## Lilly Reich: designer and architect

Matilda McQuaid, with an essay by Magdalena Droste

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LILLY REICH

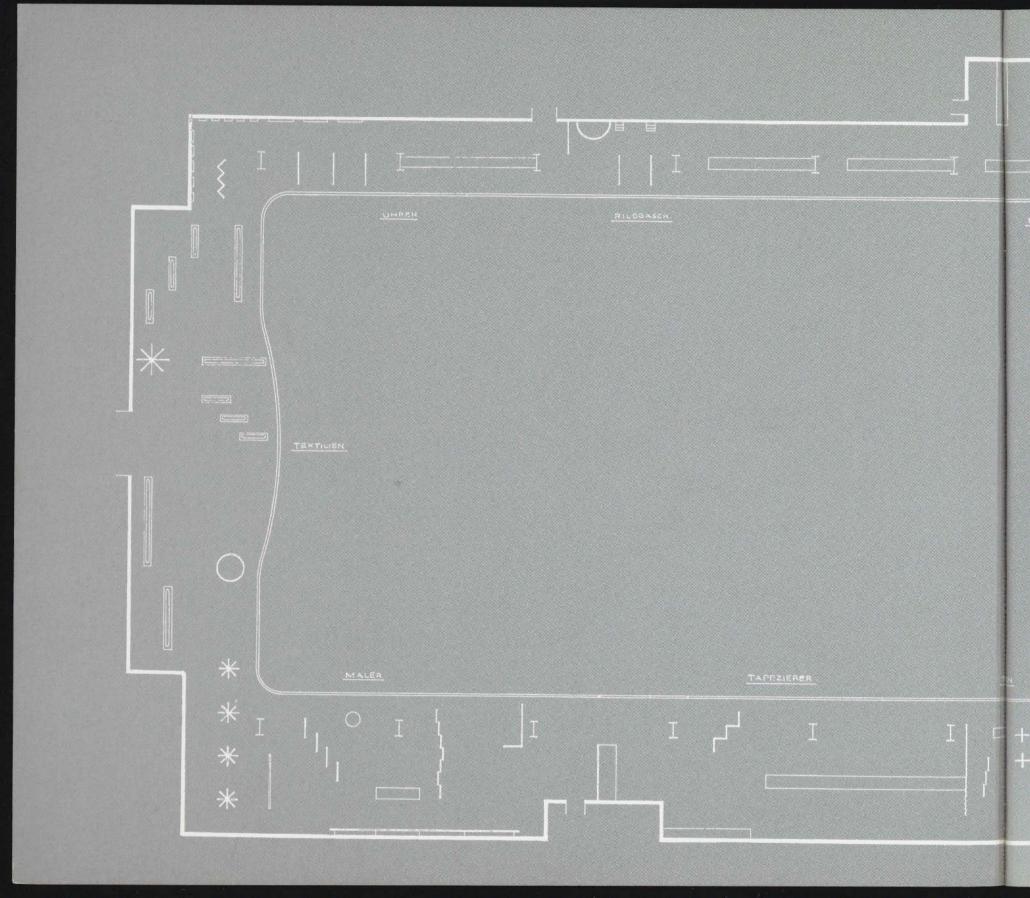
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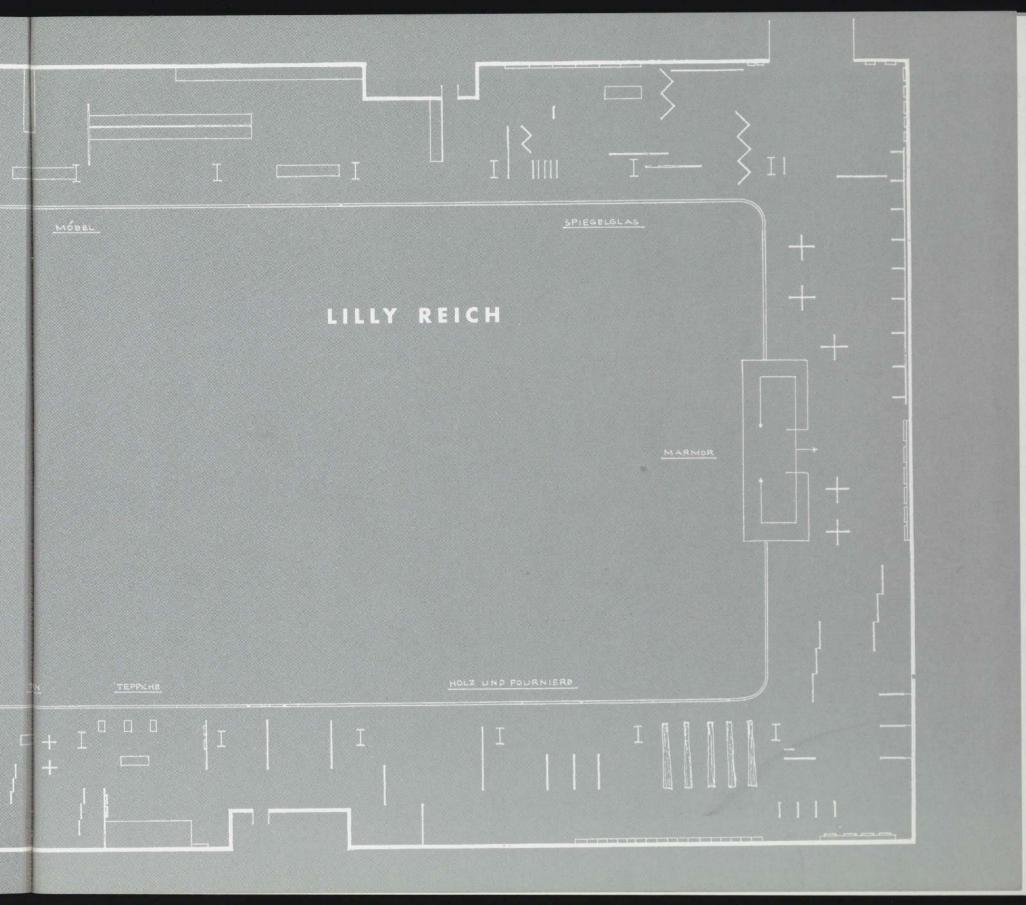
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THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK

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# LILLY REICH

DESIGNER AND ARCHITECT

MATILDA McQUAID

WITH AN ESSAY BY MAGDALENA DROSTE

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK

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COVER: German People—German Work. Berlin, 1934. Glass exhibit FRONT ENDPAPER: The Dwelling in Our Time. Berlin, 1931. "Material Show": mezzanine plan

FRONTISPIECE: The Dwelling in Our Time. Berlin, 1931. Ground-Floor House: exterior

PAGE 5: Lilly Reich (with photographer Annemarie Wilke), July 15, 1933
BACK ENDPAPER: German People—German Work. Berlin, 1934. Electricalindustry porcelain exhibit: elevation and plan. Pencil on tracing paper,
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#### PREFACE

Had it not been for Lilly Reich's decision to entrust her drawings to Eduard Ludwig, a close friend during the last years of World War II, little would be known of the extent of her achievement as a pioneering designer and architect, working at a time when women first began to break down the barriers that had excluded them from professional careers.

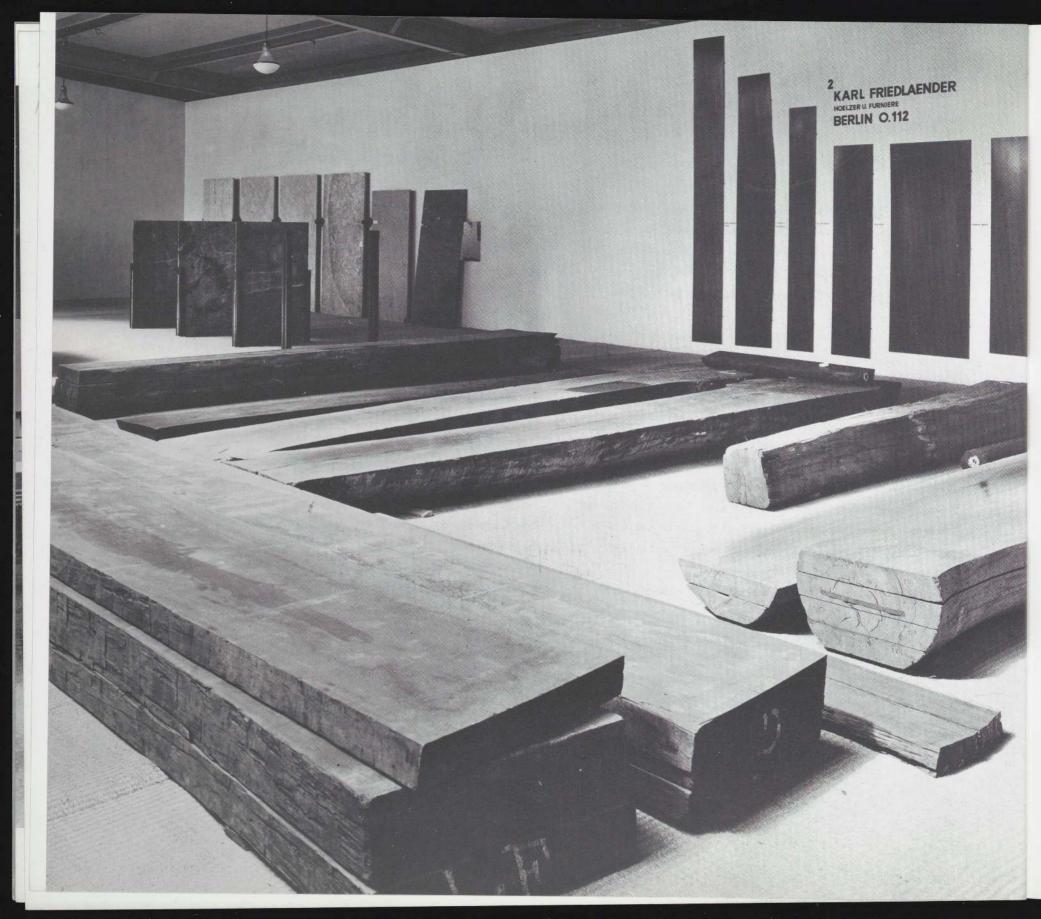
Further, it is believed that it was Reich, who at the same time made the decision to entrust the European drawings of the pioneering architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (who had emigrated to the United States in 1938) to Ludwig, a former student of the architect. The drawings were stored by Ludwig at his parents' home in Mühlhausen in Thüringen, in eastern Germany. Thus, some nine hundred drawings documenting Reich's career and three thousand drawings from Mies's Berlin office escaped destruction in the closing months of World War II when the allied forces bombed the German capital. By entrusting their drawings to Ludwig, Reich ensured that their reputations would remain in history, as they had been in life, associated by both fact and circumstance.

A rediscovery of Reich's reputation does not require a diminution of Mies's. Unlike Charlotte Perriand, the French designer whose work in Le Corbusier's studio rarely earned her the recognition she deserved, Reich maintained her own atelier for most of her life, and left a clearly identifiable legacy. While further research into the dynamics of their professional and personal relationship would be useful, it is the goal of the present publication to provide a clearer understanding of Reich in her own right.

After Lilly Reich's death in 1947 and until his own in 1960, Ludwig corresponded with Mies about the difficulties and risks in retrieving the drawings from East Germany. After what must have been extremely discreet negotiations, the drawings were finally released in 1964. Four years later, The Museum of Modern Art entered into an agreement with the architect to maintain the drawings in a specially created archive.

The cataloguing of Mies's drawings began in earnest in 1972 with the appointment of Ludwig Glaeser as curator of the Mies van der Rohe Archive. Arthur Drexler, then director of the Museum's Department of Architecture and Design, and subsequently Franz Schulze and George Danforth edited a twenty-volume catalogue raisonné of the archive's holdings of Mies's architectural drawings, which was published in association with the archive by Garland Publishing in 1986 and 1992. The cataloguing and research of Reich's surviving drawings was undertaken by Matilda McQuaid and Pierre Adler in 1994. International Museum Services provided support for the conservation of many of her drawings. These endeavors continue the chain of stewardship that has ensured the survival of these rare and important documents.

Terence Riley
Chief Curator
Department of Architecture and Design



## LILLY REICH AND THE ART OF EXHIBITION DESIGN

MATILDA MCQUAID

Lilly Reich, an important pioneer of modern design, was one of the most respected practitioners in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s. She created a professional career as an exhibition designer, clothing and furniture designer, and architect, beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century and lasting until 1937, when political circumstances suspended all hope for continuing as an independent artist in Germany. Her achievements were matched by few women during this time; her cumulative work ranks with that of modern designers Charlotte Perriand and Eileen Gray. Until recently, Reich has been known primarily for the work she produced in association with the architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, his fame having overshadowed her own contribution. This exhibition and book discuss not only their collaboration but her own work as an individual artist. This essay deals with all of her exhibitions, and places emphasis on a dozen of major significance, since it was as an exhibition designer that she made her most original contributions to the development of modernism.

Reich was crucial to the elevation of modern exhibition design as an art and as a discipline, which was determined not only by products that exemplified a superior standard of design but most dramatically by the exhibition itself using only the essential elements of presentation. In her most eloquent displays, she allowed the

materials and contents to act as the primary design feature as well as the subject of the exhibition itself. She based this new idea on modernist principles, as formulated specifically by the progressive German Werkbund, an organization dedicated to promoting and upholding the highest standards of design and manufacture in Germany.

Exhibitions have long been one of the most important forums for the critique and assessment of design. They have often embodied design solutions and offered summations of past accomplishments in the fields of design and architecture. Having evolved over more than a century before the first major international exhibition in 1851 at the Crystal Palace in London, large expositions often were supported by national governments; they focused primarily on the presentation of manufactured objects (rather than fine arts) and on promoting national identities through scientific, technological, and industrial products. The format was set for future industrial exhibitions by the display sections at the Crystal Palace: Manufactures, Machinery, Raw Materials, and Fine Arts. Within these divisions, the displays ranged from classical sculpture to giant lumps of coal and wrought-iron fire-places, and from steam engines to Indian miniatures.

Reich's career as an exhibition designer was characterized by three of the four categories, as set forth in 1851—manufactures, machinery, and raw materials—beginning with her first installation in about 1908 for the Wertheim Department Store. Five years later, her window display for a pharmacy, Elefanten-Apotheke, showed medicine jars flanked by utensils used for making the medicine: mortar and pestles, glass vessels, and distillation tubes. Thus she presented the physical elements of the pharmaceutical vocation as an advertisement.

## Establishing a Methodology of Exhibition Design

Lilly Reich's training as a designer began with these first commissions rather than with an extensive formal training.<sup>4</sup> However, she was a student of Else Oppler-Legband,<sup>5</sup> who had studied with Henry van de Velde, the architect and designer and one of the principal founders of the German Werkbund. When Reich became her student in fall 1910, she had just begun teaching at Die höhere Fachschule für Dekorationskunst,<sup>6</sup> a school led by many of the individuals who became important colleagues throughout Reich's career, including Hermann Muthesius, Peter Behrens, and Richard L. F. Schulz.

Little documentation, and virtually no photographs, exist of her earliest efforts, but an outline of her activity can be sketched from the records that are available. In 1911, while studying with Oppler-Legband, Reich was commissioned to design the interior finishing and furnishing of thirty-two rooms for a Youth Center (architect, Hermann Dernburg) in Charlottenburg, Berlin. This included a teachers' dining room, children's playroom, kitchen, and carpentry workshop; the result was impressive from the standpoint of quantity and degree of responsibility rather than innovative design.

At the initiative of Hermann Münchhaussen, who had designed several of the rooms in the Youth Center, Reich was invited to design a worker's apartment and two stores for the 1912 Lyzeum-Klub exhibition *Die Frau in Haus und Beruf (Woman at Home and at Work)*. Although the worker's apartment was supposed to have been

part of an exhibition at the Berliner Gewerkschaftshaus, it was included instead at the Lyzeum-Klub, a women's professional club.8 There are no pictures of the apartment or stores, but one can assume that they were very similar to Reich's interiors at Charlottenburg, which were published in several magazines.9 Reich's rooms for Woman at Home and at Work were described in the catalogue as being "guided by the point of view of simplicity, moderate price and appropriateness." Also mentioned were "good material, good solid craftsmanship, simple form and comfort."

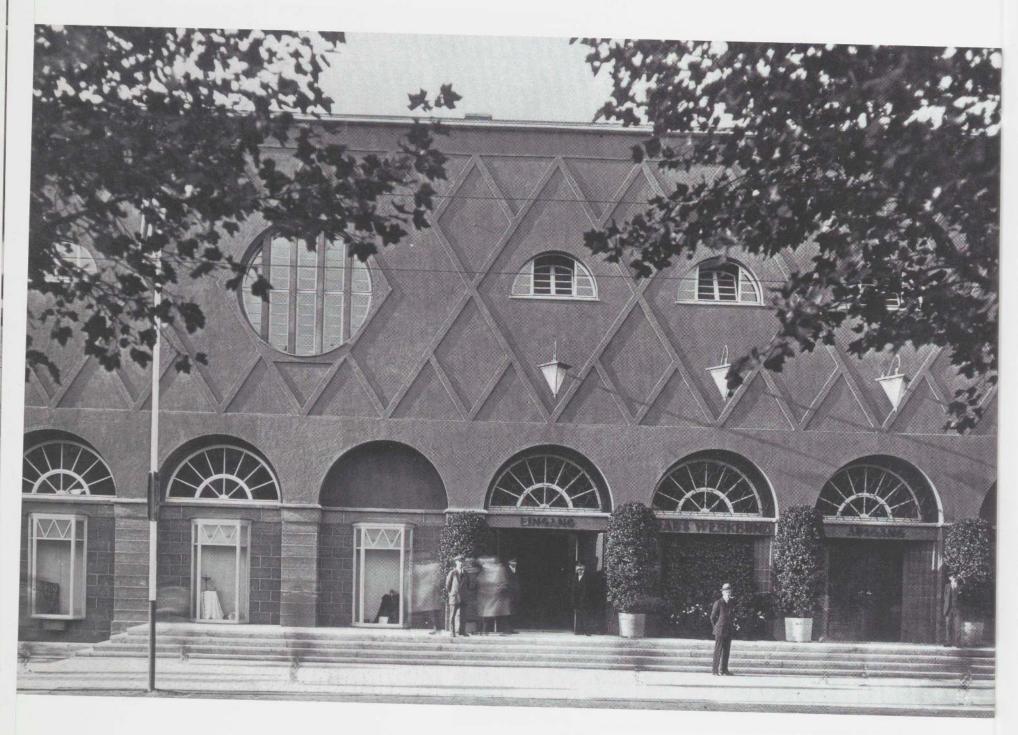
But perhaps more important than this exhibition was her election to membership in the German Werkbund that same year. Founded in 1907, principally by Hermann Muthesius, Friedrich Naumann, and Henry van de Velde, the Werkbund grew out of a distinctively German tradition with precursors in the Arts and Crafts movement in England as well as the Wiener Werkstätte in Austria. 11 The Werkbund was predicated on the conviction that "through organization, education, and creative work it would indeed be possible to bring about genuine improvements in German society and culture." 12 It aspired to transform German production through an active alliance of art and industry, and it was in this particular area that the Werkbund's most important contribution was made. 13 One of the ways the organization sought to accomplish this was by consumer education, enlisting retailers as agents of reform. Lectures were organized in order to educate the shopkeepers, who ultimately affected consumers through the choice and presentation of products. 14 The Werkbund sponsored a campaign to improve the quality of window displays in stores, reasoning that "the shop window is the most practical means of educating both the retailer and the public at large,"  $^{15}$  and organized competitions throughout Germany to promote this point of view. Much of Lilly Reich's design career, as that of so many modernists in Germany, involved the German Werkbund; the progress and decline



Youth Center, Berlin, 1911. Dining room



Fashion Craft. Berlin, 1920. Installation view



of both run a somewhat parallel course, as we shall see. This is especially important in the area of the art of exhibition design.

The Werkbund also made use of German museums to influence public taste, and by 1913 its board included ten museum directors. In 1909 the Deutsches Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen became the primary organizer of Werkbund exhibitions, in effect, the "Werkbund museum." <sup>16</sup> It had been founded earlier by Karl-Ernst Osthaus, a wealthy patron of modern art, as the Folkwang Museum. With the continuing support of Osthaus, by 1911 it had sent forty-eight exhibitions throughout the country.

Like all organizations, the Werkbund was not without its own political and philosophical battles, which reached a climax before the outbreak of World War I at the 1914 exhibition in Cologne. The main factions were led by Muthesius and van de Velde. The Werkbund had tried to maintain an eclectic, if reformist, character and had refrained from endorsing any particular style. But the two leaders ultimately, and strongly, disagreed over standardization (Typisierung) 17 versus individualism. Muthesius and his followers supported the position of the development by German designers of "typical" forms that could be manufactured in large quantities for export trade. Van de Velde felt this approach led to abandoning individual creativity, jeopardizing the tenuous cooperation that had been forged between artists and industrialists, and that it would give greater credence to economic interests above those of the artists. The debate was not resolved, but the Werkbund was irreparably weakened by it at the end of the war, although much of the membership had refused to believe that the two sides were mutually exclusive: to the majority the purpose of the Werkbund was to promote good taste and encourage artistic innovation.18

Lilly Reich's participation in the Cologne exhibition of 1914 was as a *Schriftführerin*, literally a correspondent, or organizer of the exhibition's participants, procedures, and program, and as one of the

designers of the section titled "Haus der Frau" ("House of Woman"). She corresponded with many artists and individuals involved in organizing the exhibition's building and displays. She solicited participants as well as kept accurate records of the seventeen displays in the "House of Woman." A committee of three directed the organization of the exhibition: in addition to Reich there were Anna Muthesius, as chairperson, and Else Oppler-Legband, as managing director. 19 Associate members included Agnes Grave, a colleague of Osthaus at the Deutsches Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe who headed the textile section of the exhibition, Mrs. Pall of Berlin, and Alexe Altenkirch of Cologne. 20

Reich and Grave were also on the committee to select a woman architect for the building commission through a competition. Margarete Knüppelholz of Berlin-Friedenau was awarded first prize, and in a letter to Grave, who was unable to attend the final competition jury in Cologne, Reich described the design by Knüppelholz as "very simple and tasteful and also very appropriate for an exhibition, only the floor plan must naturally be worked on and defined." <sup>21</sup>

In her duties as one of the organizers of the exhibition, Reich learned about the practical matters of exhibition organization and enlarged her network of professional contacts in all areas of design. She was a participating designer for a series of show windows and a living room, but it is difficult to determine her design sensibility at the time, since there are no known photographs of the exhibits.

During this time, patriotism motivated the Werkbund to participate in a movement to establish a fashion industry that was native to Germany and not tied to ateliers in France or other enemy countries. Under the artistic directorship of Lilly Reich and Lucius Bernhard, the Werkbund's Association of the German Fashion Industry

organized an exhibition of some hundred articles of clothing, which opened on March 27, 1915, at the Preussische Abgeordnetenhaus, Berlin, under the patronage of the Imperial Crown. It was the association's goal to free German fashion from its "submissive dependence upon foreign countries" 22 and "to destroy the legend of the autocratic rule of the Parisian ateliers." 23 Although the exhibition received criticism, it was consistent with the general philosophy of the Werkbund in its desire to influence every facet of national life.

Between 1915 and 1919, Reich was involved in several exhibitions and projects of which little is known except that they were connected to the Werkbund. One of these exhibitions was a selection of women's work for the Swiss Werkbund exhibition, between 1916 and 1917.<sup>24</sup> However, because of few opportunities for exhibition design during the war, she focused on fashion and furniture and opened a dressmaker's shop, where she produced her own designs. Furniture designs by Reich appeared in an article of 1915 by Robert Breuer, "Die Frau als Möbelbauerin" ("Woman as Furniture Builder"), in Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter.<sup>25</sup>

By 1920, through her maturing design experience and associations with various individuals from the "House of Woman" and other exhibitions, Reich had established herself as a knowledgeable and respected designer. She was formally recognized by her peers on October 25 of that year at a Werkbund board meeting when she became an "elected member of the board of directors at the request of headquarters; this proposal falls in line with a motion by Miss Margarete Naumann, which also called for the representation of the women of the German Werkbund on the board of directors." <sup>26</sup> She helped prepare two exhibitions during this year: Kunsthandwerk in der Mode (Fashion Craft), for the Association of the German Fashion Industry at the Staatliches Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, and The Applied Arts, for the German Werkbund to be held at the Newark

Museum in Newark, New Jersey, in 1922. The first consisted of women's clothing and accessories, and it promulgated a revival of German fashion (*Kleiderkunst*), <sup>27</sup> as well as cooperation between artists and manufacturers. The exhibition catalogue proclaimed:

Of all the creative domains, the art of clothes has partaken most timidly in the artistic advancement of German handicraft work before the war. While, owing to its competent technique and commercial enterprising spirit, it gained power and prestige at home and abroad, it borrowed its form generally and singly from foreign countries more than was necessary. . . . That German artists—women just as much as men—are not lacking in a sure hand and playful fancy has been proven for years in their service to the art of dwelling [Wohnkunst]. And to fashion they wish to contribute not lifeless sketches, but rather tried products, above all from their own hands.<sup>28</sup>

The second exhibition, prepared for export to the Newark Museum during the postwar years, was more extensive and consisted of a selection of more than 1,600 objects that were intended to capture the essence of German design. As a sequel to the highly popular exhibition *German Applied Arts*, which was organized by the Werkbund in 1912 and which traveled to Newark in that year, the 1922 exhibition was also planned by the Werkbund in collaboration with the Newark Museum. The selection of objects was made by Reich, with the assistance of Otto Baur and Richard L. F. Schulz.<sup>29</sup>

This exhibition was extremely important not only for Reich's career but also for American designers. John Cotton Dana, director of the Newark Museum, wanted to influence manufacturers and designers about good industrial design, and as Newark was a

INENFABRIK ARBACH LAAREN G.A.B.H

SCHACHEMMATE MANNICS ADMINISTED SHIPMENT PARSENT SAVACHE WITES

TEUE BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI

GEBR.FRIEDRICH MITTELSDORF B. STOLBER

DORSELN MANAGEN



manufacturing city, it was an ideal location for such a venture.<sup>30</sup> Dana discussed the reasons for the exhibition in his introduction to the catalogue:

The Newark Museum holds that it is a proper function of a museum, on the art side of its work, to help those who support it— in this case the people of an industrial city—to increase their interest in the work of those who are moved by nature to the endless task of bringing into human life that evasive addition to utility which is usually called beauty. . . .

Second, because we found it easy to get from Germany—and seemingly not easy to get from any other country, even our own—a collection of recent products of the applied or industrial arts.

And, third, because we felt that it is a proper and helpful thing to give to the manufacturers of Newark and nearby cities an opportunity to see what manner of appeal, through decorated objects of daily use, the manufacturers of Germany are making to those purchasers in all parts of the world.<sup>31</sup>

The catalogue's statement from the Werkbund's executive committee—Richard Riemerschmid, Lilly Reich, and Dr. Jaeck—discussed the renewal of cordial relations between the United States and Germany: "We dare to express a hope that this is only a beginning, and that this exhibition may be a symbol of future co-operation. It would be a source of great satisfaction to us if in Newark or elsewhere in the United States associations could be formed, similar to ours, with whom we could co-operate." 32

Owing to widespread anti-German sentiment, the exhibition did not travel around the United States, as its 1912 counterpart had; nevertheless, over 4,000 people saw it between April 18 and May 31, 1922. The Newark Museum acquired over sixty-five objects from

the exhibition, including an article of children's clothing by Reich.<sup>33</sup>

Reich's involvement was not as a designer of the exhibition; it was limited to the selection of the objects. By association, however, she promoted the idea of the aesthetic importance in manufacturing, a notion that was firmly established in Great Britain and Europe, but was only beginning to influence American society.

Very few writings by Lilly Reich are known to exist, but what remains offers an insight into her approach to design. In 1922 she published "Issues of Fashion" in *Die Form*, which presented a manifesto-like approach to fashion, propounding her deeply rooted Werkbund principles supporting industrial production without the unnecessary copying of hand-made objects or fashions from other countries. In the context of the period, she wrote of the continuing importance of promoting specifically German fashion and complained that the work of "this industry is defined by the big economic complex, having become a slave to demand and supply." <sup>34</sup> She believed that most people received only a cheap imitation of Parisian fashion while famous women (such as divas and actresses) insisted on originals:

Fashion of olden times had style, because it evolved from firmly-established living conditions and certain social conditions. . . . Fashion is not to be represented here as a petit-bourgeois concern or a playground for moralistic tries. It is to remain what it is, a lady all moods and elegance, attractive and charming. All doctrine is foreign to it. Thank goodness, there is no laying down of laws and norms here, for fashion is likely the liveliest field of work, and liveliest means of expression of a single personality, a social class, a people. Clothes are objects for use, and not works of art. They are subject to the requirements of the day. And yet clothes may also have metaphysical effects by means of their

inherent regularity, their coolness and reserve, their coquettish cheerfulness and liveliness, their playful grace, their sound simplicity, and their dignity. Clothes must and can grow together, form an organically inseparable whole with the woman wearing them, give a picture of her spirit, and enhance the expression of her soul and the feeling of life. But the work that serves fashion must follow the basic requisites of the form of life, and correspond to the requirements of the time—it must exhibit discipline.<sup>35</sup>

This idea of integrating good design into clothing is equivalent to the Werkbund's idea of affecting all facets of daily life: regulations and restrictions should not be a part of design, but rather, the user and condition of use should recommend the form.<sup>36</sup>

At the Werkbund's annual meeting at the end of June 1922, Reich was nominated to the board of the Werkbund House, which had opened the previous year on the grounds of the International Frankfurt Fair. The had become a most active member in Werkbund programs and demonstrated her clear understanding of the principles held by the more progressive Werkbund members. She became part of the inner circle that effected decisions, an unusual feat for a woman at that time. The success of the Newark Museum exhibition might have influenced her nomination, which Richard L. F. Schulz requested. He had worked with Reich on this exhibition.

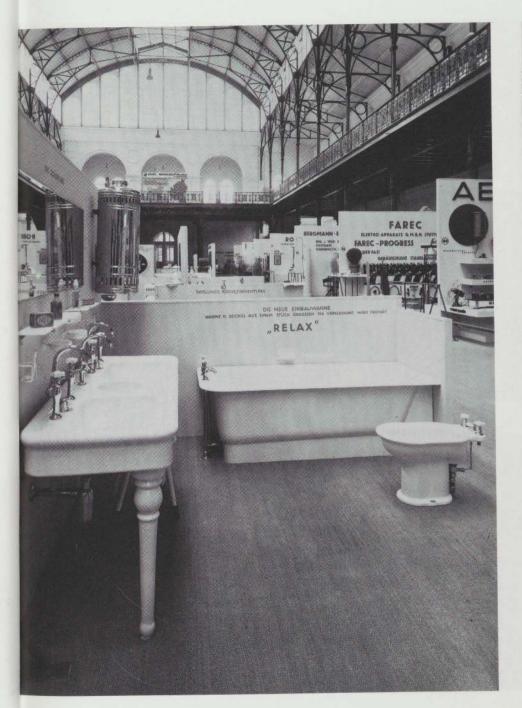
Reich and Schulz continued their collaboration at the Werkbund House, "the purpose of which is to display the substantial products both of the new industry and manufactures and of handicraft labor." <sup>39</sup> Reich was in charge of quality control and product display, and worked with Schulz and Ferdinand Kramer in the preparation of the show windows that faced the street. The issue of strict aesthetic standards became a point of contention in 1924. A formal complaint

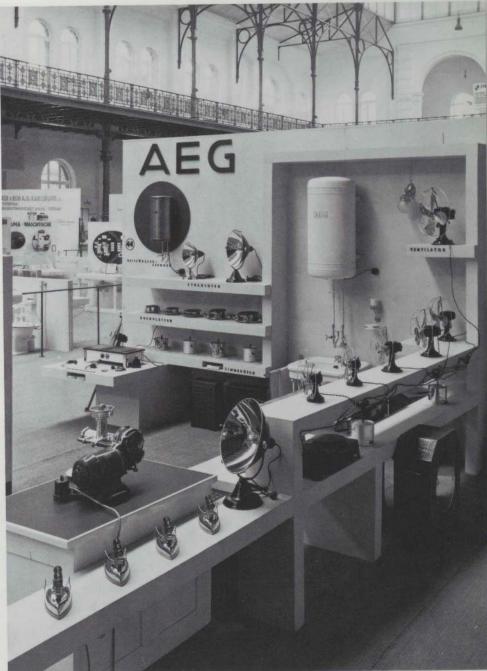
was filed by two exhibitors, Mr. Reimann and Mr. Wallach, because of the stringent quality control maintained by Reich and Schulz. 40 Most likely, Reimann's and Wallach's submissions had been refused inclusion in the exhibition. The board of the Werkbund nominated a commission consisting of four Werkbund members whose task it was to investigate the matter. On the basis of their findings, they decided that neither Reich nor Schulz had done anything reprehensible. The board and the commission stood behind all the board members of the Werkbund House. 41

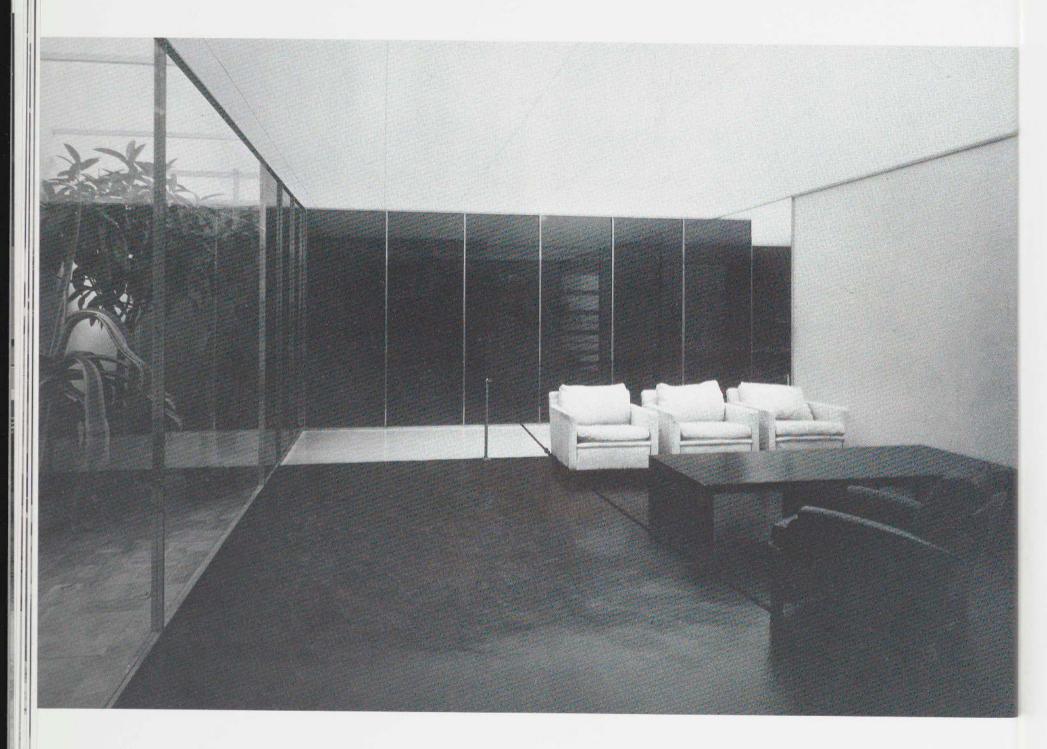
In addition to her duties at the Werkbund House, Reich was also named exhibition designer for the Werkbund's Atelier for Exhibition Design and Fashion at the office of the International Frankfurt Fair. At the time, the directorship of the fair was under J. Modlinger<sup>42</sup> and Otto-Ernst Sutter. Fairs were held in the spring and fall of each year, and in the fall 1923 fair Reich had booth no. 3630 on the second floor of the Werkbund House.

In collaboration with Kramer and Robert Schmidt, Reich assembled the traveling exhibition *Die Form*, which opened at the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Frankfurt, during fall 1924.<sup>43</sup> It had been organized during the summer in Stuttgart by the Württemberg Workers' Association of the Werkbund. The philosophy and precepts Lilly Reich had employed up to this point in her career are best expressed in the introduction to the exhibition, published in the Werkbund newsletter. In it Peter Bruckmann, first vice president of the Werkbund, discussed the idea of form that was to launch Reich on the mature phase of her work:

After much difficult work, we have now succeeded in opening the exhibition *Die Form*. . . . It is true that there are voices who reproach us with having initiated a campaign against ornamentation, to which popular economic







considerations are attached to the effect that this propaganda for an art without ornament deprives certain branches of handicraft of their livelihood. We, of course, have no such intention. . . . However, in the last years when so much form in Germany has coarsened, what we've had to go through was a thoughtless play with decorative forms, a speculation on the taste of the newly rich—the threat of having to forfeit what the Werkbund had precisely cleared during years of propaganda. This exhibition should thus show us that the first condition in artistic work should be good form. If good form is achieved, one notices with wonder that there is no need for any further ornamentation and that it already of itself creates an infinite amount of joy and contentment. 44

## Presentation of Form and Materials

The professional turning point for Lilly Reich was the 1926 exhibition Von der Faser zum Gewebe (From Fiber to Textile), at the International Frankfurt Fair. 45 The subject matter corresponded to Reich's already confirmed interest in fashion and utilized her growing network of contacts in the textile industry. Her career was already firmly based on her experience as an exhibition organizer, designer, and Werkbund leader, and also on the display of industrial products in general. For this exhibition, which took place in the Festhalle, Reich was responsible for the design, compilation, and assembly. Here, for the first time, she altered the prevailing custom of presenting raw materials and techniques as a mere adjunct to the finished product by choosing material and process as the essence of her installation. And rather than exhibit a material in its natural state, she chose the manufactured raw material as the desired form. This became the archetype for all of her future exhibitions.

From Fiber to Textile was divided into three parts: "Textiles: Their Production and Trade," which included a presentation of animal, plant, and mineral fibers; "Characteristics of Textiles"; and "Examination of Textile Fibers, Yarn, and Weaving." 46 Installation photographs indicate an enormous display of textile machinery demonstrating the various phases and types of textile production. The almost scientific layout let the industrial process of production exhibit itself. Even the graphics for the exhibition were stripped of all extraneous lines, and together with the exhibits, revealed a clear and bold presentation. Displays of finished textiles included bolts of fabrics, which were either draped or rolled and placed on tables and shelves. In a tribute to Reich and on the occasion of her departure from Frankfurt, Modlinger made the following comments in the September 24 issue of Die Frankfurter Zeitung:

As things now stand, she is leaving, not without giving us in the exhibition From Fiber to Textile, a last look at the expressive abilities with which she is endowed and which strike the chord of our time so clearly, as only a male hand would ever have done. As I said, today, there is not yet much understanding for that. That is why she left. We would like to hope, however, that no farewell is permanent, and that Lilly Reich will again hear Frankfurt's call, and that we will again be able to thank her for a richer harvest than was possible until today.<sup>47</sup>

Although this statement recognizes her talents, it also gives a sense of the perception of women in any creative profession in the 1920s. Women were not expected to have the abilities of men in the arts. Reich, however, through her strength of conviction and character, eluded this stereotype.

The next year provided another major opportunity for Lilly Reich, the Werkbund exhibition Die Wohnung (The Dwelling), a fourpart exposition whose centerpiece was the Weissenhofsiedlung (Weissenhof Housing Settlement), built on a hill above the city of Stuttgart under the artistic supervision of Werkbund board member Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. 48 Near the settlement was a display of building materials and model houses; the remaining exhibits were situated in the center of town. The effort to make this a showcase for the most representative modern architecture on the part of progressive members of the Werkbund led to the inclusion of an international selection of architects and to the appointment of Lilly Reich among the exhibition's organizers. 49 Gustav Stotz, the association's regional representative and the originator of the idea for a housing settlement, wrote to Mies that the executive secretary of the Werkbund, Otto Baur, wanted Stotz to come to Hannover "to talk about how to get the organization of the . . . exhibition into the hands of the young generation. It is my impression that he, too realizes the critical situation of the Werkbund, and that he himself is anxious to convert the Werkbund into a vigorous and up-to-date movement. . . . Just take care that [Richard] Lisker and Miss [Lilly] Reich are present at the meeting. If you know somebody else on the executive board who is on our side, make him come." 50

Mies was originally asked by Stotz to design the layout of the halls. But on April 25, 1927, he appointed Reich to that task, because of her understanding of the goals of the modern movement and her past achievements, especially the "House of Woman" and From Fiber to Textile. 51 The minutes of the chief committee of the Werkbund exhibition of the same date also mention the necessity of appointing someone whom Mies trusted entirely for the design of the exhibition.

By the opening of the exhibition on July 23, Reich was

responsible for eight of nine exhibition areas in Gewerbehalle-Platz, located in the center of Stuttgart. Hall 1, the largest of the exhibition halls, contained displays of various industrial products, by manufacturer, including model kitchens; halls 2 and 3 were devoted entirely to model kitchens; halls 4 and 5, designed with Mies, were the Spiegelglashalle (Plate-Glass Hall) and a linoleum display of Deutsche Linoleum Werke (German Linoleum Works); halls 6 and 7 showed Bauhaus printed textiles and curtains and fabrics of I. G. Farbenindustrie; and Hall 9a contained wallpapers. Hall 8, designed by Bernard Pankok, featured furniture by Stuttgart companies.

For Hall 1 Reich proposed a uniform arrangement with integrated graphics designed by Willi Baumeister. 52 Related product groups were to be shown in designated areas, with freestanding white walls serving as backdrops and dividers for each of the manufacturers. Municipal gas and electrical works were represented by coal stoves, a variety of gas water heaters and household utensils refrigerators, irons, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, sewing machines, electrical heating and cooking apparatuses. In the center of the main exhibition space different types of hygiene equipment were displayed such as sinks and baths. On the mezzanine level of Hall 1 there were additional household appliances, musical instruments, Thonet furniture, and literature on various products. The "Frankfurt Kitchen," designed by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, was also featured on the mezzanine; other types of "reform" kitchens were shown in halls 2 and 3. The new designs for kitchens were intended to maximize efficiency for working in the kitchen and allow proper storage of utensils and equipment.53

Hall 4 contained the first collaboration between Reich and Mies, the Plate-Glass Hall. Although the only extant drawings of this project are from Mies's studio, the official catalogue listed both Reich and Mies as designers. 54





The idea of constructing the Plate-Glass Hall was suggested by Mies and accepted by the Association of German Plate-Glass Manufacturers in Cologne. 55 It was meant as an advertisement for their glass products, which included etched, clear, olive-green, and mouse-gray glass sheets. Unlike the other halls, the Plate-Glass Hall was a "living environment" with rooms whose functions were implied by their furniture, designed by both Reich and Mies: work room, dining room, and living area. Rooms were differentiated by two other factors: the different colors of their plate-glass walls and that of their linoleum flooring, manufactured by the Deutsche Linoleum Werke, for the display of which Reich and Mies designed the adjoining hall.<sup>56</sup> From Hall 3 one entered the work room that had a floor most likely of black linoleum and a mouse-gray wall facing the entrance. Although a desk designed by Reich (LR 50) stood to the right, the visitor was drawn to the left by a partial view into the next room with its white linoleum flooring and large table designed by Reich, most probably for dining. A clear glass wall beyond the table afforded a view of one of the only completely enclosed spaces in which was placed a sculpture of a female torso by Wilhelm Lehmbruck. 57 Standing on the threshold between the work room and dining room, one caught a partial sight of the living area. The white linoleum flooring and olivegreen glass wall directly ahead helped to pull the visitor toward this area. Inside, the floor changed to a darker linoleum, most likely red, within the living area that included four chairs and a low table most probably by Reich. Opposite this area was another enclosed space containing plants and giving the impression of an outdoor courtyard.<sup>58</sup> The colored linoleum of the living area followed into the last space, which featured the statue and led to Hall 5, devoted to the Deutsche Linoleum Werke.

Reich and Mies used color for the floor and in the glass as a way of defining transition zones and focusing the visitor's point of

view. There was never any question about how to circulate in the space, as each room flowed into the next, but color helped to connect Hall 4 to Hall 5, where the same color palette was used with the addition of green.<sup>59</sup> Linoleum samples were stacked on platforms and hung on walls. Bold graphics explained the advantages—among them warmth and hygiene—of using linoleum. Willi Baumeister (with Karl Straub) again designed the graphics creating a cohesive whole of form, material, and color. With the enormous success of the Stuttgart exhibition, Reich and Mies returned to Berlin well-established in their related fields. Mies had made an international success in architecture and Reich, already respected within the textile field, had extended her reputation to a wide audience among the international modernist community. They applied the ideas used in Stuttgart in their next two collaborations, the first for the "Café Samt und Seide" ("Velvet and Silk Café") at the exhibition Die Mode der Dame (Women's Fashion) staged in Berlin's Funkturmhalle in 1927;60 and the second for the German representation at the International Exposition in Barcelona in 1929.

Although there are no drawings of their design for the "Velvet and Silk Café," installation photographs reveal a group of small spaces that flow into one another but are partially defined by draperies of black, orange, and red velvet as well as black and lemon-yellow silk<sup>61</sup> suspended from gracefully curved metal rods. The effect was like that of the Plate-Glass Hall except that the material was a supple textile instead of glass. In both displays the flexible or floating wall was the great innovation, an idea Mies used to brilliant advantage in his architecture, notably in his next and possibly most famous work, the German Pavilion at the International Exposition at Barcelona.

Similarly, in Barcelona, as artistic director of twenty-five exhibits for the German representation, Reich created an ensemble of

freestanding, colored-glass walls for the textile exhibit, 62 which partitioned the space but allowed a view into the entire room. The wall, however, served primarily as a backdrop for the textiles that were draped in front of them. Both the linoleum floors and the walls were white, while the graphics by Gerhard Severain were black.

The images published in the press showed primarily the textile and chemistry exhibits, even though Reich designed many more. In all cases, both Reich and Mies are credited with the design. 63 In the "Book Industries" exhibit two rows of long tables made out of highly polished bronze exhibited didactic material relating to books. Wall display cases and stands out of the same material encompassed the tables.64

One of the few other exhibits that was photographically documented, and most likely designed by Reich and Mies, was an extraordinary installation for Hackerbräu beer. Located in a threewalled booth, the exhibition had two walls that were lined with bottles of beer; the central space contained kegs and equipment pertaining to the brewing process. Mies's chairs (MR 10 and MR 20), designed for the 1927 Stuttgart exhibition were placed to the side.

Between 1930 and 1931 Reich received commissions for several interior projects including the remodeling of the Modlinger House (1930-31), and for the selection of Werkbund products for the Third International Exhibition of Industrial Art, Decorative Metalwork and Cotton Textiles, organized by the American Federation of Arts (1930).65 Reich was to "provide support for the selection of Werkbund material in the area of textiles." 66 However, her most important achievement during these two years was as artistic director and architect at Die Wohnung unserer Zeit (The Dwelling in Our Time), German Building Exposition, Berlin, in 1931. This could easily be considered the pinnacle of her career.

The exposition took place at the Berlin Fairgrounds and

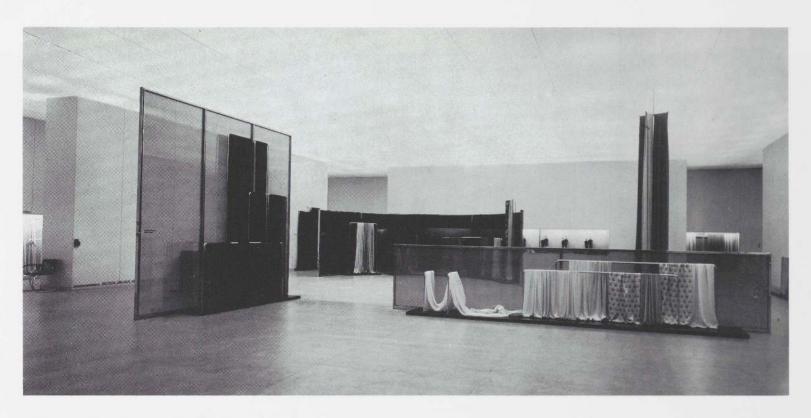
occupied eight exhibition halls. It presented some of the newest achievements in architecture and the building trades by international exhibitors. Reich was responsible for five different installations: 1. "Material Show" on the mezzanine of Hall 2; 2. "Apartment for a Married Couple"; 3. "Apartment for a Single Person"; 4. "Ground-

Floor House"; and 5. "Store and Exhibition Room for Apartment Furnishings" for A. Wertheim. 67

Reich was the artistic director for the "Material Show"; critics were quick to observe "the singularly new way of the arrangement of the houses and apartments and of the placement of the materials under Frau Lilly Reich's leadership." 68

On the mezzanine of Hall 2, twenty-four groups, divided into twelve categories of interior finishing materials, including marble, wood, metal, floor covering, carpets, textiles, clocks, mass-production furniture and glass, were arranged by Reich. There are twenty-five drawings of this project in the Museum's collection, which include carefully executed details of display panels, shelves, tables, vitrines, textile racks and hardware along with overall plans of the exhibition space. All of the drawings are by Reich and reveal a sensitivity to detail and careful documentation of all facets of the exhibition design: from metal fasteners for the glass exhibits to furniture executed specifically for the "Material Show."

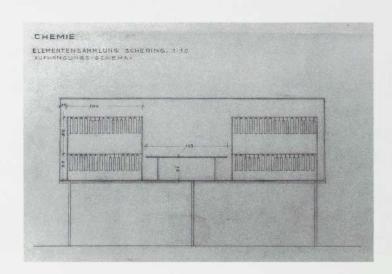
The plan that was published in Die Form and in the official catalogue reveals a design that created a free-flowing space with few partitions. In many instances the materials themselves acted as partitions; photographs of the textiles and glass exhibits illustrate this point. No supports are visible, only the fabric that seems to hold itself up. In the glass section, Reich displayed sheets of glass in vertical formation, staggering them by height or by their back-to-back placement. This rather simple but elegant presentation recalls her earlier textile exhibition in Barcelona where glass sheets behind textile racks

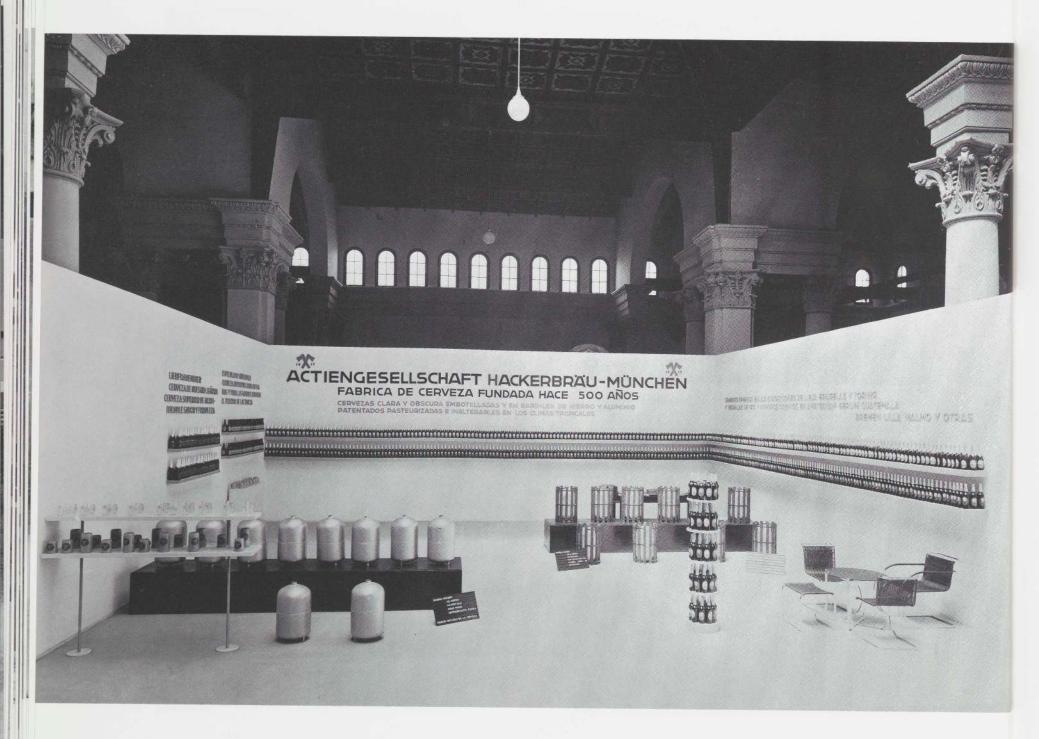


International Exposition. Barcelona, 1929.
ABOVE: German textile exhibit
BELOW LEFT: German chemistry exhibit



BELOW RIGHT: Vitrine: elevation. Pencil on tracing paper,  $16\times19\mbox{\em k}^{\text{"}}$ . Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York





were used to offset the fabrics without loss of the free-flowing space in the hall.

For the wood section the visitor must have been seized by the frank presentation of the raw material. Planks of wood, for example, were laid on the floor, stacked and singly, some perpendicular to each other (see page 8). Reich attached veneers to the wall, producing a bold geometric and graphic ensemble that harmonized with the typography.

The theme and title of the exhibition, *The Dwelling in Our Time*, referred not only to the building materials exhibited in the mezzanine gallery but also to the apartments and single-family houses on the ground floor of Hall 2. Reich was responsible for the Ground-Floor House (see frontispiece), two apartments in a structure known as the Boarding House, and the store and showroom for Wertheim. Adjacent to Reich's house was one by Mies<sup>69</sup> that was connected to hers by an exterior wall. In the overall plan for the exhibition hall, these two dwellings had by far the most interesting floor plans and appropriated more than half of the central space.

As described in the catalogue, Reich's house (no. 31) included an entrance vestibule with WC (water closet), living room, dining room, man's bedroom, woman's bedroom, bath, kitchen, and maid's room with bath. 70 Although the layout seemed compartmentalized with extended walls, there was still the sense of being in visual contact with most of the rooms from a central point in the house. Extended views into other rooms were sometimes obstructed by pieces of furniture in order to accommodate the need for privacy.

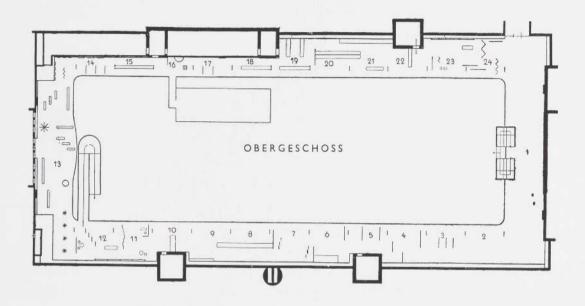
The interior was sparse and contained primarily Reichdesigned furniture, except for those pieces designed by Mies, which dominated the man's bedroom: the couch/bed (1930), side chair (1927), and table (1927). There were also his side chairs in the living room and lounge chair in the woman's bedroom. Several pieces of Reich's furniture were manufactured by Bamberg Metallwerkstätten, including a variation of the bed (LR 610) in the woman's bedroom and the dining-room chair (LR 120).<sup>71</sup>

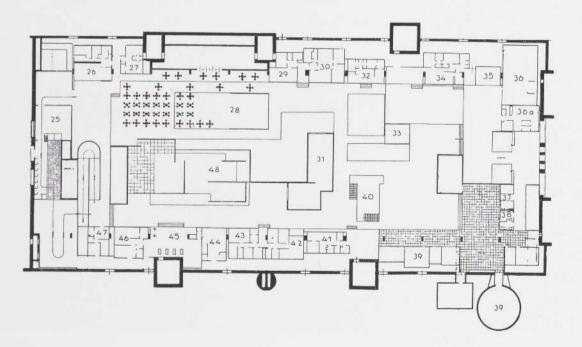
For the Boarding House (no. 28), Reich designed two of nine apartments.<sup>72</sup> Of the Apartment for a Married Couple, which consisted of an entry vestibule, living room, bedroom, and bath, only the view of the living room seems to have been published. It contained all Reich furniture: a day bed (LR 610), dining table and chair (LR 120), a writing table, and a three-tiered table that was open all around creating both a space divider and storage unit.

The Apartment for a Single Person was published more often than that for the married couple, probably because of its general compactness. Although the furniture was very similar in each, a cooking cabinet, designed by Reich for the exposition and manufactured by Otto Kahn, distinguished this apartment. When closed, it appeared to be an ordinary closet or wardrobe, but when opened, it revealed a sink, shelves, two burners, drawers, counter space, and a hook on which to hang a tea kettle.<sup>73</sup>

For the years between the German Building Exposition and her next large exhibition, Deutsches Volk—deutsche Arbeit (German People—German Work), Reich was involved in Werkbund activities and interiors commissions. From 1932 to 1933 she taught as head of the weaving studio and the workshop for interior design (furniture, metalwork, wall painting) at the Bauhaus, Dessau, where Mies was director, and later in Berlin. The Bauhaus closed in 1933 following extreme financial and political problems caused by the Nazi regime.

In 1933 the Werkbund was brought into line with National Socialist policy by means of a change in leadership at a meeting of the Werkbund's board of directors. The presidency was handed over to the Nazi Party member C. Ch. Lorcher, Reich being among the twenty-seven individuals who ratified the amendment. Essentially, this



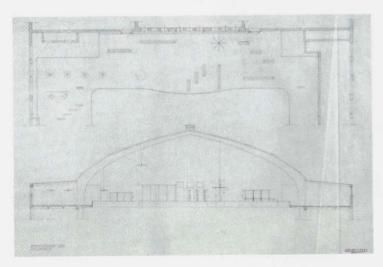


The Dwelling in Our Time. Berlin, 1931
ABOVE: "Material Show": mezzanine plan
LEFT: Ground-floor plan

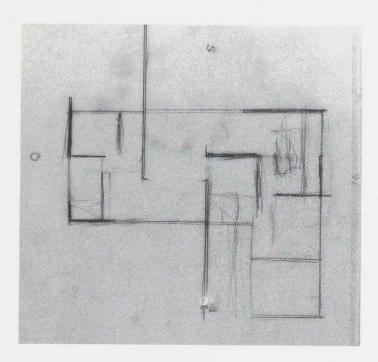
## OPPOSITE

ABOVE: Textile exhibit from ground floor BELOW LEFT: Textile exhibit: plan and elevation. Pencil on tracing paper, 21 ½ x 29 ¾". Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York BELOW RIGHT: Glass exhibit





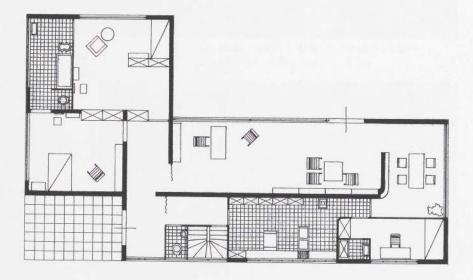




The Dwelling in Our Time. Berlin, 1931. Ground-Floor House
LEFT: Preliminary plan. Pencil on tracing paper, 11½ x 15". Lilly Reich Collection,
Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York
BELOW: Plan. Ink on tracing paper, 11½ x 16". Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive,
The Museum of Modern Art, New York

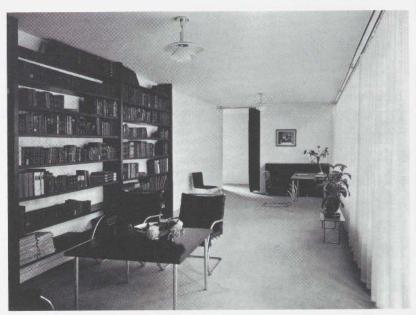
## OPPOSITE

ABOVE LEFT: Man's bedroom ABOVE RIGHT: Woman's bedroom BELOW LEFT: Living room BELOW RIGHT: Dining room







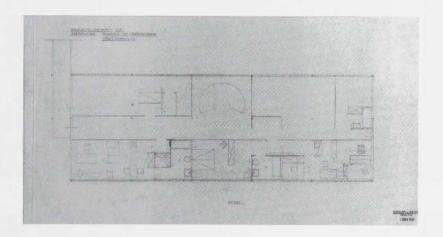




The Dwelling in Our Time. Berlin, 1931

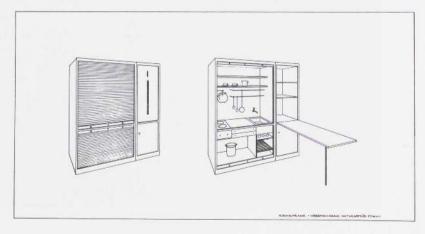
ABOVE LEFT: Boarding House: plan. Pencil on tracing paper,  $15 \times 28$ ". Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York BELOW LEFT: Apartment for a Married Couple: living room

ABOVE RIGHT: Apartment for a Single Person: living room and kitchenette BELOW RIGHT: Apartment for a Single Person: kitchenette with side cabinet. Ink on tracing paper, 97% x 183%". Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York









marked the end of the Werkbund. From this point its program of exhibitions was suspended, leaving only one exhibition of any consequence, *Die Kamera*, to be organized after 1933.<sup>74</sup>

The National Socialist movement had first attracted a number of creative artists because it promised to save German culture from the dangers of a libertarian mass society. However, the Werkbund had always entrusted particular individuals with the organization of exhibitions and did not favor deciding such creative matters by committee. Nazi government organizations encouraged innovative industrial design provided it did not betray Party doctrine. Within that context, there was a general politicization of the arts and crafts, and this ultimately destroyed pioneer institutions that had always worked in tandem with the Werkbund, such as the Weimar Bauhochschule, Breslau Akademie, and the Bauhaus.

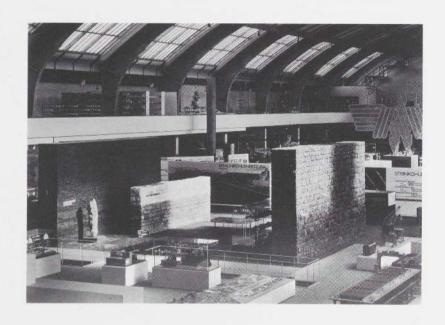
Some of the Werkbund members, such as Reich, chose to continue to practice their art under the regime of National Socialism. Although there is no indication that she ever joined the Nazi Party, nevertheless, she worked on several exhibitions that were organized by the government of the Third Reich.

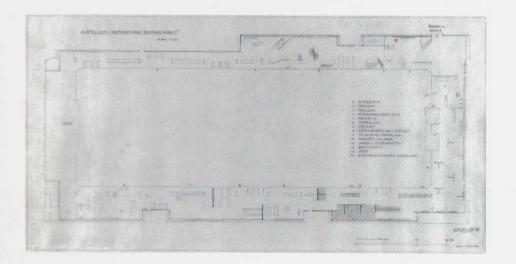
In 1934 she and Mies designed the glass, mining, industrial and domestic ceramics, tiled stoves, and sanitary equipment exhibits for *German People—German Work* in Berlin. It was intended to be the first annual presentation of German work. The exhibition was organized strictly for the propagandistic reasons of the state. None of the show's designers was listed in the catalogue, itself designed by Herbert Bayer. The only name mentioned was Dr. E. W. Maiwald, as director of the commercial, economic, business division and supervisor of the main hall.<sup>78</sup>

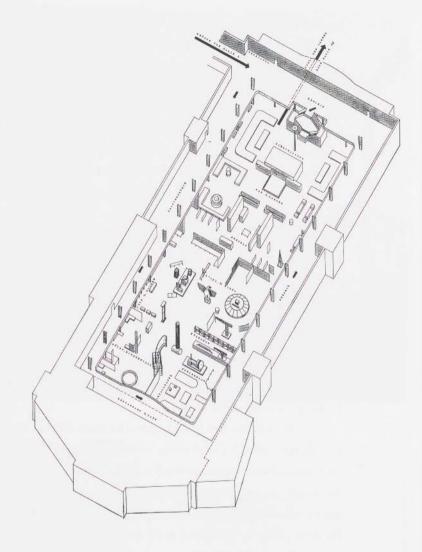
In many respects this exhibition drew from ideas used earlier by Reich. The axonometric drawing of the hall published in the catalogue shows a clean layout of the ground floor and mezzanine level of the hall, with her thoroughly tested and proven arrangement of freestanding walls, elements, and flowing spaces. Reich's contribution was mainly confined to the mezzanine, except for the mining section, which she designed in collaboration with Mies and which occupied the center of the ground floor. No drawings of this installation exist, but photographs show that walls of coal and salt dominated this area. The exhibits on the mezzanine level were not illustrated in the catalogue and were only identified by general subject headings.

Reich designed the glass section on the mezzanine level, and drawings and photographs reveal a uniform and pristine presentation of different types of glass with a dramatic display of twelve large cylinders. Similarly, in the ceramics section, stacks of porcelain cups, plates, bowls, and pitchers representing the mass-produced ceramic wares for domestic use stood in stark contrast to the more decorative china inside the elliptical glass and metal vitrines of Reich's design. In the porcelain section the vitrines themselves were sensuous in their use of color and materials. Elliptically shaped glass is supported by six chrome-plated tubular metal supports with wood at top and bottom. Smaller vitrines consisted of glass cylinders supported by a chrome-plated tubular-steel element in the middle.

Between 1936 and 1938, Reich designed some of her last exhibitions. For three consecutive years, through an association with Wilhelm Wagenfeld, she was responsible for designing the glass displays of the Vereinigte Lausitzer Glaswerke at the Leipzig Fair. In 1937 she designed her last two exhibitions: Reichsausstellung der deutschen Textil- und Bekleidungswirthscaft (Imperial Exposition of the German Textile and Garment Industry), in Berlin, and the German textile-industry exhibit at Exposition internationale des arts et techniques appliqués la vie moderne (International Exposition of Arts and Techniques Applied to Modern Life), in Paris. There is little substantial documentation of these exhibitions, except for some photographs plus







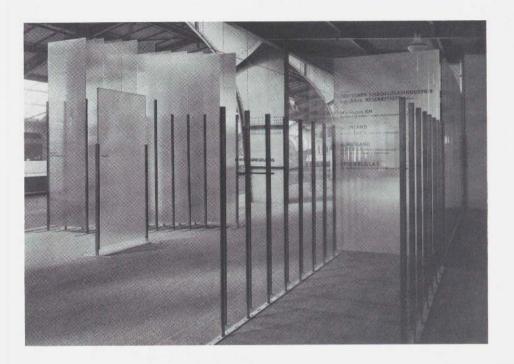
German People—German Work. Berlin, 1934

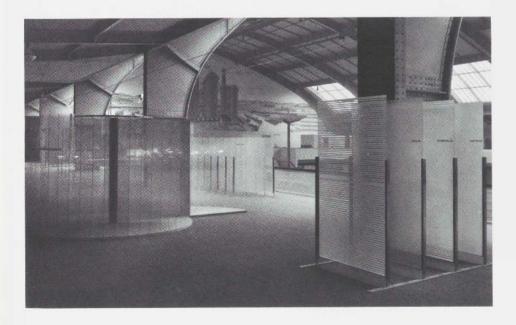
ABOVE LEFT: Mining exhibit

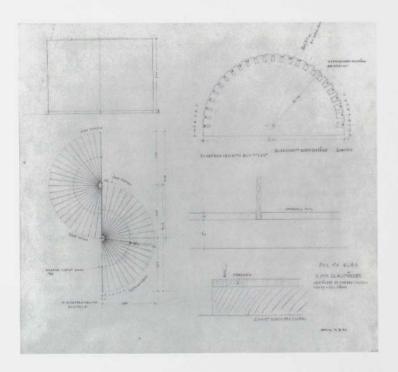
BELOW LEFT: Mezzanine: plan. Pencil on tracing paper, 16½ x 31½". Lilly

Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art,

RIGHT: Main hall and exhibits: axonometric view





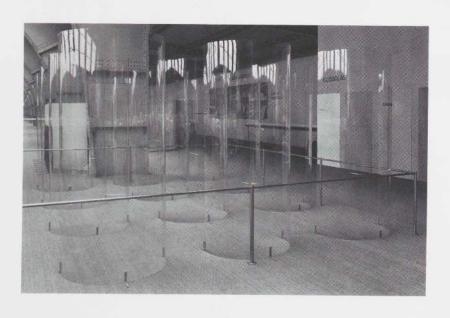


German People—German Work. Berlin, 1934

ABOVE LEFT: Glass exhibit

BELOW LEFT: Glass exhibit

RIGHT: Glass stands: elevation, plan, and sections. Pencil on tracing paper, 19 x 203/4". Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York





German People—German Work. Berlin, 1934. Glass exhibit

fifty-two drawings by Reich for the Berlin exhibition and twenty-six for the Paris exhibition.

It seems that Mies was involved in the Berlin exhibition, according to Elaine Hochman's conversations with Egon Hüttmann, who had been asked by Mies to supervise the staging of the exhibition. Hüttmann reported that he visited Mies's studio in summer 1936 and saw completed drawings of the exhibition. (The only drawings that exist, however, are by Reich, and they are dated January–February 1937.) According to Hochman, for the Berlin exhibition, "Mies had designed a nine-meter-long, sinuously curved S-shaped wall of dark-colored glass, illuminated like the interior-lit onyx wall in the Barcelona Pavilion, over which a rainbow-hued display of silks was to be luxuriantly draped." <sup>80</sup>

In September 1936 Hitler had announced the launching of the new program of economic development called the Four-Year Plan. Its implementation was assigned to Reichsminister Hermann Göring, who perceived the upcoming textile exhibition as an event that might divert attention from his efforts at propaganda; he, therefore, simply appropriated the patronage of the 1937 exhibition.81 Thus, several weeks before the opening, the commission was taken away from Mies and Reich and entrusted to Ernst Sagebiel, who had built a house for the Air Force Ministry and Tempelhof Airport; Mies was ordered to turn over his drawings to Sagebiel.<sup>82</sup> Hüttmann wrote about these events in a letter of December 16, 1973, to Hochmann: "As I returned to Berlin, Hirche told me that after Mies's resignation Prof. Sagebiel . . . was empowered with carrying out the exhibition four weeks before the opening. Time was simply too short for making new plans—he adopted nearly all of Mies's plans and modified only a few of them. For instance, an S-shaped wall of glass about 9 meters long was recklessly divided into three parts and set up in three separate segments each about three meters in length. Silk was then

draped over them. The spacious elegance of the 9-meter-long glass wall was thus destroyed!"  $^{83}$ 

This statement is supported by the caption information under a photograph of the exhibition in a publication of the period and, to a lesser degree, by the image itself. The caption reads: "The fabrics are displayed on gray, curved plate-glass walls in a particularly delightful fashion." <sup>84</sup> The exhibition guide described the exhibition similarly: "We take a few more steps in the glass gallery, which since the construction of the new Hall 4 represents one of the landmarks of the Berlin fair-grounds, and we find ourselves in the last light-flooded room of this great exposition. . . . In front of gray, plate-glass sheets there is an unparalleled scenery of fashionable prints made of silk and artificial silk, framed by fitting monochromatic fabrics, velvets and silks." <sup>85</sup>

The photographs of the completed exhibition bear little resemblance to what Reich and Mies would have carried out. Its presentation was static and lacked artistic intervention, with displays pushed to the side and on pedestals without an allowance for a free-flowing space that would wind the visitors through the exhibits. Furthermore, it would have been very uncharacteristic for Reich and Mies to design glass partitions and then to drape fabrics over them—obscuring the inherently transparent material. In fact, they had designed textile stands that were never fabricated.

The textile exhibit at the *International Exposition of Arts and Techniques Applied to Modern Life* in Paris gave an "overview of the production of Germany's textile industry." <sup>86</sup> Reich exhibited in the International Pavilion, <sup>87</sup> which opened very late. This explains why some of the drawings by Reich are dated as late as July 13. This exhibition revealed elements of the Berlin exhibition, but on a much smaller scale, such as a smaller curved-glass wall. Even the plan had some of the character of the Berlin exhibition. Textile racks were

beautifully draped with fabrics and placed around the room. Tables with bolts of fabric were juxtaposed to sheets of glass, which partitioned the room but which also allowed for a free-flowing space.

Most of the articles published at the time of the exhibition discussed the pavilions and their merits. An interesting observation by Henry-Russell Hitchcock appeared in the September issue of *Architectural Forum*:

Fairs traditionally stand as indicators of industrial and cultural progress. At Paris a new element has entered the picture, tersely summed up by Anne O'Hare McCormick in a dispatch to the New York Times: "Today a world's fair is not an exposition of national arts and industries. It is not even a commercial show to encourage trade. Like international sports meets, college centenaries, business conventions, horse shows, religious conferences, it is a display of one thing to prove another. . . . For the first time so blatantly the national pavilions are conceived and executed as 'national projections.' . . . If for no other reason, the Paris Fair is interesting as the first exposition of this new flaunting of political parties and symbols." 88

Ultimately, this kind of politicization of the arts forced both Reich and Mies to abandon exhibitions as a source for their creative ideas. Reich continued to design interiors and furniture even after her studio was destroyed by bombs in 1943. However, Reich's most important undertaking during the few postwar years before her death in 1947 was her participation in the revival of the German Werkbund.

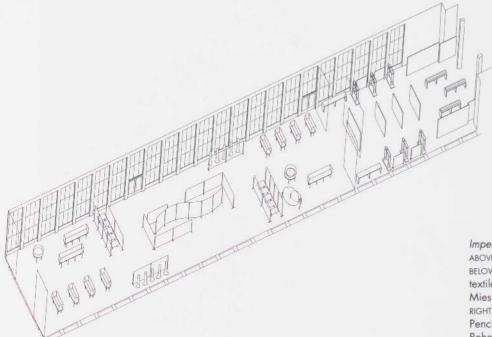
On October 17, 1945, the first preparatory meeting for reviving the Werkbund took place. The participants were the architect

Hans Scharoun, director of Berlin's building office; Max Taut, representing the city's art professionals; Edwin Redslob, a curator; Theo Effenberger, professor at Die Hochschule für bildende Künste; and art historians Dr. Jannasch and Dr. Ernst Jentsch. <sup>89</sup> At the meeting they agreed to draw up a program "to win over wide circles of the industry, the handicrafts, the artistic community, and the authorities to the views entertained by the Werkbund. At the foreground stands the problem of an index of goods as a guide for a forthcoming industry.

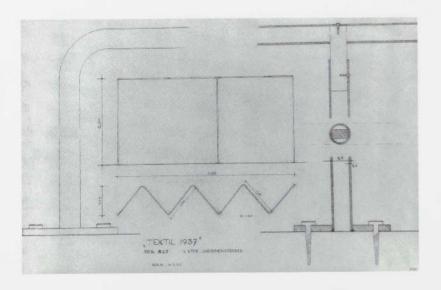
. . . It was proposed that Mr. Bartschat and Mrs. Lilly Reich head the working group for the index of goods." <sup>90</sup> Relying on her past experience and knowledge of German industrial production when it was at its peak, this group hoped that Reich's selection of products could begin the process of reinstating the Werkbund's fundamental principles.

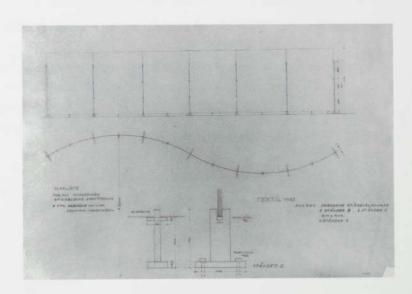
Before the committee could proceed with its plan, however, it needed the sanction of the occupying allied forces in Berlin. The group drafted a statement of its position:

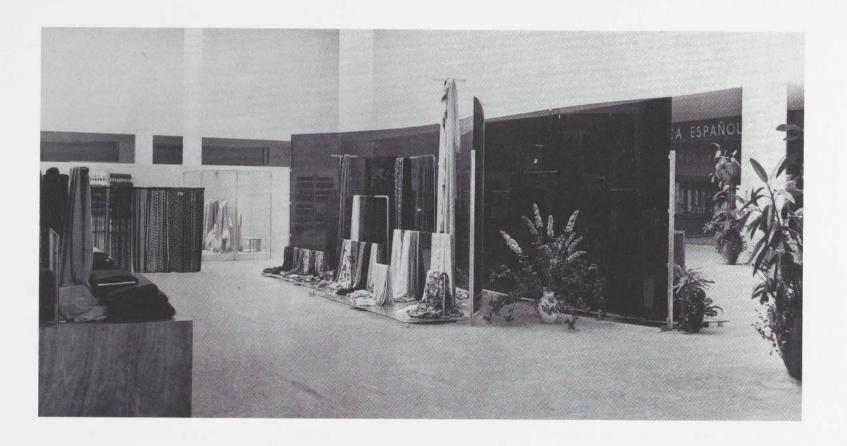
If, on the occasion of the current rapid reconstruction of the German economy, the thought of quality work and of unimpeachable and up-to-date formal designing of industrial and handicraft products is to be disseminated and validated again, it is absolutely necessary that the German Werkbund be brought back to life. Indeed, under Nazi rule, the German Werkbund had been dissolved and suppressed, owing to the incompatibility of its ideas with those of National Socialism. A circle of personalities, former leading members of the German Werkbund, has thus come together in order to initiate the preparatory work for a new founding of the German Werkbund. . . . During the fascist time, a non-negligible number of buildings, works, and industrial products were commissioned: not only their formal design



Imperial Exposition of the German Textile and Garment Industry. Berlin, 1937. ABOVE LEFT: Main hall and exhibits: axonometric view
BELOW LEFT: German textile-industry exhibit: plan, elevations, and sections of textile stands. Pencil on tracing paper,  $12\% \times 20\%$ . Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York RIGHT: Curved and gray plate-glass walls: plan, elevation, and sections. Pencil on tracing paper,  $20\% \times 30$ ". Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York



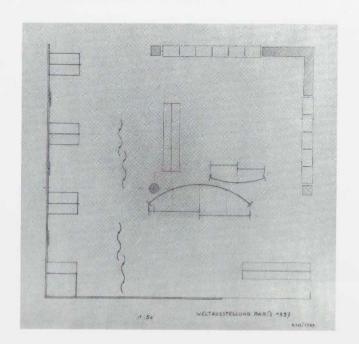




International Exposition of Arts and Techniques Applied to Modern Life. Paris, 1937.

ABOVE: German textile-industry exhibit

RIGHT: German textile-industry exhibit: plan. Pencil on tracing paper, 19 ½ x 19 ½". Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York



but above all the attitude that presided over their creation have to be rejected and fought. In this respect, too, the renewal of the Werkbund presents itself as a general requisite.<sup>91</sup>

Lilly Reich's name joined those of Scharoun, Redslob, Taut, Effenberger, City Councillor Landwehr, and five others as the participants who guaranteed that the constitution of the Werkbund and the development of its ideas would take place along anti-fascist and democratic lines. 92 Reich was also active in several working groups within the Werkbund, which were intended to target important design areas, such as industrial and handicraft production, educational issues, exhibitions, and competitions. She became most involved in educational projects, but she also contributed "functional furniture of graceful design" to an exhibition that took place early in 1946. 93

Reich devoted the last year of her life to transmitting Werkbund principles and restructuring the programs in trade and applied-arts schools. On April 2, 1946, Reich wrote: "Reconstruction of the schools for the entire realm of production presents particular obligations but also opportunities for improvement, which must not be missed." 94 Focusing on academies, professional and trade schools, and arts and crafts schools, Reich stated:

The professional schools were often top-heavy with purely technical instruction; in the schools of arts and crafts and in the academies there was an overemphasis on artistic instruction. The latter neglected the technical requisites and attended to individual achievements, which only in the rarest cases amounted to more than average arts and crafts. For decades, the concept of arts and crafts has had an unpleasant tinge to it, which at the time was attributed to the dilettantism that sticks to it but also to the unserious and playful luxury that belongs to its products. . . . We need no arts and crafts: we need goods, utility goods, never mind whether they are of handicraft or industrial provenance. . . . The domain of design must again be opened to all the forces of the people. This is the chief demand, and this can happen through a training that awakens the will to design. Every formal force gives the opportunity of development and introduces everyone to the problem of form. 95

At the high point of her text, she demands that all areas of creative work "are tied to materials, technique, and use," and each of these requirements must not be ignored. These were the criteria Reich had followed throughout her professional life, whether as an architect or exhibition, industrial, and fashion designer. They also define her legacy, partly because for Reich these principles were not a choice but a necessity. She believed that they would physically and spiritually help in the reconstruction of Berlin. Reich's death on December 11, 1947, came almost fifty years before her vision was fulfilled in a unified Germany.

### NOTES

 Charlotte Perriand (French, born 1903) and Eileen Gray (Irish, 1878 –1976).

2. Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 143.

3. Ibid., p. 13.

4. Reich's family says that she studied for one year at the Wiener Werkstätte under Josef Hoffmann, although this has not been substantiated by official records.

5. Max Osborn, "Das Charlottenburger Jugendheim," Die Bauwelt 9 (January 21, 1911), pp. 17–20.

 Else Oppler-Legband, "Die h\u00f6here Fachschule f\u00fcr Dekorationskunst," Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes (1912), p. 105.

7. Sonja Günther, Lilly Reich 1885–1947 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1988), p. 73, n. 10.

8. The Lyzeum-Klub in Berlin was exclusively a women's club; its members were primarily academic and professional women. It had its own tri-weekly newspaper, the Neue Frauen-Zeit.

9. Günther, Lilly Reich, p. 17. The illustrations appeared in Osborn, "Charlottenburger Jugendheim," pp. 17–20, and in Robert Breuer, "Jugendheime," Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter 6 (1911), pp. 41–49.

10. Günther, Lilly Reich, pp. 16–17. Unless otherwise noted, translations in this essay are by Pierre Adler.

11. The Arts and Crafts movement, led by William Morris and Philip Webb, was a mid-nineteenth-century reaction to inferior machine-made products. It was not until 1888, with the founding of C. R. Ashbee's Guild and School of Handicraft, that the machine was accepted as an ally of the arts. See Gillian Naylor, The Arts and Crafts Movement (London: Trefoil, 1990).

The Wiener Werkstätte (Werkstätte-Produktiv-Genossenschaft von Kunsthandwerken), founded in 1903 by Josef Hoffmann and Kolomon Moser, was based on the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the principles of C. R. Ashbee's Guild. See Mel Byars, The Design Encyclopedia (London: Laurence King, 1994), p. 590. 12. Joan Campbell, The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 32.

13. Ibid., p. 48.

14. Ibid., p. 42.

15. Ibid., p. 43, n. 37.

16. Ibid., p. 38. See also Barry Shifman, Design for Industry: The German Applied Arts Exhibition in the United States, 1912–13 (forthcoming). The Museum was able to promote modern industrial products partly because it was not confined to one site and was seen as a "mobile museum."

17. Ibid., p. 57.

18. Ibid., p. 67.

19. Letter from Lilly Reich to Agnes Grave, April 21, 1923. Karl-Ernst-Osthaus-Archiv, Hagen, Nr. DWK 203/2, p. 1. 20. Letter from Carl Rehorst to Agnes Grave, April 15, 1921. Karl-Ernst-Osthaus-Archiv, Hagen, Nr. DWK 203/1. Rehorst was the executive vice president for the Cologne

21. Ibid. Second and third prizes were awarded, respectively, to architects Frieda Lagus of Vienna and Emily Winkelman of Berlin. Owing to the outbreak of war, military authorities closed the exhibition prematurely on August 1. For approximately a year, the building was used for military purposes; then it was destroyed (letter from Mechtild Heuser to the author, June 6, 1995).

22. "Jahresbericht 1914/15: Die deutsche Werkbund Ausstellung Köln 1914," Mitteilungen des deutschen Werkbundes 1 (June 1915), p. 6.

23. Ibid., p. 7.

Werkbund.

24. Letter from Lilly Reich to Karl-Ernst Osthaus, December 7, 1916. Copy in the Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

25. Robert Breuer, "Die Frau als Möbelbauerin," Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter 10 (1915).

26. "Vorbemerkung zur heutigen Sondernummer der 'Freien Gruppe für Farbkunst des D.W.B.,'" Das Werk. Mitteilungen des deutschen Werkbundes (October 1920), p. 17.

27. Exhibition catalogue: Kunsthandwerk in der Mode, Ausstellung der deutschen Modeindustrie (Berlin: Staatliches Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1920), p. 5.

28. Ibid., pp. 3-5.

29. See "Vorbemerkung zur heutigen Sondernummer," p. 17. 30. Dana was an extremely influential person in the development of design museums and departments in the United States. After the exhibition opened in 1922, he coordinated a special conference for the purpose of establishing a design museum in Newark. He stated that the great department stores have "done more for modern decorative arts than the museums have done in all their history." In "John Cotton Dana and the Newark Museum," The Newark Museum Quarterly (Spring-Summer 1979), p. 35. 31. J. C. Dana, "A Note of Explanation," in The Applied Arts (Newark, N.J.: Newark Museum, 1922), p. 2. 32. Ibid., p. 10.

33. Reich was listed as exhibitor no. 41 and was represented in the exhibition by eight pieces. Her catalogue entry states: "Lilly Reich, Berlin, designs and executes handmade underwear, children's and women's dresses. She is the only woman on the governing board of the Werkbund. She is also the business manager of the Wirtschaftsbund Deutscher Kunsthandwerker for northern Germany." Ibid., p. 41.

34. Günther, Lilly Reich, p. 83.

35. Ibid., p. 85

36. The anti-regulation idea was promoted by Reich as

early as 1919 when she was a member of the Werkbund's Freie Gruppe für Farbkunst. It was organized in opposition to Wilhelm Oswald, a scientist who thought that there were laws of color choice that were binding for an artist. 37. The earliest documentation of Reich's new activities as a member of the board of the Werkbund House is a letter

1923, asking the school to participate in the fall fair. 38. "Bericht über die 11. Jahrsversammlung in Augsburg und München vom 29. Juni bis 1. Juli 1922," Mitteilungen

from her to the Bauhaus in Weimar, dated September 5,

des deutschen Werkbundes (1922), p. 5.

39. "Das Haus Werkbund auf der Frankfurter Messe," Mitteilungen des deutschen Werkbundes (June 28, 1924), p. 6. The text continues: "The rust brown, bold building is lacking all decoration on the inside; the display booths are bare: only the products on display should speak, should vouch for themselves. The admission [of exhibitors] lies exclusively in the hands of the Werkbund commission at the Fair Bureau (at this time, Richard L. F. Schulz, Miss Lilly Reich, Prof. Robert Schmidt)."

40. Ibid. (November 28, 1924), p. 4.

41. It should be noted that non-Werkbund members could also exhibit in the Werkbund House.

42. In 1931 Reich renovated the Modlinger House in Wannsee (Berlin).

43. This exhibition initiated a tradition that continues today. Exhibitions are held in the fall of each year on the grounds of the International Frankfurt Fair.

44. Mitteilungen des deutschen Werkbundes (June 28, 1924), p. 1.

45. Aussteller Verzeichnis Frankfurter Internationale Messe (Fall 1926), p. 10.

46. Ibid., p. 11.

47. Modlinger, in *Die Frankfurter Zeitung* (September 24, 1926)

48. The earliest correspondence between Reich and Mies in the Mies van der Rohe Archive, is dated June 25, 1924. Although it is believed that they had an intimate personal relationship for many years, this is outside the scope of the present essay. In 1925, one year after Mies became a member of the Werkbund, he was elected to the executive board and became the artistic director for the Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart.

49. For an extensive history of the Weissenhofsiedlung, see Richard Pommer and Christian F. Otto, Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991].

50. Gustav Stotz to Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, October 26, 1925. Mies van der Rohe Archive. The exhibition actually referred to is the German Building Exposition of 1931, in Berlin, which was then planned as an earlier Werkbund exhibition. See *ibid.*, Document Box: "Werkbund Exposition 1927," folder 4.3.

- 51. Karin Kirsch, Die Weissenhofsiedlung: Werkbund-Ausstellung "Die Wohnung"-Stuttgart 1927 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1986), p. 31. Kirsch provides the most exhaustive description of the exhibition halls at the Gewerbehalle-Platz.
- 52. Ibid., p. 32.
- 53. Ibid., p. 33.
- 54. Ibid., p. 36. Wolf Tegethoff makes no mention of Reich as a collaborator on halls 4 or 5 in his discussion of these areas in Mies van der Rohe: The Villas and Country Houses (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1985). He states that Mies collaborated with Willi Baumeister on the design of Hall 5. Stotz reported that "Mr. Mies van der Rohe and Mrs. Reich have made a very interesting design of a glass hall for Hall 4." Quoted in Kirsch, Weissenhofsiedlung, p. 36. 55. Ibid., p. 36.
- 56. The only photographs that exist are in black-and-white so it is difficult to determine exactly which room had black and which red linoleum. See also, ibid., p. 37; Kirsch's discussion and speculation of the color arrangement are the most convincing and well-researched.
- 57. The Lehmbruck sculpture was Madchen Torso, sich umwenden (Turning Female Torso), 1913-14.
- 58. Tegethoff, Villas and Country Houses, p. 68.
- 59. Kirsch, Weissenhofsiedlung, p. 38.
- 60. The title of this exhibition has been incorrectly cited as "Exposition de la Mode" for decades in the literature on Mies van der Rohe. See, for example, Philip Johnson, Mies van der Rohe (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978 [1947]), p. 50; Arthur Drexler, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (New York: George Braziller, 1960), ill. 31 (n.p.); and Franz Schulze, Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. xvii.
- 61. Ibid., p. 144. Günther states that the "Silk and Velvet Café" was Reich's alone. The walls of the exhibition were covered with colored silk, partly silver and partly gold. Günther, Lilly Reich, p. 23, n. 29.
- 62. The exact color is not known, but it could have been mouse-gray, which Reich and Mies had used before. The room is described in a caption in Walter Genzmer, "Die internationale Ausstellung in Barcelona," Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung (August 21, 1929), p. 545.
- 63. Given Mies's involvement with the German Pavilion, it is reasonable to assume that Reich was the primary designer of these exhibits.
- 64. Ibid.
- 65. See Document Box, "Deutsche Werkbund," folder 3, Mies van der Rohe Archive.
- 66. Letter from S. Puetzfeld to Lilly Reich, April 7, 1930. In ibid.

- 67. This was probably the same Wertheim for whom she designed window displays in 1908.
- 68. "'Die Wohnung unserer Zeit' auf der deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931," Moderne Bauformen 7 (July 1931), p. 330.
- 69. See Tegethoff, Villas and Country Houses, 14-14.11; Arthur Drexler, ed., An Illustrated Catalogue of the Mies van der Rohe Drawings in The Museum of Modern Art (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 158-77.
- 70. Manufacturers included: for the floor, Deutsche Linoleum Werke, AG.; for drapery rods, Julius Schmidt, Dorfmühle-Remsheid; furniture and built-ins, W. Goldbach Nachfolger; metal furniture and beds, Berliner Metallgewerbe; upholsterers, Günther & Co.; draperies, carpets, and fittings for the bed: Teppich-Bursch, Berlin; lighting, P. H. Lampe, Paltzer & Co., Frankfurt; bathroom fittings, Wolffers & Wittmer; hot-water heaters, Junkers & Lessing; kitchen equipment, Mauserwerke Waldeck G.m.b.H.; electrical equipment, Vereinigung der Elektrizitätswerke e.V.; windows, iron-type windows, Fenestra Crittal, Berliner Metallgewerbe; window glass, bubble glass: Gewerkschaft Kunzendorfer Werke. 71. Other production pieces from the apartments included a small table (LR 530) and garden table (R 500).
- 72. Other designers represented in this building were Walter Schmidt, Josef Albers, Hermann Gerson, Robert Vorhoelzer, and Max Wiederanders.
- 73. The only thing that seemed to change in the cooking cabinet was the hot-water heater, which was visible in some photographs but absent from others.
- 74. Campbell, German Werkbund, p. 258.
- 75. Ibid., p. 269.
- 76. Ibid., p. 271.
- 77. Ibid., p. 279.
- 78. Exhibition catalogue: Deutsches Volk-deutsche Arbeit (Berlin, 1934), p. 183.
- 79. Undated letter from Egon Hüttmann to Elaine Hochman, Mies van der Rohe Archive.
- 80. Elaine S. Hochman, Architects of Fortune and the Third Reich (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), p. 272, n. 37. It would have been unlike Reich and Mies to drape textiles over glass walls, since in all other textile exhibits, the textiles were in front of the glass wall and draped over textile racks.

There was precedent for Mies's use of an S-curved wall. In a letter from William Priestly to Ludwig Glaeser, Dec. 14, 1979, Priestly sketched a wall that he remembered Mies designed for a "fest" at the Bauhaus in Berlin: "It was successful—the thin ends, gave the illusion the whole wall was that thin, and most people didn't even

notice the column was there. . . . Mies put the problem: how to make the bulky column disappear, and make a guide for the dancers to circulate around, and guide circulation in general, and give some interest to a dull space." Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art. There had also been the curved forms in the "Velvet and Silk Café" and curved glass in German People—German

- 81. Hochman, Architects of Fortune, pp. 280-81.
- 82. Ibid., pp. 284-85.
- 83. Letter from Egon Hüttmann to Elaine Hochman, December 16, 1973, Mies van der Rohe Archive. In another letter, written about 1973 to Hans Kessler, an architect in Krefeld, Hüttmann recounted the same story. However, instead of four weeks he mentioned six. He also said that it was Hirche who informed him about the S-shaped wall of glass and its disfigurement at Sagebiel's hands. A copy of this letter is in ibid. The four-week estimate is borne out by the latest date of Reich's drawings, February 27. 84. "Die Texilausstellung Berlin 1937," Monatshefte für
- Baukunst und Stadtbau 21 (1937), p. 195.
- 85. "Spitzenleistungen," Amtlicher Führer durch die Reichsausstellung der deutschen Textil- und Bekleidungswirtschaft (Berlin, 1937), p. 94.
- 86. File F12 12357, document 17, Archives Nationales,
- 87. An international pavilion was built because, according to a memorandum of 1941, some of the countries did not want to build their own pavilions (or could not, financially): "The General Commissioner, Mr. Labbe, was thus led to envisage the construction of an international pavilion." See File F12 12575, unsigned memorandum to an unidentified secretary of state, dated January 31, 1941, Archives Nationales, Paris.
- 88. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architectural Forum (September 1937), p. 174.
- 89. "Neubegündung des deutsche Werkbund (DWB) (Protokoll der ersten vorbereitende Sitzung vom 17.10.45)," Werkbundarchiv, Berlin.
- 90 Ibid
- 91. Minutes of a Werkbund meeting (undated). Ibid. 92. Ibid.
- 93. Minutes of the Werkbund meeting of February 6, 1946. Ibid.
- 94. Lilly Reich, "On the Reconstruction of Schools," Unpublished manuscript, April 2, 1946. Ibid. 95. Ibid.
- 96. Ibid.



# LILLY REICH: HER CAREER AS AN ARTIST

MAGDALENA DROSTE

The daughter of a prosperous German family, Lilly Reich was educated somewhat unconventionally for a young woman of her class before World War I. Little is known about her professional training between her graduation from a girls' school at the age of eighteen or nineteen and her first documented furniture commission in 1911 when she was twenty-six. But it is known that she learned Kurbel embroidery, a typical Jugendstil textile technique done with a sewing machine. In the first decade of the twentieth century, machine training of this kind was considered the most up-to-date form of traditional female handicrafts, a term that encompassed the various kinds of art instruction considered appropriate for women. In addition, she probably also learned dressmaking.

Although Reich studied under Josef Hoffmann at the Wiener Werkstätte in 1908, her work shows no direct influence of the highly distinctive art style developed there. Her most important teacher was Else Oppler-Legband, a student of the artist and German Werkbund founder Henry van de Velde. It was Oppler's broad professional experience in the realm of fashion, needlework, window decoration, scenery design, and interior design that provided Reich access to a professional career as a designer. Her first major commission was the interiors and furnishings for thirty-two rooms in a Youth Center at Charlottenburg built by Hermann Dernburg. The commission

for furnishing another fourteen rooms was awarded to Margarete Vorberg, a participant in several Werkbund exhibitions.

Such commissions were held to be the "newest field . . . in which women [could function] independently," and it was not uncommon for women to be given interior design jobs in 1911. There were numerous women artists in the years before and after 1910, whose designs for furniture were published or who are mentioned as designers in the art literature, such as Fia Wille, Gertrud Kleinhempel, and Margarete Junge. There were also Ilse Dernburg, Elisabeth von Baczko, Alexe Altenkirch, and Tscheuschner-Cucuel.

Junge and Kleinhempel were the most important designers in the early years for the Dresdner Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst, a furnishings establishment founded in 1898. <sup>10</sup> In 1902 van de Velde wrote that it was they who deserved "the most attention." <sup>11</sup> In addition to them, Charlotte Krause, Countess Marie Egmont-Geldern, and Marie von Brocken also worked as professional designers for the Dresdner Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst as well as for other clients. <sup>12</sup>

Elisabeth von Baczko<sup>13</sup> was the only woman to represent Germany—with a children's room—at the 1910 Brussels World's Fair. In 1908 she had exhibited a dining-room design in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Leipzig. Ilse Dernburg, the wife of the architect Hermann Dernburg and a woman referred to in 1912 as "a young woman of Berlin society raised in bourgeois comfort," was commissioned in that year to furnish thirty luxury cabins on the S.S. *Imperator*. <sup>14</sup> In Berlin, Fia Wille was among the designers most frequently mentioned between 1900 and 1914, either alone or together with her husband Robert Wille. <sup>15</sup> Alexe Altenkirch and Tscheuschner-Cucuel are other female designers who started their careers at the turn of the century.

Almost all these women artists produced designs not only for furnishings but also for handicrafts, clothing, toys, porcelain, and metalware. Stylistically, they belonged to the Jugendstil era, when women were seeking professional careers as never before and demanding opportunities for training. As a result of the Jugendstil reform movement, the demand for designers and draftsmen had risen enormously.

Lilly Reich was thus able to model herself as an interior designer after a number of experienced professional women, most of them her seniors by a decade or more, who must be counted among the pioneers in the field. Many of these women took part in the 1912 Berlin Lyzeum-Klub exhibition *Die Frau in Haus und Beruf (Woman at Home and at Work)*, where Reich had also been invited to show her work. The most important aim of this exhibition was to prove that women were capable of professional work in all areas of life. The Lyzeum-Klub was a women's organization—with its own journal—that had built up its own marketing channels for its members in the form of exhibitions, bazaars, and publications. <sup>16</sup>

Women who had published scholarly or literary works of their own or who "have shown art works or examples of applied arts in public exhibitions, specifically in what are known as the major shows," were eligible to become members of the club, which often worked in collaboration with the Wertheim Department Store, where Oppler-Legband was for a time head of the women's fashion depart-

ment, and with the League of Berlin Women Artists, the most important organization at the time for women artists.<sup>18</sup>

As part of her contribution to Woman at Home and at Work, Reich designed a worker's apartment, tackling a subject that was discussed in all of the art journals of the time, 19 and thereby presenting herself in direct competition with male designers. All the major Jugendstil architects, such as Richard Riemerschmid, Peter Behrens, and Bruno Paul, had designed workers' apartments intended to allow the worker to set himself up tastefully without going into debt. Accordingly, furnishings had to be inexpensive and look unpretentious, plain, and simple. Although Reich's worker's apartment cost less than those of many of her colleagues, it met with little favor from the art critic Paul Westheim. "The core of the problem has been sacrificed to a desire for ornament," he wrote in Das Kunstgewerbeblatt, adding that the worker's apartment displayed all of the "failings of the architecturally inept woman."20 In another journal, he insisted that "the bit of unarchitectural cuteness the designer introduces here is, if not a misconception of the entire assignment, a concealment of her weaknesses."21 Since no photographs of this worker's apartment are known, it is difficult to determine whether Westheim was only reiterating the value judgments of his time about women's lack of architectural aptitude or whether the designs did display such weaknesses. It had become a standard of criticism to claim that women might undertake decorative and simple artistic tasks, but that they were altogether unsuited to the practice of architecture.22

### Women and the German Werkbund

Lilly Reich became a member of the German Werkbund in 1912.<sup>23</sup> Members were admitted "only after being invited to join by the association's [board of] directors."<sup>24</sup> In addition to Oppler-Legband,

a member since the Werkbund's founding in 1907, Reich was well acquainted with board member and principal founder, the architect and civil servant Hermann Muthesius and his wife Anna. Muthesius, who may have nominated Reich for membership, served for many years as the Werkbund's associate director; his wife was a singer who had herself designed reform clothing—a nineteenth-century phenomenon characterized by various organized attempts to alter prevailing styles of dress primarily for reasons of health—and written a book about women's apparel.<sup>25</sup> She also worked for Gerson's Department Store, at that time the most important emporium in Berlin for fashion and home furnishings. Before 1914 it was above all the wealthy and the upper middle class that concerned themselves with reform clothing. Dresses were not to be tight in order to allow the body to move and breathe. They were no longer to be subject to constant changes of fashion and were to accentuate the wearer's personality. Although clothing reform was never fully accepted, its ideas relating to health and practicality were soon incorporated into ready-made clothing after World War I.26

Reich's professional and social position was similar to that of Anna Muthesius and Else Oppler-Legband. They were upper-class women whose appropriately moderate level of professional work did not necessarily provide them a means of support; they all could afford to work for the Werkbund on repeated occasions without a fee. In its first newsletter, *Das Werk*, the German Werkbund had given a precisely defined section to its female members.<sup>27</sup> The association wanted to address women as buyers, educators, and designers for the home. All of the decorative arts and needlework were suitable for them. "The small and fine, the fragile and ornamental" was appropriate, whereas "they are unequal to the demanding design tasks of architecture."<sup>28</sup>

In 1914 Else Oppler-Legband proposed a somewhat larger role for women. According to her, jobs for women included not only



Werkbund House, Frankfurt am Main, c. 1925

those of the textile arts, among them reform clothing, but also *Raum-kunst*, by which she meant interior design, and window dressing. It was not that women wished to enter into "presumptuous competition" with men's work; the work of women served as a "balance and valuable complement" to it.<sup>29</sup> At that time *Raumkunst*, reform clothing, and window dressing were not developed as separate professions, and thus could be entered by any woman with the self-confidence to do so. Lilly Reich tried her hand at each of these areas, and in so doing laid the foundations for her career in the Weimar Republic.

The artful arrangement of display windows became a Jugendstil concern, and Berlin's Wertheim Department Store was a pioneer in this respect. Its windows were even written about in the art journals of the day. 30 The Werkbund saw display windows as a place where art and commerce could come together, for it was hoped that an artistic arrangement of wares would increase sales.

The German Werkbund was one of the co-founders of Die höhere Fachschule für Dekorationskunst, which was opened in September 1910. Its stated task was to train window dressers and set designers. A short time later, in January 1911, it was combined with the established Kunstschule Reimann "so as to meet the stringent requirements."31 Lucius Bernhard and Julius Klinger were its most important teachers. Else Oppler-Legband, whose husband was a theater manager, served as its director during those first three months and "opposed both the display window as a kind of warehouse and those decorators 'who contrive to fashion a waterfall out of handkerchiefs, a winter landscape complete with sleighs out of napkins, or an entrance gate out of boots." She argued for "selective arrangement, . . . architectonic composition, . . . and color effects that took into account the nature of the material."33 Lilly Reich must also have joined these circles, for in the Jahrbuch of 1913 there appeared a photograph of a window design of hers for the Elephanten-Apotheke.34 Her connection with Oppler-Legband and Muthesius also allowed her to participate in the decorations for the Wertheim Department Store.35

By 1914, Lilly Reich's Werkbund responsibilities had greatly increased. When the German Werkbund set out to create a "Haus der Frau" ("House of Woman") as part of its major exhibition in Cologne, <sup>36</sup> Reich was actively involved in handling the correspondence and organization for this section, <sup>37</sup> along with Anna Muthesius and Else Oppler-Legband. Here was a working team of three women who had known each other well for years. Oppler-Legband used her position to secure the commission for the most important representation in the show. Reich designed a living room and a course of display windows situated behind the representation room and leading to the terrace. <sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, there are no known photographs of these works, and there is no acknowledgment of Reich's contributions in the reviews. Nonetheless, this "street of shops" remains of interest for her subse-



The Dwelling. Stuttgart, 1927. Apartment Block by Mies van der Rohe: interior

quent career because we are able to see the designing of display windows as prefiguring that of exhibitions.

In 1915, a year after the outbreak of World War I, the Werkbund newsletter reported that Lilly Reich and Lucius Bernhard had organized a decidedly political fashion show in which the Crown Princess participated as well. This exhibit took place on March 27 and presented roughly one hundred selected fashions. Fong before the war, one of the Werkbund's goals was to "liberate German fashion from foreign tyranny and advance it in the direction of an independent German style." One of the people responsible for the show was the entrepreneur Hermann Freudenberg, the owner of Gerson's Department Store and a client of Hermann Muthesius, who built an imposing home for Freudenberg in Berlin (1907–08). From 1917 on Freudenberg headed the Association of the German Fashion Industry, which for some years represented this important branch of the German economy.

organize: Kunsthandwerk in der Mode (Fashion Craft) at the Staatliches Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin. This exhibition was wholly devoted to women's fashions. Even so, it was committed to the goals of the Werkbund, and forged ties between artists and the fashion industry that enhanced the quality of German fashion for many years.

As the exhibition's artistic director, Reich defined her task as the selection of quality wares. 42 She solicited them from handicraft circles and from the fashion industry itself. An essay she published in 1920 reveals her thinking at the time. 43 She felt that the handicraft artist has a love for materials and an inherent desire to give form, and enjoys creative work. The end product is a luxury article, to be sure, but owing to its quality it can easily become a timeless art object as well. She contrasted this with the industrial work of the big manufacturers, which is seasonal. In keeping with the spirit of the Werkbund, however, she saw a chance to have an aesthetic influence on this seasonal activity. It was her belief that the handicraft artist who understood the profession was also in a position to respect the "laws of machine work" and to "exert influence upon the machine in the workshop."44 Her very detailed remarks about handicraft show that she was well-versed in the field. Attention to materials and a sense of quality determined her relation to arts and crafts. The article is also remarkable for what it doesn't say; there are none of the almost unavoidable comments about the limitations of women's art and the polarization of women and men. 45 Behind the sober reflections on fashion crafts we can sense the self-confident personality of Reich, who in October 1920 would become the first woman to assume a position on the board of directors of the German Werkbund.

The recommendation that Lilly Reich be elected to the board had come from Margarete Naumann, a now unknown artist, who had developed new lace-making techniques and worked with machine-made lace. 46 Reich and Naumann had exhibited dresses they had

made themselves at the Leipzig spring fair of 1920, Reich having employed machine-made lace as well.<sup>47</sup> Subsequently, Reich repeatedly exhibited articles of clothing or handicrafts she had made herself. She had eight examples of linens and children's clothing for sale in the Werkbund exhibit that toured the United States in 1922,<sup>48</sup> and had her own stand in the Werkbund House at the International Frankfurt Fair in fall 1923.<sup>49</sup>

Reich had expressed her thoughts on fashion in 1922, in the essay "Modefragen." She argued for the development of clothing types, as they had been developed for sports clothing, but claimed that dresses should also emphasize the individuality of the woman wearing them and provide room for high-quality needlework. The photographs documenting her designs often show two or three dresses that are clearly variations on the same pattern, thereby embodying both standardization and individuality. St

The Werkbund views on standardization are crucial to Reich's thinking about fashion, <sup>52</sup> but so is the prewar discussion about reform clothing and individual dress in which Oppler-Legband and Anna Muthesius had also been involved. <sup>53</sup> Then, in spite of its previously active role, for various reasons, the Werkbund completely withdrew from discussions of fashion in the Weimar Republic.

### A Woman Artist in the Weimar Years

Until about 1920, Lilly Reich's professional career evolved within the context of a women's culture. Even when some of her newly designed pieces of furniture were presented in one of the professional journals in 1915 they appeared under the title "Die Frau als Möbelbauerin." During the following years she was able to step out of these narrower confines and to expand her activities to the area of exhibition design, which was becoming increasingly important at the time. Her success

stemmed from the fact that she consistently applied avant-garde, objective aesthetics to the design of exhibitions. With this specialty, Reich broke through prewar paradigms of female professional practice that persisted into the period of the Weimar Republic, 55 after the slow recovery of the German economy from World War I.

The Werkbund headquarters in Berlin started up again after the war with various exhibitions, such as the one that toured the United States in 1922. The Werkbund also wanted to be a presence in the German marketplace, and established the so-called Werkbund Commission at the office of the International Frankfurt Fair, displaying selected fine handicrafts at its Werkbund House during the spring and fall fairs. The committee responsible for selecting the displays was made up of Lilly Reich, Robert Schmidt, and Richard L. F. Schulz. 56 The Werkbund House stood on the vast Frankfurt Fairgrounds. Built by Fritz Voggenberg, it was a brick structure with display windows under an arcade along the front. Reich began working there in January 1924, and the Werkbund newsletter praised her as "a person equally gifted as an organizer and an artist."57 Reich's correspondence with Walter Gropius in 1924 makes it clear that she was allowed to make a great number of decisions on her own.<sup>58</sup> At that time she was organizing the transfer of the exhibition Die Form, the first important Werkbund exhibition after the war, from Stuttgart to the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Frankfurt. She wanted to shift the show's emphasis in the Frankfurt installation and give the Bauhaus a room of its own. She therefore wrote to Gropius requesting more material. The Bauhaus welcomed the chance to exhibit and immediately sent furniture, ceramics, and metalwork. At the same time, Gropius insisted that the objects be displayed in a specific way: "I would request that the individual wares be set up in rows, completely separated by kind, that is to say ten lamps side by side."59 Unfortunately, the exhibit is not documented in any known photographs.

In 1925 the Werkbund journal *Die Form* announced that Reich was offering a course for advanced students in pattern drawing and embroidery. <sup>60</sup> She also established a clothing and linen workshop in Frankfurt. <sup>61</sup> In that same year she exhibited a hand-made blouse at the international exhibition of applied arts in Monza, <sup>62</sup> and later showed her work in the 1927 Mannheim exhibition *Handwerkskunst im Zeitalter der Maschine* (*Handicraft in the Machine Age*). <sup>63</sup> Gustav Hartlaub published two of her embroideries in 1931. <sup>64</sup>

In 1926 Lilly Reich was awarded an exhibition contract that was to be decisive for her career. For the International Frankfurt Fair of September 1926 she designed *Von der Faser zum Gewebe* (*From Fiber to Textile*), showing how wool and cotton were produced. Reich prepared an extremely creative arrangement of a rather unpromising and unattractive theme for professionals in the textile industry. Two critiques hint at her solution: "This is a pioneering display of objectivity, one that had to suffer the mistrust accorded—justifiably, often enough—to exhibitions. It is all the more gratifying for the Frankfurt Board of Trade that it is able to present a complete, surveyable picture of the wool and cotton industry." Die Frankfurter Zeitung also mentions the "exemplary objectivity" of the display.

A year later, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe cited this exhibition in order to convince the city of Stuttgart to engage Reich for the "halls exhibition" for the Werkbund enterprise that included the Weissenhof Housing Settlement and Exhibition project. As a result, the personal and professional relationship between Reich and Mies van der Rohe took on a new dimension. The exhibition *Die Wohnung (The Dwelling)*, mounted in Stuttgart in 1927 under Mies's direction, was the largest and most ambitious undertaking of the German Werkbund. International architects selected by Mies were able to erect all manner of model houses. Only a few of their interiors were furnished by the architects themselves; a large number of the furnishing contracts were



The Dwelling. Stuttgart, 1927. Apartment Block by Mies van der Rohe: dressing room

awarded to others. As a complement to all of this there were the so-called exhibition halls in downtown Stuttgart, for which Reich was solely responsible. There, abandoning Mies's original plan, Reich decided to lay out the halls according to themes. Two spaces (halls 4 and 5) were identified in the catalogue as a collaboration between Reich and Mies—with Reich's name appearing first. It was in connection with these exhibits that Lilly Reich first came to be mentioned in newspaper articles having no direct connection to the Werkbund.

Reich and Mies often worked together after the Weissenhof exhibition of 1927. Just how they structured their collaborations contractually, financially, and artistically is unclear. We do know that they always maintained their own offices. One of their joint projects about which very little is known was the exhibition Die Mode der Dame (Women's Fashion), held in the hall next to the Radio Tower, at Kaiserdamm, in September 1927. On that occasion Mies and Reich designed the "Café Samt und Seide" ("Velvet and Silk Café"), the walls of which were formed by huge panels of silk, rayon, and velvet.<sup>70</sup> Two equally difficult commissions came on the heels of the halls exhibition in Stuttgart: one in 1929 for the Barcelona International Exposition and another in 1931 for the German Building Exposition in Berlin. Lilly Reich was entrusted with the artistic direction of the Barcelona exhibition halls, which were in nine different locations.<sup>71</sup> The German press primarily showed interior views of the Palace of Chemistry and Palace of Textiles, and although the German exhibitors were fully documented in the directory, they were not in photographs. 72 This was not the only thing that made it difficult to judge the displays. In 1929 it was Mies's German Pavilion that attracted all the attention and was what people wrote about. In the same way, the apartments and houses on display at the German Building Exposition of 1931 overshadowed the exhibition of building materials by Reich.

Nevertheless, a second major focus for Reich from 1927 on was interiors and furniture design, 73 which permitted a better sphere for independent work. By that time it was no longer claimed that women lacked talent for such endeavors, yet in practice the field was largely dominated by male architects. It was easier for a woman to break into it if she dealt with children's furniture or kitchens (as did Alma Buscher at the Bauhaus) or could present herself as the wife or partner of an architect (like Charlotte Perriand or Flora Steiger-Crawford).

As Mies's partner, Reich was awarded the contract for the furnishings in his apartment house in the Weissenhof Housing Settlement, and thus became the only woman there to design the interior of an entire dwelling. Hilde Zimmermann and Dr. Erna Meyer were able to collaborate as experts on kitchens. The "Wohnung einer berufstätigen Frau" ("Career Woman's Apartment"), also in the Mies building, was designed by the husband-and-wife team of Reinhold and Margret Stotz, following suggestions from housewives' organizations and the Stuttgart League of Women Employees. Lilly Reich further enhanced her unusual status as a furniture designer over the following years. She was the only woman to design a full series of furniture made of tubular steel. It was manufactured in the Bamberg Metalwerkstätten, the firm that produced Mies's furniture as well, and in 1931 the manufacturer published a catalogue presenting both lines.

Another indication of how similarly Reich and Mies approached design at the time is that in addition to this mass-produced furniture both of them produced designs for handmade luxury pieces. Many of these were apparently produced in only a single example, and would be wholly unknown if Werner Gräff had not published them in his book Jetzt wird Ihre Wohnung eingerichtet. 77 Gräff intended to provide an overview of furnishings from the inexpensive standard chair to one-of-a-kind pieces; his book shows designs by Reich that one could probably only have purchased through her. He included, for example, a table with tubular steel legs, the top of which is covered in black cowhide. Reich furnished a number of apartments with that model.

Eduard Ludwig, a student and admirer of Mies's, kept notes of his meetings with Mies and Reich, which contain illuminating comments about Lilly Reich such as: "Modern space. Intrinsic value of the materials themselves. One has to be bold about color, young architects' spaces generally too bland. Breuhaus, Bruno Paul—tasteful."<sup>78</sup> She shared a sense of the nature of materials with Mies. Her exquisite

MITGLIEDSKARTE

MITGLIEDSKARTE

PAULOIN IIII Roich

SALET

BINST LAND.

PERU IALLI Roich,

Do S S S III.

German Werkbund membership card and postcard. Lilly Reich Collection, Mies van der Rohe Archive, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

sense of color, and her unusual use of it in interiors is also reflected in a published critique of her work: "Lilly Reich always gives her spaces a strict arrangement enlivened by gleaming colors. Furnishings in black wood are brightened with blue and orange." Grete Tugendhat recalled how carefully the materials and colors for Mies's Tugendhat House of 1930, in Brno, Czechoslovakia, were selected: its furnishings were covered in silver-gray wool, emerald-green leather, and ruby-red velvet. The curtains contrasted black and silver-gray silk shantung with black and white velvet. Most probably Reich had collaborated with Mies on the furnishings, since this was still early in their association.

Lilly Reich was able to repeat and improve her unique role as a furniture designer, interior decorator, and designer of displays for the Weissenhof project and on the occasion of the German Building Exposition in Berlin in 1931. There she also made her debut as an architect (see frontispiece). In addition to a single-story house, she contributed two model apartments, in part using furnishings of her own design, and also arranged the materials display in the gallery. This was to be her only built architecture; there are fully developed designs for the remodeling of a hotel in Ascona, the product of a brief stay in the Ticino in 1934, but the work was never undertaken.

Many of Reich's commissions, some of which she executed in collaboration with Mies whereas others were divided up between them, came from people affiliated with the textile industry. It is often difficult to reconstruct these connections today. The Frankfurt show From Fiber to Textile and the "Velvet and Silk Café" had been meant to demonstrate the productivity of German textile manufacturers. The textile industry was one of the most important branches of German manufacturing at the time, and was experiencing enormous growth, largely owing to the invention of artificial silk and rayon. Be These were the two most important synthetic fabrics, and they revolutionized the manufacture of ready-to-wear clothing.

Reich had acquired a reputation as an expert in the presentation of these materials, which were difficult to display, and was repeatedly hired by the same industrialists. One such job was the furnishing of an artificial silk sales office in Berlin in 1931. Other representatives of the textile industry who appear on her list of clients were Modlinger (1930–31), Wolf (1934–35), and Crous and Berga (1938).

Although Reich's main work during the Weimar Republic had to do with exhibition planning, furniture design, and interior decorating, it was she who in 1928 was the favored candidate for the directorship of a new fashion institute in Munich. 83 Reich declined the offer: "I can't consider it, not because I have no desire to move to Munich, but because I would have to limit the scope of my work considerably,

which would be very difficult for me, especially now after the job in Stuttgart and before the work for Barcelona (Mies and I are in charge of constructing the entire German section for the international exposition there next year). My real heart—or let us say one of my hearts—is in building, after all, and I am happy that I am still able to return to this love from time to time. I see the value of the job there, of course, and also the value of the financial security, but my love is stronger, and there's nothing I can do about it."<sup>84</sup> With the term building, Lilly Reich clearly meant the building of exhibitions. When in the following year she showed an interest in the Munich position after all, the negotiations collapsed owing to her high salary demands.<sup>85</sup>

Mies van der Rohe became director of the Bauhaus in Dessau in September 1930, and offered Reich a position comparable to the one in Munich at that far more prestigious institution. The longtime head of the weaving department, Gunta Stölzl, had left in September 1931, and in January 1932 Lilly Reich became the director of both the weaving studio and the interiors workshop.86 She incorporated what had previously been the separate workshops for furniture, metalwork, and wall painting. In the weaving department especially, which at that time rarely had more than ten students, she set decidedly new priorities. From the day she arrived, wallpaper designs and designs for printed fabrics were to be handled together. By the end of 1931 the Bauhaus had already concluded a licensing agreement concerning printed fabrics with the textile firm Van Delden & Co. in Gronau. 87 Increasing emphasis was placed on designs for printed patterns, many of which were indeed able to be used twice, for both fabrics and wallpaper. Van Delden produced several albums with sample designs.88 As late as February 1933 Van Delden was showing its Bauhaus prints in a booth at the Leipzig Fair.

Lilly Reich was one of the few women of her generation to obtain a position as a teacher in an art school. At the Bauhaus, only

the class in weaving had been entrusted to a woman, Gunta Stölzl, who taught there from 1925 to 1931. In other art schools it was almost impossible for women to fill positions having to do with anything other than weaving, embroidery, or textiles. <sup>89</sup> It was also extremely rare for women teaching in art schools to be awarded professorships. The first woman to be so recognized in Germany was Gertrud Kleinhempel, who was promoted in 1921. <sup>90</sup> The Bavarian government recognized the calligrapher Anna Simons with a professorship in 1929. <sup>91</sup> But at the Bauhaus, the weaving class had—until Stölzl—long been run by men who had no training for the job; and in art institutes the number of women teachers had been extremely small during the Weimar Republic.

In Weimar Germany there were no social role models for women who wished to function as artists and partners. A man could combine the roles of artist, husband, and father with no problem;

Tubular-steel chair, LR 120/6, and table, 1931



however, it was felt that a woman should choose one thing or the other. Those couples who did manage to function as artistic partners nevertheless had to be courageous enough to endure highly individual and often unconventional relationships. Reich and Mies managed just that. Their individual self-respect and independence did not prevent them from working together and influencing each other. As an artist, by the end of the Weimar Republic Lilly Reich enjoyed a most unusual, virtually unprecedented, position. It would be fascinating to compare her status with other women artists of her generation who worked as interior decorators and designers of exhibitions, but to date there have been no studies in this area. There have still been no separate monographs on the interior designers Else Wenz-Vietor, Ruth Hildegard Geyer-Raack, and Lilly Prill-Schloemann. 92 One of the reasons there is little interest in their biographies is that they were not a part of the avant-garde, but tended to be more eclectic and historical in their styles.

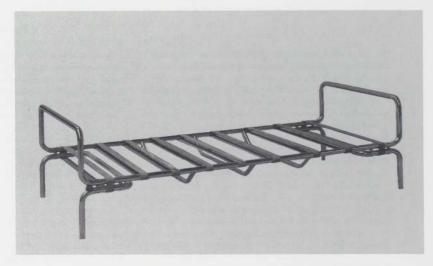
### The Artist and National Socialism

Lilly Reich's first exhibition commission under the Third Reich appeared to be a nearly seamless continuation of her earlier work. For the 1934 exhibition Deutsches Volk—deutsche Arbeit (German People—German Work), she arranged the display of ceramics, earthenware, glass, and porcelain. 93 Her most important co-worker at that time was the architect and Bauhaus graduate Herbert Hirche, who also worked with Mies at the time. 94 Hirche helped in the planning and execution of German People—German Work and in the planning of the Reichsausstellung der deutschen Textil- und Bekleidungswirtschaft (Imperial Exposition of the German Textile and Garment Industry). Even now it is unclear just who Mies and Reich were working for in the case of the latter show. Shortly before the opening of the exhibition their contract was withdrawn, and they were required to hand over their plans to

the architect Ernst Sagebiel. Hirche suspects that it was Hermann Göring, the exhibition's patron, who insisted on the change. The last major commission Hirche was able to work on in Reich's office was for a show of German textiles in the International Pavilion at the 1937 Paris International Exposition. It is highly probable that this commission was awarded to Reich alone.

The following years brought no more government contracts to speak of; the commissions that were awarded to Reich were by and large owing to her previous contacts either with important people in the textile industry or her Bauhaus colleagues. Her modern style was only partly to blame for the stagnation in her career. She was also ignored and excluded because she was a woman. The Nazis wanted women to decline careers, preferring to see them as mothers, educators, and housewives. In only a very few artistic professions was it possible for women to carve out careers, and then only if they patterned their art and their lives in accordance with Nazi views. For the most part women were simply banished from public life and the arts. The Danish author known as Isak Dinesen wrote: "When I was in Berlin in 1940 . . . women—and the whole feminine world—had been so thoroughly suppressed that I might just as well have been moving in a single-sex society."97 Lilly Reich's few surviving letters confirm such isolation and lack of opportunity. In March 1935, she wrote to the Dutch architect J. J. P. Oud: "I have had a few smaller jobs, but now again there is nothing. It is not a pretty situation, but we are so helpless to change it. . . . What a difficult time we were born in." In another letter to Oud we read: "I myself have only a few smaller jobs."98

In 1938 Mies received an invitation to teach in the United States, and took the opportunity to emigrate. The question of why he did not take Reich with him has never been satisfactorily answered. She did visit him in Chicago in 1939 but returned to Germany, where she functioned as his business representative until 1947.



Tubular-steel bed, LR 600, 1931

During the last years of the war Lilly Reich was employed in the office of Ernst Neufert, occupied—as Hirche recalls—with jobs that were "far beneath her abilities." Neufert had been commissioned by Albert Speer to work out standards for residential buildings. While fleeing from the bombardment of Berlin in early 1945, Lilly Reich lost the majority of her personal and professional papers, records, and documents.

As early as June 1945 Lilly Reich enthusiastically took part in the numerous activities of the newly revived Werkbund in Berlin. She wrote resolutions about primary education, about ideal household appliances, and worked as an architect. In August 1945 she wrote to her lawyer: "I have to get back to work, if only so as to exist financially. Our family has become very, very poor, but I do hope that my profession will give me the chance of finding satisfactory employment." Hans Scharoun commissioned her to remodel houses, 102 but she died within a few years after a long illness at the age of sixty-two.

### NOTES

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- 1. Max Osborn, "Das Charlottenburger Jugendheim," Die Bauwelt 9 (January 21, 1911), pp. 17–20.
- 2. Undated manuscript, Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin, containing information on Reich's life provided by her sister Emmi and her sister-in-law Reich, compiled by H. M. Wingler. See also Hans Wichmann, Von Morris bis Memphis: Textilien der neuen Sammlung Ende 19. bis Ende 20. Jahrhundert (Munich: Birkhäuser, 1990), p. 421.
- 3. Magdalena Droste, "Women in the Arts and Crafts and in Industrial Design 1890–1933," in Women in Design: Careers and Life Histories since 1900 (Stuttgart: Landesgewerbeamt Baden-Württemberg, 1989), pp. 182ff.
- 4. Undated manuscript, Bauhaus-Archiv. 5. See Osborn, "Charlottenburger Jugendheim." Oppler-Legband was born in Nuremberg on February 21, 1875. She studied under van de Velde and M. Dasio. In 1902 she became the director of the department of applied arts at Nuremberg's Association for the Advancement of Women. In the index of the founders of the German Werkbund (Verzeichnis der Gründer des deutschen Werkbunds, Werkbund-Archiv Berlin, n.d.) Oppler is listed as one of the Werkbund's co-founders. Other women named are Brauchitsch, Junge, and Luksch-Macowsa. In 1904 she married the theater manager Dr. Paul Leaband. The first evidence of her having come in contact with Hermann and Anna Muthesius dates from 1906. Beginning in January 1910, she served for three months as director of Die höhere Fachschule für Dekorationskunst. In 1910 she founded a committee for textile arts and fashion within the League of German Applied Arts in Berlin. Her essay "Handarbeiten und Stickereien in der Schule" appeared in Die Werkkunst (1910). She left Berlin and moved to Freiburg in 1912. She was a member of the executive committee of the 1912 exhibition Woman at Home and at Work, and served as artistic director for Hall 2. She was also on the executive committee for the "House of Woman" in Cologne in 1914, and

designed its largest room. Beginning in 1920 she published short essays on window design in the journal Der Konfektionär. Her name is connected with an interior design commission for a Behrens apartment in the 1927 Stuttgart Weissenhofsiedlung, which she was ultimately not given. She took part in the exhibition Women's Fashion in Berlin in 1927. In 1930, she furnished an exhibition hall for Behrens in the German Building Exposition, Berlin. No further dates are known—not even the date of her death.

6. For Dernburg, see Wasmuth, Architekturlexikon. See also Architektonische Rundschau 28 (1911), no. 1; Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung 31 (1911), p. 2891; and Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter 6 (1911), pp. 41ff.

- 7. Margarete Vorberg (1867–1928) also participated in Woman at Home and at Work in Berlin (1912), and was represented in the "House of Woman" in Cologne (1914).

  8. Else Oppler-Legband, "Das Haus der Frau auf der Werkbundausstellung," Der deutsche Werkbund, Special Issue of Illustrierte Zeitung, no. 3699 (1914).
- 9. For biographies of Wille (b. 1868), Kleinhempel (b. 1875), and Junge (b. 1875), see Sonja Günther, "International Pioneers," in Women in Design (see note 3). Van de Velde mentioned Kleinhempel and Junge as furniture designers in 1910. See also Hans Wichmann, Aufbruch zum neuen Wohnen (Basel and Stuttgart: Birkhäuser, 1978), p. 48.
- Klaus-Peter Arnold. Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau: Die Geschichte der deutschen Werkstätten und der Gartenstadt Hellerau (Dresden and Basel: Verlag der Kunst, 1993).
   Henry van de Velde, "Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst,"
- Innendekoration 13 (1902), pp. 153-60.
- 12. Biographies of these women artists and numerous photographs can be found in Arnold, *Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau*; van de Velde, "Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst"; and Hans Wichmann, *Deutsche Werkstätten und WK-Verband*, 1895–1990 (Munich: Prestel, 1992).
- 13. Droste, "Women in the Arts and Crafts," p. 185. For the Leipzig exhibition, see *Die Werkkunst* 4 (1908), p. 380.
- 14. See Max Osborn, "Innenräume von Ilse Dernburg," Innendekoration 33 (1912), pp. 263–69.
- 15. For a biography of Wille, see Günther, "International Pioneers," pp. 54–55.
- 16. In 1909 the Lyzeum-Klub organized a highly regarded exhibition of folk art in the Wertheim Department Store (see the Muthesius Papers, Werkbund-Archiv, Berlin).
- 17. See *Deutscher Lyzeum-Klub, Berlin*, publicity brochure, c. 1912, private collection.
- 18. A review of a Christmas fair held jointly by the Lyzeum-Klub and the League of Berlin Women Artists in 1914 includes the following: "Full of faith in their artistic mission, our craftswomen are making every effort to show us that they are deserving of a place in the applied arts" (Das Kunstgewerbeblatt 25 [1914], p. 7). The condescending

tone was more the rule than the exception at the time in references to women's art.

- 19. See Sonja Günther, Das deutsche Heim (Giessen: Anabas, 1984).
- 20. Paul Westheim, in *Das Kunstgewerbeblatt* 23 (1912). See also Paul Westheim, "Die Frauenausstellung, Ein Nachwort," *Kunst und Handwerk* 62 (1911–12), pp. 268–74.
- 21. Westheim, Kunstgewerbeblatt (1912).
- 22. Karl Scheffler, Die Frau und die Kunst: Eine Studie (Berlin: Verlag Julius Bard, 1908). Westheim, "Frauenausstellung," refers to Scheffler: "The originality and the architectural elements were dubious; the strength of these female arts is still rooted in the decorative."
- 23. See Joan Campbell, *Der deutsche Werkbund,* 1907–1934 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1989), p. 16.
- 24. Das Werkblatt (1908), p. 183.
- Anna Muthesius was born in 1870. See exhibition catalogue: Hermann Muthesius (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1978), p. 29; and Anna Muthesius, Das Eigenkleid der Frau (Krefeld: Kramer & Braun, 1903).
- 26. Brigitte Stamm, Das Reformkleid in Deutschland (published as manuscript, Berlin, 1976).
- 27. Else Warlich, "Der Deutsche Werkbund und die Frau," Das Werk (1909), pp. 103–10.
- 28. Ibid., p. 103.
- 29. Oppler-Legband, "Das Haus der Frau auf der Werkbundausstellung."
- 30. "Berlin's display windows, for example, have undergone a most dramatic change in the last few years. Whereas we once had only the displays at A. Wertheim, designed by the incomparable Fräulein von Hahn, it is now possible to come upon many a delightful surprise, even at Chopping's" (Paul Westheim, in Das Kunstgewerbeblatt 22 [1911], pp. 131ff.).
- 31. Sebastian Müller, Kunst und Industrie: Ideologie und Organisation des Funktionalismus in der Architektur (Munich: Hanser, 1974), p. 126.
- 33. Else Oppler-Legband, "Die höhere Fachschule für Dekorationskunst," Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes (1912), pp. 105–14.
- 34. See Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes (1913), p. 103.
- 35. Undated manuscript, Bauhaus-Archiv.
- 36. The best overview is in the rare second edition of the catalogue, *Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung Cöln 1914*. Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin.
- 37. Some of Lilly Reich's letters to Agnes Grave, curator of the textile section, are preserved in the Karl-Ernst-Osthaus-Archiv, Hagen.
- 38. See Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung Cöln 1914.
- 39. "Jahresbericht 1914/15: Die deutsche Werkbund-

Ausstellung Köln 1914," Mitteilungen des deutschen Werkbundes 1 (June 1915), p. 8. See also Stickerei- und Spitzenrundschau 15 (May 1915), p. 187.

40. See Die Kunstwelt 3 (March 1, 1914), p. 3.

41. "Nachruf auf Hermann Freudenberg," in Mitteilungen des Verbandes der deutschen Modeindustrie, new series 1 (1924).

42. Lilly Reich, "Die Ausstellung 'Kunsthandwerk in der Mode,'" Mitteilungen des Verbandes der deutschen Modeindustrie 10 (1920), pp. 208–11.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. A sampling of such commentary follows: "It is now believed that we are justified in calling the decorative impulse specifically feminine, the constructive impulse masculine" (from Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration 36, no. 12 [1914], pp. 426ff.); and "It appears that women have greater feeling for the play of inessential forms delighting the senses than men do" (Peter Behrens, "Die Beziehungen des Kunstgewerbes zur Mode," Mitteilungen des Verbandes der deutschen Modeindustrie 11–12 [1919], p. 227).
46. See "Vorbemerkung zur heutigen Sondernummer der 'Freien Gruppe für Farbkunst des D.W.B.,'" Das Werk. Mitteilungen des deutschen Werkbundes (October 1920), p. 17. Margarete Naumann was born in 1881; her death date is unknown.

47. Ibid.

48. See exhibition catalogue: *The Applied Arts* (Newark, N.J.: Newark Museum, 1922).

49. See exhibition catalogue: Frankfurter Internationale Messe (Fall 1923), p. 275.

50. Lilly Reich, "Modefragen," *Die Form* (1922); reprinted in Sonja Günther, *Lilly Reich 1885–1947* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1988), p. 86.

51. See photographs in ibid.

52. See Campbell, Der deutsche Werkbund, pp. 73ff.

53. Die Werkkunst 5 (1910), pp. 87ff.

54. Robert Breuer, "Die Frau als Möbelbauerin," Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter 10 (1915), pp. 101–04.

55. See Droste, "Women in the Arts and Crafts," p. 182ff. 56. Schulz was born in 1868 and died in 1941. See Das Grassi Bilderbuch des Jahres 1942 (Leipzig: Poeschel und Trepte, 1942). R. L. F. Schulz, referred to affectionately as "Lamp Schulz," was the owner of a Berlin lamp shop that also carried old and new handicrafts. It was he who supplied the lighting for Lilly Reich's first commission.
57. "Werkbund-Gedanken," supplement to the Stuttgarter

57. "Werkbund-Gedanken," supplement to the Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt (March 19, 1924).

58. See correspondence between Reich and Gropius in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Bestand Bauhaus. 59. Letter from Walter Gropius to Lilly Reich, 1924, *ibid*. 60. *Die Form* (November 1925), p. 36.

61. Die Frankfurter Zeitung 71, no. 713 (September 24, 1926).

62. Das deutsche Kunstgewerbe im Jahr der grossen Pariser Ausstellung, Monza 1925 (Berlin 1926), p. 61.

63. Lilly Reich's contributions included sample dresses and handmade underclothes and table linens.

64. Gustav Hartlaub, *Das ewige Handwerk* (Berlin: Verlag Hermann Reckendorf, 1931), see illus. p. 47: two pieces of hemstitching by Lilly Reich.

65. See Der Konfektionär 77 (1926), p. 5.

66. "Frankfurter Herbstmesse," Die Frankfurter Zeitung (September 27, 1926).

67. Karin Kirsch, Die Weissenhofsiedlung: Werkbund-Ausstellung "Die Wohnung"—Stuttgart 1927 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1986), p. 31. 68. Ibid.

69. Ibid. See also exhibition catalogue: Willi Baumeister: Typographie und Reklamegestaltung (Stuttgart: Edition Cantz, 1989), pp. 80ff.

70. "In this display, designed with the participation of other important artists such as Mies van der Rohe, Frau Opppler-Legband, Stephanie Hahn . . . it is clear what far-reaching connections there are between fashion and various industrial groups . . . the displays have been grouped around an elegant café, which is a part of the exhibition. This 'Velvet and Silk Café' was executed after a design by Mies van der Rohe" (from Die elegante Welt 19 [September 21, 1927], p. 59).

71. See exhibition catalogue: Internationale Ausstellung Barcelona, 1929: Deutsche Abteilung, n.d.

72. Ibid.

73. The most important work on this subject is still Ludwig Glaeser, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: Furniture and Furniture Drawings from the Design Collection and the Mies van der Rohe Archive (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977).

74. Kirsch, Weissenhofsiedlung, p. 73.

75. Ibid., p. 69.

76. Alexander von Vegesack, Deutsche Stahlrohrmöbel (Munich: Bangert, 1986), pp. 66ff.

77. Werner Gräff, Jetzt wird Ihre Wohnung eingerichtet (Potsdam: Müller und Kiepenheuer, 1933), nos. 7, 8, 29, 36, 46, 47, 87, 133, 136, 155, 156.

78. Handwritten notes by Eduard Ludwig, dated 1940, Eduard Ludwig Papers, Mies van der Rohe Archive.

79. See Innendekoration 42 (1931), p. 254, quoted in Günther, Lilly Reich, p. 27, n. 40.

80. Ibid., p. 25.

81. Ibid.

82. Der Konfektionär 85 (October 24, 1928).

83. See exhibition catalogue: Mode für Deutschland: 50 Jahre Meisterschule für Mode (Munich: Munchner Stadtmuseum, 1981), p. 12.

84. Letter from Lilly Reich to Paul Renner, October 6, 1928. Stadtarchiv München, Schulamt 2447. Graciously communicated to me by Dr. Heimers.

85. Ibid.

86. Magdalena Droste, ed., Gunta Stölzl: Weberei am Bauhaus und aus eigener Werkstatt (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1987), pp. 139ff.

87. Ibid., pp. 140ff.

88. Wichmann, Von Morris bis Memphis, pp. 206ff.

89. Droste, "Women in the Arts and Crafts," p. 182.

90. Wichmann, Aufbruch zum neuen Wohnen, p. 374.

91. "Die Form 1929," Mitteilungen des deutschen Werkbundes (January 15, 1929).

92. For Geyer-Raack, see Günther, "International Pioneers," pp. 78ff. For Wenz-Vietor, see Wichmann, Aufbruch zum neuen Wohnen, p. 400. Prill-Schloemann worked with the architect Bruno Paul on the exhibition in Monza in 1927. 93. Sabine Weissler, "Baushaus-Gestaltung in NS-Propaganda-Ausstellungen," in Winfried Nerdinger, Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus (Munich: Prestel, 1993), pp. 48–63.

94. Herbert Hirche: Architektur Innenraum Design 1945–1976 (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1978). For a more recent Hirche biography, see Bauhaus in Berlin: Bauten und Projekte (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1995). I am grateful to Herr Hirche for a long telephone conversation on July 11, 1995.

95. Ibid.

96. The exhibition was apparently not merely a borrowing from the Imperial Exposition of the German Textile and Garment Industry in Berlin, as is assumed in Günther, Lilly Reich, p. 58, and reiterated in Weissler, "Bauhaus-Gestaltung," p. 63, but, rather, a separate commission. 97. Tania Blixen, Schatten wandern übers Gras (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowolt, 1992), p. 6.

98. Letter from Lilly Reich to J. J. P. Oud, March 16, 1935; and letter from Reich to Oud, 1936. Mies van der Rohe Archive

99. Franz Schulze, Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 216.

100. Telephone conversation with Hirche, 1995.

101. Letter from Lilly Reich to G. Bueren, August 19, 1945. Document Box: "Patent Material," folder 10.2, Mies van der Rohe Archive.

102. "Frau Reich, remembered by Scharoun with a lovely commission" (letter from Eduard Ludwig to Mies van der Rohe, November 7, 1945, Eduard Ludwig Papers, Mies van der Rohe Archive). This probably refers to two large apartment renovation projects: "First project Uhlandstrasse 181. Division of four apartments into two apartments and eleven apartments per floor. Second project Hohenzollerndamm 91: Division of two apartments into six apartments each floor" (Johann Friedrich Geist and Klaus Kürvers, Das Berliner Mietshaus 1945–1898 (Munich: Prestel, 1989), p. 207. I am grateful to Jonas Geist for pointing this out to me.

### CHRONOLOGY

COMPILED BY PIERRE ADLER

### 1885

Born on June 16 in Berlin.

#### 1907

German Werkbund founded.

### 1908

Studies with Josef Hoffmann at Wiener Werkstätte.

#### 1910

Studies with Else Oppler-Legband at Die höhere Fachschule für Dekorationskunst, Berlin.

#### 1911

Wertheim Department Store, Berlin: clothing displays.

Youth Center, Goethestrasse, Charlottenburg, Berlin: interiors and furnishings for thirty-two rooms.

#### 1912

Woman at Home and at Work (Die Frau in Haus und Beruf), exhibition for Deutscher Lyzeum-Klub at Zoological Gardens, Berlin, February 24– March 24: worker's apartment and two stores.

Becomes a member of the German Werkbund.

### 1913

Elefanten-Apotheke, Berlin: window display.

#### 1914

"House of Woman" ("Haus der Frau"), section of German Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, May 16-August 1: member of organizing committee; series of display windows (nos. 14 and 15); and living room (no. 11).

Converts atelier into dressmaker's shop for duration of war.

### 1915

Furniture designs published in Robert Breuer, "Die Frau als Möbelbauerin" ("Woman as Furniture Builder"), in the journal Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter. Exhibition for Werkbund Committee for the Fashion Industry at the Preussische Abgeordnetenhaus, Berlin, from March 27: artistic direction (with Lucius Bernhard).

#### 1916-17

Swiss Werkbund exhibition: selection of women's work.

#### 1920

Fashion Craft (Kunsthandwerk in der Mode), exhibition for the Association of the German Fashion Industry at Staatliches Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, February 6–13: artistic direction; clothing and embroidery designs.

Grassi Museum, Leipzig Spring Fair: garments.

October 25, first woman elected to board of directors of German Werkbund.

### 1921

Werkbund House inaugurated on grounds of International Frankfurt Fair, Moltke-Allee, Frankfurt am Main.

### 1922

The Applied Arts, Werkbund exhibition at Newark Museum, Newark, N.J., April 18–May 31: selection (assisted by Otto Baur and Richard L. F. Schulz) of products; garments.

Publishes article, "Modefragen" ("Issues of Fashion") in the journal Die Form.

#### 1923

Exhibition in Werkbund House, International Frankfurt Fair, Frankfurt am Main, September 23–29: booth no. 3630.

Atelier für Ausstellungsgestaltung und Mode, exhibitions for German Werkbund at International Frankfurt Fair, Frankfurt am Main: exhibition design (twice yearly through 1926).

## 1924

Meets the architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

Die Form, traveling exhibition (based on Stuttgart exhibition) at Kunstgewerbemuseum, Frankfurt am

Main, September 21-end of October: exhibition assembly (with Ferdinand Kramer and Robert Schmidt).

#### 1925

Founds Werkstatt für Kleider und Wäsche, Frankfurt am Main.

International Exhibition of Applied Arts (Internationale Kunstgewerbeausstellung), Monza: garment.

#### 1926

From Fiber to Textile (Von der Faser zum Gewebe), Festhalle, International Frankfurt Fair, Frankfurt am Main, September 21–October 10: design and organization.

### 1927

The Dwelling (Die Wohnung), Weissenhof Housing Settlement (Weissenhofsiedlung) and Exhibition, for the German Werkbund in Stuttgart, July 23—October 9: design and organization of exhibition halls (with Mies van der Rohe); model-apartment interiors.

"Velvet and Silk Café" ("Café Samt und Seide") in Women's Fashion (Die Mode der Dame), exhibition of the Imperial Association of German Fashion Industry and the Berlin Fair office, Fairgrounds (near Kaiserdamm), Berlin, September 21–October 16: design (with Mies van der Rohe).

Handicraft in the Machine Age (Handwerkskunst im Zeitalter der Maschine), Mannheim: garments and table linens.

### 1928

Closing of Werkbund House.

#### 1929

International Exposition, Barcelona, spring: artistic direction of twenty-five exhibits for the German representation.

### 1930

Third International Exhibition of Industrial Art, Decorative Metalwork and Cotton Textiles, for the American Federation of Arts, February 7: selection of goods for Werkbund participation.

Ruthenberg Apartment, Berlin: living room (with Mies van der Rohe).

Carl Wilhelm Crous Apartment, Südende, Berlin: bookcase and ladder.

### 1930-31

Modlinger House, Wannsee, Berlin: remodeling.

### 1931

The Dwelling in Our Time (Die Wohnung unserer Zeit), German Building Exposition, Fairgrounds (near Kaiserdamm), Berlin, May 9-August 2: design of Ground-Floor House; interiors for apartments for married couple and single person in Boarding House, and Store and Exhibition Room for Apartment Furnishings; "Material Show"; furniture designs.

Wertheim Apartment: interior design.

Artificial Silk Sales Office (Erich Raemisch, Weiss, and von Stösser), Berlin: interior design.

Furniture designs: LR 120, small chair; LR 520, flower table; LR 530, small table; LR 500, garden table; LR 510, table; LR 600, 610, and 620, bed and day bed.

Publication of catalogue of Reich's and Mies van der Rohe's tubular-steel furniture by Bamberg Metallwerkstätten, Berlin.

# 1932

Design of day bed

Appointed director of weaving studio and interior design workshop at the Bauhaus, Dessau (later Berlin).

#### 1933

Participates in Werkbund meeting that votes to conform to National Socialist policy.

# 1934

Martha and Karl Lemke House (architect, Mies van der Rohe), Hohenschönhausen, Berlin: furniture design.

German People—German Work (Deutsches Volk—deutsche Arbeit), Fairgrounds (near Kaiserdamm),

Berlin, April 21–June 3: glass, mining, and industrial exhibits (with Mies van der Rohe).

Hotel Monte Verita, Ascona, Switzerland: unbuilt design.

Furniture designs: LR 701, day bed; double bed; LR 706, 707, and 708, small standing mirror; LR 702, umbrella stand; LR 704, metal table; LR 705, flower table; (and 1938) armchair no.1; LR 703, circular vitrine.

### 1934-35

Erich Wolf House (architect, Mies van der Rohe), Guben: furniture.

### 1936

Facius Apartment, Dahlem, Berlin: interiors and furniture.

Vereinigte Lausitzer Glaswerke, Leipzig Fair: exhibits (also 1937, 1938).

Furniture designs: LR 36-101, tubular-steel armchair; LR 36-102, tubular-steel armchair; (and 1938) LR 36-103B, tubular-steel upholstered chair; LR 36-104A, tubular-steel upholstered chair; LR 36-104B, tubular-steel upholstered chair; (and 1937 and 1938): LR 36-105A, tubular-steel upholstered chair.

### 1937

LR 36-106, tubular-steel upholstered armchair.

Imperial Exposition of the German Textile and Garment Industry (Reichsausstellung der deutschen Textil- und Bekleidungswirtschaft), Fairgrounds (near Kaiserdamm), Berlin, March 24–April 11: design of halls 4–8 (with Mies van der Rohe). The commission was taken away from Reich and Mies several weeks before the opening of the show.

International Exposition of Arts and Techniques Applied to Modern Life (Exposition internationale des arts et techniques appliqués à la vie moderne), Le Palais International, Paris, May 24– November 26: German textile industry exhibit.

### 1937-39

Furniture designs: LR 30-103A, tubular-steel upholstered armchair; cabinet for record player, records, and radio; record-player designs for Telefunken.

#### 1938

Crous and Berga Apartment, Südende, Berlin: furniture.

H. Fischer Residential Building, Magdeburg: remodeling.

### 1938-40

G. Büren Apartment, Wannsee, Berlin: remodeling.

#### 1939

United Silk-Weaving Mills, Krefeld: conference-room furnishings.

Schaeppi Apartment, Berlin: furniture.

Visits Mies van der Rohe in Chicago.

### 1940

Built-in cabinet for record player, records, and radio; furniture, Tiergartenstrasse, Berlin.

### 1942

Furniture designs for Jürgen Reich.

#### 1943

Reich's Genthiner Strasse studio destroyed by bombs; she moves to Zittau.

### 1945

Works for Atelier für Architektur, Design, Textilien und Modes, Berlin.

October 17, first preparatory meeting for revival of Werkbund.

### 1945-46

Teaches interior design and elementary building construction at Hochschule für bildende Künste, Berlin.

#### 1946

Design of neon sockets, Siemens Company.

#### 1947

Edith Greenough Boissevain, Lichterfelde, Berlin: furniture designs.

Apartments, Dahlem and Charlottenburg, Berlin: remodeling.

Dies on December 11 in Berlin.



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Matilda McQuaid
Associate Curator
Department of Architecture and Design

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