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Mies and Bacardi

Kathryn E. O'Rourke^a

^a Trinity University

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Mies and Bacardi: Mixing Modernism, c. 1960

In the late 1950s the Bacardi Rum Corporation commissioned Ludwig Mies van der Rohe to design an office building in Mexico. Bacardi used the commission to shape its image as a sophisticated and cosmopolitan enterprise, as it reinvented itself in the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution. The Bacardi project serves as a case study of corporate patronage of modern architecture in Latin America, marking a moment when both the image and organization of Mies's architecture helped build a reliable, mainstream international brand. Paradoxically, Mies's Bacardi building would also become part of a "mix" of architectural commissions that would include emerging alternatives to International Style modernism.

Introduction

In 1962 an office building designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe opened in the Mexican town of Tultitlán, just north of Mexico City (Figure 1). The project was the second collaboration between the German architect and the chairman of the Bacardi Rum Corporation, José "Pepin" Bosch, the first being an office building in Santiago, Cuba, which was never built. Bacardi's Mexican office building was one of several works of architecture commissioned in an effort to shape its international image as a cosmopolitan corporation attuned to contemporary culture. Appearing at a critical moment in the development of architectural modernism in the United States, the project revealed an evolving and intimate relationship between modernism and corporate culture at midcentury.

Bosch was inspired to hire the architect after visiting Mies's Crown Hall at the Illinois Institute of Technology (1950–56), where he claimed to have "recognized an architect after his own mind."¹ Impressed by the fluidity and openness of Miesian

space in Crown Hall, Bosch asked Mies to design buildings that would foster a spirit of corporate egalitarianism and employee loyalty similar to the IIT building's ability to encourage informal, productive working relationships among architecture students and faculty.² Following the opening of the Tultitlán building, and in celebration of the company's centennial in 1962, Bacardi issued a publication that included numerous photographs of its new building and claimed that the open plan was "in keeping with the Bacardi philosophy that the ideal office is one where there are no partitions, where everybody, officers and employees, can see one another."³

The story of Bacardi's patronage of modern architecture, and particularly its association with Mies, sheds light on the changing status of the International Style at midcentury in the United States and parts of Latin America. Although his more famous Seagram Building (1954–58) already seemed to suggest an elision of Mies's forms with corporate image-making, his buildings for Bacardi reflected their client's embrace of his conception of clear-

span space for programmatic and promotional purposes.

At the same time, Bacardi used its Mies buildings, along with those by other Bacardi architects, especially Felix Candela, to respond to transformations in an increasingly internationalized post-war period marked by a dramatic acceleration of consumption, particularly by the middle class. The Bacardi commissions of midcentury also coincided with and embodied a shift of authority from one generation of architects to another, which was particularly noticeable in U.S. architecture. While advancing the adoption of the International Style as the architectural language of capitalism through its patronage of Mies, through its other commissions the corporation simultaneously supported the development of buildings that reflected new architectural priorities and tastes. Its patronage suggested that while Mies's buildings expressed quality to a certain audience, his buildings were by no means universally intelligible or relevant to a diverse group of consumers and critics. Indeed, Bacardi's patronage occurred against the backdrop of implicit and explicit indications in the mainstream press and elsewhere that the International Style would soon coexist with a variety of formal alternatives. Attuned to the change, and perceiving an opportunity, around 1960 Bacardi perfected, in architecture and rum advertisements, the idea and image of "mixing" as an attractive alternative to purity in modernism and cocktails.

Examined in the context of other major midcentury buildings, and of international developments in architecture and consumer capitalism, the group of buildings Bacardi commissioned around 1960 exemplified an increasingly vibrant architectural exchange between the United States and Latin America at a critical moment in hemispheric politics. Built outside the places most familiar to historians of modern architecture, and presented by Bosch

continued



Figure 1. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Bacardi Administration Building, Tultitlán, Mexico, model, 1958. Cropped. Chicago History Museum, HB-22157-E. (Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.)

in ways that emphasized characteristics imagined to be particular to Bacardi or Mexican culture, the projects were nevertheless informed by many of the same impulses and problems that shaped midcentury buildings elsewhere. Alice Friedman has demonstrated the ways that iconic U.S. buildings, especially those commissioned by corporate patrons at midcentury, responded to popular conceptions of luxury, increased household purchasing power (and class anxieties), and were conceived of as “glamorous” settings for new modes of living and working.⁴ Although limited to the U.S. context, her scholarship provides a useful framework for understanding the dynamics of taste, consumption, and architecture in which Bacardi operated. Likewise, Felicity Scott’s recent work on the Seagram Building provides insights about the dynamics of the emerging corporate architecture of the late 50s and early 60s. She gives an account of the Seagram Building’s links to a network of global politics,

technology, aesthetics, and capitalism, and its role in igniting debates about corporate patronage, the value of high modernist architecture, and the public realm.⁵

As a savvy patron and international businessperson Bosch was influenced by, and responsive to, the tendencies and issues these scholars have identified. But the particular circumstances of Bacardi’s condition as a multinational Latin American corporation, operating against the backdrop of the communist takeover of Cuba, and in a region with a highly developed market for U.S. tourism, presented distinctive opportunities and challenges. Bacardi responded to some of the same conditions in the United States that Friedman and Scott describe. In Mexico, it helped establish the link between corporate image-making, leisure, and high-style architecture aimed at an international audience, which was later embodied by Ricardo Legorreta’s buildings for the Camino Real Hotel

chain, the first and most famous of which was completed in 1968.⁶ Through its patronage of highly expressive buildings by Candela, Bacardi also demonstrated that the Miesian idiom had become only one of several models for corporate architecture.

Bacardi in Cuba: Palm to Pavilion

Bacardi’s efforts to link its public image to architecture did not begin with Mies, but were already present in the story the company told about its founding, which it traced to a tiny building next to a palm tree in Santiago de Cuba.⁷ The tree had been planted around 1862 by the founder’s son and stood outside a tin-roofed building typical of Caribbean vernacular architecture.⁸ According to Bacardi, the tree’s death in 1962 coincided with Fidel Castro’s increasingly tight grip on power on the island. Regardless of the actual history of the tree, the repeated retelling of its story reveals

the central role context and setting played in the shaping of Bacardi's image and identity.

In the early twentieth century the most architecturally important Bacardi buildings in Cuba were designed to engage a rum-buying public that was comprised largely of tourists from the United States. One such building was the Emilio Bacardi Moreau Municipal Museum (Carlos Segrera, 1928) in Santiago, an elegant neoclassical building that housed the Bacardi family art collection (Figure 2). With its ornate cornice, deep porch, Corinthian columns and pilasters, and crests, the Bacardi Museum spoke in an unambiguous language about the prestige and sensibilities of the family that built it. Famed for its Egyptian mummy, the museum added to the cultural and historical wealth of the island and was a monumental reminder of Bacardi influence and civic munificence. The museum was the first in a series of buildings that the family would commission as a form of public relations.

The company's second important architectural project was the Bacardi Building, completed in Havana in 1930 (Figure 3). Designed by Cuban architects Rafael Fernández Ruenes, Esteban Rodríguez Castell, and José Menéndez, the six-story office building combined historicist and Art Deco elements in the main block and included a prominent central tower that recalled vaguely the buildings of southern Spain. Its architects pulled together brightly colored tile arranged in geometric patterns, Art Deco flat arches, stylized mosaics, and a giant emblem of the company's bat logo to create one of downtown Havana's most distinctive buildings, and one that was fully up to date in its decorative language. During the waning years of Prohibition, the building was the site of the ultimate sales pitch to U.S. tourists. Travelers who came to Cuba to drink rum could stop at the Havana building for free Bacardi cocktails and receive promotional materials. In its visual connection to early U.S. skyscrapers—its massive office block and large "B's" on ground floor windows, and its bright colors, associated



Figure 2. Carlos Segrera, Emilio Bacardi Moreau Municipal Museum, Havana, 1928. Photograph by Holger Leue. (Courtesy of Superstock).

by tourists with tropical leisure—the building communicated a reassuring message to tourists that Bacardi participated in the same traditions of stability and refinement as trusted companies back home, but with a touch of the “exotic” flair that they had come to Cuba to consume.

At the same time that Bacardi opened its Havana building, the corporation worked to develop its image in New York City as well, first by renting space in the Chrysler Building (built 1928–30). In 1938 it moved into the thirty-fifth floor of the Empire State Building (built 1931).⁹ The corporation was not unique among liquor giants in associating itself with elegant spaces. Prohibition had made careful corporate promotion in the United States a top priority for liquor magnates, and many sought to do so by situating themselves in buildings that conveyed restrained good taste. Hiram Walker's headquarters on the Detroit River included “oak paneling, marble fireplaces, and delicately carved and sculpted classical references” and Sam Bronfman commissioned “a miniature feudal castle” with a portcullis in Montreal for Seagram.¹⁰ While other companies opted for buildings that conveyed historicist gentility, Bacardi occupied space in

continued



Figure 3. Rafael Fernández Ruenes, Esteban Rodríguez Castell, and José Menéndez, Bacardi Building, Havana, 1930. Photograph by Adam Eastland. (Courtesy of Superstock).



Figure 4. Mies van der Rohe, office, Bacardi Administration Building, Santiago, Cuba, model, 1958. Hedrich Blessing Photographers, Giovanni Suter. Chicago History Museum, HB21253-B. (Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.)

two of the newest and most celebrated buildings in the United States. Their Art Deco language had broad popular appeal and celebrated the modern age while still participating in the same culture of sophistication and luxury of other distillers' headquarters.

Nearly twenty years later, in 1957, Bacardi's relationship with Mies began in Cuba, before any plans for the Tultitlán project were under way. That year Bosch hired Mies to design a corporate headquarters in Santiago (Figure 4). The architect completed the initial design for the project quickly, within a few days of his arrival in Cuba, and without having seen the site.¹¹ The Santiago project was intended by the client to shape and embody corporate culture and, like earlier Bacardi buildings, to convey sophistication. But this latest project was decidedly different from the buildings it occupied before. A low, single-story building (with a submerged secondary level invisible from the exterior), made of whitish concrete, the building was defined by a single, giant open-plan space enclosed by floor-to-ceiling glass walls and covered by a flat roof whose eaves extended far beyond the perimeter

of the glazed volume below and were supported by eight cruciform columns.

Celebrated for its generative role in a series of designs that culminated in the New National Gallery in Berlin, the unrealized Cuban project most often appears in scholarship on Mies as a kind of proto-museum scheme (Figure 5).¹² In both designs, the main volume of the building was a giant, open-plan space, intended to be highly flexible.¹³ The columns and the long, entablature-like horizontality of the rooflines gave both a reposeful classicism, but the projects differed dramatically in their materials. Mies's signature black steel frame would have deteriorated quickly in the salty, seaside air of Cuba, a point made immediately to the architect by his associate Gene Summers, who had seen at first hand the damage done to metal on the Texas Gulf Coast.¹⁴ The intense tropical sun in Santiago prompted Mies and Summers to modify the familiar class box form use in Crown Hall by designing the large roof that shaded the main volume.¹⁵ This broad overhanging roof would become one of the signature elements of the New National Gallery, and although Mies had designed large overhangs before, the distinctive

form it took in the late work emerged in the Bacardi project and was inspired in part by Cuban vernacular architecture.¹⁶ Summers recalled the development of the Santiago scheme:

... we were sitting under this overhang which was quite interesting, it was probably twenty feet high, it had long sort of colonial-like columns [with] probably twenty feet . . . between the column and the wall and we were sitting very comfortably on lounge chairs having a drink and I said to Mies, "this is kind of what we need to shelter the glass and to offer shadow and to keep the sun out of the inside. At least in the summertime."¹⁷

In his final design Mies proposed a 130-square-foot space that was eighteen feet high and covered with a reinforced concrete roof that extended approximately twenty feet in all directions from the main glass volume.

Detlef Mertins has demonstrated that the New National Gallery was conceived by its architect as a building for the display of, and perhaps even



Figure 5. Mies van der Rohe, New National Gallery, Berlin, 1962–68. (Photograph by author.)

inspiration for, new forms of art, and new modes of perceiving it—a program wholly different from the one Bosch outlined for Mies.¹⁸ Although Crown Hall had inspired Bosch to approach Mies, Mies’s speculative projects for Berlin from the 1920s were more relevant to the Cuban commission. Faced with the obstacles presented by a tropical climate and a distinctive brief from his client, in Santiago Mies revisited ideas he developed in the famous unbuilt project for a Concrete Office Building of 1923, which had a program similar to Bacardi’s corporate headquarters. In the 1923 scheme Mies stacked cantilevered concrete slabs on top of one another with ribbon windows in between to create a building that read as a six-story structure (but which in reality would have had a basement level and short attic story). In Berlin Mies set the concrete columns back from the façade building, whereas in Santiago he pulled them forward to sustain the giant canopy, but in both cases cruciform supports—corner stanchions in the 1923 project, and columns in the later one—were used.¹⁹ In a reconstruction of the Concrete

Office Building, Dietrich Neumann showed that the windows would have been set back slightly beneath each slab—not nearly as far as in the Santiago building—but enough that it is possible to begin to image the Bacardi project as a modified version of a single floor of the Concrete Office Building.

Neumann also points out that the structural system shown in the Curvilinear Skyscraper of 1923 was likely cantilevered reinforced concrete, not steel.²⁰ In both Berlin projects the relative shortage and expense of steel would have shaped the architect’s approach to the project, and informed his thinking about the building type. In 1923, in the avant-garde journal *G*, Mies’s statement of his theory and principles of office building design appeared alongside a reproduction of the well-known drawing of the Concrete Office Building:

The office building is a house of work, of organization, of clarity, of economy. Bright, wide workrooms, easy to oversee, undivided except as the organism of the undertaking is

divided. . . . The materials are concrete iron glass. Buildings of reinforced concrete are by their very nature skeletal structures.²¹

Although Mies later came see the open interior spaces of this office building as well suited to buildings with other types of programs, including museums and residences, for the purposes of understanding the Santiago building it is significant that he associated them first with concrete. Reading the Concrete Office Building project in the context of an early twenties vogue for skyscrapers in Berlin, and in light of cumbersome legal requirements for buildings more than six stories tall, Neumann has shown that Mies’s design was intended expressly to avoid bureaucratic entanglements and to differentiate it from a plethora of proposals for tall buildings, including his own.²² Mies would also differentiate Bacardi’s building in Santiago, and later the one in Tultitlán, from one of his skyscrapers—in this case, a building for one of Bacardi’s competitors, the steel-framed, bronze-clad Seagram Building, which was nearly complete by the time Mies went to Cuba in 1957 (Figure 6). Both Bacardi commissions would be pavilions situated in exotic landscapes, rather than tall buildings; the Santiago project, with its monumental white concrete roof, would also be materially and structurally distinct from the Seagram tower. The architectural press registered the unique qualities of the Santiago project, and the significance of his use of concrete, noting that, “the modern master of steel here turns to . . . concrete,” and that “this powerful design should be his most emphatic expression of the material.”²³

Debuting against the backdrop of the critical success of the Seagram Building, Bacardi’s proposed new building needed to demonstrate the range of Mies’s work, and create a distinctive image for the brand. For the Seagram Building, the Bronfman liquor firm, under the direction of Phyllis Lambert, opted for sleek verticality and sensuous materiality rather than the revivalist forms the distiller had embraced in its earlier commissions.²⁴ A unique

continued



Figure 6. Mies van der Rohe and Philip Johnson, Seagram Building, New York City, 1954–58. (Image in the public domain.)

interpretation of the city's zoning laws allowed Mies to set the New York building back from the street, creating the city's first great modern plaza, and opening up space for the building to stand apart from the vertical cacophony of midtown Manhattan. In doing so Mies provided Seagram with an invaluable piece of permanent advertising that suggested refinement and urbanity. The message, from the company's perspective, was simple: Seagram embodied exclusivity, elegance, and modernity. From the perspective of the consumer the message was equally clear: drinking Seagram's whisky could make him or her elegant, modern, and sophisticated, and perhaps even, like the architect's interpretation of zoning regulations, clever enough to outsmart the system.²⁵

Bacardi needed a building that aligned with its rhetoric of corporate egalitarianism, negotiated its now complicated heritage, and kept pace with one of its most important competitors in the coveted U.S. market. If, in their high-rise apartments at 860 and 880 Lake Shore Drive, prospective customers drank Seagram's VO, they might, Bacardi hoped,

be persuaded to switch to rum. In response to Bacardi's desire for an open plan office building, and the Santiago climate, Mies united the idea of the concrete low-rise office building with elements of one of his most famous works, the German Pavilion for the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona. Like the exhibition building, the Santiago scheme stood delicately on a monolithic raised platform reached by a set of broad stairs. Both were defined by overhanging roofs that extended beyond walls of glass and were supported by cruciform columns. While the Barcelona pavilion was more richly adorned in marble and chrome, both buildings were set back on platforms more intimate than Seagram's large plaza. The pavilion-esque building Mies proposed for Bacardi in Santiago borrowed from the celebrated work in Spain a delicacy, lightness, and transparency altogether different from the Seagram building. The distiller which had invented the first clear (or "white") rum would have a headquarters that was well suited to the Bacardi brand, distinct from the bronze monolith built by a competitor best known for its brown spirits.

The connections between the Santiago design and Mies's schemes of the 1920s suggest that although his work for corporate patrons may have been interpreted as signaling the end of his avant-garde project, the architect did not necessarily view his work in this way.²⁶ The 1920s office building projects, while clearly highly experimental and

forward-looking, also implicitly served capitalism and, as Neumann has shown, dealt with a variety of decidedly mundane problems. Considering Mies's repeated professions of concern with the "task" and disavowals of formalism, this dualism in his architecture comes as less of a surprise.²⁷ The gap between the architect's enduring commitment to an avant-garde vision, which Mertins has shown motivated even his last major project, and audiences' very different understandings of his midcentury buildings may reveal more about interpretation than about Mies's architecture.²⁸ Indeed, the Santiago project suggests that Mies's work was, by 1960, both corporate *and* connected to the architect's long-standing engagement with questions at the heart of avant-garde European modernism. It represented the triumph of his intellectual project on one hand, and the potentially infinite consumption of its forms, on the other.

Bacardi in Mexico: Pavilion and Umbrella

Even before Fidel Castro took power, the Cuban political and economic climate had become increasingly less attractive to corporations, including Bacardi. During the later years of the Fulgencio Bautista regime (1933–44, 1952–59), with the specter of political and economic impediments to growth looming, Bacardi's leaders began to consider opening a large office in Mexico. Abortive attempts to develop an operation in Mexico City in 1931 led



Figure 7. Bacardi Administration Building. Photograph by Arno Brehme, Humberto Franceschi, Albert Gruen, and Samuel Gallo. (Courtesy of Bacardi Limited.)



Figure 8. Bacardi Administration Building, side view. (Photograph by author.)

the firm to temporarily abandon that venture, but in its wake Bosch launched a lucrative campaign that transformed forever the company's image and standing in the international market. Promoting Bacardi rum and Coca-Cola as an "instant party," Bosch helped popularize the drink so successfully in Mexico that the firm dramatically increased production and distribution there and its Mexican sales doubled from 1933 to 1934.²⁹ In the process, Bosch helped make the "rum-and-Coke" a popular cocktail, and introduced an advertising strategy that linked socializing and Bacardi rum, which it would later link to architecture.³⁰ Although Bacardi's sales declined in the United States in the years immediately following World War II, the company had done well in Mexico throughout the war and by 1950 rum was second only to tequila in Mexican liquor sales.³¹

In 1955 Bacardi acquired its first major piece of property in Mexico and continued its careful connoisseurship of architecture. Needing a space for a distillery, it purchased a seventeenth-century sugar hacienda called La Galarza, in the state of Puebla, southeast of Mexico City. Although it added modern production facilities, at Bosch's direction

Bacardi restored the hacienda's 1693 chapel and began to shape a campus where industrial modernity and romantic "Old Mexico" coexisted. The company described the complex almost nostalgically and in language similar to that of tourist brochures:

... photographs can give little idea of the true flavor of La Galarza. At one moment the viewer is in the 20th century, craning his neck to look at giant industrial installations of the latest design. A few steps further on and all that is hidden from view by a row of graceful colonial arches. Now the visitor stands in a semitropical paradise where flocks of white geese float on old millstreams and the air is full of bird songs, the perfume of flowers, and the peace of centuries.³²

Elsewhere in its descriptions of its Mexican facilities Bacardi referenced Popocatepetl, one of the famous volcanoes outside of Mexico City. Bacardi used the new distillery's site and its iconic natural features to create an image that would appeal to a foreign, and particularly a U.S., audience that had already been conditioned to associate Mexico with idyllic natural settings and picturesque colonial

churches.³³ In doing so it began the process of using setting and locale to negotiate its increasingly complicated international identity. By embracing the forms and images of a Mexico familiar to the customers it sought, Bacardi attempted to make a new home for itself and at the same time capitalize on the popularity of Mexico as a tourist destination.

Three years later Bacardi commissioned Mies to design his second project for the company. The Bacardi Administration Building stands on a verdant, seventy-five-acre campus in an industrial area in the State of Mexico (Figures 7–8). The main volume of the building is a large rectangular space raised one story above grade and is supported by twenty-four black, steel I-beams and sheathed in gray glass. This volume hovers over a much smaller, rectilinear lobby of clear glass below. The entire building stands on a travertine platform that continues into the interior, becoming the ground floor. In this respect, and in its material, the Tultitlán building recalled the Seagram Building, but retained the low-rise pavilion-like form of the Santiago design. Two utility shafts descend outside the building, flanking the lobby. The double-height lobby, at the center of the plan, includes two symmetrically placed staircases that lead to the main floor.

Inside, on the second floor, the stairs frame an opening to the lobby below, and this central void articulates the zones of the office floor (Figure 9). Mahogany paneled floor-to-ceiling walls separate the far ends of the upper floor from the central area and enclose bathrooms. Beyond the partitions are offices of high-ranking employees and a conference room. Although the Bacardi building is smaller than Mies's most important clear-span spaces such as Crown Hall, the building interiors share the relatively unrestricted views and circulation that characterized many of the architect's institutional projects in the United States.³⁴ In Bosch, Mies found a client whose commission would allow him to apply these ideas to a corporate program.

The chairman's interest in creating an open plan reflected a long-standing corporate culture that

continued

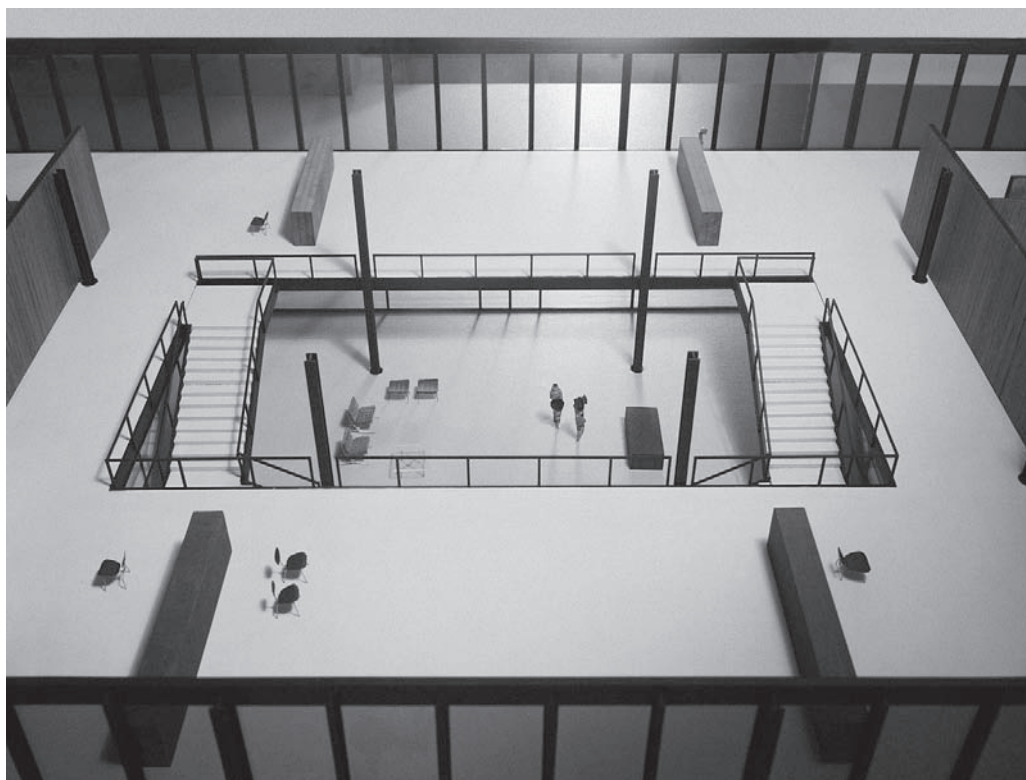


Figure 9. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Bacardi Administration Building interior, upper floor, model. Chicago History Museum, HB-22157-H. (Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.)

sought to maintain the close relationship between family and business that Bacardi had prized since its founding. Bosch imagined that a minimally divided Miesian space would promote collegiality and loyalty among workers and employers and help reinforce the practices of a nearly century-old family business that fiercely guarded itself against external interference. In reality, executives worked in offices hidden from the view of lower-ranking employees by the wooden partitions. But the ideal of internal openness, although incomplete, was more fully realized in the Bacardi building than in many other corporate office buildings of the period and, whether or not its workers experienced it as egalitarian, the company portrayed Mies's space as evidence of its own benevolence. The Bacardi Administration Building also demonstrated that Mies's architecture, and especially his open-span spaces, could accommodate any program, and, conversely, none at all. In 1960, as the project was underway, the Castro regime nationalized Bacardi's Cuban assets. Now there was no question that Bacardi would need to construct a corporate image that was independent of its Cuban origins.

Two years later, in 1962, the Tultitlán

Administration building opened. The distiller presented its most architecturally significant facility to the world in a large, well-illustrated marketing pamphlet, emphasizing the natural beauty of the site and elements it understood as particularly Mexican, reiterating Bosch's claims about the relationship between its corporate culture and the open plan. In the publicity materials, Bacardi called Mies "one of the greatest of modern architects,"³⁵ and announced that "the building has an aristocratic simplicity which mixes richness and restraint."³⁶ It drew attention to the building's Mexican travertine floors and "glass tinted gray against the Mexican sun."³⁷ The firm celebrated the air-conditioning and open plan, and repeated Bosch's claims about the organization of space and the benevolent, familial attitude of Bacardi executives toward their employees.

The grounds at Tultitlán, which were tended by eighteen full-time gardeners, also received special attention: "Landscaping plays an important role at every Bacardi installation, and the Mexican plant is no exception."³⁸ The company emphasized the building's park-like setting and told readers of the site's many lawns, trees, paths and gardens, which included more than "30,000 tulips and dahlias."³⁹

Like the La Galarza distillery, Bacardi's presentation of the Tultitlán complex integrated past and future in an idyllic, specifically Mexican, setting. "**OLD AND NEW** are blended in . . . the Bacardi plant at Tultitlán. . . . Like a mirage in this timeless landscape of giant cactuses lies the magic of the twentieth century."⁴⁰ In its characterizations of the campus Bacardi combined not only allusions to "old and new," but also the image of American corporatism, as it was rapidly coming to be embodied by International Style modernism, with the reality of the Mexican landscape.

In January 1962, the Administration building was introduced to architectural audiences in the pages of *Architectural Forum*. Even before the building was complete Bosch had begun to cultivate relationships with editors of major architectural periodicals as he positioned Bacardi as a sophisticated architectural client. In August 1959 he had written to Jeanne Davern at *Architectural Record* describing his "sudden interest in architecture," his efforts to promote climatically responsive and innovative design in the Caribbean, and his engagement of various Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican architects.⁴¹ Bosch told Davern of his efforts, "the results have been fair; perhaps because we were always short of time."⁴² In discussing the Mexican building, he wrote that after having looked at many architects' work and at Mies's proposal for the Santiago office, he decided "Mies's work in one story buildings was foremost in the world."⁴³ Bosch "wanted to mark [his] tenure of office with indelible marks that to [his] successors . . . would create a definite necessity to work for the greater success of [their] enterprise."⁴⁴ That the chairman used Mies's work and reputation to carve out a legacy for himself in Bacardi history and to inspire in those who followed him a long-term commitment to the company suggests that by 1960 Mies van der Rohe and his buildings were seen as much more than fine compositions in steel, glass, and travertine; now they were understood to add considerable value to a corporate brand.

Mies's designs for Bacardi functioned neither as mechanisms in self-actualization processes, meditations on evolution, nor critiques of Enlightenment subjectivity as has been persuasively argued was the case in some of his other buildings, particularly the New National Gallery and Crown Hall.⁴⁵ Nor were they concerned primarily with negation.⁴⁶ These distinctions bring into focus one of the central tensions in Mies's midcentury work. While on the one hand his buildings operated as rarified prognostications about new ways of living and new kinds of social relationships, on the other, as deft compositions in elegant materials, they were also profoundly materialist and very expensive—high-quality objects of desire and beauty for an audience of refined and careful taste. For viewers unfamiliar or unconcerned with the theoretical and spiritual problems that motivated Mies's ideas, the experience of being in a Miesian space was an opportunity to move outside of the everyday and feel more elegant and sophisticated.⁴⁷

A New Brand of Modernism

Even as Mies's architecture became linked with corporate and consumer elegance at midcentury, there were many signs that tastes were shifting. Architects and their clients began to indicate that the cool detachment of Miesian modernism might be counterbalanced with forms that were imagined to be more accessible and attractive to a general audience, and which conveyed a greater sense of whimsy. Bosch and Bacardi perceived the shift. In 1960, alongside the Administration Building's construction site, the company began building a bottling plant, cafeteria, and parking canopies designed by the Spanish-born Mexican engineer Felix Candela.⁴⁸ Most famous for his soaring, thin-shelled designs in concrete, and for his innovations in the use of parabolic vaulting, Candela created buildings that could hardly have been more different from Mies's. Where Mies relied on rectilinear forms, Candela delighted in curves. Situated only steps from the Administration Building, the bottling

plant consisted of three sets of concrete partial hyperbolic parabolic groin vaults (Figures 10–11).⁴⁹ Thin structural members carried the loads to the ground, and at their highest points the vaults, which were four centimeters thick, rose more than twenty-seven feet. The factory's walls were made of glass. The cafeteria and warehouses were made of concrete hyperbolic parabolic umbrellas (Figure 12). In its publication in honor of the Bacardi centennial, the company celebrated Candela's "prize-winning" bottling plant, noting that it was "unique on the American continent," and announced that "the type of light and airy vaults which roof the Bacardi bottling plant in Mexico have been used before in churches and museums, but his building marks the first time they have been employed in an industrial building on the American continent."⁵⁰

Boasting that "a prominent magazine has called" its Mexican plant "a veritable exposition of architecture by world-famous architects,"⁵¹ Bacardi drew attention to the dramatic differences between its two most important buildings. Indeed, Mies's

steel and glass administration building stood stiffly next to Candela's bottling plant. Owing more to Eero Saarinen's Kresge Auditorium at MIT (1953) than to the Bauhaus, Candela's comparably light-

continued



Figure 10. Felix Candela, Bacardi Bottling Plant, Tultitlán, Mexico, 1958–60. (Photograph by author.)

Figure 11. Felix Candela, Bacardi Bottling Plant, interior. Photograph by Arno Brehme, Humberto Franceschi, Albert Gruen, and Samuel Gallo. (Courtesy of Bacardi Limited.)

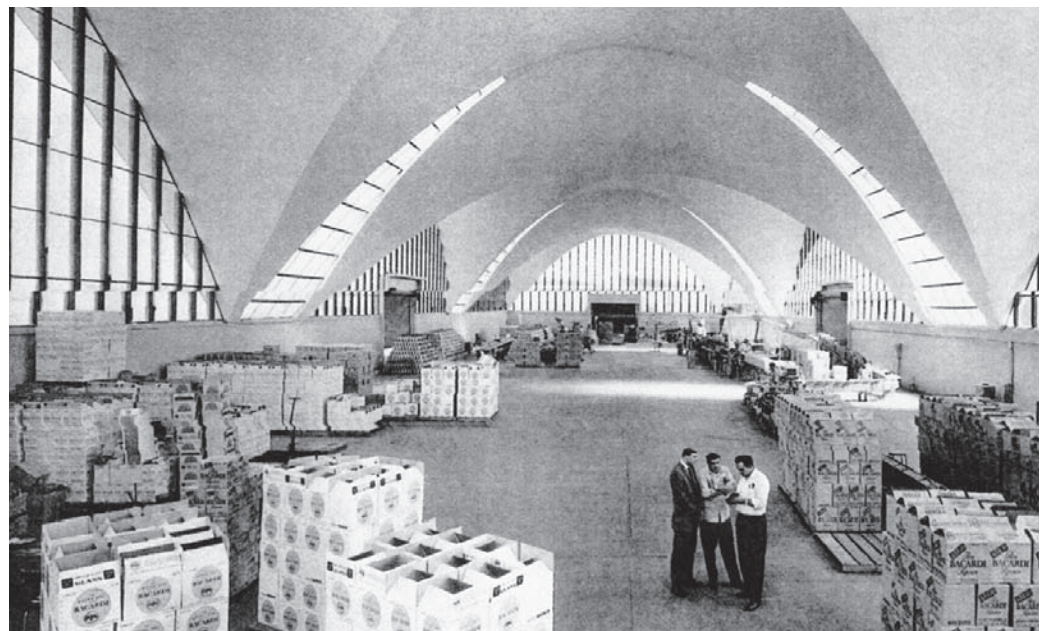




Figure 12. Candela, Bacardi Warehouse, Tultitlán, Mexico, 1958–60. (Photograph by author.)

hearted composition signaled, in the Bacardi world, the arrival of a new age of modern architecture that was indebted to Mies's generation, but had moved beyond it. The juxtaposition of Bacardi's buildings made Mies's design look oddly historical—more like an old classic than an avant-garde experiment. When seen together, the buildings' formal differences embodied the larger stylistic shift under way across the profession as the grip of International Style modernism loosened and architects working in the Americas, and especially the United States, came to have increasingly authoritative voices in global architectural discourse.

Although it was less than one-third the size, the Tultitlán complex, like Saarinen's 1944–55 GM Technical Center (itself indebted to Mies's scheme for the IIT campus), integrated the cool abstraction of midcentury International Style modernism with elements imagined to be more accessible to the general consumer. Friedman has described how materials, textures, lighting, and spatial organization inside the GM buildings created "glamorous" and theatrical settings that appealed to customers.⁵² Luxurious interior surface and sensory details helped "soften" the hard lines of the buildings' exteriors. At Bacardi, Mies's potentially alienating International

Style elegance was tempered not by Hollywood-set-like interior spaces, but by Candela's buildings and the landscape. Dark steel, gray glass, and cool travertine were balanced by the carefully tamed "Mexican" plants and climate and by the whimsical, space-age curves of the Candela plant.

Mainstream intelligentsia registered the changes in architecture as well. In "The Counter-revolution in Architecture," an essay published in *Harper's* in September 1959, Robin Boyd, a leading Australian modern architect and astute critic, acknowledged Mies's central role in defining modern architecture, but proclaimed that his era was ending. Hailing buildings by Saarinen and Edward Durrell Stone, Boyd claimed that modern architecture from earlier in the century "held such brilliant promise," but was "too pure to live" and claimed that it was now at "a possible turning point and the principles are in the balance." The International Style, furthermore, had been "accepted as a fashion" and had "run the brief course of any fashionable style."⁵³ Boyd suggested that recent buildings sought to revitalize a profession whose avant-garde had been defined by its commitment to stark rationalism, realism, and geometry. He located the search for a new vocabulary in changes in form and surface most evident the work of Saarinen and Stone:

The simplest and most convenient way to study the vigorous development of [modern architecture] . . . is to follow the two men whose work seems to express the spirit of the midcentury more vividly than others: Edward D. Stone—for the surface quest—and Eero Saarinen—for the excitement. These are two of the most distinguished members of modern architecture's second generation, two who helped substantially in their time to promote the perfection and public acceptance of the glass box.⁵⁴

By 1960 few traces of the glass box remained in either architect's work. Saarinen had become

increasingly versatile, often abandoning orthogonal schemes in favor of expressionist curves, and Stone, the architect of the Museum of Modern Art, where the "International Style" was codified, now delighted in superficial texture that looked a good deal like ornament. The transition that Boyd identified was well under way by the mid-1950s, and for him was not a matter of refinements to the International Style, but the evolution of a new, less orthogonal, less severe, vocabulary.

With its comparably light-hearted shapes and patterns, the new architecture emerging in the United States at midcentury seemed to appeal to a broader spectrum of the population than did International Style modernism. An emerging middle class that had recently found itself with unprecedented buying power was far less receptive to the forms of the old avant-garde than to buildings that were visually (and often programmatically) associated with leisure and pleasure. Boyd noted this phenomenon in his discussion of Stone's buildings:

Fame has come to Mr. Stone because he has stimulated the unresponsive public eye with a chiaroscuro splendor quite unfamiliar after two decades of boxes. *Time*, and more recently a *New Yorker* profile, have told the story of his metamorphosis in 1954, when he forsook martinis and the International Style and turned to coffee, fountains, and decorative grilles.⁵⁵

Although Bosch wanted to convey an image of sophistication and quality that existed on a plane with Miesian modernism, Bacardi's success was ultimately measured in the numbers of bottles of rum sold to a public more likely to read *Time* and the *New Yorker* than architecture journals. Profit required addressing a relatively diverse market and catering to a growing middle class that might have taste for rum, but whose architectural preferences were more likely to have been informed by Hollywood than by Harvard.



Figure 13. Bacardi Visitors' Pavilion, San Juan, Puerto Rico, c. 1960. Hedrich Blessing Photographers. (Courtesy of Bacardi Limited.)

Long accustomed to linking itself with tourism, Bacardi adjusted to rapidly changing norms of vacationing, consuming, and class identification at the moment that Saarinen, Stone, and Candela rose to prominence.⁵⁶ As consumption became a leisure activity during the 1950s, consumer behavior became broadly associated with recreating, vacationing, and socializing, and the relationship of these activities to architecture became increasingly complex.

Bacardi's extraordinary transformation of itself after Castro's nationalization of its Cuban operations demanded a careful navigation between high culture and middle class desires. Although relatively few prospective customers saw it firsthand, the Tultitlán campus was an architectural representation of the company's efforts to appeal to diverse tastes and to demonstrate its continued commitment to first-class buildings. With its commission of buildings from the "first" and "second" generations of postwar

modernism at Tultitlán, Bacardi diplomatically positioned itself at the fulcrum of a historical turning point. Candela's bottling plant suggested that the company was focused on the future, while the administration building grounded the company in a tradition of sophistication and quality. Similarly, the bottling plant—where rum took the form in which consumers would recognize and acquire it—appealed to middle-class tastes that increasingly

continued

avored Saarinen and Stone, while the Administration Building—designed for international business leaders from one of Cuba’s oldest families—appealed to an elite that preferred International Style refinement. This strategy extended to its other production sites as well. At its complex in Puerto Rico, Bacardi built a large Candela-esque pavilion that could be rented for parties and social events, and which it compared to a nightclub (Figure 13).⁵⁷ The building’s enormous soaring concrete eaves made the structure look as if it were about to take flight. Its vaulted roof provided shade, but, lacking walls, the pavilion allowed its 18,000 annual visitors to casually linger at the bar and enjoy tropical breezes.

The transition that Boyd registered and Bacardi embraced was, in a different guise, also present in Latin American modern architecture. Some glassy, International Style skyscrapers did appear in a few major capitals—the Torre Latinoamericana (Agusto Alvarez and Leonardo Zeeveart, 1956) in downtown Mexico City, for example. Other projects, such as Candela’s Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal Church (1953–56) or his 1958 Los Manteles Restaurant in Xochimilco, provided the same kind of “excitement” Boyd found in Saarinen’s work. The “chiaroscuro” Stone created with decorative grilles also defined the Acapulco Airport—a building critical to Mexico’s tourist industry—by Mario Pani and Enrique del Moral of 1952. In a very different context, Carlos Raul Villanueva designed the Covered Plaza at the National University of Venezuela in Caracas in 1953. Here visitors were greeted with an intricate pattern of light as they entered a wide, open-air corridor through a floor-to-ceiling grille. News of such buildings reached U.S. architects at least as early as 1955, when Arthur Drexler and Henry-Russell Hitchcock organized the *Latin American Architecture Since 1945* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art and Hitchcock published the illustrated accompanying catalogue. In Mexico, in part because the International Style had not been realized as “purely” or widely as it had in the United States, and because concrete—not steel and glass—had long been used by modern architects there, the new work

by Candela, Pani, and others perhaps looked less like a departure than it did in the United States. Oriented to U.S. perspectives and tastes, for Bacardi, however, the new forms signified market shifts it sought to exploit.

Mixing Business and Pleasure

Bacardi’s efforts to rapidly negotiate changing consumer desires and international architectural culture were reflected in its promotion of rum as well. As a “mixed drink,” the cocktail lent itself easily to metaphors about blending and combining. Again and again, in Boyd’s assessment of midcentury architecture, and throughout the liquor industry, notions of mixing and blending appeared in midcentury culture. Although it was invented in the nineteenth century and popularized in the 1920s, the cocktail had never been as popular as it was in the 1950s and early 1960s. Cultural anxieties about liquor (and about rum in particular, because of its associations with slavery) before and during Prohibition disappeared at midcentury, as cocktail parties became a means of stylishly doing business at home.⁵⁸

Seeking to capitalize on the popularity of the Cuba Libre cocktail—a mixture of rum and Coke—Bacardi responded to Coca-Cola’s 1965 “Things go better with Coke” advertising campaign by proposing a marketing alliance.⁵⁹ By partnering with the most popular and trusted beverage maker in the United States, Bacardi shored up its reputation with and access to the heart of the American middle class, and reduced the chance that those customers might associate Bacardi with Castro. But the rum giant also carefully maintained its image as something suitable for many kinds of cocktails and, by implication, people of many social strata. At the bottom of the first “Bacardi-and-Coke” advertisement (in *Life* in May 1966) appeared a catchall exhortation: “Drink Bacardi Rum—enjoyable always and *all ways*.”⁶⁰ If Bacardi-and-Coke was the concept that went with Candela’s building, a second campaign, also forged in the 1960s, corresponded more closely to Mies’s. In these ads, which emphasized moderation



Figure 14. Bacardi advertisement emphasizing “mixability” and promoting rum as “enjoyable always and all ways.” *Life*, October 14, 1966. (Courtesy of Bacardi Limited.)

and balance, Bacardi appealed to body-conscious aesthetes by informing them that Bacardi cocktails had fewer calories than other drinks,⁶¹ an approach that surely resonated with those drawn to the sleek lines of Miesian modernism. Throughout its advertising campaigns and its architecture, Bacardi sold itself as the “mixable one,” and carefully maneuvered between high and middle class markets with clean lines, crisp phrasing, and an emphasis on versatility and fun (Figure 14).⁶²

The culture of mixing architecture, alcohol, and sophisticated self-promotion in which Bacardi participated was embodied by *Playboy* magazine’s conception of a bachelor’s apartment, in which the International Style and more popular strands of modernism coexisted along with other combinations of cultural symbols. While not as pared down as Mies’s houses, *Playboy*’s fictive apartment was organized according to Miesian principles. Planes that divided space but did not fully enclose rooms shaped the open plan. Abundant glazing, which at points went from the ceiling to the floor, made the

city (which was surely New York) and terrace visible from inside. The magazine explained that,

the apartment's sense of masculine richness and excitement stems in part from such juxtapositions of textures—the smooth wall, the stone, the planter, the cork floor—and for visual impact the unadorned brick wall which closes off the bath and the kitchen area.... The apartment is not divided into cell-like rooms, but into function areas well delineated for relaxation, dining, cooking, and wooing and entertaining, all interacting and yet inviting individual as well as simultaneous use.⁶³

The bachelor pad was furnished, however, not with Barcelona chairs, but with ones designed by

Charles and Ray Eames and Eero Saarinen, and it even included a coffee table by Isamu Noguchi. The ideal *Playboy* space mixed Machine Age European high modernism with an emergent U.S. Cold War aesthetic that was more accessible to a large audience. The denizen of such a space, who had an “urbane personality” and lived “in elegant comfort,” in “a tasteful, gracious setting” specialized in mixing drinks and allusions to high culture.⁶⁴ He “enjoy[ed] mixing up cocktails and an hors d'oeuvre or two, putting a little mood music on the phonograph and inviting in a female for a quiet discussion of Picasso, Nietzsche, jazz, sex.”⁶⁵ Like the new buildings by Saarinen, Stone, and Candela, the *Playboy* apartment brought together “excitement,” leisure, and consumption in a sophisticated cosmopolitan setting.

In architecture the ultimate Bacardi mix came in Miami, one of the main gateways to Latin America from the United States, and a blended city of Cuban exiles, middle-class tourists, and luxurious beach-side lifestyles. In 1964 Bacardi hired Enrique Gutierrez, a Cuban architect in exile and protégé of Mies who had assisted with the Santiago project, to design an office building there (Figure 15). Allusions to Mies included floors hung from an open truss, extensive glazing, and expressed structure on the long sides of the seven-story building. But in other ways it seemed to have been inspired by great works of Latin American modernism—most notably the Ministry of Health and Education building in Rio de Janeiro (Oscar Niemeyer, Lucio Costa, and Le Corbusier, 1936–45) and the main buildings of the National Autonomous University in Mexico City (Pani, del Moral, Carlos Lazo, et al., 1946–53)—in which International Style forms were clad in representational mosaics or murals. On the short ends of the Bacardi building Brazilian artist Francisco Brennand created multi-story blue and white mosaics that depicted tropical flowers and leaves. As an act of architectural diplomacy, Bacardi's Miami building associated Euro-American rationalism and Latin American expressionism in the country most hostile to Cuba, most friendly to pluralism, and most skilled in the creation of wealth.

At the same time Bacardi also managed its own blended cultural and national existence. Although it courted a large U.S. audience, and another in Europe, by midcentury Bacardi's most important bases were in Tlaxiácala, Puerto Rico, Recife, and the Bahamas. Exiled from Cuba, the firm's leaders were well aware of their position as Latin Americans who had to appeal to a country that held decided (positive and negative) stereotypes about its hemispheric neighbors. In the era of the Cuban Missile Crisis and increasing U.S. military involvement in Latin America, Bacardi necessarily negotiated its cultural and national identity with care.

Although he was German, by the time Mies worked for Bosch he had been practicing in the

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Figure 15. Enrique Gutierrez, Bacardi Building, Miami, 1964. Photo by Marc Averette. (Creative Commons Attribution License.)

United States for twenty years, in one of the nation's commercial centers. As the architect of the Illinois Institute of Technology, the luxury apartment buildings on Lake Shore Drive, and several very famous private houses, Mies's work so reliably conveyed a commitment to capitalism, private wealth, and security that in 1959, at the same time he was working on the Tultitlán project, the United States government hired him to design a Federal Center in Chicago. Thus, for a corporation exiled from the United States' nearest nemesis, Mies was an extraordinarily safe choice, much better, perhaps, than a leading, but lesser-known, Latin American architect.

Bosch's 1959 letter to *Architectural Record* suggested that part of the reason he hired Mies was because Latin American architects were simply not good enough. It would have been obvious to anyone familiar with Latin American architecture (and surely to the well-informed Bosch) that there were "good enough" Latin American architects, particularly for an architectural audience that was aware of MoMA's 1943 *Brazil Builds* exhibition and the more recent *Architecture in Latin America Since 1945* show, in which the curators praised Latin American architects. Although Bosch may have identified genuine limitations in the works he saw by Latin American architects, his broad claim signaled his desire that Bacardi not be seen as "too Latin" by U.S. audiences.

Mies and Mexico

While the Bacardi building was Mies's only work in Mexico, at midcentury glassy International Style buildings began transforming Mexico City. Nonetheless, instances of the architect's direct influence in Mexico are still relatively understudied. Most scholarship on modern architecture there has understood buildings primarily in terms of "national" architecture, in relationship to the ideologies of the Mexican Revolution and government patronage.⁶⁶ While these approaches have been fruitful in many respects, they have

given rise to a historiography in which international connections and the role of private patrons have been relatively neglected.

Among leading European modernists, Le Corbusier is generally regarded as the most influential figure in Mexico, in part because of the formal similarities between some of his 1920s buildings and the early works of Juan O'Gorman. As important as his ideas were for O'Gorman and many other Mexican architects, the Swiss modernist never traveled to Mexico, nor did he design a building there. While French and francophone architects provided the most important foreign sources of ideas about architecture from the late eighteenth century into the twentieth, Miesian forms, and particularly Miesian conceptions of space, were clearly important for some of Mexico's leading midcentury architects. William J. R. Curtis identified the relationships between Mies's buildings and the works of Enrique del Moral, particularly with respect to the handling of transitions between interior and exterior spaces.⁶⁷ Luis Casteñeda has recently drawn attention to the links between midcentury Mexican exhibition spaces and Mies's work.⁶⁸ The case of Luis Barragán, whose treatment of walls and court spaces in the later houses seem to owe so much to Mies, is more complex. Of the more than 2,000 books in Barragán's library, only two were on Mies, and both show little signs of use.

Even more notable for their relationships to Mies's work than Barragán's buildings, and in need of further study, were the glassy, boxy houses Francisco Artigas designed in Barragán's suburban development, the Gardens of El Pedregal, in the 1950s.⁶⁹ In these buildings Artigas integrated the black volcanic rock that defined the landscape of the Pedregal region with the long horizontal lines and smooth glazed surfaces of sleek international modernism. From the outside, the main volume his house at 240 Risco Street (1952) called to mind its contemporary, Mies's Farnsworth House. Fifteen years later Artigas designed an administration building for the Federal School Construction Program

(CAPFCE) in the southern Mexico City district of Coyoacan, which suggests that the architect knew the Bacardi building, and, if not the designs for its Cuban precursor, then surely the New National Gallery. In the CAPFCE building the main volume was a glass box which Artigas set beneath a large overhanging flat roof supported on all four sides by piers arranged to create a slow, classical rhythm reminiscent of Miesian classicism. Unlike the Tultitlán building, the CAPFCE building was white, low to the ground, and it rested on a platform.⁷⁰ As scholarship of twentieth-century Mexican architecture grows, new connections between Mies, Artigas, and other Mexican architects will surely be discovered.

Conclusion

The often overlooked Bacardi commissions reveal that Mies's modernism had been fully absorbed, if not appropriated, by mainstream capitalism at the very moment that postwar modernism was undergoing important transformations. Bacardi's skillful crafting of its image to match rapidly shifting tastes and preferences among customers, architects, and critics helps us understand that international corporations used architectural patronage to build their brands in a variety of ways. By freely mixing Mies's work with emerging alternatives to the International Style, Bacardi would construct a cosmopolitan image distinct from its rival, Seagram.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. "Mies's One-Office Office Building," *Architectural Forum* 110 (February 1959): 95.
2. "An Administrative Building in Mexico, by Mies van der Rohe," *Zodiac* 10 (1962): 183.
3. Samuel Gallo, *Bacardi 1862–1962* (1962), n.p. There is no additional bibliographic information for this source, which is a large, book-like pamphlet. The only copy of which I am aware is in the collection of the New York Public Library.
4. Alice T. Friedman, *American Glamour and the Evolution of Modern Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
5. Felicity Scott, "An Army of Soldiers or a Meadow," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 3 (2011): 330–53.
6. With the notable exception of private houses, many of the most important midcentury Mexican buildings were designed for the government, and were often large-scale projects by architects such as Mario Pani and Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, which differed considerably in program, form, and scale from Bacardi's buildings.
7. Gallo, n.p.
8. Peter Foster, *Family Spirits* (Toronto: McFarlane, Walter & Ross, 1990).
9. Foster, 54–55.
10. *Ibid.*, 51.
11. Phyllis Lambert, "Space and Structure," in *Mies in America*, ed. Phyllis Lambert (Montreal and New York: Canadian Centre for Architecture, Whitney Museum of American Art, Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 475–80.
12. Gene Summers interview with Kevin Harrington; see note 246 in Lambert, 519. For discussion of the Santiago project in relation to the New National Gallery, see Lambert, 474–99.
13. On the New National Gallery, see Detlef Mertins, "Mies's Event Space," *Grey Room* 20 (Summer 2005): 60–73.
14. Note 246 in Lambert, 519.
15. Summers discouraged Mies from framing the Santiago project as he had Crown Hall because, "if you put glass on the outside . . . it's going to fry those people," and because of the difficulty of air-conditioning the space effectively. Note 246 in Lambert, 519.
16. The innovative structural system of the roof received special attention in the architectural press; see "Mies's One-Office Office Building," 95.
17. Quoted in Lambert, 480.
18. Mertins, "Mies's Event Space," 61–66.
19. Dietrich Neumann explains this in "Three Early Designs by Mies van der Rohe," *Perspecta* 27 (1992): 87.
20. Neumann, 83.
21. Neumann quotes from G and makes the connection between the drawing and text, 86.
22. Neumann, 85.
23. "Mies's One-Office Office Building," 94–95.
24. Like Bacardi, Seagram commissioned two buildings, only one of which was built. The second commission (1957) was for an office building in Chicago to be much like the one in New York. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Arthur Drexler and Franz Schulze, *The Mies van der Rohe Archive*, vol. 17 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 202.
25. Friedman revealed that Philip Johnson's role in the Seagram design was considerably greater than had been thought. On this and his conception of "style," see Friedman, *American Glamour*, 39–50, 60–66.
26. See Scott for a discussion of this phenomenon, 331–338.
27. For example, see Mies's statement in G quoted in Neumann, 86.
28. As recently as 2005 Mertins observed that "many people still think that Mies was indifferent to his client's needs . . . imposing on them a work of art to be valued as an end in itself." "Mies's Event Space," 61. Emphasis in original.
29. Foster, 43.
30. By the 1970s the campaign had changed only slightly to "Bacardi Party to Go," for example, see *Life*, June 16, 1972, special advertising section.
31. Foster, 70.
32. Gallo, n.p.
33. On the image and idea of Mexico for Americans in the early twentieth century, see James Oles, "South of the Border: American Artists in Mexico, 1914–1947," in *South of the Border*, ed. James Oles (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 49–213.
34. For discussion of the clear span and Mies's reactions to a new landscape and commercial programs in the United States see Liane Lefaivre, "Burgers, Fries, and a Side Order of Mies," *Architecture* 89, no. 77 (2000): 67–69, 138.
35. Gallo, n.p.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Gallo, n.p. Emphasis in original.
41. Note 244 in Lambert, 519.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. See Detlef Mertins, "Living in a Jungle: Mies, Organic Architecture, and the Art of City Building," in *Mies in America*, 590–691; and Mertins, "Mies's Skyscraper 'Project': Towards the Redemption of Technical Structure," in *The Presence of Mies*, ed. Detlef Mertins (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 48–67.
46. See K. Michael Hays, "The Mies Effect," in Lambert, ed., *Mies in America*, 692–705, and Peter Eisenman, "Mies and the Figuring of Absence," in *Mies in America*, 706–715.
47. On midcentury buildings, glamour, and corporate clients, see Friedman, *American Glamour*, especially 39–74, 109–148.
48. On Candela's work for Bacardi, see Edward Segal et al., "Bacardi Rum Factory," *Félix Candela: Engineer, Builder, Structural Artist*, eds. Maria E. Moreyra Garlock and David P. Billington (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) 154–67.
49. Three more vaults were added in 1971.
50. Gallo, n.p.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Friedman, 119–132.
53. Robin Boyd, "The Counter-Revolution in Architecture," *Harper's* (September 1959), 40, 48.
54. *Ibid.*, 44.
55. *Ibid.*, 44.
56. Friedman, 148–185; see also Friedman, "The Luxury of Lapidus: Glamour, Class and Architecture in Miami Beach," *Harvard Design Magazine* 11 (Summer 2000): 42.
58. *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*, vol. 1, ed. Solomon H. Katz (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2003), 424–28.
59. Foster, 144–45.
60. *Life*, May 1966, emphasis in original.
61. Foster, 147.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, 55, 57.
64. "Playboy's Penthouse Apartment," *Playboy* (September 1956): 54.
65. "From the Desk of the Publisher," *Playboy* (January 1953): 5.
66. An insightful recent treatment of Mexican modernism of the 1920s and 1930s which illuminates architecture's relationships to political, cultural, and intellectual currents is Luis Carranza, *Architecture as Revolution: Episodes in the History of Modern Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).
67. William J. R. Curtis, "The General and the Local': Enrique del Moral's Own House," in *Modernity and the Architecture of Mexico*, ed. Edward Burian (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 123–25.
68. Luis Casteñeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco: Design, Media, and Politics at Mexico '68," *Grey Room* 40 (Summer 2010): 100–26.
69. On the development of the Pedregal, see Keith Eggner, *Luis Barragán's Gardens of El Pedregal* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001).
70. Expanded research on Mies's influence on Mexican architecture might also investigate the links between IIT and the campus of the National Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City (Reynaldo Pérez Rayón et al., 1957–1975).