independent of time, of period, epoch, styles, or style."¹⁰² After describing these objects as the most rudimentary,

primitive occurrence in nature, Sullivan concludes that the moment the lintel "is laid upon two piers and connects their activities...by the subtlest of conceivable magic, instantly the Science of Architecture comes into being."¹⁰³ Thus the pier and the lintel were, as modern steel structures confirmed, the origins of architecture as the science of construction. Their varied treatment through the history of styles showed how varied peoples, such as the Assyrian, the Egyptians, and the Greeks, "breathe into the simple elements, lintel and pier, the breath of life, and they became living art, filled with the soul of the race, with the soul, the identity of those who made great architecture out of the dust, as the author of Genesis made man out of the dust."¹⁰⁴ The perennial challenge of architecture was, according to Sullivan, to breathe into these elements, which "belong to no time, no people, no race", the breath of life whose source of vitality was the soul of the individual architect.¹⁰⁵ The infusion of style into the structural assembly of pier and lintel depended on the cultivation of style as a resource derived from the personal artistic sensibility of the designer. Sullivan acknowledged that while the constructive elements of architecture partook of the objectivity of engineering, their artistic expression partook of the subjectivity of emotive experience. This thesis underlay Sullivan's description of the project for the Gage facade on Michigan Avenue of 1899 [Figure 6]. He wrote of this design, developed simultaneously with that of the

Schlesinger and Mayer Store, in these terms:

The illustration presents a type of architecture only too rare in the United States, and, so far as buildings of any size are concerned, does not exist in any other country. This front represents nothing new in the element of construction. It is simply the pier and the lintel. The forms of its openings are changed from that of ancient architecture because of the possibilities of new materials, or, rather, old materials so perfected in manufacture that they may be used in new and larger applications. These materials are steel, terra cotta, and glass. Having, then, the simple construction of pier and lintel, the rest is individuality. The type, then, is individual. The style is Sullivan. If imitated by anyone else the style would be Sullivanesque, lose its individuality and return to the imitative type which is practiced the world over today. So much for the style of the building.¹⁰⁶

In his attitude toward the new reality of the frame, Sullivan thus sought a point of reference in its nature as construction, enabling him to seek its parallels in the trabeated architectures of antiquity. This comparison allowed him to find precedents for the artistic problem of structural expression which appeared central to his own time. The fundamental dilemma that inspired contemporary speculation was how to work with steel as an architectural element.¹⁰⁷ Not only was steel acknowledged as the great constructive innovation of modern times, but, as Adler implied, steel was the basis for an array of interrelated systems of building, the mastery of their integration then emerging as the central task facing his contemporaries.¹⁰⁸

William Bryce Mundie, Jenney's partner and their firm's chief designer similarly concluded in 1897 that it was apparent that "a new era in Architecture was about to assert itself, and that all elements entering into the art of building through designing, invention, and material, must hasten forward towards becoming closely identified with steel construction."¹⁰⁹

Among the most powerful statements of Chicago architects that articulated their sense of their historical situation was Frank Lloyd Wright's address of 1901 entitled, "The Art and Craft of the Machine". Wright delivered this address twice in March of that year, first to the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society at Hull House, and two weeks later to the Western Society of Engineers.¹¹⁰ That he chose such divergent audiences for this address suggests that Wright considered it to be a comprehensive statement of his position at that time. The address appeared simultaneously with the first numbers of Sullivan Kindergarten Chats, and the title reflects Wright's involvement with both rational and romantic ideals that preoccupied his mentor. For Wright, as for the Sullivan, the Machine meant not only modern industry but the power of the intellect applied to practical or utilitarian invention.¹¹¹ The Arts and Crafts Movement, with William Morris and John Ruskin as its founders, had championed a romantic conception of art that cherished the sensibility of the individual craftsman. The title expressed Wright's conviction that "in the Machine lies the only future of art and

craft".¹¹² He maintained the handicraft ideal espoused by Ruskin and Morris could be realized only through acceptance of mechanization as the pervasive phenomenon of modernity. Artists would appropriate its capacities so as to emancipate their powers of expression. This ideal Wright expressed in the term "rational freedom", wherein he implied that the tools of the intellect represented in the machine could be made to serve a romantic belief in the primacy of the artist as an individual creator.¹¹³ Like Sullivan, Wright rooted his speculations about the present in a view of the architectural past as somehow combining a rational concern for the elements of construction with their stylistic elaboration in the hands of individual sensitivities. Thus he characterized all architectures preceding and including the Gothic as:

Art in the grand old sense--meaning Art in the sense of structural tradition, whose craft is fashioned upon the handicraft ideal, ancient and modern; an art wherein this form and that form as structural parts were laboriously joined in such a way as to beautifully emphasize the manner of the joining: the million and one ways of beautifully satisfying bare structural necessities, which have come down to us chiefly through the books as "Art".¹¹⁴

Wright stated hopefully that the Machine should not be looked upon only as having sapped this old sense of art of its vitality by having removed the hand of the craftsman from its production. Rather he foresaw that the Machine's success in saving human effort and relieving the hand of

drudgery would serve to emancipate its powers of expression through new media which had "broadened and changed until a new definition and new direction must be given the art activity of the future."¹¹⁵ The Machine had thus created "a splendid distinction between the Art of old and the Art to come".¹¹⁶ Like his colleagues in Chicago, Wright identified the great forerunner of the new art as the tall office building. This modern type was the representative problem of the machine because the structural necessity had been "reduced to a skeleton, complete in itself without the craftsman's touch."¹¹⁷ The separation of craft from the completion and embellishment of structure implied for Wright that the artist was "emancipated to work his will with a rational freedom unknown to the laborious art of structural tradition--no longer tied to the meagre unit of brick arch and stone lintel, nor hampered by the grammatical phrase of their making..."¹¹⁸

The opportunity and dilemma for architecture inherent in steel was its relinquishing of the traditional tie between construction and its articulation. However, the resources for renewal of its expressive potential were then being developed in the systems of fireproofing as necessary complement to the frame. The art of protecting metal from heat and flame had been progressively refined in Chicago construction since the great fire of 1871. Systems of clay tile and terra cotta had been devised to provide a continuous envelope for steel members so that

completed buildings were actually composite constructions of metal encased in masonry.¹¹⁹ All partitions and floors within the frame were similarly composed of fireproof tile supported by the steel skeleton. This secondary masonry was recognized by Adler as the potential source of new forms wherein an expressive character for steel architecture might be appropriately developed. Thus he concluded in 1896 that:

In these fillings and coverings we obtain media for artistic treatment which may be handled solely with reference to the desire to adapt "form" to "function".

From this I deduce that the influence of the new materials and processes will tend to a more free and less trammled treatment of architectural design, and that the striving for creation of ideally perfect form will be less hampered by limitations incident to the use of refractory materials of construction.¹²⁰

Wright similarly focused on the covering of the frame as that component of new architecture wherein rational theories of design would sanction the role of art and craft. Referring most likely to Sullivan's experiments in this field, Wright noted in 1901 that "the steel frame has been recognized as a legitimate basis for a simple, sincere clothing of plastic material that idealizes its purpose without pretense."¹²¹ Structures such as Sullivan's Guaranty Building of 1895, wherein the entire frame was clothed in ornamental terra cotta, were thus considered by Wright to be "the first sane word that has been said in

Art for the Machine."¹²² The recent development of terra cotta as a rational yet expressive covering for the frame was developed by Wright as a metaphor for the future of art in architecture

The Art of old idealized a Structural Necessity--now rendered obsolete and unnatural by the Machine--and accomplished it through man's joy in the labor of his hands.

The new will weave for the necessities of mankind, which his Machine will have mastered, a robe of ideality no less truthful, but more poetical, with a rational freedom made possible by the machine, beside which the art of old will be as the sweet, plaintive wail of the pipe to the outpouring of full orchestra.

It will clothe Necessity with the living flesh of virile imagination, as the living flesh lends living grace to the hard and bony human skeleton.

The new will pass from the possession of kings and classes to the every-day lives of all--from duration in point of time to immortality.¹²³

The development of architectural terra cotta as an exterior covering in Chicago from the late 1880s was an outgrowth of its earlier use first as a fire resistant cladding for interior framing and later as an ornamental accent given special position in exteriors of brick and stone. Terra cotta's principal assets as a material used in combination with steel were its relative lightness, its ability to be manufactured rather than laid or dressed by hand, and most important its moldability as clay capable of being easily fashioned into any ornamental forms.¹²⁴ The possibilities of terra cotta as an architectural surface

greatly excited the imagination of Sullivan and his contemporaries. They foresaw its development in conjunction with steel as the advent of a modern style of architecture equivalent in its expressive potential to the stone architectures of the past. The flexibility and pliability of terra cotta would "at last permit steel construction to have an architectural expression of its own",¹²⁵ deriving from its laws of construction just as the Gothic derived from the principles of stone construction. Thus, Jenney spoke of "an age of steel and clay" wherein the complementarity of these materials would inevitably and rationally result in a new architecture.¹²⁶ Essential to the realization of these possibilities was recognition of the nature of terra cotta as a material. Traditionally used in place of stone facings, enamelled clays were habitually treated so as to resemble that material. Thus Wright wrote of "the delicate, impressionable facilities of terra cotta becoming imitative blocks and voussoirs of tool marked stone,...cut in the fashion of the followers of Phidias."¹²⁷ The lightness of the clay was thought to correspond to the lightness of structural steel, while the necessity of modeling the molds by hand was to permit the reintroduction of craft in the design of a manufactured surface. Thus Sullivan was quoted in 1894 as believing that "this material, which will record the impress of a thumb, has still further capabilities of refinement in this direction looking forward to the time when even the plain terra-cotta blocks shall be hand-

modelled", in addition to the hand modelling of ornamental blocks.¹²⁸

In October 1898, at the same time Sullivan's office was preparing the working drawings for the first marble version of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, the Chicago Architectural Club announced a competition intended to explore the possibilities of terra cotta as an architectural material. The competition was sponsored by Fritz Wagner of the Northwestern Terra Cotta Company, with whom Sullivan had worked out the design of the ornamental terra cotta on the Guaranty Building three years earlier.¹²⁹ The competitors were to design a terra cotta column and lintel with wall surface above, which would serve as the covering for the columns and girder of a single steel bay. The rules of the competition specified that the contestants were to "develop a terra cotta column, not merely a modification of the accepted examples of stone architecture, but an entirely new treatment recognizing the peculiar qualities of the material in question."¹³⁰ No design copied from established precedents for stone architecture would be considered. Rather they should exploit the terra cotta's plasticity and its amenability to polychromy and different surface treatments. As an exemplary model of architectural design in terra cotta, Wagner loaned the club photographs of the Guaranty Building whose colonnade along the street represented Sullivan's solution to the problem of the competition.¹³¹ The chief limiting property of terra cotta was

its tendency to shrink and warp in firing and drying. The resulting variation in the size and shape of individual pieces made it difficult to design a classical column facing whose vertical fluting required sharp alignment and elegant sweep of hollow and aris obtainable only through superimposed blocks of stone. The rules of the competition reflected Sullivan's principle, inherited from Ruskin and other thinkers, that the designer should develop an intimate facility with construction which would enable him to "treat every material according to its specific qualities and emphasize its character."¹³² This principle was applied throughout the design of such works as the Guaranty, in such details as the shafts of the columns along the street [Figure 7]...The column shafts are covered with horizontal bands of terra cotta, alternating between a smooth planar and an incised ornamental pattern. The design omits continuous vertical lines to accommodate the irregularities inherent in terra cotta's fabrication, creating a surface that abandons the classical convention of fluting rendered in stone. The ornamentation of the capital similarly departs from a conventional order so as to exploit the workability of the clay. The upper floors of the Guaranty demonstrate the same concern for the nature of the material, exhibiting the steel as structure and the terra cotta as applied surface whose ornamentation befitted Sullivan's conception of its properties [Figure 8].¹³³ Thus Montgomery Schuyler wrote that he knew "of no steel frame

building in which the metallic construction can be so palpably felt through its envelope of baked clay. In this respect, the designer has fully availed himself of the plasticity of the enclosing material."¹³⁴ The ornament of both the upper and lower portions of the Guaranty, however, displays Sullivan's personal vocabulary of decorative forms which he repeated in a range of materials in other works. The disposition of the clay is also controlled by his preference for expressive emphasis on the vertical lines of the elevation.

Design in terra cotta that both followed from its nature as a material and exhibited the mark of Sullivan's individual sensibility is also evident in the upper stories of the Schlesinger and Mayer Building [Figure 9]. Detail drawings show the assembly of ornamental terra cotta as part of the upper wall section of the Burnham addition [Figure 10].¹³⁵ The facing of the wall between stories was formed by five courses of terra cotta alternating in width between 6" and 11½". Each course was clamped into a masonry infill supported by steel angles attached to the structural steel beam. The profile of the additional courses which formed the head, sill, and jamb of the window was shaped as a molding identical to that proposed for the earlier design of the same facing in white Georgia marble. The distinction in the use of the terra cotta was the ornamentation of the window reveals and narrow courses running along the heads and sills of the windows. In the profile of the jamb

[Figure 11], even the outer projecting edge of the window frame was given an ornamental surface. The coursing and molding as duplication of the marble facing suggests that the clay was to retain the sense of the wall as a plane of surface, within which its ornamentation served to distinguish it as molded, baked clay. One of Sullivan's followers wrote that the exterior "shows fully the structural function of the steel frame with the enclosing protection of terra cotta, treated with full knowledge of its plasticity in its natural state and hardness and durability after treatment in the kiln."¹³⁶

The design for the terra cotta cornice of the topmost story similarly recalled the treatment of this terminal element with its soffit and fascia indicated on the working drawings for the original marble wall. As in the window frames below, the distinguishing feature of the terra cotta would be its ornamentation gracing each surface of this topmost profile as the building's crowning accent seen from below. The section through the Burnham cornice [Figure 12] may be compared with that designed by Holabird and Roche for the neighboring Rothschild's store building of 1911 [Figure 13].¹³⁷ In this later State Street project the terra cotta reproduce the full depth and detail of motifs of a conventional classical cornice. The treatment of terra cotta on the lower floors of this building to imitate the voussoirs of a classical arch was a similarly heavy-handed, academic manipulation of the clay to recall stone. By

contrast, Sullivan's Schlesinger and Mayer Store was described as a building which "terminates in a cornice based on the projecting roof beams and rationally functional."¹³⁸ A delicate pattern of molded ornament worked into the clay would have overlaid the soffit of the cornice as a light, unconventional filigree perhaps like that along the outer edge of the window frames below [Figure 14].

The cornice's profile from window head to flashing recalls the molding profile around the individual windows on stories below. It is as if the roof edge were treated as a variation on the window reveal rendered at a larger scale. Such a correspondence between details at complementary scales and positions in the upper wall would serve to give the exterior a formal unity akin to but not duplicative of the family of profiles in a classical building. In both the terra cotta and marble schemes, Sullivan subordinated the principle of the identity of the material within an encompassing formal intention for the building. Its wall was simultaneously a functional, fireproof cladding following the lines of the structure to maximize daylight, and an elegantly continuous surface whose simplicity of line and molding would render it sufficient as architecture. As in the Guaranty, the larger concept of an organic expression for the whole of the building was the fundamental idea, within which adherence to the nature of materials was secondary. The properties of terra cotta were enlisted by Sullivan to explore his primary interest in developing a

wholeness of form for the building, and secondarily as a medium for expression of his own ornamental style. Wright noted Sullivan's habitual willingness to suspend concern for truth to materials in order to assert his own architectural intentions:

As to materials, the grasp of the Master's imagination gripped them all pretty much alike. As to relying on them for beauties of their own, he had no need --no patience. They were stuff to bear the stamp of his imagination and bear it they did, cast iron, wrought iron, marble, plaster, concrete, wood. In this respect he did not live up to his principle. He was too rich in fancy to allow anything to come for its own sake between him and the goal of his desire. It would have been to him like naturalistic noises in the orchestra.¹³⁹

Sullivan's manipulations of terra cotta depended on its receptivity as clay to impressions that both displayed its natural plasticity and the facility of the designer in working with the medium. The literal plasticity of terra cotta as a clay may have been one source for Sullivan's more encompassing use of the term to describe an architecture which, if "trully plastic", would "respond to the poet's touch."¹⁴⁰ In this more figurative sense, a plastic architecture for Sullivan would be one in which "the forms under his hand would grow naturally out of the needs and express them frankly, and freshly."¹⁴¹ The figurative sense of plasticity in architecture as the direct expression of function was analogous to its literal description of the

direct expression of a designer's sensibility in the forms of workable clay. In both usages, "all senseless conventional rigidity" would be bypassed in order that forms may readily embody those needs or desires that inspired their making.¹⁴² Sullivan's view of this property of terra cotta appeared in the following description of its use in the facade of the Bayard Building of 1897:

(Terra cotta) is the most plastic of materials in its raw state, suffering itself to be shaped, with marvelous readiness, into every conceivable delicacy and variety of form and movement, yet, when once fired, these forms and delicacies become everlasting; these movements and rhythms of the ornamentation preserve with the persistence of bronze every sentimental turn of expression, every poetic and airy nothing that the creative imagination has imparted to them.¹⁴³

The plasticity of terra cotta and other clay materials at a small scale provided a field for ornamentation. At the scale of the whole building, the properties these materials suggested the larger principle of shaping its outward form as the expression of its inner function. Just as the internal promptings of the decorative imagination found outward form in the ornamental shaping of the plastic terra cotta, so the inner organic nature of an entire building would find its appropriate external form to become a truly plastic architecture. Sullivan developed this idea in a short essay of 1910 entitled "Suggestions in Artistic Brickwork". He wrote that the advent of paver brick as an exterior facing material had

...created the desire and made possible the change from the old single or "shirt front" buildings, to the full four-front or all around structures of simple but excellent materials.

The growth in the use of terra cotta kept pace with the new practice and the new demand; and improvements in manufacture and coloring quickly followed. New glazes and slips were produced, and the use of terra cotta and brick took on new life and new meanings.

With these facilities at the hand of the architect, he began to feel more sensible of the true nature of the building as an organism or whole: and individual or fully expressed structure, rather than a mere slice showing one character for the front and another for the sides. And with this sensibility began to come the vision that the exterior of the building is, in essence, the expression, the full expression of the plan.

Hence this new style of brick, if we may call it so, has led to a new development, namely, that in which all the functions of a given building are allowed to find their expression in natural and appropriate forms--each form and total shape evidencing, instead of hiding, the working conditions of the building as exhibited in its plan.¹⁴⁴

The implication of the theoretical ideal of plasticity for the form of Sullivan's buildings was its use of enveloping surfaces of terra cotta or brick to suggest a plastic or organic unity within the design. The unbroken plane of terra cotta that clothed the steel frame structure of Carson-Pirie-Scott exemplified this ideal of a plastic material as expression of the ideal of an organic wholeness of form. Prevalent interest in surfaces among Chicago architects was in part an attempt to derive artistic effect from their necessity as fireproofing. The use of masonry

exteriors was one facet of their desire to convey the impression of fire resistance.¹⁴⁵ The continuity of the surface around the faces of the building and through its height was intended to signify the design's unitary expression of function. This meaning of enveloping materials as the outward sign of intrinsically ordered form underlay Sullivan's description of the Monadnock which he wrote possessed "a subtlety of line and surface" that served to express "a direct singleness of purpose."¹⁴⁶ Thus Sullivan foresaw the use of enveloping clays "in such wise as to secure an effect of totality of singleness of purpose."¹⁴⁷ Unity and simplicity of surface as an expression of inward wholeness may have been the theoretical principle that underlay first the marble and then the terra cotta surfaces designed for the upper stories of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store. In both schemes the material was treated "with a smooth surface, combined with simplicity of line and molding,"¹⁴⁸ the exterior reading as a continuous plane from the show windows through the cornice.

In equating this formal character of exterior materials with the principle of forms derived naturally and completely from the needs for their being, Sullivan apparently drew on earlier 19th century sensibilities that acclaimed the architectural possibilities of pure surfaces. This principle had been central to the architectures of Richardson and Root, who admonished that "the value of plain surfaces in every building is not to be overestimated. Strive for

them, and when the fates place at your disposal a good, generous sweep of masonry, accept it frankly..."¹⁴⁹ The veneration of surfaces as a principle of architecture, like the doctrine of working in the nature of materials, derived from the criticism of Ruskin. His view of their value related closely to the larger idea that architecture should emulate natural forms. Ruskin wrote of the wall in The Seven Lamps of Architecture:

...as regards abstract power and awefulness, there is no question; without breadth of surface it is in vain to seek them, and it matters little, so that the surface be wide, bold, and unbroken, whether it be of brick or of jasper; the light of heaven upon it, and the weight of earth in it, are all we need: for it is singular how forgetful the mind may become both of material and workmanship, if only it have space enough over which to range, and to remind it, however feebly, of the joy that it has in contemplating the flatness and sweep of great plains and broad seas. And it is a noble thing for men to do this with their cut stone or moulded clay, and to make the face of a wall look infinite, and its edge against the sky like an horizon.¹⁵⁰

Ruskin's admiration for the unbroken surface in architecture was linked to the 19th century's veneration of geologic forms as models for man-made structures. Chicago architects, like Ruskin, were enamored of geologic metaphors in descriptions of buildings. Sullivan wrote that Root's Monadnock Building was the last non-metal structure which closed the period of the tall building's development in masonry, as if it marked the end of a geologic age. He

described the Monadnock as "an amazing cliff of brickwork, rising sheer and stark,...stand(ing) as a symbol, as a solitary monument, marking the high tide of masonry construction as applied to commercial structures."¹⁵¹ Sullivan similarly classified his own buildings before the Wainwright as belonging to his "masonry period", with the Wainwright as "a very sudden and volcanic design".¹⁵² The scheme in his opinion marked a conceptual breakthrough analogous to a volcanic rupturing in which the epoch of stone architectures was superceded by an age of steel. The habit of comparing architectural and geologic forms may also have inspired the initial characterization of the design for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as "the great mountain of steel and terra cotta".¹⁵³ The smoothness of the marble surface in the original scheme of 1898 can be interpreted as evoking the image of a geologic formation of white stone.

In Ruskinian criticism of architecture, the veneration of surfaces was complemented by a love for the play of light and shade over intricate ornamental relief. In The Stones of Venice Ruskin emphasized the pointilistic effect of carved motifs in sunlight which served as visual foil for the unbroken surfaces.¹⁵⁴ This sense of enlivening detail set within the encompassing effect of surfaces is evident in the terra cotta treatment of the upper wall of Carson-Pirie-Scott. There is an effective contrast between the coursing of the smooth surface of clay and the ornamental bands set in incised relief along the heads and sills of

the windows [Figure 9]. This detail appears almost like a taut garland in keeping with the festive character of the department store as a decorated type. At the same time however, the ornament along the face of the upper wall would catch the light in much the same way as carved stone in a Ruskin drawing set within a smooth masonry wall [Figure 15]. This type of complementary effect was also evident in Sullivan's Wainwright where the shaft of the brick piers was complemented by the ornamental lintel panels, the masonry surface and the detailed relief each heightening the character of the other through their contrast of texture. Likewise, the upper wall of Carson-Pirie-Scott may be understood as an attempt to realize what Ruskin had identified as one timeless visual effect in architecture, wherein the pointilism of ornamental relief reads against the contrasting continuity of the wall plane.

Followers of Sullivan in Chicago interpreted the master's ideal of architecture as a style of building wherein purity of surface implied rigorous and logical expression of function. As Sullivan had implied in his critical praise for a department store, the functional ideal in his time implied the elimination of all detail that could not be rationally derived from a building's purpose. One of his ardent followers, Hugh Garden, wrote in 1903 that the task of designers should be "unceasingly to watch and guard, that no unmeaning or unnecessary ornamentation shall creep in to mar or obscure the simple architectural statement of

fact."¹⁵⁵ If the devices of historicism were to be fore-sworn, then what were the resources for expression permissible for the reintroduction of architectural content into forms derived solely from utility? Sullivan's friend and contemporary, Allen B. Pond, concluded that monotony in the future would be avoided not through recourse to the styles, but "by a proper proportioning and disposal of openings; by a proper treatment of corners and angles; by an artistic handling of the requisite moldings and string courses; by an intelligent use of the roof; and especially, withal, by making the most of the possibilities inherent in...materials."¹⁵⁶

The development of this rigorous ideal of functional expression occurred most visibly in Chicago's industrial architecture at the turn of the century. Warehouses and factories designed by architects for sites removed from the commercial downtown often revealed successful applications of Pond's precepts, encouraged by their nature as the most utilitarian class of structures.¹⁵⁷ The minimal elegance of their exteriors provoked some theorists to view them as models of rational form-making that might successfully be applied to all classes of buildings. One such structure whose architectural effect depended solely on expressive treatment was the mail order warehouse of Montgomery Ward and Company, begun in 1905 and completed over the next five years [Figure 16].¹⁵⁸ The project's chief characteristic was its length of 729 feet along the north branch of the

Chicago River, approximately equal to that of the United States Capitol. The structure and exterior were entirely of concrete. The architects chose to intensify the expression of the building's length through continuous projecting courses along the head and sill of the windows in each of the upper stories. Their unbroken horizontality, combined with the proportion of the window themselves, and the concave angle near the center of the building along the river front, markedly accentuated its form without reliance on devices alien to the problem.

A similar emphasis on the accentuating power of line alone underlay Sullivan's elevation of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, which may have served as a source of Schmidt and Garden's design, the warehouse and the department store being associated use types. Like surface, line as an attribute of form was thus acceptable as a primary resource for new architecture when its expressive potential could be developed harmoniously with the conditions of a type. Thus Sullivan wrote of the form of the tall office building that "from bottom to top it is a unit without a single dissenting line."¹⁵⁹ Root's Monadnock similarly possessed "subtlety of line and surface" while the Schlesinger and Mayer Store combined a smooth surface with "simplicity of line and molding."¹⁶⁰ The rendering of line as molding could, within Sullivan's scheme, legitimately serve to accentuate surface. Molding in his usage was not meant to denote the myriad variations on this device found in historical styles.

Instead molding was theoretically understood to mean the linear articulation of mass or structure whose architectural effect would be to unify form. Peter B. Wight expressed the rational ideal of molding as visible in Gothic cathedrals whose ultimate achievement was "a development of every constructive line with moldings."¹⁶¹

Sullivan's contemporaries extended this inclusive theory of form-making beyond the concept of molding to include principles of ornamentation. Wight articulated his colleagues' view that "no building can be in any sense a work of art unless its ornamentation is a natural growth from its construction."¹⁶² The inseparability of ornament from construction derived from the organic theory of architecture inherited from such thinkers as Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc.¹⁶³ Root expressed these ideas in Chicago as early as 1885, writing that:

There is no reason why every smallest ornament of the building should not tend toward a predetermined result, and buildings constructed and decorated to be as homogeneous in expression and absolute in type as the organic creations of nature... (Decoration) gains its vitality, like the mistletoe, by adhering to a self-supporting structure. It is, unlike the mistletoe, in no sense to be considered apart from this structure. It is alive and expressive when it is modified by the constructive type of the building. It is dead and irrelevant when separated from this type.¹⁶⁴

In 1889 Jenney echoed this view, citing James Fergusson's definition of architecture as "ornamental and ornamented

construction".¹⁶⁵ Jenney, like Root, following Ruskin, argued for the most sparing use of molding and carving solely to accent construction. In 1909 Wright similarly declared that "Construction should be decorated. Decoration should never be purposely constructed."¹⁶⁶

Equally prevalent in Chicago thought was the principle, also inherited from a range of 19th century theorists, that ornament should be derived from nature.¹⁶⁷ Reliance on nature for models of decorative vocabulary was thought to underlie the highest type of decorative art in earlier architectures, whose own styles should not be considered the most authoritative sources of form. Thus, Root advised that "the great styles of architecture are of infinite value but they are to be vitally imitated, not servilely copied. Continually return to nature and nature's methods."¹⁶⁸ Jenney also admonished his younger colleagues to "go to nature for your models; you are all learning to see art in nature, and to conventionalize it--that is, simply make it more geometrical--and to translate it into an architectural ornament, to be cut in stone or wood."¹⁶⁹ Wright similarly maintained that the law of the best periods of decorative art was that "flowers or other natural objects should not be used as ornaments, but conventional representations founded upon them, sufficiently suggestive to convey the intended image to the mind without destroying the unity of the object decorated."¹⁷⁰

These acknowledged principles of the relation of

ornament to structure and the derivation of its motifs from nature underlay Sullivan's own system of ornamental expression in architecture. The special importance of ornament to Sullivan's architecture and his theory of its forms have received considerable scholarly attention.¹⁷¹ Earlier studies have attempted to show how the ornament of Carson-Pirie-Scott fits within the chronology of Sullivan's life work as a designer of ornament, and in what ways the building's motifs correspond to his later treatise on a system of architectural ornament.¹⁷² In the context of this discussion of contemporary theories of ornament, it may be helpful to analyze the motifs of Carson-Pirie-Scott as evidence of Sullivan's particular view of the relation of ornament to structure, and to his larger idea of organic form.

In relation to the whole of the design for the building, perhaps the most remarkable fact about the ornament, when compared to Sullivan's earlier works, is its relative absence from the exterior except along the base of the show windows. The original marble scheme had omitted ornament in the upper floors except at the frieze and cornice. The concentration of decorative design in the lower two stories may have served to accentuate the importance of the show windows as the distinguishing feature of department store architecture. The distinct identity of the type would thus be revealed in the selective use of ornament, rather than its indiscriminate application. In this respect, Carson-

Pirie-Scott is unlike Sullivan's office buildings, where ornament appears throughout the upper stories. Instead the State Street building resembles the Schiller Theater, where the selective use of ornament above the entrance [Figure 17] and atop the central tower served to identify the building as a theater. As in Carson-Pirie-Scott, the special character of the use type is marked by a more limited, discriminating use of decoration, even though its festive character might have logically implied a more extravagant overlay of ornament through all parts of the facade.

Within the base of the building, the generation of the ornamental motifs themselves may be studied in one surviving drawing [Figure III-21], identified as a pencil study of 1898 attributable to Elmslie. This drawing shows the upper column and spandrel over the second floor in the first bay south from the corner along the State Street elevation. The study shows the derivation of these principal motifs, variations of which were included in the ornament of the base as built. In the lower right is shown the graphic construction of the motifs facing the vertical column. The ornament for this surface contains alternating oval and diamond shaped motifs developed from a geometric armature of interpenetrating squares. Between these forms appears the suggestion of foliate detail in relief. The drawing of this motif compares closely with design as executed in cast iron [Figure 18]. The use of interpenetrating motifs based on the same geometric underlay of the square creates a

suggestion of vibrant continuity up the face of the column. This impression culminates in the motif for the capital above the second story which reads as an extension of the design below for the shaft. The crowning oval appears as the flowering head of a natural form, with leaves emerging from the germinal center of its base [Figure 19]. The interlacing of one motif into the next up the face of the column suggests an enlivened movement, as if the inert metal had been infused with living forms whose pattern may be compared to the treatment of the lower column shafts of the Guaranty Building [Figure 20]. There a similar repetition of forms lent a suggestion of vitality to the sweep of the vertical member. In Carson-Pirie-Scott a similar effect is evident in the ornamental pattern along the spandrel above the first floor [Figure 21]. Like the column, this design appears based on the graphic construction of an interlacing geometric pattern rendered as quatrefoils in lower relief. Along the upper edge of the spandrel is a border composed of germinal ovals with interwoven tendrils. Like the design for the vertical column, the spandrel motif contains a suggestion of vitality and movement derived from the quickened rhythm of its forms. The design of the upper border may be compared with an earlier Sullivan drawing for an ornamental pattern wherein the repetition and interlacing of naturalistic motifs based on a geometric armature served to enliven the horizontal extent of the surface [Figure 22].¹⁷³

The enlivening character of the column and spandrel motifs is also evident in the designs for the spandrel panels above the second story. The enrichment of this crowning surface contains spiral motifs which are less common in Sullivan's earlier work and appear to be characteristic of the ornament of Carson-Pirie-Scott. In the earliest scheme of 1898, these upper spandrels were rendered as continuous interlaced motifs forming a frieze not unlike that crowning the attic story of the Wainwright Building [Figure 23]. The idea of continuously interlaced spirals above the second floor would have been consistent with the proposed continuity of the show window bays in this earliest design for the base. The effect of this original design is evident in the frieze above the second story of the Madison Street bay window and above the curved corner entrance [Figure 24]. In both these positions, the ornament is designed as an uninterrupted train of motifs across structural bays, thus containing that suggestion of festive motion evident in the design for the column and first story spandrels.

In the structural bays which do not project forward onto the sidewalk on both the State and Madison Street fronts, the upper spandrels are treated as symmetrical compositions within a single panel of cast iron set between the columns. A study for one half of such a symmetrical motif appears in the Elmslie drawing, showing interblended spiral motifs of greater relief and less rigid adherence

to a geometric armature than the designs for the column and first story spandrel. The unusual predominance of interlacing spirals in these second floor spandrels is distinctive in comparison with Sullivan's earlier work, and constitutes the ornamental motif most uniquely characteristic of Carson-Pirie-Scott. Among the most elegant of these panels is that crowning the easternmost bay of the Madison Street front of 1899 [Fig.29]. The continuity of line through this motif is suggestive of, but not explicitly depicting natural forms. In Elmslie's account of the sources of Sullivan's ornament, he stressed that they were not intended as literal representations of living things, but rather were intended as evocative suggestions of developmental rhythms found in nature.¹⁷⁴ The motifs themselves were unnamable and not classifiable with respect to either sources in historic styles of ornament or specific models in nature. Thus the original description of the ornamental motifs around the base of the Schlesinger and Mayer store noted that the metal should be "wrought into original elaborations of unique and exquisite design".¹⁷⁵ Sullivan evidently sought to infuse the motifs with a suggestive power whereby they would evoke the rhythms and vitality of nature rather than reproduce the forms which were the materialization of that unseen vitality. In maintaining this distinction between ornament as derived from models in nature as opposed to ornament which suggested forces which underlay those models, Sullivan went beyond the theory of

ornament prevalent among his Chicago colleagues. The motifs gracing the lower stories of Carson-Pirie-Scott may thus be understood less as derivations from formal types in nature, and more as suggestions of the universal animating spirit of which those types were the visible crystallization.

Sullivan similarly went beyond the prevailing contemporary view that ornament should be subordinate to construction orderive from the lines of the structure. This precept he absorbed within a more encompassing theory of organic form.¹⁷⁶ His understanding of organic theory in relation to ornament perhaps derived from Ruskin, who had used the word "organic" to characterize the appropriate integral relation between structure and ornament.¹⁷⁷ In his 1892 essay on "Ornament in Architecture", Sullivan similarly advocated that "peculiar sympathy between the ornament and the structure"¹⁷⁸ apparent when ornament "seems a part of the surface or substance that receives it."¹⁷⁹ The model for this idea in nature was the form of the tree, whose leaves as ornament extended from the trunk as structure.¹⁸⁰ Ruskin similarly wrote that "all good ornamentation is thus arborescent, as it were, one class of it branching out of another and sustained by it."¹⁸¹ The potential of these analogies of ornament to organic growth may have inspired the treatment of relief through the surfaces of the base of Carson-Pirie-Scott. The visual impression of these forms, as in other Sullivan buildings, derives

from their apparent emergence or projection from the plane of the wall. In each motif there is the suggestion of its forms coming forth from the face of the iron, as if an inner vitality prompted its development in relief. It is as if the design of the artist and the hand of the modeler had combined to breathe the breath of life into the inert material, enlivening the surface both through the shapes of the motifs and their relief when cast. The base is thereby endowed with an almost dynamic sensibility, as if the ornament were pulling out and away from its background to suggest the building likened to a living form. The use of ornament thus goes beyond the principle of subordination to or expression of construction. Rather the ornament emerges from the surface to endow the construction with an organic vitality.

In certain details of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, Sullivan demonstrated a literal interpretation of the organic relation between structure and ornament. In the mullions separating the plate glass show windows of the lower stories, the cast iron colonettes, as structural members, extend into foliate ornamental forms at their heads. Above the colonettes, at the central crown of the spandrel panels above the second story windows, the ornamental relief projects upward and outward, as if drawn forth from the surface of the metal. These motifs correspond to the original description of the metal work around the show windows as "wrought into elaborations of rare and delicate beauty",

as if to suggest the evocation of the ornament from the substance of the material.¹⁸² A similar effect at the cornice of the building was evident in the 1898 presentation rendering of the original marble scheme [Figure 25]. The frieze below the cornice was shown carved in relief as clusters of foliate ornament set above each column line. The crowning ornament resembles that rendered in terra cotta atop the piers of the Gage facade designed by Sullivan in the same year. In the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as built, this carved frieze was replaced by an open colonnade. The capitals of this crowning colonnade can be read as the organic extension of the structural columns. These ornaments were originally sized to correspond to the scale of the whole building, which suggests that they were conceived as integral with the lines of the supports.

The principle of organic expression evident in these details also recurred at larger scales in the executed design. At the corner, as shown in an advertisement of 1903, the vertical colonettes appear like slender plant forms which flower in the ornamental enrichment of their capitals [Figure 26]. This sense of the colonette as a distended natural form is apparent in the August 1891 rendering of the expanded Schlesinger and Mayer store, where the addition of an upper story suggested the vertical extension of the original attached columns facing the corner of the post-fire building. Comparison with the Parisian orders of the original Boyington building shows the

organic extendability of the linear colonettes of Sullivan's executed work. The form of the colonettes suggests the idea of the building likened to the wholeness of a living thing. This interpretation of its form may be extended to the horizontal accent of the ornamental bands around the State and Madison Street elevations. These horizontal lines suggest the extendability of building along the street. Such a principle of expansion was inherent in the nature of a State Street department store whose vitality depended on its ability to grow through absorption of neighboring properties. The organic logic of the type became evident in the Burnham addition of 1905 which extended the Sullivan exterior five bays down State Street to heighten the impression of the building's horizontal expandability. The continuity of the whole form, as suggested in the decorative details of colonette and ornamental band, may have thus referred to the larger principle of an organic architecture.

Study of the exterior of Carson-Pirie-Scott, in both its details and its mass, suggests that Sullivan sought to endow the work with a dynamic sensibility. This effect derives from the relation between structure and ornament based on the theory of organic form. The ornamental detail serves to suggest a vitality of movement which enlivens the structural mass, as if to deny the inertness of the building itself. In his Kindergarten Chat on the structural elements of architecture, Sullivan described the complementary rhythms of aspiring growth and crushing decadence

contained within the vertical form of the pier, and the complexity of structural forces at work within the lintel.¹⁸³ He sought to express in his architecture the property of dynamic balance of forces as a principle borrowed from natural forms.¹⁸⁴ This property would be apparent in both individual motifs and within the mass of the building as a whole. Sullivan alluded to this ideal when he wrote that, while the Greeks know the statics and the Goths the dynamics of architecture, a modern or poetic architecture would achieve a "mobile equilibrium" that would express both "the movement and the stability of nature."¹⁸⁵

The form in nature which expressed this dynamic balance between forces of growth and decay was the spiral. This motif had recurred throughout the history of architectural ornament. Both Root and Sullivan advocated the possibilities of using such natural forms as the ever valid basis for a modern architectural ornament, just as the spiral in nature had been appropriated in historic styles of ornament. Root suggested this possibility in his essay on "Architectural Ornamentation" of 1885, where he wrote:

No form is so prevalent in architectural decoration as the growth under resistance-- the spiral. Using this form, as illustrating the inherent expressiveness of ornament rightly used, we note that in it is implied the operation of two forces: first, the vitality tending toward vertical growth, constantly and uniformly exerted; and second, a downward pressure of the weight either of the plant itself or of a superincumbent burden. These being the conditions, it is evident that the character of expression involved in any spiral line will depend upon

which of these two forces predominates, and to what extent...It will always be safe to endeavor to produce in architectural decoration an effect observed in nature by the identical means nature uses to produce this effect. Who that has seen the interlaced and tangled stems of a vigorous Virginia creeper and has tried to part them, does not know why much Romanesque and Byzantine ornament was at once so graceful and powerful?¹⁸⁶

Sullivan adapted the spiral as a prevalent motif in the design for the architectural ornament of Carson-Pirie-Scott. The expressive potential of this motif is perhaps most evident in the frame for the lunettes surmounting the corner doors [Figure 27]. In tracing the lines of interblended spirals through this intricate form, one sees a demonstration of the principle of organic expression. The design exhibits those complementary rhythms described in the texts of Root and Sullivan, the suggestion of growth balanced by that of decay. The motif might be interpreted as a kind of allegory in ornament displaying this principle of the dynamics of natural forms. It is conceivable that Sullivan sought to endow the whole of a work like Carson-Pirie-Scott with the same sense of the dynamic of natural forms evident in this emblematic motif. In the upper elevation, ornament serves to enliven the surface, creating secondary rhythms overlaid onto the lines of the structure. The mass of the building thus becomes "like a sonorous melody overlaid with harmonious voices."¹⁸⁷ This sense of the dynamic infused into the design is perhaps evident in

the ornamental bands of terra cotta running along the head and sill of the windows across the entire elevation. This motif serves not only to suggest the extendability of the building but also lends a visual tautness to the form. These decorative bands were composed of a single motif contained in one piece of terra cotta and repeated the length of the wall. The motif [Figure 9b] is composed of interwoven sinusoidal curves suggestive of continuous linear motion. The quick alteration of lights and darks created when this motif is replicated along the length of the steel bays gives the whole surface a suggestion of horizontal movement. This ornamental detail in the upper part of the building thus makes the structure exhibit that quality of "mobile equilibrium"¹⁸⁸ which Sullivan sought as the distinctive attribute of a poetic architecture. He believed this quality of a whole structure would signify the creation of an organic modern architecture, just as its presence in an individual motif would characterize a style of ornament appropriate to such an architecture.

The ornamentation of the base of the building derived not only from its relation to Sullivan's theory of organic form, but from its proximity to the passing crowd. Elmslie recalled that the concentration of ornament around the show windows at the base of the building encouraged the immediacy of its appreciation, the decorative forms to be seen at close range by pedestrians along the sidewalk. This intention was undoubtedly rooted in the culture of window

shopping specific to State Street, yet it may have also derived from Ruskinian theory of ornament. One of Ruskin's central precepts was that ornament as the principle part of architecture should be accessible to the touch and sight of the passing observer.¹⁸⁹ His studies of Venetian Gothic architecture developed the sensibility of later architects such as Sullivan to the meaning and virtue of the display of intricate decorative forms near to the individual eye and hand. The programmatic issue of the show window in the Schlesinger and Mayer Store thus provided Sullivan and Elsmlye with an opportunity to develop this sense of ornamental design along the base of their building. The principle of the visual and tactile accessibility of ornament was inherited from Ruskin's view of medieval architecture. Its specific application in Carson-Pirie-Scott derived from the conventions of the building type and the commercial street of which its windows were a part.

The principle of the variation of the scale of motifs over the face of the whole building is also evident in the projects for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store. The principle of varying the scale of ornament had informed the design of earlier works such as the Wainwright. One can compare the cornice of the Wainwright to the projected and executed cornice of Carson's. In the Wainwright, the foliate spirals along the attic story marked the culmination of motifs of ever increasing scale up the face of the building.¹⁹⁰

In Carson-Pirie-Scott, an advertising rendering of the building as built [Figure 26] shows the efflorescence of ornamental enrichment within the soffit of the cornice. The enrichment of this crown of the building was intended to be seen from the street, with the ornamentation placed on the underside rather than the fascia of the cornice, as in the Wainwright. Such an enrichment of the upper soffit, would correspond to the decorative treatment of the window reveals in the upper wall [Figure 28], where the ornament was confined to the jambs and heads of the reveals and omitted from their sills. This detail suggests that the reveals were intended to enrich the view of the surface from the perspective of the sidewalk. The decorative outline of the windows in the upper floors carried through the theme of the windows as festive picture frames established at ground level. Thus, when shoppers looked up from the street, they would see a progression of ornamented surfaces--first the top of the show windows, then the reveals of the upper story windows, and finally, the soffit of the crowning cornice. The upper surfaces most visible from below would thus echo the theme of decorative display begun at the base of the building.

The formal unity of the exterior was in one sense, however, only the most visible expression of the design's adherence to Sullivan's theory of what would constitute a new architecture. Equally important to the organic wholeness of building was that its processes of fabrication integrate

the use of technology and handicraft as complementary resources for realizing the expressive potential of materials. This aim at integration of process to achieve integrity of form underlay Wright's contention that the artist of 1900 would be "the leader of an orchestra, where once he was a star performer."¹⁹¹ Adler offered this definition of the modern master as one who would skillfully combine newly available resources for form making:

Michel Angelo was painter, architect, diplomat; but above all, and in all, an artist. An important factor in his greatness as an architect was his familiarity with the technique of the auxiliary and subsidiary arts, sciences and crafts, the command of which devolves upon the architect. The great Buonarotti did not disdain to learn the metal founder's, the quarry worker's and other crafts in order to be the better able to carry out the plans which his great mind had conceived. Were he among us now, he would be in the front rank of the experts and specialists in all the modern arts and sciences which have arisen to perplex and worry the artist-architect wedded to the traditions, processes and materials of the past. And being a master of specialties and details, he would, as general, muster them all into martial array for overcoming the difficulties incident to the expanded and diversified demands which our time makes upon the architect.¹⁹²

Sullivan professed to aspire to this inclusive definition of architect in his labors with the Schlesinger and Mayer store. He claimed in its design to have embraced the full range of contemporary techniques, being an artist who "accepts the modern machine, and demonstrates its

capacity to assist him in evolving a work of art...Neither does he neglect to use hand work, but encourages it where practicable. He is an artist himself and has a following of skilled artists whom he uses in their proper vocation. In these respects he lives in the twentieth century."¹⁹³ That Sullivan sought to combine and balance the resources of mechanization with what here reads as a medieval ideal of the relation of architect to craftsman corresponded to the prevalent direction of the design fields in Chicago during the late 1890s. The Art Institute maintained a Department of Decorative Designing under the direction of Louise J. Millet, Sullivan's collaborator on many projects and his friend from Beaux Arts days.¹⁹⁴ This department conducted extensive instruction in design of metal work, carved wood, stained glass, and interior decoration of all kinds. Students learned both historical styles of ornament and modelling and shopwork where emphasis was placed on developing knowledge of materials. The department maintained its program of instruction in tandem with the architectural school of the Armour Institute of Technology where Sullivan and others often gave talks.¹⁹⁵ In addition to these programs, which were patterned after comparable schools in the east, there were initiatives aimed at making Chicago a pioneering innovator in design instruction that embraced the potential of the machine for both ornamental and industrial applications. The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was formally organized at Hull House in 1897. Though

dedicated to the principles of the English movement under William Morris, the Chicago society did resolve from the start "to consider the relation of the machine to the working man."¹⁹⁶ A more forthright acceptance of the coming mechanization of craft underlay the founding in 1899 of the Industrial Arts League of Chicago whose aim was to train designers skilled at devising and fabricating metal work, wood work, ceramics and products in other media for machine production.¹⁹⁷

Thus, the statements of Sullivan and his colleagues, though progressive relative to the architectural culture of their time, were also implicit recognitions of the development of the allied arts which then enjoyed much popular philanthropic support in Chicago. In relation to the building industry, the production of architectural terra cotta was one area which combined the use of craftsmen as modellers of ornamental designs from architects' drawings with an ever more refined process of manufacturing and assembling the clay finish. The growth of this field was led nationally by Chicago's Northwestern Terra Cotta Company, which executed the exteriors of many of Sullivan's buildings and others along State Street, including the Schlesinger and Mayer store.¹⁹⁸ The comparable development of ornamental metalwork in architecture was also pioneered nationally by the Chicago firm of Winslow Brothers and Company.¹⁹⁹ This firm perfected processes of fabrication that could reproduce artistic subtleties with the aid of new technologies. The

Winslow Brothers had executed the cast iron on the Schlesinger and Mayer Store and the Gage facade and other State Street buildings, including the Columbus, the Champlain and the Reliance. They worked with Sullivan whose intricate forms frequently challenged them to advance techniques of metal work.²⁰⁰ The field of architectural metal work in Chicago, like that of architectural terra cotta, grew as one adjunct to the development of the steel frame skyscraper wherein the intensity of use, the need for fireproofing, and the aspiration to monumentality had encouraged the preference for metals in their public interiors.²⁰¹ In Chicago the prevalence of architectural metal work for store fronts, stairways, and elevator enclosures was thought in the 1890s to be without parallel in Europe. There excellence in the field, as evinced by the national exhibitions at the 1893 World's Fair, was focused on production of objets d'art.²⁰² In the United States the distinctive development of iron and steel in structural skeletons by 1900 was thought to necessarily entail "the spread of metal work to the rest of the structure, as not only appropriate but more enduring and cheaper in the end."²⁰³ The proliferation of metal interior finishes in commercial buildings was thus included as a distinguishing mark of modernity in architecture, its gracefulness, pliancy, and spatial economy recommending it over traditional finishes of stone and wood.²⁰⁴

The development of the aesthetic capabilities of iron and bronze as the chief metals for architecture depended

on the refinement of casting techniques. Traditional methods had limited cast metal work to the production of cumbersome pieces in crude sand molds that left the surface coarse and imperfect. These limitations had prevented cast iron from achieving the refinement of detail or hand-tooled appearance of wrought iron. The surfaces of cast bronze also had to be chased by hand.²⁰⁵ The Winslow Brothers, however, perfected the means whereby large panels of very thin metal could be used in store fronts as a surround for show windows and a facing for structural metal. Such sheets as those ornamenting the renovated bays of the Mandel Brothers building in 1897-98 were only about one half inch thick. They were so free of warping, roughness, or holes resulting from unevenness of seepage into the molds that they were said to represent the state of the art in metal work in Chicago or elsewhere.²⁰⁶ Wright cited the technique of modern casting in metal as approximating the ideal of an art and craft of the machine, a process "capable of any form to which fluid will flow, to perpetuate the imagery of the most delicately poetic mind without let or hindrance--within reach of everyone..."²⁰⁷

The new capability for casting in turn became a challenge to the decorative designers' capacities for subtlety of pattern and surface treatment. The crucial link between the rendering of effects in drawing by the architect and their realization in the finished casting was the hand of the modeller of the ornament whose clay model provided the impression from which the molds were made. Modelling in

clay as opposed to carved wood was considered essential for evoking the artistic potential of the metal. The expertise and sympathy of the modeller as craftsman thus underlay the success of the new casting technologies, for only such a hand could "give the soft suggestive relief required by the nature of the sand mold into which the clay model is impressed, and the crystalline structure of the metal when cast."²⁰⁸ For this purpose, Sullivan worked closely with Kristian Schneider, the Norwegian-born artist whom Sullivan commissioned to model his ornament in all media including terra cotta and cast metal. Schneider had been a decorative plaster worker on the Auditorium project when Sullivan discovered his facility in modelling ornament that led to their prolonged collaboration.²⁰⁹ At the time of the design of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, Schneider was employed as a modeller at the Northwestern Terra Cotta Company. Sullivan employed him separately to model in clay the cast iron ornament surrounding the lower floor show windows.²¹⁰ Photographs of Schneider's models of this ornament compared to the executed metal show the degree to which its subtlety of finish can be credited to his sympathetic understanding of Sullivan's forms and his skill at rendering them in clay. Purcell recalled that when he was in Sullivan's office in 1903,

Schneider was coming in frequently to discuss the progress of the Schlesinger and Mayer work and I had never known collaboration of that kind. I was much impressed with the

discussions, technical and creative between Elmslie and Schneider concerning the models...No doubt for many years Sullivan and Wright also moved forward along with Schneider's unbelievable virtuosity, and by 1903 certainly Schneider needed nothing farther than a clear view by way of a drawing of description of what was required. ...Certainly the conversations which I heard between George and Schneider were plainly a section out of along continuity in which mutual understanding and vocabulary concerned with procedure had been built up between them. Sullivan was not particularly active--most decisions made without consulting him.²¹¹

The spandrel panel above the second story on the easternmost bay of the Madison Street front is exemplary for both its design and execution. This panel shows how the modeler's craft could transfer the subtleties of the architect's design into the surface of the metal [Figure 29].²¹² The virtuosity of the design appears as a realization of the inherent potential of the material. The executed forms are thus conceptually consistent with the original scheme wherein the ornament was to be of bronze. This metal, like the marble above, was to be untreated "leaving the beauty of the material to show for itself."²¹³ That the completed work sought to realize this precept is evident from the design of the corner entrance, which Winslow Brothers advertised as their tour de force in cast iron, serving as the frontispiece for their 1910 catalogue [Figure 30]. The photographs of the entrance at the building's completion suggest the metallic sheen of the original finish derived from translucent green overlaying a bright vermilion

undercoat. The use of paint was necessary to protect the iron for moisture and weathering, whereas no such finish would have been needed for bronze. Purcell recalled that Sullivan's choice of this system of decorative surface, where flecks and tones of red shown through the green overlay, was derived from the 15th century Italian method of applying gold leaf. In this process a base coat of Venetian red of which flecks and edges "show through and between the foil squares to give eye relief and build pointillism against the gold glints."²¹⁴ The lustrous surface of the metal visible in early photographs exemplified the technique for finishing ornamental iron and bronze which Sullivan had developed in earlier projects through the 1890s. The combination of red undercoat overlaid with a green glaze was designed in part to highlight the lines of the ornament. As in the metal work of buildings like the Stock Exchange and the Guaranty, the iron ornament of the Schlesinger and Mayer store would be "accentuated by brightening the relief lines, however low, and the absence of decisive shadows gives it a dreamy, sketchy look which is very beautiful. Because it is in some places indefinite and sometimes mysterious, it is like Nature herself, who does not speak in sharply defined sentences but leaves an untold word to the imagination."²¹⁵ The suggestive character of the metal finish, combined with the ornamental motifs themselves, made the base a striking yet problematic feature of the finished building in the eyes of contemporary critics.

Henry Desmond wrote in 1904:

The immense ability of the ornamental design that like an efflorescence blooms on the Schlesinger & Mayer Building, is not for a moment to be questioned. Its successes are based upon a wonderful inventiveness and ability to handle in a harmonious manner involved surface decoration... if much of the decorative design is open to the charge of being vague and inorganic, no little of it possesses a really exquisite definiteness and suitability. The design, moreover, is all very true to its material. One is almost tempted to the exaggeration of saying it is too true, and in places is rather metalesque than metallic.²¹⁶

The degree to which Sullivan sought to realize appropriate combinations of decorative forms with machine production in the Schlesinger and Mayer Building is also evident in the design of interior woodwork. Sullivan had long shown interest in the woodworker's craft as a means of realizing his ornamental art in architecture. One of the celebrated early examples of his collaboration with this craft had been the design of the interior finish of the Banqueting Room of the Auditorium Building. The wainscoting and columns of this room were finished in beautifully grained birchwood by R.W. Bates who persisted in giving slight variation to every surface without carving, except for the column capitals [Figure 31]. The motives for these capitals, wherein intricate subtleties of relief succeeded in conveying an impression of naturalistic vitality, were considered proof that Chicago had created a new school of decorative art based on both Sullivan's novel designs and the ability of local

craftsmen to transfer their spirit to materials.²¹⁷ This ideal persisted in the design for the wood screens that adorned the special ladies' waiting and writing rooms of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, as well as the eighth floor restaurant [Figure 32]. Surviving drawings for these designs are in Elmslie's hand, and Purcell testifies to having watched Elmslie draft the design for one of the most elaborate of these screens enclosing the third floor waiting room.²¹⁸ The principal innovation in woodworking that underlay the design of these screens was the development of the veneer machine during the 1890s which could cut very thin planes of wood from rare fine grained lumber such as the San Domingo mahogany used in the Schlesinger and Mayer interiors.²¹⁹ Built up lumber made of cross-grained veneers was both thinner, stronger, and less likely to warp or crack than solid boards. Mechanized cutting and finishing of such wood surfaces marked a departure from traditional techniques of tooling or carving ornamental shapes of wood in the round. Thus Frank Lloyd Wright heralded the change as facilitating a new aesthetic of simplicity in wood in which elegant planar effects would reveal the natural grain, color and texture of the material.²²⁰ Wright noted that "the machine, by its wonderful cutting, shaping, smoothing, and repetitive capacity, has made it possible to so use it without waste that the poor as well as the rich may enjoy to-day beautiful surface treatments of clean, strong forms that the branch veneers of Sheraton and Chippendale only

hinted at."²²¹

Elmslie's designs for the interior screens of the Schlesinger and Mayer store sought to utilize the novel potential in the veneer machine to create patterns composed of multiple overlapping layers of wood. To create the repeated motif of one such screen in the ladies waiting room on the third floor, five layers of carefully matched, finely sawed veneer were used. The outer layers on each side of the screen were formed of curved lines, the next inner two formed from straight lines, and the innermost panel of filigree combined curved and straight lines [Figure 33]. The same technique of fabricating ornamental patterns as a composition of overlaid veneers formed the decorative arch screen separating the elevator lobby from the restaurant. The layering of complementary patterns Sullivan likened to the overlaying of counterpoint or harmonic variation over a melody in music.²²² The finely sawed planes of wood were "all placed in sequence to produce a fine orchestration of ornamental form with a development of light and shade greatly enhancing the value of successive surfaces" [Figure 34].²²³ Thus in the interior woodwork, as in the exterior terra cotta and cast iron, architectural effects true to the nature of the material were sought "through the product of modern machines and appliances intelligently used by logical designing."²²⁴

Though Sullivan was most clearly preoccupied with

realizing the potential of the machine in his individual works, there is evidence that he and his colleagues understood the ultimate application of this ideal to be at the scale of the city. Sullivan and his followers did not profess to be town planners and did not as a group participate in the nascent City Beautiful movement that developed from the Columbian Exposition, yet their speculative writings do reveal a conviction that the far-reaching effect of new processes of building Chicago in the age of mechanization would be in the realm of urbanization harnessed and artistically redirected as urbanism. Wright presented this possibility as the closing thought of his essay on the art and craft of the machine, noting that the Machine as mechanization was in the broadest sense realized in the workings of the modern city.²²⁵ The great city, as typified by the Chicago of his time, was the greatest of machines, a monstrous organism whose rhythms and images signified the principle of organic growth at the scale of society. Society's characteristic artifact, the great downtown office building, was but the most succinct crystallization of the generative forces of the city surrounding it. If the vanguard of the new art had been to create for the skyscraper's steel skeleton "a simple sincere clothing of plastic material that idealizes its purpose", then the city as a whole "is the thing into which the forces of Art are to breathe the thrill of ideality!"²²⁶

Sullivan echoed Wright's critique of the contemporary city in the central numbers of the Kindergarten Chats devoted to a panoramic view of New York and Chicago. These two cities Sullivan identified as those which in the United States of his time constituted the chief nodes of "aggressively modern individuality, however harsh and discordant."²²⁷ Of the architecture of New York, he bemoaned the vulgarity of the historic styles that adorned with "barbaric variety" the city's great buildings, an aggregation to be lamented particularly because it had arisen "when a noble art is so near to the hand!"²²⁸ The burgeoning industrialism of Chicago had made it "a foul spot on the smiling prairie", the "vacant, sullen materialism" of its physical fabric being only the reflection of the character of the inhabitants.²²⁹ Its distinct advantage over New York lay in its relative youth. While the architectural sins of New York were permanently fixed, those of Chicago were "unstable, captious and fleeting." The city "can pull itself down and rebuild itself in a generation if it will: it has done and can do great things when the mood is on." Thus Sullivan concluded that "there can be no new New York, but there may be a new Chicago."²³⁰

Speculation about the ideal urban form for Chicago had begun as early as 1890 in response to the wave of tall buildings initiated on State Street and elsewhere in that year. The possibilities for the physical future of the city were first reconsidered at that time as part of a popular and

professional debate over the desirability of high buildings. Their seemingly sudden proliferation in the Loop had aroused widespread anxiety over their stability, their contribution to traffic congestion, and their potential adverse effect on the public health and psyche. The principal result of this controversy, in which architects sided with investors in favor of continued tall construction, was the first of a series of municipal height limitations in 1891 which fixed the maximum height of new projects to 135 feet above the sidewalk.²³¹ Transformation of constructive practice in conjunction with the new commercial types also provoked debate over the city's building ordinances which culminated in 1895 in their thorough revision. This task was entrusted to a special committee of architects and engineers. Among a range of issues, the committee considered the arguments not only for limiting heights of buildings but also proposals to regulate their configuration through mandatory setbacks, provisions for light courts, and other planning devices which would have the potential to shape the future city. Throughout this period one sane and imaginative voice was that of Adler, who testified in favor of such inclusive proposals in the debates of 1891 and served as a leading member of the committee that transformed the municipal laws over the following four years.²³² Though his suggestions were not incorporated into law, Adler did publicize his views on planning possibilities in two articles, "Tall Office Buildings--Past and Future" and "Light in Tall Office

Buildings", which appeared as a series in Engineering Magazine in 1892. In the first of these, after explaining the relation of tall buildings to the structure of modern city life, Adler speculated about the humanitarian potential of using the new construction to transform the crowded residential districts of older cities such as London:

As soon as the conditions of life in any city are such that each family can no longer occupy a separate house; as soon as individuals and families must herd with each other in tenement or apartment houses, cannot these conditions be made more favorable for occupants and for owners of buildings, if apartment houses of high altitude, of fire-proof and vermin-proof construction, with large internal and external light-courts, are built to take the place of the ordinary tenement house?

...All this done, and the buildings crowded upward, the narrow and crooked streets could be widened, the distances to be traversed would be materially diminished, and the streets would become freer, sunnier, and more airy than they are today. While the County Council is battling for new and wider streets in London, it could accomplish its ends much more readily if, with the introduction of new streets and avenues, it were to adopt regulations tending to promote the erection of tall buildings of the Chicago type.²³³

Adler thus proposed to use the tall building as a planning device whose advantages would gradually accomplish the transformation of the city as a whole. His remarks on a new urbanism of air, spaciousness, and sunlight for London predicts Le Corbusier's visions of the Voisin Plan for Paris and its later development as the Ville Radieuse [Figure 35]. Both present the same possibility of

utilizing the building technologies of the machine age to eradicate the housing question as definitive condition of urban modernity. Sullivan's architectural vision of a future cityscape based on the tall building and the principle of the setback appeared in his essay of 1891 entitled "The High Building Question". There he illustrated the concept with a street view wherein individual buildings obeyed a uniform set back yet varied in the architectural profile [Figure 36].²³⁴ The Adler and Sullivan project that epitomized this idea was the Odd Fellows Temple of 1891 which exhibited a generous progression of setbacks over its height from base to pinnacle. Adler predicted that "the effect of this would have been exceedingly picturesque;" with abundant light in every portion of the building. The use of external light courts would prevent the disturbance of shadows cast upon adjacent streets and neighboring buildings.²³⁵ However, the architectural possibilities of this approach lay in its picturesque effect, the project brochure noting that "the bold breaks and deep recesses of the long facades serve...to give an interesting diversity of outline and an effective play of light and shade to the long street fronts."²³⁶ This project for the Odd Fellows Temple thus contained in its planning and massing the fundamental morphology of a new urban architecture [Figure 2] whose essential visual effects would derive from unprecedented scale and the play of simple geometric forms in sunlight.

Such a possibility animates the watercolor renderings of the Schlesinger and Mayer store which Sullivan commissioned from Fleury in 1902. Fleury's exhibit of cityscapes the year before at the Art Institute had been entitled "Picturesque Chicago", and featured renderings emphasizing the stark irregular silhouettes of tall buildings like the Masonic Temple.²³⁷ In choosing Fleury to depict his own building Sullivan may have sought that artist's special capacities to capture picturesque effects of the new architecture. The renderings themselves highlight this quality of the building in its urban setting. That which focuses solely on the corner uses an extreme viewpoint to capture the scale of the white tower emerging into the line of State Street from behind the darkened silhouette of buildings in the foreground [Figure 37]. The companion rendering achieves a comparable effect by highlighting the great disparity between Sullivan's building and adjacent structures in both its height and breadth of openings [Figure 28]. The drawing also carefully delineates the irregularities of the completed work, including the juncture of the nine and twelve story sections and the water towers visible above the heavy shadow of the cornice whose projection is similarly used for picturesque effect. These irregularities serve as foil to the view's emphasis on the rectilinear sweep of the State Street elevation as the major formal statement of the design. The presence of the buildings within the cityscape in both views suggests "the thrill of ideality" which the lines of a

new architecture were imparting to the old fabric of Chicago.²³⁸ It is as if Sullivan commissioned the drawings to celebrate the realization of the same vision of his forms defining a future urbanism that had first inspired the projects of a decade before.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

One early attempt to show the influence on 19th century European thought on the work of Chicago architects was Fiske Kimball's "Louis Sullivan--An Old Master," Architectural Record LVII (4), April 1925, 289-304. Later insights into this issue appear in Sherman Paul, Louis Sullivan: An Architect in American Thought. Englewood Cliffs, 1962, and Narciso Menocal, Architecture as Nature: The Transcendentalist Idea of Louis Sullivan, Madison 1974. Rosemarie Bletter drew attention to Semper's contribution in her review essay "On Martin Fröhlich's Gottfried Semper," Oppositions IV, October 1974, 150.

1. The extensive study of Jenney's life and work is Theodore Turak, "William Le Baron Jenney: A Nineteenth Century Architect," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan 1967. On the relation between Jenney's French training and his later work in Chicago, see Turak, "The Ecole Centrale and Modern Architecture: The Education of William Le Baron Jenney," J.S.A.H. XXIX (1), March 1970, 40-47.
2. On Adler, a recent attempt at a thorough study is Charlene S. Engel, "Dankmar Adler, Architect: Life, Theory and Practice," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1974. For an adaptation of Adler's own autobiography, see Hugh Morrison, "Dankmar Adler--A Biographical Sketch" in Louis Sullivan Prophet of Modern Architecture. New York 1935, 283-293.
3. The authoritative study of Sullivan's contemporary is Donald Hoffmann, The Architecture of John Wellborn Root, Baltimore 1973. Cf. Harriet Monroe, John Wellborn Root; A Study of His Life and Work. Boston 1896. Prairie School Press 1966.
4. Among Wright's most important essays from this earliest period in Chicago is "The Art and Craft of the Machine," first published in [Chicago Architectural Club] Catalogue of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club. Chicago 1901.
5. Root, "A Great Architectural Problem" (1890) in Hoffman (ed.), The Meaning of Architecture: Buildings and Writings by John Wellborn Root, New York 1967, 132-133.
6. Gottfried Semper, "Development of Architectural Style," Inland Architect and News Record XIV (7), December 1889,

76-78; XV (1), February 1890, 5-6; XV (2), March 1890, 32-33. Root acknowledged the assistance of Fritz Wagner, manager of the Northwestern Terra Cotta Company, in making the translations. Wagner had collaborated with Root and Sullivan in the development of architectural terra cotta in this period c. 1890.

7. Semper, op. cit., Inland Architect XIV (7), December 1889, 77.
8. Baumann was born in Germany and educated as an architect in Berlin. He left Prussia after the failure of the revolt of 1848, as Semper had done, and settled in Chicago about 1850. In 1856, Baumann began a partnership with Edward Burling . Sullivan indicates that he worked in Baumann's office and became a daily companion of Baumann after returning from the Ecole des Beaux Arts. (The Autobiography of an Idea, New York 1924, 244-246.). Baumann may also have introduced Semper's thought to Adler, who succeeded him as Burling's partner in 1871. Adler, like Baumann, was a German native, and is said to have been fond of reciting quotations from Semper. (Rosemarie Bletter, "On Martin Frohlich's Gottfried Semper," Oppositions IV, October 1974, 150. Baumann's writings that develop Semper's ideas include "Thoughts on Architecture" Inland Architect XVI (5), November 1890, 59-60, and "Thoughts on Style," Inland Architect XX (5), December 1892, 34-37.
9. Baumann quoted in the symposium "What are the Present Tendencies of Architectural Design in America?", Illinois State Association of Architects Chicago, 1887, in Hoffmann (Ed.), The Meaning of Architecture, 216.
10. Ibid.
11. Root recommended Viollet-le-Duc's Discourses on Architecture to his colleagues as noted in Hoffmann (Ed.), op. cit., 31. Sullivan owned an edition of the Discourses, as well as Viollet-le-Duc's Compositions et Dessins Paris, 18? . The contents of Root's and Adler's libraries are not known. However Sullivan's library was recorded in Williams, Barker, and Severn Company. Auction Catalogue of the Household Effects, Library, Oriental Rugs, Paintings, etc. of Mr. Louis H. Sullivan, The Well Known Architect. Chicago 1909. Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
12. Viollet-le-Duc, Discourses on Architecture, Bucknall [Tr.], Boston 1881, Vol II, Bk. X, 474-75, cited in Donald Hoffmann "Frank Lloyd Wright and Viollet-le-Duc," J.S.A.H. XXVIII (3), October 1969, '76.

13. Viollet-le-Duc, Discourse on Architecture, Bücknall [Tr.] VI, 182, cited in Donald Hoffman, "Frank Lloyd Wright and Viollet-le-Duc," J.S.A.H. XXVIII (3), October 1969, 175.
14. Louis Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" [1896] in Sullivan, Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings, Isabel Athey [Ed.], New York 1947, 202.
15. *Ibid.*, 205.
16. Root, "The Value of Type in Art" [1883] in Hoffmann [Ed.], The Meaning of Architecture, 70. Here Root develops an analogy between the evolution of classes of biological forms and the history of structural types in architecture. That compares with Semper's interest in Cuvier's zoological studies of anatomical forms as the inspiration for his research into typical forms in the history of architecture. See L.D. Ettliger, "On Science, Industry, and Art, Some Theories of Gottfried Semper," Architectural Review CXXXVI, July 1964, 58. Bletter, "On Martin Fröhlich's Gottfried Semper," Oppositions 4, October 1974, 147.
17. Edward Lacy Garbett, Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture, London 1850, 132-134, cited in Robert W. Winter, "Fergusson and Garbett in American Architectural Theory," J.S.A.H. XVII (4), December 1958, 26. Cf. Edward R. De Zurko, Origins of Functionalist Theory, New York 1957, 140-144. Root recommended Garbett's Rudimentary Treatise to colleagues. See Hoffmann (Ed.), *op. cit.*, 31.
18. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, New York 1924, 313.
19. Louis Sullivan to Claude Bragdon, November 8th, 1903 in Claude Bragdon, "Letters from Louis Sullivan," Architecture LXIV July 1931, 9.

Semper developed his theory of the utilitarian origin of architectural types in his "Die Vier Elemente der Baukunst", Braunschweig, 1851. Viollet-le-Duc's adaptation of the principle of utility for the making of architecture is developed in Book X of the Entretiens sur l'architecture, Vol. II, Paris 1872. Cf. Root, "A Utilitarian Theory of Beauty" [1896] in Hoffmann [Ed.] The Meaning of Architecture, 172-174.

20. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," in Athey [Ed.], Kindergarten Chats, 203.

21. Sullivan, "On the Historic Styles," Kindergarten Chat XXXIX (1901), reprinted in Lewis Mumford (ed.) The Roots of Contemporary American Architecture, New York 1952, 78.
22. Sullivan wrote of the impact of Taine's Philosophy of Art in Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands in The Autobiography of an Idea, 233-234. Taine taught at the Ecole from 1865 to 1883; Root cited Taine's historiography of art in his introduction to the symposium "What Are the Present Tendencies of Architectural Design in America?" Illinois State Association of Architects. Chicago 1887, in Hoffmann [Ed.], The Meaning of Architecture, 206. See Sherman Paul, Louis Sullivan, An Architect in American Thought. Englewood Cliffs, 1962, 20-21, and Narciso Menocal, op. cit., 11-12.
23. Root, "A Great Architectural Problem" [1890] in Hoffmann [Ed.], The Meaning of Architecture, 130, 132.
24. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," in Athey [Ed.], Kindergarten Chats, 208.
25. To the Odd Fellows of Chicago and the State of Illinois, Chicago 1891 (?) Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago. This descriptive brochure for the project includes a rendering and floor plans. The text, signed by officers of the local fraternity of Odd Fellows, contains passages that echo Sullivan's writings, suggesting that he was at least partially responsible for its authorship. On the Odd Fellows Temple, see also Morrison, Louis Sullivan, 162-165.
26. Sullivan, "The Oasis," Kindergarten Chat VI in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 30.
27. Root, "Style" (1885), in Hoffman (Ed.), op. cit., 162.
28. Root, "A Great Architectural Problem" (1890), in Hoffmann (Ed.), op. cit., 141.
29. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets," Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29 1898, 20.
30. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" (1896), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 206.
31. "The High Buildings Again" Economist VI, October 1 1891, 610.
32. William Le Baron Jenney, "An Age of Steel and Clay" Inland Architect and News Record XVI (7), December 1890, 75. For this analysis Jenney may also have been indebted to James Fergusson's History of Architecture in All Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, London 1862-67.

33. Viollet-le-Duc, The Habitations of Man in All Ages. Benjamin Bucknall (Tr.), Boston 1876, 393.
34. Sullivan criticizes contemporary architecture in Chats I-III, V-VI, IX-XI, XVII, XXIII, XXVII; Cf. "What is Architecture; A Study in the American People of Today" [1906] in Athey [Ed.], op. cit., 227-241. His extended analysis of his culture appears in Democracy: A Man-Search [Ms. 1907-1908]. Elaine Hedges [Ed.] Detroit, 1961.
35. Sullivan, "A Terminal Station," Kindergarten Chat III, In Athey [Ed.], op. cit., 24.
36. Sullivan, "What is an Architect?," Kindergarten Chat XLII, in Athey [Ed.], op. cit., 135-142.
37. Sullivan, "The Modern Phase of Architecture," Inland Architect and News Record XXXIII (S), June 1899, 40.
38. Sir John Summerson, "Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Point of View" Heavenly Mansions, New York, 1962, 135-158.
39. Ibid., 149-150.
40. Root, "A Great Architectural Problem," [1890] in Hoffman [Ed.], op. cit., 133.
41. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" in Athen [Ed.], op. cit., 205.
42. Viollet-le-Duc, Discourses on Architecture X, 487, cited in Donald Hoffmann, "Frank Lloyd Wright and Viollet-le-Duc," J.S.A.H. XXVIII (3), October 1969, 176.
43. Viollet-le-Duc, Discourses on Architecture, Benjamin Bucknall [Tr.], Boston 1881, Book X.
44. Sullivan recorded his fascination with Darwin's theory in The Autobiography of an Idea, 249-350, 254-255. On his interest in Sepencer, see Frank Lloyd Wright, Genius and the Mobocracy, 2nd Ed., New York 1971, 70-72. Jenney noted the significance of Darwin in his "A Few Pracitcal Hints" Inland Architect and News

Record XIII (1, February 1889, 7, Rout cited his admiration for Darwin in "A Utilitarian Theory of Beauty" [Undated Ms.] Hoffman [Ed.], op. cit., 174, and "A Great Architectural Problem" [1890], Hoffman [Ed.], op. cit., 142.

45. Sullivan, The Autobiography of An Idea, 250.
46. Sullivan cites the characteristic forms of natural species in support of his theory of functionalism in "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," in Athey [Ed.], op. cit. 206-208; Cf. "Form and Function (I), KindergartenChat XII, Athey [Ed.], op. cit., 43.
47. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 220-221.
48. Ibid., 221.
49. Root, "A Great Architectural Problem" in Hoffman [Ed.], op. cit., 132.
50. Sullivan, The Autobiography of An Idea, 257-58.
51. For a compendium of sources and discussion of romanticism in architectural thought is Ronald Bradbury, The Romantic Theories of Architecture of the Nineteenth Century in Germany, England, and France. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1934.
52. Dankmar Adler, "Are There Any Set Canons of Art?," Address to the Sixty Fourth Meeting of the Sunset Club, Chicago, December 7, 1893, Sunset Club Yearbook, 1893-94, 55.
53. Sullivan in response to Baumann in the symposium on "What Are the Present Tendencies of Architectural Design in America?" (1887) in Hoffman (Ed.), op. cit., 216.
54. Sullivan, "Style" (1888), Inland Architect and News Record XI (5), 60.
55. Ibid.
56. Sullivan, "The Artistic Use of the Imagination," Inland Architect and News Record XIV (4), October 1889, 38.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.

60. Sullivan, "On Knowledge and Understanding," Kindergarten Cahat XLIV, (Revised 1918), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 149.
61. On Sullivan's relation to Whitman, see Sherman Paul, op. cit., 1-3, 42-45. The principal source which Sullivan acknowledged as inspiration for his views on the role of sympathy in art was Whitman's Leaves of Grass, Boston 1860-61, which Sullivan first encountered in 1886. Evidence of Sullivan's reading of Whitman underlies themes in his "Essay on Inspiration" (1886), "Style" (1888), and "The Artistic Use of Imagination" (1889). On Sullivan's possible link to the German strain of transcendentalist thought, see Menocal, op. cit., 13-15, 63-64.
62. Sullivan, "What is the Just Subordination, in Architectural Design, of Details to Mass?" (1887), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 186. Paul, op. cit., 42-43, cites this Sullivan statement as a quotation of Whitman.
63. John Ruskin, "Imagination in Architecture," Cf. Sullivan on the architect as he who made buildings "out of his head" in The Autobiography of an Idea, 118-120, and his account of childhood fairy tales, *ibid.*, 70.
64. On the ornament as Sullivan's personal system of expression, see Wright, Genius and the Mobocracy, 2nd Ed., New York 1971.
65. "The Chicago Stock Exchange Building Chicago," Ornamental Iron II(1), July 1894, 11.
66. Sullivan, The Autobiography of An Idea, 250; Cf. Kindergarten Chat XVI "Imagination," in Athey [Ed.], op. cit., 55-57.
67. Root, "A Utilitarian Theory of Beauty" [undated], in Hoffmann [Ed.], The Meaning of Architecture, 172.
68. Sullivan develops these complementary facets of the idea if "form follows function" in Kindergarten Chat XII, "Function and Form" (I), in Athey [Ed.], op. cit., 42-46.
69. Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine" 1901, [Chicago Architectural Club, Catalogue of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club. Chicago 1901, 3-6. [Pagination of this essay in these notes refers to the pages of the essay itself and not to the catalogue, which is unplaced.]
70. *Ibid.*, 4.

71. Ibid., 6.
72. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XIV, "Growth and Decay," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 49.
73. Ibid., 49.
74. Sullivan, "The Young Man in Architecture" (1900), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 217-18.
75. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XLII, "What Is an Architect?", in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 1
76. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XIV, "Growth and Decay," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 49.
77. Sullivan to Claude Bragdon, November 8th 1903, in Claude Bragdon, "Letters from Louis Sullivan," Architecture LXIV, July 1931, 9.
78. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 8.
79. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chart V, "A Hotel," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 27.
80. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XI, "A Department Store," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 40.
81. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat V, "A Hotel," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 28.
82. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat VI, "An Oasis," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 30.
83. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XLII, "What Is an Architect?", in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 135-142: Cf. Sullivan, "The Modern Phase of Architecture," Inland Architect XXXIII (5), June 1899, 40.
84. Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual" (1894), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 199; Cf. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XLVIII, "On Poetry," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 158-161.
85. Sullivan, "The Modern Phase of Architecture," Inland Architect XXXIII (5), June 1899, 40.
86. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XLII, "What Is an Architect?", in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 141.
87. John Edelmann, "Pessimism of Modern Architecture," Engineering Magazine III (1), April 1892, 45.
88. Sullivan, "On Knowledge and Understanding," Kindergarten Chat XLIV, (Revised 1918) in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 147.

89. Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual" (1894), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 200.
90. Viollet-le-Duc suggests the thesis that a new architecture would combine the virtues of the two great historic styles of western architecture in his Discourses where he traces the development of both styles as preface to his closing vision of a modern method of design.
91. Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual" (1894) in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 200.
92. Ibid.
93. Sullivan, "Development of Construction," Economist LV (26), June 24, 1916, 1252.
94. [The Work of] Messrs. Jenney and Mundie, Architectural Reviewer (Chicago), I(1), February 1897, 19-21.
95. Jenney, "Steel Skelton Building Construction," Letter to The Engineering Record, January 6th 1893, 90.
96. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 246-248; On Sullivan's interest in bridge building as a conceptual model for architecture, see Carl Condit, "Sullivan's Skyscrapers as the Expression of Nineteenth Century Technology" Technology and Culture I (Winter 1959), 78-93.
97. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 245-46.
98. Ibid., 309.
99. Jenney, "The Chicago Construction, or Tall Buildings on a Compressible Soil," Inland Architect XVIII (4), November 1891, 41.
100. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XI, "A Department Store," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 40-41.
101. Adler, "Influence of Steel Construction and of Plate Glass upon the Development of Modern Style," Inland Architect XXVIII (4), November 1896, 35.
102. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XXXVII, "The Elements of Architecture: Objective and Subjective (I) Pier and Lintel," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 120. In this analysis, Sullivan may have drawn on the rational account of historic styles of trabeated and arcuated structures developed in Garbett's Rudimentary Treatise, 132-134, cited in Winter "Fergusson and Garbett in American Architectural Theory" J.S.A.H. XVII (4), December 1958

103. Ibid., 122.
104. Ibid., 122-23.
105. Ibid., 123.
106. Gage Brothers' Building for McCormick Estate, Chicago, Inland Architect and News Record, XXXIII (2).
107. Joseph Warren Yost, "Influence of Steel Construction and of Plate Glass Upon the Development of Modern Style," Inland Architect XXVIII (4) November 1896, 33.
108. Ibid., 35.
109. William Mundie quoted in "The Work of Messrs. Jenney and Mundie," Architectural Reviewer (Chicago), I(1), February 1897, 29. Cf. Mundie, "Skeleton Construction, Its Origin and Development Applied to Architecture," Unpublished manuscript, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
110. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 22.
111. Ibid., 6. Cf. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XLIV, "On Knowledge and Understanding" (1918), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 146-47.
112. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 1.
113. Ibid., 9.
114. Ibid., 8.
115. Ibid., 7.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid., 9.
118. Ibid.
119. On the development of fireproofing in Chicago Construction, see Peter B. Wight, "Development of the Fireproofing of Buildings" in Technical Review of the Building Arts, Inland Architect XXXIV (6), January 1900, Supplement, 8-12. Cf. Dankmar Adler, "Slow Burning and Fireproof Construction," Inland Architect XXVI (5), December 1895, 60-62; XXVII (1), February 1896, 3-4.

120. Adler, "Influence of Steel Construction and Plate Glass Upon the Development of Modern Style," Inland Architect XXVIII (4), November 1896, 36.
121. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 8.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., 9-10.
124. On the development of architectural terra cotta in Chicago, see Sharon F. Darling, Chicago Ceramics and Glass; An Illustrated History from 1871-1933, Chicago 1979, 160-204.
125. George M.R. Twose, "Steel and Terra Cotta Buildings in Chicago, and Some Deductions" Brickbuilder III (1) January 1894, 1.
126. Jenney, "An Age of Steel and Clay," Inland Architect XVI (7), December 1890, 75-77.
127. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 8.
128. Sullivan cited in George M.R. Twose, "Steel and Terra Cotta Buildings in Chicago, and Some Deductions," Brickbuilder III (1), January 1894, 4.
129. "Chicago Architectural Club Competition," Construction News VII October 26 1898, 446. Description and illustration of winning projects appeared in Inland Architect and News Record XXXII (5), December 1898, 49-50.
130. "Chicago Architectural Club Competition," Construction News VII October 26 1898, 446.
131. Inland Architect and News Record XXXII (5), December 1898, 49.
132. "Chicago Architectural Club Competition," Construction News VII, October 26 1898, 446.
133. Sullivan to Charles F. Gunther, New York City, December 3 1897, noted that the terra cotta front of the Bayard Building was "richly decorated as befits the material." Letter in Manuscript Collections, Chicago Historical Society.
134. Montgomery Schuyler, "Architecture in Chicago: Adler and Sullivan" (1896), in Jordy and Coe (Eds.), American Architecture and Other Writings, Cambridge, Ma. 1961, 39.

135. As of 1979, original ink-on-linen detail wall section drawings of the upper wall of terra cotta of the original Schlesinger and Mayer Building were located in the office of the chief architect of Carson-Pirie-Scott & Co. as part of a collection of similar original linen drawings documenting D.H. Burnham & Co. 1905 addition to Sullivan's fabric.
136. Lyndon P. Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building," Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 53-59.
137. On Holabird and Roche's store for A.M. Rothschild & Co. of 1910, see Franz Winkler (Montgomery Schuyler), Some Chicago Buildings; Represented by the Work of Holabird and Roche, " Architectural Record XXXI (4), April 12, 318-20. On the conventional use of terra cotta to recreate classical forms, see Charles U. Thrall, "Terra Cotta; Its Character and Construction," Parts I-III Brickbuilder XVIII, 1909, 204-207, 231-235, 249-253.
138. Lyndon P. Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building," Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 59.
139. Wright, "Louis H. Sullivan--His Work," Architectural Record LVI July 1924, 29-30.
140. Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual" (1894), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 200.
141. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 258.
142. Ibid.
143. Bayard Building, 65, 67, 69 Bleeker Street (Real Estate Brochure), New York 1898 (?), 7. Parts of this description may have been supplied by Sullivan to the building owners.
144. Sullivan, "Suggestions in Artistic Brickwork" (1910), Reprinted as "Artistic Brick," Prairie School Review IV 2nd Quarter 1967, 24. Cf. Edgar Kaugmann, Jr., "Frank Lloyd Wright: Plasticity, Continuity, and Ornament," J.S.A.H. XXXVII (1), March 1978, 34-39.
145. One early instance of the relation of fireproofing to architectural expression was client Peter Brooks' urging of Burnham and Root to finish the entrance to the Montauk Building (1881) in brick in order to suggest the building's ability to withstand flames. The monumental arched entrances for Burnham and Root's later commercial structures may in part have been intended to create this same impression. The same rationale

146. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 309.
147. Sullivan, "Suggestions in Artistic Brickwork" (1910), loc. cit., 26.
148. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets," Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29, 1898.
149. Root, "Style" (1887), in Hoffman (Ed.), op. cit., 162. Cf. Root, "Architectural Ornamentation" (1885), loc. cit., 18.
150. Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture, III 8, in Sir Kenneth Clark (Ed.) Ruskin Today, London 196, 239.
151. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 309.
152. Louis Sullivan to Claude Bragdon, November 8th, 1903, in Claude Bragdon, "Letters from Louis Sullivan," Architecture LXIV, July 1931, 9.
153. "Palatial Store for Chicago Shoppers," Chicago Inter Ocean, October 14 1903, 7.
154. A helpful synopsis of Ruskin's thoughts on the role of ornamental detail as articulation of architectural surfaces is Kristine Garrigan, op. cit., 42-49.
155. Hugh M. Garden, "The Influence of the New Thought in Design on Architecture." Address to the Fifth Annual Convention of the Architectural League of America, St. Louis. Construction News XVI, November 13 1903, 376-77.
156. Allen B. Pond, "The Evolution of an American Style," Inland Architect X (6), January 1888, 98.
157. Peter B. Wight, "Utilitarian Architecture in Chicago," Part I, Architectural Record XXVII (2), February 1910, 189-198; Part II, Vol. XXVII (3), March 1910, 249-257.
158. Wight, op. cit., Part I, 196; Cf. Condit, The Chicago School, 192-193.
159. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 206.
160. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 309; "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets," Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29 1898, 20.
161. Wight, "The Architect as Artist," Lecture before the Architectural Club of the University of Illinois, Construction News XIX, April 22 1905, 290.

162. Ibid.
163. On Ruskin's view of organic architecture, and the consequent inseparability of structure and ornament, see The Stones of Venice, New York 1865. I, 433-434. cited in Robert Winter "Fergusson and Garbett in American Architectural Theory" J.S.A.H. XVII (4) December 1958. Viollet-le-Duc variation of the organic analogy appears in the Discourses on Architecture, Book VI, 179, and the argument for derivation of decorative forms from construction in Discourses, Book VII, 291, cited in Donald Hoffmann, "Frank Lloyd Wright and Viollet-le-Duc" J.S.A.H. XXVIII (3), October 1969, 178. On Ruskin's criticism of architectural ornament, see Kristine O. Garrigan, Ruskin on Architecture-His Thought and Influence, Madison 1973.
164. Root, "Architectural Ornamentation" (1885), in Hoffmann (Ed.), op. cit., 19.
165. Jenney, "A Few Practical Hints," Lecture to the Chicago Architectural Sketch Club, Inland Architect XIII (1), February 1887, 7.
166. Wright, "Ethics of Ornament" (1909), Lecture to the Nineteenth Century Club, Oak Park, Illinois. Reprinted in Prairie School Review, IV (1st Quarter), 1967, 17.
167. The range of late nineteenth century theorists who advocated derivation of ornament from natural forms who were known to Jenney are discussed in Theodore Turak "French and English Sources of Sullivan's Ornament and Doctrine" Prairie School Review XI (4th Quarter) 1974, 5-30.
168. Root, "Architectural Ornamentation" (1885) in Hoffmann (Ed.), op. cit., 20.
169. Jenney, "A Few Practical Hints," Inland Architect XIII (1), February 1837, 8.
170. Wright, "Ethics of Ornament" (1909), Prairie School Review IV (1st Quarter), 1967, 17.
171. The definitive reference on Sullivan's ornament to date is Paul E. Sprague, The Architectural Ornament of Louis Sullivan and his Chief Draftsmen, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1968. Cf. Suzanne Schulof, An Interpretation of Louis Sullivan's Architectural Ornament Based on Its Philosophy of Organic Expression, M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1962.

172. Paul Sprague, op. cit., 131-134. Cf. Geraldine Van Ormer, "Louis Sullivan's Ornamentation as Exemplified in the Carson-Pirie-Scott Building," M.A. Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1960. Sprague attributes motifs on the lower exterior of Carson-Pirie-Scott variously to Elmslie and Sullivan based purely on stylistic analysis. Van Ormer compares the building's ornamentation to Sullivan's precepts in A System of Architectural Ornament, arguing that this later theoretical text and the character of motifs in Carson-Pirie-Scott are consistent statements of an organic principle of decorative art.
173. This rendering of ornament was identified as a "Reproduction from an Original Drawing by Louis H. Sullivan" in A.W. Barker, "Louis H. Sullivan, Thinker and Architect," Architectural Annual II (1901).
174. George Elmslie, "Sullivan Ornamentation," A.I.A. Journal VI, October 1946, 155-58.
175. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets," Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29 1898, 20.
176. For sources of Sullivan's theory of organic form, see Ronald M. Fields, Four Concepts of an Organic Principle: Horatio Geenough, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Louis Sullivan, Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio University, 1968; Donald D. Egbert, "The Idea of Organic Expression and American Architecture" in Stow Parsons (Ed.), Evolutionary Thought in America, New Haven 1950, 336-96, and Richard P. Adams, "Architecture and the Romantic Tradition: Coleridge to Wright," American Quarterly IX, Spring 1957, 46-62.
177. John Ruskin, The Stones of Venice, New York 1865, I, 433-34.
178. Sullivan, "Ornament in Architecture" (1892), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 189.
179. Ibid.
180. Sullivan, "What Is the Just Subordination, in Architectural Design, of Details to Mass?" (1887), in Athey, op. cit., 183.
181. John Ruskin, The Stones of Venice, London 1851, I, 9. 301-02.
182. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets," Chicago Inter Ocean, May 29 1898, 20.

183. Sullivan, "The Elements of Architecture: Objective and Subjective (I), Pier and Lintel," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 121-22.
184. Menocal, op. cit., 62-69, cites possible precedents in 19th century thought for Sullivan's attribution of dynamic vitality to natural forms, including the theology of Swedenborg, the aesthetics of Schopenhauer and Friederich Vischer, and the architectural theory of Leopold Eidlitz.
185. Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual" (1894), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 200.
186. Root, "Architectural Ornamentation" (1885) in Hoffmann (Ed.), op. cit., 19.
187. Sullivan, "Ornament in Architecture" (1892), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 187.
188. Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual" (1894) in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 200.
189. On Ruskin's fascination with ornament seen at close range, see John Unrau, Looking at Architecture with Ruskin, Toronto 1978 Chapter VII, 119-139.
190. The principle of varying the scale of ornamental motifs according to probably viewing distance may also have its sources in Ruskin's criticism. See Unrau, op. cit., Chapter IV: Adaptation of Detail to Position of Viewer, 77-88.
191. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," op. cit., 17.
192. Adler, "Influence of Steel Construction and of Plate Glass Upon the Development of Modern Style," Inland Architect and News Record XVIII (4), November 1896, 35.
193. Sullivan as described in "The New Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Chicago," Brickbuilder XII (5), May 1903, 101.
194. Peter B. Wight, "Architecture and Decorative Art at the Art Institute of Chicago," Inland Architect and News Record XXVII (6), July 1896, 52-53.
195. Ibid.

196. Constitution of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, in House Beautiful III (1897), 29, quoted in H. Allen Brooks, "Chicago Architecture: Its Debt to the Arts and Crafts," J.S.A.H. XXX (4), December 1971, 313.
197. Oscar Lovell Triggs, "The Industrial Arts League," Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Appendix II, Chicago 1902, cited in H. Allen Brooks, op. cit., 313.
198. In addition to the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, Northwestern Terra Cotta Company furnished the facings for the Reliance Building (1894) and the Mandel Brothers Annex (1900) on State Street, as well as Sullivan's Gage facade on Michigan Avenue (1899). On the early history of the company, see Sharon Darling, op. cit., 161-169. Sullivan's recommendation of their work is found in a letter of September 17 1903, Louis H. Sullivan Copybook of Business Letters, 168, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
199. The work of the Winslow Brothers Company is extensively documented in its own publications, beginning with the periodical Ornamental Iron I-II (6), 1893-May 1895, and continuing through two subsequent catalogues, Photographs and Sketches of Ornamental Iron and Bronze Executed by the Winslow Brothers Company, Chicago 1901, and Ornamental Iron and Bronze, Chicago 1910.
200. One instance of Sullivan's intricacy of ornamental design posing a challenge to existing techniques of metalwork is the story of his commemorative medal for student achievement in oratory commissioned by University of Michigan alumni in 1896. See Paul Sprague, The Drawings of Louis Henry Sullivan. Princeton, 1978, 53-54.
201. "Decorative Iron Work," Engineering Magazine VIII (5), February 1895, 1076.
202. C. Everard, "Art Iron at the Fair," Ornamental Iron I 1893, 65.
203. Charles De Kay, "The Future of Metals in Decoration," Architectural Record XVI (1), July 1904, 159.
204. "Decorative Iron Work," Engineering Magazine VIII (5), February 1895, 1076.
205. C. Everard, "Art Iron at the Fair," Ornamental Iron I, 1893, 65.
206. "Modern Commercial Buildings," Inland Architecture and News Record XXXII (2), September 1898, 18.

207. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 15.
208. W.R. Lethaby, "On the Use and Abuse of Cast Iron," Lecture before the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London. Reprinted in Architectural Review XXX, November 1911, 286.
209. Martin V. Reinhart, "Norwegian Born Sculptor Kristian Schneider, His Essential Contribution to the Development of Louis Sullivan's Ornamental Style." Lecture to the Symposium on the Norwegian American Life of Chicago, The Norway Center, November 1982, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
210. Record of Sullivan's special employment of Schneider as modeler for ornament of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store in Sullivan to George A. Fuller Company, October 15 1903, Louis H. Sullivan Copybook of Business Letters, April 1 1903-January 1905, 194-95. Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
211. Reinhart, op. cit., 19. Purcell's recollection of Schneider's collaboration with Elmslie on the Schlesinger and Mayer ornament in Purcell's undated notes, Purcell and Elmslie Archives, University of Minnesota.
212. On the authorship of this panel, see Sprague, The Architectural Ornament of Louis Sullivan and His Chief Draftsmen, Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1968, 132. Cf. Sprague, The Drawings of Louis Henry Sullivan Princeton 1978, 43, for attribution of this panel to Sullivan as designer.
213. "Marble Building at State and Madison Streets," Chicago Inter Ocean, May 28 1898, 20.
214. William G. Purcell to Richard Nickel, July 10 1961. Richard Nickel Archives, File on Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago. Purcell suggests that Louis Millet developed the polychrome treatment of the cast iron in collaboration with Sullivan.
215. "Chicago Stock Exchange Building, Chicago," Ornamental Iron II(1), July 1894, 12.
216. Henry W. Desmond, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building," Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 67.
217. Edward A. Garczynski, The Auditorium, Chicago 1890, 102-106.

218. William G. Purcell. Undated Note in Correspondence File of Sullivan Centennial Exhibition, Art Institute of Chicago, 1956.
219. "Mission of the Veneer Machine," Construction News XXII, August 18 1906, 134. Cf. C.R. Tompkins, "Progress in the Art of Woodworking," Engineering Magazine III 1892-93, 194-200.
220. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 13-14.
221. Ibid., 14.
222. William G. Purcell. Undated Note in Correspondence File of Sullivan Centennial Exhibition, Art Institute of Chicago, 1956.
223. Lyndon P. Smith, "The Schelesinger and Mayer Building," Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 60.
224. Ibid.
225. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," loc. cit., 20-22.
226. Ibid., 22.
227. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XXXV, "A Survey," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 116.
228. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XXXVIII, "Our City," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 107.
229. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XXXIV, "Another City," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit.
231. On the debate surrounding the adoption of the first height limit for tall buildings in Chicago, see the Economist VI, October 17, 1891, 649, 658; November 7 1891, 771-72, 781; December 5, 1891, 933; Economist VII, January 27 1892, 190; February 3, 1892, 239; February 20 1892, 268, 274.
232. On Adler's proposals for the city's response to the tall building, see "The Tall Building; An Interesting Discussion by the Architects," Economist VI, November 14 1891, 820 and November 21 1891, 857-858. Cf. Dankmar Adler, "Municipal Building Laws," Inland Architect and News Record XXV (4), 36-38, in which he recounts the story of his work on the commission and its enactment of new building ordinances for Chicago in 1895.

233. Adler, "The Tall Office Building--Past and Future," Engineering Magazine III , September 1892, 772.
234. Donald Hoffman, "The Setback Skyscraper of 1891: An Unknown Essay by Louis H. Sullivan," J.S.A.H. XXIX (2), May 1970, 181-87.
235. Adler, "Light in Tall Office Buildings," Engineering Magazine IV , November 1892, 184-185.
236. "To the Odd Fellows of Chicago and the State of Illinois" (1891). Descriptive Booklet on the Odd Fellows Temple Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
237. "Picturesque Chicago. Catalogue of Oil Paintings, Water Colors, Drawings by Albert Fleury." Art Institute of Chicago, 1900.
238. Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine" (1901), loc. cit., 22.

CHAPTER VI
SULLIVAN'S WORKS RELATED TO CARSON-PIRIE-SCOTT

Within the historiography of modern architecture, the Schlesinger and Mayer Store is regarded as Sullivan's last major work. Although he continued to build and write through the year of his death in 1924, the completion of Carson Pirie-Scott marked the culmination of his important creative period. In order to understand the building within the context of Sullivan's individual development, it is useful to examine selected earlier works most closely related to the Schlesinger and Mayer store in type or form. Existing accounts of these works emphasize their place within Sullivan's development of a personal style or mode of expression.¹ In this review of selected works preceding Carson-Pirie Scott, each will be considered for its function, its place in an urban context, and its expressive use of materials. In one assessment of Sullivan's architecture Montgomery Schuyler concluded that "every one of his buildings is the solution of a particular problem, and the result is a highly specialized organism, which is as suitable for its own purpose as it is inapplicable to any other. It is as inimitable in the mass as in the detail."² It is useful to weigh the degree to which Sullivan worked with distinctions of individual architectural

problems, versus the degree to which all his works bear the impress of his distinct artistic personality. For this purpose Sullivan's works will be compared with closely related works of his Chicago contemporaries. Such a series of comparisons helps clarify Sullivan's architecture in the context of surrounding developments within which his career was enmeshed. Similarities and differences between his buildings and others closely related in time or in type help to define Sullivan's achievement in relief against the background of late nineteenth century Chicago. As in the case of Carson-Pirie-Scott and the architecture of State Street, from both an internal analysis of Sullivan's buildings and a study of their relationship to contemporary models, a sense of his particular architectural persona begins to emerge.

The earliest commercial projects attributed to the collaboration of Adler and Sullivan include mercantile structures which, though not department stores, served to house wholesale businesses. The first of these was a five story structure housing the sales floor, offices, manufacturing and storage lofts of the wholesale clothing firm of E. R. Rothschild & Company.³ This building, located in the wholesale district of the Loop at 210 West Monroe Street, was commissioned in December 1880 and completed by the summer of 1881 [Figure 1). The firm of Emanuel, Max, and Abram Rothshild had

begun in Chicago in 1869 as clothing retailers, but switched to the manufacture and wholesaling of fashionable styles in 1875. The firm's development in the post-fire era played an important role in establishing Chicago as a center of the garment industry for the midwest.⁴ The building was located just west of Wells Street, then Fifth Avenue, on the north side of Monroe Street with a fifty foot frontage and a lot depth of 150 feet. Adler was commissioned as architect when Sullivan was still only his chief assistant rather than partner. The main programmatic problem was to maximize access to daylight in the front, rear, and along the west wall of the building. The design thus employed structural piers in place of bearing walls to permit continuous glazing between supports. Adler had pioneered the principle of pier construction in the earlier Borden Block, his first major commission undertaken with Sullivan in 1880.⁵ The Rothschild Store, like the Borden Block, used a structure of masonry piers with a combination of cast iron columns and heavy timber flooring within. The major architectural innovation of the Rothschild store was a fireproof cast iron front set between the limestone piers. The iron lintels and colonettes framed bays of imported French plate glass. Both the piers and cast iron were cumulatively enriched with ornamentation as they mounted upward. Both the metal and the stone were without articulation at the second story, and then "by skillful differentiation

are modulated into elaborate forms until, at the top, the light and graceful shapes of the cast iron unite with the stonework to form a screen of novel surface enrichment.⁶ The primacy of the piers is expressed in their continuation above the roof line and termination as sculpted pinnacles analogous to the crowning ornament of Gothic buttresses. The cast iron mullions between are similarly expressed as continuous verticals terminating in the miniature pediments that cap the attic screen over the center of each structural bay. The problem of expression discussed in the original descriptions of the Rothschild Store was the lending of appropriate distinction to the cast iron then understood as a new material. Thus the architects wrote:

The materials of construction are stone and cast iron, and from the nature of their combination thus arises opportunity to create new and telling effects. The application of cast iron to building fronts is of recent date, and the effort to give to this material distinctive and characteristic architectural forms has heretofore met with but scant success, the custom having been rather to imitate the forms applied to stone which from the disparity in the nature of the material, are obviously inexpressive in iron for the latter material by virtue of its tenacity and strength readily lends itself to shapes wholly impracticable in stone.⁷

The building was thus conceived within an experimental tradition of the use of cast iron in architecture which had

precedents in earlier buildings and writings in America associated with the Gothic Revival.⁸ The attitude toward materials evident in the Rothschild Store and its description were offered as a progressive alternative to the cast iron fronts of such post-fire commercial works as State Street's Colonnade Building, wherein the metal was shaped to duplicate the lithic motifs of Venetian loggias. The emphasis on the novelty of the ornament, with its lack of identifiable sources in historic architectures, would correspond to the novelty of the material and its structural combination as part of a pier-and-lintel building.

One major precedent for the Rothschild Store in Chicago work would have been Jenney's adjacent Leiter Building of 1879-80 on the northwest corner of Monroe Street and Fifth Avenue [Figure 2].⁹ This first Leiter Building marked the beginning of constructive innovation in Chicago building through its use of exterior masonry piers encasing an internal structure of cast iron columns supporting timber girders and joists. On its exterior vertically continuous iron mullions between the brick piers extend as structural supports from basement to roof. Cast iron lintels bolted to the outside face of these mullions support courses of brick facing and stone sills which form the visible lintel panels or spandrels between glazed stories [Figure 3]. The face of the piers with ornamental stone set at floor

levels and terra cotta panels above and below exemplified Jenney's belief in a rational articulation of structure, the ornamentation deriving its expressive role from its position in the construction. Commenting on the Chicago scene in 1880, Peter B. Wight asserted that the city's current architecture had begun to bear the imprint of a new rationalism "largely influenced by the study of mediaeval Gothic architecture and the works of Viollet-le-Duc."¹⁰ Jenney's early Leiter Building exemplified Wight's observations whereby theoretical principles borrowed from abroad were employed to develop a discipline for dealing with new constructive forms.

Comparison of the first Leiter Building with the Rothschild Store suggests that Sullivan had absorbed his mentor Jenney's sense of the relation between theory and practice. In both buildings new materials and methods of construction became bases for novel systems of expression. Sullivan's design for the Rothschild front, however differs from Jenney's work in its treatment of the whole face of the building with a progressive enrichment of ornamentation toward the top. The sense of a graded elaboration of forms through the vertical dimension occurs in the upper part of the piers in the top and attic stories. There the stone is shaped toward a slenderness which allows it to take its place among the delicate forms of the cast iron within the attic screen. The cast iron between the piers is also continuously

exhibited up the face of the building, in contrast to Jenney's cladding of structural mullions with brick spandrels at each story. Comparison of the programs of the two buildings reveals that while Sullivan's structure was built with a particular client in mind, Jenney's loft building was financed as a real estate investment by a local capitalist to rent to potentially several wholesaling firms. The Rothschild front was intended to identify the house of a single owner-occupant. The building was promoted as the emblem of the business. The presence of ornament thus celebrated the enterprise of the Rothschild firm and that of Chicago. This programmatic difference between the earliest Leiter Building and the Rothschild Store was comparable to that between Jenney's second Leiter Building on State Street and Sullivan's Schlesinger and Mayer Store. The first was more soberly finished for occupancy by anonymous tenants, with the lines of the structure as its sole resource of expression, while Sullivan's later work was to lend a special presence to its clients' house. In both Jenney's Leiter buildings, ornament articulates structure. In Sullivan's buildings, ornament serves as the signature of the individual architect, rationally conceived according to the nature of materials yet expressively developed to lend an organic unity to the whole exterior surface. The different intentions underlying the two fronts are clarified in their rooflines. The serrated

silhouette of Sullivan's building is literally evocative of Gothic architecture, wherein the profile of individual piers meets the sky. Thus one contemporary description noted that the Rothschild store "gives one the idea of a section of an ancient castle."¹¹ In Jenney's Leiter Building, a horizontal coping forms a continuous constructive lid over a machicolated cornice. The stepped courses of brick at the roof, like the brick lintel panels between stories, suggest remnants of a mural architecture cladding the structure. By contrast Sullivan's front is emphatic in asserting its "pier" construction in contradistinction to older "wall" architectures.

The subsequent Adler and Sullivan work of the 1880s that compares closely to the Rothschild front was a store building for wholesalers financed by Martin A. Ryerson on East Randolph Street facing south just east of State Street [Figure 4].¹² The Ryerson store was designed by the spring of 1885 and completed in the summer of that year. This six story building faced the north facade of Adler's earlier Central Music Hall on the southeast corner of State and Randolph Streets along a commercial street that included retail firms and office buildings. The more prestigious location of the Ryerson Store may account for its front of Bedford limestone, the same material that Sullivan specified to clad the upper floors of the Auditorium three years later. The store's pier construction included three bays spanning its 68 foot frontage. The internal skeleton

was entirely of cast iron posts and girders with porous terra cotta fireproofing. The front of stone also helped indicate the fireproof nature of the construction, presenting to the street "a business building, the contents of which may burn without destroying the building itself."¹³ Between the stone columns at the sidewalk and their extensions as piers above were set iron and plate glass windows. These fixtures formed three story bayed windows set within the stone frame above the first floor. On the fifth floor the tops of the piers read as freestanding buttresses. Behind the piers modillion-like members flare to either side to support the lintels spanning the bays. In the attic story above, baluster-like colonettes form stone mullions projecting between the plate glass, with clusters of three colonettes marking the bay divisions supporting a continuous stone fascia and cornice with serrated roofline. The playful contrast of materials over the face of the building is most evident at the street level whose exotic orders contain motifs in their capitals like those of the upper stories, as if their short twisted shafts were crushed under weight of the whole building. This structural metaphor was set against minimally framed expanses of show window glass. Above, the convex projection of the iron and glass bay windows alternates with the concave hollowing of the central stone piers. The fifth and sixth stories similarly emphasize the stone set as frame against the glass. The windows' setback creates shadow

which heightens the disparity between the profiles of the carved blocks and the transparent sheen of the glazing. The piers themselves begin above massive flat arch lintels framing the show windows of the ground floor. The squared base of the piers is carved into the more slender profile of the shafts which terminate in the flared caps of the pinnacles above the fifth story. As in the Rothschild front, the opposition of a maximum area of plate glass and its structural frame become a resource for a system of expression based on the nature of materials and Sullivan's individual style of ornament.

The Rothschild and Ryerson Stores were characteristic of early work of Adler and Sullivan wherein innovative building techniques developed in Chicago merged with inherited attitudes toward the expressive use of materials. Their complementary treatment of structure and ornament was a principle of the firm's later commercial architecture of the 1890s which responded to a new scale of steel construction. The key monument of Adler and Sullivan's joint career that separated the period of smaller experiments represented by the Rothschild Store from sizable later works in steel culminating in Carson-Pirie-Scott was the Chicago Auditorium [Figure 5]¹⁴. When initiated in 1887 the project was ten times more costly than any work Adler and Sullivan had undertaken earlier in the decade.¹⁵ Its successful completion in 1890 formed the basis for their firm's involvement with the new generation of steel

framed office buildings that began with the Wainwright in 1890-91. Aesthetically the exterior of the Auditorium is perhaps best understood as a transitional work clarified through comparison with those of Sullivan's contemporaries from which it derived and which it influenced. The acknowledgement source of the Auditorium exterior was Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store completed in 1887 [Figure V-3]. Adler noted that "the severe simplicity of treatment" that characterized the general expression of the Auditorium was made necessary by financial constraints of the project and "the deep impression made by Richardson's 'Marshall Field Building' upon the Directory of the Auditorium Association and a reaction from a course of indulgence in the creation of highly decorative effects on the part of its architects . . ." ¹⁶ This last phrase apparently referred to Adler and Sullivan's earliest schemes for the building which included extensive embellishment of its street fronts. Renderings of these first projects [Figure 6] suggest that Sullivan attempted to transfer the ornate picturesque-ness of the smaller elevations of such early works as the Rothschild and Ryerson Stores to the much larger scale of the ten-story block-long Auditorium. Richardson's building provided a model for a more disciplined, restrained mode of expression capable of adaptation to such a mammoth project as the Auditorium. Comparison of the Marshall Field and Auditorium elevations shows Richardson's rusticated base

of segmentally arched windows and flared corner piers was replaced in Sullivan's design with a three-story base of rusticated granite whose openings above the sidewalk correspond to the scale of the hotel rooms behind. Above the belt course above the third story the material changes to an ashlar Bedford limestone, whereas in Richardson's building the floors above the base are finished in the same red sandstone. Sullivan's elevation followed Richardson's organization of central stories into a giant arcade encompassing three stories in the Field building and four in the Auditorium. The piers and profiles the arches in Sullivan's building were formed of indented layers of masonry to form concentric serrated reveals in contrast to the simple profile and recessed depth of Richardson's arches for a less urbane building type. Above the main arcade both elevations included two stories of paired arch motifs. In the attic story, diminutive columns were set between the piers marking the bay divisions. Both buildings are crowned with a parapet-like cornice, with the profile of Sullivan's roofline less deep and more rectilinear than the massive crown of Richardson's block. The expressive device of the flared profile evident at the corners of Richardson's building was adapted by Sullivan not in the mass of the Auditorium but in the upper edge of its crowning tower. Similarly Richardson's stylisms of a corner colonette and variation in coursing patterns within the spandrel of the main

arcade were refinements not transferred to Sullivan's elevation. The formal kinship of the two designs, however, is so close as to make Sullivan's hand in the work appear secondary to the influence of Richardson's model. The Auditorium exterior reflects a turning point in Sullivan's aesthetic wherein he turned away from Gothic systems of expression, as revived earlier in the nineteenth century, to Romanesque forms as adapted from their archeological sources and transposed for contemporary usage by Richardson. Sullivan acknowledged Richardson's importance for his work and particularly the example of the Marshall Field building as the most worthy example of a commercial monumentality.¹⁷ Comparison of the Field and Auditorium exteriors, however, implies that at the time of the completion of the latter work early in 1890, Sullivan had yet to find a system of expression wholly his own. He had up to that time, as study of works from the Rothschild through the Auditorium would show, relied on the conceptual armature of the Gothic and Romanesque Revivals. While both these movements represented a progressive direction in architecture of that time, they were not of Sullivan's invention. His buildings were less formative contributions than experiments within vogues of exploration that had originated far beyond Chicago.

To understand the historical position of Sullivan in 1890, one can compare the Auditorium exterior to

Root's Mills Building in San Francisco designed in the late summer and fall of that year [Figure 7].¹⁸ Root was the Chicago architect who most consistently developed the possibilities of expression implicit in Richardson's Romanesque. The ten-story Mills Building represented one of his last major experiments with these forms before his death in January 1891. The central motif of the Mills Building's exterior was a five story arcade which appears to have been based on that of the Auditorium. The molded pilasters of the arcade were rendered in a buff colored narrow Roman brick with terra cotta capitals supporting recessed concentric arches. The spandrels of the arches above the ninth floor contained ornament of molded brick and terra cotta, recalling the diagonal coursing within the spandrel area of Richardson's arcade in the Field Building. The three story base of the Mills Building featured a white marble cladding over the ground and second floors with a Romanesque archway carved in this stone forming the main entrance. The third story with alternating courses of brick and terra cotta forms the transition to the arcade which is flanked by projecting corner piers with squared openings. Above the arcade and within the corner piers, the depth of the reveals of the rectangular windows extend the pattern of shadows created within the arcade. The attic story above a course of miniature corbeled arches contained a columnar screen beneath a smooth architrave and overhanging

bracketed cornice. One description noted that, "the prevalent Doric character of the structure is emphasized in the tenth story by the heavy Doric architraves and proto-Doric columns in terra cotta."¹⁹ This sense of the Mills Building recalls another contemporary account of the Auditorium which noted the use of columns recalling the Doric order in the ground floor, the second story belvedere, and the crowning attic. Root appears to have interwoven motifs and something of the sensibility of Sullivan's Auditorium into a slightly later work of similar scale, with both works acknowledging indebtedness to Richardson. Comparison of the Marshall Field, Auditorium, and Mills Buildings suggests three minds working with a common vocabulary. The succession of these works has the character of a progressive exploration which accepted a degree of historicism as means to lend architectural presence to novel building problems. In an essay on Root's achievement following his death, Henry Van Brunt characterized the development of the Romanesque as an expressive resource:

[The] important buildings executed by Burnham and Root, from 1880 to 1891,... show a succession of experiments in form, mainly resting on a consistent Romanesque basis. It is easy to see which of these experiments were thrown aside in subsequent buildings as contributing no desirable element to the progressive power of the style, and which of them were retained and amalgamated, so that their accretions were gradually leading the style out of its

conditions of mere archaeological correctness into one elastic to all the new and strange conditions of structure, material and occupation.²⁰

Van Brunt concluded that Root's work had established a basis of design in Romanesque round-arched elements which was capable of further progression. He believed that on this basis "can be built an elastic system, capable of expressing any degree of strength or lightness, simplicity or complexity, force or refinement."²¹ It had been proven that the Romanesque style was "capable of a variety of expression and application which makes it adjustable to the most exacting requirements of that civilization which it is our duty to express."²² Thus in 1890 in Chicago the way toward a new architecture appeared to be through the medium of Romanesque forms. There was a prevalent sense, accentuated by the sudden deaths of both Richardson and Root, that the possibilities their work implied had not been fully explored.

It was in the context of this time and place in the history of architectural thought that Sullivan began to work with steel construction. The first structure of this type which he designed with Adler was the Wainwright Building [Figure 8], the scheme for which was developed in the fall of 1890 as the firm's first major work after the opening of the Auditorium.²³ Like the Mills Building, the Wainwright was a ten story

steel office building whose ground dimensions were 122' X 110', as compared to the Mills Building's 160' x 137'. The similarity of the two problems and the recent completion of Root's design may have suggested the Mills Building as a model for Sullivan's design for the Wainwright, which was first published in December 1890.²⁴ Sullivan asserted, however, that the Wainwright marked the great breakpoint of his career as the building in which he first realized a mode of expression which he felt to be truly his own. He classified works prior to the Wainwright, including the Auditorium as belonging to his "masonry period," while those which followed after 1890 through the time of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store he cited as his attempts to achieve "a logical and poetic expression of the metallic frame construction."²⁵ Sullivan described the creative activity of the years preceding the Wainwright through the metaphor of a gardener experimenting with types of flowers.²⁶ He likened his preceding buildings to attempts to develop a new variety of tulip, which resulted only in continual perpetuation of an old variety of that flower. The Wainwright represented a breakthrough to a new variety of tulip, appearing as "a gorgeous stately flower" whose form marked a departure from all earlier types.²⁷ Wright similarly recalled the importance of the original design of the Wainwright as "the dawn of a new day in

skyscraper architecture" wherein Sullivan first perceived the high building as a harmonious unit--its height triumphant."²⁸

The intensity with which Sullivan asserted the Wainwright to be the beginning of his creative maturity suggests that he saw the design as distinct from all his previous exploration in Gothic and Romanesque idioms. His works, though they strove for originality, continually referred to the work of early mentors, like Furness and Jenney, or his most capable contemporaries, Richardson and Root. While Sullivan saw a conceptual chasm separating the Wainwright from preceding works, one can perhaps see its historical position more clearly through comparison with Root's Mills Building. Sullivan may have sought to extend the possibilities of Romanesque forms beyond their development in Root's earlier work. Thus the elevation of the Wainwright can be interpreted as the final step in the succession of experiments in Chicago that began with the Field Wholesale Store and had led to the Mills Building. The Wainwright elevation extended the use of pilasters as an elastic motif characteristic of these earlier Romanesque designs. The range of pilasters that form the central motif of the elevation extend seven stories to a rectilinear termination beneath the fascia of the attic cornice. The ornamental treatment of the attic may correspond to the decorative spandrel above Root's arcade. The

molded profile of the piers and arches of the Mills Building are replaced by the squared shafts of the Wainwright piers and the continuous horizontal architrave above their capitals. The Wainwright's main entrance similarly eliminates the familiar archway of Root's building in favor of a rectilinear doorway whose ornamented reveal replaced the recession of colonettes and concentric arches. Sullivan's cornice similarly reads as a rectilinear slab which abandons the molded profile of Root's moldings in analogous positions. The Wainwright's exterior can thus be understood to mark a conceptual shift away from the round-arched vocabulary of the Romanesque. The rectilinearity of Sullivan's forms appears as an abstraction of comparable elements in Root's building, the lines of the Wainwright conforming to the rectilinearity of its steel structure. Sullivan's friend John Edelman praised the Wainwright as the first of his buildings in which could be noted "the complete absence of all conventional forms,"²⁹ perhaps alluding to its abandonment of the stylisms of the Romanesque. Edelman, perhaps paraphrasing Sullivan's view, wrote that in the Wainwright, "the rectangular steel skeleton is expressed in rectangular outer forms,"³⁰ all surmounted by a broad straight cornice richly decorated in unconventional fashion."³¹ The rectilinearity of the Wainwright appears meaningful when studied as a departure from the rounded Romanesque. It is in this

conviction of profile that one senses what the design must have represented to Sullivan as a momentous breakthrough, after which his architecture could develop independent of reliance on medieval motifs.

The sequence of Sullivan's works that began with the Wainwright and ended with the Schlesinger and Mayer Store included a range of commercial projects, several of which bear a significant relation to Carson-Pirie-Scott. Wright believed that this series of works from 1890 to 1903 included Sullivan's best and most characteristic buildings in which he explored the expressive possibilities of his own architectural language.³² Of those immediately following the Wainwright, one work closely associated with the later State Street store was the Meyer Building at the southwest corner of Van Buren and Franklin Streets [Figure 9].³³ Possible construction on this site in the heart of the wholesale district had been contemplated since 1890, when Selz, Schwab & Co. had plans to erect a twelve story building "like the famous wholesale store of Marshall Field & Co."³⁴ In December 1890 Levy Mayer acquired the property and in February 1892 announced plans for a seven story structure for the wholesale clothing trade.³⁵ The project began under Levy Mayer's direction acting for the estate of William Mayer, his brother, as a potentially profitable investment in rentable space for wholesalers. Although developed with the resources and under direction of the Mayer

family, the structure was not promoted as additional sales or storage space for the Schlesinger and Mayer store, which was then engaged exclusively in retailing. In April 1892 the project was first described as a wholesale store building for the estate of Max A. Meyer, a partner in Levy Mayer's law firm, who had evidently replaced William Mayer as principal investor.³⁶ Hence the building as built came to be known as the Meyer Building.

Adler and Sullivan were chosen by Levy Mayer as architects at the same time the firm was engaged for the expansion and remodelling of Schlesinger and Mayer's old State Street store.³⁷ Their original design for the new wholesale building included an interior of heavy timber mill construction rather than a steel structure. An early rendering of the project [Figure 10], shows the street fronts faced with brown terra cotta "of the same hue as that adopted in the Rookery Building."³⁸ The enveloping of the surface of the Meyer Building in brown terra cotta corresponds to Adler and Sullivan's design for the Schiller Building later in 1892, where the same material was used to cover a sixteen story office tower. The use of an ornate terra cotta exterior may have been in attempt to lend a more urbane and attractive character which would make the structure stand out as an ornament of the wholesale district, comparable to a combined office and theater building such as the

Schiller. The rendering shows a first story of plate glass set between and back from freestanding columns with ornamental capitals. The colonnade supported a continuous architrave framed in square piers at the corners with terra cotta capitals rendered as lions' heads. The piers above this architrave rise as continuous verticals over five floors, framing recessed lintels and pairs of windows at each story. An ornamental border forms a distended frame for each bay, the five recessed tiers of windows and lintels composed within a single vertical panel. This series of ornamental frames serves simultaneously to highlight the vertical lines of the projecting piers. An attic story featured a continuous range of deeply set rectangular windows whose ornamented jambs read as a series of piers. In both shaft and attic floors, as at the base, the projection of piers or pier-like jambs lends a tectonic depth to the elevation, at the same time the ornamental terra cotta surrounds the openings recessed between. The exterior was "surmounted by a heavy cornice of a rich design"³⁹ in terra cotta, whose repeated motif and curved profile would be effectively rendered in the baked clay. This project for the Meyer fronts was Sullivan's first use of terra cotta as the principal material for the exterior of a large commercial building. He here explored features which recur in later designs such as the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, where similar

ornamental borders surround the windows and extend horizontally along the wall.

The Meyer project contrasts with Adler and Sullivan's earlier sizable work in the wholesale district, the Walker wholesale store and warehouse, completed in 1889 [Figure 11]. Sullivan included this building as one of the outstanding works of his earlier "masonry period."⁴⁰ Wright recalled that Sullivan described the Walker exterior as "the last word in the Romanesque," the smooth ashlar rendered as an interpretation of Romanesque elements derived from Richardson's Field Building a few blocks away.⁴¹ The Meyer project shows the development of Sullivan's aesthetic in the same building type in the same wholesale district three years later. Though the horizontal proportion of the mass of both buildings is similar, the Meyer design exhibits an emphasis on the vertical continuity of structural lines following the inspiration of the Wainwright. The arcuated reveals that crown the vertical bays of the Walker fronts are replaced with the rectilinear frames of the Meyer building, whose attic and ground floors display a linear continuity, while the Walker elevation grouped comparable elements in rhythms derived from Richardson. The presence of terra cotta permitted an ornamental articulation of the whole wall whose members and openings were outlined in decorative borders. In the stone of the Walker building Sullivan had relied on

the expressive power of projection and shadow alone to suggest structural mass. The expression of elements in the earlier work relied on Richardson's vocabulary of forms, whereas the later work reads as the rectilinear abstraction of Richardson's system.

The Meyer Building as completed in 1893 departed significantly from the original project. An iron and steel structural frame replaced the heavy mill construction inside, and a brick facing replaced the ornamental terra cotta on the exterior. The projection of vertical piers was suppressed in favor of piers and lintels within the same plane, with continuous narrow bands of ornament along the window sills and a horizontal molding along the lintels. The division of bays into paired windows had remained the same, though a colonette served as a central mullion within the depth of the brick reveal. In the attic story the continuous range of windows similarly featured squared piers set along a projecting base molding and capped by the shadow of a continuous lintel. The design as built featured an overhanging cornice with a curved profile, later replaced by a brick parapet. A precedent for the finished elevation of the Meyer Building of 1893 would have been Holabird and Roche's Venetian Building of 1891-92 which combined horizontal window proportion with continuous projecting sills in a more ornate exterior for the retail district of State Street. Wright suggests that he was responsible

for the final design of the Meyer Building while still employed as a draftsman in Sullivan's office in 1893.⁴² Wright preferred the expressive power of the horizontal line, reinforced in the coursing of the brick and the flattened capitals of the piers and projecting sills. The row of squared pilasters across the attic of the Meyer elevation resembles the use of this rectilinear motif in Wright's own later residential works, such as the Robie House. The built design for the Meyer building did preserve the rectilinear expression of structural elements evident in the early project. The horizontal lines of the completed work, however, followed the proportion of the mass of the whole building which was longer than it was tall, whereas the original rendering appears to have adapted the vertical emphasis characteristic of Sullivan's office buildings to a different mercantile type. Thus the Meyer building as finished in 1893 provided a precedent for the formal treatment of a commercial block which resembles the later Schlesinger and Mayer store. In both works the use of linear detail to create horizontal continuity corresponded to a spatial continuity of interior floors for merchandise.

The experimentation in terra cotta and formal emphasis evident in the projected and completed Meyer Building continued in Adler and Sullivan's Chicago Stock Exchange Building of 1893-94 [Figure 12].⁴³ Of all the firm's office buildings of the period 1890-95 the

Stock Exchange most resembled the Schlesinger and Mayer Store and the earlier Meyer Building in its proportion of height to width and in the related formal treatment of its elevation. After the completion of the Auditorium, the Stock Exchange Building was the largest commercial project completed by Adler and Sullivan before the dissolution of the firm in 1895.⁴⁴ A thirteen story structure at the southwest corner of Washington and LaSalle Streets, the Stock Exchange was located in the heart of Chicago's financial and governmental center. Its offices were intended to house the most desirable class of business tenants, including brokerage firms, financial houses, corporations, and insurance agencies, with the stock trading room and banking rooms on the second floor.⁴⁵ The building anchored the north end of the LaSalle Street financial corridor with Burnham and Root's Board of Trade standing at the south end of the street.

The pretensions of the Stock Exchange's tenancy and location may have inspired the conception of the design as a monumental edifice akin to, yet distinct from, the more typical office building like the Wainwright or the Guaranty. Sullivan's design for the exterior in its massing and detail was evidently modelled on Burnham and Root's sixteen story Ashland Block of 1891-92 at the nearby northeast corner of Clark and Randolph Streets [Figure 13].⁴⁶ Both buildings featured a main arched entrance set in a projecting rectangular frame. Their

street levels read as raised basements which served as platforms for the two-story arcades. In both exteriors the three-story arcuated base is surmounted by a continuous and unornamented elevation of office floors varied with alternative shafts of bayed windows, rounded in the Ashland Block and angular in the Stock Exchange. The fenestration of Root's upper wall featured continuous rows of small rectangular windows, whereas Sullivan's front has Chicago windows between projecting bays. Both buildings are surmounted by an attic, Root's being formed of a range of deep set windows with pier-like mullions and Sullivan's rendered as a colonnade. Root's block terminates in a bracketed overhanging stone cornice as opposed to the flared ornamental profile of the Stock Exchange's cornice rendered in terra cotta.

The comparison of the two designs reveals distinctions in Sullivan's handling terra cotta facing as opposed to Root's articulation of a brick fabric. The ornamental character of the Stock Exchange front within its simple rectangular profile caused contemporaries to describe the building as characteristic of Sullivan's style. The front was termed immediately recognizable as distinctively the work of an individual hand.⁴⁷ Root's use of incised and projecting courses and moldings through the Ashland's upper stories reads as a rational, linear articulation of brickwork. Sullivan's terra cotta facade is treated as continuous surface which

appears applied almost like plaster [Figure 14] over the face of the steel frame, the clay finished in ornamental borders around windows and at the corner edges of the building. Terra cotta's potential as an ornamentally worked material is celebrated in the spandrels of the lower arches and the main entrance and in the projecting face of the cornice. The intricate richness of this crowning element represents its designer's attempt to introduce vitality into the clay to give it a semblance of the vigor of handwork evident in carved stone. The cornice was also noted by contemporaries to read from a distance, the relief of its detail coming out "clear and distinct and sharp, having a much better carrying quality than design of apparently a bolder and much coarser kind."⁴⁸ In this attribute, the cornice of the Stock Exchange continued Sullivan's experiments in varying scale of ornament detail up the face of a building that began in the Wainwright and continued through the design of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store. The terra cotta front of the Stock Exchange, however, differed from these works in that it did not emphasize vertical or horizontal structural lines. The disposition of the upper windows indicated only the cellular function of offices, though the continuous bays did accentuate the building's height. The emphasis on the use of "nothing but the simplest forms" for openings was alternatively criticized for lacking architectural interest and

praised for its contribution to "a simple unity of effect" that characterized the mass of the whole building.⁴⁹ In its study of a work's proportion and profile as a compositional object, the design for the Stock Exchange recalls the early project for the Meyer Building. The effect of simplicity of mass enlivened by ornamentation of surfaces overrides the question of structural expression in the Stock Exchange.⁵⁰ This definitive characteristic of Sullivan's architecture underlay the original project for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store of 1898, wherein the sense of the frame is subordinated to the larger compositional issue of the building mass and silhouette. The project's emphasis on the depth and profile of the cornice suggests an attempt to enframe the mass of the edifice to create a primary architectural effect, within which the lines of the fenestration are secondary. The Stock Exchange's crowning colonnade and Chicago windows did provide precedents in Sullivan's work for similar details in Carson-Pirie-Scott. Yet the more important formal analogy between these two works which links them with the whole of Sullivan's production was a comparable attempt at a discipline of form-making that began in the shaping of mass and ended in its accentuation with ornament.

Evidence of such an artistic discipline as the foundation for Sullivan's series of experiments with architectural forms for the steel frame appeared in his

earlier project for the Schlesinger and Mayer addition on Wabash Avenue of 1896-97.⁵¹ A faint rendering survives of an eight bay, ten-story scheme for this unbuilt elevation in a newspaper advertisement of June 1897 [Figure III-9]. The planned improvement appeared to be an extension of a two-bay ten-story elevation projected one year earlier [Figure III-3] which showed horizontally proportioned pairs of Chicago windows extending the width of each story. The elevation included continuous projecting sills with the lintel and flanking piers surrounding each floor faced with a decorative pattern to have been rendered in either cast iron or terra cotta. The central mullion in each story was ornamented with a similar repeated motif at a smaller scale. The whole was crowned with an attic of what appear to be oval windows capped with an overhanging cornice and balustrade. In the later eight bay extension of this front the whole elevation appears bounded within a rigidly rectangular profile. The continuous horizontal fenestration ends in the narrow vertical piers along the edge of the elevation which appear to continue along the upper cornice as a linear horizontal border enframing the whole wall.

Sullivan's project for the Wabash Avenue addition to the Schlesinger and Mayer Store may be compared with Frank Lloyd Wright's unbuilt project for the Chicago headquarters building of the American Luxfer Prism Company

of 1894 [Figure 15].⁵² This office tower of ten stories plus attic was conceived as an architectural advertisement for Luxfer prismatic glass which filled the rectangular grid of the steel bays whose square shape matched that of the individual panels of prismatic glass. A surviving study of Wright's design [Figure 16] shows the squared openings of the frame surrounded by ornamental borders extending the height and width of the building above a ground floor of show windows and mezzanine faced with prismatic glass. The face of the building was thus given a rectilinear outline that appears to be Wright's development of the principle of composition of a tall commercial building pioneered by Sullivan in the Wainwright. The Luxfer project has a stylized, graphic quality that goes beyond Sullivan's work of the same period in its attempt to achieve a modern monumentality through the use of line to define the scale of the whole wall. Sullivan's Wabash Avenue addition to the Schlesinger and Mayer Store similarly sought architectural effect through the simplification of its fenestration and silhouette, though with less stylization of outline than was evident in Wright's earlier project.

The conceptual distinction of these commercial projects of Sullivan and Wright become apparent in comparison with Solon S. Beman's Studebaker Building at 629 Wabash Avenue also designed in 1895 [Figure 17].⁵³ Beman (1853-1914), Sullivan's contemporary and friend,

had apprenticed in the office of Richard Upjohn in New York and later gained notoriety as architect of the town of Pullman, Illinois and other projects for the Pullman Company. The Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Company financed a ten-story office structure on Wabash Avenue several blocks south of the Schlesinger and Mayer store to serve as headquarters for their carriage and wagon business. The original plans called for a steel building with the front "practically of plate glass set in a cast iron frame, the object being to afford as much light to the interior as possible."⁵⁴ The building as completed featured instead of the cast iron, "a covering of white terra cotta in early French Gothic style."⁵⁵ The glazed front featured a central entrance set within an ogival arch and flanked by terra cotta buttresses which tapered to pinnacles above the second story [Figure 18]. The motif of the ogival arch framed the full height of the structural bays of the front. These were outlined with projecting vertical piers whose Gothic molding profile culminated in a flattened rendition of an ogival arch above the ninth story. The attic above is treated as a gallery of pointed arches with projecting colonettes crowned by a pinnacled cornice alternating with battlements. The distension of the ogival arch to frame the multi-story bays of the elevation contrasts with the abandonment of historic forms in the Schlesinger and Mayer and Luxfer fronts which relied on the lines of

the fenestration and the frame as the basis for composition of the elevation. In this reliance on manipulation of pre-modern motifs as devices for the architectural handling of large commercial fronts, Beman's Studebaker Building recalls the Romanesque experiments of Root and Richardson. In these another arcuated vocabulary was manipulated to achieve a sense of formal control over a new scale of construction.

The completed work of Sullivan that bears comparison with the Studebaker front is the Bayard Building in New York of 1897-98 [Figure 19].⁵⁶ In this project Sullivan worked as associate architect with his friend and colleague Lyndon Smith, who evidently left the problem of the facade to Sullivan alone. The Bayard was the first major work done in Sullivan's office after Adler's departure. Sullivan's sense of more complete artistic responsibility for the building may account for Wright's remark that the Bayard was the skyscraper which Sullivan loved best, as the design which was "nearest to his desire."⁵⁷ Elmslie, however, recalled of the Bayard that Sullivan "made the basic design to palm of the hand size but never touched the detailed working out of it."⁵⁸ Stylistic comparison of the finished ornamental detail tends to support its attribution to Elmslie [Figure 20].⁵⁹ The front of white terra cotta was also not modelled by Sullivan's craftsman and collaborator Kristian Schneider but by a modeller for

a local New York terra cotta firm.⁶⁰ Hence the character of the executed detail of the Bayard differed in its relative brittleness from the ornamental surfaces of Sullivan's Chicago buildings modelled by Schneider. Sullivan's aesthetic intention for the Bayard facade is suggested in his description of the original project which stressed that the terra cotta, functioning solely as a protective covering for the structural steel frame, was "reduced to a rational minimum, thus making it possible to have all the windows of the largest size."⁶¹ The minimal lightness of the terra cotta appears in the shape of the piers as rectangular panels at the base of the elevation above the ground floor through their termination in round arches over the twelfth floor. The upper arched motif derives from the traditional Venetian or Florentine window head whose crowning rondel is set between paired arches with a central round colonette. In Sullivan's design for the Bayard these colonettes are distended through the height of the wall, their recessed slender roundness alternating with the rectangular piers. This adaptation of a window motif from the early Italian Renaissance to a twelve-story office building makes the Bayard front comparable to the Studebaker's use of the ogival French Gothic arch to clothe modern structure.⁶² Sullivan's front is distinctive, however, in its effective use of ornamental relief over the surface which culminates in the design of the attic and cornice. The

intended lightness and delicacy of the decorative detail and the shaping of terra cotta members culminated in the winged female figures which appear to ascend from the piers within the spandrels of the crowning arches. These winged figures lend expressive emphasis to the continuous vertical lines of the piers, their human form suggesting an anthropomorphic conception of the facade.⁶³ Sullivan thus described the front "rising thus--cream white, maidenlike and slender, luxuriant in life and joyous as the dawn of wistful spring, this poem of the modern will ever daily hail the sun on high and the plodder below with its ceaseless song of hope, of joy, of the noble labor of man's hands, of the vast dignity and power of man's soul--a song of true democracy and its goal."⁶⁴

Sullivan thus aspired to make the Bayard a work of modern architecture which achieved an aesthetic expression for new materials. As his last completed essay in the problem of the tall office building, the Bayard with its crowning figures can be interpreted as a realization of Sullivan's dictum that the architect of this new type was to "proclaim from the dizzy height of this strange, weird, modern housetop the peaceful evangel of sentiment, of beauty, the cult of a higher life."⁶⁵ The critical response to the Bayard as Sullivan's only work in New York reinforced its intended historical position as a building which suggested

"a prescience of a new world."⁶⁶ Montgomery Schuyler wrote of the Bayard as an exemplary attempt at the architecture of the tall building founded "upon the facts of the case:"

The actual structure is left, or rather it helped, to tell its own story. This is the thing itself. Nobody who sees the building can help seeing that. Neither the analogy of the column, nor any other tradition or convention, as allowed to interfere with the task of clothing the steel frame in as expressive forms as may be . . .

The Bayard Building is the nearest approach yet made, in New York at least, to solving the problem of the skyscraper. It furnishes a most promising starting point for designers who may insist upon attacking that problem instead of evading it, and resting in compromises and conventions.⁶⁷

Comparison of Schuyler's and Sullivan's description of the Bayard facade suggests how the design represented a polemic direction for a modern architecture as this term was understood in the 1890s. Schuyler stressed that the expressive character of the front had been rationally derived from the material conditions of the problem. The real estate description asserted that the facade was an attempt "to secure the highest artistic results while keeping in mind strict utilitarian requirements based upon the needs of successful manufacturing and merchandising."⁶⁸ The problem of the front was thus representative of a tension between the nature of a

commercial building type, and the desire to find within such a program sources for architectural expression. In theory Sullivan sought to achieve this inclusive balance between the competing values of utility and form-making. The challenge facing the architect of the Bayard was thus described as "the creation of a facade at once useful and beautiful. This is the true unchanging law of architectural design; and alone through the strict application of it, tempered by a fine sense of humanity, may results of real and abiding value be obtained."⁶⁹

The Bayard would thus "stand as a monument to those who built it and to those who live within its walls."⁷⁰

The design's claim to rank with historic types would derive thus not from reproducing their conventional forms, but rather from a monumentality expressive of modern conditions. This was the keynote of the Sullivan polemic in the 1890s, which informed designs as different as the Bayard and the Schlesinger and Mayer Store.

The Gage facade was Sullivan's next major work whose design explored the same problem of the commercial facade studied in the Bayard, conceived as an equivalent assertion of a new architecture [Figure 21]. The Gage project was developed in Sullivan's office in the same months as the original scheme for the Schlesinger and Mayer store in the autumn of 1898.⁷¹ Its similarity as a use type, and its proximity in Chicago to the State Street building make the Gage facade the companion of Carson-Pirie-Scott

in the history of Sullivan's oeuvre. Sullivan published renderings of these two works together in the spring of 1899 as representative of his production in practice alone.⁷² The Gage facade was part of a larger building project initiated by Stanley R. McCormick, son of Cyrus McCormick, who had assembled a continuous frontage of 168 feet of property along the west side of Michigan Avenue between Madison and Monroe Streets.⁷³ McCormick developed an agreement with three of the leading houses of Chicago's wholesale millinery trade, Gage Bros. & Co., Theodore Ascher & Co., and Edson Keith & Co., whereby he would construct three contiguous buildings for their use on this property. This plan to create a distinctive wholesale millinery district along one of the most attractive thoroughfares of the city was comparable to the development of State Street as the avenue of fashionable retailing.⁷⁴ McCormick offered to lease each firm control of an entire structure for an initial ten year term beginning in January 1899. The advantage of the tenants of occupying fireproof steel buildings was a marked reduction in their insurance compared to their old quarters in post-fire buildings on Wabash Avenue.

McCormick commissioned Holabird and Roche as architects for the planning and construction of all three buildings in the summer of 1898 [Figure 22].⁷⁵ The original project included a six story building on the southernmost forty-four feet of frontage, and two seven story

buildings adjacent to the north each extending sixty-two feet or three bays in width. The front of the northernmost structure to be occupied by Gage Brothers was to be designed by Sullivan at the request of McCormick. That the Gage firm sought to distinguish their facade from those of their neighboring competitors may be explained by the fact that they considered their house as the city's leading supplier of imported women's finery.⁷⁶ The firm annually sent three buyers to Europe and maintained six representatives in New York in order to maintain their stock of goods manufactured overseas including the latest modes in hats, bonnets, and headresses of all trims.⁷⁷ Their semi-annual exhibitions were comparable to those of the State Street department stores, complete with a special room devoted to new French models.⁷⁸ The trade in ornamental apparel of the highest class may have inspired Gage Brothers' desire to have an ornamental facade as the architectural emblem of their leadership in the presentation of fashionable styles. As McCormick's prime tenant the Gage firm paid rent determined as a percentage of the capital McCormick invested in their building. They offered to pay additional rent to McCormick as the same percentage of the additional cost of employing Sullivan and erecting the special front he designed.⁷⁹ Gage Brothers "did so because they thought if would benefit their business in an equal degree.

They put an exact commercial value on Mr. Sullivan's art, otherwise he would not have been called in."⁸⁰

The Gage facade was originally built to seven stories as the tallest of the three adjacent buildings to create the stepped profile of the group along Michigan Avenue. The front compares with the neighboring facades of Holabird and Roche in following the constructive lines of the steel frame with projecting molded piers, planar lintels, overhanging cornice. The Holabird and Roche facades are of dark red brick with borders of continuous molded courses surrounding each vertical structural bay [Figure 23]. The cornice, sill moldings, and original cast iron detail along the ground floor featured classical motifs [Figure 24]. The Chicago windows of the Holabird and Roche fronts extended the full width and height of the steel bays, except for the dimension of the lintels with their red terra cotta sills and window heads. The Gage facade featured upper stories of white enamelled terra cotta with the street level faced with ornamental cast iron. This lowest story along the sidewalk was originally described as "covered with ornament in low relief of that type peculiar to Mr. Sullivan, which consists of a geometric all over pattern interlacing and passing behind, giving a certain depth which apparently has no background. This pattern is accented and enlivened by growths of more or less realistic representations of natural forms."⁸¹ Surviving fragments of the original

cast iron panels that formed fascia above the ground floor show windows display an art and craft of metalwork that closely resembles the cast iron facing the base of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store [Figure 25]. The ornamental patterns exhibit a richness and intricacy developed from initial rendition in drawing through Schneider's modelling and Winslow Brothers' expertise in casting. A precision and continuity of repeated motifs across the fascia and its over-hanging cornice was achieved in execution through the use of specially designed snap molds. Sections of identical molds were snapped together and reused to cast a series of identical sections of metal, whose junctures were masked in the lines of the design.⁸² Even the position of the screws which held the ornamental iron in place was carefully considered to interfere minimally with the apparent continuity of the material's surface. One drawing attributed to Sullivan survives for the ornamental crown of the entrance to the Gage building [Figure 26].⁸³ This shows a central rondel facing the head of the doorway and set within a surmounting round arch. This motif, rendered in cast iron, closely resembles that rendered in terra cotta over the entrance to the Bayard Building. The project has distant sources in Venetian architecture which Sullivan has predictably transformed to serve as an armature for his inventive ornamental vocabulary.⁸⁴

The terra cotta facing for the upper floors included ornamental motifs which existed "rather as a decoration of surfaces than as a surface itself."⁸⁵ Thus, the cast iron base of the Gage facade, like that of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, was conceived as a field of ornament, whereas the upper floors were conceivable as surfaces independent of the overlay of ornament. The rational basis for this distinction may have been the nature of commercial use types on State Street and Michigan Avenue, where the nature of merchandising provided a utilitarian reason for an ornament inextricable from its background along the sidewalk. In the upper floors of the Gage facade, the coursing pattern of the terra cotta within the lintels and along the outer piers and crowning fascia of the front includes the alteration of widths found in the Schlesinger and Mayer upper wall, with a continuous ornamental course along the base of the spandrels. The soffit of the sills is rendered as a row of miniature corbelled arches like those of Venetian Gothic architecture. Along the face of the lintels and at the base of the outer piers, ornamental motifs appear to emerge from the surface of the clay as if their lines were expressive of a latent vitality of the material drawn forth by the hand of the architect. The infusion of an almost literal animation into the terra cotta is most evident in the foliate clusters which emerge in relief as organic growths from the top of the

central piers. These forms crown the continuous vertical molded profile of the piers as if to give expressive emphasis to their structural function.⁸⁶ The fenestration bounded by pier and lintel is composed of rows of rectangular lights of plate glass with continuous lengths of Luxfer prisms along their upper transoms. The prismatic glass is used to create an additional horizontal surface set against the vertical rhythm of the mullions in each bay, echoing the contrasting lines of pier and lintel at a smaller scale. The front was originally crowned by a flat projecting cornice. Its overhanging ornamented soffit was, like that of Bayard Building, intended to lend an architectural presence to the cornice when seen from below, rather than form a conventional coping whose main purpose would be the expressive termination of construction. The design of the fascia and cornice of the Gage facade thus closely resembles the form of these elements in the earliest project for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store.

The Chicago building that perhaps most closely resembles the Gage facade was the Ayer, later known as the McClurg, Building also designed by Holabird and Roche on Wabash Avenue in 1898 [Figure 27].⁸⁷ This loft building for mercantile tenants was a nine-story three-bay steel structure faced with show windows framed in ornamental cast iron on the first story and glazed white terra cotta above. The projected front of the Ayer Building was

originally described as "of the modern mercantile style, with Renaissance feeling in detail" [Figure 28].⁸⁸ The continuous profile of the piers was complemented by vertical mullions of the windows which were continued within the lintel panels of the terra cotta. These were bordered horizontally with similar moldings forming the heads and sills of the windows. The verticals of the piers continue into the fascia below the dentilled projecting cornice. The suggestion of lithic relief in the profile of the clay over the elevation connoted a fireproof structure of steel replacing an older building on the site destroyed by flames early in 1898.⁸⁹ The architectural character of the wall reads as articulation of the lines of construction, in contrast to the Gage facade which displays a more emphatic expression of pier versus lintel. In Sullivan's building, the steel bays were the rational pretext for a stylized facade, whereas the Ayer front is restrained in its subtle consistency of line that eschewed emotive effect in favor of a classical sense of proportion.

The project for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store brought together a range of formal elements from nearby precedents along State Street and from Sullivan's earlier works of the 1890s [Figure 29]. Unlike the Gage and Bayard Buildings, a department store was not solely a facade. The sense of a shaped building mass evident in the original presentation rendering links the project with

Sullivan's preceding attempts at a commercial monumentality beginning with the Wainwright. The architectural effect of the Schlesinger and Mayer exterior derives from a combination of rectilinearity and relief, whereby the repeated lines of the frame are given visual emphasis through the setback of the fenestration to create well-defined reveal of pier and lintel. The sense of enframed mass is heightened in the original project by the height of the crowning fascia and overhang of the cornice. The overall effect of the building form is not unlike that of the Wainwright where comparable play of relief between pier and lintel lends a similar elemental authority to the elevation, crowned by a comparable depth and projection of cornice. Seen in this way, the designs for the Wainwright and Carson-Pirie-Scott mark the endpoints of Sullivan's search for a modern type wherein he expressed a new order of construction through reliance on the most ancient sense of tectonic form. At the same time, both these buildings are given a distinctive vitality through the lyricism of their ornament.⁹⁰ The effectiveness of such a contrast of constructive and decorative elements is evident in the plain brick piers of the Wainwright set against the clay relief of the lintels, or the ornamental interlacings of the cornice versus the smooth ashlar base. In the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, the rounded corner with its attenuated colonettes serves as a similar lyric foil for the

structural logic of the flanking elevations, its expressive verticality making their horizontality appear all the more pronounced. The festive associations of the metalwork at the base and decorative relief of the cornice similarly convey a mood complementary to that of the nearly unornamented upper stories. Similar contrasts are evident in the built front of terra cotta, where ornamental bands of clay were set in a surface of smooth coursing. The structural outline of the window shapes is likewise enlivened via the decorative pattern of the reveals. In both works the frame serves as a rational basis for architectural expression, within which the persona of the buildings that identify them as the work of Sullivan, is developed through ornament as contrasting accentuation.⁹¹ Both buildings relied upon the fact of construction combined with the fancifulness of ornament as ever valid resources of architecture, whose complementary renewal would define the modernity of the art.

The range of smaller works which Sullivan designed after the completion of Carson-Pirie-Scott included one sequel to his experimentation in the type and form of the State Street building. This project was the Van Allen Department Store in Clinton, Iowa, designed and built from 1911-1914 [Figure 30].⁹² John D. Van Allen and Sons commissioned Sullivan as architect of their retail dry goods building after his work became known in the region during construction of his People Savings Bank in nearby

Cedar Rapids. The Van Allen Store was a four story structure of a scale comparable to Sullivan's bank buildings of the same years. However, as a department store, the model for both the interior and exterior was Carson-Pirie-Scott. The Van Allen Store occupied a site at the intersection of 5th Avenue and 2nd Street in its city by the Mississippi, commanding a small town version of the corner of State and Madison. The store's steel frame structure included long span girders, average length of 28', running east-west to form three bays along the main front facing south on 5th Avenue, with five structural bays along 2nd Street. In an early phase of the design the exterior upper floors were to be of white enamelled terra cotta, with ornamental iron framing show windows within the plane of the facade at street level.⁹³

The exterior as built [Figure 31] was faced with a shade of red Roman brick whose narrow coursing formed a continuous plane across the face of piers and lintel on the major elevations. The brickwork was trimmed with courses of ornamental white enamelled terra cotta along the head of the windows in the plane of the brick. A second narrower course of ornamental terra cotta underlay the continuous projecting sill of the windows, the reveals of whose heads and sill were of the same material. Within the crowning parapet, the brick coursing is set beneath a projecting coping of ornamental terra cotta. At the center of the long spans on the main

entrance front Sullivan set ornamental colonettes of white terra cotta in vertical relief. The paired shafts of these colonettes rise from brackets of sculptured terra cotta with foliate ornament surrounding a crest with monogram of the Van Allen stores [Figure 32]. The colonettes are crowned above the fourth story with a foliate capital of sculptured terra cotta set against a decorative panel of white terra cotta. The colonettes recall the treatment of the piers on the Gage facade, yet differ because of the fact that they do not face structural columns. They read instead like members in tension, forming vertical tie rods anchored at their base and head to metaphorically hold up the long span beams at their centers. The colonettes' position and form thus derives from the rationale of structure whose special feature they highlight as ornament. Their association with the spans behind explains their absence on the flanking east elevation. There Sullivan added non-structural piers in the center of the southernmost corner bay of the upper stories, whose division of that bay's length sets off by contrast the sense of the long span bays on the south elevation. An alternative interpretation of the colonettes would be as permanent ornaments imitative of the temporary decorations characteristic of seasonal shopping display. One surviving early photograph of the Van Allen Store [Figure 33] shows the 5th Avenue front draped with such decoration in part of

the store's promotional Christmas adornment. The colonettes were suggestive in this image not primarily of structural expression, but of merchandising festivity as backdrop for commercial street life, just as with the ornament of Carson-Pirie-Scott in Chicago.

The street level of the Van Allen store featured columns faced with polished blue and white marble set between plate glass show windows. The upper transoms of the ground floor windows were filled with leaded stained glass for the length of the long bays.⁹⁴ Small canopies originally overhung the entrances on both streets. The stained glass would have introduced colored light around the edge of the ceiling on the interior of the main floor. The brightening effect of these continuous transom lights is evident on the inside where Sullivan treated the ceiling and interior columns as he had on the main floor of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store [Figure 34]. The ceiling is finished as an uninterrupted white plaster surface suspended below the beams and girders to conceal all but the outlets of the sprinkler system.⁹⁵ The fire-proof steel columns appear as cylindrical monoliths with capitals of ornamental molded plaster similar to those on the lower floors of Carson-Pirie Scott. Sullivan was able to use the long span beams without additional columns on the upper levels to obtain a comparable result of very spacious and open floors,"⁹⁶ whose aisle width compared with those of the State Street department stores

which he surveyed in researching the Van Allen design. Sullivan wrote that he sought in this project to create "a simple quiet building: yet with an air of distinction that comes from knowing how to do it."⁹⁷ The architectural effect of the elevations was to be "based on the plain surfaces, the elegance of chaste lines, and harmonious proportions."⁹⁸ The result he hoped was a work of "simple dignity and refinement," whose final design had developed "of its own accord:--that is, with a sort of logic of its own."⁹⁹ Sullivan's account of his derivation of the design for the Van Allen Store may be taken as a description of the process which underlay his creation of earlier works such as Carson-Pirie-Scott.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. Accounts of Sullivan's individual life's work as an architect include Hugh Morrison, Louis Sullivan; Prophet of Modern Architecture, New York 1935; William Jordy, "Functionalism as Fact and Symbol: Louis Sullivan's Commercial Buildings, Tombs, and Banks," American Buildings and Their Architects, Vol. III; Garden City, N.Y., 1972, 83-179; Narciso Menocal, Architecture as Nature; The Transcendentalist Idea of Louis Sullivan, Madison Wi., 1974. A catalogue of primary references to Sullivan's buildings appears in Paul E. Sprague, The Architectural Ornament of Louis Sullivan and His Chief Draftsmen, Ph. D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1969. Cf. Albert Bush-Brown, Louis Sullivan, New York 1960.
2. Montgomery Schuyler, "The People's Savings Bank of Cedar Rapids, Iowa," Architectural Record XXXI (1), January 1912, 45, reprinted in Jordy and Coe (Eds.), American Architecture and Other Writings, Cambridge, Ma., 1961, Vol. II, 626.
3. On the Rothschild Store, see Morrison, op. cit., 58-59, and Sprague, op. cit., 80-82. Cf. Donald D. Egbert and Paul Sprague, "In Search of John Edelman," A.I.A. Journal XLV, February 1966, 38, 40, for comparison of the ornament of the Rothschild to contemporary works of Edelman.
4. On Abram Rothschild and Rothschild firm, see (Chicago Inter Ocean Publishing Company), A History of the City of Chicago; Its Men and Institutions, Chicago 1900, 267; Paul Gilbert and Charles Bryson, Chicago and Its Makers, Chicago 1929, 744; "The Rothschild Building," Chicago Journal, July 16 1887, 2.
5. On the Borden Block, see Morrison, op. cit., 57-58, and Condit, op. cit., 37-38. Cf. Sullivan's account of the building's importance in "Development of Construction," Economist LV, June 24 1916, 1252.
6. "The Rothschild Building," Chicago Journal, July 16, 1881, 2.
7. Ibid.
8. For earlier thought on the architectural possibilities of cast iron in relation to the Gothic Revival, see Henry Van Brunt, "Cast Iron in Decorative Architecture" (1859), reprinted in William A. Coles [Ed.], Architecture & Society, Cambridge 1969, 77-88, and William H. Furness, Address to the Fourth Annual Convention of

- the A.I.A., Philadelphia 1870, reprinted in Don Gifford [Ed.], The Literature of Architecture, New York 1966, 390ff.
9. On Jenney's first Leiter Building, see Frank Randall, History of the Development of Building Construction in Chicago, Urbana, Ill., 1949, 88-89; Giedion, op. cit., 369-370, Condit, op. cit., 79-80; and Theodore Turak, "The École Centrale and Modern Architecture: The Education of William LeBaron Jenney," J.S.A.H. XXIX (1), March 1970, 46-47.
 10. Peter B. Wight, "On the Present Condition of Architectural Art in the Western States," American Art Review I (1880), 138, quoted in Donald Hoffman, The Architecture of John Wellborn Root, Baltimore 1973, 18.
 11. "Store Structures," Chicago Times, August 28, 1881, 12.
 12. On the Ryerson Store, see Morrison, op. cit., 60-61.
 13. "Store for Martin Ryerson," American Architect and Building News XVII, No. 451, March 14 1885, 127.
 14. Accounts of the Auditorium Building's history include Dankmar Adler, "The Chicago Auditorium," Architectural Record I, April-June 1892, 415-434, and Edward R. Garczynski, The Auditorium, Chicago 1980. Cf. Morrison, op. cit., Chapter III: The Auditorium, 80-110.
 15. The cost of the Auditorium through 1889 was recorded as \$3,145,291 as compared with Adler and Sullivan's next most costly projects through that year, the Walker Building (1889), \$325,942, and the Revell Building (1881), \$321,942, both commissioned by Martin Ryerson. Adler and Sullivan. Chart Showing Cost of Buildings Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
 16. Adler, "The Chicago Auditorium," Architectural Record I, April-June 1892, 417. On the formal link between the Field and Auditorium Buildings, see also Montgomery Schuyler, "Glimpses of Western Architecture: Chicago" (1891), in Jordy and Coe (Eds.), American Architecture, I, 257, 261.
 17. Sullivan paid tribute to the inspiration of Richardson and the Field Building in Kindergarten Chat VI, "An Oasis" (1901), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 28-31. Wright recorded his estimate of Sullivan's respect for Richardson in Genius and the Mobocracy, 2nd Ed., New York 1971, 70, 94.

18. On the Mills Building, see Donald Hoffman, The Architecture of John Wellborn Root, 206-209. An undated perspective rendering with floor plans appeared in A.N. Rebori, "The Work of Burnham and Root, D.H. Burnham, D.H. Burnham & Co., and Graham, Burnham & Co." Architectural Record XXXVIII (1), July 1915, 38.
19. (The Winslow Brothers Company, Chicago), "The Mills Building, San Francisco, California," Ornamental Iron I (1893-94), 109. Cf. Reference to the use of Doric columns in the anonymous description of the Auditorium Building in Industrial Chicago, Vol. II, "The Building Interests," Chicago 1891, 68.
20. Henry Van Brunt, "John Wellborn Root," Inland Architect and News Record XVI (8), January 1891, 86. Reprinted in William A. Coles [Ed], Architecture and Society, Cambridge 1969, 218-219.
21. Ibid., 219.
22. Ibid., 219.
23. On the Wainwright Building, see Morrison, op. cit., 144-155, and Jordy, op. cit., 99-109, 119-120. A rental brochure entitled The Wainwright Building, St. Louis 1891, includes an illuminating description, rendering, and floor plans.
24. Not ice of Adler and Sullivan's work on the Wainwright appeared in Inland Architect and News Record XVI (7), December 1890, 81, with a rendering of the project in Inland Architect XVI (8), January 1891. Hoffman, op. cit., 206 records that Root completed the design for the exterior of the Mills Building in September 1890. Sullivan consistently expressed admiration for Root and his work, particularly the Monadnock Building, in The Autobiography of an Idea, New York 1924, 292, 309.
25. Louis Sullivan to Claude Bragdon, November 8 1903, in Claude Bragdon, "Letters from Louis Sullivan," Architecture LXIV, July 1931, 9.
26. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XXII, "The Tulip" (1901), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 74-75.
27. Ibid.
28. Wright, Genius and the Mobocracy, 2nd Ed., New York, 1971, 75, 95.

29. John Edelman, "The Pessimism of Modern Architecture," Engineering Magazine III (1), April 1892, 47.
30. Ibid., 47.
31. Ibid., 48.
32. Wright, Review of Hugh Morrison, Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture, in The Saturday Review of Literature, December 14 1935, reprinted in J.S.A.H. XX (3), October 1961, 142.
33. On the Meyer Building, see Morrison, op. cit., 168-169; Condit., op. cit., 135-136; Jordy, op. cit., 122, suggests that Carson-Pine-Scott" represents an amalgamation and clarification of the facade of the Stock Exchange with that of the Meyer Building."
34. "A Great Mercantile Structure," Economist III, May 31 1890, 685. Selz, Schwab, & Co. may have had Adler and Sullivan as architects for this unbuilt project, as they had the same office design the company's factory in Chicago in 1887. Cf. Morrison, op. cit., 65.
35. Announcement of Levy Mayer's acquisition of the property appeared in the Economist IV, December 1890. Adler and Sullivan's project for Levy Mayer was described in the Economist VII, February 20, 1892, 275.
36. A rendering of the project was published under the title of "Wholesale Store Building for the estate of M.A. Meyer, Chicago. Adler and Sullivan Architects," Inland Architect of News Record XIX (3), 1892.
37. In the spring of 1892 Adler and Sullivan were completing renovation of the old Schlesinger and Mayer Building with the design for its new entrance at 141 State Street. Chicago Tribune, July 3 1892, 22. The use of continuous plate glass show windows in the project for the Meyer Building may have been related to their simultaneous remodelling of this State Street front.
38. "In the Wholesale Quarter," Economist VII, February 20 1892, 275.
39. Ibid.
40. Louis Sullivan to Claude Bragdon, November 8 1903, in Claude Bragdon, "Letters from Louis Sullivan," Architecture LXIV, July 1931, 9.

41. Wright, Genius and Mobocracy, 2nd Ed., New York 1971, 63.
42. Ibid., 77. Henry Russell-Hitchcock asserted that Wright "had general charge of the drawings" for the design of the Meyer Building whose "relative unimportance make it plausible that Wright should have had a more completely free hand in the design." In The Nature of Materials, New York 1941, 13.
43. On the Stock Exchange Building, see Morrison, op. cit., 169-172. An illustrated description is found in (The Winslow Brothers Co.), "The Chicago Stock Exchange Building, Chicago," Ornamental Iron II (1), July 1894, 8-13, and in (Helliwell, Treat & Co.), The Chicago Stock Exchange Building, Chicago 1893, the rental brochure containing rendering and floor plans. On the restoration of the stock trading room after the destruction of the building in 1972, see John Vinci, The Art Institute of Chicago: The Stock Exchange Trading Room. Chicago 1977.
44. Total cost of the Chicago Stock Exchange Building was \$1,131,555, as compared with \$561,255 for the Wainwright (1891), \$737,099 for the Schiller Building (1893), \$631,076 for the Union Trust Building, St. Louis (1893). Final cost for the Guaranty Building was not recorded at the dissolution of the partnership in 1895. Adler and Sullivan, Chart Showing Cost of Buildings. 1879-1895. Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
45. "The Chicago Stock Exchange Building," Economist X (3), January 20, 1894, 71. Cf. An earlier description of the project in the Economist VIII, April 29 1893, 596, which records that the New York Life Insurance Company was principal investor.
46. On the Ashland Block, see Condit, op. cit., 102-103. Hoffmann, op. cit., 219 asserts that the design of the Ashland developed in Daniel Burham's office after Root's death in January 1891.
47. Contemporary accounts citing the individuality of the Stock Exchange Building as distinctly representative of Adler and Sullivan's work include D. Everett Wald, "Recent Brick and Terra Cotta Work in American Cities (Chicago)," Brickbuilder IV (6), June 1895, 133, and (The Winslow Brothers Co.), "Chicago Stock Exchange Building, Chicago," Ornamental Iron II (1), July 1894, 9-11.

48. "Chicago," American Architect and Building News XLIII, No. 943, January 20 1894.
49. George W. Twose, "Steel and Terra Cotta Buildings in Chicago, and Some Deductions," Brickbuilder III January 1894, 4-5.
50. Sullivan expressed his view of the organic relationship between the ornamental parts and compositional whole of a work in his address on "What Is the Just Subordination, in Architectural Design, of Details to Mass?", Meeting of the Illinois Association of Architects, April 2 1887, in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 182-184.
51. An advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer in the Chicago Tribune, June 10 1897, shows an eight-bay, ten-story project for the store's Wabash Avenue properties. A two-bay, ten-story project for an initial section of this elevation appeared in the Tribune, July 5 1896, 38.
52. An illustration and discussion of this project appear in Grant C. Manson, Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910: The First Golden Age, New York 1958, 88. Cf. Henry Russell Hitchcock, In The Nature of Materials New York 1941, 14 and Figure 8, who saw a relation between the Luxfer project and Sullivan's Gage and Schlesinger and Mayer Buildings.
53. On Beman's life and work, see Charles E. Jenkins, "Solon Spencer Beman," (Chicago) Architectural Reviewer, I, Part 2, March 31, 1897, 47-101. Sullivan delivered a eulogy at Beman's death in 1914, a copy of which survives in the Manuscript Collections, Chicago Historical Society.
54. "The Studebaker Building," Economist XII, May 25 1895, 625.
55. Charles E. Jenkins, op. cit., 69.
56. On the Bayard Building, see Morrison, op. cit., 191-194; Jordy, op. cit., and Menocal, op. cit., 66-68.
57. Wright, Review of Morrison, Louis Sullivan; Prophet of Modern Architecture, in The Saturday Review of Literature, December 14 1935, reprinted in J.S.A.H. XX (3), October 1961, 142.
58. George G. Elmslie to Frank Lloyd Wright, June 12 1936, J.S.A.H. XX (3), October 1961, 140.

59. Sprague, op. cit., 127-129, credits Elmslie with design of the Bayard facade based on stylistic analysis of the ornament.
60. William G. Purcell, Undated Note in the Purcell and Elmslie Archive, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, cited in Martin W. Reinhart, Norwegian Born Sculptor Kristian Schneider, Chicago 1982, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago, 19.
61. The Bayard Building, New York, n.d. (1898?), 3. This rental brochure includes exceptionally complete description of the project with floor plans, rendering, section, and photographs of clay models of ornamental detail. The unsigned text includes passages which exhibit Sullivan's literary style.
62. Russell Sturgis cited the remnants of historicism in the Bayard Building as unfortunate to the degree they detracted from the progressive impact of the design. "Good Things in Modern Architecture," Architectural Record VIII (1), July 1898, 101, quoted in Morrison, op. cit., 193.
63. On the anthropomorphic analogy as a principle of Sullivan's architecture, see Narciso Menocal, op. cit., 60-68.
64. (Sullivan?), The Bayard Building. New York, n.d. (1898?), 7.
65. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 202.
66. Wright chose this phrase to characterize the collective work of Adler and Sullivan in the 1890s in Genius and the Mobocracy, 2nd Ed., New York, 76.
67. Montgomery Schuyler, "The Skyscraper Up to Date," Architectural Record VIII (3) March 1899, 231, quoted in Morrison, op. cit., 193-94.
68. (Sullivan?), The Bayard Building, New York, n.d. (1893?), 7.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. One working drawing for the elevation and wall section of the Gage facade dated September 1898 survives as a microfilm copy. As noted in Chapter III,

drawings for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store are dated from November 1898. Burnham Library/University of Illinois Microfilm Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

72. Renderings of the Gage facade and the Schlesinger and Mayer Building appeared on facing pages of Architectural Record VIII , April 1899, 424-425.
73. "To Concentrate Millinery Trade," Chicago Dry Goods Reporter XXVIII , July 16 1898, 13.
74. Ibid.
75. "McCormick Improvement to Begin," Chicago Tribune, October 16, 1898, 34.
76. "Chicago Millinery Houses," Chicago Dry Good Reporter XXVIII (7), February 13 1898, 45.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. "Brick and Terra Cotta in American and Foreign Cities (Chicago)," Brickbuilder VIII (12), December 1899, 253-54.
80. Ibid.
81. Gage Brothers' Building for the McCormick Estate, Chicago. Inland Architect and News Record XXXIII (2), March 1899, 20.
82. Mr. Tim Samuelson, Chicago Landmarks Commission, initiated me to the wonders of snap molds and other refinements of metal casting evident in surviving fragments of the Gage facade's ground story. The metalwork was included in Photographs and Sketches of Ornamental Iron and Bronze Executed by the Winslow Brothers Company, Chicago 1901.
83. Paul Sprague, The Drawings of Louis Henry Sullivan. The Catalogue of the Drawings in the Frank Lloyd Wright Collection, Avery Architectural Library, Princeton 1978, Entry 113. Sprague attributes this unsigned, undated, untitled, drafted pencil drawing to Sullivan as a preliminary study for the doorway to the Gage building.
84. The design of the Gage ornament and the composition of the whole front may have been related to that of the Chicago Athletic Club adjacent to the north, designed by Henry Ives Cobb.

The explicitly archaeological motifs of the Cobb front, adapted from Venetian architecture, contrast with Sullivan's individual style, yet the festive character of the two fronts is not dissimilar.

85. Gage Brothers' Building for the McCormick Estate, Chicago. Inland Architect and News Record XXXIII (2), March 1899, 20.
86. Varying interpretations of the Gage piers as structural expression appear in Vincent Scully, "Louis Sullivan's Architectural Ornament," Perspecta V (1959), 77-78, and Narciso Menocal, op. cit., 68-69.
87. On the Ayer (later McClurg) Building, see Condit, op. cit., 126, who cites its rational purity of structural expression. For an alternative interpretation that notes the classical relief of the terra cotta, see Robert Bruegmann, "Holabird and Roche, Holabird and Root," Chicago History IX (3), Fall 1980.
88. "Ayer Building Now to Go Ahead," Chicago Tribune LVII, October 2 1898, 34.
89. "The New Ayer Building," Construction News VII, October 5 1898, 351.
90. The word "lyric" appeared frequently in contemporary accounts of Sullivan's ornament and architecture, as in Henry W. Desmond, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building," Architectural Record XVI, July 1904, 67. Of its ornamental ironwork, Desmond concluded that "The singer, we feel, is too much in the lyric strain." Wright similarly wrote that Sullivan was "essentially a lyric poet-philosopher interested in the sensuous experience of expressing inner rhythms, evolving a language of his own--his ornament--in which to utter himself." Review of Hugh Morrison, op. cit., (1935), reprinted in J.S.A.H. XX (3), March 1961, 142.
91. The complementary tectonic and ornamental modes of expression in Sullivan's architecture were noted by Montgomery Schuyler in his review of "Architecture in Chicago: Adler and Sullivan." Great American Genes, No. 2, Part I, New York, Architectural Record Co., 1896, 47-48. Reprinted in Jordy and Coe (Eds.), American Architecture, II, 402-404.
92. Mention of the Van Allen Store appears in Morrison, op. cit., 216-217, and Menocal, op. cit., 137. Sullivan's correspondence with the client from 1910-1918 survives in the collection of the Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

93. Louis Sullivan to John D. Van Allen, January 11th 1912, mentioned the possibility of using enamelled white terra cotta for the store exterior.
94. The use of stained glass infill for the transom lights above the ground floor show windows was noted on survey drawings of the John D. Van Allen & Son Store, Clinton, Iowa. Historic American Buildings Survey, Project IA-22.
95. Louis Sullivan to John D. Van Allen, April 10th 1912.
96. Louis Sullivan to John D. Van Allen, January 11th 1912.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Louis Sullivan to John D. Van Allen, April 2nd 1912.

CONCLUSION

This study of Carson-Pirie-Scott began as an inquiry into the historiography of Sullivan and the Chicago School. Within that historiography, the building has been understood alternatively as a work of individual genius or as the expression of new technical possibilities. This study has demonstrated the origins of the building in its urban context, in the culture of shopping in turn-of-the-century Chicago, and in the surrounding architecture of State Street. Sullivan's building emerges less as an individual monument and more as an expression of those conventions of use and type that underlay the creation of its surrounding built environment. Carson-Pirie-Scott was thus a work inextricable from the conditions of its origin, conditions which the architecture of the building itself in turn helped to define. The degree to which Sullivan was able to accept and celebrate those conditions is one source of the building's vitality and authenticity as a work of art. Few places on earth at the juncture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries presented a more insistent statement of the modern condition than the world of State Street in Chicago. Seen in this context, the modernity of Sullivan's building is rooted in the larger transformation of material existence at the end of the world's first industrial century which had produced the department store as a characteristic institution. Sullivan was an assiduous student of his times, and in his

works sought to create definitive form for the new architectural types of a commercial civilization. His attempt at expression of his times through the medium of building was not unlike Zola's search for literary characterization of the Parisian department store in which he saw "the poetry of modern activity."¹ Sullivan similarly viewed a building like Carson-Pirie-Scott as a "poem of the modern,"² whose memorable image now appears as the crystallization of its place and time.

Carson-Pirie-Scott's historical position as a key monument of modern architecture thus does not derive from the fact of the frame alone, but rather from a more inclusive and profound sense of modernity of which steel was a single representative artifact. For Sullivan the idea of modernity embraced not only new conditions of economy and society, but the whole range of nineteenth century thought from rational science to romantic poetry. In addition to this inheritance of ideas, Sullivan assimilated the implications of a modern building industry. His experimentation with materials and techniques in works like Carson-Pirie-Scott exemplified the possibilities of what he perceived as an art and craft of the machine age which might conceivably renew architecture at all scales from ornamentation to urbanism. Sullivan viewed these resources of thought and technique originating outside architecture as capable of helping to revitalize his art. In works such as Carson-Pirie-Scott he sought to create buildings which would

typify what he termed "the real, the plastic, the poetic architectural art, that art which I am forced to call the New Architecture."³

It is attractive to assert that there was an internally consistent set of ideas which underlay the design of Carson-Pirie-Scott. However, perhaps it is appropriate to close this study with a resumé of what have emerged as a range of contrasting themes implicit in the history of the building. Among the most central and intractable dilemmas facing Sullivan in designing a State Street department store was the difficulty in reconciling the prevailing values of a commercial society with the traditional values of architecture. It is evident from his writings that Sullivan had great disdain for the mercantile life of his day epitomized by department stores. He saw the material values of State Street as opposed to the true promise of a democratic civilization. He could hardly have conceived of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as an institution whose activities were worthy of the highest form of architectural expression. At the same time, however, Sullivan undoubtedly prized the opportunity to build the store. Its location, scale, and prominence as a contemporary use type made it among the most important architectural problems of its day. He perhaps sought to rationalize his participation in this kind of project by asserting that since the building was truly representative of its time, it therefore would give him an opportunity to demonstrate his vision of a new

architecture appropriate to that time. Sullivan consistently opposed what he believed to be the commercialization of his art in the hands of academic designers. He instead sought to subsume the commercial programs of modern buildings within the province of architecture. Thus instead of architecture debased through association with modern activity, modern life would be elevated through its association with the traditions of his art. Sullivan was evidently convinced that the resources of architecture were capable of transcending the commercial nature of such use types as the department store. Such buildings could be endowed with an architectural character that was at once expressive of their nature, yet was also evidence of what Sullivan called "the cult of a higher life."⁴

Sullivan and his Chicago colleagues' usage of the idea of type reveals how they saw themselves immersed in and at the same time attempting to transcend the commercial nature of modern building. In one sense they used the word 'type' to imply the conditions of use in different buildings. Thus the department store was distinct from the office building because of its different programmatic origins. However, Sullivan and Root also used the idea of type to denote those historic monuments which were representative of their civilizations. In this sense an architectural type was a building which "typified" or symbolized the culture of its place and period. The great types of the past, like the Parthenon or Chartres cathedral, set a

standard of significance to which modern structures would aspire. Thus a building like Carson-Pirie-Scott was acknowledged to have strictly utilitarian origins in the requirements of a department store as a use type. Its potential historical importance as a work of architecture, however, would in Sullivan's view depend on the degree to which its form expressed more than the specificity of its use so as to touch some element of the universal in architecture which would link the building with the great types of the past.

These alternative facets of meaning in the idea of type in Chicago texts point to another intriguing contradiction in the writings of Sullivan and Root between the concept of a regional versus a universal architecture. Root wrote of a great architectural type like the Parthenon as having both regional origins and universal significance.⁵ He asserted that the character of this monument arose in part from the authenticity with which its form was embedded in local conditions, even to the point of its stones having a tint associated with the nearby quarry of their origin. In choosing this example, Root thus implied the most widely celebrated type of ancient architecture had a vitality which sprang from the regional conditions of its origin. In modern building, Sullivan saw the historic importance of a work like Carson-Pirie-Scott as beginning with its faithfulness in addressing the specific issues inherent in the design of a State Street department store of 1900. At the same time, however, he saw the building as an attempt to realize timeless

qualities of tectonic and ornamental expression whose significance transcended issues of use and context to aspire to a universal tradition of architecture. Carson-Pirie-Scott has found its historiographic resting place as a key monument of modern architecture precisely because later generations saw in the work the forerunner of such a universal image of a new architecture in the lines of its elevation.

The question of a regional versus a universal architecture developed in Root's discussion of the Parthenon and in the history of Carson-Pirie-Scott recurs in texts commenting on Sullivan's work around the turn of the century. Sullivan himself viewed the conditions of urbanization in late nineteenth century Chicago as symptomatic of a modernity common to other large cities of the United States. He foresaw the future of architecture in his country as being ever less defined by competing regional identities and ever more expressive of the universal ideal of a democratic civilization. Such a civilization would, in his hopeful view, eventually supercede the commercial ethic which then pervaded the national life. Within the whole of western civilization, a work like Carson-Pirie-Scott may be compared to the simultaneous appearance of an Art Nouveau architecture in European capitals. There a parallel development of urbane and largely commercial cultures had produced an unconventional mode of ornamental art not unlike Sullivan's own. This study has suggested

that there were instances of the transfer of fashion in decorative art from Europe to Chicago via the medium of the buying networks of department stores like Schlesinger and Mayer's. However, instead of searching for European influence on the ornamental art of Sullivan and his circle, it might be more accurate to assume that these parallel developments in different centers of artistic innovation were regional expressions of a single encompassing tendency toward a self-consciously modern aesthetic in art and architecture indicative of a trans-national modernity.

What may have linked Sullivan's work in Chicago with simultaneous experiments in Paris and even Vienna was a search for symbols consonant with modern urban bourgeois society as being a condition characteristic of all western cultures by 1900. At this time one critic wrote of Sullivan's work as prophetic of an architecture of the twentieth century which would reflect just such a universal modern condition as the common predicament of both Europe and the United States. Sullivan's critic concluded in 1901 that:

...a fact that must not be overlooked is this: that with the spread of the modern means of communication of thought and matter, in all essentials sectional distinctions are being wiped out, except those arising from climate and other natural conditions, even the influence of national temperament having been reduced to a minimum by the railroad and the telegraph.

The result of this will be that all art of the future must tend toward the expression of the modern cosmopolitan spirit, rather than a distinctively national idea, and that the architectural renaissance so much desired will sweep without much variation about the whole world. 6

The feature of Carson-Pirie-Scott most closely linked with an international commercial culture of 1900 was its base of show windows. Evidence indicates that the image of a plate glass and metal architecture skirting the lower floors of the building was adapted to Chicago from Parisian precedent. The motif of the rounded corner entrance also appears to have been a variation on that of Le Printemps, among the most well-known Parisian department stores of the 1880s. At the same time, however, the show window was a convention highly developed along State Street before Sullivan's intervention. Thus the base of the building in its time was perhaps understood as evidence of both a local context and an international pretension. Above the base the upper elevations were similarly characteristic of State Street architecture by 1898, yet this upper wall has since enjoyed acclaim as a canonical image of a universal modernity of architecture. Thus Sullivan's last major building fulfills the ideal of a great architectural type as developing from distinctive regional origins yet emerging as a work set within the broad history of architecture, independent of these specific origins.

In later accounts of Carson-Pirie-Scott one plainly visible and apparently inconsistent feature of the design is the seemingly sharp disjuncture between the lower story show windows and the upper elevation. Yet the building can be read as a unified design if one considers the original scheme for the whole exterior. In Sullivan's project of

1898, the show windows are subsumed within a traditional tri-partite scheme for the elevation. Their projection formed a continuous base for the upper stories which were in turn crowned by an attic and projecting cornice. The design for Carson-Pirie-Scott thus takes its place among Sullivan's earlier office buildings like the Wainwright where the conventional division of the elevation follows a scheme of base, shaft, and capital derived from the classical orders. Sullivan thus tried to contain the novelty of the show window within a form for the whole building based on a traditional compositional device. The design then presented a formal unity that transcended problems of expression in its commercial program and urban context to recall a monumental type.

The executed building may also be read as a unified design if one considers not only the tri-partite scheme for the elevation, but also the disposition of ornament over its surfaces. The passerby on State Street would first encounter the profuse intricacy of decorative forms enframing the lower show windows and their ornate displays. Looking up the wall from the sidewalk in 1904, he would have seen the theme of the department store as a decorated building carried up through the reveals of upper windows, and culminating in the decorative enrichment of the soffit of the crowning cornice. If the ornamental patterns of the soffit as first built could be recovered and the cornice reconstructed in a future restoration, there would reappear

the wholeness of the original intention for the building. The full range of its ornamented surfaces would then be visible in raking perspective from the street below.

At the time of the store's opening, its upper and lower floors might also have appeared related in their high proportion of plate glass. At the turn of the century the image of a glazed fabric extending over the full height of a steel building would have been a striking novelty. To an observer of that period both the upper and lower stories may have been perceived as a glass and metal architecture. While exposed surfaces of cast metal framed the great sheets of polished plate glass along the street level, the lines of the elevation above showed the steel skeleton holding comparably large areas of glazing in place. The omnipresence of glass over the whole exterior of the building is heightened in the original project rendering of 1898 where both the lower and upper glazing were shown as reflective surfaces. The glass in both the show windows and upper floors was to be held in place with frames of statuary bronze. The architectural effect of such an extent of glass over the whole building may be less evident to later generations, but it may have meant much more to Sullivan's contemporaries, many of whom would have arrived at this metropolitan modern building in a horse and carriage.

The original project for the building in 1898 reveals other inconsistencies with the executed building that may shed light on the possible range of Sullivan's intentions. This scheme featured a white marble veneer rather than a

white enamelled terra cotta surface for the upper floors. The appearance of marble in this original project may be attributable to its use in the pre-existing Schlesinger and Mayer building and to the traditional nineteenth century imagery of department stores along State Street and elsewhere as "marble palaces". In the 1898 project the lower stories were to have been statuary bronze rather than cast iron. The use of marble and bronze in this early scheme suggests a desire for a classical monumentality not unlike that which was then being realized in contemporary examples of academic architecture in Chicago and on the east coast. It is possible to speculate that Sullivan had been affected by the imagery of the Columbian Exposition of 1893 and that he viewed the Schlesinger and Mayer project as an opportunity to erect a marble and bronze building which would have rivalled the architectural effects of contemporary academic production without engaging in an explicit revival of historical forms. Thus Carson-Pirie-Scott, as the building since thought to stand for Sullivan's polemic against an academic classicism, can be interpreted as having been itself partly a response to the image of the White City of 1893. On the other hand, though the formal scheme for the elevation and its materials in the original project derived from classical norms, the same project is notable for the total absence of ornament in its upper stories. The original vision of the upper elevation, even more than the executed building, reads as the direct, uncompromising expression of its steel frame

construction. The design thus alternatively appears as the most polemically modern of Sullivan's major works. The absence of any ornament from the upper stories below the attic and cornice would have been consistent with the intent to exhibit in this building a strikingly new architecture. The original project can be read as both recalling classical canons and as an emphatic statement of an anti-historicism. The dual character of the design for Carson-Pirie-Scott implies the pivotal historical position of Sullivan's work as being on the conceptual edge of a modern architecture. In its day Sullivan's production was perceived as highly unconventional work suggestive of the prescience of a new architecture. Yet in a broader historical perspective, a building like Carson-Pirie-Scott appears never to have entirely escaped traditional conceptions of architecture as classical composition and ornamented construction. In this sense Sullivan's building appears poised between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a pivotal work. Looking through Carson-Pirie-Scott backward in time, one can see the range of developments in theory and construction characteristic of the nineteenth century. Looking through the same building forward in time, one can perceive much of the course of architecture in the coming century. Thus the contradictions evident in the building can be taken as a measure of its historical interest and importance.

Apart from the issue of a compositional wholeness for the building, there still remains a disparity in Carson-Pirie-

Scott, characteristic of much of Sullivan's work, between its structural and its ornamental expression. The work's renown has curiously been based both on its unequivocal revelation of the frame in its upper floors and the virtuosity of the decorative metalwork below, as if these were unrelated achievements. One approach to understanding the appearance of these two modes of architectural effect within the same building may be to recall Sullivan's alternative definitions of style in art. The exhibition of skeletal construction in Carson-Pirie-Scott's upper stories follows from an ideal of rational structural expression which Sullivan inherited from a range of sources in earlier nineteenth century theory. The concept of style underlying this ideal was one which proposed that all forms in nature and man-made works emerged logically from the material conditions of their origin. According to such a material determinism, architectural expression or style had its authenticity in its strict adherence to its conditions of use and construction. Set opposed to this ideal in Sullivan's thought was the romantic conception of style in art as emerging from the intuitive depths of the individual sensibility in response to nature. It was this alternative understanding of style which Sullivan appropriated as the theoretical basis for his ornament as a highly personal mode of expression. The upper elevation and the ornament of Carson-Pirie-Scott could thus be said to demonstrate Sullivan's interpretation of divergent conceptions of style

derived from rational and romantic strains of nineteenth century thought. He apparently internalized both concepts and developed their implications for architecture side by side as evinced in this work.

If Sullivan were alive today and he were asked how he perceived his work to be the resolution of such widely different ideas of style, he might reply that one key to the unity of his intentions would lie in the ideal of an "organic" architecture. The usage of this ever suggestive word in Sullivan's texts could conceivably have brought together both meanings of style. An organic form in nature would be an emergence from the inherent character of a living thing, its "style" deriving from the innate propensities of its being. Hence the tectonic expression of a building arises "organically" from the nature of structure. At the same time the ideal of the organic applied in Sullivan's thought to emergence of the creative identity of the individual artist. This individual's "style" would also develop naturally or "organically" from the cultivation of his inmost sensibilities. Given this encompassing sense of the organic operating in architecture, one can perhaps see how Sullivan would have seen this one principle as a theoretical basis for both tectonic and ornamental expression in building. These two modes of expression were in his mind complementary demonstrations of one unifying concept of form-making.

One important implication of the ideal of an organic architecture was insistent rejection of inherited tradition

or convention alien to the nature of the building problem or to the nature of an individual's sensibilities. The idea of the organic could thus be appropriated as part of a polemic against historicism in architecture. Sullivan and Wright sought to ally their position with a seemingly irrefutable concept whose authority was rooted in nature's laws set against the academic authority of precedent. The "organicism" of a work like Carson-Pirie-Scott would be synonymous with its modernity. Both the unconventionality of its structural expression and its ornamental motifs were consistent with the organic ideal broadly conceived in opposition to the historic styles exhibited in contemporary academic work. The whole work was thus modern because it was organic, its architect having undertaken to work with the elemental effects of trabeated structure and ornament derived from nature. Such effects were explored independent of study of the work of historic styles when earlier architects had worked with these same resources of tectonic and decorative expression to create forms "organically" authentic to their resources and sensibilities. Sullivan evidently saw himself attempting to revive his art through intense cultivation of these elemental means of expression. Their potential for artistic effect he hoped to realize in contemporary building problems and with the most up-to-date of technical means as exemplified in Carson-Pirie-Scott.

Reliance on the organic ideal, however, pre-supposed

a different kind of formal unity than that characteristic of academic architectures. If a building could be conceived as analogous to a living thing, then its form would possess a literal wholeness or continuity of surfaces like a form in nature. This idea of an organic wholeness is distinct from the classical idea of formal unity based on relation of parts to whole, which is the abstract imitation of the sense of right proportion found in living things. A work like Carson-Pirie-Scott appears to conflate the modern ideal of organic wholeness and the traditional ideal of compositional unity. The vertical distension of the corner colonettes and the horizontal continuity of the terra cotta surface across the upper stories are two details which suggest the idea of the building as exhibiting an almost fluid, expressionistic wholeness of form analogous to a living form in nature. At the same time, the tri-partite composition of the elevation and the proportion of the upper windows as precise double squares recall an academic correctness intended to create a formal unity characteristic of classical architectures.

The conflation of apparently inconsistent ideas in the form of Carson-Pirie-Scott as exemplary of Sullivan's architecture appears in the relation of ornament to materials. On one hand Sullivan's view of an organic architecture implied only those manipulations of materials which would enhance the latent expressive potential of their natural properties. As with the expression of structure, the role of the archi-

tect was thus to recognize and intensify the expression of the properties of materials. On the other hand, both Elmslie and Wright observed that in practice Sullivan did not discriminate between terra cotta, cast metal, or wood veneer in his willingness to stamp all materials with the imprint of his distinctive style of ornament.⁷ Sullivan maintained that materials could be viewed as inorganic or lifeless substances to which the creative mind and hand of man imparted the vitality of his imagination.⁸ The architect thus fashioned materials to breath into them the breath of life. These seemingly contradictory ideas are both exhibited in Carson-Pirie-Scott. The character of materials was considered an important factor in the design of ornament throughout the building. At the same time, different materials contained similar ornamental motifs as a means of lending a thematic unity to surfaces throughout the interior and exterior.

A similar intertwining of ideas is implicit in the phrase "the art and craft of the machine". Under this principle, the ideal of truth to materials was extended to a conviction that their use in architecture should also reflect truth to their processes of fabrication. Side by side with the acceptance of mechanization as a means to a new architecture was Sullivan and Wright's reassertion of the romantic ideal of the primacy of the sensibility of the individual artist and the individual craftsman. Their collaboration revived a medieval ideal of artistic

production which was somehow to persist in the context of a transformed building industry. The resulting architecture would thus exhibit a rational adherence to modern processes and a romantic display of individual fancy. Such was the character of the ornamental work in Carson-Pirie-Scott.

Within the ornamental motifs of the building there appear to be other juxtaposed intentions characteristic of Sullivan's decorative art. Central to Chicago thought was the principle that architectural ornament appropriate to modern buildings would consist of the conventionalization of natural forms. Sullivan and his colleagues asserted that conventionalization implied submitting natural forms to the compositional discipline of geometry, with natural forms understood to mean principally plant morphology. Sullivan's invention of ornamental motifs consistent with these precepts resembled the disparate activities of the botanist and the poet. On one hand Sullivan studied the shapes and developmental processes of plant life as if he were a scientist seeking an analytical understanding of nature.⁹ At the same time Sullivan sought in these visible forms the symbolism of an unseen animating power whose spiritual essence transcended its crystallization in nature. In this sense his ornament exhibited the sensibility of a romantic poet. The motifs of a work such as Carson-Pirie-Scott can be seen as literal depictions of natural forms and their developmental processes, such as the seed and its germination to become the tendrils which flower as leaves.

Interlaced with the forms are geometric patterns which are abstractions of natural shapes, as if to suggest the principle of creation which underlay specific foliate motifs. The ornament thus may be said to exhibit an ambivalence on Sullivan's part between his desire to depict intricacies of natural forms which his eye had observed and his mind understood and the desire to conventionalize those forms and thus appropriate them within his personal interpretation of the transcendent realities which underlay their visible shapes. It is perhaps this duality of intention that gives Sullivan's ornament as exemplified in Carson-Pirie-Scott a disturbing and simultaneously alluring quality. It is as if each motif were poised between a literally lifelike and a figuratively abstract rendition of nature.

One related question evident in Sullivan's ornament is its infusion of a sense of the temporality of natural processes into the permanent materials of architecture. Sullivan was said to be fascinated not only with the forms of plant life but with their cycle of growth and decay over time.¹⁰ In the motifs of his ornament such as the stylized wreathes over the corner doors of Carson-Pirie-Scott, there is depicted the emergence of spiral forms, their elaboration, and their eventual dissipation. Such a motif might be interpreted as an allegory in metal which shows developmental processes in nature which can only be perceived over time. The suggestion of temporal cycles of growth and decay is thus crystallized in the surfaces surrounding the

show windows, almost as if the ornament were a commentary on the transience and seasonality of shopping. Such an interpretation would be consistent with the presence of more literally naturalistic motifs on the lower stories such as wreathes, garlands, and other foliage rendered in cast iron. These forms framed similarly temporary decor within the window displays. Ironically both the projecting metal foliage and their floral analogies within the show windows have dissappeared from the building through time. The architectural ornament could thus be said to have captured a sense of the ephemeralness of commercial festivity as comparable to the temporality inherent in all life of the world.

The myriad facets of intention which may have underlay the design of Carson-Pirie-Scott indicate the range and the depth of Sullivan's search for the possibilities of his art in the context of his place and time. In this sense, the building, for all its interrelated facets, possesses a definitive quality. The original project in particular exhibited the conviction of a canonical work whose design suggests a polemic forcefulness and unity of intention. Sullivan appears to have created the Schlesinger and Mayer Store as an authoritative and eloquent expression of his vision of a new architecture as this vision had matured by the turn of the century. The building has since remained a modern affirmation of architecture's powers of self-renewal.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Emile Zola quoted in Michael B. Miller, The Bon Marché; Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920, Princeton 1981, 5. Zola studied the Bon Marché as the canonical Parisian department store as setting for his novel Au bonheur des dames, Paris 1883.
2. Sullivan, The Bayard Building, New York, n.d. (1898?), 7.
3. Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XV, "Thought" (1901), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 50.
4. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" (1896), in Athey (Ed.), op. cit., 202.
5. Root, "Style" (1887), in Hoffmann (Ed.), The Meaning of Architecture, 164.
6. A. W. Barker, "Louis H. Sullivan, Thinker and Architect", Architectural Annual II (1901), 66.
7. F. L. Wright, "Louis H. Sullivan--His Work", Architectural Record LVI (1), July 1924, 29-30. Cf. G. G. Elmslie, "Sullivan Ornamentation", A.I.A. Journal VI (1), July 1946, 156.
8. Sullivan develops this idea of organic form emerging from inorganic materials in his prefatory essay to A System of Architectural Ornament According with a Philosophy of Man's Powers, New York 1924.
9. G. G. Elmslie, "Sullivan Ornamentation", A.I.A. Journal VI (1), July 1946, 156-57.
10. Ibid., 157.

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTARY AND PUBLISHED SOURCES

The surviving documentary sources which include information on the design and construction of Carson-Pirie-Scott include the Copybook of Business Letters of Louis H. Sullivan, April 1 1903-January 9 1905 in the Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago. The copybook contains mostly short instructions from Sullivan's office to the contractor, George A. Fuller Company. The copybooks of Sullivan's business correspondence before and after this period have not survived. The dissolution of the Schlesinger and Mayer firm in May 1904 and subsequent changes in ownership of the building may account for the lack of any surviving business correspondence from the client firm, except for three short notes written by David Mayer in 1896-97 which survive in the Documents Collection of the Chicago Historical Society. Descendants of the Mayer family have indicated that they know of no surviving records of the Schlesinger and Mayer firm. Carson-Pirie-Scott & Co. does maintain a small archive on the firm's history which contains files organized chronologically for the period 1898-1906. These documents refer principally to Carson-Pirie-Scott's search for new quarters which led to their purchase of Sullivan's building in August 1904, with their addition of 1905-06.

As indicated in the notes, the history of the Carson-Pirie-Scott Building and related projects on State Street

may be reconstructed from published sources. The most helpful publication for building activities in Chicago during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is the Economist (1884-1946), whose weekly accounts of real estate transactions and construction projects include building descriptions of almost every major work of commercial architecture that comprise the achievement of the Chicago School. The Inland Architect and News Record (1883-1908) also contains notices of building activity and published renderings with descriptions of commercial projects for this same period. The Construction News (1885-1916), published for the building industry, also contains weekly reports of architects' activities and occasional papers delivered by architects in Chicago which are not reprinted in other sources. The principal published source for real estate and building activity apart from the Economist for this period were the real estate sections of the Chicago Sunday Tribune, supplemented by those of the Sunday Inter Ocean, which document property transfers and include accounts of individual projects.

The periodical devoted to the city's wholesale and retail trade was the Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, which regularly featured stories of building activity of the State Street department stores, as well as accounts of their seasonal openings, marketing techniques, and buying campaigns. The Show Window (1897-1902), which becomes The Merchants Record and Show Window (1903-1939) was devoted almost solely to the arts of window trimming and interior

store decoration, being the official organ of the National Association of Window Trimmers of America. System: The Magazine of Business (1900-1929), devoted part of its coverage to the managerial challenge of the department store at the turn of the century in the context of organizational transformation of commercial activity in other fields. Apart from these periodicals, the weekly advertisements of the State Street department stores in the Sunday editions of Chicago's newspapers, such as the Tribune and the Inter Ocean, contain renderings of their facilities, notices of expansion and plans for remodellings, as well as descriptions of new or renewed facilities when they were opened to the public.

The following is a list of references to the real estate activities of the Schlesinger and Mayer firm, and the design and construction of Sullivan's building in contemporary published sources:

THE CARSON-PIRIE-SCOTT BUILDING (Schlesinger and Mayer Store)

Contemporary Accounts

Architectural Record. Perspective Rendering of 1899 9-story project, Schlesinger and Mayer Store. VIII, April-June, 1899, p. 425.

"Architecture in the Shopping District." Inland Architect XXXIIII, January, 1900, pp. 46-47.

Bragdon, Claude. "Letters from Louis Sullivan," Architecture LXIV, July 1931, pp. 7-10.

Burnham Library/University of Illinois Microfilming Project
Art Institute of Chicago, Roll #4: Carson-Pirie-Scott
Working Drawings of November 18, 1898, Frames 345-394.

Carpam, H.A. "The Riddle of the Tall Building," The Craftsman, April 10, 1896, pp. 196-203, 477-488.

Chicago Architectural Club. Catalogue of the Twelfth Annual Exhibition. Chicago, 1899. Perspective rendering of 1898 13-story project for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, p. 131.

. Catalogue of the 26th Annual Exhibition, Chicago, 1913. Design for a Medallion in Rest Room Screen, Schlesinger and Mayer Store, p. 12.

Chicago Daily News. Advertisements and accounts of the opening of the Schelsinger and Mayer Store:

October 10, 1903, p. 5. Drawing of Lower Corner at Night.

October 14, 1903, p. 3. Drawing of Corner Entrance.

Chicago Sunday Herald. Accounts of Renovations of old Schlesinger and Mayer Store:

July 30, 1893, p. 22. Information on property leasing.

Chicago Inter Ocean. Notices of Schlesinger and Mayer Building Activity:

February 9, 1890, p. 10. Schlesinger and Mayer leases.

July 26, 1891, p. 10. Additions.

August 9, 1891, p. 10. Addition.

May 31, 1896, p. 20. Buys Wabash Avenue land.

July 5, 1896, p. 22. Description, Illustration of Wabash Avenue Store.

September 5, 1897, p. 21. Addition of 2 storys, State Street Store.

September 19, 1897, p. 21. Expands State Street land holdings to No. 145.

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March 27, 1898, p. 19. Occupation of 2nd Floor, Silver-smith Building.

May 29, 1898, p. 20. Early Report on New State Street Building.

June 5, 1898, p. 20. New Building and Powerhouse; Sullivan and Adler.

July 17, 1898, p. 21. Plans.

November 6, 1898, p. 14. Illustrations.

Janaury 1, 1899, p. 9. Plans; Marbles Building built in stages.

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May 7, 1899, p. 19. Leasing of Silversmith Building.

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October 8, 1903, p. 12. Exterior of corner tower base.
October 9, 1903, p. 12. Rendering of building.
October 10, 1903, p. 12. Drawing of cafe interior.
October 11, 1903, p. 8. Invitation to store opening.
October 12, 1903, p. 11. Rendering of first floor.
October 13, 1903, p. 12. Review of building.
October 14, 1903, p. 7. Account of opening of palatial store.
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October 15, 1903, p. 12. Review of building.
October 16, 1903, p. 12. Review of building.
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June 13, 1904, p. 10. H.G. Selfridge and Company established.
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October 7 1903, p. 10.
October 8 1903, p. 10.
October 9 1903, p. 10. Drawing of Cafe Interior.
October 10 1903, p. 10. Rendering of Store at Night.
October 12 1903, p. 2. "Large Crowds at New Big Store"
October 12 1903, p. 10. Drawing of Show Windows.
October 13 1903, p. 10.

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Advertisements for Store Opening:

October 3 1903, p. 8. Drawing of Corner Tower.
October 7 1903.
October 8 1903.
October 9 1903.
October 10 1903. Drawing of Cafe Interior.
October 12 1903.
October 13 1903, p. 3.
October 30 1903, p. 2. Photograph of Restaurant.
November 21 1903. End Page Advertisement.
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- March 9, 1890, p. 28. Alteration of store; no architect mentioned.
- May 4, 1890, p. 26. Advertisement illustration of store to be.
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- May 31, 1896, p. 43. Expansion of Wabash Avenue, Look elevated trains.
- June 28, 1896, p. 39. Leasing of Wabash property; L.H.S. engaged.
- July 5, 1896, p. 38. Illustrated description of Wabash Avenue project.
- August 30, 1896, p. 34. Construction of Wabash Avenue addition.
- September 19, 1897, p. 34. Property leasing, 145 State Street; 1 story add.
- December 26, 1897, p. 8. Advertisement of Wabash Avenue Bridge.
- May 28, 1898, p. 13. New Schlesinger and Mayer store building.
- May 29, 1898, p. 30. Sketch of proposed Schlesinger and Mayer store.
- June 5, 1898, p. 38. Engagement of Dankmar Adler for powerhouse design.
- June 14, 1898, p. 10. Schlesinger and Mayer land sold to Marshall Field.
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- December 31, 1898, p. 22. Year's review of building activity.
- January 1, 1899. Rendering of new Schlesinger and Mayer project.

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December 28, 1902, p. 40. Demolition of old State Street corner.
January 4, 1903, p. 6. Description of new foundation construction.

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October 5, 1903, p. 7. "In Seven Days Another 'Largest Store'".
October 7, 1903, p. 8. Rendering of store with cornucopia.
October 8, 1903, p. 14. Rendering of Madison Street canopy.
October 9, 1903, p. 8. Drawing of restaurant interior.
October 10, 1903, p. 5. Drawing of corner tower.
October 11, 1903, p. 53. Rendering of store with invitation.
October 12, 1903, p. 8. Drawing of street show window frame.

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- (3) February 8, 1890, p. 139. Schlesinger and Mayer property acquisition.
- (3) March 22, 1890, p. 348. Adler and Sullivan alterations to store.
- (3) May 24, 1890, p. 651. Planning of levels in State Street stores.
- (4) August 16, 1890, p. 258. Description of Schlesinger and Mayer store.
- (5) January 1, 1891, p. 19. Additions to State Street stores.
- (5) February 21, 1891. Description of Schlesinger and Mayer expansion.
- (15) May 30, 1896, p. 666. Acquisition of new property on State Street.
- (15) June 13, 1896, p. 728-9. Expansion of State Street stores.
- (15) June 27, 1896, p. 789. Completion of renovation plans.
- (16) July 11, 1896, p. 47. Madison Street property acquisitions.

- (16) August 8, 1896, p. 161-2. Improvement of Schlesinger and Mayer's.
- (16) September 19, 1896, p. 310.
- (17) February 20, 1897, p. 190-1. Controversy over department stores.
- (17) February 27, 1897, p. 224. Leasing of Wabash Avenue property.
- (17) March 13, 1897, p. 274. Additions proposed for 141-3 State Street.
- (18) September 18, 1897, p. 319. Addition construction completed.
- (18) December 31, 1897, p. 757. Acquisition of 145 State Street.
- (19) May 28, 1898, p. 612. Sullivan working on building plans.
- (19) June 4, 1898, p. 644. Adler commissioned to design powerhouse.
- (20) July 16, 1898, p. 77. Property acquisition, design preparation.
- (20) July 23, 1898, p. 105. Schlesinger and Mayer property value.
- (20) November 5, 1898, p. 538. Pe-mit issued for construction.
- (20) December 10, 1898, p. 676. Carson-Pirie-Scott building plans.
- (20) December 24, 1898, p. 736. Description of proposed new store.
- (20) December 31, 1898, p. 772. Completion of working drawings.
- (21) February 4, 1899, p. 141. Carson-Pirie-Scott & Co., building.
- (21) April 8, 1899, p. 423. Awarding of construction contract.
- (21) May 6, 1899, p. 552. Schlesinger and Mayer property expansion.
- (22) October 7, 1899, p. 419. Description of work in progress.
- (22) November 11, 1899, p. 567. Extension of Carson-Pirie-Scott.
- (22) December 9, 1899, p. 685. First section of new S & M store opened.
- (23) June 30, 1900, p. 778. State Street real estate developments.
- (24) December 8, 1900, p. 659. Carson-Pirie-Scott lease Relianc Bldg.
- (27) March 1, 1902, p. 264. Controversy over store building height.
- (27) April 5, 1902, p. 435. Permit for addition of upper floors.
- (27) June 14, 1902, p. 763. Plan for Schlesinger and Mayer merger.
- (28) August 23, 1902, p. 149. Sullivan developing plans.
- (29) March 21, 1903, p. 381. Construction progressing on corner.

- (29)April 11, 1903, p. 481. Carson-Pirie-Scott expands property.
- (29)April 18, 1903, p. 516. Building of second section to begin.
- (29)May 23, 1903, p. 687. Demolition of existing corner structure.
- (29)May 23, 1903, p. 702. Mayer leases ground at 155 State Street.
- (29)June 10, 1903, p. 49. Property negotiations on State Street.
- (29)June 20, 1903, p. 823. David Mayer privately acquires property.
- (29)June 17, 1903, p. 856. Smaller stores lease State Street space.
- (30)July 3, 1903, p. 16-7. Carson-Pirie-Scott property acquisition.
- (30)August 15, 1903, pp. 210-211. Leasing of property at 155 State Street.
- (30)August 22, 1903, p. 242. David Mayer acquires new properties.
- (31)February 20, 1904, p. 254. Basement renovation of building.
- (31)May 14, 1904, p. 1. Selfridge buys Schlesinger and Mayer.
- (31)June 18, 1904, p. 859-60. Sale of Schlesinger and Mayer lands.
- (32)August 13, 1904, pp. 212-3. Selfridge sells to Carson-Pirie-Scott.
- (32)September 24, 1904, p. 407. Carson-Pirie-Scott moves in.
- (32)December 31, 1904, p. 871. Carson-Pirie-Scott expands property.
- (33)January 14, 1905, p. 51. Carson-Pirie-Scott expand property.
- (33)April 1, 1905, p. 461. David Mayer enters real estate business.
- (34)July 22, 1905, p. 131. Mayer finances new office building.
- (36)July 14, 1906, p. 56. Selfridge plans London department store.
- (36)December 8, 1906, p. 881. Madison Street property transfers.

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APPENDIX B

DRAWINGS OF THE SCHLESINGER AND MAYER STORE

The principal collection of reproductions of original drawings for the Schlesinger and Mayer Store is that contained within the Burnham Library-University of Illinois Architectural Microfilming Project housed at the Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago. In June 1952, a set of fifty blueprints of Sullivan's original linen working drawings for the 1898 project for the building was loaned to the Microfilming Project by the office of Holabird, Root, and Burgee. These were microfilmed with the blueprints returned to Holabird, Root and Burgee, where they were subsequently destroyed by water damage. The original linen drawings, from which the blueprints and microfilm copies derive, have not been located, though they are rumored to exist. The only surviving original drawing for the project was that for an ornamental cast iron spandrel in the Frank Lloyd Wright Collection of Louis Sullivan drawings at Avery Library (Catalogue No. FLLW/LHS 100), published with catalogue entry in Paul Sprague, The Drawings of Louis Henry Sullivan, Princeton 1978, Drawing No. 114. An alternative dating, attribution, and discussion of the subject of this sheet is offered in Chapter III, pp. 149-50, which asserts that the sheet was most likely a preparatory study by Elmslie for ornamental detail shown on the 1898 microfilmed working drawings. For the later phase of the project in 1902-03, John Vinci, A.I.A., architect for the restoration of

the building in 1979, has preserved blue and black line prints of selected drawings from Sullivan's office. The original linen sheets from which these prints were made were in the office of the house architect of Carson-Pirie-Scott, though these are no longer to be found.

The following is a list of the microfilmed drawings of the Schlesinger and Mayer Store, Roll No. 4: Adler and Sullivan & Louis H. Sullivan, Burnham Library/University of Illinois Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago. Unless otherwise indicated, drawings listed bear the date November 16, 1898.

<u>Microfilm Frame No.</u>	<u>Subject of Drawing</u>	<u>Scale</u>
345	Floor Plan of Basement Level	(1/8"=1')
346	Floor Plan of Street Level	"
347	Second Floor Plan	"
348	Third Floor Plan	"
349	Fourth Floor Plan	"
350	Fifth Floor Plan	"
351	Sixth Floor Plan	"
352	Seventh Floor Plan	"
353	Eighth Floor Plan	"
354	Ninth Floor Plan	"
355	Roof Plan	"
356	State Street (West) Elevation	"
357	Madison Street (North) Elevation	"
358	Alley (East) Elevation	"
359	South Elevation	"
360	Longitudinal (North-South) Section	"
361	Transverse (East-West) Section	"
362	Plan of Corner Show Window and Adjacent Entrance Vestibule	(1/2"=1')

<u>Microfilm Frame No.</u>	<u>Subject of Drawing</u>	<u>Scale</u>
363	Elevation of Lower Stories Corner Show Window	(1/2"=1')
364	State Street (North) Vestibule Plan and Section	"
365	State Street (South) Vestibule Plan and Ceiling Plans	"
366	State Street (South) Vestibule Section through Stairway	"
367	Madison Street (East) Vestibule Plan and Elevation	"
368	Madison Street (East) Vestibule Section through Entrance	"
369	Elevation of Lower Stories at East End of Madison Street Front	"
370	Madison Street Canopy Details Roof Plan, Elevation, and Section	"
371	Main Interior Stairway Plan	"
372	Main Interior Stairway Elevation	"
373	Main Interior Stairway Section	"
374	Southeast Stairway Plan	"
375	Southeast Stairway Elevation	"
376	Northeast Stairway Plan	"
377	Northeast Stairway Elevation	"
378	Elevator Enclosure Details Typical Plan and Elevation Floors 1-6	"
379	Elevator Enclosure Details Typical Plan and Elevation Floors 7-9	"
380	Women's Toilet Room on Third Floor Elevation of North and South Walls	"
381	Rounded Corner Details at Ninth Floor Wall Section and Exterior Elevation	"
382	Rounded Corner Plan at Ninth Floor Ceiling Plan and Sill Level Plan	(1/4"-1')

<u>Microfilm Frame No.</u>	<u>Subject of Drawing</u>	<u>Scale</u>
383 (Date 12-22- 98)	Miscellaneous Wall Section Details, Window Sills, Heads, and Lower Story Cornice	(1/2"=1')
384 (Date 12-5- 98)	Roof and Typical Floor Con- struction, Steel and Clay Tile Fireproofing Detail	(3"=1')
385	Plan of Upper Floor Window Showing Assembly of Mullion and Fixture Details	FULL SIZE
386	Section through Upper Window Head Showing Detail of Marble Curtain Wall Section	FULL SIZE
387	South Wall Construction Details	?
388	East Wall Construction Details	?
389	Rounded Corner Base Detail at Third Floor Plan and Section of Marble Colonette Base	FULL SIZE
390	Rounded Corner Detail of Curtain Wall Between Colonette and Windows	FULL SIZE
391	Marble Column Base Molding Detail Ninth Story Window Sills	?
392	Window Head at Ninth Story Detail Wall Section	?
393	Typical Interior Column Plan	FULL SIZE
394	Window Sill at Ninth Story Detail Wall Section	?

The following is a list of prints of original drawings for the Schlesinger and Mayer Building in possession of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago. Section numbers refer to the three sections of the construction. Section 1: East Three Bays on Madison Street (1899); Section 2: Corner and Adjacent Three Bays on State and Madison Streets (1903); Section 3: South Four Bays on State Street (1903).

<u>Subject of Drawing</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>Date(s) on Drawing</u>
Mezzanine Level Plan for Section 3	(1/8"=1')	November 3 1902 Rev. December 1 1902
Roof Plan for Sections 2 and 3	(1/8"=1')	October 25 1902 Rev. December 10 1902
Longitudinal (North-South) Section for Section No. 1	(1/8"=1')	April 8 1899
State Street (West) Elevation for Section 2	(1/8"=1')	September 15 1902 Rev. October 14 1902
Floor and Ceiling Plan of Corner Entrance Vestibule	(1/2"=1')	September 15 1902 Rev. January 9 1903
Ceiling Plan and Elevation of Finishes in Corner Entrance and Show Windows	(1/2"=1')	September 15 1902 Rev. January 9 1903
Details of State Street (South) Vestibule	(1/2"=1')	November 10 1902 Rev. January 9 1903
Plan for Women's Rest Room, Lavatory, and Toilet Room in Third Floor Corner	(1/2"=1')	December 24 1902
Interior Elevation of Women's Rest Room, Lavatory, and Toilet Room in Third Floor Corner	(1/2"=1')	December 24 1902
Sections through Women's Rest Room, Lavatory, and Toilet Room in Third Floor Corner	(1/2"=1')	December 24 1902
Ceiling Plan and Interior Elevation of Ornamental Screen in Third Floor Rest Room	(1/2"=1')	N.D.
Interior Elevations of Trim and Ornamental Wood Screen in Eighth Floor Restaurant	(1/2"=1')	June 5(?) / 9(?) 1903

<u>Subject of Drawing</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>Date(s) on Drawing</u>
Interior Elevations and Sections of Wood Trim in Eighth Floor Restaurant	(1/2"=1')	June 6 1903
Plan and Elevation of Musicians Stand at South End of Eighth Floor Restaurant		July 27 1903
Plan, Interior Elevation, and Section of Ninth Floor Corner Rest and Toilet Rooms	(1/2"=1')	December 29 1902
Interior Elevation and Section through Ninth Floor Corner Rest and Toilet Rooms	(1/2"=1')	December 29 1902

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26. Schlesinger and Mayer Building (1898 Project). Alley (East) Elevation. Source: Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
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30. Schlesinger and Mayer Building (1898 Project). Main Interior Stairway. Source: Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
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32. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Madison Street Section as Completed 1899. Source: Inland Architect and News Record XXXIV(6), January 1900.
33. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Madison Street Section, Detail of Lower Stories. Source: Inland Architect and News Record XXXIV(6), January 1900.
34. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Madison Street Station, Upper Window Reveal. Source: Carson-Pirie-Scott File, Richard Nickel Archive, John Vinci, A.I.A.
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50. Carson-Pirie-Scott Building. Project for South Addition, State Street (1960-61). Holabird and Root, Architects. Source: Carl Condit, The Chicago School of Architecture, Chicago 1964.

CHAPTER IV

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2. Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building, World's Columbian Exposition (1893). George B. Post, Architect. Source: Engineering Magazine.
3. Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building. Interior View. Source:
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15. Interior Decoration, Horn of Plenty. Marshall Field & Co. (c.1905).
16. Schlesinger and Mayer Building (1898 Project). Street Level Plan. Source: Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

17. Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Interior Elevations of Show Windows (1902). Source: Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
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22. Bayard Building (1897), New York. Study of Lower Elevation Attributed to George Elmslie.
23. Sketch of Schlesinger and Mayer's Proposed Building (1898). Source: Chicago Tribune LVII, May 29, 1898.
24. Mandel Brothers Store Renovation as Completed in 1898. Source: "Modernizing Commercial Buildings", Inland Architect and News Record XXXII(2), September 1898.
25. Schlesinger and Mayer Building (1898 Project). Corner Show Window Plan. Source: Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
26. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Detail of Ornamental Iron Work from Photograph of 1904. Source: Richard Nickel Archive, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
27. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. View of Ornamental Iron Work in Lower Stories. Source: Architectural Record XVI(1), July 1904.
28. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Detail of Ornamental Iron Work Above First Story Show Windows. Source: Richard Nickel Archive, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
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30. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Detail of Ornamental Iron Work Atop Lower Story Columns. Source: Richard Nickel Archive, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.

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32. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Detail of Ornamental Iron Work Over Corner Doors. Source: Louis Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, New York, 1956 Edition.
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62. Retail Clothing Store, Wabash Avenue and Madison Streets (1897), Showing Effect of Luxfer Prismatic Glass on Interior Illumination. Source: Architectural Reviewer (Chicago) I(1), February 1897.
63. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. View of Upper Elevation on State Street. Source: Richard Nickel Archive, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
64. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. View of Second Floor Sales Room Showing Position of Arc Lamps. Source: Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
65. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Ornamental Fixture for Typical Arc Lamp. Source: Architectural Record XVI(1), July 1904.
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70. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Details of Column Capitals on First and Second Floors (Bottom) and Third and Fourth Floors (Top). Source: Richard Nickel Archive, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
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81. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Photograph of Third Floor Rest Room (n.d.) Source: Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
82. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Ornamental Wood Screen in Eighth Floor Restaurant. Source: Architectural Record XVI(1), July 1904.
83. Simpson-Crawford-Simpson Store, New York. Restaurant Interior (c.1903). Source: Dry Goods Economist (New York) LVII, October 24, 1903.
84. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Drawing of Ornamental Wood Screen for Eighth Floor Restaurant (1902). Source: Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.

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95. World's Columbian Exposition (1893), Chicago. View Showing Gondoliers on Grand Basin.
96. Advertisement for Schlesinger and Mayer Store Opening (1903). Source: Chicago Daily News, October 10, 1903.

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4. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Detail of Ornamental Iron Work Showing Monogram of Louis Sullivan. Source: Richard Nickel Archive, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A.
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8. Guaranty (Prudential) Building. Source: Architectural Annual II (1901).
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10. Carson-Pirie-Scott Building. Burnham Addition. Vertical Section through Upper Wall Spandrel. Photograph of Linen Working Drawing by D. H. Burnham & Co. c.1905. Source: Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
11. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Horizontal Section at Juncture of Sullivan and Burnham Structures. Source: Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
12. Carson-Pirie-Scott Building. Burnham Addition. Section through Cornice. Photograph of Linen Working Drawing by D. H. Burnham & Co. c. 1905. Source: Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.

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14. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Ornamental Terra Cotta in Upper Window Reveal. Source: Richard Nickel Archive, Office of John Vinci, A.I.A., Chicago.
15. John Ruskin. Drawing of Gothic Ornamental Detail. Source: John Unrau, Looking at Architecture with Ruskin, London 197 .
16. Montgomery Ward Warehouse (1906-08), Chicago. Schmidt, Garden, and Martin, Architects. Source: Carl Condit, The Chicago School of Architecture, Chicago.
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36. Sullivan. Image of Set Back Skyscraper City (1891). Source: Society of Architectural Historians Journal XXIX(2), May 1970.

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38. Schlesinger and Mayer Building. Rendering of Project as Envisioned in 1902. Source: Inland Architect and News Record XLI(5), June 1903.

CHAPTER VI

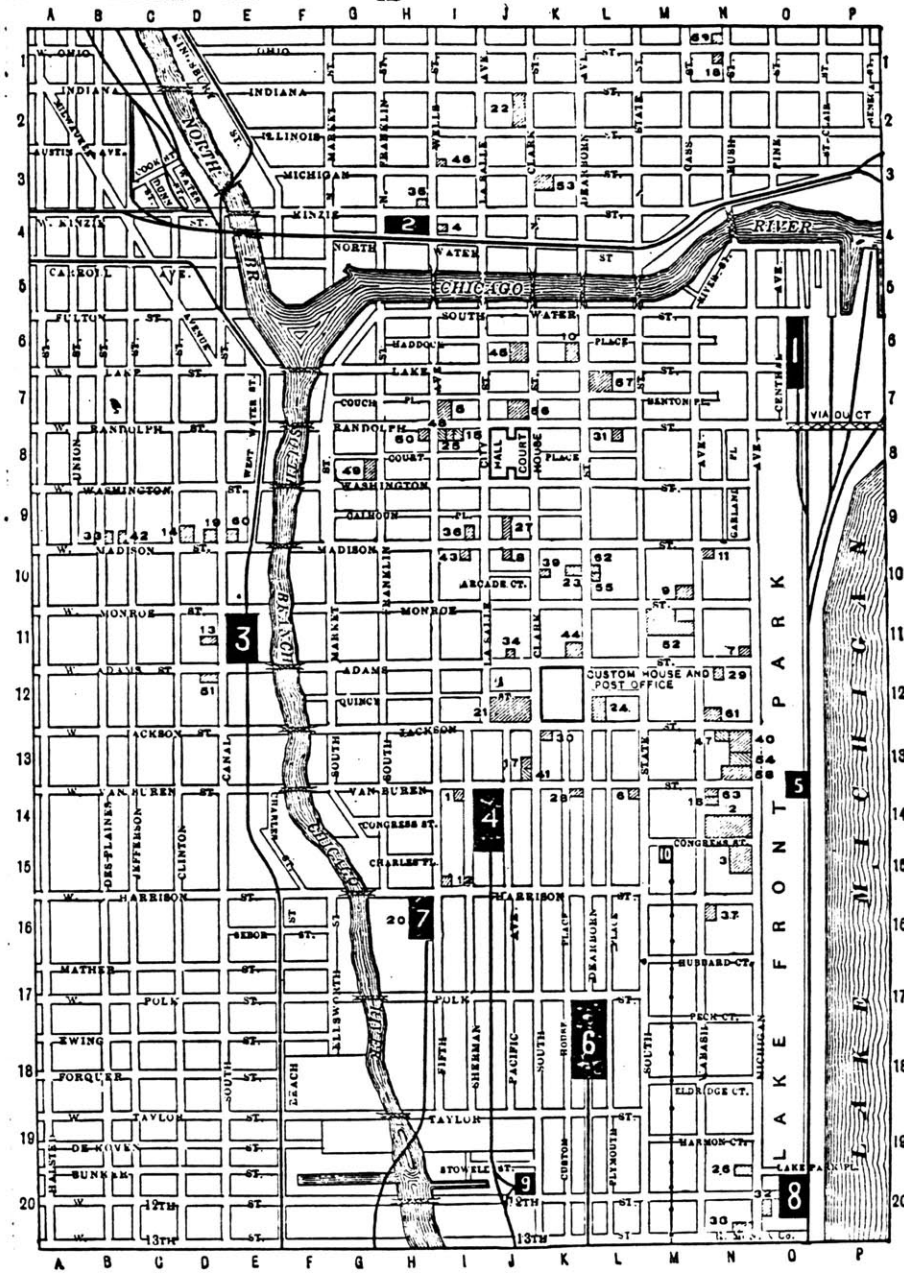
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3. (First) Leiter Building (1879-80), Chicago. William LeBaron Jenney, Architect. Source: Donald Hoffman, The Architecture of John Wellborn Root, Baltimore 1973.
4. Store for Martin Ryerson (1884-85), Randolph Street, Chicago. Source: American Architect and Building News XVII (451), March 14, 1885.
5. Auditorium Building, Chicago. Studies of Exterior Massing and Elevations. Source: Hugh Morrison, Louis Sullivan, New York 1935.
6. Auditorium Building (1887-89), Chicago. Adler and Sullivan, Architects. Source: Edward A. Garczynski, The Auditorium, Chicago 1890.
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10. Meyer Building. Rendering of Original Project. Source: Inland Architect and News Record XIX(3), April 1892.
11. Walker Warehouse (1888-89), South Market Street, Chicago. Adler and Sullivan, Architects. Source: Louis Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, 1956 Edition.

12. Chicago Stock Exchange Building (1893-94), Chicago. Original Project Rendering. Adler and Sullivan, Architects. Source: Inland Architect and News Record.
13. Ashland Block (1891-92), Chicago. Burnham and Root, Architects. Source: Carl Condit, The Chicago School of Architecture, Chicago 1964.
14. Chicago Stock Exchange Building. Detail of Upper Stories. Source: John Vinci, The Chicago Stock Exchange Trading Room. Chicago 1977.
15. Frank Lloyd Wright. Project for American Luxfer Prism Company, Chicago (1894). Source: Henry Russell Hitchcock, In the Nature of Materials, New York 1941.
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21. Gage Facade (1898-99), Chicago. Louis Sullivan, Architect. Source: Inland Architect and News Record XXXIII (2), March 1899.
22. McCormick Improvement on Michigan Avenue. Original Project of 1898. Source: Chicago Tribune, October 16, 1898.
23. McCormick Building (1898-99), Chicago. Working Drawing of Upper Elevation. Holabird and Roche, Architects. Source: Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
24. McCormick Building (1898-99), Chicago. Working Drawing for Ornamental Iron Front. Holabird and Roche, Architects. Source: Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

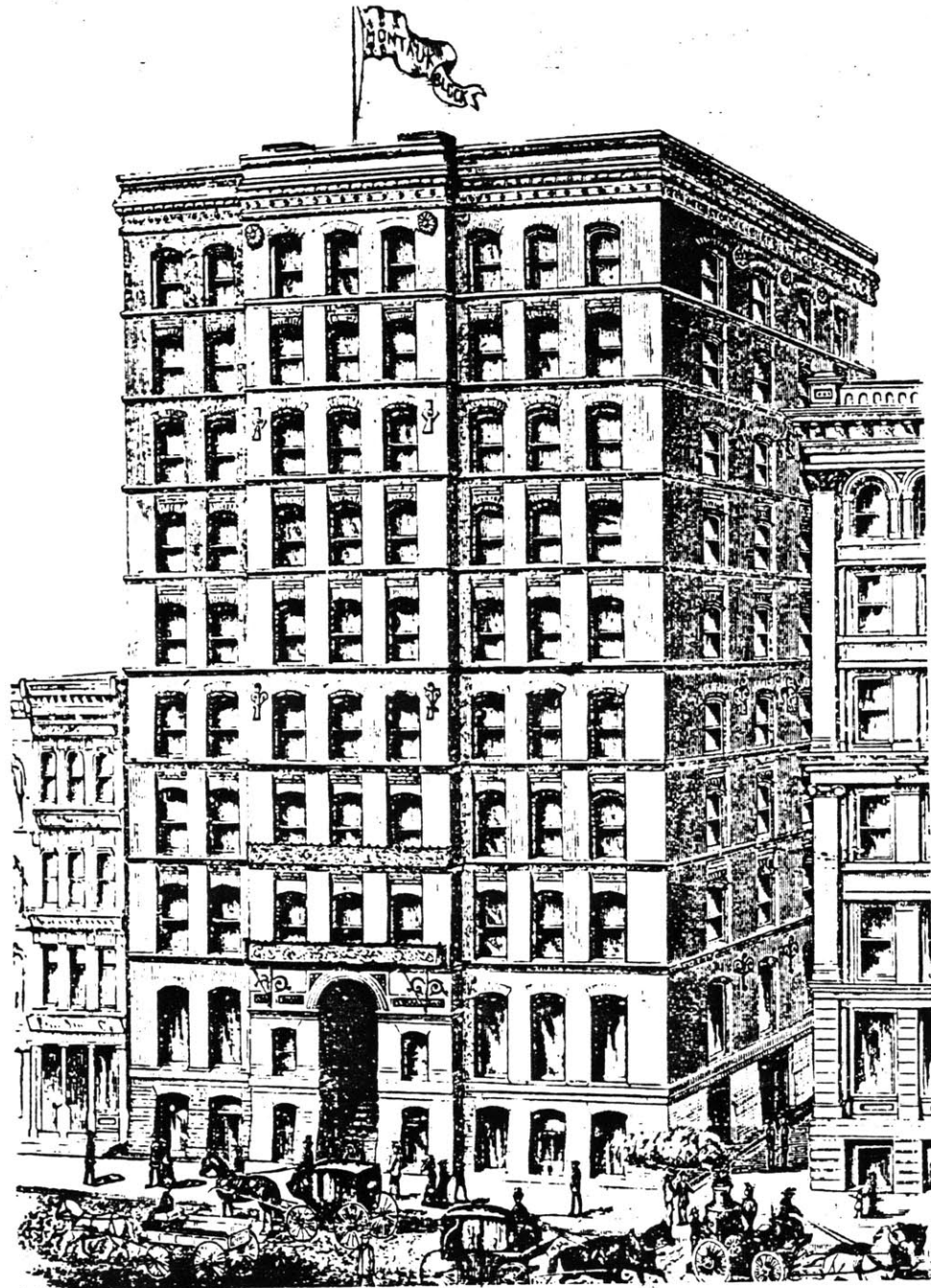
25. Gage Facade. Clay Model of Ornamental Iron Spandrel Panel Above First Floor. Source: Architectural Annual (Philadelphia) II, 1901.
26. Gage Facade. Study of Ornamental Motif Above Entrance. (c.1899). Source: Paul Sprague, The Drawings of Louis Henry Sullivan, Princeton 1978.
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28. Ayer Building. Original Project Rendering. Source: Chicago Tribune LVII, October 2, 1898.
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30. John D. Van Allen & Sons Store Building (1911-14), Clinton, Iowa. Construction Photograph. Louis Sullivan, Architect. Source: Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
31. John D. Van Allen & Sons Store Building. Source: Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
32. John D. Van Allen & Sons Store Building. Detail of Ornamental Pier Base. Source: Courtesy of Craig Zabel, School of Architecture, University of Virginia.
33. John D. Van Allen & Sons Store Building. Temporary Decoration of South Facade. Source: Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago.
34. John D. Van Allen & Sons Store Building. Interior of Main Floor. Source: Courtesy of Craig Zabel, School of Architecture, University of Virginia.

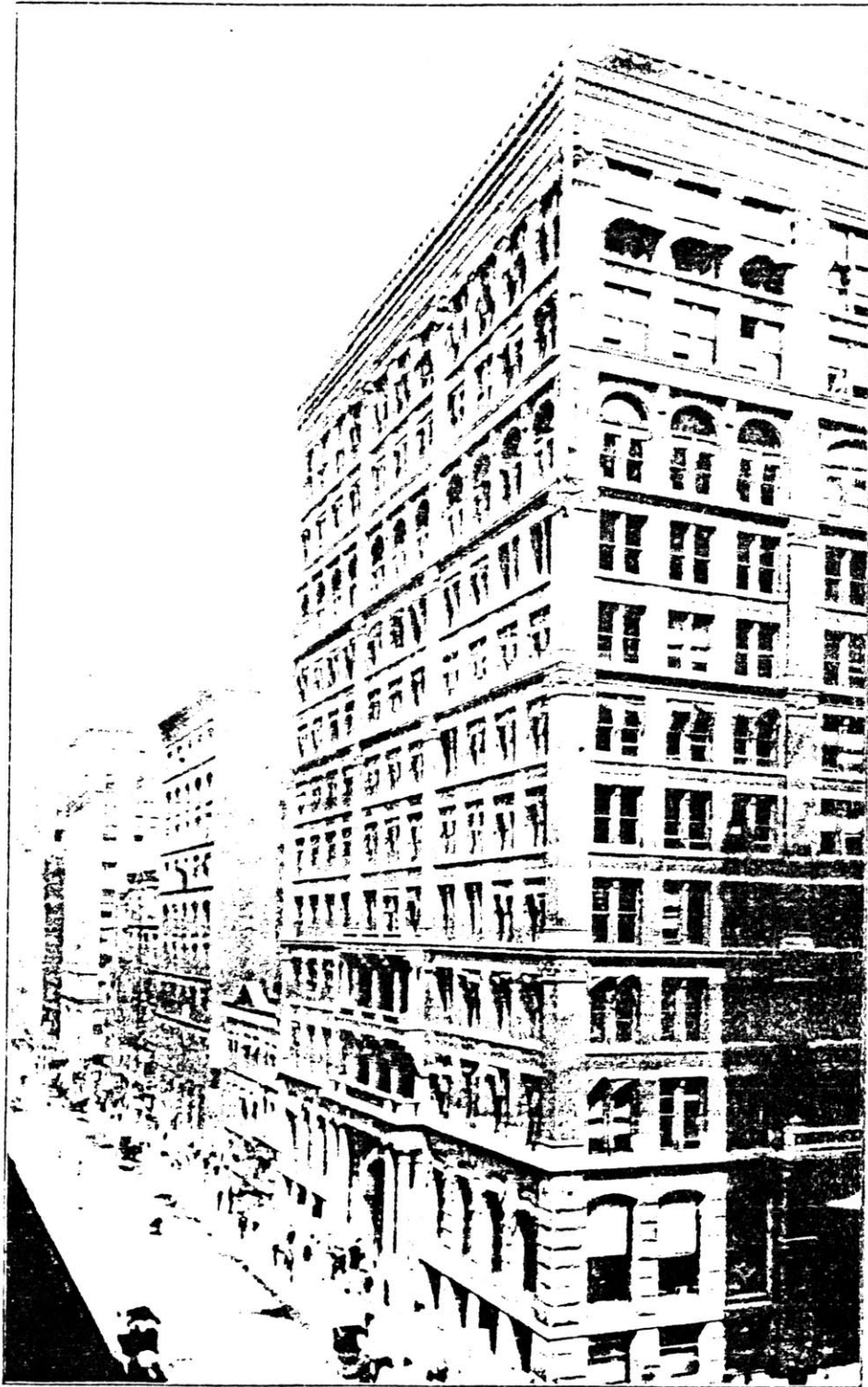
THE CARSON-PIRIE-SCOTT BUILDING IN CHICAGO

ILLUSTRATIONS



LOCATION OF DEPOTS AND HOTELS



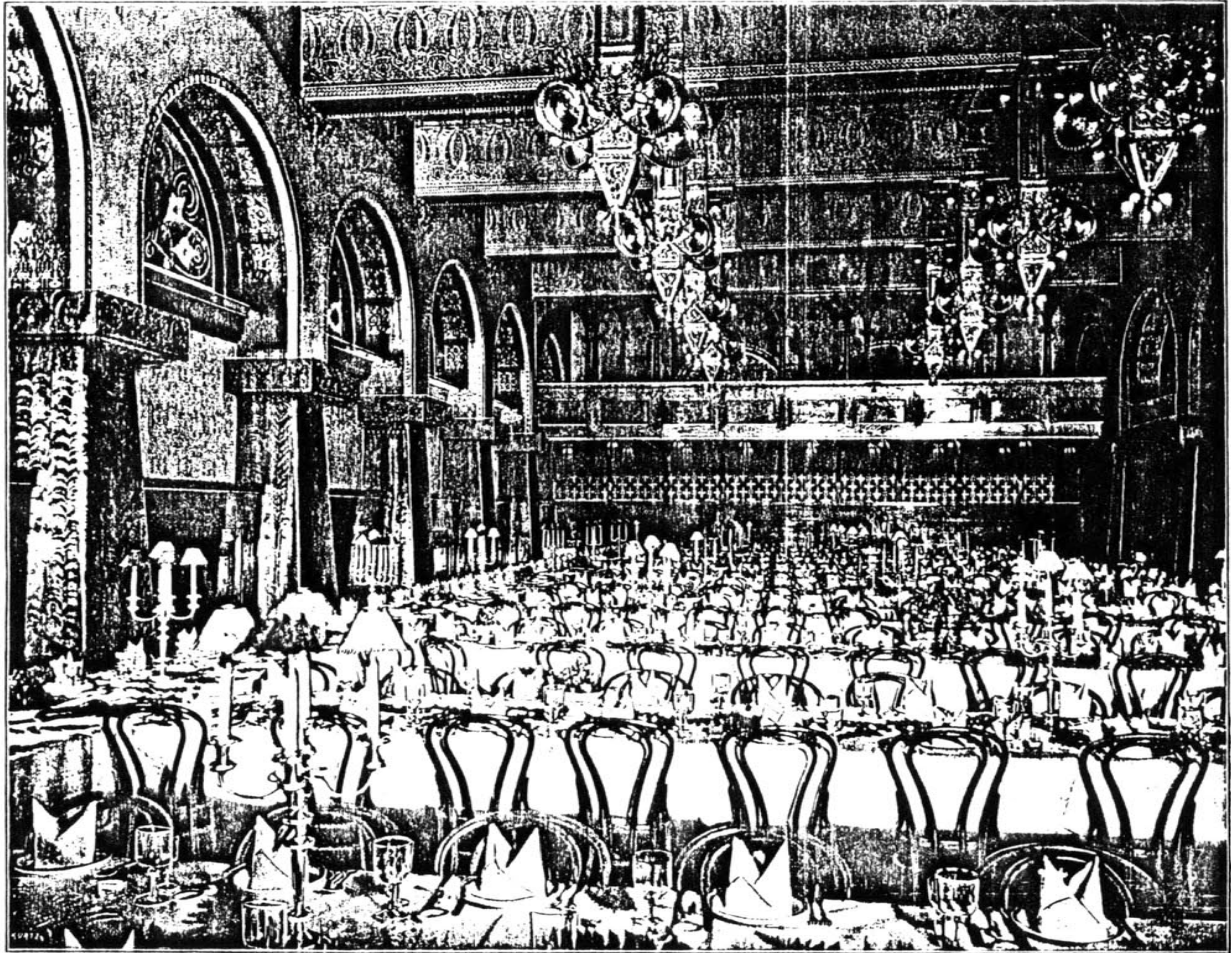


ILL. 1.—HOME INSURANCE BUILDING. GENERAL VIEW.

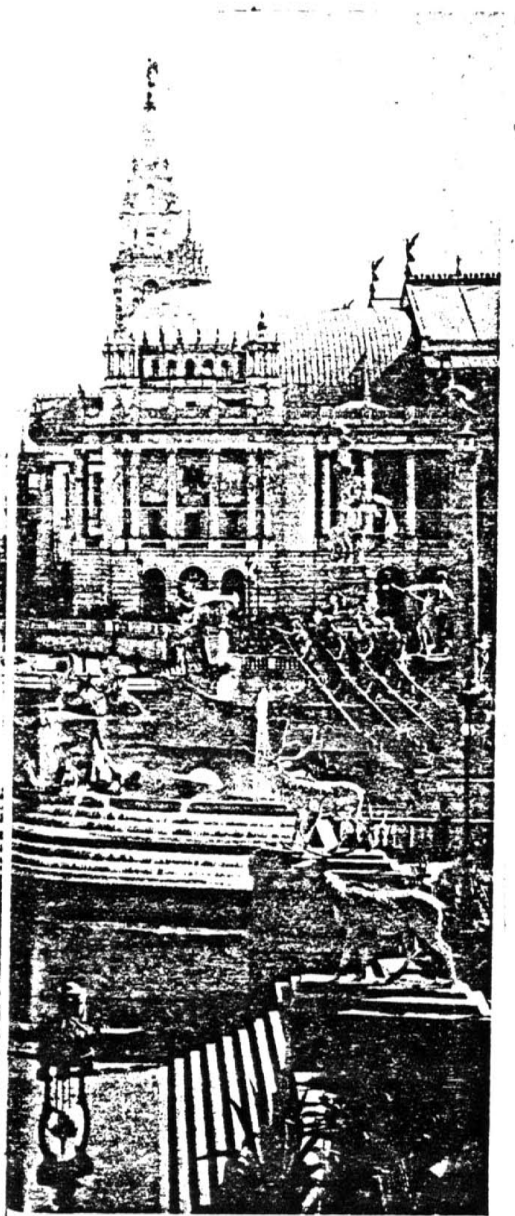
Chicago.

W. L. B. Jenney, Architect.

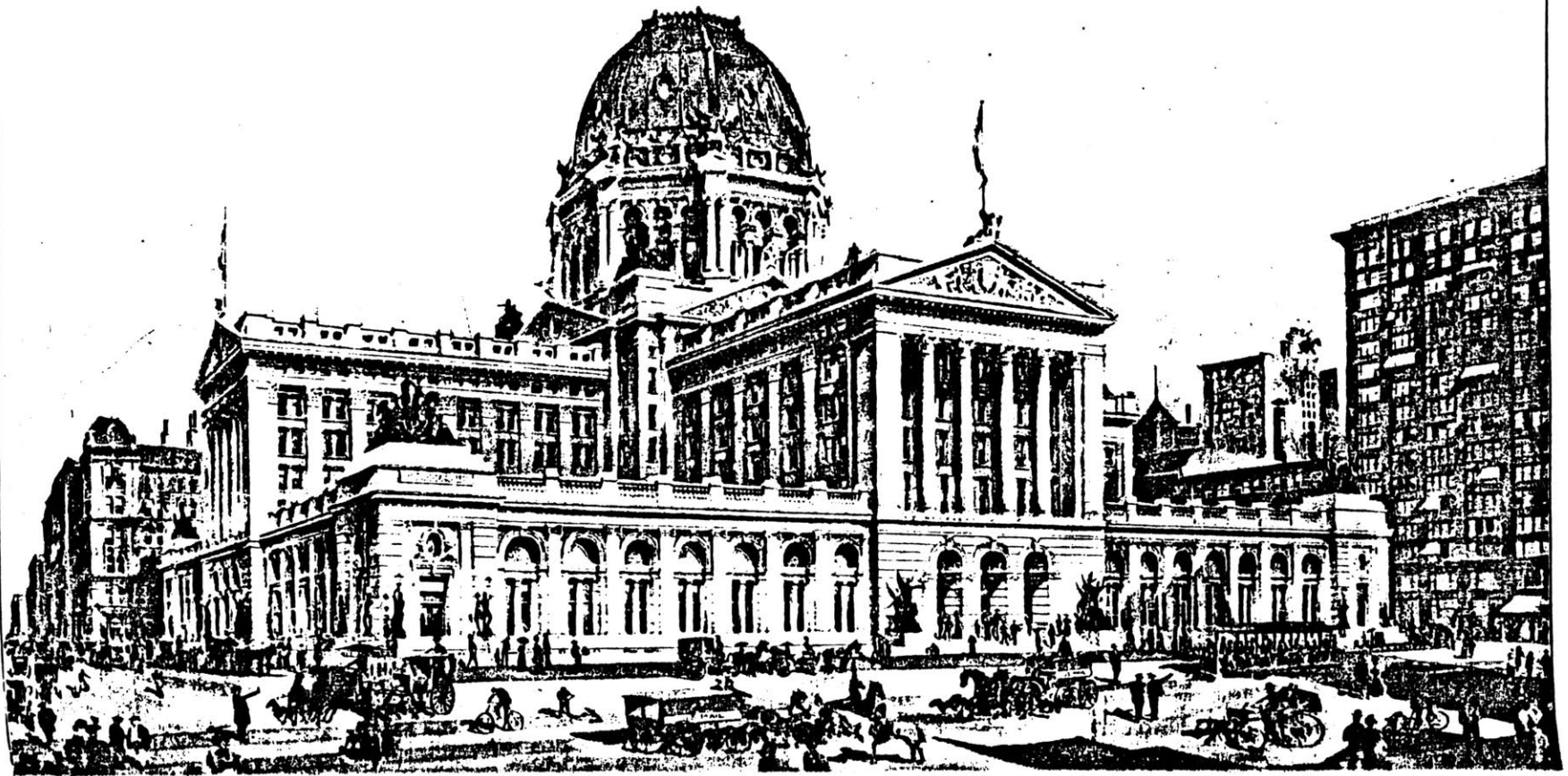


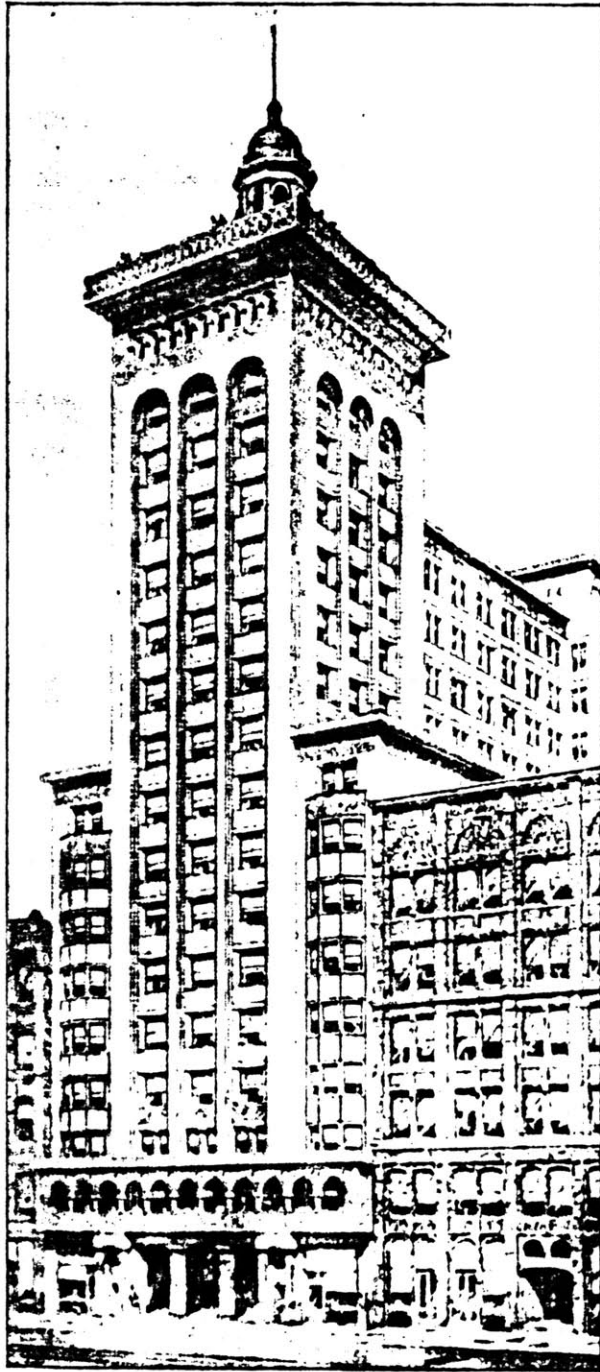


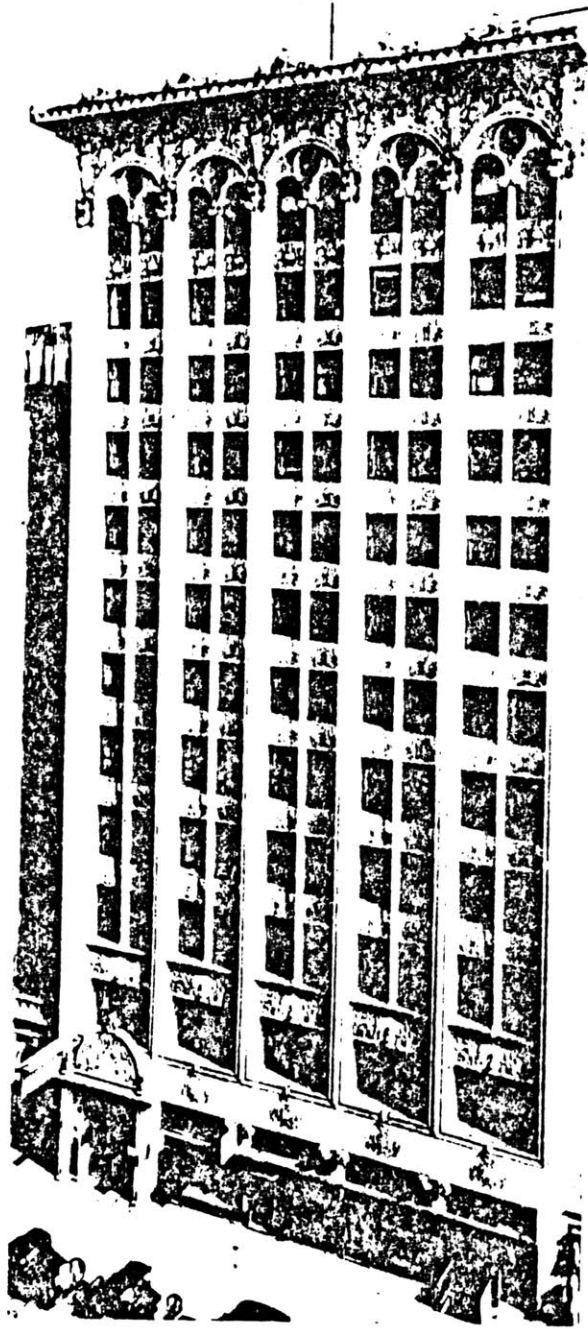
I-5



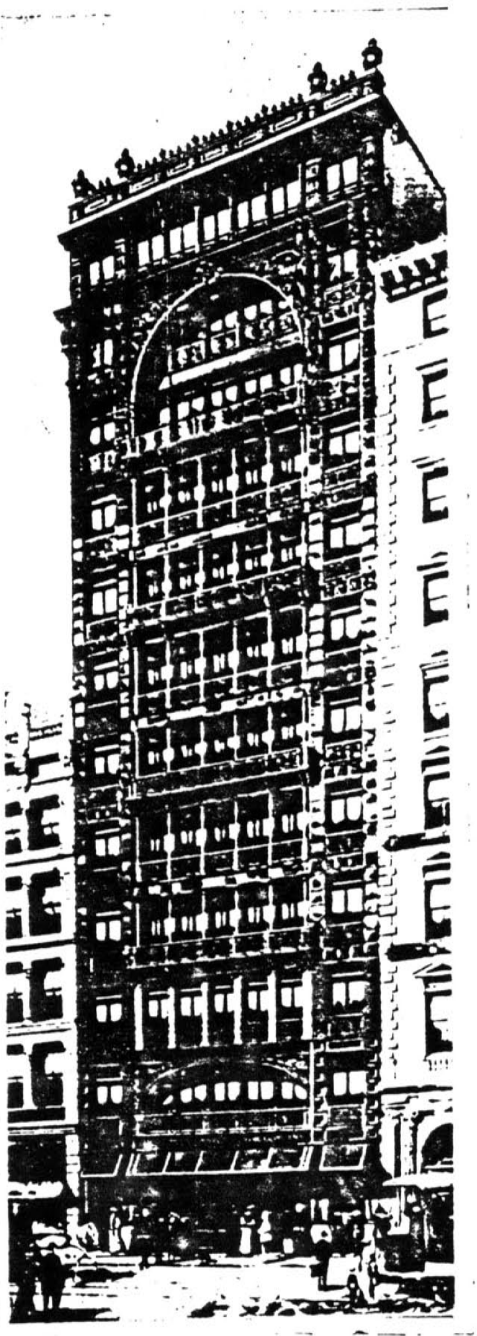
New Post Office
and Custom House
Chicago

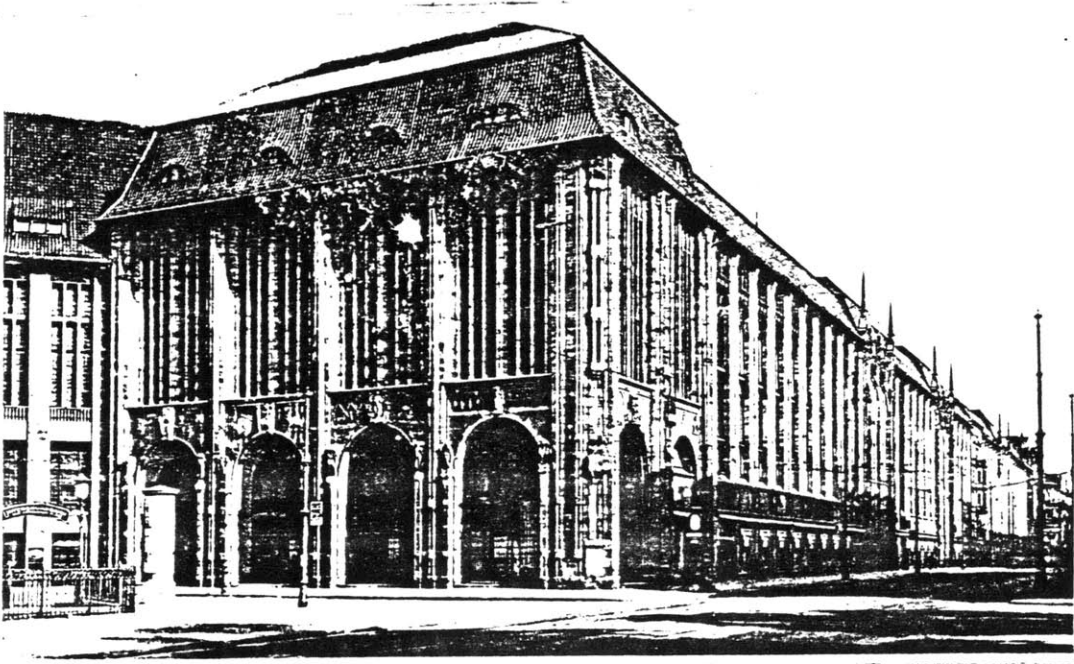


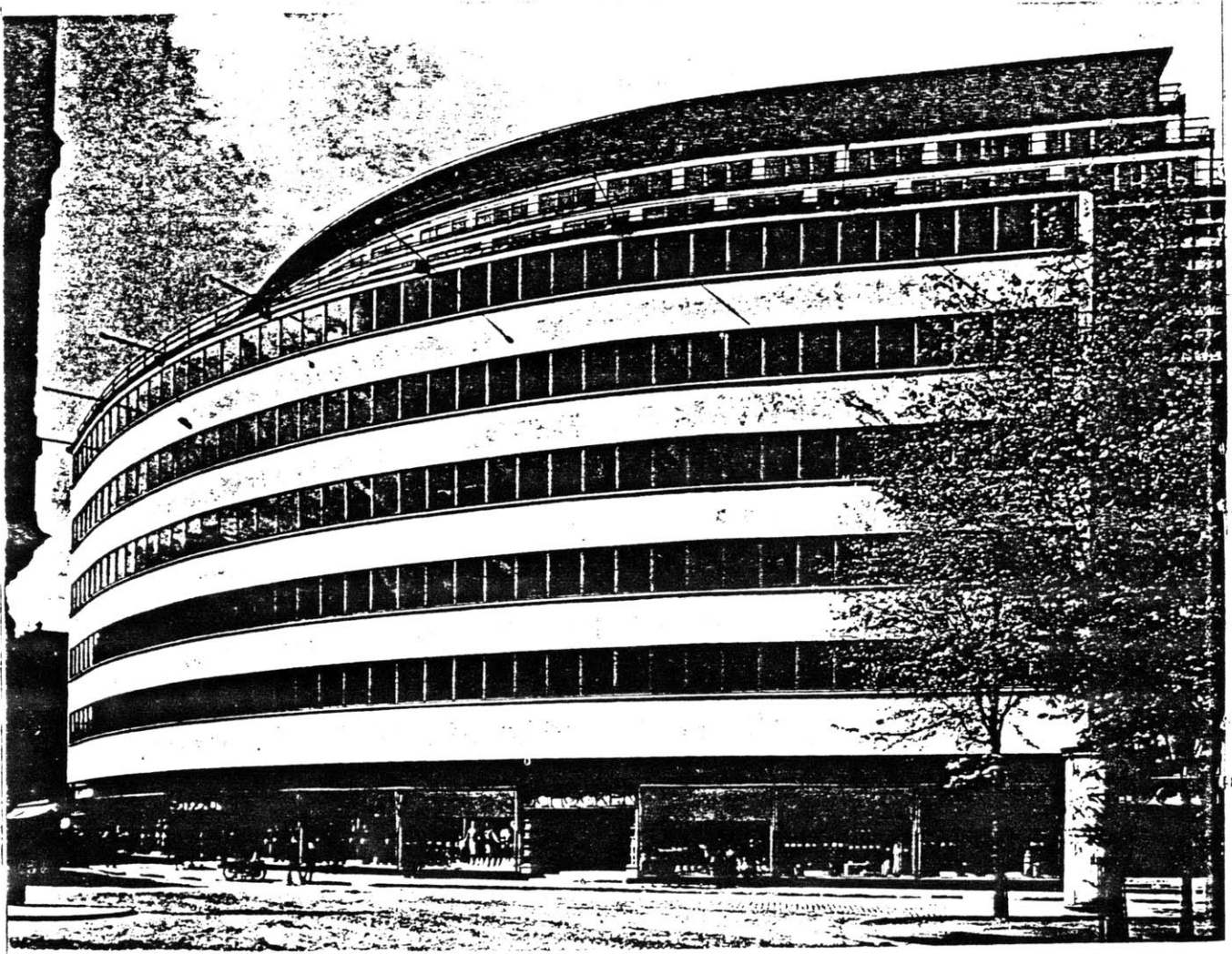


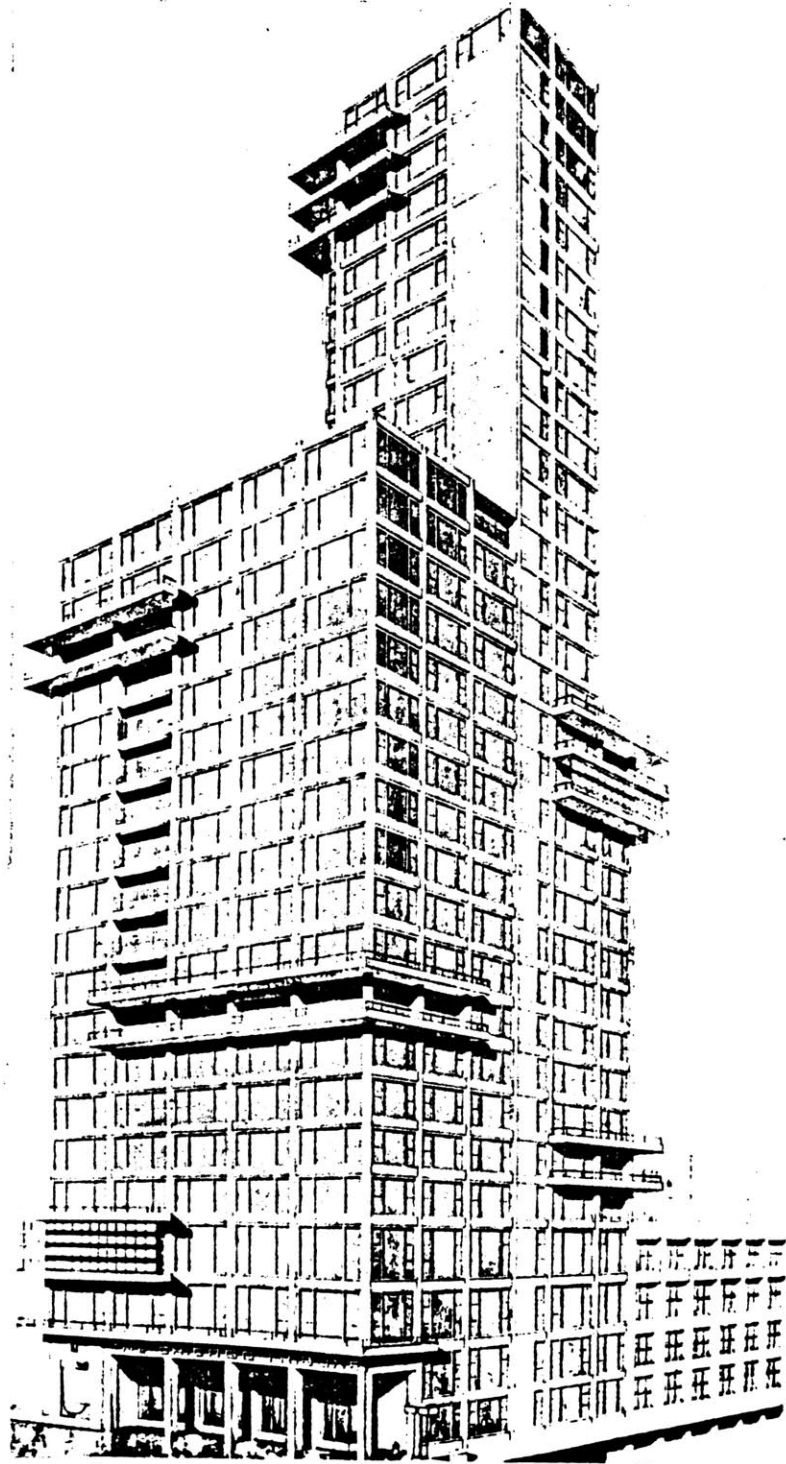












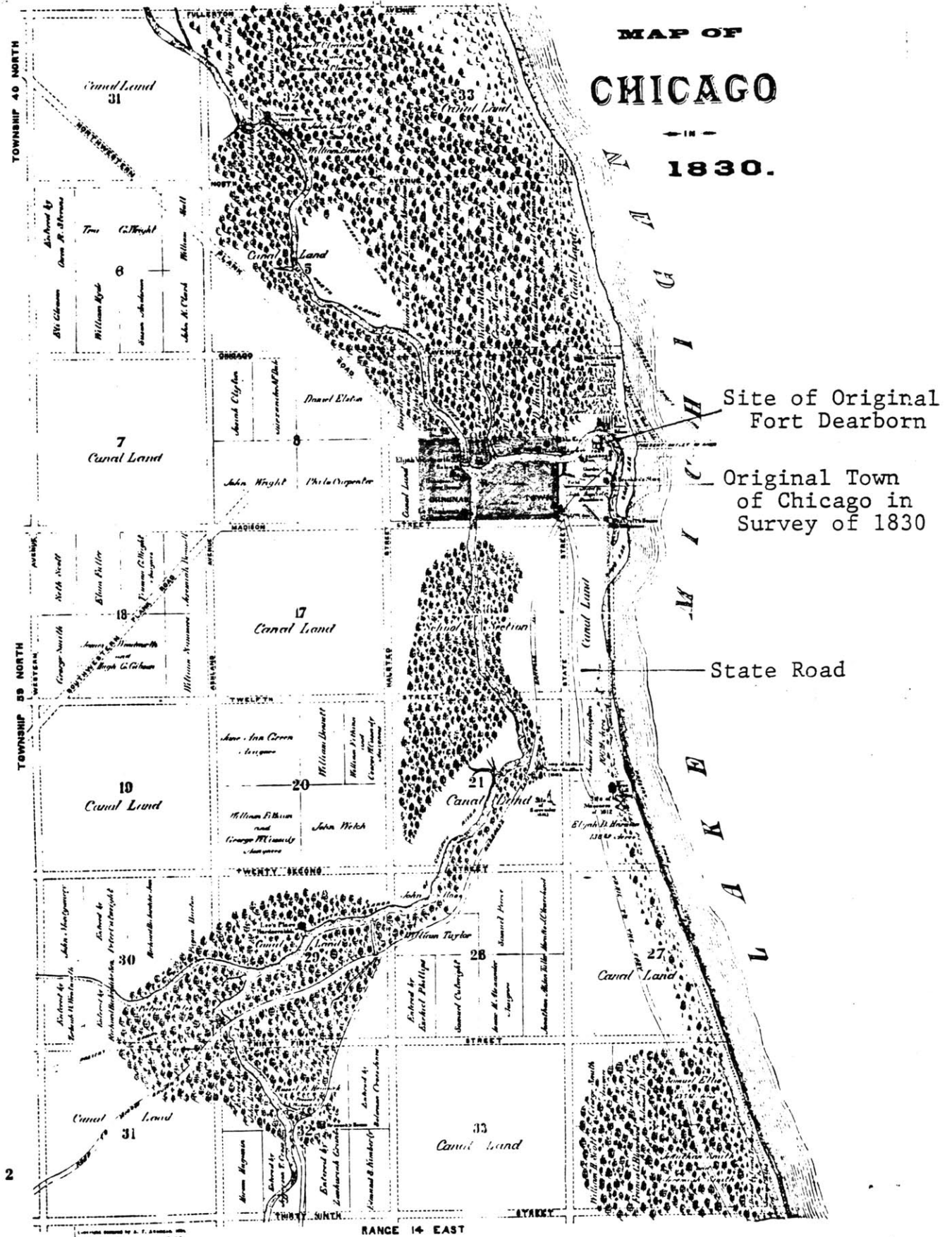
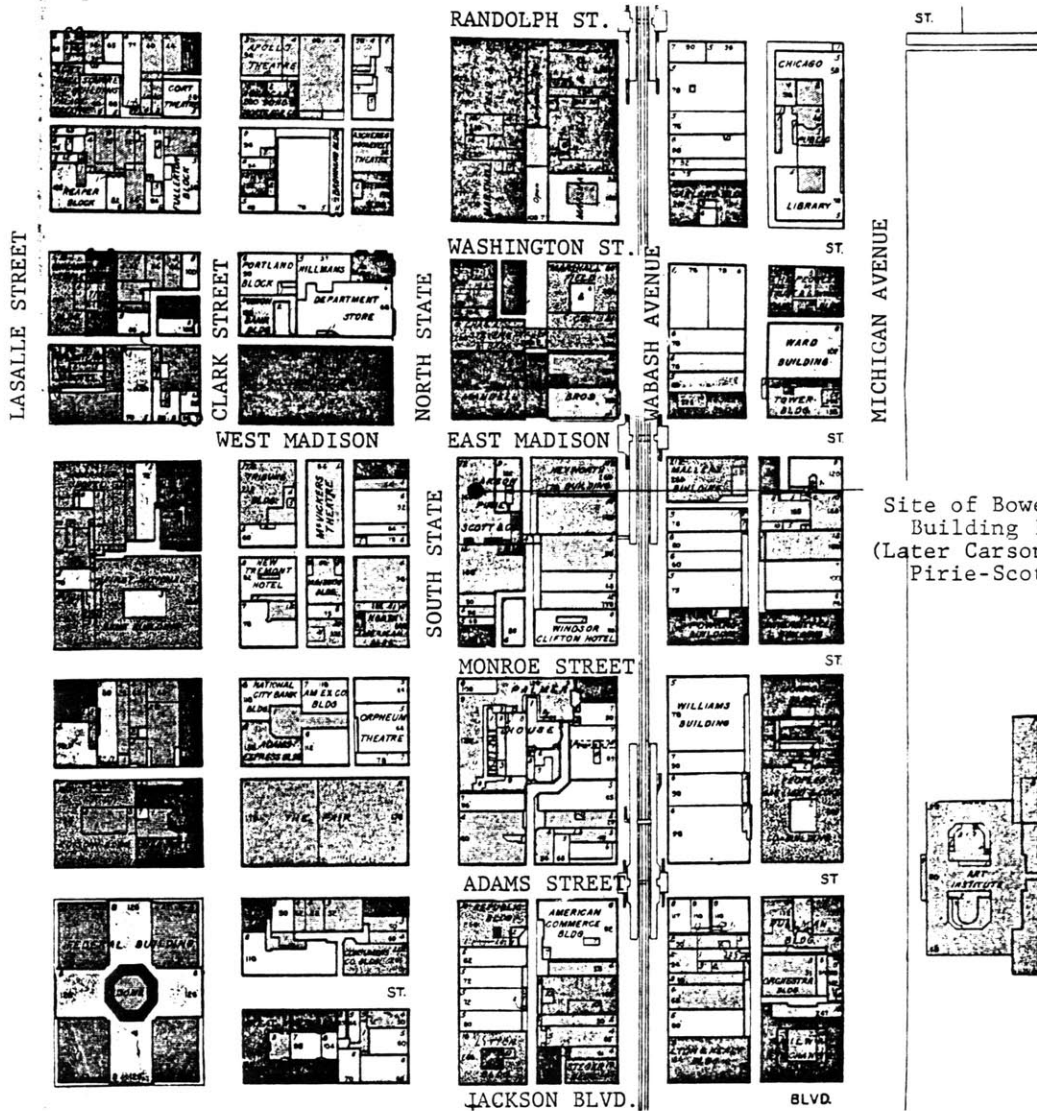


Fig.II-3

West Side of State Street North of Madison
Widened 60 Feet c.1868

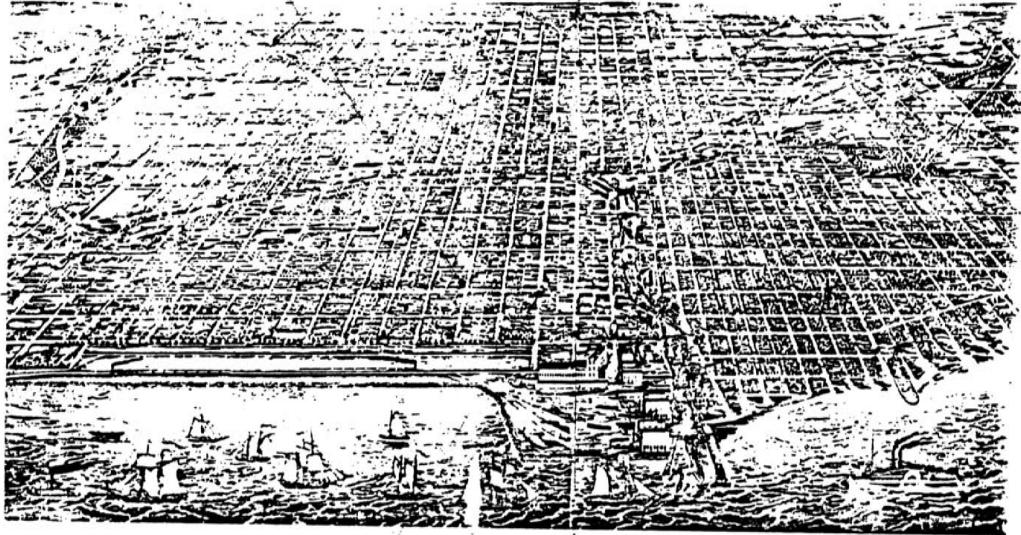


East Side of State Street South of Madison
Widened 27 Feet 1870

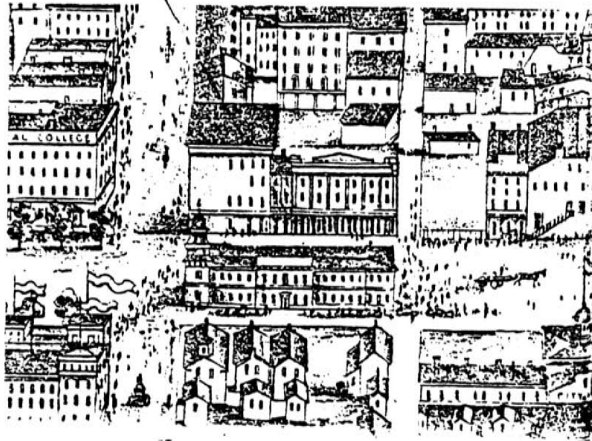


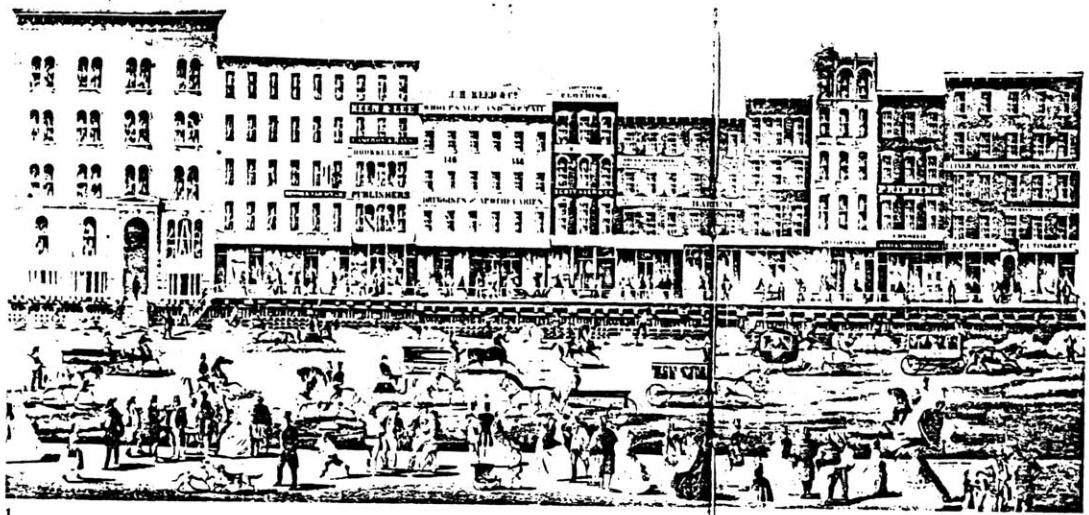
Fig. II-5

State and Madison Streets Lake Street



State Street Market Hall Lake Street





Potter Palmer's Store



Lake Street in 1867



Fig.II-9

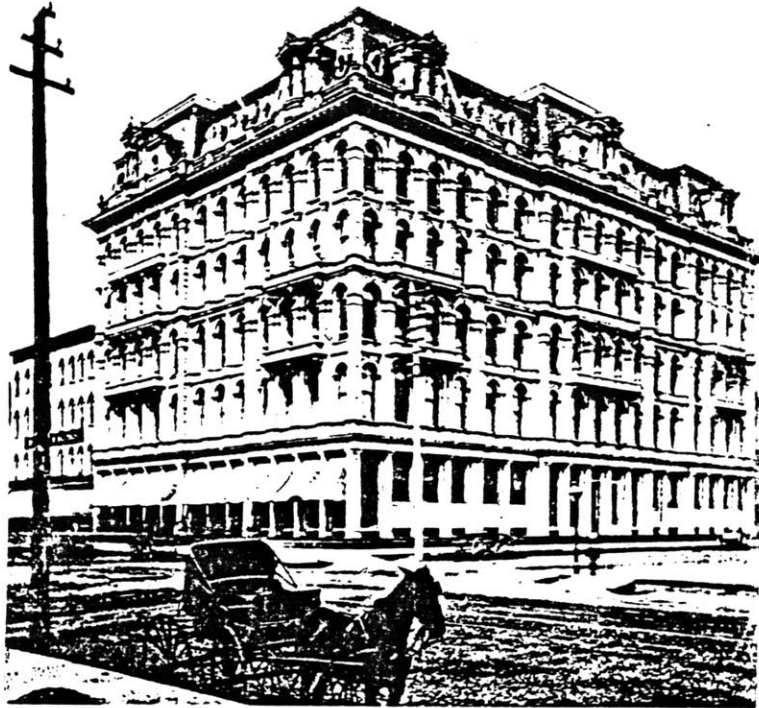
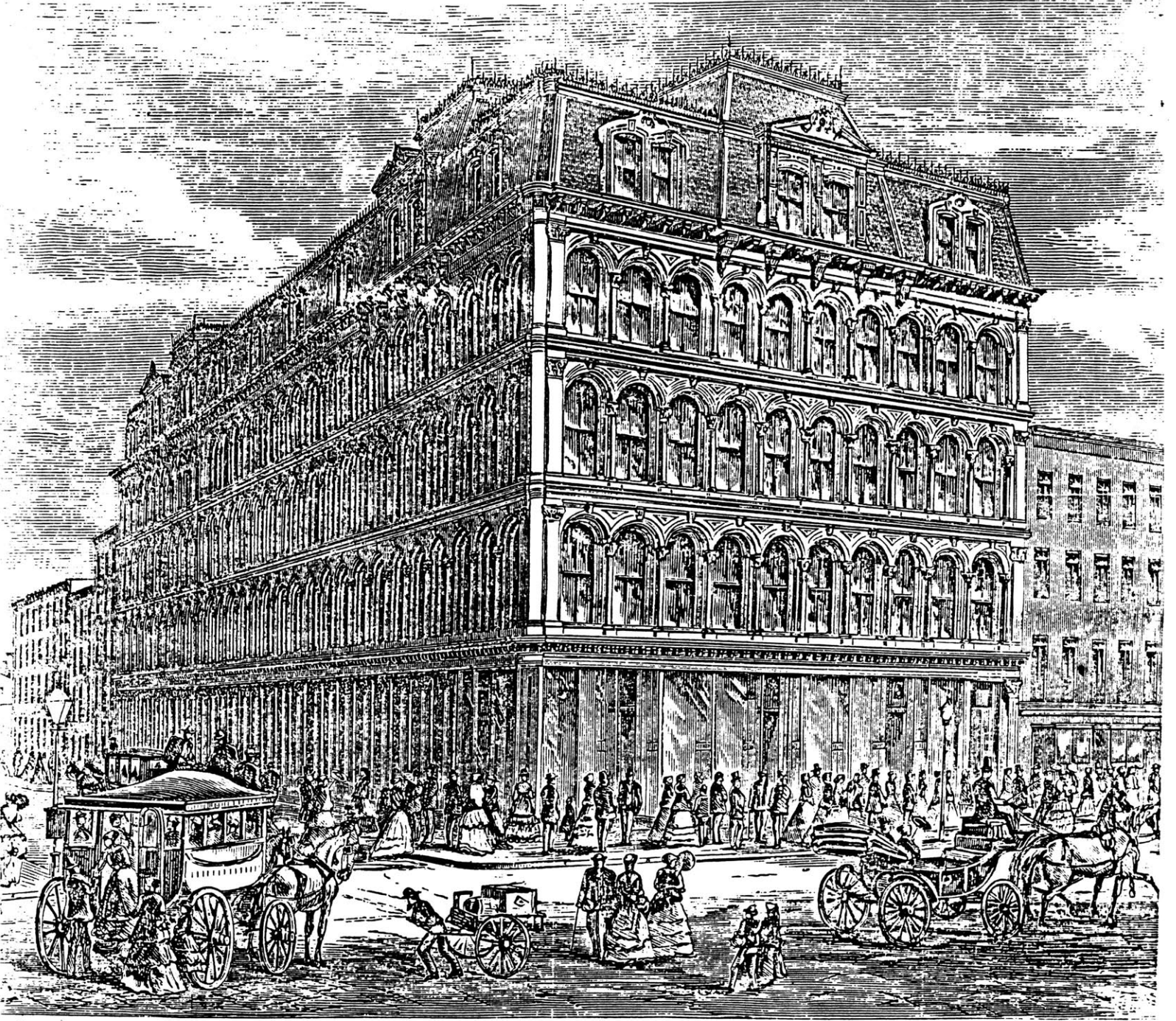
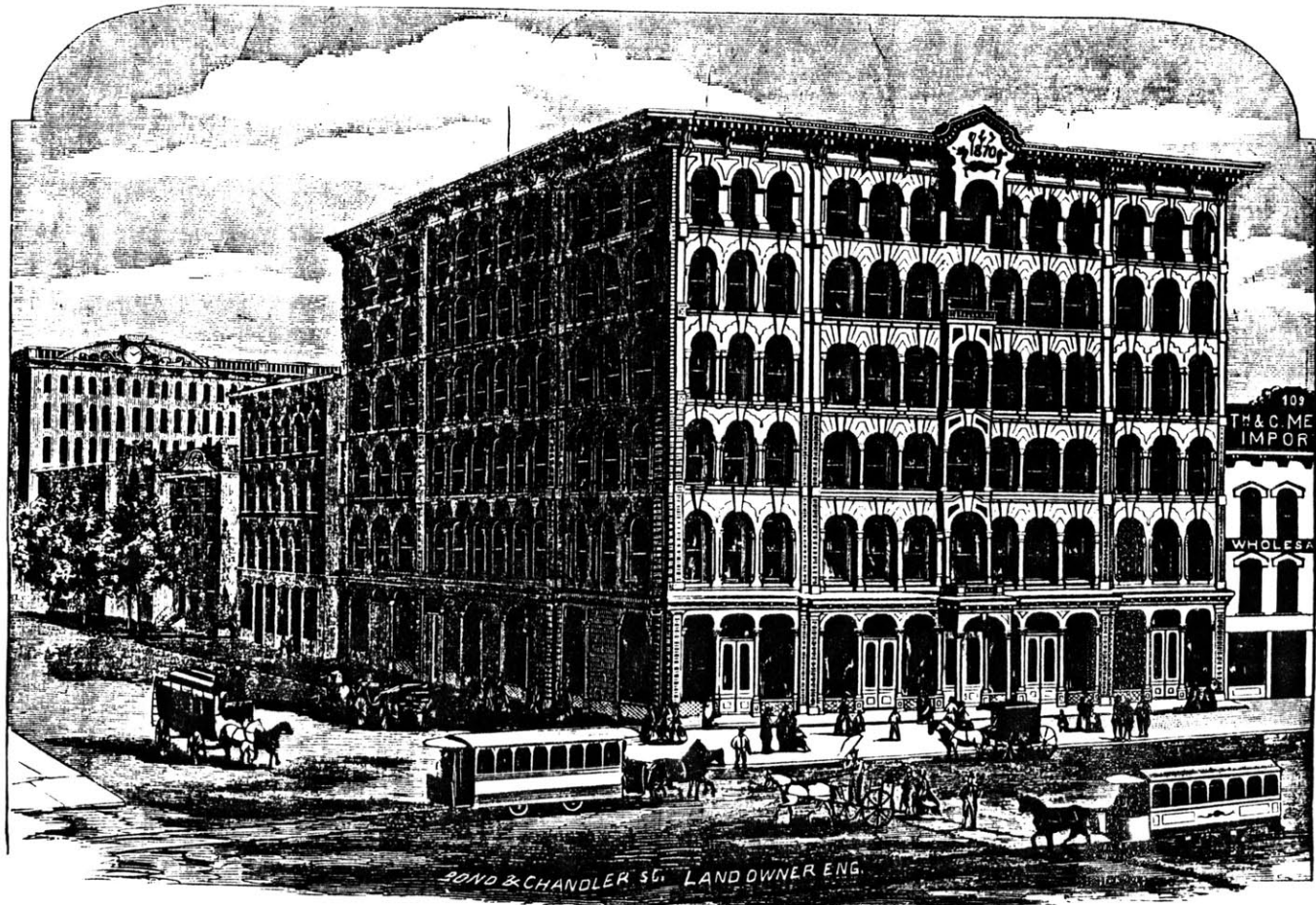




Fig. II-11







THE LAND OWNER PRESS.

NEW BUSINESS BLOCK,

E. S. JENISON, ARCHITECT.

SOUTHEAST CORNER OF STATE AND WASHINGTON STREETS, CHICAGO. (See Descriptive Sketch.)

11-13



J. W. Taylor Photo

REAL ESTATE OFFICE WM. D. KERFOOT & CO.
100 East Washington-St.

PROPERTY FOR SALE IN ALL PARTS OF THE CITY.
THESE PAID. THREE COLUMNS. SAVINGS & CHARGES. MONEY LOANED.
CHICAGO REFERENCES. BUILDING LAW & TITLE. CONTRACTS. FIRE. INSURANCE. FIRE
AND MARINE. NATIONAL BANK.

rk. Surety, Wholesale Dealer in Paper, Cardboard, Envelopes, &c.

OWNERS OF LAWDALE MILLARD & DECKER, Real Estate, Office, Room 5, 159 & 161 La Salle St.
SUBDIVISION. See Page 70.

TWO YEARS AFTER THE FIRE

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 9, 1871.

October 9, 1873.

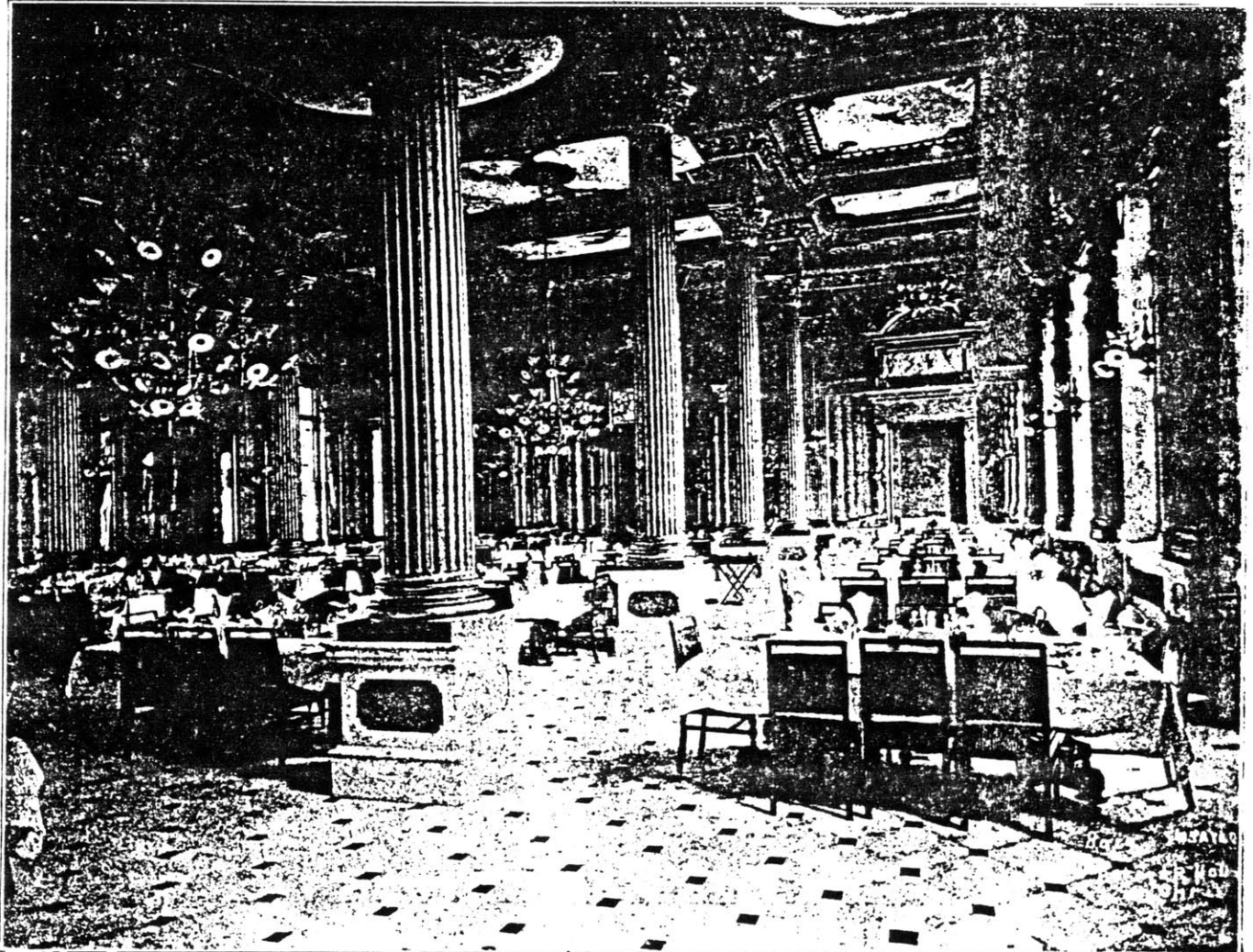


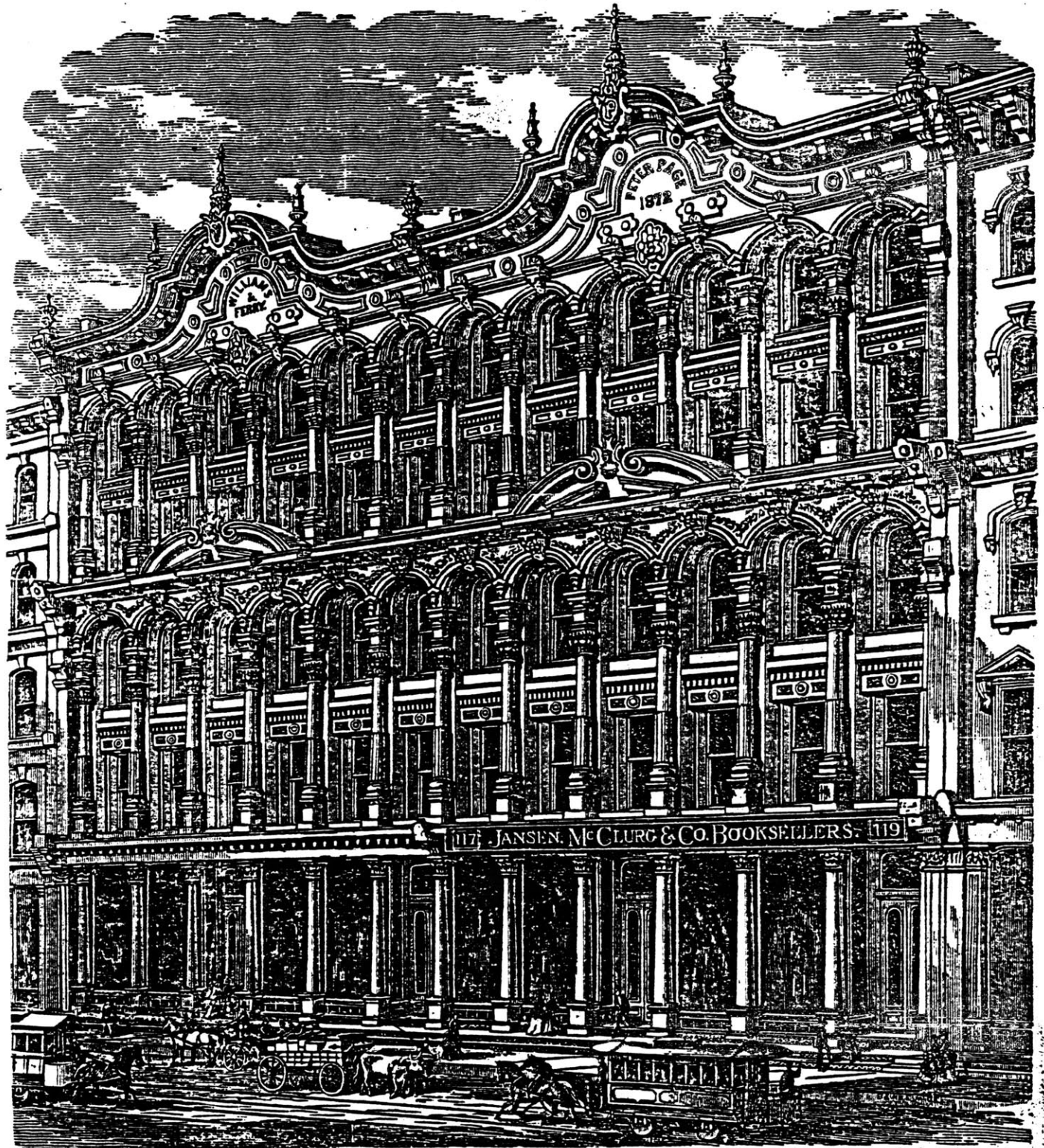
CHICAGO ILLUSTRATED

PRICE, SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

J. M. WING & CO,
PUBLISHERS THE LAND OWNER.
CHICAGO.

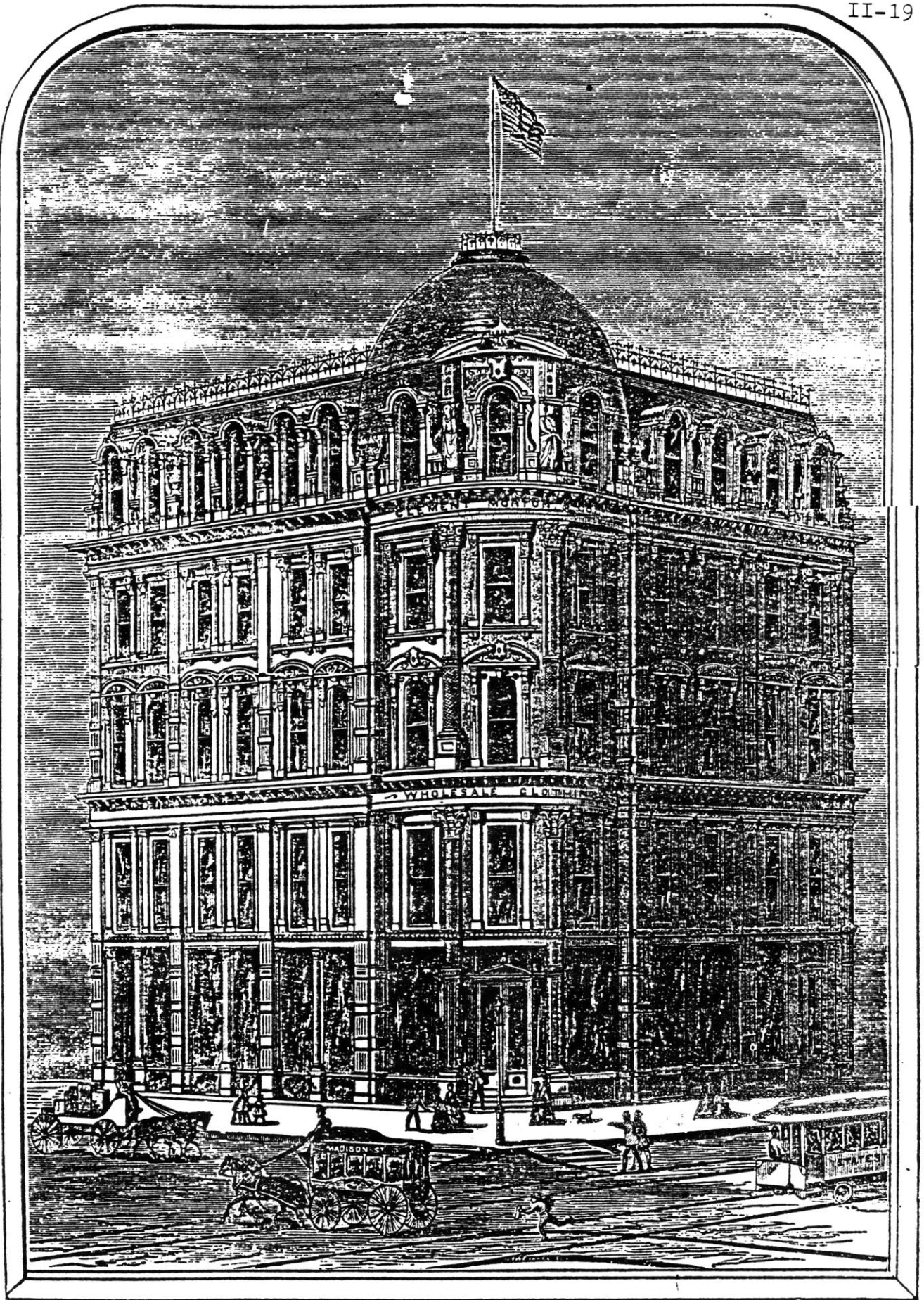
W. KIMBALL, Pianos, Organs and Melodeons, Corner State and Adams Streets, CHICAGO.
(See Illustration of Building, page 47.)





BOOKSELLERS' ROW, STATE STREET.



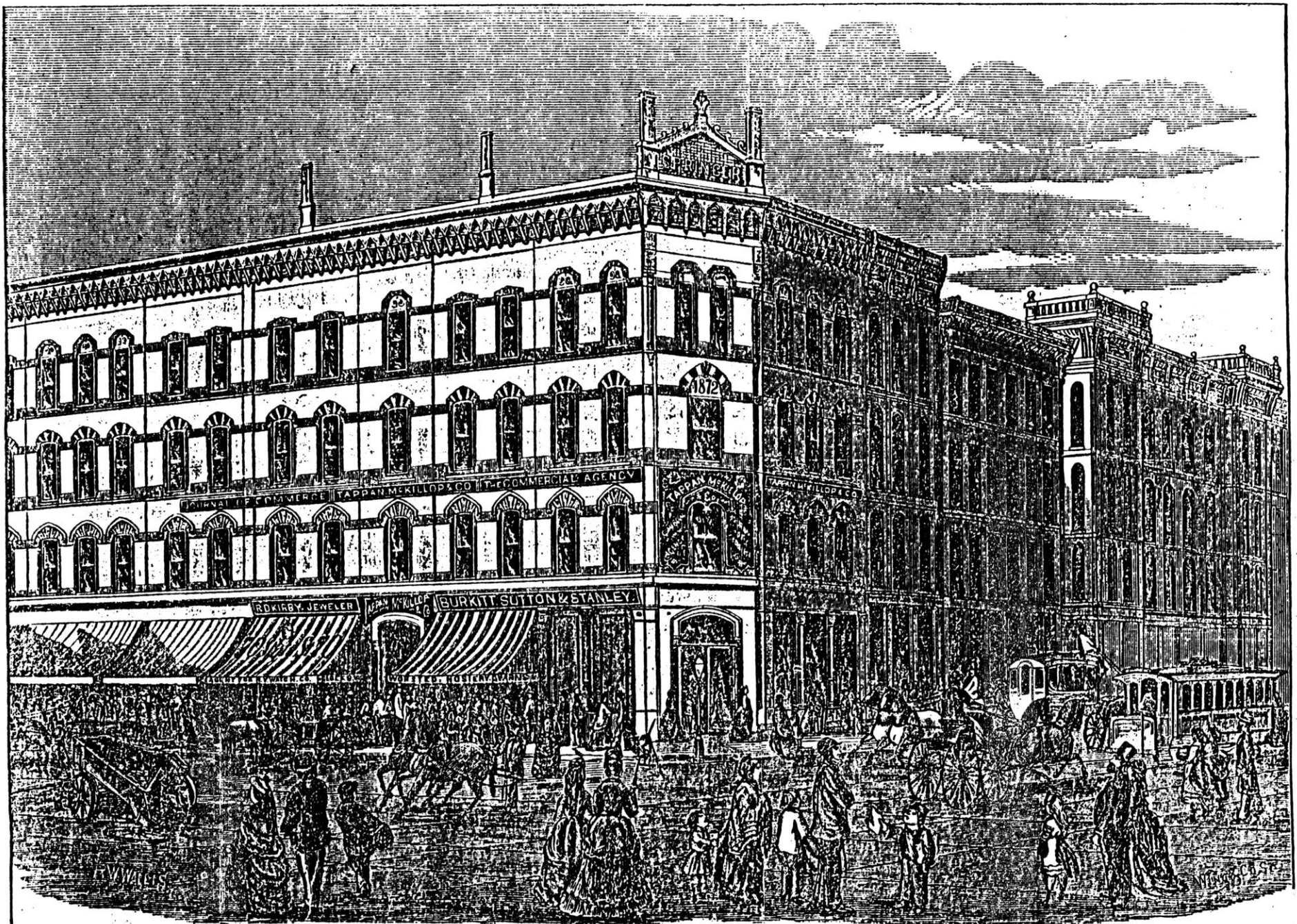


THE BOWEN BUILDING, STATE AND MADISON STREETS.

II-20

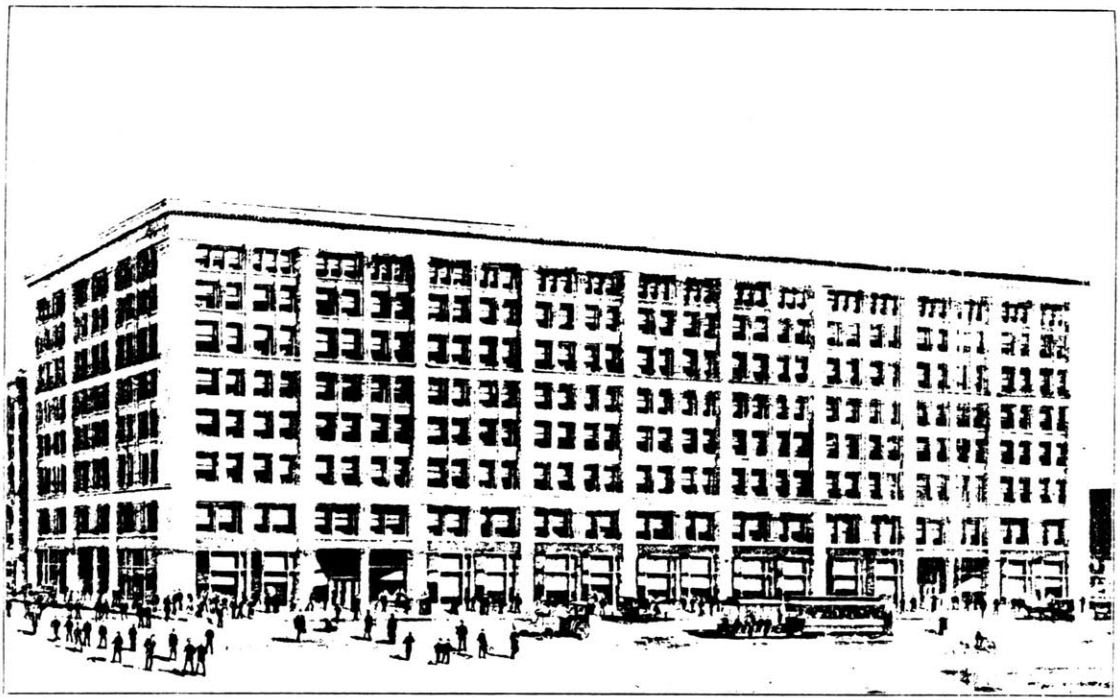
VALUE GI
Low
AR
W
A
 Consisting of
 most advan
 prices that

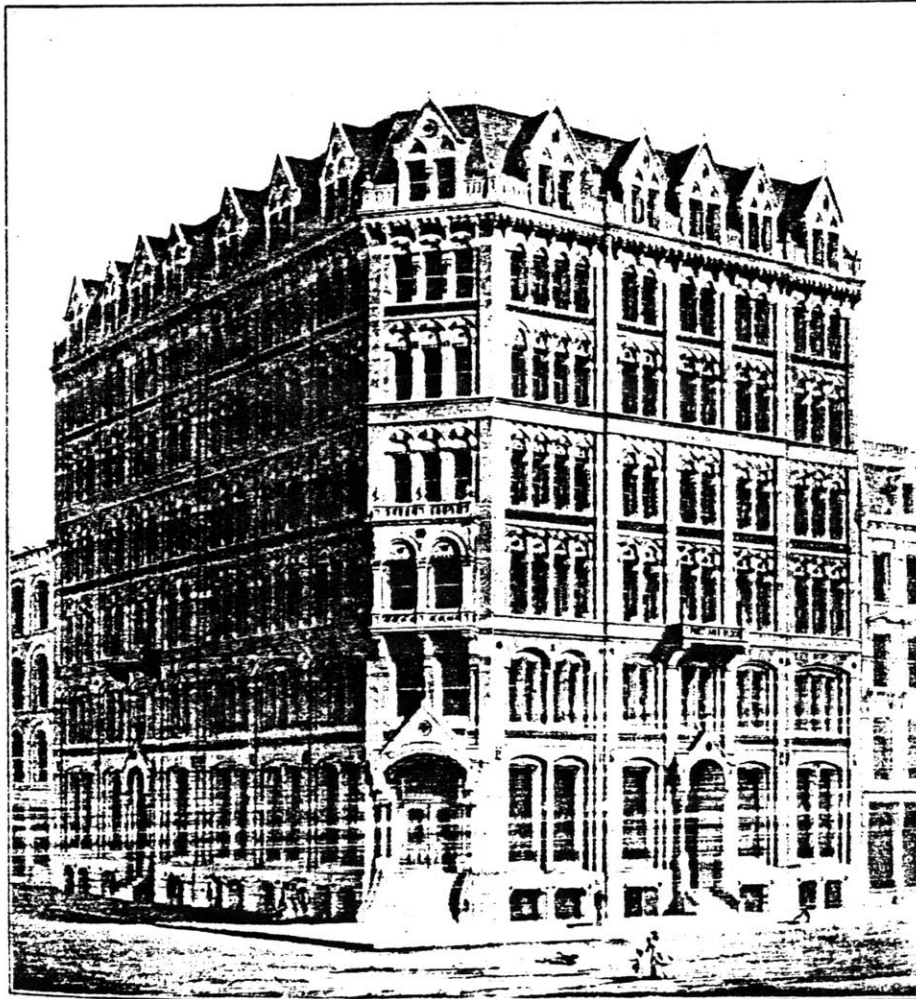
The Entire Purchase



THE SPRINGER BLOCK, SOUTHWEST CORNER STATE AND RANDOLPH STREETS.





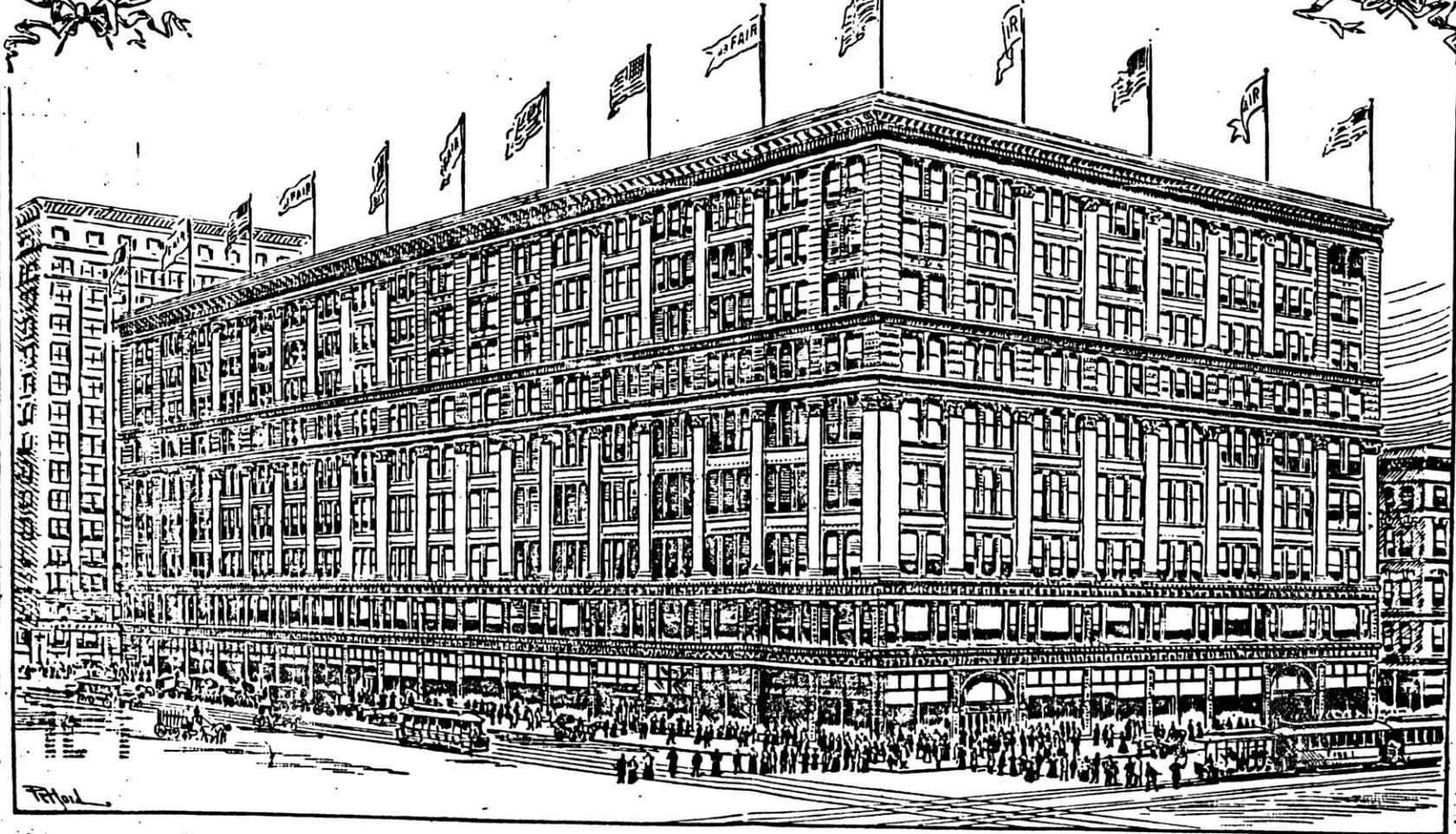




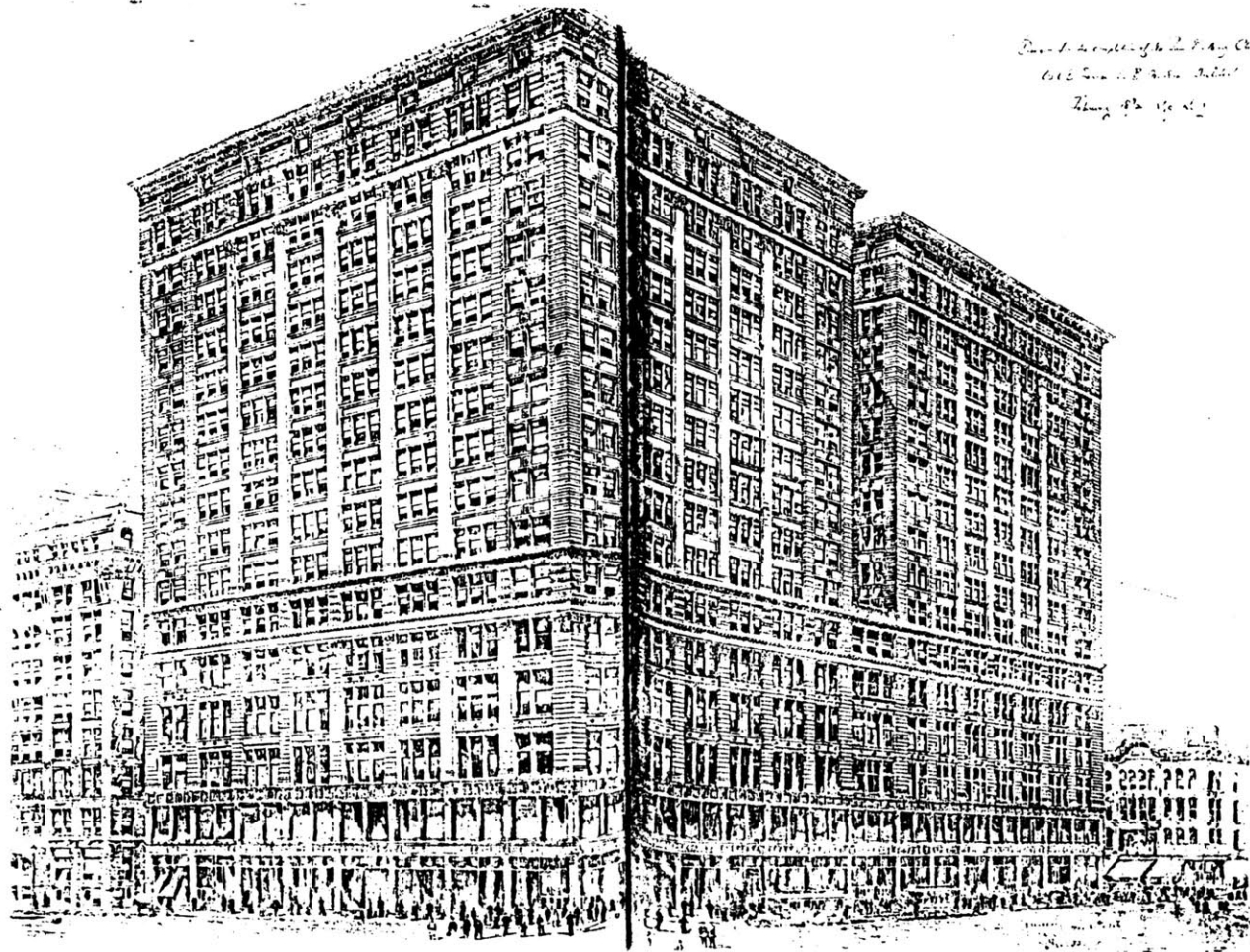
ESTABLISHED
1875

THE FAIR

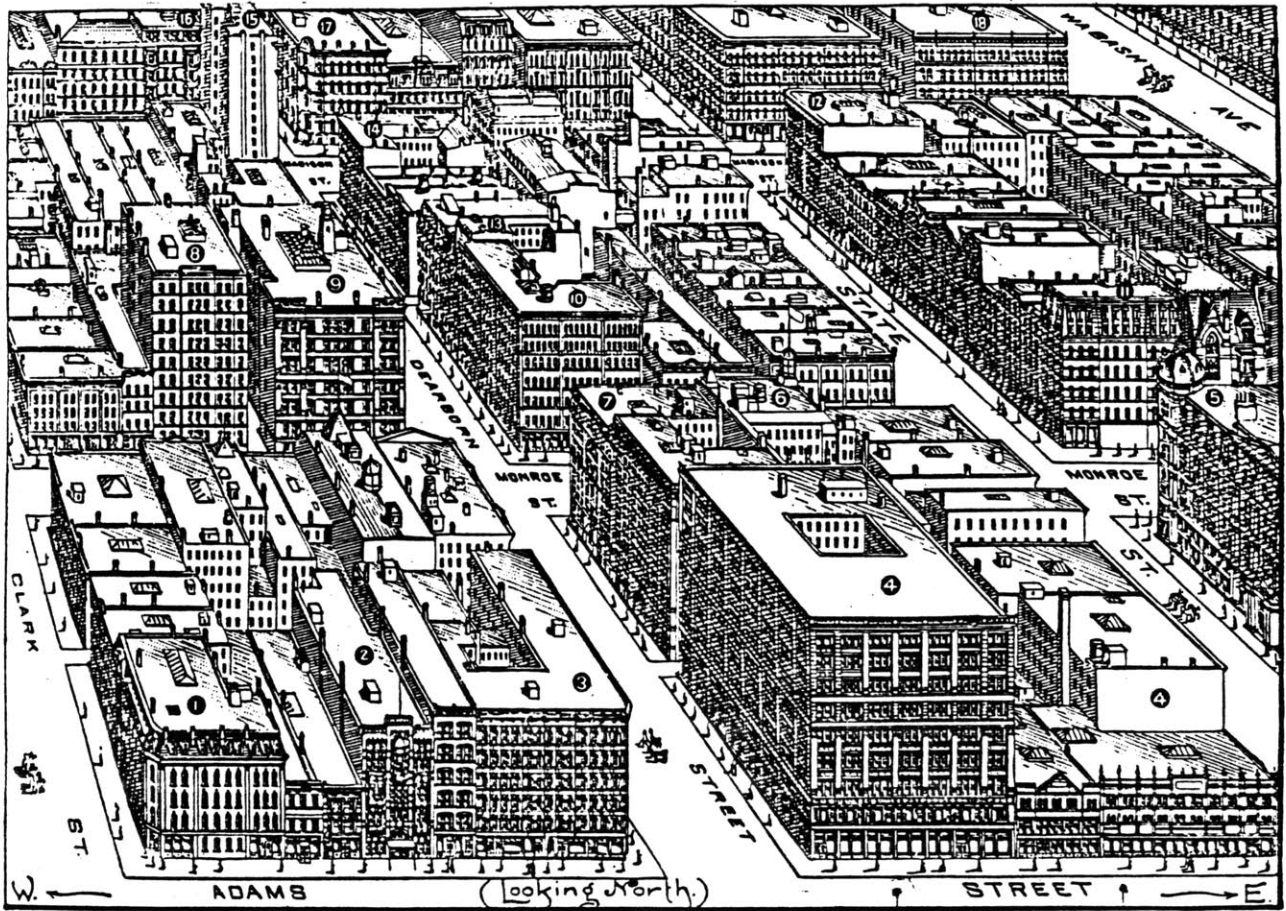
STATE,
ADAMS,
AND
DEARBORN
STREETS.



THE LARGEST AND GRANDEST STORE IN THE WORLD



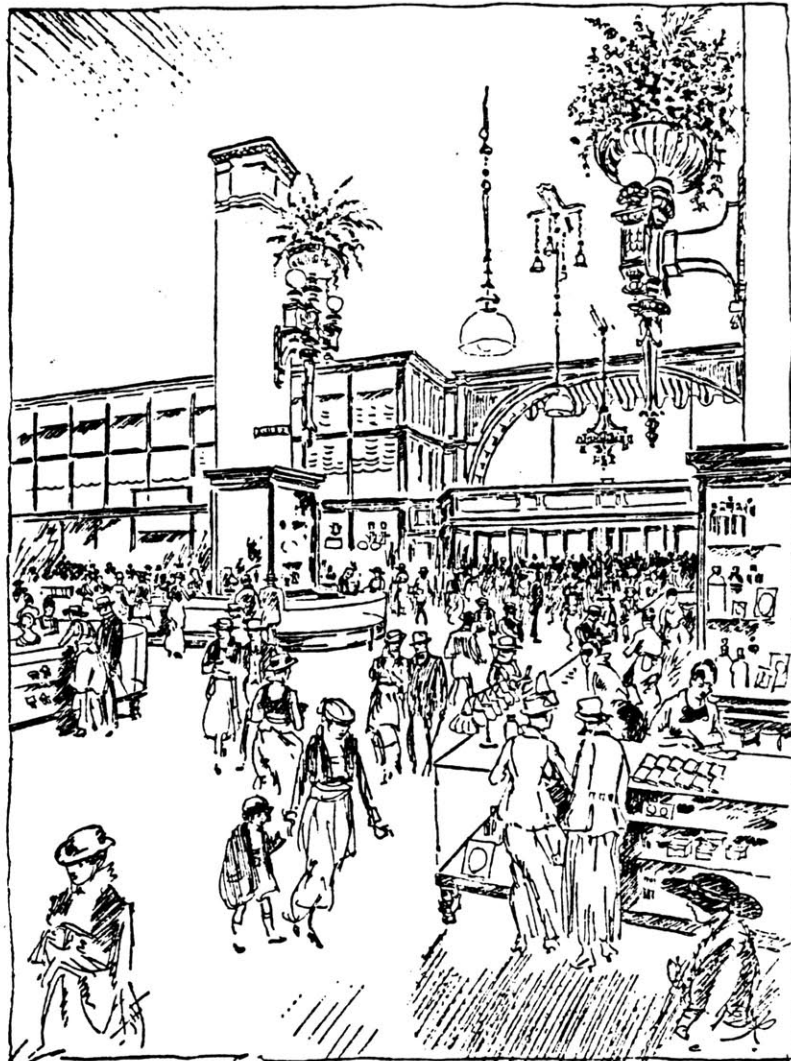
Plan of the building of the P. A. Co.
611 1/2 Ave. of the Americas, N.Y. City
Henry P. ...



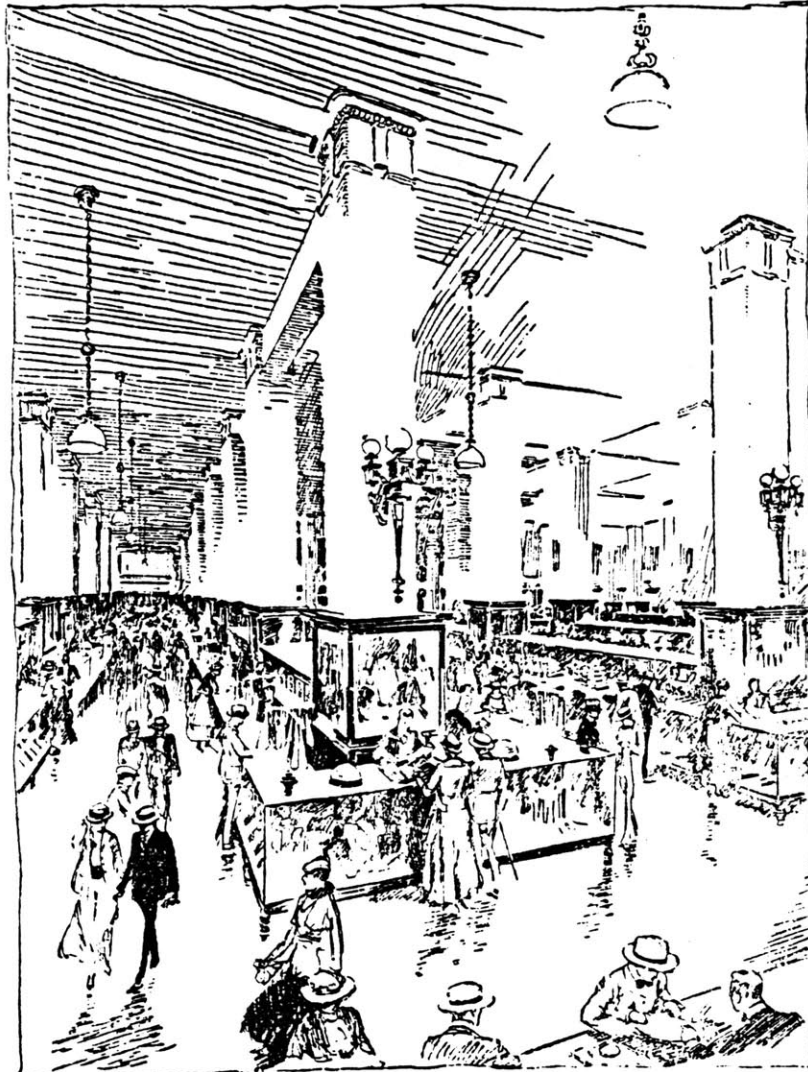
FROM ADAMS STREET, NORTH ON DEARBORN



STATE STREET ENTRANCE

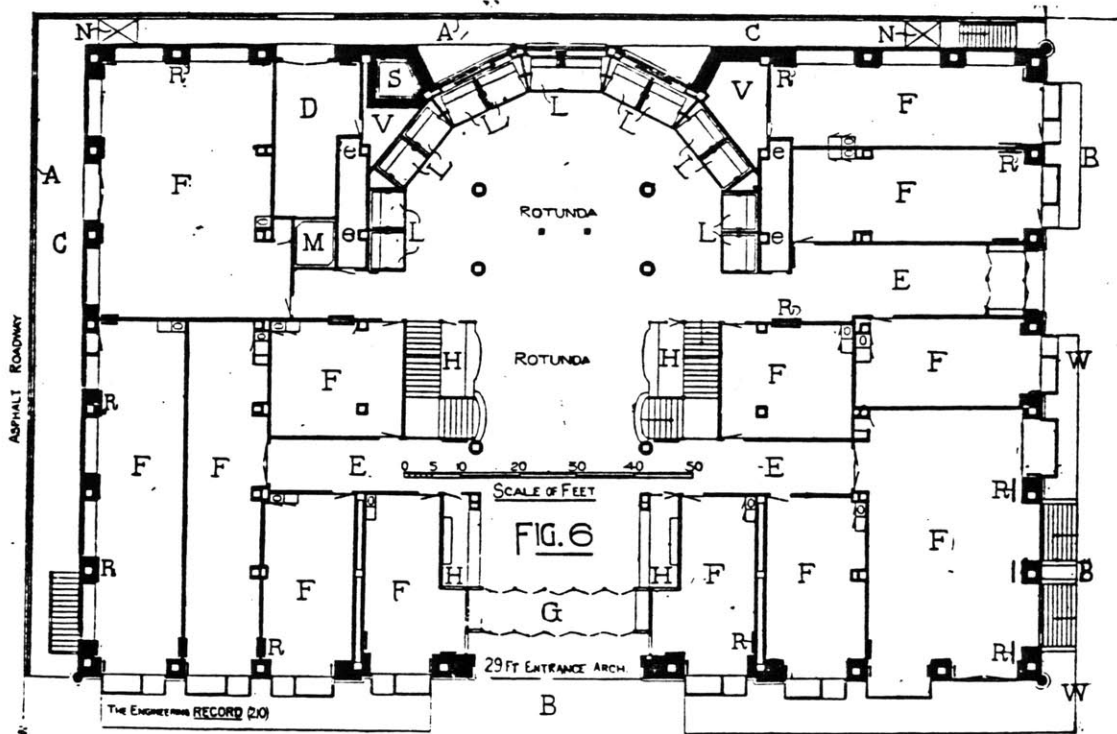
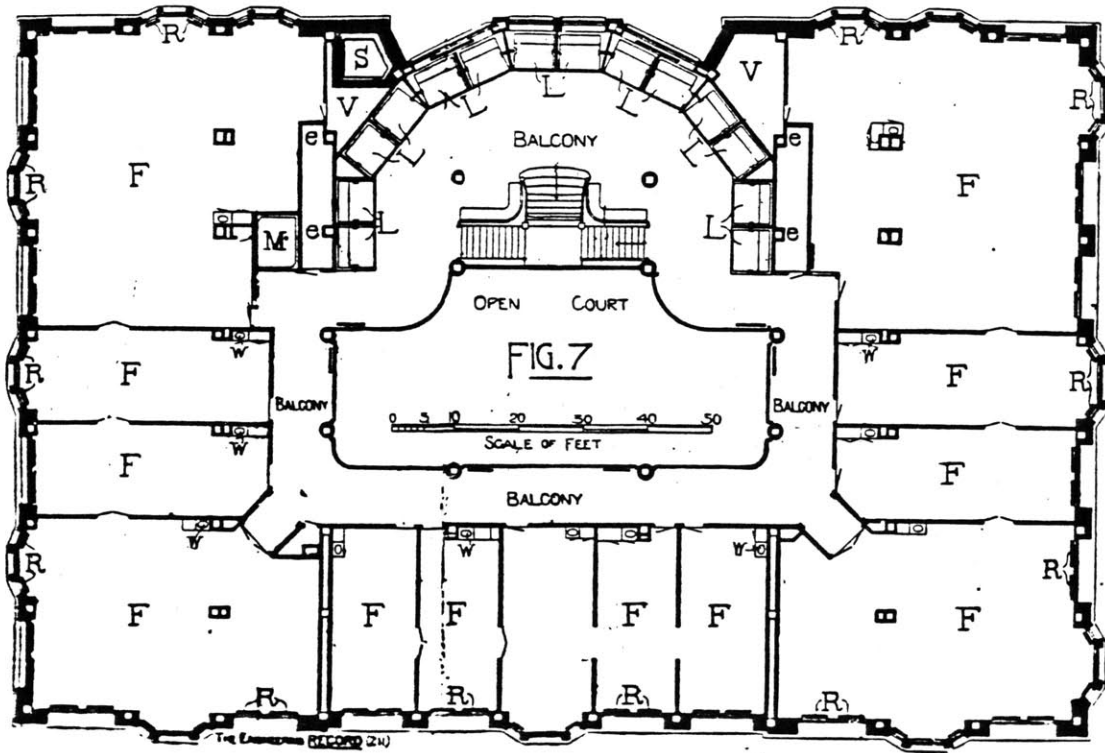


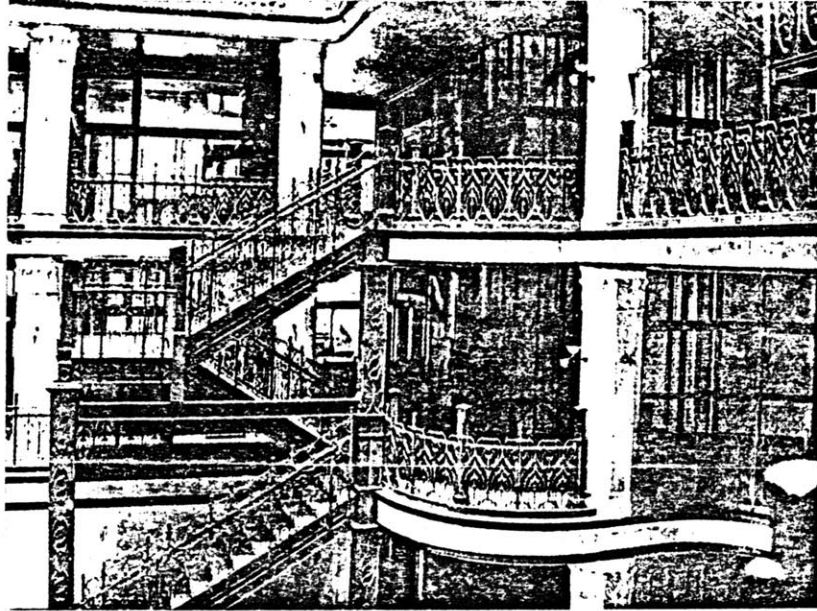
JEWELRY DEPARTMENT



MEN'S FURNISHING DEPARTMENT









II-36

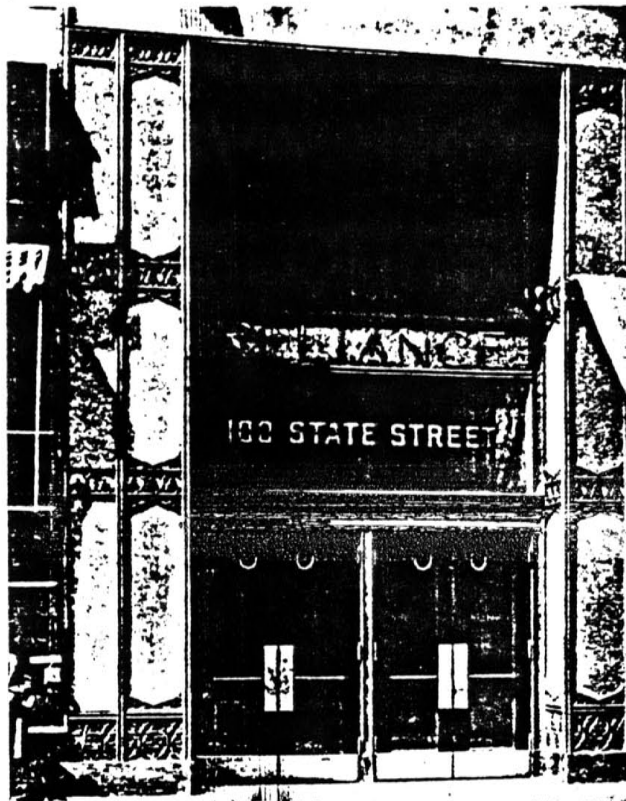


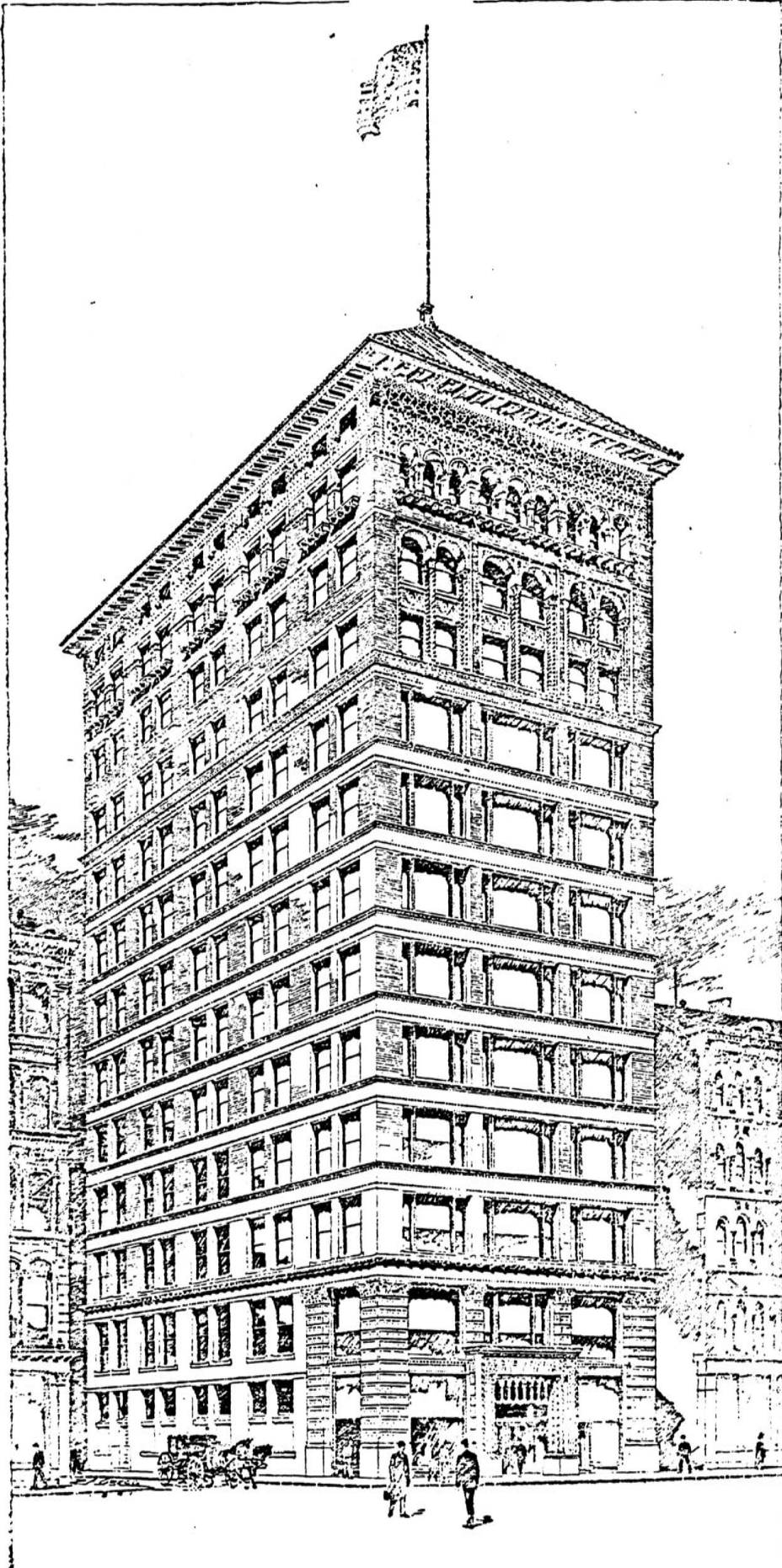


Fig. II-38



Courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

MARSHALL FIELD & CO. ABOUT 1896



THE VENETIAN OFFICE BUILDING, CHICAGO.

HOLABIRD & ROCHE, ARCHITECTS.

Fig. II-40

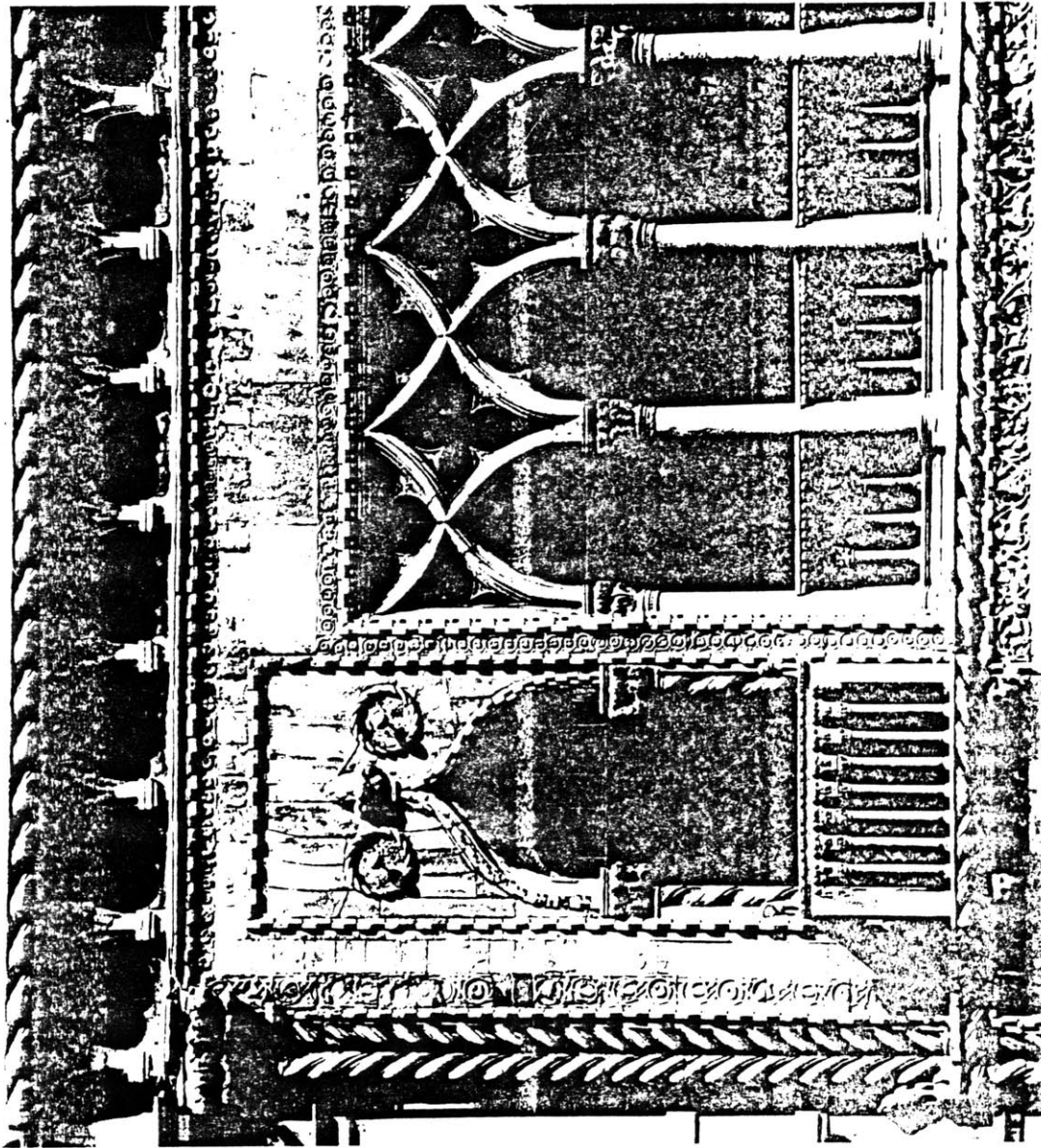
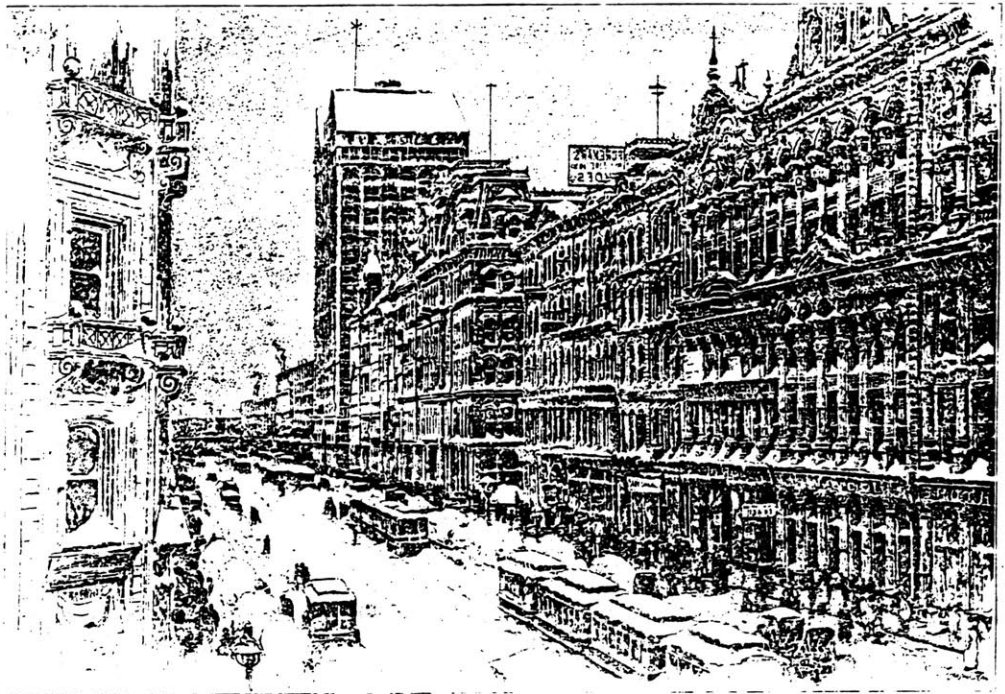
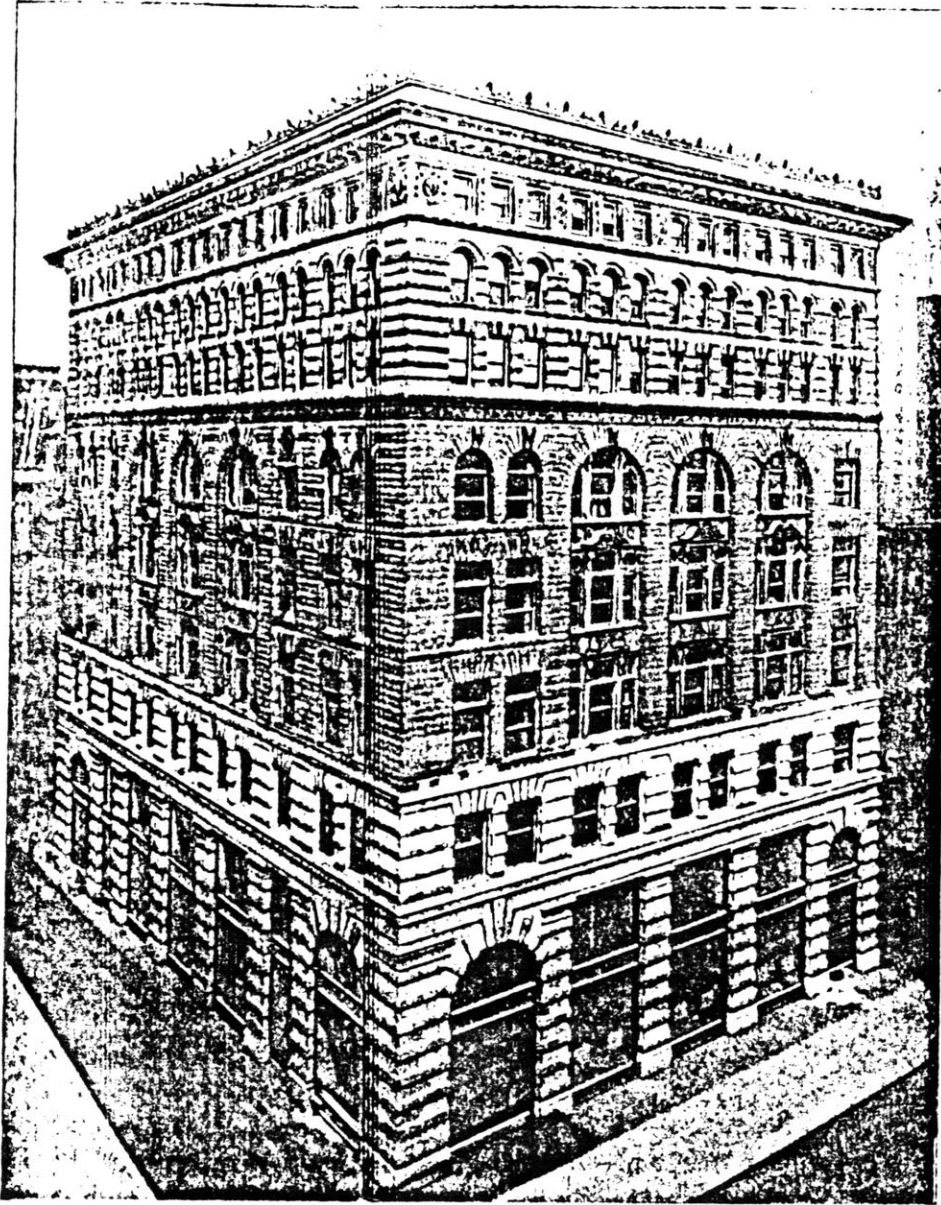


Fig. II-41





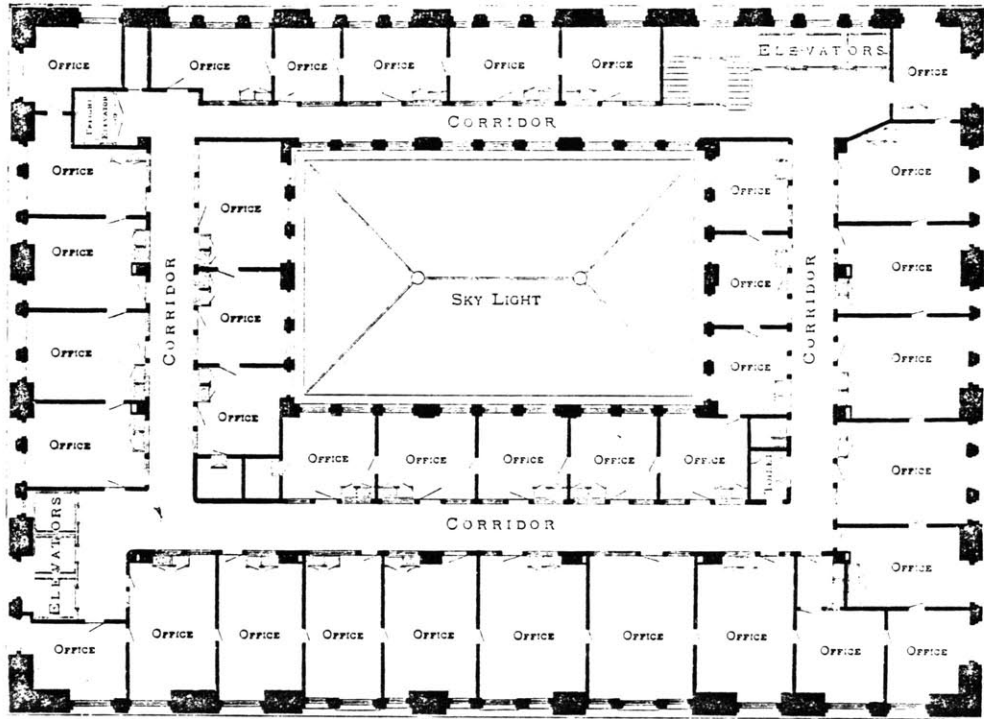
The Columbus Memorial Building, at the southeast corner of State and Washington Streets.



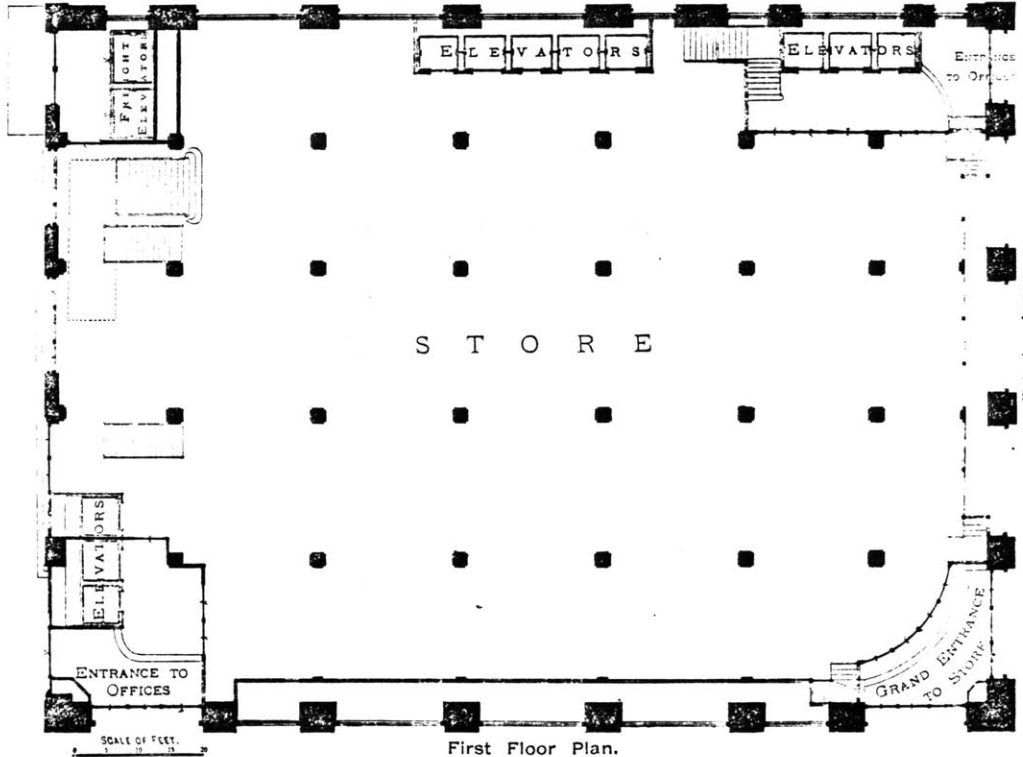
THE NEW MARSHALL FIELD BUILDING.

Chicago, Ill.

D. H. Burnham & Co., Architects.



Typical Floor Plan.

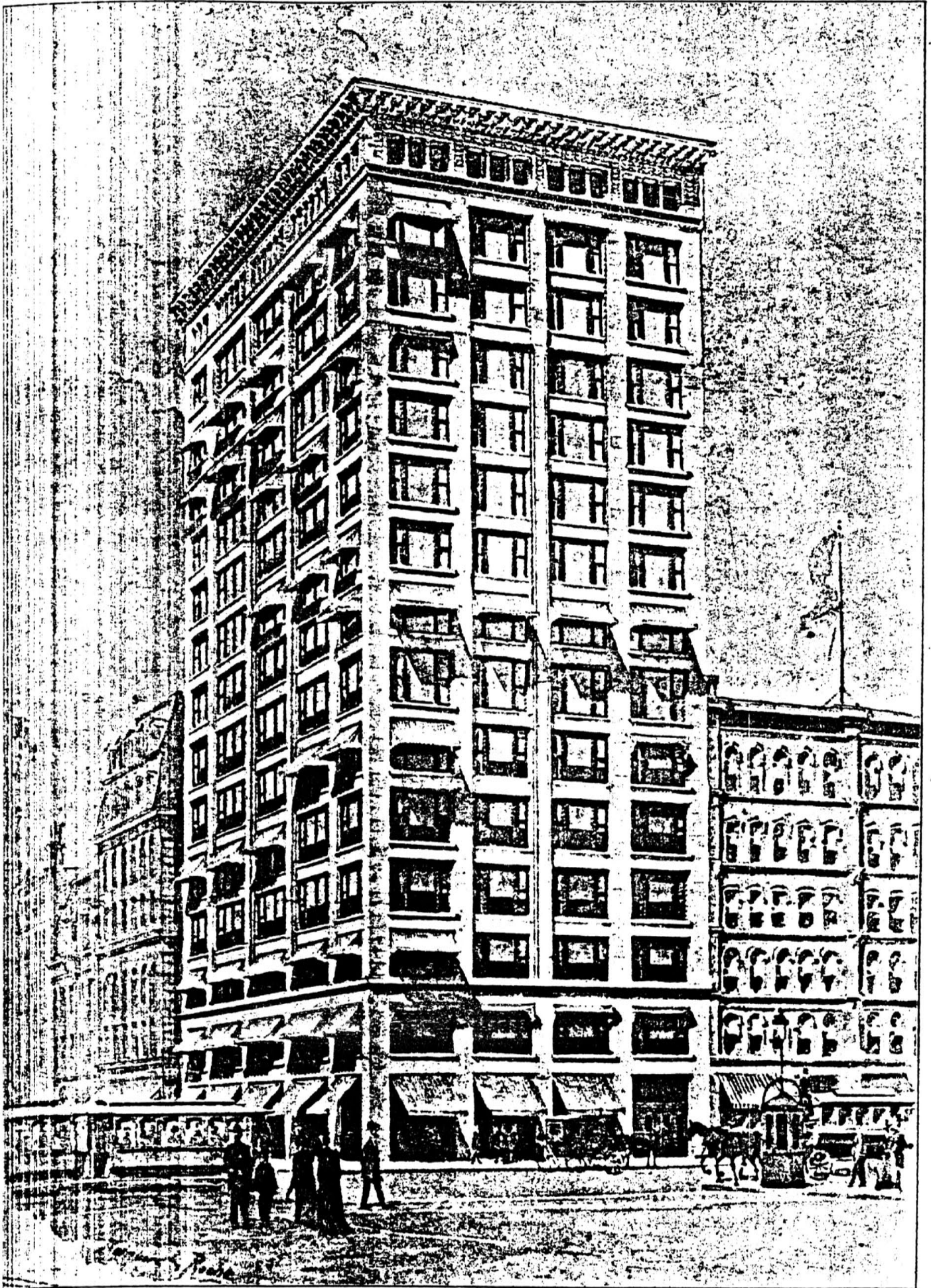


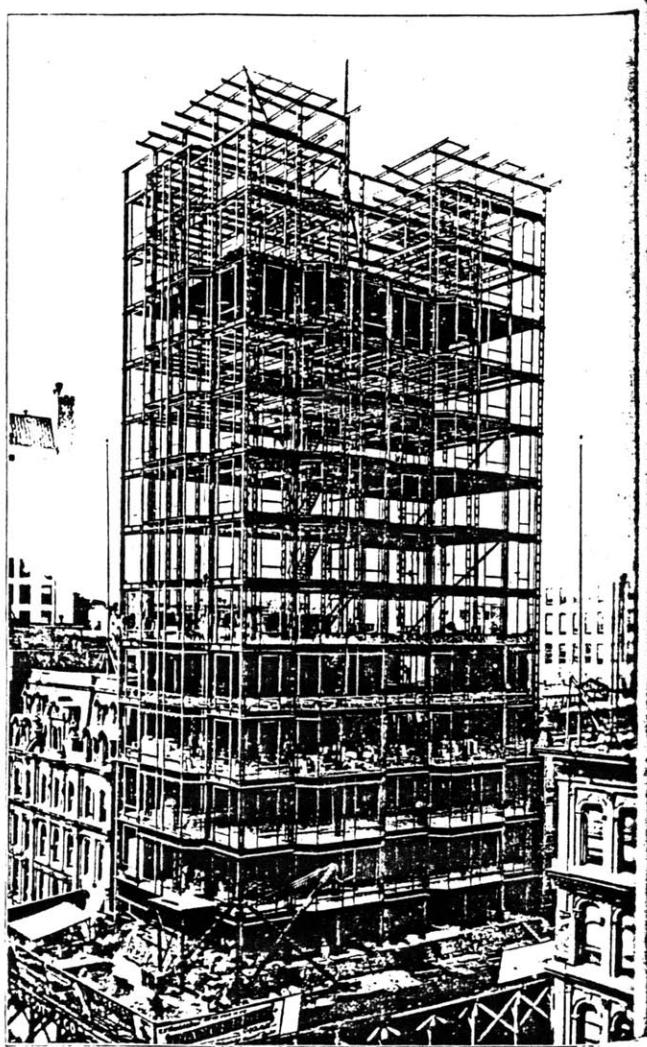
First Floor Plan.



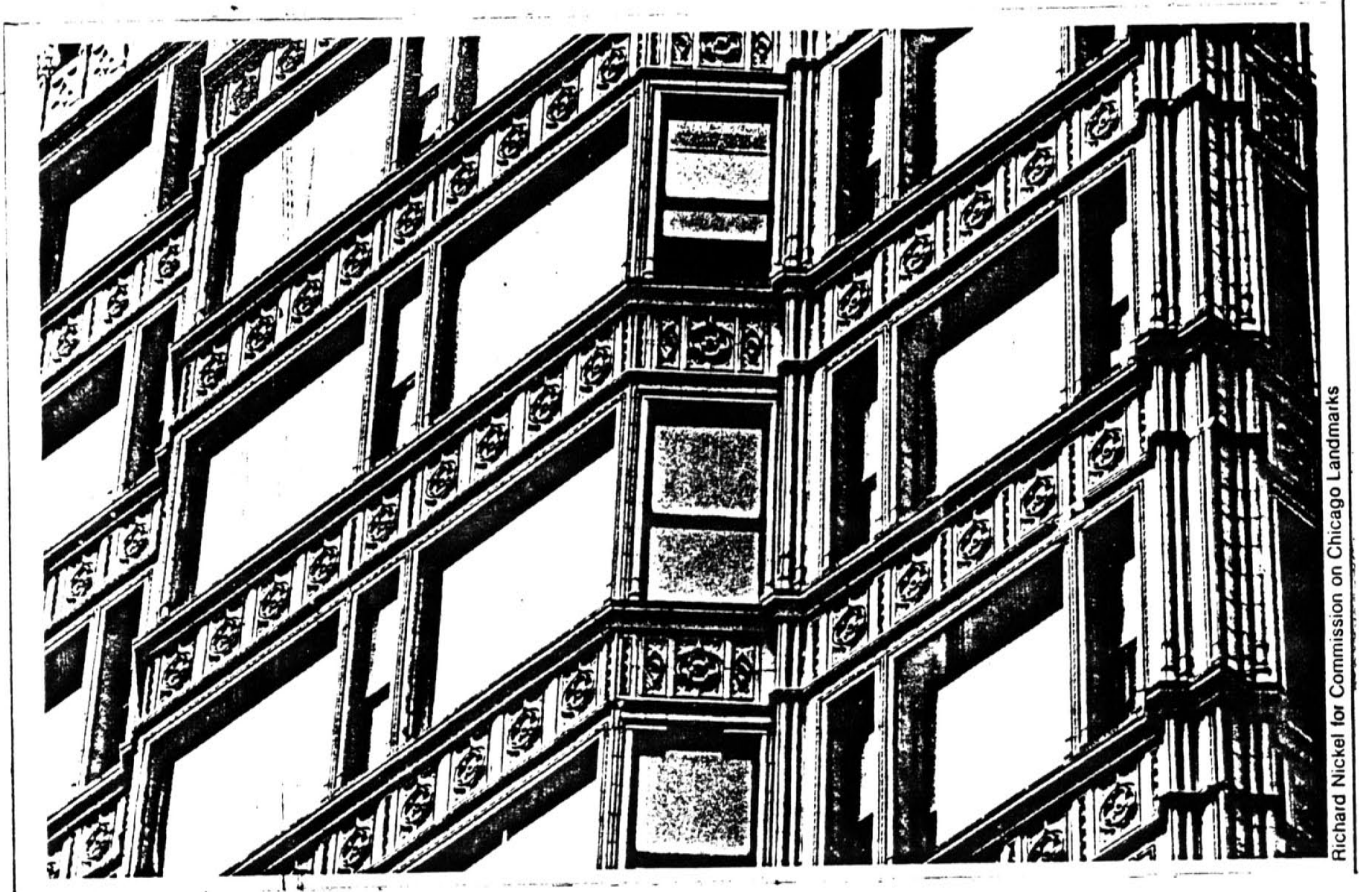
New York City.

FIG. 38.—HOTEL IMPERIAL.

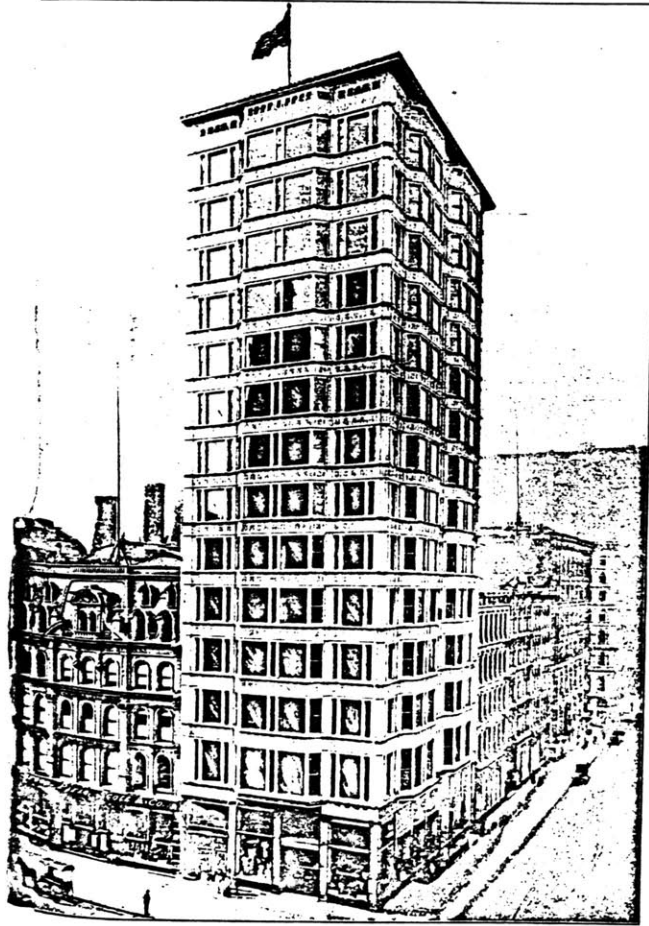


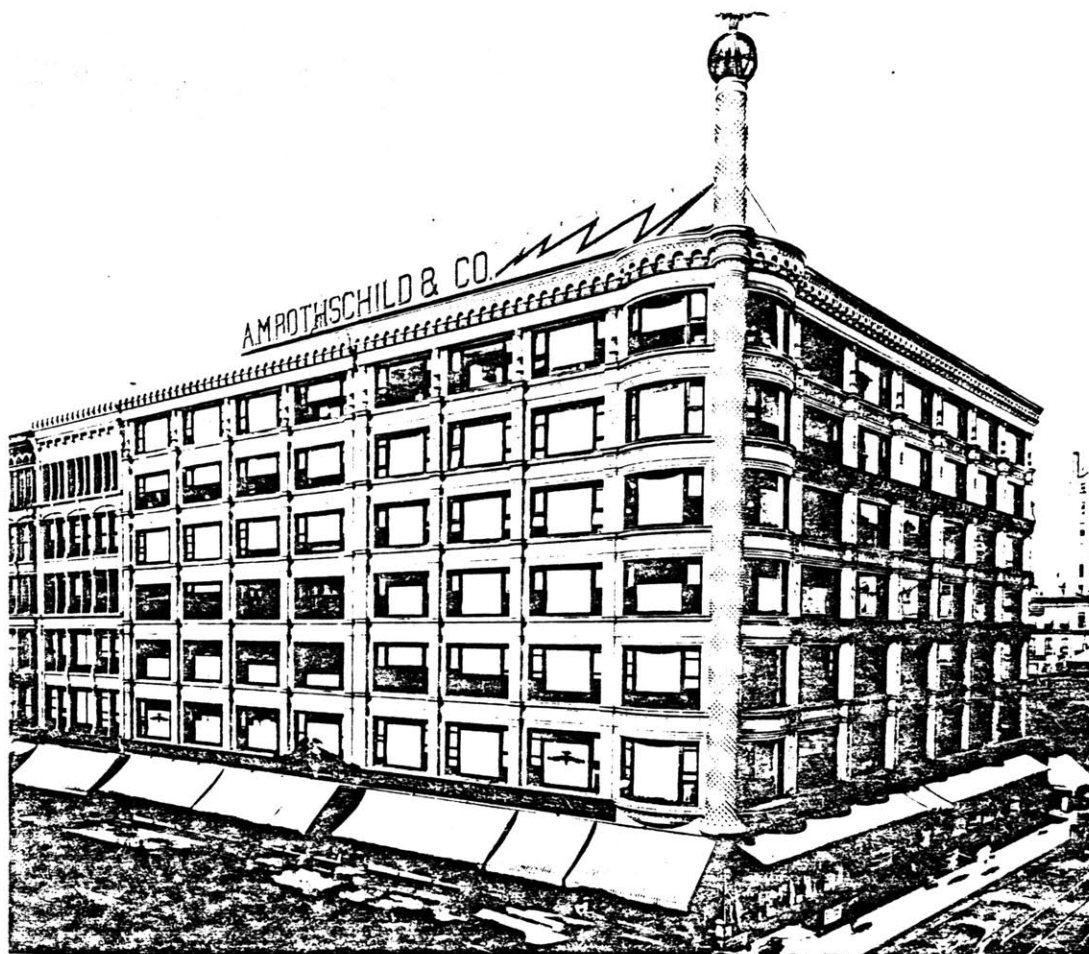


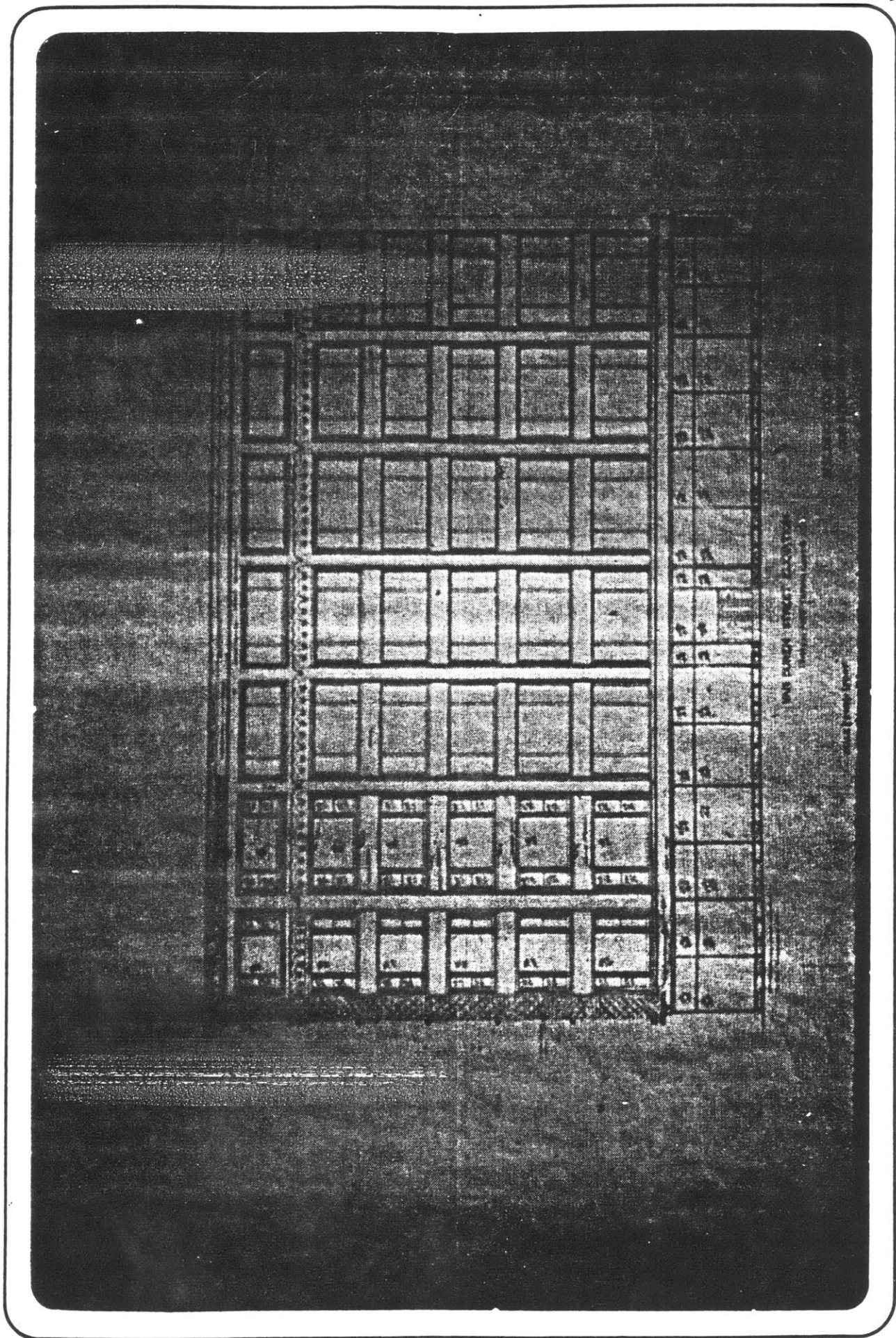
RELIANCE BUILDING—AUGUST 1, 1894.

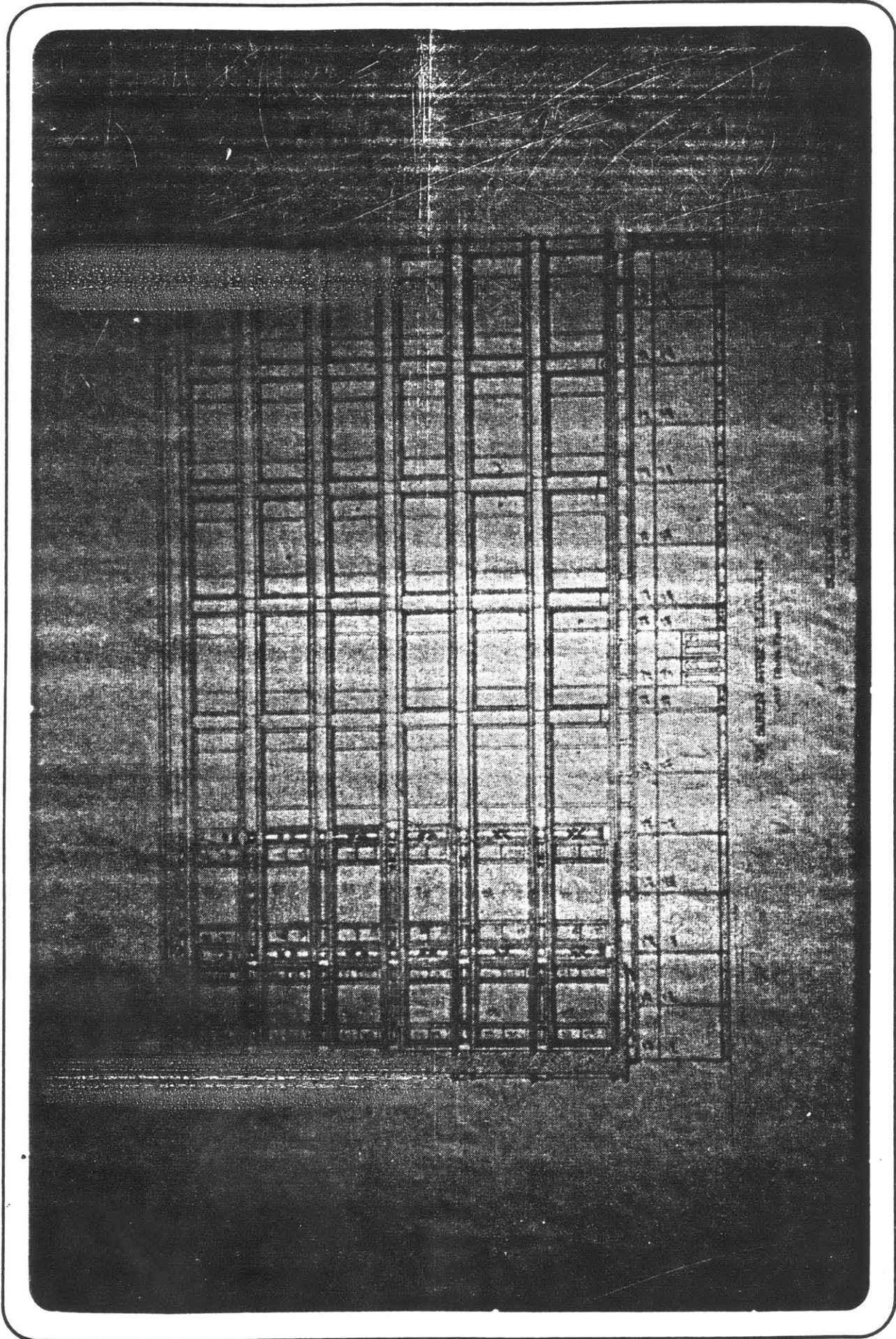


Richard Nickel for Commission on Chicago Landmarks



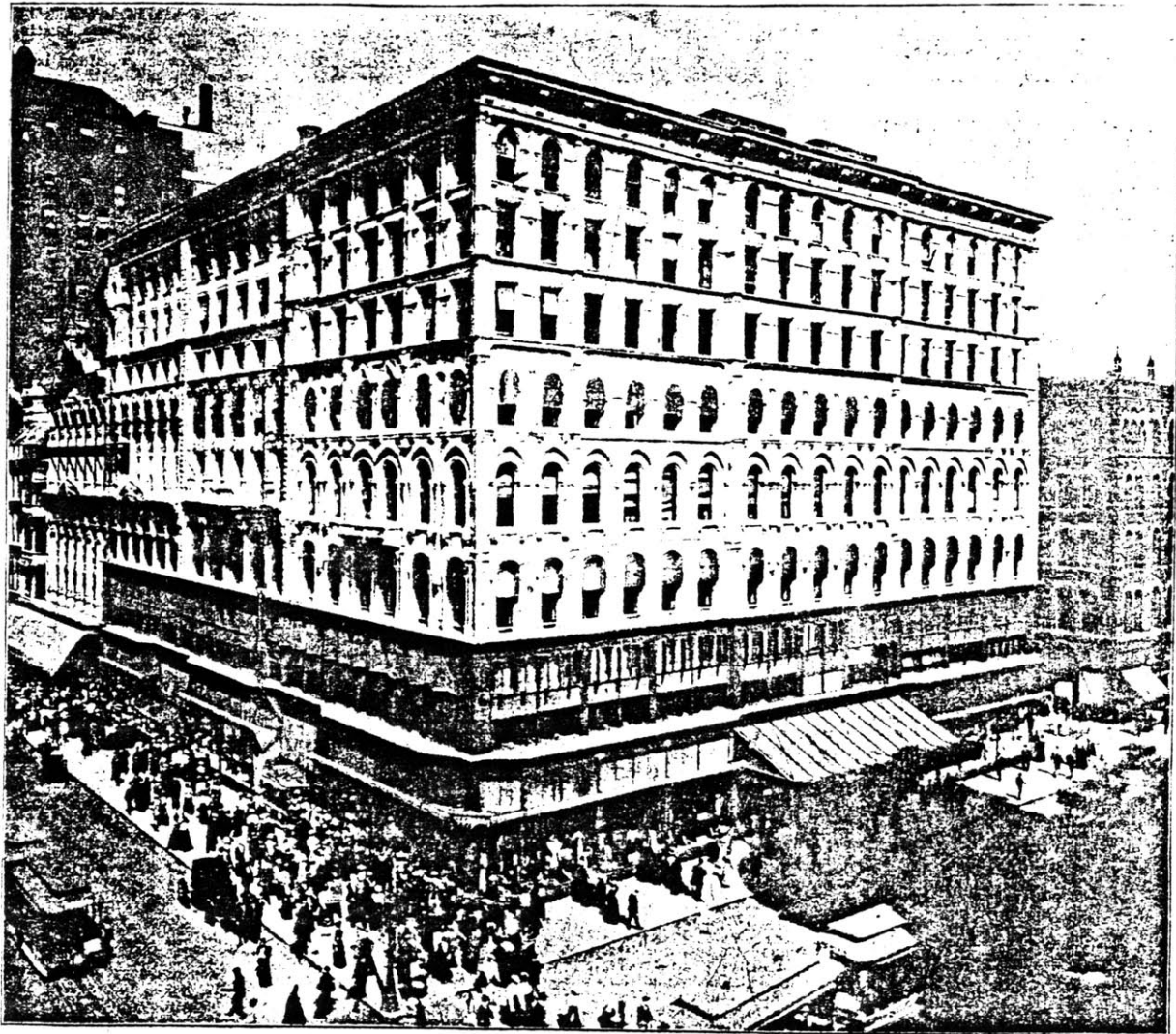




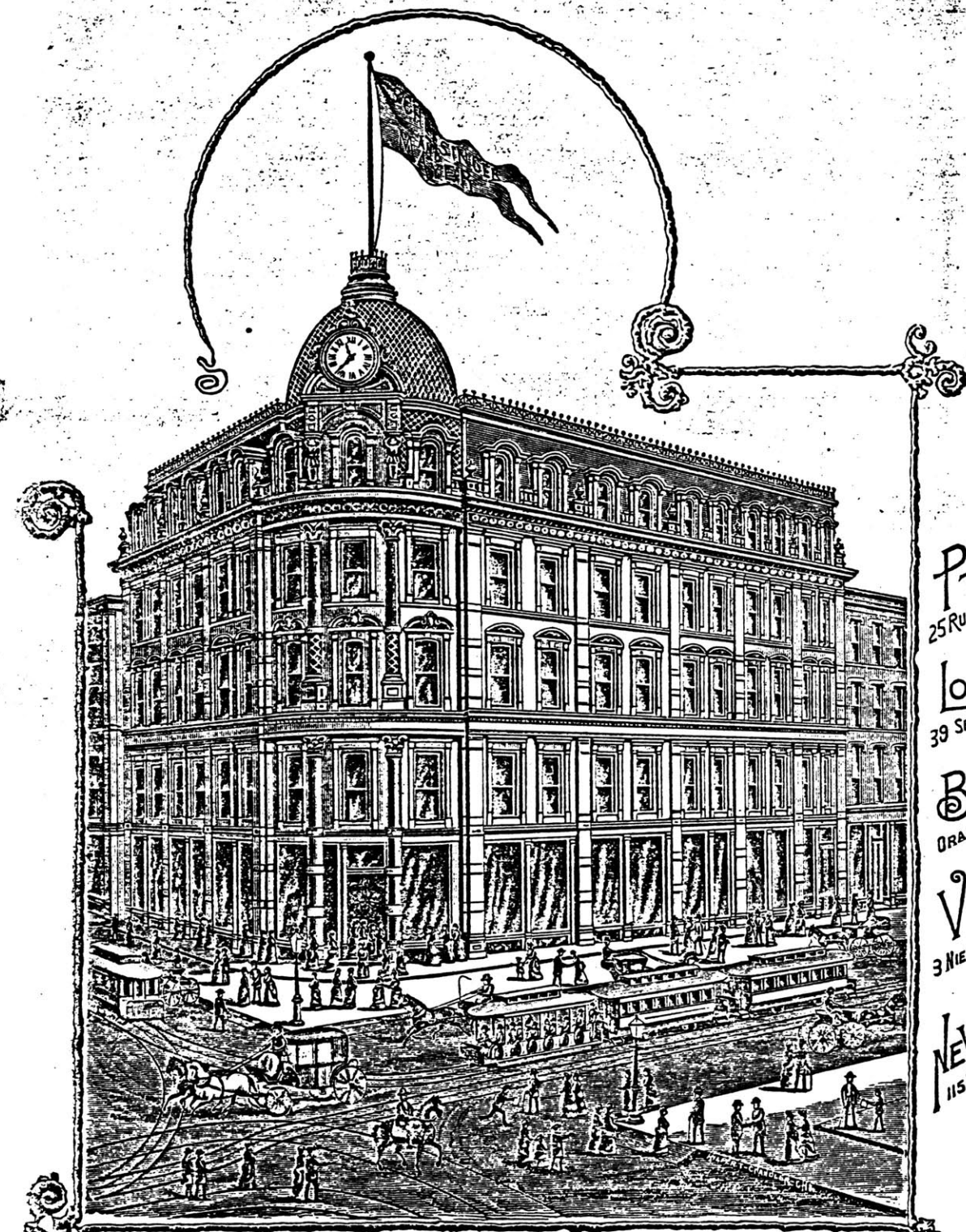


MANDEL BROS.' NEW FRONT.





GENERAL VIEW, SHOWING REMODELING WITH ORNAMENTAL IRON AND LUXFER PRISMS.



PARIS,
25 RUE D'HAUTEVILLE

LONDON,
39 SEETHING LANE

BERLIN,
ORANIEN STRASSE

VIENNA,
3 NIEBELUNGENGASSE

NEW YORK,
115 WORTH STREET.

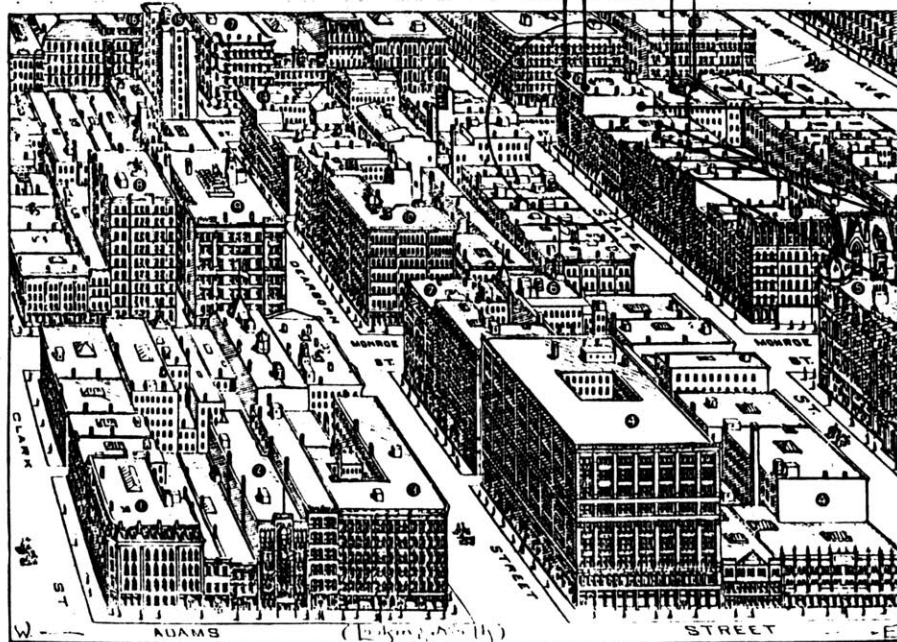
STATE AND MADISON STS.

CHICAGO.

Original Bowen Building Extending to 129 State Street
Acquired by Schlesinger and Mayer 1881

Two Bay Addition to Bowen Building to 133-135 State Street 1885

Nos. 52-56 Madison Street Leased by Schlesinger and Mayer 1898



Addition of 5th and 6th Stories
through 135 State Street 1890-91

Nos. 137-139 and 141-143 State
Street Acquired 1890; Addition
of two stories in 1897

No. 145 State Street Leased 1897

Properties south through No.145
State Street and east through
No.56 Madison Street Provided
Site for Sullivan's Building
of 1899-1903.

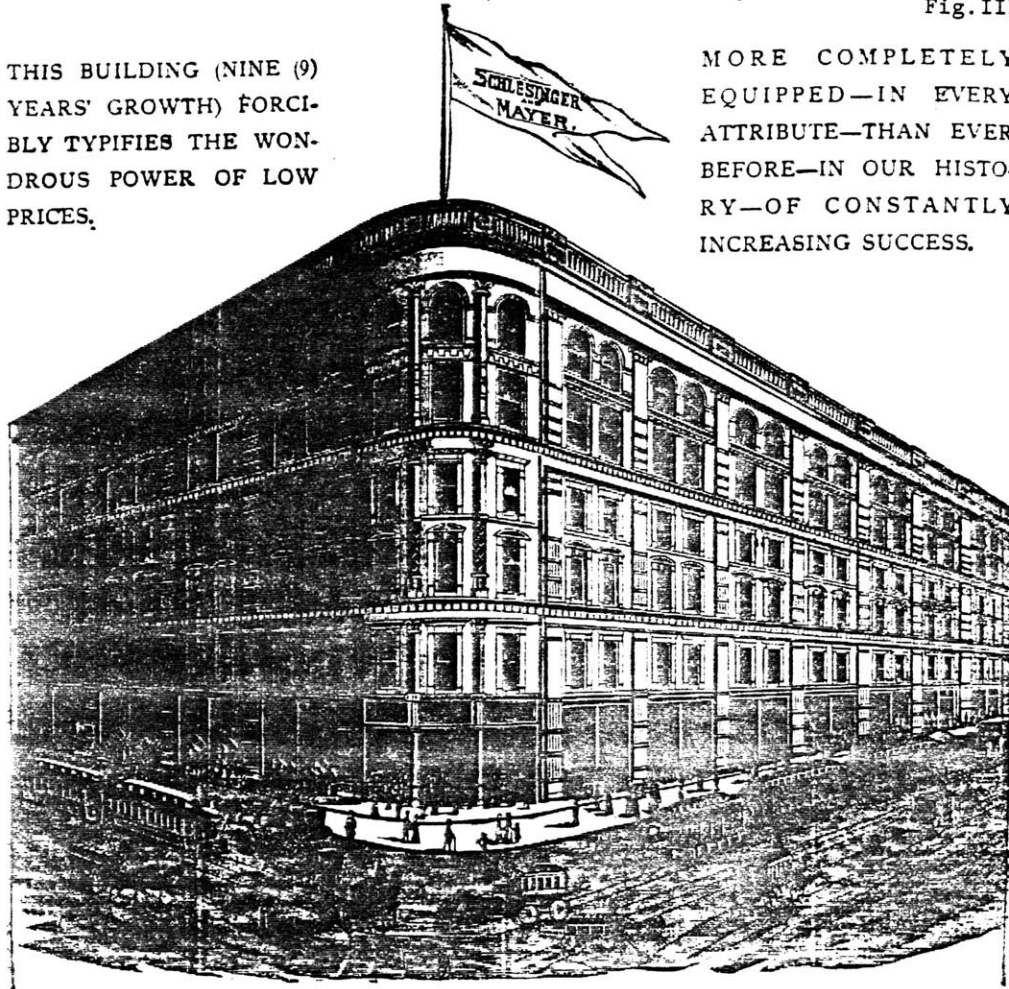
FROM ADAM STREET, NORTH ON STATE STREET

FIG. III-2

Fig. III-3

THIS BUILDING (NINE (9) YEARS' GROWTH) FORCIBLY TYPIFIES THE WONDROUS POWER OF LOW PRICES.

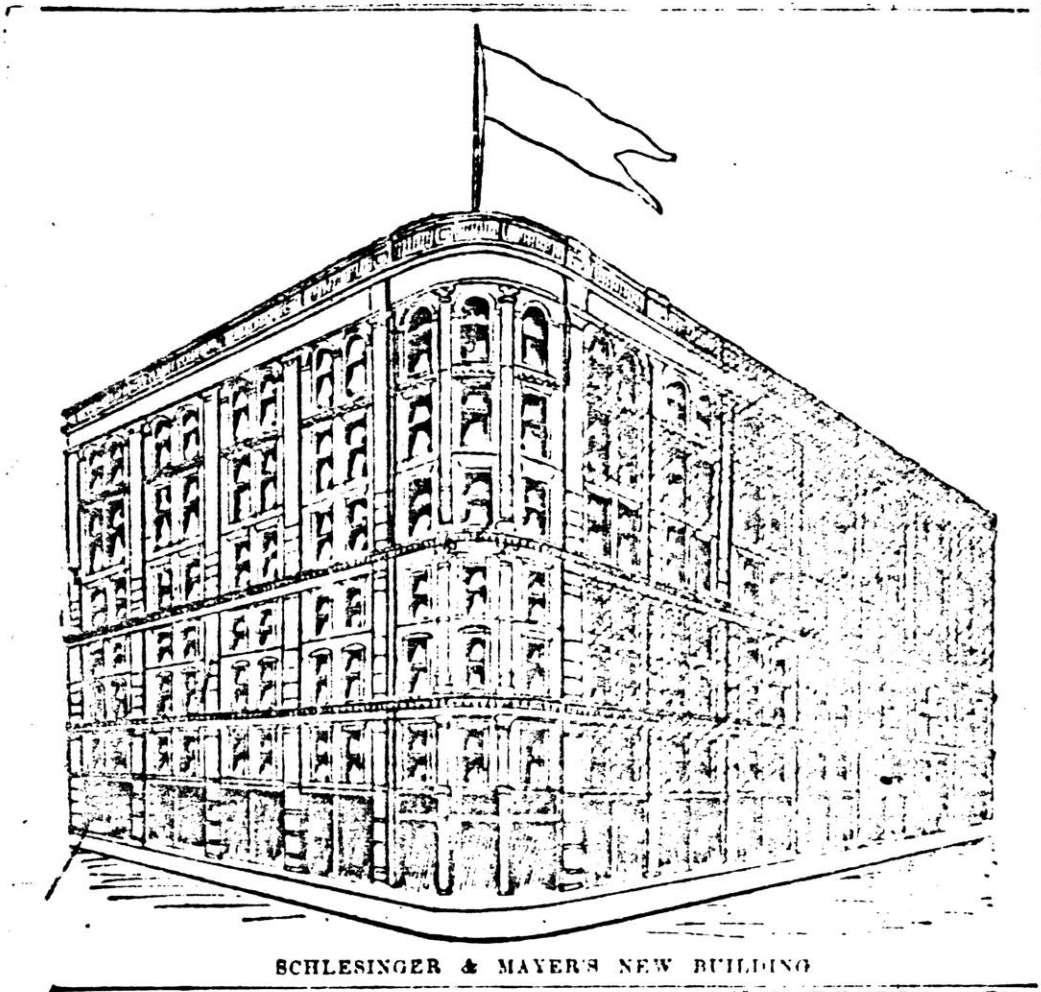
MORE COMPLETELY EQUIPPED—IN EVERY ATTRIBUTE—THAN EVER BEFORE—IN OUR HISTORY—OF CONSTANTLY INCREASING SUCCESS.



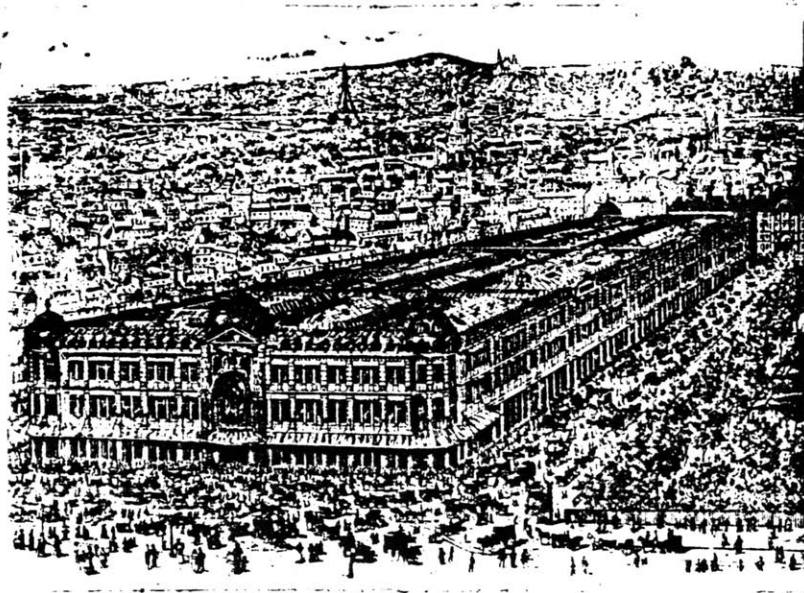
→ "AS IT WILL BE"—SEPT. 1, 1890.

**SCHLESINGER
AND
MAYER.**
IMPORTING RETAILERS.

→ YOU ARE INVITED MONDAY AND TUESDAY, MAY 5TH-6TH, TO THE NINTH "STORE BIRTHDAY," AND THE OPENING OF OUR NEW ANNEX, 137-139 STATE-ST.



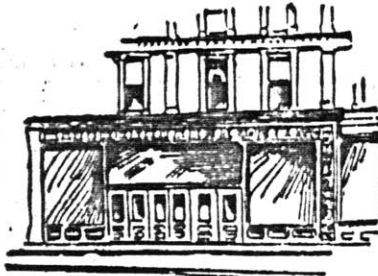
SCHLESINGER & MAYER'S NEW BUILDING



AMONG ARCHITECTS AND BUILDERS.

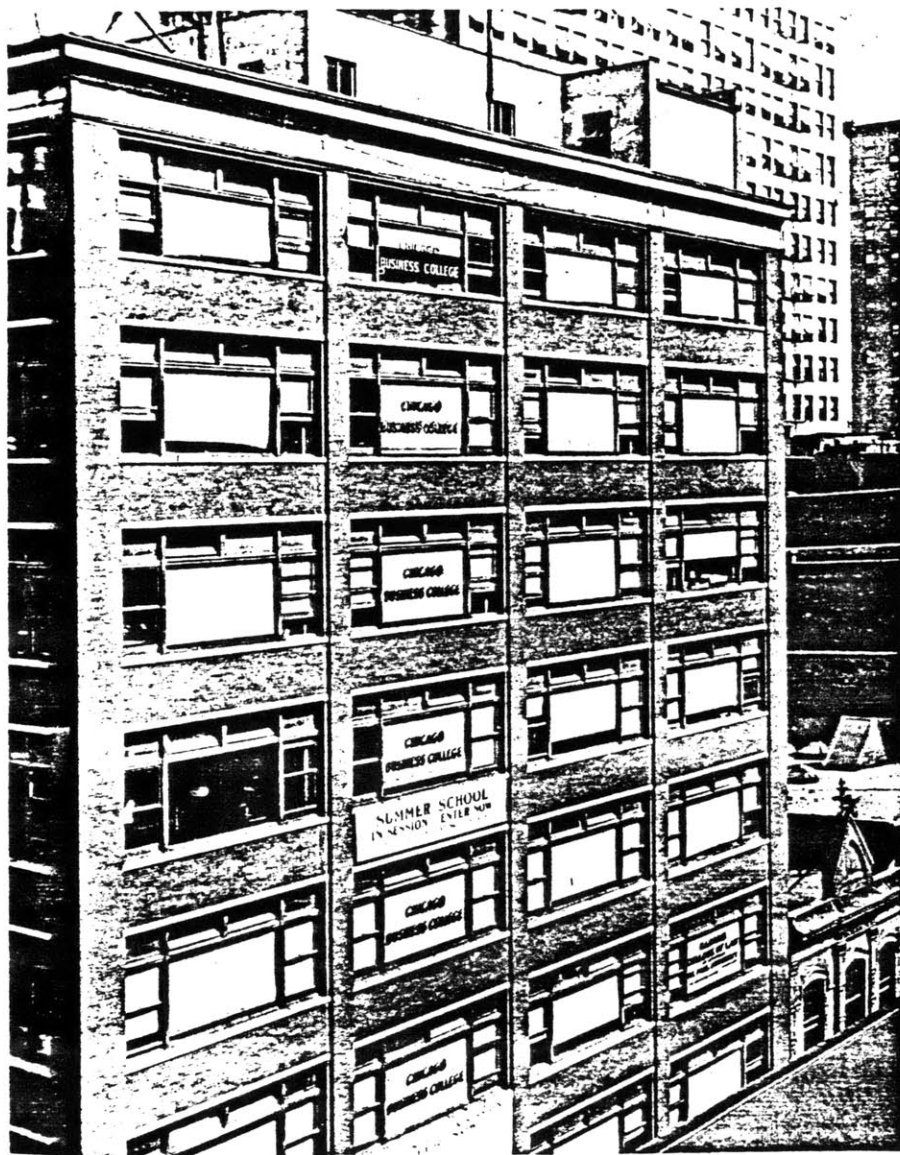
Exterior Improvements Planned for a State Street Retail Store.

Changes are contemplated by the firm of Schlesinger & Mayer which will materially alter the appearance of their State street store. They have just taken possession of the store at No. 143 State street and have fitted it up temporarily while alterations are being made on the State street frontage. It is rumored that leaseholds of the property in the rear of their State street holding extending through to Wabash avenue have been secured and that the firm will have a frontage on that thoroughfare of about 100 feet. Adler & Sullivan have made plans for an elegant entrance to be built into the State street front at Nos. 141 and 143. The designs made by them are elaborate and provide for one of the handsomest vestibuled entrances on the street.

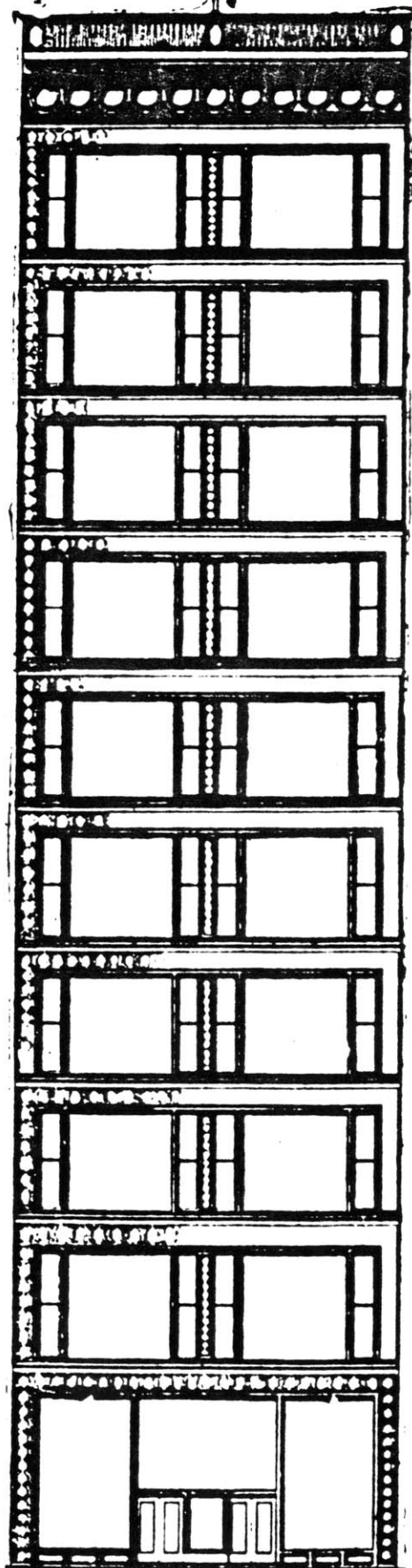


NEW STATE STREET ENTRANCE.

It is to be 40 feet in width and will be about 15 or 20 feet deep. The frame will be of iron with massive angles. The doorway through the entrance will be 25 feet wide and will be flanked by two 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ -foot plate-glass windows. A 25-foot plate-glass window will extend across the top of the doors, which will be six in number. The floor of the vestibule will be of mosaic, while the interior finish will be in oak. The entire main floor of the building is to be rearranged and thrown into one large store, which will be about 200 feet long.



CHICAGO BUSINESS COLLEGE, 1910
D. H. BURNHAM AND COMPANY



BUILDING FOR SCHLESINGER & MAYER.

Fig. III-9

FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1897

1872

SCHLESINGER MAYER

1897

State, Madison, through to Wabash, 8 Store Entrances and Special Low-Cost Program.

The S. & M. Anniversary Mile Stone

We congratulate the Chicago Tribune

A Great and Growing Store.

In 1872 this store contained 2,000 square feet of selling space. In 1882, 12,000 square feet. In 1892, 20,000 square feet. In 1897, 40,000 square feet. In 1907, 120,000 square feet. In 1917, 200,000 square feet. In 1927, 400,000 square feet. In 1937, 800,000 square feet. In 1947, 1,200,000 square feet. In 1957, 1,800,000 square feet. In 1967, 2,500,000 square feet. In 1977, 3,500,000 square feet. In 1987, 4,500,000 square feet. In 1997, 5,500,000 square feet. In 2007, 6,500,000 square feet. In 2017, 7,500,000 square feet. In 2027, 8,500,000 square feet. In 2037, 9,500,000 square feet. In 2047, 10,500,000 square feet. In 2057, 11,500,000 square feet. In 2067, 12,500,000 square feet. In 2077, 13,500,000 square feet. In 2087, 14,500,000 square feet. In 2097, 15,500,000 square feet.

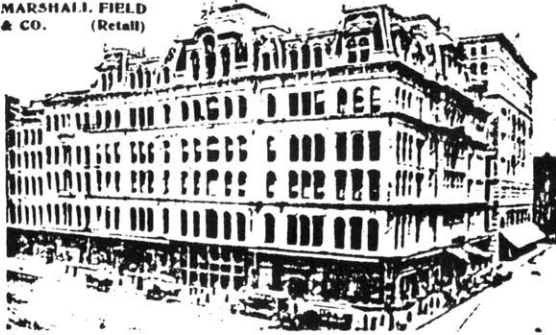
SOME OF THE **Chicago Stores** WHERE

THE ...
Nazareth Waist
(PATENTED.)

FOR WOMEN, MISSES AND BOYS
... IS SOLD ...

Wouldn't it be to your advantage to have
NAZARETH WAISTS in Stock?

MARSHALL FIELD & CO.
(Retail)



Jobbers who sell Nazareth Waists
IN CHICAGO:
Marshall Field & Co.
Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co.
Jacob Meyer & Bros.
John V. Farwell Co.

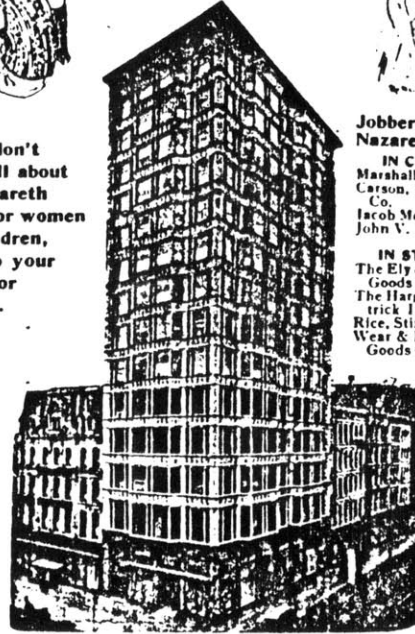
IN ST. LOUIS:
The Ely & Walker Dry Goods Co.
The Hargadine-McKittick Dry Goods Co.
Rice, Stix & Co.
Wear & Boogher Dry Goods Co.

If you don't know all about the Nazareth Waist for women and children, write to your jobber for samples.

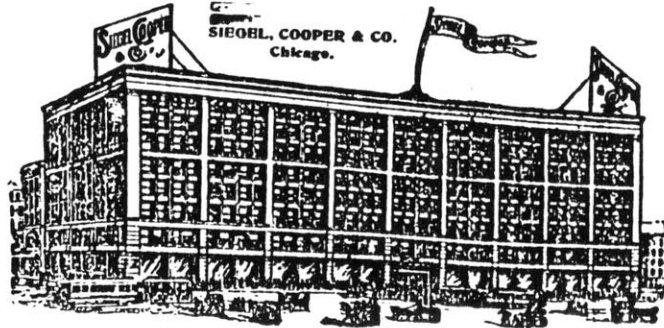


SCHLESINGER & NAVER.

THE FAIR.



CARSON, PIRIE, SCOTT & CO. (Retail.)

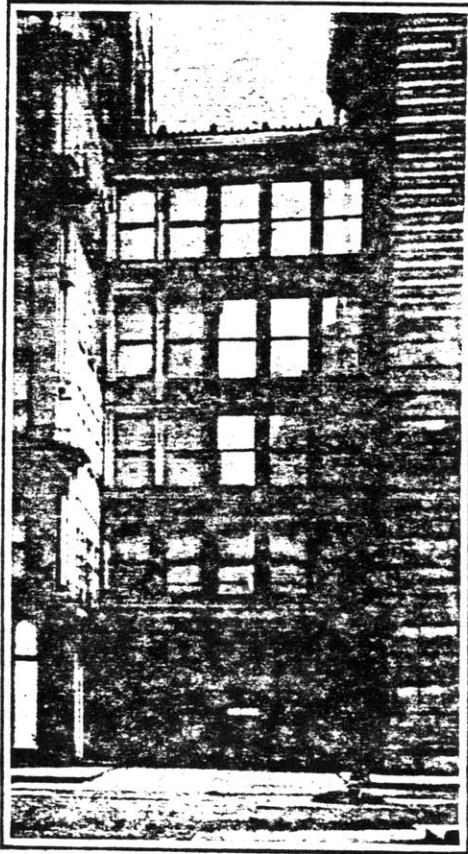


Nazareth Mfg Co.

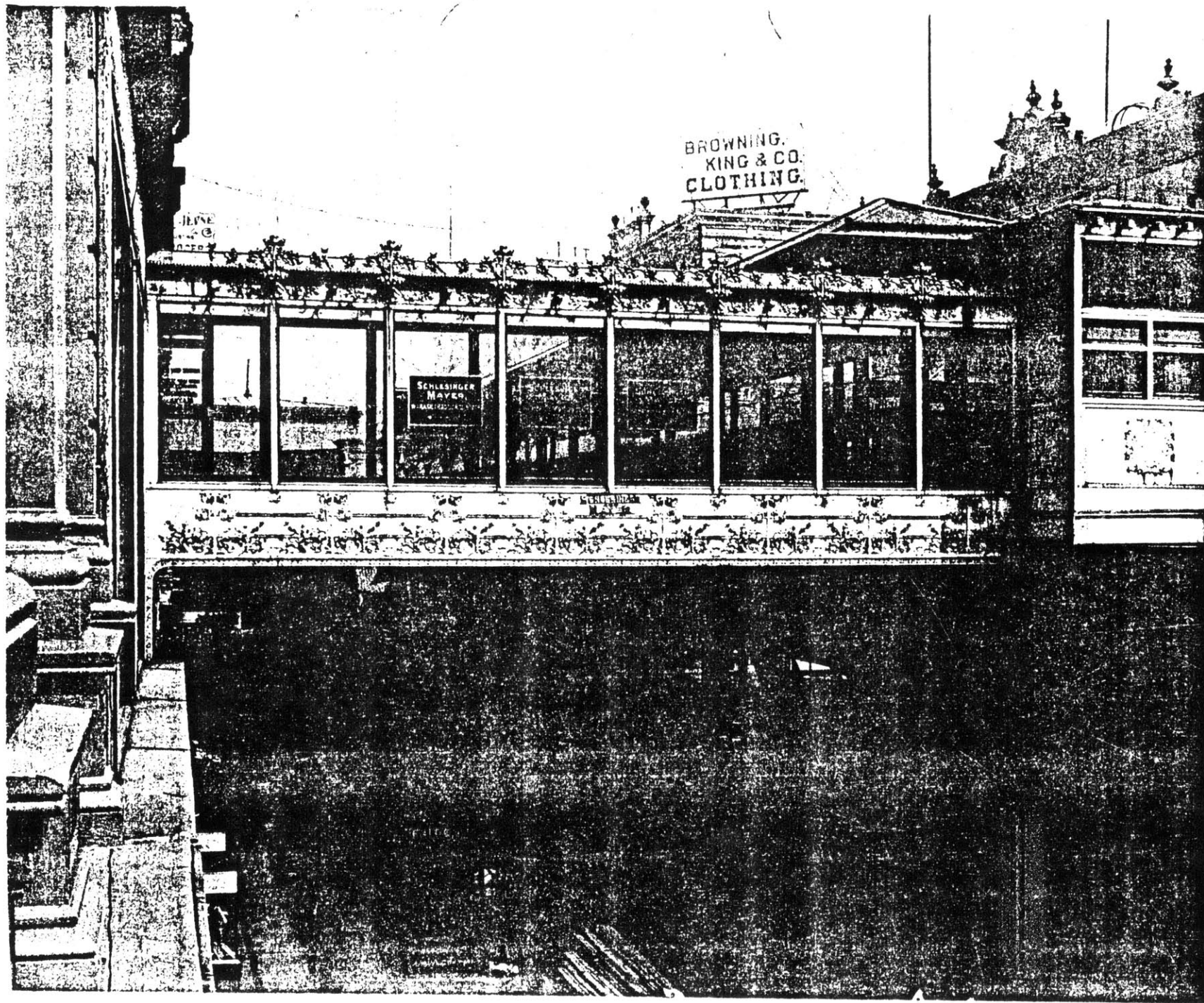
Mills at **NAZARETH, PA.** 52 Leonard St., New York.



MANDEL BROS.



THE BRIDGES SPANNING THE ALLEY THAT DIVIDES
THE FIELD BLOCK



BRIDGE FROM STORE TO ELEVATED RAILWAY, CHICAGO.

INLAND ARCHITECT PRESS.

SKETCH OF SCHLESINGER & MAYER'S PROPOSED \$1,000,000 BUILDING.



Plans for the \$1,000,000 marble building which as announced in The Tribune yesterday will be constructed by Schlesinger & Mayer at State and Madison streets, have been completed by Architect Louis H. Mulliken.

The lower two stories will consist of two-story bay window show rooms, making a display of plate-glass, framed in stately

elaborate work of simple and beautiful design. From this to the top of the building the material will be a pure white marble from the Florida quarries, the same as that used in the Executive Apartments in Washington, D.C. This material will be treated with a smooth surface combined with simplicity of line and modeling. All the windows will be large and fitted with broad panes of

plate glass set in stately bronze frames and metal gully sash. The main floor under the main marble cornice will be finished by the Madison great front will be in court so arranged that patrons may drive directly to special elevators. A part of the interior will be finished in bronze and San Domingo mahogany. The store will be

equipped with twenty-four elevators. The construction will be thoroughly fire-proof with a spacious arrangement of the volume of the interior. The frame will be entirely of steel, surrounded by a non-combustible covering. It will be the object of Schlesinger & Mayer and Architect Mulliken to make the building the most complete of its class in the world.

FIG. III-13

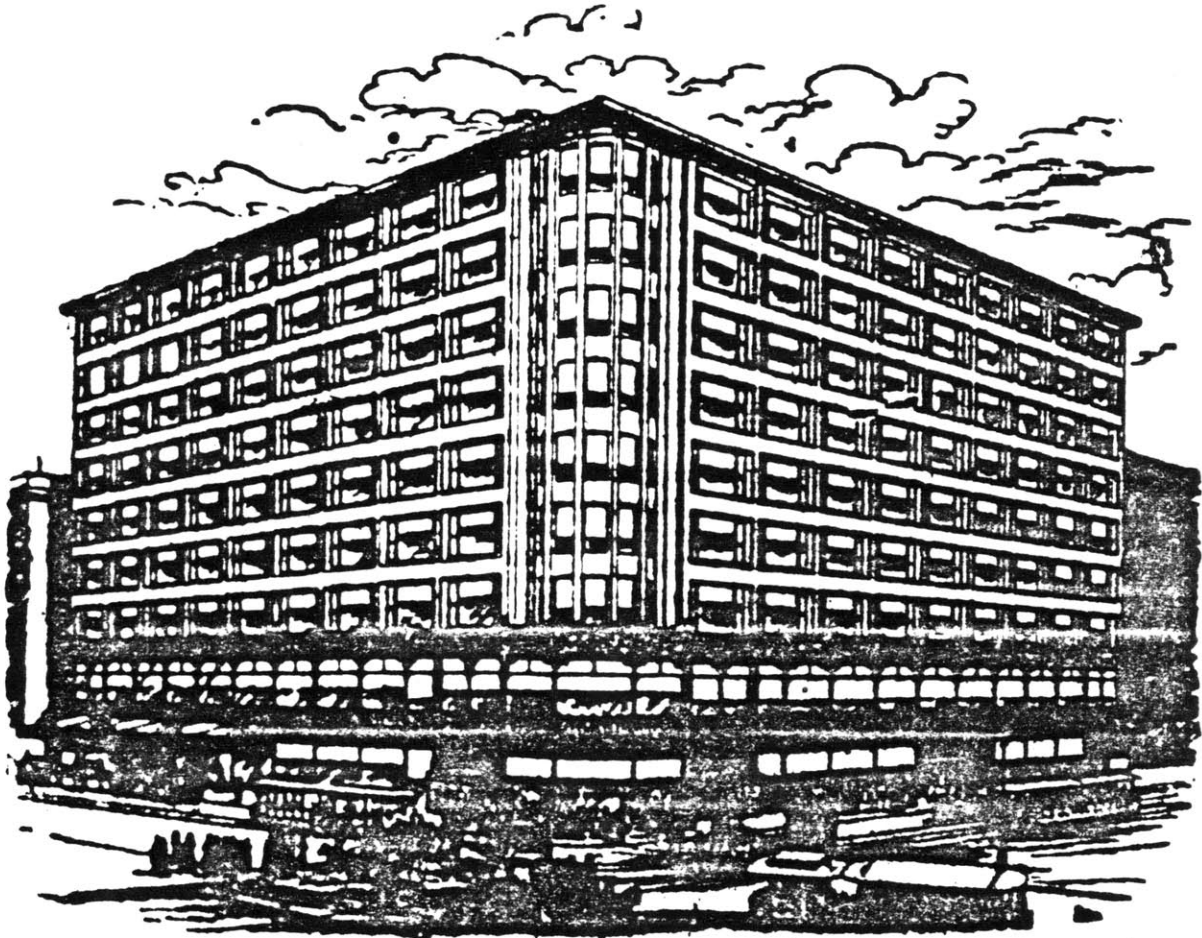


SCHLESINGER & MAYER'S NEW BUILDING.

Otis Elevators used throughout.

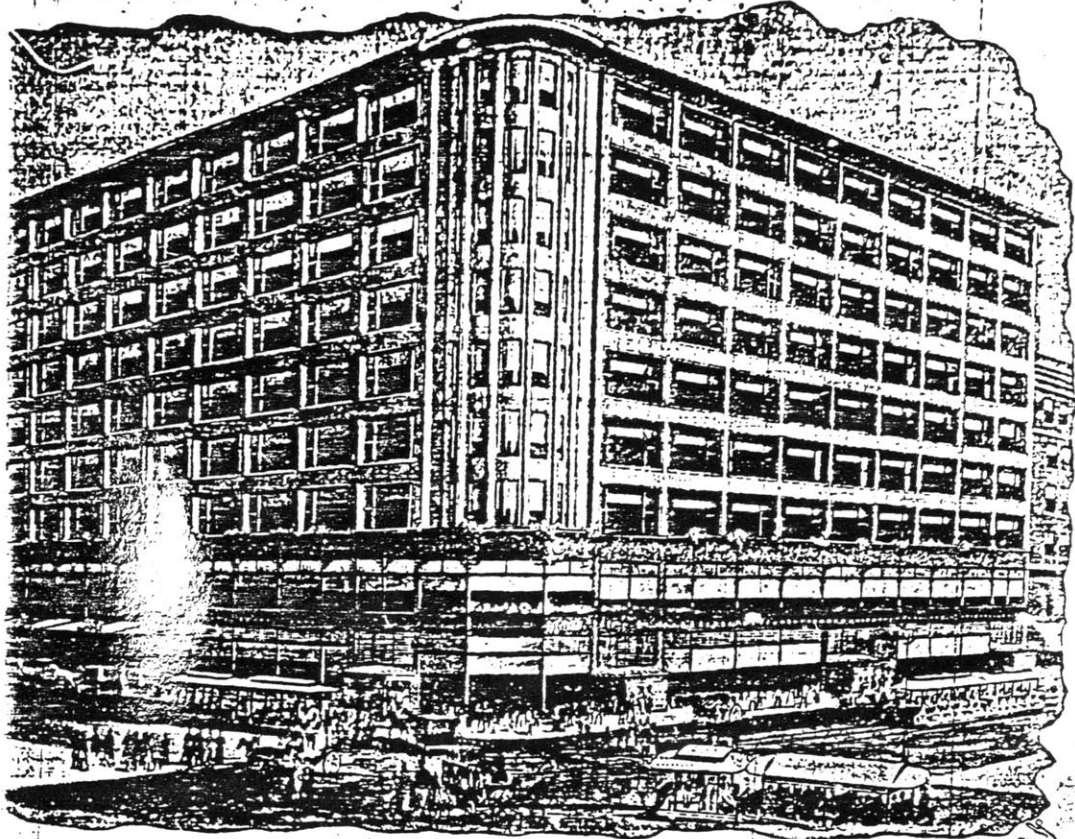
Louis H. Sullivan, Architect.

SCHLESINGER & MAYER'S PROPOSED NEW STORE.



[Elevation of the \$1,000,000 building to be erected at the southeast corner of Madison and State streets, ground for which will be broken on May 1, 1920.]

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, SUNDAY, JANUARY 1, 1906.



The new Schlesinger & Mayer \$1,000,000 marble building for which ground will be broken May 1st.

This mercantile palace will be equipped with sixteen Otis Co.'s passenger elevators, the cars to be of mahogany, inlaid, with Pullman car finish. The Luxfer prisms are to be used for the entire building, including the sidewalk. The lower two stories of this modern dry goods mart will consist of bay window show rooms, the upper portion of the windows being installed with Luxfer polished cut prisms, framed in statuary bronze and beautiful design. The masonry above will be treated with a smooth surface, combined with simplicity of line and moulding. On the street front will be a spacious porte-cochere and carriage court, so arranged that patrons may drive directly to special elevators. All parts of the building will be finished in bronze and San Domingo mahogany. This building will be thoroughly fireproof. The building will be the effort of Schlesinger & Mayer and Architect Sullivan and Engineer Adler to make the building the most complete of its class.



DRY GOODS STORE.

State and Madison Streets, Chicago, Ill.

Louis H. Sullivan, Architect.

Fig. III-18

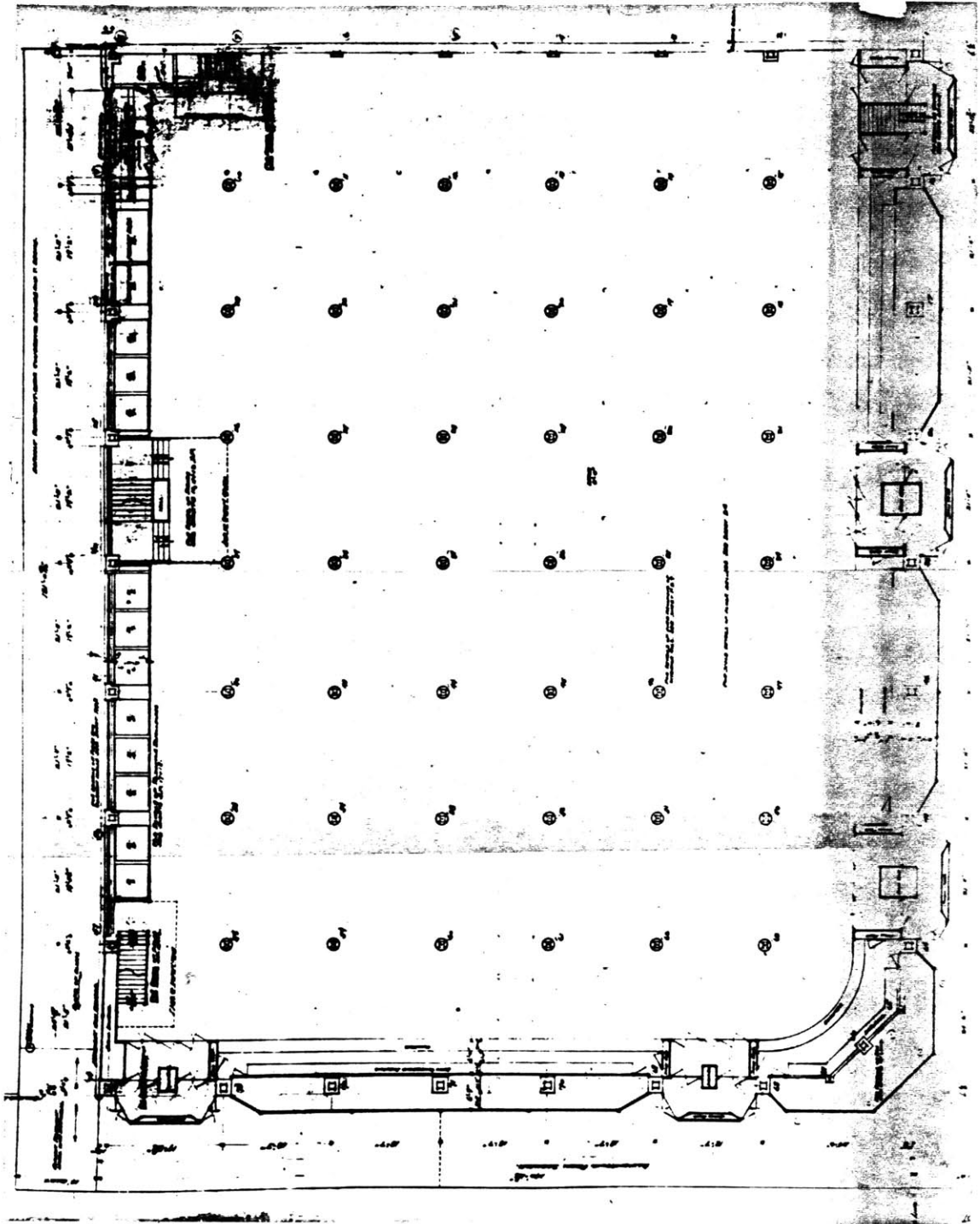
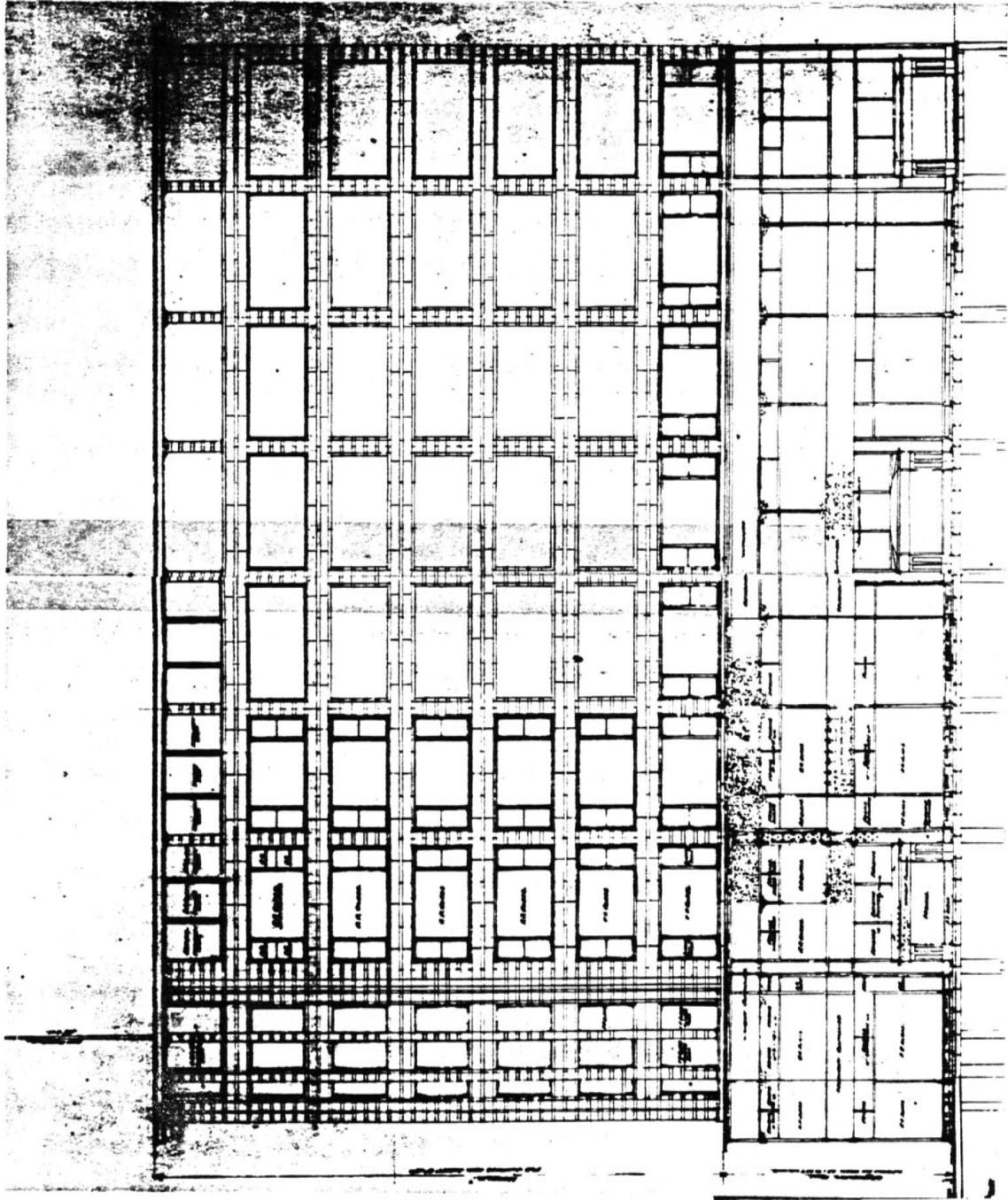


Fig. III-19



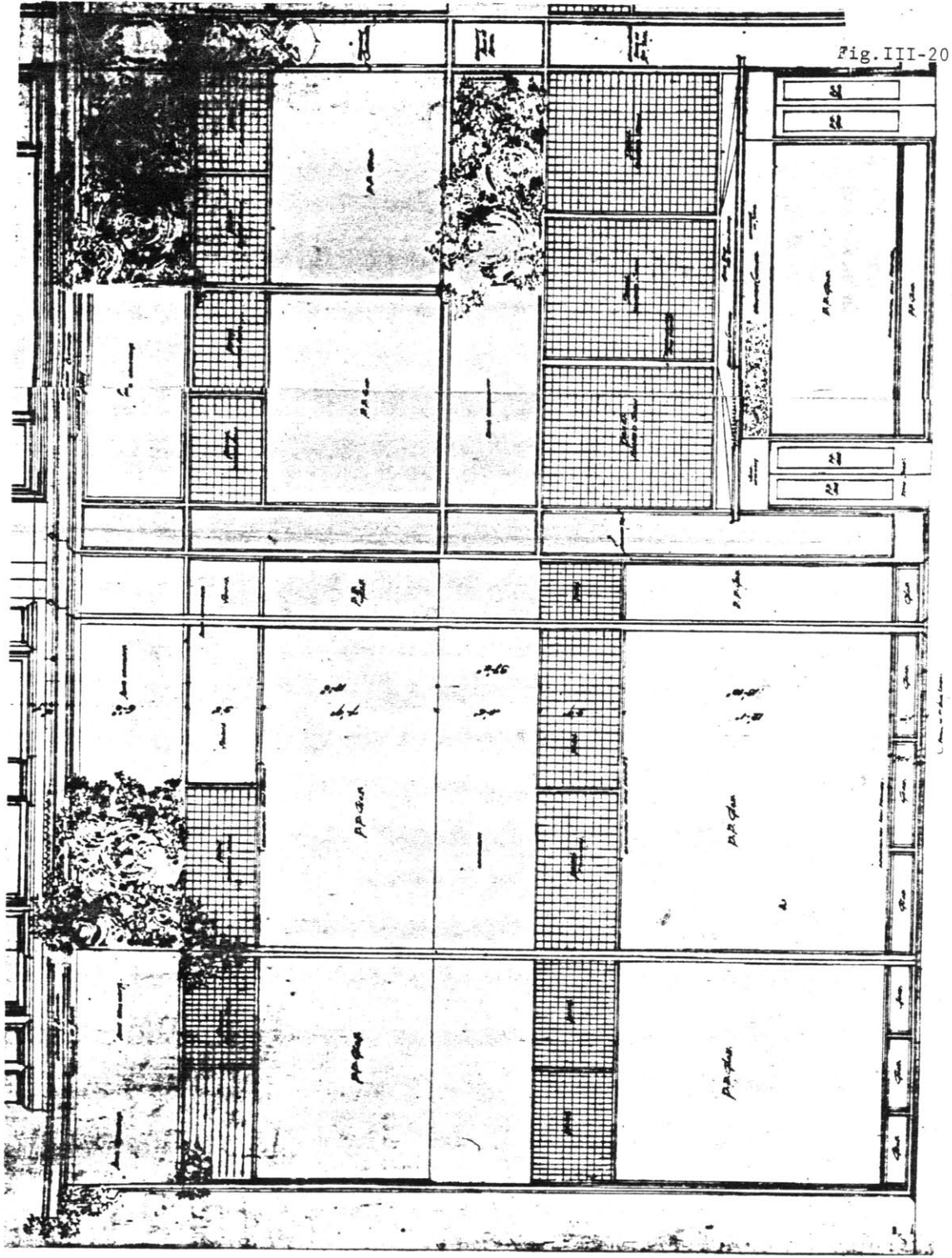


Fig. III-21

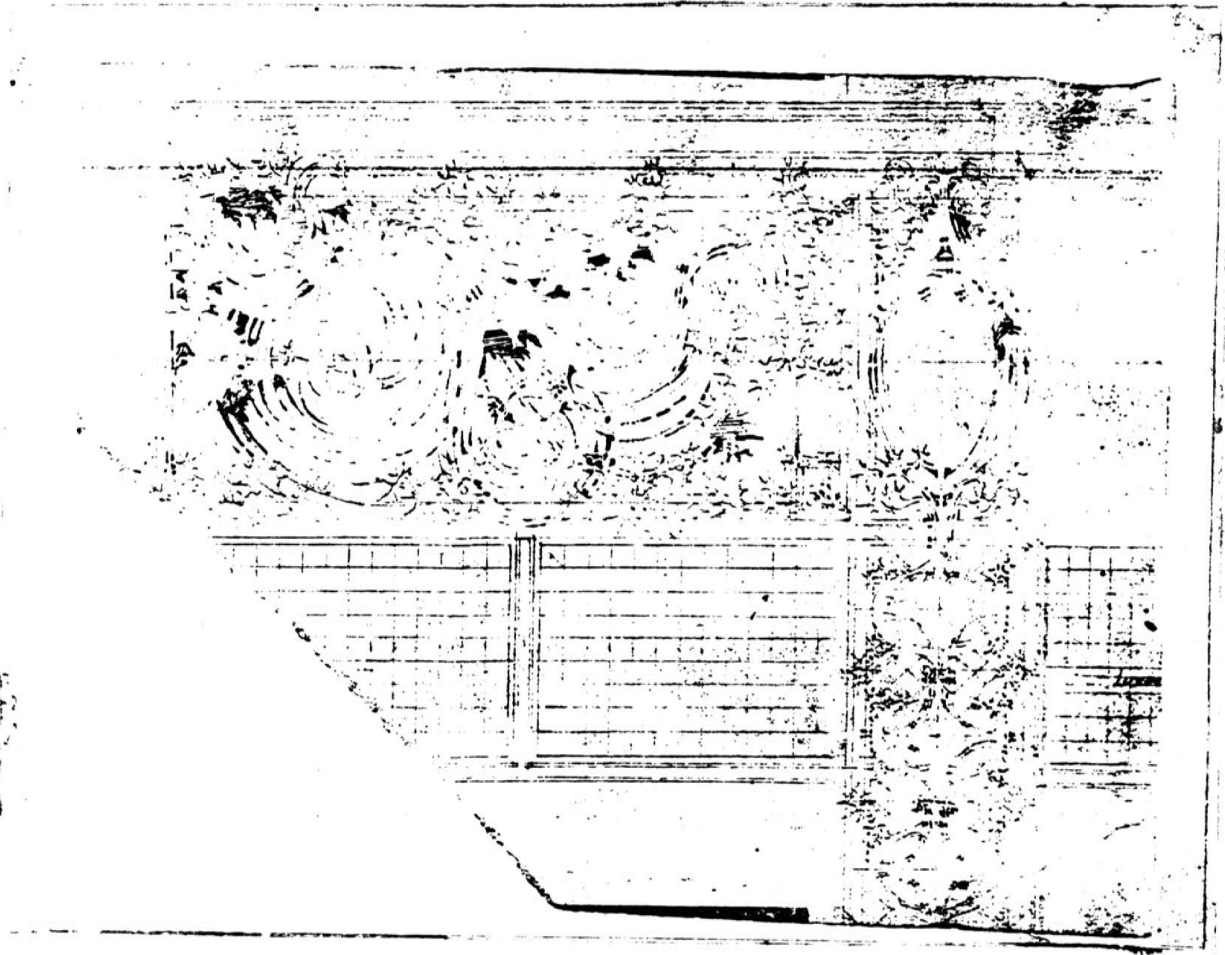
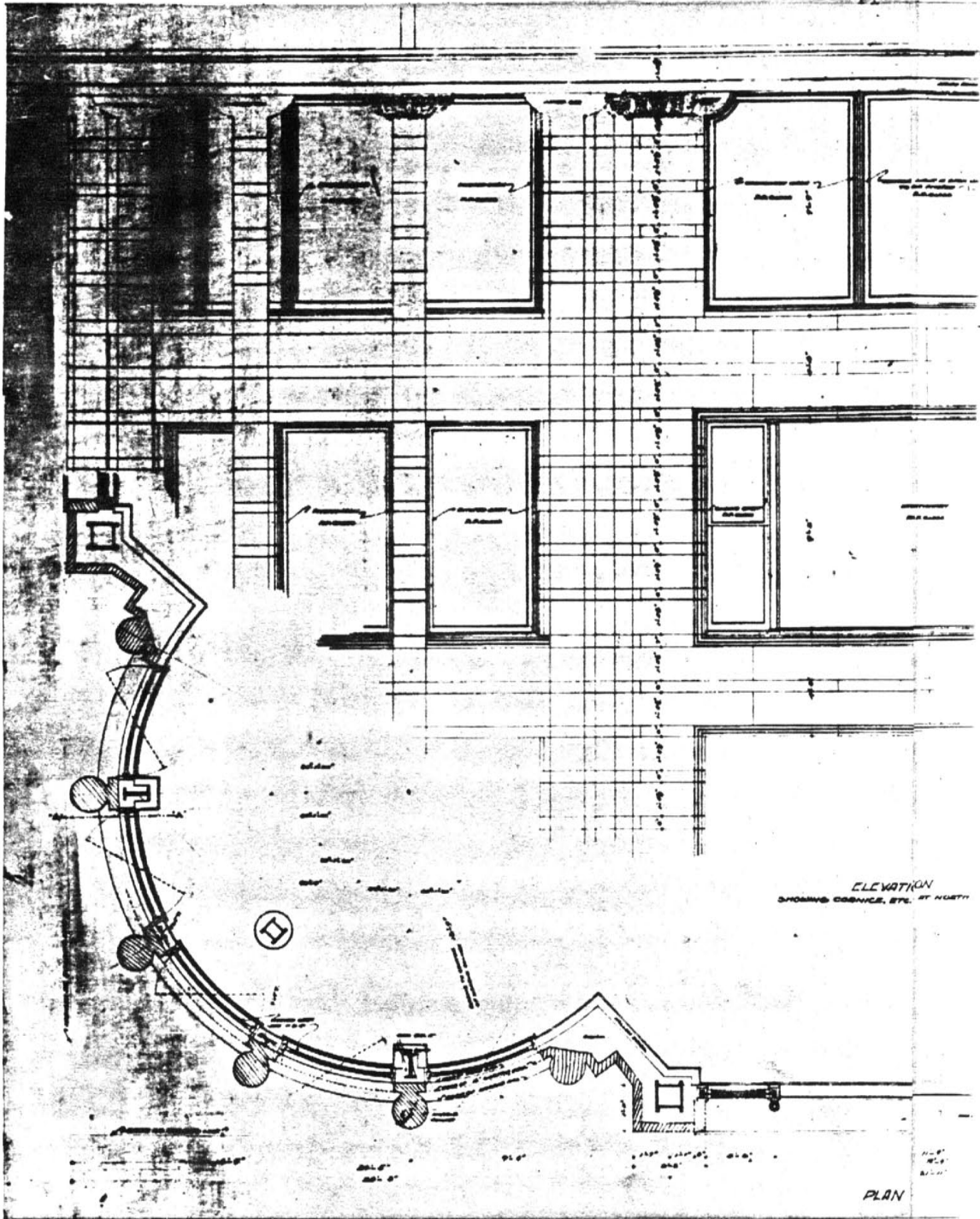
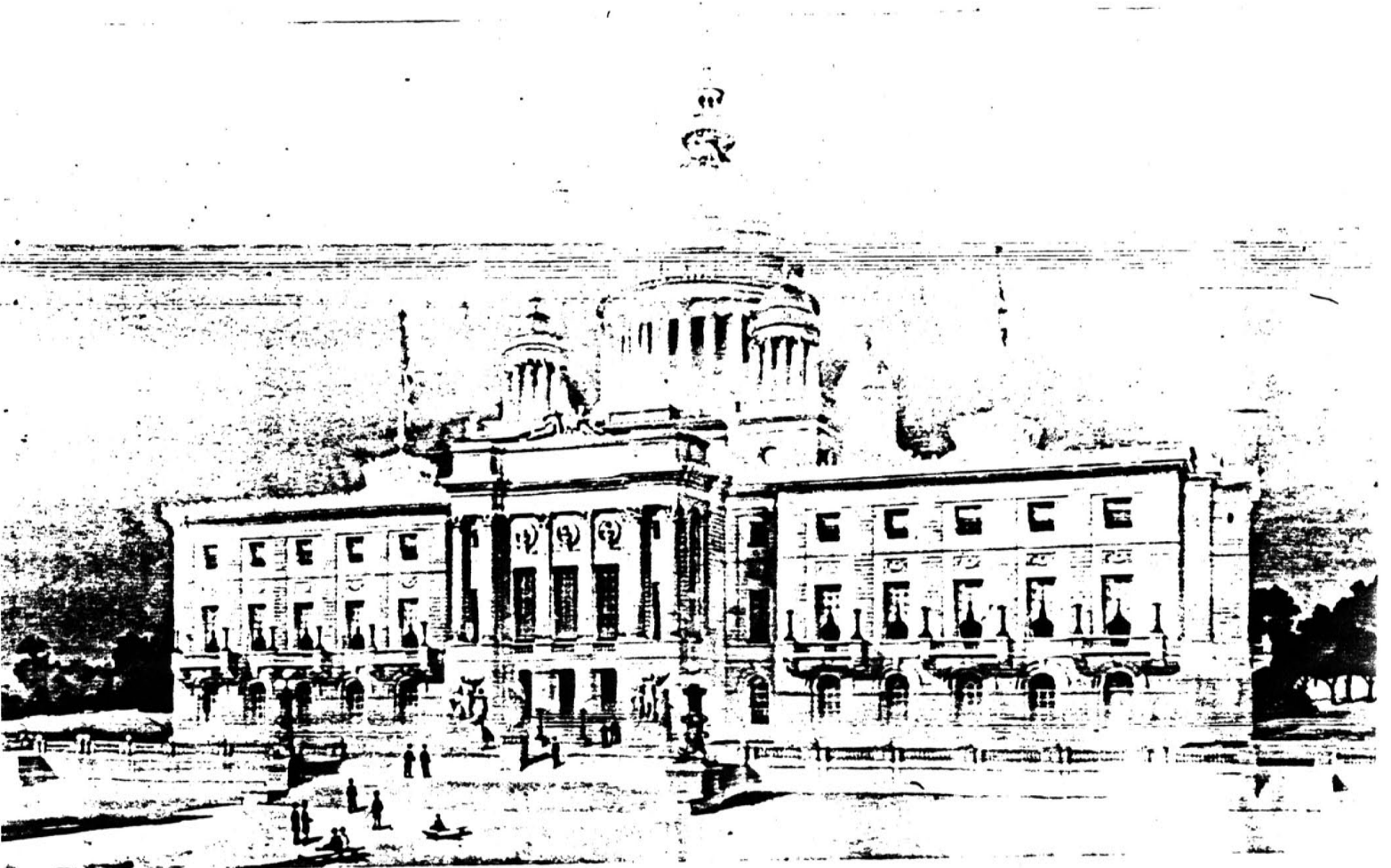
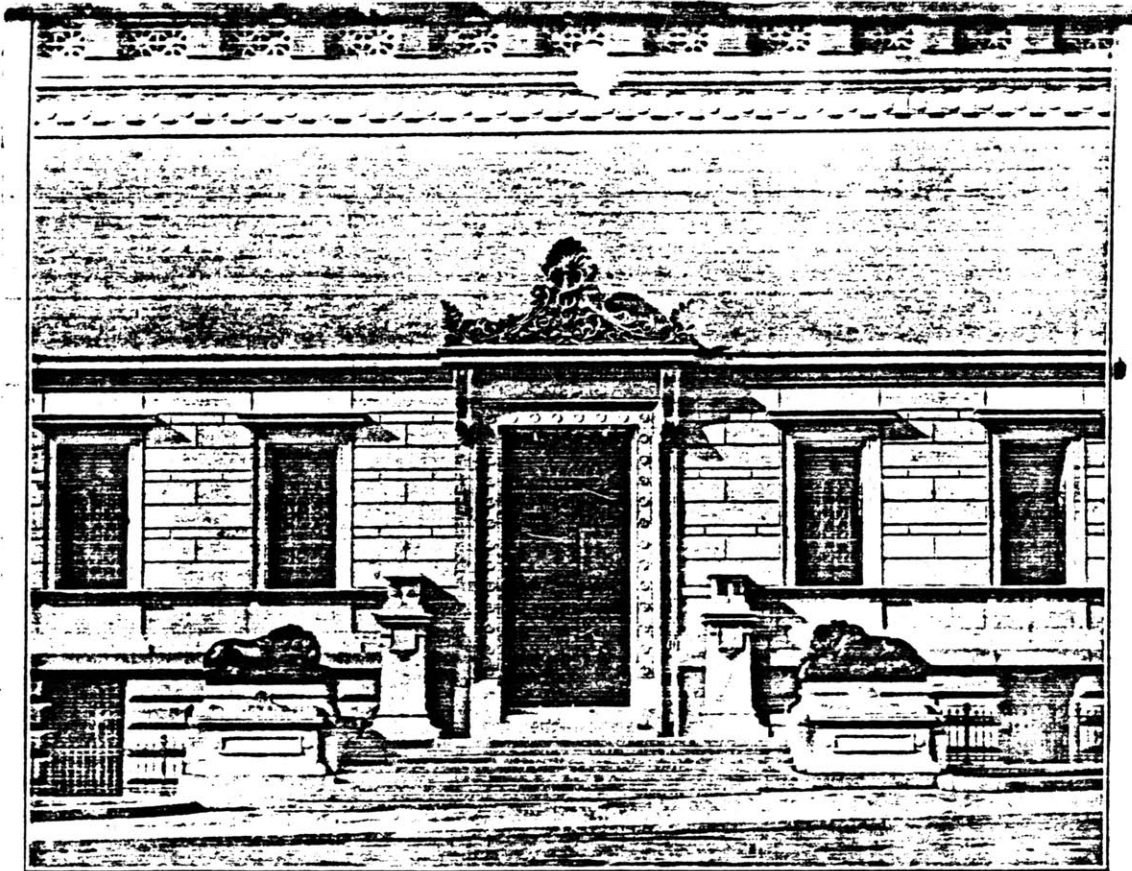


Fig. III-22







DETAIL OF THE MAIN ENTRANCE. DOORWAY OF THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART.

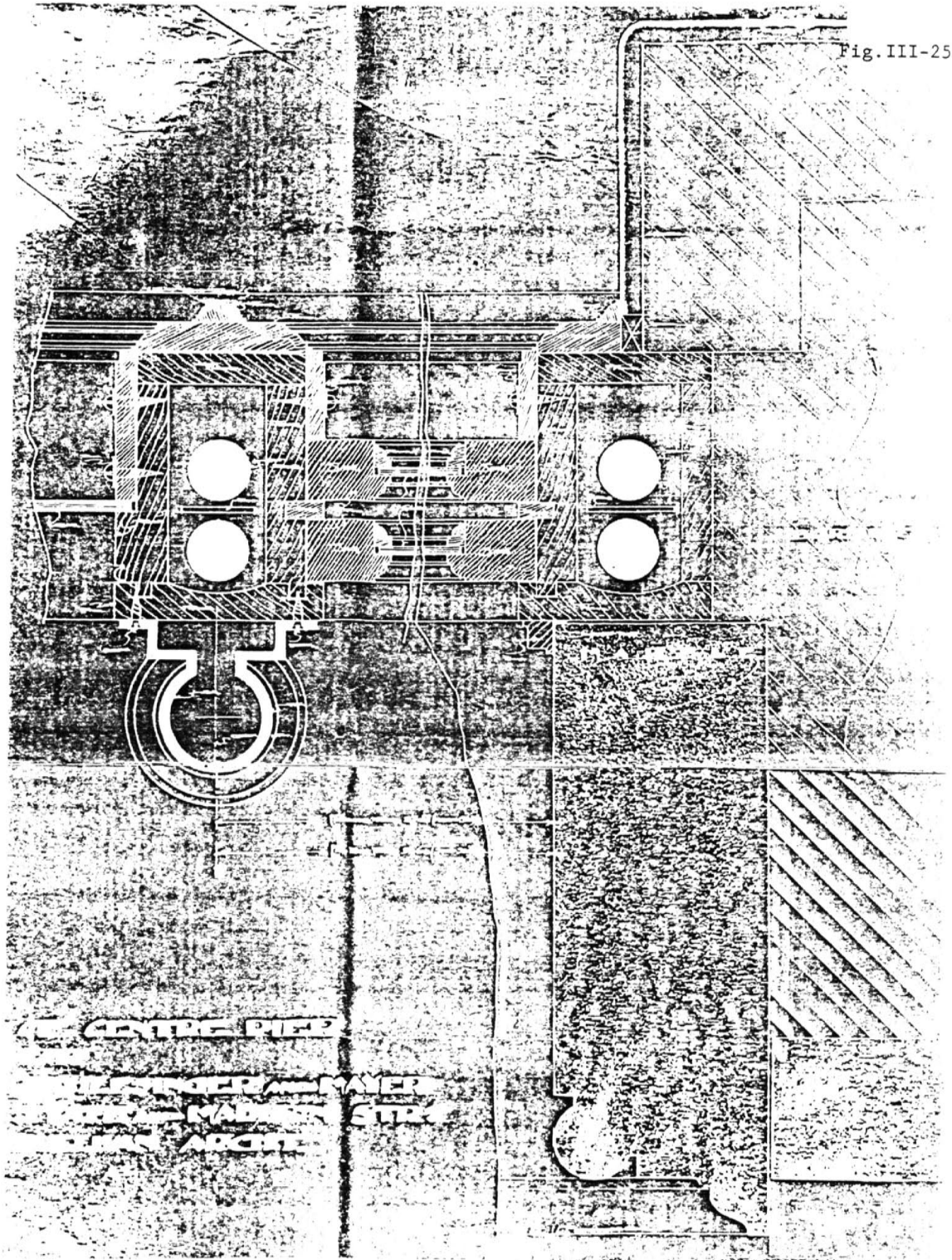


Fig. III-26

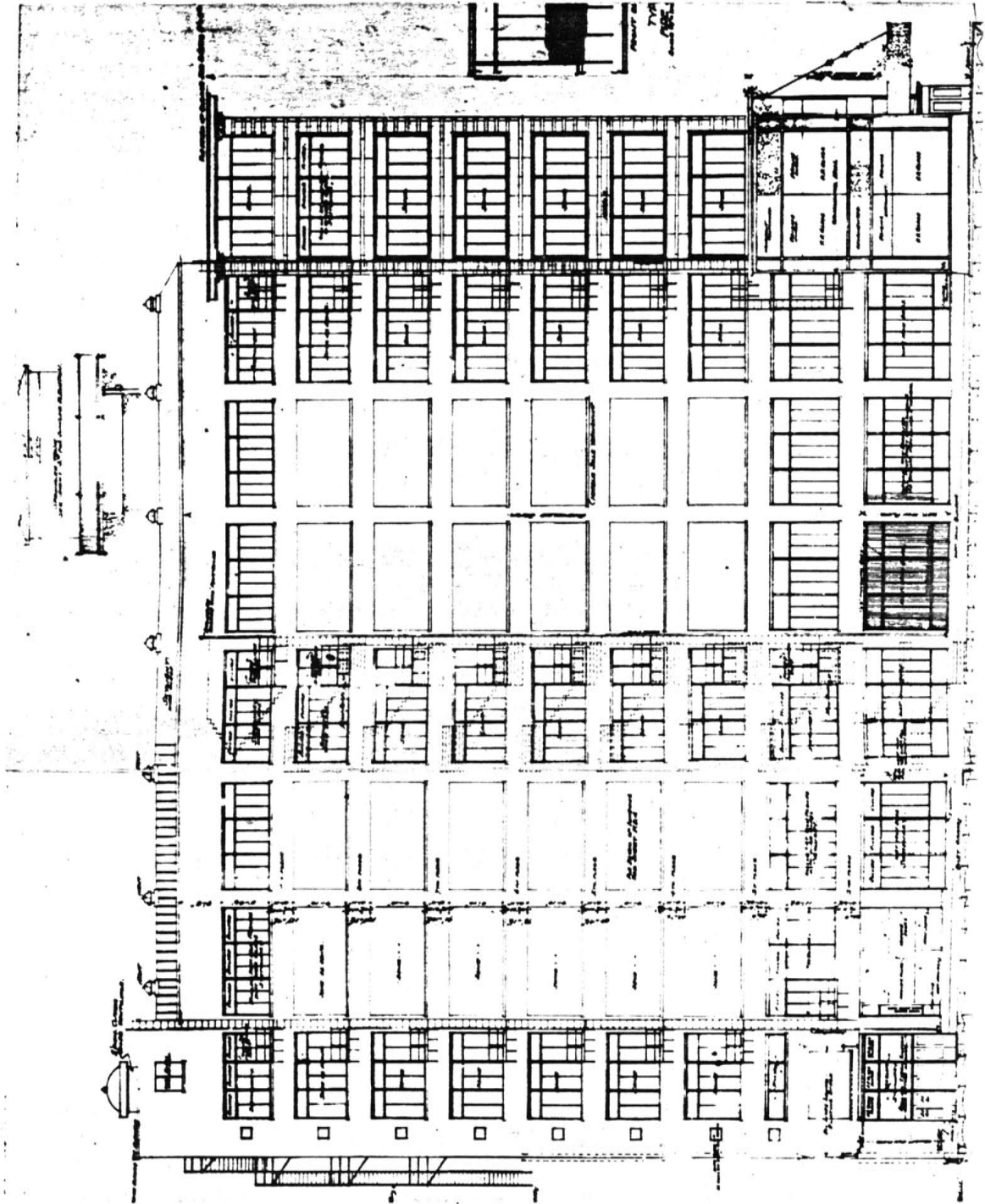


Fig. III-27

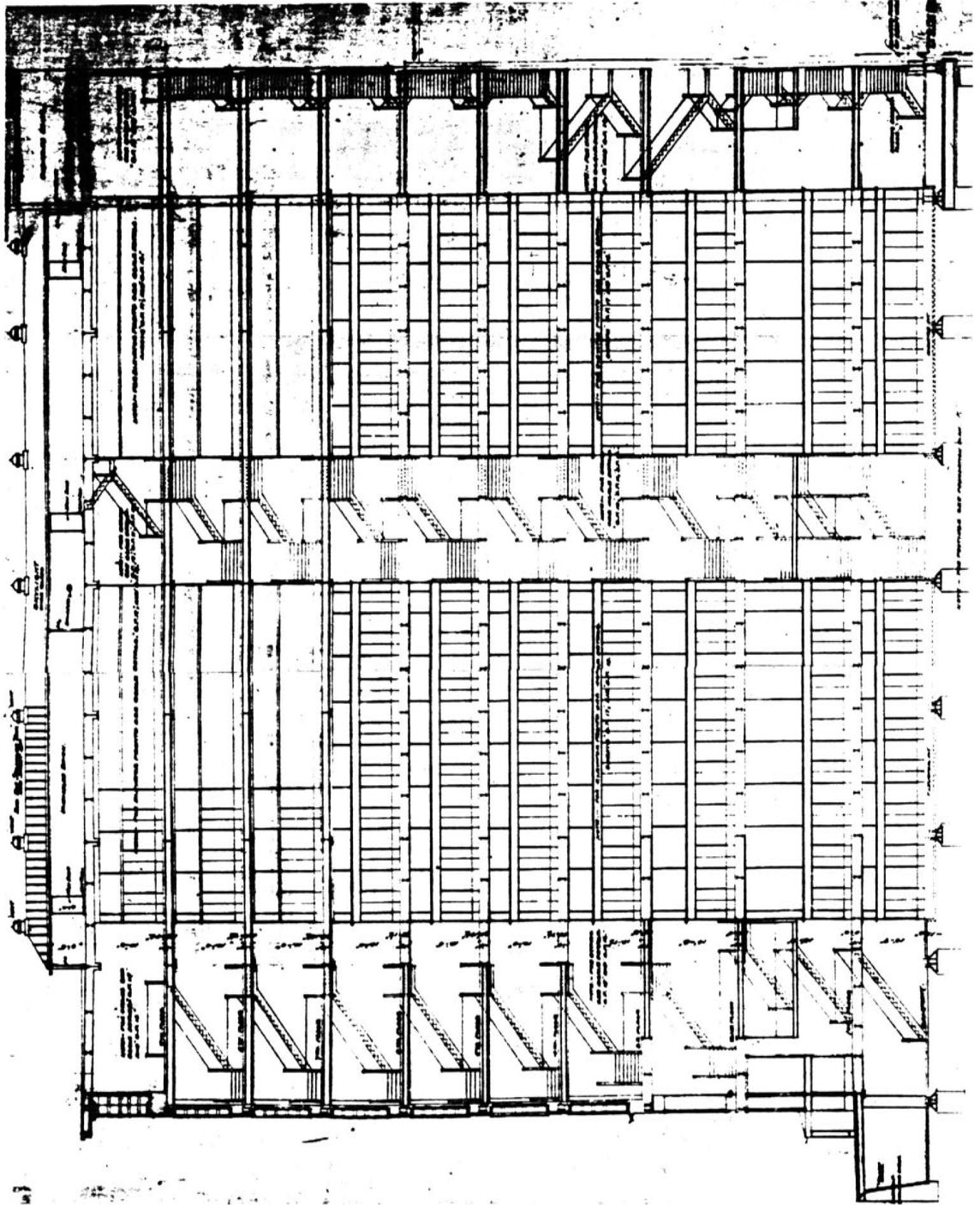


Fig. III-28

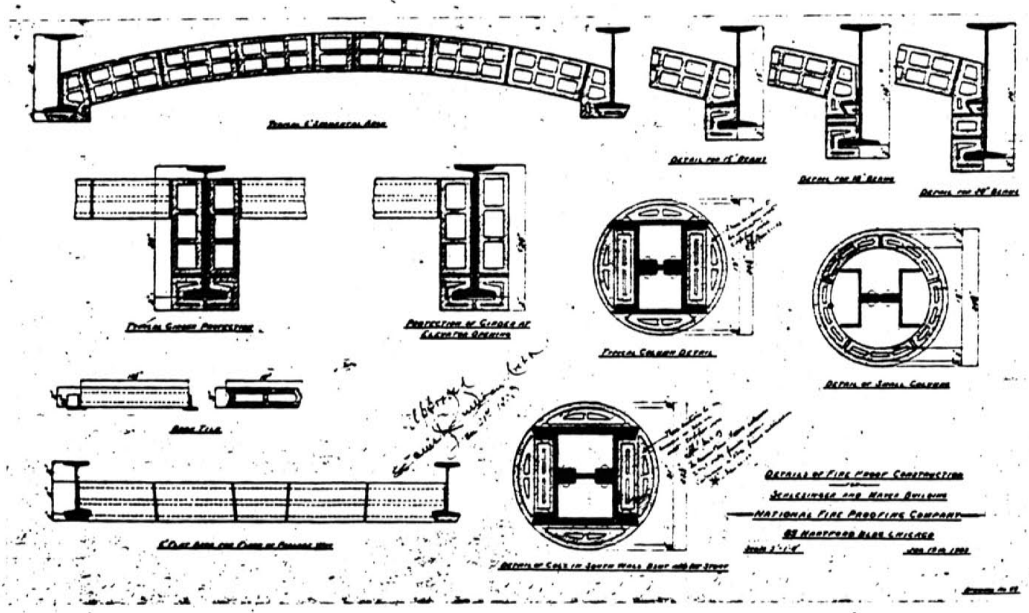
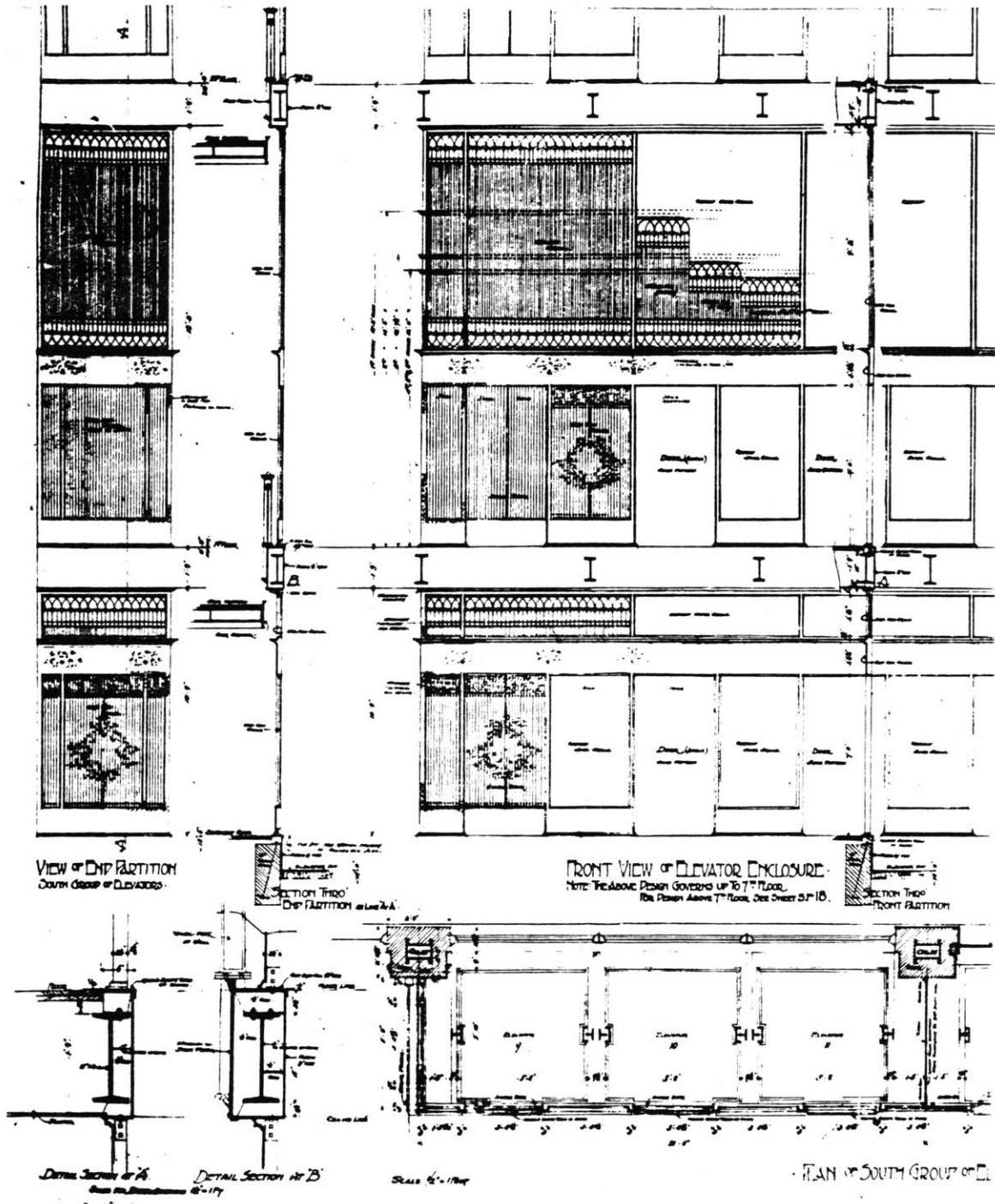


Fig. III-29



VIEW OF DWP PARTITION
SOUTH GROUP OF ELEVATORS

SECTION THREE
DWP PARTITION at Line A-A

FRONT VIEW OF ELEVATOR ENCLOSURE
NOTE: THE ABOVE DESIGN GOVERNS UP TO 7TH FLOOR.
FOR DESIGN ABOVE 7TH FLOOR, SEE SHEET 57-18.

SECTION THREE
FRONT PARTITION

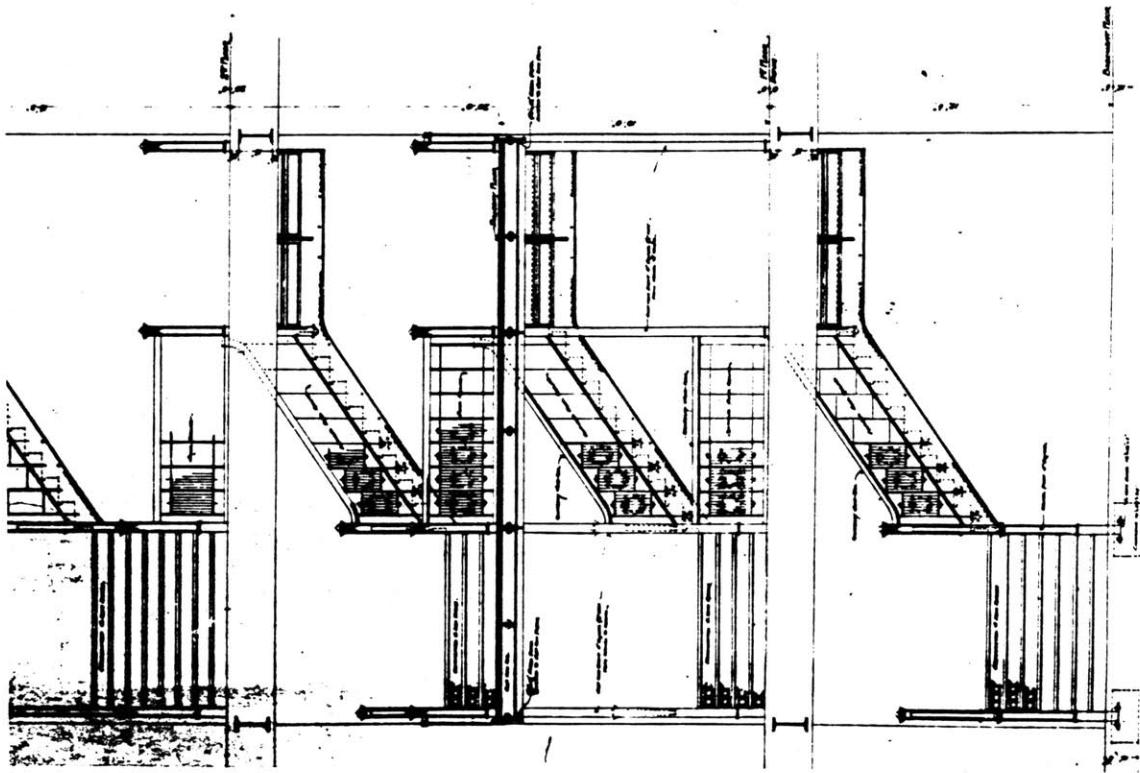
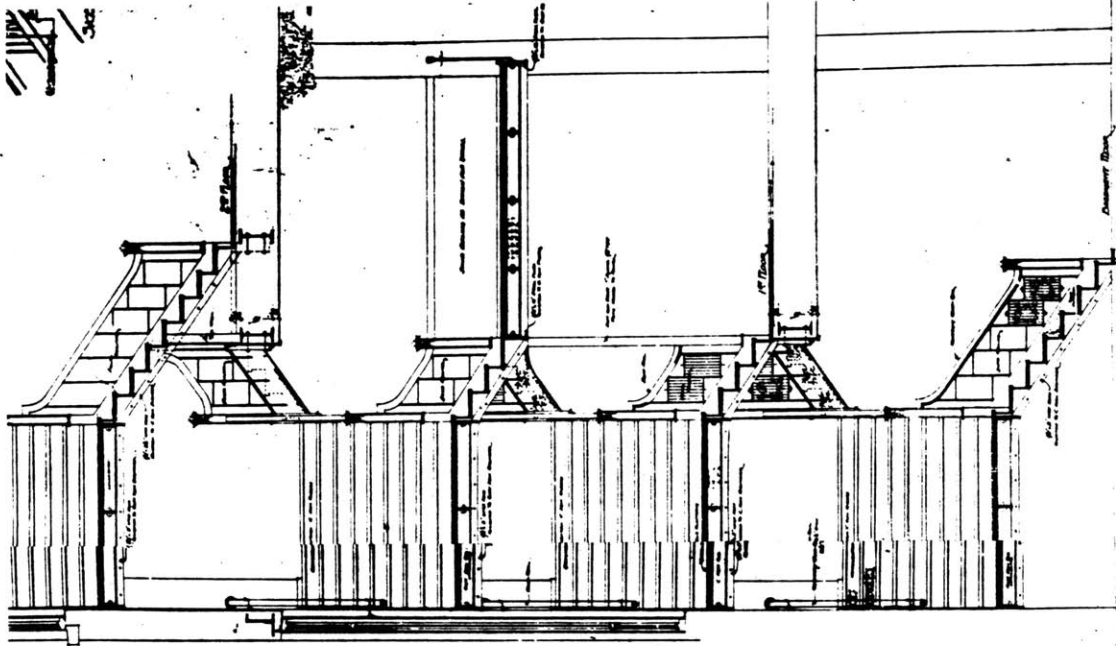
DETAIL SECTION AT A

DETAIL SECTION AT B

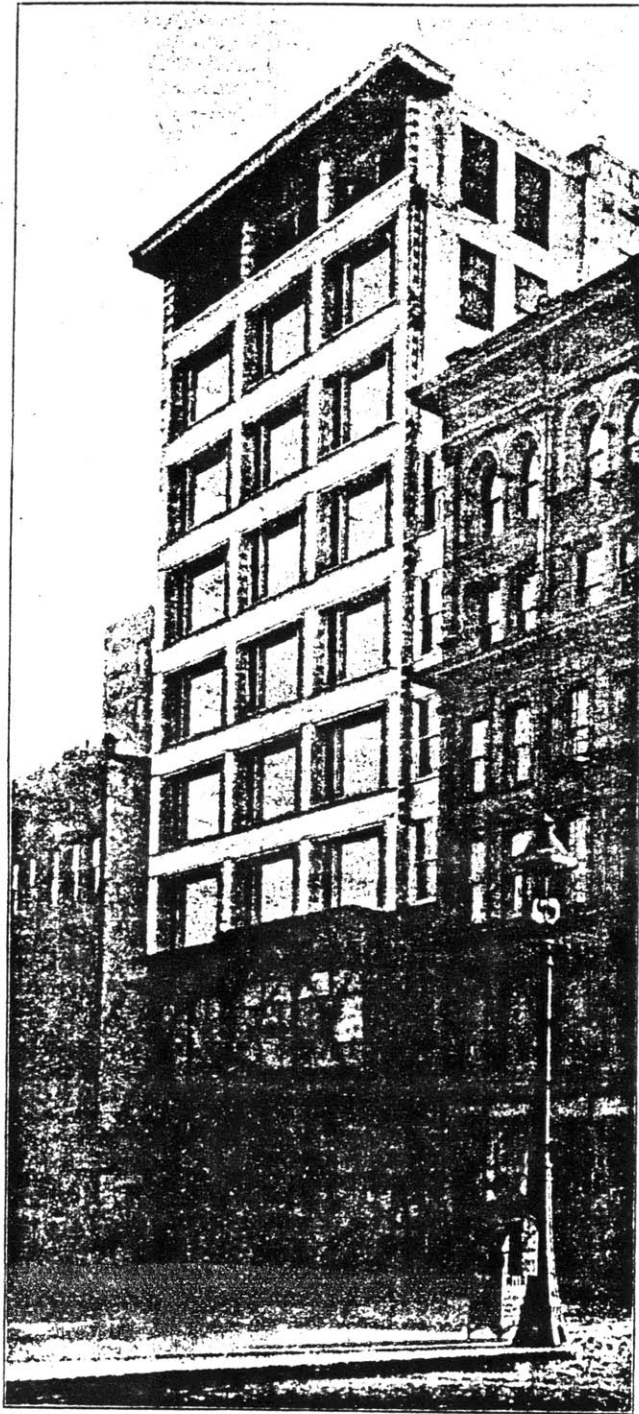
SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"

PLAN OF SOUTH GROUP OF ELEVATOR ENCLOSURE

Fig. III-30







MADISON STREET ELEVATION OF SCHLESINGER & MAYER NEW DRY GOODS STORE.

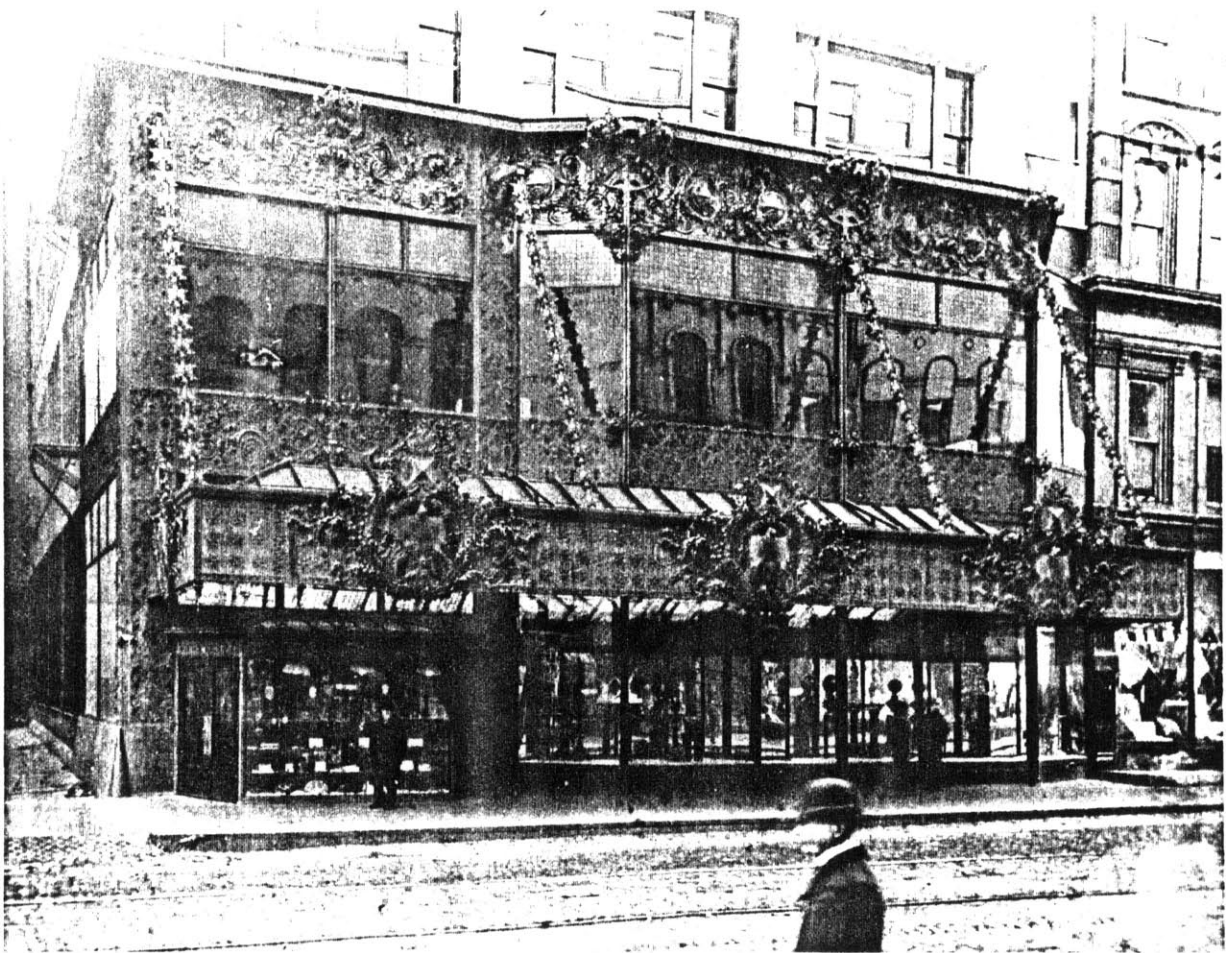
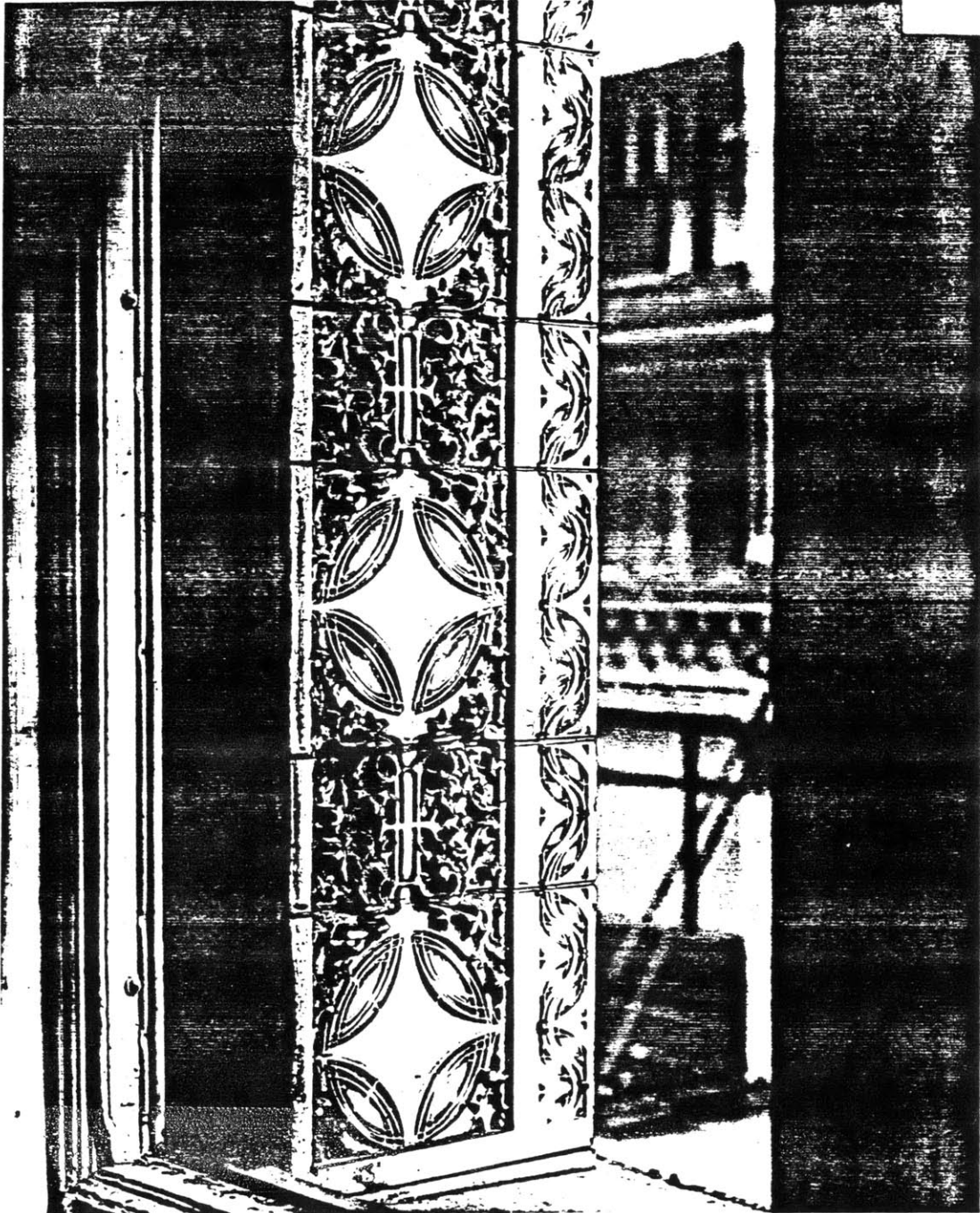
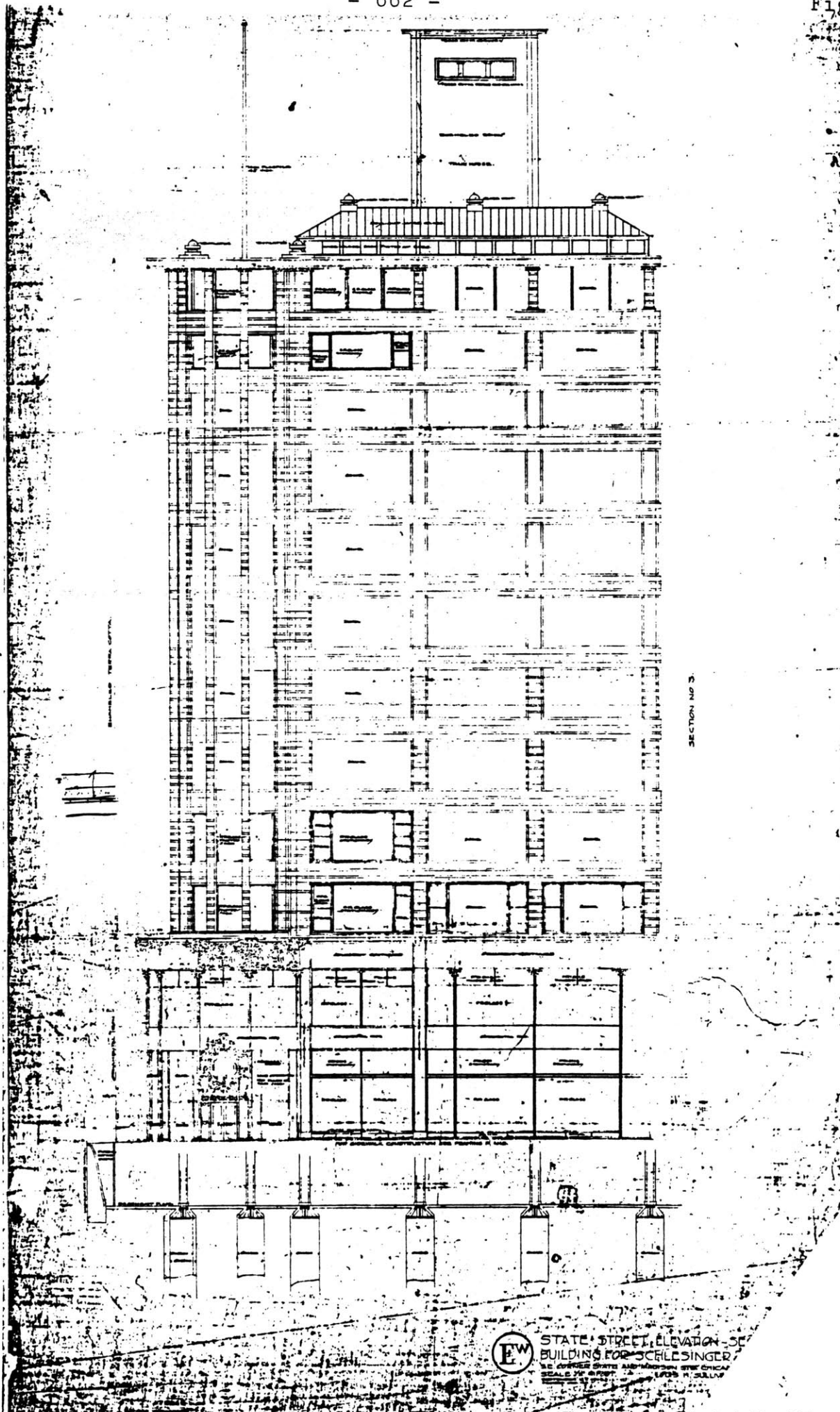


FIG. III-33

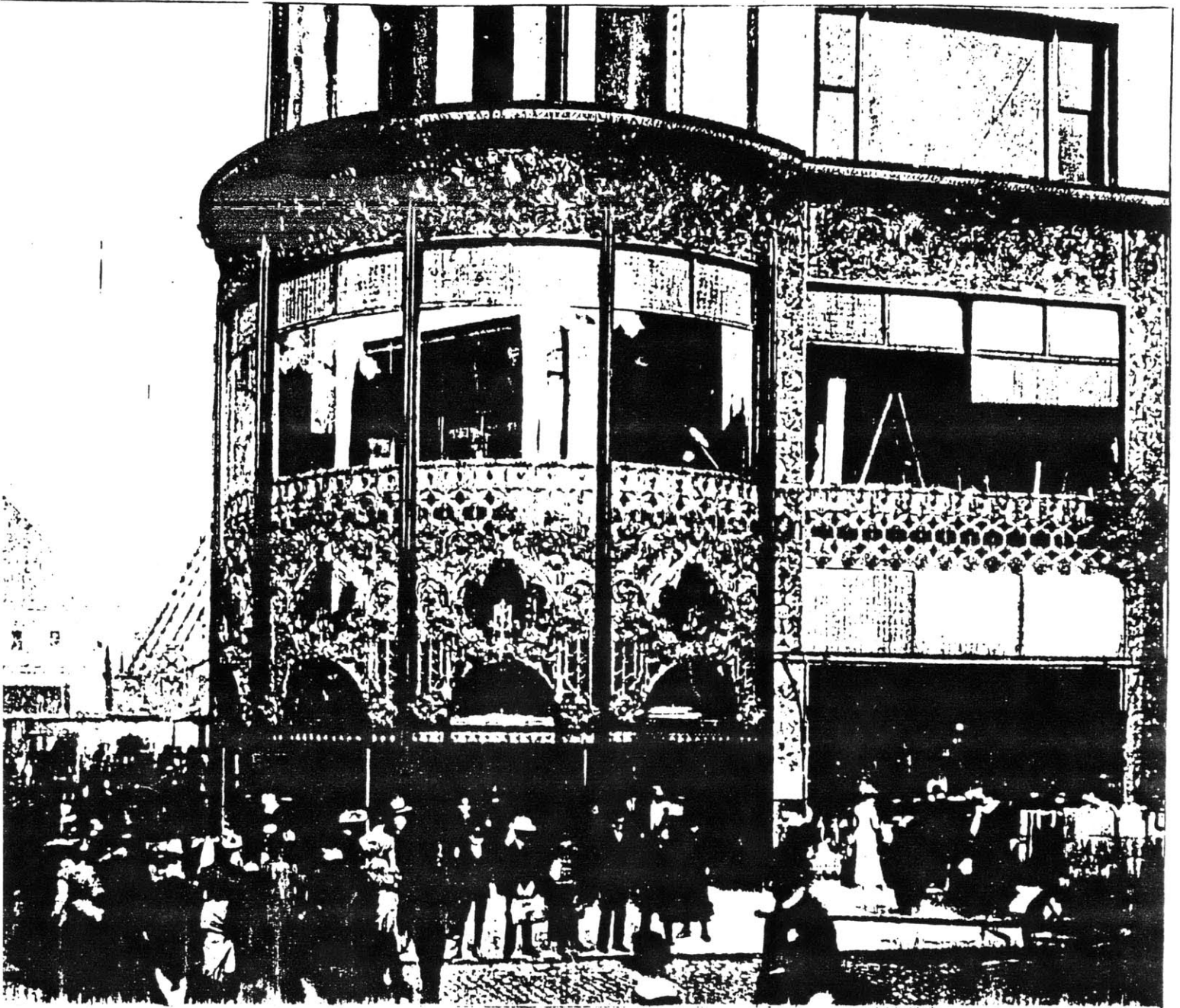
Fig. III-34





SECTION NO. 5

STATE STREET ELEVATION - SEE
BUILDING FOR SCHELSINGER
AS ORDERED STATE ARCHITECTURE SERVICE
SCALE: 1/4" = 1'-0"



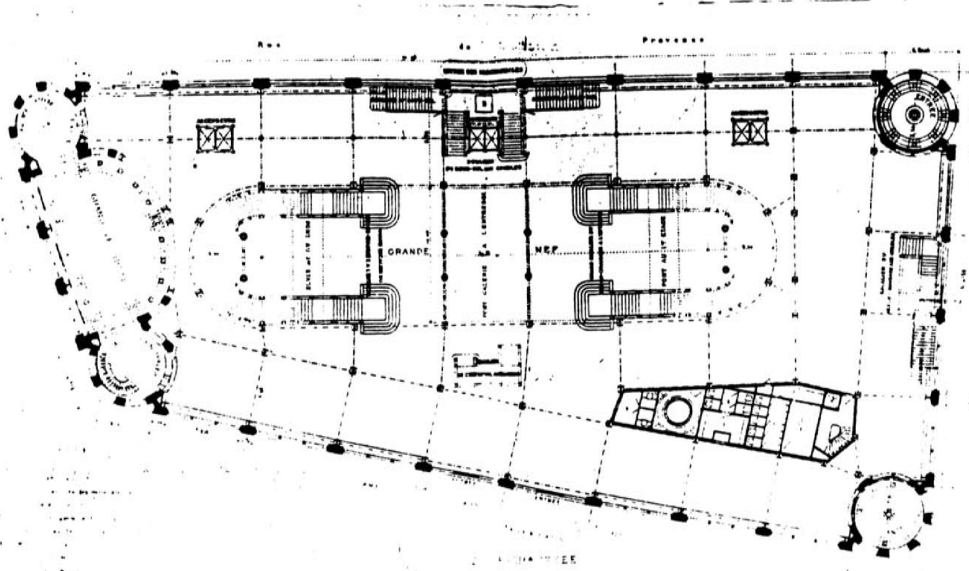
DETAIL VIEW, LOWER STORIES,
SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING, CHICAGO

ORNAMENTAL IRON FRONT

Fig. III-37



Fig. III-38





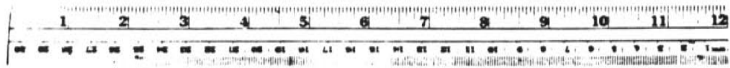
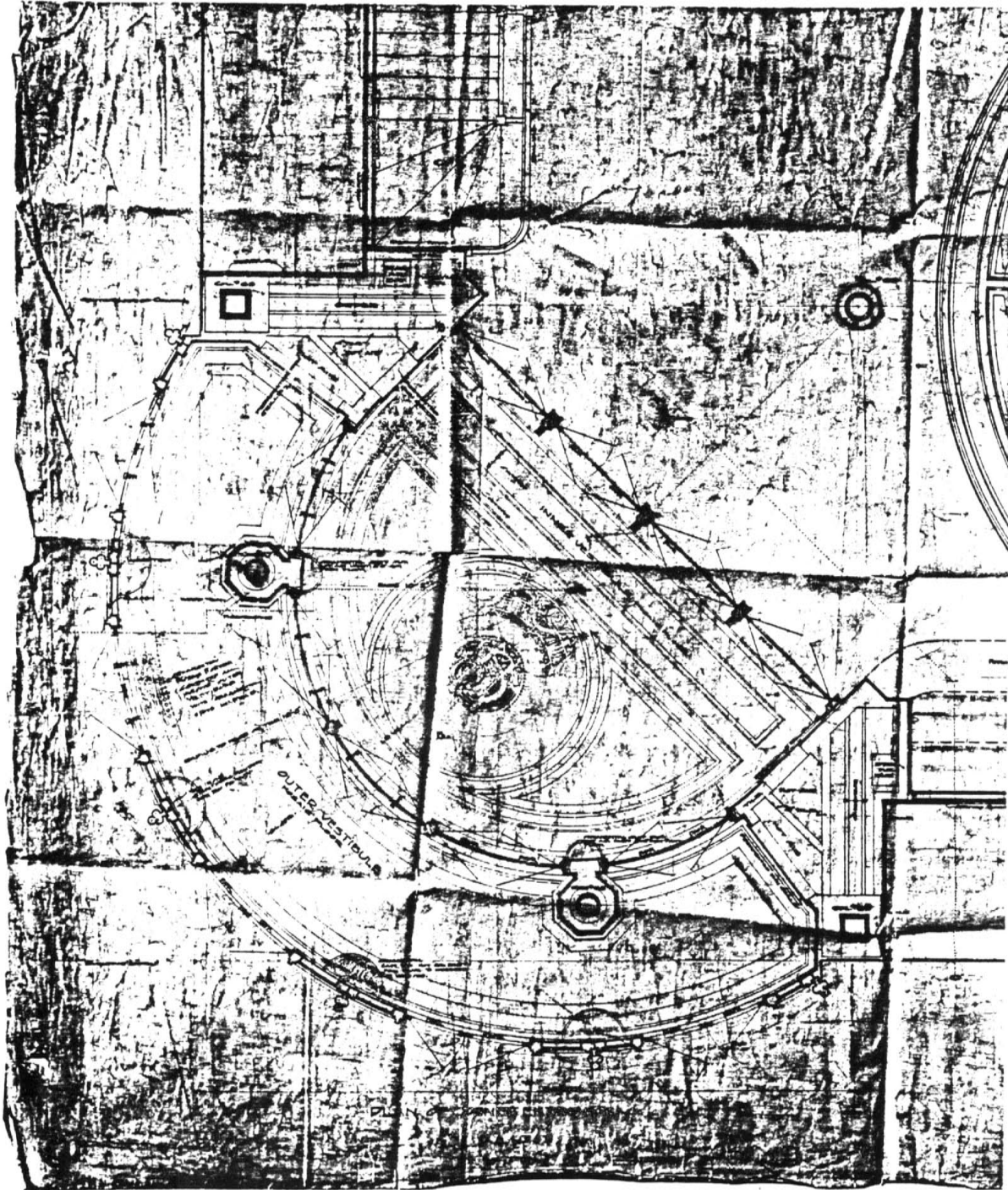
Courtesy of Marshall Field & Co. Archives

MARSHALL FIELD & CO. IN 1907

PLATE VI



FIG. III-40

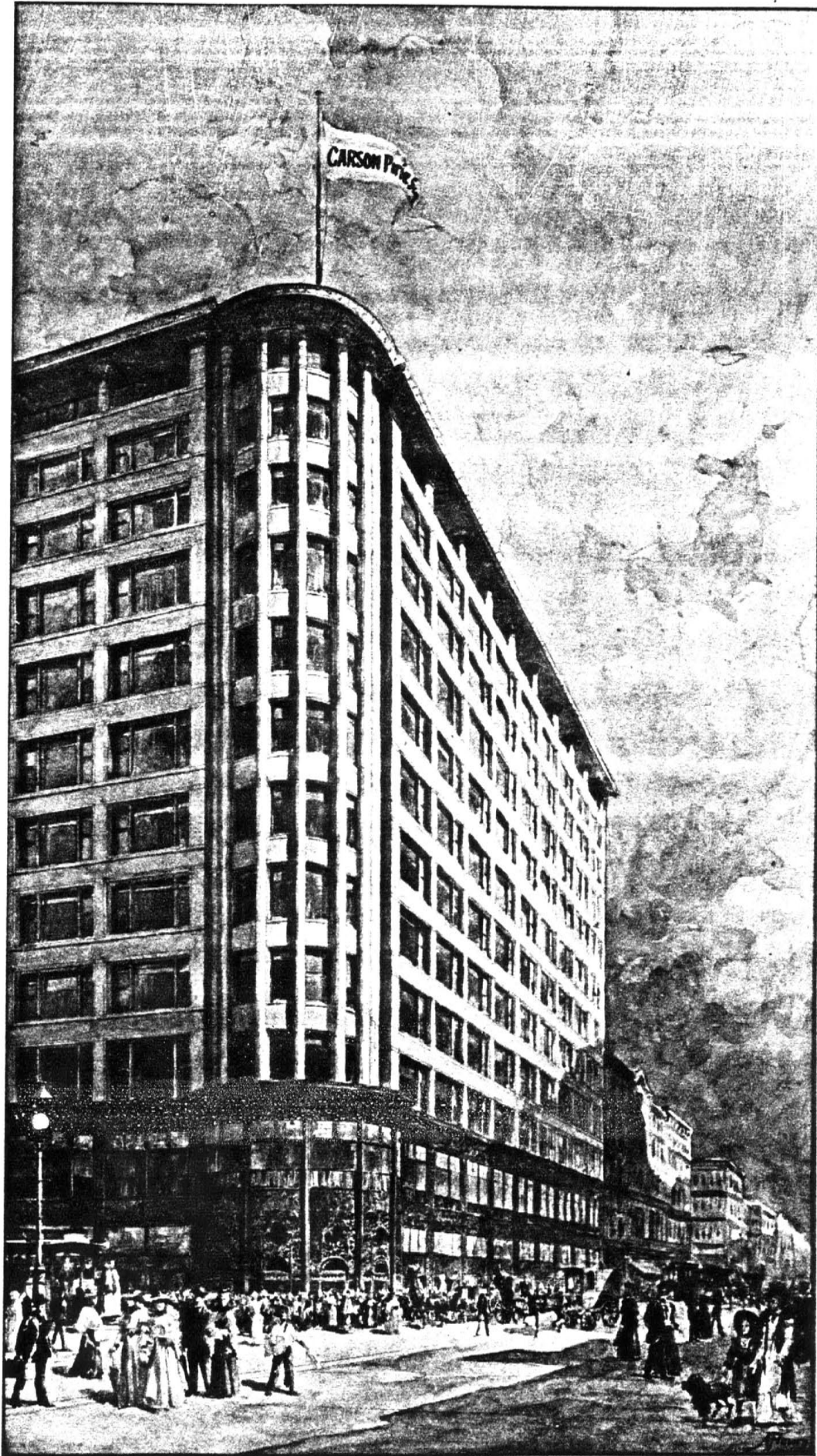


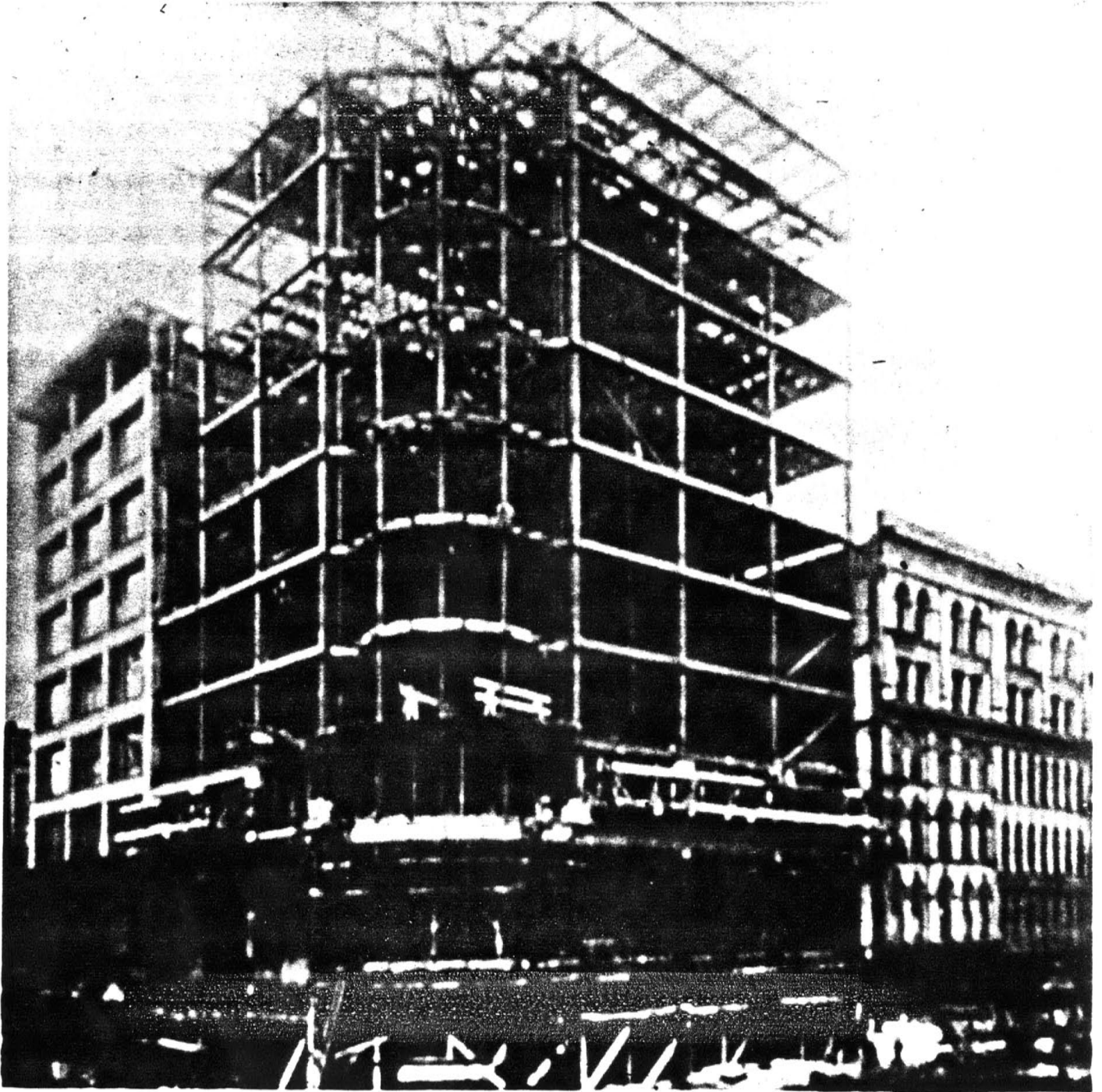


61902
TERRA COTTA FRONT FURNISHED BY
THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRA COTTA COMPANY,
CHICAGO.

GENERAL VIEW, SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING, CHICAGO.
LOUIS H. SULLIVAN, ARCHITECT.

FIG. III-42





Schlesinger & Mayer

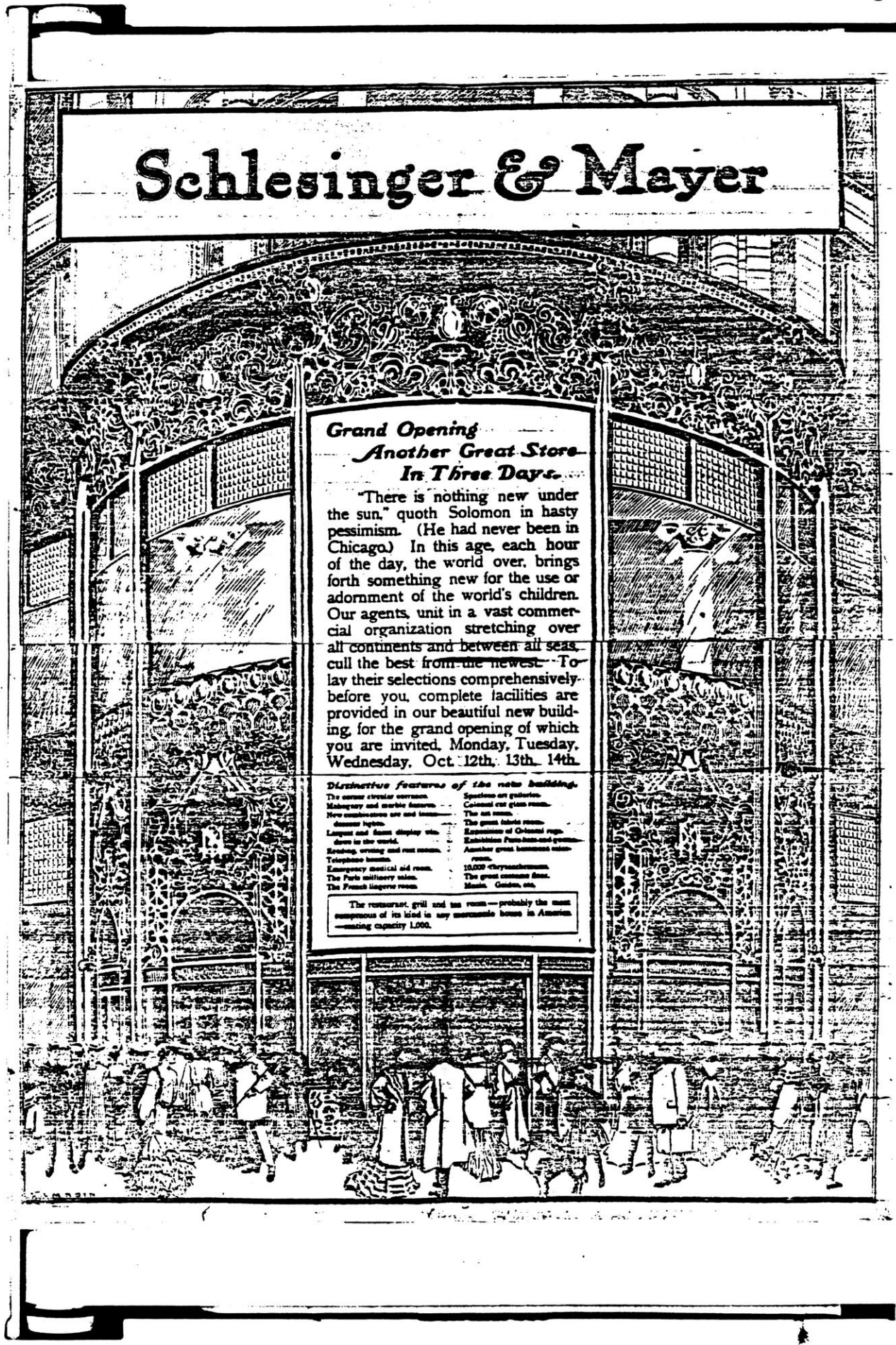
Grand Opening Another Great Store In Three Days

"There is nothing new under the sun," quoth Solomon in hasty pessimism. (He had never been in Chicago.) In this age, each hour of the day, the world over, brings forth something new for the use or adornment of the world's children. Our agents, unit in a vast commercial organization stretching over all continents and between all seas, cull the best from the newest. To lay their selections comprehensively before you, complete facilities are provided in our beautiful new building, for the grand opening of which you are invited, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Oct. 12th, 13th, 14th.

Distinctive features of the new building.

- | | |
|--|---|
| The entire circular courtyard. | Spacious art galleries. |
| Magnificent and suitable furniture. | Colonial and glass rooms. |
| New construction and layout. | The suit room. |
| Ample light. | The great fabric room. |
| Largest and finest display windows in the world. | Exhibition of Colonial regalia. |
| Exquisite seating and rest rooms. | Exhibition of French and English rooms. |
| Telephone booths. | Another great bathroom and wash room. |
| Emergency medical aid room. | 10,000 chrysanthemums. |
| The Park military salon. | The great costume store. |
| The French lingerie room. | Music, Garden, etc. |

The restaurant, grill and luncheon room—probably the most sumptuous of its kind in any mercantile house in America—seating capacity 1,000.



THE CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1908

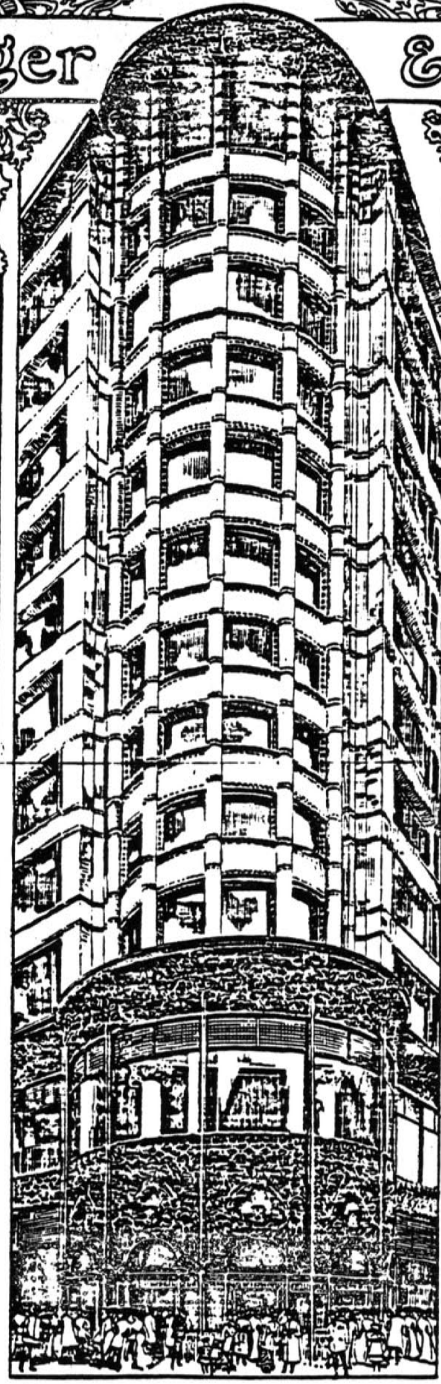
Schlesinger & Mayer

A COMMERCIAL institution, to endure, must be rooted in the rock of public confidence. The shores of Time are strewn with the wrecks of houses that were raised on the sands of promise without performance. We shall open to the public Monday, October 12, a great new store. The building is the newest and, we believe, the most beautiful in Chicago. Equipment and contents are in perfect harmony with the structure. The policy pervading the whole is as broad as the institution is beautiful and complete. Thus equipped, we believe we can, as never before, give to the shopping public that absolute satisfaction which begets confidence. Our grand opening will give everybody opportunity to inspect our multiplied facilities on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

Distinctive features.

The unique circular corner. Efficient and capable service. Dependability and self-dependence. Fully equipped with every article in the world. Heating, water and gas supply. Telephone booth. Elevators reaching all levels. The Plaza sidewalk cafe.

The largest and most capable of Plaza model has not given any competitor in Chicago.



PUBLIC comfort, convenience and satisfaction have been the objects striven for in this new institution. We believe these objects have been attained. The structure is a perfect product of architecture and building construction. The vast interior spaces are flooded with daylight. For the weary there are rest rooms where one may repose in quiet, read, write letters, call friends by telephones and command every convenience and luxury. For the suddenly ill there is skilled attendance in the emergency medical room. Most important of all to the shopper, the splendid interior presents a permanent international exposition of earth's choicest products in fabric and handicraft, especially gathered for this occasion. The grand opening will take place Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

Distinctive features.

The unique Plaza sidewalk cafe. Elevators and stairs. Complete and ample water. The air supply. The ample glass walls. The largest and most capable of Plaza model has not given any competitor in Chicago.

The largest and most capable of Plaza model has not given any competitor in Chicago.

◊ ◊ ◊ ◊ *In Two Days Another Great Store* ◊ ◊ ◊ ◊



THE CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1907

CARSON, PIRE, SCOTT & CO.

Announcing Our Fall and Winter Opening

Today and Continuing Throughout the Week

At no opening of the past have we been so thoroughly prepared or so confident of meeting high expectations. It signals an epoch in our history. The enlargement of the store permits the fulfillment of carefully laid plans which add immeasurably to the bettering of the service and the possibilities for a broadening of the stocks. The greatest care has been exercised to the end that at this, our first Formal Fall and Winter Opening in the finished new structure, a distinctiveness should be instantly recognized as strongly characterizing every section. Judge critically—we believe your ideals will be fully realized.

Elaboration on the diversified and extensive exhibit of foreign fashions in Millinery, Tailored Suits, Costumes, Coats, Waists, Furs, Silks and Dress Fabrics seems unnecessary—it is enough perhaps for us to state that the exhibits are worthy of the great artists who conceived them.

As splendidly contributing to and rounding out the effectiveness of the opening are features that prominently identify every section in the store—features that clearly reflect our untiring efforts.

We Refer Briefly to Each of the Various Floors

FIRST FLOOR. Notable for the artistic effect of the Autumnal decorative scheme, and containing dress accessories and novelties from every worthy source.

SECOND FLOOR. Dress fabrics, linens, silks, velvets and fancy goods selected with discriminating judgment—materials and styles which embody exclusiveness as the keynote of their attractiveness.

THIRD FLOOR. Millinery embracing foreign models from the acknowledged arbiters of fashion. Infants' wear, petticoats, undermuslins, knit underwear, corsets, wrappers, robes and negligees that measure up to the highest standard.

FOURTH FLOOR. Women's tailored suits, costumes and coats, misses' garments, women's waists, expressive of the best for the desired purpose. Furs of a standard recognized as the highest because emanating from "a store famous for its furs."

FIFTH FLOOR. China, glass, artwares and lamps, pictures and housewares. A comprehensive gathering.

SIXTH FLOOR. Beds and bedding, trunks and traveling bags, novelty furniture, upholstery, curtains, interior decorating.

SEVENTH FLOOR. Oriental and domestic rugs, carpets and linoleums—a great stock.

EIGHTH FLOOR RESTAURANT. Occupying the entire floor, it offers a varied menu. Every facility for serving of private luncheons is at hand in the east section of the south room. Afternoon tea is served daily from 3 until 5 o'clock in the Tea Room. A separate room for men (smoking permitted) has recently been opened.





CARSON PIRIE SCOTT STORE, 1899, 1903-4, 1906
LOUIS SULLIVAN, D. H. BURNHAM AND COMPANY



CARSON PIRIE SCOTT STORE, SOUTH ADDITION, 1960-61
HOLABIRD AND ROOT

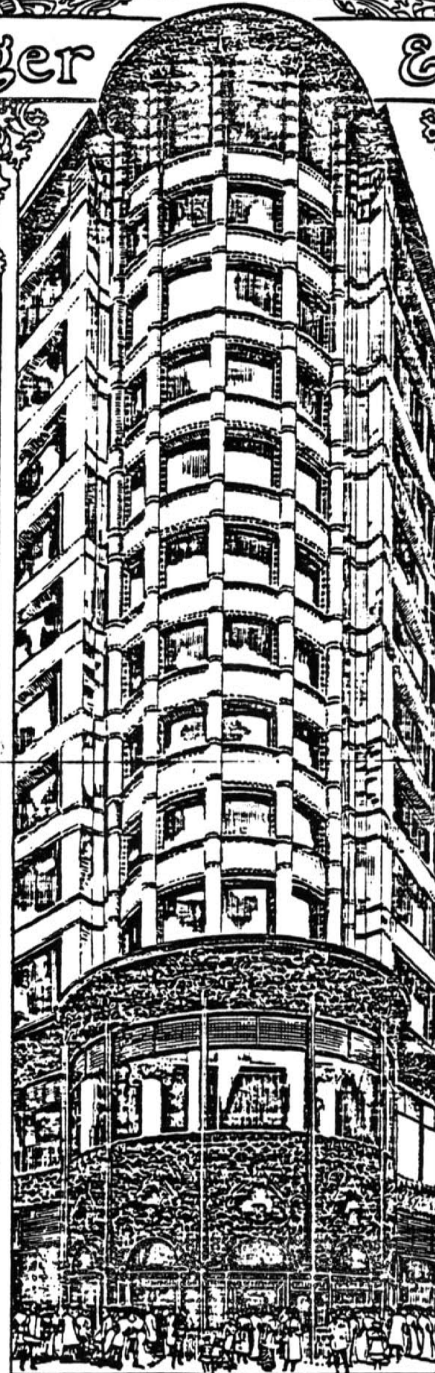
Schlesinger & Mayer

A COMMERCIAL institution, to endure, must be rooted in the rock of public confidence. The shores of Time are strewn with the wrecks of houses that were raised on the sands of promise without performance. We shall open to the public Monday, October 12, a great new store. The building is the newest and, we believe, the most beautiful in Chicago. Equipment and contents are in perfect harmony with the structure. The policy pervading the whole is as broad as the institution is beautiful and complete. Thus equipped, we believe we can, as never before, give to the shopping public that absolute satisfaction which begets confidence. Our grand opening will give everybody opportunity to inspect our multiplied facilities on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

Distinctive features.

The largest window display in Chicago.
 The most complete stock of goods in the city.
 The most complete stock of goods in the city.
 The most complete stock of goods in the city.

The largest and most complete stock of goods in the city.



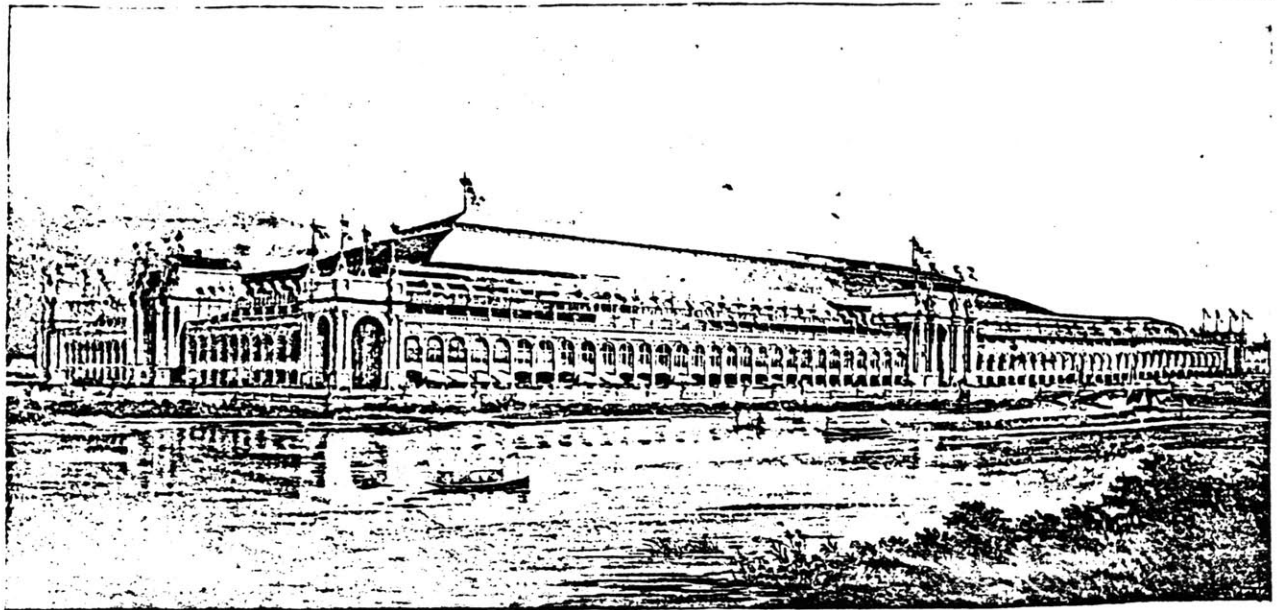
PUBLIC comfort, convenience and satisfaction have been the objects striven for in this new institution. We believe these objects have been attained. The structure is a perfect product of architecture and building construction. The vast interior spaces are flooded with daylight. For the weary there are rest rooms where one may repose in quiet, read, write letters, call friends by telephones and command every convenience and luxury. For the suddenly ill there is skilled attendance in the emergency medical room. Most important of all to the shopper, the splendid interior presents a permanent international exposition of earth's choicest products in fabric and handicraft, especially gathered for this occasion. The grand opening will take place Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

Distinctive features.

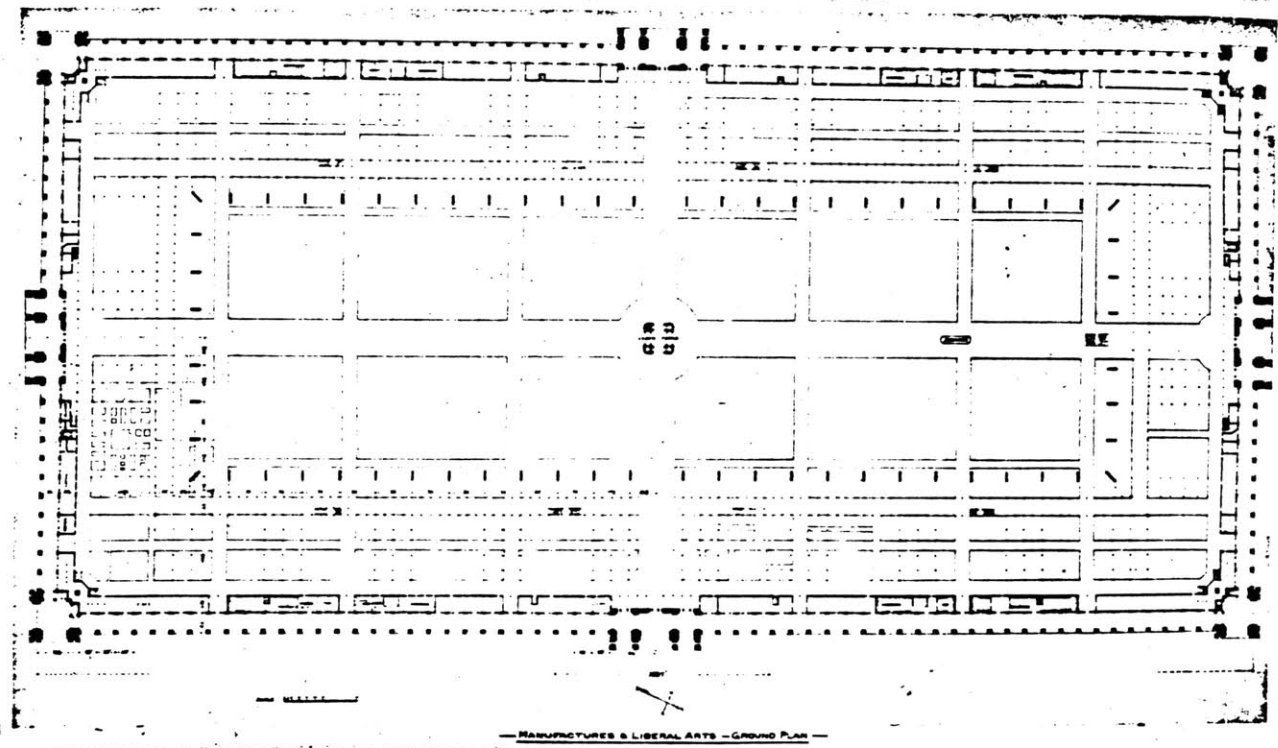
The largest window display in Chicago.
 The most complete stock of goods in the city.
 The most complete stock of goods in the city.
 The most complete stock of goods in the city.

The largest and most complete stock of goods in the city.

♦♦♦♦ In Two Days Another Great Store ♦♦♦♦

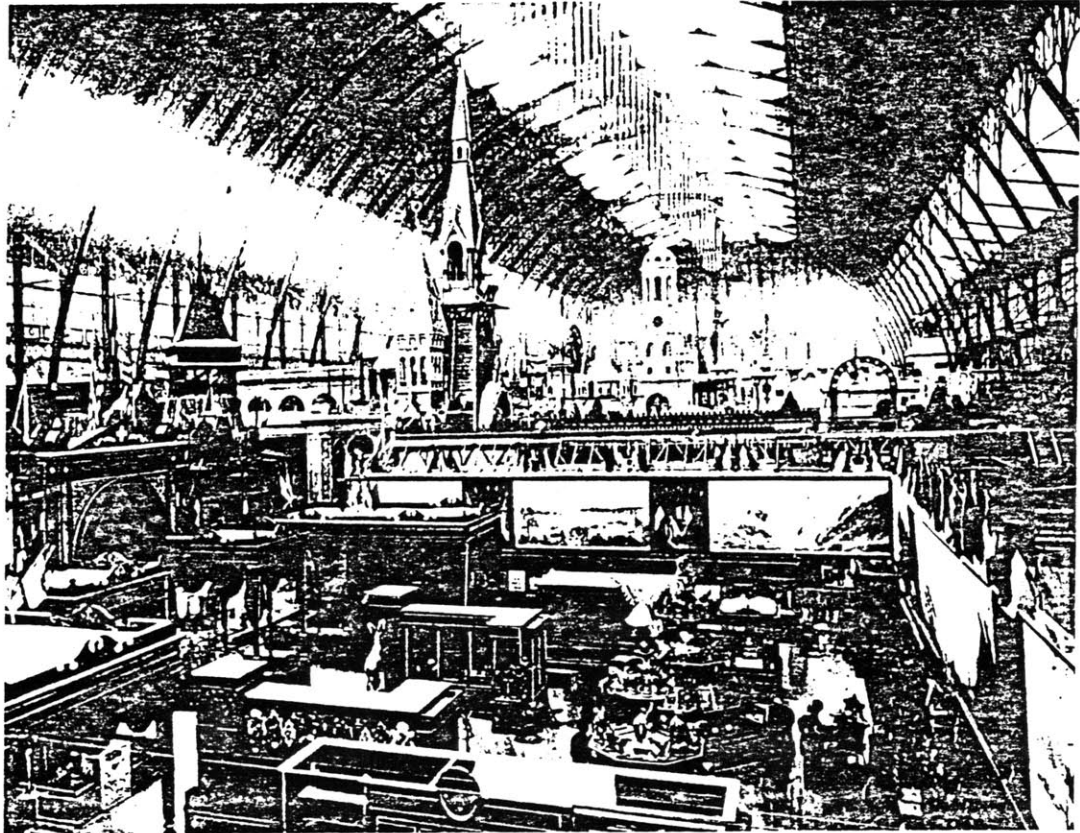


MANUFACTURES BUILDING. COLUMBIAN WORLD'S EXPOSITION—GEORGE B. POST, ARCHITECT.



MANUFACTURES & LIBERAL ARTS - GROUND PLAN

Fig. IV-3



Interior of the Manufacturers Building

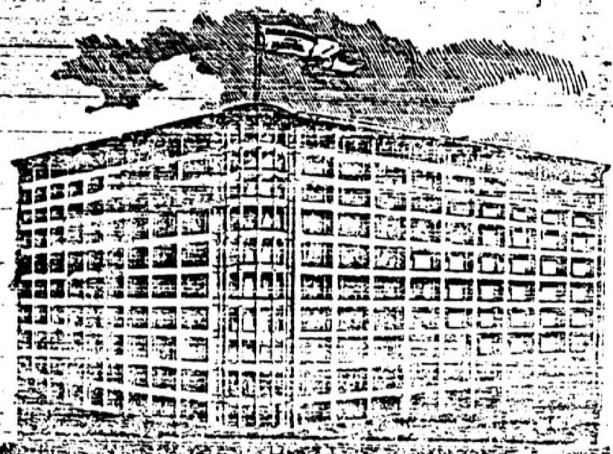
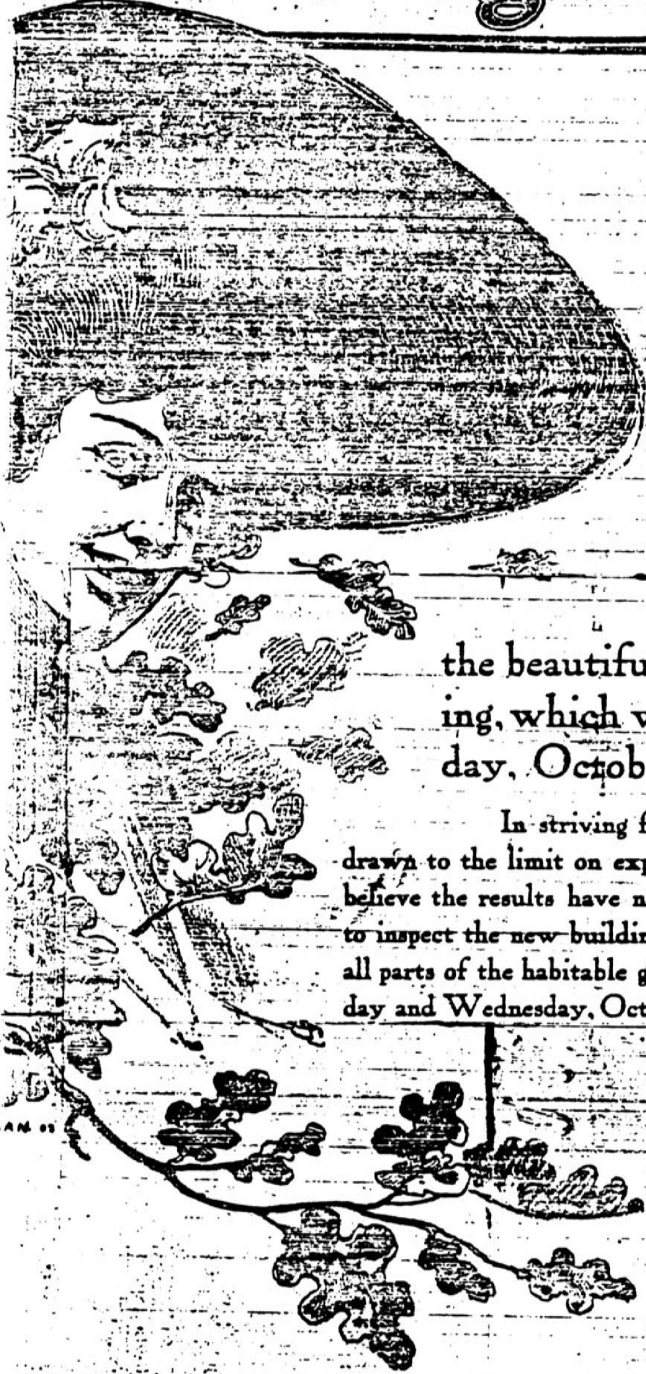
THE LATER EVENING, WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 7, 1908

Schlesinger & Mayer

IN FIVE DAYS ANOTHER GREAT STORE.

The world moves every day. Men and institutions must keep step with it to attain success. The laggard stumbles down the road to failure. This thought has been constantly before the builders of the beautiful new Schlesinger & Mayer building, which will be formally opened next Monday, October 12th.

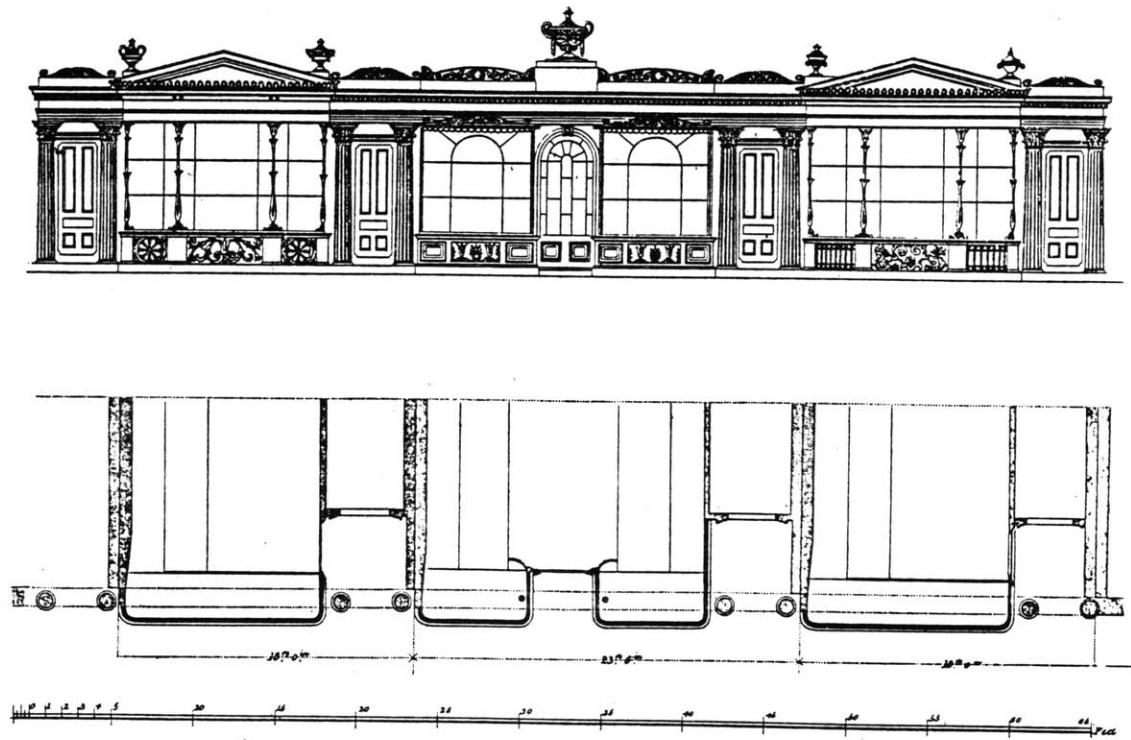
In striving for the highest success in store building, they have drawn to the limit on experience, skill, enterprise, and great resources. We believe the results have never been surpassed. The general public is invited to inspect the new building, with its exposition display of merchandise from all parts of the habitable globe, during the grand opening days, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.



Marked features of new building.

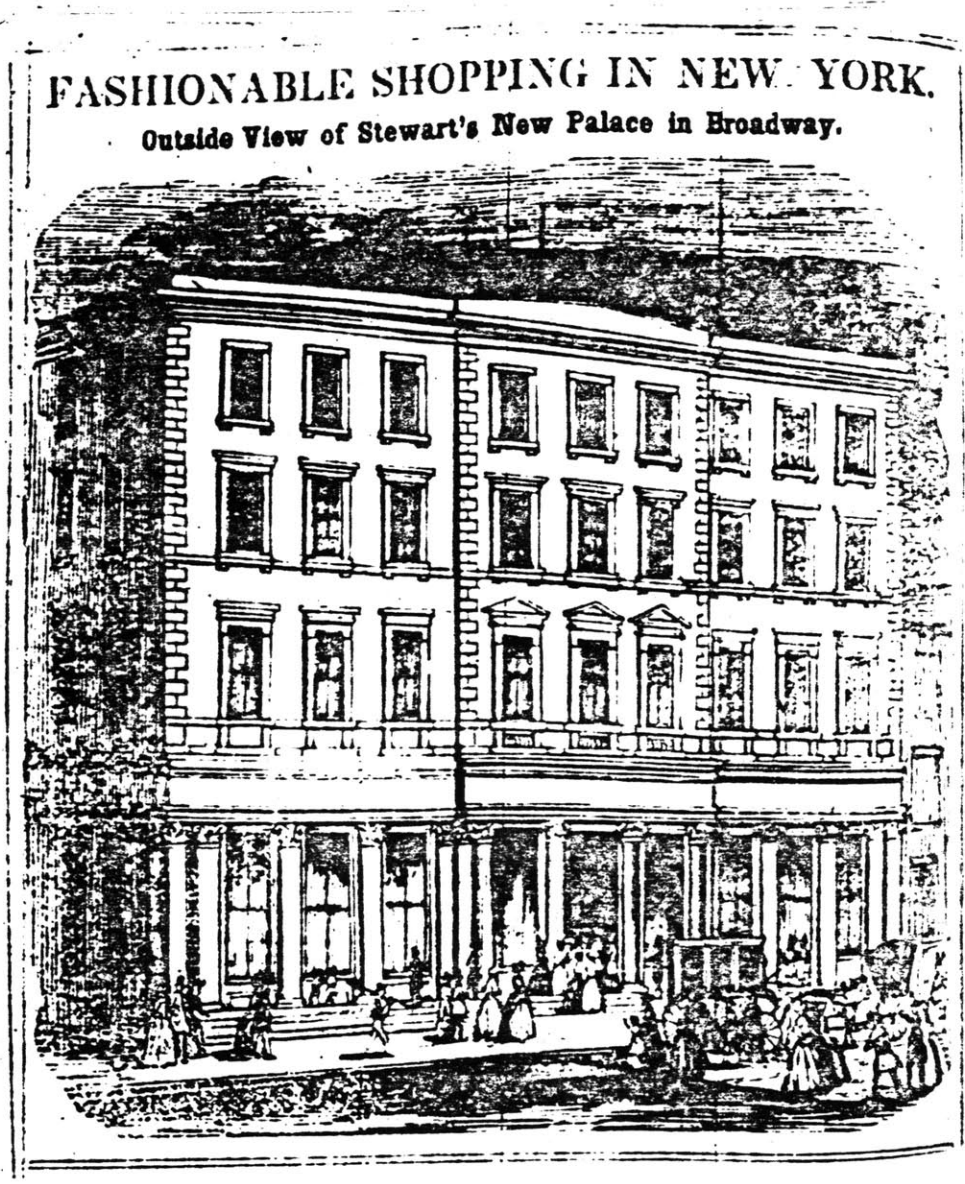
- Outer circular entrance
- Alcove and marble fixtures
- Combination arc and incandescent
- Large display windows in the
- Breakfast grill and tea room.
- Street dressing and rest rooms.
- Telephone booths
- The emergency medical aid room.
- The unique French lingerie room.
- The spacious art gallery.
- The brilliant cut-glass room.
- The great fabric room.
- Another "largest" basement calcearoom.
- Gardens, etc.

Fig. IV-5



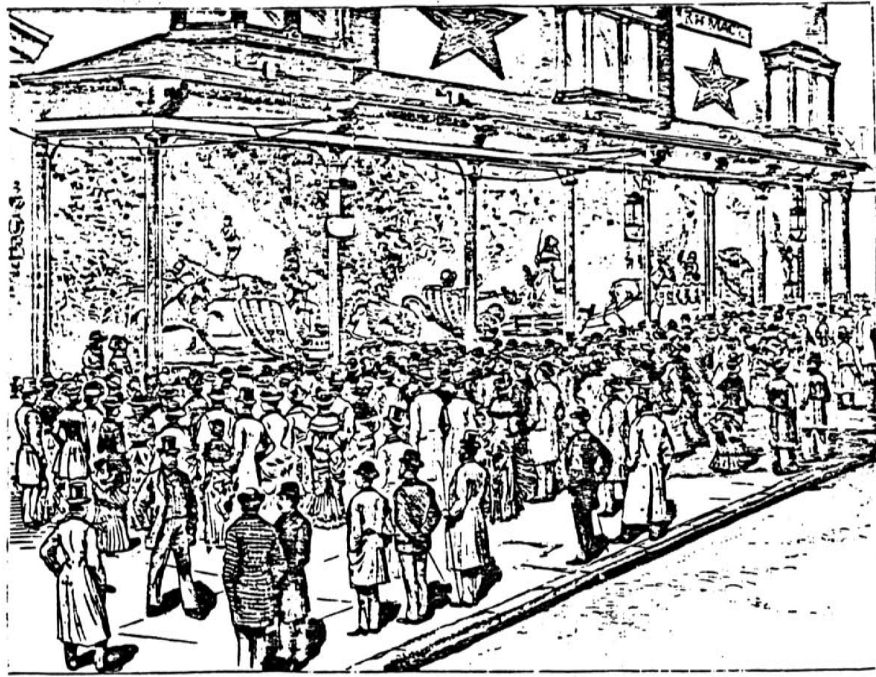
London, J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 59, High Holborn.

JOHN YOUNG, *A Series of Designs for Shop Fronts*, London 1828, pl. 17



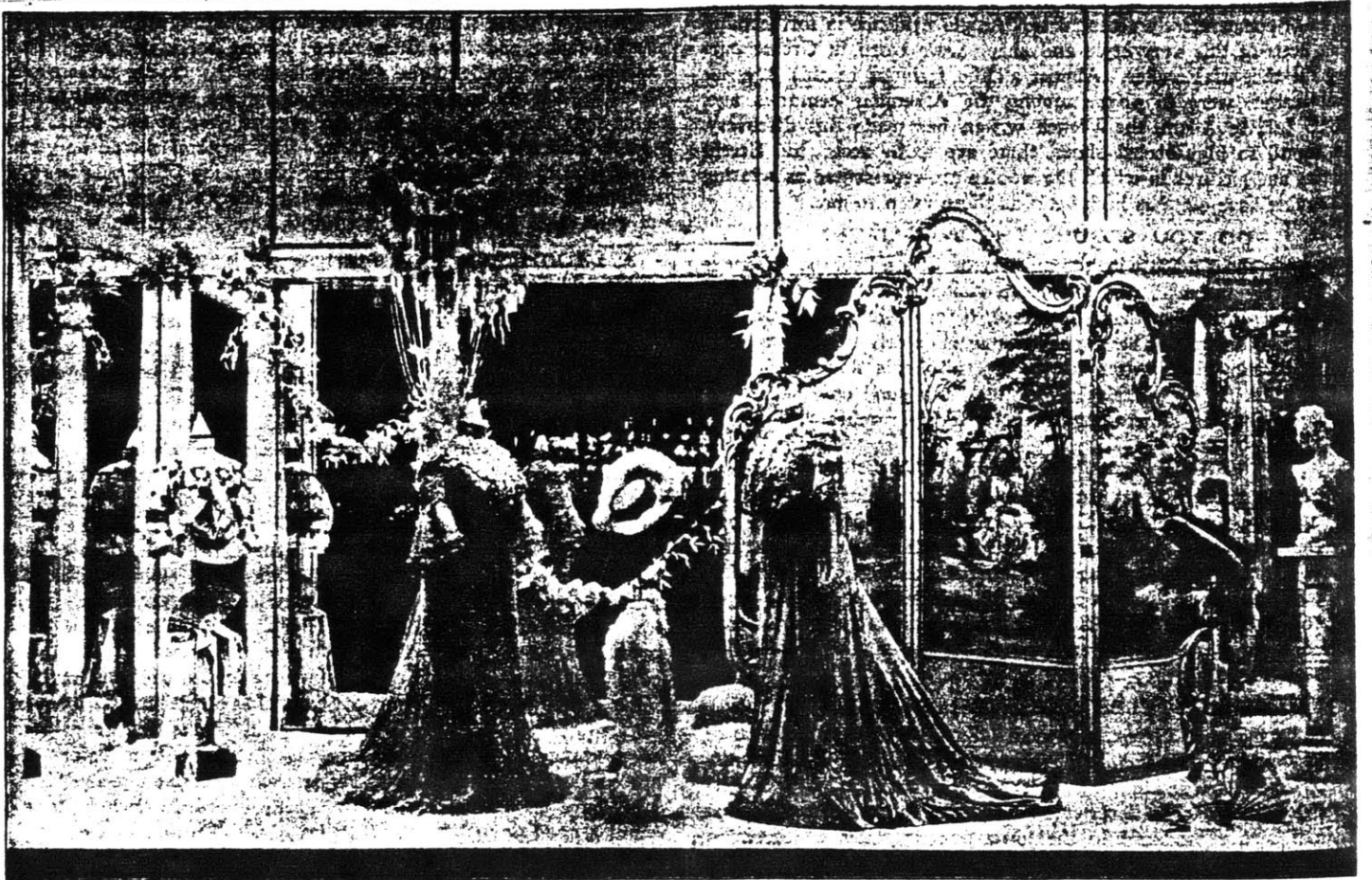
FIRST SECTION OF THE MARBLE PALACE, 280 BROADWAY

From *The New York Herald*, September 26, 1846



MAGASINS DU BON MARCHÉ





A WINDOW OF MARSHALL FIELD & COMPANY DURING THE CHILDREN'S SALE.
Photographed at 2 O'Clock in the Morning.

An Art-Nouveau Back Ground by A. V. Fraser for Marshall Field & Co., Chicago.



THE SHOW WINDOW

Fig. IV-12



By E. W. Sotley, for Chas. A. Stevens & Bros., Chicago, Ill.

A showing of superb Spring Costumes and Millinery. Background, green silk plush, hung in heavy plaits; scroll above back covered with green plush edged with light puffing in white silks; sunbursts in white china silk; electric lamps incased in cups of fancy crepe paper on face of scroll; circle in center of scroll contained a half globe, four feet in diameter, made of purple tissue paper cut into strips

and curled chrysanthemum style; this was lighted by a cluster of lamps in the rear. The ornate frames at sides were covered with white felt and the edges gilded. Two dozen real American beauty roses formed a center-piece; floor was covered with cream-colored broadcloth. The exhibit of goods were from the finest stocks in the house. One superb display card; no price cards.



By E. W. Sotley, for Chas. A. Stevens & Bros., Chicago, Ill.

A companion window to the one above described. Here the mirrored back was shaded with elegant lace curtains with a piece of violet silk hung loosely between each pair to break the plain effect. The fancy scroll was covered with violets, and the top and side edges with foliage. The dome roof was first covered with white net lace with a violet backing; violet silk taffeta was used to puff above the curtains; asparagus ferns strung along ceiling; lamps on chandeliers incased in cups of tissue paper of different shades;

fan-shaped plaitings in upper corners were of cream-colored china silk; one in center was faced with huge half-globe in heliotrope tissue paper cut and curled in chrysanthemum style and brilliantly lighted from rear. The goods displayed were handsome street costumes, with parasols and hats. The lighting effect of these displays cannot be well described. The color harmony in both windows was magnificent. The workmanship in both marked the skill of the experienced trimmer.

CHICAGO DRY GOODS REPORTER



Our warehouses are filled with the latest productions of foreign and domestic manufacturers, gathered by us from the four quarters of the globe.

CARSON PIRIE SCOTT & CO.
Chicago.

Business success goes hand in hand with agricultural prosperity. If merchants would reap the harvest from the bountiful crops now being harvested and maturing, they also must sow in good season and with the seed of intelligent buying.

Fig. IV-14



Schlesinger & Mayer



In 5 Days Another "Largest Store."

OUR new building, which will be formally opened Monday, October 12, is a modern building of steel and stone, twelve stories above ground and three below. It has no old parts reconstructed. We threw away the old as we built the new. We have the best location, we believe, in Chicago. With our commercial advantages this should give us the best opportunity in Chicago to develop another great store of the first class, and like no other. We built new from top to bottom and all between. Not a detail in structure, equipment, furnishing, stock or method that would facilitate convenience and comfort has been overlooked. The public is invited to inspect the results of this large achievement on the grand opening days, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

Marked features of new building.

The location is the best in Chicago.

The building is of steel and stone.

The building is twelve stories above ground and three below.

The building is built from top to bottom and all between.

The building is equipped with the latest in structure, equipment, furnishing, stock and method.

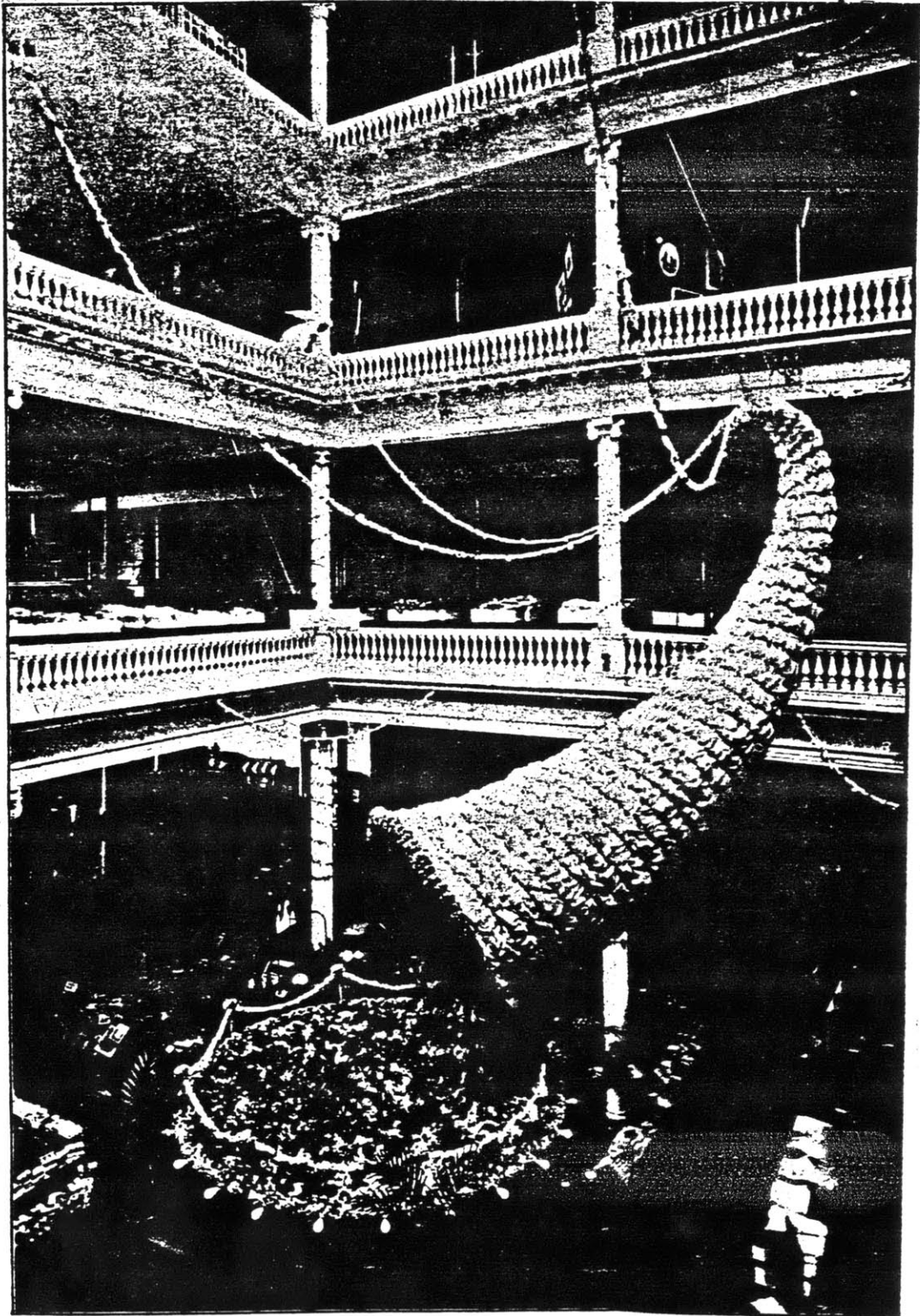
The building is built to facilitate convenience and comfort.

The building is built to stand the test of time.

The building is built to be a landmark in Chicago.

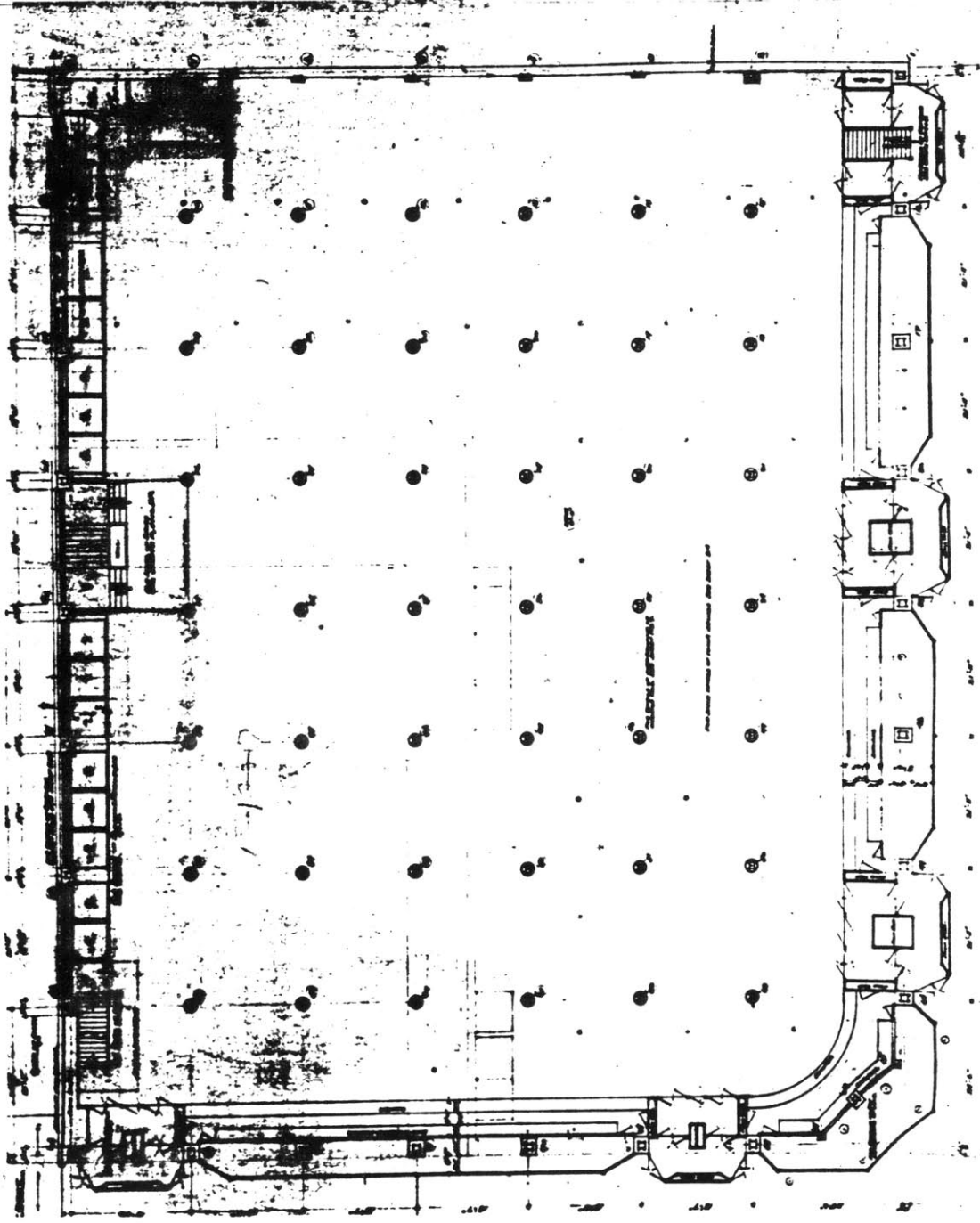
The building is built to be a store of the first class.

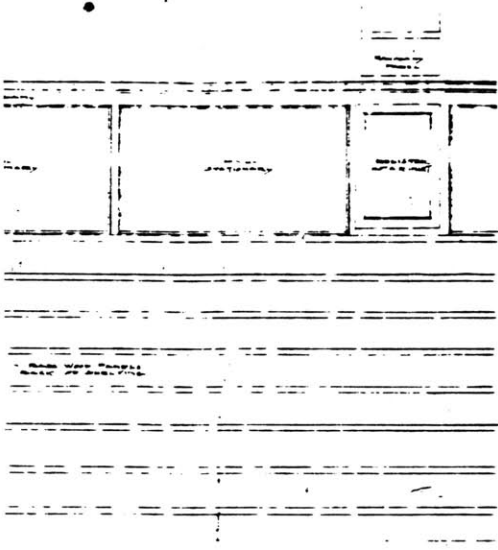
The building is built to be a store like no other.



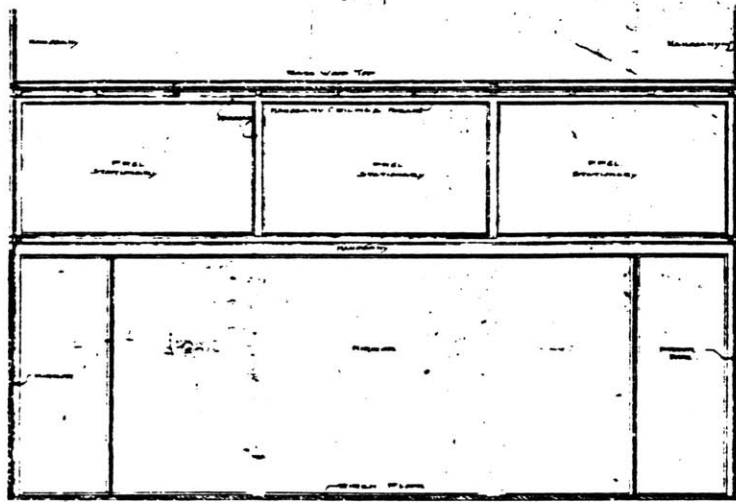
- INTERIOR DECORATION, THE HORN OF PLENTY—BY H. W. SOUTLEY.

Fig. IV-16

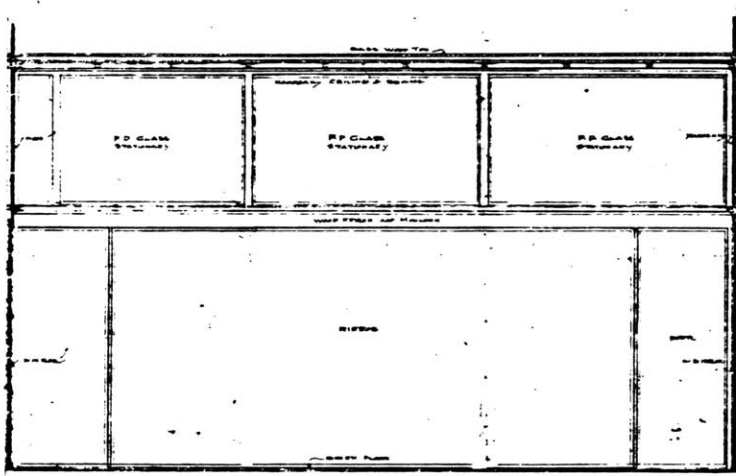




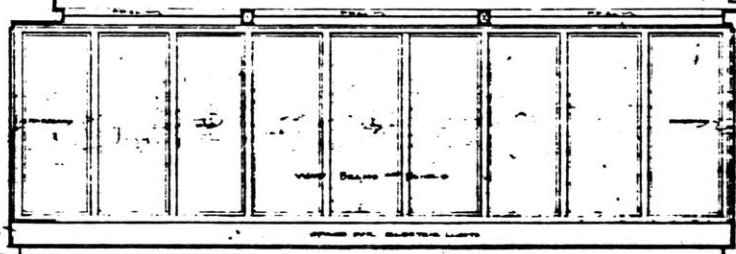
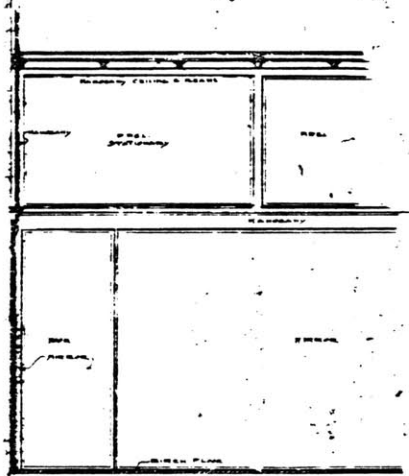
T. SHOW ROOM PARTITION



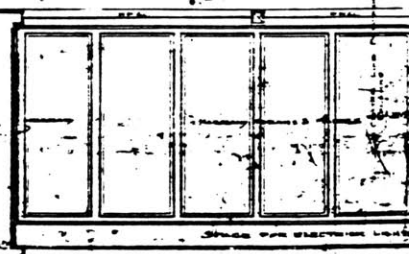
TYPICAL ELEVATION OF SHOW ROOM PARTITION
VIEW FROM SHOW ROOM



ELEVATION OF SHOW ROOM
SHOWING MIRRORS, ETC.
VIEW FROM SHOW ROOM



CEILING AND SHOW ROOM



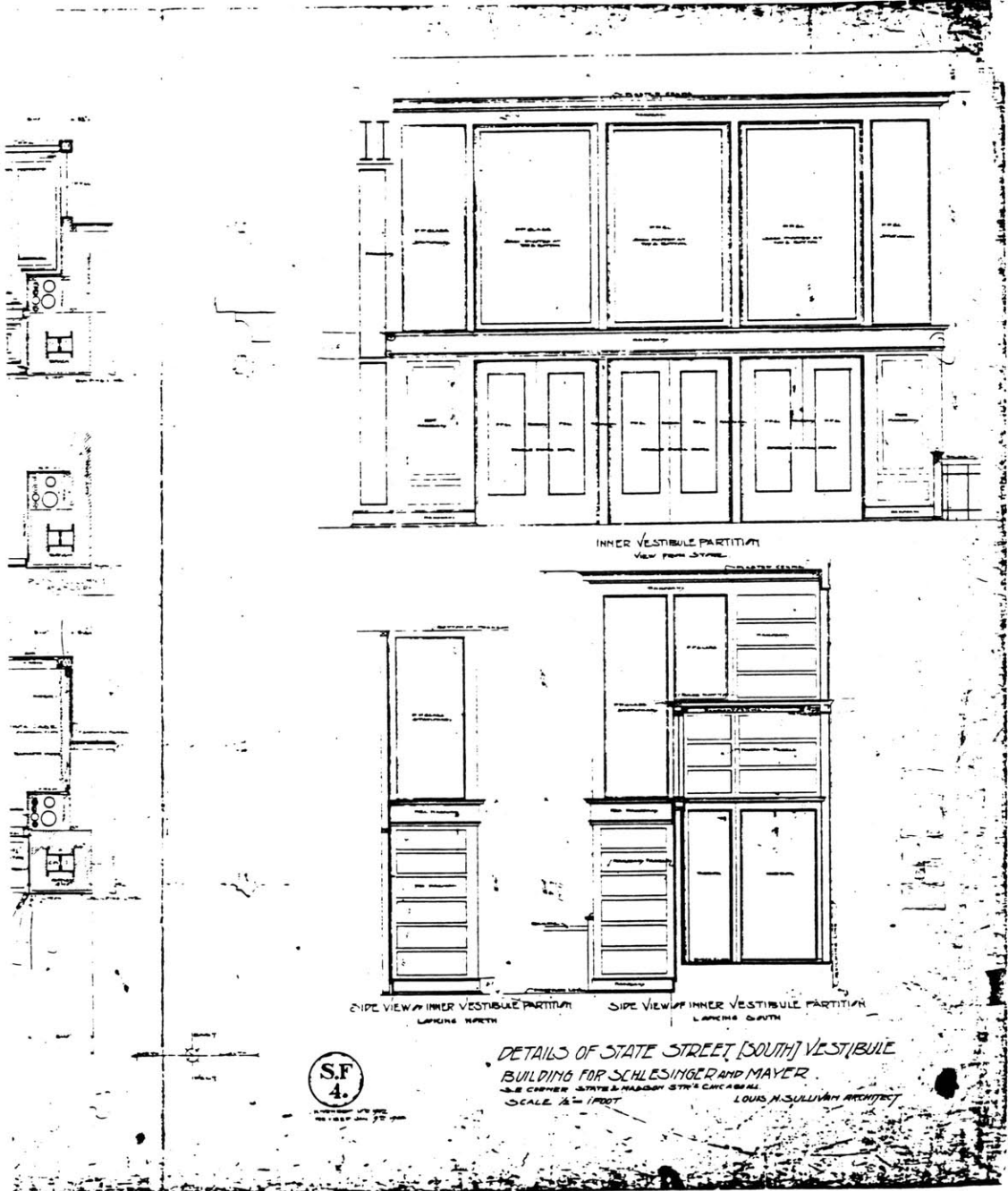
PLANS AND ELEVATIONS FINISH

3 IN. CORNER ENTRANCE AND SHOW ROOM

BUILDING MACHINES AND MIRRORS

CORNER STAIRS AND MIRRORS

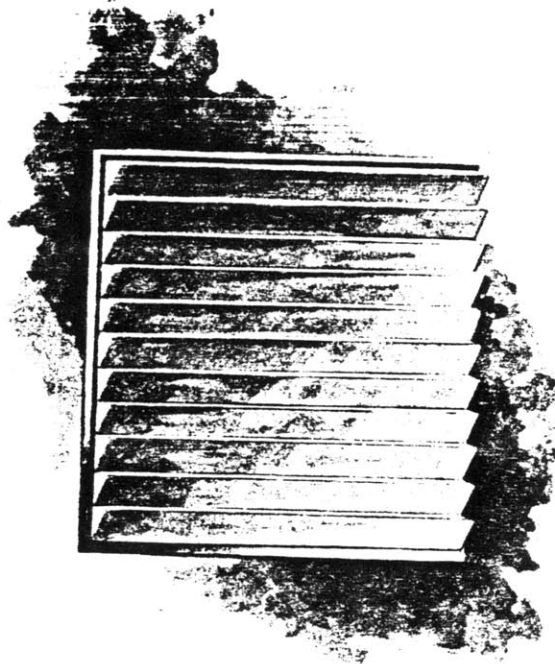
Fig. IV-18.



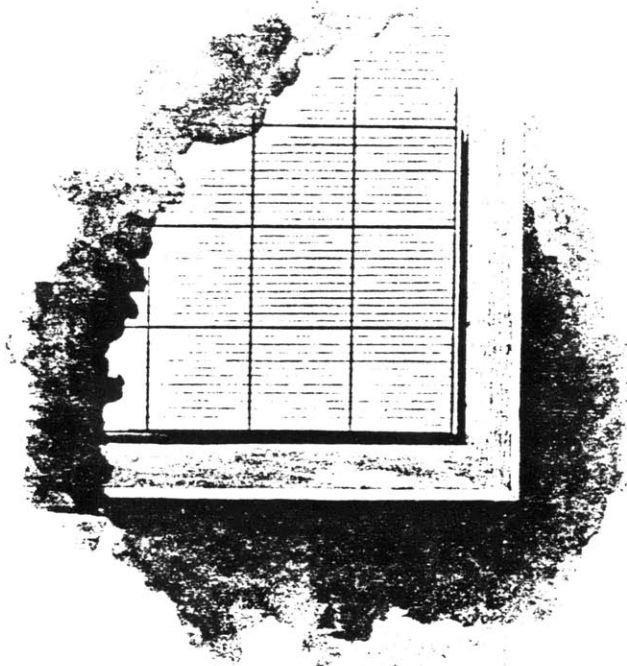
LUXFER PRISMS.

Cut No. 1.

Cut No. 1 shows a Luxfer Prism Plate.



Cut No. 2 shows the Luxfer Prism Plate as set in frame or sash.



Cut No. 2.

LUXFER PRISM
COMPANY.

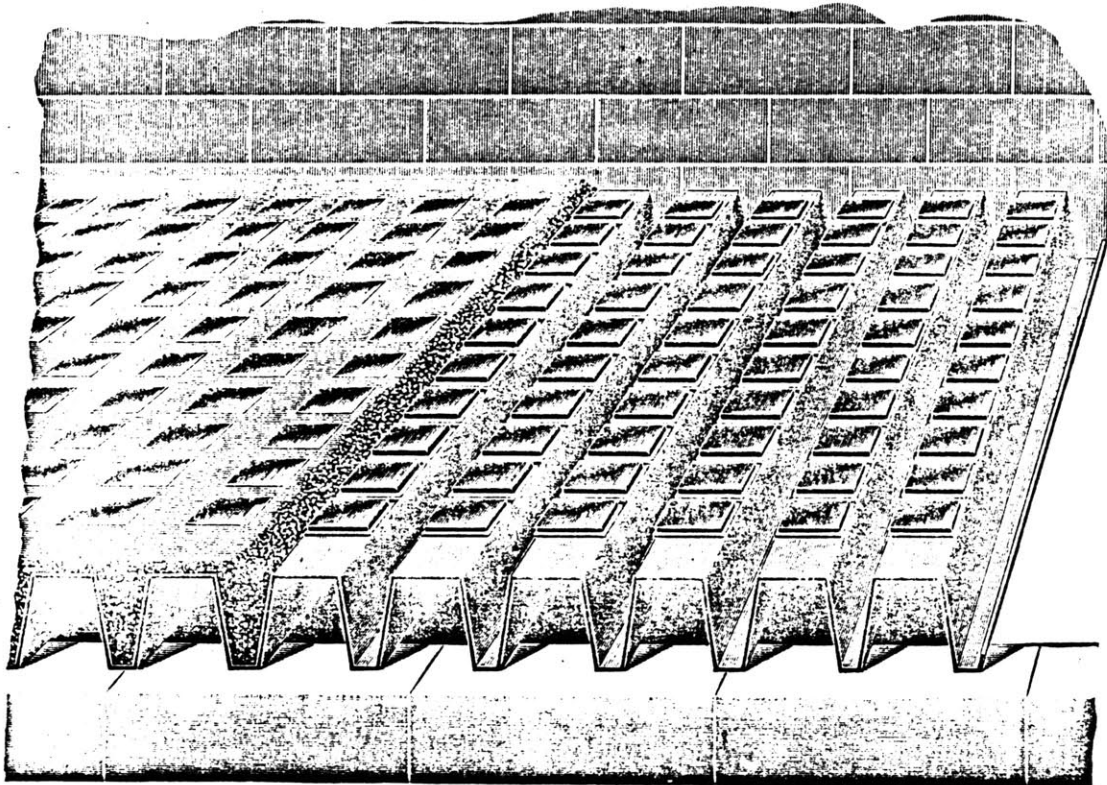
THE ROOKERY, CHICAGO.

*

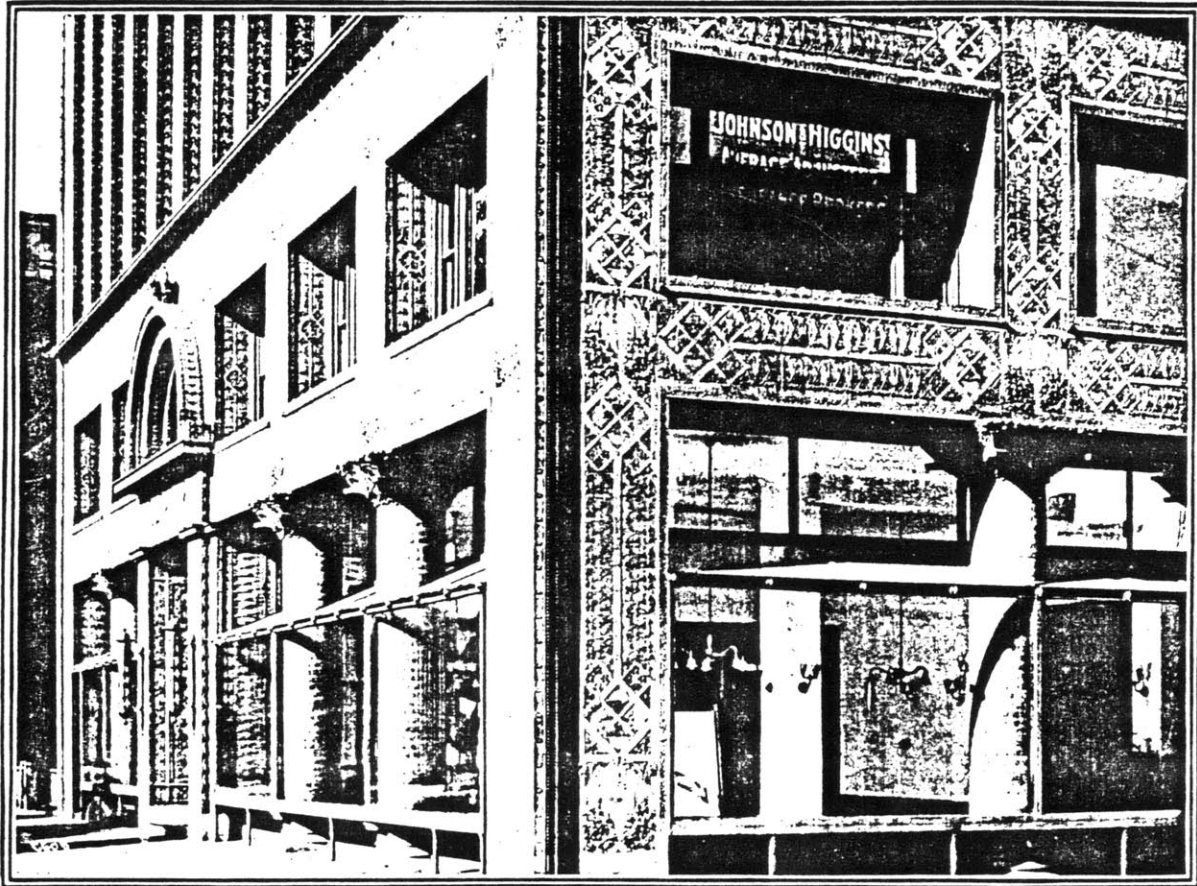
Chicago Exhibit,
170 Lake St.

New York Exhibit,
24 Beekman St.

Toronto Exhibit,
58 Yonge St.



Mode of Laying "Perfection" Walk.



A DETAIL OF THE GUARANTY BUILDING, BUFFALO, N. Y.

Fig. IV-22

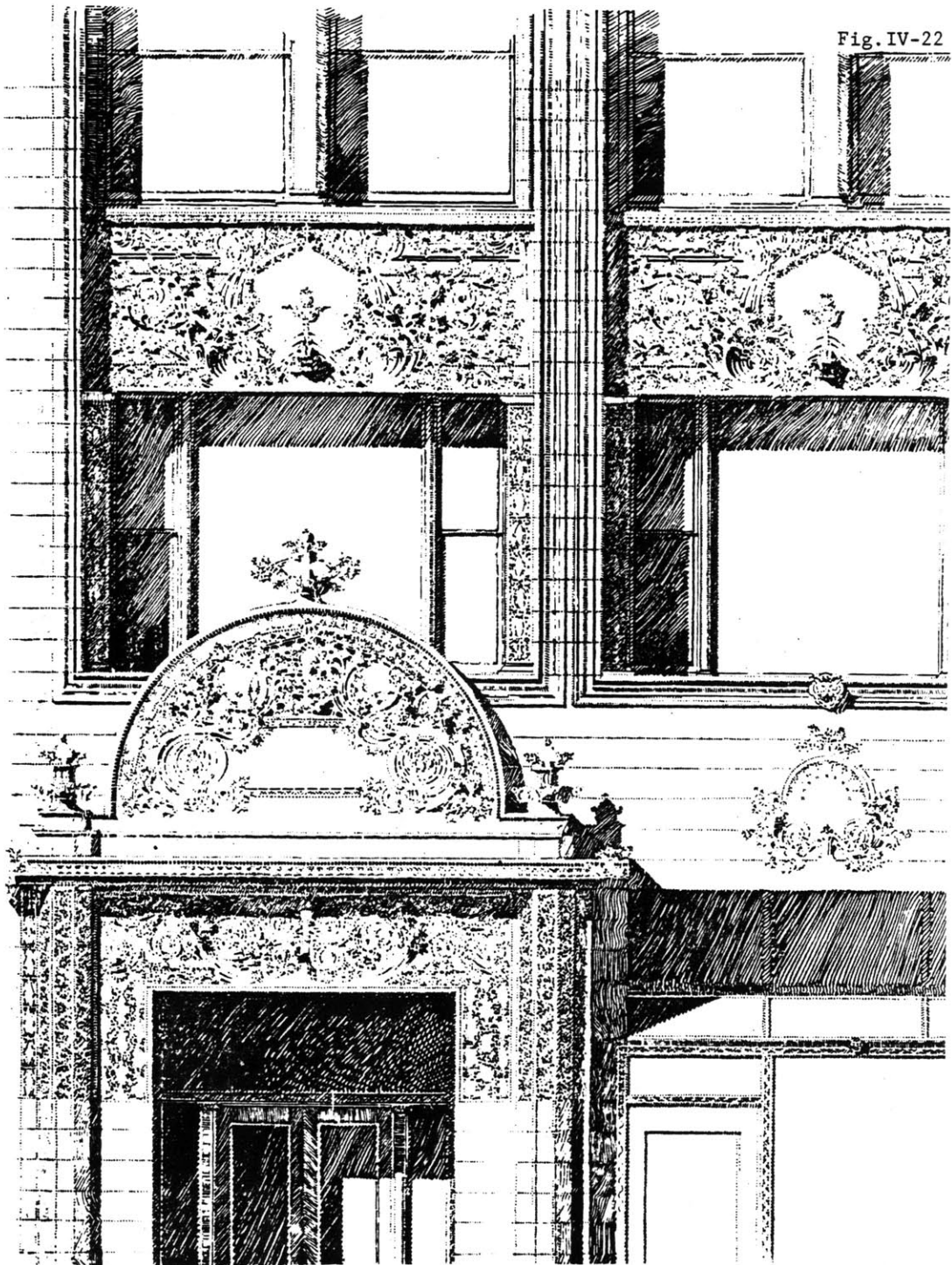
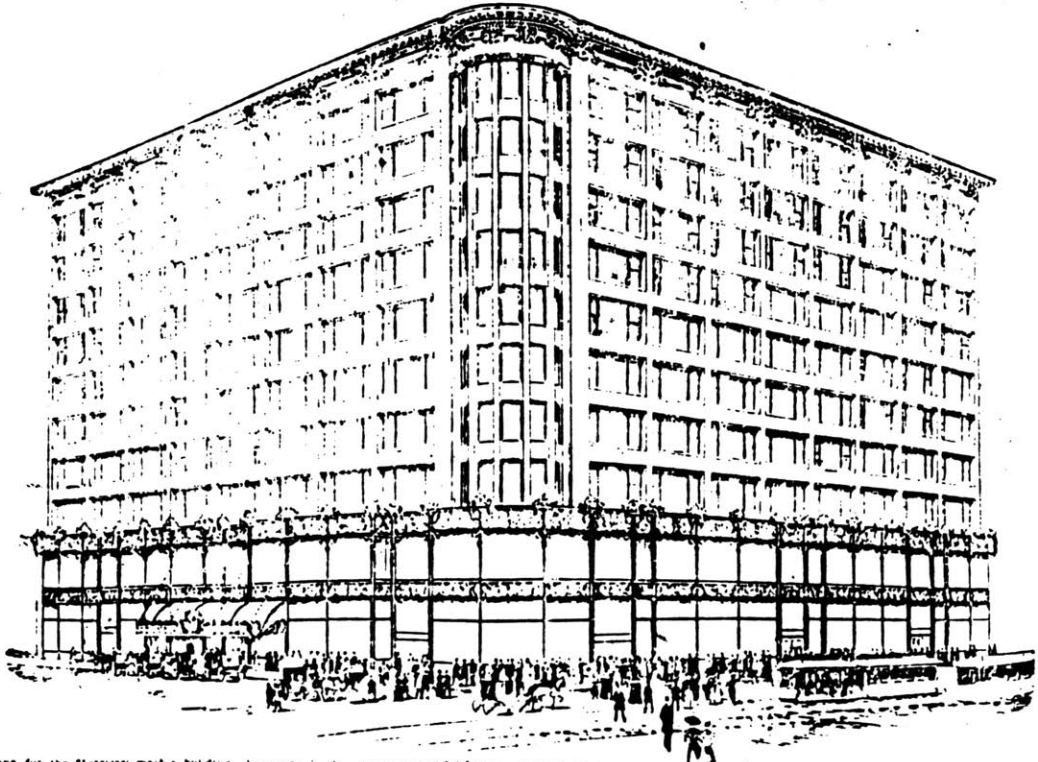


Fig. IV-23

SKETCH OF SCHLESINGER & MAYER'S PROPOSED \$1,000,000 BUILDING.



Plans for the eleven-story building which is announced in the Times yesterday will be constructed by Schlesinger & Mayer at State and Madison streets. The plans were completed by Architect Louis H. Sullivan.

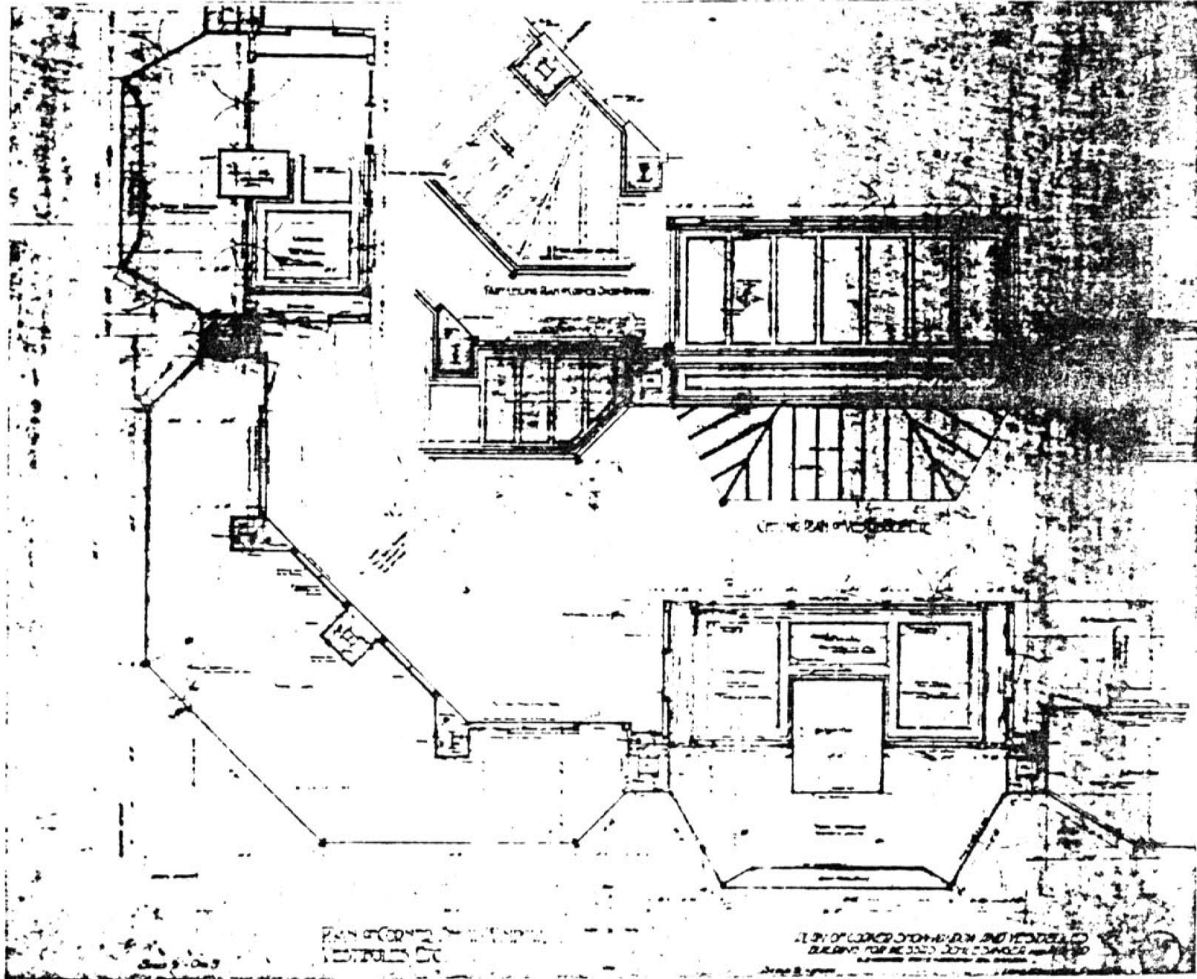
The lower two stories will consist of a display of plate-glass, framed in stately

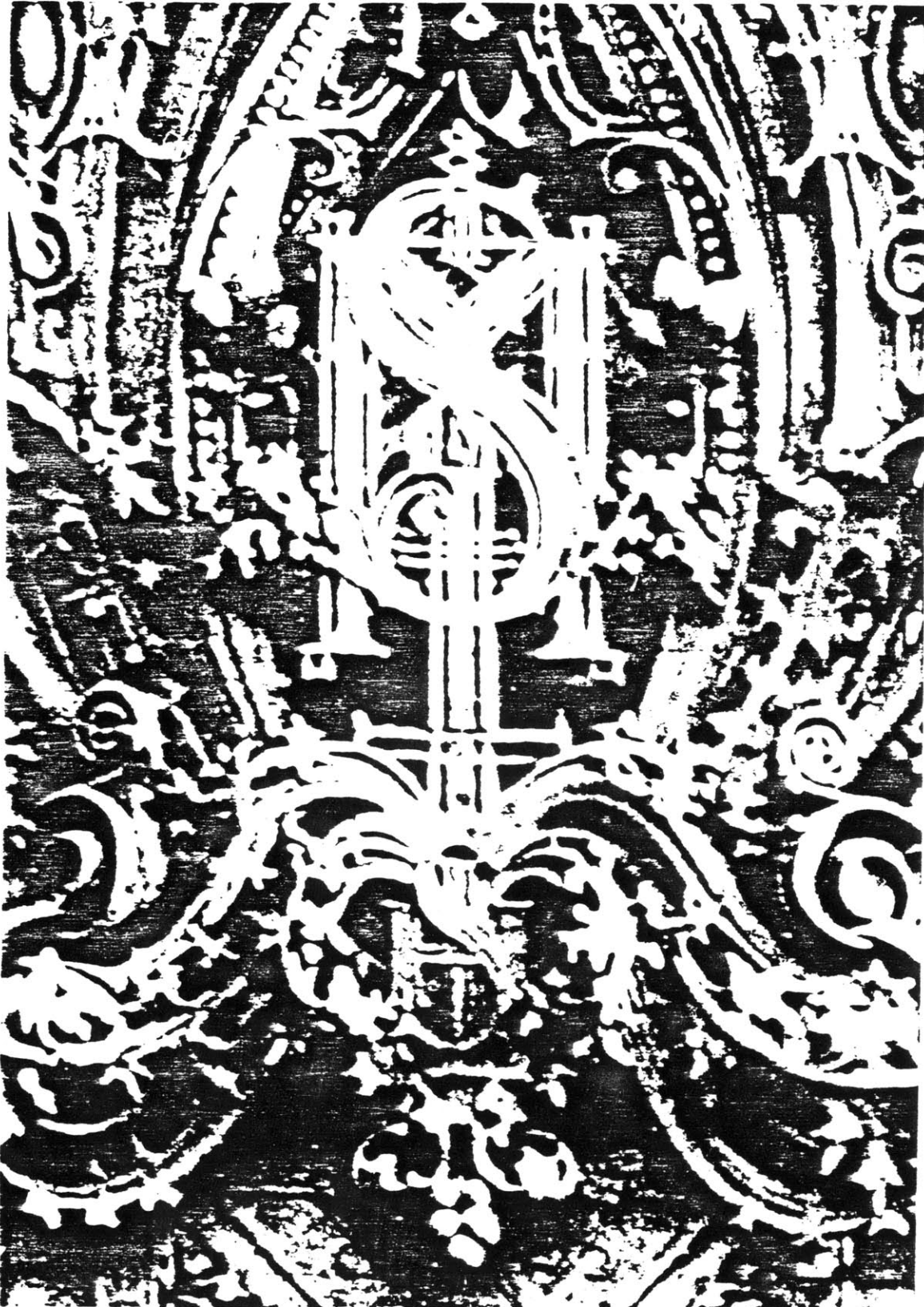
columns. The upper nine stories will be of masonry. The building will be a landmark in the city. The architect, Louis H. Sullivan, is one of the most prominent architects in the country. The building will be a masterpiece of modern architecture.

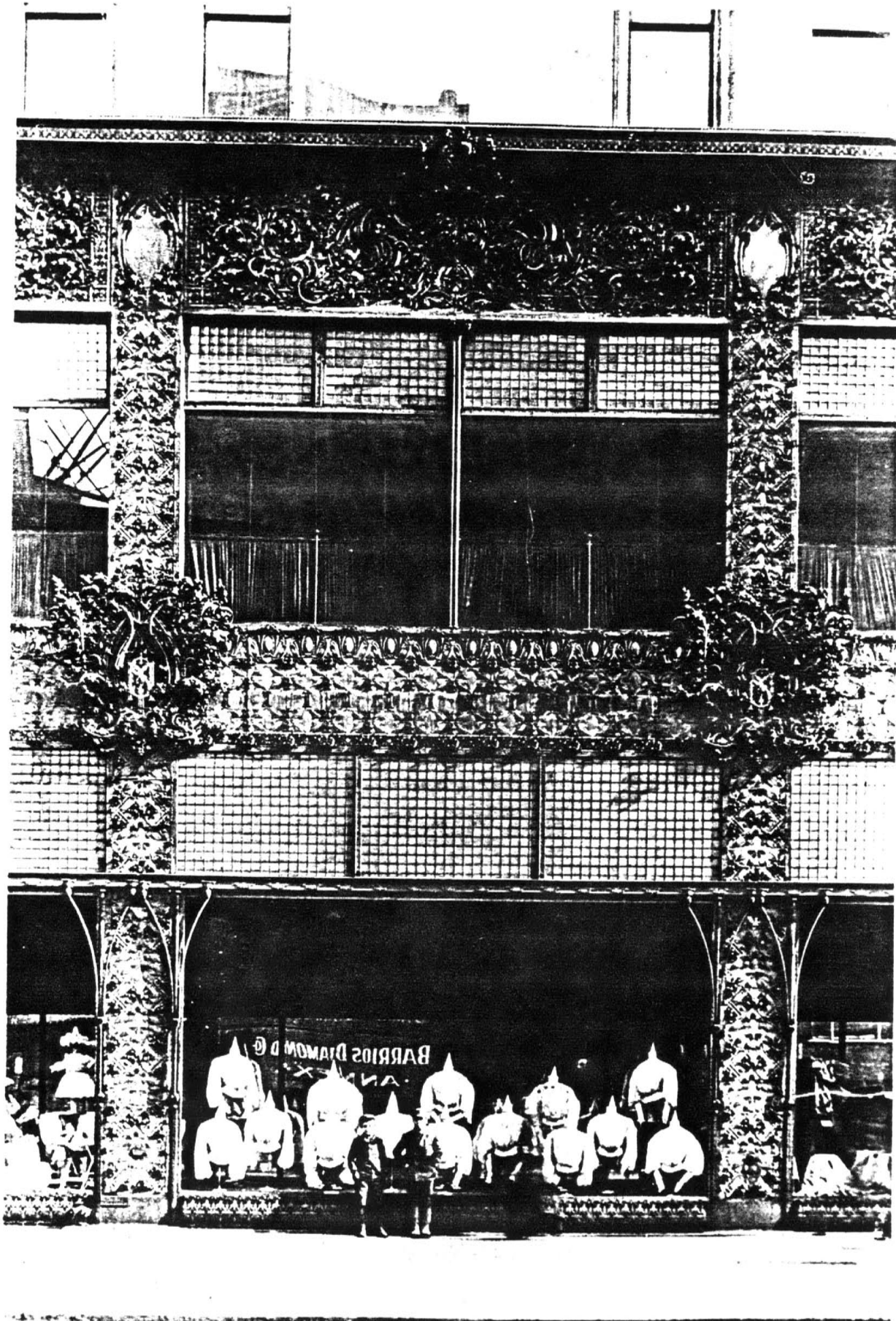
and will give cash. The main floor under the plate-glass will be a large hall. The building will be a landmark in the city. The architect, Louis H. Sullivan, is one of the most prominent architects in the country. The building will be a masterpiece of modern architecture.

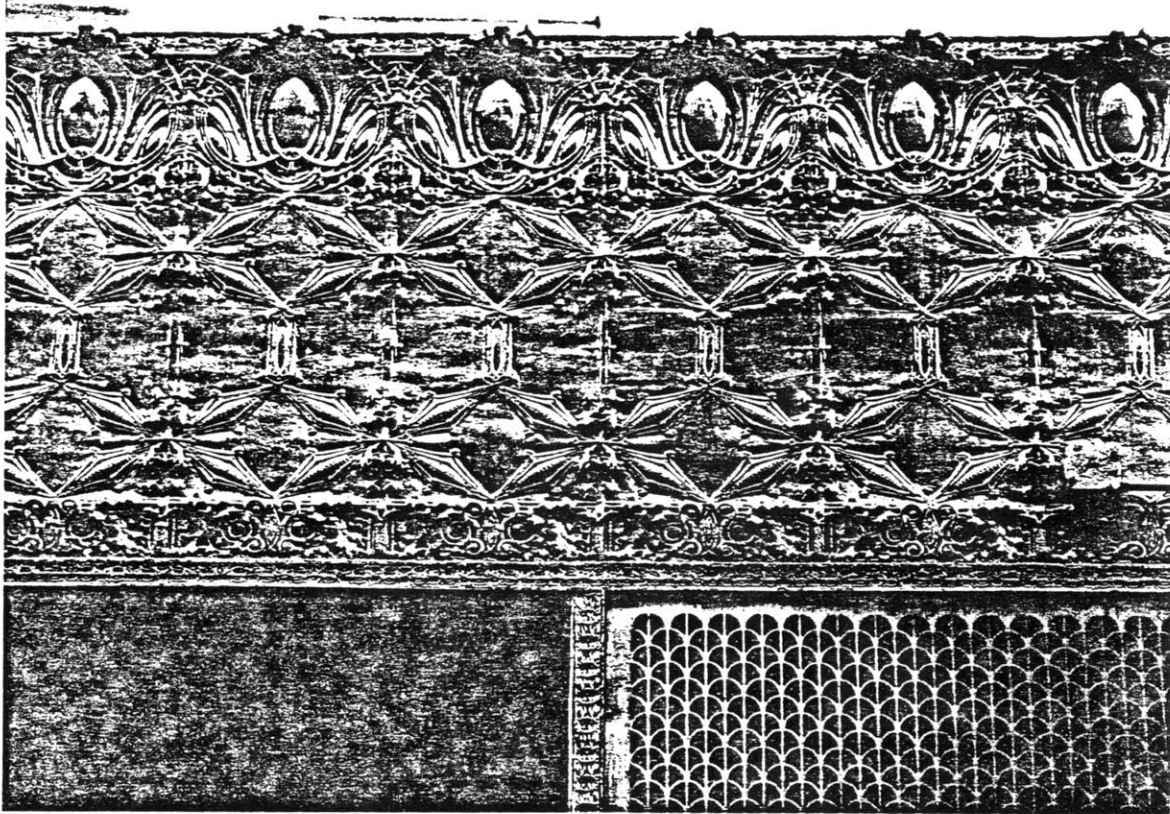
columns. The upper nine stories will be of masonry. The building will be a landmark in the city. The architect, Louis H. Sullivan, is one of the most prominent architects in the country. The building will be a masterpiece of modern architecture.

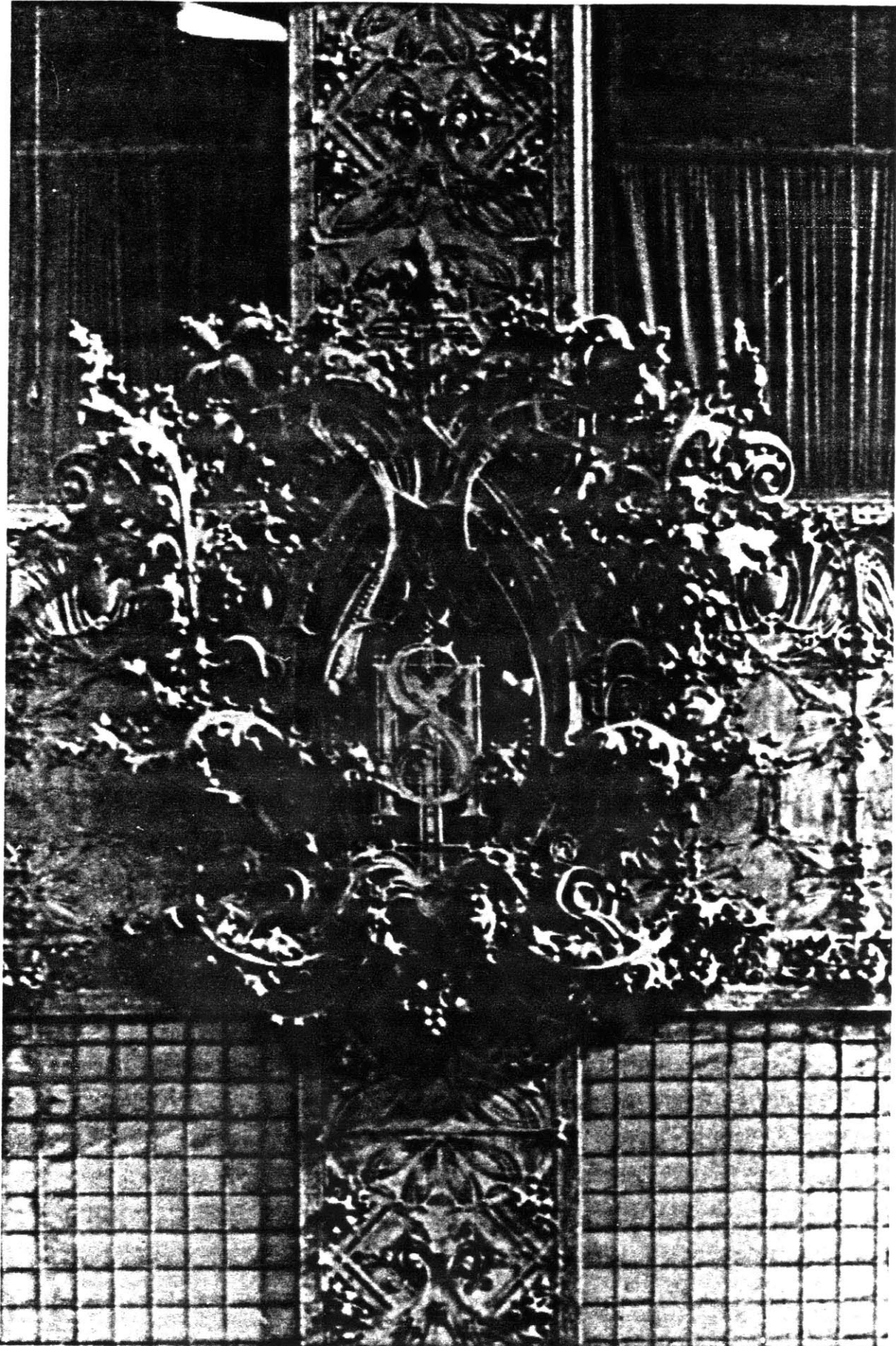


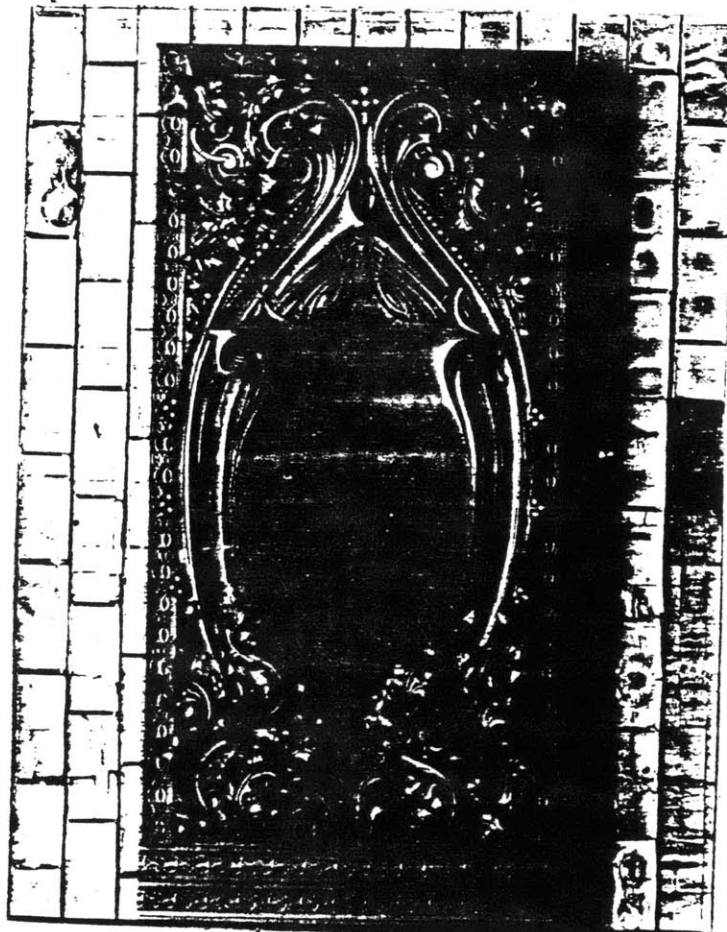
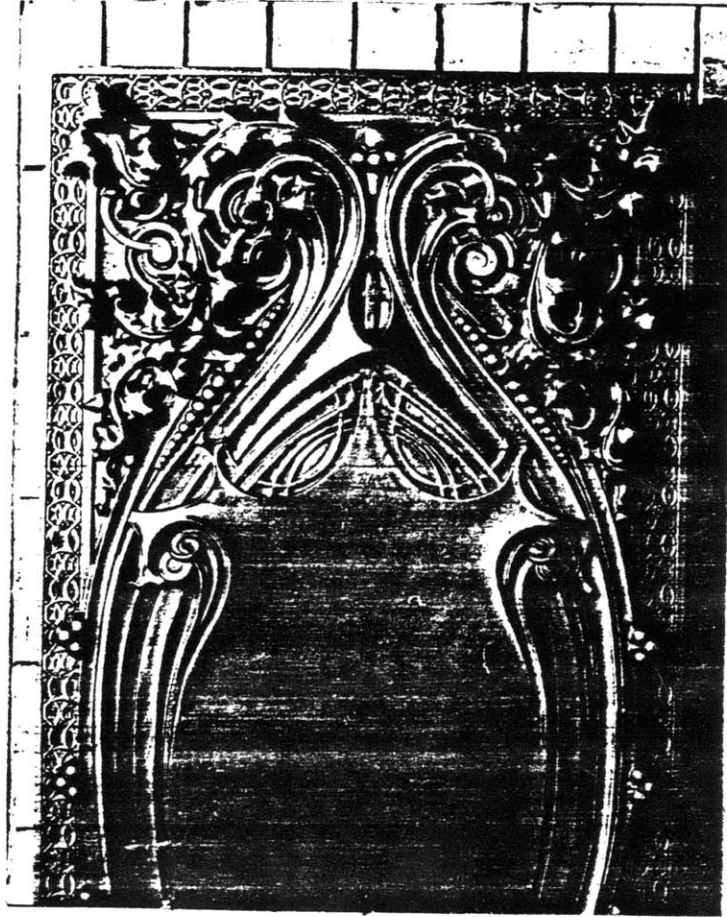












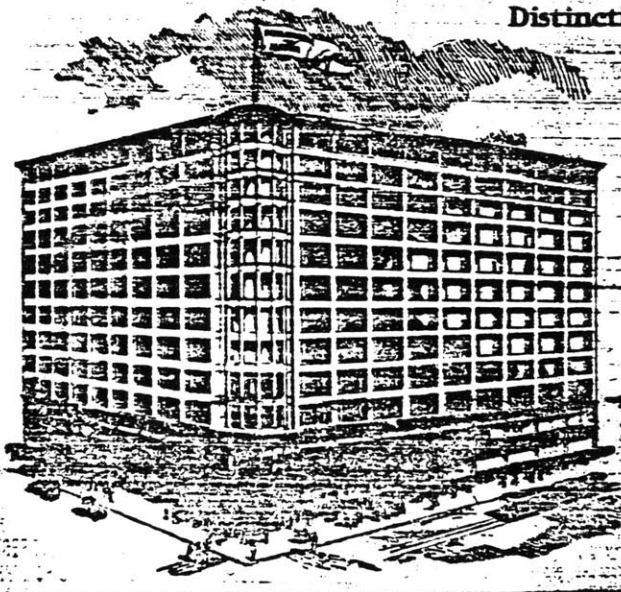
Schlesinger & Mayer

In four days

Another "Largest Store."

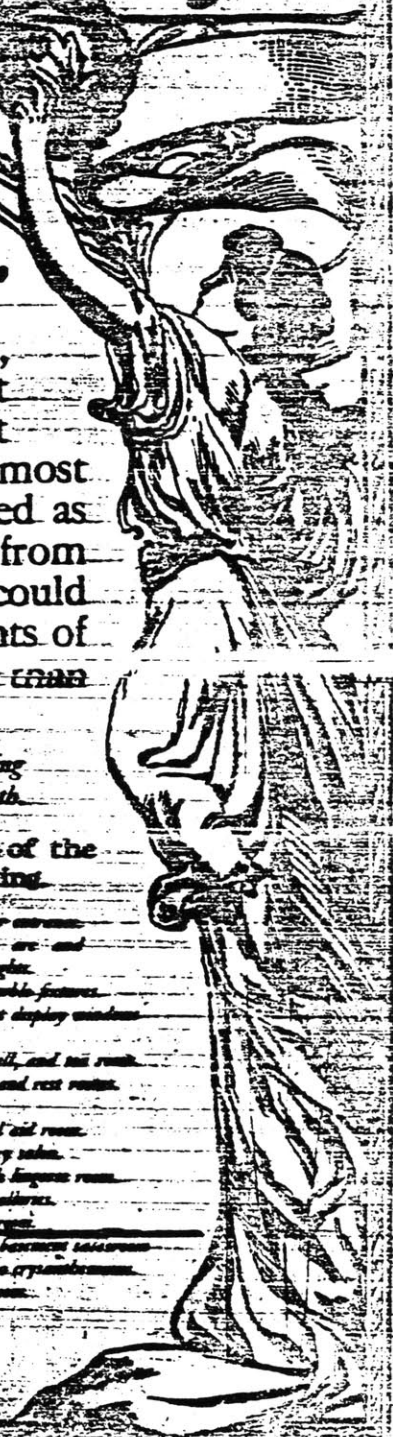
THE new Schlesinger & Mayer building, which will be formally opened next Monday, October 12th, is the newest in Chicago. We believe it to be the most beautiful. Its location is generally regarded as the most convenient. It has been equipped from rafter to base line with the best that money could buy. We believe, too, that the many points of superior excellence in the building are more than matched by the contents.

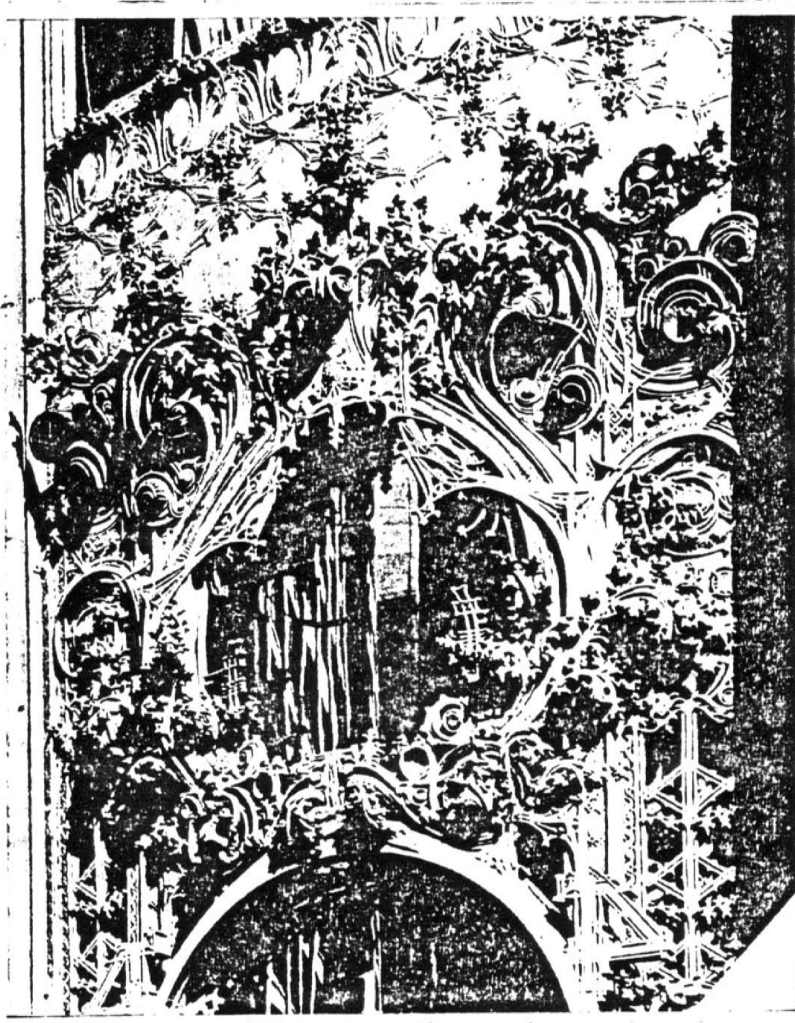
The public is invited to see and judge for itself on the grand opening days, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

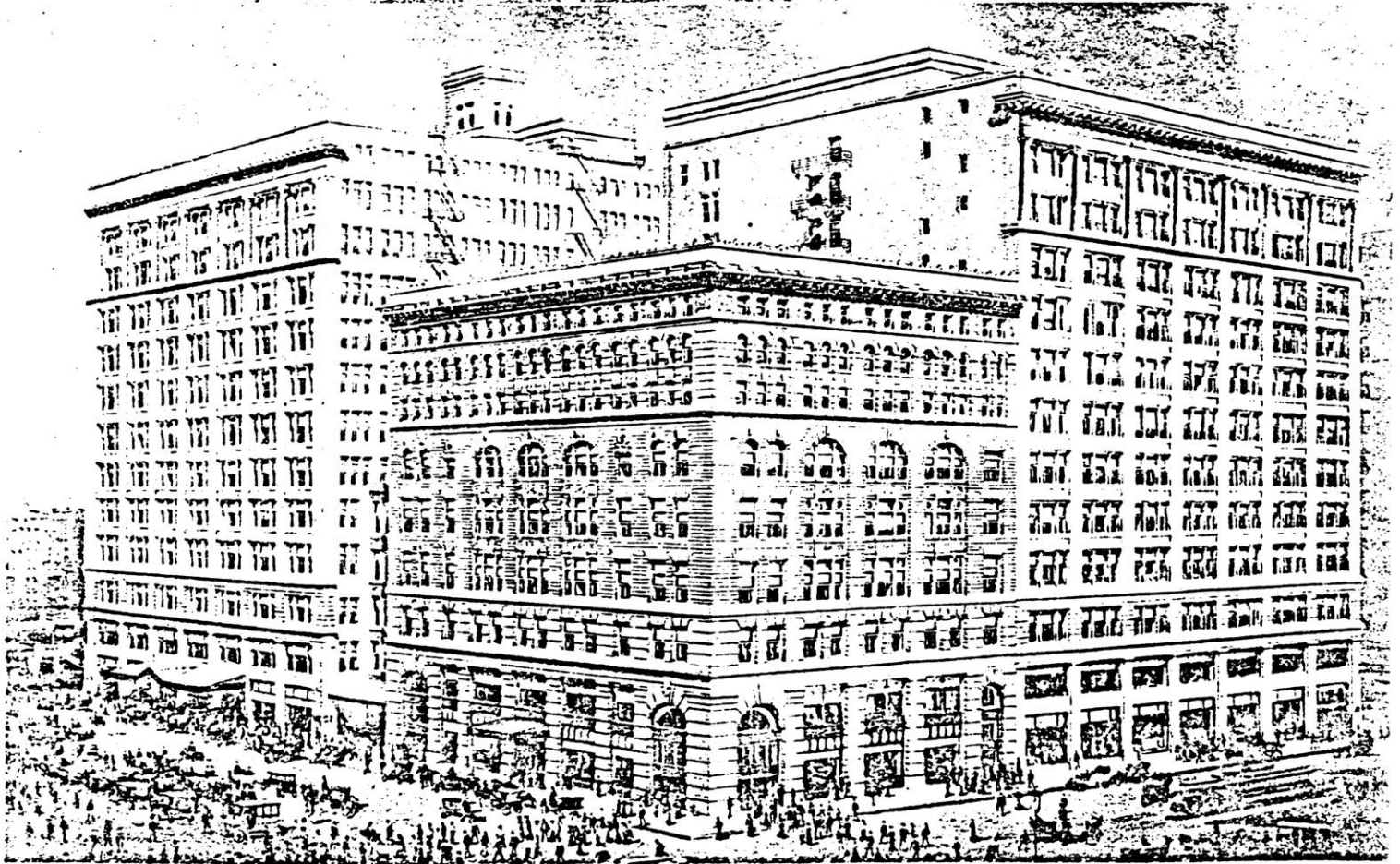


Distinctive features of the new building

- The corner circular entrance.*
- New combination arc and incandescent light.*
- Mahogany and marble fixtures.*
- Largest and finest display windows in the world.*
- The restaurant, grill, and tea room.*
- Reading, writing, and rest rooms.*
- Telephone bank.*
- Emergency medical aid room.*
- The Paris military table.*
- The unique French language room.*
- The spacious art galleries.*
- Cathedral cut glass room.*
- Another "largest" basement restaurant.*
- Decorations, 10,000 crystal chandeliers.*
- The great fabric room.*
- The art room.*
- Music.*
- Gardens, etc.*





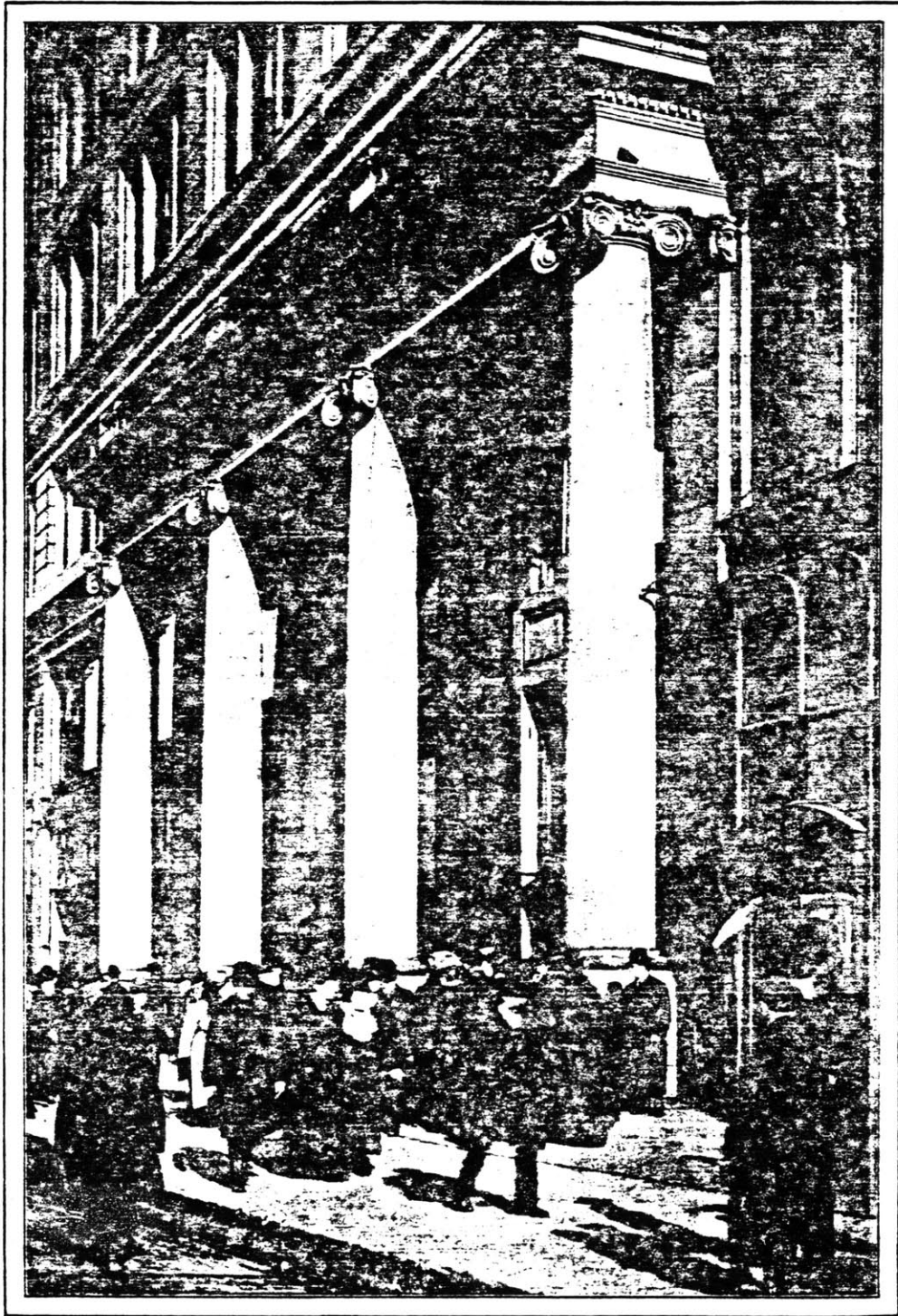


MARSHALL FIELD & CO.'S STORES (old and new)

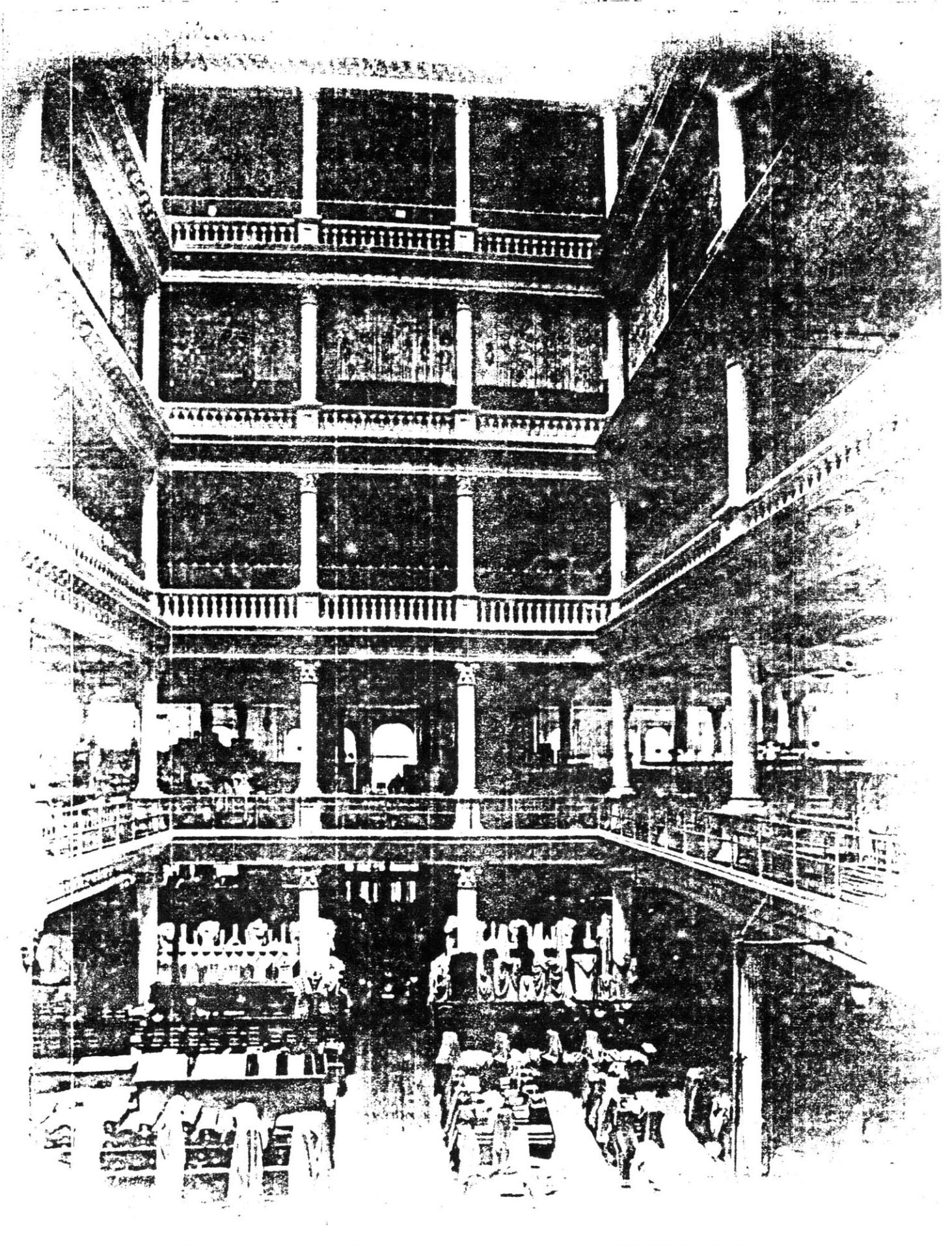
D. H. Burnham & Co., Architects



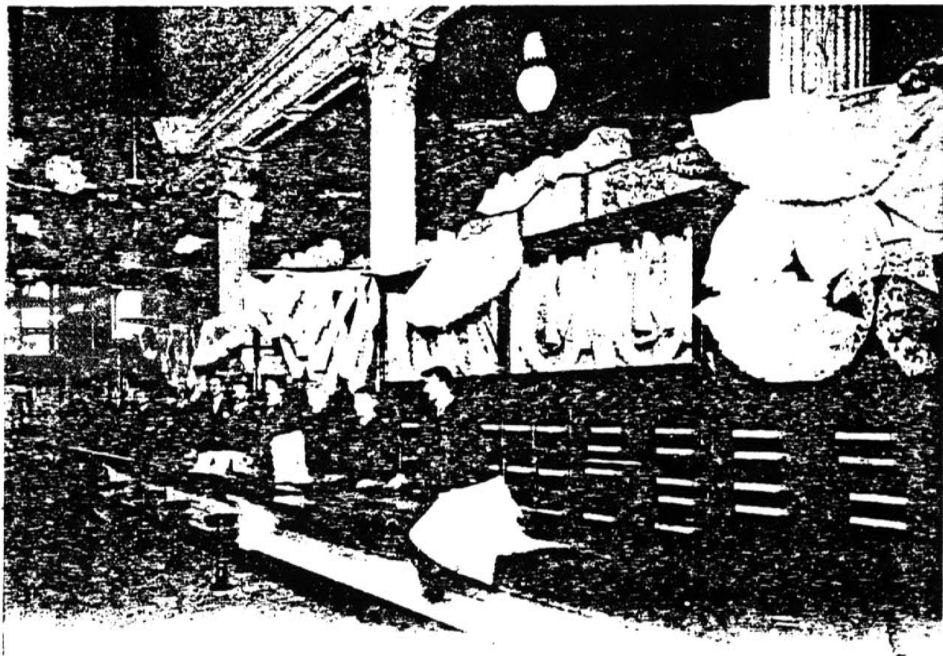
OFFICE BUILDING FOR MARSHALL FIELD, CHICAGO.



MAIN ENTRANCE OF MARSHALL FIELD'S, SHOWING THE HIGHEST MONOLITHS IN THE WORLD,
EXCEPT THOSE AT KARNAK.



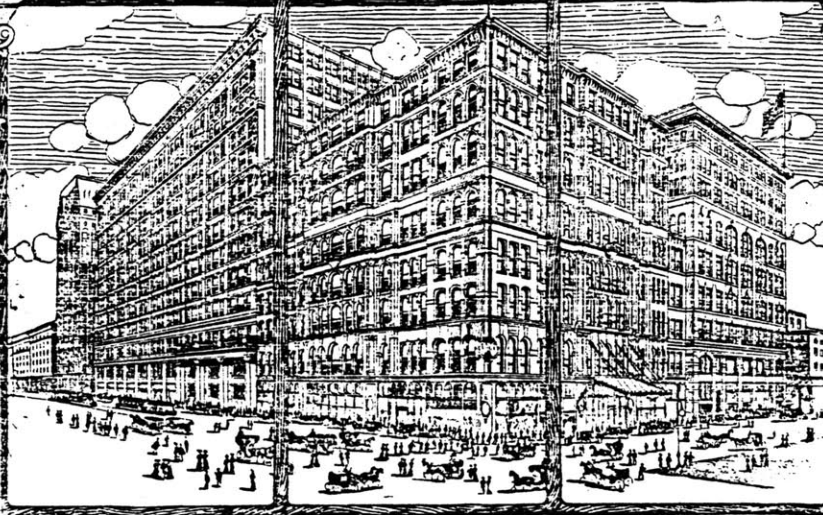
SECTIONAL VIEW OF ROTUNDA OF MAIN BUILDING.



16

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1902.

MARSHALL FIELD & CO.



Our Formal Opening

will be continued during

Thursday, Friday and Saturday

October 2d, 3d and 4th.

In response to *great numbers of requests* we continue our Formal opening as above. Many, very many, wish the additional days so that they and their friends may again visit the store while in its gala dress, and study in detail floors and divisions which they find they have passed by. . . . Many others have asked this extension of time so that the children could see the store on Saturday, and as this store is emphatically "Children's Headquarters," we are particularly pleased to recognize them in this matter. Again, very many from out of town have requested that the "Opening" be continued to permit them to visit the store.

The reduced rates to Chicago on all railroads this week will enable many thousands of persons from out of town to easily make the excursion and see this establishment as it appears during this extraordinary period.

We beg to note a few of the hundreds or thousands of attractive and unique features of this, the largest store in the world.

The 2nd floor from Washington to Randolph street. The great light court in new building, nearly 200 feet high. The necessary trimmed window extending 1,200 feet across a corner of a block. The State Street entrance. The entire 1st floor with its magnificent new mahogany pavilion. The great 2d floor devoted to new goods. The 3d floor Clothing Room. The great popular department Saleswomen—the largest saleswomen in the world. The French room, for displaying lingerie, etc. of floor. The 4th floor (near Street Building) with some more generally new features here, etc.

The 5th floor. The Toy Room, the 6th floor. The 7th floor Reading, Writing, and Book Rooms, with comfortable chairs, writing desks, etc. A few Women's clothing rooms for ladies. The 8th floor. The 9th floor. The 10th floor. The 11th floor. The 12th floor. The 13th floor. The 14th floor. The 15th floor. The 16th floor. The 17th floor. The 18th floor. The 19th floor. The 20th floor. The 21st floor. The 22nd floor. The 23rd floor. The 24th floor. The 25th floor. The 26th floor. The 27th floor. The 28th floor. The 29th floor. The 30th floor. The 31st floor. The 32nd floor. The 33rd floor. The 34th floor. The 35th floor. The 36th floor. The 37th floor. The 38th floor. The 39th floor. The 40th floor. The 41st floor. The 42nd floor. The 43rd floor. The 44th floor. The 45th floor. The 46th floor. The 47th floor. The 48th floor. The 49th floor. The 50th floor. The 51st floor. The 52nd floor. The 53rd floor. The 54th floor. The 55th floor. The 56th floor. The 57th floor. The 58th floor. The 59th floor. The 60th floor. The 61st floor. The 62nd floor. The 63rd floor. The 64th floor. The 65th floor. The 66th floor. The 67th floor. The 68th floor. The 69th floor. The 70th floor. The 71st floor. The 72nd floor. The 73rd floor. The 74th floor. The 75th floor. The 76th floor. The 77th floor. The 78th floor. The 79th floor. The 80th floor. The 81st floor. The 82nd floor. The 83rd floor. The 84th floor. The 85th floor. The 86th floor. The 87th floor. The 88th floor. The 89th floor. The 90th floor. The 91st floor. The 92nd floor. The 93rd floor. The 94th floor. The 95th floor. The 96th floor. The 97th floor. The 98th floor. The 99th floor. The 100th floor.

These are but a few, and each could be written in detail to almost any limit. A year could be spent in this store in sightseeing, and each hour would discover a new and interesting feature.

NOTE.—The most satisfactory way to view the store is to go first to the top and walk down, making a tour of each floor in succession. From the fourth floor down, include the beautiful Ames's floors.

While the premises are the best that can be erected, while the fixtures are the most carefully thought out and built, while the opening decorations are attractive in the extreme, we wish to emphasize that the real strength of this business is in the splendid qualities of our merchandise and the absolute dependability that our prices are the lowest.

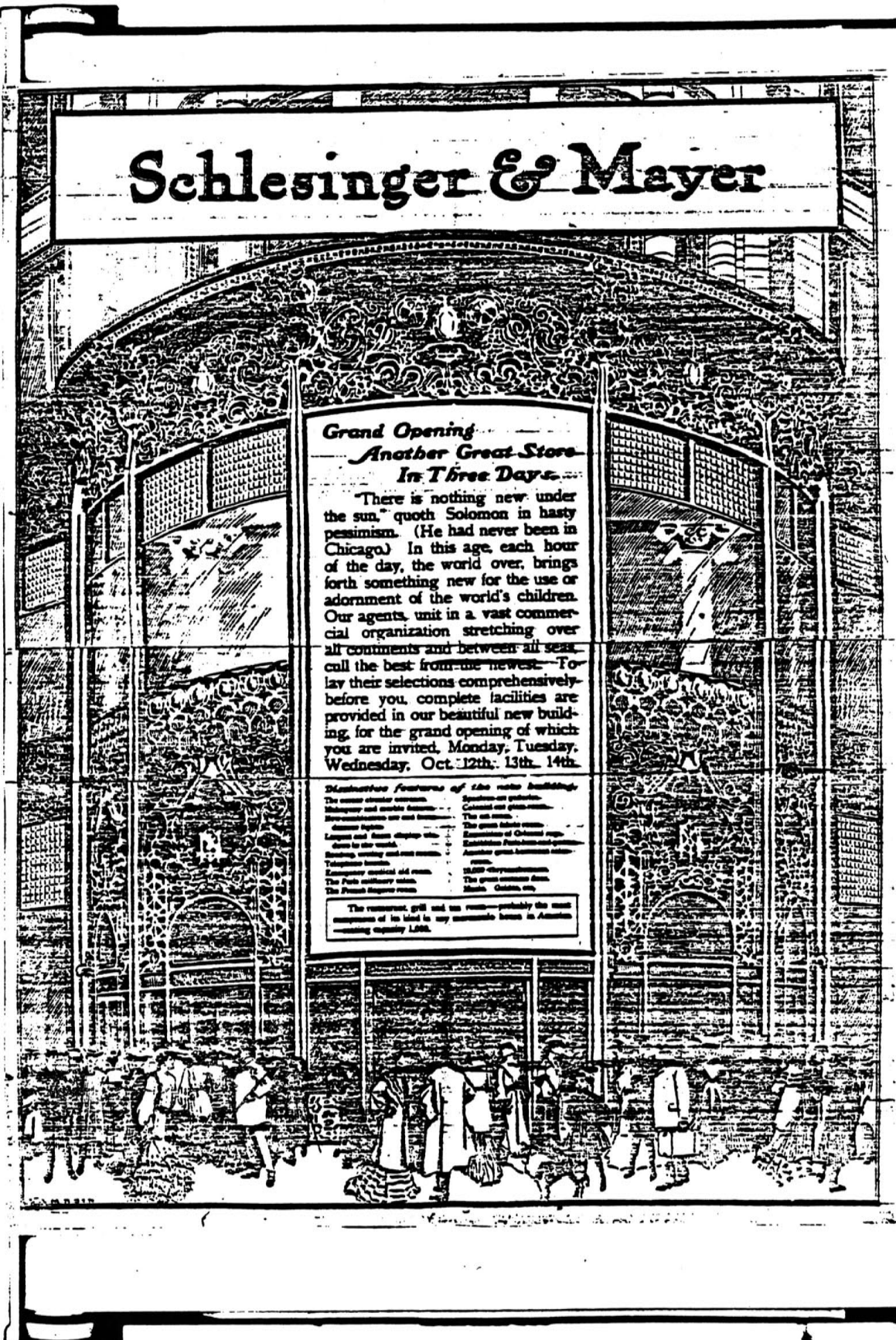
Schlesinger & Mayer

Grand Opening Another Great Store In Three Days

There is nothing new under the sun," quoth Solomon in hasty pessimism. (He had never been in Chicago.) In this age, each hour of the day, the world over, brings forth something new for the use or adornment of the world's children. Our agents, unit in a vast commercial organization stretching over all continents and between all seas, call the best from the newest. To lay their selections comprehensively before you, complete facilities are provided in our beautiful new building, for the grand opening of which you are invited, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Oct. 12th, 13th, 14th.

- Distinguished features of the new building:**
- | | |
|---|--|
| The corner elevator entrance. | Spacious and private. |
| Marble and wood floors. | Colored air glass windows. |
| Refrigerators for use and convenience. | The air shaft. |
| Electric lighting. | The great lobby. |
| Largest and finest display windows to the street. | Exhibition of Oriental carpets. |
| Reading, writing and rest rooms. | Exhibition of French and German furniture. |
| Telephone booths. | Exhibition of French and German furniture. |
| Complete medical aid room. | 12,000 glass chandeliers. |
| The Park auxiliary room. | The great entrance door. |
| The French Signet room. | Roofs, Golden city. |

The restaurant, grill and tea rooms—probably the most complete of its kind in any mercantile house in America—seating capacity 1,000.



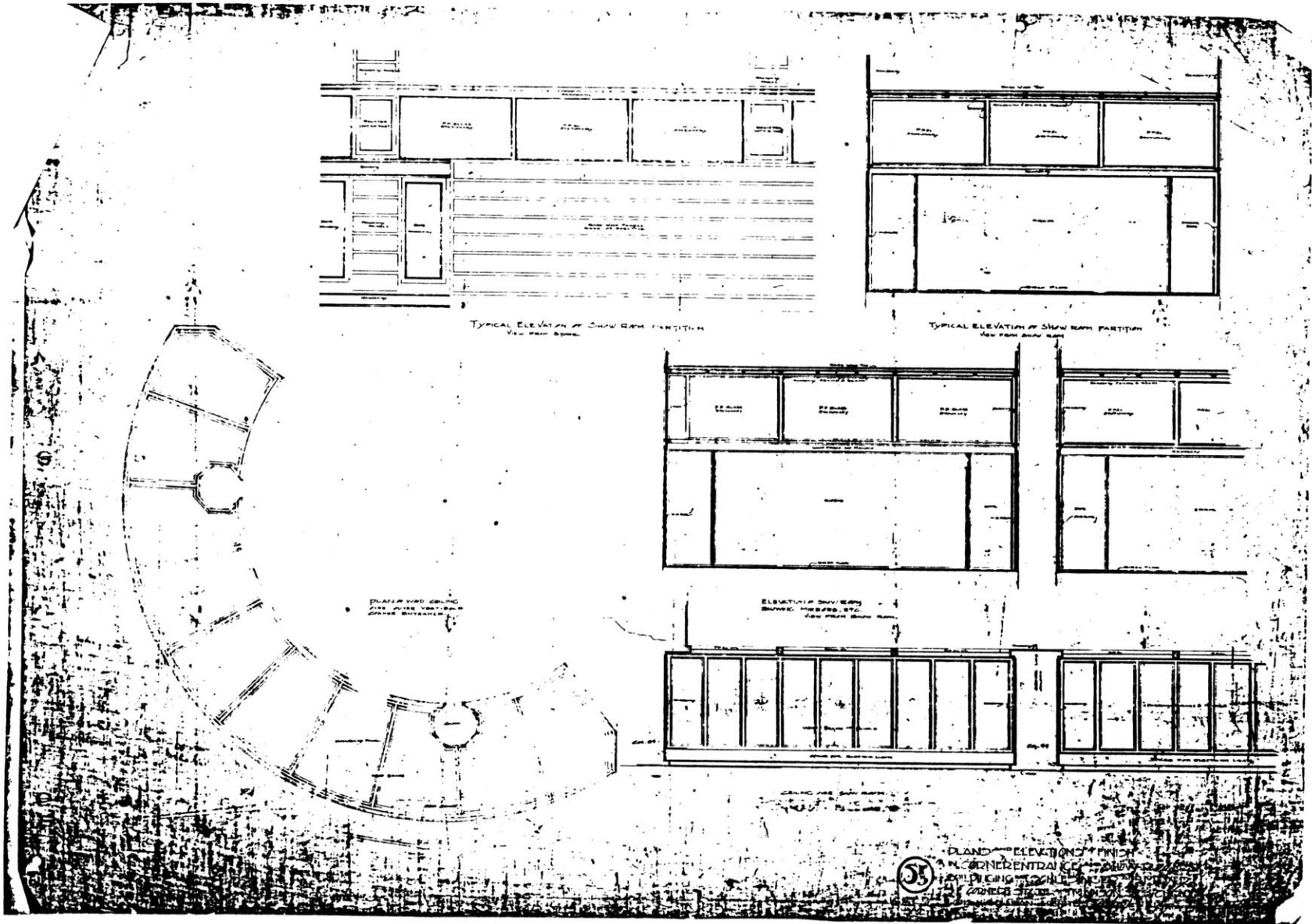
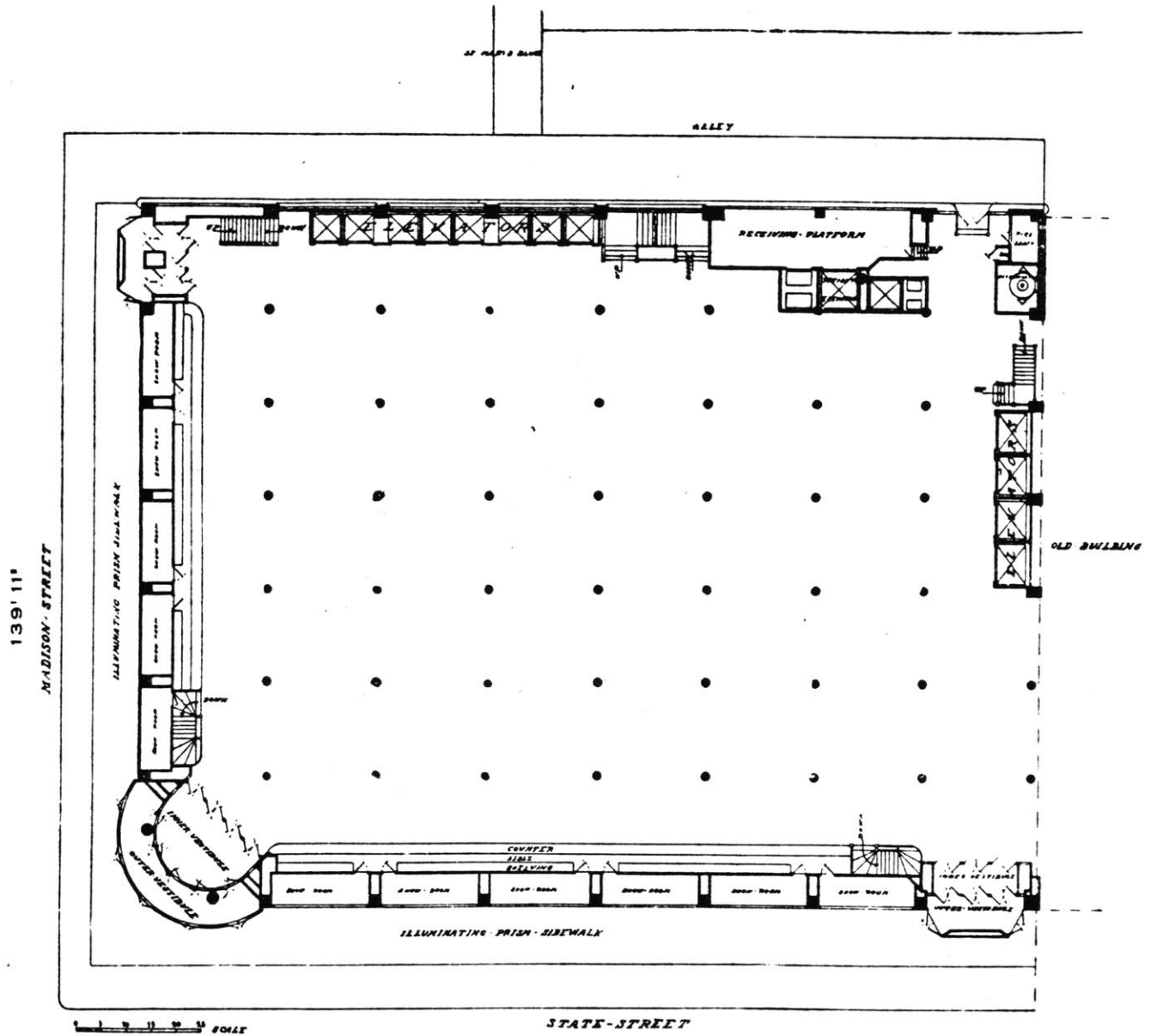


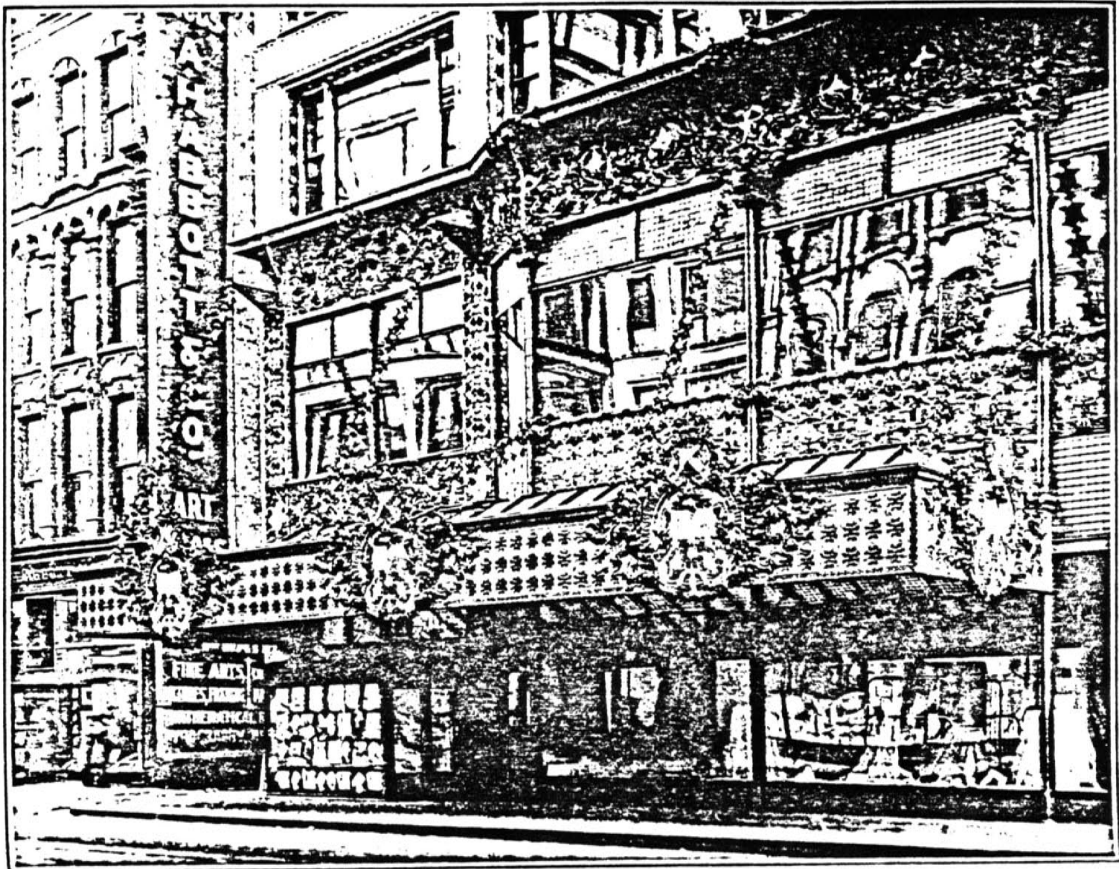
Fig. IV-41

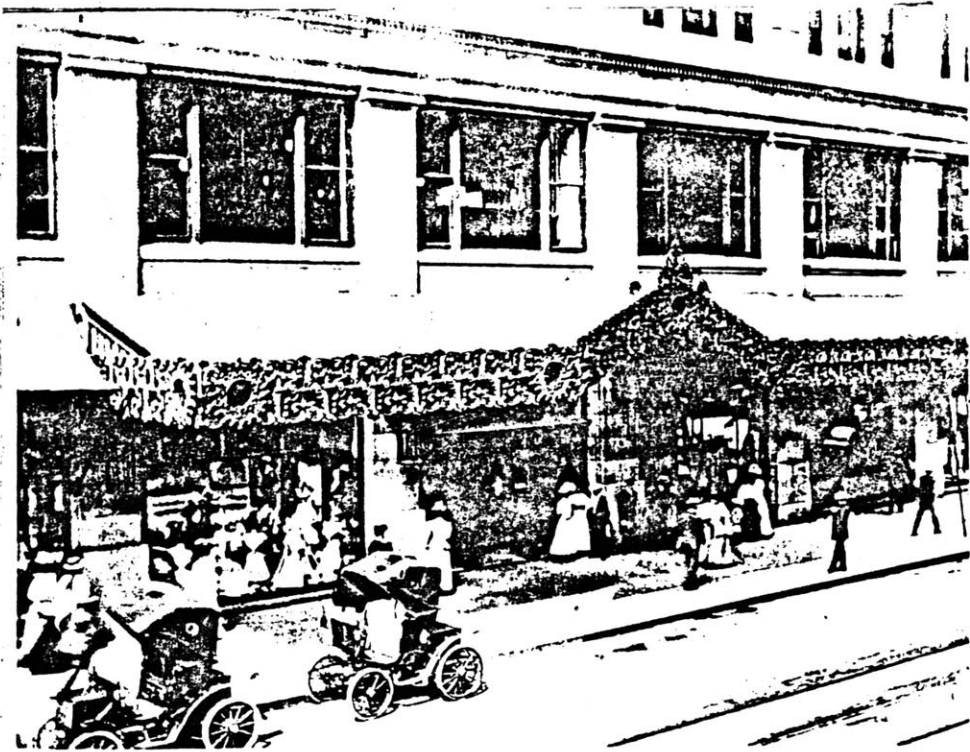


First Floor Plan.

181' 1"

CARSON, PIRIE, SCOTT & COMPANY BUILDING



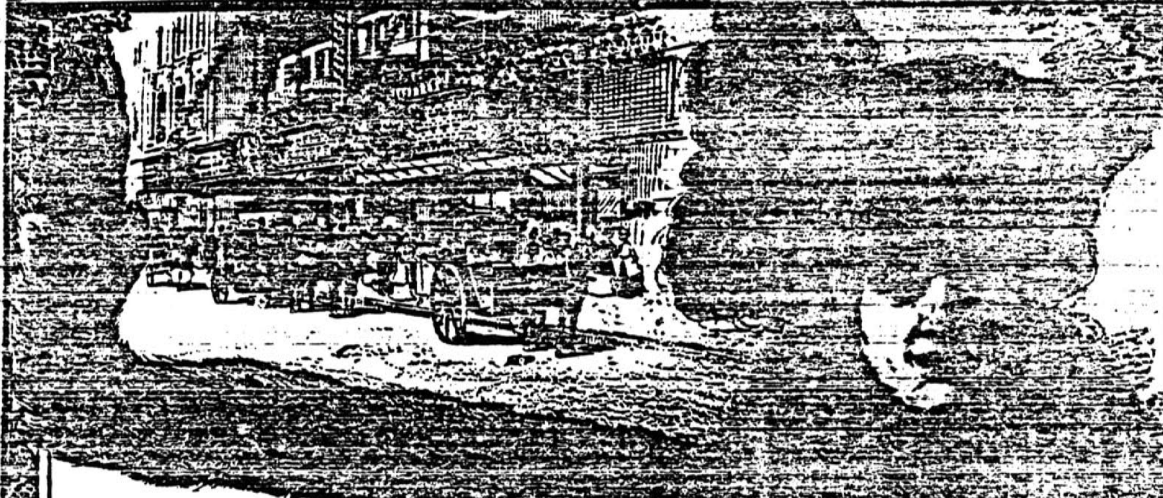


At the Washington Street entrance near State Street fashionable ladies stepped from carriages and electric broughams to be welcomed by uniformed greeters.

MARSHALL FIELD'S CANOPY

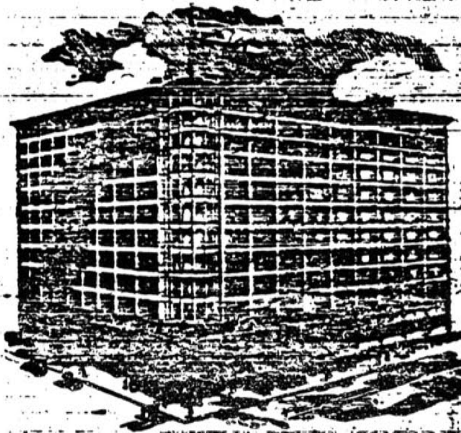


SCHLESINGER & MAYER



THE beautiful and commodious new Schlesinger & Mayer Building, which will be formally opened next Monday, October 12th, has been planned in the belief that the public appreciates a comfortable store. Avenue-like aisles lead from section to section. The vast interior spaces are flooded with daylight.

Roomy elevators run from floor to floor with the regularity of railroad trains. Rest rooms, as soothing as shady nooks in a summer garden, await use by the weary. There one may repose in quiet, read, write letters, call friends by telephone, and command every convenience and luxury. For sudden attacks of illness there is skilled attendance in the emergency medical aid room.



Most important of all to the shopper, one may wander at will through a permanent international exposition of earth's choicest products in fabric and handicraft, picking and choosing to suit fancy or purse, and be attended every step by

unflinching courtesy, by desire to please and by assurance that every promise will be made good.

Marked Features of New Building

1. Permanent International Exposition of Earth's Choicest Products in Fabric and Handicraft

2. Avenue-like Aisles leading from section to section

3. Vast interior spaces flooded with daylight

4. Roomy elevators running from floor to floor with the regularity of railroad trains

5. Rest rooms, as soothing as shady nooks in a summer garden

6. Emergency medical aid room

7. Skilled attendance in the emergency medical aid room

8. Call friends by telephone

9. Quiet reading and writing rooms

10. Unflinching courtesy, by desire to please and by assurance that every promise will be made good

In Five Days Another Great Store.



ROOSEVELT STREET

AUDITORIUM HOTEL.

ROOSEVELT STREET.

FIG. IV-47

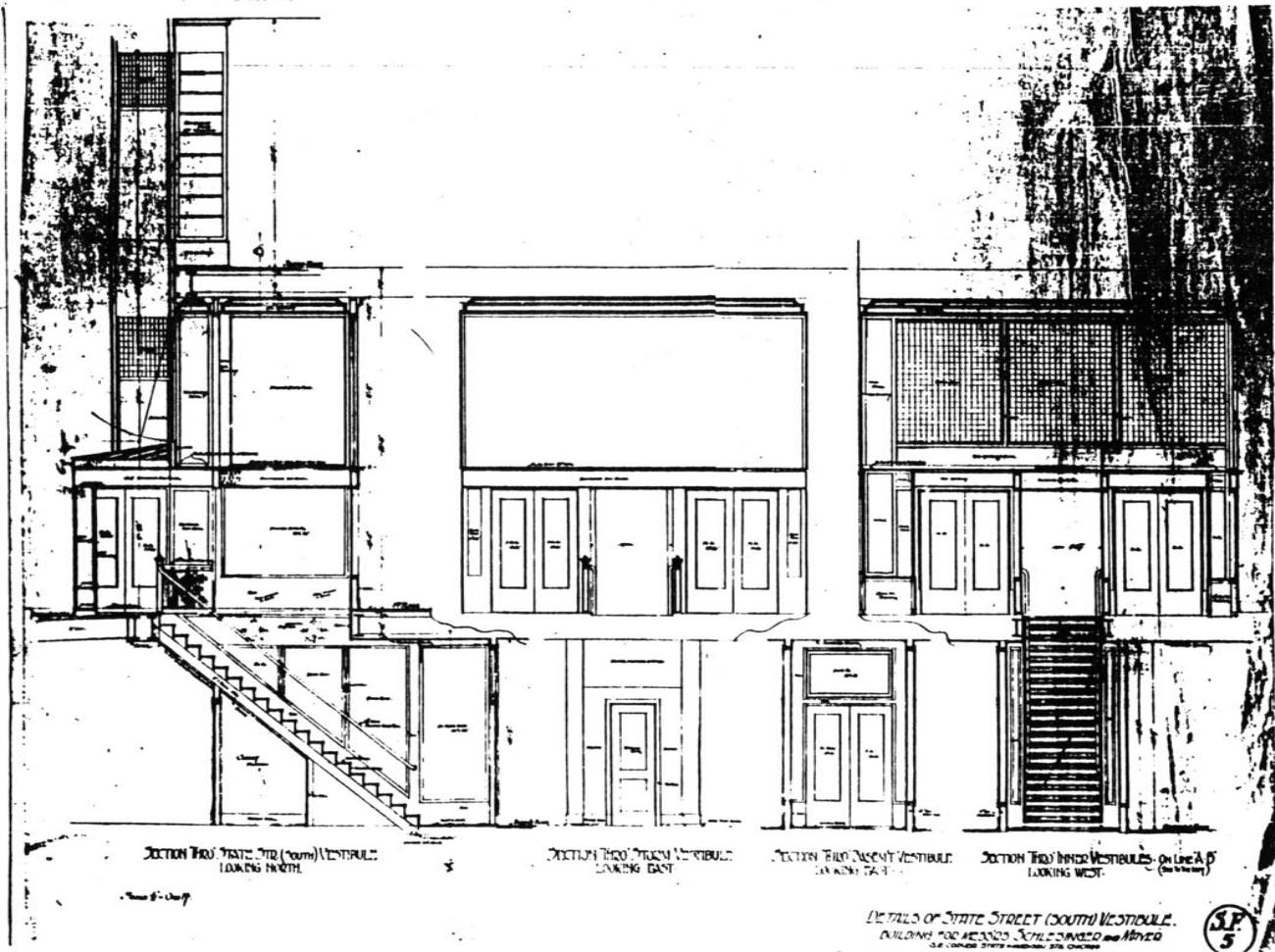
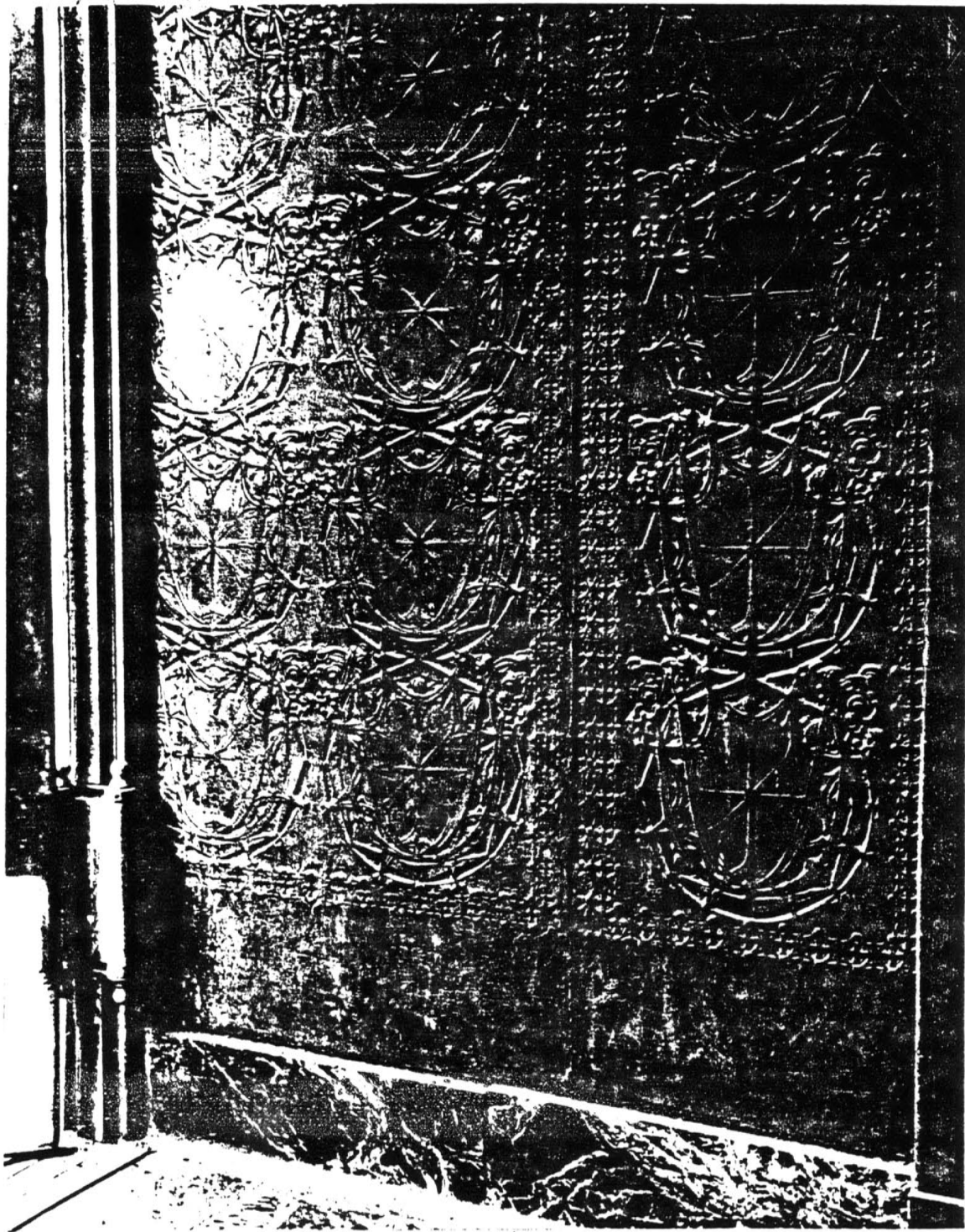
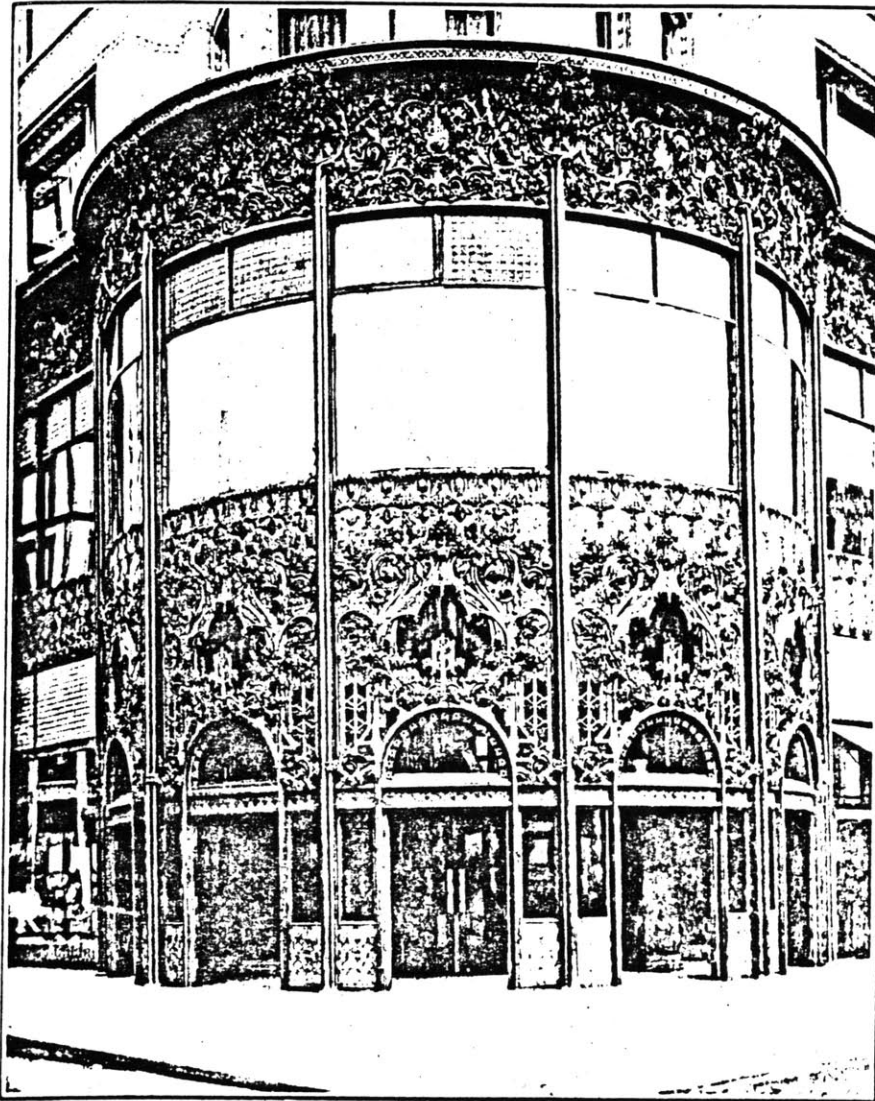


FIG. IV-49



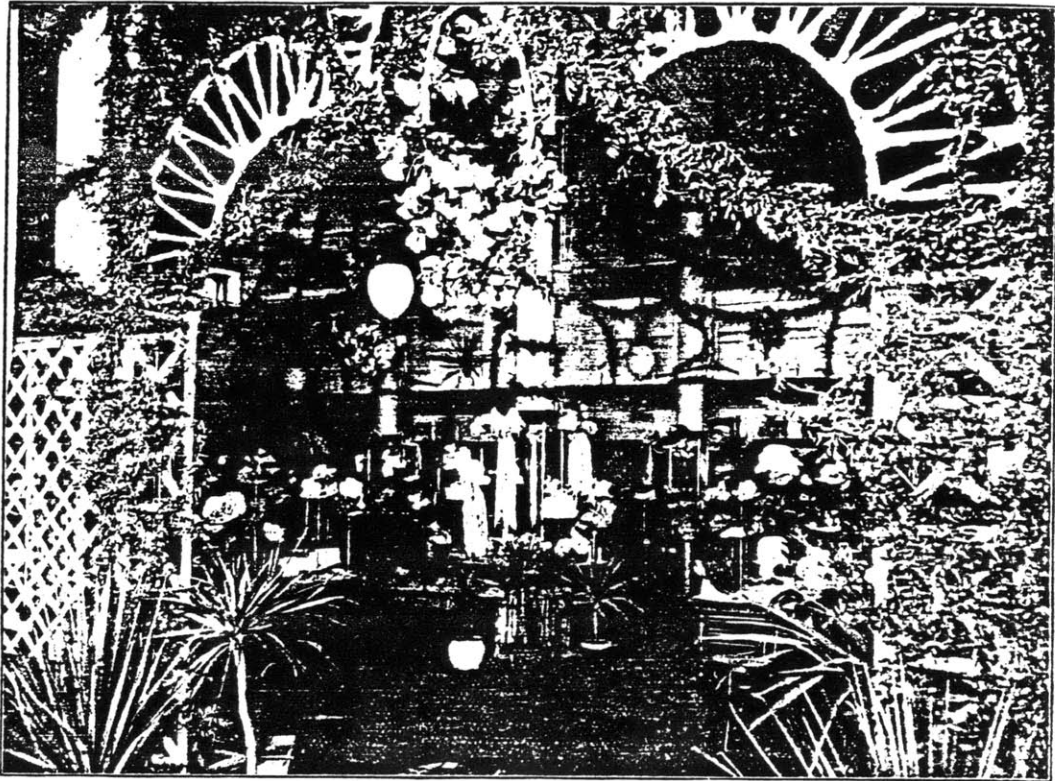


Corner Entrance.

THE SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING.

State Street, Chicago.

Louis H. Sullivan, Architect.



—INTERIOR DECORATIONS.—By J. J. Mitchell for Weinstock, Lubin & Co.,
San Francisco, Cal.

Fig.IV-53

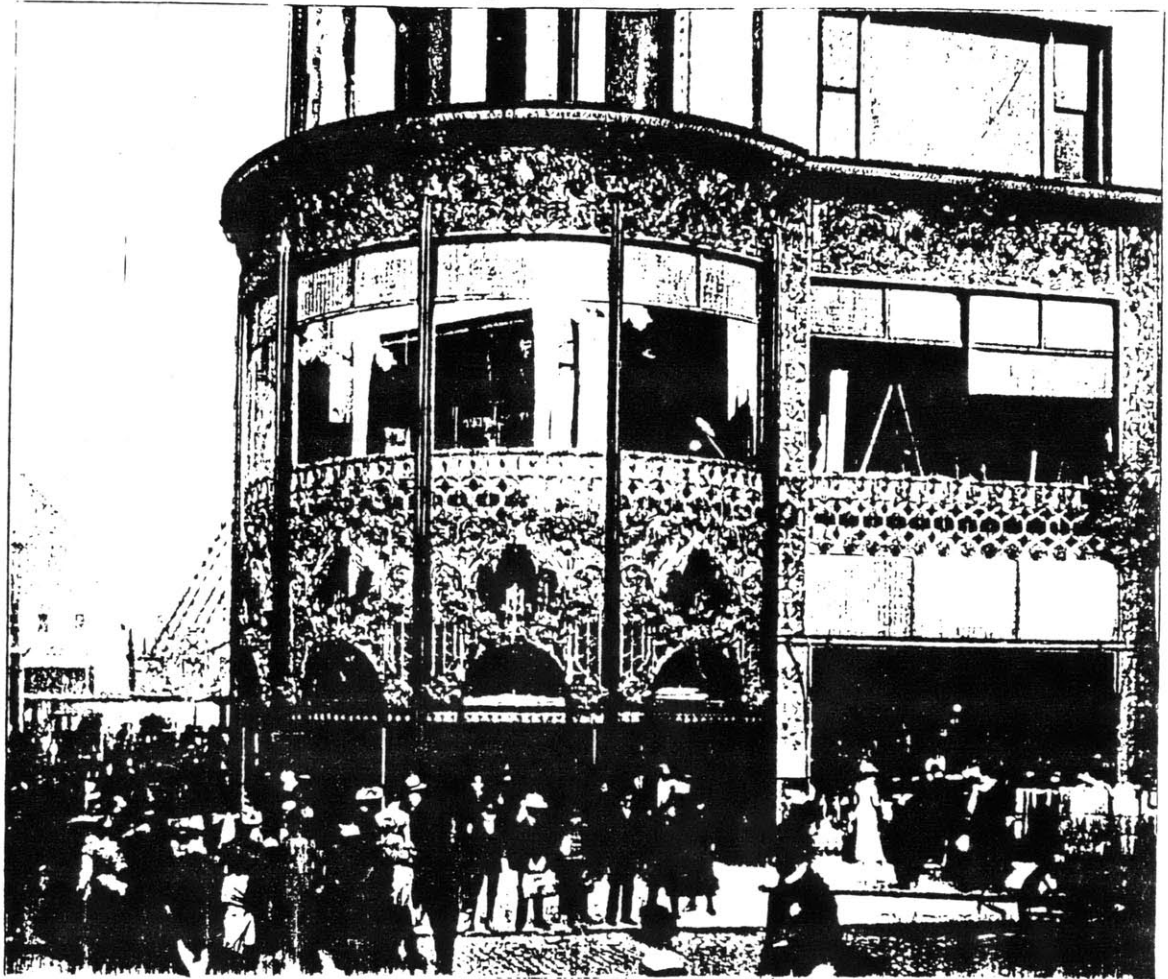
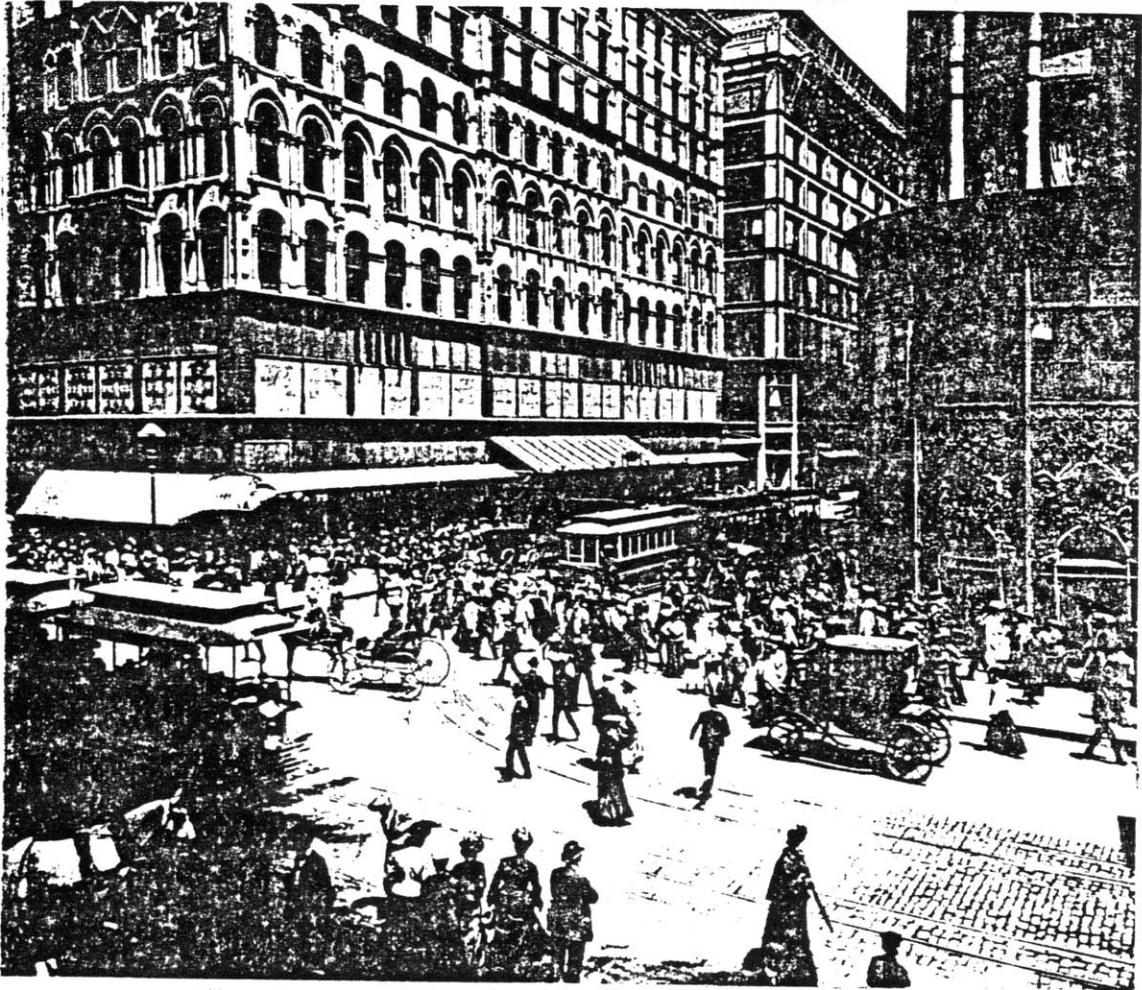


PHOTO BY LOS LOST

DETAIL VIEW, LOWER STORES,
SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING, CHICAGO



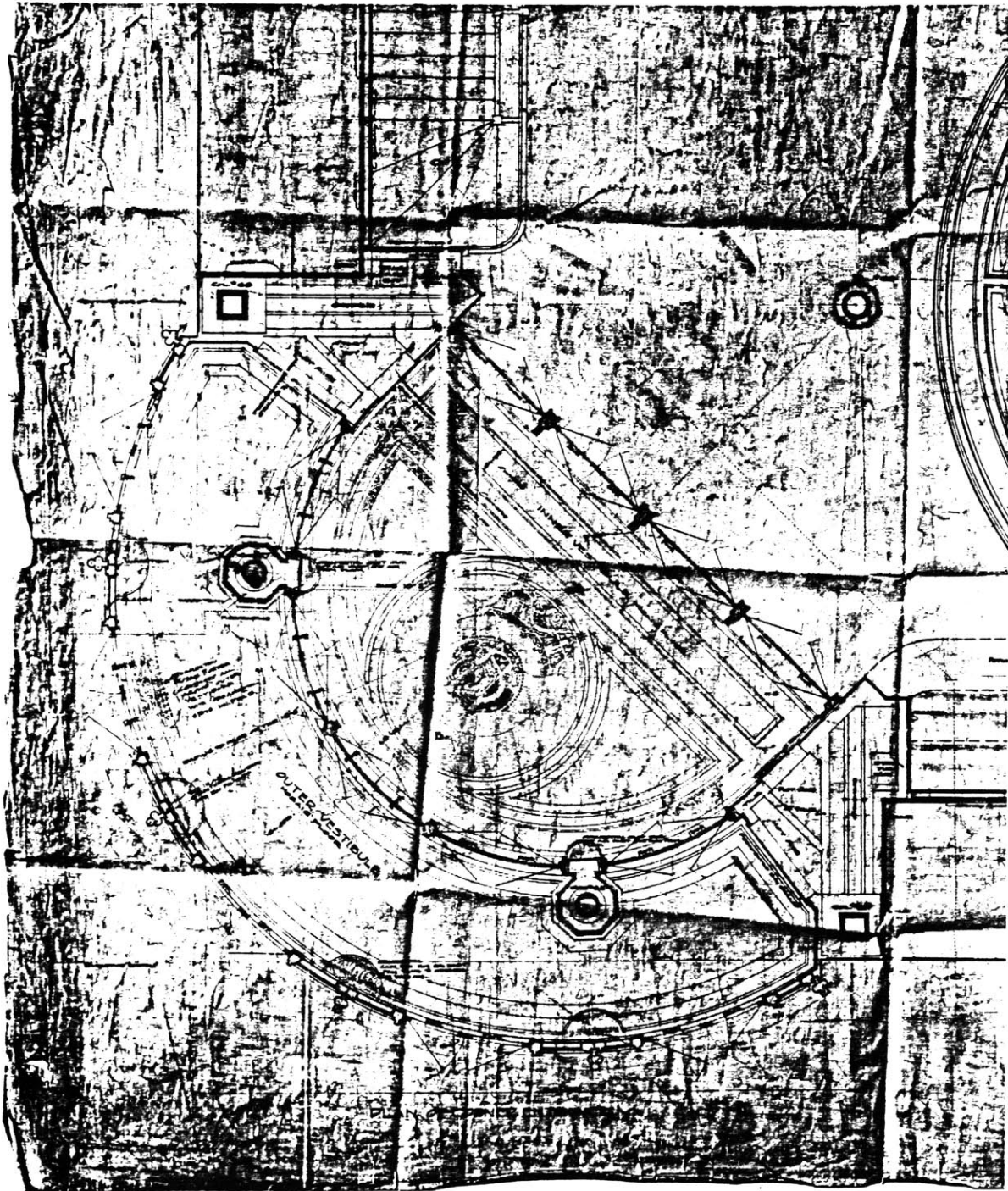
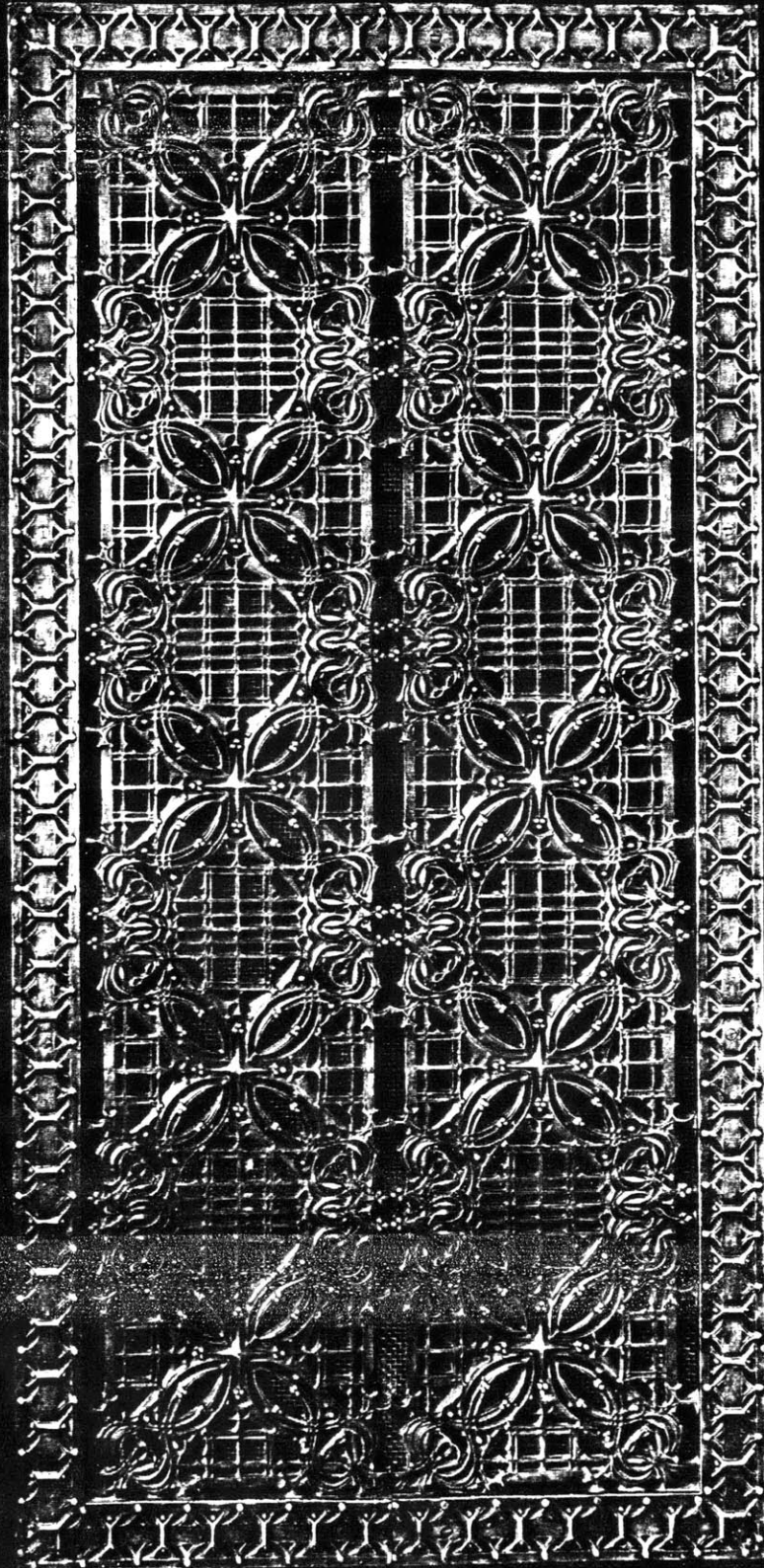
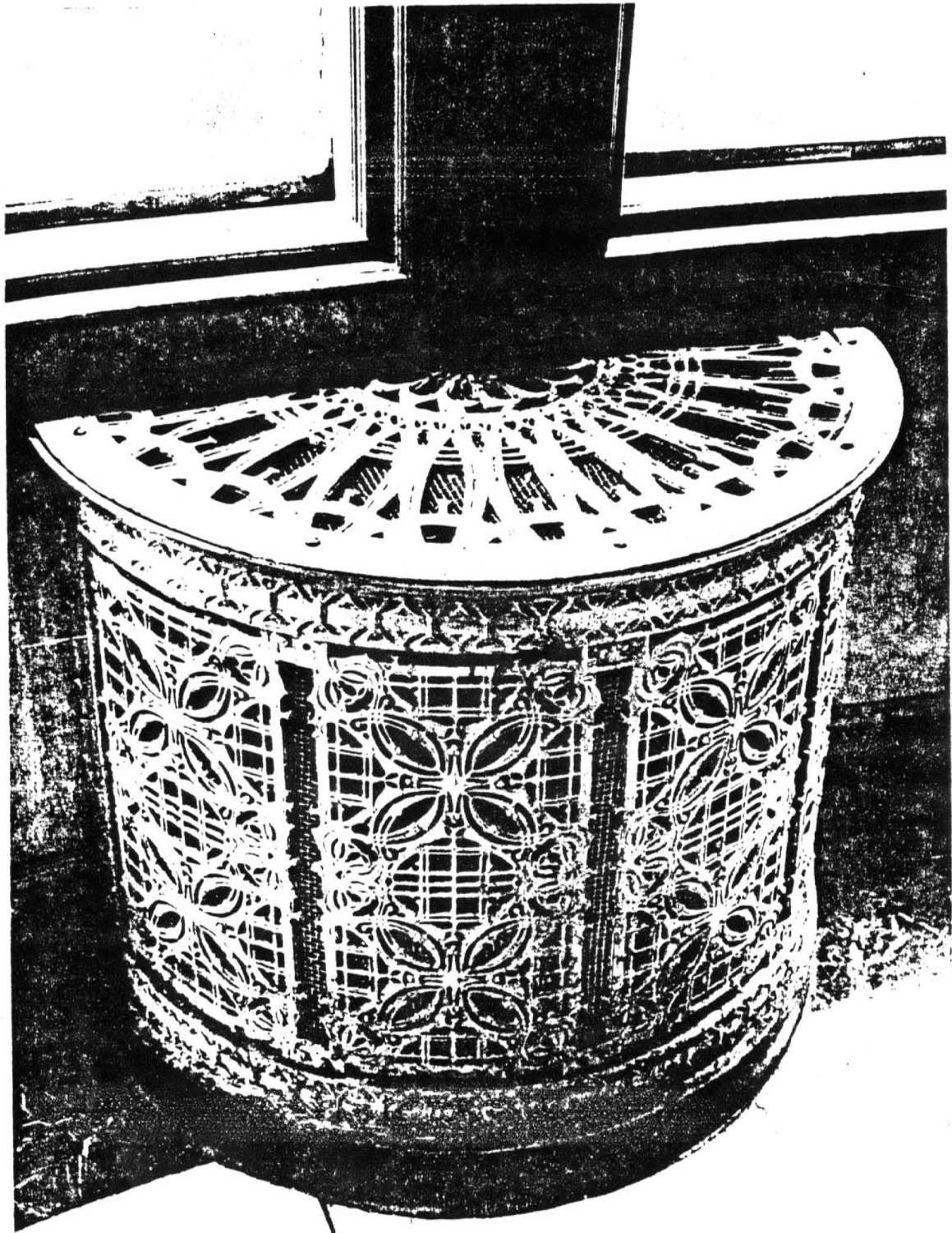
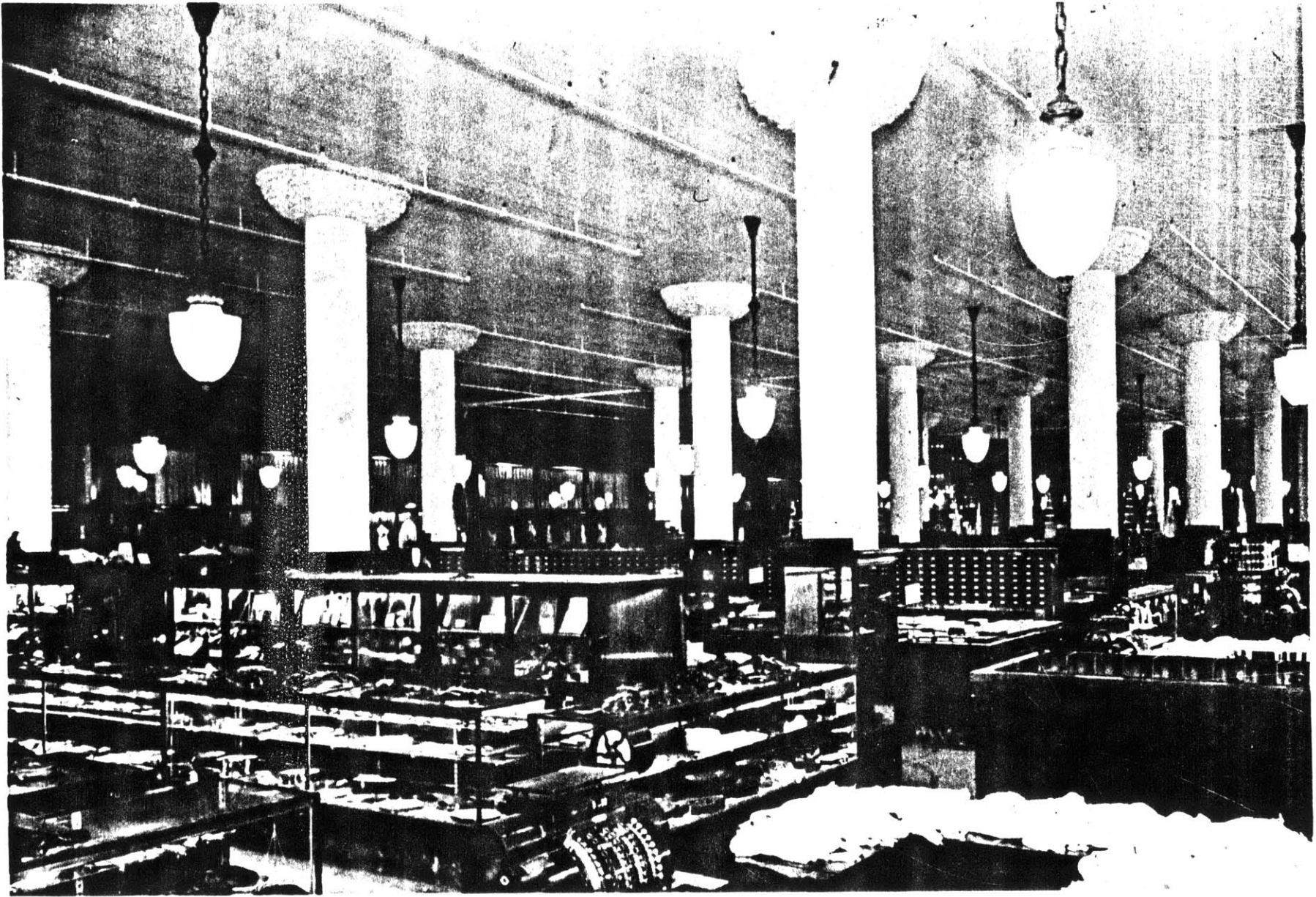


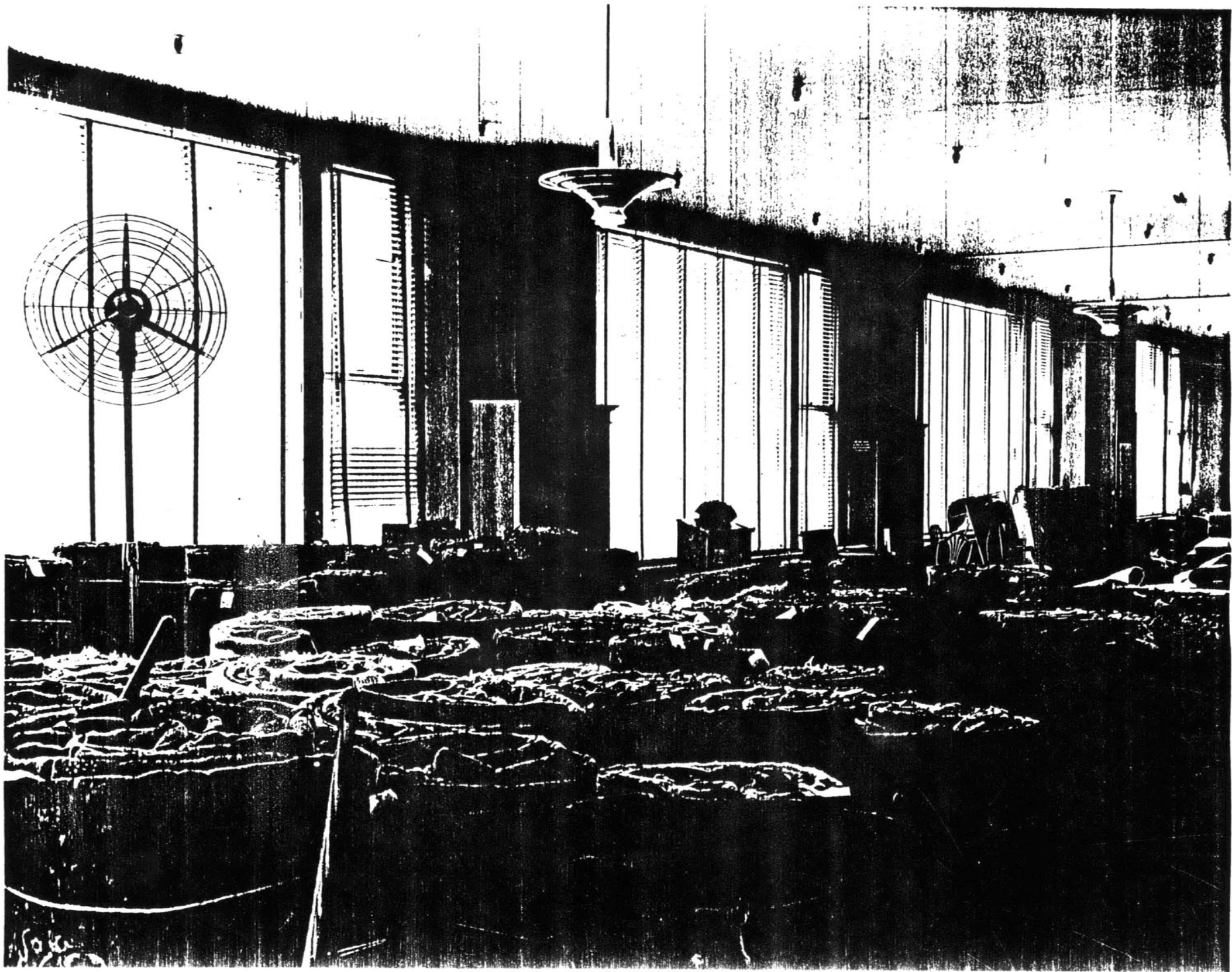
Fig. IV-56

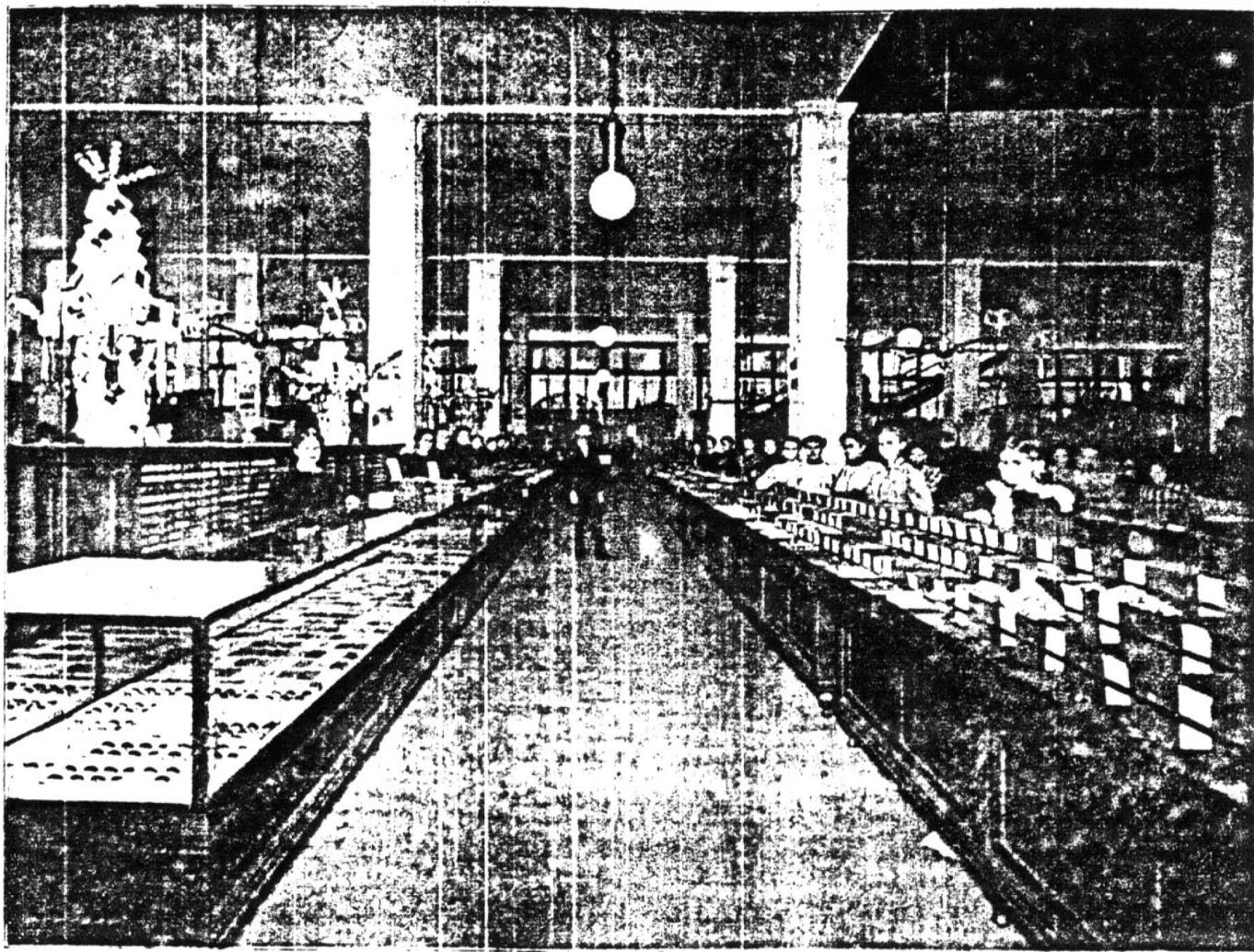




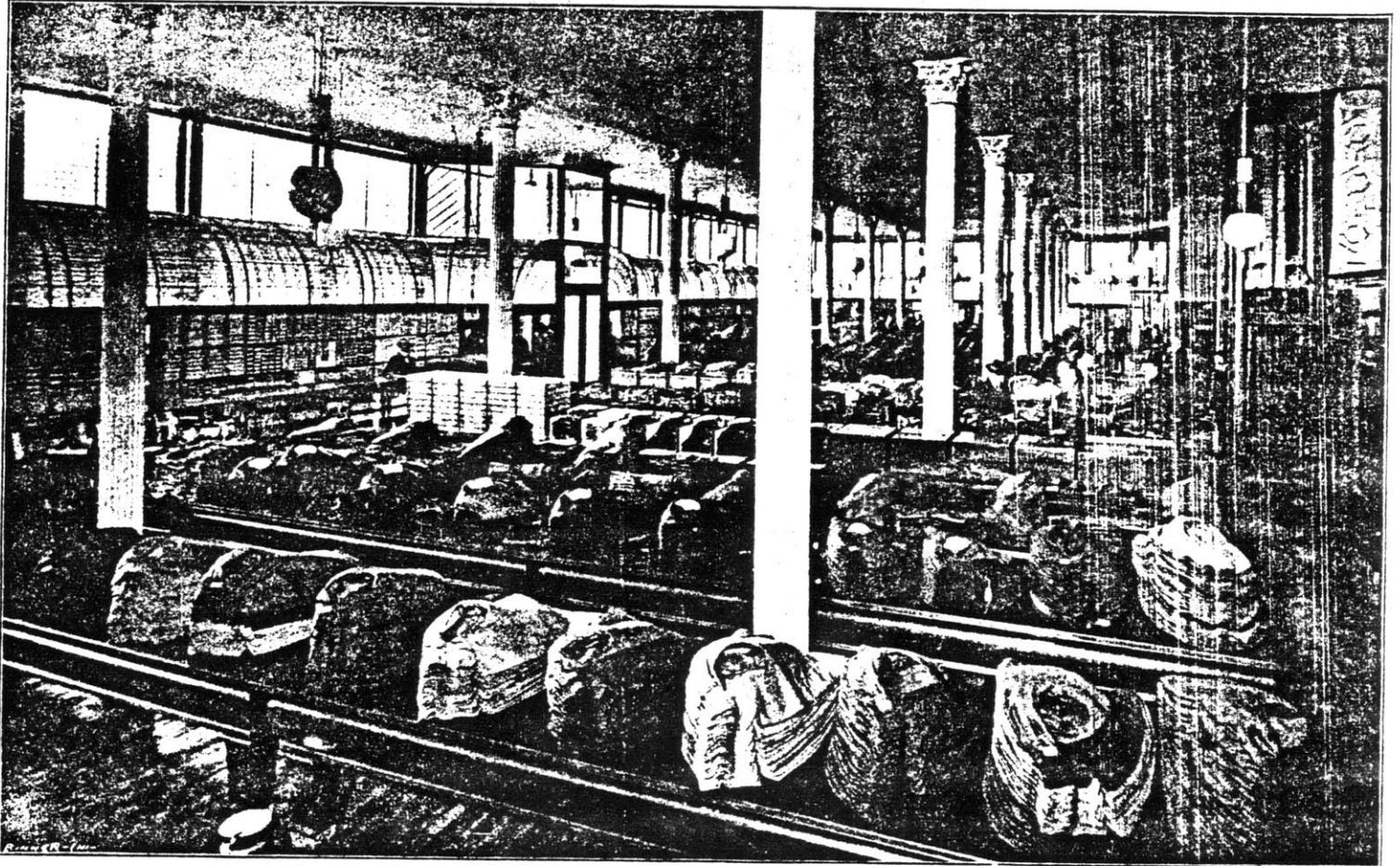








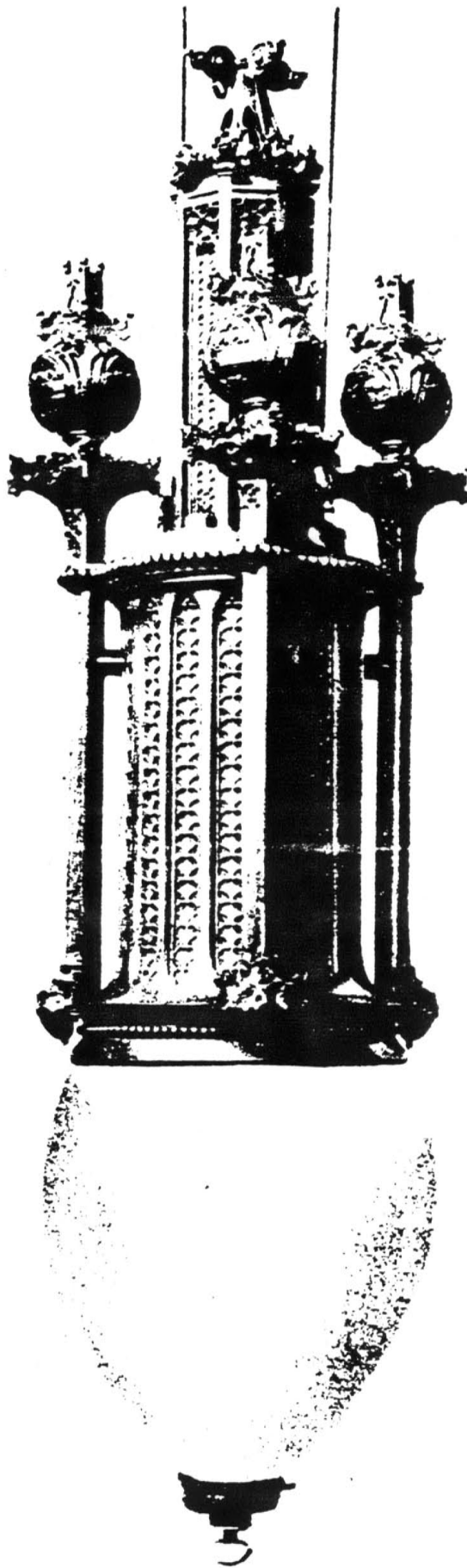
NOTION DEPARTMENT OF THE FAIR



RETAIL CLOTHING STORE, WABASH AVENUE AND MADISON STREET, CHICAGO, SHOWING LUXFER PRISM PLATES IN UPPER SASHES







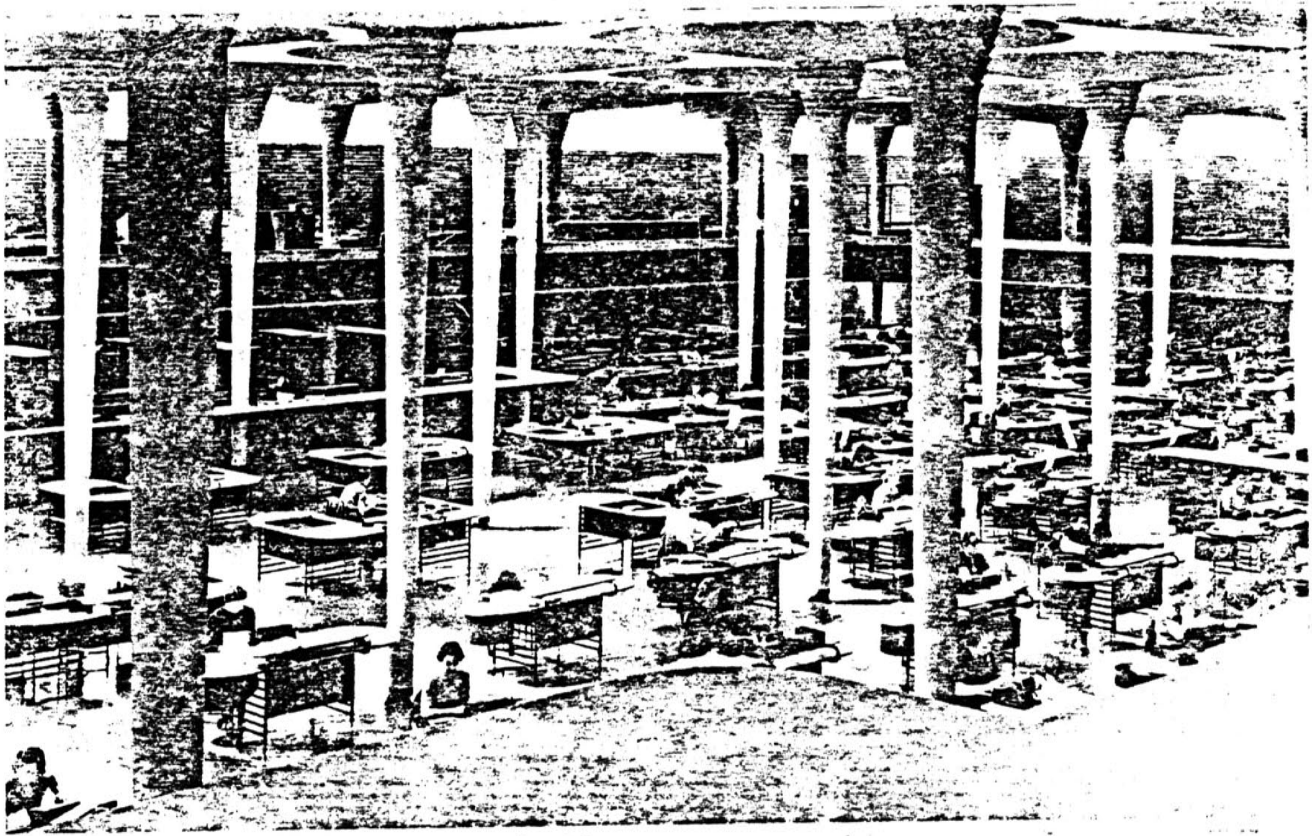
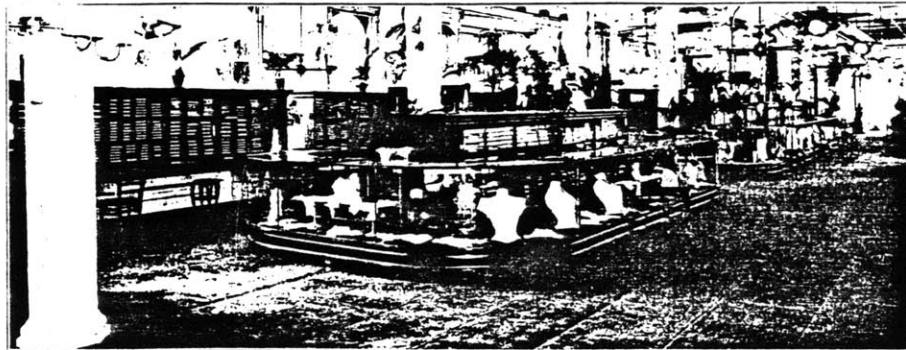
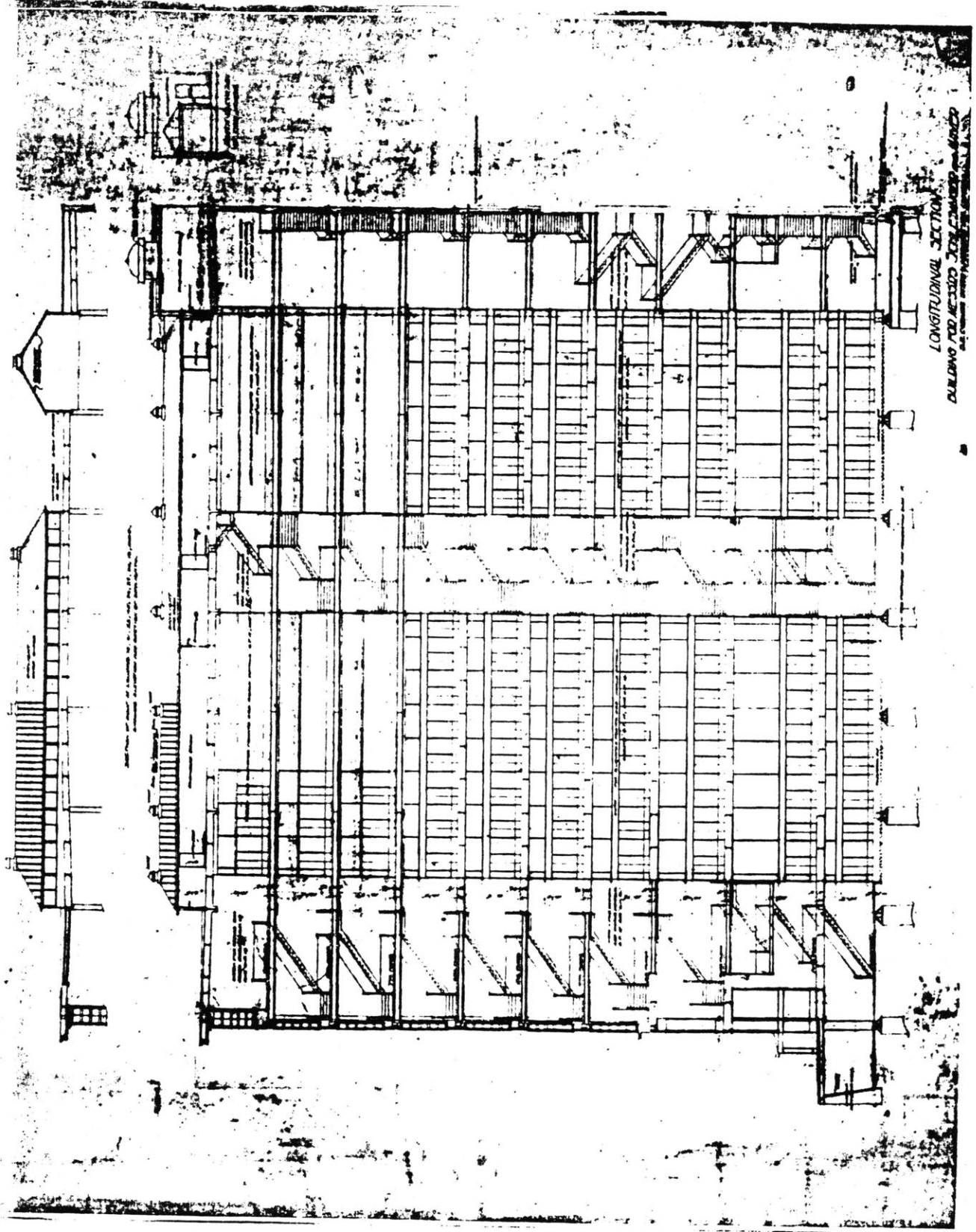
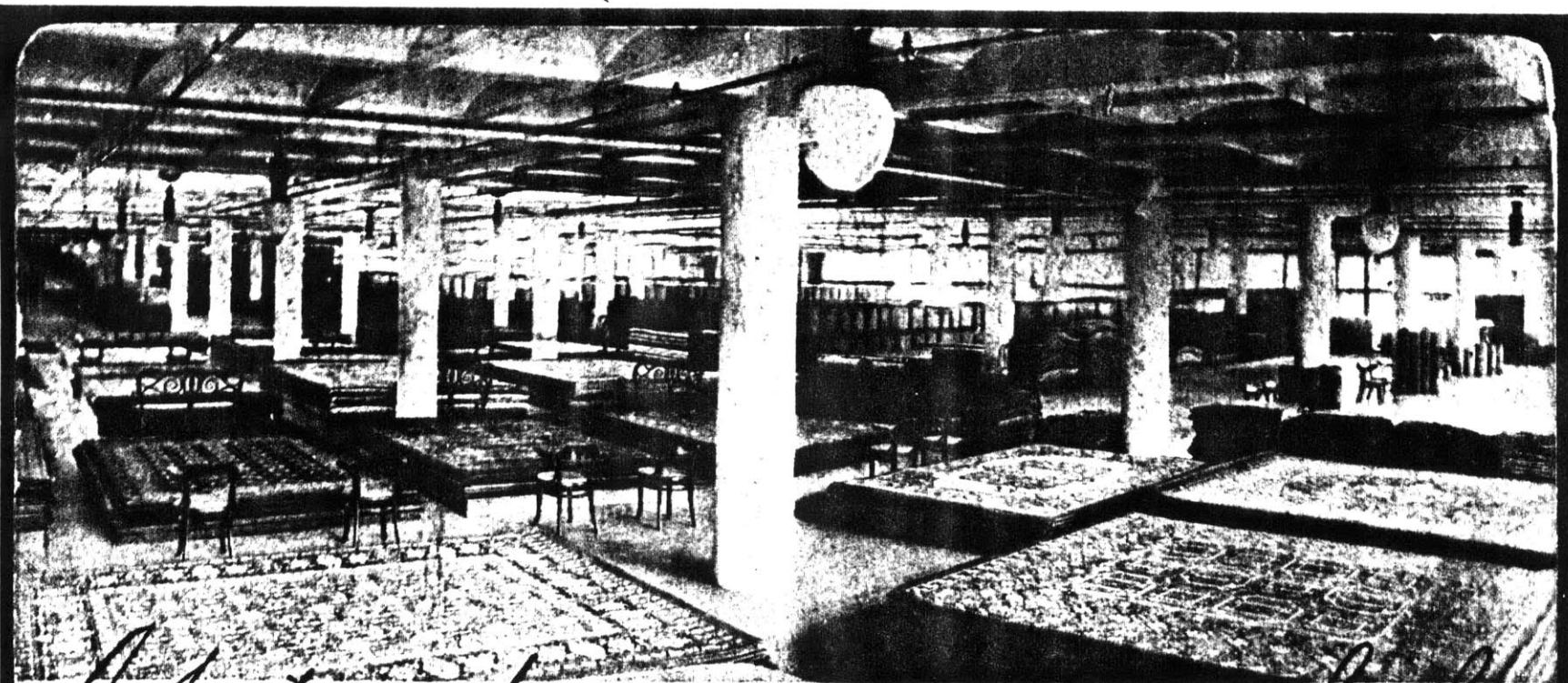


Plate No. 3554. Part of the Women's Underwear Section at Marshall Field & Co.'s.



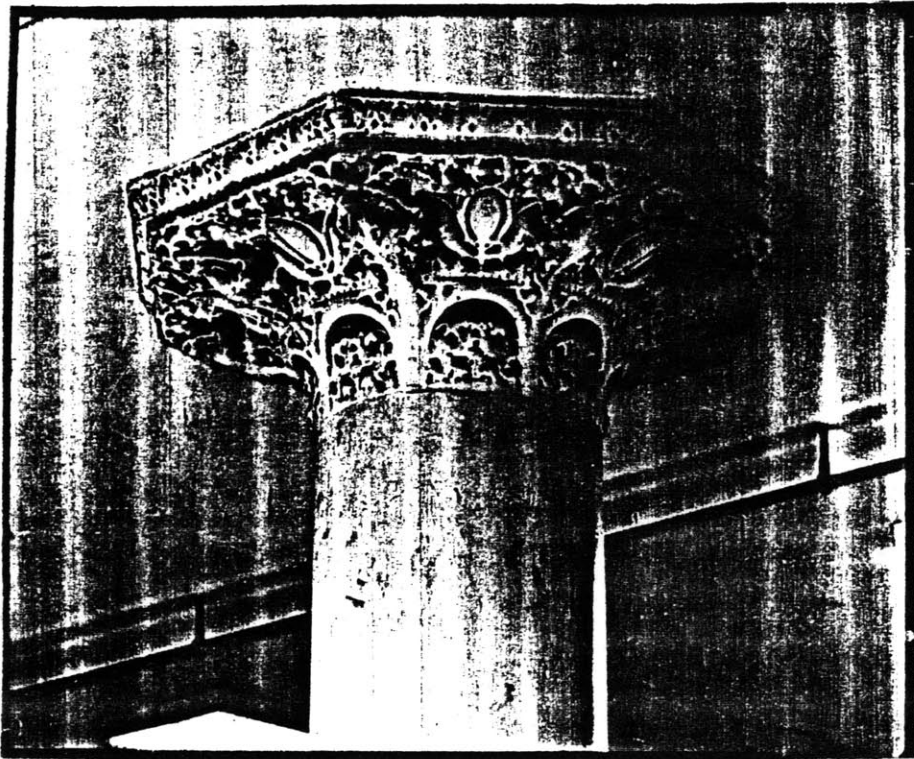
This section is typical of the Field establishment. Throughout the entire store the same low shelving is used, and, with a few exceptions, all of the show cases are of the type shown here.



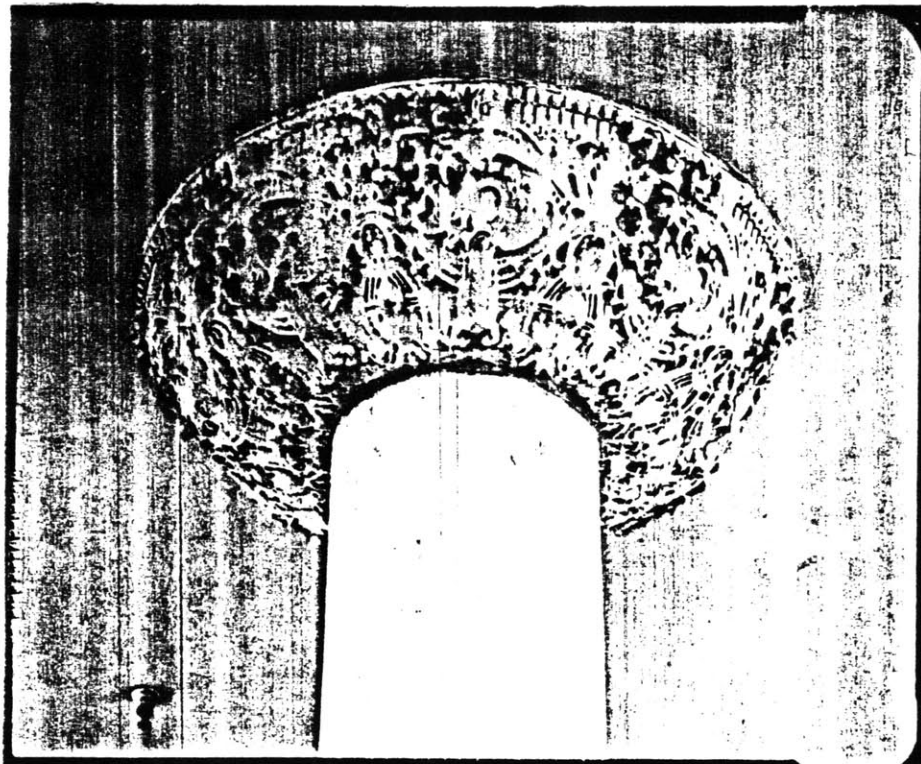


A picture of our seventh floor which
is devoted to the selling of Carpets
Rugs and Linoleums.

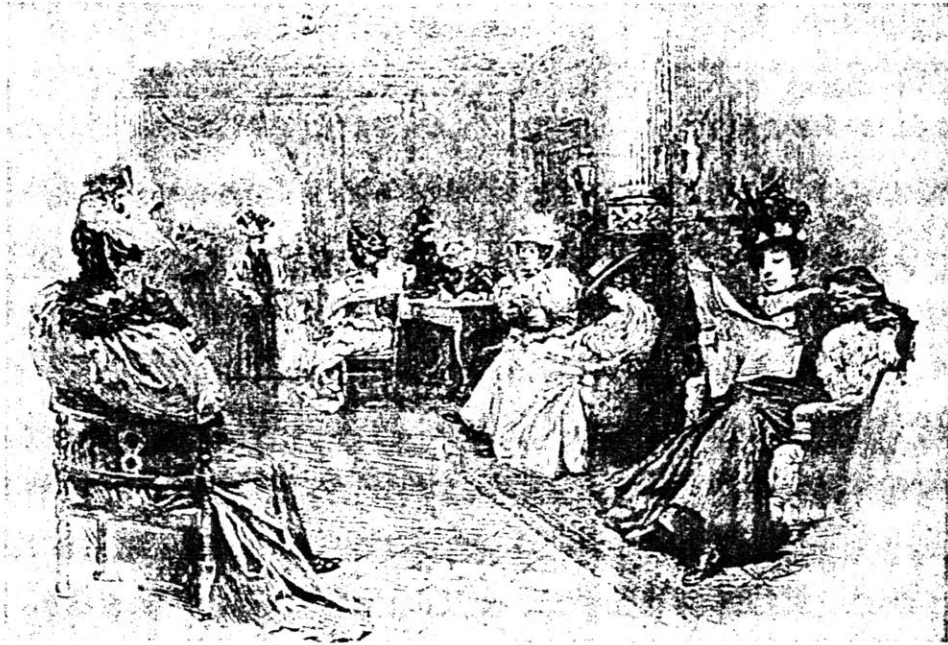
Chicago March 1, 1906
Garson, Pirie, Scott & Co



Interior Capitals on 3rd and 4th Floors



Interior Capitals on 1st and 2nd Floors



Schlesinger & Mayer



Holiday Gifts

In no other one floor division of this great new store, perhaps, can there be found so vast and varied a collection of beautiful articles that are peculiarly appropriate for gift giving. Utility and beauty—the basis of all value—are closely allied in this grade of merchandise.

Japanese Cloisonne and Ivories.

Japanese art is seen at its best in these beautiful ivories and cloisonne. The cloisonne ranks as one of the world's highest conceptions of the principles of beauty, while the symbolism and wonderful skill displayed in the ivories make them of unusual interest.

Our new collection of silver cloisonne vases is selected for rare and unusual effects in coloring, which make the artistic value far above the average. The prices are moderate.

Cloisonne Vases: The "Landscape" series, a collection of six pieces, each with a different scene, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.
Ivory Boxes: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.

In the Colonial Cut Glass Room.

Every style that has yet been produced in cut glass is represented in this beautiful collection. It is most effectively displayed in our new Colonial Room, which is, perhaps, one of the largest and finest equipped rooms for this purpose in the world.

Our collection of American cut glass is especially worthy of attention. No inferior makes are carried, and the best manufacturers only are represented. The acknowledged superiority of American cut glass is due to its perfect carriage and brilliant prismatic colors.

Crystal Chandeliers: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.
Crystal Vases: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.



Holiday Gifts

The practical gift buyer must seek the useful and artistic gift, as well as an expression of good will. Comparison is the true test of merit—a measure of determining quality. Our buyers, who are experienced in judging values, have applied this test to every article here. They have chosen only the best values from the world's greatest markets.

Bronzes from France, Austria & Russia.

Our collection of bronzes includes many fine pieces which bear the same mark of merit. Such famous artists as Villain, Cambon, Fercay, and Garachar are represented in original silver pieces. We also display a large number of reproductions. In no other line of art is reproduction possible which preserves in the same degree the artistic value. The wide variety of subjects includes busts of famous people, such as artists, poets, musicians, etc., also ideal subjects and groups.

French Bronzes: "The General" series, a collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.
Austrian Bronzes: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.

China from France and England.

Gift-seekers who desire both the useful and artistic combined in a gift will find opportunity for such a selection in this section. We are showing a new collection of richly and artistically decorated French-china service plates, chop sets, fish and game sets, etc.; also unusually fine plates, suitable for plate racks and dining-room decorations, some being reproductions of Josiah Wedgwood's original designs.

For Thanksgiving and Christmas there are turkey sets from the Royal Doulton Pottery, and unique effects in salad sets from the same pottery.

French China: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.
English China: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.

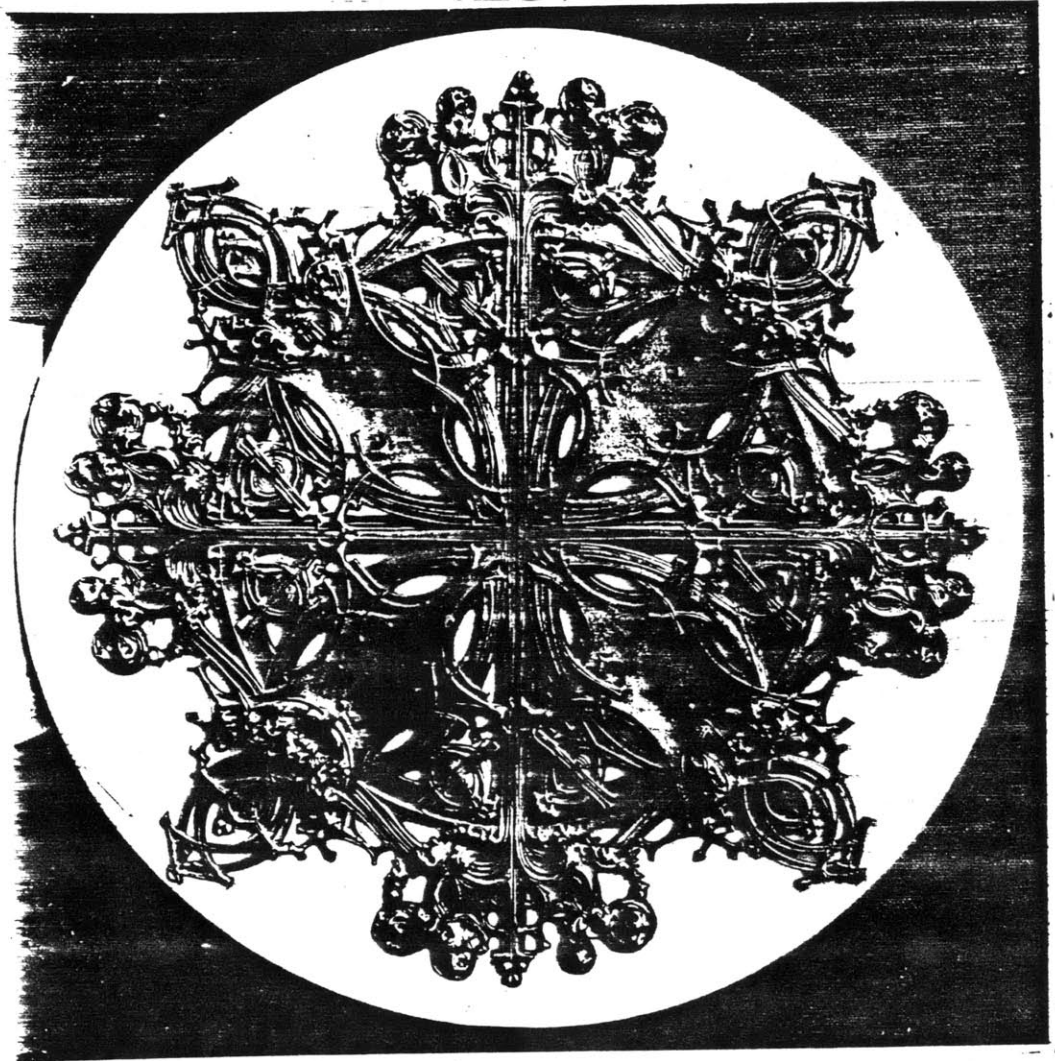
Bric-a-Brac, Finnish, Dutch and Japanese Potteries, etc.

For the greatest variety of individual taste in these quaint expressions of art from other lands. The Royal Vienna cabinet pieces, decorated by leading artists, are the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.

Japanese Pottery: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.
Dutch Pottery: A collection of six pieces, each with a different design, is the most beautiful ever seen in this country. Price \$100.00.



Fig. IV-73



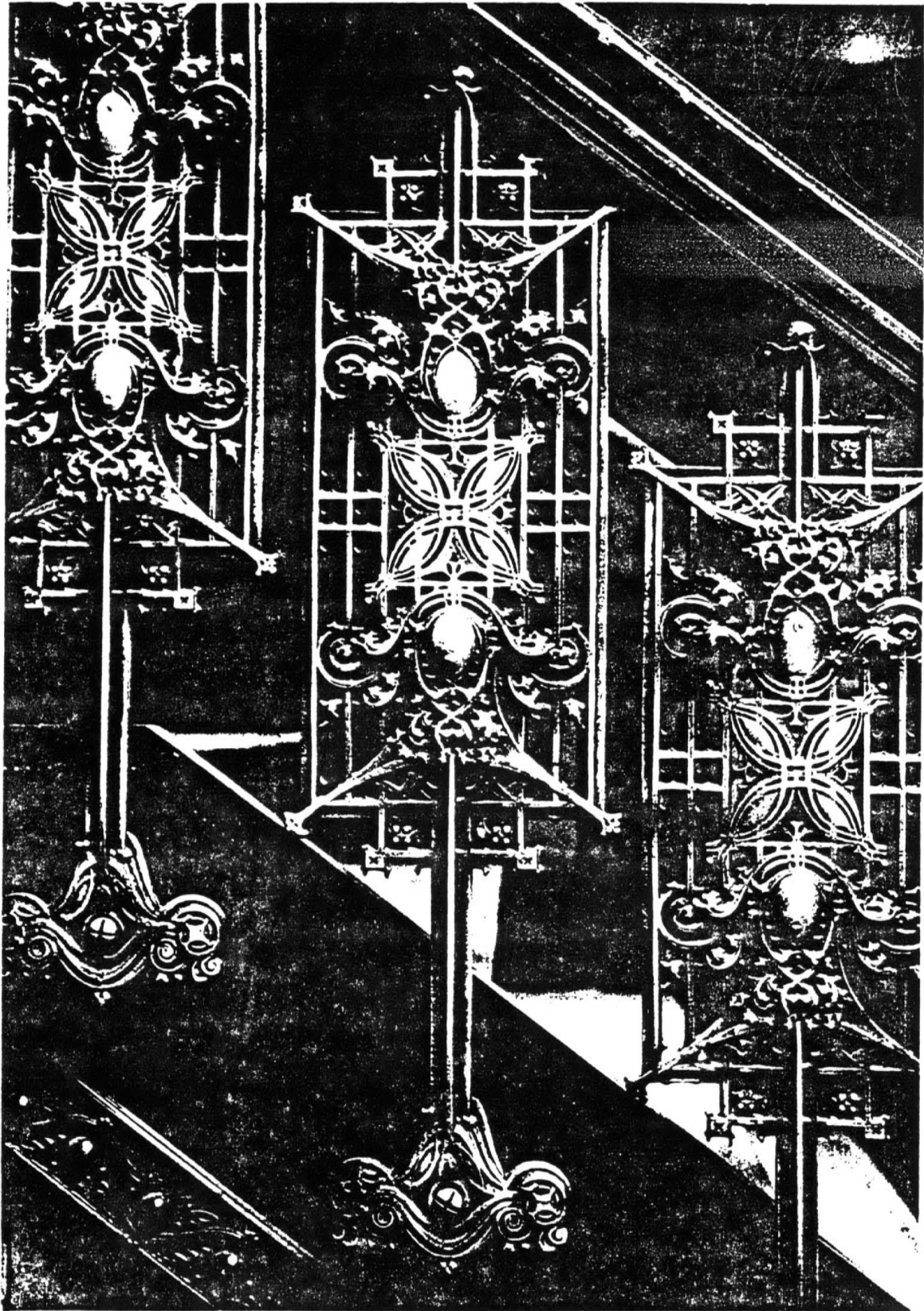
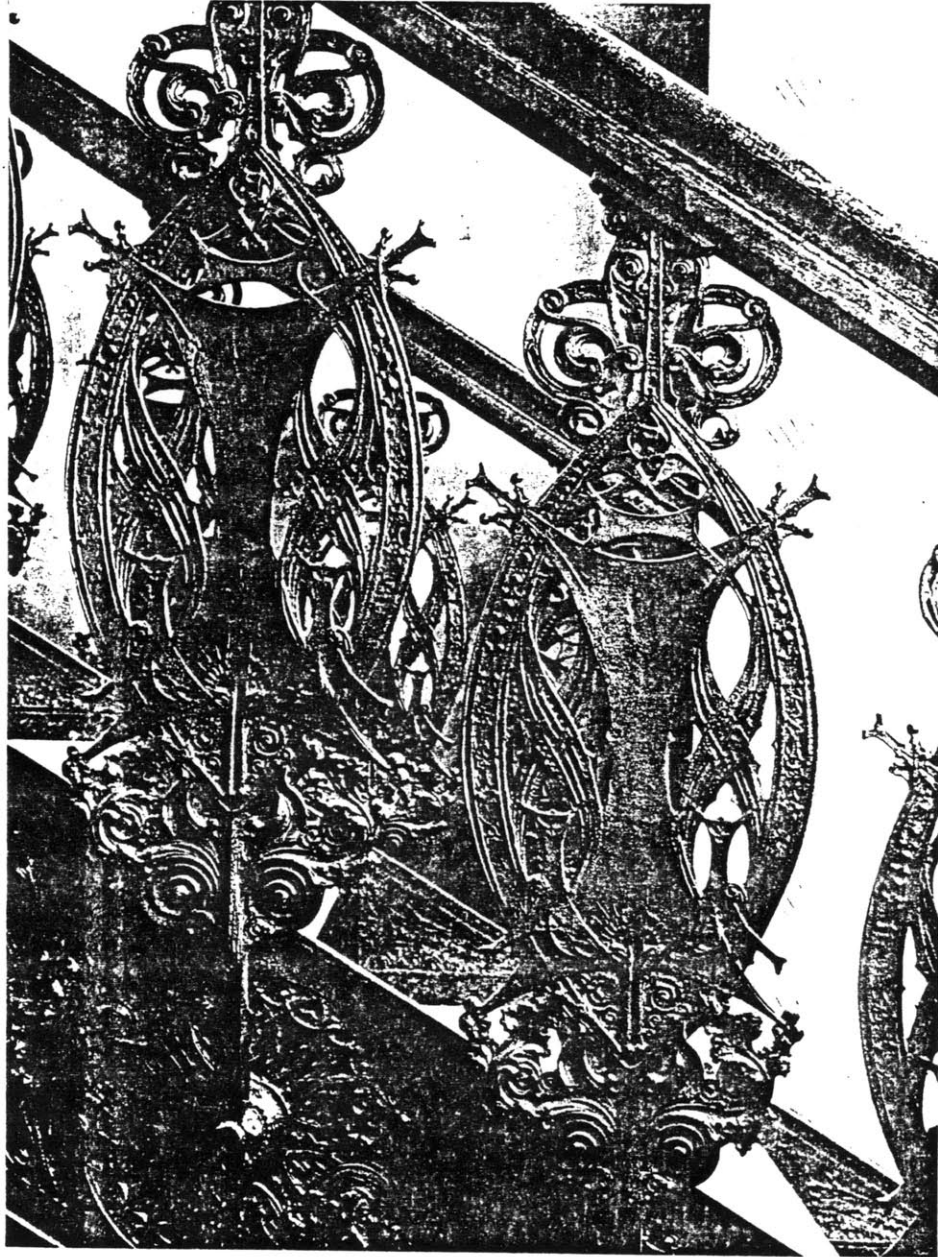


Fig. IV-75



Iron stair balusters, Guaranty Building, Buffalo, N.Y. Adler & Sullivan, architects. 1895.

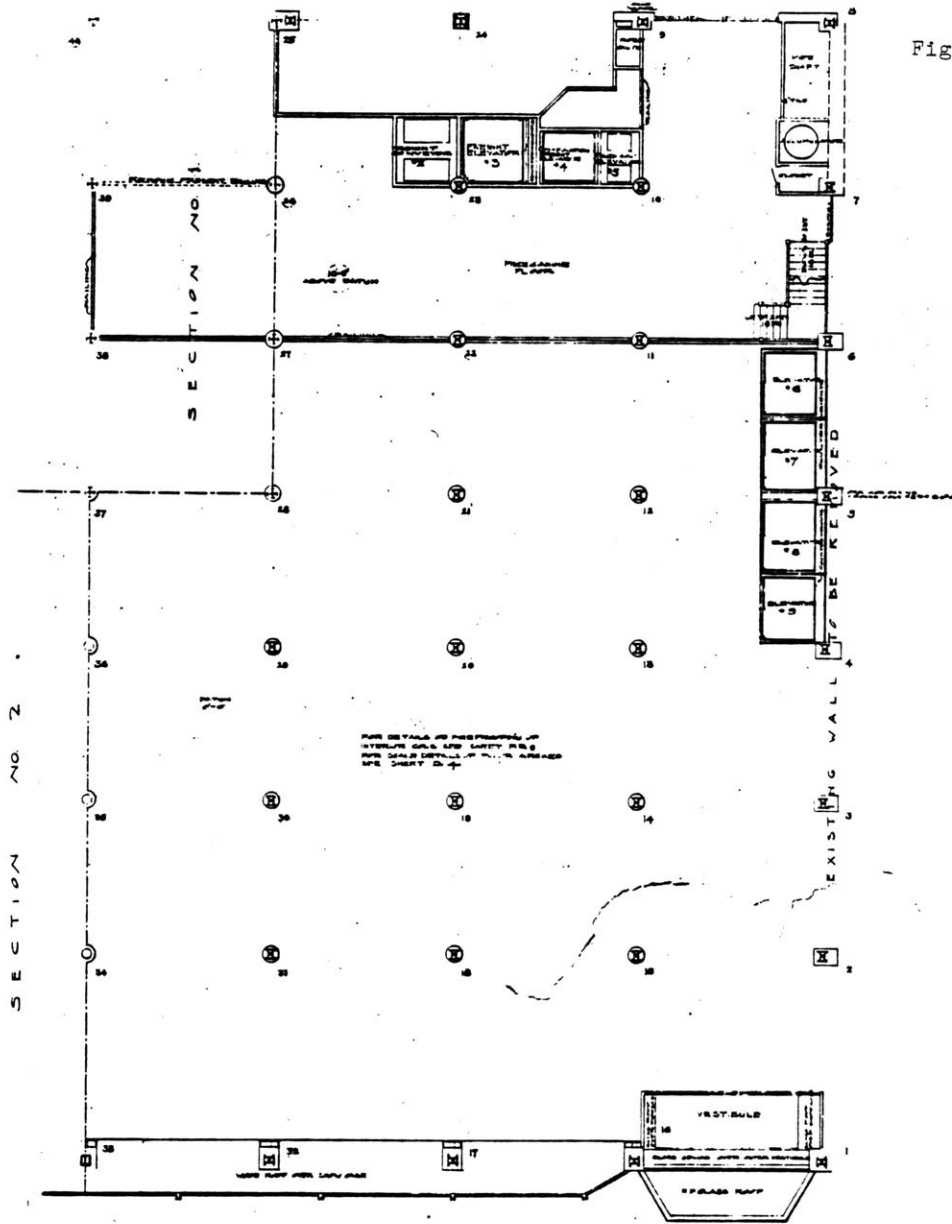
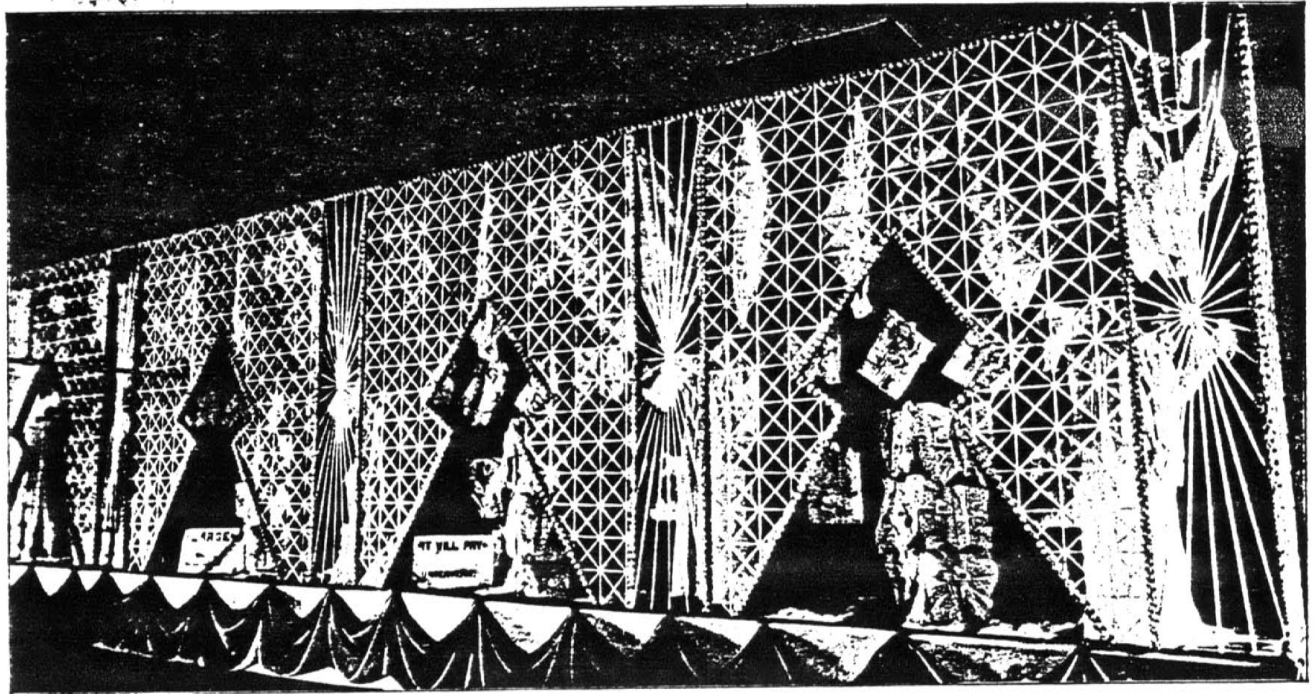


Fig. IV-76

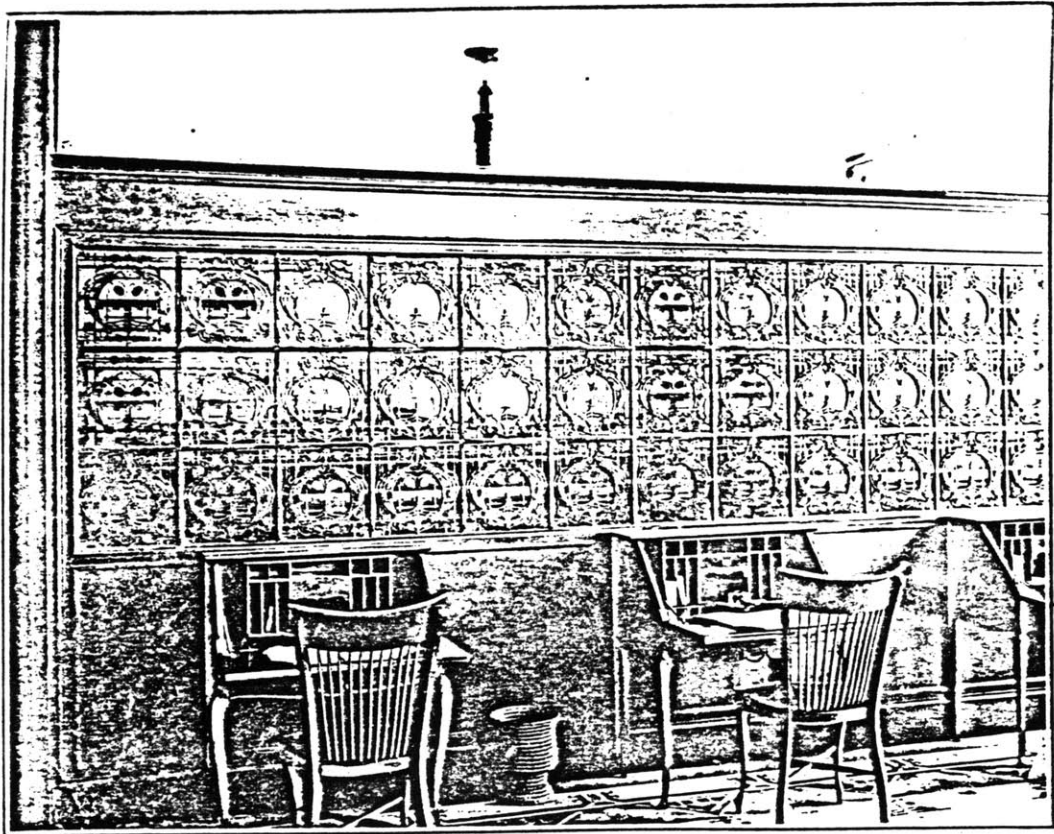
1 1/2

MEZZANINE PLAN SECTION NO. 3
BUILDING FOR SCHLESINGER AND MAYER

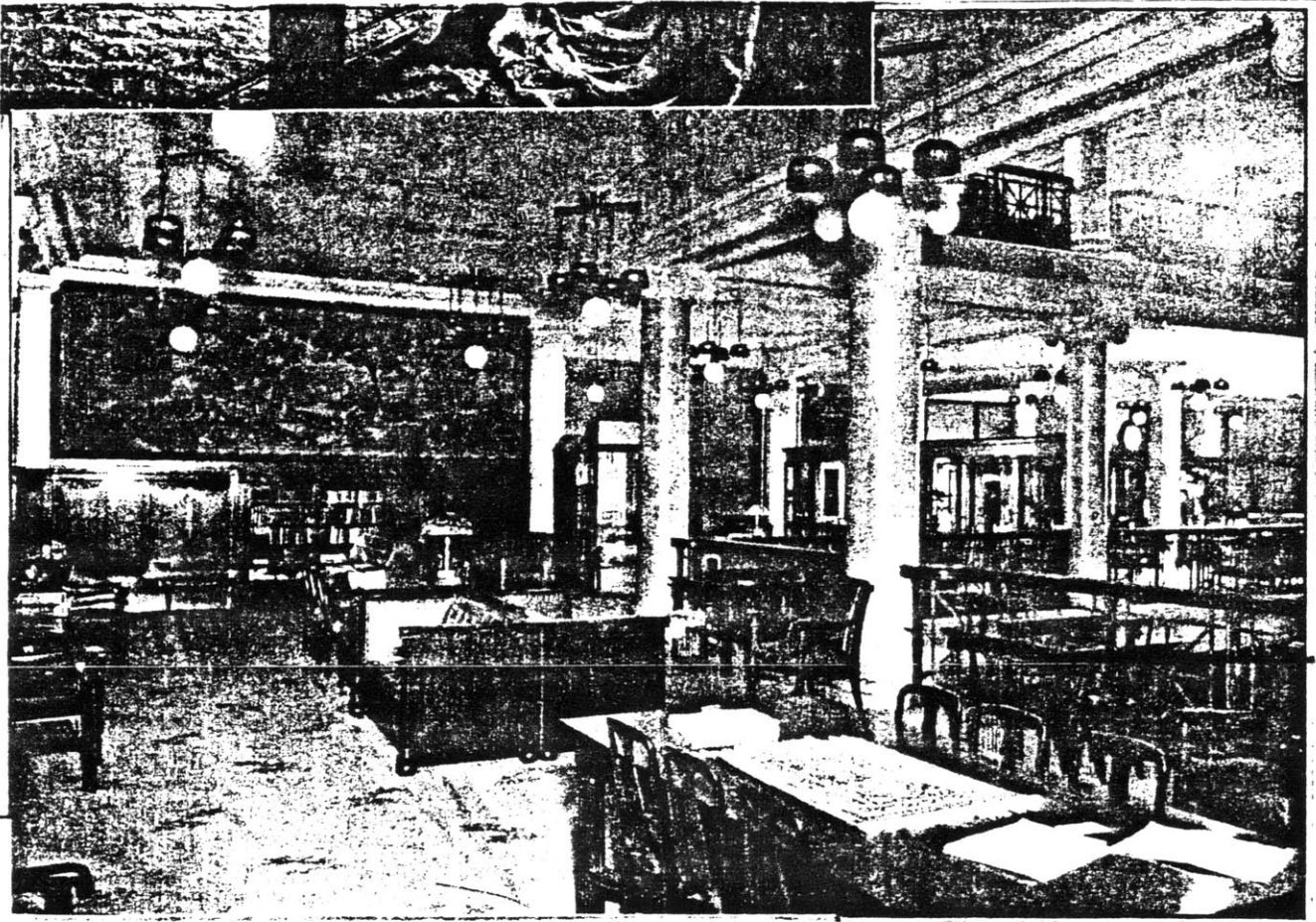
J. E. SPINER STEEL AND IRON WORKS CHICAGO ILL.
SCALE 1/2" = 1' FOOT LOUIS H. SULLIVAN ARCHTENT

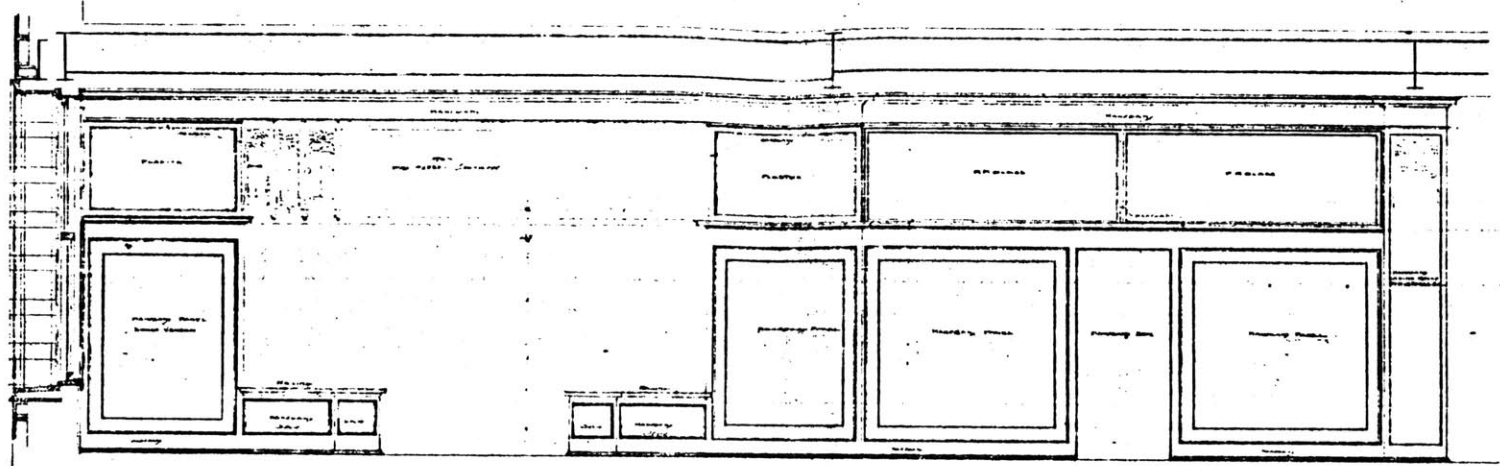


LEDGE OF WHITE TAPE—BY CLAUDE L. BRITTAIN.

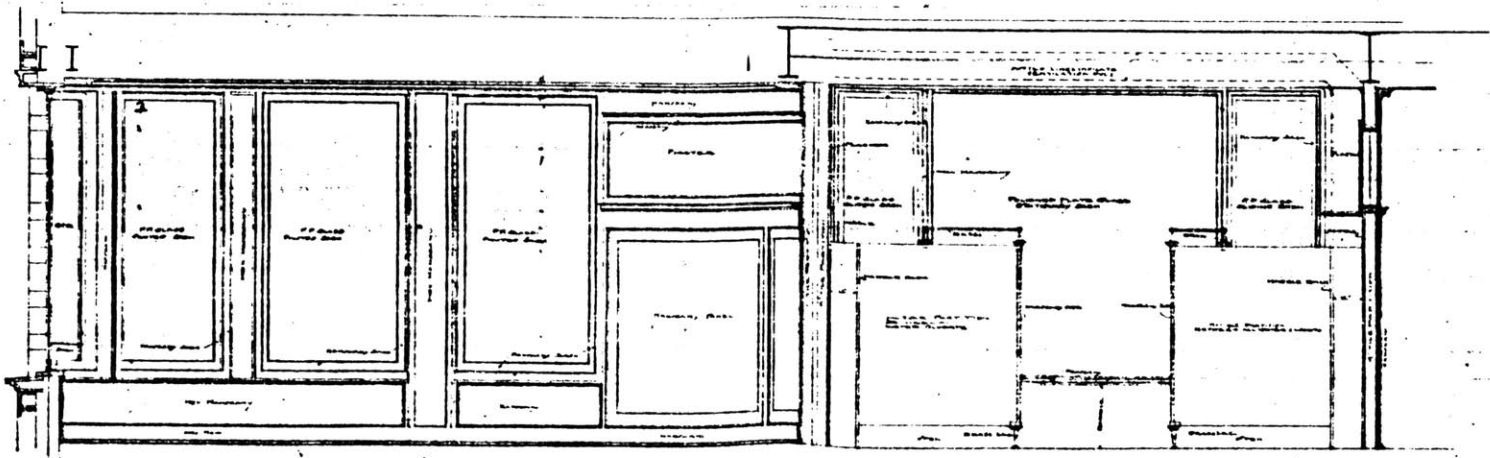


Sawed Wood Screen.
THE SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING.





ELEVATION OF REST ROOM AND LAVATORY ON 9TH FLOOR
VIEW FROM STREET LOOKING NORTH.

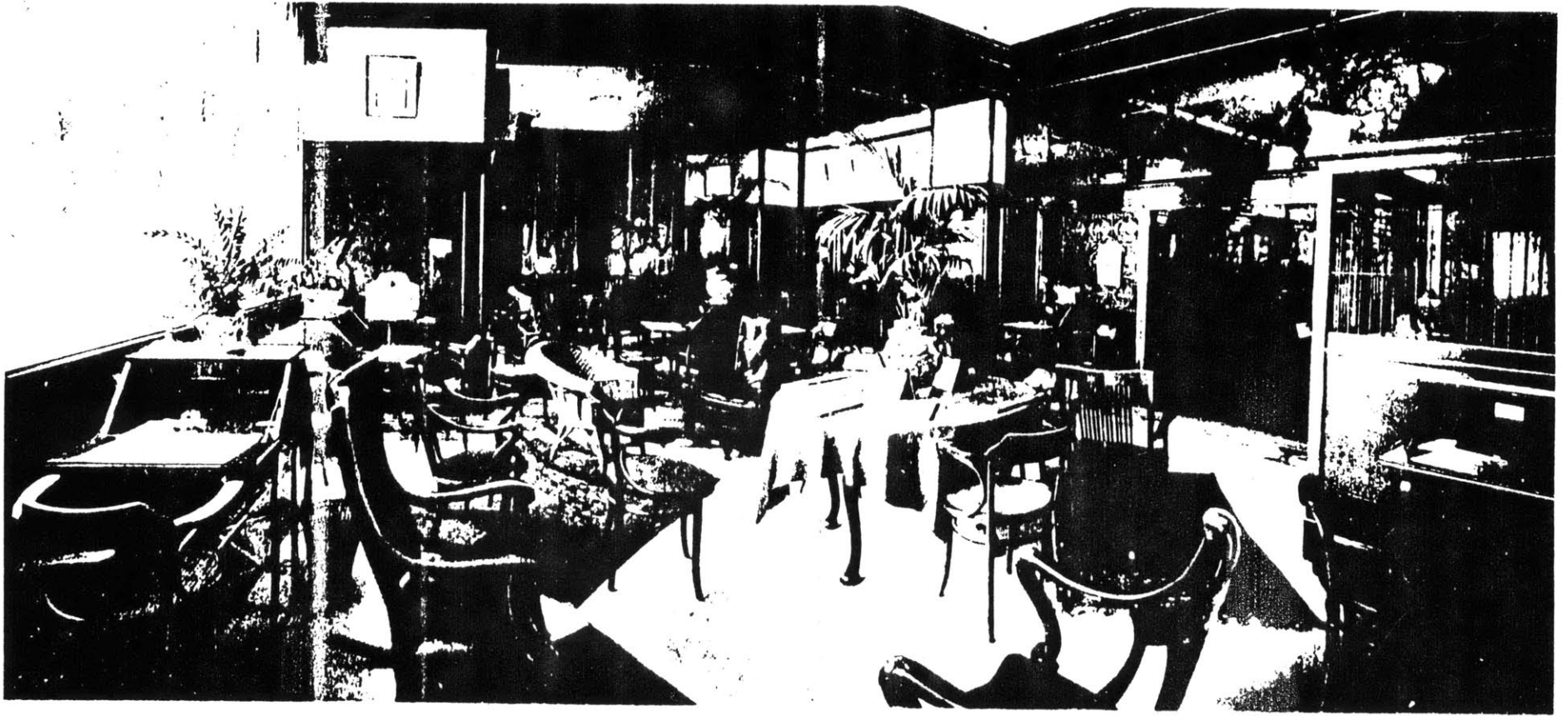


SECTION THRU RESTROOM AND TOILET ROOM ON 9TH FLOOR
LOOKING NORTH

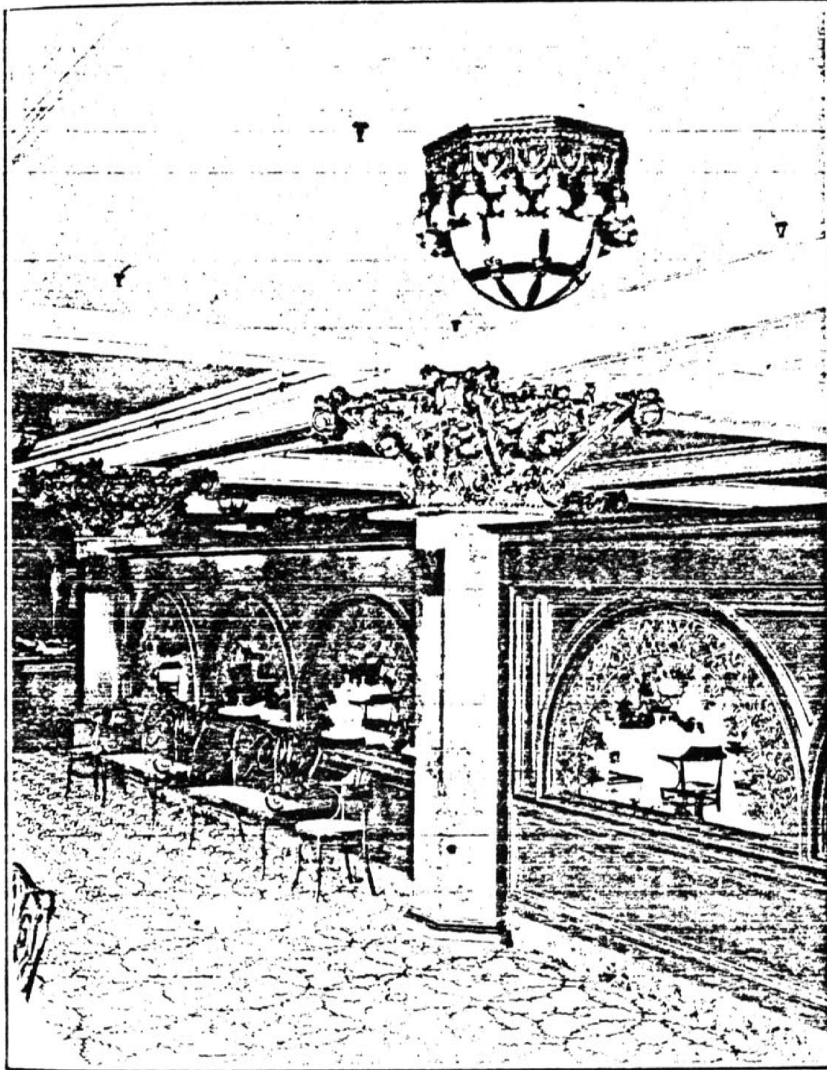
REST ROOM DETAILS, 9TH FLOOR
BUILDING FOR SCHLESINGER & MAYER
138 N. LAUREL STREET & MADISON STREET CHICAGO, ILL.
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0" LOUIS H. SULLIVAN ARCHT.



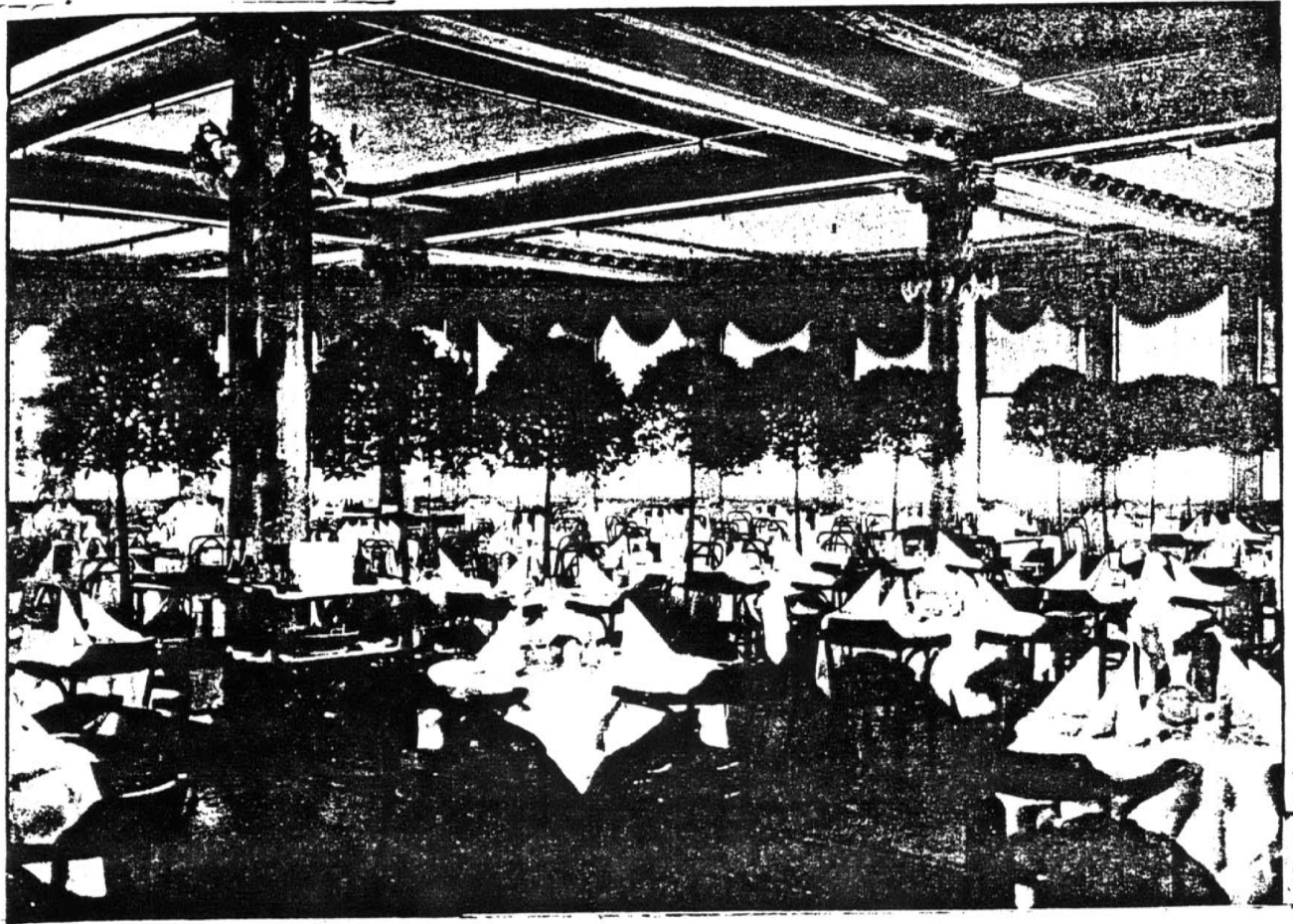
DEC 28 1922



A PORTION OF THE REST ROOM (THIRD FLOOR)
CARSON PIRIE SCOTT & CO., STATE AND MADISON STS., CHICAGO, ILL.

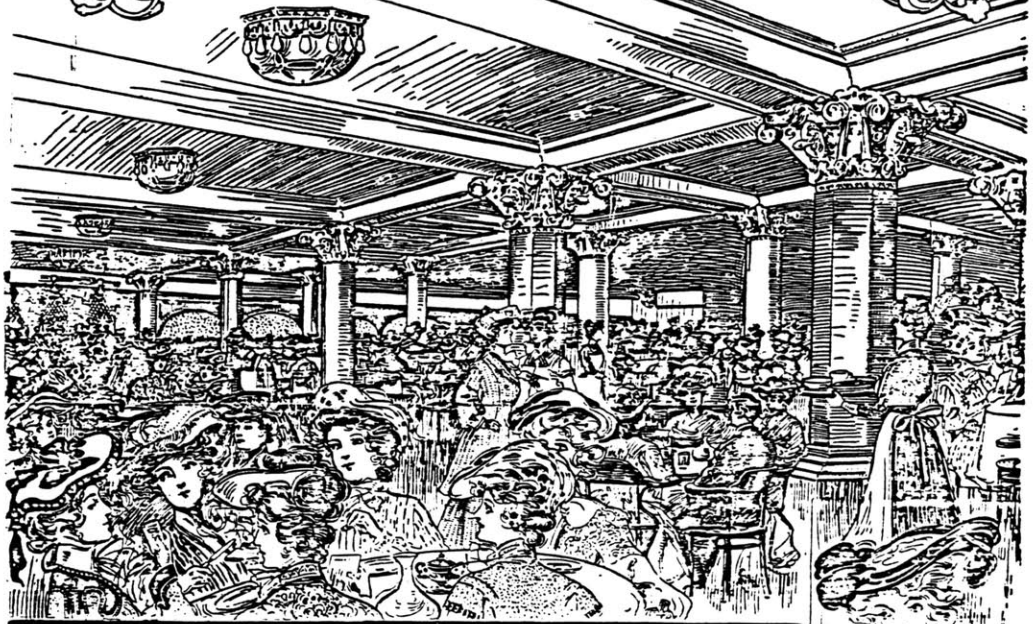


The Restaurant.
THE SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING.





Schlesinger & Mayer



ONE of the marked features of the opening of our new building will be the opening of the restaurant, the grill room and the tea room, with a seating capacity of 1,000 persons. They occupy the entire 8th floor, which is probably the most sumptuous of its kind to be found in any mercantile house in America. The floors are tessellated; the holophotes in the ceilings studded with jewels; the general ensemble one of refined simplicity. The rich tints of African onyx, old gold and mahogany are blended in the color scheme. The table furnishings—china, silver, cut glass and napery—are of the finest. In the cuisine, chefs of the French, the German and the native American schools will be employed. Service throughout will be the best. In providing accessories to the dining room everything for the comfort of the patron has been studied down to the little conveniences of home life. This sumptuous floor will be thrown open to the public on the grand opening days: Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

Distinctive features of the new building

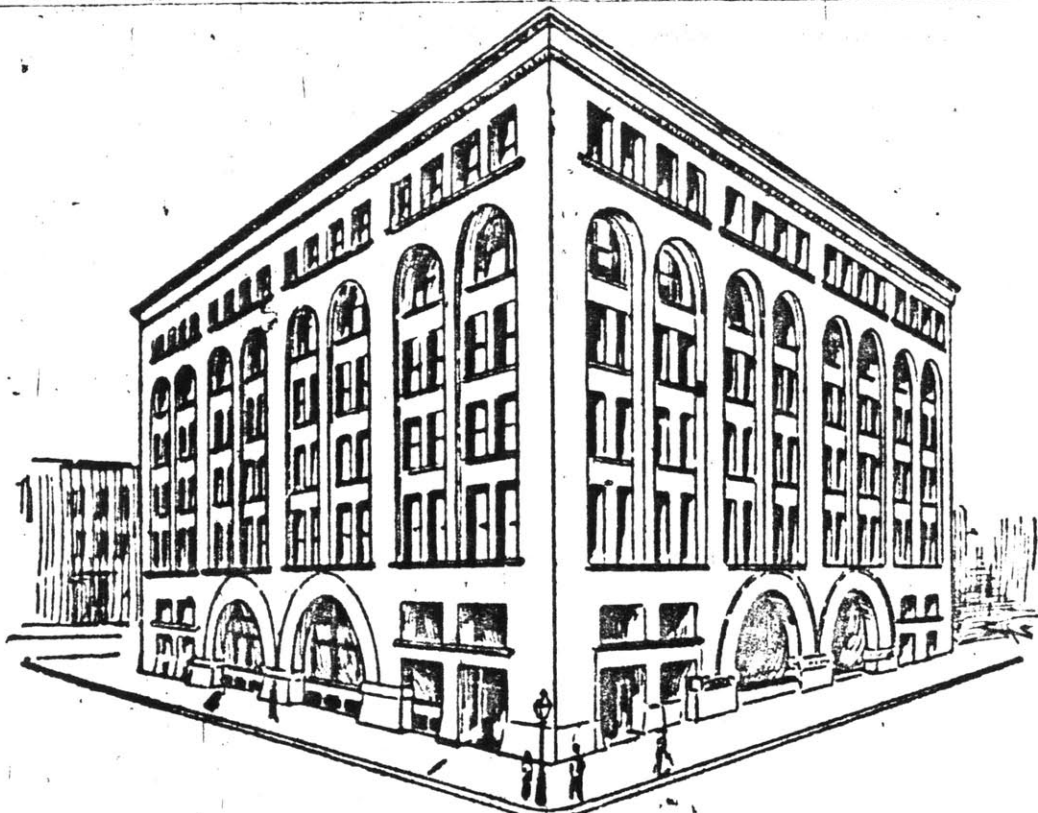
The new building is a masterpiece of modern architecture, combining the best of both the old and the new. It is a landmark in the city, and its opening is a great event. The building is a masterpiece of modern architecture, combining the best of both the old and the new. It is a landmark in the city, and its opening is a great event.



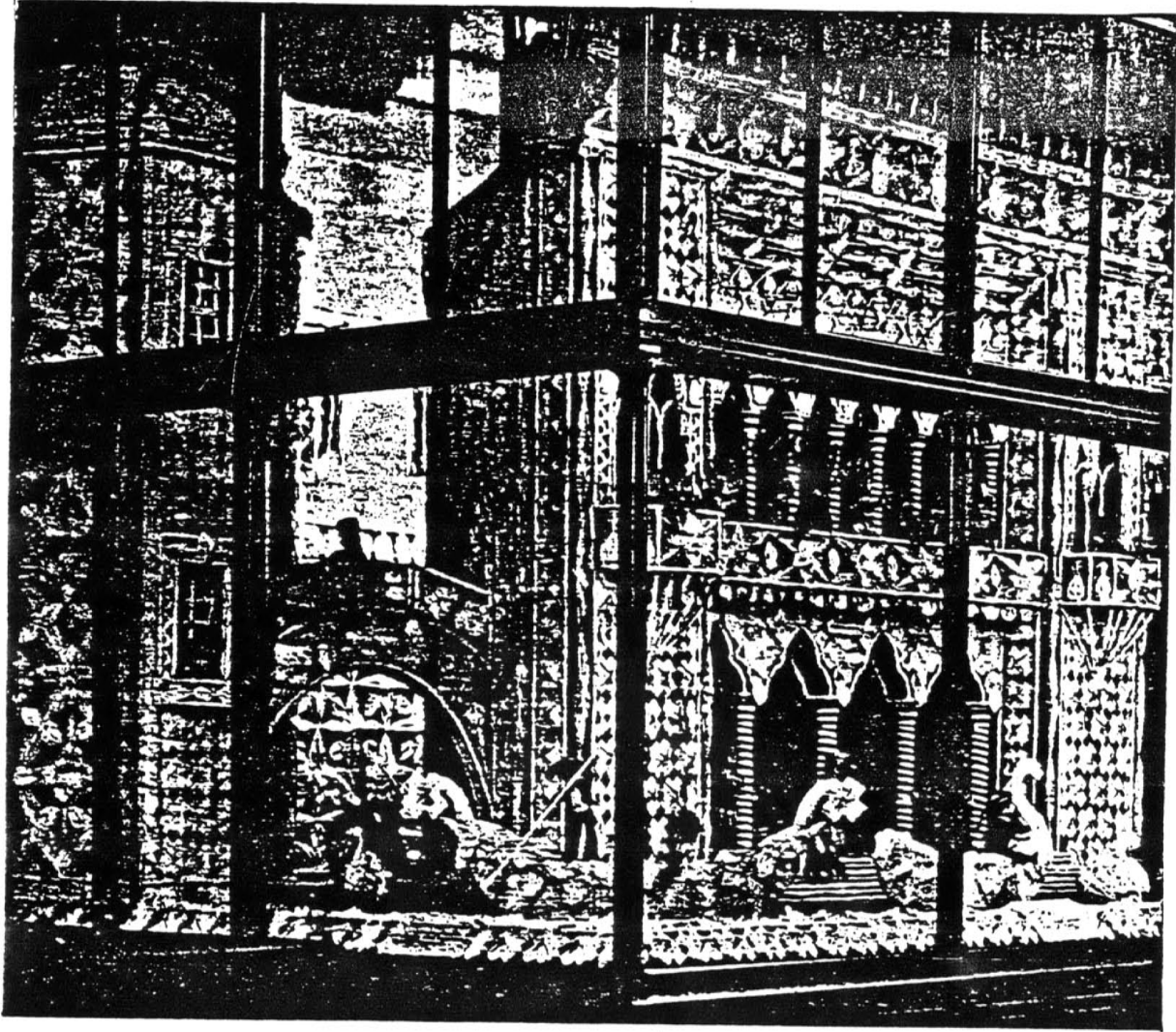




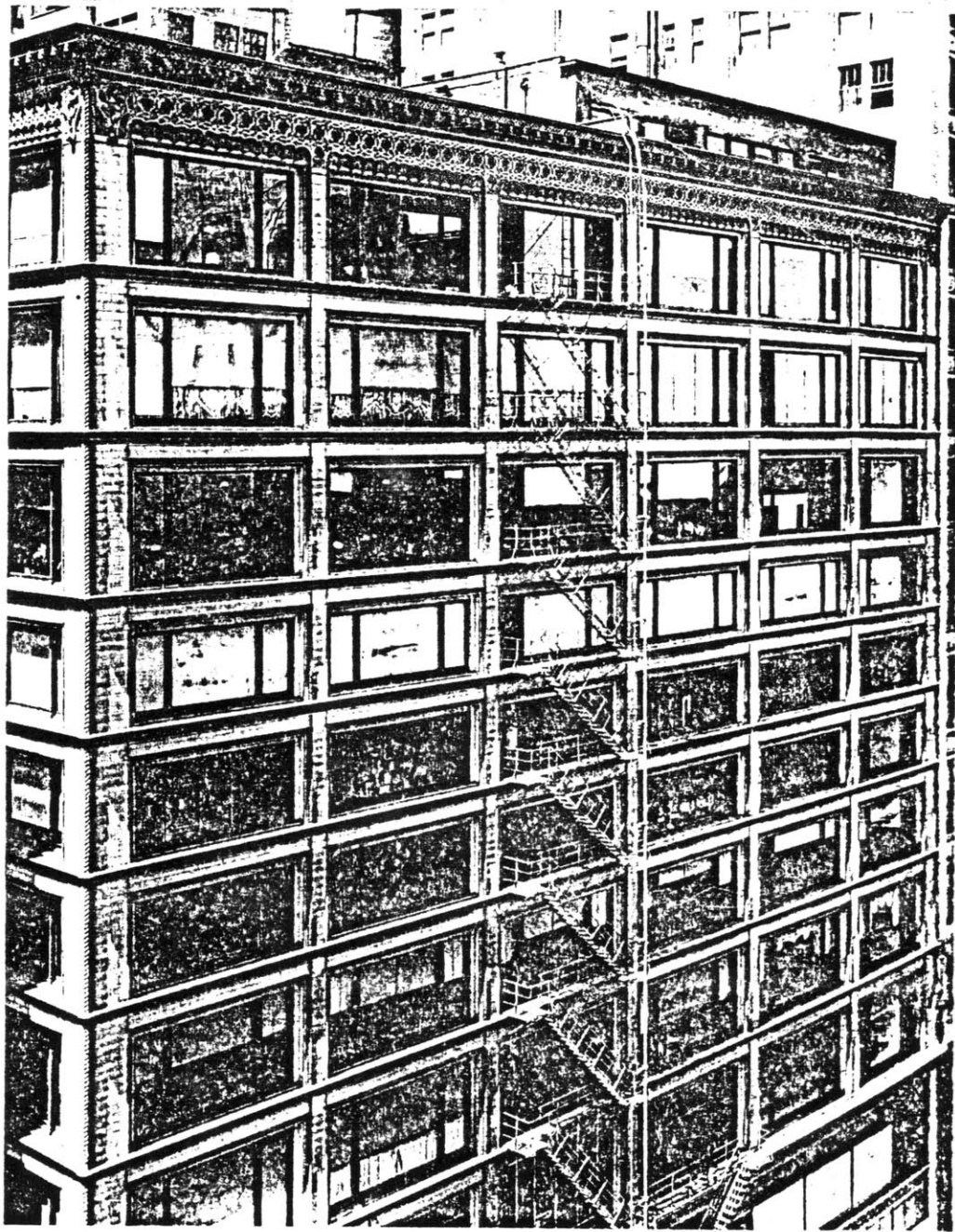
RETAIL STORE OF THE JAMES H. WALKER CO., WABASH AVENUE AND ADAMS STREET.



WHOLESALE STORE OF THE JAMES H. WALKER COMPANY, ADAMS AND MARKET STREETS.



A SCENE IN VENICE—BY C. W. MORTON.



MANDEL BROTHERS ANNEX, 1900, 1905
HOLABIRD AND ROCHE

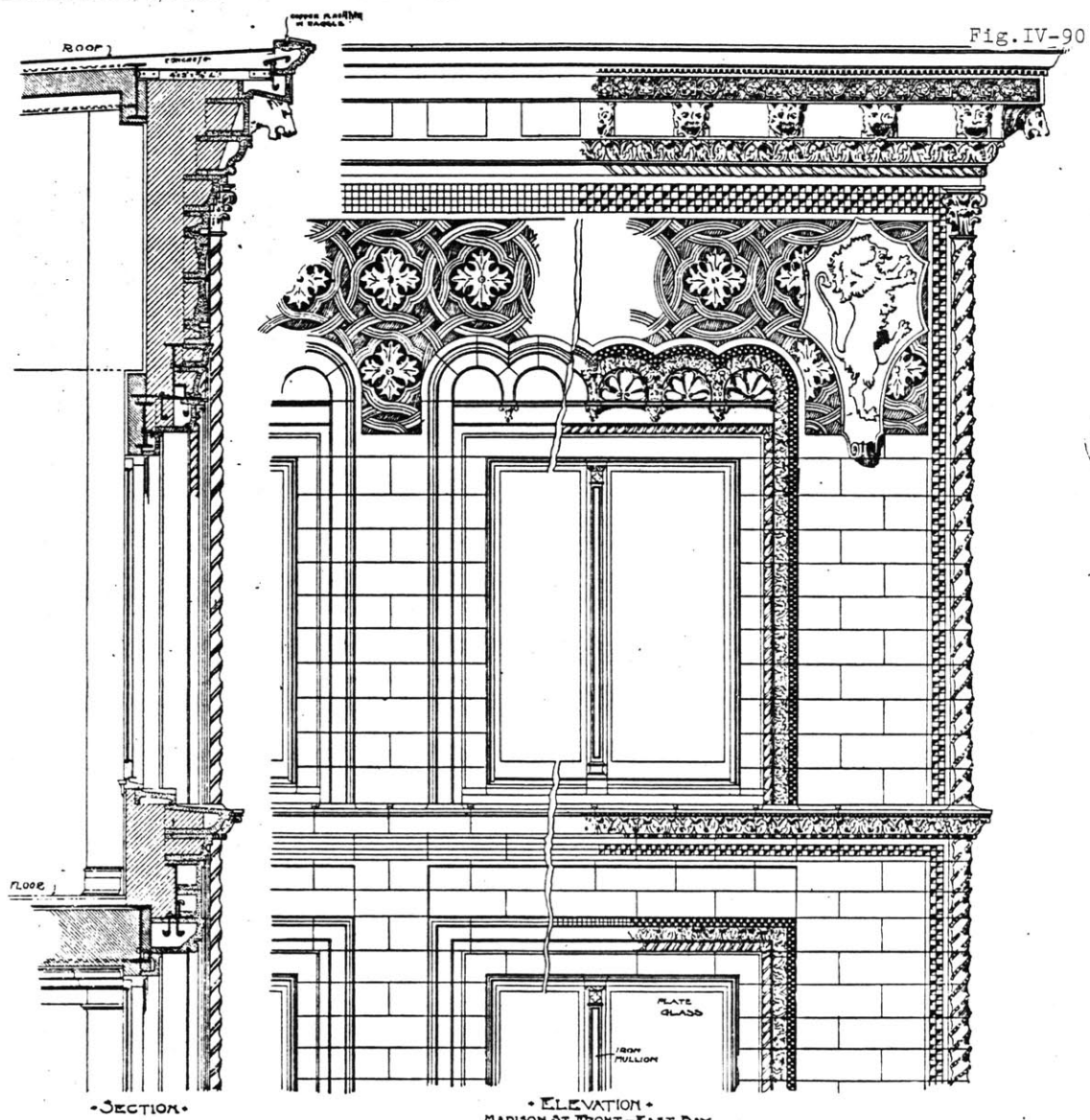
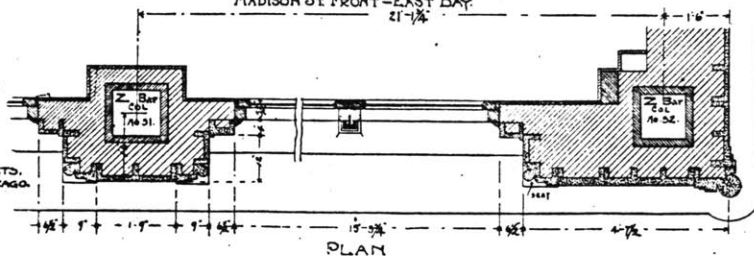


Fig. 4.
OF FRONT ELEVATION
TRADING CO'S BUILDING
1300 N. J. AND WABASH AVE.

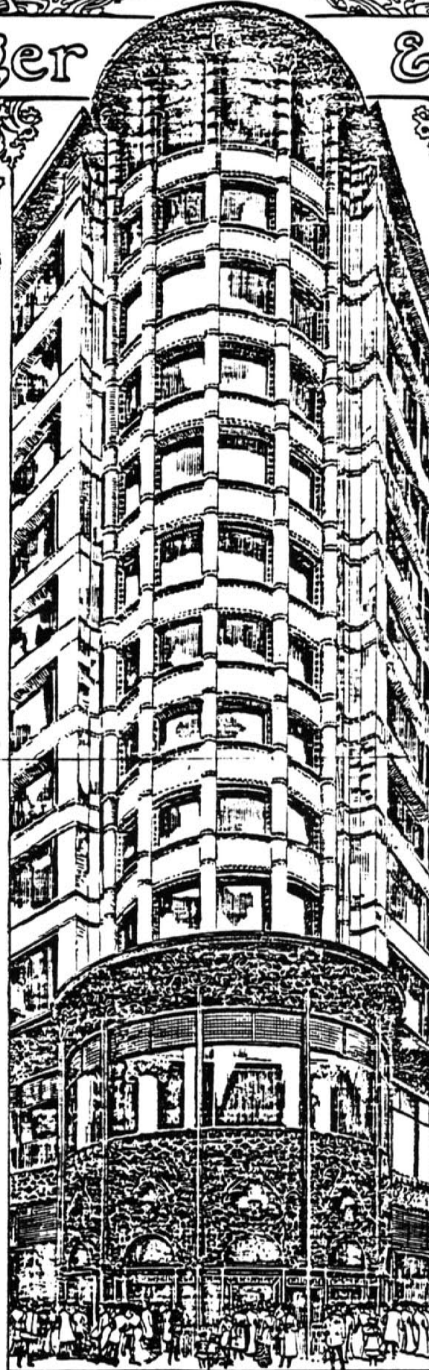
HOLADICK AND ROCHE ARCHITECTS,
1615 MONMOUTH BLDG., CHICAGO.



THE CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1926

Schlesinger & Mayer

A COMMERCIAL institution, to endure, must be rooted in the rock of public confidence. The shores of Time are strewn with the wrecks of houses that were raised on the sands of promise without performance. We shall open to the public Monday, October 12, a great new store. The building is the newest and, we believe, the most beautiful in Chicago. Equipment and contents are in perfect harmony with the structure. The policy pervading the whole is as broad as the institution is beautiful and complete. Thus equipped, we believe we can, as never before, give to the shopping public that absolute satisfaction which begets confidence. Our grand opening will give everybody opportunity to inspect our multiplied facilities on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.



PUBLIC comfort, convenience and satisfaction have been the objects striven for in this new institution. We believe these objects have been attained. The structure is a perfect product of architecture and building construction. The vast interior spaces are flooded with daylight. For the weary there are rest rooms where one may repose in quiet, read, write letters, call friends by telephone and command every convenience and luxury. For the suddenly ill there is skilled attendance in the emergency medical room. Most important of all to the shopper, the splendid interior presents a permanent international exposition of earth's choicest products in fabric and handicraft, especially gathered for this occasion. The grand opening will take place Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12th, 13th and 14th.

Distinctive features.

The entire exterior exterior, including all window frames, has been treated with the finest materials and finished with the most perfect workmanship in the world. Heating, ventilation and air conditioning. The finest sanitary system. The finest fire insurance.

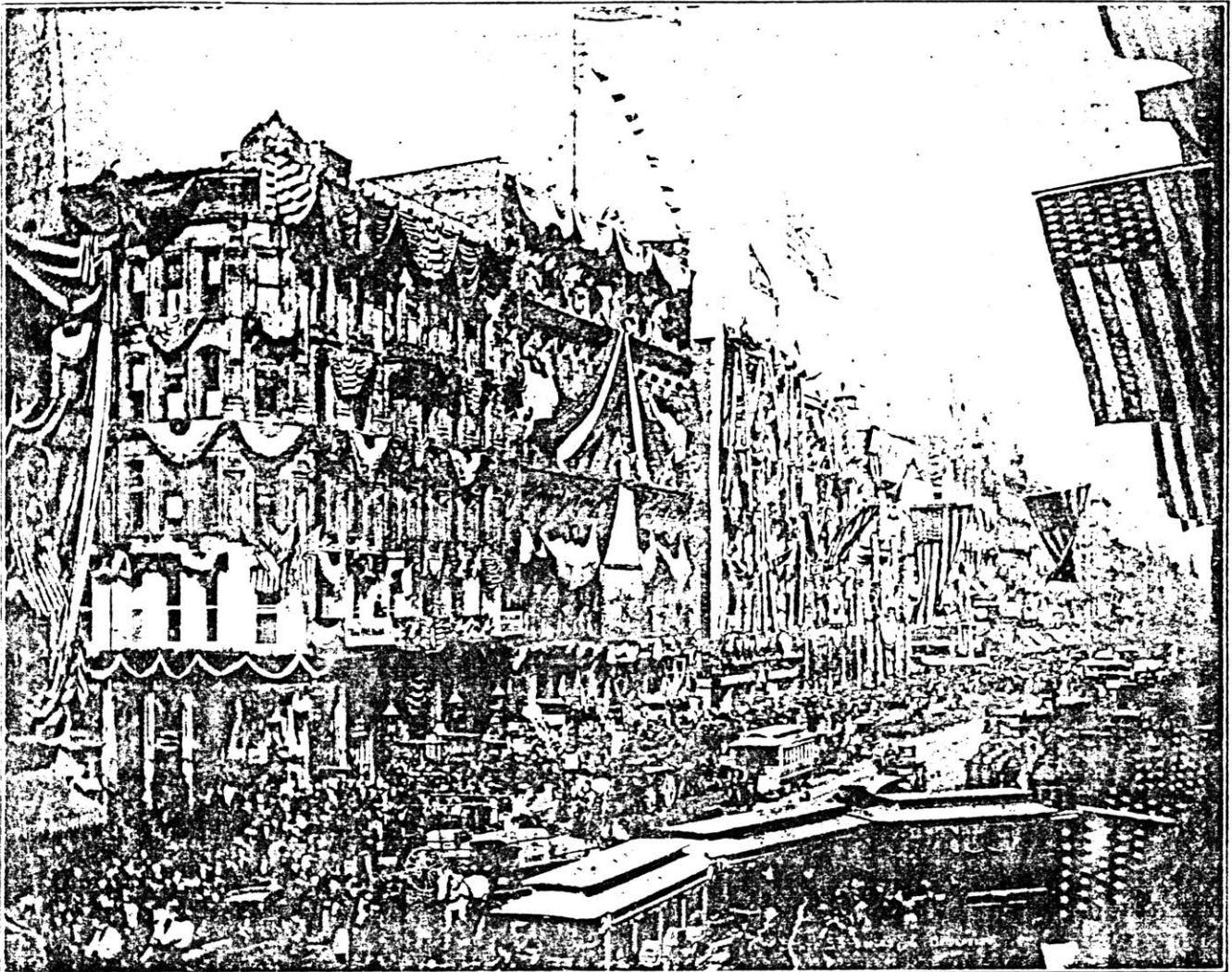
The largest and finest exhibit of Public Health and safety ever assembled in Chicago.

Distinctive features.

The entire Public Health exhibit, including all window frames, has been treated with the finest materials and finished with the most perfect workmanship in the world. Heating, ventilation and air conditioning. The finest sanitary system. The finest fire insurance.

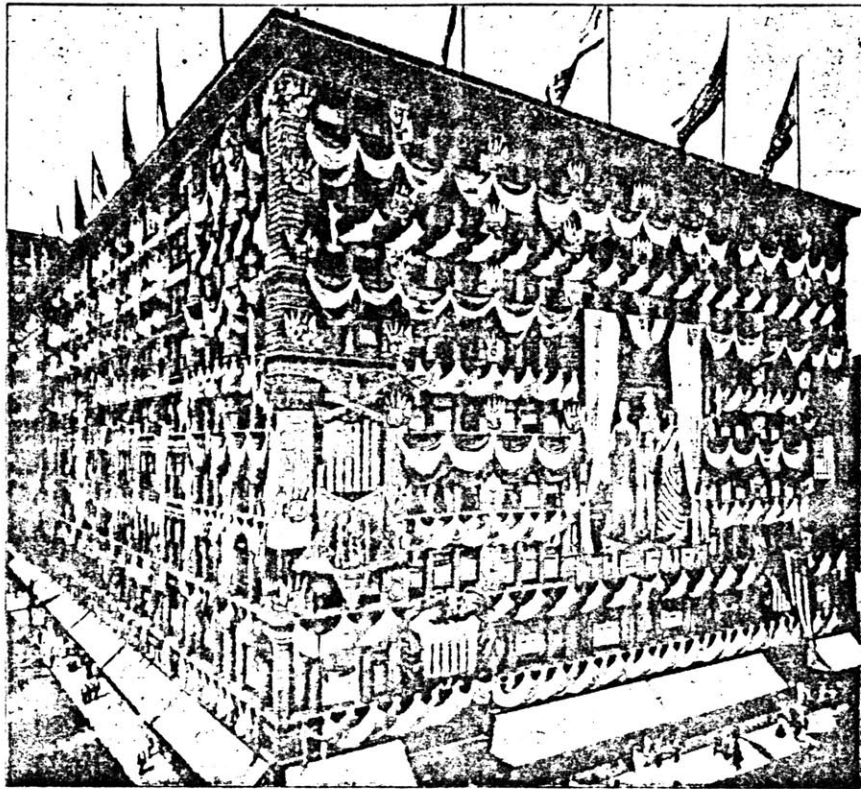
The largest and finest exhibit of Public Health and safety ever assembled in Chicago.

♦♦♦♦ *In Two Days Another Great Store* ♦♦♦♦

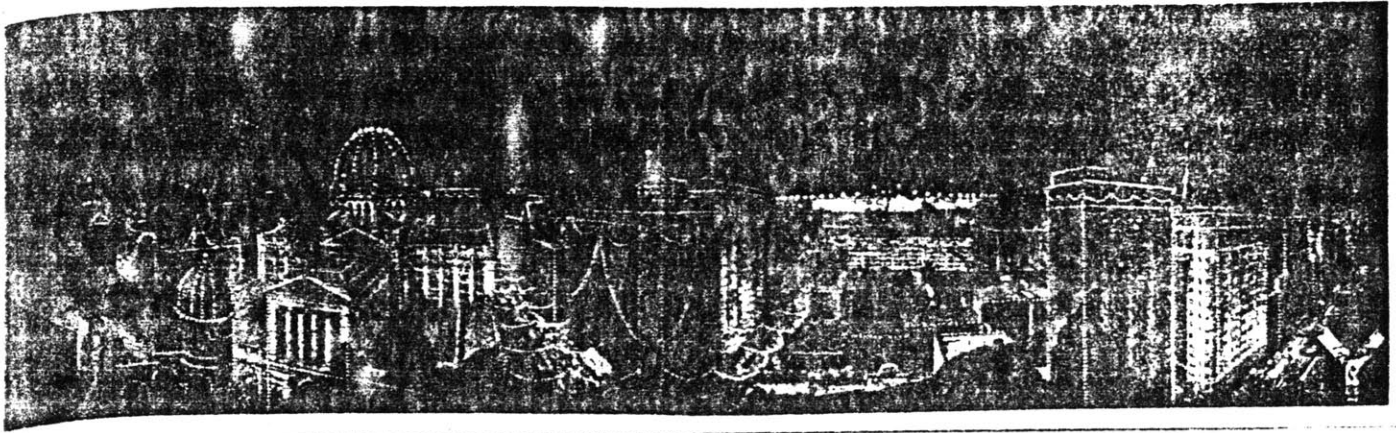


J. W. Taylor Photo

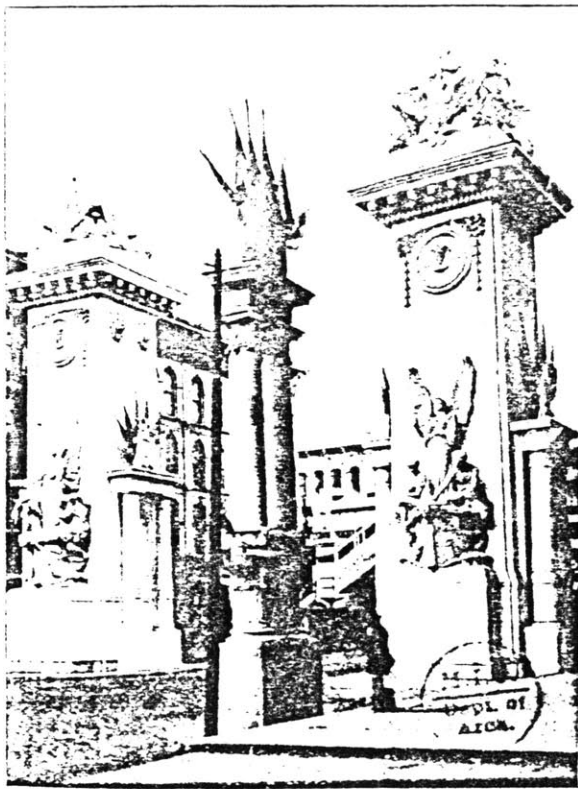
Dedication Day of the World's Columbian Exposition, October 21, 1892. State and Madison Streets.



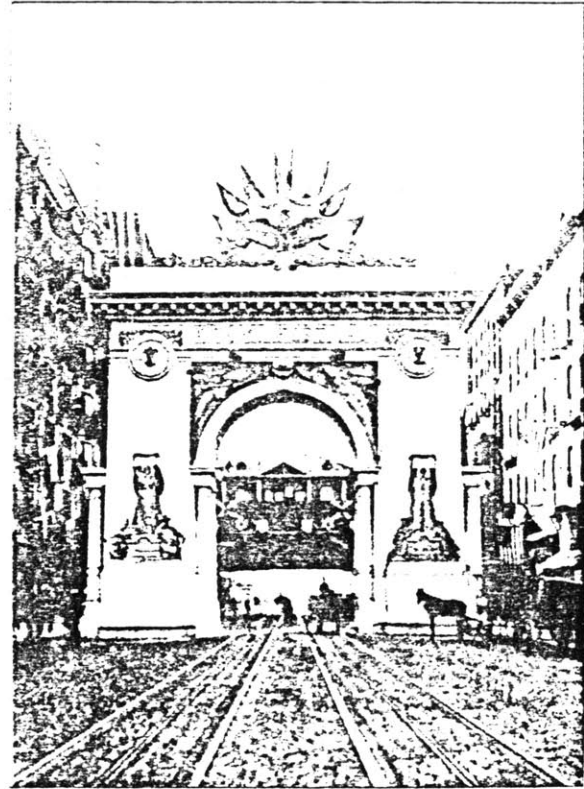
The Fair, Chicago.



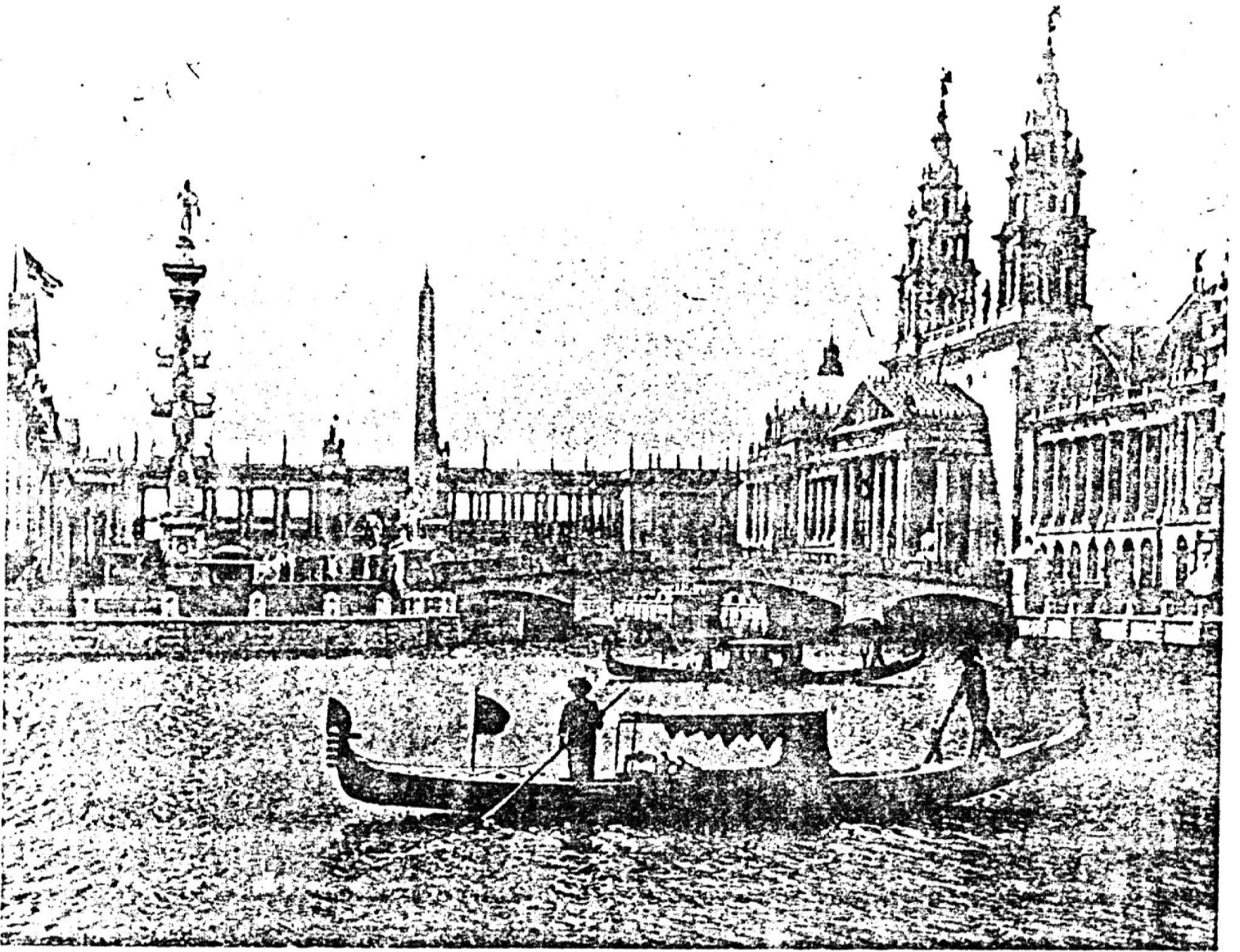
ILLUMINATION OF BUILDINGS DURING THE FALL FESTIVAL.



FESTIVAL DECORATIONS. CHICAGO. 1899



FESTIVAL ARCH. CHICAGO. 1899



Grand Basin and Colonnade

SCHLESINGER & MAYER

Two days: then the grand opening.

THE FORMAL OPENING of the magnificent new Schlesinger & Mayer building will take place Monday, Oct. 12.

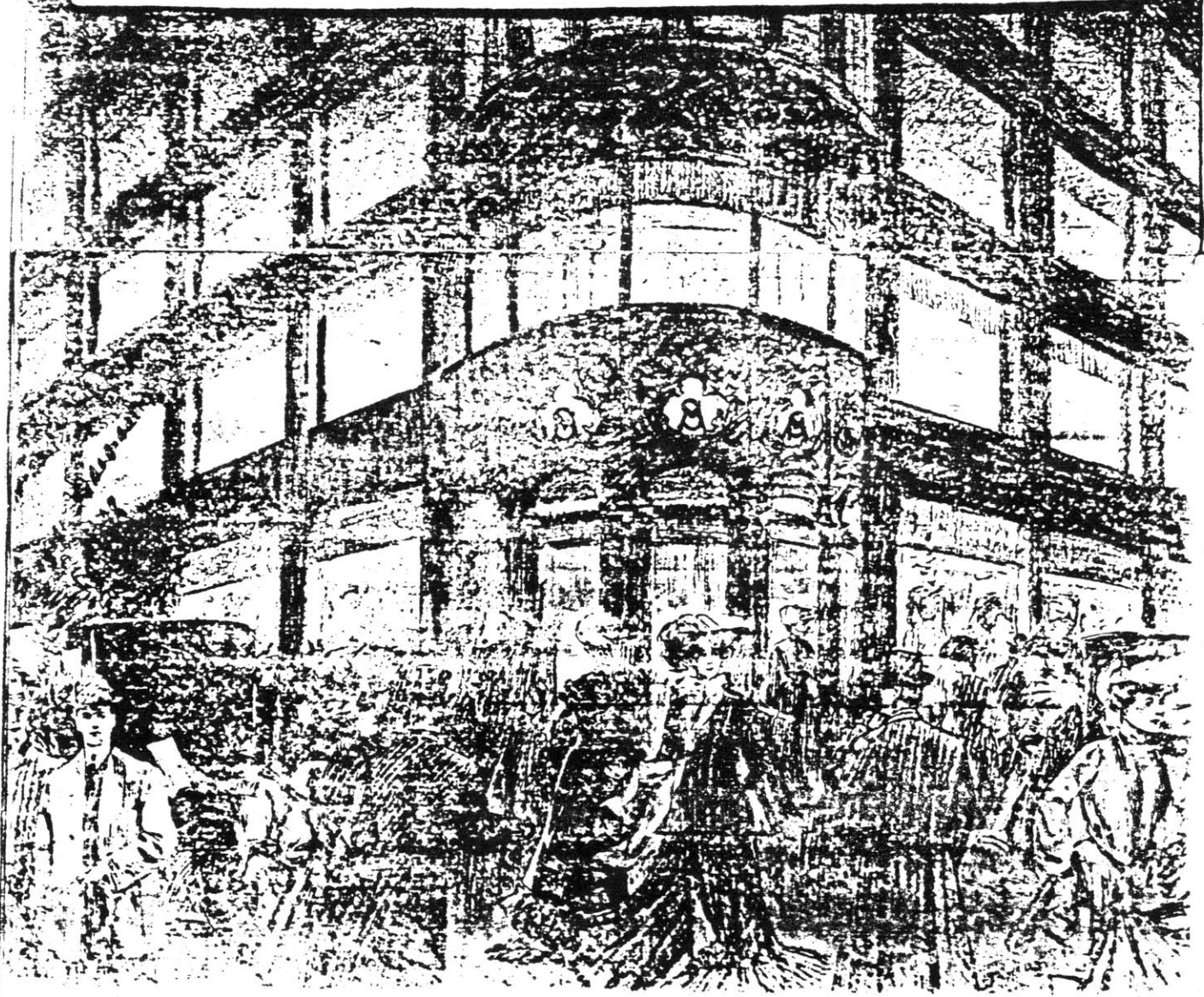
It is a new building throughout. Its location is looked upon as the best in Chicago. It has been fixtured, furnished, equipped and stocked with the single purpose of giving to the public the maximum of convenience, comfort and satisfaction. Special arrangements have been made to exhibit manifold beauties and advantages to the public during the grand opening days, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, Oct. 12, 13 and 14.

Distinctive features.

The largest and richest exhibit of Paris modal hats and gowns ever assembled in Chicago.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| The newest ready-to-wear. | The unique French lingerie line. |
| Macassar and marble floors. | Spacious art gallery. |
| New construction art and landscape. | Colonial cigarette room. |
| Level lights. | The art museum. |
| Lamps and more display windows. | The great lobby room. |
| Handing, wearing and ironing saloons. | Restroom of women's rights. |
| Telephone booth. | Another great bathroom arrangement. |
| Emergency medical aid room. | Lockers, 10,000—extraordinary. |
| The five millionary room. | Mass. garden etc. |

The restaurant, grill and luncheon, probably the most scrupulous of its kind in any mercantile house in America—seating capacity, 1,000.

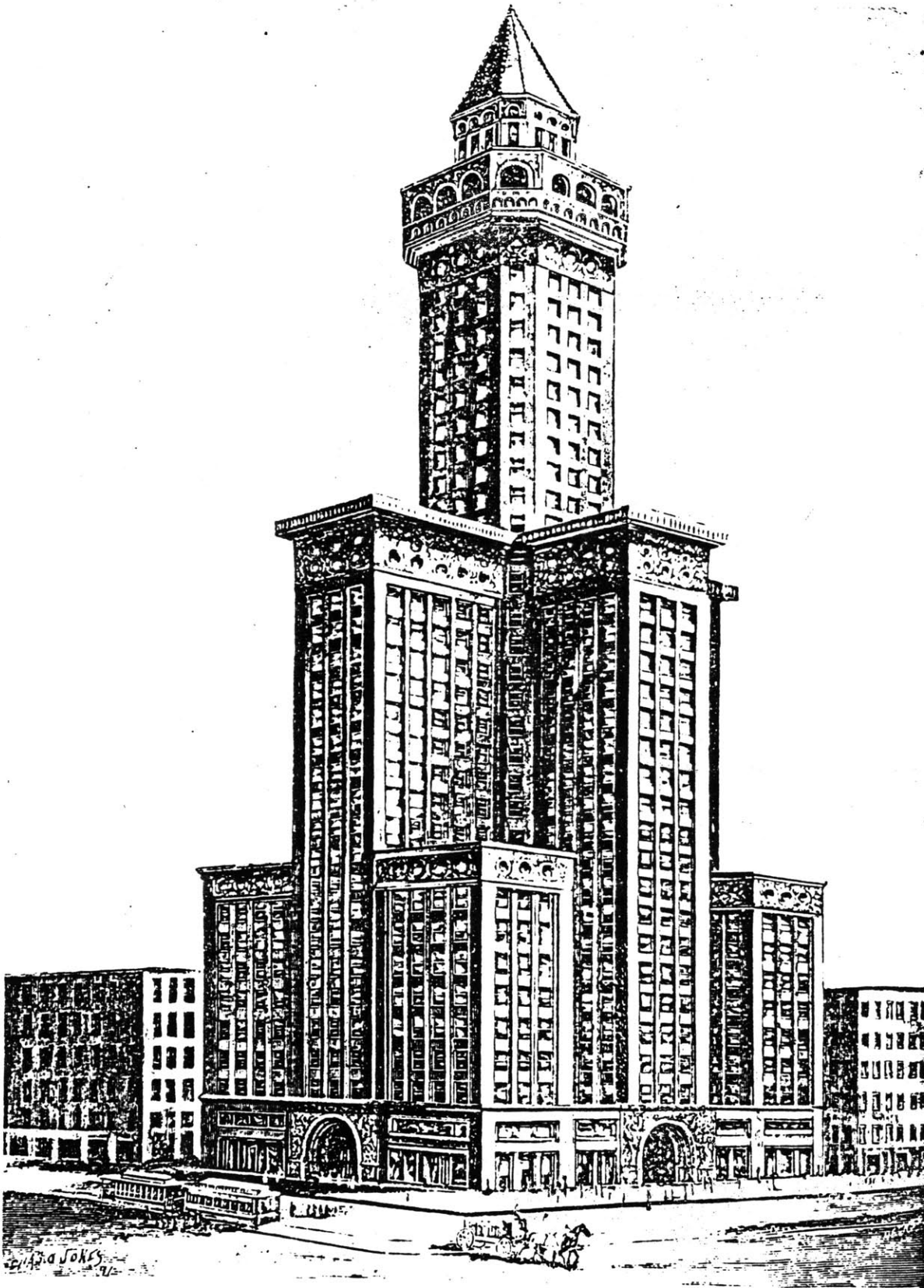




THE WAINWRIGHT BUILDING, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

LOUIS H. SULLIVAN, ARCHITECT

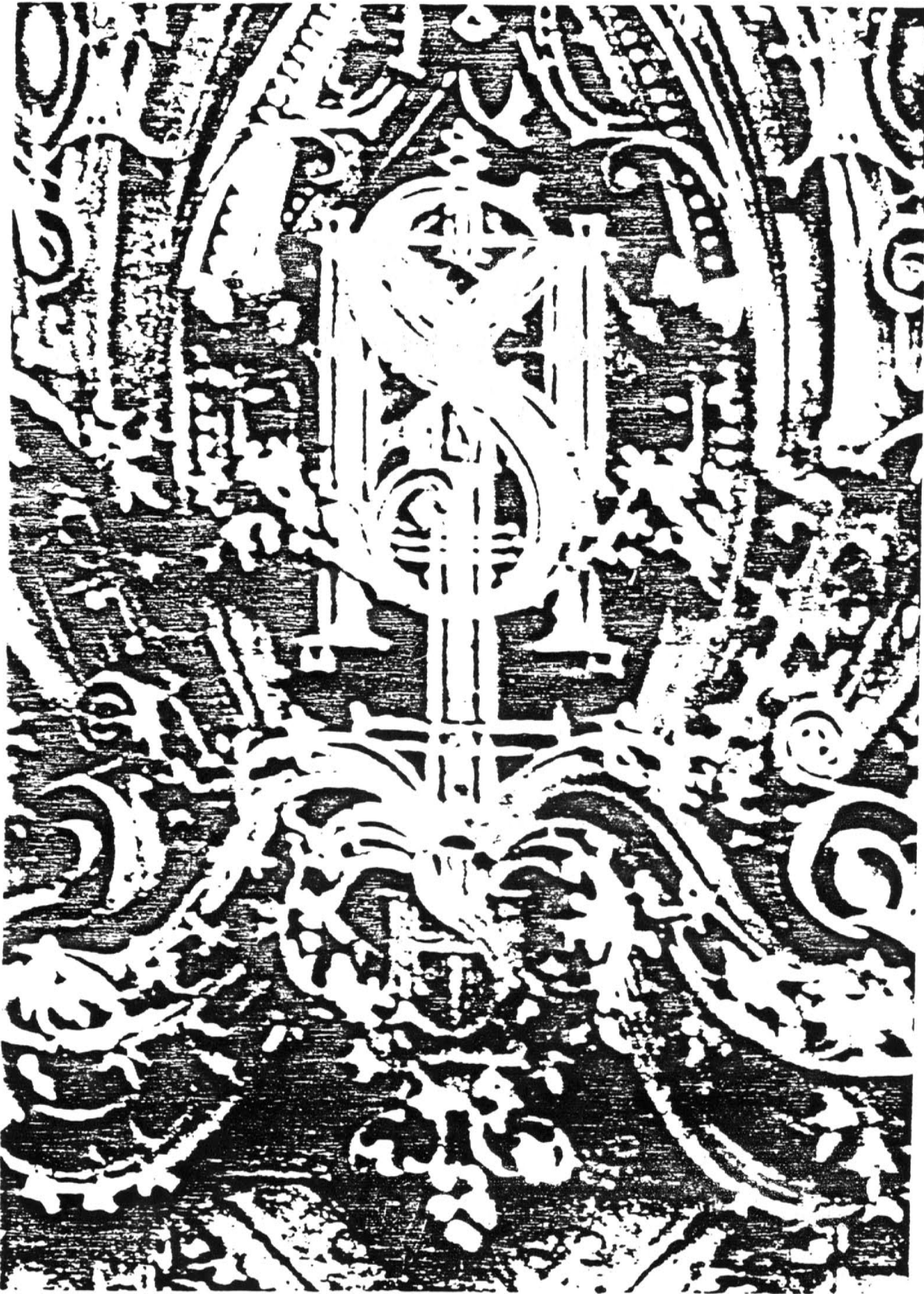
This was the first example of a steel frame building, designed to emphasize the height of the structure; likewise, the first in which the division and ornamentation follows only structural lines.



3. 4. Adler & Sullivan, Odd Fellows Temple project, Chicago, 1891 (from *The Graphic*, courtesy the Chicago Historical Society)

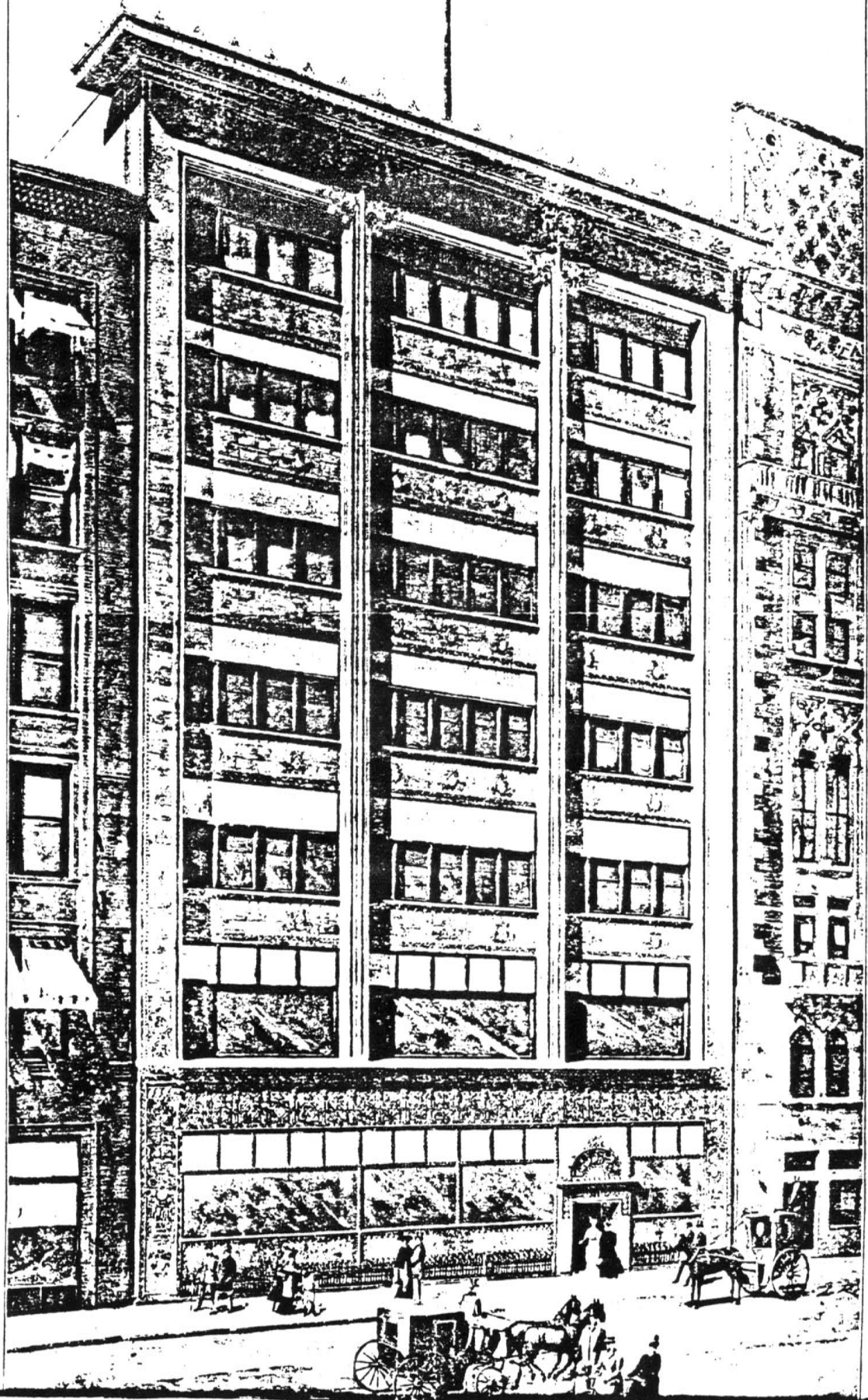


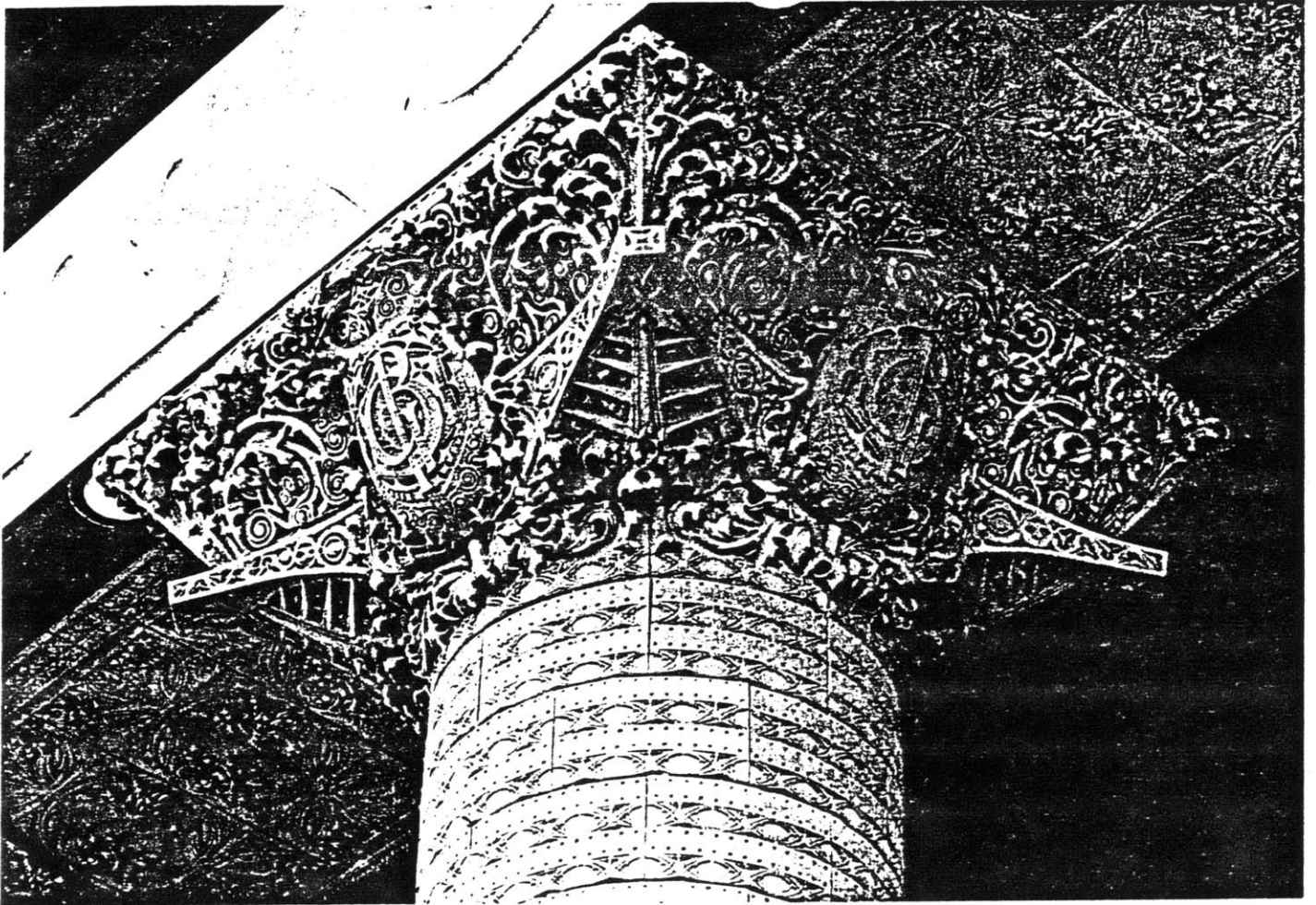
FIELD BUILDING, CHICAGO.





MONADNOCK BUILDING, 1889-91 BURNHAM AND ROOT





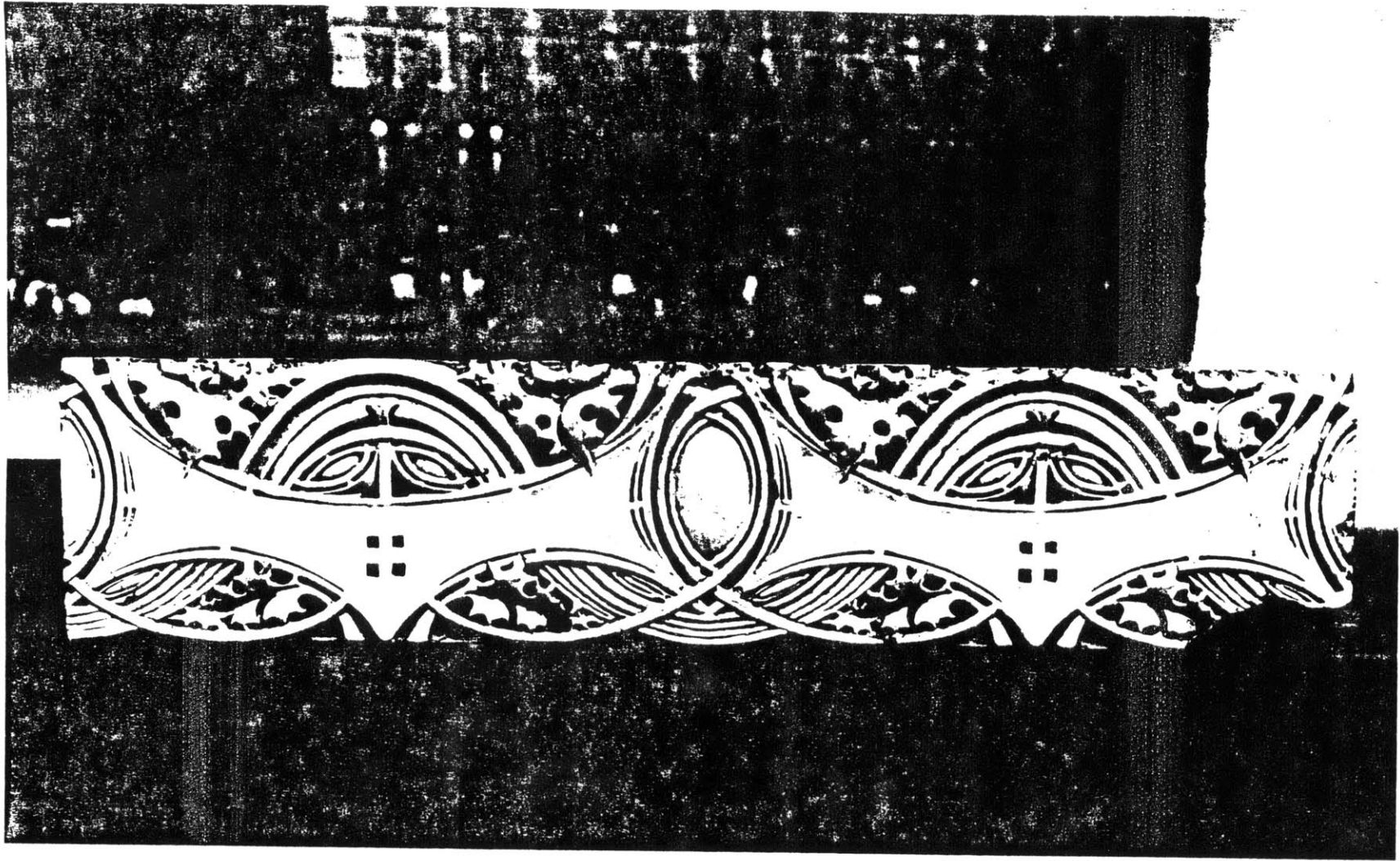
Terra-cotta capital, Guaranty Building, Buffalo, N.Y. Adler & Sullivan, architects. 1895.



THE PRUDENTIAL BUILDING, BUFFALO, N. Y.

LOUIS H. SULLIVAN, ARCHITECT





Fragment of Terra-cotta Ornament.
Course Running Along Head and Sill of Windows

Richard Nickel

SPANDREL SECTION AT 4TH FLOOR
BETWEEN COLS. 16 & 32.

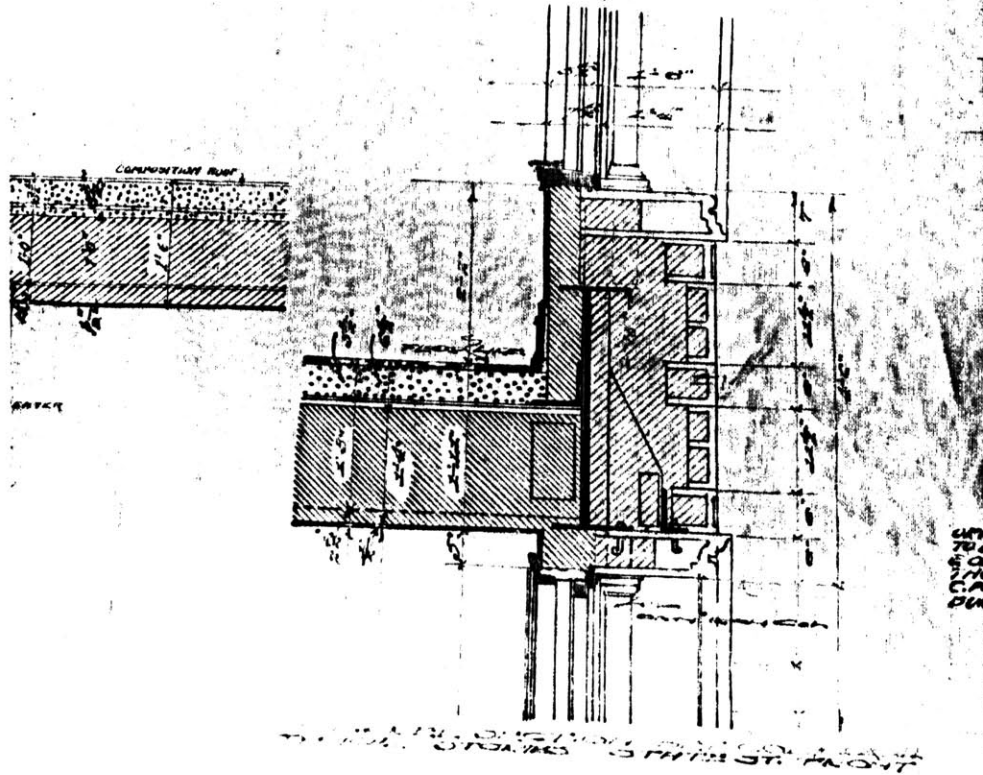


FIG. V - 10

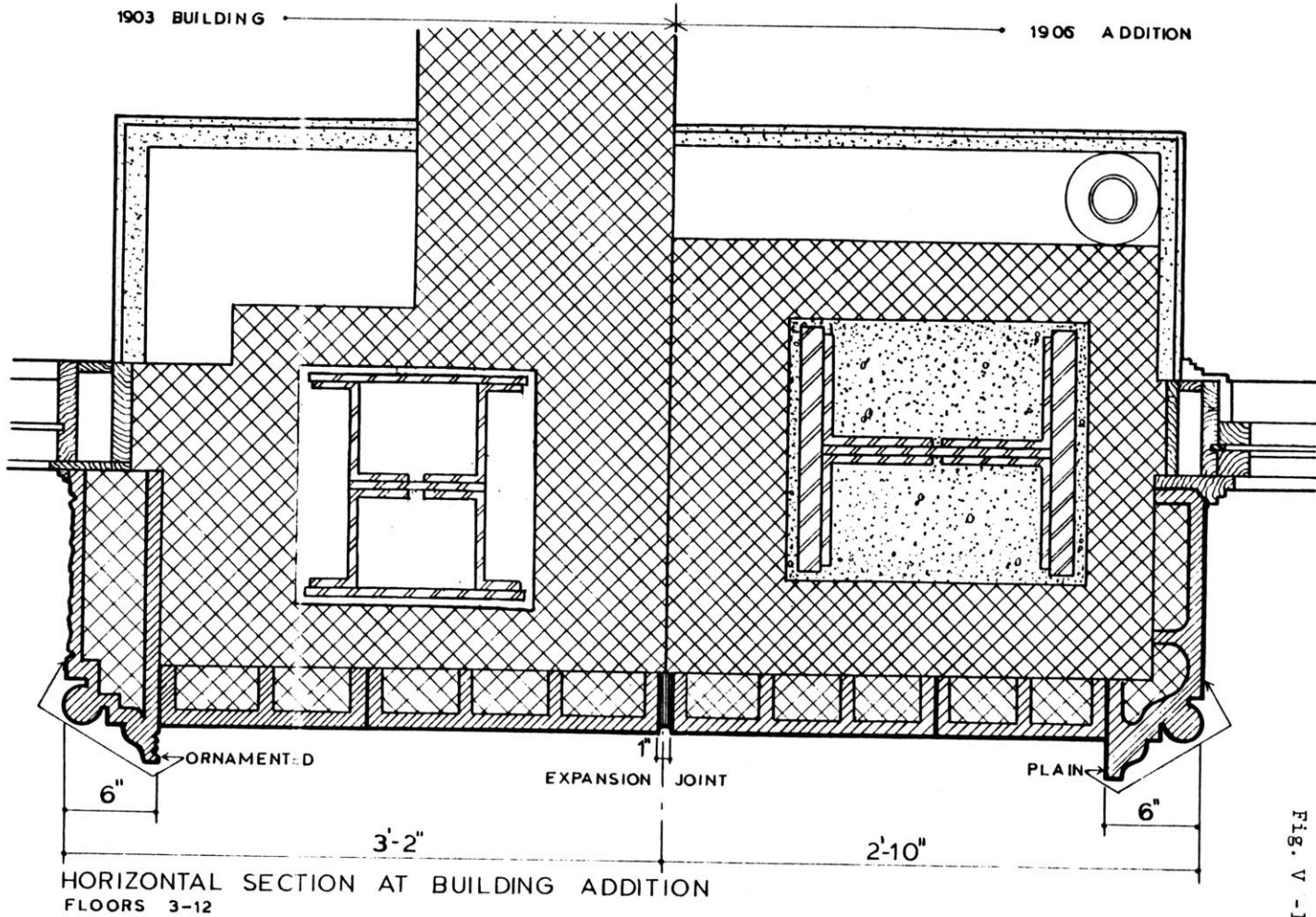
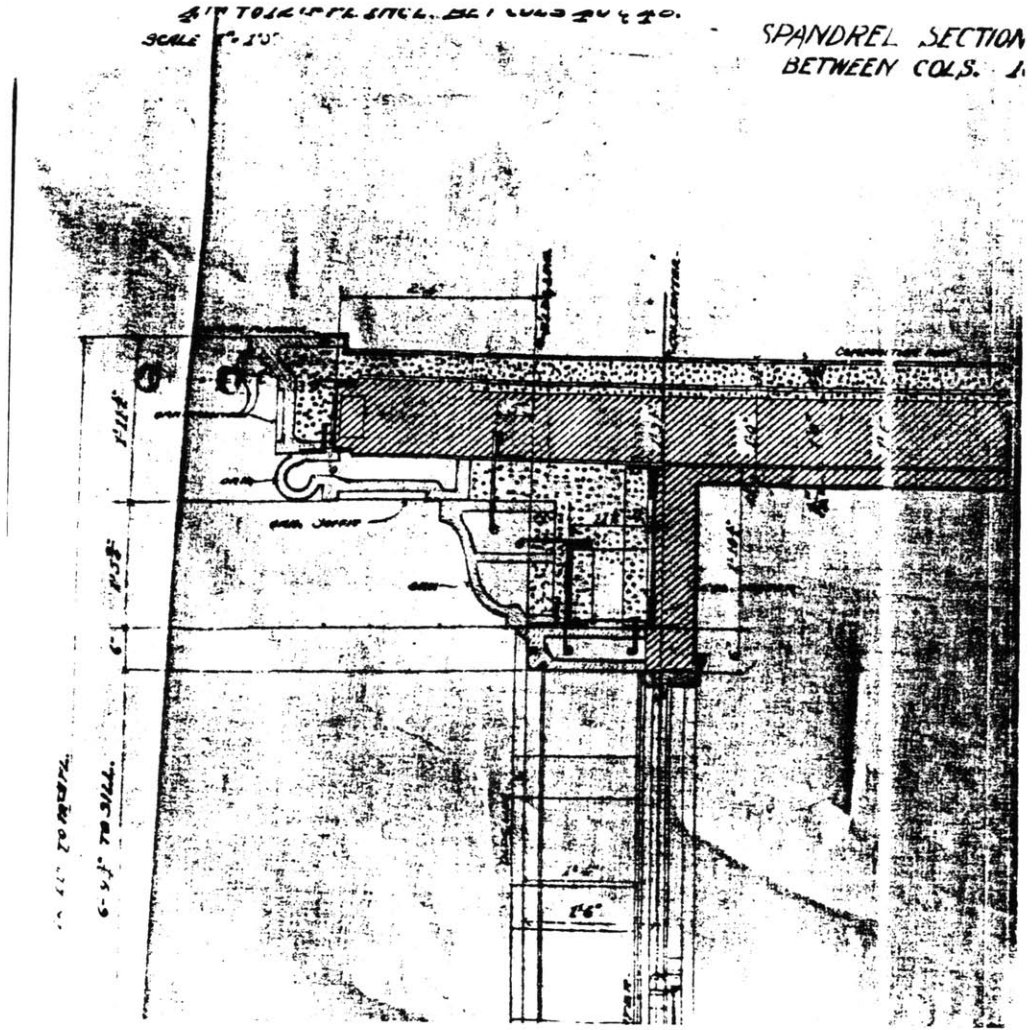


Fig. V -11

Fig.V-12



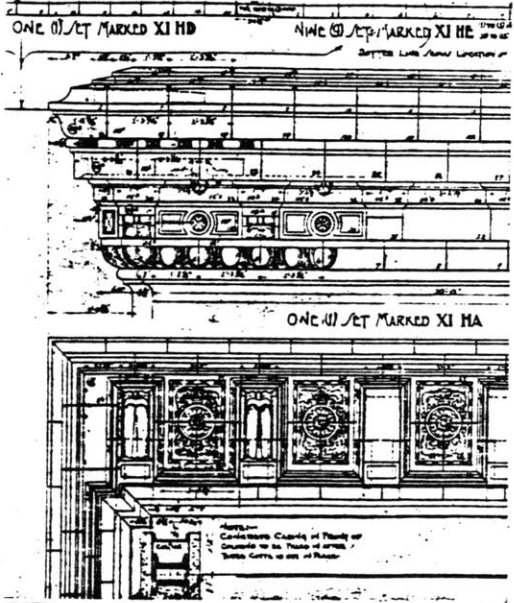
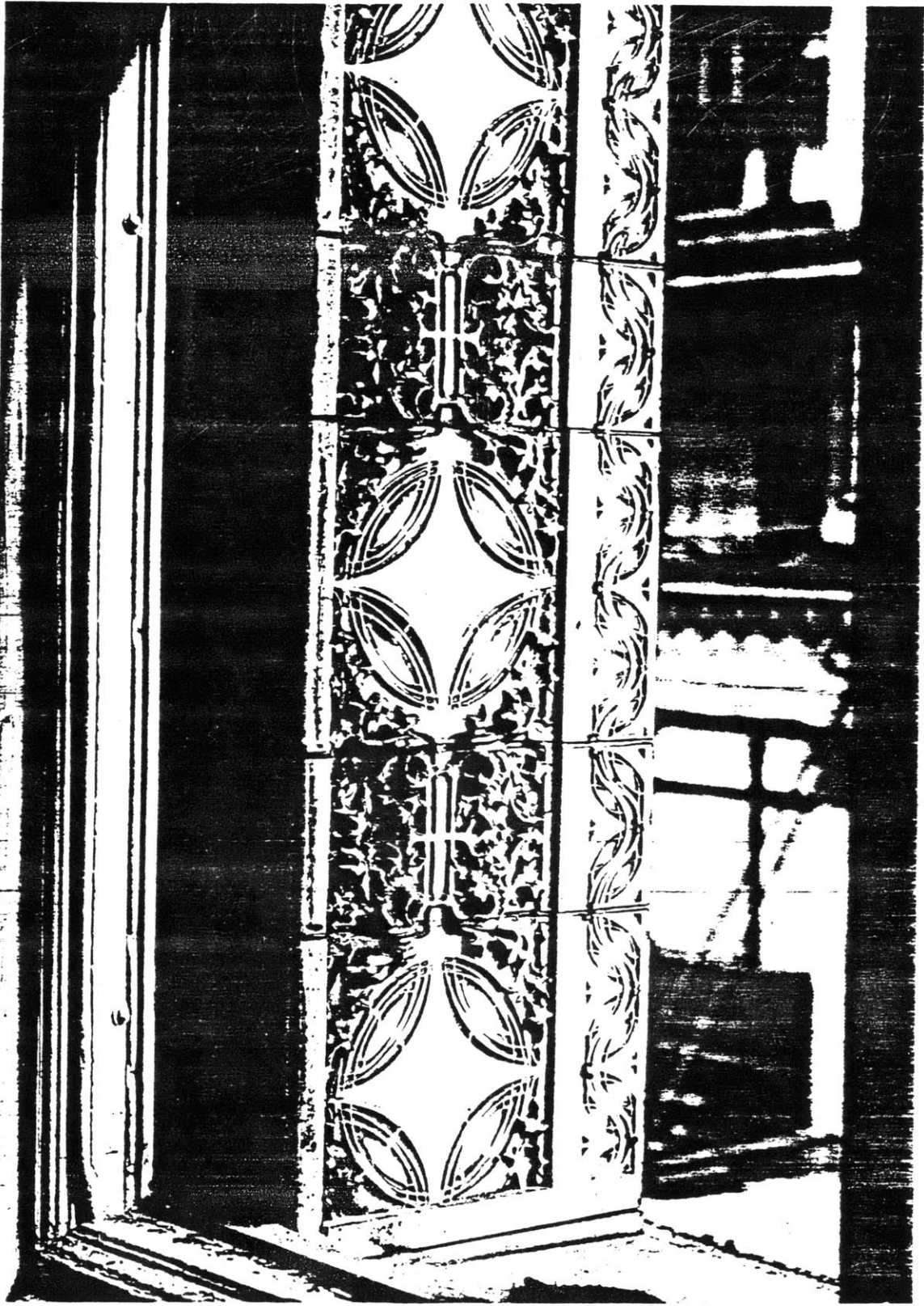
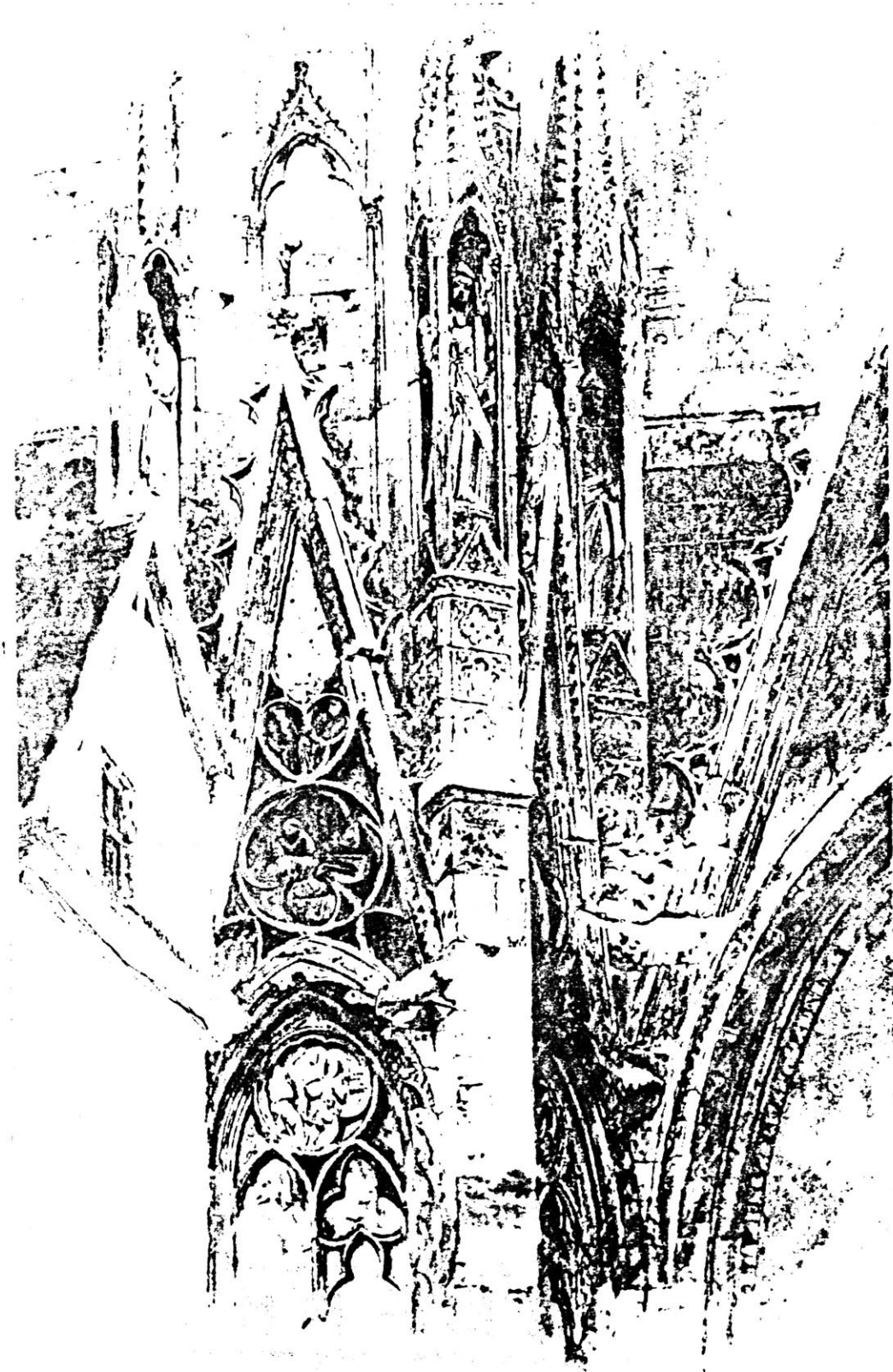


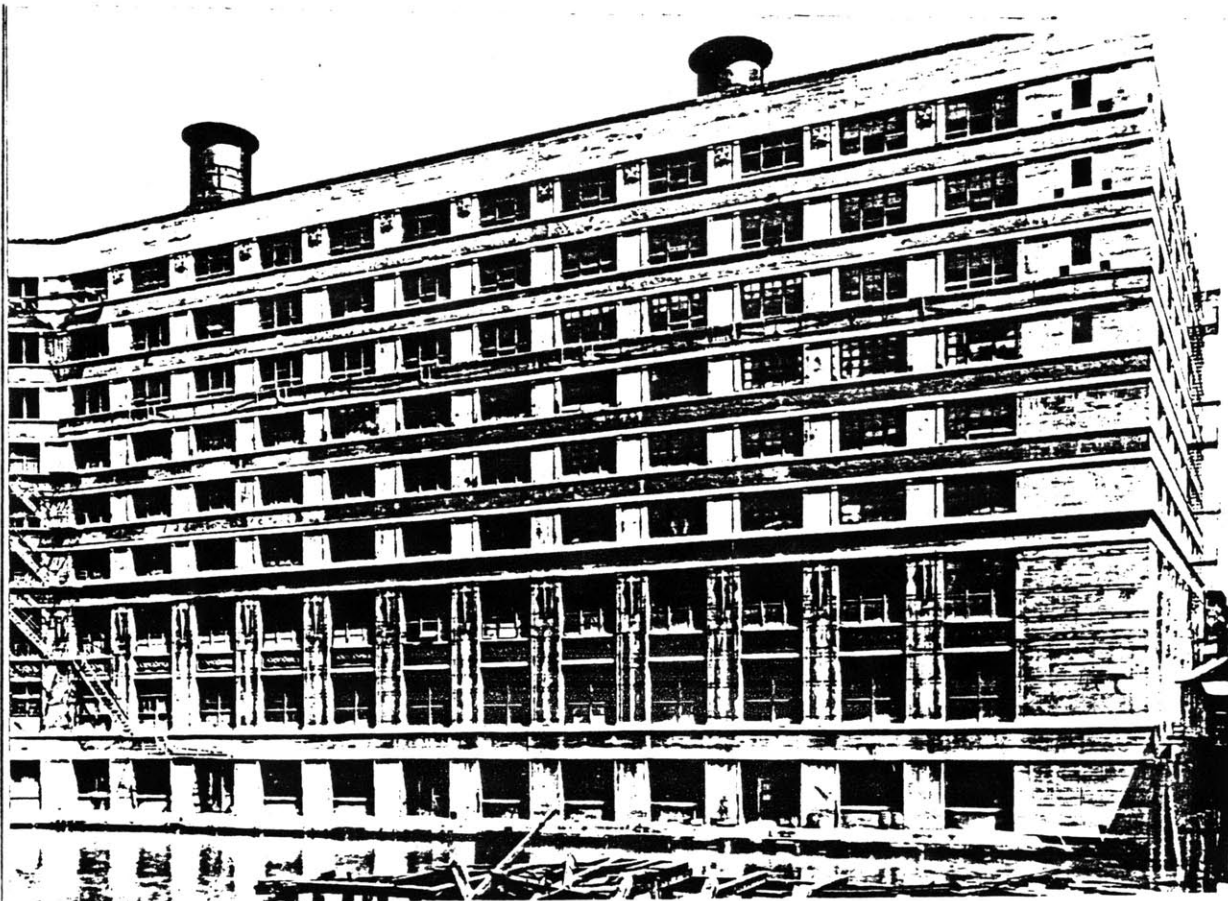
Fig.V-13



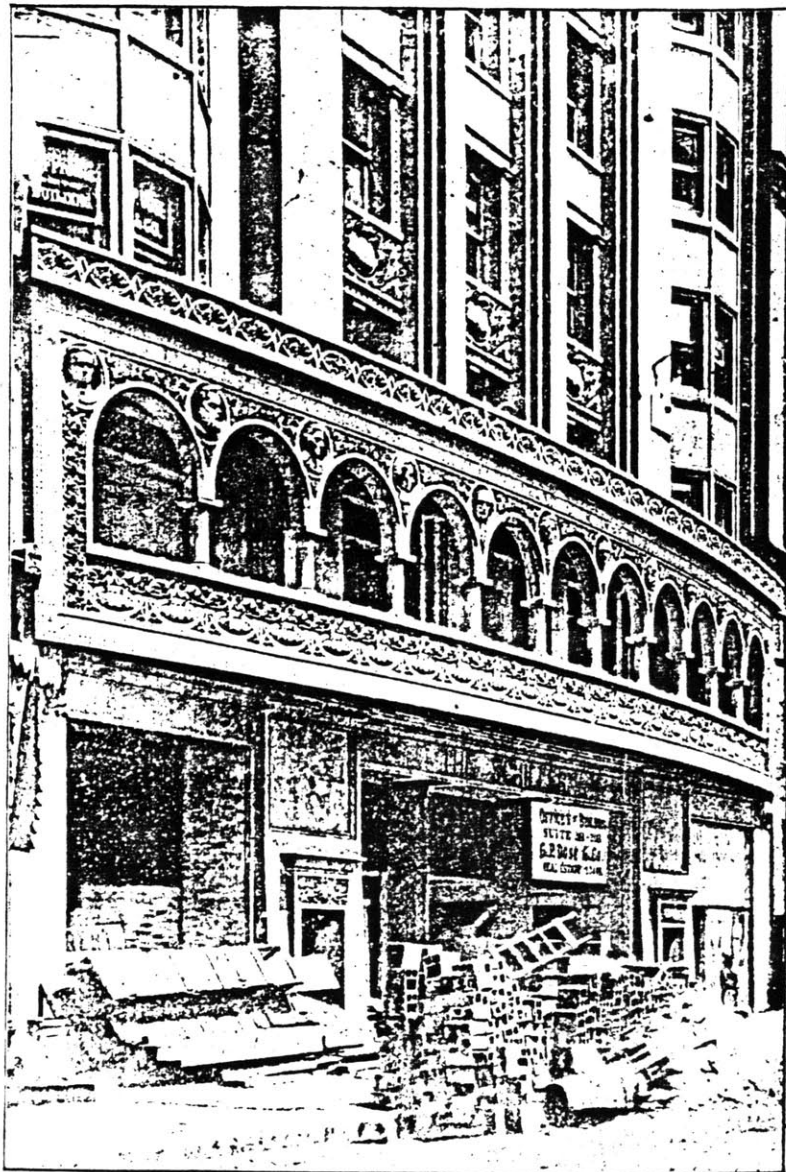




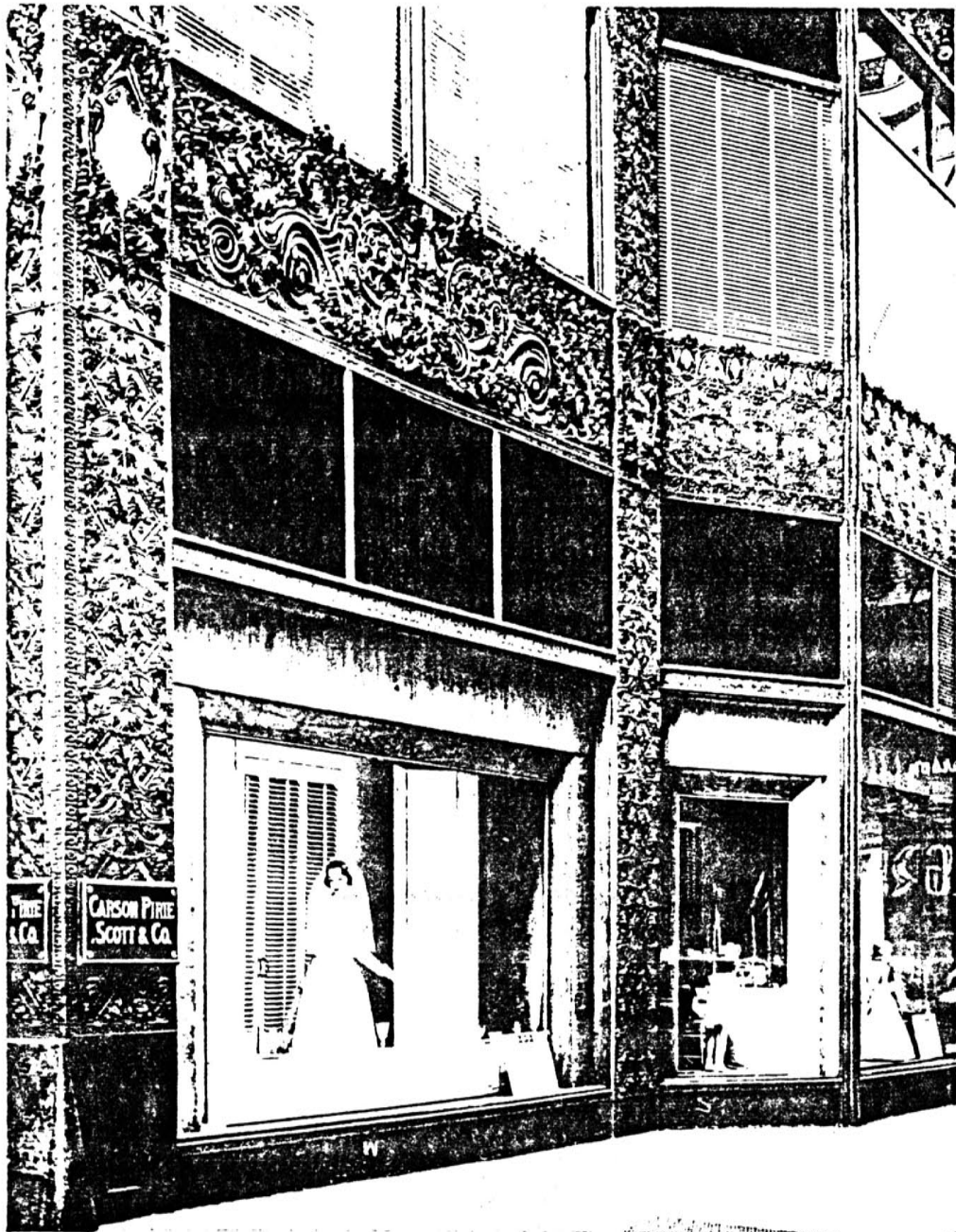
Ruskin Rouen Cathedral gables 1854

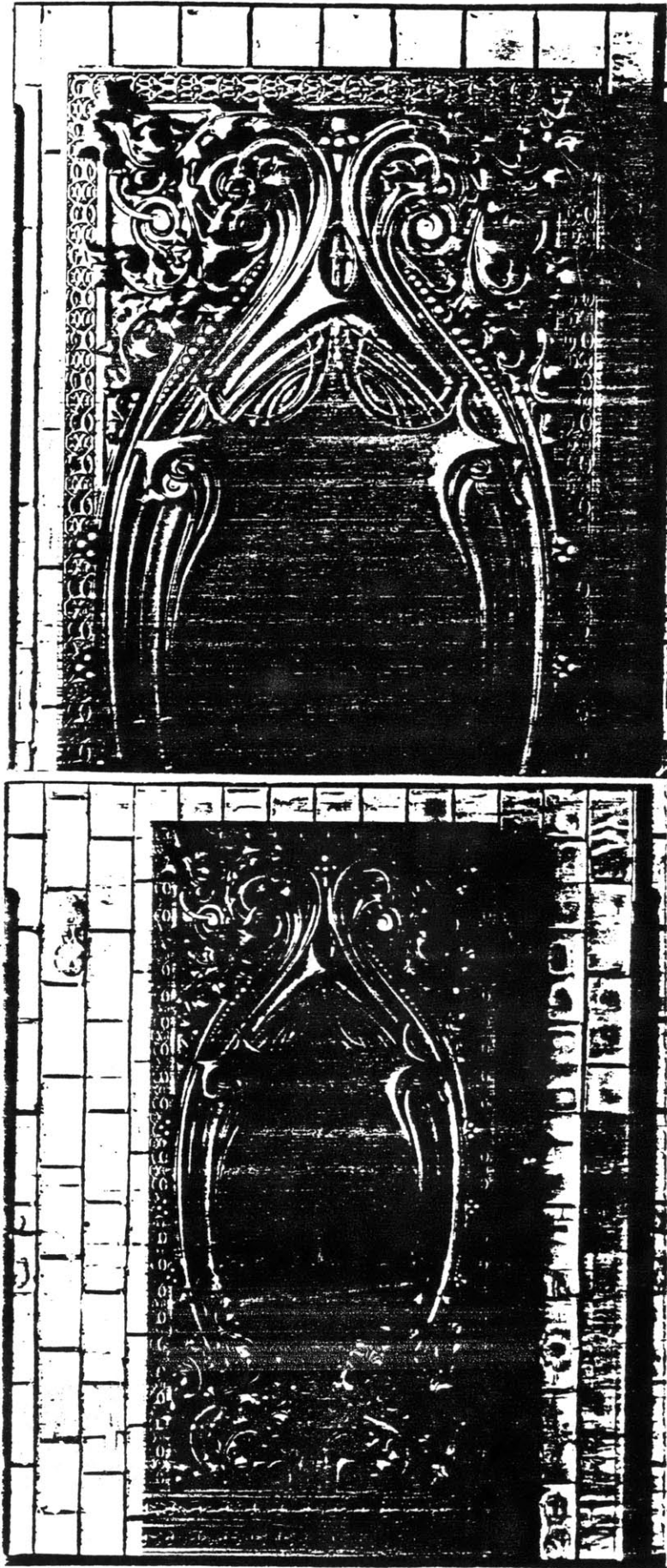


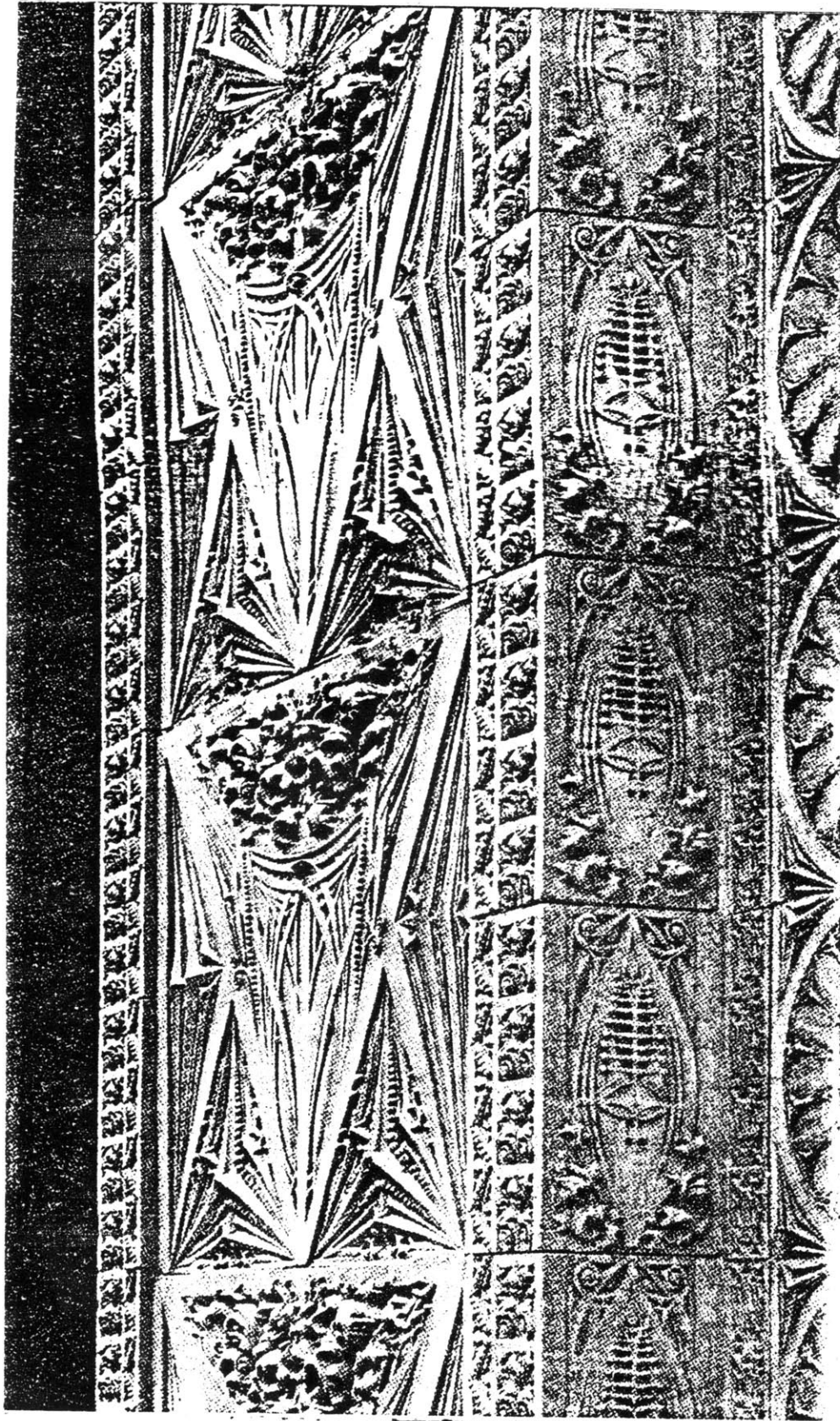
152. MONTGOMERY WARD WAREHOUSE, 1906-8
SCHMIDT, GARDEN AND MARTIN

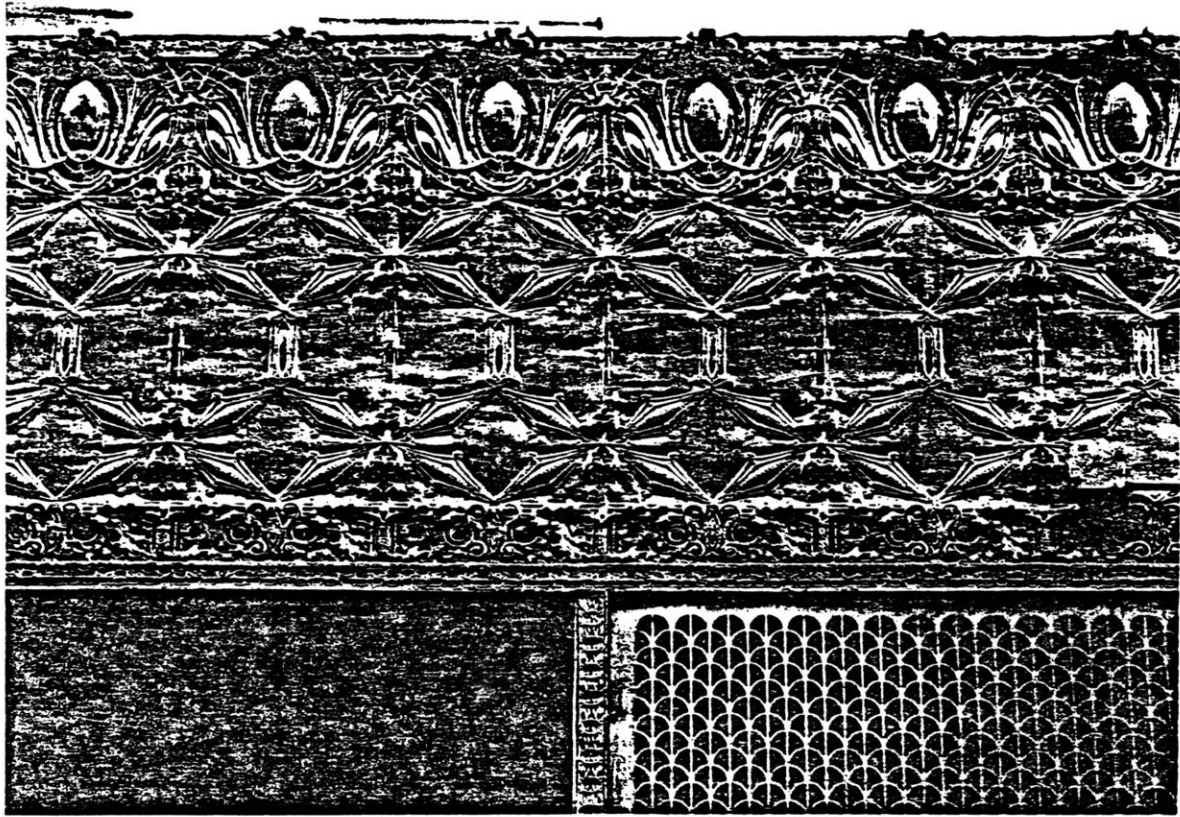


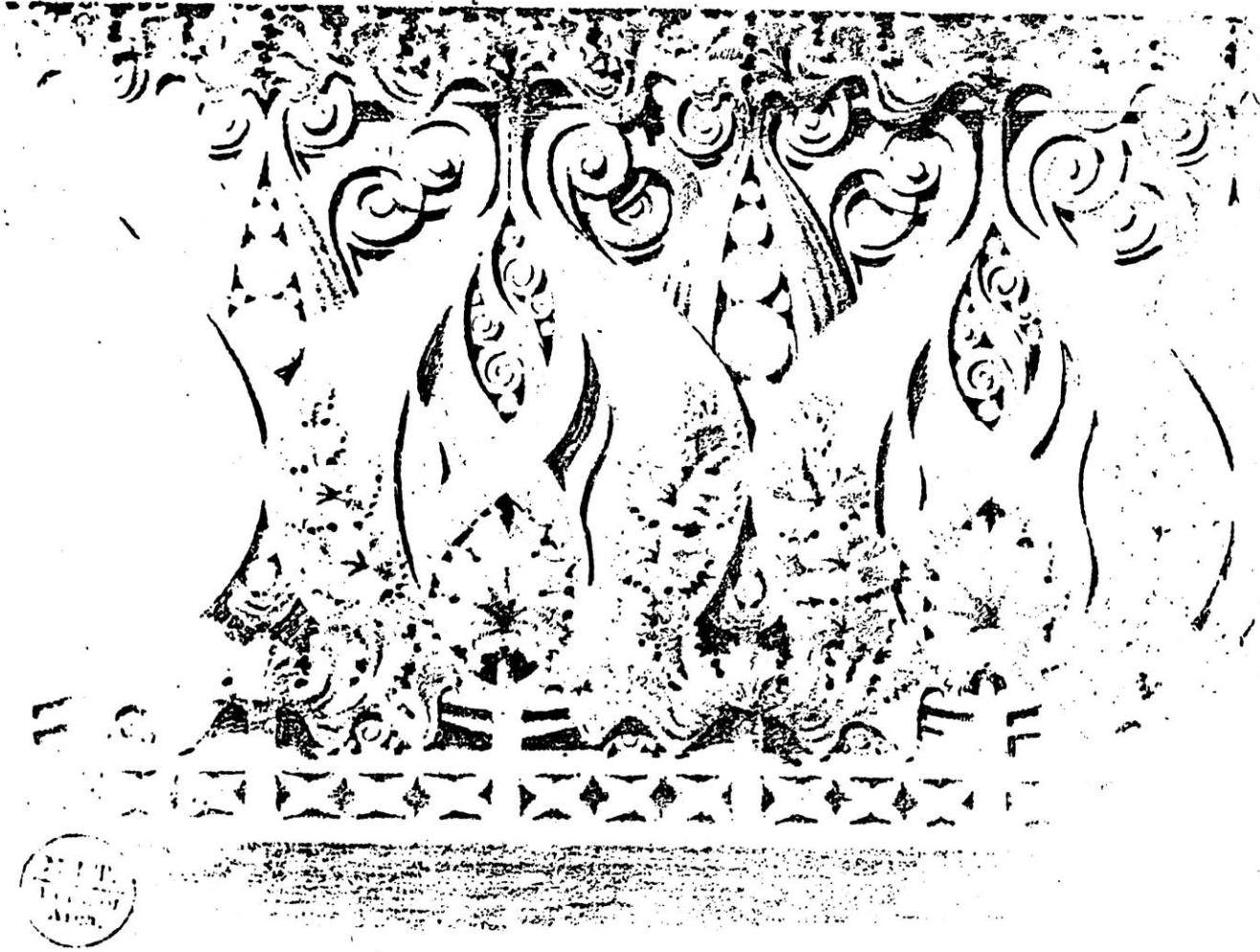
VIEW OF BALCONY, SCHILLER THEATER, CHICAGO.



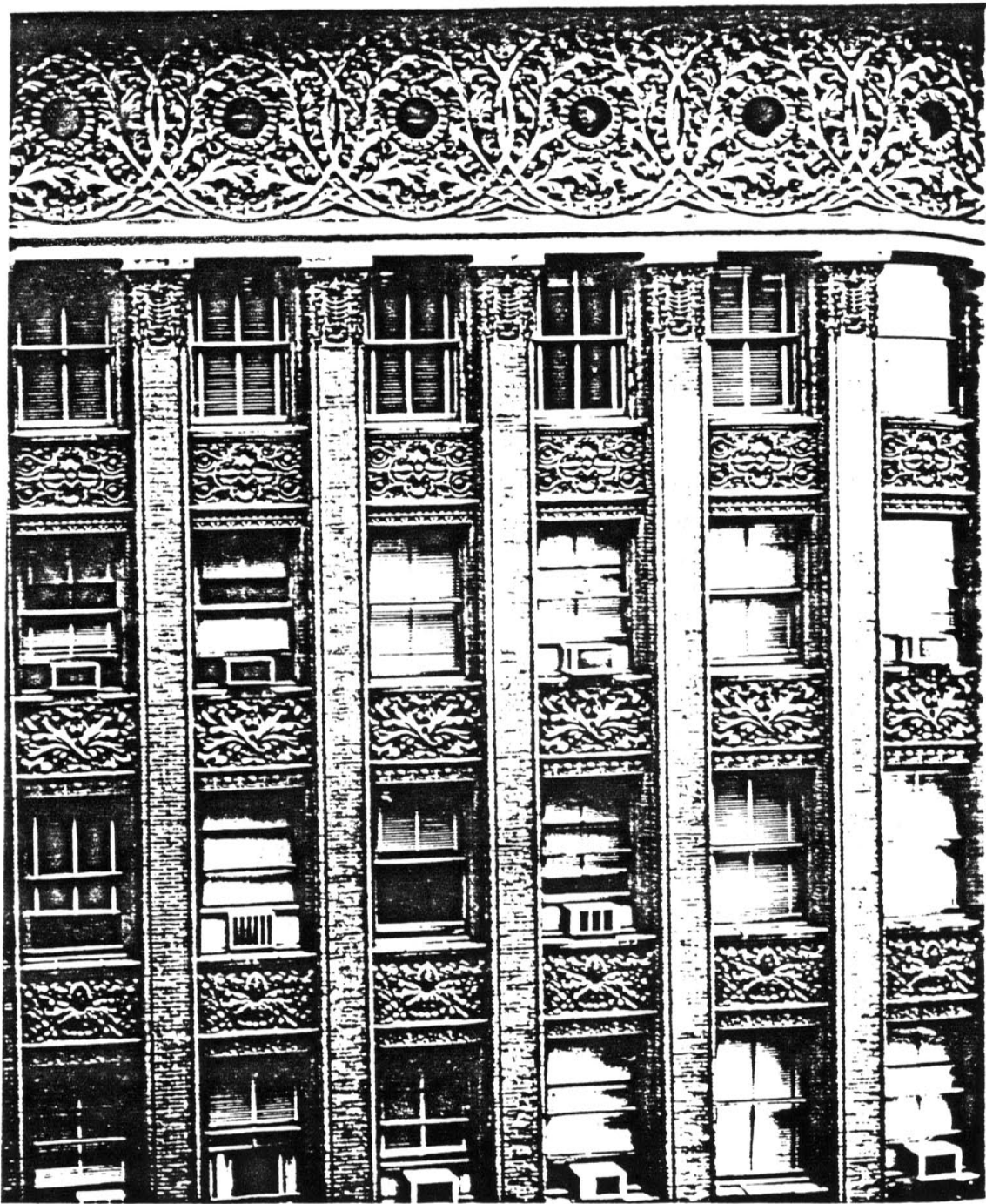


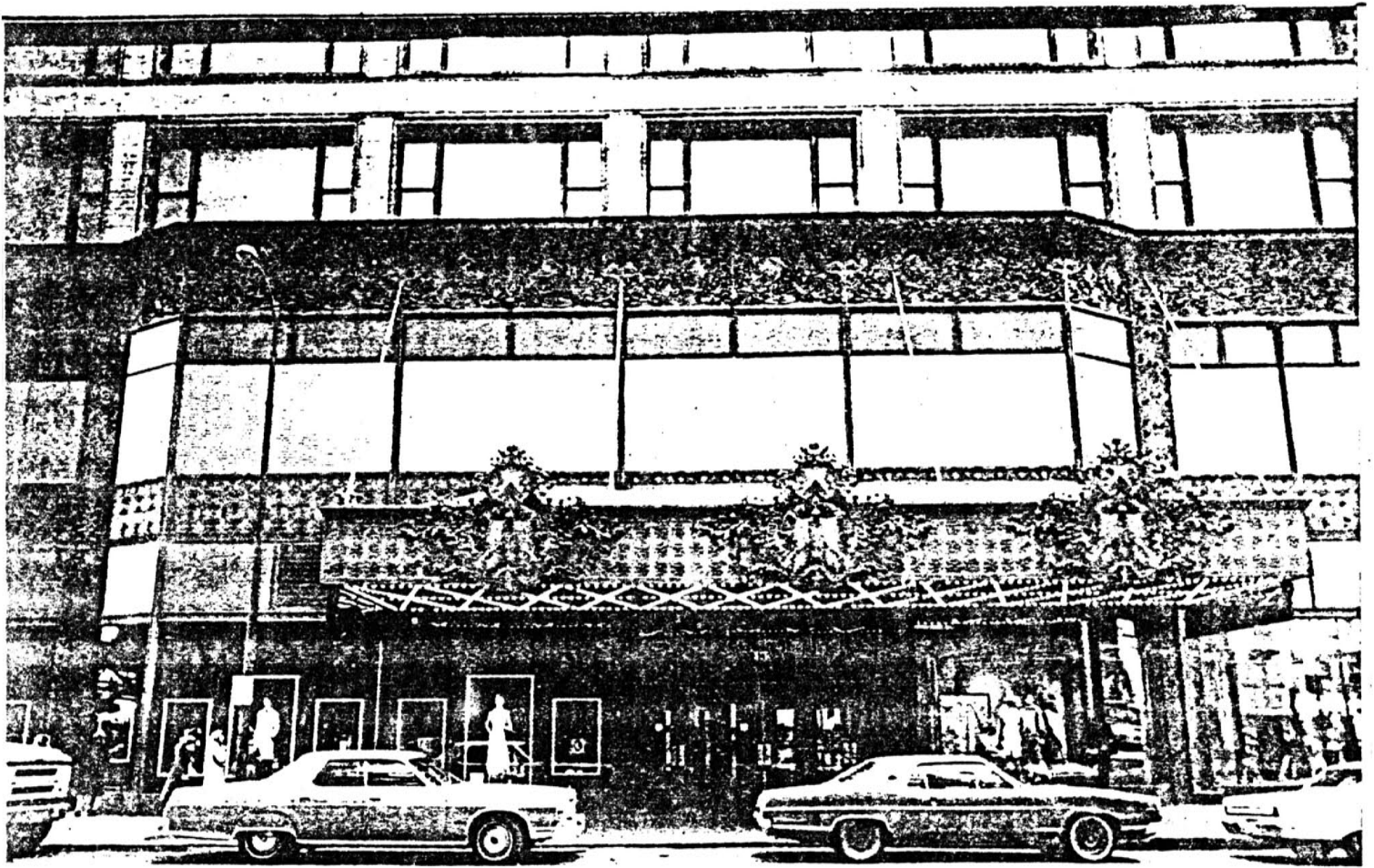






REPRODUCTION FROM AN ORIGINAL DRAWING
BY LOUIS H. SULLIVAN







SCHLESINGER & MAYER'S NEW BUILDING.

Otis Elevators used throughout.

Louis H. Sullivan, Architect.

Fig. V-26

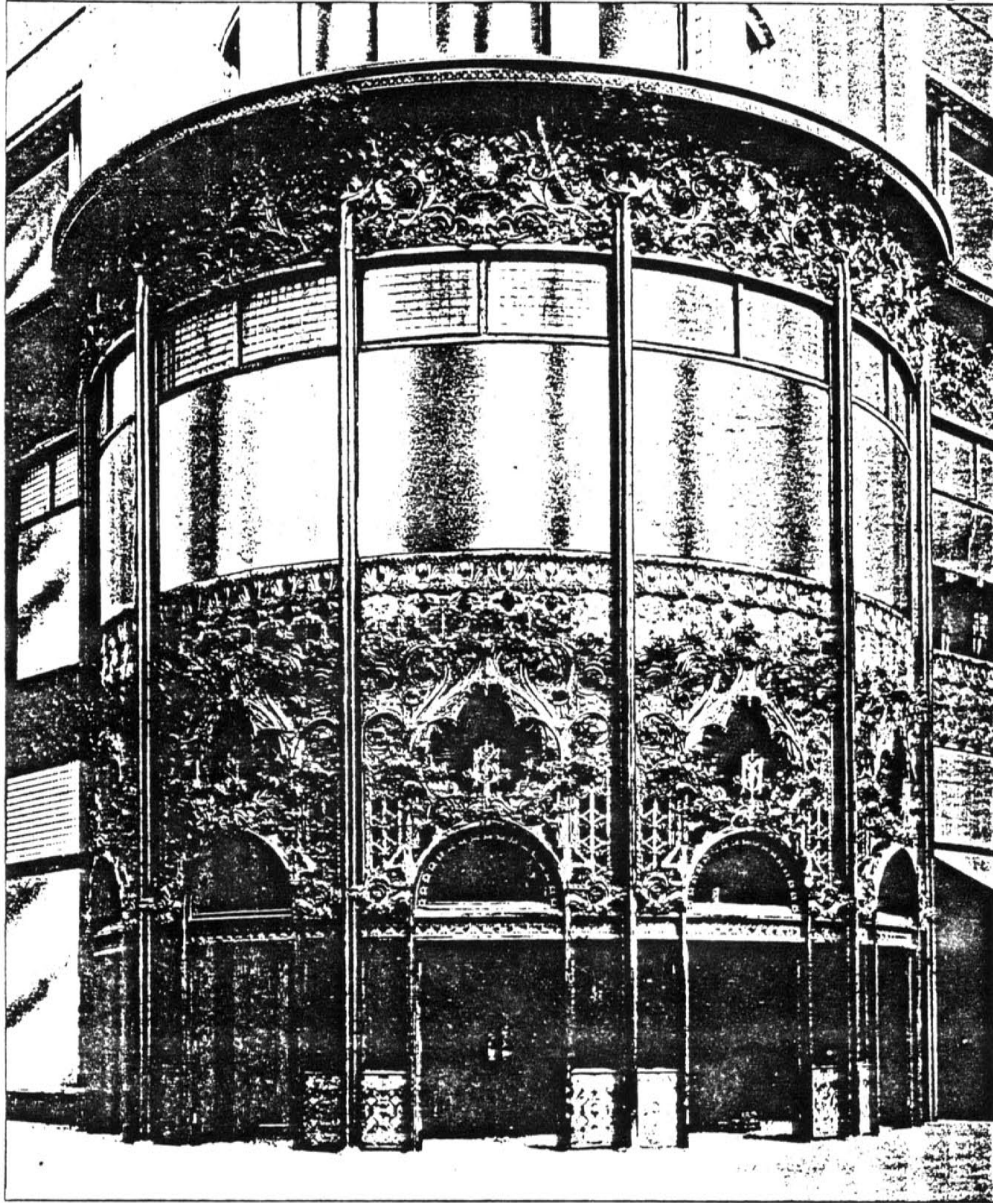
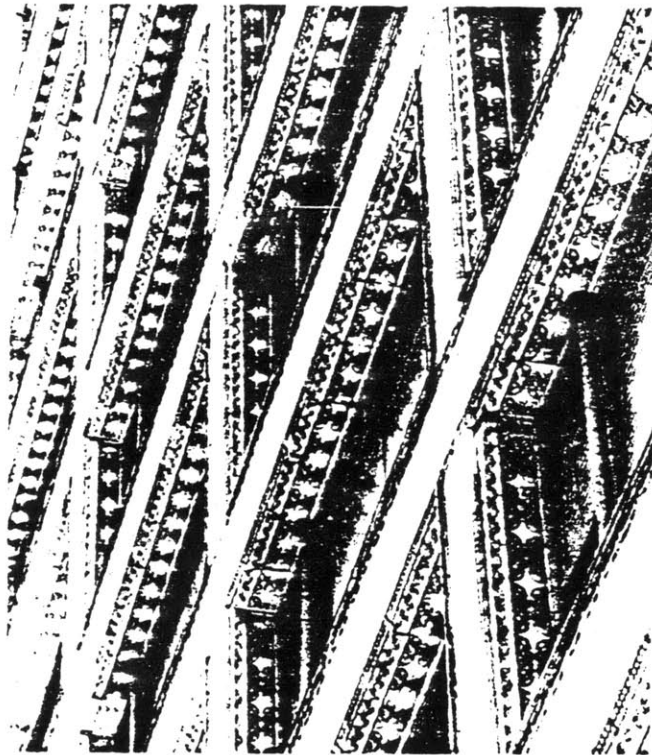
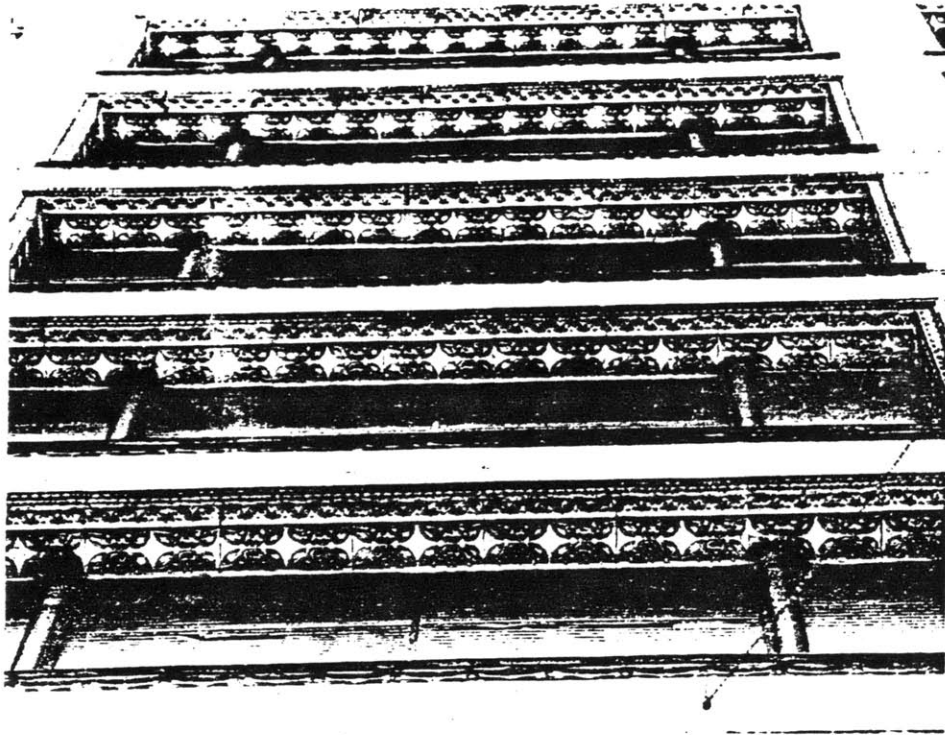
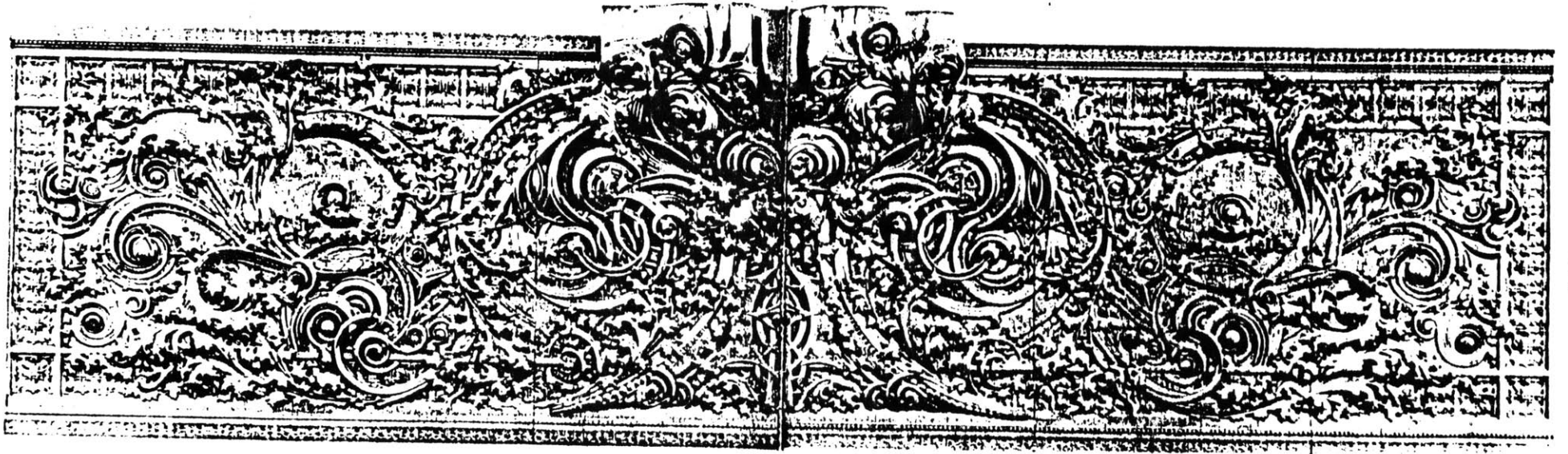


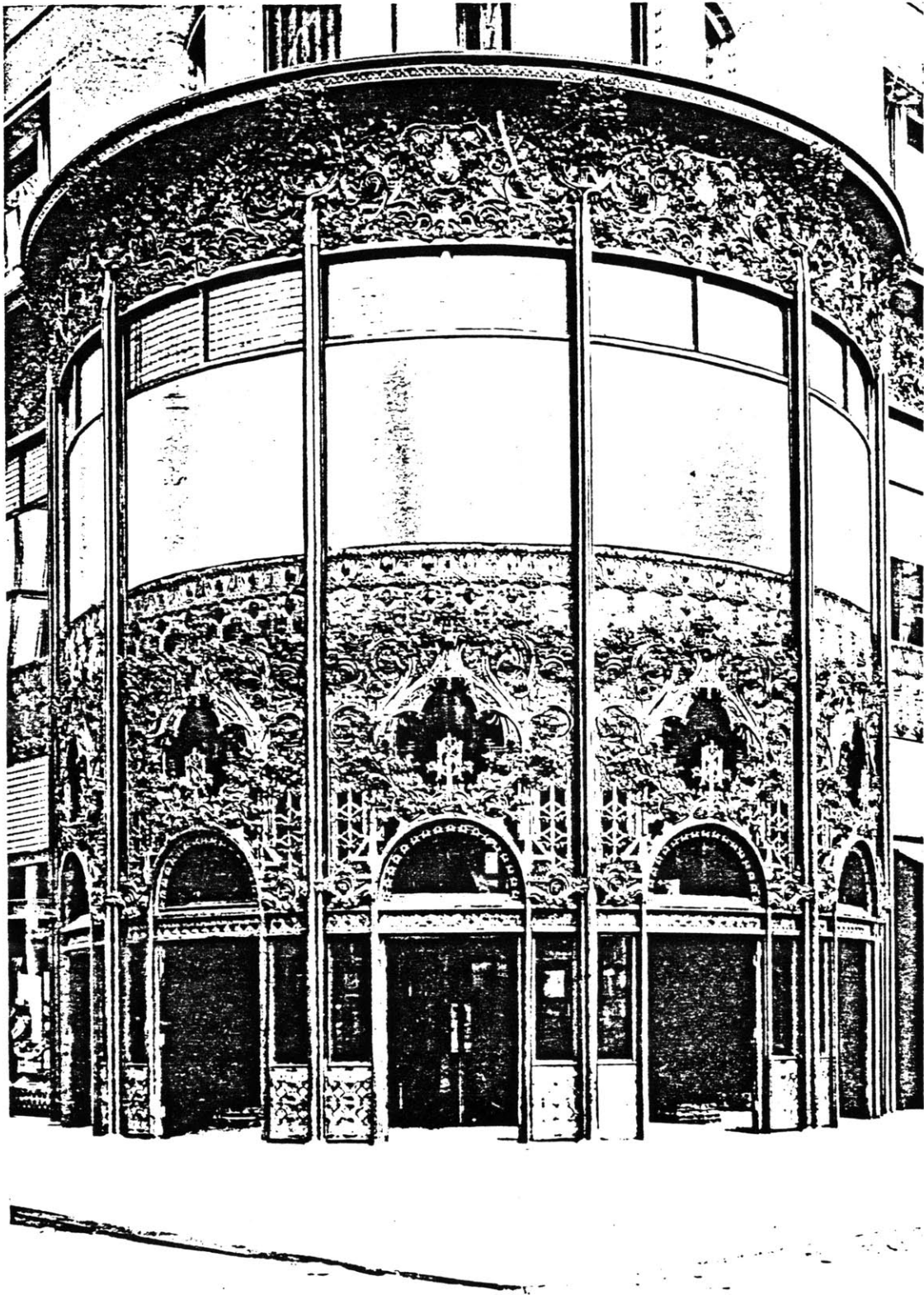
Fig.V-27







Cast-iron spandrel, Schlesinger & Mayer Building, Chicago, Ill.
Louis Sullivan, architect. 1899.

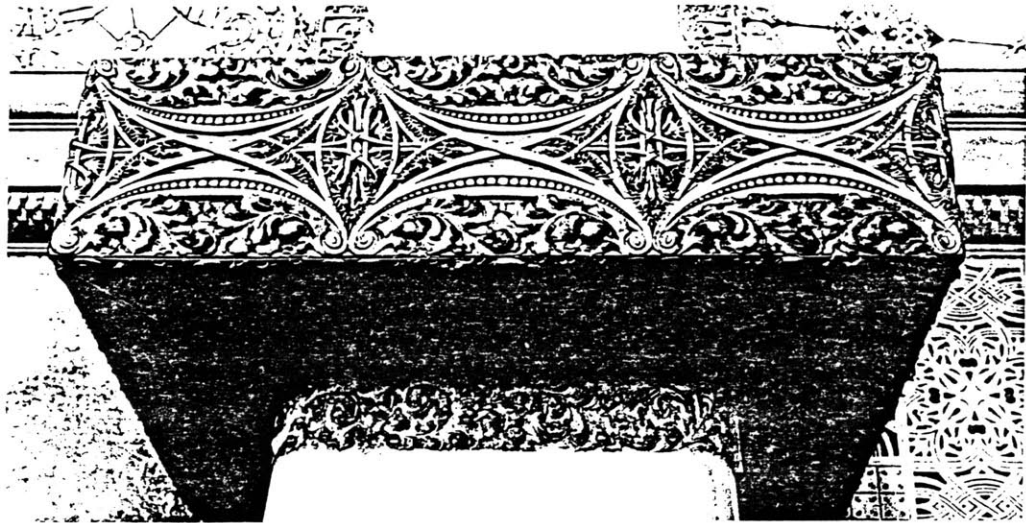


Detail of Cast-Iron Corner Entrance
STORE OF CARSON PIRIE SCOTT & CO.
CHICAGO

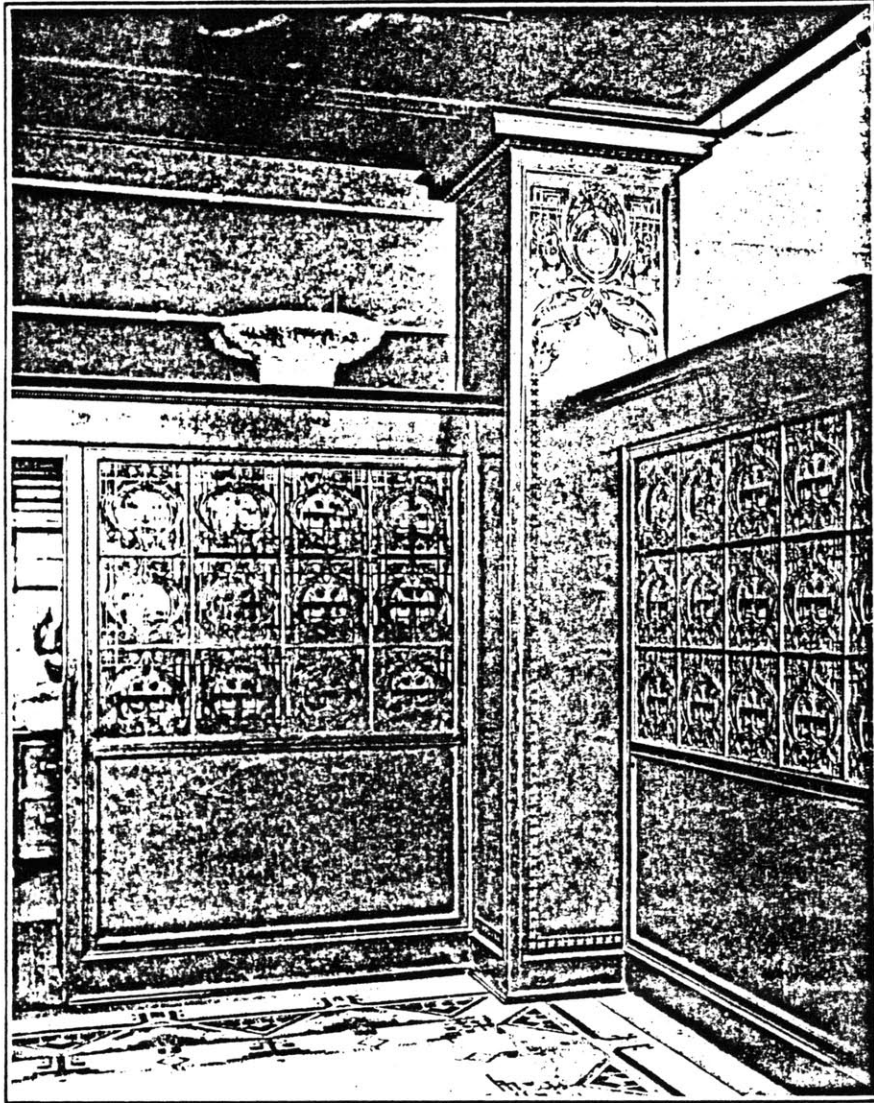
1001

LOUIS H. SULLIVAN
Architect

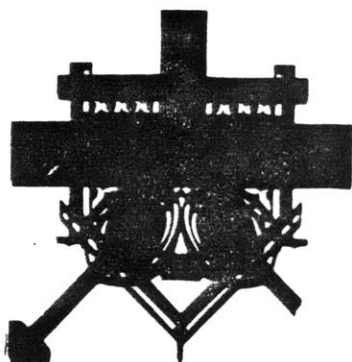
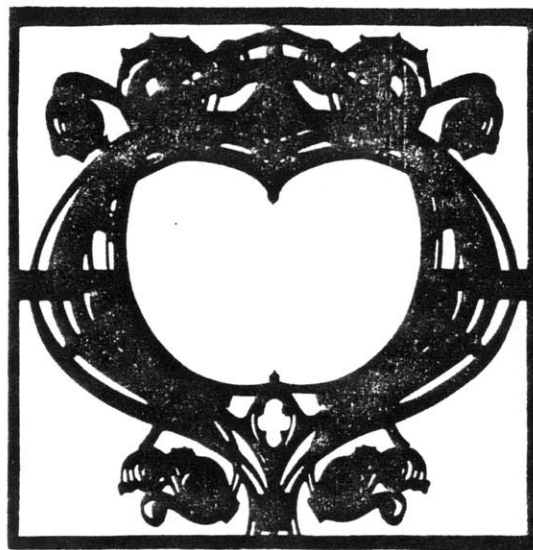
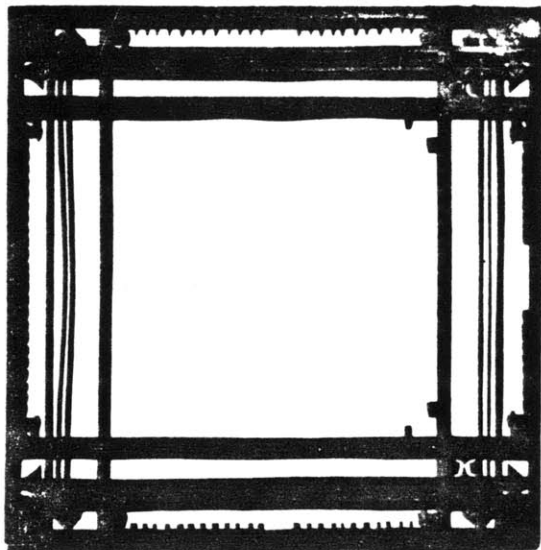
Fig.V-31



Capital of carved wood, Banquet Hall, Auditorium Building, Chicago, Ill.
Adler & Sullivan, architects. 1890.

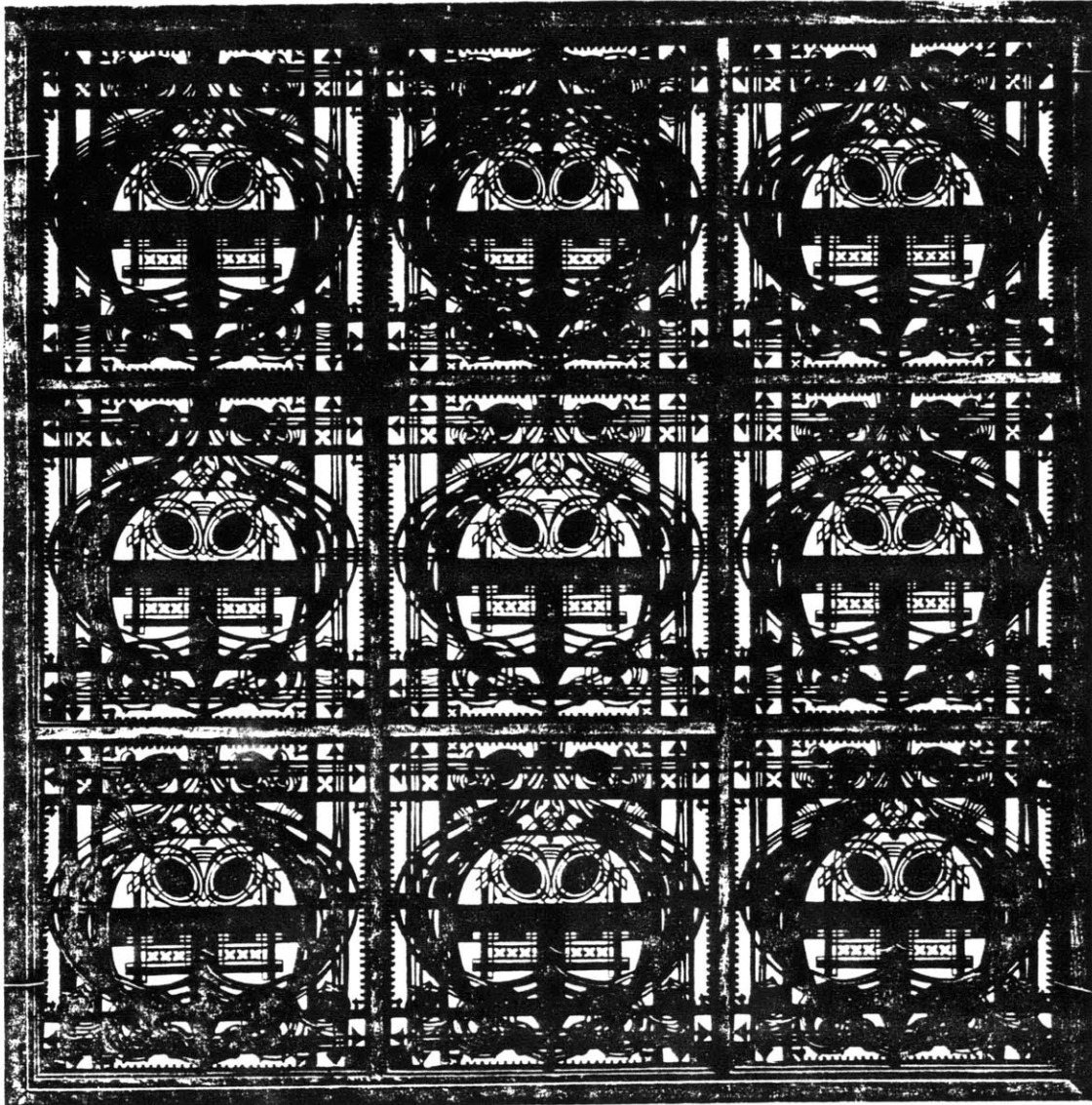


Detail of the Wood-Work.
THE SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING.



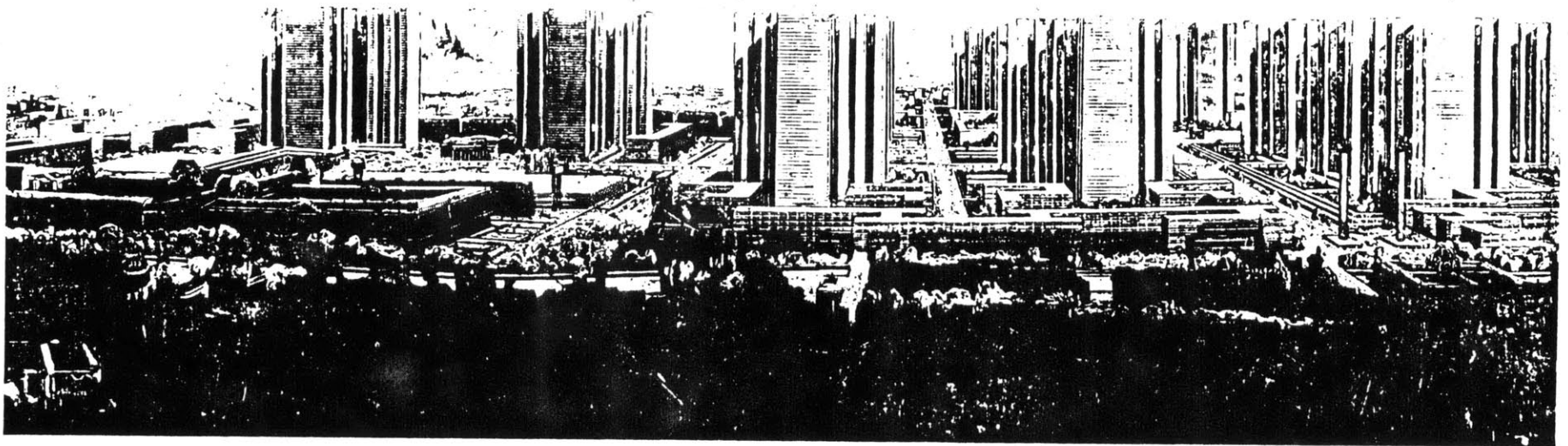
Richard Nickel

Three Patterns Used in the Screen.



Richard Nickel

Section of Reassembled Screen.



Diorama du Plan « Voisin » de Paris. A gauche le Louvre, au fond le Sacré-cœur

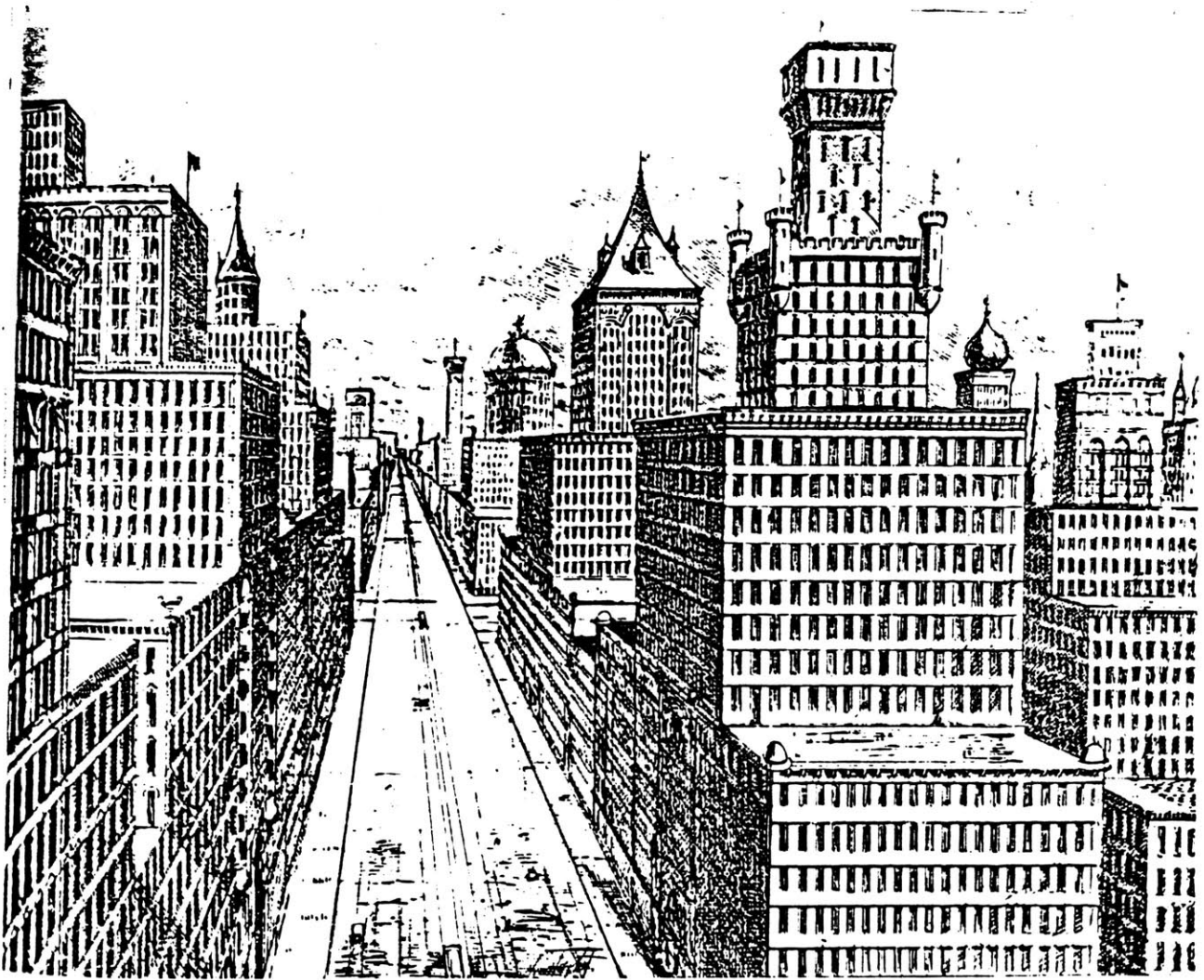
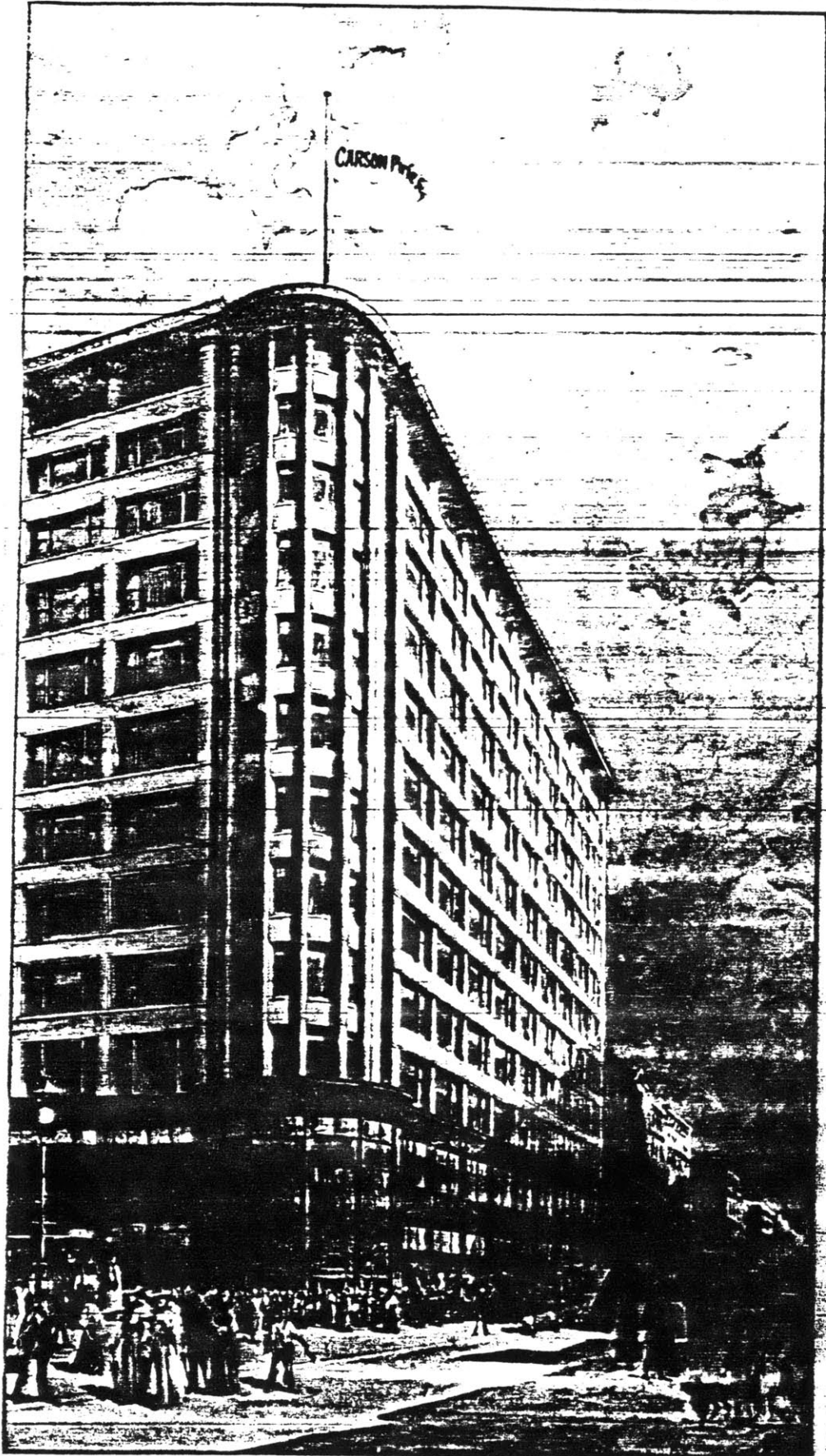


Fig. 5. Sullivan, setback skyscraper city concept, 1891 (from *The Graphic*, courtesy the Chicago Historical Society).

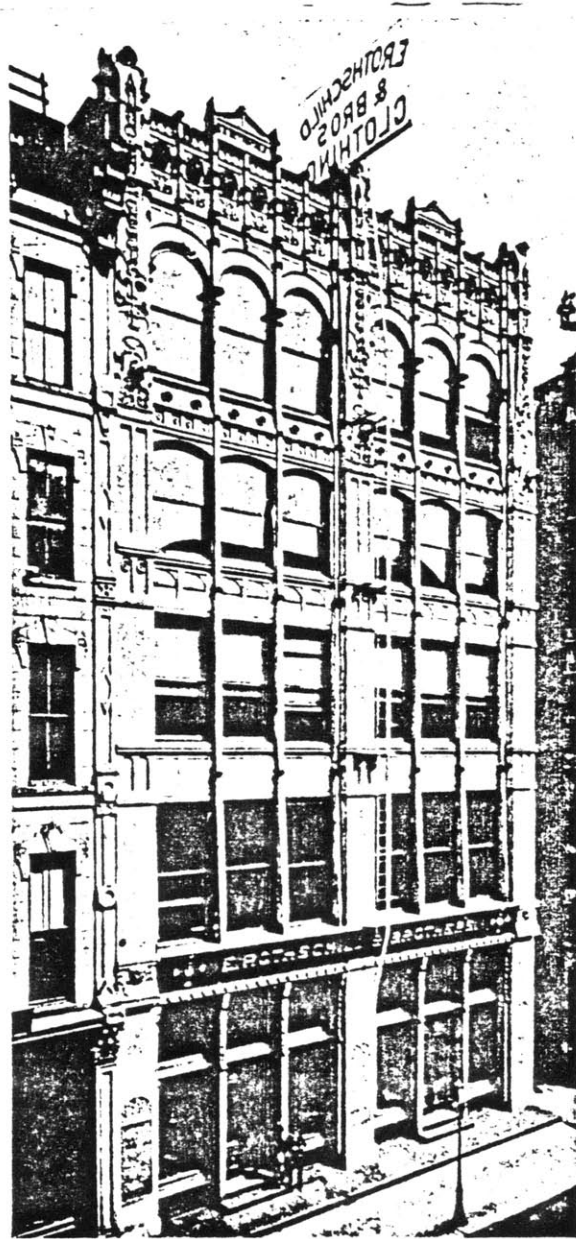


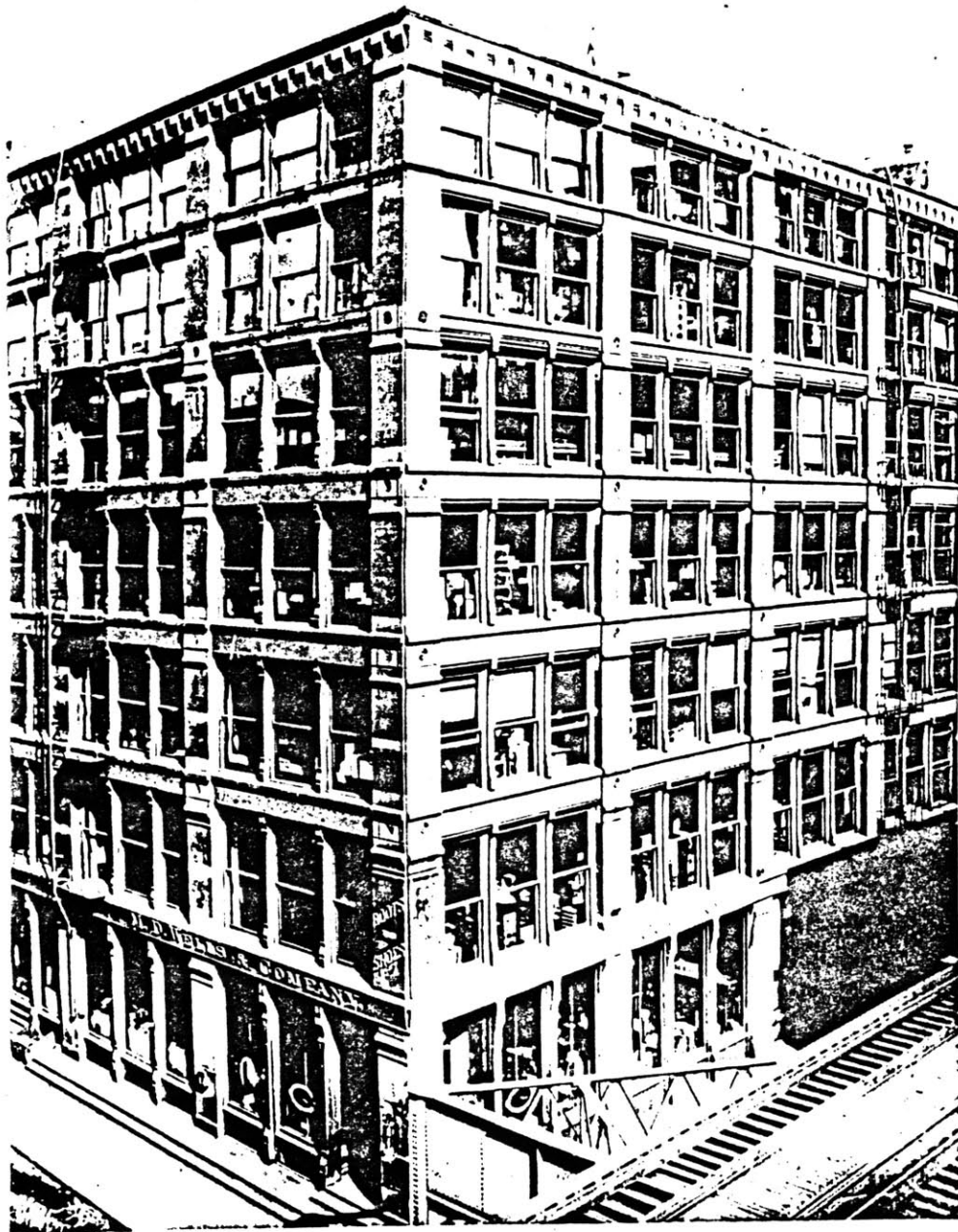


61902
TERRA COTTA FRONT FURNISHED BY
THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRA COTTA COMPANY,
CHICAGO.

GENERAL VIEW, SCHLESINGER & MAYER BUILDING, CHICAGO.
LOUIS H. SULLIVAN, ARCHITECT.

FIG. V-38





FIRST LETTER BUILDING, 1879 WILLIAM LE BARON JENNEY

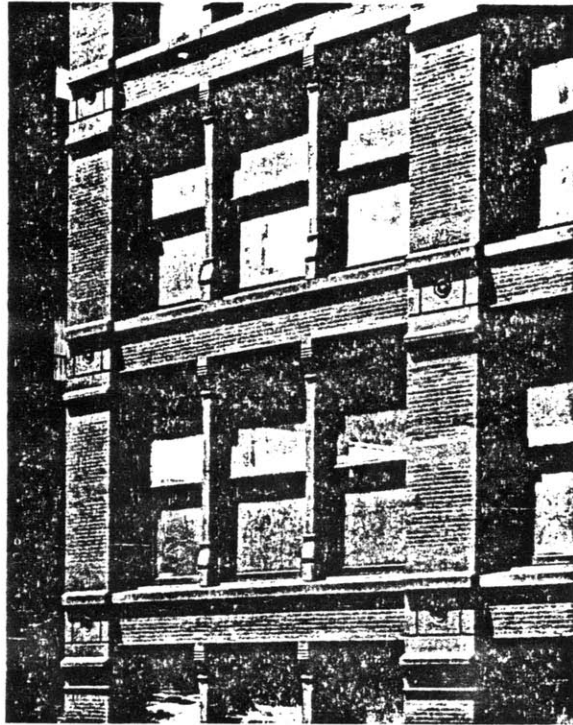
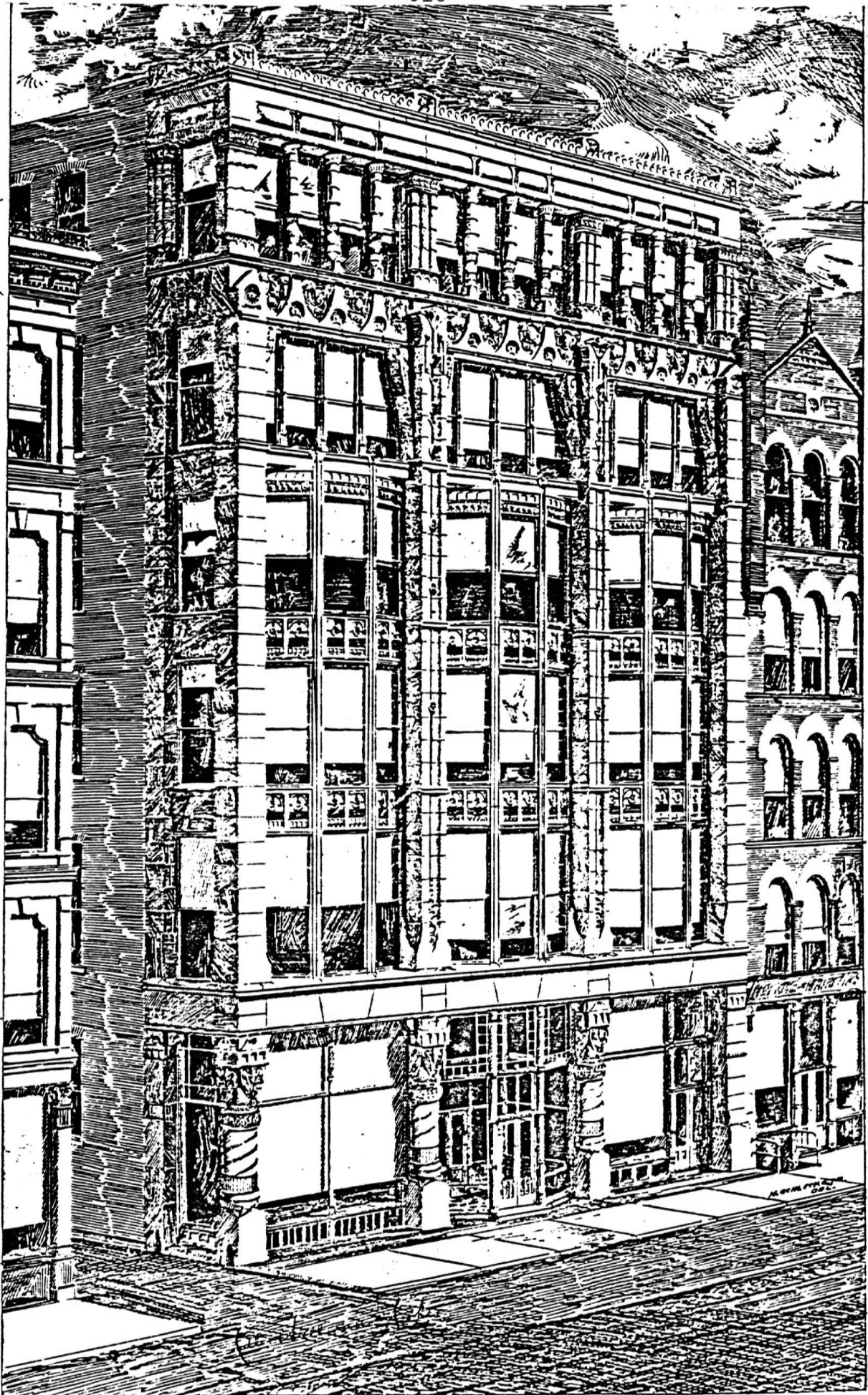


Fig. VI-4



BUILDING FOR MR MARTIN RYERSON NOS. 45 47 49 RANDOLPH ST.

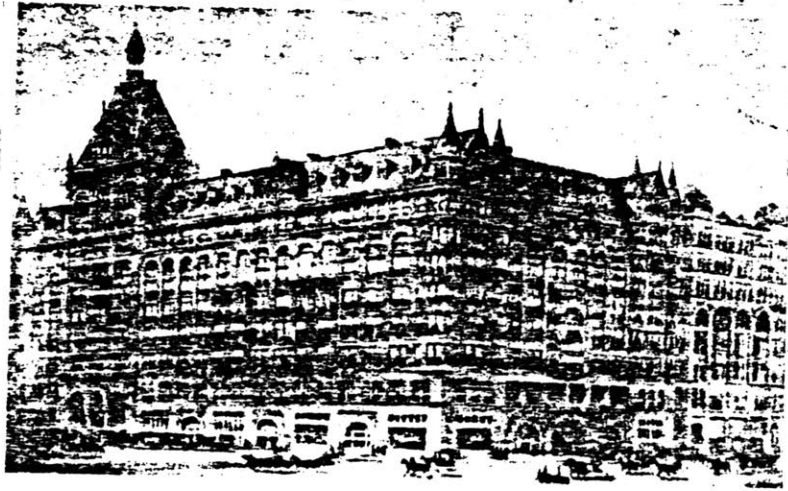


CONGRESS STREET.

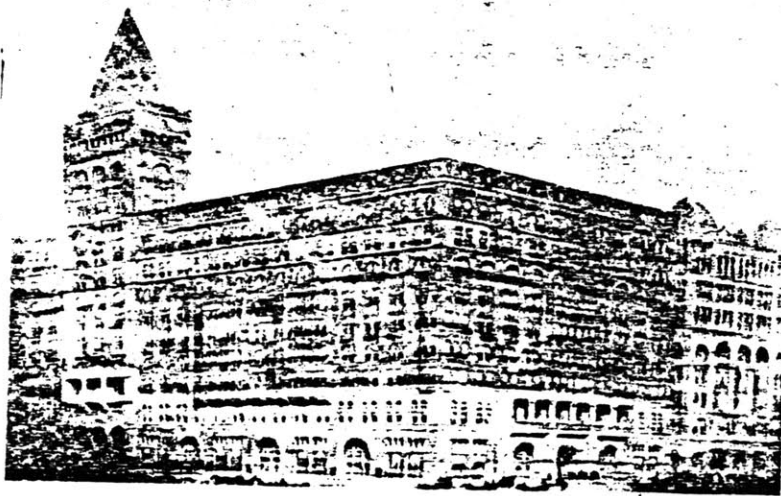
AUDITORIUM HOTEL.

RICHMOND AVENUE.

FIG. VI-5



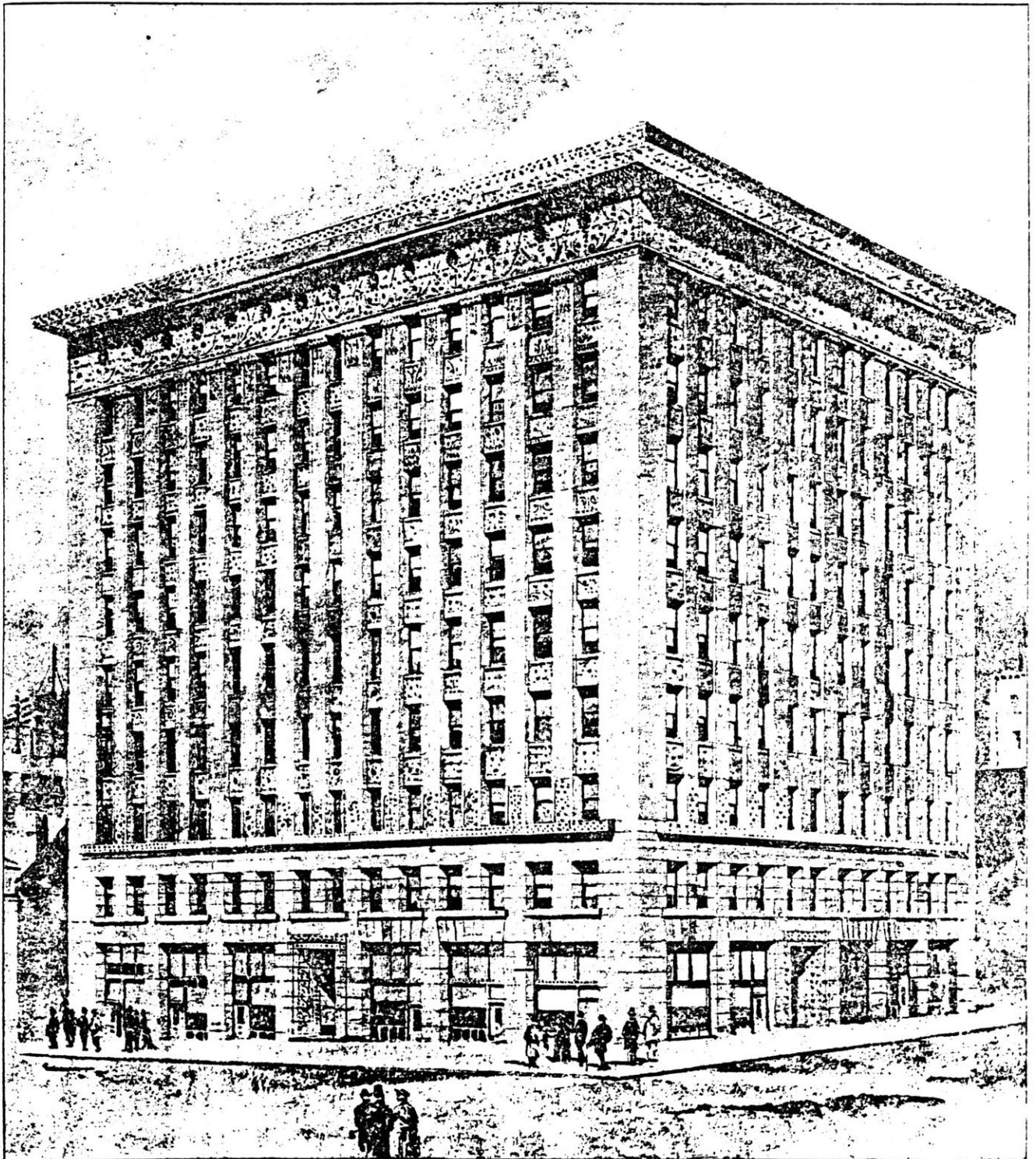
Auditorium. Chicago. Preliminary design. 1886. (Fuermann)



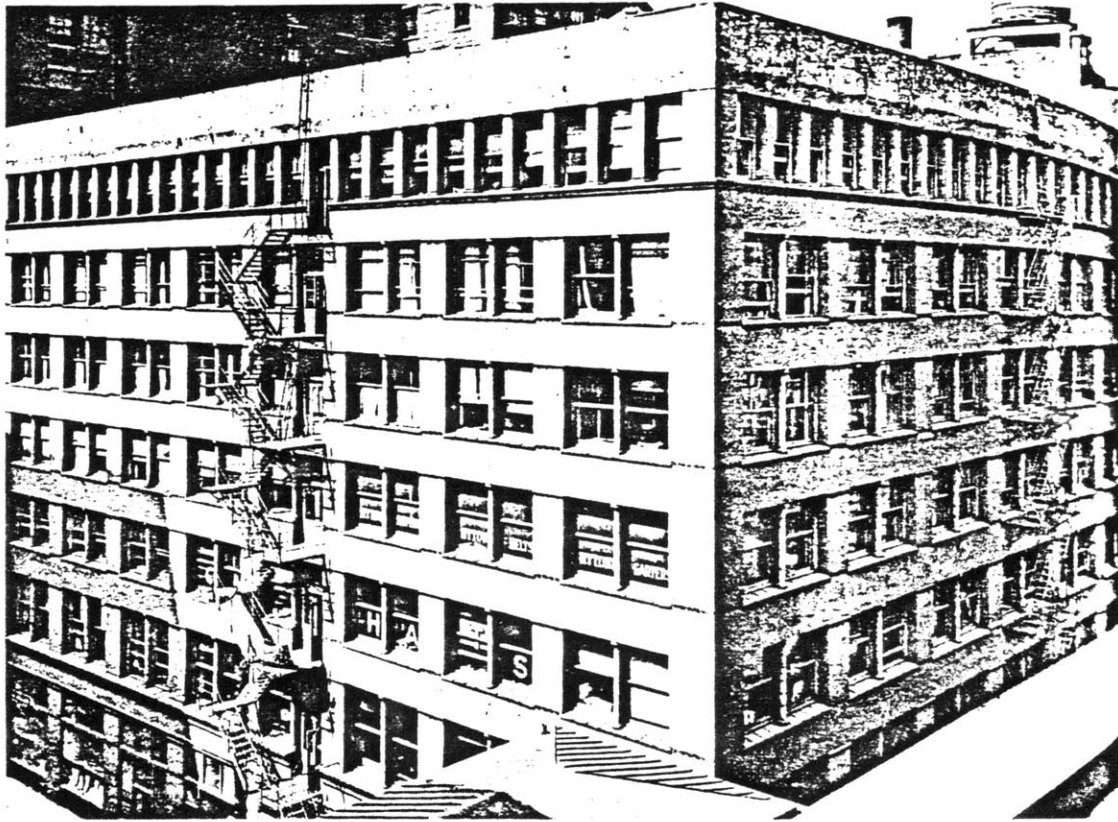
Auditorium. Chicago. Preliminary design. 1886. (Fuermann)



Mills Building, northeast corner of Montgomery and Bush, San Francisco,



WAINWRIGHT BUILDING. ADLER & SULLIVAN, ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTS.
CHAS. K. RAMSEY,



MEYER BUILDING, 1893 ADLER AND SULLIVAN

*View of the building from the street
The building is a four-story structure with a classical facade.*

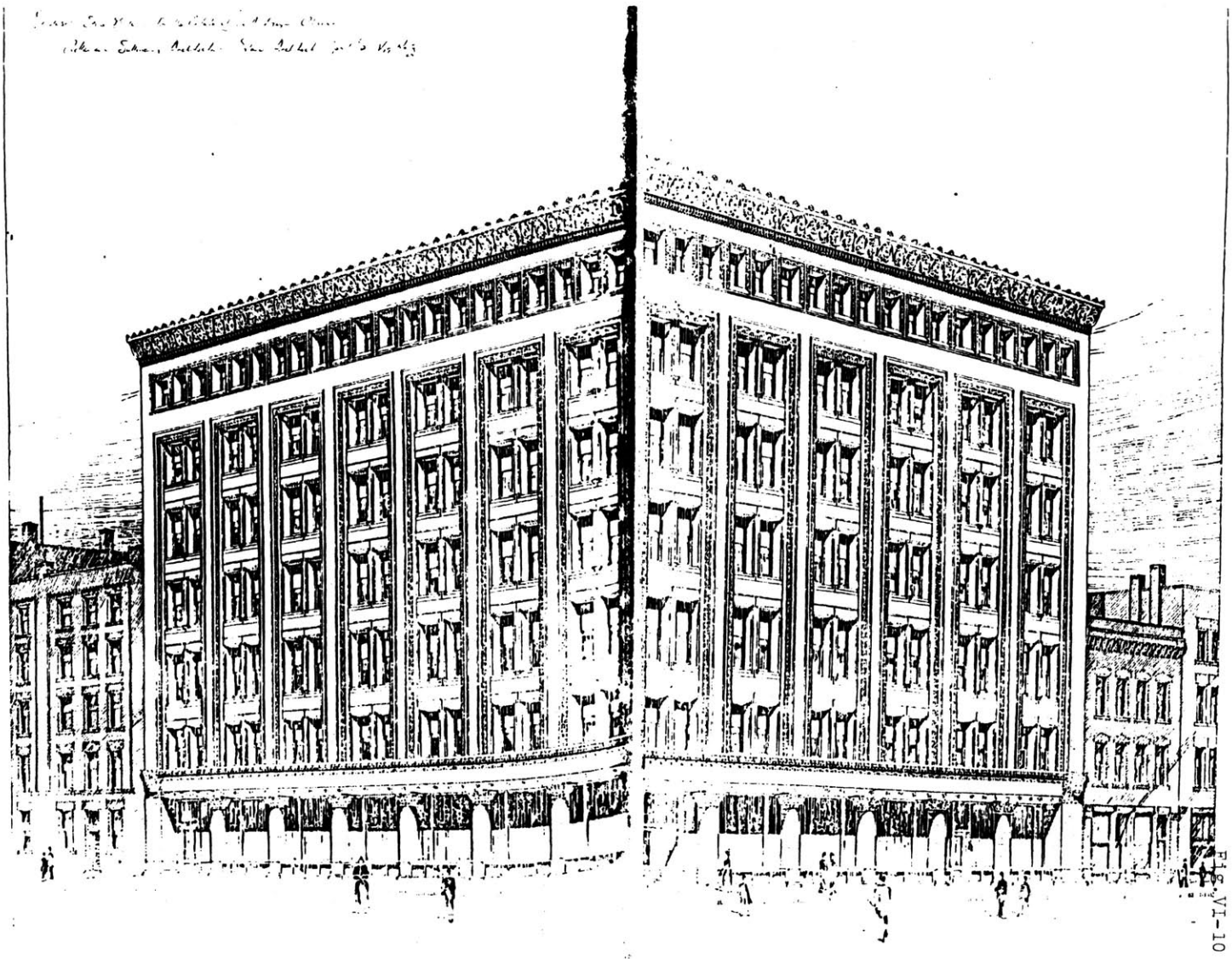
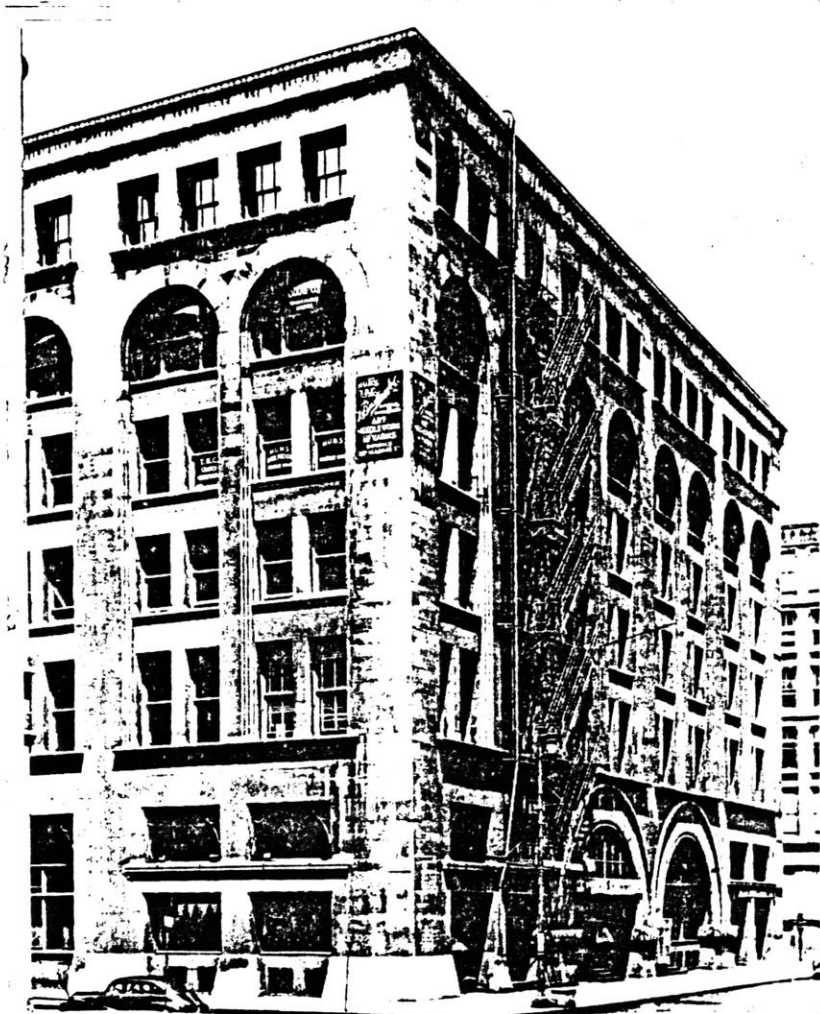


FIG. VI-10

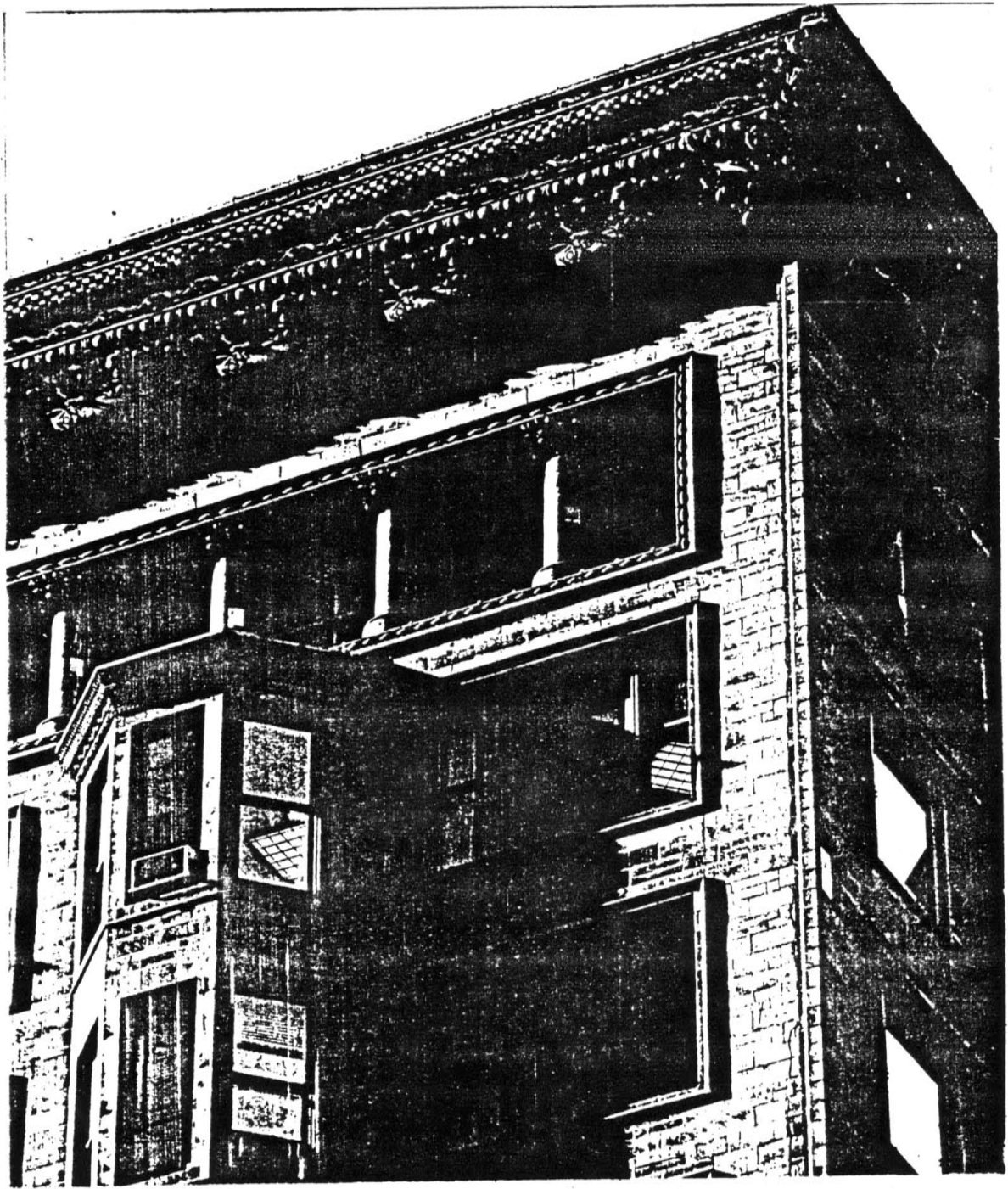


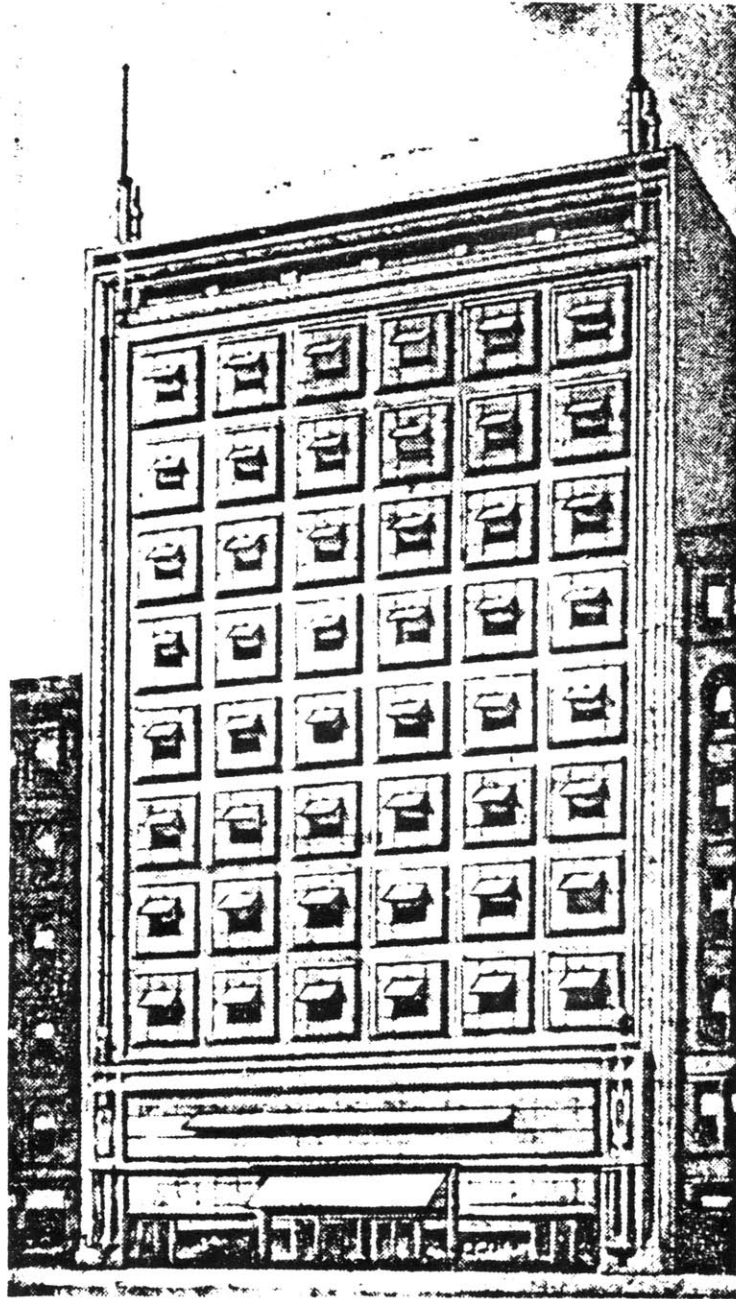
Walker Warehouse, 200-214 South Market Street, Chicago. 1888-89. Demolished in 1953.

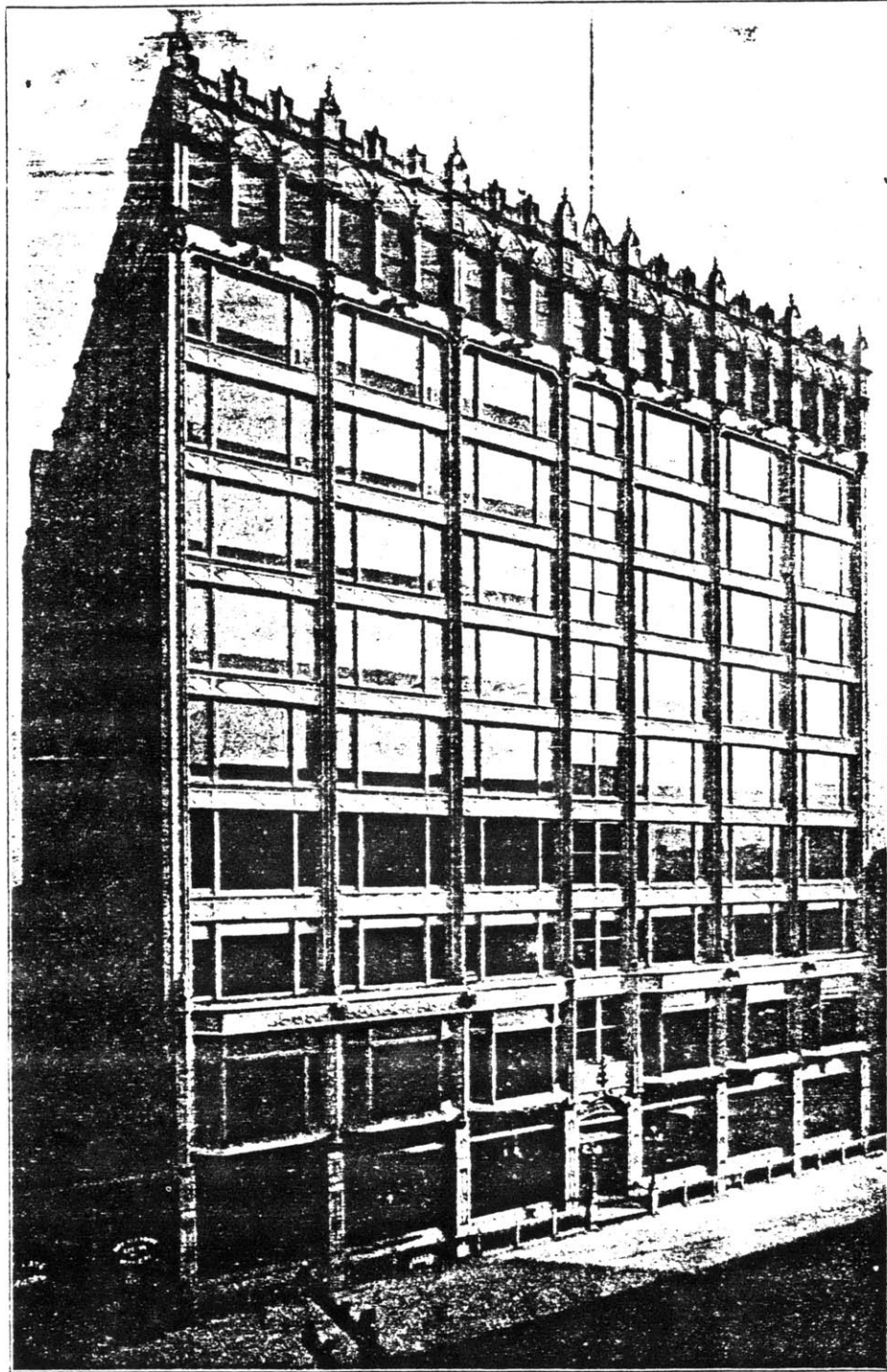




ASHLAND BLOCK, 1891-92 BURNHAM AND ROOT







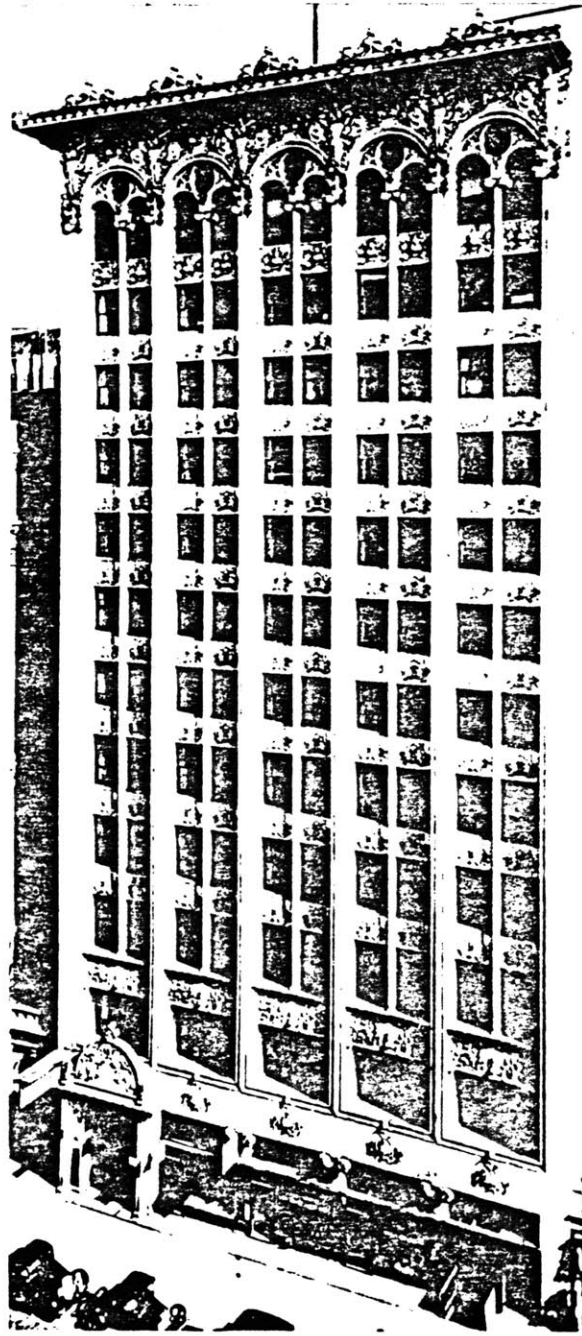
Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

ILL. 88. — STUDEBAKER BUILDING.

S. S. Beman, Architect.

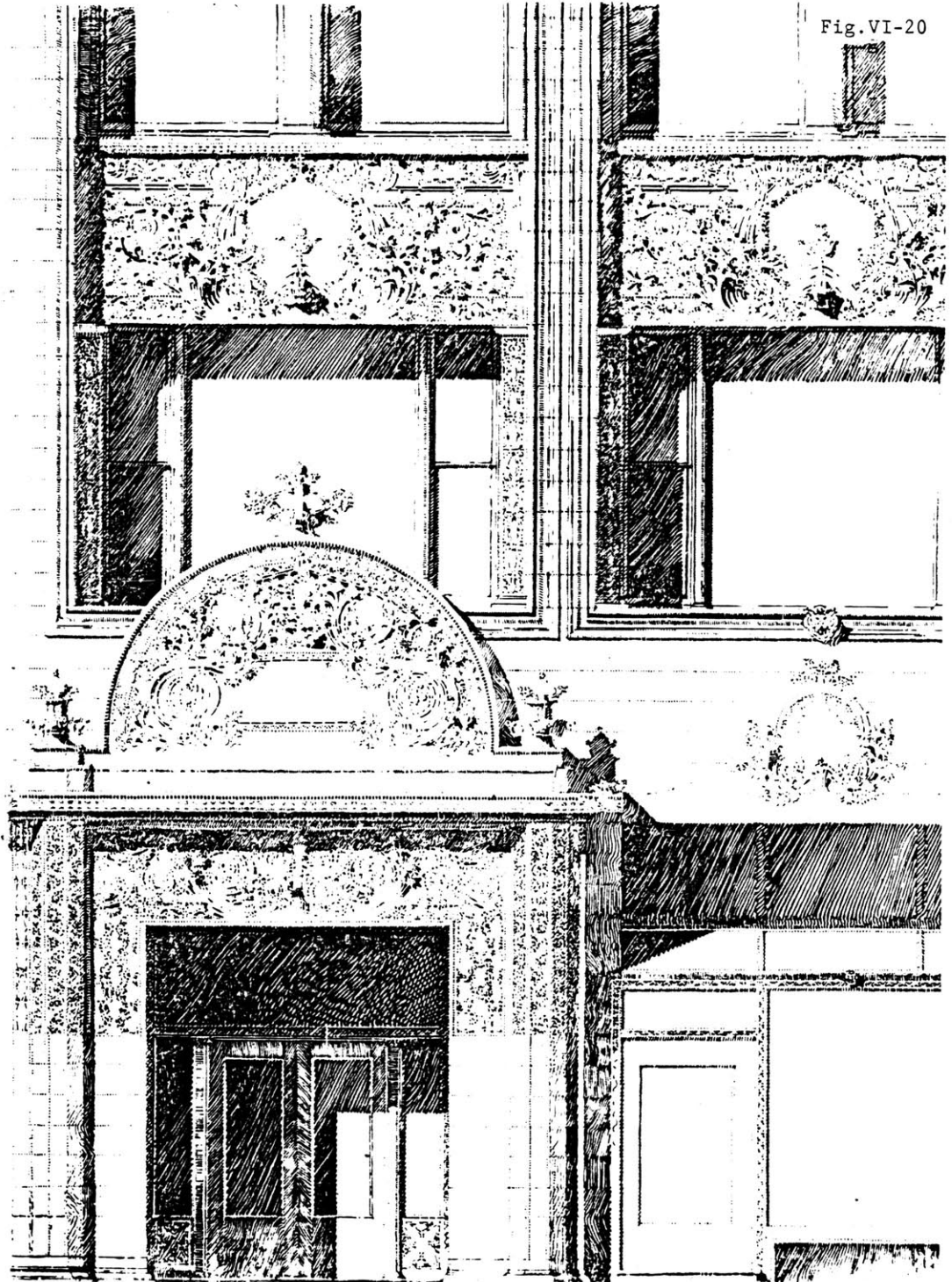


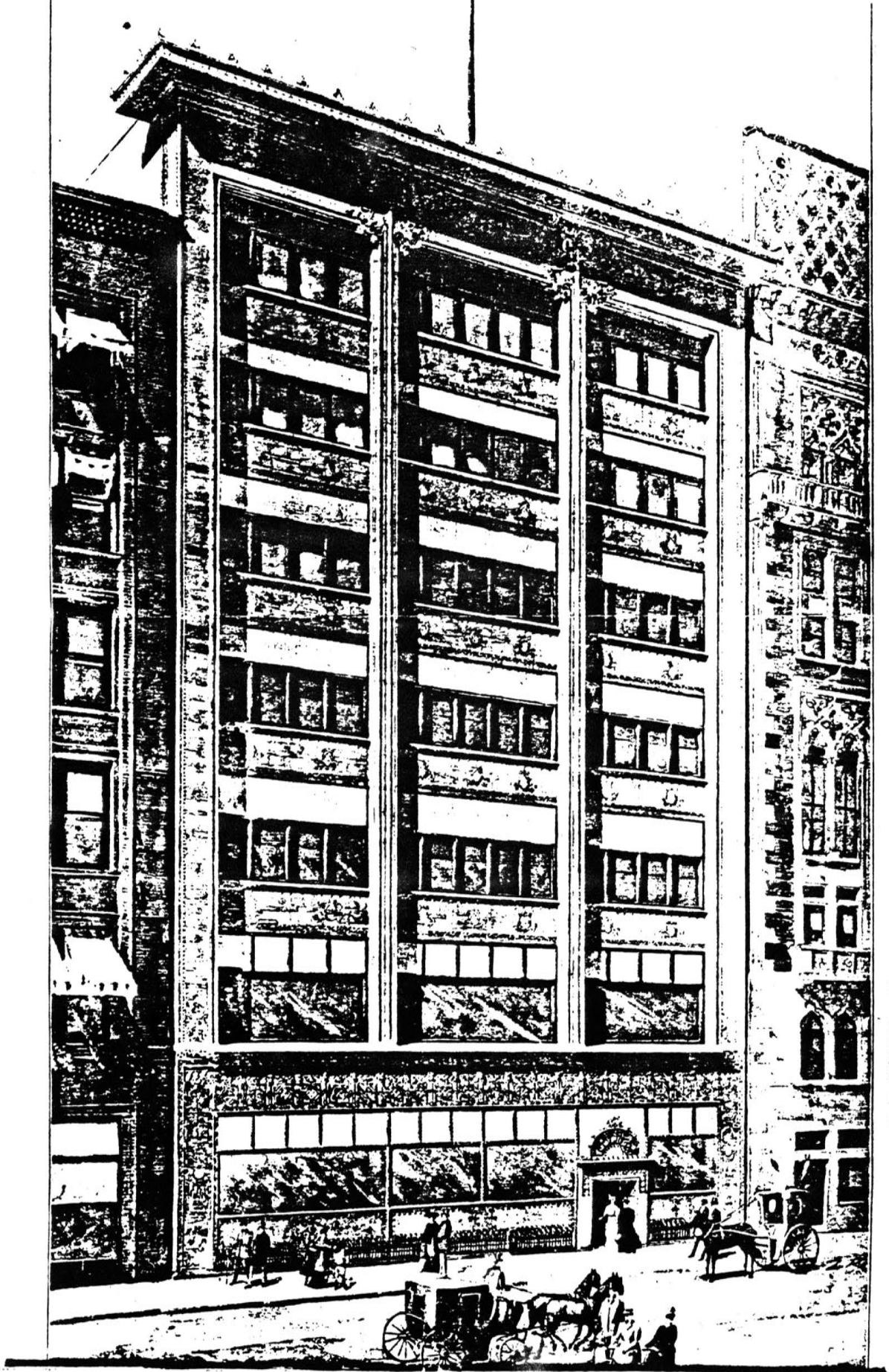
ILL. 89.—DETAIL STUDEBAKER BUILDING.

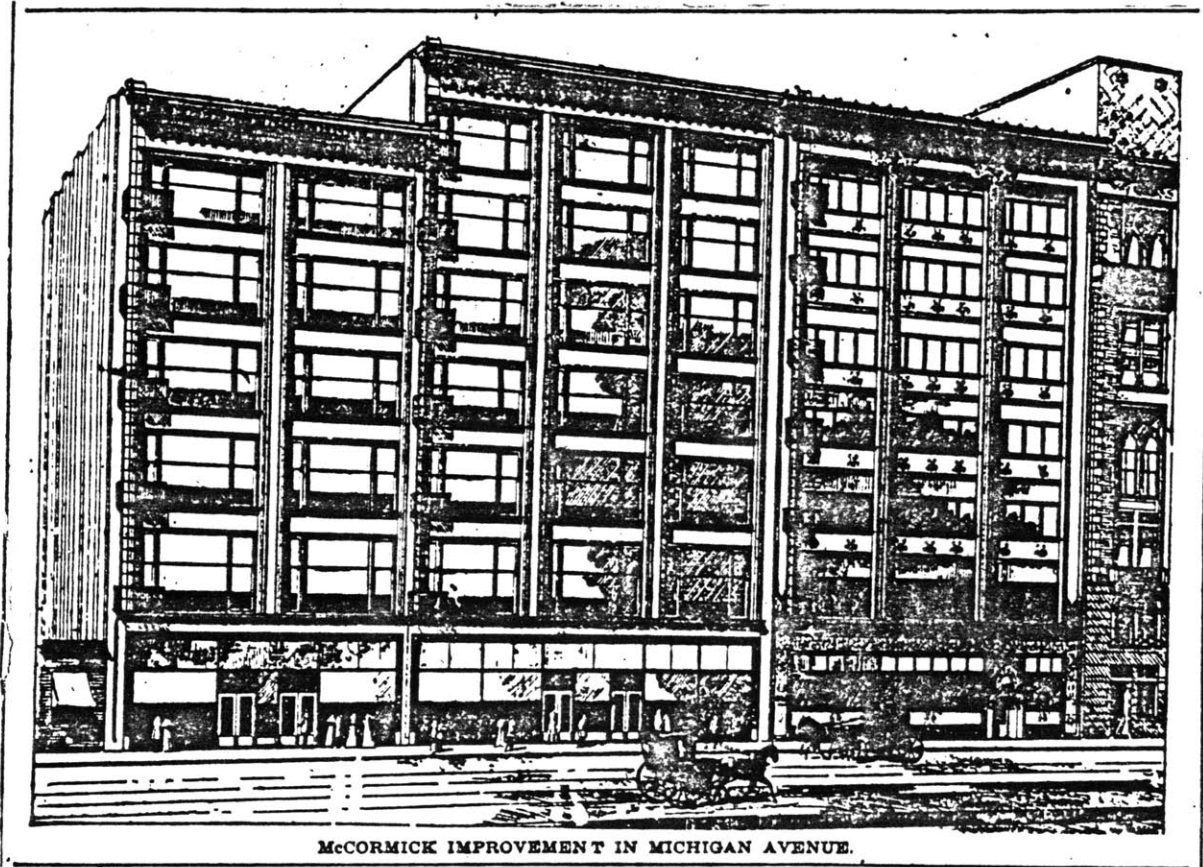


Bayard Building, New York, 1897-98

Fig. VI-20

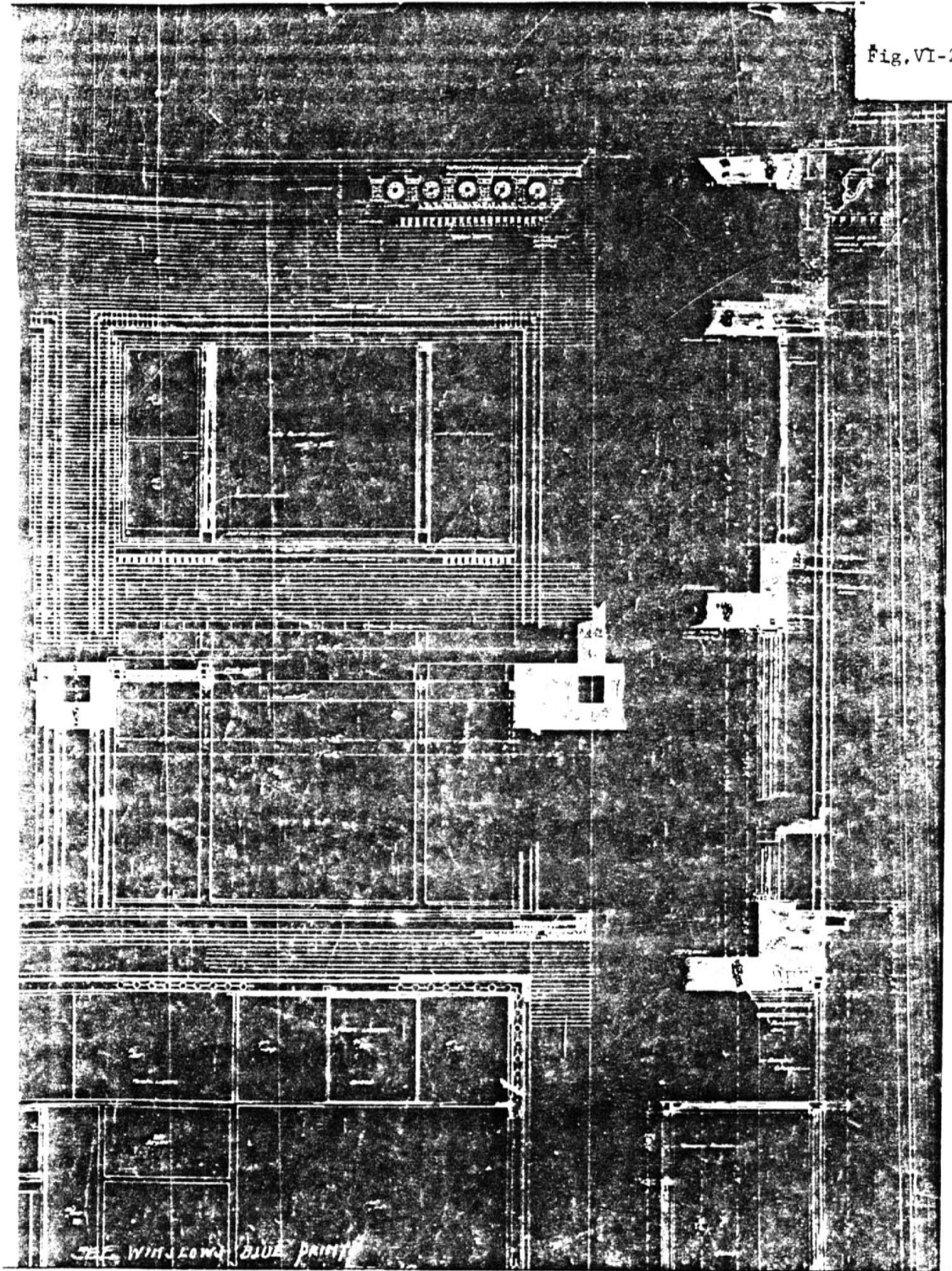


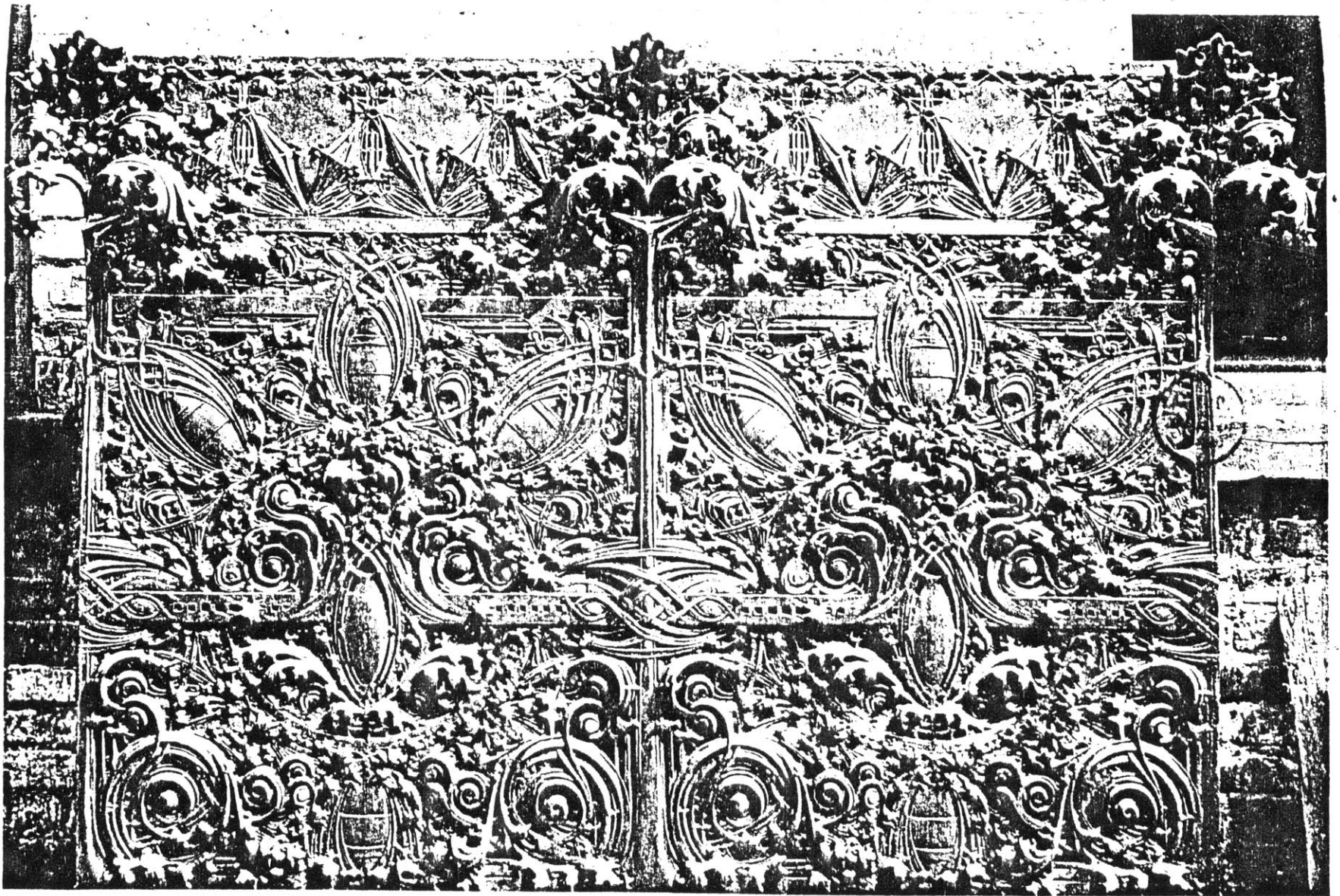




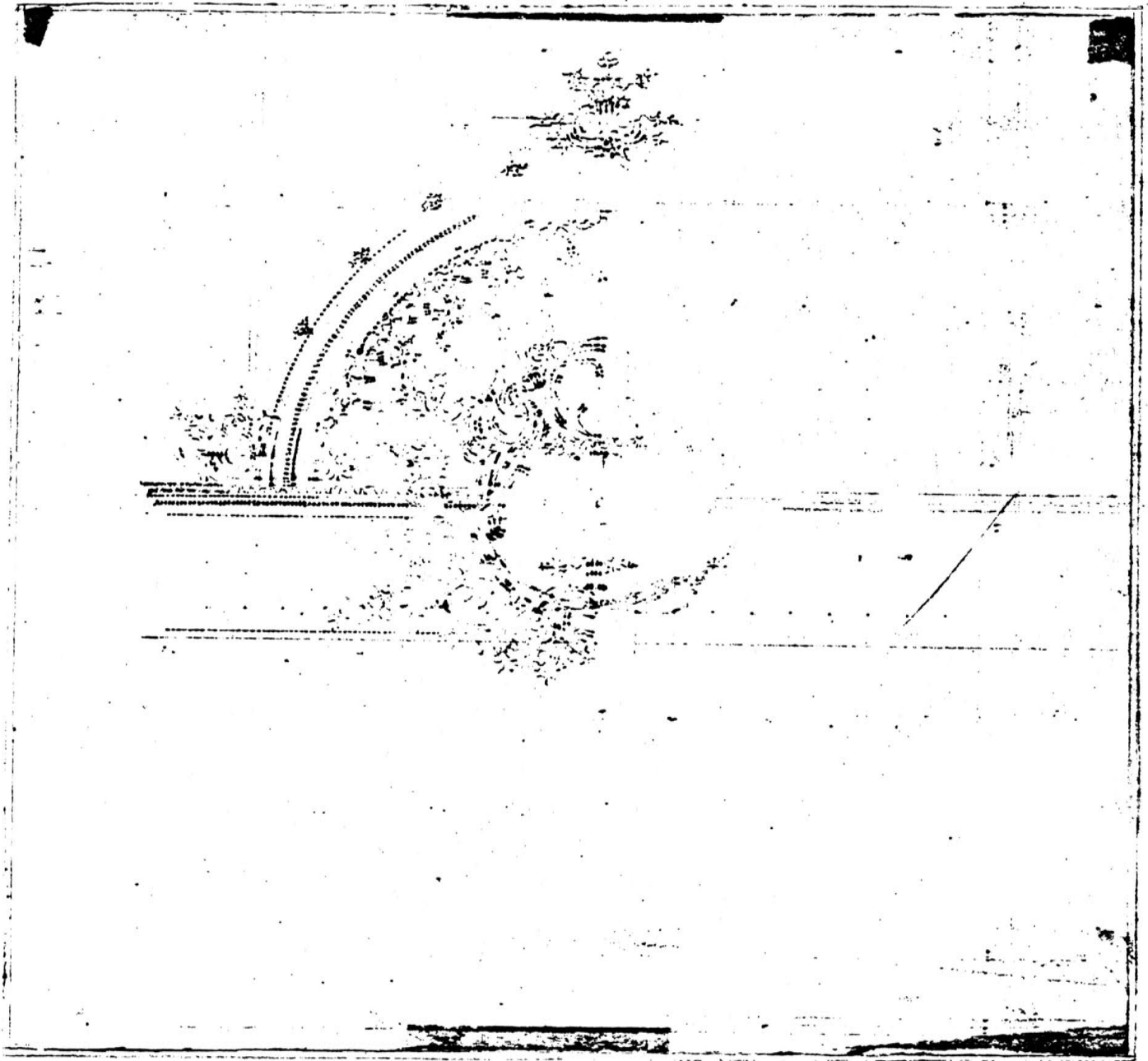
McCORMICK IMPROVEMENT IN MICHIGAN AVENUE.

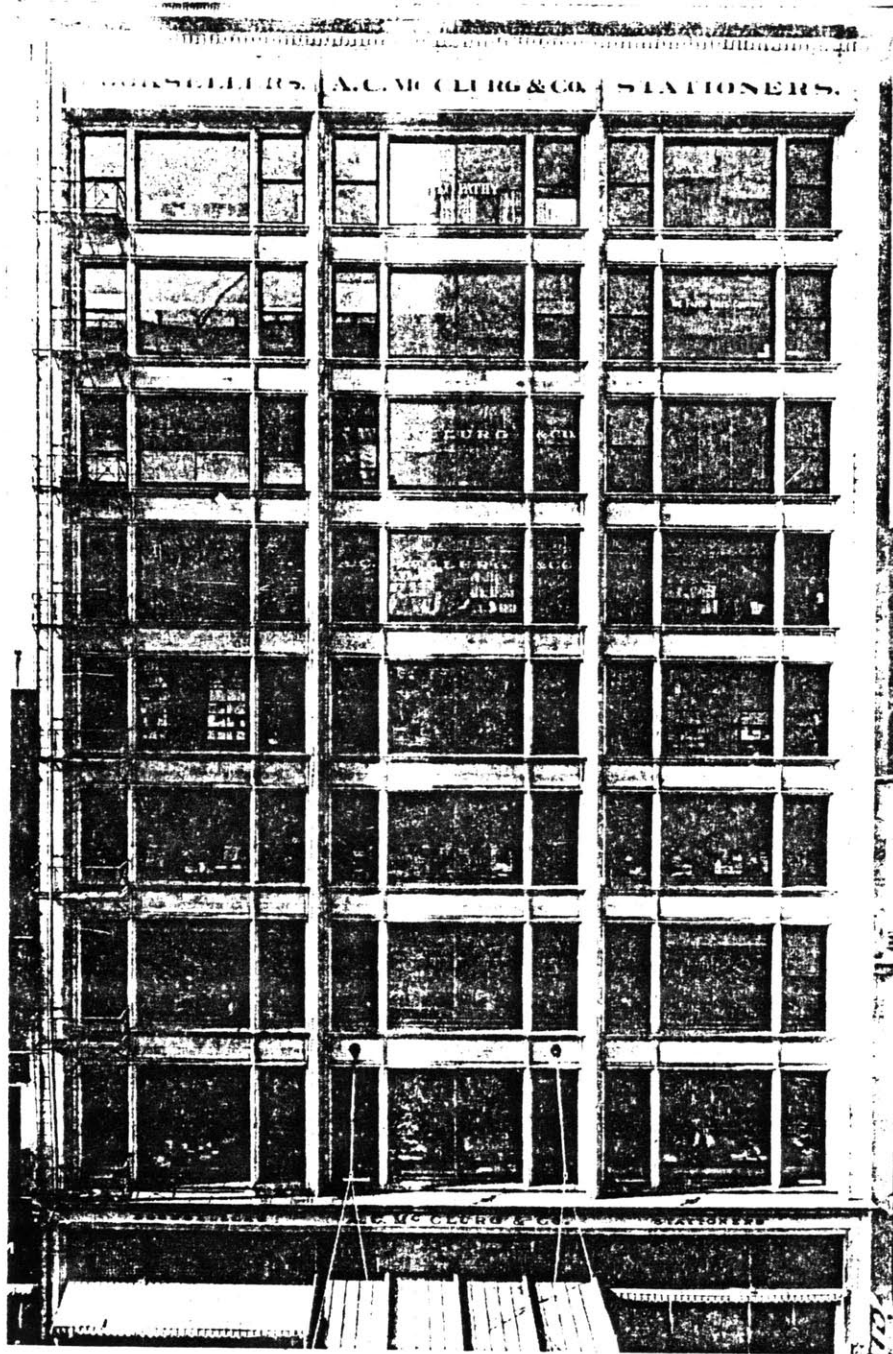
Fig. VI-23



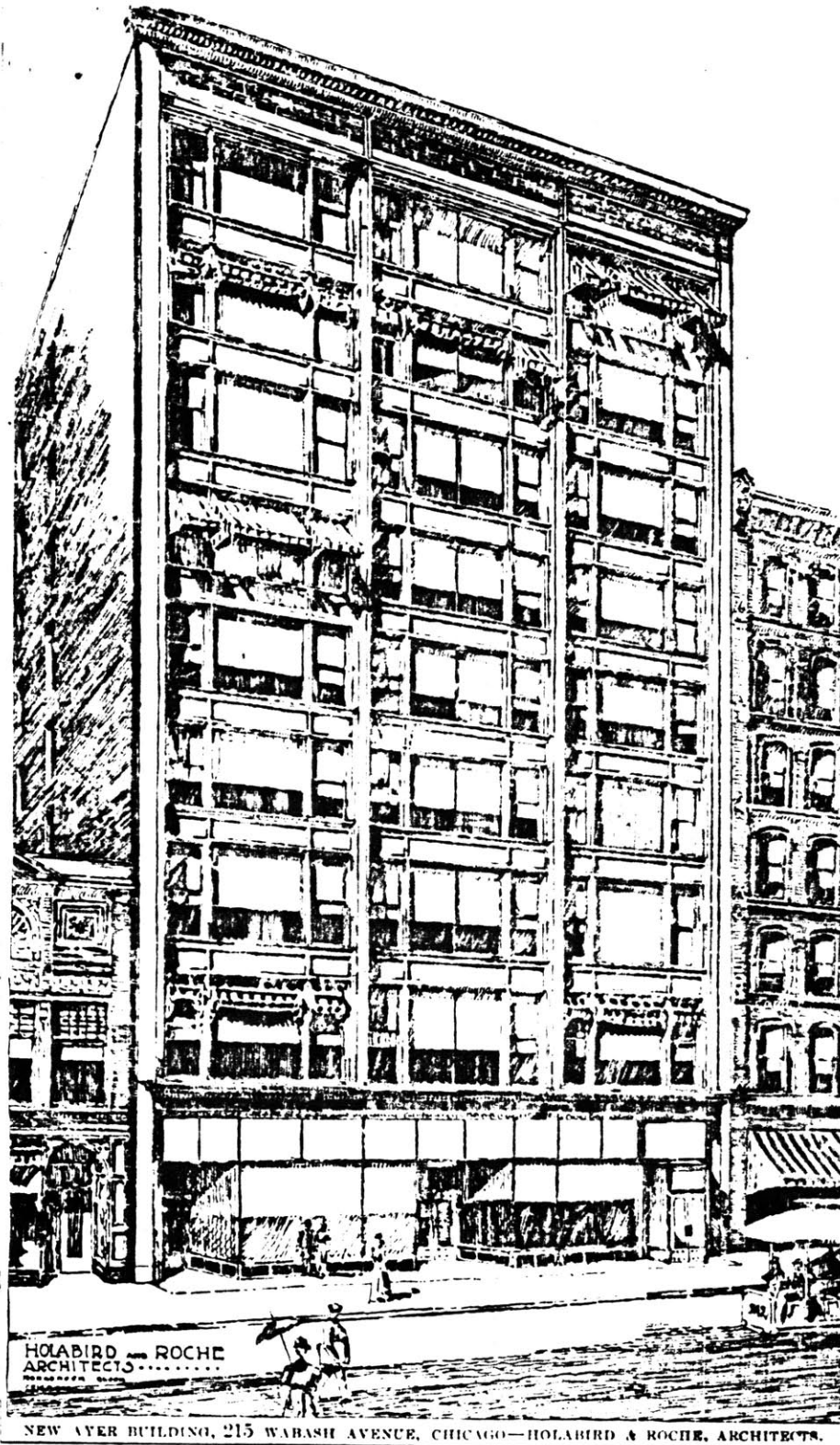


CLAY MODEL OF SOME OF MR. SULLIVAN'S ORNAMENT





McCLURG BUILDING, 1899-1900 HOLABIRD AND ROCHE





SCHLESINGER & MAYER'S NEW BUILDING.

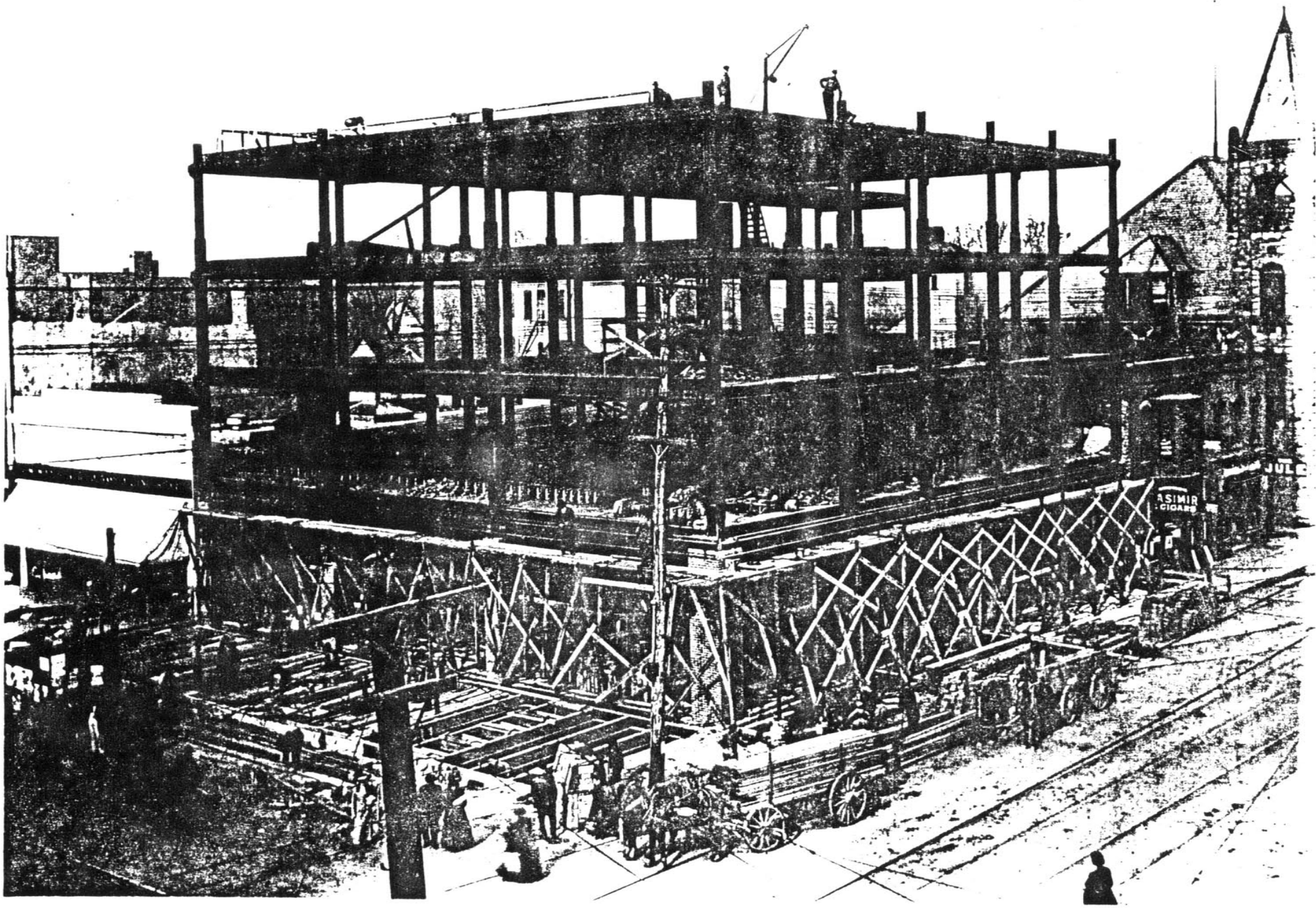
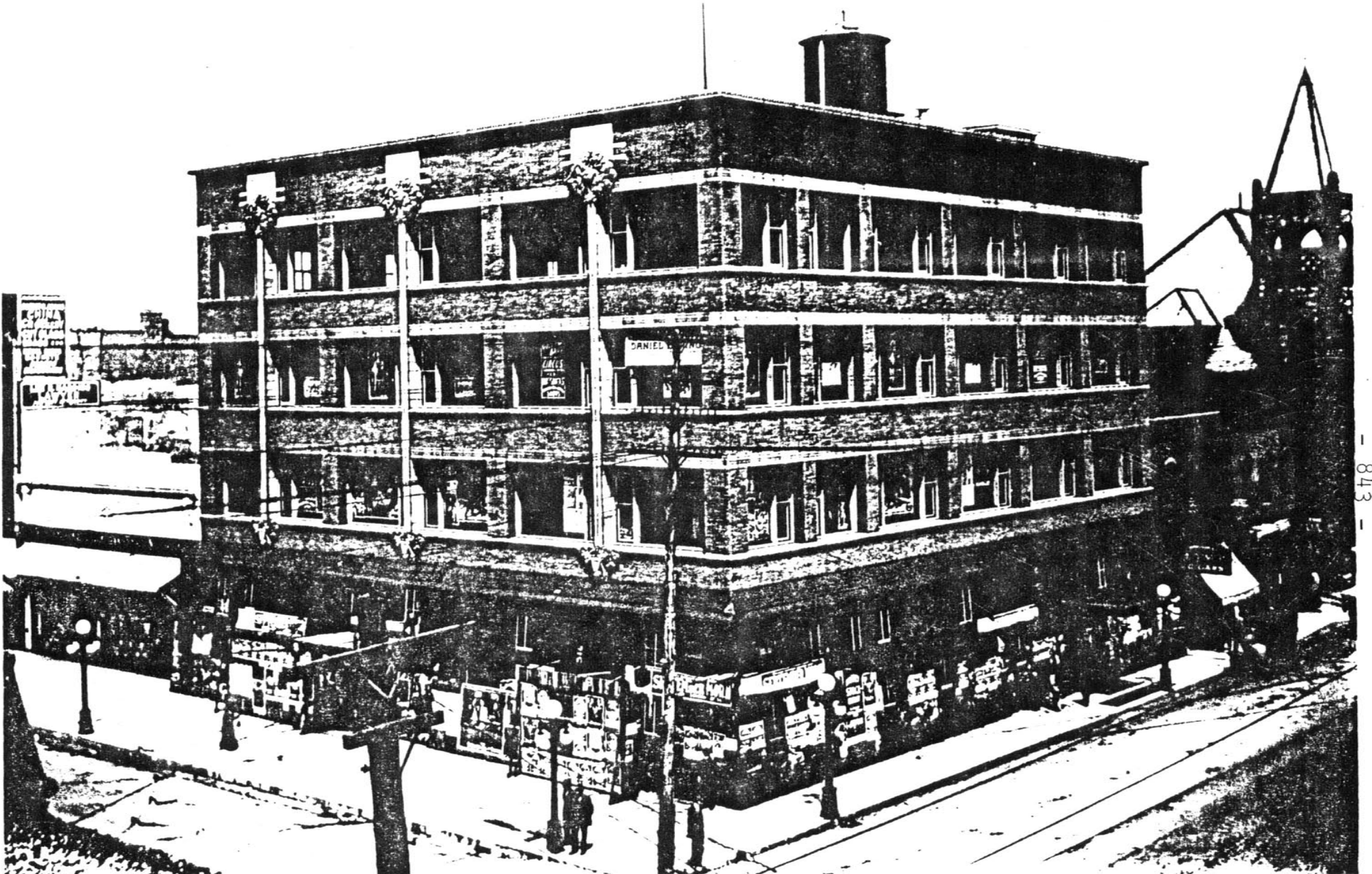


FIG. VI-30



843

FIG. VI-31

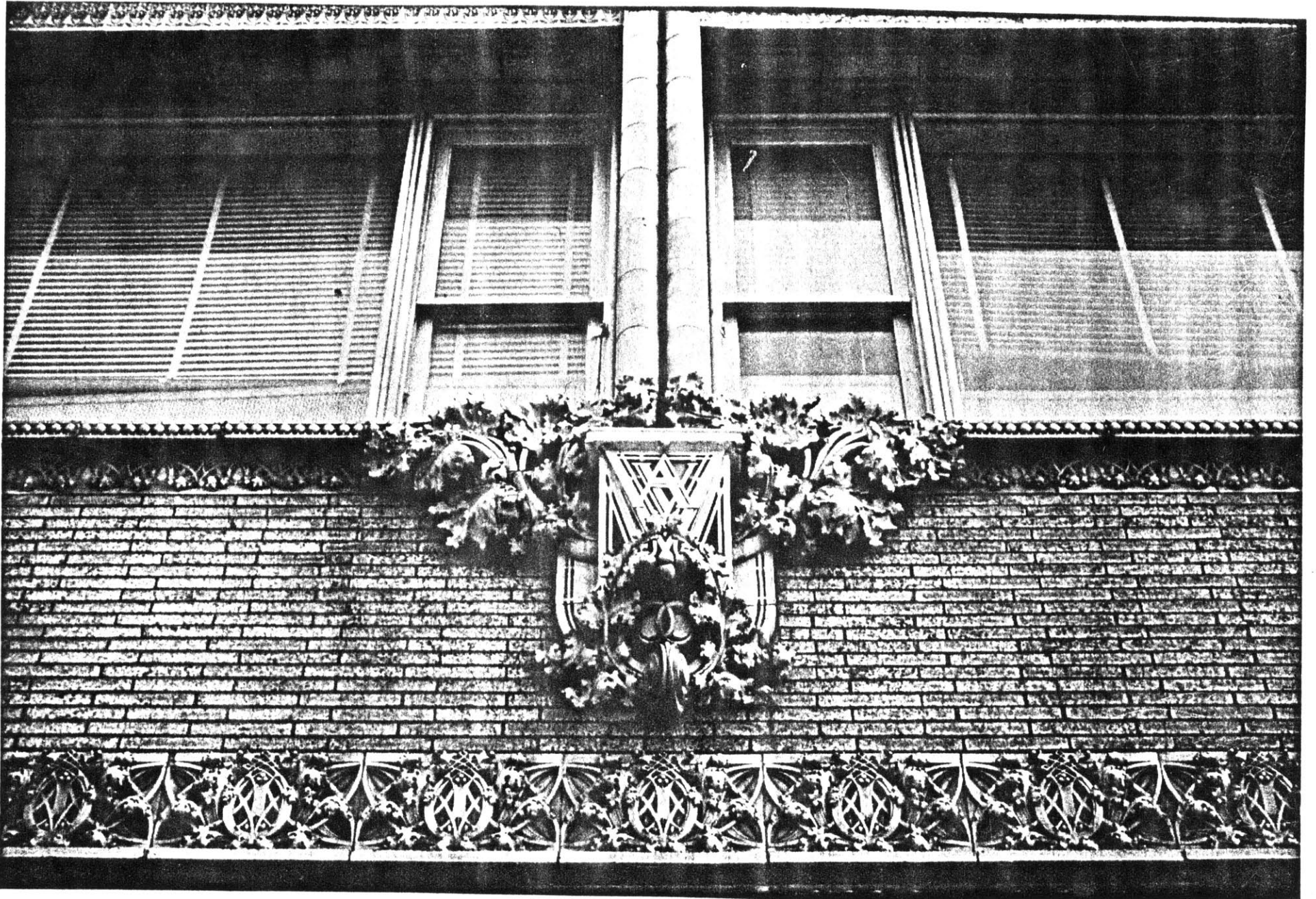


FIG. VI-32

