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ETHICS AND AESTHETICS: NEW BRUTALISM, TEAM 10, AND ARCHITECTURAL CHANGE IN THE 1950s

by

NOAH CHASIN

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

2002

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Abstract

ETHICS AND AESTHETICS: NEW BRUTALISM, TEAM 10, AND ARCHITECTURAL CHANGE IN THE 1950S

by

NOAH CHASIN

Adviser: Professor Rosemarie Haag Bletter

During the decade following World War II, Europe found itself faced with the massive task of reconstruction, which in terms of architecture was complicated by a variety of issues concerning nationalism, history, and style. This dissertation provides an in-depth investigation of a group of individuals who, in 1953, seized control of the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) in order to advocate for a new, sympathetic relationship between architecture and inhabitant. Their so-called "ethic" resulted from a direct refutation of the utopian architectural projects of the prewar architectural establishment, embodied by CIAM, which the younger generation found to be removed from the exigencies of everyday life.

The attempt to name this new architectural ethic resulted in the heavily contested term "The New Brutalism." They claimed that these words were meant to stand not for an aesthetic, but rather an ethical position, characterized by a consuming relationship with what the Smithsons called the "inescapable present." However, as concluded in this

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dissertation, their words and deeds were often at a variance with one another, as an alternating embrace and denial of contemporary conditions forced a difficult and complex relationship between the ethical and the aesthetic components of architectural practice.

The major point of this dissertation is to understand the movement as a collaborative effort, and to situate each of the most prominent members of this younger generation within their historical context in order to understand how this new avant-garde negotiated the difficult terrain between the real circumstances of postwar European existence and the rarefied realm of the avant-garde, and to investigate the difficulties of collaboration when both actual and theoretical projects are concerned.

An examination of the contemporaneous situation in the United States, where postwar elation clashed with a new culture of containment, sheds light on this dilemma. The Europeans' view of their American contemporaries—such as Louis Kahn, Paul Rudolph, and Charles and Ray Eames—shows a desire to see beyond mere surface and find within the same ethical components celebrated in Europe, thus ignoring the Americans' overwhelming preference for formal concerns.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I:

Abstract		iv
Acknowledgments		vi
Table of Contents		viii
List of Images		ix
Introduction : The Brutalist Quandary		1
Chapter I	The New Brutalism: History, Context, and Reevaluation	19
Chapter II	Team 10 and Collectivity	105
Chapter III	American Brutalism and Cold War Culture	199
Chapter IV	Critiques of Functionalism and the Search for Authenticity	294
Conclusion in the Form of an Epilogue: The New Brutalist Fate		372

VOLUME II:

Images	386
Bibliography	549

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

i.1 Cover of Reyner Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

1.1 Doorn Manifesto. Source: Bakema Archives, The Netherlands Architecture Institute, BAKE 0058/a12.

1.2 Doorn Manifesto. Source: Bakema Archives, The Netherlands Architecture Institute, BAKE 0058/a12.

1.3 Bengt Edman and Lennart Holm, Villa in Uppsala, Sweden, 1950. Source: *Architectural Review* 120, no. 715 (August 1956)

1.4 Alison Smithson, House in Soho, elevation drawing, 1953. Source: *Architectural Design* 23, no. 12 (December 1953).

1.5 Le Corbusier, Unité d'Habitation, Marseilles, 1946–52. Source: H. Allen Brooks, ed. *Le Corbusier* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

1.6 Le Corbusier, Plan Voisin, 1925. Source: Frampton, Kenneth. *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980.

1.7 Le Corbusier, Ville Radieuse, 1933. Source: Le Corbusier, *La Ville Radieuse: éléments d'une doctrine d'urbanisme pour l'équipement de la civilisation machiniste* (Paris: Éditions Vincent, Fréal & C^ie^, 1935 [1964]).

1.8 Le Corbusier, Palace of the Soviets, plan and elevation drawings, 1931. Source: Jean-Louis Cohen. *Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the USSR: Theories and Projects for Moscow, 1928–1936* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

1.9 Woods, Bodiansky, Candilis on roof of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation, Marseilles. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Without Rhetoric: An Architectural Aesthetic 1955–1972* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974).

1.10 Le Corbusier, Maisons Jaoul, Neuilly, 1956 Photograph: Noah Chasin.

1.11 Le Corbusier, Pavillon Suisse, Paris. Photograph: Noah Chasin.

1.12 Welwyn Garden City, map.

1.13 Lansbury Site Plan, 1951. Source: *Architect's Journal* 3 July 1974, p. 35.

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1.14 Frederick Gibberd, Lansbury Market under construction, 1951. Source: *Town and Country Planning* 19, no 86 (June 1951).

1.15 Rudolf Wittkower, cover of *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: A Tiranti, 1949, reprinted 1952).

1.16 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstanton School, 1949–54, elevation. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

1.17 Le Corbusier, Le Modulor, 1948. Source: Le Corbusier, *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the human scale universally applicable to architecture and mechanics*, 1st English edition. London: Faber and Faber, 1954.

1.18 Chamberlin, Powell, and Bon, Golden Lane Housing, 1952–57. Source: *Architectural Review* 121, no. 725 (June 1957).

1.19 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane Project, plan, elevation, axonometric, 1952. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952-60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963-70*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.

1.20 A. and P. Smithson , Golden Lane Study, 1952. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952-60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963-70*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.

1.21 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane, photomontage with Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio, 1953. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952-60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963-70*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.

1.22 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane, photomontage with Gerard Philippe, 1953. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952-60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963-70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

1.23 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane Grille, CIAM 9, 1953. Photograph by Nigel Henderson. Source: *Rassegna* 14, no. 52/4 (December 1992).

1.24 Mural by Kenneth Rowntree at Stevenage Secondary School, 1951. Source: *Architects' Year Book* 4 (1951).

1.25 Dargan Bullivant, "The Plastic Theory of Bending and its Application to the Design of the Hunstanton Steel Frames." Source: *Architectural Design* 23, no. 9 (September 1953).

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1.26 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstanton School, Site Plan, 1949–54. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

1.27 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstanton School, interior. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

1.28 Philip Johnson, Sculpture Garden at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1953. Source: *Architectural Forum* 102, No. 5 (May 1955).

1.29 George Nakashima, Knoll House and Shop Site, New Hope, Pennsylvania, 1953. *Architectural Forum* 102, No. 5 (May 1955).

1.30 Jean Dubuffet, *Monsieur Plume plis au pantalon (Portrait d'Henri Michaux)*, 1947. Tate Gallery. Purchased 1980. Source: F. Morris, ed. *Paris Post War: Art and Existentialism 1945–55* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1993).

1.31 *Parallel of Life And Art*, poster, 1953. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

1.32 *This is Tomorrow*, exhibition catalogue cover, 1956. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

1.33 *Parallel of Life and Art*, installation view. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.

1.34 A. and P. Smithson, Patio and Pavilion diagram. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

1.35 A. and P. Smithson, Patio and Pavilion, 1956, interior view. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

1.36 A. and P. Smithson, Patio and Pavilion, 1956, exterior view. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

1.37 A. and P. Smithson, Upper Lawn Pavilion, Wiltshire, England, 1959–62. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

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1.38 Le Corbusier, Villa Stein-De-Monzie, Garches, 1927. Source: Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

1.39 Le Corbusier, comparison of Temple of Hera at Paestum with Humber automobile. Source: Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York, Payson & Clark Ltd, 1927).

1.40 A. and P. Smithson, Upper Lawn Pavilion, Wiltshire, England, 1959–62, garden walls, Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

1.41 A. and P. Smithson,, House of the Future, axonometric, 1956. Source: M. Vidotto, *A. and P. Smithson* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1997).

1.42 Ionel Schein, Maison "Arts Ménagers," model, 1956. Source: *Architettura: cronache e storia*, vol. 2 no. 9 (July 1956).

1.43 Ionel Schein, Maison "Arts Ménagers," plan, 1956. Source: *Architettura: cronache e storia*, vol. 2 no. 9 (July 1956).

1.44 James Stirling and James Gowan, Flats at Ham Common, 1959. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

2.1 Urban Diagram with Signs. Source: J. Tyrwhitt, J. L. Sert, E. N. Rogers eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanization of Everyday Life* (London: Lund Humphries, 1952).

2.2 A. and P. Smithson, Urban Reidentification Grid, 1953. Photographs by Nigel Henderson. Source: *Rassegna* 14, no. 52/4 (December 1992).

2.3 Bakema and van den Broek. *Lijnbaan Shopping District*., Rotterdam. Perspective view., 1955. Source: Hans Ibelings, ed., *Van den Broek en Bakema, 1948–88: Architectuur en stedenbouw* (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2000).

2.4 Bakema and van den Broek. *Lijnbaan Shopping District*., Rotterdam, view of pavement grids, 1955. Source: Hans Ibelings, ed., *Van den Broek en Bakema, 1948–88: Architectuur en stedenbouw* (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2000).

2.5 Bakema and Van den Broek, E55 Exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955, site plan. Source: "Exposition à Rotterdam, Hollande," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (November 1955).

2.6 Van den Broek and Bakema. E55 exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955, entrance portico. Source: "Exposition à Rotterdam, Hollande," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (November 1955).

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2.7 Karel Appel, mural entitled "The Origin of the World," E55 exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (November 1955).

2.8 Constant Nieuwenhuis, sculpture at E55 exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (November 1955).

2.9 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Spontaneous Architecture," installation view, 9th Milan Triennale, 1951. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo*. Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992.

2.10 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Exhibition of Urban Design," installation view, 10th Milan Triennale, 1954. Source: *Casabella Continuità* 203 (Novembre–Dicembre 1954).

2.11 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Exhibition of Urban Design," installation view, 10th Milan Triennale, 1954. Source: *Casabella Continuità* 203 (Novembre–Dicembre 1954).

2.12 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Exhibition of Urban Design," description of films, 10th Milan Triennale, 1954. Source: *Casabella Continuità* 203 (Novembre–Dicembre 1954).

2.13 Giancarlo De Carlo, Housing at Sesto San Giovanni, Italy, 1950. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

2.14 Giancarlo De Carlo, Housing at Baveno, Novarra, Italy, 1951. Plan and exterior. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

2.15 City of Urbino, bird's-eye view. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

2.16 Giancarlo De Carlo, Colegio del Colle, Urbino, Italy, plan and elevation, 1962–83. Source: *Zodiac* 16 (1966).

2.17 Giancarlo De Carlo, Colegio del Colle, Urbino, Italy, 1962–83, bird's-eye view. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

2.18 Giancarlo De Carlo, Colegio del Colle, Urbino, Italy, 1962–83, view of walkways. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

2.19 J. and P. Honegger, *Immeubles d'habitation*, Casablanca, Morocco, 1950–1. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 35 (Mai 1951).

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2.20 ATBAT-Afrique, "Nid d'abeilles" housing, Casablanca, Morocco, 1951–3. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

2.21 ATBAT-Afrique, Housing for Jewish Residents, Casablanca, Morocco, 1951–3. Source: *Architectural Design* 25 (January 1955).

2.22 ATBAT-Afrique, *Immeuble "Entonnoir"* housing, Casablanca, Morocco, 1953. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 47 (May 1953).

2.23 ATBAT-Afrique, Grille Source: CIAM Otterlo, 1959. Oscar Newman ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Interrelationships* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961).

2.24 Aldo van Eyck, installation design for First CoBrA exhibition, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1949. Source: F. Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

2.25 Aldo van Eyck, Van Eyck Apartment, Amsterdam, interior, 1948. Source: F. Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

2.26 Aldo van Eyck, Dijkstraat Playground, Amsterdam, 1956. Source: *Rassegna* 14, no. 52/4 (December 1992).

2.27 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Children's Home, 1957–60. Bird's-eye view. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

2.28 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, Pancake Kitchen. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

2.29 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, Puppet Theatre. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

2.30 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, entrance Court. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

2.31 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, interior street. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

2.32 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, "classical" elevation. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

2.33 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, roof domes. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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2.34 Le Corbusier. Petite Maison de Weekend, 1935, project drawing. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

2.35 Caravan in Turkey, Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

2.36 Caravan in Guatemala, Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

2.37 Army House, Skopje, Yugoslavia, Source: *The Skopje Earthquake of 26 July 1963: Report of the Unesco Technical Assistance Mission* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1968).

2.38 Karpos House, Skopje, Yugoslavia, Source: *The Skopje Earthquake of 26 July 1963: Report of the Unesco Technical Assistance Mission* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1968).

3.1 Walker Evans, untitled photograph. Source: J. Agee and W. Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941).

3.2 Cover of Edward Steichen, *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955).

3.3 George Howe, Oscar Stonorov, and Louis Kahn, Carver Woods project, Coatesville, PA, 1941–3. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.4 George Howe, Oscar Stonorov, and Louis Kahn, Pennypack Woods Community, Philadelphia, perspective drawing 1941–3. Source: Brownlee and DeLong *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.5 Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov, Parasol House, drawing, 1944. Source: Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

3.6 Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov, Parasol House, drawing with "Everyman" figure, 1944. Source: Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

3.7 Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov, Parasol House Bath Unit, 1944. Source: Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

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3.8 Buckminster Fuller, Dymaxion Deployment Unit, 1940. Source: Dennis Sharp, ed., *A Visual History of Twentieth-Century Architecture* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1972).

3.9 Knickerbocker Village, New York, photograph of cleared site and drawing of proposed buildings. Source: *Architectural Record* 75 (February 1934), p. 122.

3.10 Louis Kahn, East Poplar Homes, drawing, 1952. Source: *Architectural Forum* (April 1952).

3.11 Louis Kahn, East Poplar Homes, site plan, 1952. Source: *Architectural Forum* (April 1952).

3.12 Le Corbusier, City of St. Dié, reconstruction model, 1946. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

3.13 Louis Kahn, Jefferson Memorial Competition, St. Louis, perspective drawing with laboratory of Education, 1947. Source: S. Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

3.14 Louis Kahn, Jefferson Memorial Competition, St. Louis, preliminary sketch of UNESCO building, 1947. Source: S. Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

3.15 Louis Kahn, drawing, "Monumentality." Source: P. Zucker, *New Architecture and City Planning: A Symposium* (New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1944).

3.16 Louis Kahn, Jefferson Memorial Competition, St. Louis, proposal for mural, 1947. Source: S. Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

3.17 Anni Albers, Tapestries in Louis Kahn's First Unitarian Church, Rochester, NY, date, 1968–9. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.18 Louis Kahn with Yale Students in UNESCO studio, 1949. Source: *Progressive Architecture* 30, no. 4 (April 1949).

3.19 Student projects Source: Yale UNESCO studio, 1949. Source: *Progressive Architecture* 30, no. 4 (April 1949).

3.20 Louis Kahn, sketch for "Idea Center for Plastics" studio, Yale School of Architecture, 1948. Source: Louis Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

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3.21 Josef Albers, cover of *The Interaction of Color* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963).

3.22 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, 1951–4, exterior. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

3.23 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, 1951–4, interior gallery. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

3.24 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, 1951–4, ceiling detail. Source: *Architectural Forum* 97 (November 1952).

3.25 Louis Kahn, Weiss House, East Norristown, PA, 1947–50, exterior. Source: *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.26 Louis Kahn, Weiss House, East Norristown, PA, 1947–50, rear porch. Source: *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.27 Louis Kahn, Weiss House, East Norristown, PA, 1947–50, proposed mural and shelf unit. Source: *Architectural Forum* (September 1950).

3.28 Louis Kahn, Adler House Project, 1954–5, plan. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.29 Louis Kahn, DeVore House Project, 1954–5, plan. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.30 Louis Kahn, Trenton Jewish Community Center, second design, plan and elevation, 1956. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.31 Louis Kahn, Trenton Jewish Community Center, third design, model, 1956. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.32 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, 1951–4, stairwell. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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3.33 Louis Kahn, Philadelphia Civic Center and City Hall, preliminary drawing, 1956–7. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

3.34 Paul Rudolph, installation view of *The Family of Man* exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955. Source: E. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

3.35 Paul Rudolph, installation view of *The Family of Man* exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955. Source: E. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

3.36 Paul Rudolph, circulation route for installation of *The Family of Man* exhibition. Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955. Source: E. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition:* The Family of Man *and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

3.37 Paul Rudolph. Yale Art and Architecture Building, New Haven, CT, 1963, perspective drawing. Source: *Paul Rudolph: Dessins d'Architecture / Architekturzeichnungen / Architectural Drawings* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1972).

3.38 Paul Rudolph, Yale Art and Architecture Building, New Haven, CT, 1963, elevation. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

3.39 Paul Rudolph, Yale Art and Architecture Building, New Haven, CT, 1963, detail of concrete surface. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

3.40 Paul Rudolph, Married Students Housing, New Haven, CT, 1961–2, preliminary elevation drawing. Source: *Architectural Record* (March 1961).

3.41 Paul Rudolph, Married Students Housing, New Haven, CT, 1961–2, detail of brickwork and concrete façade. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

3.42 Paul Rudolph, Married Students Housing, New Haven, CT, 1961–2.. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

3.43 Eliot Noyes, Jackson House, Dover, MA, 1947, front elevation. Source: *Architectural Forum* (March, 1947).

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3.44 Eliot Noyes, Jackson House, Dover, MA, 1947, rear elevation. Source: *Architectural Forum* (March, 1947).

3.45 Eliot Noyes, Jackson House, Dover, MA, 1947, interior view. Source: *Architectural Forum* (March, 1947).

3.46 Charles and Ray Eames Pinned By The Metal Bases of Their Own DCM Chairs, cover of *Architectural Design* (September 1966).

3.47 Charles Eames standing on frame of Eames House, 1949. Source: John Neuhart, Marilyn Neuhart, and Ray Eames, eds., *Eames Design: The Work of the Office of Charles and Ray Eames* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989).

3.48 Charles Eames, Eames House, Santa Monica, CA, 1949, exterior. Source: D. Albrecht, ed. *The Work of Charles and Ray Eames: A Legacy of Invention*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1997.

3.49 Charles and Ray Eames, Eames House, Santa Monica, CA, 1949, interior. Source: D. Albrecht, ed. *The Work of Charles and Ray Eames: A Legacy of Invention*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1997.

4.1 CIAM, Charte d'Athènes, 1933. Source: Le Corbusier, *La Charte d'Athènes* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1957).

4.2 Hitchcock and Johnson, cover of *The International Style* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1932, repr. 1966).

4.3 Illustration of butter churn rack and clothes drying rack. Source: *Architectural Review* 107, no. 637 (January 1950).

4.4 Le Corbusier, Ronchamp Chapel, 1950–5. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

4.5 "Fresh Air" Development, Malmö, Sweden, 1947–8. Source: L. Silk, *Sweden Plans for Better Housing* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1948).

4.6 Louis de Soissons and A. W. Kenyon, Welwyn Garden City housing schemes, 1926–8. Source: F. J. Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1946).

4.7 Ebenezer Howard, Garden City Diagram, Source: E. Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, ed. with a preface by F. J. Osborn. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965.

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4.8 Map of Letchworth Garden City. Source: R. Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982).

4.9 A. and P. Smithson, Sugden House, Watford, Herts, preliminary sketch. Source: *Architectural Review* 122, no. 728 (September 1957).

4.10 Le Corbusier, Maison Ozenfant, Paris, 1922–3. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

4.11 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstanton School Water Tower. Source: *Architectural Review* 116, no. 693 (September 1954).

4.12 A. and P. Smithson, Sugden House, 1955, side elevation. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

4.13 A. and P. Smithson, Sugden House, 1955, rear view from garden. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

4.14 Cover of *Forum: manndblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunsten* 1 (1953).

4.15 Cover of *Forum: manndblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunste* 3 (1962).

4.16 Le Corbusier, Plan Obus for Algiers, Project A, 1930. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

4.17 Dogon Extended House. Source: F. Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

4.18 Mesa Verde, Colorado, photographed by Aldo van Eyck. Source: *Forum: manndblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunste* 3 (1962).

4.19 Cover of *Minotaure: revue artistique et littéraire* 2 (June 1933).

4.20 De 8 en Opbouw, Plan for the Village of Nagele, The Netherlands, ca. 1949. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (1952).

4.21 Richard Lohse, *Konkretion III*, 1946. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (1952).

4.22 E. A. Gutkind, illustration from "How Other People Dwell and Build: Houses of China." Source: *Architectural Design* 23, no. 3 (March 1953).

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C.1 A. and P. Smithson, Berlin-Haupstadt Plan, 1958. Source: R. Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

C.2 A. and P. Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, 1966–72, axonometric drawing. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

C.3 A. and P. Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, view from garden. Source: *Architectural Design* 42 (September 1972).

C.4 A. and P. Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, view from garden. Source: *Architectural Design* 42 (September 1972).

C.5 Richard and Linda Thompson, cover of LP entitled *Sunnyvista* (New York: Carthage Records, 1983).

C.6 A. and P. Smithson, Economist Cluster, London, 1964. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

C.7 A. and P. Smithson, Economist Cluster, London, 1964, worm's-eye view. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

C.8 A. and P. Smithson, Economist Clusters Mapped onto the City of London. Source: Marco Vidotto. *A. and P. Smithson* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1997).

C.9 Le Corbusier, Letter to Karl Krämer, 5 July 1961, with drawing ("On monte sur les épauls [sic] mais on ne dit pas merci"). Source: BAKE or104.

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INTRODUCTION:

The Brutalist Quandary

"Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else."

-Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*

Throughout the time spent on this project, I was posed numerous questions about the intriguing appellation, "The New Brutalism." The more clever of my interlocutors would query me as to the differences between the "new" and the "old" Brutalism, forcing an excursus on the somewhat surprising fact that, indeed, there was no such thing as "The Old Brutalism." However disappointing it might have been to be told that "The New"—contrary to all linguistic logic—was neither a reaction *against*, a response *to*, nor a refutation *of* "The Old," such drama paled in comparison to my own gradual realization that an elementary definition of The New Brutalism itself seemed quite elusive, at least from a historical perspective.

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New Brutalist architecture, as it has come largely to be understood within the history of architectural thought and theory, is quite simply defined as buildings that use shuttered concrete or rough, untreated brick, massed without a predominance of fenestration, created with an austerity and forthrightness of design that precludes affectation through an aggressive and emphatic insistence on the "real" qualities of materials and tectonic properties. Correlations tend to be made between the New Brutalism and Jackson Pollocks's aformal painting and the *art brut* of Jean Dubuffet, as well as with the *musique concrète* of Edgar Varèse (especially in the latter's use of found noises incorporated into traditional composition) and others, and the *béton brut* of Le Corbusier's postwar buildings such as the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles of 1946–52.

As is obvious from the above definition—a definition that has been simplified so as to suggest the way in which the term "Brutalism" has most commonly been employed since its inception in the early 1950s—the term largely describes the physical character of buildings, but not the ideological framework in which they were conceived. The New Brutalism was an ideological reaction to the status quo of International modernist architecture as it had been codified in the late 1920s and perpetuated through into the early 1950s. Thus to reduce its definition to a set of merely formal principles is to see only part of the picture. Since the coining of the phrase (a history that is discussed in Chapter I), there have been astoundingly few words dedicated to a reinvestigation of the subject, although the term itself recurs in the many histories of twentieth-century architecture without great elaboration.[1] In nearly all of these invocations, the author

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[1] The main exception is that of Kenneth Frampton's exemplary history of modernism, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980). Frampton dedicates an entire chapter to the case of New Brutalism's ethics, entitled,

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reduces the term's meaning again to the same hackneyed, misleading formal issues. This trouble can be traced back to the root, embodied by the words of New Brutalism's main apologist, Reyner Banham.

My initial frustration arose out of an attempt to read the actual buildings and texts of the period through Reyner Banham's 1966 history of the movement, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?*[2] **[fig. i.1]** Banham, as an intimate of Alison and Peter Smithson (the originators of New Brutalism in England and the figures around which the entire history of the movement must revolve) presented what seemed at first glance to be a cohesive, taxonomic definition of the movement, spread out among a multitude of nations and organized under the aesthetic category of fortress-like structures, crafted of reinforced concrete and brick used in an honest and straightforward fashion. Banham's subtitle offers a provocative introduction to what his book fails to demonstrate fully, namely that the originary impulse of the movement was to counteract the prevailing architectural avant-garde not through a critique of its style, but of its ideological (or what they called "ethical") dimension. By suggesting that New Brutalism may have been either an ethical or an aesthetic movement, Banham can be said to be less choosing sides of the argument than being playfully provocative. The book's conclusion speaks of Brutalism's "moral crusade," but this seems to me somewhat misleading. Ethics, in the Brutalist vocabulary, is not synonymous with morals, but instead describes architecture's extraformal properties: its sociological, cultural, and even (obliquely) political dimensions that circulate in and around its built forms.

"New Brutalism and the Architecture of the Welfare State: England 1949–59," pp. 262–8.

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Reading the book, one gradually realizes that the text does not in any way fit with the illustrations, as the News Brutalists' various ethical (and other extra-formal) concerns are introduced, only to be contradicted by the overwhelming physical similarities between the buildings—similarities that existed whether the structure was created as low-income housing in Casablanca, or as an art gallery on an Ivy League campus. In their initial statement on the movement, the Smithsons claim without equivocation that the New Brutalism is an ethic, not an aesthetic.[3]

Banham, writing in 1966, was simply too close to the movement (both philosophically and temporally) to be able to comprehend what impact The New Brutalism might have had on the history of twentieth-century architecture. Banham, if not the term's midwife, was at the very least its wet-nurse, coddling and sustaining it until it had reached maturity (which, in this case, came rather abruptly, followed by an untimely demise).

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[2] Reyner Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966). Banham's first publication on the subject was "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Review* 118, no. 708 (December 1955).

[3] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism," in *Architectural Design* 27 (April 1957): 113, reprinted in Joan Ockman, ed., *Architecture Culture 1943–1968,* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), p. 241. The Smithsons' comments appear after an anonymous discussion on the topic of New Brutalism entitled "Thoughts on Brutalism." The cover of this particular issue of *AD* features what the editors refer to as "a few brutalist images (with apologies to brutalists, who have not been consulted)." The cover shows, against a grainy background, the front end of a late-model Plymouth automobile, an aerial view of what I believe is Casablanca, and a movie still of two characters in mid-struggle, over all of which is superimposed a Dubuffet-esque drawing of a man in profile. These four images, taken together, are meant to "symbolise various brutalist preoccupations—the machine in its newest and most potent manifestation, emblem of mass production; the eastern housing pattern which provided the impetus for cluster planning and the search for new kinds of order in cities; the cinema image of violence, awareness of our realities and of mass communications. Overall is the concern with Man, his place in rapidly changing societies and his equally important relation to old fashioned reality, the earth, the sun and his neighbor." Ibid., p. 3.

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The adjectival version of the term "Brutalist" has become thoroughly and almost irrevocably estranged from its initial definition during the past (nearly) forty years, a misconception aided by the taxonomic structure of Banham's book. The term "Brutalism" has fallen into disuse, and is now used to describe everything from ugly, aggressive architecture to any sort of extreme behavior. The Brutalist fallacy is well represented by Robert Sommer (a behavioral psychologist with an expertise on social spaces) who, in his book *Tight Spaces: Hard Architecture and How to Humanize It* (1974), excoriated the dehumanizing qualities of many new buildings constructed in the name of progress, but in his opinion antithetical to the standards of "decent" society. He wrote:

> Unlike the occupants who must live in them, architectural critics have thrived on hard buildings. They have christened the trend towards windowless concrete as the *New Brutalism.* If one applies this phrase to human society, its frightening implications become apparent. But architecture critics laud these concrete monoliths for their honesty and integrity. The bare pipes and exposed wiring courageously portray the guts of the building. It is logical to photograph such buildings without any people around, for a human presence would only detract from the building. A more sophisticated critical view is based upon reflection rather than analogy. Brutal buildings are a response to a brutal society, just as cheap and tawdry buildings reflect the commercialism of American society. Romanticizing one's oppression is a valid coping mechanism provided nothing can be done to relieve it.[4]

Sommer's attitude is typical within the architectural profession for its blindly superficial awareness of the New Brutalism and its constituents. The simple fact that the New Brutalists stood resolutely for a resurgence of humanization in the urban and architectural environment, and of an enhanced sense of community among members of

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[4] Robert Sommer, *Tight Spaces: Hard Architecture and How to Humanize It* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 133. In other disciplines, the word has accrued similarly negative connotations. Recent years have seen the publication of a new cookbook inspired by the fad in trendy London restaurants for serving dishes that

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housing blocks and other urban enclaves, belies Sommer's ill-informed reproaches. But the misapprehension of the term goes beyond the mere embrace of its provocative insinuations. The term's original relevance resulted from a debate over whether New Brutalism was to be understood primarily as denoting either an ethical stance or an aesthetic movement; hence Banham's subtitle. The present thesis insists that these two components be taken separately, on their own terms.

In order to do so, I suggest a bifurcation of the subtitle, so that we are now confronted with two entities, not mutually exclusive, but decidedly distinct: Ethical Brutalism and Aesthetic Brutalism. By establishing these new terms, we can begin to understand the New Brutalism in the artistic, architectural, historical, and theoretical contexts that comprised the milieu of the postwar avant-garde. Moreover, the use of these discrete terms allows us to understand New Brutalism as intrinsically related to (and perhaps even given relevance *through*) other, less nebulous avant-garde associations in which the Smithsons participated, such as the Independent Group and Team 10.[5]

This last point makes it necessary to affirm that the history of the Smithsons and their practice is by and large interchangeable with the history of New Brutalism as I understand it. This is not to say that the Smithsons were the only New Brutalists, even if they were, in fact, the only figures (besides Banham, of course) to actually invoke the term in reference to their work. For as we shall see, the New Brutalism more accurately describes an attitude and a set of concerns, both of which transcend the material practice of architecture to become, in effect, an ideological position.

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featured less-desirable cuts of meat. See Charlotte Du Cann, *Offal and the New Brutalism* (London: Heinemann Publishers, 1985).

[5] Team 10 will be the focal point of Chapter II; the Independent Group will be introduced and discussed in Chapter I.

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I fully intend to engage the term "ideology" with all of its negative connotations and implications of coercion and prejudice, because there was, on the part of the figures discussed in this study, a dogma that at times blinded them to the larger realities of their historical moment and context, even when their words may have seemed to contradict any parochialism. In particular, it is their conflicted relationship to the idea of modernism, as alternately the legacy of post-Enlightenment thought and as a contemporary instant of ineluctable specificity, that is the greatest source of difficulty in trying to understand the beliefs and goals of The New Brutalism.

The term "modernism" is notable for its internal paradox (namely that all moments are, at the general period of their occurrence, "modern"), one that renders it omniscient and yet completely banal, bordering on irrelevance. The subject of New Brutalism falls into the period separating what might be called "late modernism" (again, a denomination with attendant problems of verification and historical certitude, yet generally understood as encompassing approximately the years 1945 to 1968), from the subsequent two decades, often called the period of "postmodernism."[6] Writing at the beginning of the twenty-first century, one is able to see this era with a bit more clarity than could Banham, yet the next two decades will undoubtedly afford even greater depth of understanding of the period.

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[6] The critiques of modernism that arise in the late 1960s and early 1970s are of a thoroughly different register than those of the New Brutalists a generation earlier. Texts such as Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture, 1966); Manfredo Tafuri's "Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology," *Contropiano* 1 (January–April 1969), reprinted in K. Michael Hays ed., *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 2–35; and Charles Jencks's *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1977), all present different registers of disillusionment with the project of modernity. Another enduring critique that arises for the first time at this

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Still, in this model of modernism and its discontents, the certainty of the battle lines is clear, and such a tale must include heroes and villains alike. The *Congrès Internationaux d'architecture moderne* (henceforth to be called CIAM),[7] seen in contrast to its brief continuation under the group Team 10 (a group with a new, younger leadership that critiqued what it saw as the limitations of CIAM discourse, and whose members included many people in sympathy with the New Brutalism, either explicitly or implicitly—see Chapter II), provides the basic context for discussing the terms of architectural change in the 1950s. One might schematically suggest that what I shall be calling the prewar avant-garde (constituted, for our purposes, by those largely European architects working from around 1920 forward under the aegis of CIAM) was superseded by the postwar avant-garde (a group with more ecumenical set of national constituents, becoming active in the wake of World War II and continuing through the mid-1960s).[8]

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moment, that of Peter Eisenman's "Post-Functionalism," will be discussed separately in the conclusion, as it arose in part as an ad hominem attack on the Smithsons themselves.

[7] CIAM was a group founded in 1928 by Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Sigfried Giedion, created as a means of codifying the principles of machine-age modernism that each of these figures had been individually pursuing (along with many others). They met periodically every three years or so, each meeting addressing a particularly current theme, such as housing or the core of the city, that would result in some sort of (presumably) unanimous statement of intent about how the architectural profession intended to address said issue. The best publication on the history of CIAM is Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 2000).

[8] The use of the term avant-garde might provoke controversy, as CIAM could alternatively be argued to have been an institutionalization of architectural modernism. I use the term "avant-garde" for two reasons: first, because they avowedly regarded themselves as such (see Chapter II), and second because any institutionalization came in the later phases of CIAM's existence, and a critique of its stodginess and conventionality is precisely what the project of New Brutalism and Team 10 will be shown to have been. Likewise the New Brutalism/Team 10 adherents regarded themselves as avant-garde practitioners, and a critique of that position came during the 1960s from individuals and groups such as England's Archigram—a topic outside the scope of the present study.

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However, such a simplification only begins to make sense after thoroughly investigating the relationship between the two.[9]

Although there were four CIAM meetings prior to the 10th (from which Team 10's name derived, as discussed in Chapter II)[10] that occurred after 1945 (namely those meetings of 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953), the essential project of the prewar activities remained in place during the postwar years as did the roster of personnel. Because of the war's decisive effect on the ideas discussed here, I have chosen to use this moment as a way of marking the distinction between the older generation of CIAM members and the new[11]. The fundamental distinction resides in Team 10's desire to move beyond what

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[9] Technically speaking, what I am calling the "prewar avant-garde" more accurately should be called the "interwar avant-garde," given the fact that it existed between roughly 1920 and 1935. Some might also suggest that it would be simpler to use the term "avant-garde" instead of "prewar avant-garde," and "neo-avant-garde" instead of "postwar avant-garde." This latter formulation would follow the analogous categories in art history as developed by Peter Bürger in his *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) and adopted by contemporary theorists and historians (see, for example, Hal Foster, "What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?" *October* 70 [Fall 1994]: 5–32, and Benjamin Buchloh, *Neo-Avantgarde and Culture Industry: Essays on European and American Art from 1955 to 1975* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000]). While historians such as Bürger and Foster see the neo-avant-garde as having recapitulated many avant-garde strategies, for my purposes, the war was a decisive break in the continuity of avant-garde architectural practice, and thus I have chosen to contextualize the avant-gardes in relation to World War II.

[10] Briefly stated, Team 10 takes its name from a decision made in 1953 by CIAM, an organization that represented the ideals and goals of the prewar avant-garde. At the 9th meeting of that year, the older CIAM generation, under pressure from a coalition of younger members, decided that the time had come to pass the baton to the next generation; that leadership would commence with the following (10th) meeting, ultimately held in 1956 in Dubrovnik.

[11] I wish to preemptively address the potential criticism arising from my treatment of all early CIAM members and their respective practices as an undifferentiated mass. The way that prewar CIAM activities were written and spoken of by Team 10 members was very much as a unified force to be counteracted with fresh, new ideas. Since the present study's topic is the younger generation, I will continue this prejudice so as to emphasize the Team 10 critique in context. When a major exception is noted, such as Team 10's inconsistent (sometimes paradoxical) reception of Le Corbusier, I have taken the time to discuss it accordingly.

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they considered CIAM's failed functionalist position, a critique that persisted despite the prewar CIAM's professed interest in the human aspects of architectural form (as we shall see in Chapter II). From the Team 10 perspective, CIAM's failure was most acute on the question of dwelling.

With several major exceptions, the structures I shall be discussing are domiciles of various types, both private homes and larger housing complexes. While New Brutalism and Team 10 had a strong urbanist component, associated with vigorous theories and projects, its members believed that the primary component of the city is the place where one lives (or else, the place to which one travels) and indeed, in the 1950s, housing was the major issue in both Europe and the United States.

Aside from proto-Brutalist buildings such as Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation and the Smithsons' Hunstanton School, along with Team 10 buildings such as the University of Urbino by Giancarlo de Carlo and Aldo van Eyck's Amsterdam Orphanage (not to mention the American analogues to be discussed in Chapter III as examples of aesthetic brutalism, such as Kahn's Yale Art Gallery and Rudolph's Yale Art & Architecture building), one will find little discussion of Banham's canon in the following pages. Thus, buildings whose extended impact beyond a momentary adherence to an avant-garde trend is less than significant, I have not included.

Instead, I have made my project one that seeks to redress the traditional misconceptions of New Brutalism through an understanding of the term as symbolizing both a critique of the prewar avant-garde, and the various corrections proposed by this critique. In other words, I feel it necessary to situate New Brutalism within the contexts of its appearances, so as not to fall into the same trap as did Banham—losing sight, as I

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contend that he did, of the originary principles that initially brought the term its significance.

Some terminology is necessary for understanding the following argument. I have decided to apply a schematic language of my own devising, first to facilitate clarity, and second to affirm that my project is meant to challenge the present orthodoxy of New Brutalist and Team 10 literature. Throughout the following chapters will be found references to hybrid structures such as "brutalist practice" or "brutalist projects," as well as "Team 10/New Brutalist projects," Team 10/New Brutalist practice," and so on. The confusion can be cleared up with a simple statement, the finer points of which are the underlying theses of the present work: namely, that at the time, the New Brutalist aesthetic and ethos were considered as independent entities, yet often coexisted in the writings and built works of the figures who were sympathetic to the originary ideas of the New Brutalist critique (including, but certainly not limited to, the Smithsons).

Furthermore, when I speak of New Brutalism, unless the context refers to the Smithsons' earliest work, one can safely assume that these were activities carried out under names other than that of New Brutalism itself, yet activities that can be understood to have had some intellectual affiliation with the tenets of New Brutalism as the term was conceived by the Smithsons and Banham.. The basic principles of New Brutalism are inextricable from Alison and Peter Smithson's intellectual and professional activities during the early 1950s. No other architect or group claims as direct an affiliation with the term as do the Smithsons. My project here is to amplify an understanding of New Brutalism (in terms of not just its aesthetics, but especially its ethics) in order to show its relevance to others who may not have accepted the appellation at the time. In other

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words, I use the term "The New Brutalism" and the designation of "the New Brutalists" to indicate the words and/or work of individuals or groups whose practice in the 1950s was concordant with the *ethical* principles of New Brutalism as designated by the Smithsons in 1957. This definitive statement, published in *Architectural Design*, make their position quite clear: "Up to now Brutalism has been discussed stylistically, whereas its essence is ethical."[12] This declaration directly contradicts another that appeared two years prior in the same journal, and likewise entitled "The New Brutalism." The key line of the earlier invocation reads as follows: " It is this reverence for materials—a realization of the affinity which can be established between building and man—which is at the root of the so-called New Brutalism."[13] The shift away from an emphasis on aesthetics to one on ethics is no doubt an effect of the Smithsons' participation in Team 10 which had formed just around the time of the earlier New Brutalist manifesto.

Team 10 was a practical as well as an intellectual exercise (although not a unified architectural practice—none of the Team 10 members ever partnered up with one another, save Alison and Peter Smithson), and thus the practical side of its endeavors always must be understood apart from the theoretical debates at the meetings, even if the former are fully informed by the latter. I will therefore argue a continuity between New Brutalism and Team 10, one that uses Alison and Peter Smithson's architectural practice as its fulcrum. New Brutalism, as will become clear, is a term that has little sustained meaning on its own; only within the context of the powerful network of artists, architects, sociologists, etc. that constellated around the central figures of the Smithsons (especially

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[12] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism," (1957), ibid., p. 113.
[13] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Design* 25, no. 1 (January 1955): 1.

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in their affiliation with Team 10 and the Independent Group) does the term New Brutalism start to accrue value as a single emergent stream of thought that is articulated through many separate yet related activities, both theoretical and material. It is also the presence of this extended group of experts that exemplifies one of the main themes of New Brutalist/Team 10 work, namely that of collaboration.[14]

One of the goals of the present study is to challenge the assumption that Team 10 was an insular enterprise, and to see the Smithsons as merely central figures in a much larger intellectual and architectural matrix that extends from the theoretical to the practical spheres. More importantly, the exchange of ideas went both ways, so that the Smithsons must be seen to have taken as much as they gave, and this includes exchanges both inside and outside the formal groups to which the Smithsons belonged, as well as the extended reach of New Brutalist ethics and aesthetics through the affiliations fostered through personal and professional relationships.

New Brutalism seems as if it would have held immense appeal for architectural students in the 1950s who faced much greater opportunities for actual built projects than did the preceding generation, although how it was meant to be used brought forth a host of significant questions: Was it merely a theoretical proposition? An aesthetic statement? An embrace of new technology, or a refutation of the possibilities of technologically advanced construction?

One clue is offered by a document written by two figures who have vanished from history: Marian Augustyniak and Fred T. Entwhistle, Jr. These two aspiring architects at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1957 produced a questionnaire called "Survey of

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[14] Collaboration may not have existed on a practical level, as mentioned above, but did inform the group format for addressing problems, as well as the collaboration undertaken

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New Brutalism," which they sent out to a number of prominent architects, including Louis Kahn. The cover letter stated that "Since there are no adequate studies of [New Brutalism] to the best of our knowledge, we have undertaken to investigate it in our thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Architecture." Dated 14 April 1957, they naïvely underestimate the time commitments of famous architect by saying that they expect "to begin the compilation of the results . . . on May 10, 1957."[15]

After summarizing Banham's main points on New Brutalism from the 1955 article, along with those by an anonymous author in the May 1955 issue of *Architectural Forum*, they pose some questions of their own, illuminating not for their perspicacity but rather as tools for understanding how elusive were the intricacies of the New Brutalist project to the general architectural community. They inquired: "Is the New Brutalism (as one aspect of the Modern Movement) a direct result of the drive to synchronize architecture with science?" and "Does New Brutalism increase the distinction between the scientific utilitarian approach from which it emanates, and a. the romantic organic approach [or] b. the modern approach to the historical continuity of classicism?" and finally, "Does New Brutalism anticipate human adjustment to the interpretation of the *science* of architecture?"[16]

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with other figures outside the group proper.

[15] Marian Augustyniak and Fred T. Entwhistle, Jr., "Survey on New Brutalism," letter to Louis Kahn dated Pittsburgh, PA, 14 April 1957. LIK 59.

[16] Ibid. The preoccupation with science and technology is a curious one, given that neither Banham nor the *AF* author suggest anything of the kind, other than an affiliation with the industrial age (and this based only on the Alison and Peter Smithson's neo-Miesian Hunstanton School of 1949–53, which as we shall see, is a misleading representation of New Brutalism, either as an ethic or an aesthetic), although the quasi-scientific study groups within the Independent Group give some clues as to the extra-architectural preoccupations of the Smithsons and Company.

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The mere presence of the survey suggests that the topic was known and discussed outside of a small circle of students at London's Architectural Association, and was well enough known in 1957 that Kahn, whose Yale Art Gallery of 1953 had been named in Banham's 1955 article entitled "The New Brutalism," should be consulted as an expert on the subject.[17] There is no indication that Kahn responded to the student questionnaire, although it did remain in his files.

Like the students' questionnaire, the following is not a definitive history of either New Brutalism or Team 10, but instead a critical evaluation of these two movements or schools of thought that seeks to bring the two into closer connection. I am interested in a particular extended moment—the 1950s—and the various economic, social, cultural, and political events and effects that actualized the context in which avant-garde architectural thought and production could evolve. Through a perusal of documents and correspondence located in the Team 10 archives (part of the Bakema and Van den Broek archives held at the Netherlands Architecture Institute) and in the Banham archive at the Getty Research Institute, I propose to "read between the lines" to come to a better understanding of what "ethics" and "aesthetics" meant to the architects and theorists of the 1950s. But to limit oneself to dialogues internal to the New Brutalists and to Team 10 would be to fall into the same trap as did Banham. There has been no comprehensive study that has tried to determine the external conditions affecting the architectural

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[17] A note appended to the survey indicates that it was also sent to Sir Patrick Abercrombie (author of the 1943 Greater London Plan), Marcel Breuer, Gordon Bunshaft, William [sic] Dudok, Walter Gropius, Wallace Harrison, Philip Johnson, William Lescaze, Richard Neutra, Nathanial Owings [of SOM], Eero Saarinen, Louis Skidmore [also of SOM], Mr. & Mrs. Peter Smithson, and Frank Lloyd Wright (among several lesser-known others).

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profession during this crucial postwar period. The following pages trace the originary impulse of New Brutalism and then situate the term in relation to various art and architectural practices that, taken as a whole, comprise the extended project of the New Brutalism.

Chapter I begins as a discussion of the social and political context in England during the late 1940s and 1950s, and sets the stage for the kinds of critiques that were available to the Smithsons at that time. New Brutalism is thus seen to have been forged as a reaction to prevailing conditions. This chapter begins to define the distinctions between ethical and aesthetic Brutalism, especially in light of the Smithsons' central participation in the Independent Group at London's Institute of Contemporary Art, and reevaluates the idea of a brutalist aesthetics as a socio-cultural practice rather than a formalist strategy using particular types of "brutal" materials.

Chapter II examines the activities of the Smithsons and others within the Team 10 context, and makes the crucial link between New Brutalism and Team 10. If any true New Brutalist buildings can be said to have been erected, they would be the projects of the Team 10 members mentioned in this chapter. Here I discuss both art and architectural practices and determine the way in which these combined efforts amplified traditional architectural practice during the 1950s.

Chapter III is an attempt to situate the goings-on in the U.S. on their own terms as well as in relation to the European context, based upon a well documented mutual admiration between, for example, Louis Kahn and the Smithsons.[18] Because of the profound differences in the postwar histories of Europe and the United States, it is

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impossible to make any precise comparison between architectural production in either place during the 1950s. Instead, I propose a different set of values and concerns in the U.S.—based largely on its ascendancy to a position of global prominence—that consider the major economic and cultural forces that shaped the American experience of that era, and which had an oblique relationship to the European context.[19]

Finally, Chapter IV is a meditation on the central concern of the New Brutalism, namely its members' critique of functionalism as they believed it to have been practiced by the prewar avant-garde. The New Brutalist/Team 10 preoccupation with community led them towards a reevaluation of the historical legacy of societies within the widest range of cultures, all the while battling internal conflicts that would ultimately prove irreconcilable.

It is strange that Banham's book does not appear until 11 years after his first article on the New Brutalism. Did he believe that the history of the movement had sufficiently passed into what we might call "history"? Did he notice that the Smithsons' built work, by this time, had moved radically away from an ethical position to an aesthetic one (as I argue in my conclusion)? Did he want, paternalistically, to ensure that a small blip on the radar screen of the 1950s did not go undetected, lest it later be proven to have been an etiology of some greater symptom? There is evidence that such a thing as

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[18] It is, however, true that the Europeans seemed to have been much more aware of their compatriots in the U.S. than vice versa. It is also true that the European tended to publish more texts, and thus their opinions were more publicly available.

[19] Two recent studies have dealt with the two main figures of Chapter III—Louis Kahn and Paul Rudolph—but these studies are monographic and hence more comprehensive with regard to these architects' personal histories. See Sarah Williams Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) and the

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The New Brutalism did in fact exist in the minds of many formidable individuals, whose reputations will attest to their conviction. The New Brutalism was a topic in relation to which the thoughts and works of these individuals had operated—a theme, really, if not a school, an ideology, or a theoretical construct. If Reyner Banham did not adequately do justice to the larger project of the New Brutalism from a historian's perspective, he can at least be thanked for lending it significance from that of a critic. In fact, were it not for his efforts, the following study would never have occurred. The following pages represent both an homage and an effort at a reevaluation.

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dissertation by Timothy Rohan, *Architecture in the Age of Alienation: Paul Rudolph's Postwar Academic Buildings*, Ph.D. diss. , Harvard University 2001.

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CHAPTER I:

The New Brutalism: Historiography, Context, and Reevaluation

The "Angry Young Men" (and women) that populate Reyner Banham's polemical history of The New Brutalism clearly have much in common with British playwright John Osborne and others for whom the denomination had been coined, in terms of their reaction to the promise of a socially progressive government that, by 1950, had lost ground once again to the conservative Tory party.[1] Many prominent conservatives within the British art and architectural establishment had made a postwar decision to foreground the historical legacy of a sentimentalized British history. To those for whom the Modern

[1] The Angry Young Men were discussed by theatre critic Kenneth Tynan in 1958, when he defined the "Movement" as follows: "They detested 'the Establishment,' a phrase that had lately been coined to describe the hard core of top people—professional monarchists, archbishops, press barons, Etonian Tories, and *Times* leader writers—who still seemed, in spite of a war and a social revolution, to be exerting a disproportionate influence on the country's affairs." "The Angry Young Movement," *Tynan on Theatre* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Publishers, 1964), pp. 54–62.

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Movement was either an unfinished project or one whose parameters had yet to be fully expanded and defined, this appeared as an unmitigated affront.

As Banham noted, the Angry Young Men differed from the Brutalists in the former's embrace of provinciality and the latter's participation in an international architectural avant-garde.[2] But the vitriol that fed the flames of both projects derived from the same sources: a rejection of Oxbridge elitism, the dismay at having just missed participating in a world-historical moment, and the perceived need to attack each of these with a new language—written, spoken, as well as material—that sought to create a voice for this disenfranchised generation, too young to have participated meaningfully in the war, yet sufficiently mature in its aftermath to form an opinion about what the future might hold in store.

Jimmy Porter, the protagonist of Osborne's landmark drama *Look Back in Anger* (1956), recognizes the impossibility of his future as an effect of the failings of two characters.[3] Jimmy's father had experienced the Spanish Civil War, like many British participants, as a failure of an idealistic attempt to enforce ideology where, arguably, it was not wanted. The Colonel, on the other hand, was a prosperous and successful figure in occupied India, newly independent since 1947 and now a symbol of the failed project of British colonialism. These two lost souls represent the older generation whose assumptions about the way in which the world functioned had been pulled out from beneath them, and their rapid entropy following the acknowledgment of failure (although it was not strictly failure, but rather a finite period of success whose rapid disintegration came as a shock to those who had never questioned its relevance) was a function of a new

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[2] See Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., pp. 13–14.

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world requiring a new cultural legacy to carry itself forward out of the mess of the previous decade.

The perceived lack of worthy causes (either ideological or imperialistic) in Osborne's play had its real-world analogue in the mass scrambling for an intellectual language through which meaningful utterances of a postwar world might be articulated. The resurgence of Tory politics (their slogan, "you've never had it so good," standing as a rebuff to the Labor government of the late 1940s) and a rightward shift in intellectual circles towards a renewal of traditional values and mores evoked a crisis among young intellectuals. Jimmy, as a modern day Hamlet, struggles to resolve his Oedipal conflict with his father much as the disenfranchised left of the early 1950s sought to work through a conflicted relationship with both the residue of imperialism as well as with Stalin's insidious Marxist revisionism. In each case, an anticipated manifest destiny (in Hamlet's case, an ascension to the throne, and in the case of England, a sense that its domain and territories would remain sovereign in perpetuity) was thwarted by current events whose outcome radically reshaped its consequences.

Another potent literary symbol of the mid-1950s was the protagonist of *Lucky Jim* (1954), Kingsley Amis's brash and irreverent look at the so-called "red-brick universities," those nineteenth-century schools from whence the majority of the postwar avant-garde had graduated (Alison and Peter Smithson from University of Durham, Banham from Bristol Technical College—although later he received a B.A. and Ph.D. from the Courtauld—and James Stirling from Liverpool University, whereas Colin St.

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[3] For a critical reading of *Look Back in Anger* within its historical context, see Arnold P. Hinchliffe, *John Osborne* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1984), pp. 1–25.

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John Wilson represented an anomaly, having graduated Cambridge in 1942).[4] Jim Dixon is caught between his dystopic view of the future and the mandate of the school's history department (in which Jim teaches) to celebrate the glory of "Merry Old England" (a topic on which Jim is assigned to lecture, and which becomes his cause for great consternation regarding his future in academia).

There is no great distance between the shared plights of the two Jims and that of the contemporaneous architectural establishment in Britain. The rejection of sentimentality that was a benchmark of the New Brutalist project resonates in tune with Amis's own rejection of nostalgia for a lost era; Amis's Jim, however, takes the path of least resistance, and wearily makes an effort to comply with the older generation's wishes, although his decisions result from apathy, not anger. Perhaps channeling his resentment, the New Brutalists fought with all their might through the spoken and written word, built and unbuilt projects, to find some path out of the postwar quagmire other than that prescribed by the generational avant-garde immediately preceding them.

But England's sense of security in the 1950s was shaken by a much more real transition taking place in the change from a vast colonial power to an identity almost entirely circumscribed by the geographic limits of the British Isles. Prior to the outbreak of World War II, the major European countries, save Germany, always had had recourse to the authoritative reason of empire, and this prestige was echoed in the architectural

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[4] Reyner Banham, in a contrasting note, received his degree in mechanical engineering degree at Bristol Technical College, but famously received his doctorate at the Courtauld Institute under Nikolaus Pevsner, one of the great enemies of the Brutalist generation. Banham's doctoral thesis had already thrown down the gauntlet for its duel with the older generation of modernist apologists. It was later published as his seminal *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London: Architectural Press, 1960).

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projects undertaken in the colonies.[5] Operating with this impunity, one can understand more easily how a disinterest in the vicissitudes of human association (such as that which occupied the minds of the postwar avant-garde) might have continued unabated. To work in (or for) a country such as England or France, which were the two most acquisitive colonial powers (with the Netherlands as a close third), and where the dominion over remote lands and cultures was so fluid, was to feel the true power of sovereignty, whether deluded by visions of benevolence or of supremacy.[6] Thus the predominance of English, French, and Dutch architects working within New Brutalism and Team 10's orbit is not as arbitrary as it might seem at first, as their shared response to the fall of colonialism was one, perhaps, of relief, and of optimism.

Once an empire weakens and dies, the heretofore unquestioned potential for a shared architectural vocabulary within colonized areas (or at least one arising from the political, social, and cultural lingua franca so eagerly sought by the prewar avant-garde) is called into question, and recourse to local values and traditions becomes foregrounded. Cultural power, writes Andrew Ross, "operates by incorporating a whole range of popular feelings, desires, and aspirations *in accord with* the rational interests of a dominant logic." From this position, both the radical right and the radical left are subject

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[5] For the political ramifications of British decolonization, see John Strachey, *The End of Empire* (London: Gallancz, 1959); John Gallagher, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982): pp. 73–153; John Darwin, *The End of British Empire: The Historical Debate* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); and Frederick Madden, ed., *The End of Empire: Dependencies Since 1948. Part I: The West Indies, British Honduras, Hong Kong, Fiji, Cyprus, Gibraltar,and the Falklands. Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth, Volume VIII* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000); pp. xxii–xxxii, 1–67.

[6] For the history of French colonialism in an architectural context (in North Africa, Madagascar, and Indochina), see Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). See also Jean-Louis

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to critique for the extremism of their viewpoints: the right for its insistence on the free individual's option to remain oblivious to reality, and the left for its obedience to the purely Marxist critique of "the objective logic of capital accumulation."[7]

Somewhere in between these two positions lies New Brutalism. The reason that the movement is at the same time frustratingly problematic and infinitely compelling is one and the same: the individuals affiliated with New Brutalism were—both publicly and, I believe, privately—resolutely apolitical. This isn't to say that there was not a political dimension to their sociological bent, nor that they were somehow insulated from the shadow of the War and its repercussions. In fact, I would argue that the entire existence of New Brutalism was made possible only through changes wrought by the effects of the war, not only on the people and countries that were involved, but in terms of the changes that befell the architectural debate within the context of CIAM.

Strangely, despite the profundity of their historical moment, the CIAM members did not engage with politics in any direct sense, even if the opportunities for them to build came as the result of the vicissitudes of postwar reconstruction. While the British members of the New Brutalist constellation (such as the Smithsons, John Voelcker, Reyner Banham, and others) were content to bury their noses in contemporary science fiction journals—thus occupying an intellectual space informed by popular culture but, in the Smithsons' words, "without rhetoric"—other British intellectuals found in the 1950s a moment for serious political action.

Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Mythes et Figures d'une Aventure Urbaine* (Paris: Hazan, 1998).

[7] Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals & Popular Culture* (Routledge: New York & London, 1989), p. 111

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The year 1956 saw the Soviet termination of the Hungarian Revolution and the invasion of the Suez Canal Zone by British and French troops (each occurring within days of one another), events that profoundly troubled the European Left. In the wake of these tumults came a renewed interest in the debates around Communism that resulted in the formation of the New Left and its major publications, *Universities and Left Review* and *The New Reasoner*, both appearing in 1957, and merging three years later into the *New Left Review*.[8] Yet strangely, the culture surrounding these journals couldn't have been further from the circles of the architectural avant-garde that concern us here.

This may be due to the fact that the political intelligentsia largely was centered around Oxford University, even if some of its major figures, such as Raymond Williams, retained affiliations with less exalted institutions by teaching in continuing education programs and working as union organizers. The leading journals of the New Left also had a strong bias towards literature and politics rather than architecture (or even art)[9], and it may have been the case that the New Brutalist generation, trained in professional schools and finding a significant role itself within the machinations of reconstruction, chose to direct its energies towards practical ends rather than political action.

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[8] For an intriguing first-hand reminiscence of this period, see Stuart Hall, "the 'First' New Left: Life and Times," in Robin Archer, et al., eds., *Out of Apathy: Voices of the New Left Thirty Years On* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), pp. 11–38. For an intellectual history of the British left, see Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, The New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997).

[9] The first issue of *Universities and Left Review* had such disparate contributers as the literary critic E. P. Thompson, filmmaker and critic Lindsay Anderson, historian Eric Hobsbawm, and sociologist Graeme Shankland (writing on town planning).

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The oddity of this fact is that both the New Left and the British postwar cultural establishment were conceived precisely in opposition to a prewar elitism.[10] But while the reformism found in the pages of *New Left Review* took as its subject the political space of social conflict, the architectural avant-garde attacked cultural elitism from within (without relating their efforts to the larger sphere outside the arts), thus creating a renewed insularity that would compromise their efforts for years to come. The Smithsons could have utilized the New Left politics within the Team 10 context, where their work affected a community outside the rarefied world of London's Institute of Contemporary Art (where the Independent Group was established, a topic discussed below). Perhaps feeling that the avant-garde had no place in the real world of political action, they ignored the work of the New Left, even if the New Left critique would have been the perfect critical complement to the architecture of reconstruction.

The New Brutalists were interested in a much more direct response than could be achieved through sociopolitical discussion, one that could communicate to the world not through words but through "images" (to use Banham's word, perhaps following art historian Ernst Gombrich), surely a concept that found its genesis in the proto-Pop musings of the Independent Group. The physical properties of New Brutalist architecture encompassed a quest for self-motivated icons of immediately recognizable or graspable character that might evince a relationship between structure, function, and form, such that

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[10] In his originary article entitled "The New Brutalism," ibid., Banham posited that the term "Brutalism" was first used "as a term of Communist abuse" to describe the glass and steel (i.e. International Style) architecture that ran counter to the precepts outlined by Andrei Zhdanov, who advocated the return of Russian vernacular architecture as a means of unifying the Soviet state. Despite this inference, Banham clearly is mocking the British Left for their fickle embrace of Soviet ideology, and should not be read as a suggestion of a political dimension to the Brutalist enterprise. See Chapter IV for more on the Soviet situation and its impact in England.

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all of these elements were immediately comprehensible through both visual experience and physical use.

New Brutalism thus appears to have been a movement that was a desperate attempt to identify an avant-garde amid a conflicted relationship with the pressing sociopolitical needs of the day. In other words, it wished to define a tectonic language that might produce formal and ideological discovery, while at the same time engaging with the real problems of postwar architectural reconstruction that attended the renewed building potential for architects in the early 1950s. After all, most members of the profession—in the 1950s— were just emerging from a crippling lack of work (even the work of architecture's leading lights such as Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, and Walter Gropius was stifled during this time), and to have flouted both the possibility *for* work, as well as the responsibility *to* work would have seemed callous and craven. The war years were a time in which the fate of the architectural avant-garde hung in the balance, and when all was over and done, it was unclear that anything such as an avant-garde could continue to exist, let alone to prosper.

The task of postwar architecture was no longer to dwell solely in the realm of ideas, but instead to attach itself whole-heartedly to the issues of reconstruction. For architects such as the Smithsons, not even finished with school at the war's completion,[11] the legacy of the prewar avant-garde still had its charms, and they remained determined to keep alive its flame at any cost. But it is important to note that what we might consider—for reasons about to be discussed— the New Brutalist Generation was less a coherent school than a loose agglomeration of like-minded individuals who coalesced

[11] Peter Smithson had taken time from school to serve in the British forces in India. Alison, several years younger, didn't finish schoool until after the war.

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around various activities (the Institute of Contemporary Art, CIAM, CoBrA[12], Milan Triennales, and other one-off exhibitions) and shared attitudes about the past, present, and future of avant-garde architectural thought. More important is their shared exhaustion and eventual rejection of the principles (and principals) of the prewar avant-garde, whose machine-age aesthetics were seen as inadequate for addressing the needs of postwar societies.

This is not to suggest that architects of the prewar avant-garde were completely oblivious to the changing needs of an expanding and increasingly industrialized world. But the postwar figures we shall be discussing argued that their prewar forefathers' understanding of architecture's instrumental function was based on a set of abstract principles whose application in the quotidian realm was hindered by a fundamental lack of flexibility. This perception is spelled out no more clearly than in the "Doorn Manifesto," a document prepared in 1954 by a group whose members would shortly form the core of Team 10 (including the English architects Peter Smithson and John Voelcker, and Dutch architects Jaap Bakema and Aldo van Eyck) **[figs. 1.1, 1.2]**. This statement underscores the specific rejection of prewar CIAM principles. Based on the planning principles of Sir Patrick Geddes (one of the Smithsons' heroes), it attempted to retool the professed CIAM goal of producing a Charte de l'Habitat and reorient it towards what they called the "liberation" of the "potential of the twentieth century." Their critique is worth quoting at length:

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[12] CoBrA was the acronym for Copenhagen, Brussels, Amsterdam, three cities from which this group of artists hailed. The group was begun by Asger Jorn in Copenhagen, and included the Dutch artist and architect Constant Nieuwenhuis, as well as the Team 10 member Aldo van Eyck, who was affiliated with the group for a short period in the late 1950s. See Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Architectura & Natura, 1998), 123–42.

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> As a direct result of the 9th Congress at Aix, we have come to the conclusion that if we are to create a Charte de l'Habitat, we must redefine the aims of urbanism, and at the same time create a new tool to make this aim possible.
>
> Urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the Charte d'Athènes tends to produce 'towns' in which vital human associations are inadequately expressed.
>
> To comprehend these human associations we must consider every community as a particular *total* complex.
>
> In order to make this *comprehension* possible, we propose to study urbanism as communitites [sic] of varying degrees of complexity. [emphasis in original][13]

These statements represent the foundation of the New Brutalist critique of CIAM modernism, and the fact that they came through the channels of Team 10 activity makes explicit the link between these two groups that comprises the present thesis's foundation. Whereas the above statement makes clear the Team 10 position, the present chapter will demonstrate how these issues unfolded within the rubric of New Brutalism. From its very genesis, New Brutalism was a contested term that its originators (Reyner Banham and Alison and Peter Smithson) quickly rejected due to its limitations and difficulty of comprehension. To try to understand what was originally meant as the Brutalist ethos or aesthetic (or both, as we shall see) requires one to reexamine foundational texts and put them into a context well beyond that of the 1950s and 1960s. For it is only in the recent past that a clear comprehension of that era has become possible due to the moment's having passed into what we could call history, and thus becoming a valid object of historical enquiry.

From whence the term New Brutalism actually derived is the source of no small disagreement, and it seems, at this point, somewhat less useful to attempt to divine its

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[13] "C.I.A.M. MEETING 29–30–31 JANUARY 1954 DOORN," BAKE 0058/a12. For more on this document and its direct relationship to Team 10 activities, see Chapter II.

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origin than to understand what it might have signified, first at the time of its coinage, and then after. To be sure, Banham and the Smithsons deliberately played with the history of the term in a way that tended to devalue it beyond any useful recognition. One early suggestion came via Hans Asplund, the son of Swedish architect Gunnar Asplund, who had used the word "Brutalism" to suggest something of the frankness later celebrated in British architecture of the 1940s.[14] In a letter to Eric de Maré (author of the first story on the Swedish New Empiricism),[15] Asplund wrote that he had used the word "Neo-Brutalist" to describe a house in Uppsala being constructed in January 1950 by two of his colleagues, Bengt Edman and Lennart Holm. Asplund shared the word with his friends, British architects Michael Ventris, Oliver Cox, and Graeme Shankland, who later told Asplund that they had introduced it to their English colleagues and it had "spread like wildfire."[16] The building illustrated on the correspondence page of the *Architectural Review*, in fact bears an uncanny resemblance to the aesthetic of the Smithsons' Hunstanton School—of which much more will be said later—in terms of its Miesian metal frame and light colored brick infill **[fig. 1.3]**.

Banham's claims that the name "New Brutalism" might have to do with Peter Smithson's schoolboy appellation ("Brutus") may be less convincing than the Asplund/de Maré version, although it was certainly offered with as much irreverence as it implied.

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[14] This point, taken on its own, is rife with irony given the New Brutalists antipathy towards the popular embrace of Swedish vernacular models of which Asplund père's 1920s and 1930s work is exemplary. Stranger still, the Smithsons later applauded the "master crafstmanship" in Asplund's architecture. See Alison and Peter Smithson, "Banham's Bumper Book on Brutalism, Discussed by Alison and Peter Smithson," *Architect's Journal* (28 December 1966): 1591.

[15] Eric de Maré, "The New Empiricism, " *Architectural Review* 103, no. 613 (January 1948): 9–22.

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The term itself, which was first been applied in the British context to a 1953 house design by Alison Smithson, does not immediately signify anything beyond a certain brashness, and was meant to be illustrative of the building's physical characteristics and use of materials in their rawest state. The House in Soho **[fig. 1.4]**, a student project by Alison, was never built due to "difficulty with the adjoining owners."[17] Smithson makes explicit the reasons for such a structure to be termed "Brutalist":

> In fact, had this been built it would have been the first exponent of the 'new brutalism' in England, as the preamble to the specification shows: '*It is our intention in this building to have the structure exposed entirely, without internal finishes wherever practicable. The Contractor should aim at a high standard of basic construction as in a small warehouse.*'[18]

In fact, it is precisely at the level of material production that the relationship between term and practice start to disintegrate. Here, New Brutalism's originary impulse is articulated through an unbuilt project, and so it must be understood that at the very outset—not knowing what a New Brutalist practice might actually entail—the term is a purely speculative one. Whether a suitable and complementary practice could be forged from the theoretical underpinnings of the movement's writers was a constant issue woven into the history of avant-garde architecture in the 1950s.

In order to truly understand the originary impulse of New Brutalism, it is necessary to adequate the formative writings with the formative structures, to see what,

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[16] Eric de Maré, "Correspondence: Et Tu, Brute?" *Architectural Review* 120, no. 715 (August 1956): 72. The villa mentioned in the letter was earlier published as "Villa i Uppsala," *Byggmästaren* A12 31 (5 December 1952): 256–8.

[17] Peter Smithson, "House in Soho, London: Alison and Peter Smithson," *Architectural Design* 23, no. 12 (December 1953): 342. It is odd to note that in the house's initial publication, Peter and Alison share credit, although elsewhere Alison receives sole credit. A further discussion of the project can be found in a short article in the *Architectural Review* that includes a laudatory text by a certain "Kenneth Scott in Accra" as well as a supplementary statement on the project by the Smithsons. See *Architectural Review* 115, no. 688 (April 1954): 274–5.

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from the critical side, adheres to the formal side, and vice versa. The crisis begins and ends with Alison and Peter Smithson, and Reyner Banham, as it was he who first identified the term as describing some sort of identifiable school of thought, and it was his decision to end his book on New Brutalism with a two-page eulogy entitled "Memoirs of a Survivor." Banham counts himself as one of the group, and as its official historiographer he certainly could justify that claim. But it is through the Smithsons' practice that the term accrued meaning, and it is with them that one must begin.

A primary stumbling block in any attempt to understand what, exactly, was meant by the term is the reluctance of any of the primary players (aside, of course, from Banham) to speak on the subject, either then or now.[19] From this fact, one must draw one of two possible conclusions: First, that Banham and the Smithsons chose to keep the meatier discussions about Brutalism a secret, as if to involve too many people might somehow demystify the premise. The Smithsons were always extremely competitive and exclusive. Even when praising their "heroic" masters of the modern movement, they were much stingier with adulation for their immediate contemporaries, and their role in Team 10 was partly one of keeping the group as small as possible (more like a family, they said defensively). Second, these inventors of the term may have become quickly disillusioned with the idea, thinking the name in hindsight to have been simply an irreverent reaction to

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[18] Ibid., p. 342. Italics in original.

[19] At the time of writing, Peter Smithson and Giancarlo de Carlo are the sole member of the core group still living, Alison Smithson and Reyner Banham (not to mention Aldo van Eyck and Jaap Bakema) being deceased. Peter Smithson, after many attempts to contact him for an interview, finally responded with a terse letter to the effect that a young American grad student couldn't possibly understand the vicissitudes of a period five decades past and in an entirely foreign milieu and language(!), and suggested that I confine my area of study to the subject of Louis Kahn, who, being an American "compatriot" of mine, would be more easily comprehensible. This despite the fact that if

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the New Picturesque, New Humanism, and New Empiricism then popular in the pages of the *Architectural Review*.[20]

Over the years, the Smithsons' few attempts to elucidate what, exactly, they believed New Brutalism to be, or else what their role within critical or aesthetic deployment of the New Brutalism consisted of, have served to confuse matters further. The fact that the discourse around the New Brutalism seems to have been largely verbal (if there was much at all, although given the cast of character's propensity for verbiage and constant communication, one can only imagine that the lost words spoken on the subject could fill volumes), and lacking in written support (aside from Banham's book and the few short pages by the Smithsons). There seems to have been, moreover, a dearth of discussion of New Brutalism among the more intellectual circles within which the Smithsons' found themselves (and here I refer explicitly to Team 10, a group for whom the term evidently did not exist).[21]

The fact of New Brutalism's absence from Team 10 discussions and rhetoric (I have not uncovered a single recorded instance, for example, in which any member wrote or spoke the word "Brutalism"), and a seeming obliviousness to the term in the US, where architects such as Louis Kahn and Paul Rudolph are saddled with the Brutalist denomination without any evident acquiescence, makes clear a fundamental fact alluded to in my introduction: The New Brutalism, except in the context of either the House in

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anything gave challenge to the Smithson's obfuscatory prose, it would be the pseudo-mysticism of Kahn's writings and lectures.

[20] This particular topic is discussed briefly below, then at length in Chapter IV. On the confusion over the various iterations of "The New_____," see Joan Ockman, "New Empiricism and the New Humanism," *Design Book Review* (Winter-Spring 2000): 18–21.

[21] This having been said, I refer the reader to Chapter II, wherein the connection between Team 10 and The New Brutalism is made clearer.

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Soho or the Hunstanton School, cannot be used as a descriptive category outside of a larger context. If we are to begin a discussion of New Brutalism as a manifestation of the Smithsons' activities in the early- to mid-1950s, with the understanding that its definition will be elaborated in the subsequent chapters, we must first accept the division between the Smithsons' architectural activities (especially those done while participating in Team 10 activities) and their work with the Independent Group, which was more aligned with fine art practice. By making such a distinction, one is more easily able to elucidate the differences between these apparent Brutalist poles by insisting on the complexity of the relationship between the two within the Smithsons' own practice. The Smithsons' negotiation between aesthetic and ethical work has an antecedent in the oeuvre of Le Corbusier, a figure with whom the Smithsons' relationship would remain profoundly complicated.

Le Corbusier and New Brutalism's Conflicted Relationship with the Past:

The New Brutalists saw their own history as one that constantly unfolded and changed over time, as well as being a history that existed at the intersections between many disciplines: e.g., architecture, art, urbanism, sociology, anthropology. This particular moment of late modernism (a period, as I argue in the introduction, coming at the *end* of what we typically term "modernism") was one in which the perorations of the avant-garde were either fully exhausted—and this fact understood by those of whom the new avant-garde was constituted—or else one in which the new avant-garde remained blissfully unaware of their historical reiteration and, thus, irrelevance.[22] Manfredo Tafuri,

[22] The best model by which one might comprehend the project of the postwar avant-garde as self-isolated and redundant is found in the work of Manfredo Tafuri, whose

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writing in 1969 of the prewar avant-garde, claimed that "the entire course of modern architecture and the new systems of visual communication was born, developed, and brought into crisis in a grandiose attempt—the last of bourgeois culture—to resolve . . . the imbalances, contradictions, and delays typical in the capitalistic reorganization of the world market."[23]

Tafuri's critique is a perfect encapsulation of how the prewar avant-garde attempted to come to terms with the shock accompanying modernity's arrival—and the unavoidable progression towards an economy of pure consumerism—through the deployment of a set of formal strategies that sought to insulate architecture from this debasement of everyday life, an operation that unintentionally served to disconnect architecture from its previous role in the service of a variety of social functions. In this respect, the New Brutalist project, which attempted to reorient the course of modern architecture "away from the hitherto functional theory of CIAM, towards a human theory based on the associations of people with each other and with their work,"[24] could be seen as a way out of this quandary. Social functions, in New Brutalism, become paramount, and it is they that mobilize architecture back into the service of community and the individual.

"L'Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language" in *Oppositions* 3 (1974), reprinted in K. Michael Hays ed., *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973–1984* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 291–316, is a condemnation of the self-justified practice of the postwar avant-garde, beginning in the late 1950s.

[23] Mafredo Tafuri, "Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology (*Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica),*" *Contropiano* 1 (January–April 1969), repr. In K. Michael Hays ed., *Architectural Theory since 1968*, ibid., p. 32

[24] Alison and Peter Smithson, "An Urban Project," in *Architect's Year Book* 5 (1953): 54.

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Here the desire to map the topography of a particular moment's ethics and aesthetics abuts the great equalizer in any such endeavor: the politics of taste. Artists and architects of the prewar period remained content in their belief that historical transformations could be adequately processed, charted, and explained from within the rarefied echelons of the avant-garde. Le Corbusier's plea that specific matters of aesthetics within the lived environment should be the exclusive domain of the architect—the architect being the only one whose comprehensive knowledge of such matters makes him the proper arbiter of such issues—could no longer be sustained in the wake of hideous fascist ideologies. This is not to suggest that Corbusier harbored any totalitarian intentions onto Le Corbusier, but rather to suggest that after the experience of World War II, any claim for totalizing knowledge or power was bound to be met with suspicion at best, if not outrage.

Perhaps the central paradox of the New Brutalist history (or mystery) is that which arises when one tries to reconcile its resistance to the legacy of the prewar avant-garde—in particular to specific figures that were named, such as Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Gerrit Rietveld—with an obvious embrace and obedience to the style and ethos of these men. From an architectural point of view, many New Brutalist buildings (for example the Hunstanton School [1949–53], discussed below, and the Robin Hood Gardens [1966–72] which, in turn, can be considered the apotheosis of twenty years' worth of theoretical planning—to be discussed in the conclusion) were thoroughly indebted to Mies and Corbusier, respectively, and one cannot overstate that fact. Indeed, there was no revisionist history perpetrated by the Smithsons nor anyone else affiliated with New Brutalism with regard to their continued fascination with these

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architects. Should one have any doubt, one need only turn to the Smithsons' book of 1965 (republished in 1981) entitled *The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture,*[25] or their various writing on Mies,[26] who remained their most important aesthetic beacon throughout their career.

Le Corbusier, as the shining light of both the pre- and postwar periods in architecture, must be discussed for many reasons, but none so crucial as the contribution that arrived in the guise of the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles of 1946–52 **[fig. 1.5]**. The Unité stands as a crucial built document in the history of New Brutalism for the simple fact that it directly influenced the Smithsons' Robin Hood Gardens. Of all the buildings made by the Smithsons, this is only one that might be easily fitted into the sort of New Brutalist paradigm such as is the focus of the present study, insofar as Robin Hood Gardens, in both spirit and creation is the only complete articulation of both an ethical and aesthetic stance. Moreover, the fact that the Smithsons continued to praise specific buildings by Le Corbusier while effectively critiquing many failures of the prewar avant-garde, makes it necessary to attempt an understanding of what it was, exactly, that displeased the New Brutalists about the prewar avant-garde. In order to do so, it seems pertinent to speak briefly of Corbusier's practice leading up to the epochal Unité at Marseilles.

The impact of the Unité building on the architectural consciousness and discourse of the postwar period is of equal value to the change that it signaled in Le Corbusier's

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[25] Alison and Peter Smithson, *The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), originally published by Architectural Design (Whitefriars Press) in December 1965, edited by Monica Pidgeon.

[26] Many of these, both published and unpublished, are collected in Alison and Peter Smithson, *Changing the Art of Inhabitation* (London: Artemis London Ltd., 1994), pp. 8–69

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own vision. For it can be stated without fear of contradiction that Corbusier before and after 1942 are two (at least!) completely different architects, or even two completely different men, given that his experiences during the war were sufficiently chastening as to shift his emphasis away from a poetic functionalism and towards a more foregrounded humanism. His apolitical and capitalist beginnings were exemplified by the Plan Voisin (1925) **[fig. 1.6]**, a privately funded project that allowed him the realization of his *Ville Contemporaine (Contemporary City of Three Million Inhabitants*, 1929-20). This city, a vision of the future in which the leaders of technology and industry were accorded positions of prominence, allowed for more effective implementation of Corbusier's vision of radical efficiency and exaltation not only for industrial administrators but also (like Corbusier himself) members of the intellectual elite.[27]

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[27]For an excellent discussion of Corbusier's interwar politics, see Robert Fishman, "Le Corbusier's Plans and Politics, 1928–42," in Russell Walden, ed., *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977), pp. 244–80. Fishman makes the claim that Corbusier endured a dream of an administrative "plan" that would liberate man from his subordination to nature and "regulate the economy for an entire nation." The quest for this plan led him to explore various political and social affiliations from captialism to syndicalism to communism to Vichy collaborationism. Fishman does not entertain the notion that Corbusier may have been influenced by others within his intellectual circle, thus sustaining the myth of the singular architect-hero favored by Corbusians of all nationalities. Even while critical of Corbusier's chameleonic history, Fishman remains in awe of the architect's single-mindedess of purpose. Nor does Fishman consider the fact that Corbusier's embrace of Syndicalism reached its apex at the moment of his disillusion over the loss of the Palace of the Soviets. In other words, in the face of defeat Corbusier may have been keeping his options open, rather than pursuing only one ideology at a time. One of Fishman's most valuable insights, however, is his realization that the Ville Radieuse, seemingly Corbusier's paean to the inalienable right of human liberty (as stated at the outset of the 1935 publication) is in fact contradicted by the subtext of the book, that the book is "dedicated to Authority" (p. 263), meaning the syndicalist Authority with whom Corbusier was, at the time, fascinated. This is the irony that New Brutalism sought to resolve—how to provide an overarching sense of control in the architectural context while encouraging the possibility for heterogeneous growth and experience, something that Corbusier continually failed to provide. Le Corbusier's wartime politics are also expertly interrogated by Mary McLeod

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Corbusier's lifelong quest for the ideal set of financier/*industriels* to implement his vision of the future resulted in an almost tragic series of disappointments, beginning with the Plan Voisin and Le Corbusier's failure to convince anyone of consequence to invest in the strategy of tearing down central Paris based upon the specious logic of the architect's grandiose plan, and ending after the dissolution of CIAM, when Corbusier settled into his august years of poetic introspection and, finally, a new humanitarianism that begins in 1947 with Nehru's decision to consult Le Corbusier on the construction of a capital city for the newly independent Indian State.

While the tone of most Corbusian literature tends towards the hyperbolic and hagiographic, it remains true that his influence on architectural modernism cannot be overemphasized. Moreover, while the claims (such as those mentioned earlier by Robert Fishman) of Corbusier's intimate relationship with historic events may be overdetermined, it is nevertheless true that the major shifts in Corbusier's sociopolitical affiliations run very much in line with the a series of world-historical events (which is to say that his communism followed the success of the October Revolution, his interest in capitalism declined after the 1929 crash, and the Second World War brought him practically to Fascism's doorstep). The first half of the twentieth century was characterized first and foremost by the rapidity of modernism's ascent and the radical shifts in society, government, and economy that attended these shifts. As historian Charles Maier has written: "Each [European] society created its own grammar and logic

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in her dissertation entitled "Urbanism and Utopia: Le Corbusier from Regional Syndicalism to Vichy," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1985).

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of conflict—a logic that shaped future issues and disputes. But it was a logic created by history, by the distribution and arrangements of power over time.[28]

The Unité d'Habitation, in some sense a symbol of these new arrangements (although eventually constructed after the Second World War II rather than the First), makes its initial appearance in the Ville Radieuse of 1933 **[fig. 1.7]** as a revision to the luxury high-rises of the Ville Contemporaine. In the Ville Radieuse, Le Corbusier famously stated that he "thought neither of rich nor of poor but of man."[29] But the foundation of his perorations always rested the belief that "ordinary" citizens could not be trusted to create their own domestic environments, deeming it far too critical a matter to be left to the whims of coalitions or even governments.[30] It was this fascination with the idea of the charismatic leader/builder that led Corbusier first to Communism and then quite near to fascism in the form of his acceptance of Marshal Pétain and his Vichy puppet regime. None of these fascinations held for very long, due to Le Corbusier's failure to engage the services of any of these leaders in his own causes.[31]

I suggest that the importance of outlining Corbusier's major upsets is crucial for understanding the irony of the New Brutalist/Team 10 embrace and concomitant rejection of his model. In each case Corbusier the opportunist can be seen to have been following a carefully delineated agenda, while at the same time grossly misunderstanding the

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[28] Charles Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade After World War I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 39.

[29] Le Corbusier, *La Ville Radieus La Ville Radieuse: éléments d'une doctrine d'urbanisme pour l'équipement de la civilisation machiniste* (Paris: Éditions Vincent, Fréal & C^ie^, 1935 [1964]), p. 107.

[30] See CIAM, "La Sarraz Declaration," in Ulrich Conrads ed., *Programs and Manifestoes on 20^th^-Century Arhitecture*, trans. Michael Bullock (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), pp. 109–113.

[31] See Mary McLeod, ibid.

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methods by which success might have been achieved. One might argue that this was largely due to a persistent arrogance, the quality least coveted and admired by the New Brutalist generation.

Corbusier's greatest defeat came at the highest price, when his competition entry for the Palace of the Soviets (1931) was eliminated as overly mechanistic and technical, as well as for its material fetishism (despite the immense effort Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret dedicated to the projects, and its advocacy by the more progressive members of the competition jury, notably Nikolai Kolli and Victor Vesnin) **[figs. 1.8]**.[32]

This upset, just several years after his failure to win the League of Nations competition, added to his political disillusion, and that of CIAM, which had been created in response to the League of Nations disaster. Corbusier, under the aegis of CIRPAC (CIAM's legislative subcommittee), wrote several angry letters to Stalin himself, none of which seemingly were ever delivered or read by the Soviet Leader, accusing the Soviets of betraying their own political agenda.[33] Thus ended yet another episode in Corbusier's mercurial political life. Corbusier saw this defeat as an ideological one, the responsibility for which was to be shared both by the Soviets for their self-betrayal and Corbusier for his disappointment in yet another ideology that might have finally facilitated the long-delayed birth of his technocratic utopia.[34]

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[32] Jean-Louis Cohen, *Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the Soviet Union: Theories and Projects for Moscow, 1928–1936* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 188ff.

[33] Ibid., p. 195

[34] A later opportunity arose in 1947 with the decision to erect a new Indian capital city of Chandigarh, an event related to the Soviet situation in the similar promise for a radical transformation of existing society along economic and political lines. But this time, however, Corbusier harbored less optimism for success on a grand scale, and as a result was much more successful in terms of working with the specific needs of Indian culture,

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After the war Le Corbusier's work shows a softening and perhaps even a humanity that were absent from his prewar études in the machine aesthetic, while at the same time retooling earlier projects to fit the defeated but increasingly optimistic wartime mentality.[35] Le Corbusier also saw the building boom that accompanied reconstruction as the best opportunity yet to realize some of his prewar ideas.[36] The Unité represented Corbusier's best possibility for realizing his lifelong goals, mediated by time and shaped by his various successes and failures, not to mention the radical shift in priorities that comes with the end of the war. Although the similarities between the Unité and many of the housing blocks either designed or celebrated by the New Brutalist adherents may seem overt, in fact there are many differences (if not actual or perceived, then certainly intended) between the works of the mature Corbusier and his younger admirers who, despite their profound deference to the master, remained quite critical of him, as well.

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rather than trying to impose an external ideal. For more, see Norma Evenson, *Chandigarh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

[35] I do not mean to suggest that Corbusier's prewar activities showed no hint of his later interest in the vernacular and humanistic qualities of architecture. His earliest training belies a curiosity in the folkloristic, as in the Villa Fallet in his hometown of La Chaux de Fonds, Switzerland (1906–7). Even during his celebratory engineer's phase of the mid-1920s, there were his overt declarations of the architect's will to humanize the machine. And, of course, his country houses of the 1930s (for example the Maison Weekend in La Celle St. Cloud, Paris of 1934–5 and the Roq et Rob housing in Cap Martin of 1949) exhibit strong vernacular tendencies that come fully to the fore in the postwar decades.

[36] A particularly close call was Corbusier's missed opportunity to design the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Evidently, the U.S. State Department was unequivocal in its refusal to allow the project to go to Corbusier, perhaps as a result of a certain dissatisfaction stemming from Corbusier's involvement in the UN headquarters in 1946. Corbusier ended up on a collaborative commission with Gropius, Sven Markelius, Lucio Costa and Ernesto Rogers, but without any special agency. See Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979), pp. 251–2. For Le Corbusier involvement with the United Nations project, see George A. Dudley, *A Workshop for Peace: Designing the United Nations Headquarters* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, and New York: The Architectural History Foundation, Inc., 1994), passim.

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Already as early as the 1953 CIAM conference at Aix-en Provence, the younger generation had declared their irritation with the outmoded views of their elders, even as they enjoyed cocktails among them on the Unité's roof garden at the meeting's end [fig. 1.9].[37] Peter Smithson, writing in 1971, expressed the lingering disappointment with the Unité that he and his colleagues had already begun to feel in the early 1950s:

> Le Corbusier's last two Unités—at Briey-en-Fôret (1953–61) . . . and at Firminy (1963–8)—finally brought home to me by their open fringe-of-town siting, that the Unité is what Corbusier said it was—*a vertical garden city*. These two places seem to share many of the characteristics of the garden city built horizontally—poor local shopping facilities, relatively long travel to schools and work, and so on. These negative aspects of the garden city idea, combined with a poverty of standards and construction, have given an air of isolation, even desolation to these enterprises.[38]

Some paragraphs later Smithson writes: "Team X started to struggle with alternatives to the Garden City in the fifties, paradoxically *with a confidence born of the first Unité in the Boulevard Michelet in Marseilles*. After almost twenty years one of their alternatives begins to be visible at Toulouse Le Mirail."[39] (emphasis in original) The

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[37] The overtly sculptural design of the *toit jardin* accentuates Le Corbusier's formalism, and provides an appropriately ironic stage on which a power struggle between ethics and aesthetics might be staged.

[38] Peter Smithson, "Toulouse Le Mirail," *Architectural Design* 71, no. 10 (October 1971): 599–601. Smithson does cut Corbusier some slack for the shoddy construction practices that doomed each of the Unités mentioned. In addition, Smithson allows that Corbusier was dissatisfied with the dimensions of these late Unités, preferring the Marseilles Building over all for embodying the ideal dimensional ratios for optimum living comfort. Of all five of Corbusier's Unités (Marseilles, Briery-en-Fôret, Nantes-Rezé, Berlin, and Firminy, the Marseilles block has the widest footprint, at 24 meters, and a length of 135 meters, bested only by Berlin's 140 meters).

[39] The article in which these words appear is a celebration of Candilis-Josic-Woods's housing scheme, designed in 1961 and the first phase of which was just completed in 1971. George Candilis was a member of ATBAT-Afrique, an offshoot of Corbusier's atelier in northern Africa whose housing units were enthusiastically celebrated within the Team 10 context (see Chapters 2 and 4) during the 1950s. See Alison and Peter Smithson, "Collective Housing in Morocco: The Work of ATBAT-Afrique," *Architectural Design* 25 (January 1955): 2–5. The Smithsons' own, most celebrated rejoinder to the Unité was the Robin Hood Gardens (1966–72), erected near the Isle of

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critique that Smithson raises against the Unités (and the praise he bestows upon Toulouse-Le Mirail, a project by the team of Georges Candilis, Alexis Josic, and Shadrach Woods, 1961–73) have both to do with programmatic concerns related to a sustained critique of outdated planning principles such as those of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City ideals. But the critique extended to the use of materials as well, which initiates another strange irony within the history of the movement.

"Brutalism," as a word divorced from its contested historical meaning, is one that easily conjures up a "brutal" visual image to accompany the consonance of its utterance. Rough concrete and untreated brick, and architectural components retaining some sense of their industrial provenance (without mediating attempts at aestheticization), are some of the common thoughts attaching themselves to the concept of New Brutalism, and if we are to follow Banham's history, there is certainly an aesthetic legacy within New Brutalism that would fulfill this physical description.

There is, however, direct evidence that the Smithsons wished to move attention away from the "Brutal" use of materials towards a focus on program—in other words, away from the aesthetic towards the ethical (evidence beyond, of course, the originary claim for ethics over aesthetics). In 1974, the Smithsons published an essay entitled "The Space Between," which reconsidered themes that had occupied them since the 1950s. In a discussion of Le Corbusier's Maisons Jaoul (1956) **[fig. 1.10]**[40] in relation to Louis Kahn's DeVore house project (discussed in Chapter III), they make an unequivocal

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Dogs in London's East 14th district. This project will serve as the focus of the dissertation's epilogue.

[40] These houses of 1952–4 are located in the Parisian suburb of Neuilly, and were used by Banham to suggest the attention paid by the New Brutalists to Corbusier's postwar work.

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statement against Banham's insistence that New Brutalism is identified most easily through its material properties:

> Before this house design [the Maisons Jaoul], bricks had been unthinkable. . . and still were (even still are), but here and only here bricks became a brutalist tool. (Jaoul brickwork, for all its 'naturalness' of Algerian layering, its texture could pass straight into decorative expressionistic Banham—brutalism . . ., 'Banhamalism' or the Myopic's Brutalism).[41]

Despite the circumlocutions of this passage, we are treated here to a denunciation of New Brutalism as Banham had envisioned it a decade after the fact, a Brutalism that Banham had almost entirely subordinated to an aesthetic definition. Beyond this condemnation, one must ask whether there are any underlying reasons why materials such as brick and untreated concrete would come to gain not only acceptance but celebration in the two decades following World War II. A simple answer might suggest that the preference for perfectly honed, machine-created surfaces and materials—so much a leitmotif of architectural production during the interwar period—had made an awkward transition into the postwar era, during which time there was less tolerance for such artifice (the machine so celebrated by the prewar avant-garde now symbolizing nothing so much as the instruments of war).

But a more complex answer might read this shift through Le Corbusier, whose political disillusionment after the war has the double effect of softening his mythopoetic dreams of utopia while at the same time resulting in his buildings' aesthetic surfaces appearing rougher and less refined. One need only to think of the use of concrete in an early building such as the Pavillon Suisse (on the grounds of Paris's Cité Universitaire, from 1930–2) **[fig. 1.11]**, in contrast to its use in the Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles as an instructive comparison of the pre- and postwar attitudes towards concrete

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construction.[42] In the earlier building, Corbusier treats its shuttered concrete as a function of the building's rigid exterior orthogonals, while the Unité celebrates the residue of the formwork as a tribute to its embeddedness in the ethos of building, of labor, and the rough and ready society that it serves.

The rhetoric that attaches itself to the Unité is a radical departure from Corbusier's prewar rhetoric, even if the Unité is the apotheosis of his domestic urban habitation ideas reaching back as far as the Ville Radieuse. In his publication dedicated to the Marseilles block Corbusier can be seen, on one hand, to be in familiar territory: here we still find a discussion of the important elements of communal living—hygiene, organization, efficiency, the machine—but with a new twist that suggests a mitigation of his prewar severity: "No, far from abolishing the word liberty, our organization, if it is intelligently and humanely applied, will bring new light into the individual's life. Above all it must keep in view the aim of *taking man back to nature*. Nature has been stamped out of town life, and, paradoxical though it may sound, it is well on the way to being stamped out of country life too."[43]

This softening can be seen in the misshapen man who inhabits Corbusier's new Modulor system of measurement, one based on a transcendent belief in a human scale of living, rather than one that embraces the crisp, precise designations of the machine aesthetic. This transition was hardly lost on the Brutalists, even if their relationship to

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[41] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Space Between," *Oppositions* 4 (October 1974): 78

[42] It is also true that the curving fieldstone wall in the Pavillon Suisse's front façade prefigures both the Unité's rougher materiality as well as the curvilinear shapes of its roof garden.

[43] Le Corbusier, *L'Unité d'Habitation de Marseilles*, republished as *The Marseilles Block*, trans. Geoffrey Sainsbury (London: The Harvill Press, 1953), p. 24

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Corbusier (especially in his role as CIAM figurehead), remained quite conflicted. Peter Smithson, in a rare discussion of Brutalism, makes the point quite explicitly:

> The intention of the first period of modern architecture was that buildings should be machine like, and whether machine made or not, they should look machine made. As a reaction to the period of, say 1936 to 1946, when poetic machine work degenerated into superficial stylistic machine-work (in which the fundamentals were neglected), I think that one of the things which interests one now is that a genuine aesthetic of machine building technology should arise, and in some way this gets one involved in a rather brutal approach. If a thing is really made of pre-cast elements or concrete blocks, and inevitably the building will not only have a different scale from an architecture that is conceived of as being a single object made by a machine, *but it will be built at the scale of the genuine machine with which it was built.*[44]

What Smithson is suggesting here is rather extraordinary within the history of New Brutalism, as he is speaking of Brutalism as an aesthetic, not an ethic, in seeming opposition to the Smithsons' originary claim. With such words, we are compelled to reevaluate what, exactly, New Brutalism had come to mean in 1959, and what, moreover, it had ever meant in Smithson's mind. What Smithson is describing in the quote above is that Brutalism tried to deliver on the claim of the prewar avant-garde, whose recourse to actual machine production was ultimately just a *dream* of the possibilities of mechanized production.

The Conditions of Urbanism in the 1950s and The New Brutalist Response:

In order to understand the radical and significant impact the New Brutalism had upon postwar England, it is necessary to outline the context of the architectural profession in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Specifically, the role of the London County

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[44] "Conversation on Brutalism," *Zodiac* 4 (1959): 73. This conversation occurred between Alison and Peter Smithson, Maxwell Fry, and Jane Drew. The poor diction is obviously not Smithson's fault, but rather that of a text that seems to have been translated from the original English into Italian, and then back again into English.

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Council (LCC) for the execution of Labor Party/welfare state ideals in the service of actual material conditions of the built environment cannot be underestimated in terms of its impact on postwar architecture in Britain.

The LCC was a branch of municipal government in London that was charged with the daily working of the city of London, including the maintenance of buildings, the administration of building regulations and the London Building Act, and the upkeep of historic sites and monuments. Until 1888, The Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) was the municipal guardian for the city of London, when a directly elected city council was the norm throughout England. The establishment of London as a County allowed for a similar elected group to govern public works, and the London County Council held its first provisional council meeting on 31 January 1889, and its first full and official council meeting on 21 March 1889.[45] The LCC was responsible for parks and other open public spaces, the drainage (sewer) system, street improvement, the fire brigade, and all public building, with an emphasis on housing—this issue being the one of greatest popular concern.

Until 1919 the Council functioned on its own, city-derived funds, without state assistance, and from 1934 onwards, the political bent of the Council was Labour-oriented—the seeds of the welfare-state mentality thus having been laid long before the deprivations of the war. But the needs stemming from the industrialization had already far surpassed the means of the Council. These needs were affected by the costliness of vernacular building techniques, with their use of rustic, hand-worked materials such as

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[45] For a history of the London County Council, albeit from a rather sanguine and uncritical position, see W. Eric Jackson, *Achievement: A Short History of the London County Council* (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd, 1965).

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brick and stone for exteriors, wooden floors, and slate roofs, all of which were part of the LCC's preferred mode of construction.

Thus the quandary faced by William Morris's populist decree once again reared its head: How does one provide high quality products (or in this case, built environments) that are cost-efficient without compromising the quality of the craft involved in their manufacture? This was the problem facing London during and immediately after World War II, albeit under a completely different set of circumstances than Morris's anti-industrial stance of the late nineteenth century, namely the adherence to (or at least the recognition of) vernacular traditions as a means of preserving some nostalgic sense of place and history.

The potential for relief was to be found within the city itself, nurtured through the London Building Act of 1943, which gave the LCC an opportunity to depart from the outdated and rusticated style that had prevailed in the city since the previous century. Now, metal frames and reinforced concrete were deemed acceptable, new materials that had already been explored in Germany and France, for instance the Neues Bauen Movement of the 1920s,[46] and the French revolutions in concrete where, for the first time, that material was exploited not only for its technical and structural properties but for its compositional and aesthetic ones as well.[47]

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[46] See Norbert Huse, *Neues Bauen, 1918 bis 1933: moderne Architektur in der Weimarer Republik* (Munich: Moos, 1975).

[47] For example François Hennebique's Charles VI Mill at Tourncoing of 1895 and Anatole de Baudot's Church of St. Jean-de Monmartre of 1897. Tony Garnier's Cité Industrielle of 1901–4 used reinforced concrete within a grid system, albeit in a purely theoretical manner, followed closely by Auguste Perret's ferroconcrete-framed apartment building at 25 bis Rue Franklin, Paris (1903). The use of concrete and its physical properties are discussed in the context of vernacular materials in Chapter IV.

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This propitious governmental action came at the moment of crisis concerning London's low-cost housing needs. The MBW had, in the latter part of its existence, begun massive efforts at street improvements to accommodate the influx of traffic within the city of London. Ironically, however, the MBW did not have the authority to commission new housing for those whose livelihoods were displaced by the clearance of (mostly low-income) residences that were sacrificed for the widening of streets and the creation of open spaces. Thus the LCC found itself with another unwanted legacy—that of providing homes for the needy. Again, the exigencies of substance over style proved to be insurmountable. And not only were the materials costly, but the skilled labor needed for their proper handling and deportment, also added to the prohibitive costs.

The growth in urban populations was also vast, and lent a sense of urgency to the construction of new dwellings in cities. In 1831, 30% of Britain's total population lived in areas classified as "urban." By 1931, the number was 80% and rising. This was mirrored in the LCC's building statistics. In 1892, the LCC built only 56 dwellings. Between 1893-1906, the LCC built only three large-scale housing blocks, enough to lodge 1,875 persons, but the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 provided the legislation needed for a forceful effort at building for low-income families. The resulting building boom was almost incomprehensibly ambitious: 86,700 new buildings with 300,000 inhabitable rooms in the next thirty years. Of these, 60,800 were low-rise, cottage dwellings for individual families, and 25,900 larger structures—39,000 within London County proper, and another 47,000 in outlying areas. It was on the wave of this housing boom, even more fertile in the immediate postwar years, that the generation of

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young architects born in the 1920s whose careers began in the late 1940s were drawn to the LCC.

In the socialist, welfare-state climate of the late 1940s, the thought of municipal work was not only desired but welcome after the fallow period of the late 1930s and early 1940s, when the war effectively preempted most building. Alison and Peter Smithson, Alan Colquhoun, Colin St. John Wilson, and William Powell were all members of a younger generation whose postwar idealism found an outlet (with the promise of actual construction) within the employment rolls of the LCC. The LCC thus functioned as a sort of laboratory for young architects, and offered these newly minted professionals experiences with actual construction that had been unprecedented for nearly 20 years. Of particular urgency was the need for a major revitalization of domestic structures.

Many causes contributed to the expansion of postwar housing needs beyond the actual wartime destruction of existing buildings (which largely was limited to major cities, where bombing had occurred). The returning soldiers, as well as others who had evacuated during the years of siege, were now clamoring for new dwellings. There were also a significant number of families who shared lodgings during the 1930s and 1940s as a result of wartime deprivations. And finally, the baby boom that inevitably followed on the heels of the war conspired to swell the urban population well beyond its existent housing capacity. These citizens wanted representation not only from an economic point of view, but also a sociological one, making the process of entitlement difficult from the perspective of identity.[48]

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[48] For issues of authenticity with regard to local and cultural vernaculars, see Chapter IV. Another type of authenticity is discussed by Sarah Williams Goldhagen with regard to a Sartrean vision (by way of Heidegger) of "existential freedom" that may or may not subtly have been infused into the Smithsons' ideas about architectural materiality.

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By 1936 the LCC had refocused its efforts away from low-density cottage communities towards the more pressing needs of slum clearance and reconstruction. This can be seen as further evidence of the type of architectural commission that exemplified the labor of the postwar years. It must be understood that positions with the LCC were coveted, and this also speaks to a wider issue of education and apprenticeship. This younger generation of architects were trained in public universities and trade schools during a time of relative misfortune and uncertainty of future work. The unfulfilled optimism of the prewar avant-garde, which essentially had been codified in the interwar years when building was at a relative standstill, vanished in the face of actual construction. So it is not hard to understand how a plangent thirst for socially informed architecture based on empirical conditions (rather than utopian ones) would have arisen at this place and time.

The LCC's agenda followed closely the requirements set down by the Barlow Commission in 1937, a working group set up by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to ascertain the pros and cons of intensified governmental intervention in industry, and to gain understanding of the distribution of industry throughout the population. One direct and architecturally significant series of results from the Barlow Report were the decentralization of urban areas and the development of Garden Cities and Towns, based

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Goldhagen's argument is compelling for the way in which she rereads Sartre's existentialism as a prescription for a more direct engagement with the world, rather than the common misapprehension of existentialism as an insular, withdrawn experience. But while Goldhagen's essay begins with a discussion of the postwar British political climate, she drops this inquiry abruptly to focus on the ways in which authenticity is expressed through materials, thus emphasizing on the Smithsons' preference for the haptic over the optic, an assertion that this dissertation wishes to refute. See Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Freedom's Domiciles: Three Projects by Alison and Peter Smithson," in Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault eds., *Anxious Modernisms: Experiments in Postwar*

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on the early 20th-century ideals of Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin. These ideals were codified in the Greater London Plan of 1943, conceived largely by Sir Patrick Abercrombie, a conservative architect and planner.

The plan was followed closely by the New Town Act of 1946, calling for the incorporation of ten New Towns: Basildon, Bracknell, Crawley, Harlow, Hatfield, Hennel Hempstead, Stevenage, and Welwyn Garden City **[figs. 1.12]**. Each New Town had its own corporation accounting for the town's economy as distinct from any local or national fiscal bodies. When a new family would move to one of these towns, a subsidy was paid to the new town by the city or area that they had just vacated. This provided incentives both for the decentralization of more populous urban areas, as well as for the relocation to the outlying areas of London. The discrete economies of the New Towns also helped to localize the needs and desires of the town's inhabitants, freeing stylistic concerns from any centralized control.[49] These towns became icons of the British sentimentality considered so objectionable by the postwar avant-garde, but were tendencies that were consigned chiefly to the periphery. The LCC, by contrast, shifted its redevelopment efforts onto London's East End, and as such this formerly neglected area began to receive an extraordinary amount of attention.

New Brutalism occurred in an era when to practice what one preached was a supreme virtue, perhaps a quality ascribed to the Labor government of 1945 and its socialist mandate. It would be reprehensible for an architect to advocate a particular

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Architectural Culture (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press and Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2000), pp. 75–95.

[49] For a sympathetic view of the New Towns from one of their most high profile proselytizers, see F. J. Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1946). See also John McKnight, "Housing Layouts in New town," *Town and Country Planning* 27 (April 1959): 164–6.

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theory of urbanism or housing without at least making a show of desiring to live in such a situation. This was simple for the advocates of the New Empiricism or the New Picturesque—both modes of architectural discourse promulgated by the editors of the *Architectural Review* beginning in the 1950s—in the sense that one could easily argue one's desire for acres of rolling pasture and verdant growth amid which to erect one's estate. But the pertinence of such pipe dreams to the majority of Britain's citizenry was quite slim, relegating such models to the realm of fantasy (and not so far removed, one might argue, from the utopic visions of the prewar avant-garde). An engagement, therefore, with the general public for which one was to build became a task that New Brutalism sought to make central to its new ethos.

Certain activities in England, beginning during the war, provided a paradigm for a new collaboration or participation, one that extended beyond the realm of individual expertise to encompass opinions of any and all citizenry who might have a vested interest in a particular issue under discussion. The best-known model, and perhaps the one most pertinent to the current discussion, of what I've chosen to call collaboration (and which is one of the defining features of the New Brutalism as they were laid out in my introduction) was the Mass-Observation movement, which began in 1937 and continued until the end of the war. Participants in Mass-Observation (henceforth referred to as M-O) were asked to maintain diaries and to answer questionnaires pertaining to quotidian life during wartime in England. The goal was to gather the experiences of a number of citizens, who the directors of M-O referred to as "ordinary people,"[50] in order that some overarching picture of unremarkable experience could be achieved for research purposes. Such identification resonates with the ethos of New Brutalism, which sought to bring the

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inhabitant into a participatory relationship with the built environment at quite an early stage in the construction process.

The basic components of random sampling had been around since A. L. Bowley's verification of the technique in 1915, and had been standardized by Dr. George Gallup in 1928 first in the realm of market research, then politics. While Gallup polls succeeded in giving quantitative information, Mass-Observation—a project of two Cambridge dropouts named Charles Madge and Tom Harrisson—sought to provide a context in which the numbers of other polls might seek to find meaning and relevance.[51]

Harrisson and Madge's sociological approach likewise was part of a larger sociological inquisitiveness in England during the 1940s and 1950s that included the work of Ruth Glass and John Westergaard, as well as later influential (if unscientific) studies of London's East End and the suburbs of Wanstead and Woodford by Michael Dunlop Young and Peter Wilmott.[52] These projects fell into several different categories of inquiry, all motivated by the burgeoning of urban populations, but methodologically various in terms of their emphases: some, like Glass and Westergaard, were concerned with accomplishing a rapprochement between social research and social policy, while

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[50] Sheridan, et al., ibid., pp. 214–9

[51] A good place to begin reading on Mass-Observation is the enormously best-selling volume by Madge and Harrisson, *Britain by Mass-Observation* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1939). The M-O project lasted from 1937 until around 1950, and was temporarily resumed in 1981. For a more contemporary account of the failures and successes of M-O, see Dorothy Sheridan, Brian Street, and David Bloome, *Writing Ourselves: Mass-Observation and Literary Practices* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc., 2000).

[52] Young and Wilmott were widely read in the 1950s, especially their two major studies: *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957) and *Family and Class in a London Suburb* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960).

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others, such as Madge and Harrisson, were concerned with specific social phenomena, for example the leisure habits of citizens during wartime.[53]

Ruth Glass (a member of the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction, and an attendee at the 8th CIAM congress in Hoddesdon of 1951),[54] along with John Westergaard, a sociologist at the London School of Economics, undertook a major survey of life in the town of Lansbury beginning in November 1951 and continuing into 1960. Lansbury, located in London's East End, embodied the first major attempt at comprehensive postwar reconstruction in the city, and was featured in the Festival of Britain's *Live Architecture* exhibition as a model for postwar living **[fig. 1.13]**.[55] The Glass/Westergaard study was done in the spirit of the Mass Observation movement,[56] in which Lansbury residents (of which there were only 168 in 1951) were asked to record intimate aspects of their lifestyles, giving in-depth opinions about their participation and

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[53] For an informed, academic, and opinionated summary of British urban sociology, see Ruth Glass, "Urban Sociology in Great Britain: A Trend Report," *Currrent Sociology* 4, no. 4 (1955); reprinted in Ruth Glass, *Clichés of Urban Doom and Other Essays* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 27–50

[54] Glass's participation in CIAM was almost certainly at the behest of Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, secretary of CIAM and the organizer of the Town Planning Pavilion exhibition at the Festival of Britain in partnership with the architect Wells Wintemute Coates.

[55] The Smithsons' Robin Hood Gardens (1966–72) stands about 200 yards away from Lansbury's market and shopping area along East India Dock Road. The irony underscoring this odd juxtaposition of postwar housing schemes is too bizarre to ignore. Lansbury, modeled on the New Town movement whose advocacy within the editorial ranks of the conservative journal *Architectural Review* was the main target of New Brutalist admonition. When the Smithsons were commissioned for the Robin Hood Lane project, a site also near the Poplar High Street (another site of Festival of Britain pomp and boosterism), they must have relished the opportunity for revisionist claims to the area, especially given the gradual dissolution of Lansbury in the decade following the Festival.

[56] The results were published first in *The Town Planning Review* 25, no. 1 (April 1954) and then in revised and expanded form as "A Profile of Lansbury" in Ruth Glass, et al., eds., *London: Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1964), pp159–206.

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satisfaction within their environment, including (but not limited to) their nonprofessional opinions on the design of the neighborhood.

The *Live Architecture* exhibition was meant to give the public a "feel" of postwar building and reconstruction, including the presentation of structures that exhibited common problems, presented as pedagogical models of how such obstacles would be solved via "scientific research."[57] As advanced publicity stated at the time, "[t]he aim of the exhibition is to show the public a living thing, part occupied, part completed, and part still in the process of construction."[58] Lansbury was chosen to be the first so-called "Abercrombie Town," after Sir Patrick Abercrombie, author of the 1943 Greater London Plan. The Stepney Poplar area of London's East End, where Lansbury is located, was a region that had been largely leveled by German bombing during the war, and was reconfigured into eleven neighborhoods, each housing 5,500 to 11,000 people. This number was based on a prescribed density of 136 persons per acre, as laid out in Abercrombie's plan, a figure that already suggests that a certain essentialism was afoot.

Glass and Westergaard claimed that "Lansbury is human and therefore imperfect. But it is a true token of progress." They observed that Lansbury was embraced by its inhabitants not because of its visionary architecture, but because most residents had grown up in the East End and felt a sense of belonging, regardless of the types of buildings. In fact, the nostalgic brickwork worked more effectively to engender a sense of community, given that over 75% of Lansbury households had at least one member born

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[57] Quoted in "Lansbury Revisited," *Architect's Journal* (3 July 1974): 23.
[58] T. F. Thomson, "Pre-View of Lansbury" in *Town and Country Planning* 19, no 86 (June 1951): 268. In the same year as the Festival of Britain, Lansbury was featured as part of the British contribution to the 9th Milan Triennale. See "Architettura e urbanistica nell'Inghilterra d'oggi," *Nona Triennale di Milano* (Milan: S.A.M.E., 1951), pp. 193–200.

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in East End, and were familiar with the yellow-gray London stock brick that was common to the area and that was used for many of the new buildings in 1951 **[fig. 1.14]**.

It must be stated that Lansbury was not a project of gentrification—the new homes were inhabited by old residents, not immigrants or young affluents.[59] Indeed, the most trenchant criticism of Lansbury revolved around its density, which Glass and Westergaard saw as symptomatic of an overly idealistic vision of how cities grow.[60] By not taking into account the potential population boom within such families and communities, and failing to entertain the possibility of different categories of buildings (for example high-rises, instead of the low-rise, high density structures that they did build), the town planners exhibited a lack of foresight that eventually caused crowding and housing crises in the area.[61] The sorts of criticism that Glass and Westergaard made of Lansbury were similar to those offered by the Smithsons, albeit the latter were

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[59] John Westergaard and Ruth Glass, "A Profile of Lansbury," *Town Planning Review* 25, no. 1 (April 1954): 33–58

[60] Another interesting piece of criticism came from G. Pilliet, a participant in the CIAM 8 conference at Hoddesdon, during which a visit was arranged to the new towns of Poplar, Stevenage, and Harlow. In remarks published afterwards, Pilliet wrote: "The impression I gained from my visit to London was that these plans (for dwellings) had been drawn up by architects, and no doubt by engineers and one or two economists, but I missed the touch of the sociologists and biologists." G. Pilliet, "English New Towns: As Seen by a French Critic," *Town and Country Planning* 20, no 95 (March 1952): 138. F. J. Osborn, the editor of Town and Country Planning, rebutted with the following comments that lay bare the intransigeance confronting the British architectural avant-garde: "Few planners in Britain really think of the neighborhood as a social unit—or a sort of closed circle—and those who do will soon snap out of their illusion. . . There is no hope of real amelioration for our great cities unless the policy of dispersal, green belts, and new towns is adopted in a thoroughgoing way." (pp. 140–1).

[61] John Westergaard and Ruth Glass, "A Profile of Lansbury," ibid. Stella Diamant opined a similar criticism two years earlier, saying that East End residents, being composed largely of working class citizens of limited means, did not have the financial freedom to escape to country or seaside houses or even to take advantage of the city's leisures, and thus spent most nonwroking hours at home, contributing to the sense of overcrowdedness. "Living at Lansbury," *Town and Country Planning* 20, no. 104, (December 1952): 561–5.

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articulated in a more impressionistic, less empirical manner. In an essay of 1955, the Smithsons encapsulated their critique of contemporary British urban planning (which had been fomenting both at home and in consort with their future Team 10 affiliates whom they had encountered at CIAM 9 in 1953), with the following words:

> Young architects to-day feel a monumental dissatisfaction with the buildings they see going up around them. For them, housing estates, the social centres, and the blocks of flats are meaningless and irrelevant. They feel that the majority of architects have lost contact with reality and are building yesterday's dreams when the rest of us have woken up in to-day. They are dissatisfied with the ideas these buildings represent, the ideas of the Garden City Movement and the Rational Architecture Movement.[62]

The first Young and Wilmott study would seem especially pertinent to this critique because its subject was the neighborhood of Bethnal Green, where Nigel and Judith Henderson lived, and which the Smithsons used as their model for the Golden Lane project (discussed below). The authors thank both Ruth Glass (who had earlier published a study of Bethnal Green[63]) and Charles Madge of Mass-Observation, so that these imbricated projects and histories can be easily fit into a coherent trajectory. Yet despite the specificity of the subject matter, neither of the Bethnal Green studies is mentioned in the Smithsons' writings. One can only surmise that despite their professed interest in collaboration, the Smithsons preferred non-specialists as collaborators, and chose most often to parse through issues from a creative viewpoint rather than one based on empirical research.[64]

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[62] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Built World: Urban Reindentification," *Architectural Design* 25, no. 6 (June 1955): 185.

[63] Ruth Glass, "Social Aspects of Town Planning," *Architectural Review* 97, no. 579 (March 1945): 67–72.

[64] An exception would be found in the figure of Judith Henderson, a Cambridge-trained anthropologist married to Independent Group member Nigel. We can only imagine that Nigel's imprimatur was enough to legitimize her work in the Smithsons' eyes, although they seemed to rely much more on Nigel's photographs than on Judith's fieldwork. Judith

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This, then, must be one of the main criticisms of the Smithson's practice: namely, their willful neglect of contemporaneous sources outside of their own insular circle that might have expanded and even legitimized their practice. The conflict between word and deed, especially in terms of collaboration, seems to have been a structural problem for the Smithsons—the following chapter will include a discussion of a similar insularity within Team 10. By seeming to have remained unaware of studies such as those by Glass/Westergaard and Young/Wilmott, they compromised the legitimacy of their results and contradicted one of their major professed tenets: the importance of specialists' contributions to the planning of built environments. They relied on texts that were either immediately available (such as those published in the major architectural journals of the time) or else ones that were recommended to them by other members of their immediate constellation (the Independent Group, Team 10).[65]

On one hand, their emphasis on pure, unmitigated experience seems to be in keeping with their enthusiasm for not relying on de facto methods of community building (methods that, for the Smithsons, smacked of prewar CIAM essentialism). At the same time, their rejection of empirical/sociological research seems to have been a baby thrown

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ran a program in Bethnal Green called "Discover Your Neighbour" and was partially assisted in this endeavor by Tom Harrisson of M-O fame. See David Robbins ed., *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), p. 76.

[65] In a statement that is somewhat in contradistinction to Team 10's ideals (if not the Smithsons and New Brutalism), the Smithsons did retroactively dismiss Wilmott and Young as "johnny-come-lately academic sociologists (to us then and now a word used pejoratively)." One can read this as a derogation not only of sociology but also academics, who always held a special place of derision for the Smithsons. They do claim that an article in *Architect's Year Book* 4 (1951) by Gordon Rattray Taylor, entitled "Social Basis of Town Planning," was an acknowledged influence. But it must be said that Taylor, a longtime Science Adviser to the BBC, and something of a pop sociologist and evolutionist, receives such bona fides precisely because he emphatically was *not* an

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out with the bathwater, as the studies cited above derived exclusively from first-person interviews, thus providing eminently valuable of data that the Smithsons could have used to strengthen the socio-ethical component of their expanded project.

This is stranger still when one considers the fact that choice of Bethnal Green as an object of inquiry belies a presumption on the Smithsons' part that somehow such lower class areas were more "authentic" than would be the more rarefied environs of Regent's Park, for example. This is a strange inversion of the typical arrogance of prewar CIAM, in which the lower classes were seen simply as needy and waiting for the palliative solutions of the great urban planners to cleanse them and once again make their lives meaningful; now in the hands of the Smithsons the underprivileged are exemplars of the "real human condition," yet the architects' interest in them remains abstract and detached, considered only through the mitigating lens of the photographer's eye. The Smithsons' critiques thus carried an air of authority within the rarefied avant-garde circles in which they moved, but empirical support seemed somehow besides the point. Instead, they sought assistance from within an intellectual sphere [66]

Wittkower and the New Humanism:

Sir John Summerson, the quirky and renegade architectural historian (who was equally at home with conservatives and radicals) had also offered a condemnation of the

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academic, and moreover published in an architectural journal. Alison and Peter Smithson, "Banham's Bumper Book . . ." ibid., p. 1590.

[66] Banham pointed out that the majority of the "intellectual sources" for the Smithsons (and for the rest of the art and architectural avant-garde in 1950s Britain) were in the form of science fiction magazines and lectures either in architecture schools or at the ICA. See Reyner Banham, "Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945–1965) in John Summerson, ed. *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural*

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New Towns in his *Ten Years of British Architecture* (London 1956): "less ambitious and less intellectual [in] spirit than other British tendencies. . . New Towns had achieved no architectural performance or distinction whatsoever." The New Towns came into being as a symbol of what was called the New Humanism, a term that partook equally of a conservative British tradition of simple, nonthreatening buildings of a distinctly sober, Protestant value, as of the Renaissance model of individual edification. The term played a significant role in the history of New Brutalism for several reasons. First, it was the banner under which a reinvigorated British sentimentality was heralded in the mainstream architectural press (see Chapter IV for a more in-depth discussion of this issue). Second, the word "humanism" was one that became central to the New Brutalist and Team 10 ethos (see Chapter II). Third, it resonated with a book whose appearance seems to have been significant for the progress of modern architecture in the 1950s, and which was certainly an important one for New Brutalism: Rudolf Wittkower's *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949, reprinted 1952) **[fig. 1.15]**.[67]

The impact of Wittkower's book on the New Brutalist generation was discussed at length by Banham in his *The New Brutalism*, and then later in various other contexts. It is notable mainly for the fact that aside from this publication, there are few other books that this generational avant-garde admitted as an influence.[68] Henry Millon has argued that Banham's claim for Wittkower's prominence was based solely on his revival of Palladian

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Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1968), p. 270

[67] Wittkower's influence on a range of different architectural practices is discussed at length in Henry Millon, "Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism:* Its Influence on the Development and Interpretation of Modern Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 31, no. 2 (May 1972): 83–91.

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architectural virtues, while likewise claiming that Banham downplayed the "implication for the interpretation of architecture of his own time."[69] In fact, if Millon had read several lines further, he would have read Banham's discussion of an article by Ruth Olitsky and John Voelcker speaking of *Architectural Principles* as a major event for modern architecture, as well as Banham's own acknowledgment of Colin Rowe's Wittkowerian interpretation of Corbusian modernism.

If further evidence were needed of Banham's awareness of Wittkower's importance to British architecture of the 1950s, it can be found in a text of 1968 that Banham contributed to a Festschrift for Nikolaus Pevsner in which, amid a discussion of the pros and cons of the Picturesque debate in the mid-1950s[70], he wrote that "Le Corbusier, even more than Mies van der Rohe, was seen as the great living exponent of a European Classical tradition. That the origins of this tradition were seen to lie in the Renaissance, rather than Greece or Rome, is a tribute, above all, to Professor Wittkower's *Architectural Principles* . . ."[71] So the fact remains that Banham understood the impact that Wittkower had on the postwar avant-garde in England. The question is: Why is an analysis of classicism significant to New Brutalism?

A partially satisfying answer is found in the first major publication of the Hunstanton School in 1954 **[fig. 1.16]**. Accompanying a photograph of the school by Nigel Henderson is a caption stating that "the building reveals not only its insistent

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[68] In fact, Peter Smithson even published a "Letter in Defense of Wittkower's 'Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism,'" *R.I.B.A. Journal* (March 1952).

[69] "Banham, in this book (though not earlier in the 1955 article) saw, therefore Wittkower as a reviver of interest in Palladian studies, i.e. of Italian sixteenth-century and English eighteenth-century architecture—which is only part of what [Colin] Rowe saw in him . . ., " Millon, ibid., p.85.

[70] For more on this, see Chapter IV.

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rectangularity, but also its transparency, its penetrability and the Palladian formality of its small-scale compositions."[72] Wittkower's underlying thesis was that Palladian architecture contributed the use of the module as the organizing principle of the building, a trope that lay at the heart of New Brutalist practice. Millon cites the cases of both Ezra Ehrenkrantz and Christopher Alexander, both Americans who spent time in London and had been profoundly influenced by Wittkower. Ehrenkrantz produced a book in 1956 entitled *The Modular Number Pattern—Flexibility Through Standardization* that proposed modular construction as a means of variegating the possible parameters of a three-dimensional structure through the manipulation of proportions on a mathematical level.

Alexander, who was an invited (although often unwelcome[73]) guest at some Team 10 activities in the later 1950s, used Wittkowerian principles in a more abstract, but also more sustained, manner. Beginning in the late-1950s, Alexander began formulating a series of arguments in favor of a codified and rational set of solutions to design problems and the organization of physical forms, which drew upon the modularity that Wittkower had ascertained in Palladian architecture.[74]

Wittkower himself recognized the potential for a paradigm shift in the architectural use of proportion when he posited the possibility, clearly with implicit reference to Sigfried Giedion, that mathematical systems of proportion may have

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[71] Banham, Reyner, "Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945–1965), ibid., p. 267.
[72] "School at Hunstanton Norfolk," *Architectural Review* 116, no. 693 (September 1954): 151.
[73] Alexander's sentiments on urban form were often at odds with various Team 10 members, especially the hot-headed van Eyck.
[74] See, in particular, Alexander's *Notes on the Synthesis of Form* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

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exhausted their viability in light of a "new, dynamic space-time relationship." In Wittkower's estimation, the universal and mathematically verifiable system of Euclidian geometry gave way to a relativized system of measurement beginning with Le Corbusier's Modulor of 1948 **[fig. 1.17]**.[75] The Modulor combined a system of geometrical ratios of both rational (i.e. Pythagorean or Euclidean) and irrational (the Golden Section) proportions, leading Wittkower to praise Le Corbusier for devising a continuation of the classical model, tempered with a cultural and temporal relativism, the combination of which "is certainly the first consistent synthesis since the break-down of the older [i.e. Pythagoreo-Platonic systems], reflecting our own civilisation in the bargain. At the same time it testifies to the coherence of our cultural tradition."[76]

Implicit in Wittkower's words is a continued ignorance of a world beyond that circumscribed by the Western European tradition, although the introduction and awareness of cultural relativism as a positive and constructive contribution signals an important step towards the kind of openness that New Brutalism and Team 10 desired to explore. The evidence of a desire to move beyond an earlier myopia, especially coming from reliable figures at the center of the establishment such as Wittkower and Le Corbusier, lent authority to the New Brutalist cause, and led directly to the kind of modular construction that was advocated by architects such as the Smithsons. The ability to reconcile a primary order of mathematics with a flexibility durable enough in theory to adapt to an infinite variety of "places and occasions" (to use Aldo van Eyck's substitute

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[75] Le Corbusier, *The Modulor; A Harmonious Measure to the human scale universally applicable to architecture and mechanics,* 1st English edition (London: Faber and Faber, 1954).

[76] Rudolf Wittkower, "Systems of Proportion," *Architect's Year Book* 5 (1953): 18.

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terms for "space and time") seemed, for the adherents of New Brutalism, the kind of open framework necessary for the break they envisioned with the prewar avant-garde.

For New Brutalism, then, the key concept became "modularity." Within the Brutalist lexicon, modularity is always assumed but not spoken of directly. Although the word recurs throughout the present study, it is not one that was used with any regularity within New Brutalist/Team 10 writings. One is more likely to encounter the word "element," which functioned as an analogue for modularity; the resistance to the word may have had to do with the desire to retain distance from Le Corbusier's Modulor (despite the Modulor's central function in making available a new system of measurement based on the measure of man).

However, a related concept permeates both the primary and secondary literature, and it is one that I believe to be related directly to the modular precepts begun with Wittkower. Topology, which in mathematical terms refers to the study of objects that remain unaffected by changes of size and shape, was used by Banham most poignantly to describe various New Brutalist projects, in particular the Golden Lane project of 1952 and the Sheffield University Extension project of 1953.[77] Topology is a mathematical discipline of spatial geometries that may have found its earliest articulation in Gottfried Leibniz's *Analysis Situs* of 1679, elaborated by Leonhard Euler in 1750, August Möbius in 1862, Felix Klein and Ludwig Schläfi in 1874, and Georg Cantor in 1877.[78]

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[77] Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., pp. 42–3.

[78] This is of course an extremely schematic history of a much more involved topic well beyond the parameters of this paper. For an introduction to the figures and concepts of topology, see Jean Dieudonné, "Une brève histoire de la topologie," in Jean-Paul Pier, *Development of Mathematics 1900–1950* (Basel and Boston: Birkhäuser, 1994), pp. 35–155; also Tony Crilly (with the assistance of Dale Johnson), "The Emergence of Topological Dimension Theory," in I. M. James, ed., *History of Topology* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science B.V., 1999), pp. 1–24.

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Möbius's famous strip and Klein's bottle serve as the best visual examples of topological function, but the specifics of these theories were, in their infinitely arcane iterations, quite beyond the grasp of non-mathematicians such as Banham and the Smithsons. In fact, the non-specialized use of the term for architectural projects in the 1950s might be best understood in the context of the Pop/Science-Fiction obsession that riveted the attention of Independent Group members at that time. In order to understand how the term was used within New Brutalism, one must consider it from the perspective of the works themselves, as an a posteriori justification (along mathematical lines) of projects that had already been conceived that relied on the citation of supporting formulae to set these projects apart from those of their competitors.

In 1952, a competition was held for a housing complex on a 4.7-acre plot in an area of London called Bunhill Fields, a neighborhood razed by bombing and used as a dumping ground for rubble. The commission eventually was awarded to the firm of Chamberlin, Powell, and Bon, of which William Powell was an early participant in Team 10 **[fig. 1.18]**.[79] But in later discussions of the Smithson's entry we find the first use of "topology" in the New Brutalist context **[figs. 1.19]**. Applied retroactively by Banham, the term was meant to pertain to the use of the basic units or modules, which are configured into two "T"-shaped units, laid next to one another, with one unit flipped over at its cross-stroke to form a mirror-image of itself. Using the double "T" as the building block—or element—the plan gradually branches out, literally, from the center of the site into a web of nonhierarchical spines and intersects a network of roads that are neither

[79] The Chamberlin, Powell, and Bon scheme was shown at CIAM 9 under the aegis of the British MARS group. See, for example, "Housing in Golden Lane, London," *Architectural Review* 121, no. 725 (June 1957): 114–7; and "Housing at Golden Lane," *Architectural Design* 23, no. 7 (July 1953): 190–2.

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orthogonal nor linearly developed with relation to the overall plan. The basic unit thus retained its integrity even when subjected to the various web- or cluster-like permutations of the Golden Lane scheme, a topological result, if only in the most elementary sense. **[fig. 1.20]**[80]

In this scheme, the street is no longer simply a causeway for automobile traffic at ground level, but is also an organizing principle for the disposition of individual housing units within the larger housing blocks.[81] Units are arranged so that long corridors, or streets, are formed at various levels throughout the blocks. These streets are meant to function quite differently than the corridors of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation, in that the latter relied on an emphasis of the individual unit in relation to itself, rather than to a series of the same arranged along an exterior walkway **[fig.1.21]**. Corbusier's *rue intérieure*, moreover, was exactly that: an *interior* street, deprived of air and light and thus quite removed, in any metaphorical sense, from the properties of an actual street, save perhaps the Parisian arcades so beloved by Walter Benjamin.

As Banham points out, the idea of the "street deck" concept, as the Smithsons called it, was shared by other British architects of the time, but none of them theorized its

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[80] The site for the Golden Lane competition was a 4.7-acre plot in an area of London called Bunhill Fields, an neighborhood razed by bombing and used as a dumping ground for rubble.

[81] The population of this housing scheme was figured at a maximum of 200–300 persons-per-acre (p.p.a.) Fifteen years later the Smithsons revised this figure, saying that "As far as the true city housing is concerned we now feel that if the sense of having enough space is to be reasonabley maintained then far from being able to achieve it in the 200–300 p.p.a. [person per acre] ranged (as we claimed in our Golden Lane studies) it is more likely to be in the 100–150 p.p.a. range, i.e. half te old assumed 'good' city density." Alison and Peter Smithson, "Density, Interval and Measure," *Architect's Year Book 12* (1968): 42.

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implications as profoundly as did the Smithsons.[82] The Golden Lane entry was completed in 1952, and then published in 1953 in the *Architect's Year Book*, serving double duty that year as the Smithsons' contribution to the CIAM 9 meeting of that same year in Aix-en-Provence.

When subordinated to the "grille" format that was the standard presentation for all CIAM groups (beginning with the 6th Congress in Bridgwater, at Le Corbusier's suggestion), the Golden Lane scheme became much more of a manifesto than an actual competition entry, especially with the addition of photographs by Nigel Henderson and the epigrammatic language that would characterize the Smithsons' contributions from that point forward. The competition entry itself, reformulated for publication in September 1953 (in *The Architect's Year Book*), was more rigid in its formulaic approach, giving particulars for costs and dimensions, all of which were absent from the CIAM grille.

The underlying principles of urban reidentification that would emblematize the Smithsons' practice from that point forward were actually the major achievement of the Golden Lane project. This theme was to become the foundation of Team 10 discourse, and to that end will be more fully explicated in the following chapter. What interests us

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[82] In particular, another nonwinning entry for the Golden lane competition was by Jack Lynn and Ivor Smith, a project that used the exterioor street deck idea. These two architects later went on to design the Park Hill redevelopment for the Sheffield City Architect's Department (1961). The Park Hill complex is the penultimate prject illustrated in Banham's Brutalism book, where it is put into the Brutalist context:"The moral crusade of Brutalism for a better habitat through built environment probably reaches its culmination at Park Hill. Nothing proposed since has been extreme in quite the same way, but many of its ideas are diffusing into common usage . . ." (Banham, ibid., p. 132). The fact that illustrations of the Economist Cluster follow those of Park Hill is the first suggestion that the Smithsons had largely abandonded the Brutalist project by the early 1960s. The implications of the Economist buildings will be discussed in the conclusion.

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here is the appearance of the Golden Lane project at the nexus between ethics and aesthetics, supporting the Smithsons in their attempt to join their divergent (yet somehow related) practices into a cohesive whole.

Alison and Peter Smithson, at the time of their appearance at CIAM 9, had reached the tender ages of 25 and 30, respectively. Their perspicacity was undoubtedly something of a novelty, and might suggest how their brazen and unorthodox proposals were able to invigorate the assembled group. The most striking elements of their CIAM proposal were the visuals that comprised the grille. The appearance of that hoary prewar avant-garde trope, the photomontage, used in the service of an advanced social program, here is revived as a proto-Pop emblem. The famous images of Joe DiMaggio and Marilyn Monroe, along with the louche figure of French film star Gerard Philippe, his arms crossed and staring blankly at the side of a housing block **[fig. 1.22]**, embraces the Pop consciousness of the Independent Group in its allusion to the ultimately ephemeral cult of celebrity. These new domiciles, the pictures seem to suggest, are good enough for the wealthiest and the trendiest among us, so they certainly must be good enough for me.[83]

The use of photomontage lends an air of certitude to the architects' claims, and ironically brings the viewer into the "real world" of recognizable faces, while at the same time parodying the fact that for most people, Joe and Marilyn are no more present than the paper on which their photos are printed. But in juxtaposition with Nigel Henderson's photos of children playing in Bethnal Green **[fig. 1.23]**, photography is given a certain agency to mediate between the real and the imagined world. This is, in fact, the precise nexus of New Brutalist thought: the place (or space) where the division between the

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imagined (or the utopic) and the real (or the quotidian) collide. Whether they were able to resist an inevitable disaster is a question best brought up in the context of their most celebrated building, the Hunstanton School.

The Hunstanton School: Revolutionary or Retardataire?

Apart from housing, educational buildings were another pressing need of the postwar society, and it was in this arena that New Brutalism had its first defining moment of triumph, *avant la lettre*. The Smithsons' Hunstanton School of 1949–54 provided a radical departure from the type of "progressive" structures being hailed at the time for their innovative use of new materials and their programmatic participation in experimental types of educational reform. But the reality was that these schools recapitulated many of the high-minded failings of the prewar avant-garde, especially with regard to their assumed adherence to a sort of template construction.

The most touted of the educational structures of the late 1940s and early 1950s were in the towns of Hertfordshire. There, schools were commissioned and designed under the auspices of the Hertfordshire County Architect's Department in conjunction with the London County Council. These structures, which utilized the same light steel frame with cross-bracing as did the Eames House (discussed in Chapter III), were celebrated for their use of modular materials and their ability to provide a "sympathetic" environment, following the legislation of the Butler Education Act in 1944 (which was an

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[83] The Smithsons may have seen some photomontages made by "Brachm," an architect in Le Corbusier's office, that were published in Le Corbusier, *L'Unité d'Habitation de Marseilles*, ibid., p. 11.

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attempt to raise the standard of schools in Britain, from academics to meals services) and later, an intensive research study undertaken by the Ministry of Education in 1949.

The limitations of building a number of different, but likeminded, structures imposes a certain set of limitations on any such endeavor, and the Hertfordshire schools suffered from many of them. But some of these stumbling blocks resulted directly from the same sort of regressive thought derided by the New Brutalists, largely because they were beholden to a variety of restrictions imposed by governmental agencies concerned more with economic factors than ethical (or even aesthetic) ones. Or else, the Ministry of Education was attempting to appear progressive while still proceeding with a debilitating sense of caution.

The primary obstacle was the prescribed 8'3" module, which was abstractly conceived by a government study as the maximum space allowance for the minimum cost.[84] This measurement allowed for the use of preexisting industrial stock, as it involved commonly used (and thus regularly manufactured) components, but other than being slightly economical, "it has no particular recommendation."[85] Despite such damning criticism, such projects went ahead because the empirical research had shown that the established measurements, in theory, were universally valid and thus should not be questioned for fear of stalling progress on them.

Likewise, the inclusion of art in the schools' building programs—in the form of murals and sculpture—echoes a certain strain within the New Brutalist/Team 10 vocabulary (particularly the influence of the Smithsons' Independent Group activity, as well as the various exhibitions in which Team 10 members participated—see Chapter II).

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[84] See "Standard Construction for Schools," Postwar Building Study No. 2 (H.M. Stationery Office 1994).

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but again, a certain conservatism creeps in here as well. The *Architect's Year Book* of 1951 illustrated the Secondary School in the New Town of Stevenage (Yorke, Rosenberg, and Mardall, 1951), and featured a mural by Kenneth Rowntree, a British *faux-naïf* abstractionist whose subjects ran quite close to the antiquated aesthetics of the New Empiricism, but with a watered-down surrealistic veneer **[fig. 1.24]**.[86]

Also in the vicinity of the Stevenage school was installed a sculptural group by Henry Moore. This attempt at invigorating the atmosphere with contemplative aesthetic works was well intentioned, but perhaps the works chosen were a little simplistic in their nonthreatening and gentle abstraction. Still, for Jack Howe, author of the Year Book article, they remained too intense: "It can be said that very personal highly sophisticated works should not be forced upon young children who are good critics provided the subject is neither above their heads nor beneath their notice." He continues to say that the animals, birds, and fountains found at Swiss schools are "on occasion a little naïve but nevertheless possess great charm and freshness."[87]

Clearly, the sentimentalizing impulse that the Hertfordshire schools architects had at least attempted to contradict went a little too far—in the estimation of the British architectural establishment—in trying to invigorate a moribund educational environment. Yet from an avant-garde point of view, these works by Rowntree and Moore may have represented the easy nostalgia of the British establishment through the choosing of works that recalled a late-nineteenth-century figurative tradition that had resumed after World War II. The Smithsons work, from this time period, refused any part in this legacy.

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[85] Jack Howe, "New Schools in Britain," *Architects' Year Book* 4 (1951): 71.
[86] For a brief discussion of Rowntree, see Margaret Garlake, *New Art New World: British Art in Postwar Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1998), pp. 95–6.

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The Hunstanton School in Norfolk, England presents one of the greatest problems for an understanding of New Brutalism's beginnings, and is, in many respects, something of a red herring. Unabashedly modernist, Hunstanton evokes the aesthetic of the prewar architectural avant-garde at its most doctrinaire. But in 1954, already well into the International Style's second generation, with most of its major practitioners now living and working abroad, such a structure cannot be said to exist as an avant-garde project unless one uncovers some of its more subversive aspects whose presence encodes the building with the spirit of change advocated by its architects.[88]

Rereading the period literature on Hunstanton uncovers a wide variety of receptions, from outright mocking to unquestioned reverence. The first major publication in England came in September 1953 in *Architectural Design*. A certain Dargan Bullivant undertook the major project of illustrating and decoding the school's precise mechanical aspects, ending with a full-page description entitled "The Plastic Theory of Bending and its Application to the Design of the Hunstanton Steel Frames."[89] This would be the first and perhaps only time that the Smithsons would be celebrated for any sort of innovative engineering **[fig. 1.25]**.

The Hunstanton School is a rather doctrinaire étude in Miesian modernism, constructed of glass, brick, and steel (quite similar to Mies's buildings at the Illinois

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[87] Howe, ibid., p. 73

[88] See "Ecole sécondaire à Hunstanton," in *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 53 (Mars-Avril 1954): 64–6. "Cette consruction, extremement interessante sur le plan technique, parait, neanmoins, dans sa conception, en contradiction avec les theories contemporaines en matière de constructions scolaires. La rigidité inherent au parti et son radicalisme, la precision mécanique apparente ne sont peut-être pas compatibles avec la psychologie enfantine et, pour cette raison, peuvent ne pas paraître souhaitables dans ce domaine particulier." (p. 65)

[89] Dargan Bullivant, "Hunstanton Secondary Modern School for the Norfolk Education Committee," *Architectural Design* 23, no. 9 (September 1953): 238–48.

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Institute of Technology, in particular the Alumni Memorial Hall of 1945–7). In fact, the excitement around the building's appearance had to do precisely with the fact that it was the first homage to Mies on British soil. Schematically, it adheres to a rectangular plan with a central courtyard, and contemporary photographs show the interiors to be as austere as the exterior **[fig. 1.26]**. One theme throughout follows the notion of truth to materials in dictating that whatever material is used on the exterior must likewise be used on the interior side of the same wall. Thus none of the interior surfaces have any sort of special treatments; following the same rule, the floors and ceilings are rendered in identical concrete.

Starting with the first (and only contemporary) major American review of the building, we can begin to understand how it took its place within the canon of postwar architecture and, more importantly, how the idea of New Brutalism was almost immediately misunderstood as a result of Hunstanton's instant iconicity, especially outside of the British context.[90] *Architectural Forum* of May 1955 featured Hunstanton as part of an anonymously authored article entitled "Three Approaches to Architecture," along with Philip Johnson's 1951 addition to New York's Museum of Modern Art (including the sculpture garden in the rear of 1953) and George Nakashima's Knoll House and Shop Site in New Hope, Pennsylvania.[91]

The connection and similarity between the Smithsons' and Johnson's work is immediately striking. Each building uses the Miesian vocabulary to articulate a complex

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[90] The misapprehension of the Hunstanton School in the U.S. will be important when discussing the American Brutalist analogues in Chapter III. As we shall see, the unnamed author immediately attempts to situate Hunstanton into an American context, without in any way taking note of the contrasting economic and political climates in the U.S. and Great Britain.

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rhythm of skeleton, skin, and enclosed space: Hunstanton's vast interior gymnasium and atria **[fig. 1.27]**, Johnson's cafeteria patio and sculpture garden **[fig. 1.28]** are all examples of a delicately mediated relationship between interior and exterior, between spaces either enclosed or created anew. But the differences between these two buildings are elided by the black and white photographs accompanying the article, a text that fatuously delimits the differences through simple labels.

While Hunstanton is called "'The New Brutalism,'" the MoMA addition is headed "Modern Classicism" (the absence of quotes in the latter suggesting that the term "Modern Classicism" would be familiar to the average reader, while "the New Brutalism" would not). The classicism of Hunstanton is not discussed explicitly, but is left as a crude joke on the obvious maladroitness of the term New Brutalism; the anonymous author states that "All in all, the scheme suggests the serene classic of Mies van der Rohe, and will fool anyone for a good long minute. . . Yet somehow Hunstanton looks like Mies gone fey."[92] The Smithsons are credited with a "Piranesian trick with Miesian space," but beyond that, the project of New Brutalism is mistreated with just the amount of arrogance and derogation that the label originally was meant to provoke.

As jarring as is the Smithsons' "undoing" of Mies in comparison to Johnson's relative Miesian adherence, so are the unspoken affinities between Hunstanton and the third building of the article, Nakashima's Pennsylvania structure, quite compelling **[fig. 1.29]**. Here, the article's anonymous author describes the precise qualities *suggested* by the name New Brutalism without any apparent understanding of its historical, aesthetic,

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[91] "Three Approaches to Architecture," *Architectural Forum* 102, No. 5 (May 1955): 142–53

[92] Ibid., p. 142. It is ironic indeed that the author did not choose to use these words to describe Johnson's work, to which such criticism might more rightly apply.

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or ethical context. We might extend a certain amount of sympathy to the author for such confusion at this early date. New Brutalism, at this time, existed merely as several short, epigrammatic statements by the Smithsons, with Banham's own originary document not appearing until December 1955.[93] So to have had any awareness of the term (or its philosophies) whatsoever would have been quite extraordinary, especially in the U.S. The point to be taken away from this example is not one that focuses on the transatlantic schism, but more precisely one that relies on the *continuation* of this misunderstanding, of seeing the New Brutalism merely as an unthinking iteration of its name, rather than a polemical contribution to an international postwar architectural dialogue as envisioned by its proponents.

So in relation to the Nakashima house, itself rarely discussed elsewhere, we might posit an initial comparison, the nuances of which will become amplified throughout the following chapters. The first similarity is adduced, if not acknowledged, by the *AF* author. Let us take two examples from the text; first, Hunstanton: " . . . they handle the plan as they found it, not smoothing it out; they proudly handle their materials as they found them, too; in other words, just as they come from stock."[94] Then, Knoll: "It is true that naming the woods in the new showroom is like chanting lines by Walt Whitman or Thomas Wolfe—oak, long leaf pine, Douglas fir . . . But he uses power tools on the woods before he hand finishes them. The mode is romantic only because of the sympathy with which Nakashima works his basic materials, whether they have been shaped by a stamping press or by many summers."[95]

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[93] Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," ibid., pp. 355–61.
[94] "Three Approaches," ibid., p. 142
[95] Ibid., p. 151

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Whether or not the Nakashima house is meant to conjure up the spirit of American transcendentalism is best left for another debate. But what we do learn from these short texts is that an exact reversal has taken place whereby the honest deployment of materials at Hunstanton has been misunderstood as technophilic bravura, while the seemingly *heimisch* use of vernacular materials in the Knoll studio/house is, in fact, the direct result of technological intervention. Ultimately, both projects conclude with a focus on the tactile properties of the materials used. Appearances, we are meant to intuit, are deceptive, and can easily belie the intentions of the architects. For while it is certain that Nakashima was aiming for a folkloristic, tactile/haptic experience in his project, he was able to achieve this effect only through illusion, while the Smithsons, whose materials were (in the *AF* author's mind) less authentic, achieved a veracity without recourse to fallacy. Nakashima used materials whose handcrafted qualities underscored the impulse towards acquisition and ownership—this was a private home and private shop. Hunstanton, on the other hand, was a public (or in England, private) school, whose usage was expected to evolve over time as the users developed, transformed, outgrew, and regenerated.

So despite its industrial materials, Hunstanton is the less fussy of the two buildings, and the more honest. When Nakashima works his various woods to a high degree of processing, he is delivering them away from their natural states, yet presenting them as authentic. The Smithsons embrace the inherent qualities of glass, steel, and brick, rendering them elements of a modern vernacular in a style that is, perhaps, more abrupt—or, one might say, more *brutal*—than that of Nakashima.[96]

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[96] See Francesco Passanti, "The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 4 (December 1997): 438–51

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Mies van der Rohe, whose work is the immediate intellectual predecessor of Hunstanton, likewise celebrated the qualities of materials (specifically in the Resor House project near Wilson, Wyoming of 1937–40,[97] and the Farnsworth House in Plano, IL of 1945–51, both of which are roughly contemporaneous with Hunstanton). Yet he did so in a manner radically different than that of the Smithsons, by elevating these industrial materials to a level of luxury through the deployment of large-scale artworks as movable screens or wall units (the Resor House was to use a large Paul Klee painting as a screen , a motif carried over into the Museum for a Small City of 1942, which was meant to be, in effect, a pavilion for Picasso's *Guernica*), as well as through the incorporation of more rarefied materials (such as fine woods in the Resor and travertine for the Farnsworth's deck and floors).

As with the Nakashima house/studio, Mies always sought to efface the profound efforts necessary to produce the seemingly effortless physical results of his buildings. This kind of bravado was rejected by the Smithsons, whose comparatively slap-dash style (also in evidence at the *Patio and Pavilion*—see below) was carried off with a impudence that dispensed with any of Mies's magisterial European flair in deference to the deprivations of the postwar era and its reflection in the chosen materials.

The honesty and authenticity ascribed to Hunstanton was not always justifiable. When the Hunstanton School was first published, the photographs accompanying each appearance were, following Le Corbusier's classic example, very carefully constructed so

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[97] I refer to the second Resor House project, although the rustication of Mies's original proposal, recreated in model form at the Museum of Modern Art's *Mies in Berlin* exhibition (21 June–11 September 2001), provides an interesting counterpoint to the Hunstanton comparison by enlarging Mies's possible impact on New Brutalism through its use of rough brick and wood—vernacular materials meant to connote a particular sense of history for the house's Wyoming site.

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as to give a sense of the fullness of the space in its purest form, and thus the school is shown completely devoid of furniture (and of course, of children), so much the better to foreground the raw qualities of the space. Evidently the Smithsons' aesthetic agenda extended to some of the functional aspects of the school as well. The Smithsons, in conversation with a journalist in 1953, were asked why they chose to use floor panel heating instead of more conventional (and perhaps less expensive, e.g. radiator) systems. They responded that "[w]e used floor panel heating for a number of reasons. Firstly, radiators look ugly when placed against glass walls. Secondly, the one heating membrane heats both storeys, as not as much heating is required on the ground floor. . . Thirdly, the piping is neat—all you see are two 3/4 in. risers."[98]

Two out of three reasons are of a purely aesthetic nature, and the third appears almost apologetic, as they later admit that the floor panel heating was used in the classroom areas, but not in the larger areas, where traditional convection heating was necessary.[99] Perhaps the presence of radiators in a large space wold have seemed less conspicuous. But these admissions (followed by the approbatory words of the journal's editors, who observe that "[w]ith solid walls and partitions and no cavity between floor and ceiling, it is remarkable how little is seen of the services"[100]) belie one of the most

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[98] "Secondary School at Hunstanton," *Architect's Journal* 118, no. 3054 (10 September 1953): 327.

[99] The floor panel system, furthermore, was not entirely up to the task for heating two adjacent floors—in fact, while the ground floor was adequately heated, many of the first storey rooms required auxiliary convector and pipe coils. See "School at Hunstanton Norfolk," *Architectural Review* 116, no. 693 (September 1954): 158.

[100] Ibid., p. 327

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celebrated aspects of the school in terms of initiating the New Brutalist legacy, namely the exposure of the services in the name of honesty of construction, and of purpose.[101]

The effect, instead, is that the space says nothing about it being a school, and we perceive instead vast open chambers with vast passages of glazing bordered by unencumbered steel members. The Smithsons claimed that this was intentional, and that they wanted to give a sense of the flexibility of the space, open (as it were) to various interpretations by the future inhabitants, which speaks to one of the benchmarks of New Brutalism and Team 10 practice, namely the desire to let the inhabitant(s) participate in the construction of their own environment. This was instigated as a radical departure from the exigencies of *Existenzminimum* policies in prewar CIAM projects, where the limitations of space lead the architect to an intricate solution of built-in furniture, space-saving measures, and, thus, a complete control over the built environment.[102] But the Smithsons' resistance to a carefully designed program also shows an unwillingness to deal with the *specifics* of the program, and a desire to give up the functional requirements in the spirit of a quasi-experimentalism. This may be charitably ascribed to the architects' desire for change to come about through a relationship between architect and inhabitant, but it also obliges a reevaluation of the fundamental principles of New Brutalism and its use of materials.

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[101] Banham wrote of the school: "Hunstanton *appears* to be made of glass, brick, steel, and concrete, and is in fact made of glass, brick, steel, and concrete [emphasis in original]. Water and electricity do not come out of unexplained holes in the wall, but are delivered to the point of use by visible pipes and manifest conduits. One can see what Hunstanton is made of, and how it works, and there is not another thing to see except the play of spaces." Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," ibid., p. 357

[102] See CIAM, *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* (Frankfurt: Englert and Schlosser, 1930).

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Hunstanton was certainly important in the development of New Brutalism, and especially in terms of raising the Smithson's stock within the international architectural avant-garde. But the architects seem to have exhausted their interest in the Miesian vernacular shortly thereafter, turning first to larger housing schemes (the aforementioned Golden Lane competition), then to urbanism (the Haupstadt Berlin project of 1958), and then the larger theoretical exercises of Team 10, with the Independent Group activities providing fodder for the "aesthetic" so crucial to the Brutalist equation. Even Reyner Banham eventually elided the importance of Hunstanton, relegating it nearly to footnote status in his "personal view of modern architecture," the subtitle of his *Age of the Masters.*[103] And yet the Hunstanton School, as the first doctrinaire Mies-inspired building in postwar Europe, received a great amount of press at the time of its completion, and the proliferation of International-style building shortly thereafter, was certainly in some way influenced by Hunstanton.

What it offered the Smithsons was entrée into the upper echelons of the avant-garde, and made possible their participation in MARS group activities (the name given to the British adjunct of CIAM, started by Wells Coates in 1932–3) that led to their participation in CIAM and later, the formation of Team 10, a topic that will be addressed in the following chapter. It also arrived just as their participation in consort with a group

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[103] Reyner Banham, *Age of the Masters: A Personal View of Modern Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press Ltd, 1975) [rev. ed. of *Guide to Modern Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press Ltd, 1962)]. Here, Banham refers to Hunstanton in the context of Mies's American period, saying that "even outside America the influence was almost unavoidable—two of the most consciously reformist builidngs in Britain in the Fifties clearly acknowledge this divinity of detailing: the Secondary School at Hunstanton in Norfolk by Alison and Peter Smithson, and the air-terminal at Gatwick by York, Rosenberg, and Mardall," p. 128.

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of artists started to bear fruit, providing an experimental realm for the working through of the ideas started at Hunstanton.

The Independent Group and the Aesthetics of New Brutalism:

By a wide consensus, the first half of the twentieth century was not the golden age of Britain's artistic achievement. Industrial production, resulting from the massive strides made during the Industrial Revolution, was a major force coming out of England, but the poetics of painterly or sculptural production remained mired in the past. One of the most outspoken critics of English art in the 1950s was the art historian Basil Taylor, whose public quarrel with Nikolaus Pevsner on the topic of British sentimentality will be discussed in Chapter IV. Writing in 1955, Taylor bemoaned the critic's role in the absence of any decent English contemporary art: "An English art critic, unlike his French colleagues, may well suffer from a sense of inferiority, troubled by the fact that for the last four or five hundred years no painting or sculpture in England has equaled the best which has been made elsewhere." He continues by identifying a peculiar British trait of relegating the artist to the role of "sensitive mediator" between nature and the work produced, fostering the illusion that "the interesting or picturesque object makes, almost by itself, a good picture. . . In English art the force of personality has so often gone into the seeing rather than the making."[104]

Taylor reserves his sole praise for Eduardo Paolozzi, a founder of the Independent Group, an odd admixture of artists, critics, and architects who met one another at London's Institute for Contemporary Art (ICA), an institution that gave them (nominal) funds for exhibitions and lecture series. Taylor calls Paolozzi "an excellently subtle and

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shrewd maker of *objets trouvés,* of modern fetishes, a man of admirable taste and dexterity who responds most readily to contemporary habits . . . [and who] has the mental agility and something of the skill of Fabergé working in base rather than precious metals. Both men have known what bibelots divert their age in its off moments."[105] Taylor's smarmy and patronizing tone is evidence of the resistance to the intermingling of social values and aesthetics that has long characterized the British doctrine on art, a position that provided much of the resistance for some of the more socially radical ideas propounded by the Independent Group artists, as well as by adherents to the New Brutalist ethos. It was almost as if too close a connection with the world would somehow destroy the illusion of art, the realm of which had to remain a sentimentalized picture of an antiquated, preindustrial history.

Among the myriad influences surrounding the New Brutalism is one that links architectural practice with the *art brut* of Jean Dubuffet along with the work of other artists mentioned in Michel Tapié's *Un art autre* **[fig. 1.30]**.[106] Certainly the Independent Group and its affiliation with the ICA would have afforded a generous introduction to contemporary art for the Smithsons,[107] and we know that Team 10 member Aldo van Eyck was well acquainted with modernist painting and sculpture through his friendship with the art historian Carola Giedion-Welcker (wife of Sigfried Giedion). But the affinities, especially as articulated by Banham, are too broadly drawn. It is one matter to notice a correspondence between the surface of a Dubuffet and the *béton brut* of an

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[104] Basil Taylor, "The Criticism of English Art," in *Architect's Yearbook* 6 (1955): 19–20
[105] Ibid., p. 21
[106] Michel Tapié, *Un art autre ou il s'agit de nouveau devidages réel* (Paris: Gabriel-Giraud et fils, 1952).
[107] In particular, we know of Paolozzi and Henderson's forays into the Parisian avant-garde. See Robbins, ibid., pp. 76–7, 94–5.

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aesthetic brutalist building. But it is another one entirely to understand the resemblance behind the intentionality of the respective material articulations in two such works.

The task of abstraction in the postwar years was radically divergent from the early modernist deployment of objectless imagery. A deeper message lies at the heart of postwar abstraction's appeal to The New Brutalism if one examines those abstract artists whose decision to abolish subject matter was in direct response to the conditions of postwar life.[108] The seriousness of this ethos stems from a response of confusion and frustration at the seeming impossibility of any meaningful aesthetic utterance after the horrors of the war, at a time when abstraction had been thoroughly debased by the artistic conservatism of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, and representation was inextricably linked to totalitarianism. Artists such as Jean Fautrier employed a regressive, deliberately deskilled hand to suggest how tentative must be a return to abstraction.

We know that the Smithsons did, in fact, explicitly mention the influence of Dubuffet,[109] but the question here concerns the specific aspects of Dubuffet's relevance to New Brutalist practice, as well as the extent of the Smithsons' knowledge of Dubuffet's practice. In fact, there are interesting facets of Dubuffet's written work that expand and illuminate themes akin to those within New Brutalism and not having to do explicitly with formal concerns. It is true that in their own work, the Smithsons certainly sought to move beyond tactile surfaces in their search for authenticity, and likewise Dubuffet was working within a milieu that both sought to sanction a greater sense of

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[108] Other artists whose work inhabits this space of disaffection and stunned silence are the Germans Hans Hartung and Wols (both of whom emigrated to France in the 1930s). But there is little evidence that the Allied countries had any interest in German art at this time.

[109] See S. Goldhagen in *Anxious Modernisms*, ibid., p. 82.

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painterly corporeality and also to gain access to some sort of primitivistic universality of representation.

Dubuffet, who had earlier been a successful wine merchant, turned to painting in the 1940s to investigate his interest in art of the mentally unfit and of children. Dubuffet claimed that the war, in its destruction of a bourgeois subjectivity, had corrupted the potential for authenticity, which led him to attempt a recuperation of a nonspecific, transcendental moment of beginnings, to be discovered in the simpler environs of the mundane world.[110] An early (unpublished) written effort, entitled *Guide de Paris,* was a compendium of Dubuffet's favorite urban moments, sites of common appeal, rather than those holding special, private, or mysterious meaning exclusively for those of an artistic temperament. Dubuffet celebrates precisely these places' quotidian allure, as they manifest not only a certain local flavor, but the mysteries and delights to be found in the spaces of everyday living. One entry for his city guide, entitled "Saint-Ouen—Le Marché," celebrates Dubuffet's love of clothes. He explains his particular attraction to the wares of this unremarkable market:

> Here they sell clothes that are the same as those the customers wear on their backs, the colors of asphalt and dirty brown that people like because they are the colors of man, of his hair, his roads, of his walls and fences, of his filth. This is not a celebration of pheasants or parrots; it is the celebration of man.[111]

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[110] Like Aldo van Eyck, Dubuffet traveled to the African Sahara (first in March and November 1947, and then again in March 1949). His paintings from these visits attempt to capture a vitality that he found too be more authentic, and perhaps purer, than that of the urban milieu. In this, his ideas of origins are quite similar to those of van Eyck (for more on van Eyck's ethnographic missions, see Chapter IV). It was at the same moment of Dubuffet's African excursions that he began to term his work *art brut.* See Peter Selz, *The Work of Jean Dubuffet* (New York: The Musuem of Modern Art, 1962), pp. 37–43 and Max Loreau, *Jean Dubuffet: Stratégie de la Création* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1973, pp. 30–1. See also Hubert Damisch, "Robinsonnades II: The Real Robinson," *October* 85 (Summer 1998): 29–40.

[111] "Car on en vend aussi là des vêtements et ce sont les mêmes que les clients ont sur les dos, les mêmes couleurs de bitume et de marron sale que l'homme aime parce qu'elles

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The striking equivalence that Dubuffet accords to the undifferentiated landscape of urban life, regardless of genus, material, or categorical worth, presents us with an exuberant embrace of the simple fact of being, without any preconceived ideas of what constitutes the most valuable aspects of our ordinariness. This last word, of course, resonates with the title of the Smithsons' book, *Ordinariness and Light*,[112] an episodic narrative that also tried to deflect attention away from the typically positive appraisals of comfortable bourgeois existence to establish a category of simple pleasures, embraced and extolled for their intrinsic value as part of life's rich pageant.[113]

Ordinariness, in the thoughts of both Dubuffet and the Smithsons, likewise discards traditional categories of value in terms of Western and non-Western, pathological or sane; in fact, it rejects any a priori assumptions about the prevailing hierarchical arrangement of the world order. If this sounds like an extreme position, it is because both projects were an attempt to reinvent the way that that art, architecture, and the urban sphere were to be experienced and understood—the radicality of their contentions is the source of both their intemperate potency and their irretrievable naïveté. These attempts at signification transgress normative boundaries because they wish to approach the natural evolutionary processes of cognitive human development, to take

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sont les coulerus de l'homme, de ses cheveux, de ses chaussées, de ses murs et palissades, de sa crasse. Cas n'est pas ici la fête des faisans ou des perroquets, c'est la fête de l'homme." Jean Dubuffet, "Saint-Ouen—Le Marché," in Jean Dubuffet, *Prospectus et tous écrits suivants*, Tome I, réunis et présentés par Hubert Damisch (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1967), p. 109

[112] Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

[113] For a nuanced interpretation of Dubuffet's interest in origins and authenticity, see Hubert Damsich, "Retour au texte," in Damisch, *Fenêtre jaune cadmium, ou les dessous de la peinture* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984), pp. 99–120. See also Jean Dubuffet, "Place a l'incivisme," in Jean Dubuffet, *Prospectus . . .*, ibid., Tome I, pp. 453–7.

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from these processes some simple and singular truths, evoked through the medium of art, or of architecture.[114]

The cause of abstraction, seen from the opposite end of Dubuffet's questioning of artistic categories (and even of Jackson Pollock's introverted and psychoanalytically inspired evocations, which were too parochial in their subject matter to be of much consequence to New Brutalism, despite lip service paid to him by both the Smithsons and Banham) certainly was continuous with the process of postwar reconstruction, even if painting remained a purely emotional and/or intellectual exercise, while architecture tackled the more robust and direct needs of the European populace.[115] And we can be sure that the category of "the Aesthetic" did in fact play a role in the formation of New Brutalism, either as a corollary to its ethical dimension, or else possibly as a deliberate contrast to, or critique of, the movement.

Despite later efforts to enhance the posthumous reputation of the proto-Pop Independent Group (the place where many issues of aesthetic Brutalism were to find their articulation[116]—henceforth to be known as the IG), the group was relatively unknown at

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[114] These ideas were not specifically noted within the context of New Brutalism by either Banham or the Smithsons, but they certainly resonate with their notion of urban reidentification through the "unity between built form and the men using it." Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Built World," ibid., p. 188.

[115] Nigel Whiteley sees the New Brutalist project as aligned with Tapié's own discourse surrounding *art brut*, but in doing so effectively refuses to acknowledge the ethical component of New Brutalism. See his "Banham and 'Otherness': Reyner Banham (1922–1988) and his quest for an *architecture autre*," *Architectural History* 33 (1990): 188–221.

[116] See Robbins, ibid., passim, as well as Anne Massey, *The Independent Group: Modernism and Mass Culture in Britain, 1945–59* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995). For some more recent and theoretical revisions, see the issue of October dedicated to the Independent Group (October 94 (Summer 2001)).

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the time, both at home and internationally.[117] And while the architects of the group had recourse to other means for acquiring prestige, the artists themselves have suffered greatly at the hands of history.[118] The activities of the Smithsons and Reyner Banham, all members of the IG (as was John Voelcker, who was also the Smithsons' co-conspirator in Team 10), thus must be seen in this light, at least as far as their aesthetic merits are concerned. But the intellectual ramifications are something else entirely.

The Smithson's participation in the Independent Group was extremely important for one aspect of New Brutalism's development: the belief in the productivity (or even necessity) of group collaboration. The Smithsons had already been involved in CIAM by this point, and had become frustrated by the arrogance of the group's leaders (Corbusier, Giedion, Gropius, Sert). Rather than cooperating as a true international community of architects concerned with the particular issues of discrete peoples around the globe, CIAM had rested on the laurels of its individual members, each functioning with a certain graceful obliviousness to each others' projects, and handling the same with a gentlemanly respect when they were brought together for group meetings.

Yet one major problem confronting any scholar or historian trying to make sense of the New Brutalism comes when attempting to reconcile the Smithsons' architectural activities with their activities within the IG. In its embrace of the disposable, the aleatory,

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[117] Penny Sparke and Anne Massey published a history of the IG in which they reaffirm the relative obscurity of the group during its existence; they write: "Although the group met between 1952 and 1955, the first references to it published in England didn't appear until 1960." See "The Myth of the Independent Group," *Block* 10 (1985): 48. Sparke and Massey also note that Reyner Banham, himself a formative member of the group and a prolific critic even at the time, never wrote of them by name. See also Anne Massey, "The Independent Group: towards a redefinition," *The Burlington Magazine* 129, no. 1009 (April 1987): 232–42.

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the contingent, and a concomitant anticipation of the ephemerality of all things and ideas, the IG served, in a sense, to erase its own tracks, and to circumscribe the limits of its own historical context. In other words, the group's short life span was a function of its own project: a cultural event that took inventory of its own historical moment, deconstructed it, deciphered it, and then threw it away after having affirmed its obsolescence.[119]

Rather than this being seen as negative, it can be understood as fully in line with the thinking of the period within which the Pop sensibility thrived—namely, that the ineffable forces of history's progression will sweep away the detritus of recently evacuated ideas.[120] The two exhibitions that defined this sensibility were the oft-discussed *Parallel of Life and Art* (Autumn 1953) **[fig. 1.31]**, and *This is Tomorrow* (Summer 1956) **[fig. 1.32]**.[121]

In the earlier exhibition, the Brutalist idea of defining "images" gets its due, and the Smithsons' work here sets the pace for their ideological posturing from that point forward. Their contribution to *Parallel* . . . was, in fact, nothing *but* images, chosen

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[118] This has begun to change significantly, following their inclusion in the major exhibition at the Centre Pompidou in Spring–Summer 2001 entitled *Les annés Pop*, as well as the revisionist writings mentioned earlier in October 94 (Summer 2001)

[119] The Smithsons' famous article of 1956, "But Today We Collect Ads," makes the case most convincingly for the celebration of the throwaway culture of advertising images: "Mass production advertising is establishing our whole pattern of life—principles, morals, aims, aspirations, and standard of living. We must somehow get the measure of this intervention if we are to match its powerful and exviting impulses with our own." *Ark* 18 (November 1956), reprinted in Robbins, ibid., p. 186.

[120] For a history of many aleatory movements in the 1950s and 1960s (including the Situationist International), see Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Universiity Press, 1989).

[121] In a recent lecture at Columbia University, Peter Smithson insisted that *Parallel of Life and Art* was not an IG show, despite the participation of Smithson, Paolozzi, and Henderson, and despite being held at the ICA. Smithson claimed that the architecture critic Theo Crosby was responsible for the show, having procured the funds elsewhere than from the ICA. Talk by Peter Smithson, Coolumbia University, 12 March 2002 (proceedings unpublished).

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almost randomly and exclusively based on their visual impact, and arranged in the gallery in nonhierarchical groupings. Moreover, the auratic charge of these images was neutralized by the fact that the presentation of all the works, regardless of whether they originally were paintings, sculptures, or photographs, was in photographic form, mounted on cardboard and then hung, via brass eyelets, pell-mell throughout the gallery (including from the ceiling). The effect was all-encompassing and at times vertiginous, especially an image of a yoga studio hung from above viewers' heads so that the women performing headstands seem to drop, like stalactites, from the ceiling **[fig. 1.33]**.[122]

The parallel suggested by the show's title seems to be an intertwining of two spheres: the exalted domain of art and the quotidian province of life. By challenging the hieratic nature of the customary hanging of pictures in galleries or museums, the exhibition's organizers (the Smithsons, Eduardo Paolozzi, and Nigel Henderson) sought to "establish the intricate series of cross relationships between different fields of art and technics."[123] This kind of interdisciplinarity (mirrored by the various specializations of the organizers) would become a benchmark of both New Brutalism and Team 10 activity, especially in its combinatory effects, and its profoundly experimental rejection of traditional categories and spatial organization.[124] The strangely consonant juxtaposition

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[122] For a good discussion of the intellectual underpinnings of the show through the minds of (especially) Paolozzi and Henderson, see Irénee Scalbert, "Parallel of Life and Art," *Daidalos* 75 (May 2000): 53–65.

[123] See Alison and Peter Smithson, "Addendum: Texts Documenting the Development of Parallel of Life and Art," in Robbins, ibid., p. 129.

[124] Not everyone acceded to the purportedly progressive message of the exhibition. In a letter to the editors of the *Architectural Review*, Hugh Pope, a teacher at London's Architectural Association, made clear that the younger students were disappointed that the exhibition didn't go far enough in its quest to articulate the connection between environment and life. Pope recounts that the student reaction to an AA forum on the show, featuring Peter Smithson and the art historian Basil Taylor, "variously condemned

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of a Pollock painting, an enlarged human palm-print, and a photo of an Alaskan Eskimo whalebone carving, forced the viewer to see each of these anew, out of context, as if illustrating what Russian formalist literary critic Viktor Shklovskii called *ostranenie*, or a "making strange" of familiar objects so as to shake the viewer out of complacency.[125]

The same group of the Smithsons, Paolozzi, and Henderson reconvened to produce the *Patio and Pavilion* component for the August, 1956 ICA exhibition entitled *This is Tomorrow* **[fig. 1.34]**. They intended to recreate parodically Henderson's Bethnal Green back yard (the area illustrated in the photographs for the Golden Lane CIAM grille taken, not coincidentally, by Henderson), using secondhand wood and aluminum-faced plywood to create a framework that Paolozzi and Henderson then filled with a variety of objects (the Smithsons having departed for CIAM X in Dubrovnik) **[fig. 1.35]**. In simply providing an empty shell for the private musings of artistic creation, the Smithsons were attempting to bring into the sphere of art the same goals they pursued in their architecture.

As in *Parallel of Life and Art*, this process also alluded to the works of Charles and Ray Eames (discussed in Chapter III), whose emphasis on the collection and arrangement of disparate yet formally related objects certainly influenced the Independent Group's desire to present the inner workings of the mind as a sort of laboratory in which to discover new relationships—echoing a notion of play, chance, and contingency that would be so central to the work of Aldo Van Eyck (see Chapter II). As

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[The Parallel of Art and Life] as shallow, eclectic, an example of the New Picturesque, and denying the spiritual in man." *Architectural Review* 115, no. 689 (May 1954): 364.

[125] For more on the meaning of *ostranenie* in the context of Shklovskii's work, see Boris M. Ejxenbaum, "The Theory of the Formal Method," in Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska, *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), pp. 12–14.

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if to underscore the message of childlike discovery, the artists covered the floor of the pavilion with sand, indicating both a primitive locus but also a space in which one could romp barefoot, clawing up the earth in the process of personal revelation.

Another elementary component of habitat as a universal symbol came through the *Patio and Pavilion's* arrangement of forms that mimic the originary dwelling proposed by Gottfried Semper,[126] and somewhat rearticulated in the early houses of Frank Lloyd Wright.[127] This model supposes basic elements such as a central hearth, walls, a pedestal, and a roof as the fundamental necessities of any dwelling **[fig. 1.36]**. The Patio and Pavilion project limned these tenets through a statement adjoining an aerial projection of the Pavilion itself:

> Patio and Pavilion represents the fundamental necessities of the human habitat in a series of symbols. The first necessity is for a piece of the world: the patio. The second necessity is for an enclosed space: the pavilion. These two spaces are furnished with symbols for all human needs.[128]

The objects chosen by Paolozzi and Henderson were not significant in and of themselves, but accrued meaning by virtue of having been chosen independently from the architectural frame, their arbitrariness a testament to the flexible needs of differing inhabitants. As the artists declared: " . . . the architect's work of providing a context for

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[126] On Semper, see Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century: A Personal and Intellectual Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 177–189; also, Rosemarie Bletter, "On Martin Fröhlich's *Gottfried Semper*," *Oppositions* 4 (October 1974): 146–53.

[127] So as not to mislead, it is necessary to note that Wright was perhaps the only significant twentieth-century architect whose influence was explicitly denied by the Smithsons. In a "discussion" following the publication of Banham's Brutalism book, they make this perfectly clear: "That any of the people in this book 'turned unconsciously' to Frank Lloyd Wright is a travesty of the real situation. To many Frank Lloyd Wright produced feelings of actual revulsion." Alison and Peter Smithson, "Banham's Bumper Book on Brutalism," ibid. p. 1590.

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the individual to realise himself in and the artists' work of giving signs and images to the stages of this realisation, meet in a single act, full of those inconsistencies and apparent irrelevancies of every moment, but full of life."[129]

This statement could be read either (admirably) as a celebration of life's vagaries—and here is a link to ideas discussed in the following chapter with relation to Aldo van Eyck—or (cynically) as an intellectual surrender to the impossibility of creating a universal, primeval dwelling. In either case, we must give credit to the collaborators for an unequivocal statement against the essentialist paradigms of the Existenzminimum, and thus as continuing the professed goals of ethical Brutalism.[130]

But despite their progressive sociological strategies, the aforementioned projects still existed within the rarefied realm of the fine art gallery. The Smithsons later attempted to give material substance to this theoretical project in the Upper Lawn Pavilion of 1959–62, a simple orthogonal structure sited at a skewed angle amid several older farmhouses near Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire, the former property of William Beckford.[131] The Upper Lawn Pavilion clearly was meant to evoke a low-tech version of

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[128] See marginalia of drawing in Marco Vidotto, *Alison and Peter Smithson* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1997), p. 90. This drawing has been reproduced elsewhere, as well.

[129] Peter Smithson, portion of a statement entitled "Thoughts on Exhibitions" (July 1956), reprinted in Robbins, ibid., p. 141.

[130] One must also realize that while the Smithsons (fully invested, at the time, in their ethical Brutalist/Team 10 mode) were not solely responsible for setting the intellectual framework for this exhibition. The goals of Paolozzi and Henderson, coming from a more enlightened position from within the artistic avant-garde, were channeling a certain Dubuffet-ian humor that might be seen to have been at odds with the earnestness of the Smithsons' ethics. See I. Scalbert, ibid., p. 60, for evidence of Paolozzi's and Henderson's experiences with the French pre- and postwar avant-garde.

[131] On this project, see Bruno Krucker, "Complex Ordinariness: the Upper Lawn Pavilion by Alison and Peter Smithson," *Daidalos* 75 (May 2000): 44–51. Krucker treats the project to an elaborate formal analysis, along the way referring to its "'brutalistic' directness of design," (p. 47), although failing to elucidate how he intends the term to be

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the Eames House of 1949, with a pastoral setting that permeates the fenestrated walls, making porous the division between artifice and nature **[fig. 1.37]**. The Smithsons photographed their Pavilion with their first edition Citroën DS in the foreground, making explicit the formal precedents of the house in a sort of new machine aesthetic. The reference here is to Le Corbusier's legendary composed photographs of his completed buildings (often involving automobiles) **[fig. 1.38]** as well as the plates from his *Vers une Architecture* that compared the sleekness of the new automobiles to the functional elegance of his new architecture **[fig. 1.39]**.[132]

The garden spaces were expanded to include some of the retaining walls around older buildings on the property, which the Smithsons allowed to become overgrown with weeds and grass so as to amplify the potential for leisure and play from a child's perspective, as well as to enhance the connection between building and site **[fig. 1.40]**. The Smithsons later referred to the structure as a "folly,"[133] suggesting that they considered it less as a residence and more of an experimental structure.[134] The privacy that the structure embodies, then, characterized its place within the Smithsons' practice as perhaps their most emphatic statement of building exclusively for the inhabitant.

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understood. As such, another opportunity is missed for understanding (or at least exploring) New Brutalism's ethical properties.

[132] See Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris, Les Éditions G. Grès et Cie, 1928).

[133] See *Alison and Peter Smithson: The Shift* (London: Architectural Monographs and Academy Editions, 1982), p.98.

[134] Writing in 1973, they described the pavilion as an example of the "select and arrange technique" that they had taken from Charles and Ray Eames, a technique uesed "for the organisation of relatively simple objects, mechanisms, and services in buildings when they can be known about in detail and entrained into the design process." The point here is to choose elementary building materials and industrial products which, on their own are remarkable only for their simplicity but, when subjected to a tasteful arrangement, become ennnobled with the principles of good design. See Alison and Peter Smithson, *Without Rhetoric:An Architectural Aesthetic, 1955–1972* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1973), p. 47.

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If one wishes to find a more public declaration of the same ideals, one would do best to look at the House of the Future (1956), a singular contemporary exercise that celebrates the youthfulness of a first family home, complete with the implementation of new materials and streamlined forms that bespoke the inhabitants' contemporaneity and hipster acumen **[fig. 1.41].**[135] This project was a contribution to the *Ideal Home Exhibition* sponsored by the London Daily Mail newspaper, and imagined the home as it would exist in the far-off year of 1981.[136]

The Smithsons fabricated an exterior made of plastic impregnated fibrous plaster surrounding a service core, with radially arranged rooms filled with the latest in technological home appliances.[137] The aesthetic of fluid panels and joints evoked something of an automobile aesthetic, an effect that was candidly acknowledged by the Smithsons. As a module that could be dropped into a larger structural unit, the Smithsons later equated the house with the idea of a caravan, asserting that the Garden City houses

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[135] See, for example, the interview of Peter Smithson by Beatriz Colomina, in which they discuss the House of the Future (in *October* 94 (Summer, 2001). Although there is certainly something to the logic of planned obsolescence in the design of the house, the conversation (done early in 2000) shows a bit of senility affecting Smithson's memory. Colomina suggests that the House of the Future "is also very dateable. You look at that house, and you understand the period in which it was made. Smithson responds: "Yes, you have to move on. But it was strange, because one's real life is the opposite. The family house is still the family house, it goes on." Colomina insists that " . . . the presumption of that project is that we will throw it away in the same way that we throw away a car," to which Smithson responds: "Yes, that there is no such thing as the family house, that we will throw it away." One notes also the power of persuasion between interviewer and interviewee, as Smithson more or less reverses his claim in deference to Colomina's prodding and suggestive remarks.

[136] For a critical reevaluation of the House of the Future and its relationship to the Appliance Houses discussed below, see Jean-François Bédard, "L"Architecture du stylisme: Alison and Peter Smithson, Reyner Banham et L'"Appliance House," *Architecture and Ideas* 1, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 1996): 80–9

[137] They later explored further the idea of the relationship between house and accoutrements in a series of "Appliances Houses" designed between 1957 and 1959.

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(which were used by the Smithsons as objects of ridicule), with their "semi-detached vortex of walnut bedroom suites with puckered pink eiderdown and puce china crinoline ladies," embodied something that the new apartment dweller would (and should) assiduously avoid.[138]

The House of the Future, however, should not be taken, as Banham stated, as the first example of Pop architecture.[139] It does celebrate contemporary materials, but if this were the sole criterion for Pop architecture, then the Eames House of 1949 (created for the Case Study House program and which celebrated the affordability, and disposability, of new construction materials—see Chapter III) would have prefigured the Smithsons' project by half a decade. But neither project deployed these new materials with any claim for obsolescence or disposability,[140] and to claim that the House of the Future was actually an exercise in planned obsolescence is missing the point.[141] This is not to say that

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Some models included "The Snowball House," "The Retirement House," and "The Bread Appliance House."

[138] Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Ligh: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970., p. 120. This reference appears in a conflation of two earlier essays by the Smithsons republished in *Ordinariness and Light*. They are "Caravan: Embryo Appliance House?" [*Architectural Design* (September 1959)] and "Cluster Patterns," [*Architect and Building News* (July 1956)].

[139] See Banham *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 62.

[140] In this case, Claes Oldenburg's *Store* on East 2nd Street in Manhattan (1961) would be a better example of this, even if it was not an actual architectural project. Oldenburg created a series of objects in papier-mâché that were inspired by goods for sale in other East Village shops. His plan was to recommodify the original objects and return them to the street as "art." By choosing the most quotidian of commodities, Oldenburg effectively glorified their "everyday-ness" to expand the realm of art and to reify these disposable items into objects of transcendent and timeless value.

[141] Again, I feel I must redress the misunderstanding perpetrated by Colomina in her interview (and incidentally, I am putting an enormous amount of emphasis on this interview because it is one of the only documents by either of the Smithsons to explicitly discuss their work with the Independent Group retrospectively). Both Colomina and Mark Wigley (in the same issue of October, writing an essay called "The Architectural Cult of Synchronization," pp. 32–3) insist that the House of the Future was meant to be

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the idea of what the Smithsons called a "throw-away" culture didn't play a part in their architectural discourse at the time. In fact, this was a particular facet of their thinking, and it is ironic that it should pertain not the more experimental nature of their aesthetic projects, but to the more concrete architectural ones. In a statement sent to Bakema prior to the Team 10 meeting at Otterlo in September 1959, the Smithsons wrote that one of the problems central to architecture at that moment (1958) was "To understand and use the possibilities offered by a 'throw-away' technology, to create a new sort of environment with different cycles of change for different functions."[142]

Their embrace of ephemerality is based not on a disregard for quality but rather as an extension of their critique of hard and fast solutions that don't take adequate measure of the vicissitudes of the actual conditions of postwar living. In the same text they refer to the "cultural obsolescence" of mass housing (as it largely existed at the time) as a function of architects' inability to utilize technology not in a metaphorical or a metonymic sense, but instead in a creative way that takes advantage of new materials and means of construction and puts them in the service of mankind, not vice versa. Throw-away culture allowed for a certain experimentation that could change with technological advances rather than being beholden to them.[143]

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disposable, while there is no justification for this in either the Smithsons' words or writings.

[142] Alison and Peter Smithson, "Statement of Problems Regarded as Central to Architecture in the Present Situation," attached to letter sent to Jaap Bakema, dated London, 9 August 1959. BAKE or88.

[143] For more on the theme of planned obsolescence in the 1950s, see Nigel Whiteley, "Toward a Throw-Away Culture: Consumerism, Style Obsolescence, and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s," *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 2 (1987): 3–27.

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The Smithsons, once again proving their fascination not only with automobiles but also the assembly-line methods of their production,[144] wrote of the House of the Future that " in fact [it] was designed like a car—as one thing to perform a limited role. For different roles there would be different models."[145] Clearly the ideas behind the project were not exclusively of an artistic nature (other than in its reference to the streamlining of designers such as Raymond Loewy and Norman Bel Geddes) but were part of an architectural discourse that evolved out of the *Existenzminimum* experiments in Germany in the 1920s–early 1930's,[146] and the Smithsons' perception that these prewar projects had not gone far enough in their exploration of prefabricated units, nor had someone like Le Corbusier fully instrumentalized his advocacy of the car as avatar of the new *machine à habiter.*[147]

Experiments in modular living were preponderant throughout the 1950s. Ionel Schein's *Maison "Arts Ménagers"* of 1956, reputedly the first house crafted entirely of smooth plastic, were prefabricated in factories and shipped to construction sites to be fit into minimal supporting frames (but whether they predate the Smithsons' project is up for debate) **[figs. 1.42, 1.43]**.[148] Both Schein's and the Smithsons' projects generated a great

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[144] The Smithsons embraced car culture not only for its material fascination, but also in the larger sense of wishing to use the urban infrastructure of transportation systems as a unifying force for both architecture and urbanism. This topic will be expressed more fully in Chapter II.

[145] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Appliance House," *Design* 113 (May 1958): 43.

[146] The *Existenzminimum* was a mandate that sought to discover the most economically and spatially reductive habitations that would still meet the fundamental needs of the inhabitants. Originally developed in the Soviet Union during the early 1920s, it was explored as an option in Germany during an increasing shortage of housing.

[147] This is not to suggest that Le Corbusier saw the automobile in exactly this way, but rather that the Smithsons would have liked for their erstwhile hero to have celebrated the car in as attenuated a manner as they would themselves.

[148] See publications surrounding the FRAC collection. As for the Schein houses vs. the Smithsons' House of the Future, Banham argued that the latter was "a very extreme

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deal of interest, although the Smithsons' project, being one of greater novelty and whimsy,[149] was more of a *cause célèbre* within the popular press and was largely ignored by European architectural journals.[150] The Schein house was well publicized within the architectural community,[151] and one suspects that the tongue-in-cheek aspect of the Smithsons' work, along with their association with the Independent Group, made the intelligentsia less likely to consider it within a serious architectural discussion. Put another way, the Smithsons' work was art, Schein's architecture.

What is interesting here is that the Smithsons were finding an outlet for their avant-garde tendencies, but at this moment, there may not have been the possibility within built architectural discourse for the radicality of their ideas. Thus, they sought recourse in the realm of (popular) art in order to propagate ideas of an extreme nature that would evidently have been shunned by the architectural establishment. Another point of contrast between the Smithsons and Schein is that both projects were presented under the auspices of annual presentations of home design. The Smithsons showed the House of the Future at the Ideal Home exhibition of 1956, sponsored by the Daily Mail newspaper; Schein's venue was the Salon des Arts Ménagers (also of 1956), an annual account of the

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conception for its time (in many ways much more extreme than Ionel Schein's contemporaneous plastic house) . . ." See Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p.64.n.

[149] Especially given the project's presentation, complete with models sporting the latest in high-tech housewives' outfits, cavorting amid furnishings chosen for their futuristic value (the House of the Future envisioned domestic life in the year 1981), none of which, incidentally, were chosen by the Smithsons (the models were likewise a feature added by the exhibition coordinators).

[150] The House of the Future was widely reported upon in the popular press. See, for example *House Beautiful* (May 1956), *Model Housekeeping* (May 1956), and *Mechanix Illustrated* (December 1956).

[151] For example, see "Una casa construita totalmente in plastica," *Domus* 318 (May 1956): 15–8; "La casa di plastica," *Architettura: cronache e storia*, vol. 2 no. 9 (July 1956): 219–22; "La première maison tout en plastiques," *Architecture Française* 173–4

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latest in domestic technology and engineering presented by an independent organization started by Jules-Louis Breton in 1923.[152] Evidently, aesthetics functioned as a sort of experimental corollary to the New Brutalism's ethics. In the former, the stakes (both intellectually and professionally) were much lower, yet the tolerance for more radical tendencies existed in an atmosphere that encouraged exploration and exploitation, without great fear of consequences.

One might contrast the Smithson's participation in the IG to the practice of another of Banham's Brutalists, James Stirling, whose inclusion in *The New Brutalism* provides the first major piece of evidence that the "movement" was less a well organized group fighting for a similar cause than a sort of laboratory for a group of individuals, all of who concurrently sensed the need for radical change—ethical, aesthetic, or otherwise. Stirling's buildings and writings suggest a stronger affiliation with the *aesthetic* camp of New Brutalism, an inference that is given further justification by his involvement in the Independent Group, but not in Team 10.[153] That he chose to keep a distance from the more high-profile politicking and sociological research of Team 10 bespeaks his concentration on the more formal aspects of architecture (a legacy that no doubt descends from his teacher at the Liverpool School of Architecture, Colin Rowe, whose own

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(January 1957): 44–8; and "Ganz-Plastik-Haus auf der Ausstellung Arts ménagers 1956 in Paris," *Bauen und Wohnen* 11 (February 1957): 57–60.

[152] For a history of the SAM, see J. Rouaud, *60 Ans d'arts ménagers*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1989). See also Martine Segalen, "The Salon des Arts Ménagers, 1923–1983: A French Effort to Instill the Virtues of Home and the Norms of Good Taste," *Journal of Design History* 4, vol. 7 (1994): 267–75.

[153] Stirling did actually produce a work for what was to become Team 10: a group of "terraced cottages" designed in 1955 and shown at the organziational meeting in La Sarraz in December of that same year. This "village housing" undoubtedly was the inspiration for the flats at Ham Commons. The project is illustrated in "CIAM 10 Projects," *Architectural Design* 9, vol. 25 (September 1955): 287; and discussed in James

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formalist trajectory is a narrative quite apart from both the IG's playful Pop antics and the ethico-intellectualism of Team 10.[154]

While Stirling didn't actually adhere to the Brutalist line in any sort of declarative way, he did pay lip service to the movement—although perhaps only once——in an article on his flats at Ham Common of 1959, designed with James Gowan **[fig. 1.44]**. After a lengthy discussion of the schism between exterior (determined by the architect) and interior (by the inhabitant), he pauses to state that:

> It has been suggested that these flats are brutalist in design, whatever that may mean. The client's brief required the maximum accommodation for a low cost . . . and this factor alone predetermined the use of simple and everyday materials. . . We do not know if this specification is in accord with the 'new brutalism,' a term which we used to regard on the one hand as a narrow interpretation of one aspect of architecture, specifically the use of materials and components 'as found'—an already established attitude; and on the other hand, as a well intentioned but over-patriotic attempt to elevate English architecture to an international status. But whatever the term might initially have meant it is clear from recent and repeated derisive journalistic asides, that it must by now have created in the public eye an image of pretentiousness, artiness, and irresponsibility, and as such the continuation of its use can only be detrimental to modern architecture in this country.[155]

Stirling, "Architects [sic] Approach to Architecture: An Illustrated Talk given at the R.I.B.A. in Frebruary 1965," *Zodiac* 16 (1966): 162.

[154] In his article entitled "Regionalism and Modern Architecture," Stirling self-reproachingly wrote: "The number of book references in this article is considerable, and indeed one of our [the "New Movement" of young architects, including Stirling himself] vices is an overliteary approach to architecture. It would appear that theories of building are more important than realization." *Architect's Year Book* 7 (1957): 62–8; reprinted in Ockman, ed., *Architecture Culture*, ibid., p. 248. Indeed, such sentiments are exactly what sets Stirling apart from the Smithsons, his contemoporary antipodes, namely a rejection of intellectualism over an emotive, Corbusian (or Kahnian) exploration of the poetics of form and space.

[155] James Stirling and James Gowan, "Afterthoughts on the Flats at Ham Common," *Architecture and Building* (May 1959), reprinted in Robert Maxwell, ed., *James Stirling: Writings on Architecture* (Milan: Skira editore, 1998), pp. 76–7. It is, of course, possible that Stirling had earlier accepted New Brutalism, only to reject it once it became too trendy or otherwise corrupted.

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Stirling's use of the lower case for both "brutalist" and "new brutalism" bespeaks his antipathy towards a movement only a few years into its life span, and certainly before it had reached any sort of conclusions. But graver still is his outright dismissal of New Brutalism as pretentious and grandiose. Here Stirling is perhaps critiquing the Smithson's power play from within Team 10, a group from which he was either excluded or in which he had no desire to join.[156] His derision about an attempt to gain "international status" for English architecture suggests that he resented such arrogant efforts (such as the Smithsons and Team 10) enacted on his behalf.

There is also an implicit critique of Reyner Banham, who as the one person almost uniquely responsible for the publicity of New Brutalism (although clearly not one who made "recent and repeated derisive journalistic asides"), must have felt particularly defensive towards Stirling's comments about "elevating English architecture to international status." It must be said in Banham's defense that, as much as he may have misrepresented what I believe were the true aims of The New Brutalism, his article and book could in no way be construed as nationalistic, as he was careful to give equal credit to the movement's "practitioners" outside of England, especially among Team 10 members (for more on this, see Chapter II). At the same time, in the final section of his book, Banham does admit to a British bias, although his agenda is not one of nostalgia, but rather of the present (i.e., 1960s) potential for British architecture to raise its status

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[156] Although Stirling is never mentioned in Team 10 histories, his name does appear once on a list of attendees for a meeting in Paris, 1962 (his name, along with Corbusier's, Hans Scharoun's, and others, is handwritten at the end of the typed list in an unidentifiable hand. "List of Team X Paris—meeting 1962" (document dated 24 January 1962), BAKE 0058/a12. Evidence of a rapprochement can be found later the same year, when Stirling's name is suggested by Bakema to Peter Smithson for a meeting of international architects at Villa Serbelloni on Lake Como. Letter to J. Bakema from P. Smithson (dated London 30 May 1962), BAKE or104.

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beyond the mere historicizing tendencies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[157]

Independent Group activities recur throughout the Smithsons practice, especially as regards the Independent Group's obsession with the United States, advertising images, and the commodification of form and idea—especially having to do with their continued fascination with the automobile.[158] The experimental, aesthetic side and their undeniably pragmatic approach to the art of inhabitation coexist alternately in conflictual and consensual ways. Thus, their architectural discourse remain problematized. And although the conversations that circulate around New Brutalism appear, at the outset, quite political, rational, and materially motivated, one can sense a drift back towards formalism that ultimately would come to characterize their philosophical stance on building.

The negotiation between formalism and ethics (as the word was used and understood by the Smithsons) is exactly the dividing line that makes their practice a viable one for the architects themselves. Not content to be mere theorists, yet not willing to make the compromises necessary to fit their more experimental projects into a discourse keenly focused on the real problems of postwar reconstruction, the Smithsons' practice of the 1950s remained profoundly complex, allowing them to keep one foot in the avant-garde and another within a larger architectural discussion of greater scope through their activities with Team 10.

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[157] This raises the odd fact that it was more than ten years after Banham's initial article that the New Brutalism book appeared. Was he waiting to see if the movement would resurrect itself? He included a number of structures from the 1960s, so it seems as if he saw the movement continuuing long after the Smithsons had abandoned the term, and after the initial interest had waned.

[158] See retrospective statement by Alison and Peter Smithson in Robbins, ibid., pp. 194–5. See also Chapter III for an elaboration of an American "school" of New Brutalism.

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CHAPTER II:

TEAM 10 AND COLLECTIVITY

> People travel about more; they see and hear more of events at home and abroad. And yet, driving in their cars, sitting in front of their television screens, they are more on their own than they used to be. While knowledge of science and technology is expanding rapidly, though at an unequal rate in different fields, it does so within the framework of a society which is remarkably slow in developing its capacities for self-recognition and rational organization. The acquisition of knowledge, moreover, in advancing as in stationary disciplines, is arranged so as to put a premium on departmentalization. Already, before his career has started, the sixth-form schoolboy or the student finds it difficult to leave his cell. On balance, have our horizons been widened or narrowed?[1]

The sad state of affairs outlined by Ruth Glass in the quote above was applicable not only to the United Kingdom, where she practiced sociology, but in all the emergent nations whose ascendancy and gradual autonomy (either through military victory or through newly acquired independence) in the postwar period was to define the late-modernist advent of a global economy. Glass's observations likewise speak directly to

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[1] Ruth Glass, introduction, in Center for Urban Studies, *London: Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1964), xvi. Glass was the Center's Director of Research, which was part of University College London.

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the plight of the avant-garde, who by definition must see things in advance of the populace, in order to work out the kinks and make the future ready for inhabitation.

To take this last sentence literally would be to describe in its totality the task of CIAM throughout its existence. But at no time would its endeavor resonate so clearly with the world's immediate needs than in the years after 1945. It was at exactly this moment that, as Glass observes, humankind had become so involved with the minutiae of individual tasks as to become blind to the multiplicity of possible developments that lay in wait for a society astute enough to work towards such common goals. The radical change in technology and industry wrought enormous changes on the face of the city, not least through the massive increase in car ownership, a fact that engendered a complete reevaluation of the city from a planning perspective, and of community structures, which were able to expand thanks to new modes of transportation. The growth of, and reliance on, the automobile was a major concern of the Smithsons, for whom this new mode of transportation emblematized the need for a new relationship between the human and the urban spheres, and who insisted on addressing this issue through the machinations of Team 10.[2]

Although many automobile advances came about through the machinery of war, it was only *after* the war that the general populace was able to take full advantage of them. Automobile production and ownership in Europe, though a mere shadow of the United

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[2] This was likewise a preoccupation with Louis Kahn, who saw the new modes of automobile transportation as being "associated with flow." The car was, in Kahn's opinion, merely a means of transportation and should disappear once the human arrives at his architectural destination. Therefore, man required "an architecture of connection or a passage architecture," one that would ensure that architecture is not lost but instead participates in a new urban reality. See transcript of interview with Kahn by Paul Heyer, who visited with a group of students from Harvard's Urban Design department. Letter to Kahn from Paul Heyer, dated Cambridge, MA, 4 December 1961, 4. LIK 66.

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States, grew significantly during the 1950s. In England—the second largest producer after the U.S. (although surpassed by Germany in 1956)—production tripled from 500,000 vehicles in 1950 to 1,500,000 in 1961. Car ownership in the U.K. rose from 50 vehicles per 1,000 citizens (1950) to 110 per 1,000 (1960). Corresponding figures in the U.S. show a similar growth: 260 vehicles per citizen in 1950 and 340 per citizen in 1960. An extended look at these statistics shows quite simply that car ownership became much more commonplace in Europe and the U.S. during the period that concerns us for the present study.[3]

Looking back to the immediate postwar period, Alison and Peter Smithson, writing in 1966, adduced this era's changes in an argument for the continued aims of Team 10, when they observed in a letter to Team 10 secretary and Dutch architect Jaap Bakema that "[s]ince 1953 three new things have become perfectly normal: motor-car ownership, large unit industrialised building methods, and the proliferation (of) transistor radios and various sound-producing domestic appliances and equipment. In these three may be the missing startpoint for finding a livable, elegant solution to ordinary housing."[4] The changes they mention are all technology-based, and one assumes that the Smithsons

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[3] For a comprehensive chronicle of automobile growth worldwide, see Jean-Pierre Bardou, Jean-Jacques Chanaron, Patrick Fridenson, and James M. Laux, *La Révolution Automobile* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1977). The figures quoted above can be found in the chapter written by Bardou and Chanaron entitled "La Révolution au pouvoir," 199–202, and in table IX, 224. For other estimable accounts of car culture and its global impact, see Karel Williams, Colin Haslam, Sukhdev Johal, and John Williams, *Cars: Analysis, History, Cases* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1994); and two books by James J. Flink: *The Car Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975) and *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988).

[4] Alison and Peter Smithson, letter to Jaap Bakema, dated 27 July 1966. BAKE or104.

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had identified a shortcoming in the fact that housing had not kept up with the pace of technological advance.[5]

Bakema himself had proven to be well aware of these situations as they conditioned the context of everyday life. While a visiting professor at Washington University (St. Louis) in 1959–60, he lectured on the "Modern Industrial City," claiming that three factors had changed the shape of the city: first, the suburban flight in the face of "abhorrent" conditions of the inner city; second, the increase in car ownership that makes the city "untenable for the pedestrian;" and third, the increase in leisure."[6]

The underlying supposition in these quotes is that the popularization of technology (and especially transportation) required a coincidental reaction in the architectural environment. But the subtext to the Smithsons' quote is the tacit suggestion that technology crept into the modern mind surreptitiously, first through the systematization of quotidian tasks, and ultimately through the benign conformity characterized by the "man in the gray flannel suit,"[7] a world full of automatons with no sense of history, no sense of time, and an abiding and proprietary interest in their own

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[5] The Smithsons had visited the U.S. for the first time in 1957, returning the following year. These experiences, coupled with their new-found fascination with the work of Louis Kahn, seems to have been influential on their position vis-à-vis a new urban scale conceived with via the new realities of automobile travel. The Haupstadt project of 1958 is the first evidence of this epistemological shift, but it is only brought to fruition in their Robin Hood Garden housing of 1966–72. See conclusion for a discussion of this project.

[6] Jaap Bakema, "Enclosure A., Part 1 - THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL CITY" (handout to students at Washington U. by Bakema, Fall '59-'60). BAKE 0065/a19

[7] This image is taken from the successful novel by Sloan Wilson entitled *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955). The book was made into a film in 1956 directed by Nunnally Johnson. This homogeneity was explored in many fictional and nonfictional books of the period, including David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950) and William H. Whyte's *The Organization Man* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956).

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insulated lives.[8] This insularity coincided with a new sense of nationalism (still palpable by the early 1950s everywhere from The United States to Japan, where the humiliation of defeat at the hands of a mightier superpower had reaffirmed the need for a new solidified national pride[9]), and the inevitable polarization that occurred with the very different tasks of reconstruction facing nations that had sustained wartime damage.

Within CIAM, one might have perceived a similar insularity in the years immediately following the end of the war.[10] CIAM's brand of avant-gardism had been an intellectually fruitful—but immaterial—practice for nearly twenty years at the end of World War II. By this time, while many of CIAM's well known form-givers had found new lives and thriving academic careers in the United States or in England (two of the few countries that emerged from the war with their political integrity fully intact), others, most notably Le Corbusier, came out of their prewar ministrations with their reputations intact.

The figures of the prewar avant-garde, after 1945, underwent a gradual realization that intransigence might not best serve the future of the profession, despite an extended

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[8] These issues were understood mainly as an American phenomenon, but the drudgery of office work was one whose impact was felt across Europe as well, especially in England, France, and The Netherlands.

[9] For Japan's resurgent nationalism in the postwar period, see I. I. Morris, *Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan: A Study of Post-War Trends* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), as well as Koji Taira, "Dialectics of Economic Growth, National Power, and Distributive Struggles," in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993). The topic of Japan and reconstruction is of interest in the way the New Brutalism was absorbed in Japan, providing a transition to the idea of megastructures and the post-urban city. A more complete study of Japan and New Brutalism is a project that I hope to complete in the future.

[10] As mentioned earlier, an excellent history of CIAM has recently appeared. Its utility as a historical resource is profound, although it lacks a certain criticality with regard to some of the problems within CIAM discussed in the present study. See Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, ibid.

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earlier conviction in their project's viability. It is impossible to say whether this epiphany, on its own, would have had the power to bring about change, but what we do know is that CIAM's leaders made a decision to forego a primary role in the process of change, being either too smart or too exhausted to undertake such an effort.[11] The younger generation who had cringed at CIAM's continued anachronistic behavior, saw the boom in postwar reconstruction as an opportunity to take control of the group for that precise purpose.[12]

As technology became more a real fact of everyday life, it became clearer that the prewar avant-garde's understanding of functionalism was couched in a purely metaphorical reading of the machine, a dream-state that imagined a technotopia just beyond the capacities of modern industry (yet close enough to be addressed with more palpability than as pure science fiction). After the profound advances in technology issuing from wartime experimentations, the new architectural generation found itself with the actual infrastructural means to take advantage of the dreams of their elders. While in the previous chapter, we saw how the Independent group celebrated this shift through an

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[11] One must remember that CIAM's position on modernist functionality was forged in the wake of the League of Nations fiasco of 1927, wherein Le Corbusier's plan for the League of Nations was rejected in favor of a Neoclassical pastiche designed by a coalition of the other competition finalists [for a discussion of the League of Nations project as eventually built, see Stanislaus von Moos, "Kasino der Naionen," *werk.archithese* 23-4 (1978),: 32–6]. From this point forward, CIAM's conviction in a functionalist modernism never wavered until the mid-1950s.

[12] For the change in leadership undertaken by Team 10, see Mumford, ibid., and Alison Smithson, ed., *The Emergence of Team 10 Out of C.I.A.M.: Documents,"* (London : Architectural Association, 1982). While Mumford's chronology of Team 10's formation is systematic and chronological, Smithson's book is a companion to an exhibition on Team 10 at London's Architectural Association, and is more a quirky compendium of documents (as with her *Team 10 Primer* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968] and *Team 10 Meetings, 1953–1984* [New York: Rizzoli International Publishers, 1991]) than a cohesive history.

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embrace of popular culture, in the present chapter, we will see how the architectural profession responded to this radical shift.

TEAM 10 VS. CIAM:

Having problematized the blanket term "New Brutalism" in the previous chapter, and having grappled with what, perhaps, the New Brutalism was *not*, the task now falls to describe what it *was*. As mentioned in my introduction, any building or project called "New Brutalist" presents a logical endgame, insofar as any structure that actually *could* be termed New Brutalist was necessarily built before the term became codified in Banham's 1966 book, yet those structures built *after* New Brutalism's acceptance probably had little to do with the actual ethos of the term.

The argument thus hinges on the title of the present study—"Ethics and Aesthetics"—and I now wish to state unequivocally that if there can be said to have existed any such thing as New Brutalism, it was as purely a theoretical contrivance, not a material one. This is hardly to say that no New Brutalist buildings were built; rather, simply to call them such is to bring to the table a host of extra-structural and extra-ideological questions that deliver us into the hands of the ethics vs. aesthetics debate. Instead, we might think of Team 10 as providing a means through which various concerned architects sympathetic to the New Brutalist ethos were able to create actual buildings in line with Brutalism's ethical precepts. In other words, no unified aesthetic can be said to have been shared among the canon of "true" New Brutalist buildings (i.e. those created in sympathy with the movement's stated ethos, which was more or less codified in the Doorn manifesto).

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The Smithsons' negotiations and vacillations between the two poles of ethics and aesthetics is a result of their inability to forego completely the legacy of the architectural avant-garde as a largely formalist practice, while at the same time realizing the limitations of an architectural avant-garde that followed the same precepts as painting and sculpture. So while postwar American art could heed Clement Greenberg's formalist logic (which stemmed from a particular strain of anti-Stalinist, anti-populist—and perhaps Trotskyite—beliefs shared by the American intelligentsia), Europe faced a much more present task of reconstruction, a major component of which was the reaffirmation of man's right to exist, and for the architect and planner to organize the means by which this right might be fully and widely exercised.

The New Brutalist ethos ascended to the international stage, as mentioned in the previous chapter, at the 9th CIAM meeting in Aix-en-Provence of 1953, where the Smithsons found an attentive audience for their critique of the extant CIAM discourse on urbanism.[13] In their presentation of the Golden Lane project, with its proposal for a "hierarchy of human associations," the terms of discussion concerning the urban milieu were irrevocably turned away from the functionalist approach and towards one that embraced the actualities of multivalent and constantly changing human interaction. This shift also signaled the possible implementation of an ethical building practice based on the model of the Golden Lane project, but based also on the practices of a new generation of architects raised on a healthy diet of the International Style but whose experience of

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[13] Despite the enormous historical impact of the Smithsons' presentation at Aix, their presence there evidently was a bit of a fluke, having only decided to participate at a late date following William Howell's last-minute invitation. See Mumford, ibid., p. 331, n. 122.

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the War had been much more engaged, and who emerged with an agenda geared towards a fostering of the human spirit of community.

CIAM's wartime profile remained more or less status quo, minus any real building activities.[14] The first convention after the war was the 6th meeting in Bridgwater, England, in 1947, the year of Indian independence and thus a major year in the post-empire existence of the United Kingdom[15]. Bridgwater did not provide any sort of advancement over the types of discussions that characterized prewar CIAM activity, nor did the 7th meeting at Bergamo in 1949; it wasn't until 1951, during the 8th meeting at Hoddesdon, that the "humanisation of urban life" finally became a predominant topic of inquiry **[fig. 2.1]**.[16]

With the aid of hindsight, it is easy to see why Team 10 would have been dissatisfied with the "improvements" within CIAM, judged by the standards of what "humanization" meant at Hoddesdon. The meeting's theme was that of "The Core," an idea that remained, in both language and material articulation, an abstract concept—"man-made," coercive, and beholden largely to the continued application of the tenets of the Athens Charter. The abstract language that attended the discussions around the idea of the "Core" tended towards platitudinous reiterations of the need for a synthesis of all urban activities into a physical "container" that would then alchemically adapt itself to all the different types of human activities (economic, cultural,

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[14] The wartime activities of CIAM and its members is of relevance here only in regard to the turnaround that occurs in the early 1950s. For an excellent history of this period, see Mumford, ibid., 73–130.

[15] For more on the ramifications of this shift towards independence, see Chapter IV.

[16] This phrase is taken from the subtitle of the book published after the Hoddesdon conference. See Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, Jose Luis Sert, Ernesto Nathan Rogers eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanization of Everyday Life,* (London: Lund Humphries, 1952).

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administrative) that might occur within its parameters. Furthermore, the world was considered from a resolutely Western perspective, reinforcing the biases of the European-directed organization, even in this era of decolonization.[17]

Beyond these criticisms, the language of CIAM 8 was strangely prophetic of the type of conversations that would later take place within Team 10 discussions. There was much talk of cities as organisms, of the need for an emphasis on community and shared human values, as well as the assertion of the human scale and (most surprisingly) of spontaneity. This last focus is particularly jarring in relation to prewar CIAM activities; the earlier rhetoric of plastic expression and spatiality never had acknowledged fully the existence of an inevitable element of uncertainty or contingency. At CIAM 8, it was agreed that the Core must "provide opportunities . . . for spontaneous manifestations of social life," although the abstraction remained when such statements were qualified (and compromised) with others such as: " . . . certain fixed points will always remain which hold their value because of certain symbols or monuments."[18]

CIAM President José Luis Sert also adumbrated a major theme of New Brutalism/Team 10 (especially that of the Doorn documents) when he suggested the division of the Core into five distinct groups that would form the focus of analysis: the village, the market center, the town, the city, and the metropolis.[19] This correlates in reverse to the Doorn division of city, town, village, and homestead/isolate, although Sert envisioned these groupings as a means of controlling intellectual edification, going so far as to suggest that a "Core" could take advantage of the new technology embodied in television, movies, and loudspeakers, all of which, if deployed throughout the Core's

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[17] Tyrwhitt, ibid., pp. 36–40.
[18] Ibid., pp. 167–8.

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premises, "would have immeasurable consequences if it were put to the service of popular education."[20] The ecumenical claims for a new humanization made elsewhere at CIAM 8 are here mitigated by Sert's suggestions for capitalist agitprop that sought to mold the populace according to some unseen educational agenda, one no doubt meant to be controlled by a group believed to know what was best for the people. Sert found himself trying to advocate progressivism in the context of technological advances that he was ill-equipped to understand. This was the case among many older CIAM members, whose shock in realizing that their long-dreamed-of future had arrived caught them ill-prepared and hopelessly out-of-date. But some members of the older generation seemed to have the presence of mind to realize this conflict, and desired to counteract it.

Giedion, writing his epilogue to the CIAM 8 publication, agreed that the future of architectural discourse lay with the younger generation of practitioners and theorists, admitting that "[a]mong the most talented members of this coming generation one finds an ever stronger rejection of rationalism and narrow specialization," and that "[i]t is in line with the character of CIAM that it regards the coming generation as an aid and not as a threat."[21] It was only one year later, after CIAM 9, that Giedion and company, conceded the directorship of CIAM's future to the group soon to be known as Team 10.[22]

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[19] Ibid., p. 8

[20] Ibid., p. 8.

[21] Ibid., p. 163.

[22] Giedion's turn towards humanization and away from functionalism has been documented in Sokratis Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion: An Intellectual Biography*, trans. Colin Hall (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 153–93. See also Giedion's own critique of functionalism in his *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (London, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).

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In 1956, Walter Gropius (writing from Cambridge, to which he had emigrated during the War[23]) could express safely to Sigfried Giedion that he had perceived a vital shift in CIAM's role:

> Conditions around 1930 when the CIAM started its activities were very different from those of today. After the revolution in architecture, which was conditioned by the rapid development in science and industry, had succeeded, CIAM revolutionized planning and established its theoretical base for the future. Its comprehensive conception has no doubt influenced planning agencies throughout the civilized world, but this influence has been more indirect than direct, for the members of CIAM have—except in a few isolated cases—not been called upon to translate the CIAM philosophy into planning *action*. Too many good planning schemes have remained just paper designs slumbering in the drawers of their designers.
>
> Here now, I believe, is the *big new task* of the new CIAM generation, namely, to study the means and possibilities to bring the architect and planner into the agencies of power within their respective communities. The time seems to be ripe for vigorous action to apply the comprehensive work of the CIAM everywhere now in practice. [emphases in original][24]

What is extraordinary about these phrases from Gropius is the candor with which he realizes the need for radical change, not only within the ranks of CIAM, but also in the architectural profession as a whole. Given that CIAM had always existed and functioned in a rarefied sphere, Gropius's awareness of a need to break free of that element and work within a more pragmatic relationship with the world at large constitutes a major shift in the whole organization's strategy.[25] Of course, two years earlier, CIAM's leadership

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[23] Giedion, too, had gone to Harvard during the War, but returned to Switzerland afterwards.

[24] Letter from W. Gropius to S. Giedion dated Cambridge, MA, 25 July 1956. BAKE0058/a12.

[25] This declaration no doubt correlates with Gropius's move towards a more collaborative practice in Cambridge with his office, TAC (The Architects Collaborative), an organization that had formed officially in 1946 and remained Gropius's vessel for architectural production until his death. Gropius's embrace of collaboration is of a piece with the aims and ethos of Team 10 practice, and so his letter and its sentiments should come as no surprise. It might also be surmised that Gropius felt a certain detachment from CIAM, and had decided to pursue his own 'big new task' apart from the organization to which he had long belonged.

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already had been handed over grudgingly to the younger generation, and the 10th meeting in Dubrovnik (from which Team 10 would take its name) was just a week away when Gropius wrote his letter[26].

Of even more interest is Gropius's statement above that the architect and planner engage with "their respective communities." Here Gropius seems to be channeling the Team 10 party line with regard to a need for a rapport between architect and society. No longer working in a vacuum, Gropius signals a retreat from CIAM's prewar rational functionalism and towards the new "humanized" CIAM of the postwar period.[27] The different nature of the world after the war, combined with exhaustion both contributed to the changing of the guard with CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik. Certainly the enthusiasm and energy of the younger generation was a factor as well, especially when presented as a cohesive coalition for change. But the resignation (both literal and figurative) of the older generation was achieved more easily than history might have predicted. Then again, as Gropius well knew, the avant-garde is a constantly renewable enterprise, and only through regeneration can it continue to have radical agency.

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[26] CIAM 10 was held from 3–13 August 1956 in Dubrovnik.

[27] Le Corbusier's sentiments likewise signaled an acceptance of change in line with Gropius et al. His address at CIAM 10 (which he conspicuously failed to attend and thus was presented to the group by Sert) makes reference to the distinction between pre- and postwar CIAM and the fact that all of CIAM's planning could finally be put to actual use. He begins with the challenge: "CRISIS OR EVOLUTION? Answer: problem of generations." He continues, after a passage about the glory of 1928 CIAM, to say that "The generation of 1956 will take command. It enters into practical action." He concludes his address idiosyncratically (and inscrutably) with the following salutation: "Dear friends, here is my way of thinking. Act so that the CIAM continue in their creative passion, in disinterest, reject the opportunits [sic] or hot head. Good luck. Long live the SECOND-CIAM! Your friend, LE CORBUSIER." See "Message of Le Corbusier to the X Congress CIAM at Dubrovnik" (dated 23 Juillet 1956, Roquebrune, Cap-Martin), BAKE 0058/a12.

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One year after the aforementioned letter to Giedion, Gropius, along with Sert, Giedion, and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, wrote a letter whose wisdom has a chiding tone, providing an paternalistic warning of the pitfalls that confront anyone trying to transform an avant-garde into an established and accepted institution:

> CIAM was started as an avant-garde movement and has already had a long life as avant-garde movements go. We all know that the time has come for a change, and at the 9th Congress at Aix-en-Provence, 1953, it was openly declared that there was a need to adapt CIAM to present-day conditions. To promote this, several members of the younger generation were elected to the Council of CIAM and most of the responsibility of organizing CIAM 10 was handed to a young international group, who took the name of Team X. The majority of the members of the Reorganization Committee, elected at Dubrovnik, were drawn from this Team X, but it seems that some of them have perhaps forgotten that attitudes suitable to members of the opposition cannot always be maintained when they have taken over the responsibilities of government.[28]

The fact was less gently stated two years later in a letter to the Dutch journal *Forum* from Gropius, Sert, Le Corbusier, and Giedion, which arrived directly after the 1959 Otterlo meeting, in which these stalwarts of the prewar avant-garde, having witnessed the activities in Dubrovnik and Otterlo, now insisted on a definite distinction between the old and new CIAM leadership. The letter argued that the old guard supported the new Team 10-led CIAM's decision to do away with the CIAM name. Gropius and company wrote that "CIAM was an avant-garde movement. These movements normally have only a few years of existence before they become history." They conclude by saying that "CIAM has fulfilled its initial task as far as Europe is concerned. To create a positive workable platform, which will continue to attract those who are entrusted with the task and responsibility of giving shape and substance to the vast areas only now coming into

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[28] Letter from José Luis Sert, Walter Gropius, Sigfried Giedion, and Jacqueline Tyrrwhit to CIAM Reorganization Committee, CIAM council, and CIRPAC (Cambridge, MA May 1957). BAKE or88

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the orbit of the contemporary evolution, would be a continuation of the mission of CIAM."[29]

Bakema responded with his own succinct distinction of the pre- and postwar CIAMs: " . . . the architectural problems of the world around 1920, when the new technics had to be introduced, are quite different from those of the world around 1960, when the moral function of architectural expression has to be introduced."[30] In effect, both letters are saying the same thing, but with an emphasis on different aspects. Clearly the world was a different place with the increased access to new machine-age technology, and the architectural response to these changes was necessarily experimental in spirit, resulting in many hopeful projects but very few realized ones.

In the postwar years, the promises of technology had been ascertained and achieved, industry had caught up with technology, and the implementation of new materials and techniques was possible (within the confines of strict economic limits). Bakema, in his letter, agrees that the time for the avant-garde is done, and that new technology and industry must now be met and synthesized with a new "moral, or humanistic" function. This is precisely the Team 10 task as outlined six years earlier in a letter from the Smithsons to Sert and to members of the then-nascent Team 10, in which they wrote that "Team X's approach is basically humanistic,"[31] and we can see from Bakema's reply that not only had little changed since the initial pre-Team 10 meetings of

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[29] Sert, Le Corbusier, Gropius, Giedion, letter to the editors, *Forum: Maandblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunsten* 5 (February 1961): 189.
[30] Bakema, response to Sert et al., ibid., 189.
[31] Alison and Peter Smithson, "Open Letter to Sert and Team X. Commentary on "Preparations for CIAM X of Team X Nov '55 and CIAM Secretariat Dec '55," BAKE vd13.

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1955, but the constituents' positions had become more entrenched, no doubt largely forged through group inspiration and affiliation.

The history of Team 10's formation and accession to power has been told many times, both by the participants as well as in secondary sources.[32] What I am most interested in here are the reasons behind the *need* for change, and how those reasons coincided with activities already underway among the various architects who would eventually form Team 10. My contention is that while the aesthetics of New Brutalism may have been a contrived act of insubordination (as exemplified by the Independent Group), the *ethos* of New Brutalism was to find its most trenchant expression in the work undertaken by Team 10, precisely as this younger generation found itself anointed at a crucial moment when all of the planning and yearning of CIAM from 1928 onwards until the end of the war was finally thrust into a role of action. But of course, the road traveled by Team 10 in its efforts at reconstruction diverged sharply from what their forefathers might have imagined.

It can be stated without exception that the words and works of Team 10 members shared an affinity for a complexity of human associations and the development of an architectural vocabulary that partook equally of the traditions of functionalism (in terms of its embrace of progress and its facility with new materials),[33] of aesthetics, and of local

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[32] See Alison Smithson ed., *Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM*, ibid., as well as Alison Smithson ed., *Team 10 Primer*, ibid.. For a more recent and well-documented history, see the many excellent articles in the special issue of *Rassegna* entitled "The Last CIAMs," (vol. 14, no. 52/4, December 1992); also E. Mumford, ibid., 238–58.

[33] I wish to make clear that Team 10/New Brutalism's rejection of functionalism was largely rhetorical. In fact, the New Brutalist/Team 10 adherents celebrated the advances made in building technology by members the prewar avant-garde; witness Hunstanton, which is nothing if not a celebration of International style modernism, if only from an

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or vernacular cultural traditions. But they steadfastly criticized any architecture that privileged any one of these over another. The vocabularies in which they worked, moreover, were neither new nor radical reversals of anything that had already existed. The radicality of Team 10/New Brutalism's programs lay instead in a synthesis of these three modes of architectural discourse into a comprehensive and flexible whole.

Le Corbusier was the figure whose own negotiations between ethics and aesthetics were the fulcrum on which New Brutalist/Team 10 practice would pivot. For while Le Corbusier's urbanism was always aimed at the transformation of quotidian life, the reality was that his formalist concerns nearly always outweighed his ethical ones, and his opportunism, discussed in the previous chapter, served likewise to diminish the possibility for his unquestioned integrity. The Team 10 position on this issue was clearly articulated by the Italian architect Giancarlo de Carlo.[34]

In 1956, De Carlo published a denunciation of what he called Le Corbusier's embrace of the "hot arrogance of art," stating that "the ideological and creative output of Le Corbusier represents—in the highest degree ever attained—the ambiguity of reconciling the search for an objective method with the will to reinstate the principles of

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aesthetic point of view. As I have argued in Chapter I, the *intention* behind Hunstanton was so radically different from a Miesian formalist ethos that Philip Johnson was moved to caution that the Smithsons, with their rhetoric of New Brutalism, were well on the way to undermining the Miesian legacy. See *Architectural Review* 693, vol. 116 (September, 1954): 148–62.

[34] It is important at this point to note that despite the fact that De Carlo played a major role in Team 10, and despite the fact that, as I will argue, his architecture lies as close to the New Brutalist ethos as does that of any other figure discussed herein, De Carlo's name is entirely absent from Banham's *New Brutalism.* There may be a personal reason for this, or it may be that De Carlo's work did not easily fit into Banham's aesthetic taxonomy.

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style."[35] De Carlo, who would distinguish himself with his work on the university in the small Italian hill town of Urbino, had an intense dislike for the continued acceptance of "the myth of technology," by which he meant what we have been speaking of as the techno-functionalism of the prewar avant-garde and its facile use of technology as a metaphor for architectural production.[36]

Bearing in mind that Le Corbusier was also instrumental in gaining a more popular acceptance for the work of the architectural avant-garde, we can still understand that the need for a new architectural dialogue *after* the war was based on the exigencies of real projects on an urban scale, the likes of which Corbusier rarely was allowed to explore. But at the same time, caution must be exercised when imagining that Team 10 was uniquely dedicated to practical applications of architecture and not to theorizing. Despite the rejection of CIAM's working *model*, Team 10 strangely did not reject CIAM's working *method*, and continued in a spirit of experimentation that, at times, seemed to have been at odds with the real needs of reconstruction.

This brings to the fore an issue specific much of Team 10 practice, which was the seeming inability to balance the theoretical with the practical. This exclusivity may have stemmed from a prolonged desire to remain part of the avant-garde, or (as often professed) from a conviction that true progress must pass through a sort of laboratory or

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[35] Giancarlo De Carlo, "Discussione sulla valutazione storica dell'architettura e sulla misura umana," *Casabella Continuità* 210 (1956), quoted in Benedict Zucchi, *Giancarlo De Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992), p. 14.

[36] Despite his denunciation of Corbusier, De Carlo had earlier published a critical anthology of the architect's writings. See Giancarlo De Carlo ed., *Le Corbusier: antologia critica degli scritti* (Milano: Rosa e Ballo editore, 1945). He had also published several works on William Morris, who had a certain continuity with Le Corbusier. See Giancarlo De Carlo, *William Morris* (Milano: Il Balcone, 1947 and Buenos Aires: Edicionaes Infinito, 1955); and "William Morris: pioniere dell'arte sociale," in *Domus* 211 (1947).

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experimental stage, which is how they regarded the role of Team 10. A letter (presumably) from Peter Smithson to Jose Luis Sert confirms Team 10's preferred working method (at least from the Smithsons' point of view): "We should also be careful of publication of 'documents out of architects drawers.' At a time when people are looking to CIAM for a lead, they want a new set of aims, they don't want to be handed a catalogue. The Grilles must be throw-away documents within CIAM. Their function is as a catalyst for ideas.[37]"

The grille (or grid) system was the prevailing means of presentation at CIAM meetings beginning with the 8th meeting at Bergamo, where panels of photos, plans, and text were presented as experimental and preliminary proposals for discussion and commentary.[38] Clearly for Smithson, the retention of the grille system was crucial for the continuation of an experimental environment, although his insistence may also belie his anxiety about his lack of commissions.

The Smithsons were so busy during the 1950s, first with the Hunstanton School and the Independent Group, and then later with Team 10 organization and administration,

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[37] Letter from Peter Smithson to J. L. Sert [unsigned], dated [London?], 22 June 1956. BAKE 0066/a20. The letter responds to an invitation to a CAIM meeting in Padua that the Smithsons could not attend. Smithson writes that he hoped John Voelcker would "represent Team X England." This is an unusual reference to any sort of faction within Team 10, which largely sought to put forth a unified front, even if this were far from the case behind the scenes.

[38] The grid was conceived by Le Corbusier and his ASCORAL group (Assemblée de Constructeurs pour une Rénovation Architecturale, formed in 1942–4) in December 1947. Their goal was to devise a means of avoiding the confusing proliferation of materials common to the presentation of urban projects at conferences such as the CIAM gatherings. The CIAM Council effectively adopted the format in March 1948 in time for the Bergamo meeting the following year. It became the established means of presentation both within CIAM and elsewhere. For a firsthand account of the grid's genesis and usage, see Le Corbusier, "Description of the CIAM Grid, Bergamo 1949," in Tyrwhitt, Sert, Rogers eds., *The Heart of the City*, ibid., pp. 171–6

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that they had little opportunity, post-Hunstanton, to actually build.[39] While many other Team 10 affiliates were well established within the architectural milieux of their home countries, the Smithsons had an uneasy role within the London scene. Beloved by students, regarded with mystification by their non-Team 10 peers, the Smithsons largely contented themselves with theoretical exercises and treatises, and with the organizational components of the Independent Group and Team 10. After the loss of the Golden Lane competition, they repackaged the project and, after a last-minute invitation from William Howell of the British MARS Group (and, ironically, part of the team that won the Golden Lane competition), brought it to CIAM 9 in Aix-en-Provence as the famed "Urban Reidentification Grid." **[fig. 2.2]**[40]

The Smithsons claimed that it was through their involvement at Aix that the words "association" and "identity" entered into architectural discourse.[41] Whether or not this is true is irrelevant; more important was that they spearheaded the critique of the Athens Charter's anachronistic ideals, and of CIAM's elitist and paternalistic attitude towards both the bourgeoisie and working classes. Their celebration of the marginalized communities of London's East End (without the revisionist and Potemkin-like efforts of the Festival of Britain's Live Architecture exploits discussed in Chapter I) provided a

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[39] It is for this reason that the Smithsons, although inestimably important for Team 10, may seem underrepresented in the present chapter. I have chosen to focus on built projects here as a way of justifying the claim made in Chapter I that Team 10 was the practical arm of New Brutalism. Although the Smithsons did not build a great deal during the 1950s (or at all, for that matter), the other projects discussed herein must be seen as extensions of the New Brutalist ethos as expressed by the Smithsons in their theoretical writings.

[40] The grid system was employed for CIAM 9, and required that all presentations be made on a horizontal board comprised of 21 x 33cm panels, color-coded and keyed numerically for legibility and conformity.

[41] See Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Structuring: Studies of Alison and Peter Smithson* (London: Studio Vista & New York: Reinhold Publishing, 1967), 14.

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breath of fresh air to the CIAM proceedings, and eventually proved the catalyst for Team 10 activity. If they were instrumental in bringing to the table a sympathetic evaluation of the working class, it was an act of almost immeasurable importance for the postwar avant-garde.

Occupied with the completion of Hunstanton, the Smithsons did not publish the results of their musings after Aix until 1955, when their essay "The Built World: Urban Reidentification" appeared.[42] Here they attempted to ennoble the recipients of the new architecture with the following words:

> To-day we have a literate society. There are no peasants any more. The professional man can no longer hide his incompetence behind the curtain of ignorance. We are involved in mass housing not as reformers but as form givers. We must evolve an architecture from the fabric of life itself, an equivalent, of the complexity of our way of thought, of our passion for the natural world and our belief in the nobility of man. In a rough and ready way we have made a start—a 'doorstep philosophy'—an ecological approach to the problem of habitat—and a new aesthetic.[43]

In this excerpt we can read the striving for a new ethic, here called an "ecological approach," which will point the way to a new aesthetic (but only if reached through ethical means). Furthermore, "form giver" here departs from the prewar avant-garde idea of omniscient creator and now means a simple facilitator of form, one who provides an infrastructure that can be filled in by the inhabitant. These in themselves embody a major

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[42] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Built World: Urban Reidentification," *Architectural Design* 6 vol. 25 (June 1955): 185–8. Republished with different illustrations and some editing in Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970), 104–113.

[43] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Built World . . .," ibid., 186. This issue of literacy was also the concern of one of the formative texts of British cultural studies in the 1950s, Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* (London, Essential Books, Inc., 1957). Hoggart's view was a unique one that straddled the territory between the patronizing tone of high-brow literary critics such as F. R. Leavis and E. P. Thompson, and the socially progressive cultural critiques of those such as Raymond Williams.

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deviation from prewar CIAM essentialism. Still, one cannot escape the suspicion that what we read is a rhetorical statement, against the Smithsons' emphatic claim to be writing and speaking "without rhetoric."[44]

Strangely, then, while the prewar CIAM was forced to satisfy itself with theoretical projects in the absence of real building possibilities, a certain faction of Team 10 (at least in the Smithsons' view) continued to see itself as part of this experimental tradition—a tradition of form-givers, but not necessarily of builders. This belief persisted despite the fact that, as stated earlier, the opportunities for building that had been denied the prewar CIAM were now made available under the auspices of postwar reconstruction (largely financed by the United States in the form of Marshall Plan payments). What this suggests is that the Team 10 critique ultimately was something less than the radical split they had initially envisioned. This is not to say, however, that there was not an effort to administer change, or to bring it about through direct confrontation with prevailing CIAM practices, Ultimately we must look away from the Smithsons if we wish to find any built examples of this critique.

In the previous chapter I quoted the Doorn Manifesto as the most succinct and articulate dismissal of prewar CIAM policies and as a concise summation of the New Brutalist/Team 10 ethos. In contrast to the set of four functions (circulation, dwelling, work, and recreation) that were the organizing principles of the Athens Charter, the Doorn Manifesto posited a "scale of associations" based on a varying scale of living divisions: detached buildings, villages, towns, and cities, which was an expansion of an

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[44] This is the title of one of their publications. Alison and Peter Smithson, *Without Rhetoric: An Architectural Aesthetic, 1955–1972* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974).

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earlier suggestion from the Smithsons study grille at CIAM 9, which called for divisions of house, street, district, and city. By treating each of these urban sectors as part of a larger fabric, and allowing each part to be examined in light of the four functions from the Athens Charter, the group hoped to "induce a study of human association *as a first principle*, and of the four functions as *aspects of* each total problem [emphases in original]."[45]

The thinking behind this theory was to make the concept of urbanism less abstract, and more specifically to underscore the strong distinctions to be made between daily existence on the local, individual level and on the larger, urban level. We can see in the Doorn Manifesto the seeds of Team 10's humanization, and their resolution to treat the city both as a whole and as a collection of individual identities. There was an understanding (or a desire to understand) that the actual quotidian experience of life had infinite varieties, and moreover that the architect or urbanist had a *moral* duty to uphold the rights and needs of each individual.

The ethical dimension that would come to define Team 10 practice (and that embodies, in my thesis, the ethical dimension of the New Brutalism), makes its first appearance seven months after the Doorn meeting.[46] A document produced in London (which, although unsigned, must be by the Smithsons), presages their definitive statement on New Brutalism (1957) by three years in its explicit insistence on the ethical aspects of architectural practice in the postwar period:

> 1 The word 'HABITAT' signifies an architectonic element which contains in some form every aspect of human living. Habitat may be an isolated dwelling

[45] C.I.A.M. MEETING 29–30–31 JANUARY 1954 DOORN," BAKE 0058/a12.
[46] In the period between CIAM 9 and 10, and following the issuance of the Doorn manifesto, the name of the group, before becoming officially Team 10, was for a brief moment "C.I.A.X.," evidently a contraction of CIAM X (or "ten").

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> containing every aspect in rudimentary form; it may be a Metropolis in which the forms of each aspect is highly differentiated.
> 2. Habitat is architecture, the container; together with a living ecological unit, the contained (Contenant et Contenue).
> 3. The immediate concern of C.I.A.M. is to discover both quantitatively and qualitatively the diversity of Habitat, i.e. the effect of magnitude, time, climate, location, etc. on the form of habitat.
> 4. C.I.A.X. accepts as axiomatic a foundation of moral and ethical precepts; as a group it is not concerned with further definitions of the inevitable but rather with a superstructure of harmony and order which may be constructed over these precepts. The aim of C.I.A.X. is to achieve a comprehensible order of Habitat. This order will be the most direct expression of the architect in the particular circumstances with which he is confronted.[47]

The emphasis on the "diversity of habitat" redirects the question of effective dwelling and community away from an essentialist holistic understanding to one of multiplicity and plastic expression. Habitat, as discussed at CIAM 9, was a term used merely to describe the architectural container. Now that the contained ("a living ecological unit"[48]) is considered an equal component, an attendant amplification of Habitat's definition necessarily had to follow. Thus the appearance of the phrase "a foundation of moral and ethical precepts" signals the change away from CIAM's functional framework and towards one uniquely devoted to human feeling. With this refocusing on the human comes the necessary acknowledgment of the vast plenitude of human experiences, whose manifold examples must be adduced at the level of the individual. Once individual experience is acknowledged, it becomes the key to unlocking the problematics of built space.

In the prewar CIAM schemes, a certain universality prevailed that ignored the existence of national and local identification—a universality that was a mode of

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[47] Anonymous document entitled "C.I.A.M. /Meeting of C.I.A.X. (London, 28–29 August 1954)", BAKE 0076/a30

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abstraction (in the sense of its leveling of localized cultural conditions and histories). Of course, in the full flush of a new technological future, with all the world's people connected via new global modes of transportation and communication, a postnationalist utopia would have seemed ideal to the fathers of modernism. But as stated before, the theme could be treated only metaphorically, due to the limitations of capital and industry.

In the immediate postwar years, this dream would have had the added dimension of evading fascism's odious xenophobia, as if the problematic condition of national identification was something that could be undone through the process of abstraction. Two eventual possibilities thus were made apparent to the Team 10 group: a continued journey into an anaesthetized, meaningless, and abstract future as a means of accessing a modernist universality, or else the continuity of localized aesthetic production that could lead to the potential resurgence of nationalistic fervor and containment.

What Team 10 boldly attempted to do (and in doing so, proved itself quite prescient) was to universalize the existence of nationalism and the vernacular, to open up a multinational dialogue that spoke multiple (visual) languages yet was aimed at a shared result. Their gambit was to gather together local experts (often from different disciplines, not exclusively architecture) who would share among themselves examples of proprietary cultures, with the hope that an ensuing examination of these collected studies might yield some universal truths about the nature of humankind vis à vis the built environment.[49]

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[48] I think here, as in the quote given earlier, "ecological" should be understood as meaning humanistic and, by extension, ethical. The slipperiness of definition illustrates the elusive qualities of the New Brutalist ethos.

[49] Of course, this goal was what CIAM had intended all along, but which erred in following a trajectory too often guided by a priori belief instead of actual empirical research. Still, whether the Team 10 approach ultimately was any less essentialist is a serious question. It is one that recurs throughout the present chapter and is revisited in my conclusion.

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The Doorn Manifesto makes clear a mandate in favor of interdisciplinarity and of collective practice, especially through the participation of Hans J. A. Hovens Greve, a Dutch sociologist (as well as a planner in the Rotterdam Town Planning department and the secretary of Opbouw, the Dutch CIAM group), which helps ascertain two things: first, that the idea of specialization within Team 10 practice was not only an English contribution (exemplified by the collaborative practices of the Independent Group) but was supported by the Dutch members as well. Second, that such collective practice was not entirely new to CIAM, as Hovens Greve had participated in the 8th Congress at Hoddesdon (1951) as part of the Opbouw, as well as in the special congress at Sigtuna, Sweden, in 1952 (the latter in the capacity as "youth member," along with Aldo van Eyck).

Hovens Greve's experience with CIAM had a major effect at Doorn on Team 10's decision to embrace collective, or collaborative, practice, although his participation only amplified a similar idea that had been implemented in the Smithsons "Urban Reidentification Grid." Yet Hovens Greve may have been one of the first to articulate the need for a rapport between architect and "scientist" (to use his words). At the Doorn meeting, Hovens Greve addressed the need for CIAM activity to break free of the doctrinaire policies that it had held for 25 years. He excoriated the Athens Charter as a set of "analyses of untenable situations," perhaps meaning to suggest the cavalier remoteness with which the prewar avant-garde addressed the problems of urbanism, and posited a need "to express in plans the special consequences of [the] newest concepts, of different

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sections of knowledge: medical, hiegienical [sic], psychological, pedagogical, and other (not in the analytic, scientific way, but in the intuitif [sic], creative aspect)."[50]

Hovens Greve's comments make clear that the participation of specialists is not intended to make these projects more arcane in subject matter or language, but instead to remedy the myopia perceived in earlier CIAM activity resulting from decisions made by ill-equipped (and ill-advised) architects working beyond the bounds of their expertise in the realm of human interaction. Hovens Greve makes this point explicit:

> Perhaps the sequence for a Charte de l'Habitat (which would in reality have to be a Charte d'Urbanisme) could be:
> - to formulate ethics
> - practical work on them with scientists . . .
> - to point out the necessary social organization to realize and practice the social intentions of the plans.
>
> This would mean that architects and townplanner [sic] would no longer be isolated from the reality of community life. In reverse it would mean that architects would get their proper place at the government round table.[51]

The key to success in this new formulation is the foregrounding of the need for relationships, not only among the research unit (in terms of collaboration), but also those preexisting conditions and relationships that would inform the research (those that are endemic in human associations), as well as those that will result from the research findings (and will have benefited from the previous two types of relationships). These relationships, or the awareness of them, is what Hovens Greve means by ethics, giving us an early definition of what would later become a major preoccupation within Team 10. This differs only slightly from the use of the term in the New Brutalist context of the same year. The qualitative distinction between this method and that of the Athens Charter

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[50] Untitled document that appears to be a transcript of the day's meeting, dated "29 January 1954 (afternoon)" (the first day of the Doorn meeting), BAKE or97.
[51] Ibid.

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is in that Team 10 attempted to overturn the totalizing gestures of the Athens Charter's quantitative insistence on the four functions (living, working, recreation, transportation).[52]

Town planning in England at this point in time often involved having specialists draw up plans that were then implemented by various municipal administrators and agencies (as discussed in Chapter I); the shortcomings of this abstract method of planning was further impetus for the emergent Team 10 players (encouraged by Peter Smithson) to seek alternative strategies. But for Team 10, the idea of collectivity, as it was understood in the founding of CIAM, was a failed effort. The shift in global politics during the postwar period made true internationalism more of a possibility, but in essence it was the evident desire of Team 10 participants to address the unintended parochialism of prewar CIAM through a new model of collaborative practice. Again, the question is whether Team 10's internationalism (which ended in a certain exclusivity) represented any improvement over the older CIAM model. The intention was unequivocal, but the effects, as we shall see, may have been less than completely successful.

Team 10's internationalism was best embodied by the oft-overlooked figure of Jacob Berend (known as Jaap) Bakema, a man about a decade older than the other Team 10 members, and one whose history with CIAM provided a bridge from the old guard to the new. He had made his initial entrance into CIAM activities at the 6th congress at

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[52] Functionalism was never just one thing, even if the CIAM version remained the most prevalent model throughout the 1920s and 1930s. For revisionist claims about what functionalism actually meant, see Rosemarie Haag Bletter's introduction to Adolf Behne, *The Modern Functional Building*, trans. Michael Robinson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1996), pp. 1–83; also Max Risselada ed., *Functionalisme 1927–1961: Hans*

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Bridgwater (1947), having worked under Cornelis van Eesteren in the Rotterdam Housing Department shortly after his escape from a concentration camp (he had been captured while a member of the Dutch underground Resistance movement) and his subsequent return to the Netherlands.

Even before his participation in CIAM activities, Bakema was part of the Opbouw group, beginning in 1942.[53] At that early date, his antifunctionalist stance was already securely in place, as is made explicit in an exchange he had with J. P. Kloos, another Opbouw architect. As reported by Alison Smithson in her *Team 10 Primer*, in 1942 Bakema argued that:

> "Neue Sachlichkeit" cannot be the stimulating idea for the postwar situation because of its concentration on 'things which can be analyzed.'
>
> Just that things which cannot be touched by words, analyses and reports have to be touched by architecture. The relationship man to man is too narrow, it must be man + nature + idea about nature. Shall we travel, not only to the moon, but shall we travel in total universal space?
>
> To make man familiar with space 'endlessness,' will become the main function of the art of making space (architecture).[54]

"Neue Sachlichkeit" is used here as an analogue to rational functionalism, the basic organizing principle of prewar CIAM activity.[55] Bakema's conviction that

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Scharoun versus de Opbouw: Mart Stam, Willem van Tijen, Johannes van den Broek, Jacob Bakema (Delft: Publicatiebureau Bouwkunde, 1997).

[53] This group, which embodied the Dutch CIAM chapter, was comprised of two groups: "De 8" and "Opbouw." Bakema was a member of the latter group, and van Eyck a member of the former.

[54] Bakema, quoted in Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Primer*, ibid., p. 27

[55] Neue Sachlichkeit (usually translated as "New Objectivity" or "New Sobriety") was characterized by an unflinching realism that sought to purge aesthetic development of any lingering traces of 19th-century transcendental sentimentality. The movement, whose name came from a 1925 exhibition organized by G. F. Hartlaub, was most forcefully expressed through the photographs of August Sander, the paintings of George Grosz, and the architecture of the Dessau Bauhaus, especially after Hannes Meyer's appointment as

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objectivizing forces have the unfortunate tendency to universalize—as seen in contrast to the demonstrable value of the breadth of individual human experience—is an early and official renunciation of prewar CIAM practice, and one that (fifteen years later) would help codify Team 10 principles in much the same fashion. Furthermore, the condemnation of a pure empiricism ("things that can be analyzed") foreshadows the Team 10 focus on examining elements of indigenous and localized culture in order to set the tone for an urban situation that respects the individual needs and desires of its inhabitants.

Bakema also early on helped establish the themes that would come to occupy Team 10 and that are the source of the present study, namely the mediation between ethics and aesthetics. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, however, ethics for Bakema did not connote the secular humanism that it would come to symbolize in Team 10/New Brutalist ideas, but was instead a moralizing, vaguely religious concept stemming from the virtuous sobriety of Dutch Protestantism. As secretary of the Opbouw delegation to Hoddesdon in 1951, Bakema prepared a report, entitled "Ethics and Aesthetics," that shows a continuity of thought with the 1942 quote just above.

This epigrammatic document begins by stating that "Man's purpose = to be aware of nature. Means: comprehension/science/form/art." But the tone then departs abruptly from these soundly humanistic maxims to become one radically at odds with all future Team 10 discourse: "Purpose of human life is to become fully aware of all-governing

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director in 1927. See, for example, John Willett, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety, 1917–33* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

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principles in religion. This all governing principle is called 'God' (the creator of all things)."[56]

This statement precedes the inception of Team 10 by several years, but it should be made clear nonetheless that Team 10 was unflinchingly apolitical and nonreligious, at least as far as its professional activities were concerned. Bakema's words, therefore, come as quite a shock, although none of his subsequent works deal with such consecrated topics. One might therefore surmise that these words may have been added at the insistence of another member of Opbouw, although it is possible that, given the proximity to the war's end, this document reflects an introspection (of Bakema) that dissipated in the following several years. Indeed, the document further surprises on the following page: "Man raises the greatest effort when he has to defend his life (starvation and war) and as a consequence then realizes more than ever the existence of all-governing principles."[57]

With the mention of war's deprivations, one might logically conclude that Bakema's time spent in a German camp might have been adequate cause for an outpouring of spirituality. If so, perhaps sublimation is the cause for the gradual disappearance of such words henceforth. His personal religious beliefs notwithstanding, they did not remain present in official documentation and correspondence from that moment forward.

Instead, Bakema's contribution as Secretary of Team 10 was of a more secular nature.[58] On the most superficial level, Bakema's facility with English, French, and

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[56] "C.I.A.M. 8/ report on: Ethics and aesthetics from the Dutch group: 'Opbouw' Rotterdam," dated 1951, 1. BAKE 0076/a30.
[57] Ibid., 2
[58] Bakema's title was the only one given to any member of the group. It is a noteworthy denomination, as it echoes Sigfried Giedion's appellation prior to the 1956 conference, thus maintaining a link to prewar CIAM.

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German (in addition to his native Dutch) allowed him to negotiate any linguistic difficulties within CIAM and Team 10.[59] But more importantly, his familiarity with CIAM politics and his comprehensive built oeuvre (unlike the paucity of built projects by most other Team 10 members) were a boon to this group of young idealists. Throughout the early- and mid-1950s, Bakema, along with his partner Johannes Hendrik Van den Broek, built numerous structures that were well documented by the European press, especially in the Netherlands and in France. It was his success in securing commissions that solidified his seniority within Team 10.[60]

Most important for Team 10 was van den Broek and Bakema's Lijnbaan project for Rotterdam of 1955 **[fig. 2.3]**. Rotterdam, the Dutch city that had suffered the most destruction from German attacks, was largely rebuilt after the war, and thus represented an excellent opportunity for younger architects to work on problems of reconstruction with the backing of a progressive government and populace.[61] The Lijnbaan, a major

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[59] There are many references within the Team 10 archives (which exist as part of Bakema's own archive) to misunderstandings caused by a lack of French/German/English comprehension. Whereas with CIAM the lingua franca was French, Team 10 preferred English, most likely at the Smithsons' insistence (neither of whom evidently spoke another language with any proficiency).

[60] For a more recent reevaluation of Bakema and Van den Broek, see Hans Ibelings, ed., *Van den Broek en Bakema, 1948–88: Architectuur en stedenbouw* (Rotterdam: Nai Uitgevers, 2000).

[61] Rotterdam was bombed by German forces on 14 May 1940, resulting in the destruction of 260 hectares in the center city, along with nearly 25,000 homes and 6,100 commercial buildings. The plan for reconstruction was drawn up by W. G. Witteveen, Director of the Municipal Development Department, in December 1941. In keeping with the progressive spirit of the Netherlands, the plan was largely informed by CIAM principles, with sectors of the city designated around the four functions and a majority of housing moved to the city's outskirts (20,000 homes had existed in the city center prior to the bombing, but Witteveen's plan allowed for rebuilding only half that number where they once stood). See M. J. Vroom and J. H. Meeus, *Learning from Rotterdam: Investigating the Process of Urban Park Design* (London: Marshall Publishing, 1990) and M. A. Hajer, "Rotterdam: Re-Designing the Public Domain," in F. Bianchini and M. Parkinson eds.,

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shopping district directly downtown, was conceived as one of two new shopping districts for the city. Initially designed as a series of apartment blocks with shops at street level, the architects ran into the economical issue of shopkeepers unwilling (or unable) to financially contribute to the development of living units (as well an interdiction on the rebuilding of urban dwellings). To counteract this obstacle, Bakema and Van den Broek reconfigured the apartments as higher tower blocks at the periphery of the area, set around a series of three squares. Thus the living quarters are set apart from the shopping district, as well as being sufficiently remote from the neighboring market area, called the Coolsingel, adjoining the town hall.

Elsewhere, the gridded pavement sets a standard of measurement for shop fronts, and also allows for modular expansion or contraction as stores either grow or are replaced **[fig. 2.4]**. Materials are of a largely industrial grade, with the concrete frame left exposed at the rear to show the division between separate shops. The Lijnbaan project, carried out with great haste, adheres to many Team 10 and New Brutalist principles, such as the frank expression of materials, the modular flexibility of the plan, and the allowance for individual human expression in the sense of individual shopkeepers retaining the right to customize façades and signage. Furthermore, the enclosed nature of the entire shopping center displaces automobile transit, localizing a number of different types of business establishments into one sprawling yet manageable pedestrian zone. The social component thus was foregrounded, encouraging a web of human associations as defined in the Doorn manifesto.[62]

Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 48–72.

[62] That the separation of commercial buildings and dwellings appears to follow the prewar CIAM rules of the four functions is an irony of the Lijnbaan project. But the

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The European press at the time was quite taken with the flexibility achieved at the Lijnbaan, noting the fortuitous blend of commercial, administrative, and dwelling structures used as a means of enhancing the prospective number of users, as well as providing an easily recognizable urban center for the sake of identification and aesthetic delectation.[63] Furthermore, the pleasant surprise of a vehicle-free zone in city center was duly appreciated, and the mixed-use approach to the area (with housing, commerce, and public space all represented), initiated a move away from a functionalist urban approach towards one that might be called "participatory" in the Team 10 vocabulary.

It is not hard to imagine that the Lijnbaan project was not far from the Smithsons' mind when they wrote, just prior to the Dubrovnik meeting, that "[w]hen the form is right the relationships of the dwellings with each other, with the shops and schools, the offices-factories and fields can be felt."[64] The Lijnbaan project succeeds in representing the Team 10 ethos through its rejection of the easy solution, its radicality embodied in its "total physical integration" of the site and program without adhering to a rigid and deterministic scheme that would disallow for the natural processes of growth and change (even if by today's standards, it still may appear overly regimented).[65]

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intimacy created through the pedestrian zone, as well as the flexibility of dimensions and personal aesthetic allows us to see how it was seen as a departure from the rigors of CIAM functionalism.

[63] See, for representative opinions, "Rotterdam, quartier commercial Lijnbaan," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 63 (December 1955) and "The Lijnbaan at Rotterdam," *Town Planning Review,* vol. xxvii, no. 1 (April 1956): 21–30. Bakema and Van den Broek likewise achieved accolades for the rapidity with which the project was completed, given the extreme pressures and requirements for reconstruction; commissioned in 1951, the shops were ready for occupation by the end of 1953. The 9- to 13-story tower blocks were not completed until several years later.

[64] "Congrès Internationaux d'architecture moderne; Reunion of Council and Team X; Chateau of La Sarraz- 7th - 11th September, 1955," BAKE 0060/a14

[65] These are the words of Jerzy Soltan, a Polish member of Team 10. See Alison Smithson ed., *Team 10 Primer,* ibid., p. 9.

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We might call this, paraphrasing Bakema, the responsibility of the architect in a democratic society. At Harvard's Urban Design Conference in 1957 (the year after CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik), Bakema spoke on this topic, a rare political discussion by any Team 10 member:

> The fact is that the architect is losing more and more his contact with the private men for whom he has to build and is more and more confronted with anonymous institutions that give him employment. Such institutions, commissions, research centers, formulate programs for regions, towns, housing-schemes and in these programs structures are already defined. In the definition of these structures the architect has to participate in order to avoid his work being only of decorative value.
>
> The modern movement has to penetrate to the roots of democracy where it will meet the resistance of politicians, bureaucrats and other kinds of built-in specialists. These are the new barriers that must be surmounted, in the process of developing man's full awareness of life. This is the next step.[66]

Politicians were one category of specialists whose participation was unwelcome within the new collaborative constitution of Team 10. The barriers that Bakema spoke of were not only those that existed between different levels of power, but also between economics and aesthetics, a topic that requires elaboration within the Team 10 context.

My contention in Chapter I was that the Smithsons' aesthetic experiments were carried out in the pseudo-architectural confines of the Independent Group, while their practical architectural aspirations found expression in their Team 10 activities. I wish to further imbricate these two poles through a discussion aesthetic activities by other Team 10 members that might be seen as related to the Smithsons' affinities with the Independent Group.

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[66] Quoted in *Architectural Forum* vol. 107, no. 2 (August 1957): 185.

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In the crucial and pivotal years of 1953-55,[67] two exhibitions (besides *This is Tomorrow* and *The Parallel of Life and Art*, the two IG shows discussed in Chapter I), designed and organized by Team 10 members, provided a nexus of ethical and aesthetic Brutalist practices (as these were defined in the previous chapter), allowing for more popular (or participatory) iterations of ideas that were beginning to appear within Team 10 discussions. Unlike the IG shows, which were art exhibitions that included contributions by architects, these were architectural exhibitions to which artists (and other experts) contributed. The results varied wildly both in fact and in interpretation, and therefore indicate the difficulty in the immediate postwar European context of negotiating between the actual needs of reconstruction and the resuscitation of a national collective or individual subjectivity.

The first exhibition to be discussed was entitled *E55*, or *Energy: Man and Universe*, and was held in Rotterdam from May to December 1955.[68] The exhibition design was by Bakema and Van den Broek, and was focused specifically on Dutch reconstruction after the German occupation **[fig. 2.5]**. Here was an opportunity for architectural language to be put into use as both a frame for aesthetic concerns as well as for ethical ones. As we shall see, however, the outcome was far from successful, despite the architects' best intentions.

The aesthetic elements began with Bakema and Van den Broek's own entrance portico **[fig. 2.6]**. A massive inverted barrel vault, made of a metal structure with vellum

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[67] This being the period during which both New Brutalism and Team 10 come to fruition, the former through the Hunstanton School and the New Brutalism "manifesto," and the latter through the uprising at and after CIAM 9 at Aix-en-Provence.

[68] See *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 10 (December 1955): entire issue; see also "Exposition à Rotterdam, Hollande," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (November 1955): 106–7.

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stretched across it like a thin skin or tarp, provided an open air entryway mediating architectural form and the rather picturesque site, now the location of the Museum Park.[69] This area was chosen for its proximity to downtown as well as for its openness of park land which helped to underscore the main theme of the exhibition, which was described as "man's struggle against the natural elements: water, air, etc., and his utilization of primary materials (minerals, iron, wood, etc.)." No evidence exists to suggest that Bakema (or other architects) had any input into the theme of the exhibition, although the subject matter's proximity to the same issues of universality and humanistic virtues that were of present concern to Bakema and his associates in CIAM (soon to be Team 10) makes it clear why Bakema would have been eager to participate.[70]

The exhibition included pavilions dedicated to the following activities: maritime, air travel (including a special section on anticipated interplanetary travel), leisure (sports, cinema, television), public hygiene, industrial design, fashion, as well as (naturally) various energy sources such as gas, electricity, and waterways. This negotiation between public and private concerns is indeed unique, and afforded the opportunity for a large-scale examination of how a city's (or country's) natural and manmade resources might impact upon the quotidian lives of its citizenry, as well as vice versa.

The architecture section featured a prefabricated armature in reinforced concrete next to a house in the process of being traditionally constructed of wood. Here the past and the future collided, not in order to efface the outdated means of production but to

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[69] This site is now home to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rem Koolhaas's Kunsthal, and the Nederlands Architektuur Institut (NAi) by Dutch architect Jo Coenen.
[70] The stated goal of E55 was to celebrate the rejuvenation of Dutch industrial and economic viability in the decade following the end of World War II. Of course, as becomes clear from my brief discussion of the show's elements, architecture took a place of prominence as one of Holland's finest postwar achievements.

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present the possibility for symbiosis and continuity through a suggestion that both methods contained useful information that together could contribute to a new synthetic building process melding history with current technology. The relationship between history and destiny was expanded further through the interplay between temporary exhibition pavilions set amid preexisting structures on the site. Again, the fear of the tabula rasa was set to rest by the relationship between old buildings, temporary and experimental structures, and the familiarity of the site, assuring visitors that the advances suggested by new technologies and means of production (and energy) would take their place within an existing infrastructure. The preference for *gradual* change, one imagines, would have been immediately appealing.

Artists' projects evidently were included as an extension of the harmonies discussed above among the architectural pavilions. Notable are the contributions of Karel Appel and Constant Nieuwenhuis, both major participants in the postwar avant-garde, and both members of the artist's group CoBrA.[71] For the exterior wall of an exhibition hall just behind Bakema and Van den Broek's entry portico, Appel designed an 80-meter mural heavily influenced by Picasso, Arp, and Miro, and entitled "The Origin of the

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[71] The figure of Constant is immensely interesting, especially given his alliance with Van Eyck and later with the Situationist International. But a discussion of his major (and ongoing) project, entitled New Babylon, is outside the scope of this study. See, instead, Mark Wigley, *Constant's New Babylon: The Hyper-Architecture of Desire* (Rotterdam: Witte de With & 010 Publishers, 1998). In a connection of the present discussion to Chapter III, Louis Kahn was alerted to the possible correlations between his own work and Constant's through a letter from Piet Offringa, who undertook to translate one of Constant's texts for Kahn. Letter from P. Offringa to L. Kahn, dated New York, 22 August 1961. LIK 66. Kahn replied with the following: "Dear Mr. Ofringa: I do appreciate your letter and the trouble you went to in the translation for which I thank you very much. I wish you well and I know that your delight in philosophic thoughts will reward you." Letter from Kahn to Offringa, dated Philadelphia 2 September 1961.

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World," enlarging the exhibition's theme into the realm of the universality of man's constant struggle for and against the supremacy of nature **[fig. 2.7]**.

More interesting for our discussion is the contribution by Constant Nieuwenhuis (who worked primarily under the name Constant), who constructed a tower of metal beams and colored panels that was placed at the end of the grand esplanade **[fig. 2.8]**. Constant, a trained architect, clearly was channeling some sort of constructivist spirit,[72] although Bakema saw this small tower as simply "accentuating the small square in a park."[73] Bakema's formalist reading of Constant's work nonetheless abides by one of the exhibition's stated aims, namely to explore the potential for a syncretic public sphere that draws upon the most brazenly functionalist ideals and attempts to enliven and expand them through the transcendent spirit of art—not to mention the way in which art can serve to ennoble architectural or public spaces.

Bakema's interest in such a synthetic display is not surprising, given the ecumenicity of his endeavors. Clearly the aesthetic component of architecture was of great import to his way of thinking, and so it must have been discomfiting for him to read the scathing reviews in *Forum* (for example that of B. Hendricks), charging *E55* with a failure to achieve any organic synthesis between art, architecture, and nature. Hendricks, evidently an artist himself, likewise lamented the fact that despite an eye towards the

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[72] This fact was picked up by B. Hendricks, one of Forum's correspondents, when he wrote that: "The sign/statement of Constant was a passionate revival of the 1920s of [Vladimir] Tatlin, and was painted in the colours preferred by Mondriaan." ("En het taken van Constant, waarin der 20er jaren van Tatlin weer vurig herleven, geverfd in de kleuren, die ook Mondriaan zo mooi vond.") *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 10 (December 1955): 336. One might also remark upon the similarity of the sculpture to a jungle gym such as might be found in a playground. For more on the play aspect of Constant's work, see the discussion of Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* below.

[73] Ibid., 344

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future, there was no exploration of new materials, especially in the examples of mural painting (and Appel's unimaginative reworking of Spanish modernism certainly was of no help here).

Forum's other correspondent, A. Kompter, wrote from a more architectural point of view, and castigated the show's designers for failing to erect any buildings of lasting value (and here he cites London's Royal Festival Hall, erected for the Festival of London in 1951). Not only did the majority of the exhibition structures from E55 get dismantled after the fair's end, but the land on which the festival occurred, once a lush city green, was obliterated by the two remaining exhibition halls, neither of which, in Komter's opinion, had any architectural merit.

Bakema's wounded retort began by stating unequivocally that "postwar problems mainly consisted in finding a new basis of co-operation between the arts and the community." Rather than concede to Hendricks's critique of a lack of unity between different art, architecture, and nature, Bakema argued that "such a unity is not limited to a trinity. All those involved were freed from their isolation and the subject of 'form' once more became a problem of practical importance."[74] Here Bakema is backed into a corner from which he is forced to defend the formal qualities of artmaking while diminishing the role of art in the enlivening of architectural spaces. If the topic of the exhibition was meant to be the potentially invigorating impact of various energy sources on man's environment (both natural and manmade), the criticisms that condemned the show to history's dustbin can be seen to have derived from specialized voices whose desire for greater and more prominent representation displayed a lack of synthetic or collaborative thought. Bakema, in the unenviable position as the exhibition's moral authority,

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attempted to remain true to the patriotic boosterism that the exhibition was meant to illustrate, while at the same time having to shoulder responsibility for not only nationalistic tendencies but also for the specific aims of the avant-garde.[75]

Bakema confirmed his position two years later in a letter written to I. Iaralov, editor in chief of the journal *Soviet Architecture*. Iaralov had written to Bakema in anticipation of a CIAM meeting that was meant to take place in Moscow during the summer of 1958. Without specifying the subject matter, Iaralov wrote Bakema to solicit a statement on his "desires and wishes" for the next Congress.[76] Bakema replied with a soliloquy on the rapport between art, architecture, and science; his letter thus comes as a summation of the basic ideals of the *E55* exhibition. He begins with a sweeping statement:

> I believe that art (as well as architecture) is one of the means by which to develop intuitively a knowledge of the forces through which everything exists and *comes into being*. I also believe that science is one of the means for developing this intellectual knowledge.
>
> Architecture (the art of developing space for practical and ideal requirements) is one of the means by which man can harmonize the relationship between his private space and the dynamic space of the universe.[77]

The tone of this passage is one of optimism and yearning, and goes beyond mere ethics vs. aesthetics to confirm the basic Team 10 desire of connecting the individual

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[74] Ibid., 312.

[75] The relationship between art and architecture was a theme taken up by many members of prewar CIAM. See Le Corbusier, "Ineffable Space," in Ockman, ibid. 64–7, and Giedion, Sert, Léger, "Nine Points for a New Monumentality," in Ockman, pp. 27–30. Also Giedion's "The Need for a New Monumentality," in *Architecture, You, and Me* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 25–39. For a discussion of the relationship between art and architecture in Le Corbusier's work, see Ann Koll, "The Synthesis of the Arts in the Context of Post-World War II: A Study of Le Corbusier's Ideas and his Porte Maillot Pavilion," (Ph.D. diss., The Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 1999).

[76] Letter from I. Iaralov to J. Bakema, dated Moscow, 6 December 1957. BAKE or86.

[77] Letter from J. Bakema to I. Iaralov, dated Rotterdam, 26 December 1957. BAKE or86.

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with the collective (either cultural or universal), an ethos that gets played out either through the mystical language of religious convictions (as in Bakema's words quoted earlier), through an amalgam of mystical-rationalist ideas about the genesis of habitat (as in the words of Aldo van Eyck, for which see Chapter IV as well as below), or through an appeal to a pragmatic and empirical-scientific mode of thought such as was advocated in the E55 exhibition. Similar themes can be detected in the second exhibition to be discussed, the 10th Milan Triennale of 1954.

Giancarlo De Carlo and an Italian Vernacular:

The Italian relationship to modernism was one that stood apart from that of every other major European country, due to two overwhelming facts: first, that Italian modernism always had been an explicit negotiation between architecture and various conceptions of history and tradition; and second, that, as Manfredo Tafuri has written, "the most competent members of the [architectural] profession took it for granted that there could be no knowledge divorced from action: an encounter with active politics seemed imperative."[78] Here the figure of Giancarlo De Carlo looms large. A member of Team 10 since 1959 (in other words, not an original member), De Carlo quickly distinguished himself within the group for his sharp intellect and biting polemics, skills

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[78] Manfredo Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture, 1944–1985*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1989), p. 3. This book is the best introduction to Italy's postwar architectural situation in English, along with Vittorio Gregotti's *New Directions in Italian Architecture* (New York: George Braziller, 1968). Gregotti refers to the period 1951–8 as one that was "striving for reality," a provocative statement in light of the thesis of the present study. He defines this "reality" as tripartite, consisting of reality as an effect of history and tradition, of reality as an element of "left-wing, national, and popular ideology," and of reality "in the context of the existing environment or the geomorphology." (p. 47). Essentially, Gregotti is describing the kind of synthetic context that was a benchmark of Team 10 thought.

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that he had honed in Italy while writing first for Ernesto N. Rogers at Casabella, then later at Domus, following a bitter falling out with Rogers over his editorial policy. Professionally, De Carlo had already made his mark at the previous (9th) Triennale in 1951, where his section, co-designed with Ezio Cerutti and Giuseppe Samona, was called "Spontaneous Architecture." There, these three designers presented a set of curved walls between which one had to walk, the curvilinearity initiating a trope revisited throughout the exhibition, beginning with Lucio Fontana's 200-meter long abstract swirl of neon tubing that hung precariously above the heads of those entering the lobby of the exhibition hall.[79] Once past the Fontana, one viewed an installation concerning the correlation between local, vernacular building techniques and the indigenous natural climate and materials of Italy **[fig. 2.9]**. De Carlo had a long-held interest in vernaculars and housing, and the 9th Triennale provided an opportunity to make some claims for an Italian (and by extension, a universal) "authenticity" within a new postwar modernism.[80]

The 10th Milan Triennale of 1954 was a fair celebrating the past three years of architecture and decorative art from around the world. Located in a park setting on the city's outskirts, the various pavilions seemed to crop up almost as follies within a picturesque setting. These pavilions included various international sections from Finland, Spain, Norway, and Israel[81] (among others), as well as two Buckminster Fuller domes, a "Casa rurale," and several prefabricated houses, one constructed of wood, another called

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[79] See Walter Dorwin Teague, "Nona Triennale di Milano, " *Interiors and Industrial Design* 111, no. 2 (September 1951): 92–123.

[80] Here "spontaneity" and "authenticity" can be seen as analogues, insofar as both refer to some sort of unmediated architectural language that grows through some organic ordinance out of the cultures and climates of local regions.

[81] The Finnish section was designed by Tapio Virkkala, the Spanish section by Ramon Vasquez Molezun, the Norwegian by Arne Korsmo, and the Israeli by Nathan Shapira and Erminia Laurent.

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a "Casa di montagna prefabbricato (prefabricated mountain home)," and a third country house constructed entirely of industrial elements. Clearly the intention was to open up for the public's consideration the possibility for alternative housing materials and spaces (hence the Fuller dome, as well), foregrounding the new ideas of a participatory urbanism that were presented in the Triennale's Exhibition of Urban Design, a section organized by De Carlo, architect Ludovico Quaroni, and sociologist Carlo Doglio.[82]

The Urbanism section was divided into two parts. The first "proposed to define the reasons necessary for urban intervention, through the clarification of its real principles, means, and ends." The second "proposed to warn the spectator of the inherent dangers of the [urban] plan. . . . In the projection rooms that divided the two parts of the extension, three short films illustrated the vicissitudes of Italian urban planning, the contradictory aspects of the contemporary city, [and] the consequence of one abstract, urban location."[83]

The first section was a room with strong verticals of strings drawn taut in harp-like formations from the ceiling to the floor, and lit by overhead spotlights, creating a stage for the unfolding of urban activities, but with the emphasis now on human interaction rather than on the urban frame **[fig. 2.10]**; as a text accompanying the exhibition's publication stated, "Human actions and facts are in continuous motion: they

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[82] Collaborators also included Ezio Mariani, Giorgio Madini, Liliana Tacuozzi, and Michele Achilli; see *Casabella Continuità* 202 (Agosto–Settembre 1954): 17–32 and *Casabella Continuità* 203 (Novembre–Dicembre 1954): 18–24. The former is a basic overview of the various exhibitions, while the latter article includes a variety of critical opinions about the Triennale's overall success. The latter also features a large pictorial section on de Carlo's Urbanism exhibition.

[83] " . . . si propone di avvertire lo spettatore dei pericoli insiti in un piano nel quale egli stesso non sia considerato fondamentale protagonista. Nelle salette di proiezione che dividono le due parti della mostra, tre cortometraggi illustrano le vicende della

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are born, they get exhausted, they change direction. The urban plan cannot imprison this motion, that is, the motion of life. The urban plan must be elastic. It does not have to be a cage/jail [*gabbia*]."[84]

The second section, hung with various images that seem to be taken from contemporary news photographs and other sorts of popular visual media **[fig. 2.11]**, is quite striking in its visual relationship to two other exhibitions discussed within the present study: The Independent Group's *Parallel of Life and Art* (1953—see Chapter I) and The Museum of Modern Art's *Family of Man* (1955—see Chapter III).[85] Bracketed as the Triennale was by these two exhibitions, we are obligated to make some sort of response to their uncanny similarities.[86] De Carlo's words that accompanied the second section give us an idea of how it was meant to be experienced:

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urbanistica italiana, gli aspetti contradittori della città contemporanee, le consequenze di una impostazione urbanistica astratta." Domus 301 (Dicembre 1954): 60.

[84] "Le azioni e i fatti umani sono in moto continuo: nascono, si esauriscono, cambiano direzione. Il piano urbanistico non può imprigionare questo moto, che è il moto stesso della vita. Il piano urbanistico deve essere elastico. Non deve essere una gabbia." Ibid.

[85] The 1937 Paris Exposition (*L'Exposition internationale des arts et des techniques dans la view moderne*) had already initiated the pervasive use of photomurals and photomontage, but obviously utilized in the service of various types of propaganda, from those of Fascism to those of commercialism itself. The latter, embodied in the *Pavillon de la publicité*, is a particularly apt comparison here, as its exhibition was a celebration of the power of pure images. See Christophe Zagrodski, "Entre l'arabesque et le rébus: l'affiche et la publicité," in the catalogue for the fiftieth anniversary of the Expo held at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Bertrand Lemoine, ed., *Paris 1937 Cinquantenaire* (Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture, 1987), pp. 440–61. The catalogue also has excellent historical images of the photomontage and photomurals in the individual pavilions.

[86] Is this the influence of Charles and Ray Eames that we are witnessing? Or something larger—a proto-Pop sensibility that understands the ever-expanding field of visual images with which the world was faced as a reality that must be addressed outside of the empirical, physical world? The influence of this sort of exhibition design was quite pervasive. At the 12th Triennale (1960), the Polish contribution continued the trend not only in its pastiche of photomontages and Pop images, but also in the rhetoric of its mission statement from the exhibition catalogue:

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> The urban plan must spread out into every zone of reality in which it will function. It cannot be like a bullet that arrives directly at its target. It must be made of concatenations [connections] and more and more driven in impulses, like a chain reaction or an artificial fire. . . the urban plan must be the result of the participation of all. But above all the plan must be made by the people and for the people.[87]

De Carlo's intention basically was to deliver control of the city back to its inhabitants, addressing the concerns of those who felt that urban studies was "an activity that was either purely aesthetic, purely political, [and] reserved exclusively as a category for specialists."[88] More specifically, he wished to engage the public on an emotional level, "where extended discussion is resumed and detailed, taking advantage of the possibilities suggested by cinematographic language."[89]

This insistence on the language of cinema seems to have been deployed as an attempt to speak directly to an alienated public through a more democratic language: the visual. In this respect, De Carlo's project is not so far removed from the urban sphere dominated by visual stimuli envisioned by Sert several years earlier. The films (all of

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"La population s'accroît plus vite qu'on ne construit des maisons d'habitation–c'est une source permanente d'inquiétude pour les architectes. Cet état de choses conduit à faire passer la quantité devant la qualité, et en fin de compte a des simplifications dangereuses qui anéantissent le sens fondamental du logement, de la maison et de la cité . . . la notion d'une maison à soi a cessé d'être une notion intelligible dans l'espace architectonique. . . . il nous faire maîtriser la methode industrielle de telle manière qu'on n'anéantisse pas chez l'habitant ce qui est le plus precieux, ses propres façons de sentir, le besoin qu'il ressent d'avoir une attitude personelle à l'égard de ce qui l'entoure, de son logement. . . La prise en considération de la multiplicité, de l'hétérogénéité et de la variabilité, represente un pas avers un art d'éléments primaires, vers une architecture d'événement, vers une forme ouverte." BAKE 0078/a32

[87] "Il piano urbanistico deve diffondersi in ogni zona della realtà in cui opera. Non può essere come un proiettile che arriva diritto al suo bersaglio. Deve essere fatto di impulsi concatenati e sempre più fitti, come in una reazione a catenna o in un fuoco d'artificio." . . . "Il piano urbanistico deve essere il risultato della partecipazione di tutti. Ma sopratutto il il paino deve essere fatto dagli uomini e per gli uomini." *Domus* 301 (Dicembre 1954): 60.

[88] *Casabella Continuità* 202 (Agosto–Settembre 1954): 25

[89] Ibid., 25.

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which were created in collaboration with the exhibition coordinators) included one by Nicolò Ferrari, called "Cronache dell'Urbanistica Italiana (Chronicle of Italian Urbanism)," that the curators termed a "critical chronicle of Italian postwar reconstruction," another by Michele Gandin called "La Città degli Uomini (The City of Men)," described as a "a discourse on the city in which some of its true aspects are shown as positive negatives," and a third film, by Gerald Guerrieri and Jacques Lecoq, called "Una Lezione di Urbanistica," that showed the "extension of the effects of ill-informed planning." **[fig. 2.12]** [90]

The popular medium of film here is used deliberately to enhance the Gesamtkunstwerk of the urban section, clearly with the hope that a dynamic multimedia presentation would be more effective in conveying the principles of participatory urban renewal that De Carlo and company wished to propose. The use of film also intimates a relationship to Italian Neorealist cinema, of which Roberto Rossellini's *Roma, Città Aperta* (1945) is perhaps the best-known example (Gandin, Guerrieri, and Ferrari were all filmmakers sympathetic to Neorealism). The importance of this link between the cinematic and the search for architectural expression is not achieved through an aesthetic comparison, but instead an ethical one; as Rossellini, interviewed in 1971, said that "there are many different kinds of Neorealism; everyone has his own. Mine was a moral position, an effort to understand myself inside a phenomenon."[91]

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[90] Ibid. 25

[91] Quoted in Mira Liehm, *Passions and Defiance: Films in Italy from 1942 to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 129. For more on the Italian cinematic visions of postwar urbanism, see P. Adams Sitney, *Vital Crises in Italian Cinema: Iconography, Stylistics, Politics* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1995). See especially Chapter 4, "De Sica's and Zavatini's Neopopulism," 79–108.

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Film critic Lino Micciché, likewise looking retrospectively from the 1970s, gave an introductory paper to a conference on Neorealism, which contained the following crucial passage:

> Neorealism was not an aesthetics, and one of the reasons for its demise was the belief that it was and, what is worse, had the intention to be one. Neorealism was an 'ethics of an aesthetics.' It was the answer of a generation of filmmakers to the question asked by [author Elio] Vittorini: 'Shall we ever have a culture capable of protecting people against suffering instead of just comforting them?' In this respect—and only in this respect—the Viscontis, De Sicas, Rossellinis, and the De Santis, aesthetically so different from one another, were ethically similar.[92]

These quotes show the preoccupation with the question of aesthetic representation as contrasted with an ethical code that so consumed all practitioners of the visual arts and (as we have seen) architecture in the immediate postwar period. Micciché's desire to avoid the patronizing "comfort" of easy appeals to nostalgia rings true with Team 10's insistence on urban reidentification and engagement. And it would be a theme that De Carlo would pursue throughout his entire career, even if he later admitted that Italy's urban planners failed to heed his warnings.[93]

De Carlo's interest in Italian urban and rural vernaculars seems to have arisen at the same time as the Neoliberty movement in 1950s Italy was gaining momentum. Neoliberty was an avant-garde based on the impression that the fathers of Italian rationalism had failed in their attempt to convince the populace of the pure essence of the avant-garde. As a reaction, its members embraced a sort of eclecticism based on

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[92] Liehm, ibid., p. 129

[93] See Giancarlo De Carlo, "Intenzioni e risultati della mostra di urbanistica," *Casabella* 203 (1954): 24.

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indigenous models (from both high and low culture) that they hoped would encourage a sense of belonging and comfort.[94]

In his rejection of International Style modernism, and his embrace of local vernaculars, including everything from peasant dwellings to Francesco di Giorgio's fifteenth-century work at Urbino under the patronage of the Duke Federigo da Montefeltro, De Carlo sought a relationship between the built environment and its inhabitants. At the 1959 Team 10 meeting in Otterlo, he wrote that "in the present situation, the problem is one of formulating pliant and adjustable plans which must proceed, not from abstract ideological rules, but from a detailed knowledge of historical realities which vary from country to country."[95]

This echoes ironically with the "Fanfani Law" of 1949, named after Amintore Fanfani, Italy's Christian Democratic minister, and created as a master plan to address the need for workers' housing in the postwar period. Fanfani felt that housing construction could help to increase employment, and from 1950 to 1959, while major industry created only 120,000 jobs, the housing construction and transportation industries together were

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[94] I make this comparison largely to suggest the extent of exhaustion with avant-garde formalism that pervaded the postwar atmosphere, not to imply that De Carlo was an adherent of Neoliberty, which he was not. For a succinct description of the political and cultural context in which Neoliberty appeared, see Vittorio Gregotti, *New Direction in Italian Architecture*, ibid., pp. 47–63. Gregotti calls Neoliberty a "kind of [Marxist,] ironic view of the Italian bourgeoisie as still restrained by pre-capitalistic prejudices and trying to condense fifty years of the European cultural experience." (p. 56). Neoliberty was famously (and prejudiciously) rejected by Reyner Banham in his "Neoliberty: The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture," *Architectural Review* 125 (April 1959): 231–5. See also a summary reprint of various responses (mostly Italian, and mostly irate), including those of Ernesto Rogers, Bruno Zevi, and Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, in *Architectural Review* 126, no. 754 (December 1959): 341–4.

[95] Giancarlo De Carlo, "Talk on the Situation of Contemporary Architecture," in Oscar Newman ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Interrelationships* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 86.

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able to create 400,000 to 500,000.[96] The language of the Fanfani Law bears an uncanny similarity to the types of critiques that would exemplify the Team 10 party line, while at the same time leading to results that, purely in matters of style, veered close to the Swedish-inspired New Empiricism and related New Picturesque that forced the reactive efforts of New Brutalism.[97] Still, this is yet another example of the way in which Team 10's avant-garde proposals seem, in hindsight, to have been quite similar to the language of more mainstream governmental and organizational voices.

Let us consider the opening words of the Fanfani proposal and recall Team 10's humanistic agenda:

> The house should contribute to the formation of the urban environment, keeping in mind the spiritual and material needs of man, *of a real man not of an abstract being:* of a man, that is, who does not love and does not understand the indefinite and monotonous repetitions of the same type of residence, among the many of which he cannot distinguish his own, save by its street number . . . [emphasis in original].[98]

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[96] Figures quoted in Bruno Reichlin, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1)," *Grey Room* 5 (Fall 2001): 99, note 14.

[97] Sweden's housing crisis of the 1930s was solved via governmental intervention, and federally subsidized housing production hit an all-time high in 1946–7. Out of a total 45,000 units constructed in the two years after the war's end, around 37,000 of those units were governmentally subsidized. See Arthur Hald, Per Holm, Gotthard Johansson eds., trans. Burnett Anderson, *Swedish Housing* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet för kulturellt utbyte me utlandet, 1949). For a sociological study of Swedish domesticity quite similar to coincidental studies in England discussed elsewhere in the present dissertation, see Lennart Holm, *Familj och Bostad: En redovising av fem fältstudier I moderna svenska familjebostäder, 1951–1954* (Stockhold: Hemmmens Foskningsinstitut, 1956).

[98] Quoted in Reichlin, ibid., 84. Reichlin's article is critical of the Fanfani plan and its effects (especially as seen in Rome's Tiburtino district), in suggesting that the formal characteristics of this new vernacular obscured the actual programmatic aspects of the plan. Tiburtino was constructed under the direction of Ludovico Quaroni, De Carlo's collaborator at the 10th Triennale, and included Carlo Aymonino among its contributors. Aymonino was also friendly with De Carlo and collaborated with him on buildings for the Spine Bianche district in Matera (954–7), for which Aymonino had conceived the master plan (beating out De Carlo in a competition). For a reminiscence of Tiburtino, see Carlo Aymonino, "Storia e cronache del Quartiere Tiburtino," *Casabella Continuità* 215 (April–May 1957): 20–22. For a critical history of Neorealism in Italian architecture, see

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Of course, Fanfani's rhetoric arose from a profoundly conservative and nationalistic ethos, and it focused on an explicit rejection of both Italian rationalism as well as of the larger themes of prewar European modernism. But the situation is much more complex, as the Fanfani Law (at least in language) sought to address the issues of urban identification that De Carlo would address from within Team 10, especially with relationship to the productive qualities and contributions of the "anonymous forces of society, the real protagonists of human events."[99] The question then becomes one of how to encourage identification through an appeal to the familiarity of local histories and cultures, while balancing this with a flexibility and openness through which new, independent histories can be constructed and projected, all the while resisting any impulse towards anachronistic nostalgia that might taint the progress of the architectural avant-garde, an issue that, *for* the avant-garde, continued to factor into their considerations.

De Carlo's own failings at Sesto San Giovanni (1950) just outside of Milan helped him to formulate his own critique of International-Style modernism **[fig. 2.13]**. There he had constructed an ultra-rationalist block of flats that owed more to the lessons of Giuseppe Terragni's classicizing rationalism (in its exoskeletal structural frame) or to the German *Existenzminimum* housing of the late 1920s (in its tight, orthogonal arrangement of units) than to any sort of vernacular or localized stimulus. The flat block had discrete balconies for each unit on the south side and long public galleries opening onto the apartments on the north side. The balconies ended up being used to dry laundry,

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Maristella Casciato, "Neorealism in Italian Architecture," in Goldhagen and Legault, ibid., pp. 25–53.

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and the congregation of inhabitants occurred on the north side. While observing the "violence with which [the inhabitants] attacked [the building] so as to turn it into their home," he was struck with the full force of the reasons for which modernism had failed. He concluded that "[o]rientation is important and so is green space and light and privacy, but what matters above all is to see each other, to chat, to be together. Communication counts most."[100]

The lessons learned at Sesto San Giovanni were addressed in his flats at Baveno, Novara (1951), where De Carlo seems to have employed ideas from the "Spontaneous Architecture" exhibition in the service of a ragged arrangement of low-rise, high-density units, each of two storeys and linked through shared stairways **[fig. 2.14]**. The cellular disposition of the units recalls, *avant la lettre*, both Aldo van Eyck's Amsterdam Orphanage as well as De Carlo's own later work at the University of Urbino.[101] At once perilously close to the pitched-roof revivalism of the English New Towns, yet sharing in a tradition of organicism taken from Frank Lloyd Wright via Bruno Zevi (especially his *Towards an Organic Architecture* of 1950) that was, perhaps surprisingly, sympathetic to the Team 10 ideal of a basic infrastructure—in its lack of essentialist rigor or unwavering formal constraints—within which a certain flexibility based on usage could be deployed.

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[99] Giancarlo De Carlo, "La sezione urbanistica alla X Triennale," *Vetroflex* (June 1955): 1, quoted in Benedict Zucchi, *Giancarlo De Carlo*, ibid., p. 19.

[100] Quoted in Joseph Rykwert, "The Progress of an Italian Architect," *Architecture and Building* 8, vol. 34 (August 1959): 278.

[101] On De Carlo at Urbino, see articles in Domus 301 (October 1954); Casabella 202 (Aug-Sept 1954); and Casabella 203 (Nov-Dec 1954). For a critical evaluation of the project from a fellow Team 10 member, see Aldo van Eyck, "University College in Urbino by Giancarlo De Carlo," *Zodiac* 16 (1966): 171–3. For a longer study of his town plan for Urbino, undertaken after the passing of a resolution for a General Redevelopmment Plan for the Urbino area in September 1958, see Giancarlo de Carlo, *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica* (Padova:

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The same modularity recurs in De Carlo's 1955 Faculty Housing for the University at Urbino, situated on a slope of land in the city's suburbs, and designed in brick with the same shallow, pitched roofs found at Baveno **[fig. 2.14]**. The University would become the object of an extended meditation by De Carlo, who used the idea of a self-sustaining academic community as a template for the adaptable model of community that characterized his Team 10 work, especially the way in which it mediated the treacherously hierarchical relationship between the scale of the individual, those of the separate buildings, and that of the city, as well as the contextual codependence of history and the present.[102]

De Carlo's work, more so than that of most other Team 10 members (other than, perhaps, van Eyck), foregrounded the embeddedness of habitat within specific local histories and environments, so that participation evolved not only through metaphorical means (or through participation in community building) but through a sense of belonging. In this context, his Urbino faculty housing initiates a theme that was both intrinsic to the town of Urbino and extrinsically engaged to De Carlo's structures: the interrelationship between landscape and built form. The city of Urbino was created on a precipitous hilltop such that aerial views make it seem as if the town were at any moment ready to slide off into oblivion **[fig. 2.15]**. De Carlo's gambit was to use the native landscape as a model for the types of buildings he would generate. The faculty housing is arranged as a crescent of twelve dwellings, with each unit measuring around 1,200 square feet (quite spacious in contrast to the size of comparable semidetached houses in the area), following

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Marsilio editore, 1966). This last volume gives a detailed account of the economic, geographical, infrastructural, historical aspects of the region.

[102] This housing complex was commissioned by a cooperative of university faculty, not by the university itself.

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a curve in the road, and set on a slope such that the rhythm of the pitched roofs creates an interplay echoing that of the terrain. Likewise, the crescent formation is a formal analogue to the way in which Urbino's built structures seem to hug the periphery of the hill on which they stand. The units themselves are created using local brick stock that is on one hand economical, and on the other literally inscribed with a sense of regional history in its color, texture, and appearance. Community building is achieved through evoking a sense of belonging to a region.

In the same way that Aldo van Eyck would famously argue, following Leon Battista Alberti, that the city was a large house and the house a small city, De Carlo extended the hilltop location of Urbino into his creation of the University College campus, in particular the Collegio del Colle, a residential school within the University **[fig. 2.16]**. This project, which engaged De Carlo from 1962–1983, is of course somewhat beyond the scope of the present study, but as with the Smithsons' Robin Hood Gardens, it represents the culmination of many years of theorizing and research, and as such must be considered at least as an extended work of Team 10 activity.[103]

The Collegio is sited on a hill next to a longstanding monastery, and sits (like the city of Urbino itself) both precariously and magnificently within this context. Seen in plan, the Collegio is a set of concentric semicircles comprising dormitories arcing around a common building at the semicircle's center; the communal building is thus at the hill's apex and the serves as the entrance to the whole complex, with the students houses located lower on the slope, following the slope's contours in an uneven yet highly regulated organization (similar to the arrangement of the faculty housing) **[fig. 2.17]**. The

[103] The Collegio del Colle was used to illustrate Alison Smithson's Team 10 Primer (ibid., pp. 12–13), testifying to its importance within the Team 10 context.

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rooms themselves are trapezoidal, thus fitting more evenly into the semicircular plan like voussoirs in an arch, and are set in a zig-zag pattern that confronts the typical monotony of housing blocks with an internal dynamism, seen best through the exterior covered walkways that are the cantilevered analogues to Golden Lane's embedded street decks, minus the shared services **[fig. 2.18]**.

The use of shuttered concrete and brick underscores the affinity between built form and natural landscape, as the materials become less of either an intrusion (because of their rough texture harmonizing with both the existing fifteenth-century buildings and the craggy terrain) or a sentimentalizing force (as they marry new technologies with old). The overall effect is first one of inevitability and contiguity, as the Collegio appears to have always been in this precise location, and second, of chance, for the topography of the site combines with the inventive massing of the structures to create an organic and plastic sense of complexity. The intricate proliferation of the dormitory quarters is anchored not only through being enveloped by its natural surroundings, but is also given solidity through the blunt geometricity of the Communal building, which sits as massive and resolute solid at the center of the plan.

Aldo van Eyck, whose words of approbation were few and far between, wrote glowingly of the Collegio, and in doing so attributed to it many of the neologisms and ideas that he had contrived for his own work, thus conferring on De Carlo's work the highest status:

> I don't think I've seen a building that gives more to the countryside (from within) than it takes from it, interiorizing it, articulating it, and differentiating it—you would in fact have to go for a very long country walk to take in as much. . . . It is a huge extended doorstep, an inbetween realm coinciding, as it were, within the building. . . By giving time a spatial quality and space a temporal one,

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> both are 'humanized,' i.e. rendered accessible . . . even without people, it is "peopled."[104]

Perhaps the reason for the Collegio's success (from the Team 10 perspective) was its reverent obedience to the manifold layers of history that had accrued in and around the city—mirrored in De Carlo's strata of concrete and brick—without any attempt to efface, malign, or cheapen that history. De Carlo's participatory architecture set the standard for the types of ideas that were constantly in circulation within Team 10 ideas. Many years later, in summing up his ideas of an "architecture of participation"[105] (which he clearly stated is not the simple translation into built form that the client dictates to the architect), he found that its definition made most sense in contrast to prewar utopian, essentialist architecture, or what he called "authoritarian architecture":

> [Authoritarian architecture] begins with the premise that to resolve a problem it is necessary to reduce its variables to a minimum to make it constant and therefore controllable, while [participatory architecture] calls into play as many variables as possible so that the result is multiple, open to change, rich in meanings that are accessible to everyone.[106]

Team 10 Influences:

The shared Team 10 interest in a "participatory architecture" was a result of several discrete minds alighting on what was widely perceived as the shortcomings of the prewar avant-garde's insistence on template answers to complicated questions of housing and architecture. One of the most important points of convergence for these ideas

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[104] Aldo van Eyck, "University College in Urbino by Giancarlo De Carlo," *Zodiac* 16 (1966): 172–3.

[105] In 1953 De Carlo designed three first–class decks of the cruise ship "Luciana." His decision to decorate the ship's play area with drawings made by children living in Le Corbusier's Unité at Marseilles is perhaps the most unfortunate, sentimental side of a participatory architecture, exposing what Joseph Rykwert called De Carlo's "endearing weaknesses." See J. Rykwert, "The Progress of an Italian Architect," ibid., 280.

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occurred at the 1953 CIAM meeting in Aix-en-Provence, where the eventual Team 10 emphasis on openness of plan and of functions, made possible through a fluid and indulgent appreciation of vernacular traditions of living and of the relationships already existing within communities, appeared in the Moroccan work of ATBAT-Afrique. A report prepared by John Voelcker (a MARS member and attendee at Aix) for the MARS members who hadn't attended CIAM, wrote of ATBAT's Moroccan housing:

> This [project] was of considerable importance because of the way that it regulated a very strong traditional way of life, in particular through the way that materials and structures were used. A large concrete structural frame would be constructed which contained a number of dwelling units . . . each expressing the smaller associations of Moroccan life, their relationship with the sun and with the sand.[107]

The work of ATBAT-Afrique and its highest profile members, Vladimir Bodiansky, George Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Alexis Josic, has been discussed at length, and with great intelligence and erudition, elsewhere.[108] But ATBAT's work in North Africa (prior to the decolonization of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco) was such a seminal and instigating force in the conception and execution of the Team 10 ethos that one must at least take some time to understand exactly the appeal of this small studio's work to the more international group of Team 10.

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[106] "Conversation with Giancarlo de Carlo: Milan, July 1990," in Zucchi, ibid., 168.
[107] John Voelcker, "AESTHETICS: Report given to the M.A.R.S. Group after the Congress," dated Aix-en-Provence July 1953. BAKE 00058/a12.
[108] A good place to begin is with Jean-Louis Cohen's "The Moroccan Group and the Theme of Habitat," *Rassegna* 52, no. 4 (December 1992): 58–67. See also Monique Eleb, "Une alternative à l'universalisme fonctionnaliste: Ecochard, Candilis et l'ATBAT-Afrique," *Cahiers de la recherche architecturale et urbane* 2/3 (Novembre 1999): 167–80, reprinted in translation as "An Alternative to Functionalist Universalism: Ecochard, Candilis, and ATBAT-Afrique," in Goldhagen and Legault, ibid., pp. 55–73. For the situation in French colonial Africa beginning in the nineteenth century and lasting until World War II under, among others, Henri Prost, see Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Urban Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

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In 1946, Michel Ecochard was named the director of the Town Planning Department of the Protectorate (of Morocco), a post in which he served until 1952. For the entirety of this period, Ecochard had pledged his dedication to the Corbusian functionalism of the Athens Charter, and it was under this banner that he continued to work while in Casablanca.[109] Ecochard was admitted as an "individual member" to CIAM in 1949, after having met Sigfried Giedion in New York and then facilitating the latter's trip to Morocco in 1947.

George Candilis's arrival in Morocco in 1951, after having overseen the construction of Le Corbusier's Unité in Marseilles (and thus providing a crucial bridge between the prewar CIAM and Team 10, as well as exemplifying the decisive shift in Corbusier's postwar projects[110]), coincided with the apotheosis of Ecochard's work there, namely the master plan for Casablanca of 1952, as well as his dismissal from his post in December of the same year. Ecochard's plan had provided for a specifically segregated Muslim neighborhood (or *bidonville*) called the *Carrières Centrales*, and it was for this area that ATBAT designed its collective buildings that would prove so influential on the inchoate Team 10. Candilis's and ATBAT's success, however, was amplified given that it arrived just at a moment of crisis, when the bankrupt legacy of functionalism was just beginning to be realized.

An article by Ecochard in May of 1951 had explored the inadequate treatment of the influx of nomads to the city, as well as the concomitant need for agricultural and

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[109] Even in his memoirs of the period written in 1955, he maintained a belief in doctrinaire, prewar CIAM functionalism. See Ecochard quote in Cohen, ibid., 60.
[110] Furthermore, Candilis's contribution to the 9th CIAM under the banner of ATBAT-Afrique were considered by the Smithsons to be "the greatest achievement since Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation." Alison and Peter Smithson, "Collective Housing in Morocco: The Work of ATBAT-Afrique," *Architectural Design* 25 (January 1955): 2.

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industrial development. He offered a prescription based on the assumption that this radical change of habitat would require a process of acclimation based on the impossibility of retaining the nomadic forms of shelter in the urban sphere:

> In Morocco, there exists no bond, nor any similitude between the urban and the rural habitats. One can observe between them a fundamental difference that is not diminished as in the European countries. Morocco clings to a difference between urban and rural people, and to a radical separation of [their] activities. In Morocco, at least up until the twentieth century, the city was populated with bourgeoisie and artisans, while the country was exclusively populated with agricultural workers and shepherds.[111]

The colonial spirit of "us vs. them" was alive and well in Ecochard's opinion, and his prose betrays the paternalism of those functionalists who continued to believe that all should partake equally and immediately of the fruits of industrialization. But this is more a function of his adherence to the *language* of the Athens Charter than to his actual proposals for the reorganization of Morocco's *bidonvilles*, or slums. Ecochard in fact advocated the adaptation of particular parts of the city to the uses by three different groups of inhabitants: the Muslims, the Jews, and the Europeans. This was less a result of prejudice than an acknowledgment of the manifold histories and customs that coexisted within the city. It was due largely to this perceived heresy in the eyes of the city's colonialist administrators that he lost his job in 1952 (presumably due to the fact that Ecochard's policies looked backwards to vernacular traditions rather than forward to a new colonial future). By this time Bodiansky had already been to Morocco and presided over the formation of ATBAT-Afrique, under the auspices of which Georges Candilis was hired to head the organization's office in Casablanca in 1951.

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[111] Michel Ecochard, "Problèmes d'urbanisme au Maroc," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 35 (Mai 1951): 12.

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The types of buildings constructed in Casablanca prior to Candilis's arrival were of a purely Corbusian variety, without any apparent effort to understand the specific needs of the indigenous population. Emblematic of such problems are the *immeubles d'habitation* by J. and P. Honegger (1950–1), which purported to bring the "modern spirit" to Morocco while adapting to the Moroccan climate and adhering within a moderate budget.[112] The structure's main shortcomings lay in its insistence on a Corbusian language that attempted to impose a European modernist flavor onto a city whose inhabitants were not amenable to such coercion **[fig. 2.19]**. Specifically absent was the component that addressed cultural and religious requirements, without which the other aspects of the proposal were severely incapacitated.

Candilis and ATBAT-Afrique, on the other hand, sought to address each culture or community in terms of its particular valences, needs, and desires, rather than an all-around solution that could simply be implemented wherever needed. Their groundbreaking Moroccan work was shown first at CIAM 8 in a project for the town of Rabat Salé, which was one of Candilis's first projects after arriving in Morocco.[113] The result of this plan was the synthesis of an understanding between discrete groups of the urban population and the need for specialized dwellings to address the needs of these different communities. In 1951–3, the canonization of these ideas was realized in the structures created for Casablanca's *Carrières Centrales* neighborhood. The buildings, credited to ATBAT-Afrique which at this point consisted of Candilis, Woods, Bodiansky,

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[112] "Immeubles d'habitation à Casablanca," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 35 (Mai 1951): 34.

[113] This fact has been ascertained by Jean-Louis Cohen, even though Ecochard had long been credited with its creation. See Jean-Lois Cohen, "The Moroccan Group and the Theme of Habitat," ibid., p. 59.

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and Henri Piot, amplified the traditional inwards-oriented dwelling typical of the indigenous Muslim community, using the traditional vernacular dwelling as a model.

The basic module of the "Nid d'Abeilles" (Bee's Nest) block, perhaps the most successful and immediately striking of the projects, involved a series of rooms grouped around an inner court, which gave light and air to all of the rooms while serving as a general public space for the family **[fig. 2.20]**. The external patios are staggered to maintain maximum privacy as well as to serve a secondary function as *brise-soleils* (or "sun-blockers," an idea taken from Le Corbusier). The resulting façade demonstrates a pleasing rhythmic cadence, its whitewashed wall punctuated with unadorned apertures, the interplay of light and shadow illustrating the actual functions of the patio to allow both access to, and shelter from, the strong North African sunlight. Shops at the ground floor offered the opportunity for community engagement in proximity to the relative privacy of the dwelling units.

As Jean-Louis Cohen has written, the ATBAT experiments later reorganized the basic Muslim module in designs for the Jewish Moroccans, whose orthodoxy required that women be isolated during menstruation **[fig. 2.21]**. Candilis designed an interior room specifically for this purpose, each with a semi-enclosed patio allowing for external exposure, demonstrating the flexibility of the original module, as well as presenting a sensitivity towards cultural difference.[114] Finally, in 1953, ATBAT attempted to bring these ideas into the formulation of an *Immeuble "Entonnoir"* ("Funnel" Block) for European residents of Casablanca **[fig. 2.22]**. Incorporating the two "essential needs of man"—to congregate and to be isolated through the "adaptation of his milieu to his own needs"—all of these different structures strove to "assure the liberty and the possibility of

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doing such a thing."[115] Here, flexibility came not through reidentification, but through an interpenetration of interior and exterior, courtesy of a parti that allowed funnels of light and air to scoop into the building from above and below, allowing even interior rooms to have access to the outdoors.

Although this last project was not shown at CIAM 9, the earlier *Nid d'Abeilles* block was, along with the so-called "Semiramis" building in the same neighborhood (1951). The impact that they had on the Smithsons, who saw an immediate correspondence between the "backyard" of the Golden Lane Project and the "patio" of the *Nid d'Abeilles,* was immediate and profound: "We regard these buildings in Morocco as the greatest achievement since Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles."[116] In these projects they saw the potential for a new universal, one in which man participated with the architect in the adaptation, if not the actual creation, of his own habitat, a custom that sprung from existing traditions in Morocco and their incorporation into these new housing units just discussed.[117]

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[114] Ibid., p. 62.

[115] "Habitat Européen au Maroc. Immeuble 'Etonnoir' Orientation Sud," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 47 (May 1953): 91.

[116] Alison and Peter Smithson, "Collective Housing in Morocco," ibid., p.2. The Smithsons also saw an affinity between the ATBAT-Afrique projects for the Moroccan *bidonvilles* and their own Bethnal Green-related work in the shared occupation with "housing for the greater number," which was to say, in effect, housing for the less fortunate. The absence of condescension in both the Smithsons' and ATBAT's work perhaps can be seen as an effect of the decolonization taking place in England and France (and the concomitant urbanization boom in developing countries) at the time, whereby the great colonial powers were no longer trying to impose their will on the discontented masses. It might also be noted that their article on ATBAT immediately follows the first (and, significantly, unsigned) New Brutalist manifesto in the same issue of *Architectural Design.* The connection between Brutalist priorities and ATBAT's investigations into the nature of habitat is made explicit in this linkage.

[117] In 1953, Candilis exhibited some latent regressive tendencies in an article that sought to identify the minimum elements for the economic single family house, in an update to the old *Existenzminimum* debate. Using Corbusier's ideas and Mies's

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The Smithsons observed that the typical Casbah quarters of the southern hemisphere were, in the best possible sense, collective housing at their most primitive, and that these dwellings must somehow be adduced within any new approach to mass housing. This was the advantage and success of ATBAT's work, in the Smithsons' eyes: to have created a habitat "in accordance with the ethical and climatic conditions" of the area in which they built.[118] To have achieved ethical as well as aesthetic success (the Smithsons likewise praised the polychromy and the rhythm of the *Nid d'Abeilles* façades) was, in effect, the highest praise possible within the strict project of Team 10 and, by extension, New Brutalism, which at this time was in the process of being articulated by Banham and the Smithsons. The reciprocal admiration was such that in their presentation at the Team 10/CIAM meeting in Otterlo (1959), the Candilis-Josic-Woods grille showed a project entitled "Proposition pour un Habitat Evolutif," the first drawing of which was emblazoned with the slogan: "Notre manière de penser est directe et brutale." This suggests that they had gained a certain immediacy and strength from the erstwhile words of their Team 10 colleagues **[fig. 2.23]**.[119]

Weissenhofsiedlung housing block as positive examples, Candilis wrote that the task was not to find the "minimum" house but rather to find an archetypal "maximum house" at a minimum price. His argument called for a :"normalization and hierarchization of values" that would allow for a greater flexibility in the choice of materials and, by extension, a variety in the characteristics of buildings. He concluded with the anachronistic claim that "standardization would allow industry to fabricate in vaster quantities and to align the art of building with the rhythm of contemporary production." Hence the direct challenge to a flexible approach when economics takes over. Georges Candilis, "L'habitat individuelle minimum," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 24, no. 49 (October 1953): 1. At the same time, the applicability of their Moroccan projects was tested elsewhere in other warm climates, showing that there was a certain validity to the project beyond the idea of a "new universal." See "Habitations types: Martinique – Réunion – Guyanne – Guadeloupe," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* no. 67–8 (Octobre 1956): 148–51.

[118] Alison and Peter Smithson, "Collective Housing," ibid., 3.

[119] The grille is illustrated in Oscar Newman ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, ibid., pp. 114–9. Candilis and Woods both became important, permanent members of Team 10.

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Aldo van Eyck:

Aldo van Eyck did not have the hands-on experience of building for remote cultures of others, as did ATBAT-Afrique, but he lived a more abstract version of the ATBAT-Afrique adventure through his ethnographic pursuits. Van Eyck is best known within the Team 10 context for his impassioned theorizing, his combative relationship with the Smithsons, and an erudition that may have been the source of that combativeness. Van Eyck, perhaps more that any other Team 10 member, made it a point to engage with texts and specialists outside the field of architecture as a means of increasing his comprehension of the issues that occupied him both on his own and with Team 10. He also had a prolonged investment in the prewar avant-garde, not from an architectural point of view, but an aesthetic one.

His early tutelage in European modernism at the hands of Carola Giedion-Welcker gave him a lifelong appreciation of the painting and sculpture of the Cubists, Surrealists, and the De Stijl artists. Later, his involvement with CoBrA led to his designs for their first two exhibitions, the first in 1949 a the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, and the second in 1951 at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Liège **[fig. 2.24]**. In both venues, his nonhierarchical arrangement of works, with paintings arranged vertically as well as horizontally on the walls, and in vitrines on the floor immediately adjacent to sculptures, thus avoided what van Eyck pejoratively referred to as a "false horizon from which there is no escape."[120]

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[120] Aldo van Eyck, commentary on CoBrA exhibitions, in Vincent Ligtelijn, *Aldo van Eyck: Works* (Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser Publishers, 1999), p. 60. Van Eyck's CoBrA experience led to two collaborations with Constant, the first at an exhibition in the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, sponsored by the Mens en Huis (People and Home)

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Earlier, in 1948, van Eyck had designed an apartment for himself and his family that later became part of the Dutch contribution to the Tenth Milan Triennale in 1951, at which De Carlo's influence was so visible **[fig. 2.25]**.[121] While the apartment itself essentially was an exercise in *Existenzminimum* housing, van Eyck treated it almost as a De Stijl environment,[122] using as its motif a Mondrian painting entitled *Composition with Colored Rectangles* (1917) owned by van Eyck and hung in the combination living room/bedroom. The work, with its loosely gridded arrangement, provided the organizing principle for the apartment:

> From whence comes the dignity of this atmosphere? From the composition that regulates it, and whose presence exists before it is perceived. The lesson of Mondrian, present on the wall in a picture of 1917, is applied to the spaces and the volumes in an inflexible manner. It is enough to look persistently in order to feel here the meaning of these shapes and geometries, which are neither polemical nor religious. In fact to our eyes the place seems, rather than contemporary, which it is, to belong at same time of Mondrian, at the first moment of that style, conserved here with absoluteness, detached from the successive course of time.[123]

The attention to aesthetics here supercedes that of a comfortable house, but it must be remembered that this is van Eyck's home, and for him, to have lived in a De Stijl

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foundation in 1952; and the second at the De Bijenkorf Department Store the following year called "Ons Huis – Ons Thuis" ("Our House-Our Home"). See Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity*, ibid., pp. 201–8.

[121] The Dutch section was organized by architect Benjamin Merkelbach, and the "ordinamento e allestimento" was by van Eyck and Gerrit (Jan) Rietveld. See "Architettura, artigianato e forme industriali nell'Olanda d'oggi," *Nona Triennale di Milano* (Milano: S.A.M.E., 1951), pp. 235–8, 432.

[122] Here we are reminded of Nancy Troy's study of the De Stijl intent on creating a collaborative, overall environment as an expression of a new conception of spatial design. See Nancy J. Troy, *The De Stijl Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983).

[123] "Da che chosa viene la dignità di queto ambiente? Dalla composizione che lo regola, e la cui presenza è la prima cosa che si avverte. La lezione di Mondrian—presente alla parete in un quadro del 1917—è applicata agli spazi e ai volumi in modo inflesibile. Basta qui uno sguardo appena persistente per sentire che il significato di queste forme e geometrie, non è polemico è religioso. Infatti ai nostri occhi il luogo sembra, piuttosto che attuale, quale è, appartenere al tempo stesso di Mondrian, a momento primo di

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environment was the desire of a lifetime. The De Stijl aesthetic later appeared in van Eyck's work, this time on an urban scale. During the late 1940s through 1978, van Eyck designed a number of playgrounds while working for the city of Amsterdam public works department under its director (and longtime CIAM member) Cornelis van Eesteren **[fig. 2.26]**.[124] Van Eyck chose liminal spaces throughout the city in order to rejuvenate them for childrens' activities. Van Eyck regarded the idea of play as central to the city's well being; as he wrote: "A city without the child's particular motion is a malignant paradox. The child is left to discover its potential against all odds, damaged and damaging, in perpetual danger and incidental sunshine."[125] While seeming to be a somewhat cynical view of the child's urban experience, this is in fact a realistic and hopeful one, one that recognizes the dangers implicit in the urban sphere—traffic, pollution, violent crime—while at the same time celebrating the city's "chaotic" and "kaleidoscopic" qualities. These characteristics, rather than having an entropic effect on the city, are instead its lifeblood (in van Eyck's estimation), and furthermore, "[o]rder has no function, on this side of evil, other than to make what is essentially chaotic work."[126]

The Team 10/New Brutalist ideals of postwar humanism implicit in these words were eventually encapsulated in his Amsterdam Orphanage (1957–60). Van Eyck's spirit of play and of indeterminacy was what convinced Frans van Meurs, the head of the orphanage, to commission from him a new orphanage building **[fig. 2.27]**. Van Meurs

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quellostile, qui conservato con assolutezza, distaccato dal corso successivo del tempo." Aldo van Eyck, "Interno olandese," *Domus* 9, 264–5 (Dicembre 1951): 70.

[124] The playgrounds were widely celebrated, having been shown at CIAM 8 (Hoddesdon, 1951) (see Chapter IV for more on this) and also at the Tenth Milan Triennale (1951). For more on van Eesteren and his role in CIAM, see Franziska Bollerey, *Cornelis van Eesteren: Urbanismus zwischen "de Stijl" und C.I.A.M.*, (Braunschweig: Bauwelt Fundamente 103, 1999).

[125] Aldo van Eyck, "The Amsterdam Playgrounds," in Vincent Ligtelijn, ibid., 68.

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wanted to move his enterprise out of central Amsterdam into the outskirts so as to take advantage of the air, greenery, and light that existed away from the congestion of the inner city, allowing the orphanage's 125 inhabitants (the structure's eventual capacity) even more freedom than privileged city children.[127] Van Meurs wanted receptiveness and openness to be immediately legible in the exterior appearance of the building, and likewise wanted the interior to exhibit a relationship between the various staff offices that would evoke associations similar to those of a traditional family.

As far as the childrens' quarters were concerned, van Meurs envisioned a series of rooms aligned in a horizontal, nonhierarchical arrangement so as to avoid feelings of exclusion and superiority (or inferiority). Clearly, van Meurs had a progressive vision, and could have found no one better to bring his ideas to fruition than van Eyck, not the least reason for which was van Eyck's particular interest in community configurations and webs of human interaction, topics to which he contributed greatly within Team 10 discussions.

Within the nonhierarchical deployment of spaces there existed, perhaps unavoidably, an inscription of gender roles. The older girls' living room (ages 14–20) was to have "intimate nooks and spots" for private discussions, while the younger girls' room (10–14) had a "pancake kitchen" for cooking experiments **[fig. 2.28]**.[128] Elsewhere, the older boys' room had a workshop area for the kinds of constructive tasks with which "everyday" adolescents might be thought to engage themselves. The younger boys' room had a recreation area for "working, knocking things together, and messing about without

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[126] Ibid., 69.

[127] The children placed at the orphanage had backgrounds ranging from abandonment at birth, terminal illness, recent imprisonment, to foster family neglect.

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restriction," and a puppet theatre for the spontaneous acting out of imaginative dramas **[fig. 2.29],**[129] all presumably activities whose inevitable result would be to spend one's subsequent six or so years constructively occupied in the older boy's workshop. All of the rooms offered access onto an outdoor playground to allow for community engagement.[130]

These gender and age divisions are lamentable from the point of view of Team 10's insistence on self-organization, but at the same time they show the sort of flexibility of program that occupied van Eyck at this time. The end result, then, is an organic and receptive shape (despite its geometric modularity) that partakes of a certain energy that van Eyck intuited from the site on which the orphanage was situated: a highway leading into the city from Schiphol airport, near the city's largest outdoor stadium; in other words, a place that "includes many of the great motions that belong to the metropolis of to-day."[131]

The rigidity of societal norms that are recapitulated in the orphanage are unfortunate, as on a certain level they tend to subvert an understanding of the principles of free play that van Eyck had absorbed through the work of fellow Dutchman Johan Huizinga. Huizinga's influence on the New Amsterdam School[132] came through his book entitled *Homo Ludens* (1938), a sociological study of the concept of play in the formation

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[128] "Kindertehuis in Amsterdam," *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961): 227.
[129] Ibid., 226.
[130] The prevalent use of concrete and its resulting roughness and sharp edges seems, in hindsight, to have been a poor choice of material for a childrens' home. However, the relatively low cost of the material combined with its durability made it a more attractive solution.
[131] Aldo van Eyck, "The Medicine of Reciprocity Tentatively Illustrated," *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961): 237.

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of modern man.[133] Van Eyck's friend from his flirtation with the CoBrA group, Constant Nieuwenhuis, had most fully integrated the idea of "homo ludens" (or, literally, "man at play") into his work first with the Situationist International and then in his own work, the ongoing project of The New Babylon, a construction that imagined an interconnected series of multi-use structures and conduits covering the surface of cities (and eventually that of the entire planet). The entire construction was meant to encourage nomadism and transience in the service of creating a global community without fixed borders or nationalisms.[134]

The idea of play, regardless of Huizinga's influence, was an important component of Team 10/New Brutalist thought, whether channeled through the Independent Group's musings on Pop-art's celebration of leisure activity, the tangential implications of Dubuffet's embrace of children's art, or more abstractly speaking, the desire for man to participate in the creation of his/her own habitat and community (in fact, even the notion of community has an element of play inscribed within its constitutive actions of interpersonal behavior). As Huizinga had most emphatically affirmed, play is not all about fun and games. The seriousness with which the basic components of play are

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[132] For a critical evaluation of this group of architects, see Oriol Bohigas, "Aldo van Eyck, or the New Amsterdam School," *Oppositions* 9 (Summer 1977): 21–36.

[133] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1949). For a recent evaluation of Huizinga's relationship to CoBrA, see Libero Andreotti, "Play-tactics of the *Internationale Situationniste*," *October* 91 (Winter 2000): 37–58. Andreotti concludes that while Huizinga was of great importance to the Situationists and to the CoBrA artists, these groups must also be considered within the context of postwar consumer culture and the political climate of postwar Europe.

[134] On the Situationists, see the primary texts collected in Ken Knabb ed. and trans., *Situationist International Anthology* (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981). On Constant, see Mark Wigley, *Constant's New Babylon*, ibid. There is also a brief discussion of the Situationist (and Constant's) invocation of *Homo Ludens* in Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), pp. 34–5.

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interspersed throughout the multiplicity of human interactions, and are moreover inherent within the nature of human communication, was the subject of Huizinga's study.

Huizinga, trained as a Sanskrit scholar, embodied some of the same structuralist principles that would lead people such as van Eyck on a search for the origins of the primeval habitat (see Chapter IV), in that he was able to discern, from a socio-historical perspective, a relationship between play and culture, such that "genuine, pure play is one of the bases of civilization."[135] Huizinga's blatant disregard for Freudian discourse and his largely misleading examination of classical culture provoked charges of dilettantism against him. But his freewheeling attitude seems to have been common to the period when one's academic bona fides were enough to justify such musings on any topic that caught one's interest.[136] Empirical, experimental evidence thus was forsaken in favor of an unwavering conviction in a transcendent moral and intellectual compass that guided the amateur's study towards its unknown conclusion.

This is not to say that there is no value in Huizinga's project (as Roger Caillois wrote: "This work, although its affirmations are largely contested, is nevertheless capable of opening extremely fruitful avenues of research and reflection."[137]) In particular Huizinga seems to have been participating in an incipient revolution that found its

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[135] Huizinga, ibid., 5

[136] Huizinga does add a proviso to his introduction, stating that his investigation of play is a cultural, not a biological one, and thus psychological interpretations are of no value to him. This view, of course, presupposes that psychoanalysis is a hard science and, consequently, is governed by an unimpeachable empiricism—itself a problematic stance.

[137] Roger Caillois, *Les jeux et les hommes* (Paris, Gallimard, 1958), 33. Caillois's book represents an important critique of Huizinga's work in that Caillois preferred not to overestimate the applicability of games to everyday life, instead wishing to take them on their own (relatively insignificant) terms. Caillois believed that games must be voluntary, circumscribed in space and time, uncertain in outcome, intrinsically unproductive, governed by rules, and separate from reality (ibid., 42–4). Nonetheless, he still

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apotheosis in John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern's game theory of economics that appeared several years after *Homo Ludens* and takes as its (extremely) basic premise the presumption of objectively rational human behavior and a rejection of quantitative measurements, such that a seemingly irrational response to a particular economic or sociological problem might in fact be the best course of action.[138]

Game theory (and its related discipline, systems theory) concerns a certain interiority in the way that decisions are made in relation to other members of a group/community as opposed to in response to external factors. In Huizinga's terms, the interiority of play can be extended from actual leisure activity to what Aristotle referred to as *diagoge*, or mental recreation. This pursuit is the end result (or *telos*) of all labor, and "affords repose to the soul."[139] Huizinga insisted on the foregrounding of the play element in architecture (as with all the plastic arts); as he specified, "If therefore the play-element is to all appearances lacking in the execution of a work of plastic art, in the contemplation and enjoyment of it there is no scope for it whatever. For where there is no visible action there can be no play."[140]

Read superficially, Huizinga seems skeptical that a work of (plastic) art could in any way embody the dynamics of play necessary for a constructive engagement with the world. A more sympathetic reading would show that he was prescribing a participatory, dynamic art (or architecture) that makes the interactive element the constitutive factor

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considered a study of games to be instructive in the understanding of human nature, and in this case his is a more sociological approach than Huizinga's.

[138] John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944). The principles of game theory first had been proposed by von Neumann in 1928 in his "Zur Theorie der Gesellschaftsspiele," *Mathematik Annalen* 100 (1928): 295–320.

[139] Huizinga, ibid., 185.

[140] Ibid., 191.

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through which identification could occur. Still, it might be argued that it was against such presumed limits that van Eyck, for example, designed the plasticity and organicity of the Orphanage.

The entrance to the Orphanage is through a courtyard that bridges the interior and exterior, a porous virtual membrane that allows for a free flow of foot traffic between the street and the building, as well as a continuation of the public sphere embodied by the rush of traffic on the nearby highway and the roar of the proximate stadium's crowd **[fig. 2.30]**. This arrangement symbolically brought the Orphanage and its inhabitants into contact with the quotidian world (one from which they were largely absent), thus serving to mitigate the typical stigmas that complicate an orphan's relationship to his or her environment. This sort of nonjudgment was a part of the Team 10 ethos of inclusion, at least in theory.

The interior spaces are arranged along two diagonal, zig-zagging streets that branch off from one another at the entrance foyer. Each street has four units aligned along it (each for different age groups), and passes along internal and external courtyards/recreational shared spaces to once again forge a sense of unity among the disparate age groups **[fig. 2.31]**. Van Eyck wrote that he intended to evoke aspects of three separate traditions: the Classical, the Modern, and a new synthetic tradition of "spontaneous building," (suggesting the influence of De Carlo).

The first tradition lends an archetypal a sense of immutability and rest, as well as a geometric ordering (which can be seen not only in the modularity of the spaces as discussed below, but in the inclusion of classical orders and architraves that appear in a stylized manner both inside and out **[fig. 2.32]**. The modern impulse is found more in the

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spatial relationships of the various volumes and their conduits, with change and movement, the centrifugal movement around entrance court, and streets that contravene any proclivity towards centralized control. A particular inspiration for this latter aspect might be Theo van Doesburg's and Cornelis van Eesteren's *Counter-Compositions* of the early 1920s, projects that radicalized the notion of space in an attempt to make it permeable to traditional diachronic or temporal forces, and thus were meant to exist in a pure space of construction.

The constructive opposition established between these first two traditions—van Eyck's dialectics of center/decentralization and classical/modern (which when expanded into the dialectical pair of "eternal vs. transitory" becomes what van Eyck calls "twinphenomena," what he defined as "a dimensional change in both our way of thinking and working which will allow the quantitative nature of each separate polarity to be encompassed and mitigated by the qualitative nature of all twinphenomena combined: the medicine of reciprocity."[141] This might otherwise be defined as a rereading of the Hegelian dialectic in which irresolution possesses positive qualities that challenge and improve the character of each pole. These twinphenomena might come about within the space of an instant or else might gestate for an indeterminate period of time before announcing their arrival. The temporal aspect of the building, in van Eyck's mind, is always in flux.

In the context of the orphanage, van Eyck tried to evoke a tradition of spontaneous building, or "the vernacular of the heart." Within this tradition, van Eyck sought to argue that unity in diversity is a vernacular tendency, based on a flexible comprehension of history that sees the present as an accumulation of multiple "past

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presents." This aspect of van Eyck's practice is nearly identical to that of De Carlo, whose "Spontaneous Architecture" exhibition seemed to have been dealing with similar themes of historical recuperation.

The 328 domes that cap the orphanage's roof and are the unit of its modularity are meant to create various patterns and spatial rhythms, forging associative bonds between the related yet variegated units **[fig. 2.33]**. From the exterior, the modules appear identical, and that provides a visual unity and continuity. But once inside, those modules break off into patterns based on associations—associations both among and between the physical unit themselves as well as among and between the users and inhabitants of those spaces.

Van Eyck deliberately invoked the Renaissance Humanist claim (made by Leon Battista Alberti) that the house is an image of a small city, and the city's model is that of a large house, as stated earlier. By using urban imagery (as, for instance, in the organization of spaces along main streets or thoroughfares), van Eyck brings together the two most salient aspects of the Team 10 project, forging a unity by bringing street life into the conceptual framework of high-density living quarters through the patterns of identification spelled out in the Doorn Manifesto.

The Orphanage's modularity, from a *symbolically* functional view, permits the possibility for distinct functions within a nonhierarchical whole. There exist, however, unifying themes that help the overall structure to cohere—perhaps, most notably, the domed roofs. The first scheme for the Orphanage utilized low barrel vaults as in Le Corbusier's Petite Maison de Weekend (1935) **[fig. 2.34]** and the later Maisons Jaoul (1953–5), and perhaps influenced (as was Corbusier) by northern African structures. The

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[141] Aldo van Eyck, "The Medicine of Reciprocity Tentatively Illustrated," ibid., 237.

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resulting modularity was both praised and derided. R. Buckminster Fuller, for example, appreciated van Eyck's building for "having an economy which becomes a natural poetry," and the architect himself for having been "thoroughly educated in the tools of our evolving moment."[142] But even some of its supporters criticized its "Kasbah-itis" and its yearnings for a model beyond that of European architecture.[143] This criticism was no doubt precipitated by van Eyck's ethnographic research trips to Africa and the American South-West undertaken in the early 1950s (see Chapter IV), and what might be critically believed to be a dishonest use of a remote vernacular in the service of a transcendental appeal for "authenticity."[144]

The Kasbah can be read as both a pejorative (in the sense of inauthenticity as suggested above), but also as a methodological decision (i.e., as an accumulation of housing units without a preconceived plan) that was true to van Eyck's desire to transcend pure functionalism and literally open up the building to the social component of its inhabitants. There is a similarity as well to the Smithsons' celebration of caravan living, another nomadic trope that sought to deny fixity and instrumental values in favor of an open-endedness and plasticity **[fig. 2.35, 2.36]**.[145]

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[142] Quoted in Ligtelijn, ibid., 296.

[143] In particular W. van Tijen, who thought the Kasbah to be "an escape into dubious individualism," (thus completely misunderstanding van Eyck's intent. See Strauven, ibid., 322.

[144] This type of critique of course reminds us of similar criticisms leveled at the Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart, erected in 1927 by the Deutscher Werkbund under the direction of Mies van der Rohe. A famous photomontaged postcard appeared in the *Schwäbisches Heimatbuch* in 1941 that interspersed Arabs on camels amid the white structures of the Siedlung to suggest that a Mediterranean [sic] vernacular was incorrect when implemented in the South of Germany.

[145] See Alison and Peter Smithson, "Caravan: Embryo Appliance House?" in *Architectural Design* (September 1959), reprinted in Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light*, ibid., pp. 114–121.

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The idea of openness may have found its strangest, and yet perhaps most prescient critique in the words of Charles Jencks, who called the building a "near-perfect example of cybernetic design."[146] Cybernetics gained currency in the 1940s, mainly through the writings of Norbert Wiener, who had devised cybernetics in the late 1940s–early 1950s, and whose *Human Uses for Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* was read in Independent Group circles.[147] Wiener envisioned manifold self-sustaining systems that could be found existing in the most microscopic levels of organic life, as well as far into the reaches of the cosmos. The interiority of any given entity was exemplified through an examination based on the functional properties of that entity, whereby the output of the entity is seen as having a compensatory relationship to the input. This homeostasis, or consistent restoration of internal equilibrium, was first recognized in human beings, but then used as a means of creating self-regulating systems of human inspiration.

Systems theory (a related mathematical discipline) is a science that describes social systems as closed and hostile to the importation of outside elements.[148] Because systems intrinsically are closed, they can be regarded as a solitary system within a larger environment (although closed off from that larger infrastructure). Social systems are neither human beings nor actions, but are rather a result of communication resulting from

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[146] Charles Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 313.

[147] Norbert Wiener, *Human Uses for Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954). The IG hosted an evening lecture on the related discipline of information theory, delivered by E. W. Meyer on 8 March 1955. The talk was entitled "Probability and Information Theory and their Applications to the Visual Arts." Although the idea would seem to coalesce with the science fiction fixation among group members, there is no evidence that any IG affiliate undertook any sort of prolonged study of the topic, perhaps due to the need for arcane scientific knowledge. See Robbins, ibid., p. 249.

[148] One of the fathers of systems theory is considered to be Ludwig von Bertalanffy. See his "General Systems Theory: A Critical Review," *General Systems* VII (1962), pp. 1145–57.

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a synthesis of information, utterances, and understandings (thus very much a structuralist system, such as structural linguistics). Systems theory is, in effect, a collection of multiple functions, and is thus an interesting parallel to the idea of collaboration intrinsic to Team 10/New Brutalist practice, insofar as a system is seen as "a collection of interrelated elements characterized by a boundary and functional unity."[149] For our present purposes, let us consider a given community to be a social system, with its constituent receptor, effector and decision-making elements. The tendency towards the most advantageous interrelationship of these parts is the preeminent characteristic of a cohesive system.[150]

Mapping these ideas onto van Eyck's Orphanage, to use the present example, we can imagine the various divisions and organizations of spaces and corridors to have been designed not as an authoritarian or regulatory imposition, but rather as the creation of framework that mediates between the need for an architectural context and the activities within that context. The expectation is that the actions of the inhabitants will adapt themselves to the formation of an internal community through autopoiesis, or a self-producing circular action of activity and production.[151] These actions are a means of

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[149] Charles Dechert, "The Development of Cybernetics," in Charles R. Dechert ed., *The Social Impact of Cybernetics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 23.

[150] Jack Burnham wrote an early study of the impact that postwar technology had on postwar art. In a chapter on cybernetics and art, his first example of an artist who embraced new robot technology was Independent Group member Eduardo Paolozzi, whose robot sculptures of the mid-1950s were cast in bronze through the lost-wax technique, resulting in traditional, inert art works rather than functional cyborgs. Still, the critique of the science fiction urge to envision robots anthropomorphically (rather than as new forms fit for specific new tasks), confirms that humans tend to equate their own form with the highest level of intelligence. See Jack Burnham, *Beyond Modern Sculpture: The Effects of Science and Technology on the Sculpture of this Century* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968), especially Chapter 8, "Robot and Cyborg Art," pp. 312–76.

[151] In this sense, the Orphanage might be seen to foreshadow computer-aided design (in its interiorized design process that is formed by the social system that it planned to serve).

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internal reproduction which, through their manifold and autonomous machinations, serve to preserve organization and identity, instead of imposing these characteristics from outside of the self-contained system.[152] In the absence of external control, a sense of liberation and self-sufficiency is achieved, allowing for, in the case of a community, a bond with the past as well as the satisfaction of having provided for one's own future. This is the resolution of how to "achieve diversity through unity," which van Eyck stated as his ultimate goal at the Orphanage.[153] In a larger sense, diversity as a function of unity can be considered emblematic of Team 10 discourse itself.

TEAM 10 AND THE POLITICS OF DIVERSITY:

The activities of Team 10 were largely a European enterprise, and despite the problems of insularity that plagued CIAM's prewar activities, there seemed to be no real attempt to open up the discussions beyond the core group of Team 10 members. This having been said, there were certainly measures taken to involve others in Team 10 discussions, and of course, while Team 10 was still nominally a part of CIAM (at least until the CIAM name was abandoned in the wake of the Otterlo conference), the organization of meetings was conducted more or less as before. Various international groups were asked to prepare study grilles around a given theme, and by the time of the tenth meeting, the epigrammatic and rhetorical voice so beloved by the Smithsons, van Eyck, and De Carlo (all of which were already recuperations of Le Corbusier's own elliptical prose) seems to have become a sort of lingua franca among Team 10 adherents.

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[152] For an introduction to the idea of autopoiesis within systems theory, see Anatol Rapoport, *General System Theory: Essential Concepts & Applications* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent, UK and Cambridge, MA: Abacus Press, 1986), pp. 113–19.

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This raises the question of authorial intent. Was the status of Team 10 adherence coercive enough to require a specific rhetorical voice in all official documentation and discussions? One particular case helps to illuminate the discussion.

The 1955 La Sarraz meeting, at which many of the Team 10 ideas were codified, resulted in the following document, whose language is exemplary of Team 10 rhetoric:

> At CIAM 9 work was presented by our group which suggested that there might be some numerical system which could be established as the basis for the solving of problems of Habitat and for the construction of communities.
>
> We have subsequently come to the conclusion that no systematic relationship can be established between finite number and the patterns of human communities.
>
> We also feel it is completely fallacious to assume that to achieve an idea of community (a unity), it is essential to provide laundries, shops, crêches, etc. or that if provided they will produce a community simply by being there.
>
> We have established that the main aim of urbanism is comprehensibility, i.e. clarity of organisation. A comprehensible whole built up from appreciated units. An appreciated unit is not a 'visual group' or a neighbourhood, but a felt unit.
>
> Appreciated:- a/as an idea.
> b/ as a human group
> c/ as a mechanical-structural organism
> d/as a visual unity.
> etc. etc. i.e. in the way one 'takes in' a natural phenomenon.
>
> Because the 'appreciated unit' is felt it must be different for Village, Town and City. Its scale must increase with the scale of community, its whole organisation must be different, it must be a new idea. It is impossible to build up a large community from 'appreciated units' which are valid only for a small community. (e.g. houses round a square.) This does not completely invalidate them as components but only as 'appreciated units'.
> We have to invent these 'appreciated units'. This is the problem of Habitat, and it can only be solved by the architect-urbanist.

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[153] Aldo van Eyck, presentation of the Children's Home, Amsterdam, in Oscar Newman ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo,* ibid., p. 33.

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Footnote: Le Corbusier has frequently pointed out the continuing validity of the scale of Royal Paris within the context of modern Paris.[154]

Let us compare this to a document by a delegation from New York to Dubrovnik, comprised of self-proclaimed Team 10 "members" Alfred Bush, James Collins, and Arnold Oshin, and associates Gertrude Bush and Herbert H. Stevens, Jr. They contributed the following manifesto to the 1955 La Sarraz meeting, echoing Team 10's method of writing in the fractured and elliptical style of a Mallarmé calligramme (perhaps taken initially from Le Corbusier's epigrammatic prose):

> We believe that the objective of living is to derive maximum value* from experience, and we feel that the role of the architect, planner, and social scientist is to facilitate this objective.
> We are attempting to make use of the concept of Dynamic Homeostasis**: A Unifying Principle in Organic, Social, and Ethical Evolution, to understand its relation to values and objectives.
>
> * we are considering the possibility that Man be conceived of as 'value seeking.'
> **The biological concept of self-regulation and control of psychological and physiological factors for optimal existance [sic] (see-A.E. Emerson, *Scientific Monthly*, February 1954).
>
> "COMMUNITY EXISTS
> WHEN PROXIMITY
> COMMON EXPERIENCE
> INTERACTION
> INTERDEPENDENCE
> CONTINUITY OF GOALS
>
> ARE ORGANIZED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO

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[154] "Contribution to La Sarraz 7–11 September 1955/Summary of Conclusions reached/by Team 10 England." BAKE 0071/a25. The final point ("We have to invent these 'appreciated units") seems strangely at odds with the other, more democratically aligned ideas within the document, In fact, they echo the narcissism of prewar CIAM. There exists, within Team 10 rhetoric, a self-importance that results from the belief that the group's members were the only members of the profession actually addressing the needs of a postwar world on a comprehensive scale. Remembering that for Team 10, the architect-urbanist is working in the service of the community, we might charitably suggest that such a role is, from the Team 10 perspective, selfless and easily justified merely as an organizational position.

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INFLUENCE
OR MODIFY
THE BEHAVIOR AND VALUES
OF PEOPLE

> If theoretical circumstances were such that there were no modifications of behavior on the part of members, 'COMMUNITY' would NOT exist.[155]

The earnestness with which the Americans join in the cry for a break with the allegedly inhumane and mechanistic values of prewar CIAM activity suggests desperation (especially given the remove with which American architects generally perceived European reconstruction), while at the same time showing a certain ingenuity in its contribution of a new scientific model of behavior from which a new model of human behavior might be derived: homeostasis. The notion of homeostasis is linked to the then-fashionable theory of cybernetics and systems theory (a topic discussed elsewhere in relation to van Eyck). But the failure to provide any further information about this topic suggests a dilettantism in line with the Independent Group's flirtations with various trendy topics. Again, one must carefully question Team 10's experimental investigations, which were catholic in scope, yet generally not pursued with any expertise. Still, the collaborative nature of the organization required a constant input of new ideas, a need addressed by the establishment of a centralized "bureau of information" that would function as a command center for pertinent contributions to Team 10 discussions.

The so-called *Boite Postale d'Habitation* (B.P.H., or "Post Box for the Development of Habitat"), was conceived after the 1959 Otterlo congress, directly after

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[155] 'Planning Workshop of New York" - Theory Group; CIAM X, June 1955. Getty Research Center, CIAM/Box 2, CIAM 1948–50 folder; also BAKE 0071/a25.

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the announcement of the "Death of CIAM."[156] This casualty came about through a disagreement arising "between those architects, such as the Italian group headed by [Ignazio] Gardella, committed to some form of historicism, and those more concerned with the problems of sociology and technology."[157] Having agreed that while a smaller group was better for discussions during the congress meetings, the architects of the world who, having expressed interest in the ideas of the new CIAM directorate, nevertheless should be allowed to participate in setting the agendas for future meetings not through direct consultation (nor even physical presence), but through contributions made to the B.P.H., which would function as a "kind of clearing house for ideas should anyone write in."[158] The sense of obligation was certainly enhanced by the desire of the new group to present at least the *appearance* of openness and inclusion that they felt the prewar CIAM had lacked. Thus the B.P.H. was a perfectly elegant solution to their quandary: any submissions were welcome, but the central core of Team 10 leaders retained the right to critique or ignore any or all submissions. The B.P.H. would be maintained by Jaap Bakema at the Rotterdam offices of Van den Broek and Bakema.

Bakema wrote in 1961 that Team 10 "think[s] it very useful that the results of their work can be confronted with similar work of other individuals or groups. For such confrontations it is possible to have a simple center of communication. For such aims is available the B.P.H."[159] He then lists the types of materials that had been thus far received. Submissions came from Team 10 and non-Team 10 individuals, including the

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[156] "The Death of CIAM," *Architectural Design* 10, vol. 29 (October 1959): A/5
[157] Ibid. Ignazio Gardella was an adherent of the so-called Neo-Liberty movement, discussed earlier. For more on the rift that caused CIAM's dissolution, see my conclusion.
[158] Ibid.

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Smithsons on the next meeting at Bagnols-sur-Cèze, Yona Friedman on his *urbanisme mobile*, Cornelis van Eesteren with a statement in favor of the B.P.H., a critical review of the Otterlo congress by Eduard Sekler, and a copy of the new Finnish journal *Le Carré Bleu* sent by Herbert Blomstedt (edited by André Schimmerling).

The heterogeneity of these submissions underscores Team 10's presumed commitment to a multivalent discussion of the present state of architecture. At the same time, the possibility of incorporating so many conflicting and often opposing viewpoints into a coherent avant-garde voice echoed the tensions already present within Team 10 ranks. The Smithsons, in particular, had early on questioned the effectiveness of the B.P.H., to which Bakema had replied, "The Post Box is a communication among those who ask for communication about matters not given in magazines. As long as people ask for such communication I personally like to maintain the Post Box."[160] The fact remains that, as much as Team 10 wished to function *in the world*, and as strongly as they stressed the contemporaneity and presentness of the B.P.H., the whole enterprise of the B.P.H. remained abstract, as removed from everyday life as the internal dialogues of Team 10 itself.

Despite the fact that the initial concept may have been suggested by what Bakema sardonically called "the Harvard Professors" (Gropius, Sert, Tyrwhitt, Giedion),[161] the idea of the B.P.H. can be seen to have embodied one of the central tensions of Team 10 activities. On the one hand, it was emblematic of the type of inclusive and participatory rhetoric that formed the corpus of Team 10 thought. At the same time, internal battles

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[159] Jaap Bakema, Letter to the Editor, *Forum: Maandblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 5 (February 1961): 190.
[160] Letter from Bakema to A & P Smithson, Dated [Rotterdam], 6 September 1961. BAKE or104/Team 10 1961–71 Folder.

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between certain members of the group (almost always involving the Smithsons) led to dissent over the amount of external influence that should be allowed into Team 10 discussions and meetings. These squabbles were amplified in the 1960s, when the revolutionary impulse had begun to die down. De Carlo wrote an open letter in 1967 to the core members complaining of the mediocre quality of some architects invited to recent meetings, asking whether Team 10 was a merely sentimental exercise among old friends whose ideas no longer served ideological ends.[162] Van Eyck was moved to redress De Carlo, writing that he "could not accept this attitude," preferring one that "must be *critical and inclusive*, never *intolerant and exclusive*."[163]

It may seem at times that Team 10 members—the Smithsons, in particular—were absolutely unconcerned with contemporary events, and wished to work within a bubble of completely unfettered experimentation. This may explain why they were not able to bring to fruition more built projects. But beyond the Smithsons, a general atmosphere of detachment prevailed, continuing one of the less fortuitous legacies of the prewar CIAM generation. The political dimension of Team 10, as with CIAM at large, seems to have been one of careful disengagement with contemporary events, a fact to which a certain irony attaches itself, especially with regard to prewar CIAM documents. Contemporaneity was an issue only insofar as no political stance needed to be taken, and thus was a topic that was both motivating and constricting in its inevitability.

Le Corbusier could embrace fully the exigencies of a new machine age, equating the architect with the engineer as a means of exploiting the urge towards geometric

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[161]Bakema, Letter to the Editor (February 1961), ibid., p. 190.
[162] Letter to Team 10 members from Giancarlo de Carlo dated Paris, 25 February 1967. BAKE or104.
[163] Letter from Aldo van Eyck to De Carlo, n.d. BAKE or104

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precision, just as long as this affiliation remained metaphorical and thus abstract. His interpretation of geometry drew equally from the machine as an exemplar of the standards by which new forms of construction were to be realized ("Machinery contains in itself the factor of economy, which makes for selection. The house is a machine for living in"),[164] and from the idea that geometric forms were inherently infused with the *Zeitgeist*, or the *esprit nouveau*, the invocation of which was enough to summon up the unimpeachably desirable qualities that such forms bring with them. This new spirit would be the means of a poetic transformation, as well, a crucial point that must be understood as a mediator between mimesis and allegory.

In no way did Le Corbusier, nor any other prewar CIAM member attempt to understand their machine aesthetic for anything other than precisely that: a model of economic efficiency whose basic precepts could be translated into a set of allegorical presumptions. When allegory served to cover up empirical truths (as in Le Corbusier's involvement with the wartime Vichy régime, which he succeeded in whitewashing immediately after the war), the potential for explosive results was great. Outbursts were the inevitable result of anyone daring to contravene the unspoken apoliticism of CIAM (or Team 10) proceedings.

The subject of political reality, as suggested earlier, was rarely raised within Team 10 or CIAM dialogue.[165] When it did, the effects were either quietly suppressed, or else

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[164] Le Corbusier, "Towards a New Architecture: Guiding Principles," 1920; reprinted in Ulrich Conrads, *ibid.*, p. 60.

[165] One major exception is the contribution of Polish CIAM member Helena Syrkus at CIAM 7 in Bergamo, Italy, at which she decried the formalism of CIAM and the "detachment of the artist [and thus the architect] from life." Defining the Athens Charter as "political," she clearly flew in the face of propriety in her reference to a sphere outside the exclusive one of art. Giedion, in his *Architecture, You and Me* (ibid., pp. 86–7), edited her words (and his own response, which was at the time somewhat sympathetic) to

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ineptly negotiated. A discussion of two particular instances may serve to illustrate the tensions inherent in the body of CIAM whose comprehensive project circulated around the vagaries of political events, decisions, and results, yet rarely engaged itself directly with the political realm. One example concerns members of what we are calling the prewar CIAM, and thus must be taken in the context of the sorts of critiques that Team 10 and New Brutalism was making of those figures. The second occurred within the postwar, Team 10 era of CIAM, and must likewise be discussed with an understanding of the issues that were pertinent to that group. Both examples occurred within several years of the war's end, and thus illustrate the differing engagements between the actual exigencies of lived life in immediate postwar Europe, and the insulated, disembodied world of the avant-garde.

The first concerns the case of Huibrecht (Huib) Hoste, a founding member of the Belgian CIAM group (along with Victor Bourgeois) who had attended CIAM I (La Sarraz, 1928) in that capacity. Hoste was a political progressive who, in a manner unprecedented within CIAM history, chose to foreground his political commitment within his architectural practice, especially directly after the war.[166] An engagement with reconstruction certainly had been implicit in CIAM's immediate postwar activities, and the organization's secretary, Sigfried Giedion, had even established, along with other CIAM members who were resident in the U.S. during the 1940s, a new committee called (in English) the "CIAM Chapter for Relief and Post War Planning Inc." The "Inc." clearly shows an attempt to legitimize the group within the economy of the U.S., and the

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diminish the revolutionary tenor. For an unexpurgated text of Syrkus's speech, see Joan Ockman, ibid., 121–2.

[166] In a famous picture from the first La Sarraz meeting (1928), Hoste wears a long beard, in marked contrast to the clean faces of the other delegates.

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specificity of the name, moreover, exhibits a greater and more direct engagement with the actual political and economic conditions of the world in 1945, especially those countries that had undergone the tyranny of Fascism.[167]

CIAM documents very occasionally had made explicit mention of Fascism and its effects only in passing, for example in the preamble to the "Reaffirmation of the Aims of CIAM," written on the occasion of the 6th Congress in Bridgwater, England (1947):

> We, the CIAM architects from many countries in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa, have met at Bridgwater after an interval of ten years. These have been years of struggle and separation during which, as a consequence of the threat of Fascist domination, political, economic, and social questions have taken on a new significance for everybody.[168]

Giedion, along with Jean (Hans) Arp and several members of the British MARS group (including J. M. Richards, editor of the *Architectural Review* and proponent of the Swedish-influenced New Humanism) had drawn up a questionnaire for the attendees at Bridgwater that was meant to discover underlying themes that CIAM members thought needed to be addressed in that postwar moment. Giedion published a condensed version of the questionnaire in 1954 that showed a rather shocking disregard of any specific issues, and instead reproduced many of the abstract leanings that plagued CIAM from the start.[169] The questionnaire evidently determined the final theme chosen for the

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[167] For more on the context in which the Chapter for Relief and Post War Planning was initiated, see Eric Mumford, ibid., 142–50. It appears that the group was in conflict with similar activities undertaken by the American Society of Architects and Planners, although the CIAM group proposed to take as its subject reconstruction in Europe rather than in the U.S., despite that fact that the CIAM group met and was organized in New York.

[168] Reprinted in Sigfried Giedion, *A Decade of Contemporary Architecture* (New York: George Wittenborn, Inc., 1954), 22.

[169] The questionnaire begins by stating that "There is no doubt that art has a different meaning for our period than it had for previous periods. The purpose of this questionnaire is to crystallize that meaning." It goes on to ask various questions such as "What are the particular aesthetic problems presented to the architect who designs standard units?" and

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congress—the relationship between art and architecture[170]—although this was in contrast with Giedion's earlier stated intent to propose as the 6th Congress's theme "The Establishment of a Charter of the Principles of Reconstruction."[171]

Giedion's early suggestion seems to have been either dismissed outright or else lost in the shuffle of the conference's organization, but an argument in favor of dismissal surfaces through Giedion's affiliations with Le Corbusier who, for quite specific reasons, stated in July 1945 that "architecture is a religion" and architects "should be idealistic and independent and not worry around politics."[172] Le Corbusier had tacitly complied with the Vichy régime during the war, and his failure to address this transgression seems to

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"Should the architect investigate the reasons behind the public's expressed opinions on matters of architectural expression and allow himself to be influenced by them? Or should the architect, taking account of the fact that, as has been vividly shown in the years of war, man is a rapidly adaptable creature, pursue with all his force the crystallisation of his own architectural concepts?" Giedion, *A Decade of New Architecture*, ibid., 37–8.

[170] Again, a theme of particular interest to Giedion and Sert, whose Nine Points on Monumentality was published the same year as the 6th Congress.

[171] Giedion made this clear in a letter to Victor Bourgeois of the CIAM Belgium group, in which the aforementioned subcommittee on postwar reconstruction offered to provide information on how their services might benefit the reconstruction effort in Belgium. Giedion wrote: "Comme vous voyez par les documents ci-inclus 1 et 2, cette association est destinee a fournir des informations utiles concernant la reconstruction des pays devastes. Nous nous permettons de vous offrir aussi nos services. Vous recevrez en quinze jours notre questionnaire sur ce sujet. . . En dehors de ces travaux de premier aide nous aimerons a continuer le travail traditionel du CIAM. Nous proposons comme theme de VIe Congres d'etablir une CHARTE DES PRINCIPES DE RECONSTRUCTION." (As you see from documents 1 and 2 included herein [these were not found in the archive consulted] this association [the Chapter for Relief and Postwar Planning] was created to provide useful information concerning the reconstruction of devastated countries. We have permitted ourselves to offer you our services. In fifteen days you will receive our questionnaire on the subject. . . Beyond these efforts of primary aid we wish to continue the traditional work of CIAM. We propose as the theme of the 6th Congress the establishment of a Charter of the Principles of Reconstruction.") Letter from S. Giedion to V. Bourgeois, dated 4 January 1945, on stationery headed with "CIAM: Chapter for Relief and Post War Planning Inc." Box 1, International Congress for Modern Architecture. C.I.A.M. Letters: 1940–47 Folder, 850865, Getty Research Center.

[172] Quoted in Mumford, ibid., p. 159.

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have been an issue discussed privately within CIAM. Giedion's intimacy with Le Corbusier, as well as his physical distance from Le Corbusier's wartime activities (Giedion was at Harvard) both resulted, most likely, in his reversal of interest in the subject of reconstruction.[173]

The reluctance to speak openly of any collaboration or fascistic tendencies within CIAM seems to be a component of a sense of solidarity predicated on a belief similar to that of Le Corbusier quoted above, namely that architecture must be treated with a certain sovereignty that obliges one to absent it from any political context. We thus return to Hoste, who made the mistake of speaking out against this tacit agreement, only to be reprimanded by Pierre Fitschy, a later Belgian CIAM member. Evidently, Hoste had infuriated his colleagues by bringing up political issues within congressional discourse, and had been unceremoniously pushed to the sidelines. Writing to Fitschy in 1946, he expressed his resentment in no uncertain terms:

> Not having received any news from the Belgian CIAM section, I smelled political garbage, however without DARING to give up. Those who were at the prewar congresses had seen not only Italian Fascists but Communist Spaniards, and NO ONE thought to make an observation because . . . the congresses were concerned only with architecture.
>
> Since we must soon speak about my 'case' (allow me to laugh!), I will not speak of advantage. If the Belgian section wants to establish itself at the heart of justice, let it! Let those who don't know me abstain from judgment. On the other

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[173] Giedion should not be the only subject of criticism here. According to the notes of Commission IV at Bridgwater, ""Professor GROPIUS (U.S.A.) outlined seven points to open the discussion:
1. lack of practical experience by the architect in the building field
2. The effects of war in showing up this weakness
3.The necessity of the public being informed of the work of the architect ." Gropius chose to display his remove from the War's impact by focusing not on the fact that the war had slowed the architectural industry nearly to a halt, but instead through his disappointment that this lack of practical experience had diminished the skills of young architects in the field. Of course, the lack of experience is through no fault of these young architects, and Gropius's words thus strike a rather sour note. Box 2/CIAM 1928–1950; CIAM 1946–7 6th Congress folder; 850865; Getty Research Center.

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> hand, those who don't know me know that I firmly attacked the artistic conceptions of the Third Reich, and that during the occupation [of Belgium] I remained a member of the VNV so as to be able to continue my campaign.[174] And I DID IT, orally and verbally, even to the extent that around the time of the liberation a Flemish journal wrote that if Belgian architecture had not become 'verduitscht,' ['Germanized' or, in this context, 'Nazified'] it was thanks to Hoste's campaign.
>
> In any other country, that would have been a distinction; in ours they dream of throwing you out.[175]

The following year Hoste was relieved of his political rights as a member of the Belgian group (presumably to prevent him from voting on policy issues), and was officially ousted as of a letter to him from Fitschy dated 9 November 1948. The malevolence of his cohorts' condemnation, and the vociferousness of his counterattack,

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[174] VNV stands for *Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond* (or "Flemish National Union/Treaty"), a nationalist movement founded in 1933 that fought for independent federal status for Flanders (the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) within the Belgian State. In 1941 the VNV expanded to embrace other nationalist movements. The VNV then published a program, that sought to maintain the Dutch (Netherlandish) character of culture and language to emphasize the Dutch/Netherlandish identity of the Flemish people through the funding of a National Socialistic Order, and a calling of the concerned populace into a wider union of German people and communities. However, they vehemently were against the annexation of Belgium into the Third Reich. Despite this, after the war many members of the VNV were accused of collaboration and were convicted. The nationalistic thrust of the VNV is open to critiques of xenophobia, but this must be contrasted with the alternative at the time: subjection to Nazi domination.

[175] The original reads: "Ne recevant aucune nouvelle de la section belge des CIAM, je flairais du garbage politique, sans toutefois OSER m'y arreter. Ceux qui ont fait les congres d'avant guerre y ont vu aussi bien des fascistes italiens que des communistes espagnols, et PERSONNE n'a songe a faire une observation, parce que . . . . les congres s'occupent d'architecture. . . Puisque on doit prochainement parler de mon "cas" (laissez moi rire!), je n'en dirai pas d'avantage. Si la section belge veut s'eriger en coeur de justice, libre à elle! Que ceux qui ne me connaissent pas s'abstiennent de juger. Par contre ceux qui ne me connaissent savent qu'avant guerre j'ai attaqué ferme les conceptions artistiques du 3eme Reich, que lors de l'occupation je suis reste membre du VNV pour pouvoir continuer ma campagne. Et, JE L'AIT FAIT, oralement et verbalement, tel point meme qu'a près la liberation un journal flamand doit avoir ecrit que, si l'architecture en Belgique n'avait pas ete "verduitscht" c'etait grace a la campagne menee par Hoste. . . Dans d'autre pays, cela vous vaudrait une distinction; chez nous on songe à vous mettre au rancart [my translation]." Letter from Huib Hoste to Fitschy,

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suggests that the tensions surrounding the introduction of political discourse into CIAM's unadulterated architectural realm were quite high. But we can learn from this seemingly isolated episode something of the lengths to which CIAM kept itself insulated (and isolated) from the vicissitudes of political events. This sort of detachment, moreover, was seemingly as severe *after* the war, if not more so than before, and as such was an unofficial policy continued within Team 10—and this despite the avowed adherence to a sociological and "humanistic" agenda that would appear to have been more cognizant and respectful of quotidian happenings and their ramifications.

The other significant moment of political reckoning within Team 10 came as a result of the desire on the group's part to engage directly with the process of reconstruction, an opportunity that only a few of them had experienced earlier (for example, the Smithsons and John Voelcker in the LCC, Bakema in Rotterdam), but never with a group dynamic contributing experimentation and discussion prior to a project's undertaking. Perhaps because Team 10 didn't officially coalesce until the definitive statement embodied within the Doorn manifesto, there was no possibility of a group collaboration on any specific or sustained reconstruction project, or at least no concrete group action was proposed until much later. Although the time frame of the following example is outside of the present study, the Team 10 proposal for the reconstruction of Skopje, Yugoslavia, is important for being Team 10's first organized effort at implementing the results of their theorizing on a large-scale basis.

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dated 4 September 1946. Getty Research Center # 850865; Box 1/Correspondence C.I.A.M. Letters: 1940–47 folder

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On 26 July 1963, Skopje, Yugoslavia experienced a 6.0 level earthquake that killed 1,000 people and destroyed 85% of the city's buildings, although according to a UNESCO report, the major infrastructural components—roads, railways, water and sewer networks, electrical plants, and factories—were left largely intact **[figs. 2.37, 2.38]**.[176] Sensing an unprecedented opportunity, Bakema, writing on behalf of Team 10, contacted Otterlo attendee Radovan Niksic with the offer of Team 10's services in the collaboration for a new plan for the destroyed city of Skopje;[177] he wrote: "The main reason for doing so [offering Team 10's services] is that the group thinks that a plan for Skopje would be for us an object in which all actual problems of architecture and planning could be met on a realistic base."[178] Niksic responded on behalf of the Yugoslav architects several days later, accepting Team 10's assistance with Skopje as "a sign of a real and the only possible help in this very moment."[179] He then asked Bakema to send a letter to The Yugoslavian Architects' Union.

Several months later, a letter from Bakema was sent to the "Union of Jugo Slavian Architects" in Belgrade, with a summary of the Team 10 discussion of the "Skopje-problem." From the comments included therein, we can get a sense that the issues raised were quite abstract and somewhat self-serving: Alison Smithson asking about the possibility of "accept[ing] the open pattern of the city now existing since the

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[176] *The Skopje Earthquake of 26 July 1963: Report of the Unesco Technical Assistance Mission* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1968), 84.

[177] Niksic had attended the Team 10 Otterlo conference in 1959 as an "individual member," where he showed his workers' university in Zagreb designed with Nino Kucan. See Oscar Newman, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, ibid., pp. 202–4. Also Mumford, ibid., p. 262.

[178] Letter to Architects Union of Yugoslavia, Beograd from Bakema dated Rotterdam, 15 August 1963. BAKE or104/Team 10 1961–71 folder.

[179] Reply to Bakema from Radovan Niksic. Dated Zagreb, 10 August 1963. BAKE or104/Team 10 1961–71 folder.

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disaster," while her husband wondered "if one could be brave enough to accept a non-plan plan, with no overall architectural structuring."[180] These types of questions suggest a hubris on the part of Team 10 members, seeing this unfortunate town as a potential guinea pig for the imposition of new ideas of urbanism, regardless of local history.

Prior to this direct appeal, Team 10 had made a proposal to the United Nations, which had designated 1965 (its 20th anniversary) as International Co-operation Year. Bakema and Co. saw in this idea of cooperation a possible celebration of Team 10 principles, and felt that international recognition and validation might come at the behest of this venerable institution. The UN requested proof of Team 10's participation in UN-related activities, but Bakema responded only with documents pertaining to internal Team 10 activities beginning with the Otterlo meeting of 1959, and offered Alison Smithson's *Team 10 Primer* as evidence of their activities. The immediate goal was simply to receive consultative status, a signification that would have validated Team 10 and allowed it greater freedom to propose its services to cities in war-torn Europe.

However, their application for consultative status was rejected in March, 1963 by Charles Hogan, chief of the United Nations Non-Governmental Organizations Section, Economic and Social Council Secretariat. Evidently, in order to participate in postwar reconstruction efforts under the aegis of the UN, consultative status was to have been granted before 1960. My opinion is that Bakema, et al., were seriously misguided as to how bureaucratic bodies function, and the decentralized method of organization prevailing within Team 10 was the cause of the slow pace of their development post-1959. Why it took them several years to seek consultative status is without a doubt

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[180] Alison and Peter Smithson, comments from letter to Union of Jugo Slavian Architects (Belgrade) from Bakema, dated Rotterdam, 19 November 1963, BAKE or105.

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related to the previous observations about their internal conduct. Still, there is an important lesson here with regard to the (completely justifiable) criticism that Team 10 remained as remote from the potential instrumentalization of their theoretical claims as did the prewar avant-garde: there were efforts, if somewhat misguided and poorly coordinated, to bring the fruits of their labor to bear within a large-scale project. But instead, it was left to the individual members, in the context of their own countries, to try and solve the problems of reconstruction piecemeal, one step at a time.

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CHAPTER III

AMERICAN BRUTALISM IN THE CULTURE OF THE COLD WAR

The reasons for examining the presence (or absence) of The New Brutalism in the United States stems from a tacit thread that runs throughout Banham's Brutalism book, connecting various postwar American events and icons with the advent of this largely British movement. A discussion of the major American themes present in Banham's history of New Brutalism must begin with Mies's buildings at the Illinois Institute of Technology from the mid to late 1940s, whose glass and steel orthogonals were as influential on the Smithsons' Hunstanton School as they would later prove to be on the introduction of International Style modernism in the U.S. But one must also take account of the Independent Group's fascination with American popular imagery and of Jackson

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Pollock's paintings of the 1950s, and of Louis Kahn's Yale Art Gallery (discussed below), which "caught the eye of the Brutalist connection in England" shortly after its completion in 1953. [1] These themes were indeed present at New Brutalism's inception and development, helping to make both the U.S.-European connection explicit, as well as making necessary a contrasting study to determine the specific nature of that connection. That the postwar experience was crucially different in the U.S. and Europe is a given; that there were issues that the world's population would have to confront jointly, is perhaps more important.

Paul Zucker, in a prescient introduction to the printed proceedings of his seminal symposium entitled *New Architecture and City Planning* (1944), wrote of new problems of "three-dimensional organization" to be encountered in the postwar period. Zucker put forth a statement of purpose whose resolutely American tone indicated, *avant la lettre*, the issues that the world would begin to confront just one year later. The tone is American because, unlike his European counterparts for whom the word "postwar" would inescapably and forever be linked to the word "reconstruction," and Zucker's adopted homeland of America was the only major participant in the war to avert serious infrastructural damage.[2]

Building upon the secular humanism that lingered in the American consciousness since the time of the Framers, Zucker envisioned an intellectual effort on the part of

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[1] Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 44.

[2] The irony implicit in this observation lies in the fact that Zucker, an art historian and architect trained at the Königliche Technische Hochschule zu Berlin (doctoral dissertation: "Raumdarstellung und Bildarchitekturen bei den florentiner Malern in der ersten Hälfte des Quattrocento"), was forced to leave Germany in 1937, landing at the

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"architects and philosophers, engineers and sociologists, city planners and industrialists," to embark on a new stage in the history of planning in the United States:

> The pre-war world has broken down in every respect. 'There must be an end to this: a sharp end and a clean silence: a steep and most serious withdrawal: a new more succinct beginning.' (James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*). The world after this war will be a very new one indeed, the result not so much of political power shifts as of the revolutionary experiences of the past thirty years. No one can doubt any longer that the Second World War represents merely one phase of a smouldering revolution. Let us hope it is the last in which brute force will play the decisive role.[3]

The language of this paragraph is quite curious in several respects. First, it subtly acknowledges something of the tumult in Europe at the time, a subject that seemingly (and curiously) was off-limits within European architectural discourse. Second, it purports to predict the conditions of a postwar society without really having any sense of when the war might end. This seems to have been much easier once the U.S. entered into the war, and certainly addresses something of the hope invested in the strength of the U.S. troops and of an optimism for a rapid Allied victory (even if this victory would be hard-won and infuriatingly long in coming).

But there is also a strange foreshadowing of one of the major issues to grip the U.S. immediately after the end of the war, namely the détente between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The Cold War that followed would temper the intellectual climate of the country, creating rifts, divisiveness, suspicion, and a prevailing fear and melancholia that the U.S. would have to constantly confront, both ideologically and materially. Zucker hints at both the positive and negative ramifications of revolution, the former affording

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New School for Social Research. Thus Zucker had an intimate interest in the problems of European reconstruction, if only from a certain distance.

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the possibility of starting anew, but the latter harboring a certain tinge of nostalgic regret for the loss of a free aesthetic agenda, a regret that would linger in the minds of artists and the populace alike.

Shortly after raising the spectre of politics, however, Zucker's text immediately veers away from this volatile territory to make clear that the subject of the symposium is architecture and planning, stating that "*[f]orty years ago,* during the first emancipation from the vicious circle of eclectic imitation of past periods, the main interest of architects fastened on aesthetic problems, questions of 'style' and artistic articulation."[3] One presumes that Zucker was writing of the American debates of neoclassicism and eclecticism that occurred around the turn of the century. As has been amply documented, these styles embodied a commingling of a pristine European heritage with an American puritanism.[5]

The point for Zucker, however, is that aesthetics had risen to the crucial level of national importance, and was a topic that, in terms of its symbolic potential, now required treatment tantamount to that previously reserved for economics and politics,. The end of the war in other words, brought about not only a new political dimension but, with the

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[3] Paul Zucker, "Planning in Three Dimensions," in Paul Zucker, ed., *New Architecture and City Planning: A Symposium* (Philosophical Library Inc., 1944), pp. 3–4.
[4] Ibid., p. 4
[5] For the influence of European avant-gardes on the development of the New York skyscraper style, see Rosemarie Haag Bletter and Cervin Robinson, *Skyscraper Style: Art Deco New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), as well as Sarah Bradford Landau, *The Rise of the New York Skyscraper*. For a good history of American Neoclassicism, see William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1976).

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recognition of the US as the new global superpower, a need for an accompanying aesthetic change to give fuller impact to these new realities.[6]

Zucker embodied the shift from pre- to postwar attitudes about style in a way that illuminates the premise of the present study. As an engineer, architect, and art historian in 1920s Berlin, Zucker regularly contributed articles to various journals on the subject of functionalism's contribution to modern architecture and urbanism.[7] Once he emigrated to the U.S., however, one finds him producing works such as "The Humanistic Approach to Modern Architecture,"[8] in which he makes an unusual appeal for a "humanism" informed by the expressive qualities of architecture made possible through an embrace of new conceptions of space and time. While this may echo Sigfried Giedion's more elaborate claims of roughly the same moment,[9] the use of the word "humanistic" as a function of the confluence of art and architecture (and their shared "expressionist" aesthetic based on the new sculpture and painting of Archipenko, Sheeler, and Léger, to use Zucker's own

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[6] By end of the war, this belief was implemented by the US State Department. Under the aegis of the Marshall Plan (and beginning with 1946's "Advancing American Art" show), a robust campaign to foist American Abstract art on European audiences attempted to shore up the dominance of the US not only in political terms, but in cultural matters as well (and, at the same time, to exploit the fallen grace of Europe's artistic avant-garde). For more on this subject, see Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), especially Chapter 3, entitled "The Creation of an American Avant-Garde, 1943–1947," pp. 101–63.

[7] See, for example, "Kontinuität und Diskontinuität: Grenzprobleme der Architektur und Plastik," *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* XV (1921): 305–17; "Zur Aesthetik der Eisenbrücke," *Der Eisenbahn-Techniker* XVI (1 March 1922): 57–9; "Neues Raumgefühl und Flugzeug: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sehens," *Ikarus* 1 (Summer, 1925): 70–3; and "Sozial-Hygienische Probleme des Wohnungsbaus," *Die Medizinische Welt* V (October 1931): 1478–81.

[8] Paul Zucker, "The Humanistic Approach to Modern Architecture," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Criticism*, vol.2, no. 7 (Winter, 1942–3): 21–6.

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examples[10]) brings us a long way from the pure rationalist creed of the prewar European avant-garde, towards a softened, more engaged humanistic architectural agenda. Interesting, however, is the fact that "humanistic" goals, in Zucker's estimation, should be achieved through aesthetic, rather than ethical, means.

To this end, we might also pause to consider Zucker's use (in his introduction) of James Agee and Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* as indicative of wartime rhetoric in the United States **[Fig. 3.1]**. Published in 1941, this collaborative project was a result of the WPA assistance program, and was meant to document the extreme poverty among the rural poor of Alabama.[11] Thus its invocation (by Zucker) in the context of wartime global politics seems an odd choice, yet one that confirms the need to consider the insularity of America—both geographically and ideologically— in terms of a resistance to European hegemony, considered to be in conflict with the originary American spirit of emancipation.

Thus the use of . . . *Famous Men* to symbolize the enduring spirit of mankind even in times of the most abject conditions strikes a curious note within a discussion of postwar reconstruction. It posits a very particular set of circumstances not entirely unrelated to the proceedings on the European continent, but articulated through written language of wide perspective, not a visual one of immediate and specific cultural

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[9] Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941).

[10] Zucker, "The Humanistic Approach . . .," ibid., p. 26. Indeed, it is difficult to sustain Zucker's claim that these artists embodied an expressionist aesthetic, given each artist's rather doctrinaire embrace of a machine aesthetic. Perhaps Zucker meant to claim that these artists had attempted to humanize the machine through the medium of painting and its inherently haptic qualities.

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conditions. Its concerns are of a local, not global, scope; although the conditions the text and photographs explores have a visceral and immediate impact, they are caught in flux between a universalizing desire and a historical moment, yet never resolving the disconnection between the two realms (a detachment, I will argue, that defines the American postwar consciousness in manifold ways).

A similar (though reversed) quandary plagues another American study that appeared ten years after the war's end. Edward Steichen's *The Family of Man* exhibition at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1955 was an attempt to ascribe a vague set of common roots to the real yet complicated web of human existence **[Fig. 3.2]**. The exhibition assembled a group of photographs to narrate a history of shared customs, relationships, activities, and emotions among the world's citizens (in the words of Carl Sandburg's prologue to the catalogue: "There is only one man in the world/and his name is All Men/There is only one woman in the world/and her name is All Women/There is only one child in the world/And the child's name is All Children."[12]).

Here, politics have been reduced to an unproblematized set of human relations, and whether the subjects are involved in hardship or play, the collective spirit here is one of exuberance and the fullness of life, without any political dogma or doctrine.[13] The classic model of equality has been reduced to one whose shared history is one of simply living, unconcerned with anything other than a fleeting moment to convey the strength of

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[11] James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941)
[12] Edward Steichen, *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), p. 3
[13] The exhibition initially concluded with an image of an atomic explosion, a decision that was reversed before the show opened to the public. See Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an*

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affinity. Contained within a set of snapshots, where struggle is found within a set of didactic and moralizing images, is the belief that nothing exists outside the frame—a pure aesthetics of being and of coexistence.

But in light of Communism's rise, and the Soviet Union's contentious relationship with the U.S., the benign nostalgia for collectivity seen in *The Family of Man* takes on a political edge, attempting to invest the qualities of the collective with a sense of freedom presumably absent in the Soviet system. It is freedom and truth, in their most fundamental manifestations, that were at the heart of Cold War conflict.

The question surrounding the exact nature and status of "Truth" exemplified most of the discourse and discussion in the postwar period, but in the U.S., the terms and rules had a particular meaning outside that of the European context. Because of the vagaries of the cold war, the U.S. was in constant conflict externally with its antithesis in the form of the Soviet Union, but these antinomies spilled over into the quotidian experience at home. The HUAC hearings brought forth a barely concealed paranoia that was equally the outcome of a victorious America's conflict over its own wartime success and the sheer amount of expectations and responsibilities that necessarily followed. If the U.S. was to maintain any sort of objective integrity, it needed to present a united front to the world at large, a movement whose *own* integrity would rely upon a uniformity of belief, conviction, and action, and whose potential failure was blamed upon a network of liberal, anti-capitalist reactionaries hell-bent on destroying the single-mindedness of American hegemony.

Exhibition: The Family of Man *and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), p. 74.

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Conflict existed on a secondary plane among the liberal community, among the so-called Progressives and the more cautious liberals who remained skeptical of Communism's charms. Thus the levels of tension were profound, adding to the atmosphere of distrust and paranoia. The struggle around the search for truth was one that engaged forensic or empirical truth against emotional or spiritual testimony. Despite the claim that both types of evidence make to authority, the fact remains that each requires a certain set of values through which its claims be verified.

Any appeal to truth requires that one understand the infrastructure of social rules as they are constituted in any given society. C. Wright Mills, professor of sociology at Columbia University and a major left-moderate voice within academia in the 1950s, delivered the following remarks at the International Design Conference in Aspen, Colorado, in 1958:

> As an institutional fact, the cultural apparatus has assumed many forms. In some societies—notably that of Russia—it is established out of a tradition that post-dates capitalism: it is thus part of an official apparatus of psychic domination. In some—notably the nations of Western Europe—it is established out of a system that pre-dates capitalism; it is thus part of an Establishment in which social authority and cultural prestige overlap. Both cultural traditions and political authority are involved in any cultural Establishment, but in the USA the cultural apparatus is established commercially: it is part of an ascendant capitalist economy. This fact is the major key to understanding both the quality of everyday life and the situation of culture in America today.[14]

Within this short summary, we see Mills positing a third way of cultural tradition beyond the totalitarian system of Stalinist Russia and the legacy of the collective European hereditary aristocracies. In short, Mills suggests that a cultural (or even political) discussion of the postwar United States cannot proceed under any terms other

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than those created under capitalism specifically for the U.S. context. When one wishes to discuss American architecture, then, from this same time period, it is necessary to abide by the fact that a new set of terms had been established, and with regard to the struggle to maintain (or, perhaps, to even *create*) an American highbrow culture, one must realize that the American avant-garde was limited in its range of possible clients, just as those clients were limited by their access to capital. A progressive American architect in the 1950s could work either as a builder of private homes, or under the auspices of some industrial monolith (or, in the case of Kahn and Rudolph, for a wealthy university).

A return to Zucker's introductory essay affords some suggestions of the provocative questions that arose around these issues in the postwar period:

> Are the social planners ahead of the architects or vice versa? Will the industrialization of the building process tend to mechanize and standardize architectural forms? Or will specific spatial conceptions, existent in the subconscious feeling of a generation, adapt the new techniques and materials for their own expression? Will the changing pattern of society create a primarily collective shelter? Or will there remain, in that future world, some room for individual creativeness? Will a pure and uncompromising functionalism turn out to be the innermost desire of the people? Or will they look beyond it for an expression of their emotional needs? Will it be necessary to kill the thrice dead lion of eclecticism once more? Are there some traditional architectural values worth preserving? And how will such values, if any, survive in a fundamentally changing world?[15]

The interplay between tradition and innovation, eclecticism and pared-down functionalism, instrumentalized rationalism and individual expression, all resonate within the larger issue of relative freedom with which the American people were confronted in

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[14] C. Wright Mills, talk given at IDCA, 1958, At Getty Research Institute, Banham Archives, IDCA 910009 Box 20 f.9, 1958

[15] Zucker, ibid., p. 5

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the postwar years, a populace that found itself increasingly split along economic (as well as intellectual) lines.[16]

More so than in Europe, the fight between high and low culture underwent its greatest debate in the postwar U.S., precisely the time during which Europe found itself occupied with matters of much more dire importance. The debate was carried out in many different venues, the most highbrow of which being the pages of the Partisan Review, self-declared keepers of the high-European aesthetic that had reigned as acceptable intellectual taste in the U.S.

David Riesman, in a contribution to a Partisan Review symposium entitled "Our Country and Our Culture," wrote of the cultural elite's imposter syndrome as concerns its ability to constitute aesthetic judgments of lasting value. Putting his own somewhat exalted position on the line, Riesman stated that: "Our [i.e., American] intellectuals do not, for instance, allow themselves to praise Hollywood movies as much as, in my opinion, they deserve; they are like psychiatrists who do not dare give a patient a clean bill of health lest some other doctor find a hidden flaw."[17]

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[16] For a brilliant and enduring overview of this period, especially as it relates to the relative tumult of the following decade, see Morris Dickstein, *Gates of Eden: American Culture in the Sixties* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1989), esp. chapter 2, "Cold War Blues: Politics and Culture in the Fifties." Dickstein effectively and concisely debates the impact that the cold war had on the American populace, although he has in recent years recanted some of the pat generalizations that were necessitated by a book meant for a general audience. See p. 26: "This whirl of social movement found no echo in the political arena. The hallmark of both foreign and domestic policy (in the 1950s) was the extremely narrow range of permissible debate."

[17] David Riesman, in the symposium on "Our Country and Our Culture," *Partisan Review* XIX, no. 3 (May–June 1952): 311

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Both of the major show trials of the 1950s centering on the American political arena—those of Alger Hiss and Joseph McCarthy—stand as monuments to the fundamentally misguided nature of the individual seeing himself as the guardian of moral certitude for a group larger than himself. Apart from the many other lapses of clarity and judgment, it can be stated with certainty that both Hiss and McCarthy were convinced that their individual actions were in accordance with the unspoken will of the people, despite much evidence to the contrary. In answering to a higher moral power, both of these proud Americans were led astray by their idealism.[18]

America had emerged victorious from World War II, but entered peacetime domestically with a new, potentially lethal, enemy whose relative distance was rendered obsolete by the new threat of nuclear war. So one might suggest that the resulting turn

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[18] Lest it be misunderstood that such privileging of unspoken certitude was solely a conservative trait, one might mention an analogous situation of sensational proportions that scandalized the country in 1950. On the evening of 31 March of that year, Harvard literature professor and left-wing activist F. O. (Francis Otto) Matthiessen defenestrated himself in Boston's Manger Hotel, thus symbolizing for the general public, in the words of Alan Nadel, "the culpability and weakness of the Eastern Intellectual Establishment." (see "Rhetoric, Sanity, and the Cold War: The Significance of Holden Caulfield's Testimony," in A. Nadel, *Containment Culture: American Narratives, Postmodernism, and the Atomic Age* [Durham and London: Duke U. Press, 1995], p. 85). Another, perhaps more plausible reason (other than weakness) was a realistic awareness of the cul-de-sac whose end the Progressive party had reached (not to mention his long history of depression and the recent loss of his longtime lover, Russell Cheney). See Frederick Stern, *F. O. Matthiessen: Christian Socialist as Critic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 28–31. Furthermore, William O'Neil has suggested that Matthiessen's obscurity came at the hands of the New Critics of the 1950s, who "rejected politics and everything else except textual analysis as corrupting influences" [William L. O'Neill, *A Better World: The Great Schism: Stalinism and the American Intellectuals* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982], p. 175). This offers a provocative parallel to the present work's thesis, insofar as formal analysis held sway in the 1950s literary establishment just as aesthetic (vs. ethical) architectural language dominated the American architectural avant-garde of the same period. On a related note, May Sarton

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inwards was a drastic yet perhaps necessary measure to maintain a sense of solidarity among the American people. But the results were colored by the sense of creating a country entirely anew, as if the war had been, in effect, a cleansing of the past, with the triumphalism of the postwar years a mirror not only of victory of military might, but in terms of industrial power as well: "While hymning the praise of traditional values (the American) people were learning to live without a past, on a roller coaster of technological novelty that had already begun to Americanize the world."[19]

While many were able to partake of this new prosperity, there was a prevailing sense that the unified spirit of the war years was being deviously and selfishly imposed in the following decade by a cadre of elected officials operating under the banner of a patriotic nationalism. The case of Senator Joe McCarthy exemplified the enforced unity that was somehow perceived as vital to the continuation and supremacy of U.S.-style democracy in the face of the Soviet threat. This would be what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., referred to in 1949 as "Politics in an Age of Anxiety." As the new economic system gained strength and became more diffuse, the "emotional and moral resources of the individual and community" were subjected to even greater strain and pressure.[20] The result was a move away from individualism and towards a variously worded collectivity adhered to by many from Schlesinger to William Whyte.[21]

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wrote a fictionalized account of Matthiessen in her novel *Faithful are the Wounds* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1955).

[19] Dickstein, ibid., p. 26.

[20] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949), p. 4.

[21] See William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man,* ibid.

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The irony of the relationship between organization and collectivism (illustrated most pointedly by the Soviet embrace of American industrial techniques such as Taylorism and Fordism) is beyond the scope of my project. However, the effects of the fear of individual thought and action—even among the intellectual classes who, Schlesinger argues, are compelled towards the masses by the prevailing sense of alienation[22]—and its effects on the debate between conservative and progressive ideals, are of crucial importance in the discussion of a socially progressive or even avant-garde architectural culture in the United States during the postwar years.

The particularities of conservatism, long held as the clarion call of the 1950s, are based in the fundamentals of the individuality of cultures which, as we will discuss in the following chapter within the context of vernaculars, are likewise crucial elements in the determination of architectural ethics and aesthetics. But perhaps a better word for this conservatism or containment in the U.S. might be "tradition." As C. Wright Mills wrote in another context: "Tradition is sacred; through it the real social tendencies of Providence are displayed; therefore, tradition must be our guide. Whatever is traditional represents the accumulated wisdom of the ages, and more: it exists by 'divine intent.'" Mills is writing sarcastically about a conservatism born of traditionalism, metastasized into a self-rationalized call for leadership and direction, one based on what Mills called the "highly conscious contrivances of the Founding Fathers."[23]

Tradition, as it concerns us within a discussion of architectural culture, is closely tied to an American vernacular architecture (again, the subject of Chapter IV) that found

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[22] Ibid, Chapter II ("The Failure of the Left"), pp. 41ff

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its roots not in Native American structures but in the democratic acquisition of property spelled out by Thomas Jefferson in 1776 with the abolition of the English system of hereditary land ownership, and "his preoccupation, following that of Locke, with the 'natural' superiority of agrarian over urban living."[24] The strong sense of land rights and what Vincent Scully, in the paragraphs following the above-mentioned quote, believes is an inborn American will towards inventiveness within the far-ranging parameters of vernacular architecture, indicates a type of American avant-garde that remained entirely resistant to European trends, whether in the nineteenth or the twentieth century.

It is important to examine American architecture of the 1950s within the context of the prevailing political situation in order to begin to understand the sociopolitical atmosphere in relation to which the architectural avant-garde operated. Architecture, unlike the fine arts, has a necessary and indissoluble bond to politics, and, is always tied to the prevailing economic climate.[25] The first place where the effects of Cold War isolationism might be seen to have had an impact on architectural culture would be in the growing suburban population. The domestication of the suburban landscape had significance for the American architectural profession that stood apart from contemporaneous efforts in Europe. While mass housing for the greatest number was the

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[23] C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 327

[24] Vincent Scully, "American Villas: Inventiveness in the American Suburb from Downing to Wright," *Architectural Review* 115 (March, 1954): 170. Scully presents an argument for the development of an "inventive" style in architectural development that is entirely distinct from the European model because of certain qualities intrinsic to the American mind.

[25] For a discussion of American domesticity in the 1950s, see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books,

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goal in many parts of Europe, as we have seen in previous chapters, the United States shifted towards a situation that privileged the democratic right to live in a separate home on one's own discrete parcel of land.

Of all housing in the U.S. erected by 1955, only 8.1% had 500 or more units. The percentage of the same in the U.K. was 24%, and in France, 33%. The Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 led to a revision of the VA mortgage program, allowing federal mortgage guarantees to be established by the builders themselves. Single family housing in the U.S. had been growing steadily since the end of the war, with 114,000 single dwellings erected in that year, 937,000 two years later, 1,183,000 two years after that, and 1,692,000 by 1950.[26]

The architectural critic Paul Goldberger noted that the emphasis of these houses was not on structure or aesthetics, but on their participation in a social ethic—they were "social creations rather than architectural ones."[27] In other words, the aim for the majority of U.S. homeowners was less about making some sort of visual statement, and instead about participating in a conservative, socially sanctioned ritual that contained an inherent refusal of individuality, while at the same time, celebrated the sovereignty that accompanies the ownership of one's own property.

The themes involved in the building of the American postwar architectural landscape thus foregrounded need, with style resulting simply as a necessary and collateral function of construction. Within the mainstream housing market, mass

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1988); also, Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the Unites States* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[26] Jackson, ibid., p. 233

[27] Ibid., p236

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production had been of great interest and promise although little yield, and speculatively built subdivisions comprised the majority of domiciles.[28] With the Farm Securities Administration's appropriation of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads and Resettlement Administration (1939), the first prefabricated housing units began to appear. This internal governmental shift allowed for the exercising of the FSA's liberal ethos in the choosing of architects sympathetic to progressive building ethics and materials. The American Institute of Architects weighed in at this time as well on the topic of prefabrication. In a statement of purpose entitled "A Housing Policy for the A.I.A.," we find a paragraph entitled "The Construction Industry," which is worth repeating in its entirety:

> It should be our policy to collaborate in efforts to improve the efficiency and economy of construction methods, and to increase the productive capacity of the construction industry. We should oppose any artificial restrictions, whether on the part of capital or labor, that tend to hamper production and increase the cost of construction. Some of the new methods that are being tried, such as prefabricated housing, may appear to result in a further limitation in the employment of architects. Our policy, however, should be governed entirely by the needs of the public; can prefabrication offer the home purchaser and the community a better value than can be supplied by conventional construction? If the answer is in the affirmative it will be futile to adopt a policy of resistance. We should, on the contrary, exert our influence toward improving the quality of construction and design of prefabricated housing and help to secure general acceptance of improved technique.[29]

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[28] Two of the major producers of prefabricated housing, Sears and Aladdin, were both out of business by the early 1940s. For a history of domestic prefabrication, see Evie T. Joselow,
"The Ideal Catalogue House : Mail-order Architecture and Consumer Culture, 1914-1930," (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 1998)

[29] This directive, although unsigned and undated, appears with other dated A.I.A. files in the Kahn archives and thus can be dated with some degree of certainty to late 1947. See "A Housing Policy for the A.I.A." LIK 63, A.I.A. Committee on Urban Planning Folder.

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Despite the compelling promise of prefabrication, it never became a dominant means of residential construction. But the more progressive ranks of American architects still advocated its investigation and implementation. Sentiments similar to those mentioned above were predated by those of Louis Kahn who, in a letter to Jesse Oser (who commissioned a house from Kahn) of 28 February 1946, states his beliefs that style must soon accede to substance with regard to housing for the greater number: "There is no doubt in my mind that in the next two or three years, people will lose some of their style-consciousness because the building industry is not going to pick itself up to a state of normalcy for a number of years to come and I further doubt that the traditional way of building can produce the quantity of housing that the need dictates."[30]

In this telling statement, we can find many of the seeds of Kahn's progressiveness, much of it learned under the tutelage of Oscar Stonorov and George Howe. The dialectic initiated between the powers of aesthetic freedom and the exigencies of society's prevailing needs provides the backdrop to Kahn's formative years, and presents a neat analogue to a similar conventional wisdom then present in the European avant-garde. Kahn, along with some other visionary and socially responsible architects, was able to exploit the might of U.S. industry (and its encouragement at the Federal level) in his quest for a nontraditional way of building that might address the new needs of American society.

Working in tandem with the U.S. Housing Authority (established as a result of the Wagner-Stearall Act of September 1937 that gave architecture a more prominent position

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[30] Letter from Louis I. Kahn to Jesse Oser dated February 28, 1946 (U. Penn Kahn Archives, LIK Box 33)

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within New Deal politics[31]) and the Public Building Administration, the FSA organized what was probably the first prefabricated housing complex in Vallejo, California. Designed by William Wurster, later celebrated for his contributions to the Bay Region style (an example of critical regionalism as discussed in the previous chapter), the Vallejo housing was notable for its embrace of new materials (in this case plywood and Homasote, a substance made of wood pulp and newspaper pulp bound with resin) that allowed for the modular structural components to be fabricated off-site and thus assembled quickly on-site.[32] This led the way for the Division of Defense Housing, established on 5 April 1941, which began to enlist the services of progressive architects to help with the housing shortage. Wurster, along with Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, George Howe, Antonin Raymond, and Louis Kahn,[33] were involved in generating eleven new projects during the first seven months of the group's establishment.

The Lambert Act of 1940 had allocated $150 million to the Federal Works Association to provide housing for defense workers, who flocked to factory towns in the

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[31] See Timothy L. McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), passim.

[32] The following discussion of prefabrication is indebted to Peter Reed's "Enlisting Modernism' in Donald Albrecht, ed., *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation* (Washington: National Building Museum, and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

[33] Kahn already had worked within the public housing sphere since 1935 at the behest of Alfred Kastner, who had enlisted Kahn in December of that year to help with the Jersey Homesteads commission—a housing project for 200 Jewish garment workers in Roosevelt, NJ. These units, created with concrete slab floors and roofs and cinderblock walls, expanded Kahn's understanding of prefabricated materials and may have contributed to his continued use of them in his later, albeit more lavishly funded, buildings—to be discussed later in the present chapter. For a discussion of Jersey Homesteads, see David D. Brownlee, 'Defining a Philosophy," in Brownlee, David and David DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991), pp. 26–7.

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labor boom of the war years. Working under strict guidelines of $3,000 per unit, the aforementioned architects were able to devise some radical new housing schemes, most of which utilized new industrial materials. Included among these were Howe and Kahn's Pine Ford Acres in Middletown, PA, Carver Woods project in Coatesville, PA, and the Pennypack Woods Community in Philadelphia, done by Howe, Kahn, and Oscar Stonorov, all from 1941–3 **[Figs. 3.3, 3.4]**.

Carver Woods was well publicized and provided an example of how government housing could assimilate elements of European progressive or avant-garde architecture to the needs of American homeowners. These dwellings, created for black steelworkers, embodied a "ground-freed" plan that raised the structure up onto sort of attenuated pilotis (derived from Corbusier's Maison Dom-Ino of 1915).[34] Already at this time, Kahn had reached similar conclusions about new materials and models of industrial production as had the prewar European avant-garde with regard to the exigencies of housing needs.

The free plan, resulting from the liberation of the walls' load-bearing function was, of course, a prominent feature of the burgeoning International Style. Kahn's peculiar take on the structural concept was perhaps most fruitfully explored (on a theoretical level) in his Parasol House of 1944, designed in collaboration with Stonorov **[Fig. 3.5]**. Created at the behest of Hans Knoll (the founder of the furniture company), Kahn and Stonorov were commissioned to devise new approaches to dwelling units in anticipation of growing consumer needs. A preliminary drawing for the project shows a strange admixture of Corbusian tropes (and we must remember that Corb's Dom-Ino was a precursor for many of the modular and prefabricated housing schemes of the day)

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including the Mediterranean houses of the *Journey to the East* period,[35] and the later Modulor man who appears as the visual signifier of Corb's new system of measurement [cf. Fig. 1.17].

This figure, legs a bit akimbo, one arm raised to the sky, and without any visible facial characteristics (he is "everyman"), is a heroic symbol whose generic appearance bespeaks the wide applicability of both Corbusier's "scale of spatial sizes" and the proposed modular and prefabricated construction of Kahn's Parasol scheme **[Fig. 3.6]**.[36] However, Kahn's figure differs from Corbusier's in that he appears to be holding aloft a small, round item. Whether this is a reference to the athletic ideals of classical statuary, or a reference to Adam in the Garden of Eden, contemplating the forbidden fruit just prior to the Fall, Kahn's figure suggests to us the architect's implications of a new beginning, and of the potential for broad application of the principles set forth in the Parasol project. This sense of a mythical past informing a functional future is essentially an encapsulation of Kahn's entire ethos, moving blithely from the grandiose to the particular in one sweep of the draftsman's pen. But in the Parasol house we also see Kahn negotiating between the two opposing poles of formalism and engaged social ethics in a way that would radically transform his work beginning in the mid-1950s: a prototype for mass housing that nonetheless celebrates an ahistorical and mythopoetic past.

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[34] See DeLong, et al., *In the Realm of Architecture*, ibid., pp. 29–30

[35] See, for example, the Turkish houses with their open covered courtyards, Le Corbusier, *Journey to the East*, trans. Ivan Zaknic, (Cambridge H. Allen Brooks, ed., *Le Corbusier* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, MA: MIT Press, 1987), esp. pp., 58, 69, 81

[36] See André Wogenscky, "The Unité d'Habitation at Marseille," in Brooks, ibid., p. 123. Wogenscky worked in Corbusier's atelier and later founded ATBAT, whose Moroccan works had played such a formative role in the ideals of the Team 10 group.

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The basic Parasol unit begins with a broad floor covered by a flat roof (presumably concrete with an orthogonal metal interior frame). The preliminary drawing of the parasol roof uses a cutaway view that exposes the interior frame; the result strongly prefigures the coffered concrete ceiling grids of the Yale Art Gallery (1951–3, discussed below) and that of the underpass from the Richards Medical Research Building in Philadelphia (1957–65). But in the Parasol house the grid is covered by opaque cladding, giving the roof/ceiling a thin, buoyant feeling. Light is able to seep in from the sides where the overhang produces a shallow patio, while an elevation drawing shows the wide range of possibilities for the usage of this outdoor space.[37]

The low profile of the Parasol houses allows for the structure to follow closely the topography of the site as it dips and rises, enhancing the flexibility of the program through dynamically repetitive structural motifs.[38] Lying close to the horizon line, the houses also avoid the costs of high-rise construction, especially with respect to such buildings' added expense of services. The low-rise dwelling ties the inhabitant to the earth on which he lives, and (as noted above) to allow for the ingress of natural light from all four sides of the unit.[39]

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[37] A green space surrounding the imagined unit shows a playground with swingset, recreation facility with a manmade pond for swimming, and leisure area for sunbathing. The house is meant to be utilized in a variety of climates.

[38] See drawings in LIK 33, Parasol House folder

[39] As analogues to the type of building that Kahn was proposing with the Parasol House, we might look at a few examples that followed from this work, albeit not necessarily deliberately, in order to establish the broadened purview accepted by the architects of the immediate postwar period. The work of Candilis, Josic, and Woods in ATBAT-Afrique has been discussed in Chapter II, but another, later work of theirs is relevant in the present context. Forgetting, for the moment, the idea of typology as inextricably tied to site, one might read Kahn's Parasol House as a precursor to a series of housing types by a team led by Candilis and Josic for units in the French territories of Martinique, Réunion,

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The fenestration and exterior walls of the Parasol House are comprised of transparent, translucent, and opaque surfaces that can be organized in different configurations with respect to the needs of the individual inhabitants: strip windows that divide an opaque wall, a transparent wall with a door, sliding windows with opaque panes, and other combinatory effects. This, along with the house's free plan and the modularity of the internal furniture units allows for unusual deployment of spatial effects within differing domiciles. As with Corbusier's mythic five points, the free plan allows for a multitude of interior configurations unencumbered by any rigid grid of load-bearing walls, which would seem to address the issue raised in the A.I.A. and Kahn quotes given earlier, with respect to the potential loss of individuality and architectural invention that accompanied a move towards prefabrication.

The individual units were envisioned to be stacked one upon the other, and lined up in modular rows. Elements of the apartments were comprised of prefabricated units. The bathrooms, kitchens, shelving and cabinet components, along with the walls, ceilings, and even stairs all were meant to be manufactured offsite and shipped (in ingenious stacking configurations) to the place of assembly **[fig. 3.7]**. This modularity prefigures the House of the Future by two of Kahn's greatest admirers, Alison and Peter Smithson (discussed in Chapter I), and is itself anticipated by a work of Kahn's eventual colleague, Buckminster Fuller, in his Prefabricated Bathroom (1938–40).

A text by the Smithsons of 1956, "But Today We Collect Ads," puts forth the idea of prefabrication as it coalesced with the incipient Pop Art movement underway among

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Guyana, and Guadeloupe as well as for Nicaragua. See *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* no. 67–8 (Octobre 1956): 148–51.

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the artists of the Independent Group. There they argue that, by 1956, standardization and mass production has been fully instrumentalized in the domestic consciousness of postwar consumers:

> As far as architecture is concerned the influence on mass standards and amass aspirations of advertising is now infinitely stronger that the pace setting of avant-garde architects, and it is taking over the functions of social reformers and politicians. Already the mass production industries have revolutionized half the house—kitchen, bathroom, utility room, garage—without the intervention of the architect, and the curtain wall and the modular prefabricated building are causing us to revise our attitude to the relationship between architect and industrial production.[40]

With this text, we might understand that the Smithsons (and perhaps Kahn, as well) saw the influx of advertising images—which proffered an array of household items without which the responsible homeowner simply could not live—as forecasting the need for a more pervasive standardization throughout the home. Within an industrial culture, choice is limited to the whim of the manufacturer(s). Consumers—always under the necessary illusion that the proliferation of goods continues to allow for individual taste, despite the deeply structured regimentation of those goods—remain beholden to the relatively narrow range of available products. Whether based on economic exigencies or simply as an aesthetic decision, these prefabricated projects reflect a steady march away from the handcrafted aesthetic towards one that adequately reflected the beginning of a late-capitalist machine age.

That some homeowners might not want immediately to embrace the cocoon-like shelter of the House of the Future (described in Chapter I) was not an idea entertained by the Smithsons, and unlike Kahn, whose Parasol House was largely free of ideological

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baggage, The House of the Future represented a return to what they called "caravan" living, named as such not for the nomadic lifestyle that such units entail but rather for the economy of form that the caravan unit symbolizes. Here we sense a distinction between Kahn and the Smithson's respective programs. In the late 1940s, Kahn's belief in the poetics of structural form had not yet gained the ascendancy in his thinking that it later would, and his social ideals were still holding sway, while with the Smithsons, one senses an attempt to find built *symbols* that somehow speak to the contemporary cultural situation as they perceived it. This negotiation between artistic inspiration, and the cultural forces that generate such impulses and act as their beneficiaries, is one that remained as contested territory during the 1950s.

Prefabrication and consolidation of another type could be found in the projects of R. Buckminster Fuller, whose Dymaxion Deployment Unit of 1940 **[Fig. 3.8]**, a domicile based on grain bins, attempted to take prefabrication to the next level, making the actual constructed unit itself mobile, imbuing the home with the common American trope of travel and nomadism.[41] These units, costing only $1,200 apiece, were problematic in their limited dimensions, yet capitalized upon the use of new materials for their affordability, ease of transport, and flexibility. Kahn eventually became a great admirer of Fuller's, inviting him to give studio critiques at Yale where Kahn was teaching beginning in January 1950. But in 1946, when asked by a client about the Dymaxion (the first

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[40] Alison and Peter Smithson, "But Today We Collect Ads," *ARK* 18, republished in Robbins, ibid., p. 186.

[41] While Fuller later was to become an object of fascination for Reyner Banham, he remained a mere curiosity for the rest of the Brutalist camp.

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freestanding model of which Fuller created in 1927), Kahn was as yet unfamiliar with the structure.[42] Still, his appetite for prefabrication had already been whet:

> The prefabricated house, contrary to my previous belief, looks more feasible to me now than ever. Although I have witnessed a great deal of corn in the west during my sketchy visit, which would ordinarily lead me to judge that the west is not prepared psychologically to absorb something controversial, I have no doubt that 10,000, 20,000, or even 100,000 houses of a prefabricated type, offering the ingenuity which Fuller is so capable of offering, will be absorbed.[43]

Prefabrication, then, was a topic that was fomenting in Kahn's mind for quite a while, at least beginning with his work with Howe and Stonorov in the early 1940s. And while prefabrication seemed to be an ideal solution for solving the country's growing architectural needs, both the shapes and the materials of prefabrication—such as were being designed by such progressives as Kahn—were simply too remote from the comfort and familiarity of vernacular styles and materials for the majority of Americans requiring such structures. The construction of housing, as considered apart from other, related issues of social, regional, and economic planning, simply could not maintain its status as a separate endeavor.

Always woven within the housing unit's existence is its relation to the immediate environment (both natural and manmade) as well as to external issues such as the culture and community of surrounding towns and urban areas. Prefabrication would seem to be a natural enemy when attempting a flexible, across-the-board approach to the problem of

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[42] See letter from Louis I. Kahn to Jesse Oser, February 28, 1946 (LIK 33): "Dear Jesse: I have been unable to see a picture of, or get any information on, the Dymaxion house except that I have been told that the house is two or three feet off the ground—still a suspended construction—and equipped in an ingenious manner with storage spaces."
[43] Letter from LIK to Oser, ibid., Feb. 28, 1946

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program and site working interdependently, but there were other issues particular to the context of America in the grip of the Cold War.

The general anxiety surrounding the housing issue came partially from the need for housing for greater numbers, but also out of a need to create a new type of practical building that could withstand the fallout of a nuclear disaster. This influenced not only stylistic considerations, but the argument has been made that the very flight to the suburbs was in fact a result of decentralization based on fear of the devastation that a nuclear attack would have on heavily congregated urban areas.

The thought that architectural form—in the U.S.A., if not throughout Europe and Japan as well—may have been influenced by the threat of nuclear destruction is a provocative one. Certainly the fear emanating from the threat of nuclear destruction held the world rapt, and within architectural circles, some practitioners understood this as a call to arms. Joseph Singer, a New York architect writing in 1952, discussed the relative merits of different building materials and styles, concluding with the realization that the increasingly popular International Style, then gaining currency throughout Europe and the United States, was in fact one of the least stable systems in the face of an atomic eruption.[44]

The conviction, then, that the ineffectiveness of glass and steel structures to withstand a potent blast became an impetus to searching for a new style, does not seem so

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[44] The buildings thought to best withstand an atomic attack were earthquake-resistant buildings (either of heavily reinforced concrete frame or steel frame with concrete casing, and limited to a height of 100 feet or less). Singer writes that "[t]he destructive power of modern weapons has to some extent wiped out the distinction, prevalent in the past, between buildings for peaceful purposes and other buildings, loosely termed 'military

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ludicrous. I don't mean to imply that American architects such as Louis Kahn and Paul Rudolph opted for reinforced construction in order to safeguard their buildings against nuclear war (or perhaps simply to give the *appearance* of invulnerability), but the fact remains that those American avant-garde architects who rejected the International Style in favor of what might be called an aesthetic Brutalism did so with the knowledge and fear engendered by the threat of global annihilation, and perhaps their choice of material was in some way meant to suggest security through an appeal to the apotropaic powers of a larger symbolic order—one that, in fact, reinforced concrete was able to provide.[45]

Louis Kahn's interest in war and architecture shows that this issue was of some urgency to the architectural establishment in the early days of the Cold War:

> Just the other day I read in the 'New York Times' that the senator in charge of the Atomic Bomb information warns the nation that potentialities of the harnessing of atomic energy for power, heat and other essential utilities is so great that we will witness phenomenal disruption of present population centers demanding that new living centers be built practically overnight. The adventure of such new enterprises and the investment of new capital will overshadow in my opinion all the dream-house notions. How immediate shelter can be provided will be an outstanding issue—not how pretty, or other notions of a house a person may have.[46]

One might debate the actual impact that the Cold War may have had on quotidian life during the late 1940s and 1950s, although perhaps not as much as did the real needs of housing the victims of actual bombing had for the architectural profession in Europe.

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objectives.'" See Joseph B. Singer, "Atom Bombs and the Architect: Problems of Defense," *The Builder* vol. 183 (10 October 1952): 513.

[45] One might extrapolate that reasons for Corbusier's use of *béton brut* in his postwar buildings might also have been to mark a distinction between the prevailing social and political conditions before and after the war. The aesthetic impulse of New Brutalism could likewise be tied to the decisive change of events after 1945. But again, the Brutalist/Team 10 ethos goes a much longer way towards marking this distinction through its reformulation of human interaction from a more humanistic perspective.

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Given that architecture conceived in response to nuclear threat was a relatively marginalized activity (at least in the public sphere), the real political issues facing the American architectural profession were the related problems of slum clearance and prefabrication,. In order to see how these related to the discussion of Brutalism, one must move beyond aesthetics into the thorny domain of ethics.

While the populations within cities remained relatively consistent through the 1950s, the populations of suburban areas exploded. Inhabitants of New York's suburbs increased by 58% between 1950 and 1960, Los Angeles's by 70 %, Philadelphia's by 92%, and Chicago's by 101%.[47] exodus from urban areas came the sense of entitlement that has commonly governed the basic principles of U.S. citizenry. Those who did stay in the city (obviously for economic as well as familial reasons) endured persistent crowding and insalubrious conditions, especially in lower-income communities. The first slum clearance projects occurred in New York, for example Knickerbocker Village **[Fig. 3.9]**, a courtyard apartment complex built on Market Street between Cherry and Monroe streets in Lower Manhattan in 1932, and financed by the newly formed Reconstruction Finance Corporation (a New Deal federal agency), which lent a private corporation the money to develop the project.[48] Such projects had the effect of reconditioning urban

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[46] LIK to Oser, ibid.

[47] Statistics quoted in Reynolds Farley, "Components of Suburban Population Growth," in Barry Schwartz, ed., *The Changing Face of the Suburbs* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 10–11.

[48] For more information on the RFC, see Jesse Holman Jones, with Edward Angly, *Fifty Billion Dollars: My Thirteen Years with the RFC, 1932-1945* (New York, Macmillan, 1951). For a more objective account, see Walker F. Todd, "History and Rationales for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation," in *Economic Review/Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland* 28, no. 4 (1992, Quarter 4): 22–35. Todd notes that the RFC was "a *separate, politically accountable,* publicly funded rescue mechanism." (emphasis in original).

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sectors that had fallen prey to crippling poverty, but at the same time displacing the residents of those areas once new buildings had been constructed.

The popular responses to slum clearance and reconstruction, however, are quite surprising. While such projects might appear to be as close to Socialism as the U.S. ever got, they did not escape scrutiny by some of the more liberal thinkers of the time who, like Leslie Fiedler, saw these new housing projects as an threat to the need for retaining some sort of aesthetic hierarchy within the American populace. Perhaps the tinge of Socialism is exactly what led Fiedler to call Knickerbocker Village (which, coincidentally, was home to socialist activists Harold and Ethel Rosenberg) a "visible manifestation of the Stalinized petty-bourgeois mind."[49]

Slum clearance in Philadelphia was just as present an issue as in New York, although it didn't appear as a codified public redevelopment program until almost two decades later.[50] By this time, the dislocation of slum dwellers was understood as a negative outcome of slum clearance, and Philadelphia's program mandated a minimum of

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[49] Leslie Fiedler "Afterthoughts on the Rosenbergs," in *An End to Innocence: Essays on Culture and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 26. In contrast, Andrew Ross, in a revisionist discussion of the Rosenbergs in light of their abandonment by the so-called American Left, points out that Fiedler's position as any sort of political pundit has been discredited by Harold Rosenberg and later Morris Dickstein (see Ross's *No Respect: Intellectuals & Popular Culture*, ibid., especially chapter one). Still, the point I wish to make (shared by Ross) is that the political economy of postwar America was one of deeply conflicted sentiments and ironic affiliations (such as the arguments for or against Stalinism within the American Left), and is a symbol of the dissolution of political agendas within the American left. By the time that such debates were exhausted (perhaps because of the fear engendered by McCarthy's HUAC investigations), formerly socially motivated citizens such as Louis Kahn had given up politics in favor of an aesthetic formalism. This trend is nowhere better illustrated than in Clement Greenberg's brand of formalist criticism as the dominant voice in the American scene.

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dislocation of current inhabitants. Dislocation was understood as a destructive force for at least two reasons: first, the removal of present inhabitants necessitated their relocation elsewhere, a move that would, undoubtedly, reestablish the same conditions of depravity and malaise that held sway in the original, blighted neighborhoods. Second—a condition related to the first—is the loss of a sense of place entailed by the en-masse dissolution of a community, regardless of the extant economic decrepitude.

It is this sense of community that had to be retained at all costs, and was something that Kahn knew from first-hand experience. As an Estonian–born five-year-old immigrant to the U.S., Kahn grew up in the Northern Liberties, a somewhat destitute immigrant community near Philadelphia's City Center. Thus, when appointed chief coordinating planner for the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority in 1952,[51] Kahn was able to articulate the specific problems of community displacement from a highly informed point of view:

> A slum is the most closely knit social neighborhood of all. There is more kindness and more natural behavior than anywhere else. There has to be. So you have got to make redevelopment a product of the neighborhood or it fails. You have got to search for the things which give the neighborhood its patriotic unity, and then retain them. The amateur quality of the building should not be a consideration.[52]

Kahn's sensitivity to place and to a community's sense of belonging were touchstones that recurred throughout his practice, and remained the motivating force of his built projects. He undertook detailed studies to determine exactly how dwelling would

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[50] In fact, Philadelphia's East Poplar Homes were the first completed redevelopment project under Title I of the Federal Housing Bill of 1949. See below for Kahn's involvement in this project.

[51] Edmund Bacon was the Executive Director of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, Francis J. Lammer the Executive Director of the Redevelopment Authority.

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be used and by whom so as to optimize the effects of slum rehabilitation for both the present and the future. Kahn understood that to forestall the creation of new slum conditions, it was necessary to reconsider zoning laws and building codes that, in the early 1950's, remained deterrents to a progressive building program. Existing laws put an undue restraint on the potential for prefabricated construction, and Kahn argued that the creation of the U.S. Housing Authority has not gone far enough in guiding the completion of housing "for all citizens."[53]

Kahn's argument expands beyond calling for government accountability to include that of private industry and, most importantly, the potential beneficiaries of the housing—the citizens themselves: "Before houses are built the voices of our civic housing leaders and future occupants must be heard. Large scale rebuilding and new building brings about a dislocation of present city characteristics. The participation of citizens is necessary in order that such changes in our need will be beneficial, and for the pattern and progressive development of the city as a whole."[54] Here it is important to note that Kahn includes himself ("*our* need") in those who would benefit from an overhaul of existing conditions. By signifying himself as a member of the community, Kahn is placing himself in a position far different from that of the typical modernist architect, a situation that is legitimized by his nearly lifelong Philadelphia citizenship.

As was the case in Team 10 member Aldo van Eyck's Amsterdam playgrounds (see Chapter IV), Kahn foresaw a complete refurbishment of these slum areas, especially

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[52] Quoted in "The Philadelphia Cure," ibid., p. 126.
[53] Louis Kahn, "The Democratic Way," undated, p. 1. LIK 34. It appears as if the talk (or article) was never completed, as it bears the marks of revision and all-over crossing out.
[54] Ibid, p, 1

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the alleys, to create linear promenades. In a drawing for a slum redevelopment called the East Poplar Homes (on Philadelphia's 46th St., near Brown St. and the Cathedral Cemetery), Kahn envisioned a community green belt running through an area of the city that harbored a number of vacant and dangerous alleyways **[Fig. 3.10]**.[55] Each end of the promenade would be anchored by shopping centers, with churches and schools deployed evenly along the route **[fig. 3.11]**. A particularly sympathetic relationship to the city exists in both Kahn and van Eyck's projects, but architecture's role in social organization, as it existed within the prewar European avant-garde, remained radically and resolutely oblivious to class and to the interpenetration of real urban experience. However, the New Brutalist ethos of organic reorganization, beginning with a model not of the functional city but of a malleable and dynamic structure, was born of an understanding of the symbiosis between public and private spaces.

In Kahn's competition entry for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis of 1947 (the project that ultimately went to Eero Saarinen and produced his Gateway Arch), Kahn celebrated some of the same intentions as in the East Poplar Homes. Inspired by Le Corbusier's reconstruction of the French city of Saint-Dié (1946)**[Fig. 3.12]**, Kahn proposed a large, public, forum at the center of his plan, with a series of ramps and bridges creating an interconnected framework of passageways and

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[55] For more on Kahn's project in the context of Philadelphia's slum clearance, see "The Philadelphia Cure: Clearing Slums with Penicillin, not Surgery," *Architectural Forum* 96, no. 4 (April 1952): 120–7.

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public gathering spaces. Here Kahn was working with the belief in the possibility for radical social change as organized under the collectivizing rubric of architectural form.[56]

At the far end of his St. Louis "agora," Kahn positioned a Corbusian tower block called the Laboratory of Education, which housed offices for various citizens' political action groups, including the Citizen's Council for City Planning, an organization to which Kahn belonged **[Fig. 3.13]**. This group believed in the important function of giving private citizens a voice in city politics, and to that end provided the space and opportunities for town meetings.

North of the laboratory was another structure, reminiscent of illustrations in his text on monumentality, that he called the Center for UNESCO.[57] This steel and glass building consists of two modular units, horizontally disposed as interlocking volumes piggy-backing one another, each with a two-level interior of massive open space **[Fig.**

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[56] A thorough synopsis of this project in relation to Kahn's civic-mindedness is found in an article by Sarah Williams Ksiazek entitled "Critiques of Liberal Individualism: Louis Kahn's Civic Projects, 1947–57," *Assemblage* 31 (December, 1996): 58–62. Ksiazek (now Sarah Williams Goldhagen) has produced some of the most thoughtful and provocative scholarship on Kahn within the subject's vast literature, but here I am situating Kahn's sociological approach into one that had resonance beyond the United States while also taking in external influences. While Ksiazek/Goldhagen's subject is, ultimately, Kahn himself, mine emphasizes a particularly cogent element of avant-garde architectural thinking. Still Ksiazek/Goldhagen's work is important for my own, and her claim that Kahn believed that an "architect might design in civic form a symbolic analogue to radical social change" is a hypothesis that I strongly support. What makes this interesting to me is the way in which the American avant-garde worked with a vocabulary of metaphor and allegory—really, a poetics of construction—while their European counterparts were more interested in an instrumentalized approach to radical social change. It is precisely this contrast between ethics and aesthetics that I see as the major point of negotiation in the first decade after WWII. These themes are expanded in the major new work by Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), especially Chapter One entitled "Kahn and American Modernism: The Search for Community and the Turn Toward Monumentality," pp. 11–40.

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3.14]. This type of openness seems to exploit the possibilities of new materials as Kahn had suggested in his article of 1944 entitled "Monumentality" **[Fig. 3.15]**. There he proclaimed that "[s]teel, the lighter metals, concrete, glass, laminated woods, asbestos, rubber, and plastics are emerging as the prime building materials of today."[58] This emphasis on materials once again indicates Kahn's precarious position between an ethical and an aesthetic agenda, but also shows that at this early date, Kahn was following an agenda of liberal humanism that would always inform his work, even if in later years the lavishness of his commissions would seem to suggest subservience to controlling economic powers and to his own ideas of monumentality.

In her article entitled "Critiques of Liberal Individualism: Louis Kahn's Civic Projects, 1947–57"—one of the most important studies of Kahn's early work—Sarah Williams Goldhagen (writing as Sarah Williams Ksiazek) recalls a peculiar yet telling paragraph in the "Monumentality" manifesto that points us towards an understanding of Kahn's St. Louis project as being twofold. First, as in the quotation above, he is concerned with the exploitation of new materials in the service of "maturity" and "buildings of high purpose." But, second, this growth and sense of importance comes not from the materials themselves, but from their deployment within a socially significant structure—a significance not only in terms of its physical appearance and use-value, but also for its symbolic value. So within the Jefferson scheme, the "structural innovations of

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[57] Louis I. Kahn, "Monumentality," in Zucker, ibid., pp. 577–88.
[58] Ibid., p.587

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the UNESCO building," writes Goldhagen, "would represent the social changes that his agora, murals, and Laboratory of Education might enact."[59]

One might expand this thought to suggest that the UNESCO building is not discontinuous with the rest of the Jefferson plan's development, but rather an intrinsic part of the whole which is, in its entirety, an expression of social movement and community articulated through both ethical and aesthetic modes. If one were to look at another element of the Jefferson plan—the murals proposed by Kahn for the complex—one can see that Kahn was really attempting a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that engaged (and even necessitated) the participation of the entire community through symbolic means. The murals, whose heroic, figurative programs are specifically defined in the panels for the competition entry, were to be placed presumably on the low retaining walls framing the site **[Fig. 3.16]**. Goldhagen, quoting Kahn, reports that the murals were to be constructed from an accretion of small stones put together by community members under the supervision of a "master artist." Clearly, Kahn's desire to see the collaboration unfold through the gradual accumulation of small units to create the final image as a metaphor for the collaborative process itself, each part being separate but equal under the aegis of the whole project.[60]

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[59] Ksiazek, ibid., p. 61. See also Goldhagen's *Situated Modernism,* ibid., pp. 33–40. for a revised and expanded discussion of the Jefferson Memorial project.

[60] Another proposal for the Jefferson Memorial was submitted by Charles and Ray Eames. Their project was centered around what they called an "Information Center," that would encourage the power of education. In the project proposal, the Eameses wrote that their objective was "to stimulate, to inform, and to involve the people in activities that, springing from the, create the social environment." See John Neuhart, Marilyn Neuhart, and Ray Eames, eds., *Eames Design: The Work of the Office of Charles and Ray Eames* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989), pp. 84–5.

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This image conjures up the larger one of Kahn as the master mason creating a public space with the tacit input of the community members, but here given a material as well as pictorial presence to underscore the collaborative nature of the project; Kahn writes:

> I do not wish to imply that monumentality can be attained scientifically or that the work of the architect reaches its greatest service to humanity by his peculiar genius to guide a concept towards a monumentality. I merely defend, because I admire, the architect who possesses the will to grow with the many angles of our development. For such a man finds himself far ahead of his fellow workers.[61]

In the Jefferson Memorial project we can sense a foreshadowing of New Brutalist/Team 10 ideas of collaborative community building.[62] While great differences existed between the American and European contexts, the singular privileging of collaboration, as with no other time in the past, seems significant for a number of different reasons. First, there is a forthright attempt to inscribe the concept of community into the actual built structures, and with Kahn's murals (art being a crucial element of monumentality as it was understood both by Kahn himself and by the 1943 manifesto by Siegfried Giedion, José Luis Sert, and Fernand Léger[63]) this sense of community was to

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[61] Kahn, "Monumentality," ibid., pp. 587–8

[62] This type of collectivity was also being explored by Hassan Fathy at New Gourna, work which began just around this time near Luxor, Egypt (the first phase started in 1945–6). See Hassan Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973). Fathy's work is never mentioned by any of the Team 10/Brutalist members, nor by Kahn, and so it is difficult to assess awareness of the project in the West until the first publication of Fathy's book/diary of the project in 1969.

[63] José Luis Sert, Fernand Léger, Sigfried Giedion, "Nine Points on Monumentality," reprinted in Ockman, ibid., pp. 29–30. This document differs from Kahn's in that these three unrepentant modernists—while presenting a shift away from prewar mechanization mentality—are still speaking of an enduring sense of form generated by an abstract collectivity ("Periods which exist for the moment have been unable to create lasting monuments") rather than the true accretion of collective desire expressed by a

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be given figurative articulation.[64] Second, there is a tacit call for the abdication of power from above and its role of determining form and content for public spaces and structures. Then there is the somewhat naive belief that "mass culture," in its incipient state, was somehow a positive force with regard to aesthetic creations, and it was only later in the 1950s that Kahn began to respond to the public's embrace of what Clement Greenberg called "kitsch," but might otherwise be described as a loss of local values in favor of an industrialized, commodified aesthetic, emptied of community value and transcendent meaning.[65]

As figurative images, Kahn's mural proposals flew in the face of a rarefied Greenbergian modernism, as they clearly referenced the tradition of WPA art of the 1920s and '30s, where mural panels were meant to play both a pedagogical as well as a unifying role for the community in which they were placed. But in 1949, two years after

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collaborative process, as suggested by Kahn. Essentially the Giedion/Sert/Léger manifesto entrusts the sensitive modern architect to be able to channel the will of the people ("As a rule, those who govern and administer a people, brilliant as they may be in their special fields, represent the average man of our period in their artistic judgments . . . The feeling of those who govern and administer the countries is untrained and still imbued with the pseudo-ideals of the nineteenth century. This is the reason why they are not able to recognize the creative forces of our period, which alone could build the monuments or public buildings that should be integrated into new urban centers which can form a true expression of our epoch." [Ockman, p. 30]), instead of Kahn's belief that untrained community members are perhaps more qualified to speak on their own behalf as to what formal and functional qualities they require of their shared built forms (" The citizens of a metropolitan area of a city and their representatives have formulated a program for a culture center endorsed by the national education center. The citizens' committee collaborated with the architect and his staff of engineers. Costs were not discussed. Time was not 'of the essence.' Its progress was the concern of many.") ["Monumentality," pp. 584–5]).

[64] Ksiazek reports that the murals were to have subject matter such as one which called for harmony between the races and another that would describe life on the Mississippi River. See Ksiazek, "Critiques of Liberal Individualism," ibid., p. 59

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Kahn commenced teaching at Yale's School of Architecture, the arrival there of Josef Albers seems to have coincided with a shift in Kahn's aesthetic values, at least with regard to a sense of a structural sense of order and the poetic (but what some might call vague and self-indulgent) articulation of aesthetic ideals.[66]

Prior to his exposure to Albers, as well as to his wife, Anni, whose textile designs Kahn featured in his First Unitarian Church in Rochester, NY **[fig. 3.17]**,[67] Kahn seemed faithful to a more pragmatic and progressive set of aesthetic values, preferring the didactic, heroic images of local life and politics (at least judging by the proposed images for the Jefferson project) over the abstract European modernist visions advocated in Giedion's version of monumentality.[68] But this changes with Kahn's appointment to the

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[65] Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (New York, Beacon Press, 1961).

[66] Albers began as a visiting critic at Yale in October 1949, and was appointed Chair of the Art Department the following June. With Albers's arrival, a new spirit of collaboration between the studio and architecture programs was facilitated, undoubtedly influencing Kahn as well. Furthermore, Albers's rejection of historical models in favor of formalist abstraction also led Kahn towards a greater embrace of a synthesis of the arts already evident in the Jefferson Memorial project.

[67] See Brownlee and DeLong, op. cit, p. 46

[68] See Giedion, 'The Need for a New Monumentality," in Zucker, ibid., pp. 549–68, especially pp. 561–564: "Painting first realized the *spatial conception* of our period and discovered methods of representing it. . . .One trend could be observed in recent years which is common to nearly all of the leading painters. Together with the urge for larger canvases appeared brighter colors, full of inherent hope. At the same time there was an impulse towards simplification. This occurs when after a development of three decades modern painting becomes ripe for great tasks. Great and unresolved complexes had to be expressed in the shortest, most direct way. What began as necessary structural abbreviations emerges now as symbols. The work of Arp, Mirò, Léger, and many others is moving in this direction." Strangely, the description offered by Giedion could equally apply to the nostalgic, overly simplified images of WPA murals in the U.S., even down to the abbreviated symbolism. But in Giedion we see here an instrumentalization of abstraction where the simplicity of pure abstraction is seen as embodying the mythic ideals of society, rather than being completely turned into itself. And their integration

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Yale faculty, as we can see from a discussion of some of the studios that Kahn oversaw in New Haven. And while it may be too much of a stretch to suggest that the new opportunities found at Yale by Kahn were responsible for a radical shift in his practice, and certainly the ethical dimension remains throughout his career's work (in a less material, more practical way), I want to suggest that some sort of shift occurs around 1948–1950, one that bears investigation.

Kahn's ideas for the UNESCO building were not exhausted in the Jefferson Memorial project, as Ksiazek has pointed out. The following autumn of 1948 at the Yale School of Architecture (where Kahn had been appointed the previous fall semester), Kahn was put in charge of the collaborative design studio which addressed a problem through the interactive efforts of architecture, painting, and sculpture students.[69] The studio was centered around the design for an exhibition hall for the UNESCO headquarters. Kahn imagined it situated in Philadelphia's Fairmont Park overlooking the Schuylkill River, one of the originally proposed sites for the U.N. that was subsequently rejected in favor of the eventual site on Manhattan's East River. The engineering of the hall was charged to the architecture students, while the interior decoration remained the province of the painting students and the stair tower was assigned to the sculpture students. While at this point his own practice was directed mainly towards single-family homes, Kahn was certainly interested in expanding his practice into the public sphere. The results of the studio were nationally recognized, especially as an espousal of Kahn's

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with architecture further instrumentalizes them by codifying their use-value as an intrinsic part of the architectural frame.

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new ideas of monumentality.[70] But what concerns us here is the collaborative element as one of the fundamental tenets of the New Brutalist/Team 10 ethos, although here suggesting an aesthetic (more than an ethical) collaboration along the lines of the Independent Group.[71]

In the UNESCO studio project, Kahn required each of the 16 collaborative teams to produce a site model, a model of the Exhibit Hall's skeletal frame, a miniature and detail of the Entrance Hall mural, and a miniature and detail for the Entrance Hall sculpture **[fig. 3.18]**. Notable here is the fact that Kahn specifically requested that the unconcealed structure of the Exhibit Hall express the building form, resulting in an array of deliberately constructivist-inspired schemes of cantilevered trusses, clearly articulated volumes, and a conspicuous lack of monolithic, International-style tower blocks **[fig.**

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[69] See Brownlee and DeLong, ibid., p. 45 (this page is incorrectly cited by Ksiazek in "Critiques . . ." as p.54, which is in fact the number of the illustration found at the bottom of page 45)

[70] See "Progress Report: Student Architects, Painters, Sculptors Design Together," *Progressive Architecture* 30, no. 4 (April 1949), pp. 14–18. The anonymous author notes that "the direct modeling of forms . . . appears to result from the convictions of the sculptor-members of the participating teams, (and the) generally successful color use on which the painters advised . . are freely expressed yet achieve a modulated balance in he best of the solutions." (p. 14). Although these comments cannot be verified by the small photographs that accompany the article, the quote is notable as an exemplar of a new language being used to describe American architecture, one that was common for Le Corbusier but not in the American scene.

[71] A decade later, Kahn explicitly denounced architectural or urban collaboration with anyone other than fellow specialists. In an unpublished interview with Paul Heyer from 1961, Kahn is asked whether he thought urban planners should have a background in sociology. Kahn is said to have replied that "you cannot be two things, it takes a lifetime to start to be one thing properly. We are architects and we should approach our problems as architects." He also stated that "human institutions must not happen from a social pattern because this is not a law. If the sociologist gives you're a rule discount it, if he gives you a law extract from it and give it architectural meaning. Only, if the architect by his training has the power to realise a form and therefore only he can directly interpret the laws." Paul Heyer, letter to Kahn, ibid., p. 6. LIK 66.

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3.19]. This is significant in pointing to the clear avant-gardism that attended the shift towards collaborative practice, and the clever way in which Kahn introduced this progressivism through a publicly-oriented project with international implications.

The collaborative studio for the following year, the first to include Albers's participation, was one whose name further underscored Kahn's rejuvenated progressivist tendencies. "An Idea Center for Plastics" was designed to produce a 20,000 square foot "Idea or Image Center" at the production plant of a "leading manufacturer of plastics," adjoining the plant's experimental laboratory.[72] The stated purpose of the imagined Center was not as "a laboratory of plastics technology or a museum showing the various utilitarian uses of plastic today, but is intended primarily to stimulate designers in industry, science, the arts and in education, and induce ideas towards the advancement in their fields through a wider application of practices."[73] Clearly Kahn was utilizing this collaborative project to analyze the implications of a synthesis of the arts that seems (at this point) to be moving closer to Giedion's position in his aforementioned statement on monumentality.

It also marks a decisive movement toward the foregrounding of the sculptural and aesthetic properties of light and space that would characterize the works of his later, most celebrated years. In fact, the project proposal almost entirely omits any discussion of architectonic questions in favor of more interpretive strategies in the service of what Kahn calls a "*setting for the demonstration* of the effect that light, color, and force can

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[72] Also participating in this studio was the Harvard-trained architect Eliot Noyes, discussed later in the present chapter. Kahn, handwritten draft for advanced collaborative design studio, School of the Fine Arts, Yale University, 1949–50, "An Idea Center For Plastics." LIK 60, Kahn Collection, University of Pennsylvania.

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have on plastics of various shapes and textures" **[fig. 3.20]**. This *mise-en-scène*—"a setting" rather than a physical structure— seems to foreshadow Kahn's remarks in *Perspecta* 4 of 1957, in which he laid out, in epigrammatic fashion, a series of thoughts on the creation of architectural space through an emphasis on the dematerialization of the tectonic components.[74] A diagram that accompanies the project proposal makes this fact manifest, showing two different scenarios of lighting an interior space, one using infrared to make the objects appear to float against a darkened ground, and another backlit to dematerialize the architectural frame and foreground the solid materiality of the objects inside. Once again we see the connection to Josef Albers, begun at the Bauhaus, developed at Black Mountain College in North Carolina and finally codified in his seminal *Interaction of Color* of 1963 **[fig. 3.21]**.[75] In the "Idea Center," Kahn's shift away from ethics and towards an aestheticism that perhaps participates in a European legacy of formal experimentation, seems quite clear.[76] In 1950, the shift is given material articulation through his first major commission: an addition to the Yale Art Gallery.

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[73] Ibid., p.2

[74] If we compare the statement from the collaborative project at the beginning of this paragraph with one of Kahn's 1957 epigrams—"How space is served with light air and quiet must be embodied in the space order concept which provides for the harboring of these services"—one can discern a similar emphasis on the effects of extramaterial forces on the ordering and perception of spatial components. Louis Kahn, "Architecture is the Thoughtful Making of Spaces," reprinted in Ockman, ibid., pp. 271–2

[75] Also participating as a consultant in the workshop, and whose professional interests may have helped Kahn formulate some of the ideals promulgated in his project description, was Walter Paepcke, Chairman of the Board of the Container Corporation of America and also Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Design in Chicago, which was under the directorship first of Laszlo Moholy-Nagy and then, after Moholy's death, Serge Chermayeff. This intersection of industry, commerce, and design will be illuminated below in the context of Eliot Noyes.

[76] In the case of Albers, his emphasis was on Gestalt psychology and its attendant theories of perceptualism. The extent to which Kahn embraced these actual practices is

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The Yale Art Gallery (1951–4), in fact, may unwittingly have served to promulgate the misunderstanding of New Brutalism in the United States [**fig. 3.22**]. This building occurs at the moment in Kahn's career when his aesthetic preoccupations begin to overtake his earlier, ethical stance.[77] The interior gallery's sculptural qualities were recognized widely, and came to be known as the most salient aspects of the building.[78] A letter to the editors of Progressive Architecture from José Luis Sert is a characteristic response:

> Modern architects have as a rule tended towards more complicated and delicate design, and the Yale University Art Gallery, with its remarkable ceiling patterns making use of rough concrete and its walls of unpainted cement blocks, follows a new trend toward a more sculptural expression in architecture which possibly started with Le Corbusier's apartments in Marseilles. . . I believe that we all feel today the need of changes in the character of buildings, emphasizing a more sculptural quality, especially in some public structures of a more monumental type. The ceiling of the Yale University Art Gallery and Design Center is a good example of this monumental treatment because, besides its functional design, it has remarkable sculptural quality. The cylindrical stair well

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not entirely clear, but his enthusiasm for the purity of Albers's vision is exemplary of Kahn's inchoate aestheticism.

[77] Sarah Goldhagen argues that Kahn's sociopolitical agenda is not diminished, but rather displaced, away from an progressivist activist role into a use of the buildings themselves as documents (or manifestoes) of his humanitarian beliefs. While I don't disagree with this revisionist claim, nor do I believe that aesthetics completely overshadow ethics, I do believe that the bluntness of his earlier activism is transformed into a more abstract form of humanization, one with less local, and more global, ambitions.

[78] Philip Johnson, in conversation with Heinrich Klotz and John Cook, gives an archetypal American perspective on the concept of the New Brutalism (Heinrich Klotz and & John W. Cook, *Conversations with Architects* [New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973]). When asked whether the "so-called brutalist movement" had made an impression on him, he replied: "Not to me. I never liked concrete as a material." Two later statements by Johnson in the same interview give a sense of the disconnection possible in the United States between a socially informed architecture and a purely formal architectural practice. First, he states that " I'm not interested in politics" (p. 26). A bit later, he is asked: "Are there ethical standards an architect must reflect?" to which he replies: "There are building standards," (p. 36) by which he means formal rules of an objective quality that must not be disobeyed..

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> [sic], also in rough concrete, and the disposition of stairs in straight sections contrasting with the curved walls, is effective and interesting.[79]

This attitude can be directly tied to his call (along with fellow authors Giedion and Léger) for a new Monumentality. But it is also indicative of a larger set of principles whereby American architecture would be judged on aesthetic (rather than ethical) criteria, a conviction of which the Yale Art Gallery is symptomatic. Writing in *Perspecta*, the annual Yale architectural publication, Boris Pushkarev defended the transcendental unity of the space created by Kahn in the Art Gallery, and the fact that the services in this building were cleverly hidden within the honeycombs of the Buckminster Fuller-inspired "space-frames" of the concrete, coffered ceiling.[80] But Kahn's ceiling is not a true space frame, and is moreover far heavier than necessary (due to the materials used), thus obviating one of the space frame's main advantages.[81] Far from the naked functionalism of English Brutalism, Kahn here is in the realm of Le Corbusier, reveling in the aura of materials without deference to the message sent through their functional appearance.

Pushkarev writes that "It is the conviction of Mr. Kahn that if a new tradition of ornament is to be born in our age, that ornament will stem from the methods of construction." He continues to describe Kahn's decision to keep the form imprint on the concrete ribs of the gallery's ceiling, so as "to keep the freshness of surface which

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[79] *Progressive Architecture* 35, no. 5 (May 1954): 15

[80] Boris Pushkarev, "Order and Form: The Yale Art Gallery and Design Center, *Perspecta* 3 (1955), pp. 47–51."

[81] The ceiling was not strictly a space frame, as was pointed out in an early review of the Art gallery in *Architectural Forum*, in which the anonymous author stated that "a space frame is supported by a minimum of three columns and so framed that it could be picked up at any point without its falling apart. Buckminster Fuller's 'Oc-Tet' truss . . . demonstrates a true space frame. The author does, however, mention several aspects of

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derived from its forms."[82] Here, the reasons behind this decision are purely aesthetic.[83] The results are clearly without a social component—in fact, to suggest such a thing is to miss the point completely. This is a building to be used for pure enjoyment of the spirit, created for an extremely wealthy private university in a prosperous country, during that country's greatest historical ascendancy. Yet Pushkarev, perhaps aware of Kahn's lingering sense of civic duty, informs us that "the workmen, realizing that materials will be left exposed and that whatever is done in the beginning will remain visible, showed conscientious care. Several left conventional jobs which were underway in the city at the same time, to work on a project that stimulated their interest and pride."[84]

Kahn's building allegedly had the capacity to actualize the experience of architecture's universalizing aesthetic force, providing a convenient link between (work) ethics and (superficial) aesthetics. Indeed, the Art Gallery's most celebrated quality were its interior surfaces, which explored the effect of the textural properties of untreated reinforced concrete **[fig. 3.23]**. The sumptuousness of the surface treatment led to the following soliloquy by Frederick Gutheim, just after the building's completion:

Kahn's inventiveness. "Building Engineering 1. Tetrahedral Floor System," in *Architectural Forum* 97 (November 1952): 149

[82] Pushkarev, ibid., p. 51

[83] It can, and has, been argued that the blunt exposure of the formwork on the Unité was at first a result of the unskilled (read: cheap) laborers who toiled in the project, and was only later reimagined by Le Corbusier into an handicraft effect that he had intended all along. Even his greatest modern hagiographer, William Curtis, admits that the decision to leave the formwork rough and bare (i.e., resulting in the famed béton brut) was made only after the realization that the level of contracted labor available in Marseilles at that time was of a varied quality, and would inevitably result in what, by normal standards, would be considered shoddy craftsmanship. See William Curtis, Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms (London: Phaidon Press, 1986), p. 170.

[84] Ibid., p. 52.

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> Concrete dominates all. The large area of exposed raw concrete represented by the ceiling is added to by substantial wall areas of formed concrete, stair well surfaces, and other parts of the building. But so deftly is design handled, and so perceptively is concrete combined with steel, glass, wood, and other materials, so well is it illuminated, that the effect is as luxurious as travertine. Here is concrete which is neither cold, gray, nor crude. It is warm and vital, colorful and varied, organic in finished appearance.[85]

The materials used, in other words, were offered in a forthright manner, but their opulence contradicts the basic principles of aesthetic Brutalism at the level of truth and honesty. Banham, in his Brutalism book, uses the Yale Art Gallery as a stepping-off point for New Brutalism, given its appeal to the Smithsons at the time. But his overall assessment of the building as either Brutalist or otherwise is a largely negative one, stemming from the fact that as an extension to a preexisting structure, and because of its stark and uninventive street façade, the building is less significant than others in Kahn's oeuvre. Its blank brick wall does at least provide evidence of floor levels, and its lack of distinction assumes "an air of deliberate disregard for customary good architectural manners."[86] Yet this assessment tells us nothing of the building's effectiveness as a gallery, while giving a strong suggestion that New Brutalism was, in its basest manifestation, a brute renunciation of anything that might have resembled propriety within architectural expression.[87]

As far as the Gallery's other alliances with Brutalism are concerned, one might mention the idea of modular space. At Yale, Kahn's exterior may have remained

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[85] Frederick Gutheim, "Modern Architecture at Yale," *New York Herald Tribune* (28 November 1953).
[86] Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 44.
[87] In his earlier article of 1955, Banham was less kind to the Art Gallery, going so far as to suggest that it isn't really Brutalist, and otherwise deriding the structure's "arty"

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uninflected in terms of modularity, but the tetrahedral ceilings are another story **[fig. 3.24]**. What is begun at the Art Gallery was noticed by Vincent Scully in his appreciation of the building: "Each open volume of floor, enclosed by the quadrangular building block, is defined overhead by the powerful tetrahedrons of the reinforced concrete slab. These exert a cellular principle of growth which the exterior . . . does not express but which Kahn's later projects are beginning to demonstrate."[88]

The ceiling, which comprises what Kahn called a "space slab," was designed to give maximum light and air as well as to provide the module around which the rooms could be partitioned—a partitioning that required flexibility because it was a gallery setting whose walls needed to be mobile. Kahn stated that "The ceiling is really a place where the many needs are accessible. The solution derives from the feeling that the way a place is made must be visible and not concealed."[89] Here we see that the process and the functional results of that process are foregrounded with an eye towards a certain authenticity or honesty of expression, and although there is no socially redeeming aspect to the building itself, within its isolated environment it attempts to remain true to a set of moral obligations that Kahn believed were intrinsic to the profession.[90] In fact, the

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detailing, and for failing to be "a coherent and apprehensible visual entity." See Banham, "The New Brutalism," (1955), ibid., pp. 354–61.

[88] Vincent Scully, "Archetype and Order in recent American Architecture," *Art in America* vol. 42, no. 4 (December 1954): 257.

[89] Klotz and Cook, ibid., p. 212

[90] That Kahn was ultimately concerned with the visual/formal essence of the building is seen in a sketch he made a year after the building's completion. The sketch is captioned: "A tetrahedral concrete floor asks for columns of the same structure," and shows the interior of the Art Gallery with columns made of tetrahedral units, assembled as if two pyramids were placed tip-to-tip, one on top of the other, with the tips in the column's center (the resulting form is a direct visual precursor to the Philadelphia City Tower

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unusual honeycomb design necessitated more ductwork than with conventional air conditioning, due to the serpentine routing necessary to conform to the ceiling. For Yale, clearly, cost was no deterrent to formal innovation. But moreover, the fact that an aesthetic conceit somehow undermined the efficiency of services would seem, in a profound sense, to contradict the professed "authenticity:" of materials and construction, and certainly complicates the idea of Brutalist aesthetics as explained by Banham.

The result is a strange and confusing relationship between appearance and reality, resulting in some odd effects. Even within the rarefied realm of an Ivy League university art gallery, the oil stains left from the concrete ceiling's formwork remain as a testament to the overall process, and the flexibility of the interior space (whereby moveable walls can be positioned either orthogonally or obliquely, thanks to the tetrahedral ceiling plan) can be read (generously) as an analogue to the Brutalist ethos of individual participation in the creation of one's own environment. But with the construction of the Yale Art Gallery, Kahn became seduced by the possibility of building for building's sake, signaling a moving away from his earlier socially progressive relativism (and perhaps skepticism) towards an entrenched belief in what might be called eternal truths. But to a certain extent, as we have discussed earlier, the establishment of any system, even if it is an anti-systemic system, runs the risk of becoming inflexible and, eventually, a target for the advocates of change.

Louis Kahn's concurrent domestic projects, notably the Weiss House in East Norristown Township, PA of 1947–50, likewise signal a movement towards an increased

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Project of 1957). Here the structural integrity of the floor and ceiling system is subordinated to an aesthetic trope, undermining its professed tectonic logic.

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aesthetic predilection **[fig. 3.25]**. Kahn described the Weiss house as one that is "contemporary but does not break with tradition,"[91] and a paragraph that accompanies the house's publication in *Architectural Forum* states, "The house shown on these pages is as modern as the factories of Norristown, as solid as the Dutch barns, as much a part of this land as the stone in the quarry beyond."[92]

This statement revisits a fundamental irony of the twentieth-century architectural avant-garde: the fact that the industrial mechanization of the US that had been so influential on European architects of the 1920s had been almost entirely ignored by American architects in the domestic realm. When the International style was exported later to the U.S., the effect was that the U.S. received the results of architectural experiments that had been inspired by its own factory architecture. It is not unusual, therefore, that the anonymous writer's discussion of the Weiss house would celebrate the structure's industrial and vernacular qualities. Furthermore, the equivalence noted between this house and the vernacular buildings of rural Pennsylvania makes another argument for the attention to local values and traditions in the face of a mainstream anonymous modernism.

In a distinctly American version of Finnish architect Alvar Aalto's slightly earlier timber-based modernism, Kahn here exploits both the structural and the aesthetic values of the local materials; wooden beams very clearly express their supporting function,

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[91] Brownlee and DeLong, ibid., p. 39. See also the Smithsons' opinion of the Weiss house, which they disregard as aesthetically "New England Mainstream" (except for a certain robustness), but praise for its system of "servant" and "served" spaces, a system that Kahn had yet to actually devise at the time of the Weiss house's inception. Alison and Peter Smithson, "Louis Kahn," *Architects' Year Book* 9 (1960): 102.

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rather than standing as a superfluously "rustic" symbol **[fig. 3.26]**. Likewise, stone walls are used effectively as both support and screen, but never both. While the main volume of the living room is expressed on the exterior by a rugged stone escarpment, a perpendicular stone wall articulating the walkway towards the outdoor patio and fireplace stands freely below an overhanging timber trellis, bringing together both structural elements in a purely symbolic manner to assert their formal and aesthetic properties as well as the manner in which they function structurally.

The Weiss house's rear façade displays a particularly Corbusian trick of framing the exterior views by alternating the double-hung windows with glazing and plywood, each panel of which can be shifted vertically up or down to create (with the plywood panels in the "up" position) a view oriented to the flat landscape, and vice versa, a glimpse of the full night sky.[93] While having no real functional value, the window treatment displays an exertion of the architect's will, and a reiteration of the subtle interplay between aesthetic and functional value that characterizes the shift in Kahn's practice around this time, when he began to focus more on private commissions than on publicly funded housing.

Inside the house, as well, is another trope familiar within the legacy of American modernism. Next to a two-way fireplace (looking into both the kitchen and the living room, and already a focal point of the main living space), Kahn reserved a space framed by a built-in bench and shelf unit **[fig. 3.27]**. Inside he planned to insert a mural of his

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[92] "Modern Space Framed with Traditional Artistry," in *Architectural Forum* (September 1950): 101

[93] This was an architectural trope that appeared in Paul Rudolph's work in Florida at this same time, such as his project for a "Theoretical Flap House" of 1952.

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own devising, specifically illustrating some of the thematic patterns that had influenced the design of the house: not-so-subtle shades of Frank Lloyd Wright's Barnsdall House (completed around 1921) and his Ennis House (1923–4), with their custom-designed fireplace/hearth mantels that adorn the buildings' interiors. Kahn did not paint the mural until several years later, at which point he incorporated Egyptian motifs into the planned symbolic realm of local symbols and patterns.

This appearance of an aesthetic register coincides with the shift in Kahn's priorities mentioned earlier. Kahn generally was able to sublimate his aesthetic disposition to the greater integrity of sheer tectonics, at least until private commissions (such as the Oser and later the Weiss house) allowed him a more subjective palette with which to work. So again we see, by 1950, a decisive turn away from the civic-minded orthodoxy of Kahn's earlier work of the 1940s towards a practice that concerned itself with craftsmanship and style.

The Trenton Bath House of 1955 (part of a larger scheme for a Jewish Community Center), likewise occurs at the point when Kahn's practice turned away from an overt ethical thrust towards a poetic or tectonic one. This project's similarity to Aldo van Eyck's Amsterdam Orphanage (at least in appearance, if not in ethical tone) is ironic given that with the Orphanage van Eyck can be said to have broken free from his formalist ties in order to put into practice the Team 10 ethos of humanistic building.

The universality that Kahn was exploring at the moment of the Bath House's conception was of a very different stripe than van Eyck's, whose project tended towards an exploration of originary dwellings of a man-made variety. Kahn, under the influence

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of both D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson's *On Growth and Form* (introduced to him by associate Anne Tyng in the early 1950s)[94] and Buckminster Fuller's tetrahedral structures, was attempting to devise a structural program whose source was the most elementary of forms: those of chemical and geometric shapes occurring on the cellular level.[95] This research was facilitated by the development of the electron microscope, allowing for Kahn's realization, in Sarah Ksiazek/Goldhagen's words, that "if the reality in which we moved was chaotic and inscrutable, beneath lay a profound order of almost mystical simplicity."[96] For Kahn, the cellular construction of the organic universe was a particularly apt model for the conception of built structures, whereby the human scale is mapped onto the architectural plan through a biological affinity or model; the Trenton Bath House illustrates this claim with economical efficiency.

Prior to the completion of the Bath House, Kahn had already tried his hand at several modular, pavilion-based projects. The first was a house for Francis H. Adler in Philadelphia (1954–5), and the second the Weber DeVore house in Springfield Township, PA (1954–5) **[figs. 3.28, 3.29]**. Both designs comprised a cluster of pavilions,

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[94] Thompson's book—originally published in 1917, reprinted in 1942 and 1952—received a new high profile following the ICA (London) exhibition (3 July–31 August 1951) entitled *Growth and Form: The Development of Natural Shapes and Structures*, and organized by the artist Richard Hamilton (later of the Independent Group). Kahn knew of it through Anne Tyng, who bought the show's catalogue in 1952. See Goldhagen, ibid., p. 234, note 7. This serendipity provides another link between the New Brutalists and Kahn, albeit one that remained unrecognized at the time. A stranger (and not yet investigated) facet of Thompson's impact in the 1950s would be the case of Le Corbusier, who gave a talk at the opening of the ICA exhibition. There he declared that "The exhibition has moved me very deeply; for I found in it a unity of thought which gave me great pleasure." Quoted in Robbins, *The Independent Group*, ibid., p. 17.

[95] For more on the particulars of Kahn's influences and research, see Sarah Williams Ksiazek, "Critiques of Liberal Individualism . . .," ibid., pp. 66–8.

[96] Ibid., p. 67

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with the living areas forcefully delineated through discrete units placed in relation to one another so as to provide a separateness while still retaining a sense of unity. The DeVore House was celebrated just prior to Kahn's death by the Smithsons, who referred to it as a "house-like-a-barn," and who appreciated its sense of open and contemplative parti, "capturing the empty air."[97]

But these projects never attained a true manifestation of modular spaces, and it was only with the Bath House that Kahn was able to see these ideas in material form. The original commission was for an entire Jewish community center for Ewing Township, New Jersey, although the only structures completed were the bath house (actually the changing rooms for an outdoor pool) and a day camp nearby. A revised plan from around March 1956 showed the community center as a conglomeration of square cellular units, connected by square piers at each corner to produce, in plan, a honeycomb effect of octagonal spaces **[fig. 3.30]**. The piers were the first examples of Kahn's servant spaces, designed as hollow containers for various services, as well as bathrooms and storage closets.[98]

However, after many revisions requested by the Community Center's board of trustees, a third design emerged in 1956 that did away with the earlier modular design **[fig. 3.31]**. The final, yet ultimately unrealized, scheme retains the pyramidal roof structures of the original design, but rather than corresponding directly to individual and cellular spaces below, these roofs are simply an independent series of flattened,

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[97] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Space Between," *Oppositions* 4 (October 1974): 78

[98] Kahn states as much in an interview of 1973: "The Trenton Bath House gave me the first opportunity to work out the separation between the service spaces and spaces served.

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pyramidal parasols (although not as freestanding as in the earlier Parasol house) capped by oculi, that relate to a more conventional set of spaces. The columns that appear in the model of late 1956–early 1957 shows these roofs suspended on slender columns that create an almost forest-like interior.

A possible source for this arboreal reference is a review that Kahn wrote of a book by Rachel Wischnitzer on synagogue architecture. He begins with an epigram of his own devising: "Synagogue is a spirit continually expressing what it wants to be/ To be a place to meet under a tree/To become a great center of communion—a place under many trees." While a statement such as this from Aldo van Eyck might be read as an attempt to conceive of habitat as a fortuitous combination of site and structure, Kahn's trees are used metaphorically to conjure an image of new lightweight industrial materials used to circumscribe larger spans of interior space, as expressed elsewhere in the review.[99] He concludes the review by stating that "[f]rom the spirit of 'Synagogue' which wants to be a place to meet under a tree or under many trees should grow an expression of architectural form derived from structural-order and space-order working together." The

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It was a very simple and clear problem. It was resolved in an absolutely clear fashion. Every space is accounted for, without redundancy." See Klotz and Cook, ibid., p. 364.

[99] Louis Kahn, review for the Jewish Publication Society of America. The publication appears to be a press release of a review prepared especially for the Society by Kahn of Rachel Wischnitzer's *Synagogue Architecture in the U.S.* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955). The Society was located in Philadelphia, and thus Kahn may have been affiliated with them. The review, which was written presumably in 1955, is notable also for an early published use of the term "hollow stones": "Today our growing knowledge in the structural nature of materials tends to minimize the miracle of span. The columns are thin and space can be great. Stability, once expressed by solid walls, piers, and vaults of masonry, is now expressed by columns, cantilevers, slabs, and space frames, in steel and concrete. We can build strong, open structures of grace and little weight. In a sense we build of 'hollow stones." (Ibid., p. 2). The next published use of this term seems to have been in *Perspecta* 4 (1957): 2.

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communion stated in his introduction is only vaguely related to community; instead, he appears to be referring to the harmonious relationship between structure and space—in other words, a formal, rather than an ethical, concern.

What resulted form the master plan of the Jewish Community Center, then, was a *mise-en-abîme* of the projected whole. Four pavilions supported on twelve hollow service columns, each pavilion with the pyramidal roof with oculus, stood in Greek-cross formation as a reminder of the original modular scheme. The roofs are shingle-covered timber, the walls formed from inexpensive concrete blocks, the mortar seemingly spread with an uncaring hand—an analogy to the shuttered formwork evident on the walls of Yale Art Gallery's dominant stairwell **[fig. 3.32]**.

In a further nod to the building's aesthetic thrust, Kahn designed a mural on the exterior next to the main entrance, which was comprised of abstract geometrical shapes, their elliptical curves suggesting waves. The mural, no longer extant, derived from purely formal principles, as discussed by Kahn in his notebooks from the time: "Doing the mural at the Community Center at Trenton it was evident that the scale drawing was only directional and that the lines and fields had to be built up from the limits of the brush, the medium, and the surface and treated as a construction problem."[100]

We might say that Kahn's practice takes on a secondary characteristic, one that prefers to create a frame for the subjective projection of personal experience as it stands in opposition to a collective expression of built space. It is this aspect of his practice that was perhaps most appreciated by the Smithsons, reminding them of their own

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[100] Louis Kahn, personal notebook (LIK 22), quoted in Susan G. Solomon, "Beginnings: Bath House, Trenton, N.J.," *Progressive Architecture* (December 1984): 69.

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commitment to a poetics of construction that negotiates between the sublimity of the aesthetic experience while remaining firmly grounded in its attention to a politics of urban renewal. Indeed, their first major publication on Kahn affirms this claim, making quite plain their attraction to his project:

> Louis Kahn owes his unique position and strength to the fact that he is the only American architect who is consciously trying to make, through architecture—without any 'old hat' notions of radically changing people's way of life (or the pattern of production).
>
> The fact that his town-planning proposals are elegant and genuinely poetic (a great rarity in planning projects for existing communities) is proof, both of his tenacity, and of the basic correctness of his theories.[101]

The Smithsons carefully criticize Kahn for his "tendency to crypto-Romanism," but praise him for recognizing that "the only way we can give our cities style is to investigate their patterns, their movement, and find the appropriate form."[102] The Smithsons are most taken with his plan for a Philadelphia Civic Center and City Hall of 1956–7 **[fig. 3.33]**. This fascination with his unbuilt projects seems perhaps to come from a sense of empathy—given their own mixed luck at securing commissions—but the penultimate paragraph is more telling than any of their other words in affirming, through negative example, what Kahn's appeal for them truly is, when they write that "[a]ny marginal disappointment with the actual completed buildings (especially the packaged exteriors), does not in any way diminish one's absolute faith in the importance and relevance of Louis Kahn's ideas (for architectural ideas have a validity of their own, irrespective of whether they are completely realized or not)."[103]

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[101] Alison and Peter Smithson, "Louis Kahn," ibid., p. 102.
[102] Ibid., p. 102
[103] Ibid., p. 103

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Kahn's buildings, so often included in the Brutalist canon for their exteriors, turn out to have, for the Smithsons, a diminished effect for precisely the same reason. Again, their empathy for his unbuilt projects is easily understood, but the article's accompanying illustrations of only the ventilation and electrical distribution patterns for the Yale Art Gallery does not seem to be an oversight, but is instead a means of directing attention away from the building's "Brutalist" façade and towards an examination of Kahn's system of "servant" and "served" areas. Likewise, the shuttered concrete of the interior spaces is passed over in favor of a diagram that reveals the ethics of construction than to its aesthetic values.[104] Kahn evidently had either moved away or inverted the originary New Brutalist ideology, yet the Smithsons were determined to find something praiseworthy. This persistent support suggests, once again, that New Brutalism was never as pure as anyone wished to believe.

Paul Rudolph:

The question of how Paul Rudolph came to be included among the American adherents of New Brutalism requires a certain amount of explanation, as the only real link between Rudolph and New Brutalism/Team 10 in any organized sense is through the

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[104] In this way, the Smithsons' position is closer to Kahn's American apologists such as Vincent Scully. Resolutely unconcerned with extraformal issues, Scully wrote of Kahn's works as indebted to Frank Lloyd Wright's legacy of spatial fluidity, as well as the similarity between the hollow piers used by Wright at his Unity Church (1906) and those that recur as Kahn's "servant" spaces in the Richards Medical Buildings and the Trenton Bath House (to cite but two examples). See Vincent Scully, *Louis I. Kahn* (New York: George Braziller, 1962), especially pp. 24–5; and Vincent Scully, "Archetype and Order in Recent American Architecture," *Art in America* 42, no. 4 (December 1954): 257–8.

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proposal to invite him into the Team 10 meeting in Otterlo (1959).[105] Certainly Rudolph, whose work was published widely in both the U.S. and Europe during the late 1950s and 1960s, was well known to the Brutalist/Team 10 circle. But he was only retroactively included within the Brutalist canon, and even then, warranted only two short mentions in Banham's book. So the question remains as to why he would be included at all, and for what reasons. It is possible that Rudolph had some ties to, or at least an awareness of, the Boston CIAM group that presented its "Habitat for a Satellite Town" at the 10th CIAM conference in Dubrovnik. [106] But beyond this conjecture, the relationship is largely deceptive.

Rudolph's interests in regionalism and in architecture's role in fostering a sense of community and belonging are logical points of departure for an examination of why he has come to be acknowledged as an American Brutalist. He practiced and preached a regionalism that was really something of an experimentalism, a theme that he addressed

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[105] Letter from Alison Smithson to Louis Kahn (with "copies to [Lucio] Costa, [Charles and Ray] Eames, [Philip] Johnson, [John] Johansen, [Louis] Kahn, [Paul] Rudolph, [Hans] Scharoun, and [William Hollingsworth?] Whyte, dated London, 6 January 1959. LIK 58. The Otterlo meeting was held in September 1959, with a preliminary meeting held in Paris in April 1959.

[106] The Boston CIAM group at that point consisted of two Americans (H. Morse Payne and Vincent Solomita), an Englishman (Colin Davidson), and a Frenchman (Maurice Silvy). Their project, entitled "Habitat for a Satellite Town," presented a modular set of housing units dispersed throughout a site located on an unnamed town's outskirts, surrounded by a green belt and a system of auxiliary streets. Parasol structures, reminiscent of Kahn's earlier project, provided shelter for automobiles. The units themselves, factory produced and shipped to the site, were made of rigid plastic around a solid (metal?) frame, with interior components likewise prefabricated and assembled on-site. As with Rudolph's executed plan (and following doctrinaire Team 10 philosophy), the spaces created by the staggered placement of units functioned as pedestrian ways and points for social gatherings. Rudolph was, at this moment, working in Boston on the Jewett Art Center at Wellesley College, and may easily have had contact with (or at least

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in 1958 upon his appointment to the directorship of the Yale School of Art and Architecture. At that point, he found it necessary to proclaim that "Theory must again overtake action,"[107] a sentiment that might have resonated with the New Brutalists had they been aware of it. Rudolph's decision to take a step backwards and reflect upon the current trajectory of modern architecture seems precisely in the same spirit as the Team 10/Brutalist rejection of the prewar avant-garde, as each was a critique of the naïveté with which the aspirations of the heroic pre-war modernists had been debased through an unreflective appropriation of ideas and symbolic forms by unimaginative imitators.

Rudolph claimed that "[t]he new scale given by the quickly moving vehicle . . . and the whole relationship of vehicle to the space between buildings, to the building itself, and the human, presents a complex problem which cries for understanding."[108] Again we sense a familiar tone with the rhetoric of his English contemporaries, with regard to the changing needs based on new forms of transportation, as well as the complex synthesis and relationships that comprises a well-defined habitat. It was, of course, under Rudolph's chairmanship at Yale that the Smithsons, along with James Stirling and Colin St. John Wilson (among many illustrious others) were invited as visiting critics to Yale, thus providing a more direct link between the European and American architectural avant-gardes.[109]

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was aware of) the participating architects. For the CIAM project, see "Habitat for a Satellite Town," *Arts and Architecture* 73, no. 12 (December 1956): 20–1, 35.

[107] Paul Rudolph, "Alumni Day Speech: Yale School of Architecture, February 1958," *Oppositions* 4 (October 1974): 142.

[108] Ibid., p. 142.

[109] For a thorough history of Yale's School of Art and Architecture, see Robert Stern, "Yale: 1950–1965," in *Oppositions* 4 (October 1974): 36–52. Stern writes here of Rudolph's "eclecticism," especially in contradistinction to Kahn's more singular

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Rudolph was more of a writer than Kahn, and so his theoretical underpinnings are more clearly articulated. Yet unlike Kahn, Rudolph's practice during the 1950s presented an eclecticism that was unparalleled among his contemporaries. While Kahn, beginning with the Yale Art Gallery, embarked upon a trajectory marked by poetic recapitulations of ancient (or, in his words, "archaic") architecture, Rudolph in the mid-1950s jumped back and forth between the open structures that he designed in Florida (notably the eighty or so houses designed and built there between 1947 and 1958) or the project for a US Embassy in Jordan (1954), and the more austere and introspective structures built in the Northeast such as the Jewett Arts Center at Wellesley College (1958) or the Yale buildings discussed below.

In 1960 William Jordy wrote of what he called a "new formalism" in American architecture, and included Rudolph along with Philip Johnson and Edward Durrell Stone (among others).[110] Jordy identified a strain of classicism creeping into the American architectural vernacular, one that challenged the International style, and thus followed Mies's formality rather than what he (contentiously) calls Le Corbusier's "primitivistic machine image."[111] It may be a futile effort to try and subsume all of these architects under a single banner as did Jordy, but he was reacting to a need for a sustained aesthetic

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approach to design. The "rivalry" was articulated symbolically through the erection of Rudolph's A & A building in 1963, which replaced Kahn's earlier Art Gallery as an icon of the school's design philosophy. For an evaluation of the teaching of architectural history during the same period at Yale, see Spiro Kostof, "The Shape of Time at Yale, Circa 1960," in Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks, eds., *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1865–1975* (New York: The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, and Princeton Architectural Press, 1990), pp. 123–35.

[110] William H. Jordy, "The Formal Image: USA," *Architectural Review* 127 (March 1960): 159

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that might push American architecture towards a unified architectural language. Rudolph, however, had earlier attempted to put forth a rhetorical statement that might lead us away from Jordy's derision of eclecticism based on classical models towards an understanding of diverse forms based not on the architect's whim but on regional differences.

Rudolph's article of 1957 entitled "Regionalism in Architecture" attempted (in somewhat muddled prose) to propose a hypothesis for determining the appropriate formal architectural language for a given location. Following a theme that will be more widely addressed in Chapter IV, Rudolph asserted that "true regionalism comes primarily through form rather than the use of materials."[112] Rudolph's opinion of materials was a rather arbitrary one (those that were easiest to draw were the ones that he favored), and his interest lay more in the deployment of those materials for deliberately aesthetic purposes. He called for an open-mindedness that rejects the International Style's precise determination of formal language as the key to every architectural problem, while at the same time evoking that which Aldo van Eyck was to call a "sense of place," an ineluctable category that contextualized culture, history, and geography into a complex statement of architectural understanding and empathy.[113]

Team 10-style modularity and a universalizing ethos made themselves apparent at the same time in a little-discussed project by Rudolph that also resembles some of the

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[111] Ibid.
[112] Paul Rudolph, "Regionalism in Architecture, " *Perspecta* 4 (1957): 15.
[113] Rudolph explicitly targeted the International Style in a text of 1961, saying that "many architects educated in the late '30's and early '40's found themselves adapting the assorted prejudices of the International Style to the single family house in a particular region." But rather than a flat-out rejection, he chooses to call the International Style the "opening chord in a great movement." See Paul Rudolph, untitled statement in *Perspecta* 7 (1961): 51.

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European exhibitions of the same period mentioned in the previous chapter: the installation for the *Family of Man* exhibit curated by Edward Steichen at the Museum of Modern Art in 1955 (mentioned at the beginning of the present chapter) **[fig. 3.34]**. From photographs and diagrams, it becomes clear that Rudolph was attempting to work in a symbolically cinematic language very much like the work of Giancarlo de Carlo at the 9th and 10th Milan Triennales. Freestanding lucite panels and circular screens provide transparent backdrops for Steichen's nonhierarchical set of photographs from around the world **[fig. 3.35]**.[114] Arranged topically, themes emerged almost through epiphany as spatial dimensions were diminished through the screening mechanisms and invisibly supported panels. Rudolph was not involved (as far as is known) with the selection of images, and his participation may have been a continuation of his interests at the time, or else initiative of a new trajectory of thinking. But by concentrating on the intrinsic patterns suggested through the photographs' subjects, Rudolph encouraged a nonlinearity

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[114] See Ralph L. Harley, Jr., "Edward Steichen's Modernist Art-Space," *History of Photography* 14, no. 1 (January–March 1990): 1–22, especially pp. 16–20. Harley mistakenly refers to Rudolph as a "Bauhaus-trained architect," perhaps in reference to Rudolph's training under Walter Gropius at Harvard. But Harley may also have confused him with Herbert Bayer, the former Bauhaus teacher whose theory of a "total environment" approach to exhibition design influenced Steichen's arrangement of the *Family of Man*. Bayer had first come to the U.S. in 1938 to install the first Bauhaus exhibition at New York's Museum of Modern Art, and it is there that Steichen had become acquainted with his exhibition theories. See Eric J. Sandeen, ibid., especially pp. 44, 60–1. Sandeen does not credit Rudolph with the exhibition design beyond his design for the floor plan within MoMA. At the time of the exhibition, journalists wrote that Rudolph's design contribution included the lucite panels, credit that Sandeen implicitly gives to Steichen, without any specific evidence. For other critical receptions of the exhibition, see Roland Barthes, "La grande famille des hommes," in *Mythologies* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1957), pp. 173–6, and Christopher Phillips, "The Judgment Seat of Photography," *October 22* (1982): 27–63.

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of thought and discussion, regardless of place, time, or culture that he elsewhere would propound in his teachings and later buildings **[fig. 3.36]**.

Rudolph's contributions to the architectural landscape at Yale were appropriate symbols of his pedagogical formula. The two major works (discussed below) were the Yale University Married Student Housing (1961–2) and the Art and Architecture Building (1959–63). Both are referred to in Banham's book, and thus are the best examples of Rudolph's work to discuss his putative inclusion into the New Brutalist canon. Banham marginalizes him, devoting less than one paragraph of text to the Married Student Housing (although two pages of photos).[115] Oddly, Rudolph's name and work surfaces at the one moment in the book where Banham seems to begin to privilege the ethical implications of the Brutalist project while discussing the Brutalist (and Team 10, although Banham doesn't make this connection) focus on collective habitat and dwelling. Banham thus obliquely points the way to the another connection between Rudolph and New Brutalism: not his articulation of surface materials, but his concern for community, and for a heterogeneity of rhythmic elements to be used as a foil to the traditional trappings of modernist collective housing.[116]

Rudolph had showed himself at an early age to be well attuned to the failures of functionalist modernism, especially as it had been received and reworked in the postwar United States. A lecture given in Boston for the annual American Institute of Architects (AIA) conference of 1954, Rudolph specified the differences he perceived between the high-style modernism of the 1920s and the watered-down examples of the "new

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[115] Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 130; photographs pp. 164–5.

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functionalists" who presumed to carry the torch of their European forbears. Not content to overlook the artistic and poetic qualities of Corbusian modernism, we find Rudolph in an elegiac mood, proffering an embrace of labyrinthine urban spaces that "arouse one's curiosity, give a sense of anticipation, which beckon and impel us to rush forward to find that releasing space which dominates, which climaxes and acts as a magnet, and gives direction."[117]

Here, too, Rudolph's rhetoric is that of the aesthetician rather than the urbanist, although it resists being openly one or the other, and his discourse is rarely other than formalist. Of course, reductive labels are overly facile, and one must look beyond mere words and appearances in order to understand an architect's sustained project. In Rudolph's case, one can begin with the drawings and move forward from there. A vast number of his buildings and projects published in the 1950s (certainly more than any other young architect) may in some ways result from his exquisite drawing style, one of the most visually compelling of the twentieth century **[fig. 3.37]**.[118]

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[116] At the same time, we may choose to believe that for Banham, Rudolph's "Brutalist" surfaces acted to symbolize the type of building that adhered to the New Brutalist ethos.

[117] Paul Rudolph, "The Changing Philosophy of Architecture," *Architectural Forum* (July 1954): 120

[118] See my review of the Rudolph drawings show, exhibited shortly after his death, entitled "Paul Rudolph: Selected Drawings [and] An Architecture of Independence," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* vol. 57, no. 3: 316–18. Reyner Banham evidently shared the opinion that Rudolph's draftsmanship and his built forms share a unique, almost uncanny, continuity. Banham wrote of the Art & Architecture Building that "[i]t is one of the very few buildings I know which, when photographed, was exactly like a drawing, with all the shading on the outside coming out as if it were ruled in with a very soft pencil." Reyner Banham, "Convenient Benches and Handy Hooks: Functional Considerations in the Criticism of the Art of Architecture," in Marcus Whiffen, ed., *The History, Theory, and Criticism of Architecture: Papers from the 1964 AIA-ACSA Teacher Seminar* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965), p.102.

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Rudolph's adherence to New Brutalism has often been suggested purely on the basis of his building materials. But if the New Brutalists chose their materials for their economic, vernacular, and mnemonic (in terms of evoking earlier architectural models within a given society) values, Rudolph's choices (in contrast) appear quixotic and superficial. The high level of quality found in Rudolph's drawings is immediately apparent, but what makes them so visually compelling is, in fact, their strongly tactile quality. Rudolph's language in reference to his style of draftsmanship is striking:

> Some construction *materials* are easier to depict through rendering than others. This probably accounts for some of my interest in concrete and highly textured surfaces in general, (and that) brick has always seemed to me to be an alien material in the 20th century, but perhaps this attitude lies in the fact that it is relatively difficult to draw.[119]

Brick, which New Brutalism treated as a material equal to concrete from an economical and vernacular point of view, in Rudolph's distinction is of a lesser caste not only because of its anachronistic associations ("an alien material in the twentieth century"), but also because it doesn't translate well onto the draftsman's page. Such language seems to relegate any extraformal concerns to subordinate status, while privileging the aesthetic qualities of materials as paramount for the design process. His capricious dismissal of brick, however, was not a hard and fast rule. When he did embrace brick, the results were compelling.

In fact, it was likely that Rudolph's emphatic use of brick led Banham to posit the Married Student Housing at Yale of 1961–2 as the most appropriate icon of American Brutalism (to be discussed below). However, it is the Yale Art & Architecture building

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that endures as a symbol of the Brutalist aesthetic in the United States. **[fig. 3.38]**[120] To this end, it is important to note that it is neither discussed nor illustrated in Banham's opus[121]. This could be attributable to its rather late date relative to the book's publication (*The New Brutalism* was published in 1966; the A & A Building, as it has become known, was completed in 1963), although Banham did see fit to include a discussion and set of illustrations of the Smithsons' Economist Cluster, completed in 1964.

Of course, the Smithsons' practice is the central core around which Banham's version of New Brutalism revolved, and, as discussed in Chapter One, the Economist Cluster is a fitting close to the end of New Brutalism as an avant-garde exercise. In this respect, there is another relationship between Rudolph and the Smithsons' structures: each represents a final aestheticization of the Brutalist ethos, with an attention to surface and site that plays a role at least equal to that of use value, as we shall see in the conclusion.

Even a Smithsons apologist such as Helena Webster is willing to admit that " [t]he architectural language deployed by the Smithsons in the Economist cluster is important in that it marks a retreat from Brutalism and a return to the restrained

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[119] Paul Rudolph. *Paul Rudolph: Dessins d'Architecture/Architekturzeichnungen/Architectural Drawings*, (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1972), p. 7.

[120] Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 130. Banham rejects the A & A building as too remote from the Brutalist movement towards the development of habitat and, as a nonresidential structure, discussions of the A & A must defer to those of the Married Student Housing.

[121] The A & A is mentioned only to dismiss it as a true heir too the Brutalist legacy: " . . . [T]he work of Paul Rudolph that most persistently received the epithet 'Brutalist,' is not his Art and Architecture Building at Yale with its artfully coarse concrete surfaces, but his married-student housing for the same university . . ." in Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 130.

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classicism of Mies van der Rohe, perhaps Mies 'softened.'"[122] A similar claim can be made of Rudolph's A & A building, in that it likewise signals a return to a sort of classical demeanor and solemn religiosity that provokes an experience not of accessibility, but of supercilious monumentality—and this despite the smallness of spaces both within and outside the building. But we must here also speak of the A & A in terms of its aesthetic properties, and with relation to the way in which Rudolph expected this building to function both within his oeuvre and within the context of the American architectural avant-garde in the late 1950s–early 1960s.

The A & A is a looming structure (117,575 square feet) seemingly carved from a mountain of concrete. Its plan reveals a solution to its corner site that Rudolph described as a "pinwheel scheme," or a set of interlocking pavilion-like volumes.[123] The massing of these pillars bespeaks a complicated monumentality—not immediately nor boldly legible, yet compelling in its complexity. The monumentality is enhanced through its expanses of striated and hammered concrete, a rough material relieved by only minimal fenestration. Two diagonal corners are anchored and supported by service towers (a stair tower on the Chapel St. side and a stair-elevator-plumbing tower on the York St. side) whose discrete placement is reminiscent of Kahn's servant and served spaces, most notably at the Richards Medical Research Building.

Inside, four hollow service columns anchor the interior support. The art, architecture, and city planning departments were all housed in the building, and Rudolph

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[122] Helena Webster, ed., *Modernism Without Rhetoric*, ibid., p.60

[123] The pinwheel scheme would recur in two projects contemporaneous with the A & A: the first, The Components Division Laboratory for IBM in East Fishkill, NY, and second, the Health, Education & Welfare Services Building in Boston.

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boasted that there were 36 different levels as a result of four overlapping platforms arranged around a central open core. Sibyl Moholy-Nagy described the effect of this arrangement by suggesting that the core acted as a vacuum, allowing space to be defined by space itself, rather than by enclosing walls.[124] The interplay of rough materials and deep shadows makes the experience of the building a nearly tactile one, and certainly requires a level of active participation not common to any structure.

It is widely believed that the A&A was a reward to Rudolph in return for his decision to assume directorship the School of Architecture (although this is disputed by Richard Pommer),[125] and thus must be read as a sort manifesto indulged by the beneficence of the Yale administration in which Rudolph laid claim to his intellectual and aesthetic territory at Yale through an architectural intervention. The unusual provenance of the A&A—a building for which Rudolph was both architect and client—may be partially to blame for the fact that whenever the A & A has been written about, there has existed a certain mystery and suspicion.[126] A fire of suspicious provenance that destroyed the building's upper levels during a moment of campus unrest on 14 June 1969 (seemingly in the wake of the students revolts in Paris, New York, and elsewhere[127])

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[124] See Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, "The Measure: A Critical Appraisal of the Building [the A & A] and its Place in Contemporary Architecture," in *Architectural Forum* 120, no. 2 (February 1964): 78.

[125] See Richard Pommer, "The Art and Architecture Building at Yale, once again," *The Burlington Magazine* CXIV, no. 837 (December 1972): 853

[126] Reyner Banham used his typical wit to give these circumstances an epigrammatic spin: "Rudolph was his own client, and if you put it that way, the process of confrontation between architect and program became almost purely one of introspection." Reyner Banham, "Convenient Benches and Handy Hooks," ibid., p. 102

[127] For the American context of the student revolts, focusing especially on the revolts in Morningside Heights and on the Columbia University campus, see Joanne Grant, *Confrontation on Campus: The Columbia Pattern for the New Protest* (New York: Signet

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added to its mystique, and caused a fundamental shift in the deployment of spaces within the structure. Perhaps because of the conflagration (but, actually, even before), Rudolph had, for many years, refused to speak about the building. His reticence was broken in 1988 when he agreed to give *Architecture* Magazine his first interview dedicated exclusively to the A & A building.[128]

The interview is illuminating for the insights it gives into the development of the building's program. The interpenetrating cubic forms, seen best in section (especially in Rudolph's drawing that shows the building in full use through a transparent vertical cut through its façade), were meant to facilitate communication between art and architecture students, as well as between upper-level and first-year students within the architecture program itself. Seemingly echoing the words of Aldo van Eyck, Rudolph maintained that "you learn about things in mysterious ways, and that the chance encounter can be as important as the formal lecture."[129]

This remark demonstrates, in an oblique manner, the schism that existed between the pre- and postwar avant-garde. By allowing for the element of chance, and likewise to value the contingent over the fixed, Rudolph's ethos was one of inclusion, even if the final result was to feel like a loss of privacy (one of the students' biggest complaints concerned what became known as "the pit," a central section on the upper level that was

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Books, 1969). Of particular interest are the passages dealing with the occupation of Avery Hall by the architecture students (see pp. 52–4, 111–12, and 137–8), as the Columbia uprising was due in part to a plan by Columbia University to construct a private building in a public park in Morningside Heights, thus expropriating the land from the community. This focus on urban/architectural issues played a vital role in the revolts, and it is interesting to see that echoed in the alleged A & A attack.

[128] Michael J. Crosbie, "Paul Rudolph on Yale's A & A," *Architecture* 77, no. 11 (November 1988): 100–105.

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used for juries set off by dividers; students working on the other side of the divider from the jury were privy to the full extent of discussions among their peers), the building was conceived as a model of a community gathering, an ethos that ultimately was much better served in the Married Student Housing. Surprisingly, Rudolph not only failed to understand how thin, membraneous walls might be a deterrent to work, but actually appreciated this sort of ad hoc "town meeting" effect of the interpenetration of sound.

The labyrinthine spaces of the A&A can be read as a lesson in the ludic and contingent qualities of happenstance and discovery, but they have also been read—as they were in a 1964 essay by Ilse Reese and James Burns contrasting the A&A to Gordon Bunshaft's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library—as a rejection of Modernist "universal space."[130] The limits of such a "universal space" can be found within the same critique when the authors observed that "the only really 'universal' spaces of the building are the seventh-floor painting studios, which have already been chopped up into a rabbit warren of partitions by the tenants."[131]

The erection of separating walls by the students seems to have been an unintended solution to the Brutalist ethos of prescribing the need for tenant participation in the construction of his/her own habitat. It was also an implicit condemnation of Rudolph's short-sightedness. Rudolph even admitted regretting that the interior spaces (especially those for the painting students) were designed to be so small. He failed to take into account the fact that the students at a progressive art school such as Yale, would in the

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[129] Ibid., p. 101.
[130] See Ilse M. Reese and James T. Burns, Jr., "The Opposites: Expressionism and Formalism at Yale," *Progressive Architecture* 45, no. 2 (February 1964): 128.
[131] Ibid., p. 128

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early 1960s be painting "large, conceptually conceived easel paintings," a practice informed by the thriving school of Abstract Expressionism.[132]

In this instance, Rudolph found himself asking whether it was possible to see an historical moment clearly at the time of its occurrence, with complete soundness of judgment, or whether hindsight was necessary for full comprehension. These are questions that were raised in the 1920s and 1930s by people such as Bruno Taut, Adolf Behne, and Alvar Aalto, figures who stood outside of the mainstream avant-garde and thus avoided some of the more essentialist beliefs shared among the CIAM members. But the fact remains that these sort of questions were largely ignored at that time by the proponents of a prophetic machine age vision, one whose basis in a technological revolution would guarantee its existence in perpetuity.

Rudolph's building likewise stood in defiance of the prevailing International Style aesthetic, while trying to marry formal concerns with an inchoate social ethos. That the latter was compromised by an emphasis on the former has resulted in the necessity of reading the A&A, ultimately, purely as an example of aesthetic Brutalism.[133]

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[132] Crosbie, ibid., p. 105.

[133] Timothy Rohan has theorized Rudolph's "Brutalism" to be an effect of what he calls Rudolph's "hypermasculinity," a campy aestheticism deployed as a means of providing a self-critique of Rudolph's own quandary as a closeted gay man. The rough surface can thus be read as a symbolic trope of suppressed desire parodying the machismo of male sexuality. Rohan's reading of "Brutalism" is unabashedly aesthetic and allegorical, and while fascinating in the context of his thesis, is another example of how remote our understanding of the term has come from its originary import. Rohan also speaks of the A & A as Rudolph's attempt to create a "citadel of the arts," a stereotypical conceit that is quite at odds with the ethics of New Brutalism. See Timothy M. Rohan, *Architecture in the Age of Alienation: Paul Rudolph's Postwar Academic Buildings* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2001). See also Rohan's article based on his dissertation, "Canon and Anti-Canon: On the Fall and Rise of the A&A," *Harvard Design Magazine* 14 (Summer 2001): 24–31.

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Unfortunately, from this formal perspective the building must also be recognized for its shortcomings. In particular, the most overt flouting of New Brutalist aesthetics (although it must be maintained that there is no evidence that Rudolph was either aware of, nor sympathetic to, the New Brutalism) comes in the surface treatment **[fig. 3.39]**. The process by which the concrete, once taken from its formwork, was hammered by hand to expose its internal aggregate has been widely reported. What is less-often discussed is the fact that this decision seems to have derived from Rudolph's observation that the concrete coming out of its ribbed forms was, at times, sticking to the form, thus exposing the aggregate as a result of the construction method's intrinsic properties. It might be adduced that Rudolph made an executive decision to transform these adverse effects into a desired one, thus instructing the workmen finish the job that the faulty forms had inadvertently begun.[134]

The myth that adhered to the surface treatment was that Rudolph had ordered the aggregate exposed in an attempt to more carefully control the staining and weathering of the concrete.[135] In fact, Rudolph was operating from a purely aesthetic mindset, one that interestingly was oriented towards a spirit of humanization. Just prior to the completion

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[134] Rudolph, in the aforementioned interview of 1988, admitted that when "the form was removed and the ribs sometimes pulled a lot of the cement off, and the rest was knocked off with a hammer, by hand." Crosbie, ibid., p. 104. This isn't to say that artistic inspiration isn't sometimes the fortuitous result of experimentation and unanticipated "mistakes." The point here is that the "brutal" qualities of the A&A are applied, rather than intrinsic to the actual properties of the materials used. As New Brutalism insisted on the use of materials "as found," the A&A does not fit even this elementary definition. The surface of the A&A is a result of artifice, regardless of the genius that may have led to such artifice, and its success on its own terms. Of course, similar slippage in Brutalist orthodoxy is readily identifiable in the Smithsons' work as well (see Chapter I, especially the discussion of the Hunstanton School).

[135] See R. Pommer, ibid., p. 860.

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of the A&A, Rudolph had visited Le Corbusier's Chandigarh, and had appreciated the "humanizing element" of "the oozing, dripping and slipping of concrete between poorly placed forms."[136] He lamented the fact that American construction workers were too skilled at their jobs to let such shoddy craftsmanship pass muster.

Rudolph circumvented this "problem" by incorporating inferior-quality production into his building, a self-conscious gesture that served aesthetic, but certainly not ethical, ends.[137] The New Brutalist architects affirmed their belief in an objective and authentic treatment of materials (even something manmade, such as concrete).[138] If such a thing can be said to exist, we must understand that the A&A does not follow this mandate. The "humanity" that Rudolph saw at Chandigarh—evidence of man's inherent fallibility—was so carefully controlled at the A & A as to negate any trace of Brutalist authenticity. Thus under the rubric of aesthetic Brutalism (and here the Hunstanton School will have to serve as exemplar), Rudolph's structure must be seen as a departure. Rudolph's use of concrete is ironic and allegorical, speaking more to the connotative qualities of the material than to its annotative ones.[139] Taken on its own terms, the A&A

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[136] Quoted in Pommer, ibid., p. 859. In Corbusier's work, the earlier Maisons Jaoul (1952–4) in Neuilly also exhibited an amateurish and primitivizing effect through the shoddy dripping of mortar from between the bricks of the façade.

[137] Vincent Scully likened the grooved façade to the "heart-stopping broad strokes of Franz Kline." "Criticism: Art and Architecture Building, Yale University," *Architectural Review* 135, no. 807 (May 1964): 332.

[138] Of course, in Chapter I we saw evidence contrary to the notion of authenticity even the Smithsons own work, namely Hunstanton. The point here is that the Smithsons required an absence of artifice to be a first principle of their work, while Rudolph never made any such claims.

[139] For another hypothesis of the A & A's surface along the lines of homoeroticism and camp, and thus again as representational rather than direct, see Timothy Rohan, "Rendering the Surface: Paul Rudolph's Art and Architecture Building at Yale," *Grey Room* 1 (Fall 2000): 84–107.

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is a marvel of singularity and architectural vision, and none of the aforementioned should diminish its evaluation as a brilliant exemplar of Rudolph's experimental mind. But an honest and straightforward expression of the construction materials' inherent qualities is not in evidence as the New Brutalist creed would require, although this is only a shortcoming with regard to its explication within the Brutalist context.

Banham may have intuited this singularity, and thus rejected it from inclusion in his book. The Married Student Housing, on the other hand, perhaps because of its immediately apparent similarity to several British Brutalist buildings (such as Stirling and Gowan's Ham Common Flats of 1958), merited Banham's attention. The Married Student Housing was conceived initially as a series of modular attached units of exposed concrete (the preferred aesthetic brutalist material), and whitewashed macadam **[fig. 3.40]**. When that proved to be too expensive, Rudolph embraced a hearty and rustic brick façade (contradicting his aversion to the material, although here chosen under duress) over a frame of wooden joists, with the concrete courses visible on the exterior to indicate floor positions **[fig. 3.41]**. Breaking up the monotony is the site, which is a sloped area on which the alternating two- and three-story units are arranged, providing a series of spaces in-between the buildings that serve as communal spaces, enhancing the intimate "village" scale of the complex. These courtyards, terraces, and paths attempt to elevate the series of buildings into a self-enclosed community.

The materials used are certainly responsible for the initial acceptance of the Dormitories into the Brutalist canon, as Rudolph made no effort to beautify the crudeness of the brick and concrete. The resulting rusticity might be inferred as an invocation of an unspecified regionalism, perhaps of the New England brick tradition but probably less

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historically precise. Rudolph's advocacy of regional tendencies was practiced by him in only the most tenuous manner. His twin desires to vitalize architecture both through vernacular traditions and through an abstracted sense of ornamentation convened in a hybrid sort of surface that employed rough-hewn surfaces as a mnemonic device for a nonspecific hand-crafted tradition, which was meant to bespeak both authenticity and invention, as did Le Corbusier at the Maisons Jaoul.

The staggered profiles of the five units eventually constructed (the first design called for a larger number of smaller units) are meant to allow for greater light and air, and their low-rise, high density arrangement conforms to what has been widely determined to be the optimum strategy for mass dwellings **[fig. 3.42]**. By placing the higher buildings at the rear of the site, Rudolph accentuates the slope and provides what might elsewhere be called a picturesque arrangement of volumes. Its most immediate analogues are De Carlo's buildings at the University of Urbino (see Chapter II), and in fact, an early publication spoke of the project (then in its earliest phase) in just those terms.[140] By equating the project with a small village (Rudolph himself said that "[i]t should look like a village, not like housing"[141]), the Married Student Housing enters into dialogue with the works of Team 10 and New Brutalism. Here, the idea of habitat, of the originary dwelling, of the postwar clamoring for new possibilities of community and shelter, coalesce in the context of an Ivy League university, a far cry from the more mundane settings of many of the European Brutalist buildings.

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[140] "Married Student Dormitories for Yale Planned Like an Italian Hill Town," *Architectural Record* (March 1961): 142–5.
[141] Ibid., p. 142

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The dormitories suggest a principle of play that we saw earlier as an essential component of the A & A building. Within the units' shared modularity, the possibility for interpenetrating relationships is indulged and then made manifest, the heterogeneity of the shared open spaces providing at least an exemplar for the kind of democratic access that Rudolph had always defended, if not always achieved. In 1954, Rudolph clearly stated, in epigrammatic fashion, his model for a new architectural paradigm: "Modern architecture's range of expression is today from A to B. We build isolated buildings with no regard to the space between them, monotonous and endless streets, too many goldfish bowls, too few caves."[142]

This statement helps us to understand that Rudolph envisioned, in the Dormitories as elsewhere, an interplay between the safety and security of private internal spaces and the external spaces of community engagement. But unfortunately, Rudolph's intentions are not necessarily his achievements, if we are to believe the accounts of the residents who found the outdoor areas a bit too treacherous for activity—especially in the case of children, who were to be the prime beneficiaries of this ludic largesse. As with so many projects nominally within the Brutalist canon, here the result seems to have varied from the intention. But more to the point, the singularity of Rudolph's practice (almost exclusively for the private sector) does not allow us to see his work within the context of the U.S. political and economic realities. As I have suggested earlier, if there is a true essence of American Brutalism, it resides in the circumstances of postwar consumer culture. The final two case studies will help to refine this claim.

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[142] Rudolph, "The Changing Philosophy of Architecture," ibid., p. 120.

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Eliot Noyes:

While the previous architects are officially recognized as members of the extended Brutalist/Team 10 family (by Banham and others), another character in the Yale constellation represents a synthesis of many of the ideas discussed above, especially in terms of supporting the argument that the American architectural avant-garde of the 1950s operated under the aegis of capitalism and thus was in less of a state of urgency than the ad hoc, governmentally subsidized reconstruction characterizing the coterminous work of the European architectural profession. Eliot Noyes was an architect and industrial designer (and a consultant for Kahn's "Idea Center" studio) whose commitment to a synthesis of the arts was well known within architectural circles. His architectural practice, in particular, can lead us to an amplified understanding of how the New Brutalist tendencies were deployed within the American context in ways beyond a mere adherence to aesthetic principles. A figure such as Noyes gives us an example of an architect/designer working in a space between the experimental populism of Charles and Ray Eames (discussed below) and the critical engagement of the early, political Kahn.

In addition, Noyes was resolutely in sympathy with the New Brutalist rejection of nostalgia (even if he was unaware of the issue's British context), as seen in his response to a questionnaire entitled "The Next Fifty Years" (published as a "debate" by *Architectural Forum* in 1951). The question posed to a group of prominent architects and designers, asked: "Are esthetic 'austerity' and 'economy of means' desirable characteristics of modern U. S. architecture? Or is the trend toward a greater 'humanism?'" Noyes's answer sounds like New Brutalism *avant la lettre*: "This word 'humanism' is often used to justify a kind of corny lushness of materials, colors, etc.

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which amounts really to a lack of architectural discipline. Architecture with warm, living qualities does not depend on this kind of unrestrained romanticism."[143]

But what makes Noyes such an interesting case (and indeed the same could be said of the Eameses) is the way in which his practice, while adhering to a coherent set of design principles, is nevertheless bracketed by direct and unrepentant engagement with the fundamental aspects of capital. In the context of a democratic, capitalist society, operational procedures were of a largely different variety than in a war-ravaged Europe, where whatever remained in the way of industrial strength, for nearly a decade after the war's end, was employed in the process of reconstruction. So, for example, the appeal of prefabrication in Europe had to do with the economic advantages from the vantage-point of governmental expenditure, as opposed to the U.S., fully flush from its wartime victory, where prefabrication's allure existed mainly as an extension of the tried and true standards of planned obsolescence that held sway in the economic model then prevalent.[144]

Noyes's engagement with ideas of prefabrication, as well as with the experimental typology of new house forms as a way of expressing the new conditions of living in the postwar era, led him to an exploration of the uses of sprayed concrete as a means of introducing a new means of support whose modularity would make it applicable to any number of different building types and uses. As such, we can connect his work to that of Kahn, Fuller, and the Eameses (discussed below), *inter alia*, in a quest for a new typology of domiciles. The physical presence of Noyes's sprayed-concrete structures

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[143] "The Next Fifty Years," *Architectural Forum* 95, no. 6 (June 1951): 168.
[144] See Nigel Whiteley, "Toward a Throw-away Culture," ibid., pp. 3–27.

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immediately suggests an affinity with the aesthetic strain of American Brutalism.[145] However, Noyes is never mentioned in the European context, either for the materiality of these houses nor for his efforts at prefabrication.

This may be in part due to his high-profile role as Director of Design for International Business Machines (or IBM), where he presided over the decidedly non-Brutalist project of creating the corporate image of this international monolith. Here, then, is the bottom-line distinction to be made between American and European postwar building. His corporate sponsorship underscores, from a different angle, the divergent building ethos between the U.S. and Europe. Freed from the rigorous financial limitations of state- and loan-sponsored projects, architects in the U.S. of the 1950s were in many cases able to utilize the advantages of capital (and its ethos of one-upmanship and planned obsolescence) to promote avant-gardist ideas in the public sphere. His contemporaries in Europe were more strictly bound by economic imperatives which hindered the possibility for large-scale projects.

Before his experimental and then his corporate phase, Noyes began working in a peculiarly domesticated version of European avant-garde architecture. Unlike Richard Neutra, and William Lescaze, both Europeans whose work in the U.S. was included in the 1932 International Style exhibition at MoMA, Noyes belonged to a slightly younger group including Kahn and Charles Eames, whose professional embrace of modernism

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[145] For Noyes's work, see "Balloon-Formed Concrete Bubble Classrooms?" *Architectural Record* 117, No. 2 (February 1955): 206–8; "Recent Work of Eliot Noyes," *Architectural Record* 124, no. 5 (November 1958): 165–180; "IBM's New Corporate Face," *Architectural Forum* 106, no. 2 (February 1957): 106–14; and "La Casa a cupola de Noyes," *Domus* 318 (Maggio 1956): 13–15. The architect John Johansen was also engaged at this time in the use of sprayed concrete.

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began after the war. Noyes was a graduate of the Harvard Graduate School of Design, where he worked under Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer (he would collaborate with Breuer some twenty years later). Following his graduation, Noyes began working for the Gropius-Breuer group until he moved to the Museum of Modern Art, where he was involved in, among many other tasks, the Organic Design in Home Furnishings Competition of 1940[146] and a Housing exhibition of 1942 (for which George Nelson and Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. were advisers).

Noyes's architecture encapsulates a number of his different professional interests, specifically the question of how to mediate between functionalism and some sort of local indigenous culture; in other words, how to celebrate the progress of American technology while resisting the kind of template architecture whose anonymity failed to give adequate expression to the individual's needs and desires. In 1947, Noyes attempted to give body to this hybrid idea by marrying a vernacular with the tenets of European functionalism. The resulting work—a house built in Dover, Massachusetts, for Mr. and Mrs. Charles Jackson, Jr.—clearly shows the influence of both his Harvard professors as well as his work at MoMA **[fig. 3.43]**. In this simple, white cube we see the gradual conflation of International style tectonics with the detailing of a vernacular tradition—in this case, that of the New England Cape Cod style white box. In elevation, the Jackson house appears as a simple white volume of glass and concrete, hovering alone amid a typically lush New England field against a backdrop of verdant forest. Something approximating a ribbon

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[146] The Eames entered this competition as a means of finding production costs for their new compound molded plywood chairs (done in conjunction with Eero Saarinen). See Pat Kirkham, *Charles and Ray Eames: Designers of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 207–9.

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window unfurls along both the front and rear façade with a simple volume protruding from the ground floor that encloses a dining room, living room, and, at its termination, a screened-in porch.

The standard issue, International-Style flat roof stands in stark contrast to the main sculptural element of the rear elevation, a thick chimney of light stone anchoring the house in the midst of its leafy splendor **[fig. 3.44]**. This Wright-Meets-Le Corbusier rapprochement perfectly illustrates the complexity of trying to identify an American avant-garde architecture in the immediate postwar years. But while the exterior conforms to the whitewashed, salubrious clarity of the European avant-garde, a look inside the house suggests to us not the pristine façade of the Villa Savoie, hovering like a spacecraft in the fields of Poissy, but rather an extension of the sort of lyricism in design called for by Joseph Hudnut, among others. Hudnut's "The Post-Modern House" essay of 1945 was a clarion call for a reevaluation of the functionalist imperative, in the service of what he called a "search for expression which transforms the science of building into the art of architecture."[147] Noyes's obedience to the cleanliness of the International-Style modernist tradition, as well as to the prudence of a traditional American heritage, provided this sort of in-between experience, whereby the exterior appears as a neutral and inoffensively orthogonal white volume, while the interior reveals the conservative demeanor of its New England inhabitants.

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[147] Joseph Hudnut, "The Post-Modern House," *Architectural Record* 97, no. 5 (May 1945): 71. *House Beautiful* magazine, in the late-1940s, also advocated a return to an American regionalism for a more popular audience.

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This evaluation becomes clear in the photos of the interior that appeared with the building's first publication.[148] Behind the planimetric white walls and ribbon windows (including a corner treatment that tentatively attempts to invoke a free façade in the manner of Corbusier's Five Points) is a virtual museum of conservative colonial New England domestic life, quite out of character with the exterior. It is interesting to note the reasons given by the Jacksons for why they found the barrenness of the orthogonal plan so conducive to their lifestyle. They celebrate the plainness of the interior spaces for their ability to "show our antique furniture to great advantage." Likewise, the "[l]ack of molding and paneling makes the house easy to keep clean. The arrangement of kitchen and pantry and dining room is compact and allows the least possible waste of steps and effort." The cleanliness of the modern (European) house seems to have appealed to a particularly entrenched sense of Protestant propriety (and sobriety), which is oddly similar to the Existenzminimum aims of the prewar avant-garde architects who devised the modern style as an antidote to the psychologically numbing nineteenth-century European domiciles.

To customize the interior, the Jacksons laid down oriental carpets and applied faux-wood veneer wallpaper, not to mention a set of plaid draperies that could be drawn to create a division between the dining room and living room **[fig. 3.45]**. A tall case clock and wooden armoir with elaborate brass handles become focal points in the home, allowing "family heirlooms from dark corners . . . [to] stand out in all their true value

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[148] "New England House is Modern Counterpart of Colonial Neighbors," *Architectural Forum* (March, 1947): 81–3. The photographs of the house, which of the exterior are excellent, are by famed architectural photographer Ezra Stoller.

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where one can really enjoy them."[149] In a broader analysis, Noyes created two simple, stacked volumes to allow a separation of public and private spaces without imposing any sort of hierarchical arrangement, a tacit acknowledgment of the primacy of the consumer, a fact of American architectural practice that is at once more direct and yet less poetic than its European analogue. While Team 10/New Brutalist structures attempted to locate themselves in a collective local, an architect such as Noyes, inextricably tied to capitalism yet with once foot in the avant-garde, allows the consumer to insert her/his *own* individual history into the structure, even if the results were somewhat discordant. The prevailing power of capital, of so little concern to the collective housing projects in Europe, here becomes the defining characteristic of American architectural invention.

Around this time, Noyes moved his family to New Canaan where he established his own office. Noyes managed to persuade others to move to New Canaan and inadvertently became the moving force for what eventually became known as "The Harvard Five." Along with Noyes, this group included Philip Johnson, John Johansen, Marcel Breuer, and Landis Gores, and as such he was a participant in the building of modernist prototypes in New Canaan, CT. This town, known for its staid colonial New England aesthetic was, in the late 1940s and 1950s, home to works by this group of architects, the most famous of which is Johnson's Glass House of 1949.[150]

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[149] Ibid., p, 82

[150] Banham makes mention of this group (excluding Noyes) in the conclusion of *The New Brutalism*. He writes that "[t]he Johnsons, Johansens, and Rudolphs of the American scene were quicker than I was to see that the Brutalists were really their allies, not mine; committed in the last resort to the classical tradition, not the technological." Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 135.

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In New Canaan a shift occurred in the types of commissions undertaken by Noyes, et al. These architects envisioned most of these houses to be used by families starting out with limited funds. Nevertheless there was no compromise with quality of design. Few had garages since most clients needed room for children. Compromises with materials are evident, in liberal use of plywood in some of the more modest homes. In a sense, the, the works of the Harvard Five in New Canaan functioned as a sort of unofficial East Coast affiliate of the California Case Study program.

The owners of these buildings in New Canaan sometimes finished houses, painting interiors themselves, or deciding to postpone some finishing. Some clients were brave enough to postpone parts of the design and live in tighter quarters in order to use finer materials.[151] In the Jackson house, we see an evident flexibility on the architect's part in their willingness to allow for the adaptation and even compromise of their plans, provided that the basic structural designs were not threatened. This willingness towards client involvement on the part of the architects and engagement on the part of the clients themselves signals a move away from such affirmations as one reads in CIAM's La Sarraz Declaration of 1928, in which the group proclaimed that "[c]lients, whose demands are motivated by numerous factors that have nothing to do with the real problem of housing, are generally very bad at formulating their wishes."[152] Indeed, Noyes' indulgence was still a function of the consumerist legacy of American capitalism, within which the customer's desire is gratified through a negotiation with the architect. But with the New Brutalist/Team 10 ethos, participation became a fundamental constituent of the

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[151] "New England House," ibid., p. 83.

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creation of habitat. Unlike the European context, which dealt largely with the issues of mass housing, here participation is less a necessity than a choice. The construction of one's own house, a separate entity on a separate piece of land, entailed an altogether different level of agency, one in which issues of time and money could, to a certain extent, be deferred. The plastic values of capital thus eased the responsibilities of all involved, yet also raised the bar as far as levels of quality (both aesthetic and function) were concerned. If anyone could be said to have undertaken this challenging terrain as their life's work, it would have been Charles and Ray Eames.

The Eames:

Noyes may have been an exemplar of an architect who capitulated completely to the demands of consumer capitalism, even while understanding his complicity as a necessary component of American architectural practice in the 1950s. But as far as merging an avant-garde spirit with the exigencies of architectural and design production (as did the Smithsons), Charles and Ray Eames represent the best American analogue **[fig. 3.46]**. The Eameses are usually excluded from any discussion of New Brutalism, although it is my contention that this omission is due simply to the argument that pervades the present study, namely that the Eameses' work did not conform to the aesthetic category of New Brutalism, even if, from an ideological standpoint, their practice was very much in keeping with the New Brutalist ethos.

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[152] "La Sarraz Declaration," in Conrads, ibid., p. 111. Of course, the reference to housing here implies mass-housing, but could apply equally to private homes.

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The connection between the Eames and the Smithsons is solid: the Eameses' work was one of the Smithsons' favorite writing topics (along with Mies and their own practice), and was the subject of a special volume of Architectural Design, edited by the Smithsons, called "An Eames Celebration."[153] The Eameses were best known in England for their contribution to the Case Study House Program, initiated by John Entenza of Art & Architecture magazine.[154] These houses became known to a European market less through the channels of the English Architectural Press than through *Bauen und Wohnen*, the German publication well thumbed by members of the European postwar avant-garde, and a journal whose American correspondent, Craig Ellwood, was one of the Case Study architects.[155] But the Eames were also revered among the European avant-garde for their furniture, largely due to the fact that their furniture was conceived for mainstream consumption while remaining committed to high aesthetic values.[156] Furthermore, the linear and plastic relationships resulting from the Eames sense of play (tempered by

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[153] Alison and Peter Smithson eds., "An Eames Celebration," *Architectural Design* (special edition, September 1966). This was the same year that Banham's New Brutalism appeared, a book that completely ignores the Eames—odd, given Banham's revisionist claims for the Eames's influence on the Brutalist generation made in 1989. See Reyner Banham, "Klarheit, Ehrlichkeit, Einfachkeit . . . and *Wit* Too!" in Elizabeth A. T. Smith, ed., *Blueprints for Modern Living: History and Legacy of the Case Study Houses* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), pp. 183–95. Banham notes that although the Eames and the other Case Study architects were influential in Europe, their work was known only abstractly through magazine illustrations.

[154] See Esther McCoy, *The Case Study Houses, 1945–1962*, 2nd edition (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1977), along with *Blueprints for Modern Living*, ibid.

[155] This fact is adduced in Banham, "Klarheit . . . " ibid., p. 186.

[156] Alison and Peter Smithson wrote several encomiums to the Eames's chairs. See Peter Smithson, "Just a Few Chairs and a House: An Essay on the Eames Aesthetic," *Architectural Design* (September 1966), repr. in Alison and Peter Smithson, *Changing the Art of Inhabitation*, ibid., pp. 72–6; as well as his shorter pieces entitled "From Fact to Icon or Puritanism Confounded," ""Seat-Tilt," and yet another "Seat-Tilt," all in *Changing* . . ., pp. 93, 102, 103.

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function) had a profound resonance with the New Brutalist ethic, especially with regard to the Smithsons' Independent Group projects.

The Eameses were emblematic of the American avant-garde in both their progressivism and their concomitant embrace of industrial and capitalist resources, which allowed them unparalleled research opportunities and capabilities, as well as a readymade marketplace for the results of their efforts. It was, in fact, Eliot Noyes—during his tenure at IBM—who had hired the Eames as industrial designers for the company, thus providing crucial capital and context for new ideas of materials and their uses (the Eameses continued to work for IBM until Charles's death in 1978, and afterwards Ray remained in their service as a consultant).

The mainstream British press was, in the 1950s, interested mainly in a recapitulation of a sentimental vernacular (see Chapters I & 4), and as a result the Case Study Program was largely of interest only to the avant-garde. In fact, International-style modernism of any sort, and particularly prefabrication, was a bugaboo of the conservative press in England, and when they did discuss the topic they looked to local projects as exemplars of modular design.[157] Emblematic of this prejudice is the *Architect's Yearbook* of 1951 that offered an article on the newly completed Eames House (1947–9), followed directly by another on the Hertfordshire schools, the latter having been regarded as paradigms of cost-effective and socially progressive building in England (see Chapter I).

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[157] In particular, the Hertfordshire Schools of 1951–2 were hailed in the pages of *Architectural Review* (even as late as 1957) as "case-studies in prefabrication which will be of value for many years to come." See "The Contribution of the Curtain Wall to a New Vernacular," *Architectural Review* (special issue entitled "Machine Made America," May 1957): 301. Of course, the contemporaneous Hunstanton School did not register on the radar as a valuable example of prefabrication.

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The Eames article included an essay by Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. He attempted to make a case for an American West Coast avant-garde, and included discussions (in addition to that of the Eames) of Wright's V. C. Morris Gift Shop in San Francisco and a Visitor's Information Center in Portland by Wick, Hilgers & Scott, with interiors by John Yeon.[158] The Eames House is the centerpiece of the article, and is spoken of in aesthetic terms that elevate the structure to the realm of art—despite the Case Study Houses' intention to devise appealing, low-cost alternative housing models.[159] The house, in the context of the Year Book, becomes less of a case study and more of a continuation of a burgeoning American architectural aesthetic. Indeed, despite its professed populism, most of the house's aspects were beyond the reach of the average consumer.

The Eames House is organized by its internal skeleton of steel columns and girders. The result is a system of bays (each measuring 7 1/2 x 20 feet) of which the house proper has eight, the courtyard four, and the adjoining studio, five **[fig 3.47]**. This

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[158] Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., "Three New Buildings on the Pacific Coast," *Architects' Year Book* 4 (1951): 55–63. This appears to be one of the only contemporaneous accounts of the Eames House in a European publication (see also "Charles Eames. Habitation et Atelier. Santa Monica, Californie," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 110, no. 6 [December 1953]: . The house was amply reported upon in the U.S., mainly through John Entenza's Arts & Architecture magazine, as well as various homemaker publications, such as House and Garden, though not in Europe. This runs counter to a claim made by Beatriz Colomina that "the Eames House was published everywhere, exposed, scrutinized." ("Reflections on the Eames House," in Donald Albrecht, ed., *The Work of Charles and Ray Eames: A Legacy of Invention* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1997], p. 133). It is true, however, that Arts & Architecture was widely read among the avant-garde in Europe, and that the Architectural Review eventually began running articles on the Eames (who were friends with Ian McCallum, the editor), but this was not until the late 1950s. Until then, the Eames were known to a small group (including the Independent Group), but did not have the high profile they enjoyed in the U.S.

[159] Despite the Case Study House program's best efforts, these intentions remained just that. See Elizabeth A. T. Smith, *Blueprints for Modern Living*, ibid., especially Dolores

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internal modularity is expressed on the outside by various surfaces of glass and light infill panels constructed of plywood, stucco, cement, and asbestos (these are many of the materials that Kahn also had identified as important new materials several years earlier), all painted in contrasting colors of white, blue, red, black, and gray **[fig 3.48]**. Here in the Eames House, modularity is an effect of the materials used, as the internal living areas conform to the infrastructural steel frame, creating spaces that are configuration of the standardized spacing of the columns and girders **[fig. 3.49]**.

The house's overall effect ultimately was too idiosyncratic to have any application within a larger, urban context. But its exploitation of simple materials in the service of an individualized, personal aesthetic, allowed the Eames House to stand as a mass-market prototype. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the Eames House was more a product of idealism (of a type admired but ultimately rejected by the New Brutalism) than of an engaged response to the actual needs of postwar living.

Furthermore, the utopian fantasy promulgated by the Eameses had little basis in reality for the average American homeowner. Not only was the thought of living in a series of cells more or less opening onto one another contradictory to the typical American ethos of privacy, but the house itself made sense only in its secluded eucalyptus grove overlooking the pacific Palisades shoreline, its delicate materials sturdy only in the most benevolent of climatic conditions. And set apart from neighboring

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Hayden, "Model Houses for the Millions: Architects' Dreams, Builders' Boasts, Residents' Dilemmas," pp. 197–211.

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houses, the expanses of glass and thin, sonically porous walls were perfectly adequate, whereas they would not be in an increasingly congested suburban setting.[160]

The problem of style also reared its head. As discussed above with Noyes's Jackson House (as well as in Hudnut's article on "The Post-Modern House"), the typical American family was interested more in acquiring the latest conveniences of modern living than they would in residing in a structure that might evoke a contemporary aesthetic. They may have wished for modern amenities, but people obviously would be less likely to trade up their homes every year, and so the interest in the housing market was not in houses themselves, but in the accoutrements that, taken together, create a household. As Thomas Hine writes, "While the Case Study architects were concerned with creating a new technology of the house, most people simply wanted to add technology to the house. The house as a single, convincing aesthetic statement is something few Americans have ever been able to afford. The house as a bundle of features that offer an array of comforts is much more in keeping with our national traditions."[161]

Interesting in this respect is the initial publication of the Eames House in *Arts & Architecture*. As a proclaimed case study, the house was meant to function, of course, as

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[160] To be fair, Entenza, the case study houses impresario himself, was quite straightforward about the fact that these houses were not designed as de facto answers to all housing needs. In the first feature on the Eames/Saarinen project (that predated the final Eames house), he wrote that "[w]hile these houses are not to be considered as solutions of typical living problems; through meeting specific and rather special needs, some contribution to the need of the typical might be developed." "Case Study Houses 8 and 9," *Arts and Architecture* (December 1945): 44.

[161] Thomas Hine, "The Search for the Postwar House," in Elizabeth A. T. Smith ed., *Blueprints for Modern Living: History and Legacy of the Case Study Houses* (Los

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a model for future projects. One therefore is not surprised to find the names of industrial products mentioned by brand name and manufacturer in the captions accompanying each image. Republic Steel, Celotex, the Truscon Maximair Window, Ferroboard, Cemesto, Voit Rubber Tile, U. S. Plywood, and Plyon by Swedlow Plastics Company are all explicitly credited for their contributions to the overall design.[162] On one hand, this roster suggests the extensive research undertaken by American companies in the development of new materials. At the same time, their invocation reduces the house to a system of interrelated products, each dependent on one another for the overall effect. We might concur, then, that the Eames House is not so far from what Hine had offered as the unabashed desire of the American homeowner after all, providing them with the latest in consumer goods, all brand names, albeit of an industrial nature.

That having been said, the Eames House represents an important influence on the New Brutalist prehistory, if only for the fact that it foreshadows the Brutalist ethic through the ideology of its construction method—especially its celebration of the inherent property of materials and its insistence on modularity to provide maximum flexibility of application. The Eames's practice signaled the shift away from a pure rational functionalism while still retaining the ability to utilize new materials and methods of prefabrication to their own end. In 1966, Peter Smithson noted that "[i]n the 1950s, the Eames moved design away from the machine aesthetic and bicycle technology, on which it had lived since the 1920s, into the world of the cinema-eye and

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Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), p. 173.

[162] "Case Study House for 1949 Designed by Charles Eames," *Arts & Architecture* (December 1949): 26–35.

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the technology of the production aircraft . . ."[163] Clearly, Smithson saw in the Eames's work an embrace both of his own Pop aesthetic and predilection for new modes of transportation, and an attempt to inscribe new technologies into architectural practice in a creative yet productive fashion—done more for reasons of convenience and cost than as a poetic analogy of a new technological future. This skill did not come easy, and the Eames were perhaps aided by a singular disregard for the pressing contemporary political issues and a focus on the positive aspects of new living.

Charles Eames had not served in World War II, although his practice with Ray engaged with combat in an oblique way through their designs for inexpensive plywood splints. In another sense, their practice exhibited an exuberant, almost playful obliviousness to the deprivations that occurred in the war's wake. Still, the ethical component of their practice—one engaged with an ardent capitalism but so catholic in its pursuit of ideas as to defy easy reduction—must have resonated with the Brutalist ethos in terms of the latter's professed ecumenicity, and more so specifically with the Smithsons, who undoubtedly regarded the Eameses as a set of kindred spirits, even though it is hard not to imagine the Smithsons' jealousy at being able to experiment while lavishly financed by industry, insulated from politics, and without accountability for the pressing needs of reconstruction.[164]

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[163] Smithson, Peter, "Just a few chairs and a house: an essay on the Eames-aesthetic," in *Architectural Design* 36, no. 9 (September 1966): 443

[164] Sigfried Giedion remonstrated against the disparagement of the International Style in the US, and gave his own reasons for why the functionalism of the "European masters" who had immigrated to the US was not seen as a useful tool in a country where economic depravations were less of an issue than in Europe. He wrote: "The problem of habitation in the US is of a fundamentally different nature than that in Europe. The level of salaries in the US is sufficiently high as to assure the majority of working classes decent living

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Still, the integration of inhabitant with habitat (and both with the site), the possibility for continued growth and change allowed for through the modularity of the Eames House, and the purity of their forms that could exist without the air of exclusivity, appealed to the Brutalist ethical and aesthetic sensibility as a successful experiment in postwar functionality. The Eames had an organic awareness of the fact that, in Geoffrey Holroyd's words (paraphrasing John Dewey) "things have their place and function in the environment, and this explains them."[165] This is a uniquely American (and, Holroyd would add, pragmatist) viewpoint that enjoyed a legacy quite apart from the European tradition that treats the different arts as inviolable spheres of expression.

The Eameses effectively came to the Smithsons aid in the 1950s as did the American troops to the aid of the British a decade earlier, by offering a "message of hope from another planet," to quote Alison Smithson.[166] The popular American culture that the Smithsons embraced through the Independent Group (while slyly critiquing it all the same) was, in the Eames's work, given a rigor and purpose that cinema, magazines, and other disposable products couldn't offer. Their practice exhibited an authenticity and a truth that was unabashed in its celebration of consumerism, which in turn was the fundamental ethos of America in the 1950s. the resulting authenticity of the Eames's

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conditions. Taxes in the US are principally used for those who, being recent immigrants, have yet to achieve the American standard of living. The funding given by the State for assisted living is meant for those earning less than $120 per month." See Giedion, "Aspects de l'architecture aux Etats-Unis en 1953," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 24, nos. 50–51 (December 1953): 7. One imagines that for an average European of this time, $120/month seemed a lavish salary.

[165] Geoffrey Holroyd, "Architecture Creating Relaxed Intensity," *Architectural Design* 36, no. 9 (September 1966): 458.

[166] Alison Smithson, "And now Dharmas are dying out in Japan," *Architectural Design* 36, no. 9 (September 1966): 448.

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practice was one rife with irony. Their work served a public that was both increasingly more sophisticated about issues of design and aesthetics, and at the same time implicitly uninterested in a static, mythic past. To satiate such a complex set of tastes required the ability to move between tradition and innovation with the appearance of belonging always to both, and the Eames were able to create products that seemed to have a new tradition literally constructed within themselves. From a Brutalist point of view, such a skill was a rare thing, indeed.

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CHAPTER IV:
CRITIQUES OF FUNCTIONALISM AND THE SEARCH FOR AUTHENTICITY

Ja, aus der Welt werden wir nicht fallen. Wir sind einmal darin.
(Indeed, we shall not fall out of this world. We are in it once and for all).
-*Hannibal*. Christian Dietrich Grabbe[1]

The problems confronted by the New Brutalism/Team 10 ethic/aesthetic (and the conflicted relationship between these two pairs, which by this point have been made explicit) centered around achieving the optimal means through which to evoke a sense of purpose and belonging for the inhabitants of a given locality. Two words framed the discussions taking place during the postwar decades within European and American postwar architectural circles, each having to do with the idea of the authentic. These two words are "regionalism," and "vernacular." Their definitions are illuminating when contrasted with one another, despite the fact that they often are used interchangeably. Regionalism is defined as follows: "1: consciousness of and loyalty to a distinct subnational or supranational area usu. characterized by a common culture, background, or interests," while vernacular is defined this way: "2: a style of artistic or technical and esp. architectural expression employing the commonest forms, materials, and decorations of a

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place, period, or group."[2] We can see from their respective definitions a distinction of great importance to the present discussion surrounding the search for a reliably honest system of construction that effectively treats the inhabitant with a degree of respect and enjoins her/him to reach out and participate in her/his own habitat.

Each, without a doubt, refer to a specifically localized practice and/or operation, but the terms through which this mode is articulated differ insofar as the former, "regionalism," is a belief system while the latter is a form of expression; put another way, regionalism is, in the parlance of New Brutalism, an ethic, and the vernacular, an aesthetic. And while the former might inform the latter, the opposite is not possible. As far as architecture is concerned, regionalism remains a historical category, one that evokes a sense of belonging, and this belonging plays a crucial part in the final stages of an architecture built for a particular people, a particular region.

The impact of the two World Wars, coming so closely on the heels of one another, seems to have obliged an even more pointed change away from a pure functionalism in architecture in the guise of a critique of deterministic, instrumentalized schemes and a concomitant embrace of a more anthropocentric view of the way in which humans live in a built environment. The goal of the present chapter is to determine to what extent this new "humanism"[3] comprised either a regional or a vernacular tradition

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[1] Sigmund Freud,. *Civilization and Its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), pp. 11–12.
[2] Webster's Third International Dictionary
[3] I use this word "humanism" advisedly, and without intending to invoke the meaning it has acquired from 15th-century Italian philosophy. What I mean to suggest by the term is an architectural mindset that thinks first and foremost of the inhabitant, the community around the building, and the way in which the building and its usage somehow participate and contribute to the urban/rural fabric of which it is to become a crucial part.

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(or more precisely, a set of vernacular traditions) in opposition to something more universal about the nature of habitation, and if so, what the composition of such an oppositional practice entailed.

Because this dichotomy is, in essence, the difference between a functionalist (or utilitarian) position and a more intuitive and vitally connected one, it might be necessary to explore the roots of the term "functionalism," and moreover to provide a framework of how the term was understood within architectural discourse of the 1950s (for example, in the main architectural journals of the time) so as to understand precisely what constituted New Brutalism and Team 10's object of critique.[4]

What we shall discover is that "functionalism," as it existed in its prewar role as the discursive model for industrialization (of materials as well as labor), was usurped and hence transformed by the architectural establishment (in England, for our purposes) into something to function in the service of a nostalgic revisitation of Englishness. This appeal to nationalism, to sentimentality, and to local identity is a rejoinder to a loss of these same qualities in the wake of World War II's devastation. The period during which this comes about is, in its so-called "post-coloniality," a time for a renewal of national identity, not only for the colonized but for the colonizers as well.

When regionalism and/or the vernacular is discussed within the context of architecture, the discussion often lacks an inquiry into how the former functions as an

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[4] Much of the following discussion is indebted to Professor Rosemarie Bletter and her important introductory essay accompanying the English translation of Adolf Behne's *Modern Functional Building*. Bletter has spent a great deal of her academic career reevaluating traditionally held assumptions about early twentieth-century European modernism, and this long essay is a marvelous introduction to her theses. See her introduction to Adolf Behne *The Modern Functional Building*, ibid., pp. 1–83.

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ethical and/or sociological category vs. the latter as an aesthetic one. Building for a community always involves a delicate balance between function and comfort, and the one certainly doesn't always follow the other. Oftentimes, the vernacular veers dangerously close to a sentimental attachment to the past; with the accelerated pace that has prevailed in the wake of the industrial revolution, the impulse to retain aspects of past styles in order to ease the rapidity of change is an understandable one. The diametric turnabout that has become known as the International Style was perhaps too radical a shift for all but the most industrialized of cities, whereas the transition in most locales needed to happen on a much slower schedule.

As is often the case, many of the architects under discussion here expressed their disillusion with techno-functionalism through means that are emblematic of a Western seduction by the primitive or otherwise differentiated Other. Whether it be through writing, visual artifacts, or actual travel, some of architecture's leading lights sought refuge from Eurocentrism in non-European, non-modern, or undeveloped locales. Certainly in France, the anthropological legacy of Auguste Comte, Marcel Mauss, Pierre Malinowski, Marcel Griaule, and Claude Lévi-Strauss elucidates a development along the lines of a refinement of ethnographic endeavors, away from the positivism of the late nineteenth century towards a more engaged relationship between experience and writing. James Clifford reminds us that "ethnography is, from beginning to end, enmeshed in writing,"[5] and we must be careful to understand ethnography as purely a heuristic

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[5] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 25

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exercise, one whose translation into visual means becomes problematized after its linguistic project has been ascertained.

Thus, the issue of ethnography (as a comparative analysis of human communities) plays a prominent, yet troublesome role in the architecture of the 1950s, insofar as to speak of the "regional" or the "local", in the latter half of the twentieth century, is still to speak of something foreign, undomesticated, primitive, and unrefined. Cultural relativism unfortunately has reduced the vernacular to a distant, exotic, and shadowy presence on the map of history, increasing and enforcing the distances and differences between periphery and center while geographical distances become ever more negligible. As the rift between countries and cultures begins to close on economic fronts, as has been the case increasingly since the end of World War II, specific and local histories tend to become flattened, causing amnesia of singular histories to set in.

The epigram at the present chapter's outset comes from Sigmund Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents*, wherein he describes the horror and inevitability of feeling completely at one with the world ("an indissoluble bond"). Freud's pronouncements on the alienation of man in an increasingly complex (European) world came at a time of radical social upheaval, just prior to the ascension of National Socialism. In the urbanization occurring during the postcolonial years of the late 1940s and early 1950s, a foregrounding of individual identity (either singular or cultural) forced a reevaluation of the place that each citizen had within his/her own locality, and, by extension, within the world at large.

The growth of the urban in the modern, post-Enlightenment period has resulted in a crisis of style: how to reconcile local traditions (perhaps longstanding) with the

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symbolic power of new means and forms that delineate the very fact of urban transformation. After all, the actual physical embodiment of a city is a result of the gradual accretion of rural residents within a centralized area, resulting in a reconfiguration of the local landscape to accommodate the swell in population and those inhabitants' attendant needs. The irony lies in the coercive aspects of obedience and convention, which embrace individuality but only in a strictly regimented manner. People are thus free to be themselves in the city, but their actions are bound by the limits of the urban stage, and by the exigencies of their histories that keep them bound to a set of practices referring back *to* those histories.

Hence urban design and building must function on two levels simultaneously: one that respects the needs and traditions of the individual, and another that understands the propensity for communities to evolve with a certain amount of unity. Urbanists and architects ultimately must also acknowledge the moments where the interests of the individual and the group might coincide. We might term these two facets, respectively, as "interior" and "exterior" in order to describe both the emotional states that pertain as well as the physical. The goal of this chapter, then, is to investigate the ideological departure undertaken within New Brutalism/Team 10 from the conventions of CIAM functionalism as concerns this delicate negotiation between interior and exterior, individual and community. To begin, one must acknowledge that Team 10 was not content merely to reject out-of-hand the progress made in modern architecture by their form-giving forefathers, as discussed in chapters I and II. But at the level of ethics (that elusive category that embodies, for New Brutalism the wholeness of contemporary experience, of what the Smithsons often referred to as "connectivity"), the departures are far more

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radical. In particular, a newly expanded version of what constitutes an "ethical" experience allows architecture to begin to address the issues of the built environment not from a coercive position, as Team 10 perceived the situation to be up to the 9th CIAM conference of 1953, but instead from a position akin to that which Antonio Gramsci called "civil society," or "the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private'."[6] It is the embodiment of such a civil society that ultimately characterizes both the New Brutalist and Team 10 positions, and which provides the basis for understanding all of the internal vicissitudes and external affiliations characteristic of these positions. This concluding chapter represents an attempt at clarifying these principles—with the caveat that doing so runs counter to the deliberately open framework that was the hallmark of New Brutalist/Team 10 practice.

The Limits of Functionalism:

Why does the final chapter of this dissertation deal with such a seemingly discontinuous topic as "regionalism" or "the vernacular?" As should have become clear from the preceding chapters, the primary stumbling block of contention for those whose

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[6] Antonio Gramsci, ed. David Forgacs, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916–35*. (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 306. I don't mean to suggest the equivalent of Gramsci's model of direct domination, or to suggest that prewar CIAM activities were anything comparable to state domination under fascism (as in Gramsci's experience), but simply wish to make use of the terms insofar as they signal a shift from centralized control to one of presumptive self-governance. Gramsci writes that the effects of hegemonic control can be defined (in part) as : "The 'spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production." (Ibid., pp. 306–7). Without overdetermining the

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work falls under the originary rubric of The New Brutalism was the specter of functionalism, that legacy of industrialization so widely embraced by the prewar avant-garde. However one understood the idea of functionalism (e.g. politically, as with a state-controlled apparatus; tectonically, as someone like Hannes Meyer would embrace; or ethically, as in Le Corbusier's instrumentalized approach to town planning and dwelling), New Brutalism and Team 10 were always, in some way, interested in debunking those beliefs as increasingly obsolete.

The issue of functionality (or functionalism) was a major theme running throughout the CIAM discourse from the organization's very beginnings in the Work Program for the 1st meeting in La Sarraz (1928), and codified in the Charte d'Athènes of 1933 (but not published until 1943) **[fig. 4.1]**.[7] This charter, based on themes arising from both the "Wohnung für das Existenzminimum" exhibition in Frankfurt (1929)[8] and

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analogy. I believe that the definition given here adequately represents the feelings of Team 10 players with regard to the prewar CIAM, if stated a bit boldly.

[7] Eric Mumford, in his exemplary and exhaustive history of CIAM, writes of the originary impulse of CIAM as having grown out of the network of avant-garde architectural journals of the 1920s, a period during which actual building activity across Europe was just beginning to emerge from the standstill of the war years. The usual starting point for CIAM is often taken to be Le Corbusier's League of Nations competition entry, the rejection of which (in favor of a neoclassical entry by Alberto Sartoris, 1932) seems to have been a call to arms for the architectural vanguard, but Mumford gives a more expansive reading of the organization's beginnings. As he writes: "Stated abstractly, the various forces leading to the foundation of CIAM can be seen as, first, the effort to link certain new formal and technical strategies (and not others) to a program of collectivist social transformation through architecture and city and regional planning; second, the effort to promote these strategies to official clients like the League of Nations and to municipal governments then constructing housing; and third, although less directly, efforts to "purify" this new architecture, efforts that remain somewhat mysterious." Mumford, ibid., p. 12. See also Le Corbusier, *La Charte d'Athènes* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1957).

[8] The projects from the exhibition were published the following year as the first of CIAM's publications. See CIAM, *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*, ibid.

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codified in the "Functional City" congress held aboard the SS Patris II, a cruise ship sailing in the Mediterranean in the waters around the Greek islands. The Charter, well known for its hard-line attempt to impose a strict hierarchical order on the planning of urban centers, was also the document specifically targeted by the future members of Team 10 as the essence of the wrong approach to urbanism.

The cities that were analyzed by the Athens Charter were largely important European cities, with Bandung (Java, Dutch East Indies) and Dalat (French Vietnam) included as "villes de plaisance," or pleasure cities. While Le Corbusier, ultimately the author of the 1943 version of the document, was specific about the populations that were meant to be addressed in the Charter (he wrote that the cities analyzed "illustrate the history of the white race in the most varying climates and latitudes," although the claims of geographical diversity are wildly overstated),[9] one must be aware that the tendency was certainly to assume some basic factors about the crisis in "physical and moral health" (again, Corbusier) that pervaded the world's urban areas. At CIAM's beginnings, these tenets were most carefully and vociferously espoused by the socialist architects Hans Schmidt, Ernst May, and Hannes Meyer. Meyer's unequivocal statements on building, offered on his appointment as head of the Dessau Bauhaus in February 1928 (four months before the commencement of the La Sarraz meeting), foreground the issues of functionalism as they would be deployed in the service of CIAM: "all things in this world are a product of the formula: (function times economy)/all these things are, therefore, not works of art: all art is composition and, hence, is unsuited to achieve goals/all life is

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[9] CIAM, "Charter of Athens: tenets," in Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-century Architecture*, ibid., p.137.

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function and is therefore unartistic . . . *building is a biological process. building is not an aesthetic process* . . ."[10]

This biological determinism recurs in the introduction to Hitchcock and Johnson's *International Style* catalogue for the eponymous exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932 **[fig. 4.2]**. The works included therein fall into a sort of hypertrophied and overdetermined taxonomy that presupposes a set of ideals before choosing the material forms that best exemplify the underlying category. And although the *International Style* show was firmly grounded in a belief in an incipient new aesthetic (specifically, "the idea of style as the frame of potential growth, rather than as a fixed and crushing mould"[11])—and would thus seem to contradict Meyer's dictum—there was likewise a teleological understanding of modern architecture's progress that receives articulation within the pages of the catalogue: "The unconscious and halting architectural developments of the nineteenth century, the confused and contradictory experimentation of the beginning of the twentieth, have been succeeded by a directed evolution. There is now a single body of discipline, fixed enough to integrate contemporary style as a reality and yet elastic enough to permit individual interpretation and to encourage general growth."[12]

The question with regard to functionalism here concerns the firm belief that modern architecture had reached some sort of inevitable summit, an apex from which the future of the discipline would extend. It was precisely this certainty (and the belief in this

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[10] Hannes Meyer, "Building,' in Conrads, ibid., p. 117
[11] Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1932, repr. 1966), p. 20
[12] Ibid., p. 20

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terminus) that Team 10 and New Brutalism sought to challenge. Ironically, the hesitancy castigated by the likes of Hitchcock and Johnson, exemplified by the "confusion and contradictory experimentation" of (pre-avant-garde) early twentieth-century architecture, would define the precise tools that would make possible the abandonment of a technocentric vision of the future with regard to man's built environment. Team 10, in declaring the need for a closure of the gap between thinking and feeling (as Jaap Bakema wrote, " . . . [W]e have to work for the creation of a physical environment that will satisfy man's emotional and material needs and stimulate his spiritual growth . . ."),[13] attempted a decisive break with the rational functionalist component of International Style doctrine and an embrace of a heterogeneity that found its inspiration in the particulars and vernaculars of different localities.[14]

The notion of functionalism was a major topic of conversation in England during the early 1950s (and thus for New Brutalism), as the architectural world had many reasons to want to rescue it from the dustbin of history under whatever premise would seem to work best. So as the prewar avant-garde architects such as Mies and Gropius toiled away (mostly in the US) in glass and steel as if the war never happened, other constituents of the architectural establishment, such as the practitioners and historians who comprised the editorial board of the *Architectural Review* (henceforth to be referred

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[13] See Bakema, quoted in Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Primer* ibid., p. 23

[14] *The International Style* show and catalogue were peculiar exercises in the elision of rational functionalism's more political aspects. The inclusion of Hans Schmidt and Paul Artaria's Professional Women's Residence in Basel and their Waldner House near Basel (both from 1930) in the *International Style* exhibition shows that the work of even the most doctrinaire functionalists was not immune to an aestheticized reading, as their architecture is subjected to the same formalist reading as those of more avowed

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to as *AR)*, could issue a manifesto on functionalism in the form of its January 1950 issue devoted to the topic wherein the functional is related to the incipient embrace of "townscape" and the Picturesque, both appeals to a lost sense of origins located most specifically in the aesthetics of the rural English countryside.[15]

The seeds of this nationalist argument began one year earlier in an article by Ivor de Wolfe, pseudonym of *AR* editor Hugh de Cronin Hastings. Entitled "Townscape: A Plea for an English Visual Philosophy Founded on the True Rock of Sir Uvedale Price," de Wolfe's article was followed by another by Gordon Cullen entitled "Townscape Casebook."[16] Each of these authors advocated a particularly English resolution to the conflict between what de Wolfe termed Corbusian rational functionalism and Wrightian organic functionalism. Rather than continue in the vein of these weary modernist clichés, de Wolfe called for an "English or Radical" functionalism that would "nourish itself instead upon the embodied, the differentiated, the phenomenal world as opposed to the noumenal world of the German romantic."[17]

Here nostalgia is grounded in an empirical reality, in false opposition to a supposed German spirituality. The implication is Caspar David Friedrich's painterly

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aestheticians, such as Mies. The Waldner House, in particular, is chided for its "bad window detail." See Hitchcock and Johnson, ibid., p. 209.

[15]See *AR* 107, no. 637 (January 1950), entire issue

[16] See I. De Wolfe, "Townscape: A Plea for an English Visual Philosophy Founded on the True Rock of Sir Uvedale Price," *AR* 106, no. 636 (December 1949): 355–62, followed by Gordon Cullen's "Townscape Casebook," pp. 363–74. The de Wolfe article is reprinted in Joan Ockman, ibid., pp. 115–19. Cullen would produce other casebooks over the years that later formed the basis of a book entitled *Townscape* (London: Architectural Press, 1961). In a symbolic act of reversal, he also was retained by the Smithsons to prepare perspective drawings for their Economist Cluster. The reversal, needless to say, was that of the Smithsons. See R. Banham *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 75.

[17] Ibid., p. 362.

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exploration of a Kantian sublime as opposed to a home-grown Burkian model; the thrust is uniquely and resolutely British. Thus in 1950, the editorial voice of the *AR* could define functionalism as follows:

> Today we are attempting consciously to design things in terms of the most suitable materials, processes and performance standards to satisfy one or several specific functions. These same principles, unexpressed, have unconsciously controlled the forms evolved by countless generations of blacksmiths, masons, wheelwrights, millwrights, and shipwrights. This is the Functional Tradition.[18]

The editorial ends with a traditionally art-historical pairing of images: the first, a rack for holding butter churns and the second, a clothes-drying rack **[fig. 4.3]**. The heading above these images reads: "PEASANT TRADITION v. FUNCTIONAL TRADITION," and thus tries to argue that the unadorned trabeated lines of the clothes rack are the epitome of functional simplicity, whereas the ornamented and scalloped shelves of the churn rack dominate the structure to the exclusion of its practical application. Thus we come to realize that functionalism—within this argument—has nothing to do with function at all but rather with the superficial *appearance* of functionality; in other words, with a functional *style*.[19]

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[18] *AR* 107, no. 637 (January 1950): 6. It is interesting here to contrast the British position with the opening passage from Le Corbusier's *La Ville Radieuse*, in which the arch-modernist can be seen making a similar appeal to the primary instruments of construction; he writes: "I go where tools are being made: the primary tools that are required for the purpose of making existence possible within the limits of the day, the seasons, the years, and the ages of man . . . ." Quoted in Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France Between the Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 78. Golan's project seeks to redress the prejudice that Le Corbusier was, at heart, interested only in a machine-led progress into the future. While it is true that certain phrases belie his techno-functionalist reputation, and that projects such as his Villa de Mandrot of 1929–32 shares in the rustic Provençal vernacular, the majority of his works from the 1920s and 1930s adhere to a machinic model.

[19] A similar point was made several months earlier in the pages of AR, in one of a series of articles (leading up to the Functionalist issue) detailing the various vernacular

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This, of course, is precisely the same charge that New Brutalism/Team 10 levied against prewar CIAM building when claiming that functional requirements of compact and efficient dwellings were nothing more than an elaborate fantasy based on a set of elevated academic principles.[20] And things become more complex when one realizes that New Brutalism/Team 10 took issue with both the prewar CIAM version of *rational* functionalism (to use the terms set out both in *AR* as well as much later by Edward Robert de Zurko in his *Origins of Functionalist Theory*, discussed further below) as well as with *AR*'s vision of an English or Radical functionalism based in nostalgic forms of rural vernaculars.

By 1956, the confusion around functionalism was encapsulated in Robin Boyd's article entitled "The Functional Neurosis," which effectively stated that the sort of organic functionalism once derided in *AR*'s pages may in fact be a useful model, but the application of "light, clean, fresh [and] simple" architecture had been so rare that the model had become debased.[21] The following month, James Stirling, a Smithsons intimate

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traditions that might serve as a font of ideas for England's architectural future. An article on Pubs illustrates what is called the "urban vernacular," a legend next to a photo of the rather worn and antiquated interior of the Gloucester Arms in Marylebone. *AR* 106, no. 634 (October 1949): 239

[20] See the provocative cover of *AR* 107, no 641 (May 1950), where a model of Gropius/TAC's new Harvard Graduate Center is depicted with Gropius's hand, middle finger extended, emphatically pointing. One can only imagine the resonance of this image with the AR's younger readers.

[21] Robin Boyd, "The Functional Neurosis," *AR* 119, no. 710 (February 1956): 85–8. It might be noted that the same author had weighed in quite early in the "debate of the 'New'" when, in September 1951, *AR* published his "A New Eclecticism?" This was a somewhat silly and irreverent article, but it emphasized the fact that England, since the war's end, had been grappling for some articulation of a new direction, and Boyd seemed to be satirizing the country's confusion.

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but no Brutalism loyalist,[22] attempted to break free from the argumentative and semantic confusion by bringing Le Corbusier's Ronchamp Chapel at Notre-Dame –du-Haut (1950–5) **[fig. 4.4]** into the discussion. Stirling saw this idiosyncratic structure as a purely personal utterance that transcended the schism between an American rational functionalism exemplified by SOM's Lever House and a (by now barely perceptible) shift towards a universalizing and humanized functionalism as found in Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation.[23]

With Stirling joining the fray we are returned to New Brutalism and the critique of any sort of functionalism resulting from either romanticized vernacular sources or the mathematical positivism of the prewar avant-garde. Whereas Stirling saw the encroachment of local vernaculars as both a threat to the purity of modernism but also a potential way out of the postwar quandary of inertia (or worse, regression), figures such as the Smithsons chose to reject both the programmatic mathematics of rational functionalism *and* the sublime serendipity of picturesque planning through an ingenious reading of classical architecture as organized not by geometric principles, but instead by the patterns of function and usage.[24] This polar negotiation designates the fundamental ethical thrust of New Brutalism through its discovery of a third way beyond pure

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[22] See Chapter I for a discussion of Stirling's dismissal of New Brutalism.

[23] James Stirling, "Ronchamp: Le Corbusier's Chapel and the Crisis of Rationalism," *AR* 119, no. 711 (March 1956): 155–61. Stirling's other celebrated article, "Garches to Jaoul: Le Corbusier as Domestic Architect in 1927 and 1953," (*AR* 117, no. 705 [September 1955): 145–51) did much to kick-start the discussion around functionalism by indicating a shift within Corbusier's own work.

[24] See Peter Smithson's Architectural Association lecture of November 1958 as reprinted in *Architectural Association Journal* (February 1959), and contextualized by Banham in his "Revenge of the Picturesque . . .," ibid., p. 270. Smithson's appeal to classicism

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formalism and pure functionality, one that gives equal voice to both while also attempting to avoid the essentialism that might befall any doctrinaire adherence to either one or the other.

To be sure, New Brutalist adherents didn't want simply to substitute an ordained vision of rural simplicity for the clean lines of rational functionalism; architects such as the Smithsons read the sentimentality and nostalgia of antindustrialism not as a symbol of Protestant restraint but as a cessation of progress and a return to "the ossified ring that surrounds every town—the drab streets, the made-over Victorian and Edwardian terrace houses."[25] The task, therefore, of the new generation, was succinctly noted in the Smithsons' poetic epigram: "The task of our generation is plain—we/must reidentify man with his house/his community/his city."[26]

One of the Smithsons' more eloquent compatriots, Alan Colquhoun, has elsewhere formulated a more pointed critique of the difficulties of a rational functionalism and its deterministic rigor. He writes:

> By insisting on the use of analytical and inductive methods of design, functionalism leaves a vacuum in the form-making process. This it fills with its own reductionist aesthetic—the aesthetic that claims that 'intuition,' with no historical dimension, can arrive spontaneously at forms which are the equivalent of fundamental operations. . . It is assumed that the functional complex is translated into forms whose iconographic significance is nothing more than the rational structure of the functional complex itself.[27]

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obviously was informed by his reading of Wittkower's *Architectural Principles*, the importance of which is discussed in Chapter I.

[25] Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light*, ibid., p. 18

[26] Ibid., p. 18

[27] Alan Colquhoun, "Typology and Design Method," in Alan Colquhoun, *Essays in Architectural Criticism: Modern Architecture and Historical Change* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), p. 49

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Colquhoun is describing a situation in which function is acknowledged as an inherent component of architecture, yet also which also allows that architectural form cannot completely embody its purpose without something other than pure function, without somehow escaping from the self-justifying dogma of a functionalist aesthetic. In the Smithsons' opinion, that variable is called "reidentification," an intimate connection between inhabitant and house, citizen and city. But neither the Smithsons nor Colquhoun address another crucial aspect of functionalism—that of budgetary restraints in times of fiscal conservatism. The Smithsons' elision in this regard is particularly egregious, given the very real deprivations amid which their practice was established.[28]

We might contrast this position with that of the German philosopher Ernst Bloch, whose critique of functionalism was being revised and published in the late 1950s, and lay close to that of the New Brutalists. As with the New Brutalists, Bloch speaks to functionalism's inability to symbolically provide a sense of belonging to the inhabitant. His castigation of the presumptuousness of functionalism, while at the same time advocating a particular type of utopia that he imagines to be less constricting , was labeled the "Principle of Hope." His magnum opus of the same name decries the machine aesthetic with a thinly veiled critique of Le Corbusier's famous house-as-ocean-liner metaphor:

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[28] Reyner Banham likewise wrote of this problem, in 1965, from the architect's point of view. Even a decade after the formation of New Brutalism and Team 10, the issues for Banham's model architect are the same: Given extreme economic exigencies, how does one balance the integrity of the program with the art of building? Or, as Banham eloquently writes: "We are all, to some extent, committed to the functionalist's approach . . . and also, quite simply, there is usually not enough in the budget for utility and symbolic expression to be significantly separated—by the time you finish serving utility,

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> These days houses in many places look as of they are ready to leave. Although they are unadorned or for this very reason, they express departure. On the inside they are bright and bare like sick-rooms, on the outside they seem like boxes on movable rods, but also like ships. . . . But even the ship form, which was purely decorative, does not appear real enough to the motif of escape of most people today in the capitalist world of war.[29]

Here, Bloch points to a crucial element of the functionalist style, which is specifically that it was a *style*, and had no more credence with respect to the needs of its users than any other style, other than to stand as a *symbol* of a new age, and to gain strength through a conterminous engagement with related symbols of a new industrial age.[30] Of course, the prewar avant-garde's embrace of functionalism was believed by its practitioners to be something closer to a *Weltanschauung* than a mere *style*, but the reality is that no matter how heartfelt the aesthetic utterance, at the end of the day mere appearance is the sole signifier. Despite the insistence on the New Brutalist ethic, in the preceding chapters, the critique of functionalism—and the immediate signifier of difference between the prewar avant-garde and New Brutalism/Team 10—was that of appearance, façade, or facture.

Materials:

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you have awfully little left over to serve symbolic expression." See Reyner Banham, "Convenient Benches and Handy Hooks," ibid., p. 97.

[29] Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Volume Two*, trans. Neville Plaice, Steven Plaice & Paul Knight (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 733–4. Bloch's three-volume epic was written in exile in the U.S during the years 1938–47, then revised in Germany in 1953 and 1959, precisely during the years of the present discussion.

[30] Bloch engaged in an extended debate on the nature of functionalism with Theodor Adorno. See Adorno, "Functionalism Today," *Oppositions* 17 (1979): 31–44; Ernst Bloch, "Formative Education, Engineering Form, Ornament," ibid., pp. 45–51; with a postscript by Roberto Masiero, ibid., pp. 42–4.

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The architect, writes Hubert Damisch, cannot help but work against nature.[31] Damisch was referring to Adolf Loos, but the application is quite wide-ranging. What he was suggesting is the double bind that confronts the architect in his search for authenticity. Architecture, by its very nature, is an intrusion into the realm of the natural, yet any attempt to make it harmonize with its surroundings is, de facto, a project whose failure occurs precisely on its surface, immediately in the public realm. The New Brutalist/Team 10 adherents took this challenge as a sort of credo, attempting to insinuate the tenets of modern architecture into local or vernacular surroundings without arousing the suspicion and conspicuousness that marked prewar avant-garde buildings as something other than immediately accessible to an unsympathetic public.

The buildings of the prewar avant-garde tended towards the use of glass and steel or reinforced concrete that had been whitewashed to a vibrant sheen—and this holds true whether we follow the functionalist legacy of Gropius or Meyer's Bauhaus, Corbusier's machine aesthetic, or José Luis Sert's regional modernism. But it is on the level of materials that we might also begin to trace a divergence in the postwar years, one that follows closely the attention paid to the vernacular. As we have already seen, the prevailing styles of the New Empiricism and the New Humanism borrowed heavily from Swedish regional and vernacular sources and likewise followed British tendencies of brick construction **[fig. 4.5]**.[32] Up until the mid-1950s, reinforced concrete used as a

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[31] Hubert Damisch, "L'Autre 'Ich,' L'Autriche—Austria: or the Desire for the Void: Toward a Tomb for Adolf Loos," *Critique* 31, nos. 339–40 (1975) [reprinted in *Grey Room* 01 (Fall, 2000): 37]

[32] Two good sources in English for investigating the rigorous Swedish experiment in social housing of the 1940s are Leonard Silk, *Sweden Plans for Better Housing* (Durham,

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structural support still bore the stigma of being "foreign," which is to say French, despite the fact that it had been in use for over a half-century. The English had come to accept concrete as a cladding material and for being poured into foundations, but tended to rely on steel frames for infrastructure. However, the postwar years brought with them a reduction in the availability of steel, and other measures and materials needed to be sought out. We are speaking, of course, of public buildings mainly, but these material prejudices held true for private commissions as well, despite their relative scarcity in this era.

Pre-stressed concrete, a relative of reinforced concrete, came to the fore as a reliable alternative to steel, and it fell upon an engineer named Alan Harris to research the material (in Paris, working for three years in the late 1940's with Eugène Freysinnet) and return to England to work for the Pre-Stressed Concrete Company.[33] Until the 1950s, the British architectural establishment was resistant to pre-stressed concrete, which was developed mainly for use in school building, although its applicability was much wider. For some reason, the material's usage by Corbusier and other European proponents was considered less problematic, and this leads to the need for a discussion of the visual presence of concrete as it has been associated with the New Brutalism.

The tactility of raw, untreated reinforced or pre-stressed concrete had connotations with the unrefined use of materials common to traditional vernacular building techniques but, of course, not in a refined, industrially advanced country such as

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NC: Duke University Press, 1948; and The Swedish Social Welfare Board, *Social Sweden* [Sweden, Socialstyrelsen](Stockholm: Gernandts Boktryckeri, 1952).

[33] Andrew Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture: The Role of School Building in Post-War England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 147-8.

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England. There, as in Sweden, the traditional cladding material was brick, and there was a proud legacy of skilled brickwork. The head of the Buildings and Priorities Branch of the English Board of Education, Sir Antony Part, discussed the concrete vs. brick controversy that engaged the British school system at the time in characteristic terms: "It became evident to me fairly soon that the (concrete) claddings would not do as a long-term thing in the form in which (the school architects) were using them, because they were very few of them really comparable in attractiveness of finish with brick, which is an extraordinarily difficult material to beat. I kept saying to them, 'Do for God's sake do something about at least the concrete.'"[34]

Materials that exhibited a raw and abbreviated surface came out of financial necessity and postwar deprivations and bespoke these hardships in their very essence, yet their visual properties also lent them a sobriety that was seen as both economical and as an effective articulation of the need to move beyond the techno-functionalism of glass and steel. Whether taking visual cues from Dogon and/or Pueblo villages (see the discussion of Aldo van Eyck below), or even English vernacular brick traditions, New Brutalist aesthetics were geared towards a surface that was intended to support—sufficiently and convincingly—the ethical concerns of the architects involved. But New Brutalism never undertook a concerted effort to fix the specifics of what style would prevail, either in England or elsewhere. Rather the Brutalist manner of thinking fervently believed that the local economy and style should suggest the visual properties of the buildings of a given country or region.

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[34] Ibid., p. 154

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Moreover, the belief held that it was possible to invoke these local traditions not directly through the use of materials that referenced vernaculars, but also through the deferral of metaphor or metonymy that allowed these materials to claim affiliation with the *ethos* of vernacular building without recalling them in a specifically mimetic fashion. Either through material, plan, program, or other, intangible methods, an effort was underway to access something both universal (to humankind) and particular (or specific regions to individual regions). This distinction helps to begin to corrode the long-held belief that New Brutalism is a definition uniquely based upon the use of specific "brutal materials" (stemming from Corbusier's exaltation of *béton brut* in his Marseilles Unité).

Instead, New Brutalism can be seen to have been deliberating the implications of using material and plans in a way that embraces the positive qualities of modernity and change, while also retaining some sense of local culture and history. As Kenneth Frampton has written (in 1983, although equally valid in the context of the 1950s, or the 1920s, for that matter):

> Architecture can only be sustained today as a critical practice if it assumes an *arrière-garde* position, that is to say, one which distances itself equally from the Enlightenment myth of progress and from a reactionary, unrealistic impulse to return to the architectonic forms of the preindustrial past. A critical *arrière-garde* has to remove itself from both the optimization of advanced technology and the ever-present tendency to regress into nostalgic historicism or the glibly decorative.[35]

This distinction between a future-driven vision of technological progress and one that negotiates between the promise of technology and the needs for historical roots is

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[35] Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), pp. 16–30. It seems clear that Frampton's views on critical

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clearly seen in Team 10's rejection of CIAM's *Charte d'Athènes*. In a draft of a Team 10 committee meeting dated September, 1954 (in other words, prior to CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik, 1956), Alison and Peter Smithson begin to muse on the properties of their *Charte de l'Habitat* that Team 10 would posit as a corrective to CIAM's *Charte d'Athènes*. In this draft, the notion of the "universal norm" is rejected in favor of such an incipient "critical regionalism[36]" that advocates local traditions:

> HABITAT: Every culture produces type objects; indeed it is through them that a culture can be defined. From pre-history to contemporary peasant society, each culture has thrown up a limited number of house forms. The culture expresses itself through these forms. Today's problem is to define that form unique to each culture group. The search for a universal norm (Charte de l'Habitat) is meaningless, for we patently have not got a universal culture. . . The following is an attempt to produce a programme for the house form of our own culture.[37]

The proposal goes on to suggest a leveling of upper and middle classes, and a "removal of limits to working class aspirations" that would lend itself to this social equalization. This "Architypal" or "Ur-typal" house, as the Smithsons called it at this point, is not discussed with relation to exterior detailing, but rather in regard to the way the disposition of volumes inside these dwellings gives a sense of the embrace of a particular quality of English vernacular advocated by Team 10. By creating a standardized dwelling of three bedrooms, living room, kitchen/dining room, a bathroom and a W.C.—most of which are not fixed in their usage but rather are designed for multivalent tasks (e.g. bedrooms as studies, bathrooms as laundry rooms)—the Smithsons

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regionalism were in some way influenced by the work of Team 10, of which Frampton was a peripheral observer within his capacity as staff member at *Architectural Design*.

[36] This term is borrowed from Kenneth Frampton. See in particular "Towards a Critical Regionalism," ibid., p. 20.

[37] Alison and Peter Smithson [?], "Draft/Framework for Discussion by CIAM 10 Committee," n.p., dated London, August 1954 (BAKE or97)

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suggest that such homes "can satisfy surprisingly wide variations in occupation, from the single person working at home to the extended family. . . (and) can be used over the whole valley section without major variations of volume, for although the town flat must contain outdoor space, on the other hand the farm must have more storage space."[38]

There seems also to have been, among the avant-garde architects of the 1950s, a sensitivity to the variety of local environments as to cause the consideration of specific climatic conditions as they pertain to the issues of building. Of course, climate has always been an issue, and certainly among prewar Modernists the idea was not a foreign one (witness Corbusier's *brise-soleils* and his Algerian work of the 1930s). But the attention to quotidian vagaries in weather looms large in the Team 10 discourse. A report given at CIAM 10 in Lapad (a peninsula about three kilometers from Dubrovnik, Croatia, 1956, and the meeting's actual location) gives an indication of the shift away from blanket solutions towards more locally directed attention to detail.

Commission B.4, charged with reporting to the group on "the problem of organic unity," wrote of some unknown person whose job it was to find out as much as possible about any given social and physical milieu with the goal of predicting the effects of growth and change.[39] Suggesting that such a person be termed an "urban actuary," the report continues by outlining the projective duties of such an individual with regard to the examination of "microclimates": " It would also be the business of the urbanist to know

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[38] Ibid., n.p.

[39] The members of Commission B.4, also calling itself 'Team X' on the report, were officially listed as being The Smithsons (U.K.), Franco Albini (Italy), Geir Grung (Norway), Rolf Gutmann (Switzerland), Arne Korsmo (Norway), Nicolas Quintana (Cuba), Aldo van Eyck (The Netherlands), Shadrach Woods (France), Fernando Távora

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about the changes in social aspirations which affect the *way* that the climate has to be controlled. As the standard of living rises it becomes more important to people to be protected against the weather, for they have nice clothes and nice cars that the new social standards demand to be kept immaculate."[40] Far from the prewar preoccupation with hygienic and healthful standards to keep the presumptive residents of a building in prime physical condition, Team 10 exhibits a much more pragmatic approach to the exigencies of daily rituals insofar as they directly impact (most practically) on the individual.

The most striking aspect of the text quoted above is the belief that urban and architectural change could (and would) be brought about through incremental change in the simplest elements of everyday life. The practice of finding significance in the margins or interstices, best exemplified by the life work of Walter Benjamin,[41] presents a shift in the chain of command with regard to the building up of new urban spaces—away from the architect and towards the natural accretion of structures and events that conspire together to create the urban environment: "The anonymous people are the true realisers of Habitat through private and collective initiative. They constitute the actual client of the architect working in the field of Habitat. But the anonymous people will remain a passive element until a Habitat consciousness is developed."[42] Team 10 attempts to recognize the mutually dependent skills of the inhabitants and the "urban specialist" who, working

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(Portugal), and Vladimír Karfík as observer. Of these architects, only the Smithsons, van Eyck, and Woods were ever officially aligned with Team 10.

[40] CIAM X/LAPAD: CLUSTER. (TEAM X). Report of the Commission B.4., 8 August 1956 (BAKE 0058/a12), p.1

[41] The best example of this is Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[42] Commission B.4, ibid., p. 2

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together, can identify problems, needs, and solutions better than the architect who simply comes in with a set of assumptions culled together from pervious commissions.

The creative discipline is not diminished, but simply put into immediate relationship with the need for collaboration and acknowledgment of the particularities of a given milieu. Creativity, the argument naturally follows, is both motivated and enhanced by the involvement of these "anonymous" masses, as community structure can only come out of the needs inherent in any particular community: "If one lives in a community one should be able to understand its structure. This is more than a matter of being able to find one's way about, it is a matter of feeling that you are somebody living somewhere. Mobility is a factor in this comprehensibility, we see differently and thus get a different idea of the structure."[43]

Cultural History and Belonging:

The English architectural establishment in the 1950s experienced a feeling of liberation from the repression of the war years. The victory over fascism and the shoring up of democratic principles was cause for a certain celebration, and the celebration of democracy, in particular, was asserted through an advocacy of historical vernaculars. Thus England understandably was quite taken up with its own research into community structure (a task geared towards recuperating some originary version of Englishness) beyond the question of morality, and investigated a variety of sources in order to do so. These included everything from primordial biological data, to Gothic verticality, to the Picturesque, to a unique appropriation of the American skyscraper style that sought to

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turn the curtain wall into a new vernacular style. This specific use of the term "vernacular" merits attention for its appearance at a point when the same term is being used (or at least rigorously investigated) within the Team 10 ranks as an alternative to the rational functionalism of the prewar period. And the appearance of a major article on the topic, entitled "The Contribution of the Curtain Wall to a New Vernacular,"[44] signaled a much larger sphere in which a concern for authenticity was coming to the fore.

What is of particular interest is this reversal (or at least refocusing) of earlier arguments by *AR* that seemed to reject International Style modernism (and a skyscraper style) for pleasures of picturesque planning and pitched-roof revivalism. Once economic exigencies had dissipated that nostalgic reverie, *AR* moved towards an embrace of mass construction, modularity, and industrial materials. The unsigned author (although almost certainly one of *AR*'s editorial board, most likely Ian McCallum, the special issue's editor and the journal's Executive Editor) writes:

> Much of the internal equipment of the building sheathed with curtain walls is standardized also (some mass-produced); but, as yet, without any relationship in scale, proportion, colour, and detail to the other, particularly the external, standard parts. It would seem self-evident that an architecture based on such principles should carry a modular relationship consistently through doors, windows, walls, floors, ceilings, services, built-in furniture and equipment. Not only would this provide a unifying factor in a variety of shapes, colours, textures and patterns that at present borders on anarchy, but it would also bring with it economic advantages that are too obvious to need describing.[45]

The ideals being espoused here are directly in line with many of the ethical tenets that New Brutalism/Team 10 shared with the prewar avant-garde (modularity,

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[43] Ibid., p. 2

[44] "The Contribution of the Curtain Wall to a New Vernacular," (author unidentified), *AR*: *Machine Made America*—A special number edited by Ian McCallum (May 1957), pp. 299–336.

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standardization, economic conscience), especially as apotheosized in the Hunstanton School. When the Smithsons spoke of their school project, they stated that "[s]tructurally, our aim was to use steel as an architectural material, but to avoid the formalism of Mies van der Rohe. Each piece of steel supports, defines, and decorates the space it creates . . .the whole being fabricated from standard section rollings and plate pressings."[46]

To avoid Mies's formalism as a stated aim once again raises the problem discussed in Chapter I of the wavering between functionalist and formalist (or ethic and aesthetic, as it were) rhetoric that is constantly at issue in the Smithsons' writings.[47] But in this case, the *AR* article's anonymous writer is following the same path in calling for a level of standardization based, at least partially, on economic principles, despite the fact that the marginalia of the essay is an extended meditation on the aesthetic principles of curtain wall construction.[48]

The author continues by arguing that standardized façades such as those provided by curtain walls would contribute an orderly backdrop to the scenes of urban drama (while trying to avoid the implication that architecture's role is thus somehow diminished). Moreover, he proposes that these buildings might have a didactic quality:

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[45] Ibid., p. 322

[46] "Secondary School at Hunstanton: A Discussion Between the Architects (Alison and Peter Smithson) and Engineer (R. S. Jenkins of Ove Arup and Partners)," *Architect's Journal* vol. 118, no. 3054 (September 10, 1953): 323

[47] One might also note that at the same time as *AR's* call for standardization and modularity as an aesthetic category, the seeds of minimalism were being planted in works such as Carl Andre's *Element Series* (1958–60), undertaken in Frank Stella's studio and exhibiting many properties of the formalist argument discussed in my text. See *Carl Andre: Sculpture 1958–74* (Bern, Switzerland: Kunsthalle Bern, 1975).

[48] In typical *AR* fashion, the main text is besieged by alternate narrative running, quite literally, through its middle, in this case including illustrations of various species of

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"Experience with slum-dwellers who first use the bath in a new house for coals and then learn to bathe in it, suggests that a better environment can gradually teach better habits."[49]

The fashioning of a new vernacular becomes, then, yet another style imposed on an unsuspecting public, inverting the accepted meaning of the term "vernacular." This inversion raises the question (both for the readers of *AR*, as well as for the affiliates of New Brutalism and Team 10) as to whether a vernacular can be artificially created *ex novo*, or whether its very existence depends on its appearance through the processes of natural selection, serendipitous occurrence, and the vicissitudes of progress. Stranger still is the elision of one of the vernacular's most peculiar and predictable qualities: its location within a specific place or culture. Here, in *AR*, we see an argument for what is essentially a new style rather than a vernacular; but odder still, a style that was fomented in, and then exported from, a foreign country, in this case the United States. It may be a bit too simple to say that the curtain wall was invented in America, and the work of forty American architects highlighted in the section following the curtain wall article includes that of fifteen foreign-born practitioners.[50] So the question becomes more complicated in terms of the delicate negotiation between "regional" and "vernacular."

The desire for a new postwar architectural identity, which led British traditionalists back nearly two hundred years or so into their own country's history, resulted in a radically different agenda within the younger avant-garde. The search for a

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curtain wall construction and a series of footnotes-cum-epigrams that both refer back to the text as well as provide a series of third-party commentaries on the argument.

[49] Ibid., p. 335. One wonders, of course, to what "experience with slum-dwellers" he is referring.

[50] These are responses to an *AR* questionnaire, to which all were amenable except Frank Lloyd Wright, who declined to allow his contribution to be used.

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transcendental (or perhaps universal) discernment of origins[51] led the postwar avant-garde to not only investigate other cultures in person, but in advance of any ethnographic research, to imagine that some universal sentiment of "authenticity" lay about, waiting to be discovered by an empathetic soul, its message to be internalized and delivered through a new, postnationalistic architecture.

The Smithsons, as much as any of their counterparts, were susceptible to these universalizing tendencies.[52] A good example appears in the first article establishing the New Brutalism, appearing in January 1955, when they affirmed that " [t]he New Brutalism is the only possible development for this moment from the Modern Movement . . . because fundamentally both movements have used as their yardstick Japanese architecture, its underlying idea, principles and spirit." They continue, more specifically, to state that "the Hunstanton School . . . probably owes as much to the existence of Japanese architecture as to Mies."[53]

These words are recapitulated in their volume entitled *Without Rhetoric*, in which they refer nostalgically to the memory of Japan as it had been visited and mythologized

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[51] This universalism differed in intent, if not in result, from the rational functionalist utopia promulgated by the prewar avant-garde. Whereas the former wished to find a common root for all mankind, the latter sought to impose a new functionalist ethos and aesthetic that would serve the human race through its professedly ecumenical and culture-blind embrace of technology.

[52] The idea of the "universal," and the "authentic," had, in the wake of National Socialism, become extremely contested terms. Because International style modernism had come before the war, because some of its adherents (Corbusier, Mies) had become implicated in totalitarian regimes—willingly or not—and despite the International Style's rejection by all Fascisms other than Mussolini's in Italy, anything that smacked of prewar modernism became necessarily problematic for the younger generation in the postwar period.

[53] Alison and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Design* (January 1955): 2

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by Walter Gropius in the 1920s (although, as they point out, Gropius didn't visit until the 1950s).[54] They lament the fact that by 1960, when they were able to visit for themselves, the "beaches were picked clean of driftwood, etc., for flower arrangements; the pavements were not only swept but washed, the road pollution such that nothing was worth rescuing; pop-packages were the worst American—only tickets to Noh and Kabuki theatres preserved the old standards."[55]

Implicit in this commentary is that there once was, and always should be, some essential nature of "Japanese-ness" that would, by virtue of its own tenacity and inherent "authenticity," remain present in that country for natives and visitors alike. But by the 1960s, and obviously well before, the Japanese had moved beyond identifying themselves with the nostalgic roles of samurai and shoguns. Despite this fact, the Smithsons earlier celebrated the release of Teinosuke Kinugasa's film *Gate of Hell* [1954 Academy Award winner for best foreign film] for having provided Western architects with their first color images of Japanese monastery and palace structures. Of course, the film is set in medieval Japan and was equally anachronistic to both European, American, and Japanese audiences.

The Smithsons view this distant culture as an unevolved abstraction, arguing that Japanese architecture gave form to the "longings of the generation of Garnier and Behrens," most specifically in Le Corbusier's "sliding screens, continuous space, (and) the power of white and earth colours on the rendered wall . . .in Mies, the structure and

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[54] Alison and Peter Smithson, *Without Rhetoric* ibid., p. 10. This reiteration is a reworked version of the original text quoted in the previous note.
[55] Ibid., p. 10

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the screen as absolutes."[56] Here the Smithsons introduce an unconventional precursor of Le Corbusier's functional stylistics, departing from the typical reading of the white walls as derivative of his early trips to Turkey and Greece. The paper screens of Japanese domestic architecture are not often given as an antecedent to Corbusier's style, nor even of Mies. But the Smithsons wanted to see beyond the hackneyed visions of the Mediterranean—too closely tied to a Classical past—and enlarge the scope of an incipient global relationship among the world's cultures to confirm some sense of common origins.

It isn't until the late 1950s and early 1960s that exposure to Japanese architects such as Kenzo Tange, a participant at the 1959 CIAM meeting in Otterlo, Fumihiko Maki, and others, had given the Smithsons more learned exposure to traditional Japanese architecture and design. Although the Smithsons may very well have had independent knowledge of the Ise Shrine (given their admiration for Japanese architecture),[57] we at least can be sure that discussions of traditional Japanese architecture took place among Team 10 members. A letter from Bakema to Kenzo Tange (a participant in Team 10 meetings, although not a core Team 10 member) makes reference to a book by Tange and Ishinori confirms that this topic was of interest to the Team 10 members with regard to what Bakema calls "the confrontation of man-made-space and universal-space," which

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[56] Ibid., pp. 4–6

[57] By the mid-1960s, the Smithsons ironically had incorporated the Shrine into their discourse on the structural integrity of classical architecture, still thematically valid since their Wittkowerian period. See Peter Smithson, "A Parallel of the Orders: An Essay on the Doric," *Architectural Design* 36, no. 11 (November 1966): 557–63, in which the shrine is both illustrated and discussed in relation to a book by Team 10 adherent Kenzo Tange and Noboru Kawazoe entitled *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965).

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for Bakema is the "process [by which the] architectural discipline can function religiously."[58]

Bakema's letter opens by quoting "the writer [T. S.?] Elliott [sic]" to the effect that "to create nowadays an artist don't [sic] need to have knowledge of the laws of creationship [sic] that made tradition, but he must know the change he introduces by his work in the meaning of things created in the past."[59] Although this is a late example of the thoughts prevalent in the earlier 1950s, the compelling spirit of continuity with some sense of man's immutable, diachronic past and synchronic present, remains. The goal is an architecture that participates in some sort of life-force, and is an *active* participant rather than a mere vehicle for an architect's personal agenda.

This dynamic view of architecture was implicit in the discourse of the 1950s among the European avant-garde, and tended to underscore the relationship between village and town, with village clearly referring not only to suburbia but also to rural and/or undeveloped areas and countries and town denoting urban areas. The usage of these two terms, however, is already a major clue in determining the manner in which a break from functionalism's idiomatic language came to pass.

A "Report to the 'Village of Tomorrow,'" part of a Team 10 document titled the *Bericht-Report*, gives a prime example of this idiomatic usage of "village" and "town" as an expression of the "ideal balance of human life."[60] An appeal to this balance comes

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[58]Letter from J. Bakema to Kenzo Tange, dated Rotterdam 10 October 1960. BAKE or88. Although he doesn't mention a title, the letter's date suggests that Bakema is referencing an earlier book by Kenzo Tange and Yashiro Ishinori entitled *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).
[59] Ibid.
[60] "Bericht-Report," anonymous pamphlet, BAKE oo78/a32.

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from a return to the methods and modes of "late antiquity," at which point "next to the ruins of empty towns new villages started to grow. . . Not the orders given by the two Gracches[?], not the emporer's [sic] commands have caused the regeneration of country life, but the natural relief by young, primitive heads, if only after hard and brutal fights."[61]

The author(s) suggest that today, "owing to critical scientific analysis and observations of our political, psychological, sociological, and biological situation, we are able to recognize the deficiencies of our age . . [and] to show means to help us liberate ourselves from this amorphous condition and to find new roads leading to a recreation of structures."[62] Contemporary examples given are the "Community" (presumably the collectivization) of China and the kibbutz of Israel. In this language and these disparate models, we can sense the radical revision of prewar conceptions of community and culture, now to be identified through empirical, rather than idealistic, means. Furthermore, the author(s) look to *actual* models of existing communities to give credence to the potential goals he advocates, as opposed to the abstract visions of utopia preferred by their earlier-twentieth-century counterparts. As we shall see in the British context, this type of empirical inquiry gets complicated when it collides with an ascendant nostalgia, whose sentimentality tended to cloud the voice of reason—at least from the vantage point of a critic.

"The New Picturesque" and the Vernacular of Nostalgia

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[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

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The embrace of true vernaculars and the concomitant rejection of prevailing gestures of empty nostalgia in Team 10/New Brutalist writings manifested itself through a rejection of the Picturesque revival, exemplified by *AR*'s editorial policy under the stewardship of Nikolaus Pevsner. The Swedish-originated New Empiricism (the banner under which this revival of the Picturesque was heralded) led to a return to some empathetic view of Englishness, most clearly seen in the embrace of the wood or brick pitched-roof architecture of the English countryside that became the favored domestic prototype for *AR* writers and editors **[fig. 4.6]**.

Apart from its research into specifically English vernacular construction, the New Empiricism found strength in another, perhaps unlikely, source. In the late 1940s, Andrei Zhdanov, a cultural minister in Stalin's cabinet, asserted that all domestic buildings exhibit some aspects of traditional details and decorative elements in order to retain some sort of affinity with the inhabitants. While this comes from a rather conservative and sentimentalizing impulse akin to the National Socialist call for a *Deutsches Volk*, it is compelling with regard to the present discussion about the vernacular. For while local styles tend to recall the glory of days gone by, in the Soviet Union of the 1950s we have "People's Detailing" marshaled into the service of a Communist state desperately trying to appease its comrades after more than a decade of relentless terror at both home and abroad.

The death of Stalin and the rise of Khrushchev put an end to the era of Socialist-realist architecture by proclaiming that prefabrication and an economy of industrial aesthetics were more appropriate to the needs of a Communist society than the

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embellishments of the Zhdanovian vernacular.[63] The irony underlying this claim was that it spelled a tacit return to constructivist principles which themselves are closely affiliated with the International Style: as Khrushchev said, after reading a definition of constructivism from the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*:

> This definition of Constructivism is, of course, not exhaustive. But the description of Constructivism I have cited showed the groundlessness of some architects disguising themselves in phrases about fighting constructivism while actually sacrificing convenience of internal design and use of the building for the sake of facades, that is, for form's sake, and thereby showing a disregard for the essential needs of people.[64]

This activity in the Soviet Union precipitated the declaration in December 1954 by some Communist-inspired members of the London County Council architects (many of whom had affinities with New Brutalism and Team 10--for instance the Smithsons, both of whom worked for the LCC during 1949-50)[65] that similar detailing be required of English domestic buildings, an argument that cleanly meshed with the presiding welfare-state mentality of the 1945 Labor government.[66]

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[63] Nikita Khrushchev, "Remove Shortcomings in Design, Improve Work of Architects," in Ockman, *Architecture Culture*, ibid., pp. 185-9. See also brief discussion of the situation among the LCC architects in Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., p. 11

[64] Khrushchev, ibid., p.188

[65] Also working for the LCC were William Howell and John Voelcker (both Team 10 members, with Voelcker also joining the Smithsons in the Independent Group). Howell was also credited with providing the initial impetus for Team 10, as he was a CIAM council representative for CIAM 8 at Hoddesdon (1952), and had organized his fellow LCC architects whose work he thought fit the theme for the 9th congress, which was "La Charte d'Habitation." See A. Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings*, ibid., p. 17.

[66] A similar situation was unfolding at the same time in Italy. See Chapter II for a discussion of the struggles for "realism" and an independent leftist voice in postwar Italy. Also, see the discussion of the Italian Communist party's rejection of Soviet authority in Norman Kogan, *A Political History of Italy: The Postwar Years* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966), especially Chapter 6, "Stirrings of Revisionism," pp. 87-103.

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An attenuated anthropological impulse extended beyond the realm of theoretical architecture into the ranks of practical working architects. In the London County Council, this engagement with a world beyond the narrow confines of metropolitan London was part of the schooling received by architects trained in the 1940s. Robert Furneaux Jordan, in a 1956 essay on the history of the LCC, noticed a marked difference between the architects of the late 1940s and early 1950s, and those of the late 1950s. In that short time span, in Jordan's wittily caustic terms, this earlier crop of architectural graduates first found work in the LCC, only to move beyond the confines of London County when seeing in their widened purview the opportunity to actual practice, rather than to theorize, architecture: "The best post-graduate architects, in the starry-eyed postwar years, turned to such enlightened authorities as Hertfordshire and the LCC, where architecture had a social as well as a technical context. Now they think in terms of Volta River, Kuwait, or Malaya rather than the even darker jungles of Stepney or Lambeth . . . or else in terms of big City offices where the context is neither social nor architectural."[67]

This mocking of an expanded world-view is redolent of the insularity of the typical *AR* writer, and presents yet another prejudice in Jordan's derogation of as-yet-unreconstructed slum areas such as Stepney and Lambeth (marginalized neighborhoods that were embraced specifically by the New Brutalists for what might be called their "authentic" qualities). However, before the enlightenment and "socialization" of the LCC, that department's stylistic attitude remained firmly within the William Lethaby/William Morris/Philip Webb school of a nostalgic socialist utopianism, whose

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[67] R. Furneaux Jordan, "L.C.C.: New Standards in Official Architecture," *AR* 120, no. 718 (November 1956): 804

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material embodiment lay closer to a craftsman-like brick tradition than to the more austere neoclassicism of John Nash and John Soane. But in addition to its aesthetic appearance, the strong social component of such architecture lent it a facet beyond mere nostalgia. The Arts and Crafts movement of William Morris, always articulated in terms that couched its desire for social reforms in the return to guilds or collective industry, led directly to Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement of 1898 **[fig. 4.7]**.

The Garden City Association, newly incorporated in 1903, purchased a 3,818 acre site in Hertfordshire,[68] thirty-five miles from London, in order to create Letchworth (designed by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin from 1903–7), the first Garden City to be specifically created ex novo along the lines of Howard's principles **[fig. 4.8]**.[69] The fact that the final town departed ill-advisedly from Howard's planning ideas, especially with the intermingling of industrial and residential zones is a sad comment on the way in which large-scale planning is often compromised at the local level when brought into the all-too-real realm of everyday practicality. Because of precisely this kind of difficulty, the idea of collaboration becomes one of immense appeal—collaboration not only among architects, planners, sociologists and the like, but between these aforementioned specialists and members of the public in whose service they toil.

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[68] Hertfordshire, as we are reminded by its invocation in the Furneaux Jordan quote above, was later to become the location for some of the most celebrated architectural modernism in the U.K., mainly through its progressive school buildings. On the actual ethical and aesthetic advances of these schools, see my discussion in Chapter III.

[69] For a concise and intelligent history of Letchworth in the context of other twentieth-century utopian plans, see Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), esp. pp. 64–75.

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The prevailing architectural style within the garden cities, soon to become known as the New Picturesque, was less a codified movement than a tendency vehemently advocated by Pevsner and his *AR* staff. Basil Taylor, an art historian, delivered a series of three radio broadcasts in 1954 deriding the retardataire notions of the picturesque identity to which he felt England was clinging. His argument—that there was no indigenous British attachment to the Picturesque as a means of visual expression—was based on his premise that the best British artists (William Hogarth, John Constable, J. M. W. Turner, Thomas Gainsborough, Walter R. Sickert, and George Stubbs) were able to find a pictorial language outside of the Picturesque.[70] Of course, an argument might easily be made for Constable, Turner, and Stubbs as embodiments of various picturesque attributes, but this detail is somewhat beside the point, and illustrates the fact that many of these arguments were largely rhetorical in nature. Still, Taylor was trying to challenge the conviction that there was some essential British *style*, one that perhaps mimicked the rolling hills of the countryside with their ever-changing vistas and perspectives.

Pevsner, in a rebuttal to these talks (published in *AR*), challenged the idea that the Picturesque necessarily connotes some sense of irregularity—"accidental or

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[70] Taylor, however, was not particularly sympathetic to New Brutalist concerns, especially as they may have been manifest in the Independent Group activities. Taylor, whose topics of expertise were Constable, Stubbs, and the Impressionists, was hardly an ally of the heroes of the present study. In fact, he derided the IG for "trying to deal in a sophisticated way with material that is either, like folk art, unsophisticated or like the products of the mass media, of a different order of sophistication." (Basil Taylor, "Art—Anti-Art," *The Listener* [12 November 1959]: 820, cited in Nigel Whiteley, *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001]: p. 94). On the other hand, his rejection of English sentimentalism shows that there was widespread disagreement over that particular type of historicism.

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disorderly."[71] After first pointing out that the Picturesque was not a reaction to the Neo-Classicism of Lord Burlington and Alexander Pope but was instead contemporaneous with it, Pevsner goes on to suggest that the leaders of the Modern Movement all engaged various aspects of the Picturesque in their works of the 1920s. For instance, the deployment of volumes in Walter Gropius's Dessau Bauhaus building is celebrated for its free grouping and open plan, while Le Corbusier's Pavilion de l'Esprit Nouveau (1925) succeeds in its marriage of landscape and built form through the tree growing in the middle of the patio and extending through a hole in the roof. After positing these examples, Pevsner is emboldened to conclude: " . . . do they not show that, albeit unconsciously, the modern revolution of the early twentieth century and the Picturesque revolution of a hundred years before had all their fundamentals in common?"[72]

The architect and critic Alan Colquhoun responded to Pevsner's claims in July 1954. His letter to *AR* might be read effectively as that of the young, New Brutalist generation, even if he never made this linkage explicit. His most trenchant observation regards Pevsner's claims about Corbusier; Colquhoun writes:

> [Pevsner] ascribed to buildings by Le Corbusier Picturesque qualities such as free grouping and a mixture of materials, but ignores other qualities without which these Picturesque qualities are quite meaningless. For instance, in a Picturesque building the massing is not necessarily a logical expression of the plan . . . but in a building by Le Corbusier the visual hierarchy always reflects a functional hierarchy, an understanding of which intensifies the aesthetic pleasure derived from the forms.[73]

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[71] Nikolaus Pevsner, " C20 Picturesque: An Answer to Basil Taylor's Broadcast," *AR* 115, no. 688 (April 1954): 228
[72] Ibid., p. 229
[73] Alan I. T. Colquhoun, letter to the editors, *AR* 116, no. 691 (July 1954): 2.

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In other words, functionalism is what gives modernist forms their significance and creates visual pleasure, rather than functionalism being a corollary of the fortuitous arrangement of forms as an echo of some intangible natural order. Pevsner responded with the counterclaim that the link lay in the aesthetic similarities between the modern movement and the historical Picturesque,[74] that each had come to similar conclusions about massing and volumes, even if there was no historical connection. The problem here is that while each writer was making a claim for the antecedents of modernist "style," Pevsner was trying to historicize that style without realizing modernism's anti-historicist claims.

Pevsner's argument may be somewhat interesting, at least in the way that it tries to validate the modernist project through its recondite association with an English vernacular tradition, thus wresting it away from the French and Germans. While this was certainly revisionist, it was also conservative, and it was this aspect of the argument that made the Brutalist generation shudder. And in no way should Pevsner's claims be taken as representative of anything other than an older generation's desire to identify a nostalgic register within the modernist project. At the same time, it is true that modernist architects, especially Le Corbusier, have been wrongly thought to have advocated an unadulterated techno-functionalism. As Romy Golan has demonstrated, the period during which he was introducing the *Ville Radieuse* to the world (the 1930s) also marked the début of his *Ferme Radieuse* and his *Village Radieux*, both more regionalist and agrarian models of organic community organization.[75] Le Corbusier's encounter with a French

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[74] Nikolaus Pevsner, response to A. Colquhoun, ibid., p. 2.
[75] See Romy Golan, ibid., pp. 77–8. See also Mary McLeod, ibid.

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version of the Picturesque adds a bit of spice to the British functionalist debates of the 1950s, even if the aforementioned information was never adduced by either side.

In a larger sense, these debates played an important role in the controversy surrounding the categorization of both functionalism and the Picturesque as adequate systems of architectural expression. In each of these cases, their abstractness—different, yet related—derives from the codification of an external and a priori set of prerogatives that cannot easily be assimilated to a variety of building projects. Whereas functionalism is not a monolithic movement, belief structure, or school—its eclectic proponents lacking a manifesto or even a unified system of beliefs—there have still been attempts to understand something of its core essence.

Edward Robert De Zurko's *Origins of Functionalist Theory*, despite major methodological limitations, outlines two major traditions within the functionalist legacy as they originated in the nineteenth century. Calling them the "rational and the poetic," or otherwise the mechanical and the organic, De Zurko explains how the former anticipated a favorable conclusion of the industrial revolution, whereas the latter summoned metaphors drawn from nature. This book, written by an American in 1957, is roughly contemporaneous with the debates in England over functionalism that concern us in the context of architectural change in the 1950s. As such, represents an interesting analogue to the European struggle between functionalism (of International-style modernism) and the nostalgia for vernacular architecture (of the New Picturesque and the New Empiricism). De Zurko's work is academic, free of the fierce nationalism that raged in Europe after the war. What is interesting is that just as De Zurko concluded that

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"[f]unctionalism is not the product of any single philosophy or cultural movement,"[76] so can evidence of the vernacular be seen throughout the work not only of mainstream architects and critics, but in the avant-garde as well. This paradox is the subject of the chapter's remaining pages.

The Vernacular in the Work of the Smithsons:

The issue of the Organic as a categorical subset of both regionalism and the vernacular, played out in many different ways and by many different thinkers, loomed large in the 1940s and 1950s, no doubt partially motivated by a desire to move away not only from the technocratic functionalism of the late 1920s and 1930s, but also away from the will to order endemic in Fascist politics and its attendant physical forms.[77] The idea of the Organic, while exhibiting certain qualities of inevitability, also provides a model of infinite variations. That the limits imposed by rational functionalism could be sidestepped, while the positive qualities of the same could be retained (the use of new

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[76] Edward Robert De Zurko, *Origins of Functionalist Theory* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 234. De Zurko concludes that the essence of functionalism is contiguous with the entire trajectory of the Western philosophical tradition going back to the Socratic dialogues.

[77] It is certainly strange that nowhere do any of the architectural journals or personal writings of any CIAM/Team 10 members discuss the issues of fascism. There are oblique references to various modes of oppression, but no overt political commentary—or even acknowledgment of the hardships of the war years with respect to architecture—ever make their way into CIAM discourse. The only country whose intellectuals seem not to have avoided the issue of the war was Italy. For a representative example of politics coexisting with architectural criticism, see Giulio Carlo Argan, "Architettura e ideologia," *Zodiac* 1 (1957): 47–52, reprinted in J. Ockman, ibid., as "Architecture and Ideology," pp. 254–9. For two rare cases of political discourse within CIAM activity, see Chapter II.

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industrial materials and technological processes, to give two examples), was of great interest to the adherents of New Brutalism and Team 10.[78]

While the Hunstanton School remained quite close to a doctrinaire modernism, at least superficially, the project's success allowed the Smithsons to move into private practice away from the constrictions of the LCC and, more specifically, away from the internal squabbling between the older, New Empiricist members of the LCC and the young idealists. The school certainly exhibited no overt elements of vernacular building. Yet its first publication after its completion, in *AR*,[79] accompanied by a "comment" from Philip Johnson (presumably to explicate its indebtedness to Mies), comes at a time when such debates between early twentieth-century modernism and its viability in the postwar world were raging. Johnson neatly sidestepped all such issues (as might be expected from his antifunctionalist stance expounded in the pages and chosen buildings of the International Style show at MoMA[80]) to concentrate on the Smithson's mastery of what he calls the "Mies vernacular."

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[78] Another similar view of organic architecture can be found in the writings of Bruno Zevi. Zevi, who regarded Frank Lloyd Wright as the exemplar of organicism, was searching for a way out of the classicism associated with Fascist architecture (even away from the "progressive classicism" of Giuseppe Terragni and the Gruppo Sette). Zevi equated the Fascist embrace of classicism with a regressive decadence, and theorized that England's stance against Fascism was rewarded by an escape from the blemishes of decadent architecture. See Bruno Zevi, *Towards an Organic Architecture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1950). For the troubled Italian relationship to classicism that Zevi first critiqued, then later embraced, see Thomas L. Schumacher, *Surface and Symbol: Giuseppe Terragni and the Architecture of Italian Rationalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991).

[79] "Hunstanton School, Norfolk," *AR* 693, vol. 116 (September, 1954): 148–62, with introduction by Philip Johnson.

[80] See Hitchcock and Johnson, ibid. This famed (and now infamous) catalogue accompanying New York's Museum of Modern Art's first architectural exhibition is notable retrospectively for its doctrinaire formalist bias

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Johnson asks us to consider this particular vernacular (and hence, one supposes, all vernaculars) to be something beyond an individual pursuit and more of a standard for "generally applicable ideas."[81] And while he acknowledges that the Smithsons are only sporadically "formalist," he also bemoans their turn away from the Mies vernacular: "Now that the Smithsons have turned against such formalistic and 'composed' designs towards an Adolf Loos type of Anti-Design which they call the New Brutalism . . . one wonders whether their new executed work will show the same inherent elegance."[82]

The choice of Johnson as commentator (one imagines that the Smithsons were flattered yet disturbed by this decision) perfectly illustrates the attitude of the *AR* editors towards the theoretical implications of the Smithson's project, as well as their move away from a modernist paradigm. First of all, Johnson's valorization of Mies makes sense in terms of the International style with regard to what he describes as the style's "general applicability." Certainly Corbusier, whose attendant life as an artist lent a great deal of sculptural quality to his buildings, could never be seen by Johnson as having developed a "vernacular" within the narrow definition that Johnson offers (and this despite the fact that Corbusier generally had a much greater influence within the postwar architectural

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[81] Philip Johnson, "Comment on the School at Hunstanton," *AR* 693, vol. 116 (September, 1954): 148: "The Mies vernacular is not good by chance for Mies's main thesis is that architects should seek to create generally applicable ideas, not 'sports' or exciting individual buildings. He will create so that others may build well." Johnson's approbation, in the last sentence, of Mies's own creativity within an avowedly uncreative architectural language, suggests the grudging support for what the Smithson's have done within this same language—which is, of course, a unique expression of glass and steel orthogonal structure (Johnson earlier notes that "much of the excellence of their (the Smithsons) work is a tribute not only to themselves but also to the genius of Mies van der Rohe.") This also accentuates the inherent duality of vernaculars which, by nature, must be both rigid (and thus immediately identifiable) yet flexible (to allow for growth with regard to the historical development of a people, location, or culture.

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generation than was Mies). But perhaps Corbusier's ties to a Mediterranean vernacular make him less of an innovator in Johnson's eyes with regard to a flexible style within which others might build —being, quite simply, too individualistic an enterprise.

The Smithsons' departure from the Miesian vocabulary of their Hunstanton School occurred shortly after the building's completion. The year after the end of construction, although six years after the completion of its design, and hence after a six year construction hiatus, they undertook a commission, in 1955, to build a house for Derek Sugden, an engineer with Ove Arup and Partners in London.[83] Sugden had been assisting Smithson on the engineering details for a steel-framed, plywood-clad house the latter had designed, when Sugden mentioned that he was looking for an architect to design a personal residence for his family. Smithson, who Sugden considered to be "rather grand and famous" offered to do the design himself, which startled Sugden. Nonetheless, as Smithson was beholden to charge fees that were in keeping with the scale determined by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)—and thus could meet the desired budget—Sugden offered them the commission.[84]

With such economic prerequisites, the Smithsons were forced to rely on less-expensive materials; as Smithson delicately put it in a 1957 article on the project: "The estate put certain restrictions on the materials to be used, and it finally became obligatory that the design should be based on the external materials: second-hand London stock

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[82] Ibid., p. 152

[83] Let us remember also that 1955 was the same year in which the Independent Group commenced its meetings and Team 10 was officially incorporated as the new directors of CIAM.

[84] Derek Sugden, "The Sugden House: Dreaming and Living," in Webster, ed., *Modernism Without Rhetoric*, ibid., pp. 129–30.

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bricks, dark red tiles, and standard metal windows.[85]" Indeed, in evaluating this building (as with most Smithson buildings), one must deal with it as an essay in materiality, rather than in space. Financial necessities or no, there is a direct line of continuity here from the Hunstanton School's use of materials in their industrial purity, and it is through these materials (and their messages, to corrupt McLuhan) that these buildings are to be understood.

The September issue of *AR* featured an article on the Sugden house (located on Devereux Drive at Watford, Herts). The final design, based on the traditional Tudor style, was decided upon after the initial rejection of the first scheme, but with enough elements lurking within to underscore the Smithsons' subversive relationship to the New Empiricism (such as the fact that the first draft appears to have been based at least partly on Le Corbusier's Ozenfant House in Paris of 1922-3, especially the jagged roof profile) **[figs. 4.9, 4.10]**.[86] Sugden rejected Alison Smithson's first sketches for the house, stating that "the Modern Movement had sold us on the idea of large windows," which were evidently absent from that design.[87] Here we sense the struggle between the vernacular and the legacy of Modernism being played out in a commission for an architectural engineer who was sympathetic to both causes, building a house in rural Watford, England (and likewise reminding us of the similar balance found in Noyes's earlier Jackson

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[85] Alison and Peter Smithson, "House at Watford, Herts," *AR* 122, no. 728 (September 1957): 194.

[86] The Smithsons write that the British prefer the Tudor cottage because "the Tudor cottage looks as if it would protect you on the outside and feels as if it would fit you on the inside." This seems a particularly apt summation of the New Brutalist ethos, in terms of the emphasis on a rather confrontational exterior treatment and an interior space that is articulated through the needs and desires of the inhabitant. "House at Watford, Herts," ibid., p. 194

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House). Of interest also is that economic exigencies forced the architects to work within a rather traditional vocabulary of materials, and forced them likewise to find solutions to the simple foursquare façade of sash windows that was the presiding model for such houses.

These same conditions obtained with the Hunstanton School, as well, in reference to which Peter Smithson wrote that "at the time there were economic reasons for all that dead-pan detailing. If we had had the money we wouldn't have made it more elaborate."[88] And certainly if one examines the main visual elements of the school, such as the exposed services and the citadel that is the X-braced Braithwaite Water Tower, one can see the way in which the architects turned the symbols of financial depravation into proud icons of industrial achievement. The tower, for instance, was of a type for which every provision had normally been taken to hide its ostensibly hideous exterior **[fig. 4.11]**. The Smithsons, placing it on high stilts so that it looms above the site (reminiscent of London's OXO Tower, now converted into one of the city's poshest bar-restaurants) as a testimony to the clarity and transparency of the building as a whole. But this was a decision with an economic component, as well. Steel supplies were so scarce that the job itself was delayed fourteen months in order to wait for shipment of raw materials.

The Sudgen house, in its final manifestation, likewise attained a certain proud sobriety, but in a much different vein than the Hunstanton School **[fig. 4.12]**. The two projects share the frank expression of materials that bespeaks both the Smithsons' mandate to use materials in accordance with their intrinsic properties, as well as the

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[87] Webster, ibid., p. 130

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economic conditions under which each project (one private, one public) came to fruition. Sugden described to Peter Smithson that he desired "a simple house, an ordinary house, but that this should not exclude it from being a radical house," thus delineating the fact that the expedience of the project should in no way compromise the Smithsons' reputation, and opening the way for a break with tradition.[89] As one can see from the final product, elements of the vernacular farmhouse are retained while an openness of plan saves the structure from a monosyllabic boxiness.

Chief among the decisions to break free of tradition is the asymmetrical butterfly roof, whose steep slope away from the garden side defines the interior space of the living room on the garden side and the garage on the opposite one. The lateral profile has an odd, attenuated quality that is nevertheless relieved by an asymmetrical placement of windows that serve, in their hodgepodge arrangement, to define the first, second, and attic storeys. The steeper side of the roof is reminiscent of the Early English style, but here it serves to echo the slope of the garden that cascades down from the rear of the building. In fact, the house itself appears as part of a parabolic curve that starts from the rear of the structure near the carport, up the length of the roof's longer slope, peaking at the attic, and then stopping abruptly at the rear to fall down the sheer face of the garden façade **[fig. 4.13]**. From this point, the garden, designed and planted by Sugden's wife Jean, gently arcs away from the house towards a cultivated (and decidedly Picturesque!) bramble of trees and brush. The carefully manicured lawn stands in stark contrast to the

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[88] Quoted in Peter Cook, "Regarding the Smithsons: Time and Contemplation," in *AR* 172, no.1025 (July 1982): 37

[89] Sugden, ibid., p. 129

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blooming shrubs beyond, reifying the status of the house as a mediator between tradition and innovation.

The deprivations of postwar reconstruction were effectively mirrored in the Protestant sobriety of the English cottage style, and the Smithsons clearly attempted to work within these traditions, not only out of necessity but also as a way of subordinating the vernacular to a theoretical reevaluation. In the Sugden house's three façades (excluding the low rear wall), we see what might be described as a collision between an Early Corbusian villa and an English farmhouse. The rugged brick (all secondhand stock, Sugden reminds us, as if to confirm the budgetary restrictions in material form) enframes an asymmetrical deployment of fenestration, including L-shapes toppled onto their faces (rear façade) and mitigated strip windows whose dividing bars, rendered in white, stand out starkly from the drab masonry. The oddity of the window placement is most apparent on the garage façade, where a series of windows begins at the very base of the structure and continues, somewhat pell-mell, towards the final resolution of two small vertical windows that define the attic storey.

The attic is likewise articulated on the opposite façade, where one also finds a wild expression of the steep roof slope through the stacked windows that form the first third of the entire wall. Here four vertical windows are surmounted by four others, irregularly shaped so as to accommodate the roof slope, with the highest divided into two separate volumes so that there are actually five separate panes—another iconoclastic visual execution.[90]

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[90] Despite the Smithson's subversive avant-gardism at the Sugden House (or perhaps precisely because of it), a certain Norman Harrison felt compelled to write to the editors

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With the Sugden House, we arrive, along with the Smithsons, back were we began, at the crossroads of the British quest for a return to origins, one that ironically sought legitimation well beyond the confines of the British empire. New Brutalism (a label that the Sugden House might easily accept)[91] came at transitional time when history was being revisited, yet it represented a desire to move beyond history, or at least to interrogate how history was used within architecture—a attempt at identity made tangible. Rather than a straight recuperation of English cottage style or of prewar International Style, and certainly without recourse to an overt commingling of different modernisms, the Smithsons tried to embody both the aesthetic concerns of a new era in the world's history, as well as the ethical concerns of a country trying to reconcile its remote with its recent history.

A critical reevaluation of the transcendental category of the "vernacular," with its attendant intimations of a universalizing authenticity, seems to have been both New Brutalism/Team 10's most valuable contribution to the debate around postwar style, and also its biggest stumbling block. For how does one focus on the powerful category of history with all of its layers while purporting to add one more to the palimpsest? If the

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of AR with the following diatribe: "When I look at the illustrations of the absurd little house in Watford shown in your September issue and read the even more absurd apologia for it supplied by the architects, Alison and Peter Smithson, I am forced to the conclusion that the devotees of the new aesthetic mysteries are prepared to go to any lengths of silliness in order not to seem as other men are." *Architectural Review* 122, no. 731 (December 1957): 364.

[91] Banham includes a significant discussion of the Sugden House, which he calls "a subtly subversive building," in his Brutalism book. See R. Banham, *The New Brutalism*, ibid., pp. 66–7.

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"organic," in the sense both of wholeness and of tradition, is meant to be one's guide, how does one assert any control over its domain?[92]

Aldo van Eyck:

The case study of Aldo van Eyck provides one approach to the questions raised above, and to creating a positive architectural experience through the enlistment of historical and cultural trends to forcibly overturn the sense of alienation engendered by separatism, parochialism, and most specifically to architecture, utopianism. Van Eyck's rise to prominence began during the shift that took place at the 1953 CIAM meeting in Aix-en-Provence. Following this meeting, as discussed in Chapter I, the older generation of architects and historians, including Le Corbusier, Siegfried Giedion, and José Luis Sert, agreed to relinquish the group's leadership to a younger generation of practitioners and theorists. This seems to have been less as a concession of defeat than an opportunity to sit back and watch the difficulties arise as others attempted to come to fruitful solutions to postwar construction and urbanism

An engaged response to the new architectural and urban needs of postwar European societies was a necessary condition of the perpetuation of urbanism as a viable discipline, and it was against this awareness that Aldo van Eyck's fieldwork is thrown most effectively into relief. Van Eyck's own attempts to change the premises of urbanism came at a time when postwar European models—such as the New Towns established from 1945–1951 throughout England, and based on Swedish town-planning

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[92] On the idea of society as an organic whole within the constitution of a modernist discourse, see Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1850* (New York:

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models[93]—were seen as insufficiently rich in urban ideas to effect social transformation. These small, low-density villages appealed through both their cost-efficiency and their sentimental recollection of historical archetypes through their use of traditional materials and construction methods. They hinted at a solution to the failings of modernist paradigms from earlier in the century, yet they failed because they excluded social spaces and suppressed an overall feeling of belonging through an imposition of a false history unable to be shared among the members of a new community.

Avant-gardists such as the Team 10 members criticized the traditionalism of the New Towns, even while certain aspects seemed quite similar to their own projects. In this context it is ironic to note that traditionalism is ideologically quite close to the vernacular, in terms of the perpetuation of modes and materials of building. The difference lies in the fact that traditionalism often means immutability, while a vernacular might be said to be perpetually evolving in relation to the needs of a given societal environment.

Team 10's members showed a remarkably engaged interest in the research and integration of various vernaculars, whether they be of remote, third-world areas or of local traditions (with regard to materials as well as typology). Even the international assembly of members and adherents (taking into account the lists of prospective invitees to the various Team 10 meetings) casts a rather wide net when it comes to the parochialism of the soi-disant Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, which, like baseball's World Series played exclusively among American teams, limited itself to

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Columbia University Press, 1983), passim, esp. pp. 138–40.

[93] See Lloyd Rodwin, *The British New Towns Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), for an evaluation of British postwar urban building from a political point of view.

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European, American and Japanese members, almost entirely ignoring Africa, South America, and other Asian countries.

Perhaps no architect active in the 1950s went as far in pursuit of vernacular architecture than van Eyck, especially if one were radically to define the vernacular as an obedience to a perceived understanding of the primary and originary activities of mankind. As a member of Team 10 he was engaged in a search for a built habitat that responded directly to the inhabitants' needs, but even before this his ethnographic desires brought him to Africa and the southwestern United States in a quest for immutable truths about the way that people have (and presumably always will) thrive among each other in organized communities.

Van Eyck's proposed the concept of "twinphenomena" (a sort of dialectic that remains in a constant state of irresolution) as the basis of what he calls a "configurative discipline"—meaning the way that architectural and urban spaces must coalesce around the various identities and desires of their inhabitants—and as the announcement of his belief in the irreconcilable nature of man's thought, as well as the positive and constructive force of this irresolution: "What is direly needed is a dimensional change in both our way of thinking and working which will allow the quantitative nature of each separate polarity to be encompassed and mitigated by the qualitative nature of all twinphenomenon combined: the medicine of reciprocity."[94] Van Eyck suspected that the roots of crisis in Western (European) culture were to be found in the loss of an elusive sense of origins, and that some recuperative strategy was necessary in order to regain a

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[94] Aldo van Eyck, "Steps toward a Configurative Discipline" Forum 3 (August 1962), pp. 81–93, reprinted in Ockman, *Architecture Culture* ibid., pp. 349.

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sense of wholeness, the absence of which he perceived to be a major deficiency at the core of contemporary culture.

Urban centers in particular, van Eyck believed, suffered from a segregation and fragmentation that obviated any sense of unity and cohesion within the city's inhabitants. Van Eyck's earliest, and most modest, proposal for recapturing the forgotten spaces of the city were his series of playgrounds designed for the city of Amsterdam's Public Works Department (under the directorship of Cornelis van Eesteren) beginning in 1947. The success of these playgrounds had a decisive role in van Eyck's future involvement with CIAM and Team 10, due to the acknowledgment of one of CIAM's founding fathers. In 1952 Siegfried Giedion published an essay entitled "The Humanization of Urban Life" that singles out van Eyck's playgrounds as evidence of the possibility for the rejuvenation of seemingly moribund civic spaces (for more on the playgrounds, see Chapter II). These sites, scattered throughout the city, were placed strategically in underutilized lots between buildings, revitalizing these neglected areas through the implementation of brightly colored apparatuses and bold, geometric patterns on the pavement. The utilization of these in-between spaces codifies a particular strategy at the heart of van Eyck's agenda, namely what, in the aforementioned quote, he called the "medicine of reciprocity," the bringing together of disparate urban elements into a cohesive whole. Giedion, in reacting positively to these recreational areas, wrote:

> [T]hese simple elements are grouped so subtly—with a background of the De Stijl movement and modern art which injects some kind of vitamin into the whole performance—that they act as fantastic starting points for the child's imagination. These playgrounds also, simultaneously, fulfill another function. The careful design of their layout has transformed useless pieces of waste ground into active urban elements. One needs only provide the opportunity and we—the

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> public, who are also maybe children of a kind—will know how to make use of it.[95]

One can discern the decidedly pedagogical tone in Giedion's passage, as the public is envisioned as a group of initiates requiring instruction in these new paradigms of spatiality; van Eyck is thus granted status as an educator in the new school of spatial thought by one of the grand pedagogical masters of the field.

For van Eyck, language is reportage in the sense of being communicative, but it is also the medium for the free play of the imagination, and as such is a forum for associative thought and the synthesis of received ideas—a fact made even more palpable through van Eyck's polyglot education (born in the Netherlands, raised in England, and architecturally trained at the Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule [ETH] in Zürich). But to remain in the realm of the imaginary is to refuse closure and challenge the possibility of a normative sense of fulfillment. As soon as an idea exits the multiplicative world of the imaginary and enters into the empirical and tangible world of fact, that originary sense of wonder is lost; complacency is thus seen as the enemy of thought, stopping it in its tracks and blinding it to the subsequent possibilities of discovery. The process of cognition then can be understood as an additive and manifold configuration of ideas and words loosed from their moorings to play dynamically off of each other within the thinking mind.

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[95] It is interesting to note that even a doctrinaire modernist such as Giedion redirected his energy in the postwar years away from the utopian functionalism of the interwar years and towards an interest in the human element of built spaces. See Siegfried Giedion, "The Humanization of Urban Life," *Architectural Record* (April 1952): 124–5. An slightly different version of the essay was published the same year as "Historical Background to the Core," in Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, J. L. Sert, E. N. Rogers, eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanization of Urban Life* (London: Lund Humphries, 1952), pp. 17–25

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Such an image of thought processes is mirrored in van Eyck through the ethnographic study: by traveling to and studying other, unknown cultures, one is constantly reminded that one is not alone in this world, that the hegemony with which one lives can be challenged by the presence of others, and that positivism and determinism have their dangers, as well. In 1948 van Eyck wrote that "the old struggle between imagination and common sense ended tragically in favor of the latter," suggesting that to live a safe and preordained existence, such as was promulgated by the older CIAM members, would be stifling to the potential future of a vital community situation. However, to simply cast off the bonds of history, hoping that a free path towards the future will bring salvation, will not create the expanded concept of metropolis that van Eyck craved; rather, he advocated a constructive fabric of old and new, with an eye towards the improvement of the essential human experience.

As if to confirm his ideas of origins, van Eyck embarked on three trips to Africa: one to the oases of the Algerian Sahara in March 1951, a further trip to the same area in Spring 1952, and one to French Sudan (now Mali) in the early spring of 1960; and one to New Mexico and Arizona in December 1961—each attempting to discover some structural truths lurking within cultures that were geographically and/or intellectually remote from Europe.[96] For van Eyck, the delight and surprise in discovering the unknown

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[96] This was a moment when an interest in "marginal cultures" was quite common. I do not wish to chastise van Eyck for his lack of originality, but rather to consider his own anthropological investigations in the context of their impact on Team 10/New Brutalist discourse, given that, at this early stage, he was the most intrepid traveler of the group. African travel was nearly a convention of the French left (see the discussion of Marcel Griaule below), and even as regards the American Southwest, the celebrated case of Aby Warburg—undertaken for similar reasons as van Eyck but with divergent results—is certainly a precursor to the cases cited herein. See Aby M. Warburg, *Images from the*

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or the unfamiliar came not through actual empirical research, but through the process of imagination.[97]

The imagination, in van Eyck's formulation, is something not entirely unconnected from the physical world, but rather functions from within the world; embedded in the collective consciousness, the imagination serves as a fertile and experimental ground for change, a transformation that found its apotheosis in the twenty-eight-year-old van Eyck's prescient words at CIAM 6 at Bridgwater in 1947. There van Eyck declared that "(i)magination remains the only common denominator of man and nature, the only faculty capable of registering spiritual transformation simultaneously, and thus of significant prophecy. It is the prime detector of change." The underlying belief was that CIAM, at this point, had exhausted its dream of a functional and rationalist future, the experimental stage of which had occurred from 1928–1938; the war and its aftermath effectively called into the question the efficacy of its products and ideals and begged for a revisionist approach.

So does the imagination come to be substituted for cold, hard reality, and the dream of some primitive spirit, alive in remote regions, becomes the object of van Eyck's quest. During his first African voyage and continuing into the second, van Eyck

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Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America, trans. and with an essay by Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), and Kurt W. Forster, "Aby Warburg: His Study of Ritual and Art on Two Continents," *October* 77 (Summer 1996): 5–24.

[97] By mid-century, cultural anthropology typically followed either of two forms: the universalism inherent in structural anthropology, embodied in the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss; and the type of study that seeks to find primitive origins through explorations of "primitive" cultures, of which Sir James Frazer (author of *The Golden Bough*) and later Mircea Eliade are exemplars. Van Eyck largely adhered to the latter school, without explicit declaration of any awareness or allegiance to either.

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attempted to refine his formula for the spiritual transformation of European architecture. He began by appropriating a peculiar sociological aspect of the Saharan Dogon people such as was interpreted by Fritz Morgenthaler, the German anthropologist who had arranged for van Eyck's visit. Morgenthaler came to the conclusion that the Dogon forego the emotions of hoping and longing, collapsing individual identities into an enduring societal structure that values the moment only insofar as it bears upon contingent experience.[98] Using this cognitive model as a constructive paradigm Van Eyck began to reformulate his own thoughts surrounding relativity that recur in his writings on architecture.

If the imagination is to be the site of man's salvation with regard to his fellow man, then it must be agreed that, as with the unconscious, this cognitive space lacks any sense of temporality that might correlate with that of the empirically motivated mind. This aspect of time that occupied van Eyck comes directly from his particular interpretation of Einstein's theory of relativity that seeks to transform the spatio-temporal construction of humankind's lived experience into a non-hierarchical and changeable

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[98] While it may be possible that the Dogon generally prefer immediacy over prolonged projections of future events, it seems an unlikely and limited conclusion to say that the Dogon culture exhibits no contemplative future. In fact, the presence of guardian elders as a source of family identity and the existence of an identity-defining soul within Dogon cosmology are just two examples of the ways in which Morgenthaler's reductive claims might be challenged. For a more nuanced and generous reading of identity expressed through architectural form in an African community (one with many affinities to the Dogon), see Susan Preston Blier, *The Anatomy of Architecture: Ontology and Metaphor in Batammaliba Architectural Expression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). A more poststructural and heavily theoretical discussion of some similar issues (albeit from a less anthropological and more sociological viewpoint) can be found in Masudi Alabi Fassassi, *L'Architecture en Afrique Noire: Cosmoarchitecture* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997).

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order.[99] By refusing to privilege one society or community over another, whether on a local or a global level, and by doing so in the name of some governing principle whose applicability is a function of its universality, we can begin to understand van Eyck's interest in the ethnographic not as a solution to a sort of European guilt, but as an opportunity to test the strengths of his convictions, to find order and principles in the interstices of global culture; armed with an understanding of his intentions, one can begin to explore the power and promise of his ethnographic efforts.

A startling and simple act of substitution lies at the heart of van Eyck's ethnographic ethos, one that transfigures and subverts the traditional spatiotemporal beliefs of modernism into a more plastic and experiential variation; he wrote "I arrived at the conclusion that whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more, for space in the image of man is place and time in the image of man is occasion."[100] By merely substituting words for "space" and for "time" van Eyck is able to alter fundamentally the lens through which we perceive the world that exists in and around our architecture. No longer is emphasis loaded onto abstract and difficult constructs that challenge a normative understanding of manmade structures but is instead given an immediately comprehensible and axiomatic grounding in the sensorial experience of built environments. Trying to break free of Eurocentric values of space and time, van Eyck wrote:

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[99] Francis Strauven, "The Dutch Contribution: Bakema and van Eyck." *Rassegna* 52/4: December 1992, p. 49

[100] Aldo van Eyck, "The Medicine of Reciprocity Tentatively Illustrated," *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961): 237. This phrase was uttered in the context of the Amsterdam Orphanage.

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> I dislike a sentimental antiquarian attitude towards the past as much as I dislike a sentimental technocratic one towards the future. Both are founded on a static clockwork notion of time (what antiquarians and technocratics have in common). So let's start with the past for a change and discover the unchanging condition of man in the light of change—i.e. in the light of the changing condition he himself brought about. If the lasting validity of man's past environmental experience (the contemporaneousness of the past) is acknowledged, the paralyzing conflicts between past, present, and future; between old notions of space, form, construction, and new ones; between hand production and industrial production, will be mitigated.[101]

In light of the ideas promulgated in the preceding quote, it may be useful to compare the opening paragraphs of the articles on the Sahara **[fig. 4.14]** and the Pueblos **[fig. 4.15]** as initial forays into the realm of the ethnographic imaginary. The Saharan article begins as follows:

> Time has brought about very little changes, and present-day conditions probably differ very little from those existing at Ur, 5000 years ago. The same bricks made out of sandy clay and water are used; the same fierce sun, drying but also destroying these bricks, burns in the skies: as always, people build their houses with an inner court, they live in dark and mysterious interiors, seeking refuge from the heat of the sun and the cold of the desert night.[102]

The Pueblo article opens with these words:

> For 1500 years the Pueblo Indians have inhabited the American 'South West': an immeasurably semi-desert carved out by canyons and defined in space by strangely shaped mesas (table mountains). During this long period they were able to maintain themselves with unequaled perseverance as peace-loving farmers in an almost completely barren region—in spite of all influences and threats from outside, although these caused them to move again and again within the area.[103]

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[101] Aldo van Eyck, "Anna was, Livia is, Plurabelle's to be." *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 7: July 1967, n.p.
[102] Aldo van Eyck, "Bouwen in de Zuidelijke Oasen." *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 1 (1953): 28 (original translation); slightly altered but substantially similar translation in Charles Jencks and George Baird, eds., *Meaning in Architecture* (New York: G. Braziller, 1970), p.173.
[103] Aldo van Eyck, "The Pueblos." *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 3 (1962): 95.

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Each essay begins with an incantation of the historical frame through which we experience these two culturally remote people, and reads their existence through the geographical and material means by which they constitute their own existence. By drawing attention to the historical relativism that we bring to bear on any discussion of so-called "primitive cultures," van Eyck is able to promote more effectively each case study as examples of ahistorical models of existence, hermetic societies that have survived today directly as a result of their self-directed and sustained isolation, even if his observations owe as much to his own wish-fulfillment as they do to empirical fact. Finally, depicting these cultures as triumphant over adverse conditions suggests a certain enduring and enviable quality in each chosen model. Of course, here the notion of continuity becomes problematic, as the implication of these societies' immutable natures must be understood—to a great extent—as the fulfillment of van Eyck's desire to find eternal values rather than as historical certainty. But it is this myth of *interiority* that sustains the myth of *purity* so crucial to his project, and as such, we must accept this conceit in order to follow van Eyck's challenge to a fixed notion of identity.

Although his later projects lie closer to the Team 10 ethos, van Eyck's journeys of the 1950s betray something of Le Corbusier's own special type of anthropology, for instance the Plan Obus (1930)—conceived from a plane above Algiers **[fig. 4.16]**. The extent of Le Corbusier's experience with the Algerian people was minimal to the point of absurdity; his fetishization of the Orient has been expertly dissected by Mary McLeod

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and later Zeynep Çelik.[104] Corbusier, having early on experienced the exoticized East (and memorialized in his memoir of that youthful excursion in *Journey to the East*),[105] had a great deal of respect for vernacular traditions (again in evidence throughout *Journey to the East* and the lasting impression that the Mediterranean whitewashed buildings had on his participation in the development of the so-called International Style). However, he was, in his function as town planner for Algiers, still wed to the idea of *la grande France*[106] and thus acted and designed according to earlier colonial planning traditions of Marshal Hubert Lyautey and his architect Henri Prost.[107] Thus the ultimate goal of the Plan Obus was to facilitate colonial control and political power, adhering to an agenda of heightened hygiene in order to conform to contemporary French standards of the same.

In the case of van Eyck, one must question the validity of an enterprise that departs so radically from the general Team 10 tendency, and that rejects such totalizing discourses (e.g. Corbusier in Algiers) in favor of more flexible alternatives. Moreover, van Eyck's basic premise cannot pass without interrogation. Van Eyck heads to the Sahara in order to discover a universal truth that (if it is indeed unchanging) is already and always present in the modern West. So, why go to the Sahara? Did he require some

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[104] See Mary McLeod, "Le Corbusier and Algiers," *Oppositions* 19–20 (Winter 1980): 55–85, and Zeynep Çelik, "Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism," *Assemblage* 17 (1992): 59–77

[105] Le Corbusier, *Journey to the East*, trans. Ivan Zaknic with Nicole Pertuiset (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987).

[106] Çelik, ibid., p. 66

[107] The politics of French Urbanism in Northern Africa is most comprehensively described in Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Urban Design*, ibid., especially with a critical eye towards the sublimation of local traditions into a unified, "frenchified" aesthetic.

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distance from the burden of European intellectual culture? Is the assumption that by removing himself from what is already "known," he would increase the potential of discovery? If either of these aforementioned inferences were true, the question might be whether a Saharan remoteness from Europe is not already more of a construct of Western knowledge than a truth. It is hard not to imagine that van Eyck, like Corbusier before him, undertook his journey as one of wish-fulfillment. In other words, he hoped to find what he already knew would be there.[108]

Van Eyck's research was directed towards the domicile, and in central Africa he found a model that threw into question all Western suppositions about what constituted a habitat. Through the work of the anthropologist Fritz Morgenthaler, van Eyck gained an appreciation of the Dogon people's nonlinear sense of "home"—one that denies the singularity of Western notions of the same, at least in the descriptions offered by Morgenthaler. In a companion article to that of van Eyck, he explained the different conception of the domicile as existed among the Dogon.[109] Having encountered a Dogon friend in the village that he was studying, Morgenthaler eagerly accepted the man's offer

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[108] As Stanislaus von Moos writes, "He (Le Corbusier) seems to have found in Algiers what he had looked for in his youth in Constantinople and Athens: the white city under the sun, facing the sea." See Stanislaus von Moos, "Urbanism and Transcultural Exchanges, 1910–1935: A Survey," in H. Allen Brooks, ed., *Le Corbusier* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 226. There is something compelling about the search for origins that has captured the mind of many great architects: witness the allure of the Prix de Rome and the Grand Tour, long necessary for a well-rounded architectural education. Van Eyck was equally susceptible to that same seduction, although for him, the heart of man's origins lay in the untouched roots of man's "forebears" in sub-Saharan Africa. As with Corbusier, the limits of the Western world seemingly had been reached, and to expand our understanding of how man functions in his environment, and with the world, one needed to depart from the known quantities of Europe and discover these origins anew, even if this endeavor's only yield was an affirmation of the fundamental "sameness" of the human race.

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to show him his newly completed house. Following a circuitous route around the village, encompassing the houses of various family members, a village dance ceremony, a rocky precipice looming above the village, and a series of whitewashed altars, Morgenthaler and his friend find themselves back at the very point at which the journey began, at which point, upon asking when they were finally going to see the new house, the friend stated that, of course, they had just finished doing so **[fig. 4.17]**. It is then that the anthropologist understands the unique definition of home as denoting the people and traditions involved in a complicated social matrix that constitutes the sense of habitat so elusive to Western cultures.[110]

From this new formulation of the domicile van Eyck appropriates that which he calls "place-affinity," or the continuously evolving notion of one's environment through the vicissitudes of one's unfolding existence. But he would have us extend that place-affinity into the very substance of the community, giving agency to the public which, through its collective beliefs, perpetuates the linkage between house, city, culture, and individuals; as van Eyck writes: "In order to be at home in the universe, man tends to

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[109] The article is published alongside van Eyck's in Jencks, ibid., pp. 194–208

[110] The Dogon word for this extended home, *ginna*, is taken from the words *ginu* (meaning house, specifically the dwelling unit) and *na* (meaning alternately large, ancient, principal, or mother). Taken together, the word functions like the French word *maison*, as in its usage in the fashion industry: *Maison de Givenchy*. Here, "House of Givenchy" includes not just the actual building where the designer's offices reside, but the whole infrastructure and extended properties of the fashion label itself. A similarly expansive connotation can be applied to the Dogon *ginna*. See Jean-Christophe Huet, *Villages Perchés des Dogon du Mali: habitat, espace et société* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan: 1994), p. 127. Put another way, *ginna* can be understood as the word for both a minor lineage and the house or compound of the head of that lineage. See Paul J. Lane, "The Temporal Structuring of Settlement Space Among the Dogon of Mali: An Ethnoarchaeological Study" in Michael Pearson and Colin Richards eds., *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 205.

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refashion it in his own image, accommodate it to his own dimension. Constructed enclosure was hitherto seldom sufficient. There was always the limitless exterior beyond—the incomprehensible, intangible, and unpredictable. . . . So his cities, villages, and houses—even his baskets—were persuaded by means of symbolic form and complex ritual to contain within their measurable confines that which exists beyond and is immeasurable: to represent it symbolically."[111]

According to van Eyck, the duality of interior/exterior must be broached by a commitment to human value as it thrives in a built environment so that the smallest unit of society be seen as a building block, the accretion of which constitutes the whole; the inhabitants then must reserve the crucial task of building for themselves so as to achieve the minimum of comfort, that of living with and among oneself. In doing so, the reciprocity essential to the maintaining of a dichotomous experience of everyday life—van Eyck's "twinphenomena"—is salvaged. The duality here is house/body, one that is reified through the elaborate rituals entailed in the erection of dwellings. The Dogon envision the house in human terms: the hearth is the respiratory system, the kitchen proper is the head; the entrance is the vulva, while the entire footprint of the dwelling takes the shape of a woman lying on her side in the act of procreating. This anthropomorphic image is writ large in the plan of the village itself, also in the form of a prostrate man. From within this *mise-en-abime* emerges the constant renewal of the Dogon society through a cycle reminiscent of that of birth and death. By literally inscribing the body into the proportions of the house and village, each of the two becomes a vital creature to be nourished and sustained. Again, as stated earlier, the

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[111] Van Eyck, "Bouwen in de Zuidelijke Oasen," ibid., p. 183

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Dogon paradigm is a fascinating one, yet becomes problematic when applied to a Western context, given the radically divergent histories between Africa and Europe, for example. Van Eyck may or may not have been aware of this, but for his purposes, the model was a constructive one. The intimate relationship between inhabitant, dwelling, and community was precisely the register of engagement that New Brutalism/Team 10 wished to achieve in European cities. If an inhabitant can have a corporeal relationship to his/her own home and extend that to the community-at-large, the process of urban re-identification is on its way to completion.

In his later travels to the Pueblo colonies in the southwestern United States, van Eyck was able to extend his idea of "home" to include the landscape, suggesting a continuous bond between site, culture, and built form. Whereas the Dogon constructed their communities around the relative isolation of their geographical position, he sees the Pueblos as having formulated their sense of habitat around the unique geological landscape that comprises the mesas of Arizona and New Mexico. Building directly into the sheer rock faces and the cavities formed by years of slow erosion, the historical Pueblos of Mesa Verde in Colorado find their cultural epiphany through the close relationship between the community's needs and the potential for exploiting a less-than-ideal topographical situation. Beauty thus derives from the relationship between discrete dwelling units and the infrastructure of the mesa, turning the adversity of an inflexible terrain to their advantage in using the sheer face of the rock as a windscreen and a natural barrier against intrusions of all kinds.

The concept of the vernacular, then, becomes conflated with other issues of truth to materials, of an essential purity of building technique that refuses certain historicizing

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tendencies in favor of a more universalized and inclusive experience. In Mesa Verde, as in a similarly conceived settlement called Split, the individuality of the separate dwellings is subordinated to the organizing principle of the canyon wall **[fig. 4.18]**; the resulting unity is opposed to the modern planned town which, because of its alienation from any sort of overarching guiding principle, appears chaotic despite its carefully conceived homogeneity.[112] Making a connection to what he calls his "companion study" of the Dogon, van Eyck once again invokes the image of man as a unifying matrix for the Pueblos, in relation to their elaborate house-building rituals. Like the Dogon, the Pueblos would outline the plan of the house, marking the lines of the walls on the ground. Scattering crumbs along the periphery, and later on the rafters above the completed structure, the house—like a human being—is fed in order to guarantee its well being.

While van Eyck's writings are central to his practice of transforming theoretical concepts into workable solutions, their reification in architecture is the true test of their applicability to the perceived needs of society. Van Eyck himself is careful to draw our attention to the practical side of things when he writes of the ideal method for arriving at a consensus in the quest for architectural "truth": "We are seeking the ideal habitat for each particular place at this particular moment, uncompromised by existing arbitrary laws and restrictions, in (an) attempt to reach a moment of truth. In the preparation of their projects, groups should use whatever methods they consider necessary to arrive at a solution, for example: collaboration with engineers, anthropologists, and specialists of all

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[112] See the article by van Eyck's close collaborator and Forum co-editor, Herman Hertzberger, entitled "Flexibility and Polyvalency," *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 3 (1962): 115. Van Eyck calls this particular affliction of the planned new town "heterogeneous monotony." Van Eyck, 1962, ibid., p.82

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kinds. But it must be emphasized that we are only interested in the outcome of the collaboration—architecture, not in diagrams of relationships or analytical studies. We are working as architects and at this Congress for Architects."[113]

Van Eyck invokes one of the originary inspirations for his ethnographic curiosity, namely the studies among the Dogon by Marcel Griaule in the early 1930s, published in the journal *Minotaure* **[fig. 4.19]**. In the introductory essay to the issue devoted to the Dogon, Griaule outlined the collaborative method of fieldwork as the most effective means to a fruitful mission:

by allocating particular tasks to specialists in certain areas, a richer outcome is guaranteed.[114] This process has earlier been posited as one of the key elements of New Brutalist/Team 10 practice.[115] Through collaboration, the human interaction that is at the

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[113] Van Eyck, 1959, ibid., n.p.

[114] "La Mission Dakar-Djibouti, si tant est qu'elle revienne avec une moisson scientifique de bon aloi acquise dans le minimum de temps avec le minimum de frais, a démontré que la meilleure formule à retenir dans l'exercice des sciences ethnographiques est celle de la division du travail, de l'étroite collaboration (The Dakar-Djibouti Mission, to the extent that it reaped a scientific harvest of great value acquired in a minimum of time with a minimum cost, demonstrated that the best formula for maintaining the scientific exercise is that of the division of labor, and of the tight interior collaboration of a large, disciplined team, of which each member in having a great understanding of his responsibility, knows that without the others, he is but a cog in the machinery). "Marcel Griaule, "Introduction Méthodologique." *Minotaure: revue artistique et littéraire* 2 (June 1933): 7. Here we see that the collaborative process is shown to have a certain legacy within the avant-garde, quite counter to the widely held perception of the avant-garde as operating either independently or in a vacuum.

[115] Here I refer to the sociological project of Mass-Observation, among others. Specific Team 10 examples are to be found in the Smithsons' collaboration (in the Independent Group and in their CIAM 9 contribution), with Nigel and Judith Henderson, a photographer and sociologist, respectively. See Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Structuring*, ibid., pp. 22–8; see also Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light*, ibid., passim.

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center of inquiry mirrors the anthropologist's method as carried out by a group dependent on each others' strengths for a positive and constructive result.

Often the architectural results of van Eyck's ethnographic research are suggested to have begun with the Amsterdam Orphanage of 1957–60 (discussed in Chapter II). In fact, his participation in an earlier project both predates and presages the Orphanage by about six years. An urban scheme for the Dutch village of Nagele by the Dutch CIAM group *De 8 en Opbouw*, including van Eyck as an early member, was initially worked on from 1947–49, abandoned after the CIAM meeting in Bergamo of 1949, and resumed in 1952.

In many ways the scheme reflects the dominant CIAM model of discrete separations of urban functions. However, there is a certain dynamism due to the stated desire of harmonizing man and nature via a wooded area that circumscribes the village (almost a greenbelt, after the Garden City plan), as well as a nascent sense of modularity that recurs in van Eyck's later projects—most notably in the orphanage. Most revealing is a paragraph that accompanies the publication of the project, the sentiments of which are undoubtedly van Eyck's:

> Life is movement, flow. Movement of the Past via the Present to the Future. It is the task of the artist to react upon the Past and mold the Future by acting in the Present. To understand the Present one must know the Past. Traditionalism implies coagulation of the flow of life and is therefore denounced. The Universal character of the architectural task is of greater importance than the limited individual conceptions of the architect and his principal.[116]

As we can see, this paragraph contains remnants of early CIAM thought, but departs from the words of Corbusier, Gropius, and Giedion by suggesting a glance

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backwards—again reminding us of the delicate balance between historical and modern forms so crucial to the Team 10/New Brutalist process of (urban) reidentification. Van Eyck here rejects nostalgia in its local versions in favor of a universalism that, despite its omniscience, must be made to function in a variety of local presents. The success of this model relies on a dynamic relationship among the constituents of urban form, from city to street to individual dwelling.

The Nagele plan obeys the orthogonals of the street organization, but remains unresolved at the periphery as if to indicate plans for prospective growth **[fig. 4.20]**; this device finds its way into the orphanage project as well, and seeks to avoid a sense of alienation between the structure and its inhabitants. In each case, the intent is to mitigate the "transition between the reality of outside and that inside."[117] Van Eyck is aware of borders and boundaries which, in the case of orphaned children, can become the source of trauma. But disorientation, for those less vulnerable, can serve as a productive tool for existence.

In plan, the heterogeneous building units of Nagele diverge centrifugally from the center of the town in radiating pinwheel fashion, recalling graphic works of International Constructivism (Lissitsky's *Wolkenbügel* (1925), for example, as well as Mies van der Rohe's plans for the brick country houses of 1923). In this respect, one should note that the publication in *Forum* 6/7, 1959 concludes with a manifesto from the Swiss painter Richard Lohse on what he calls the "Probleme der konkreten Kunst (Problem of Concrete

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[116]"Scheme for the Village of Nagele (N. E. Polder former Zuidersee)," *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (1952): 172–86.
[117]Aldo van Eyck, quoted in Johan van de Beek, ed., *Aldo van Eyck: Projekten 1948–1961* (Groningen, J. van de Beek, 1985), p. 90

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Art)."[118] In the accompanying reproduction of one of Lohse's paintings **[fig. 4.21]**, we can see the vestiges of Mondrian, Malevich, and Lissitsky in the broken orthogonals and unresolved lines that point towards dimensions beyond the plane of the canvas. This sense of irresolution foreshadows both van Eyck's Orphanage (see Chapter II) and the larger Team 10 project of a flexibility of plan and program, and reaches back even to the open and synthetic nature of the Dogon domicile.

Western minds setting forth to find similarities between their own culture and new ones so remote from their country of origin often seek out precisely the elements in so-called "primitive" cultures that will effectively reify their beliefs of what qualities such cultures should exhibit. By suggesting an investigation of the lasting and immutable aspects of man's existence, van Eyck established the terms under which his own projects would take effect. And in believing that certain responses to environmental factors that he observed in his travels displayed enduring qualities, he nonetheless refused to suggest that a pure mimetic relationship with these "simpler" cultures will yield any sort of improvement over current conditions. Instead, van Eyck's provocative system of twinphenomena—and the productive irresolution that sustains them—relied on the productive result of antinomies.

As we have seen, van Eyck believed that the chronicle of man's history traces a collective understanding of his existence, and that it is only through such a synthesis that a meaningful present can be established. The reciprocity between lived experience and future needs is most effectively achieved through a close kinship of habitat and inhabitant, whether it be through active participation in the building process or through an

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[118] *Forum* 6/7 (1952), ibid., p.186.

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intimacy fostered by the habitat itself.[119] Van Eyck's peculiar non-hierarchical view of historical forms allows for the inclusion of many disparate elements into the built fabric and the resulting juxtapositions, dissonances and all, are precisely the effect that he sought to achieve. Thus the "house" of the Dogon in its non-linearity finds its Western apotheosis in the unexpected autonomy of structures with relation to the site at either Nagele or the Amsterdam orphanage. Human imagination, nourished by an experience of the world left untrammeled, points the way towards a new conception of space, time, and architecture.

While few architects went to the lengths that van Eyck did while searching for evidence of man's originary dwelling, the ideas that underscored his various ethnographic travels were certainly ones that were in circulation throughout the architectural avant-garde during he 1950s, and they certainly comprised a major element of the Team 10/New Brutalist ethos from its very inception. Let us consider Vladimir Bodiansky who, at the 1952 CIAM meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden (near Stockholm), presented a paper first prepared for the United Nations Economic and Social Council Housing Sub-Committee (Building Research Organizing Committee). Entitled "Housing for the Greater Number," this treatise reiterated the fact that an unusual number of rural people were making their

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[119]In this sense, van Eyck predates the ideas of Hassan Fathy, whose *Architecture for the Poor*, ibid., is an important treatise on the use of traditional techniques and local building traditions as a means of fostering a greater sympathetic relationship between a village and its inhabitants. Fathy ultimately was forced to accept a number of commissions for private homes, a series of decisions that affected his reputation in the field of urbanism. However, Fathy's notion of architecture as the expression of a culture rather than of an individual form-giver is anticipated in the writings of van Eyck discussed in the present essay.

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way into the cities, and that this was true not only of quickly industrialized areas, but of all regions in which such migrations might have been found surprising.

As one of the members of ATBAT-Afrique (see Chapter II), Bodiansky's paper understandably focused on Morocco.[120] In it, he tacitly remarks upon the Eurocentrism of CIAM, when he writes: "Alone or nearly alone, the C.I.A.M. members interessed [sic] and present at the Congress have had the privilege of benefiting of the researches and experiences of their comrades. However, it would be doubtless highly interesting to widen the circle of those researches and give them a diffusion in relation with the importance and urgency of the problem."[121]

The suggestion here once again focuses on the myopia prevalent in CIAM discourse up to the end of World War II, and the need to address the concerns of a larger scope of society beyond the narrow purview up to that point. Bodiansky continues by relating the conditions under which the rush towards urbanization began to take hold in areas such as Morocco:

> The rapid industrialization of Morocco has promoted a rush of peasantry to the towns and the ports. This phenomenon undergoes a particular increase during years of drought or bad harvest. The peasants and shepherds arriving in the towns to earn their living during the months of hardship do not all go back to the village. This new population, after having overflooded the old native districts, settles around the cities in 'shanty-towns' availing themselves of what place and material they find.[122]

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[120]For more on ATBAT-Afrique's activities in Northern Africa and their impact on Team 10 discourse, see Chapter II.

[121] Vladimir Bodiansky, "Housing for the Greater Number," United Nations Economic and Social Council/Economic Commission for Europe/Housing Sub-Committee/Building Research Organizing Committee (1952), p. 1 (BAKE 0058/a12). This talk was given in order to call attention to the ATBAT projects in Morocco, the same ones presented the following year at the Aix conference.

[122] Ibid., p.2

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There are several issues at play here that neatly summarize the issues explored in this final chapter. First, the simple fact that the city represents a refuge from the vagaries of rural life. New arrivals to the city have been convinced (or have convinced *themselves*) that modernization is comforting because it is secure, consistent, and promising (with an eye towards the future). To be more precise, it *must* be a comfort to them, for they have forsaken their native environment for that of the city, and its explicit promise of a livelihood made possible through technological development and the attendant increase of capital.

Second, the idea of "shanty-towns" being constructed in marginalized areas of the city, and out of discarded or otherwise refused materials, may seem like a pejorative account of the conditions, but it is a fact. Bodiansky confirms, that the hygiene of these areas, "thanks to sun and fresh air are healthier than the old over-peopled suburbs." So there is something about the pride resulting from the construction of ones' habitat that is of benefit to anyone willing to make the effort. Again, Bodiansky is speaking from a remove, choosing not to acknowledge the stifling conditions that prevailed in the shanty-towns of Morocco.[123]

The point that Bodiansky is trying to make, however, is to implicitly condemn an impulsive embrace of techno-functionalism at the peril of a loss of local culture, values, and habits, which, perhaps left on their own—or better yet, embellished but not smothered by a reasonable implementation of advanced industrial techniques and/or

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[123] For a description of the types of violence and conflict that can erupt in these marginalized urban areas (although in Brazil, not Northern Africa), see George Yúdice, "Performing Citizenship: Viva Rio Counters Urban Violence." *TRANS>arts.cultures.media* 5 (1998):16–27.

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materials—might be able to flourish in ways that rational functionalism simply might not be able to imagine.

A final, more public, example of the way in which a critique of functionalism manifested itself in the pages of the popular architectural press. *Architectural Design*, the renegade and alternative architecture magazine in England, begun in 1947 by Monica Pigeon and B. C. Randall, featured a much broader consciousness than did *AR*. It was in the pages of *AD* that the ethics and aesthetics of New Brutalism finally found a voice, and it was there that the Smithsons' original manifesto of January 1955 appeared. As an example of *AD*'s commitment to enlarging the horizons of its engaged readership (and especially as a reaction to *AR*'s sentimentality for both a functionalist as well as a picturesque history), we might look at a series of six articles, beginning in January 1953, contributed to *AD* by E. A. Gutkind **[fig. 4.22]**.[124] In these, he looks from both an anthropological as well as a formalist viewpoint at the cultural, climatological, and practical reasons behind various housing traditions.[125]

Gutkind states that the reason behind his articles is "the appalling lack of social awareness, and the consequent neglect of social considerations in housing the millions of people who are in need of new homes." He continues:

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[124] Ironically, Gutkind was an architect of housing in Germany during the 1920s, as well as the author of *The Expanding Environment*, an example of anti-urbanism along the lines of Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford.

[125] The cultures investigated are (in order of appearance) The South Seas (Jan 1953), Japan (February 1953), China (March 1953), Africa (May 1953), "Mohammedan Houses" (or Islamic dwellings, including Algeria, Tunisia, Damascus, and Syria) (June 1953), and North American Indians (July 1953). All appear in *Architectural Design* 23 (1953).

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> The building of houses of primitive and past societies is an integral part of the social and spiritual life of the people, of the group and of the environmental experience. . . We have lost the high sense of social awareness which distinguishes these societies, and we fail to express in most of our dwellings, in their layout and in their architectural composition, those values which bind people together in a spirit of community. . . We should try to understand why these buildings of other people excel in functional and religious aspirations, and how this has been achieved. We must not attempt to copy them or even imitate some of their structural details. But we should be aware of the fact that only differences of degree and not of principle are barriers between people. This will help us to make up for the failure of the past century by blending the practical with the social demands in accordance with the particular social structure of the societies which will receive assistance from UNO under the Point Four Programme.[126]

This issue of engagement between culture, environment, history, and community is the vital source at the heart of the critique of functionalism in the 1950s. But the conditions of modernism at that time were such that, paradoxically, a dismissal of functionalism did not necessarily preclude an embrace of technology, even if that technology had been conceived to increase the functionality of everyday life. This is the condition of the contemporary vernacular that occupied the Independent Group, with ties directly to the Smithsons' antifunctionalist stance. The IG spent a great deal of time refuting the high-modernist claims of Sir Herbert Read, the director of the Institute for Contemporary Art in London under whose auspices the IG held their meetings. For the members of the IG, the productions of mass culture held more significance than did the rarefied results of the fine arts. This wasn't at all to reduce the terms of any aesthetic discussions to a lowest common denominator, but rather the opposite. Lawrence Alloway reminisced in 1966:

> [Independent Group members] had in common a vernacular culture that persisted beyond any special interest or skills in art, architecture, design, or art criticism . . .

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[126] *Architectural Design* 23, no. 1 (January 1953): 2.

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> We felt none of the dislike of commercial culture standards amongst most intellectuals, but accepted it as fact, discussed it in detail, and consumed it enthusiastically. One result of our discussion was to take Pop culture out of the realm of 'escapism,' 'sheer entertainment,' 'relaxation,' and to treat it with the seriousness of art.[127]

As we saw in Chapter III in the U.S. context, the encroachment of mass production, rather than becoming a threat to the autonomy of individual identity structures, could be adapted and synthesized with "vernacular culture" to allow for individual responsiveness to the effects of technology. Such responses might be functional *or* poetic, as in the Smithsons' claim that "Brutalism tries to face up to a mass production society, and drag a rough poetry out of the confused and powerful forces which are at work."[128] The Smithsons and their extended circle, through the elaboration of New Brutalism's multifaceted program, were not interested simply in rejecting the products of technological progress. They sought instead to find the most honest and forthright engagement with technology, such that its effects on society were implemented at a manageable, human pace, and with a level of compassion and artisanal skill that made their appearance seem as natural as the sun rising on the dawn of a new day.

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[127] Lawrence Alloway, "The Development of British Pop," in Lucy Lippard, ed., *Pop Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966; revised 1974), pp. 31–2

[128] Alison and Peter Smithson, "Thoughts in Progress," *Architectural Design* (April 1957): 113.

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CONCLUSION IN THE FORM OF AN EPILOGUE: THE NEW BRUTALIST FATE

As has been shown, the ideas that comprised New Brutalism are indivisible from the concomitant projects resulting from discussions and action within a number of related groups, not the least of which was Team 10. Moreover, although the Smithsons are the common bond between many of these groups, the belief that New Brutalism begins and ends with them is difficult to maintain. Rather, they can be seen as having been the dynamic center of a generous and vast field of inquiry occurring in the aftermath of World War II, an inquiry into the nature of, and possibility for, a renewed sense of community and belonging thought to have been lacking from the projects of the prewar architectural culture.

Very few of the Smithsons' projects undertaken during the 1950s were ever built, but some (namely the Golden Lane competition entry of 1952 and the Haupstadt Berlin plan of 1958 **[fig. C.1]**) were immensely influential despite the fact that they never were

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brought to fruition.[1] If all of their intellectual and experimental efforts can be said to have had a productive result, one would have to look at the Robin Hood Gardens of 1966–72, mentioned earlier but not yet discussed. These tower-blocks represent the apotheosis of the Golden Lane scheme, but from the perspective of history, they ultimately seem to be less visionary than initially envisioned.

Robin Hood Gardens maps the structural unit of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation onto an urban matrix, less as a radical intervention of the city than as a shaper or definer of urban space **[fig. C.2]**. The complex is comprised of two arm-shaped buildings, crooked at the elbows, facing each other akimbo across an expansive grassy knoll. Like the Unité, the façades facing the central garden are color-keyed to signify each level's different function: garage, garden level, and the separate apartment decks.

The two hillocks in the garden serve as a respite from the unalleviated industrial landscape that surrounds the complex, simultaneously shielding the buildings from the outside world and creating an inner sanctum for leisure and play. As with most urban parks, however, the illusion of Elysium is quickly dispelled by the backdrop of the hulking housing blocks. Two pictures accompanying the building's first major publication in 1972 show children playing on each of the two mounds **[figs. C.3, C.4]**; in the first, they are seen climbing the main hill while facing away from the camera, the building just barely visible beyond the crest. The second shows the same children running

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[1] Helena Webster's book, entitled *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of Alison and Peter Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997) and as of the present the only monograph on the Smithsons, fails to discuss any of the lesser-known projects from the 1950s, and mentions them only in the book's concluding chronology. Were it not for her access to the Smithsons' archives, most of these projects would remain completely undiscovered. The book, despite its sporadic documentary value, is hardly comprehensive, is marred by a polemic voice weighed far too heavily in favor of the

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down the second hill, the Western block fully visible in the background. While the first image effectively convinces the viewer that the green space is commodious enough to evoke a sense of escape, one cannot help reading the second image as one of terrified flight from the unrestrained brutality of the Smithsons' structure.

Ten years later in 1983, Richard Thompson, one of the great ironists of contemporary English folk rock, released an album with his wife Linda entitled *Richard and Linda Thompson's Sunnyvista,* whose cover reimagined a stereotypically New Brutalist housing estate as a place of leisure and rest. The cover shows a smiling, blond family all in white, with the muted concrete tones of monotonous apartments looming darkly behind them **[figs. C.5]**. The album's rear cover features barren photos of the playground and its sullen, grimy, yellow swingsets, with the caption, "Fully equipped leisure complex."

Despite this unfortunate imagery, the intention for Robin Hood Gardens was very much in keeping with New Brutalist/Team 10 principles. These are best illustrated in the preface to the "Householders' Manual," published alongside the 1972 article on the complex:

> Although Robin Hood Gardens is of unusual design and has attracted much attention—it has, for example, been the subject of a television programme—only through the people that live here will it achieve any real life. For it is how the place is used that finally decides the quality of life that a family can live here—simple things like keeping the public ways clean and undamaged and the greens free of litter will help.
>
> You will notice that the design of the dwellings will cut down the noise from the busy area which surrounds the estate. The Greater London Council and its architects have been working on Robin Hood Gardens since 1963: its builders since 1968: it is now your turn to try and make it a place you will be proud to live in.[2]

Smithsons. One suspects that access to the Smithsons archive was granted only under the condition of the Smithsons' editorial approval and prerogative.

[2] "Robin Hood Gardens, London E14," *Architectural Design* 42 (September 1972): 570

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The first major publication after their completion, in *Architectural Design* (September 1972), was accompanied by a commentary by the architect Peter Eisenman, republished the following year in an expanded form in the first issue of the journal *Oppositions*.[3] Appearing as it does in a new critical periodical, one whose intellectual agenda was (as its name suggests), located in contradistinction to prevailing systems of theoretical thought,[4] we must take Eisenman's decision to write his first piece for the new journal about his perception of the Smithsons' failure as a means of expressing his disappointment with their particular critique of modernism.

Eisenman's essay begins with a discussion of the Smithsons' relationship to the motor car, noting that at the time of the Golden Lane project, car ownership was sufficiently rarefied as to have convinced the Smithsons to foreground the pedestrian's experience of their tower blocks, conceiving an interconnected system of walkways as a means of creating community within the structures. The absence of horizontal connections of pedestrian decks at Robin Hood Garden, along with the provision of garages for each living unit, suggested to Eisenman an assumption that the presumed proletarian community of the complex were "expected to share the affluence and mobility of the middle class."[5] This line of inquiry is quickly abandoned for a far more formal

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[3] For the former article, see Peter Eisenman, introduction, ibid., pp. 557–8 and 588–92. For an expanded version, see Peter Eisenman, "From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens, or, if you follow the Yellow Brick Road, it may not lead to Golders Green," *Oppositions* 1 (September 1973): 27–56. The latter text includes passages that were omitted in the *AD* publication, in Eisenman's words "the result of an editorial abridgement that was little short of tendentious." See Eisenman, 1973, p. 27.

[4] On the historical legitimacy of the Oppositions project, see Joan Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde: The History and Program of *Oppositions*," in Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Architectureproduction* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), pp. 181–99.

[5] P. Eisenman, 1972, ibid., p. 558. The expanded version has Eisenman parsing the difficulties of association with Robin Hood Gardens, given the structure's confusion between the horizontal zone of the motor car (at ground level) and the upper level's

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evaluation of the structure, much to the chagrin of *AD*'s editors. Their foreword to Eisenman's introduction presents him as follows:

> Peter Eisenman, of the New York Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, where they apparently have time to think about 'architecture,' offers below a critique of the new [Robin Hood Gardens] housing scheme, written, as it were, from the vacuum of history. There is no hint of the practical and other constraints that must have determined much of the form of the architecture. The Smithsons' buildings are consigned, forthwith, to the mainstream of the modern movement; they are analysed as works of art in the heroic tradition.[6]

For the movement to have been reduced to mere works of art was the worst possible fate as far as the ethics of New Brutalism was concerned. But had Eisenman's full text been published, the analysis would have been more damning still, as the later text shows that Eisenman had sought to include Team 10 *as a whole* under his critique. Whether *AD*'s editors, who had long been sympathetic to both the Smithsons and Team 10, had used their editorial imperative to mollify Eisenman's harshness is difficult to say. As stated earlier, Eisenman was, in 1973, in the midst of his own critique of institutional modernism; his opinion of Team 10's revisionist modernism is harsh and swift:

> Team 10 came into existence partly as a reaction to the historicism of CIAM and the 'cultural obsolescence' of much of the existing mass housing. Team 10 was committed to a more aggressive concern for sociological and technological problems; to the 'understanding of the patterns, the aspirations, the artifacts, the roots, the modes of transportation and the communication of present day society.' [here Eisenman is quoting the Smithsons]. But further it was committed to develop an aesthetic appropriate to mechanized building. . . ' If there were such a radical difference between the polemic of 1928 and 1959, it may have been more in the minds of Team 10 than in the ideas conveyed by the words.[7]

Eisenman's words suffer from several prejudices: first in taking Team 10 as a monolithic entity; second, by assuming that the Smithsons' built work embodied Team

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pedestrian deck. Eisenman cannot seem to reconcile that there might be two distinct and therefore separate levels of association available through these two contrasting horizontal zones. See p. 36.

[6] Ibid., p. 557.

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10's architectural ideals; and third, by diminishing the ethical component in favor of the aesthetic one. Moreover, the invocation of technology and mechanization is likewise misdirected. If the Smithsons did insist, as Eisenman argues, that Team 10 sought "new forms which would project a genuine 20th century technological image of the dwelling,"[8] their intention was to fulfill the utopian prognostications of the prewar avant-garde through the instrumentalization of technological advances developed in the postwar decades, those unavailable to the earlier architectural avant-garde.

Eisenman's attention to Team 10's "technological" preoccupation is curious given the group's sociological agenda that the present study has attempted to foreground. Eisenman refers to a short essay in *Architectural Design* called "The Death of CIAM" and published just after the 1959 Otterlo congress. The article quotes a "manifesto" produced at the congress by the Smithsons in which they address the problems seen as the central ones (at the time) facing the architectural profession. Among others, they insisted that architecture "understand the possibilities of 'throw-away technology,' develop an aesthetic appropriate to [new] mechanized building techniques, and "overcome the cultural obsolescence of most mass housing by finding solutions which project a genuine 20th century technological image of the dwelling—comfortable, safe, and NOT FEUDAL."[9] Again, we hear the echoes of the Team 10 critique of prewar CIAM, and the battle cry for a new building strategy that uses technology as a tool rather than a paradigm. Thus Eisenman's critique, put forth by an unrepentant formalist, necessarily rejects all means of metaphor, metonymy, and other kinds of representation.

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[7] Eisenman, "From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens . . . ," ibid., p. 42.
[8] Ibid., p. 42.
[9] Alison and Peter Smithson, quoted in "The Death of CIAM," *Architectural Design* 10, vol. 29 (October 1959): A/5

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Had he been less myopic, Eisenman could have found contradictory evidence regarding the Smithsons' preoccupations in the late 1960s-early 1970s. It was at this moment that New Brutalism's weakness, at least from an aesthetic point of view, was signaled via the nearly concurrent appearance of the Smithsons' Economist Cluster in London **[figs. C.6]**, and, two years later, of Banham's *New Brutalism* book. The Economist Building, commissioned after a limited competition, was meant to house the editorial staff of the Economist newspaper, along with another building for the Economist Intelligence Unit, a research organization affiliated with the publication.

As the Smithsons soon realized, the difficulty was to fit the buildings into the eighteenth-century scale of St. James Street in central London. While I don't mean to suggest that such a lucrative contract may have diminished the Smithsons' avant-garde bona fides, the fact remains that with the Economist Cluster the Smithsons effectively shifted their emphasis away from the primary focus of Team 10/ New Brutalist thought—namely, the life of the individual in relation to the life of the community—towards more formal problems.[10] Nowhere is this more apparent than in the treatment of the surface façade, an exploration of which will bring us full circle to the problems that arose in the debate between New Brutalism as ethic and New Brutalism as aesthetic.

If we were to consider the New Brutalist aesthetic in its most hackneyed and reductive form, as stated in the introduction, we would find ourselves discussing a structure whose incorporation of *matières brutes* (as Corbusier would have it) resulted in

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[10] As noted in Chapter IV, the employment of New Picturesque apologist Gordon Cullen as draftsman for the Economist project further accentuates the fact that the Smithsons, by the mid-1960s, had largely lost their fighting spirit, perhaps in anticipation of easing into middle age with the promise of actual building projects.

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a façade celebrating the rough and raw treatment of its material. Looking at the Smithsons' oeuvre, the Economist Cluster is the first building that might even begin to fit the description, and this is one that was conceived a full decade after the New Brutalism's first invocation. The effect is achieved through the application of Portland Stone used for the columns and spandrels, and set within concrete frames **[figs. C.7]**. The plaza was likewise fully set with Portland Stone, a material that evokes the scabrous and craggy constitution of the most ill-treated concrete, but here treated as a precious marble, set in elegantly wrought panels amid vast expanses of fenestration, and facetiously affixed to the structure's vertical piers like the bronze I-beams of Mies's Seagram's Building of 1958.

The Economist Cluster is thus the best illustration of New Brutalism's eventual bastardization because of its privileging of an aesthetic over an ethical emphasis (as if to fulfil the eventual prophecy of Banham's book), in a manner akin to the conceits of Rudolph's Art and Architecture building. By 1965, both the Smithsons and Rudolph were far more concerned with formalist qualities than with any humanistic agenda, and this predilection is reflected in their respective buildings.[11]

A little-known diagram by the Smithsons made after the completion of the Economist Cluster exhibits their fundamental inability to rein in their ambitions, and by extension to recognize the merits of taking one step at a time. The illustration shows a photomontage of London with multiple Economist clusters arranged in strict geometry

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[11] Of course, as argued in Chapter III, the sociopolitical context in the U.S. was quite distinct from that of Europe, and so a comparison may not be entirely fair. But the near-contemporaneous appearance of these two major buildings by architects who had more than a passing familiarity with each others' work signals something more than simple coincidence—an exhaustion with the present state of architectural practice, perhaps, or else a strengthened economy.

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amid the city's existing buildings **[figs. C.8]**, reminiscent of nothing so much as Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin (1925, see **Fig. 1.5**)—one of the very projects that provoked the initial Team 10/New Brutalist critique of the prewar avant-garde.[12] Perhaps by this time the Smithsons had become sufficiently frustrated with their lack of built works and, given the largely positive reviews of the Economist Cluster, they felt emboldened to imagine it as a template guaranteeing endless future successes.[13]

Even Kenneth Frampton seems to have been convinced of the building's potential for replication: he began his analysis by writing that "the Economist development demands to be considered not only as a building in its own right but also as a demonstration of a general principle through which an appropriate urban environment might be realized."[14] But the ambition of such replication gives way to a feeling of empty and fatuous megalomania, not to mention the obvious contradiction to the basic Smithsonian principle of building with specific communities in mind rather than the blind imposition of a preordained system.[15]

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[12] In 1957, the Smithsons wrote of the Plan Voisin: "We still respond to this dream but we no longer believe in the means by which he [Le Corbusier] imagined it could be achieved. His city is a colossal, axially organized, chessboard. What *we* are after is something more complex, and less geometric. We are more concerned with 'flow' than with 'measure.'" Alison and Peter Smithson, "Cluster City: A New Shape for the Community," *Architectural Review* 122, no. 730 (November 1957): 333–6. El Lissitsky also featured his *Wolkenbugel* project in one proposal as occurring at a number of locations throughout a city.

[13] See, for example, Reyner Banham, "Crowther's Acropolis," *The New Statesman* 69, no. 1766 (15 January 1965): 83–4; Gordon Cullen, "The 'Economist' Buildings, St. James's," *Architectural Review* 137, no. 816 (February 1965): 115–24; Peter Blake, "The Establishment Rides Again!" *Architectural Forum* 122 no. 2 (May 1965): 11–18;

[14] Kenneth Frampton, "The Economist and the Haupstadt," *Architectural Design* 2, vol. 35 (February 1965): 61.

[15] Even in the aforementioned text entitled "Cluster City," which would seem to presage the Economist illustration, they are quite clear that such rigidity is intolerable: "The situation for the modern architect today is fundamentally the same [as in 1928], we are still functionalists and we still accept the responsibility for the community as a whole, but

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By the mid-1960s, dissent within the Team 10 ranks seems to have occurred with some frequency. Inter-group conflicts had been present since a preliminary meeting for CIAM 10 that was held in Le Corbusier's Paris apartment on 14 September 1954. Van Eyck wrote up a commentary after the meeting that requested a particular elucidation of Team 10's problems with CIAM, along with a statement aligning Team 10 with the historical trajectory of the European artistic avant-garde (in particular, with what he called Mondrian's "culture of determined relations.") His comments, although favorably received by the Smithsons, were ultimately omitted from future statements.[16] These types of squabbles did not go away. Take for example Giancarlo De Carlo, who in 1967 wrote an open letter to his cohorts, outlining his own disillusionment with the continuation of the Team 10 project:

> 1)complaints from invited younger architects about irrelevancy of ideas
> 2) desire for "good, medium, and bad architects" to participate
> 3) question of whether Team 10 should continue, and if so, why? Was it being perpetuated out of sentimentality between old friends, and were ideas outdated, lacking ideological component? ("it is important to face the meaning of our theoretical statements through the forms we are able to give them in our architectural production. At the same time it is important to face their ideological background: the moral, political, rational, utopian pattern from whome [sic] we derive both theoretical lines and architectural forms . . . To assess the reason of our being together implies now a confrontation of the whole system of our personal behavior from ideology, to theoretical lines, to forms.").[17]

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today the word functional does not merely mean mechanical, as it did thirty years ago. Our functionalism means accepting the realities of the situation, with all their contradictions and confusions, and trying to do something with them. In consequence we have to create an architecture and a town planning which—through built form—can make meaningful the change, the growth, the flow, the *vitality* of the community." Ibid., p. 333.

[16] For more on this early conflict, see Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, ibid., pp. 259–62.

[17] Letter to Team 10 members from G. de Carlo dated Paris, 25 February 1967. BAKE or104/Team 10 1961–71.

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An irate Aldo van Eyck replied shortly thereafter, underscoring the fierce intellectualism that exemplified Team 10 discourse:

> Let me therefor [sic], Giancarlo make it quite clear that we cannot accept this attitude. Ours is not a car-car-clan creeping after two or three wizards, but a group of *people*--architects for the most part--trying to get closer to the central issues appertaining to our field *in the most comprehensive way*.
>
> Our attitude must be *critical and inclusive*, never *intolerant and exclusive*. We must beware of frustrated egocentricity and of vicious brow beating [emphasis in original]."[18]

Earlier, in 1966, Peter Smithson encapsulated the ongoing frustration of the Team 10 group in a letter to Jaap Bakema just after the Team 10 meeting in Berlin (1966). There, Stephan Wewerka, a Polish architect and member of Team 10, had shown a housing project that had struck Smithson as a failure:

> [I] criticised [Wewerka's project] as being 'archaelogical' [sic] i.e. re-inventing the 19th-century street pattern, which I [Smithson] argued really had been compromised by the impact of the motor-car, by the noise/stress/danger/storage problems it entrains. . . Looking back to 1953 what has happened to Team X themes? 'patterns of association', 'disciplines of number', and so on? We have been unable to actually realize anything with them. . . It is obvious, for example that the Unité is no longer a valid formal crib (for its form resolution was arrived at before the mass parked-car, and indeed before mass housing itself was real), and we have to face the fact that neither are the 'visual groups' and 'deck houses' of all our own earlier studies. . . Since 1953 three new things have become perfectly normal: motor-car ownership, large unit industrialised building methods, and the proliferation (of) transistor radios and various sound-producing domestic appliances and equipment. In these three may be the missing startpoint for finding a livable, elegant solution to ordinary housing.[19]

This passage, part of which was quoted already in Chapter II, is startling for at least two reasons. First, that Smithson effectively condemns his own work from the 1950s, even as he finalized designs for the Robin Hood Gardens, an example of the type of now-invalidated "formal crib" that Smithson judged a failure. Second, that Smithson clearly has recognized at this point that the world had changed significantly in the past

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[18] Response to de Carlo from A. van Eyck (n.d.). BAKE or104/Team 10 1961-71

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decade, such that even Team 10's earlier critique of CIAM's functionalism was now out of date, and required reevaluation. While that earlier criticism had charged that CIAM's utopianism was based on allegorical allusions to a mere dream of a machine age, in 1966 Smithson realized that even his own, more "realistic" visions of a technological future were a bit presumptuous, and had to be reformulated to fit reality. This, then, is the perpetual paradox of the architectural avant-garde: The wish to take immediate advantage of new technologies, yet the inability to comprehend the full scope of those technologies until a period of experimentation has expired.

New Brutalism, in its extended form, was a belief that through marshaling the expertise of various practitioners in a multitude of fields, one could accelerate the learning curve. And with an introspection and humility vis-à-vis the vicissitudes of history, one could presume to speak directly to one's clients, engaging them in a dynamic relationship beyond the traditional hierarchical one. But the New Brutalists came to realize that history's pace is too rapid, its implications too vast, for any one person, or even a group, to be able to bring it into immediate focus. Few understood this as well as Sigfried Giedion, who sent a letter to Bakema in 1959 on non-CIAM stationery, in itself a significant symbolic gesture. In it, he stated that he would not be attending the Otterlo conference (the one at which the death of CIAM was declared, and which Giedion's letter eerily presaged). His words are a fitting epitaph, even if they appeared, as it were, *avant la lettre*:

> I was long enough connected with CIAM for never losing the interest in its future destiny. The CIAM as an 'avant-garde' institution as we all know lost its significance. There is and there cannot be an avant-garde. This time is over.[20]

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[19] Letter from Peter Smithson to J. Bakema, dated 27 July 1966. BAKE or104.

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ENDNOTE:

Even Reyner Banham, along with Alison and Peter Smithson a drafter of the New Brutalist mandate, eventually came to realize that his theoretical posturings in the 1950s had been little more than rhetorical. This is evidenced by an exchange that took place in 1986 between Vittorio Gregotti (editor of the Italian architectural journal *Casabella*), and Banham. Gregotti wrote:

> This letter concerns the forthcoming double issue on the theme of Le Corbusier's legacy which we are at present preparing. I am including a very preliminary table of contents with indicated [sic] some of the scopes. This should be useful for you to understand the direction of our ambitious [sic].
>
> We included your name without getting in touch with you, first because we are sincerely confident and hopeful that you will collaborate. The subject which for the time being we have chosen for you is *the response Team X and Brutalism gave to Le Corbusier:* their points of contact and disagreement, the generation gap, the reciprocal antagonism. . . .[21]

Banham responded two weeks later:

> I have examined my calendar and my immediate commitments, and have finally decided to decline your invitation to contribute to the Corbusier centenary. The topic you propose is an intriguing one--or, rather, *was* an intriguing one, but now seems extraordinarily remote . . . [22]

We should read Banham's reply not as one of disinterest, but as one that recognizes the historical relativism of the term. Even in 1986, twenty years after his book first appeared, Banham regarded the movement as a largely obsolete topic, one whose interest for him had been exhausted some time before. Indeed, an examination of his

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[20] Letter from S. Giedion to J. Bakema, dated Zürich, 29 Aug 1959.
[21] Letter from Vittorio Gregotti to Reyner Banham, dated Milano, 23 May 1986. In Banham Archives, Getty Research Institute, Archive #910009
Box 11/ assorted articles.
[22] Letter from Banham to Gregotti, dated 5 June 1986. In Banham Archives, Getty Research Institute, Archive #910009, Box 11/ assorted articles.

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extant papers[23] from the late 1960s on shows no significant mention of New Brutalism, and neither does the topic recur in any of his subsequent publications.[24]

New Brutalism, like the International Style before it, ended in a vulgarization of its originary principles. The theoretical aspect of New Brutalism, what I have chosen to call (following the originators' initial impulse) its *ethical* aspect, was based on convictions that lay close to the liberal tenets of the socially progressive postwar governments in England and the Netherlands, issues that address the human dimension of inhabitation, as opposed to those of the economic or political. The *aesthetic* aspects of the movement were easily assimilated by those who may or may not have shared in the New Brutalist ethos, leading to the confusion that prevails today, including its unwitting American practitioners.

I intend all of the aforementioned to illuminate some of the vagaries of this contested period in postwar architectural history. The impulse to call "brutalist" every looming concrete behemoth is certainly understandable; after all, it is an incredibly evocative word. But to impart to the reader an understanding of how New Brutalism meant (and means) so much more—its relative failures notwithstanding—has been my explicit desire.

---

[23] After a lengthy and vain search for Banham's early correspondence and notes, I was informed by Nigel Whiteley, author of a forthcoming intellectual biography of Banham, that they simply do not exist, neither in the Banham archive at the Getty Center for the Humanities nor amid the possessions of his widow, Mary Banham.

[24] Banham does briefly mention New Brutalism in the revised edition of his *Age of the Masters: A Personal View of Modern Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press, Ltd., 1962; rev. ed 1975). In a discussion of the Economist Cluster, Banham writes: "At the time the [Hunstanton] school was being finished [the Smithsons] enunciated their philosophy as 'The New Brutalism'—a phrase which scandalised the Establishment (ass it was meant to do) but enshrined a solid architectural morality to which students and younger architects turned for support not available elsewhere in the Fifties." (p. 115).

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ETHICS AND AESTHETICS: NEW BRUTALISM, TEAM 10, AND ARCHITECTURAL CHANGE IN THE 1950s

by

NOAH CHASIN

VOLUME II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

2002

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Reyner Banham

The New Brutalism

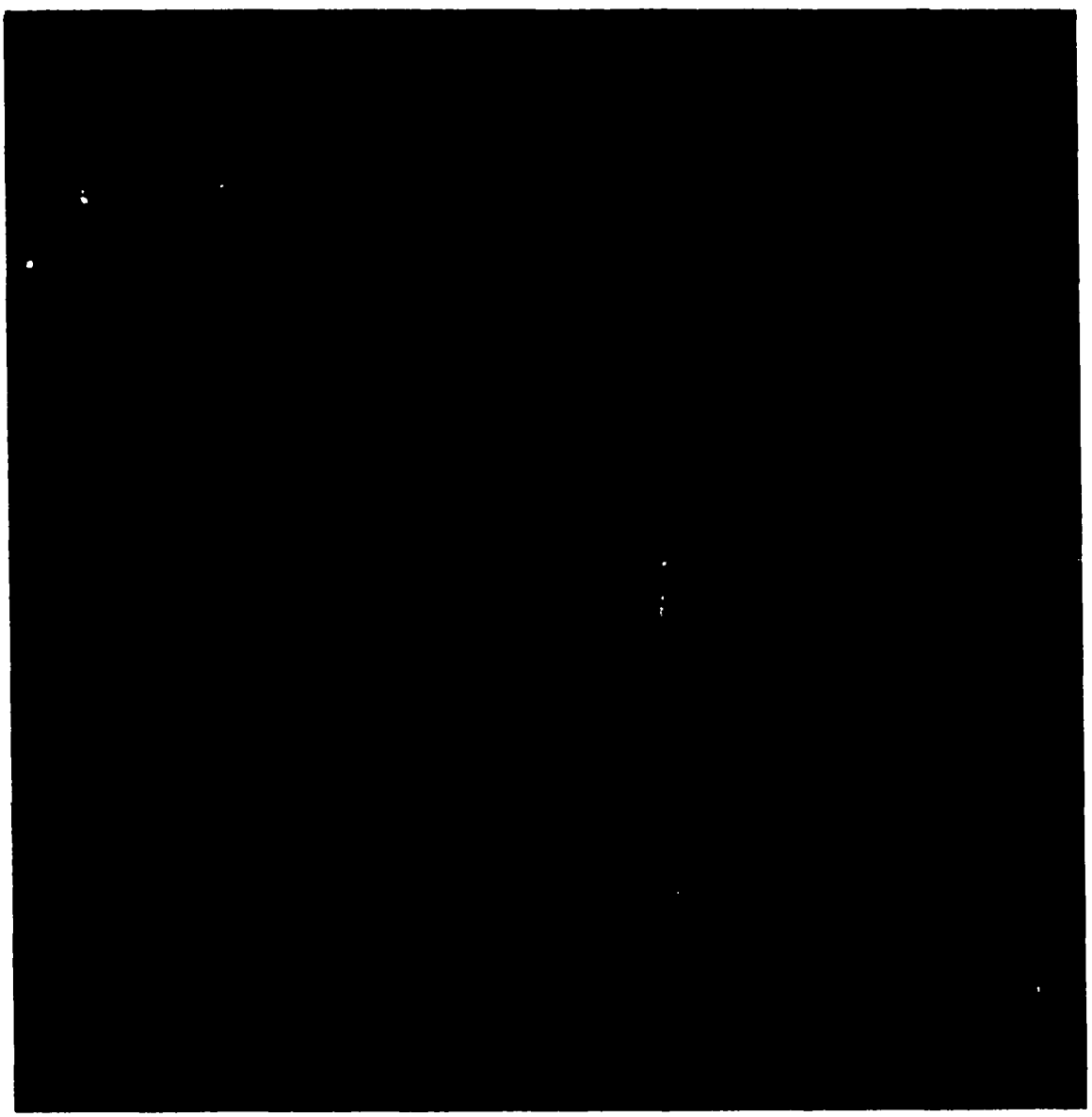

Fig. i.1 Cover of Reyner Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart:Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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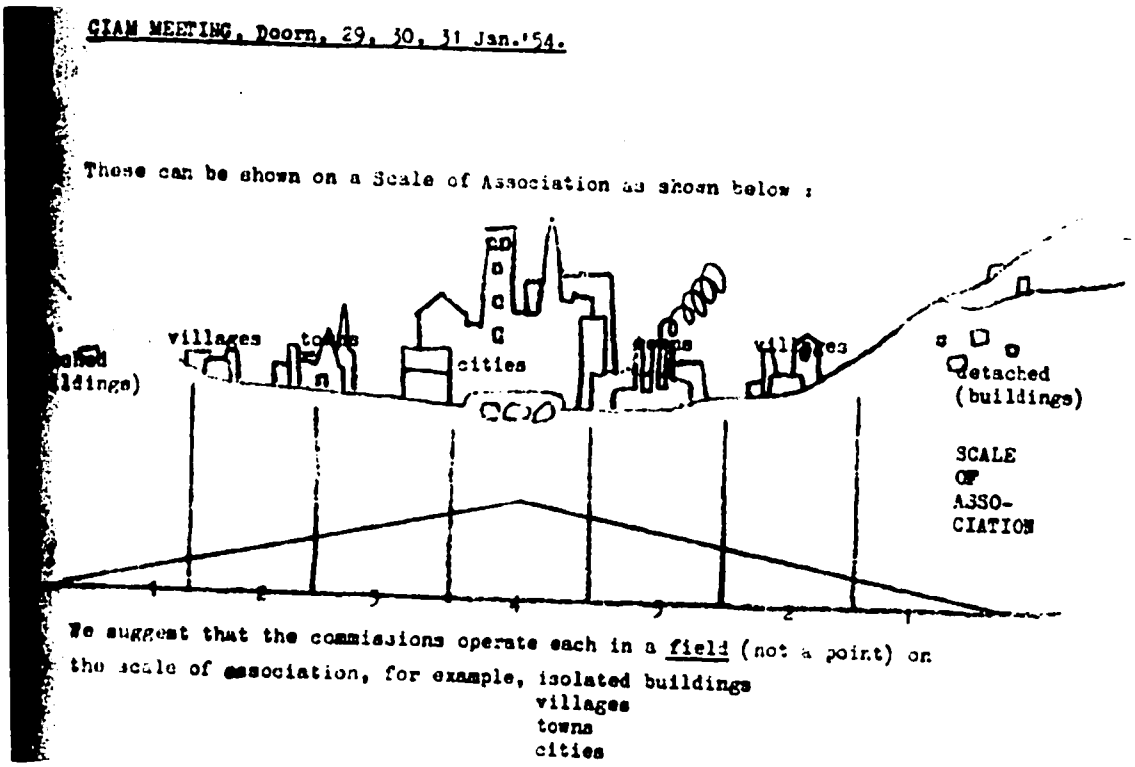

Fig 1.1 Doorn Manifesto, Source: Bakema Archives, The Netherlands Architecture Institute, BAKE 0058/a12.

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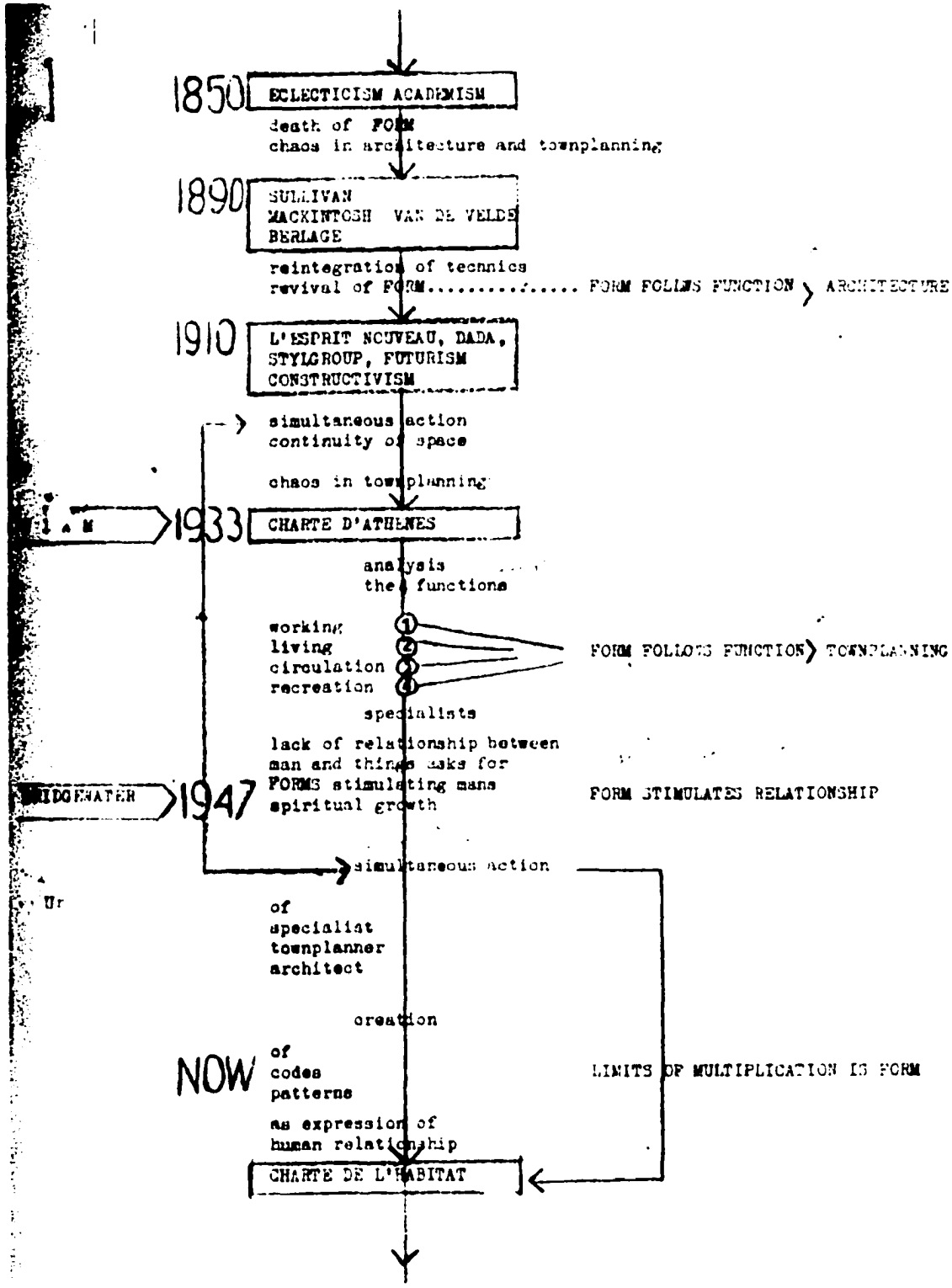

Fig. 1.2 Doorn Manifesto. Source: Bakema Archives, The Netherlands Architecture Institute, BAKE 0058/a12.

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The first N w B vitalist building: see letter on this page.

Fig. 1.3 Bengt Edman and Lennart Holm, Villa in Uppsala, Sweden, 1950. Source: *Architectural Review* 120, no. 715 (August 1956)

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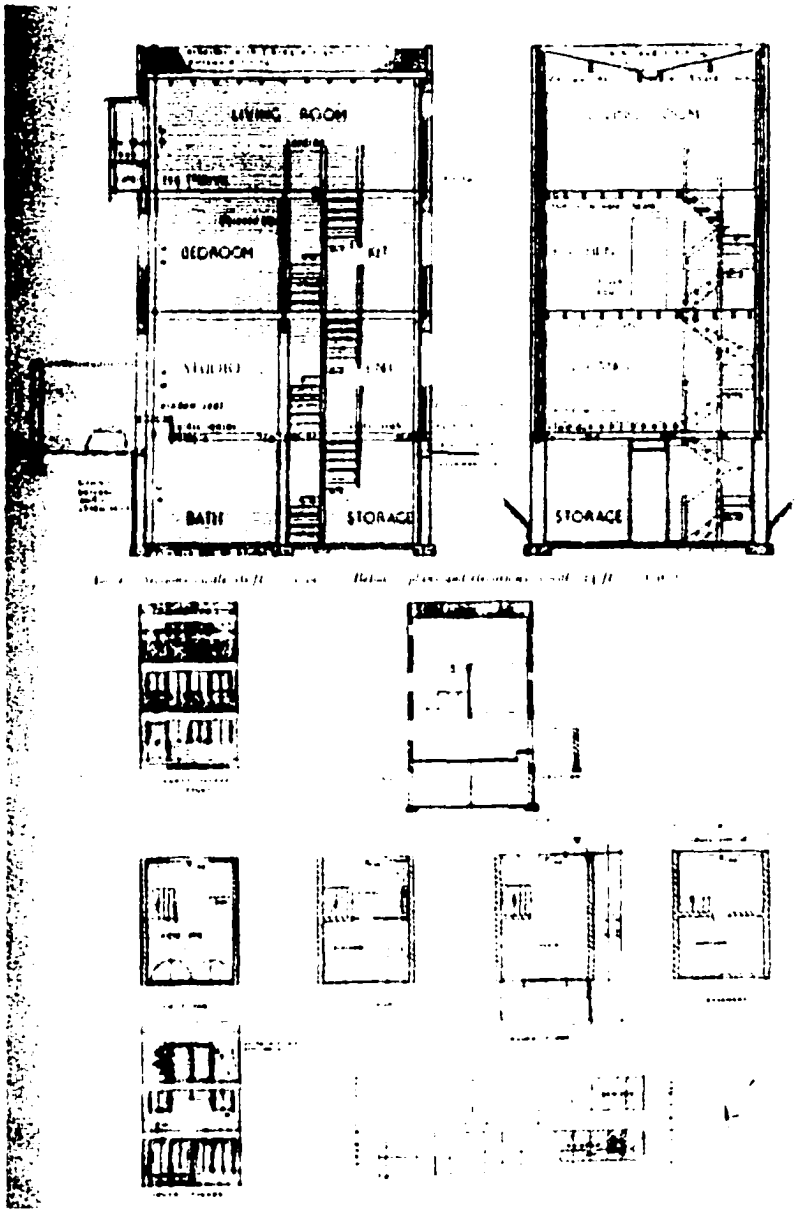

HOUSE IN SOHO, LONDON

Alison and Peter Smithson

342

Fig. 1.4 Alison Smithson, House in Soho, elevation drawing, 1953. Source: *Architectural Design* 23, no. 12 (December 1953).

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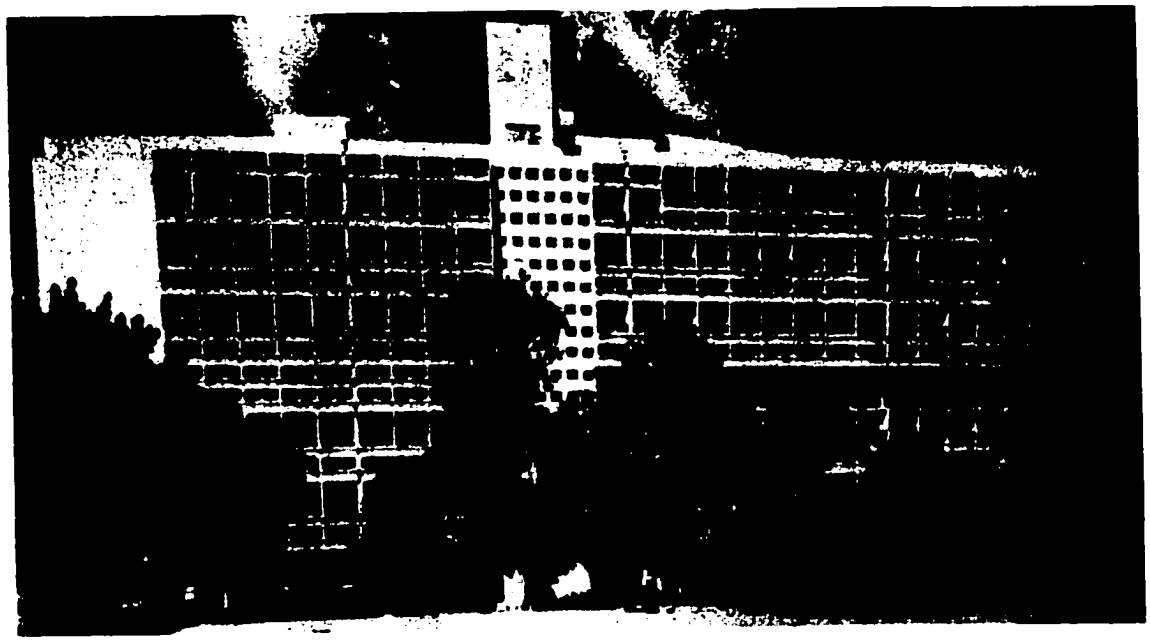

Fig. 1.5 Le Corbusier, Unité d'Habitation, Marseilles, 1946–52. Source: H. Allen Brooks, ed. *Le Corbusier* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

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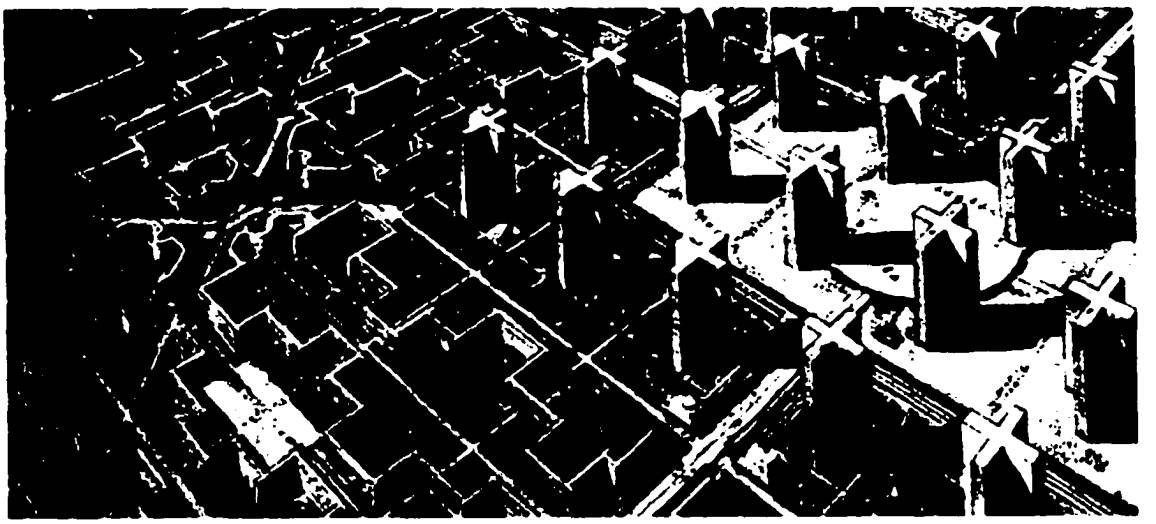

Fig. 1.6 Le Corbusier, Plan Voisin, 1925. Source: Frampton, Kenneth. *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980.

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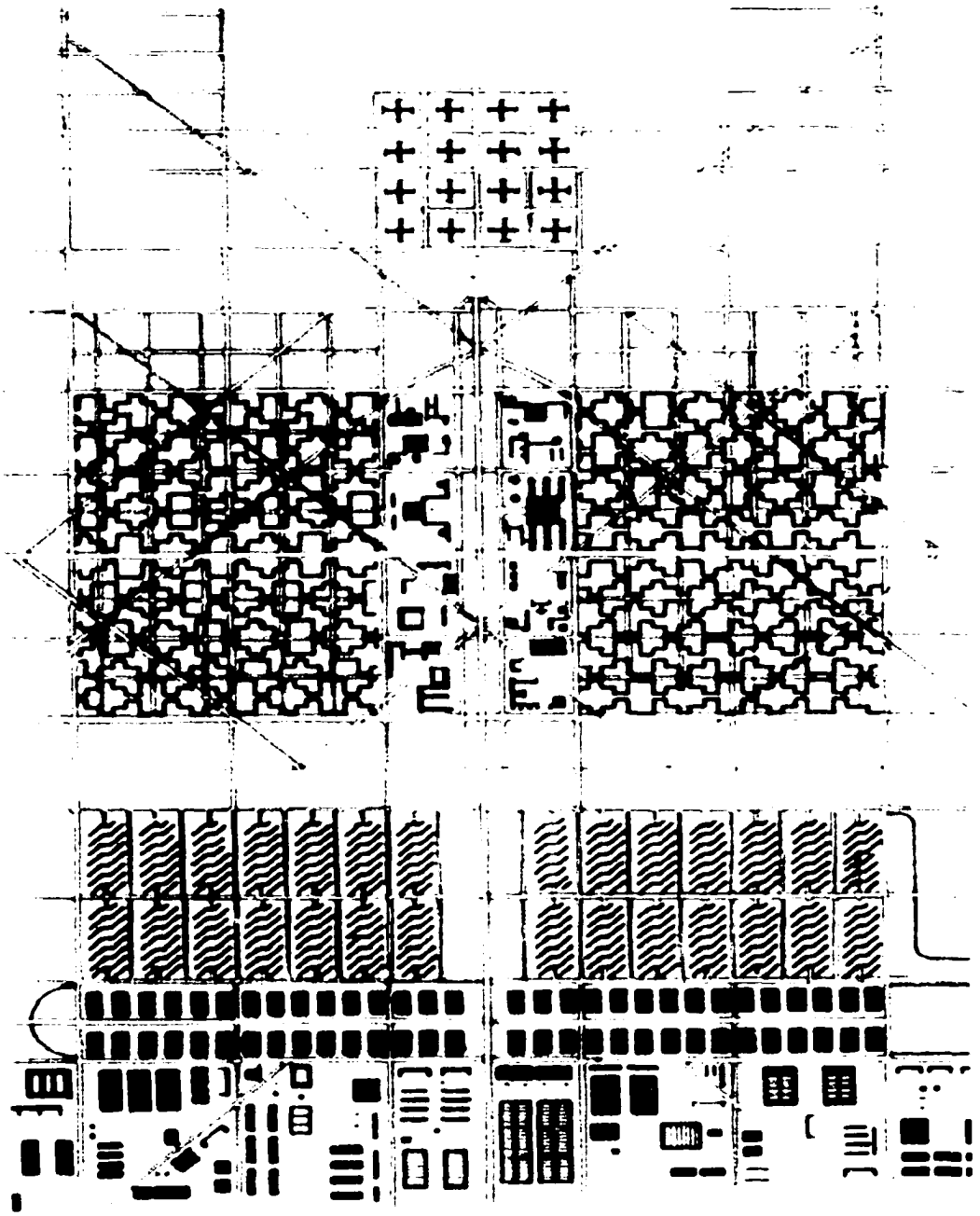

Fig. 1.7 Le Corbusier, Ville Radieuse, 1933. Source: Le Corbusier, *La Ville Radieuse: éléments d'une doctrine d'urbanisme pour l'équipement de la civilisation machiniste* (Paris: Éditions Vincent, Fréal & C^ie^, 1935 [1964]).

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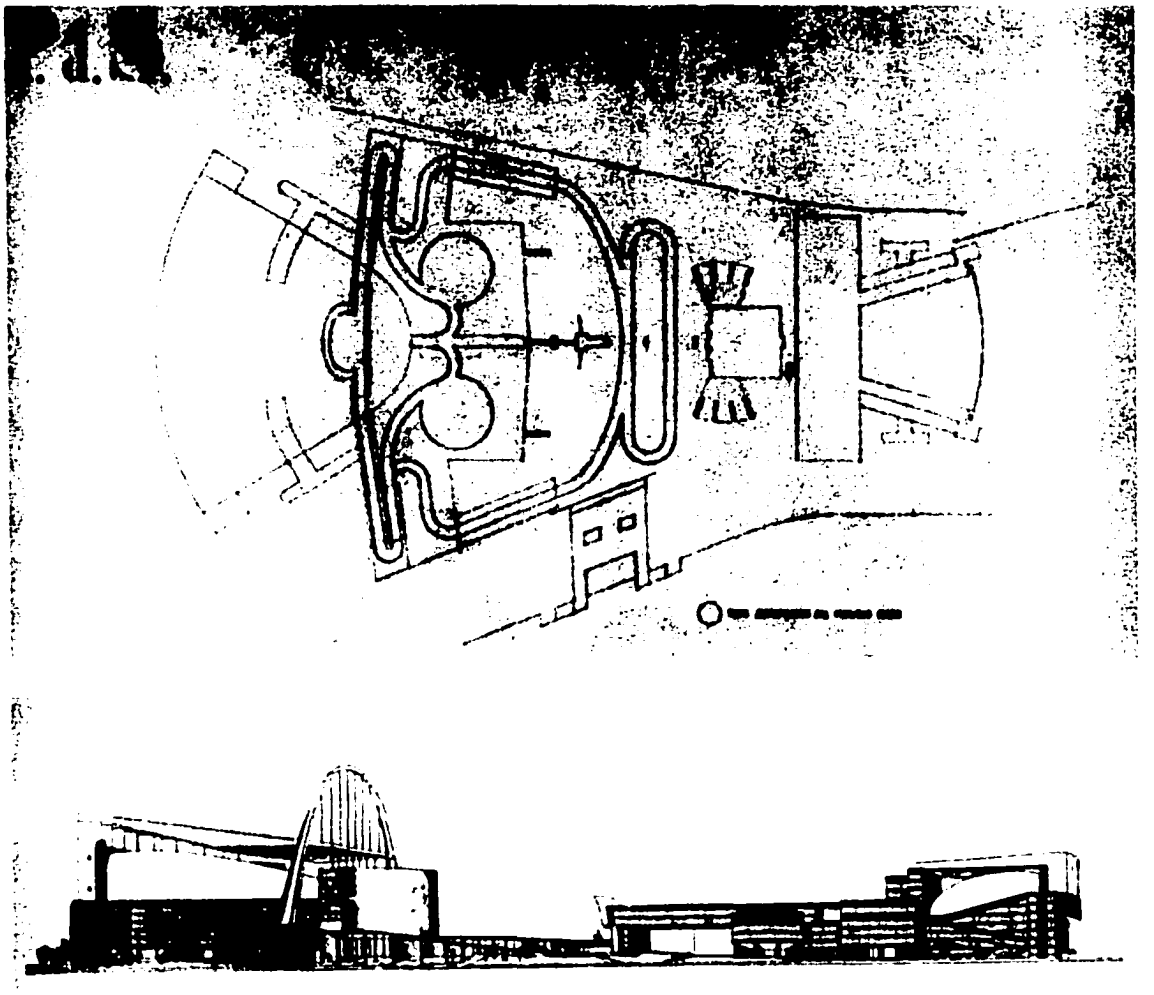

Fig. 1.8 Le Corbusier, Palace of the Soviets, plan and elevation drawings, 1931. Source: Jean-Louis Cohen, *Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the USSR: Theories and Projects for Moscow, 1928–1936* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

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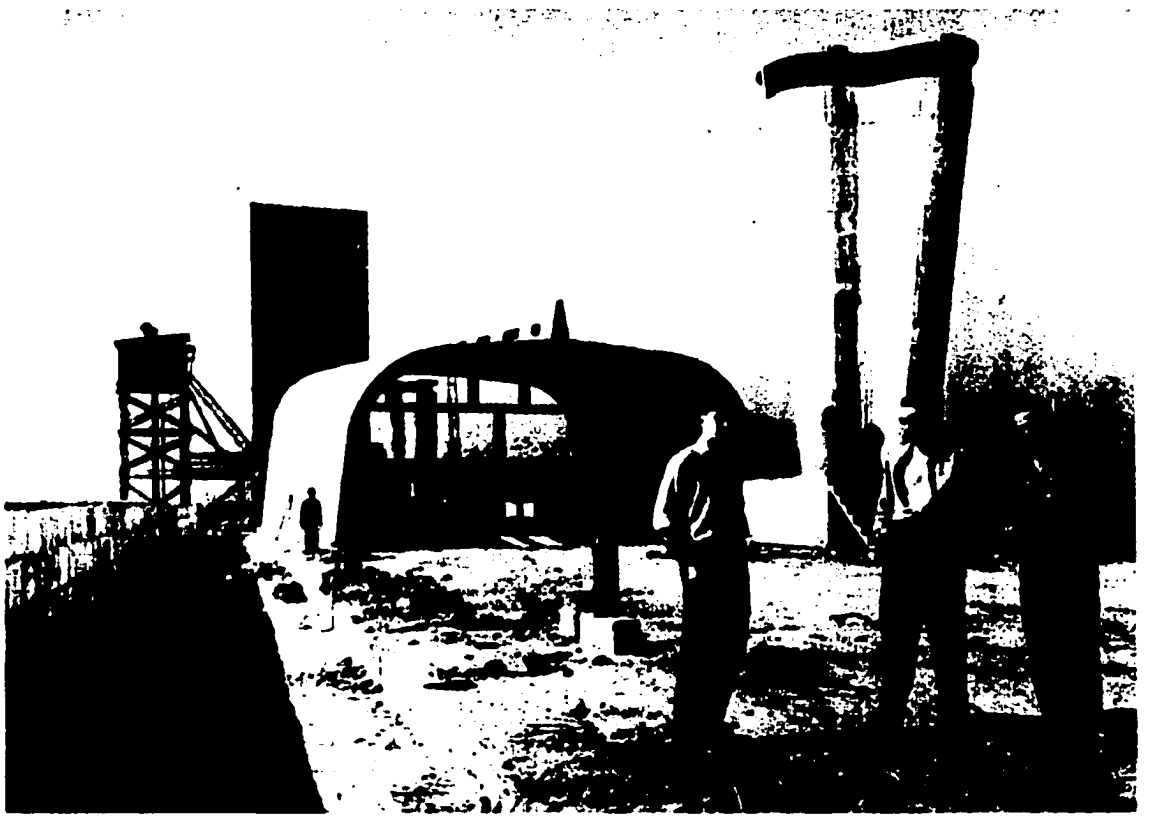

Fig. 1.9 Woods, Bodiansky, Candilis on roof of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation, Marseilles. Source: Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Without Rhetoric: An Architectural Aesthetic 1955–1972* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974).

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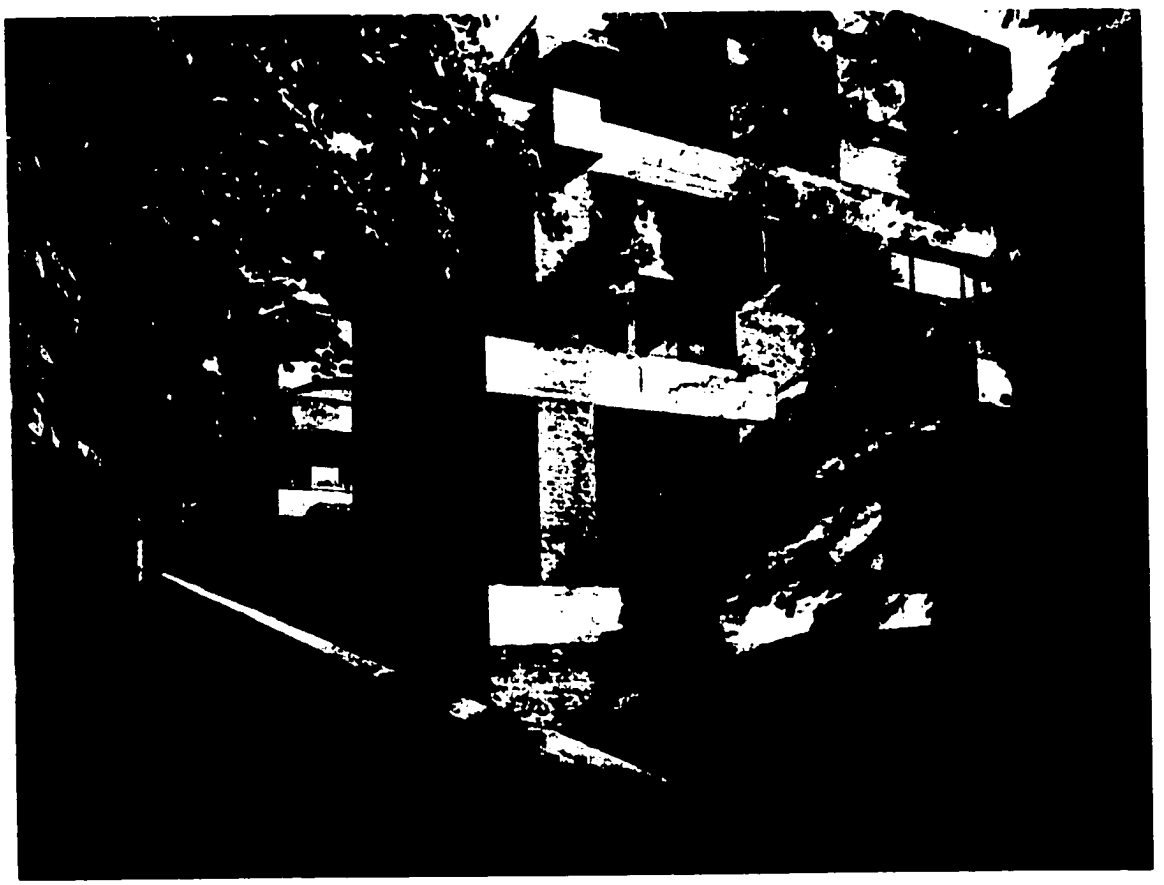

Fig. 1.10 Le Corbusier, Maisons Jaoul, Neuilly, 1956 Photograph: Noah Chasin.

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Fig. 1.11 Le Corbusier, Pavillon Suisse, Paris. Photograph: Noah Chasin.

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Fig. 1.12 Welwyn Garden City, map.

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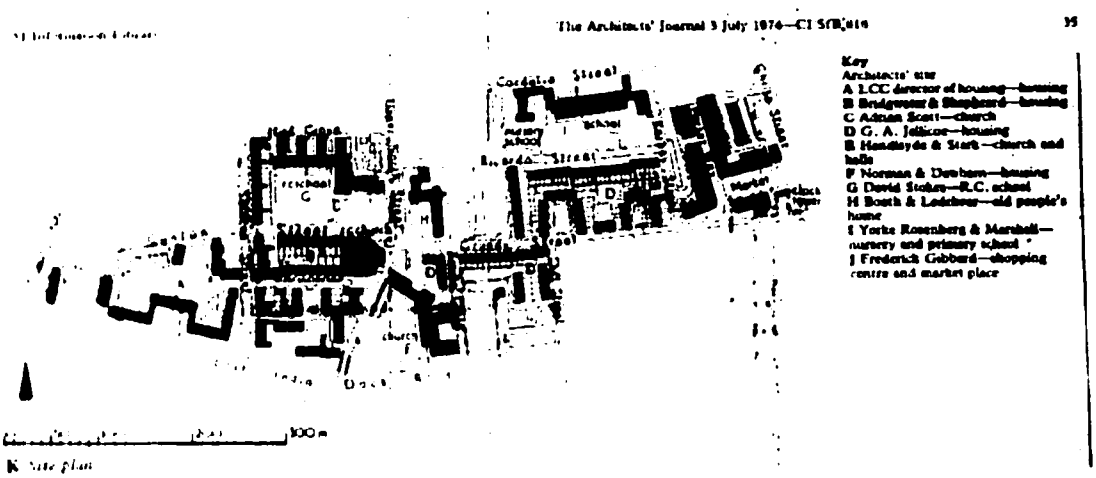

Fig. 1.13 Lansbury Site Plan, 1951. Source: *Architect's Journal* 3 July 1974, p. 35.

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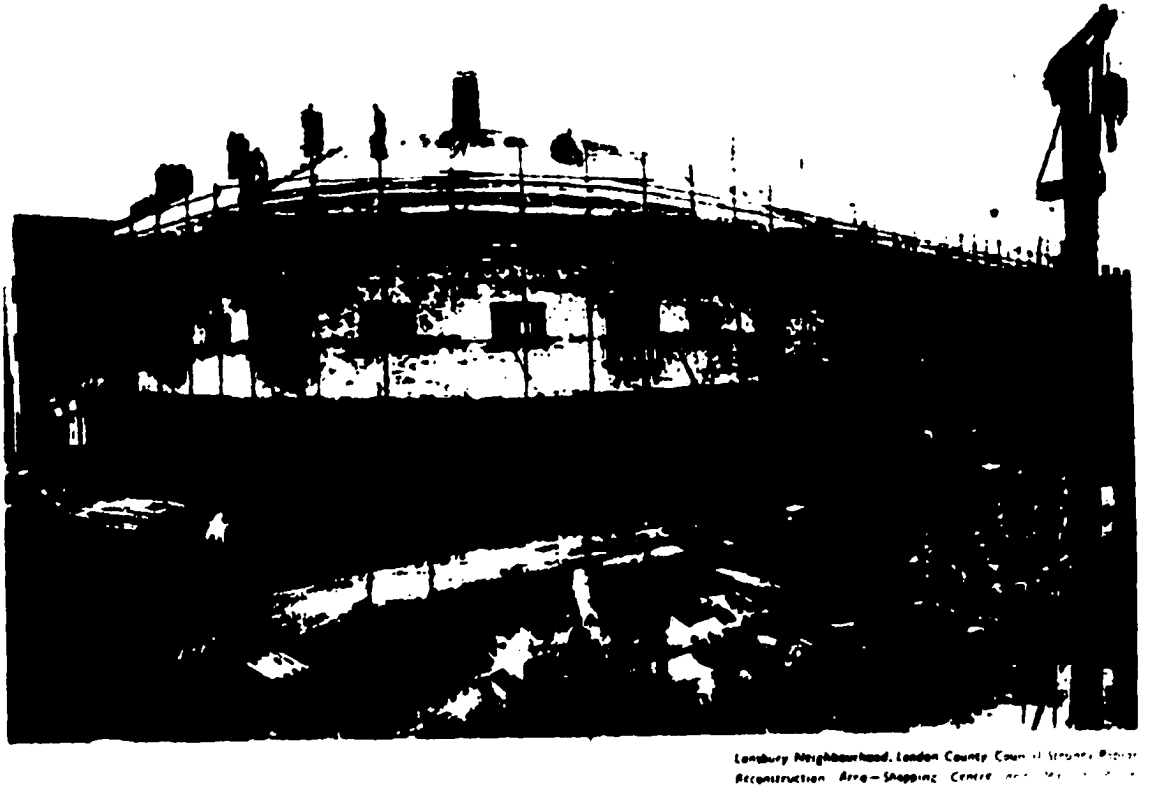

The Festival of Britain

EXHIBITION OF ARCHITECTURE

Fig. 1.14 Frederick Gibberd, Lansbury Market under construction, 1951. Source: *Town and Country Planning* 19, no 86 (June 1951).

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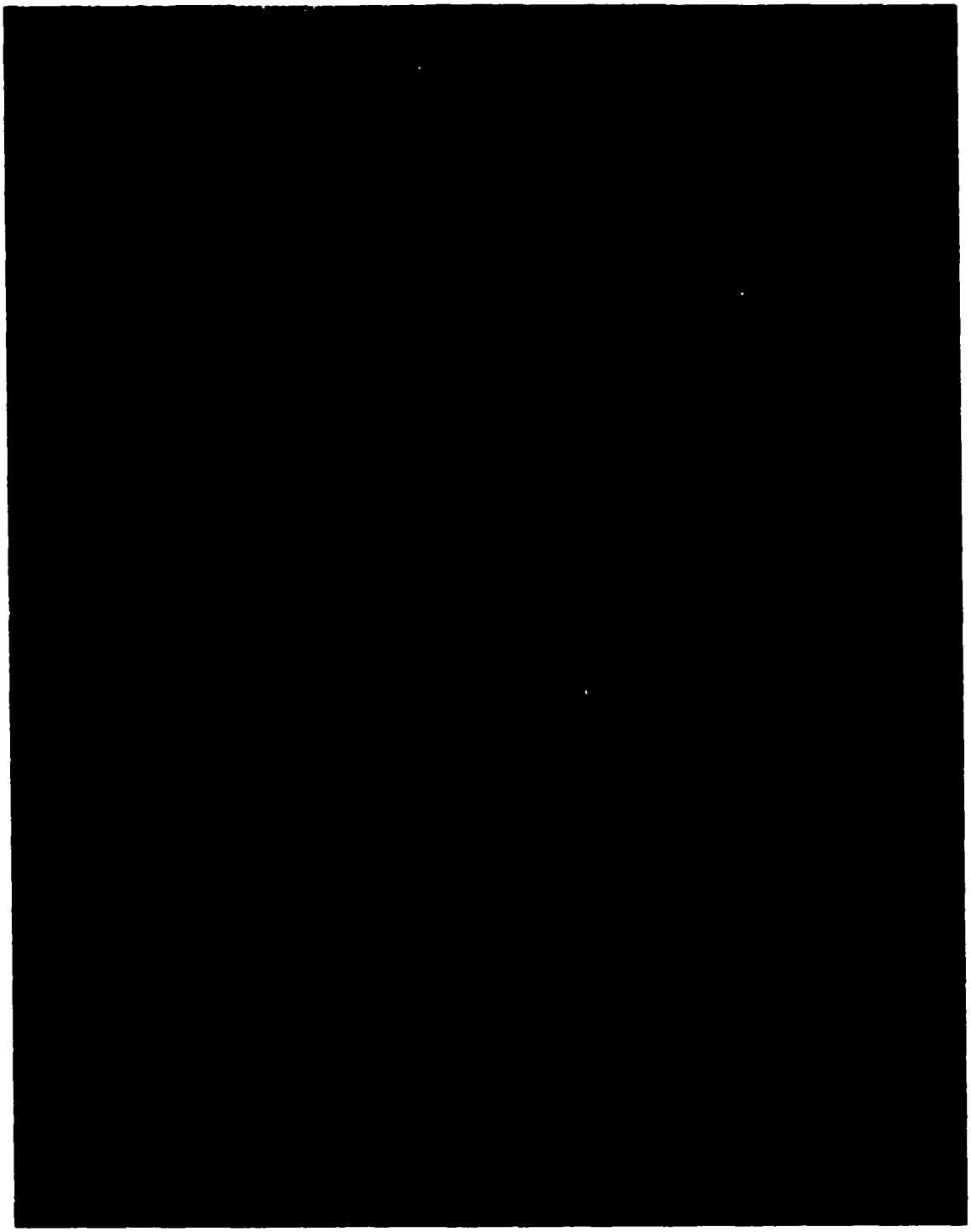

Fig. 1.15 Rudolf Wittkower, cover of *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: A Tiranti, 1949, reprinted 1952).

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Fig. 1.16 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstanton School, 1949–54, elevation. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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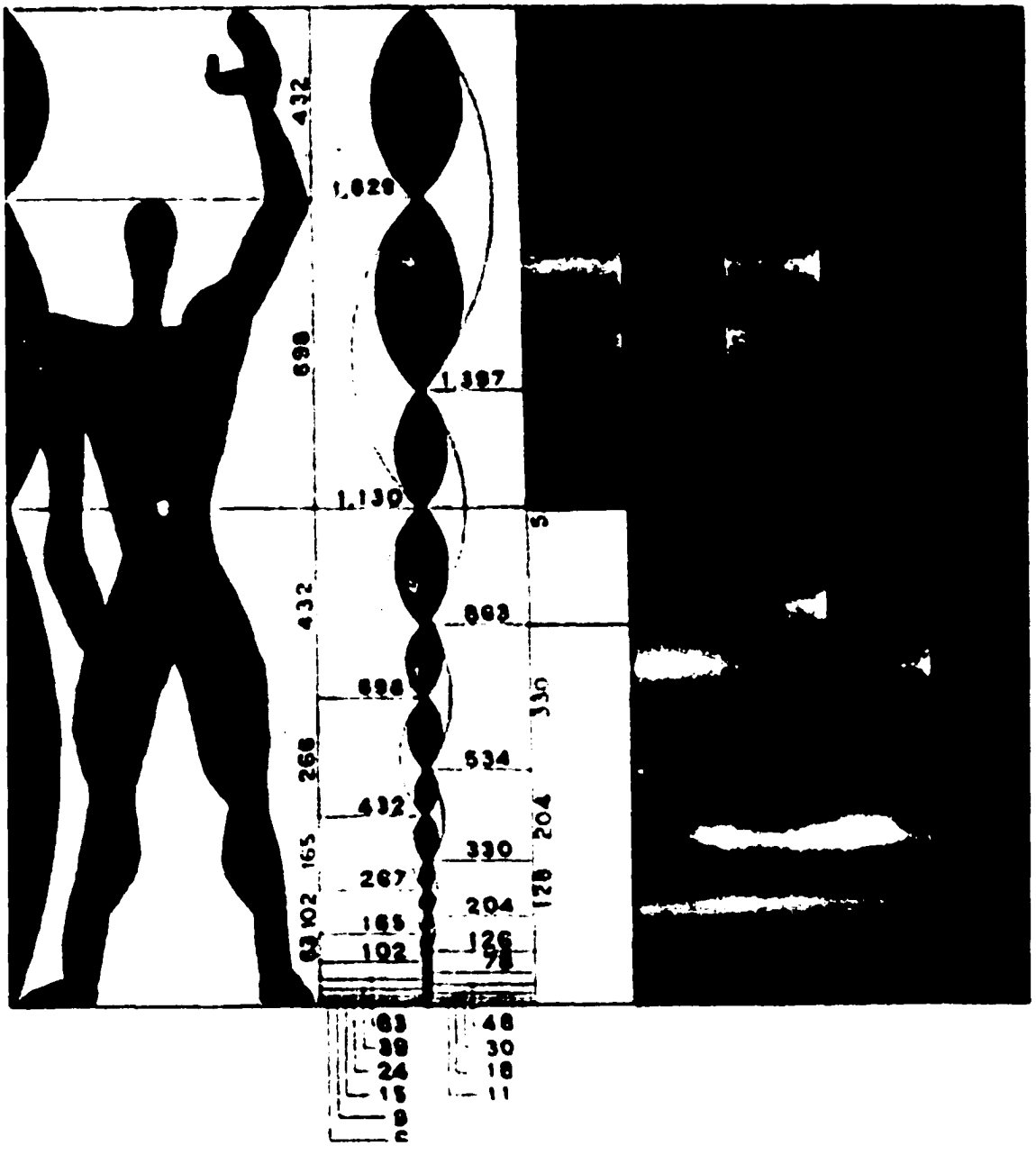

Fig. 1.17 Le Corbusier, Le Modulor, 1948. Source: Le Corbusier, *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the human scale universally applicable to architecture and mechanics*, 1st English edition. London: Faber and Faber, 1954.

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Fig. 1.18 Chamberlin, Powell, and Bon, Golden Lane Housing, 1952–57. Source: *Architectural Review* 121, no. 725 (June 1957).

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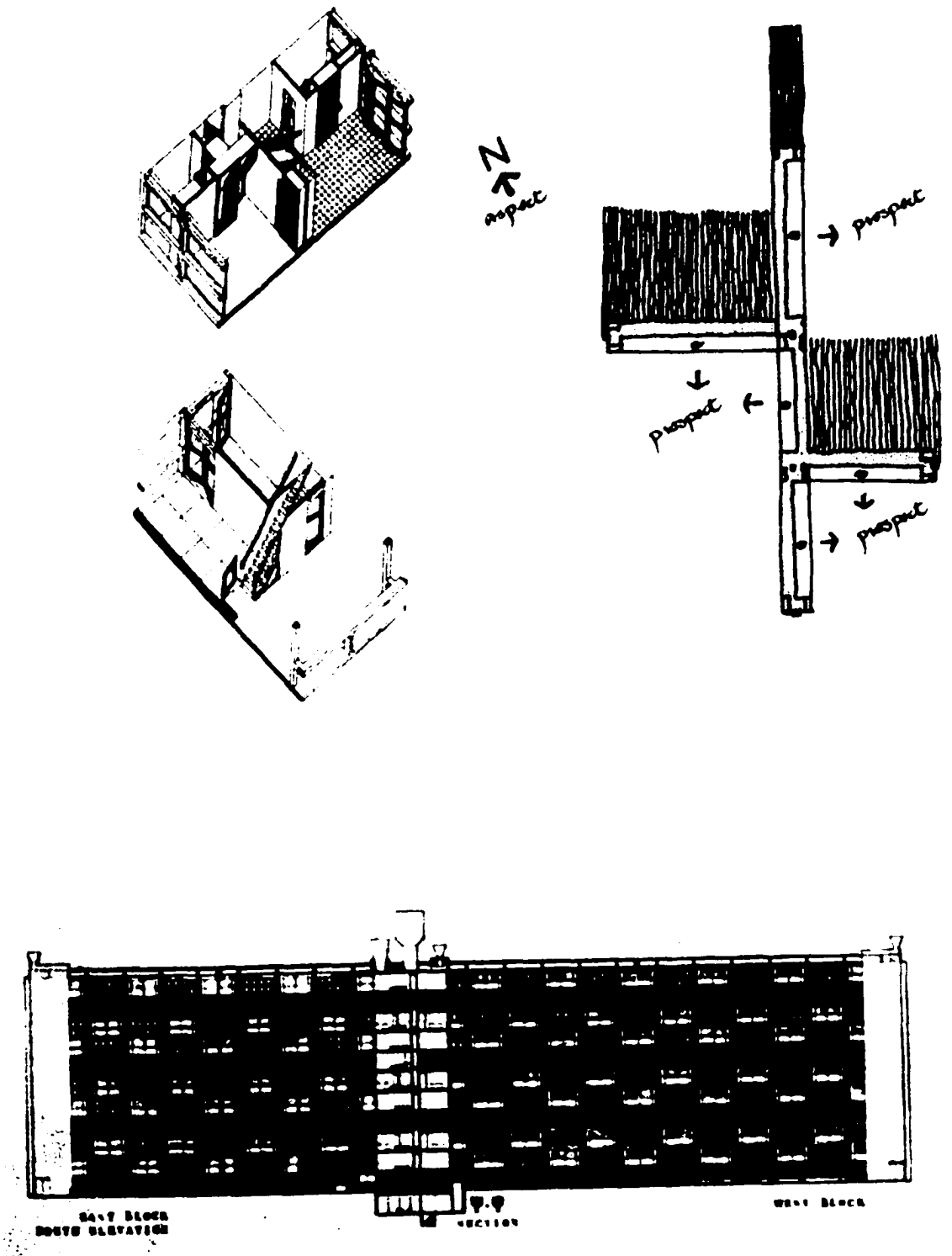

Fig. 1.19 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane Project, plan, elevation, axonometric, 1952. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.

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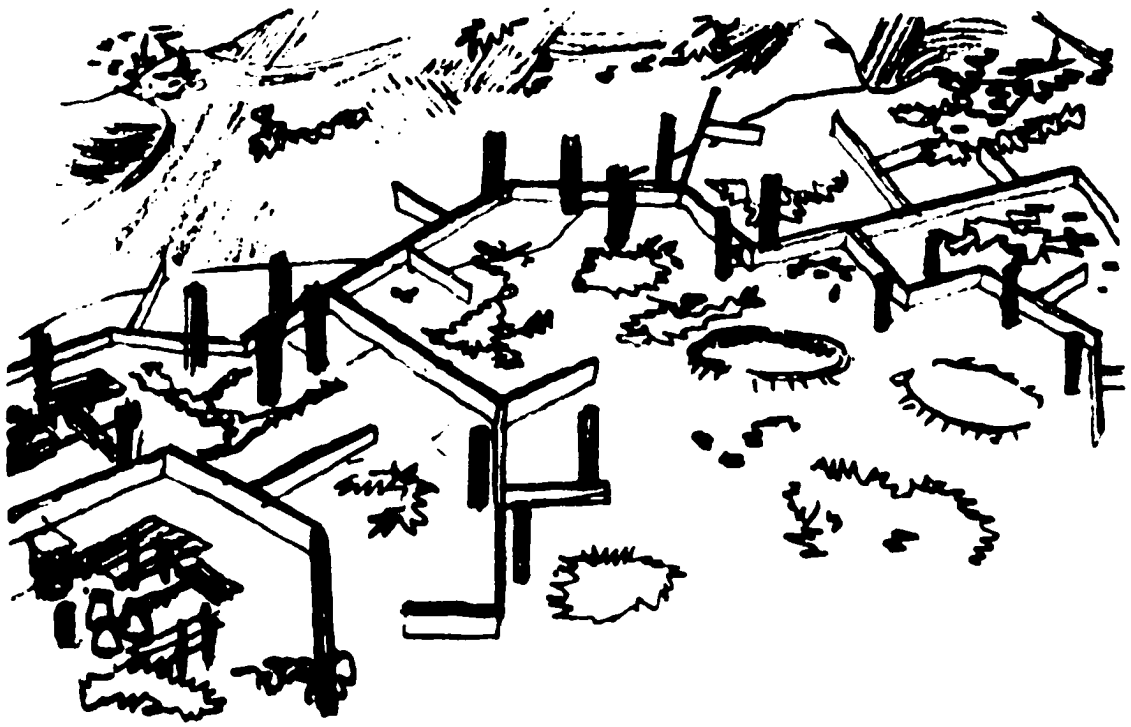

Fig. 1.20 A. and P. Smithson , Golden Lane Study, 1952. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.

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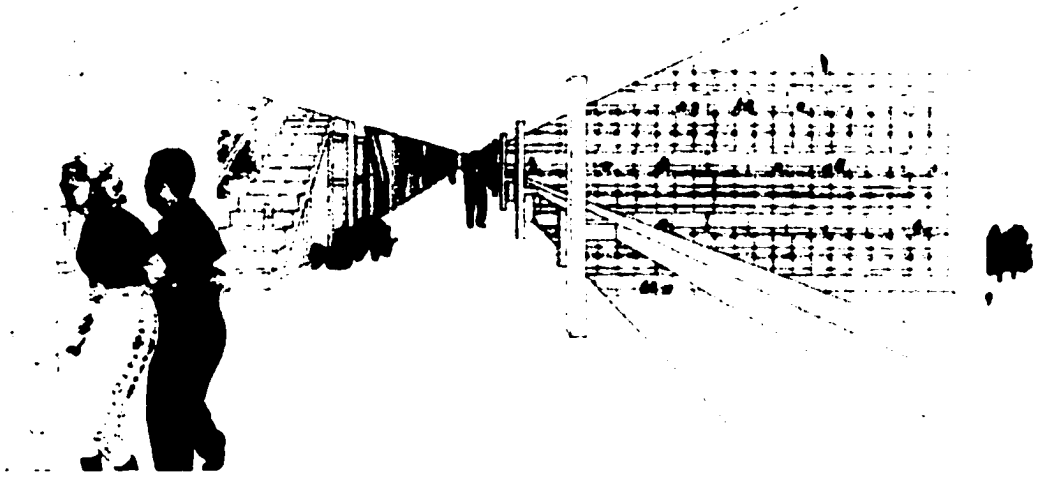

Fig. 1.21 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane, photomontage with Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio, 1953. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.

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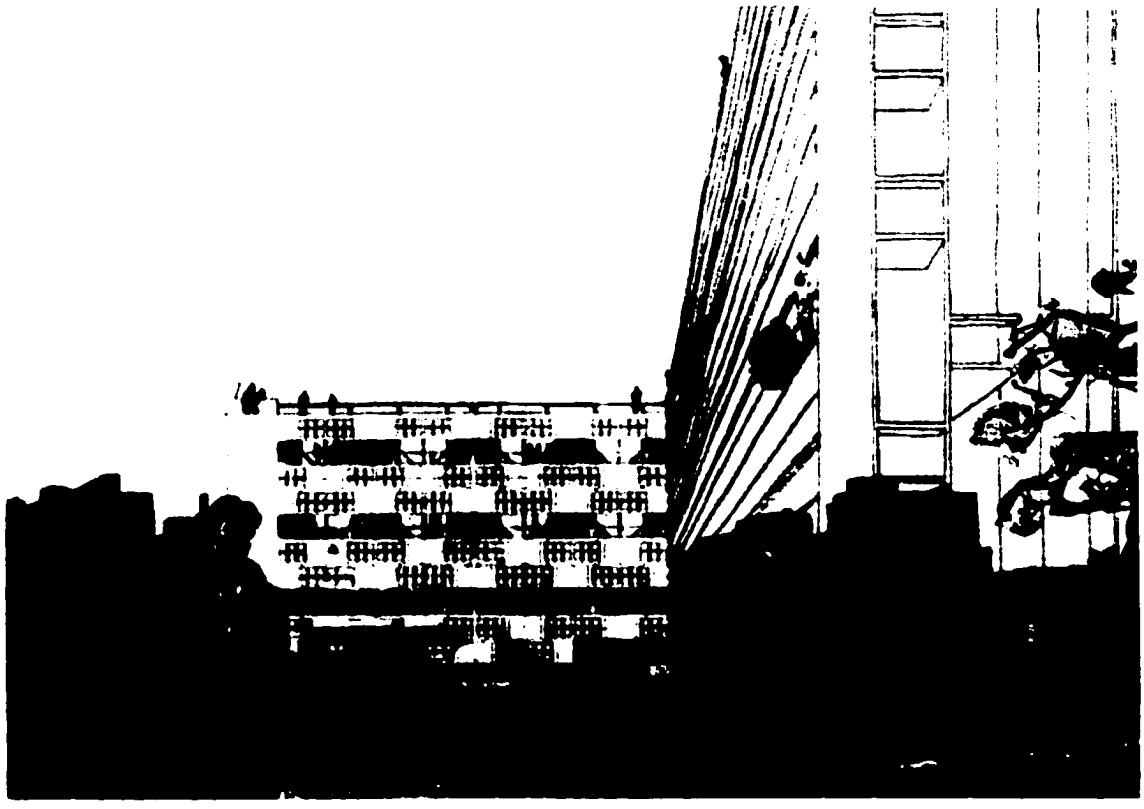

Fig. 1.22 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane, photomontage with Gerard Philippe, 1953. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

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Fig. 1.23 A. and P. Smithson, Golden Lane Grille, CIAM 9, 1953. Photograph by Nigel Henderson. Source: *Rassegna* 14, no. 52/4 (December 1992).

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Fig. 1.24 Mural by Kenneth Rowntree at Stevenage Secondary School, 1951. Source: *Architects' Year Book* 4 (1951).

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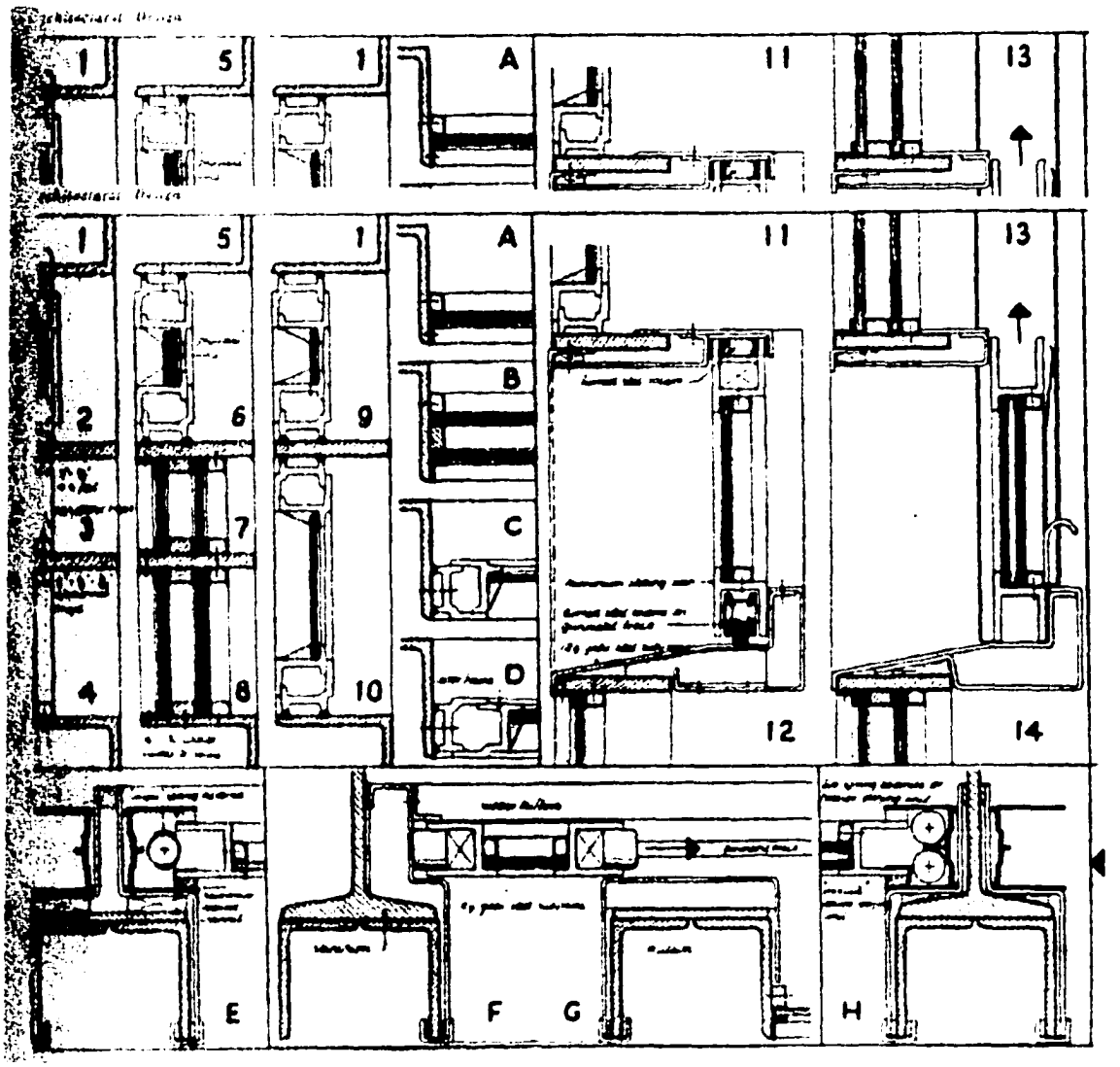

Fig. 1.25 Dargan Bullivant, "The Plastic Theory of Bending and its Application to the Design of the Hunstanton Steel Frames." Source: *Architectural Design* 23, no. 9 (September 1953).

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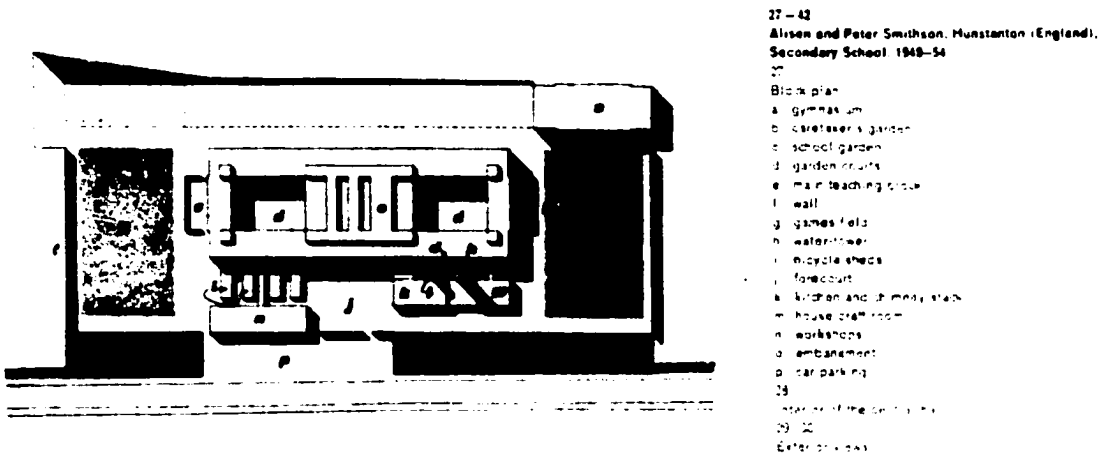

Fig. 1.26 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstanton School, Site Plan, 1949–54. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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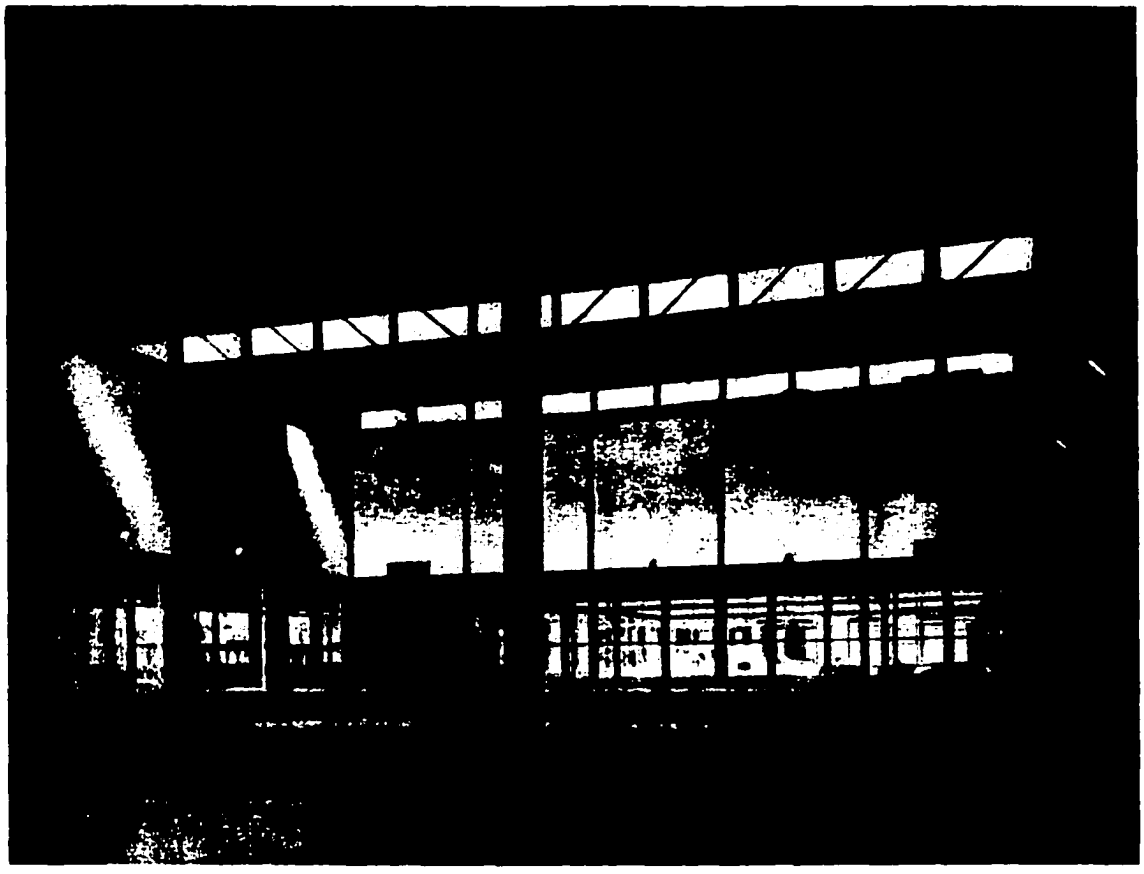

Fig. 1.27 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstanton School, interior. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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Fig. 1.28 Philip Johnson, Sculpture Garden at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1953. Source: *Architectural Forum* 102, No. 5 (May 1955).

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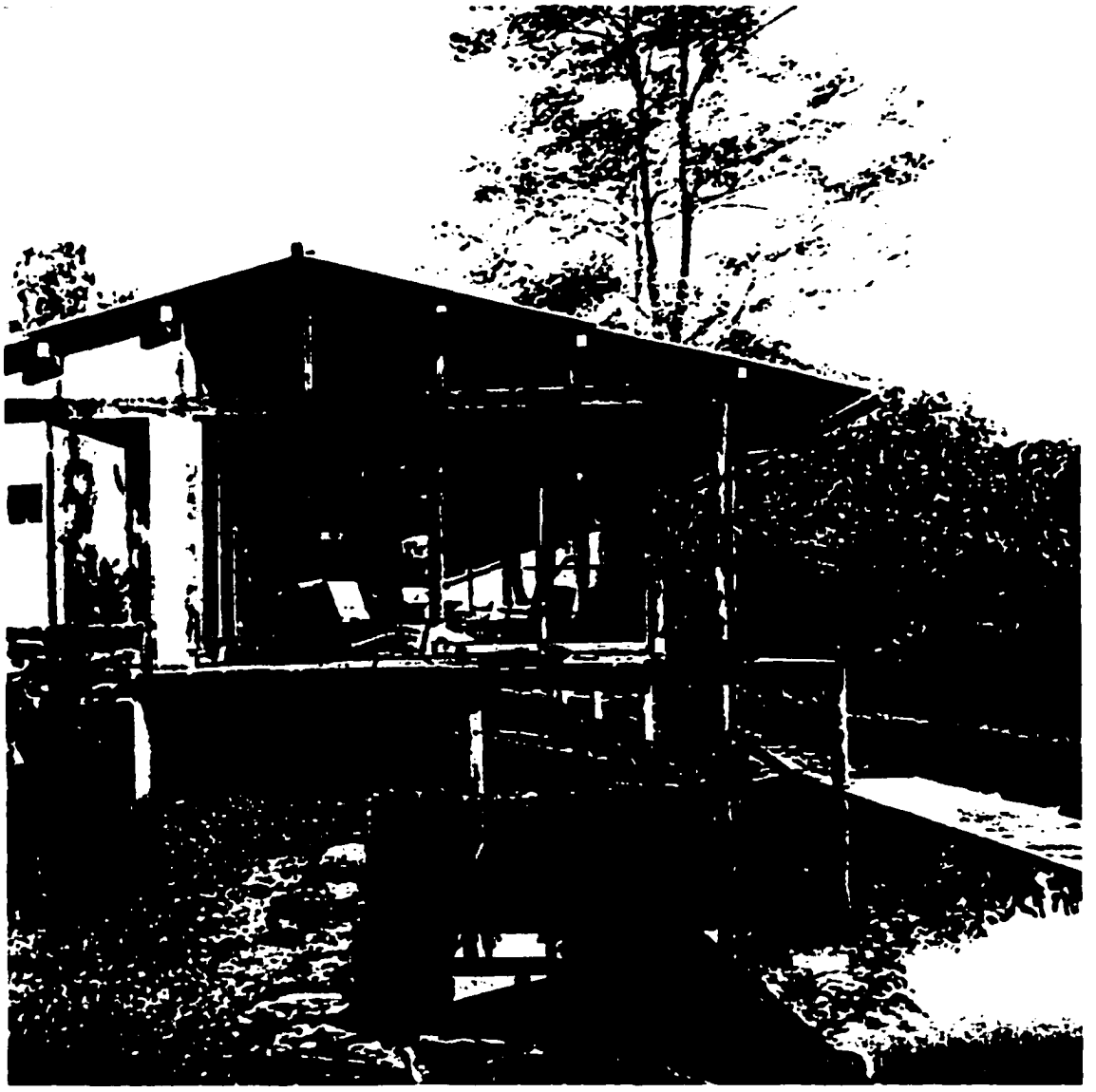

Fig. 1.29 George Nakashima, Knoll House and Shop Site, New Hope, Pennsylvania, 1953. *Architectural Forum* 102, No. 5 (May 1955).

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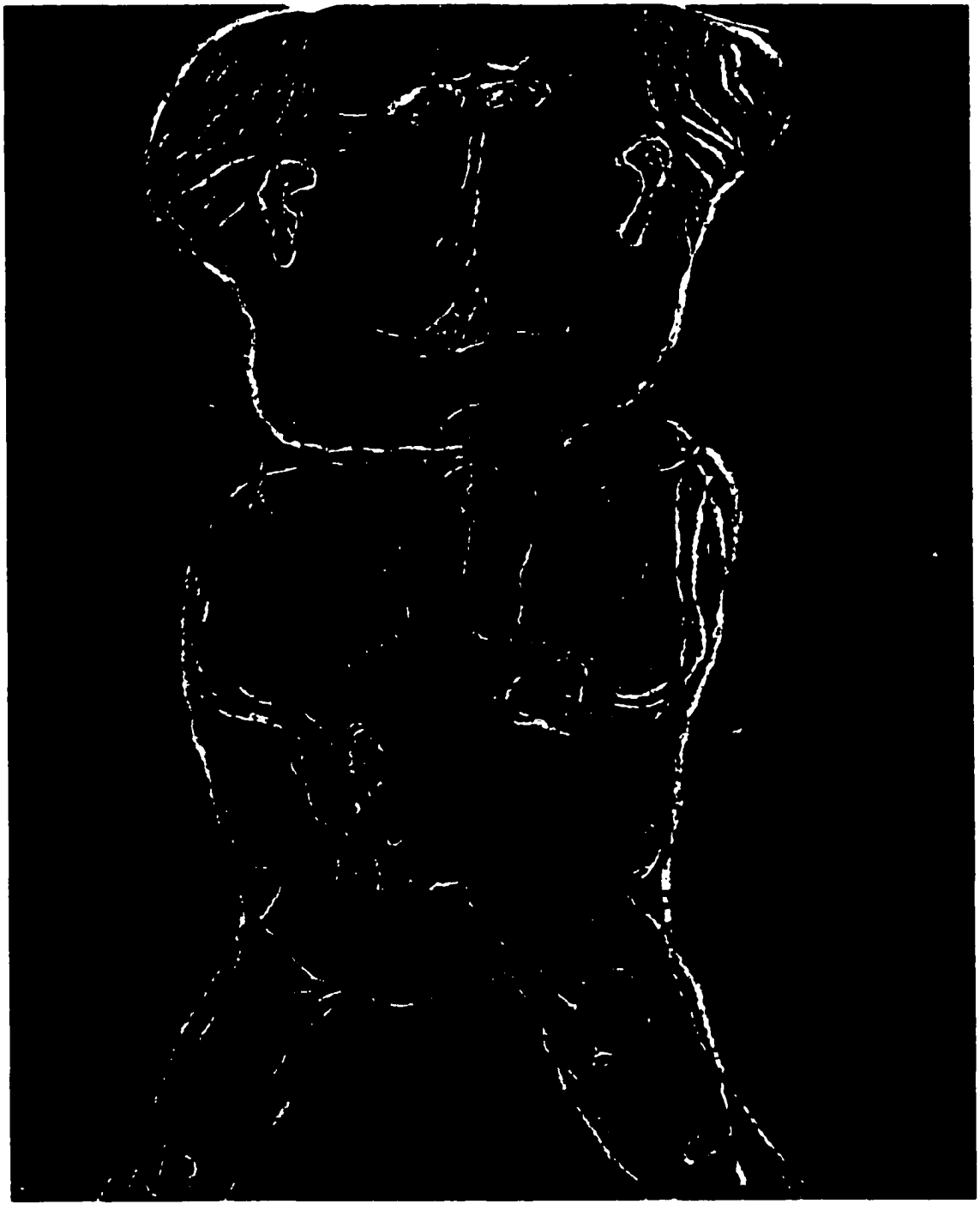

Fig. 1.30 Jean Dubuffet, *Monsieur Plume plis au pantalon (Portrait d'Henri Michaux)*, 1947. Tate Gallery. Purchased 1980. Source: F. Morris, ed. *Paris Post War: Art and Existentialism 1945–55* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1993).

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Fig. 1.31 *Parallel of Life And Art,* poster, 1953. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

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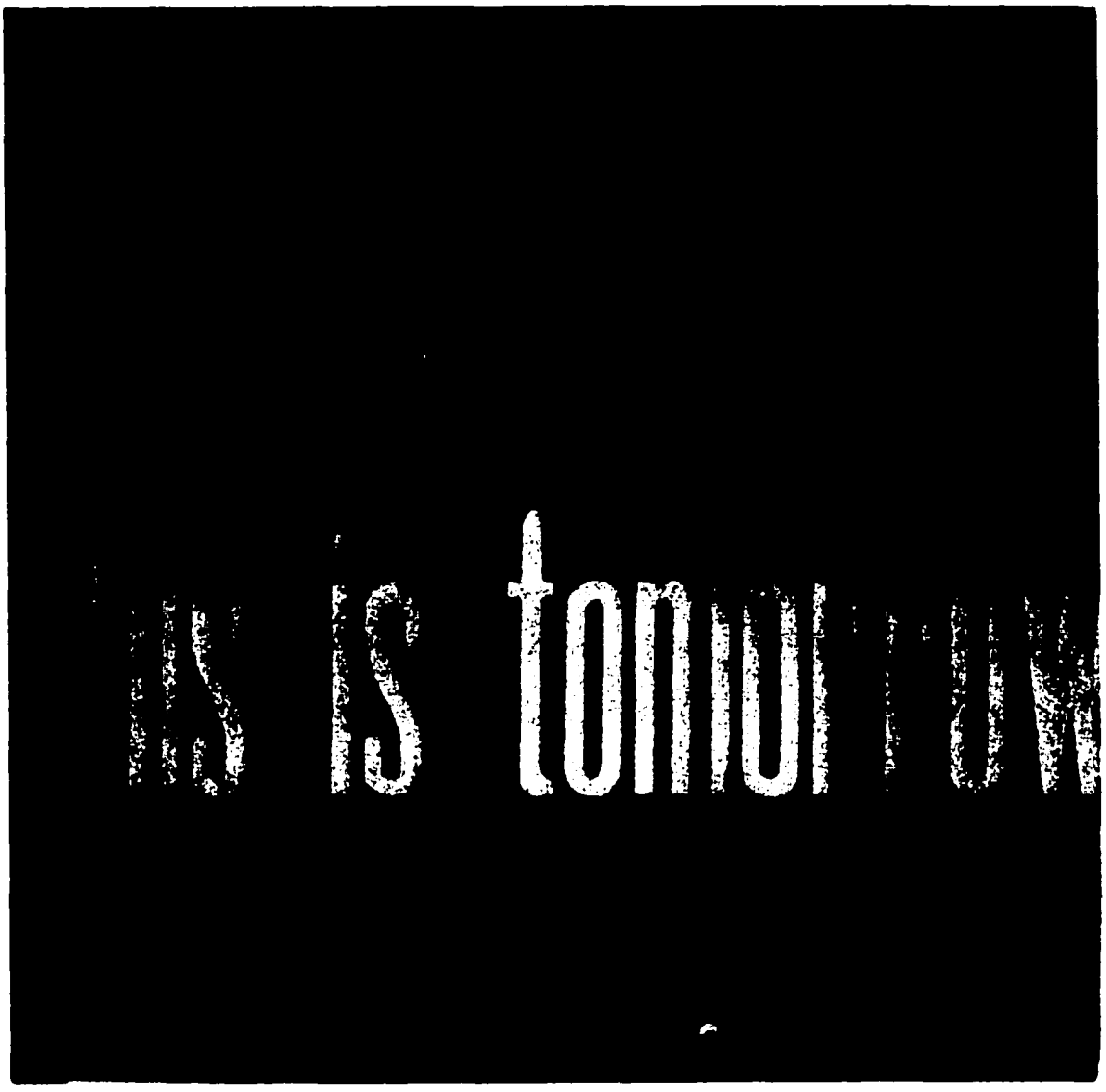

Fig. 1.32 *This is Tomorrow*, exhibition catalogue cover, 1956. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

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Fig. 1.33 *Parallel of Life and Art,* installation view. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.

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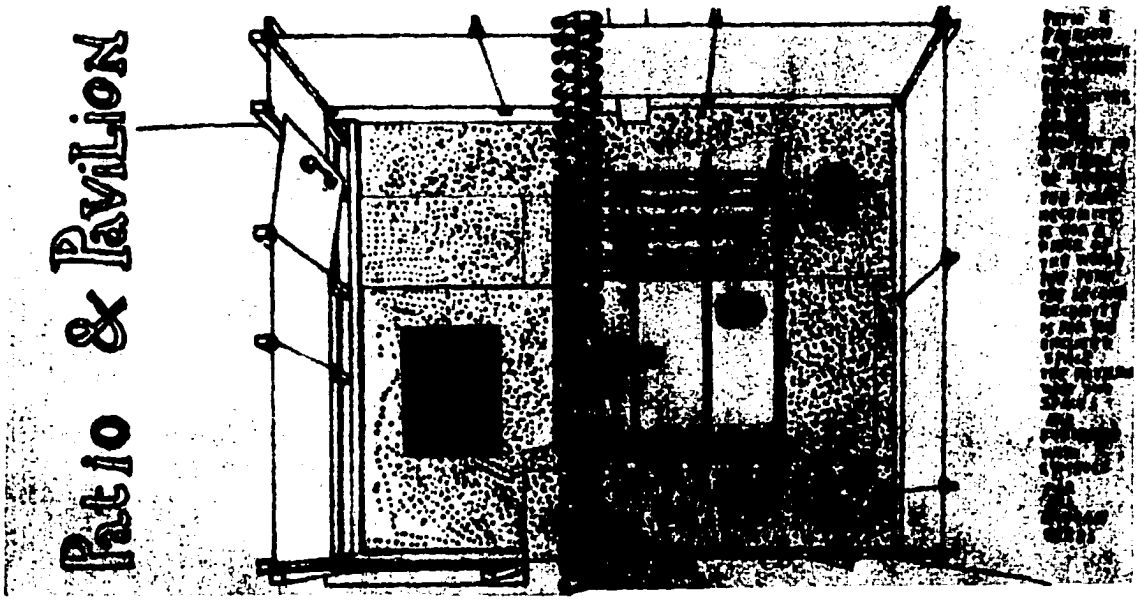

Fig. 1.34 A. and P. Smithson, Patio and Pavilion diagram. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

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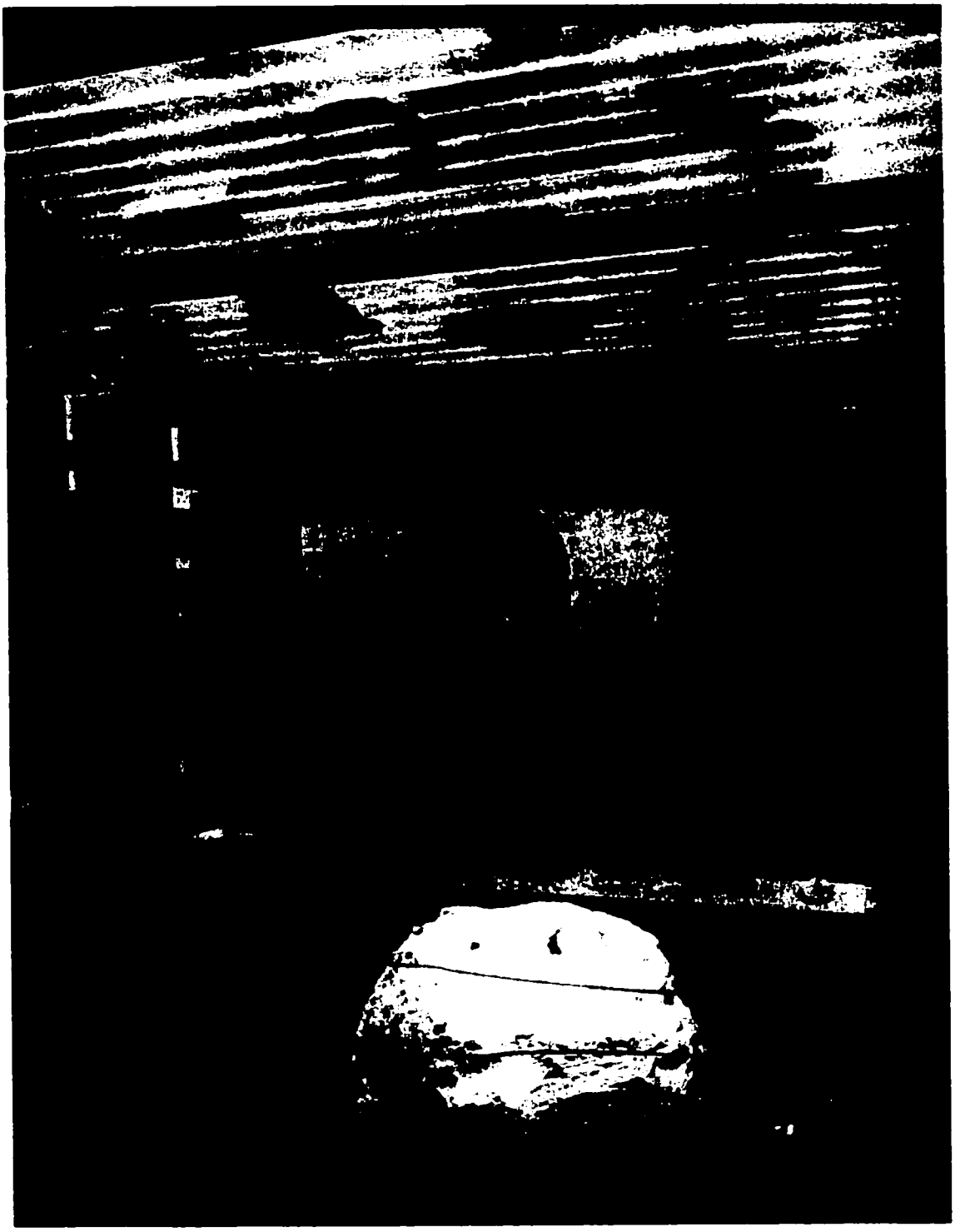

Fig. 1.35 A. and P. Smithson, Patio and Pavilion, 1956, interior view. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

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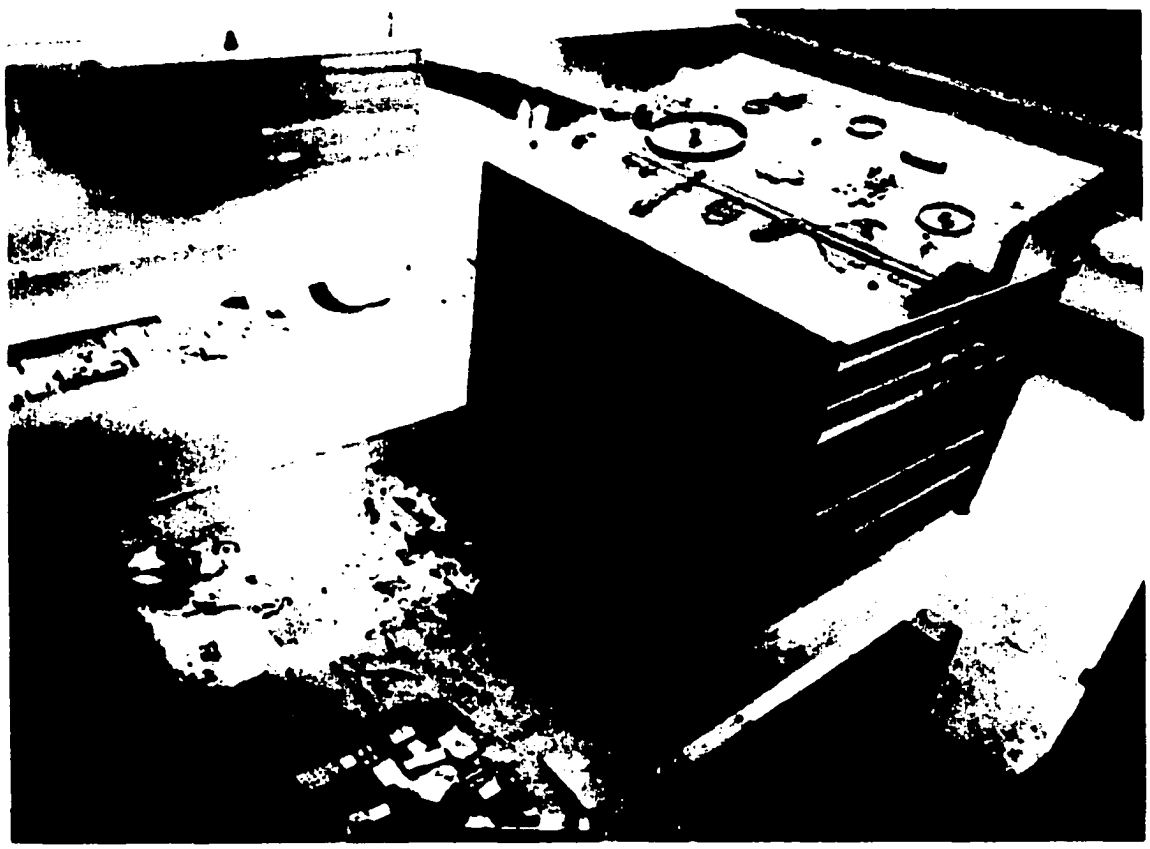

Fig. 1.36 A. and P. Smithson, Patio and Pavilion, 1956, exterior view. Source: D. Robbins, ed. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

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Fig. 1.37 A. and P. Smithson, Upper Lawn Pavilion, Wiltshire, England, 1959–62. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

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Fig. 1.38 Le Corbusier, Villa Stein-De-Monzie, Garches, 1927. Source: Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

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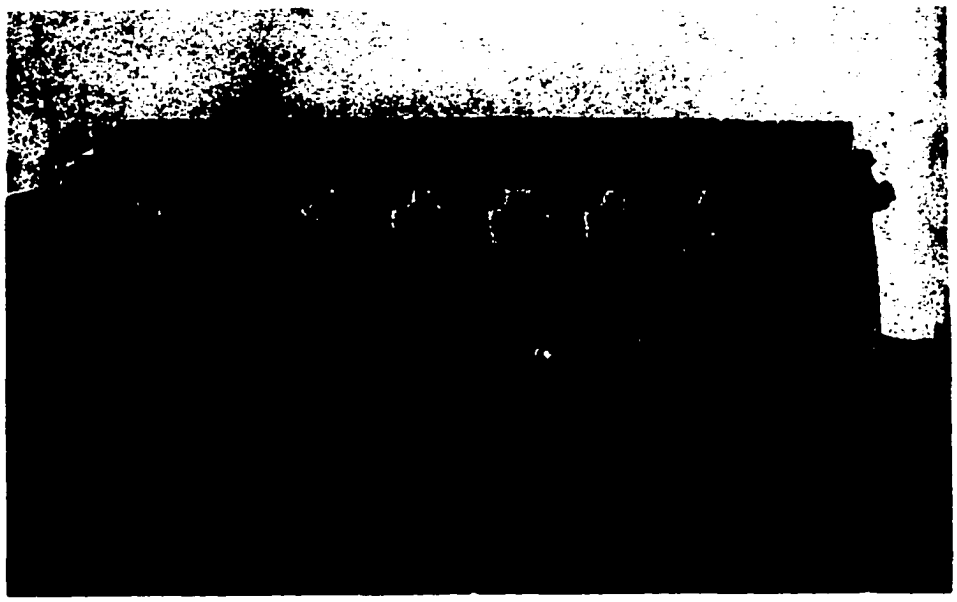

PAESTUM, 600–550 B.C.

When once a standard is established, competition comes at once and violently into play. It is a fight; in order to win you must do better than your rival *in every minute point*, in

HUMBER, 1907

Fig. 1.39 Le Corbusier, comparison of Temple of Hera at Paestum with Humber automobile. Source: Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York, Payson & Clark Ltd, 1927).

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Fig. 1.40 A. and P. Smithson, Upper Lawn Pavilion, Wiltshire, England, 1959–62, garden walls, Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

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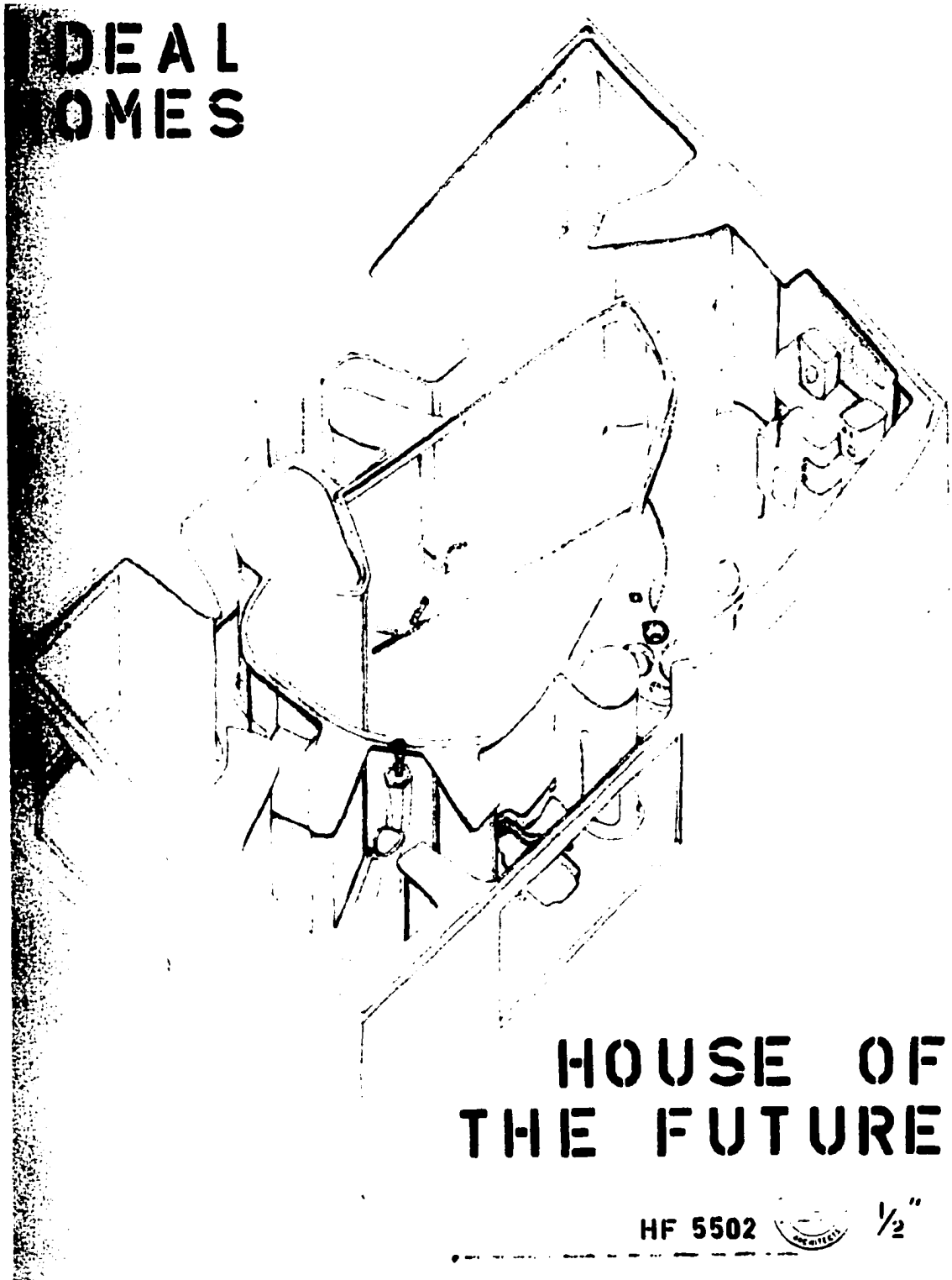

Fig. 1.41 A. and P. Smithson., House of the Future, axonometric, 1956. Source: M. Vidotto, *A. and P. Smithson* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1997).

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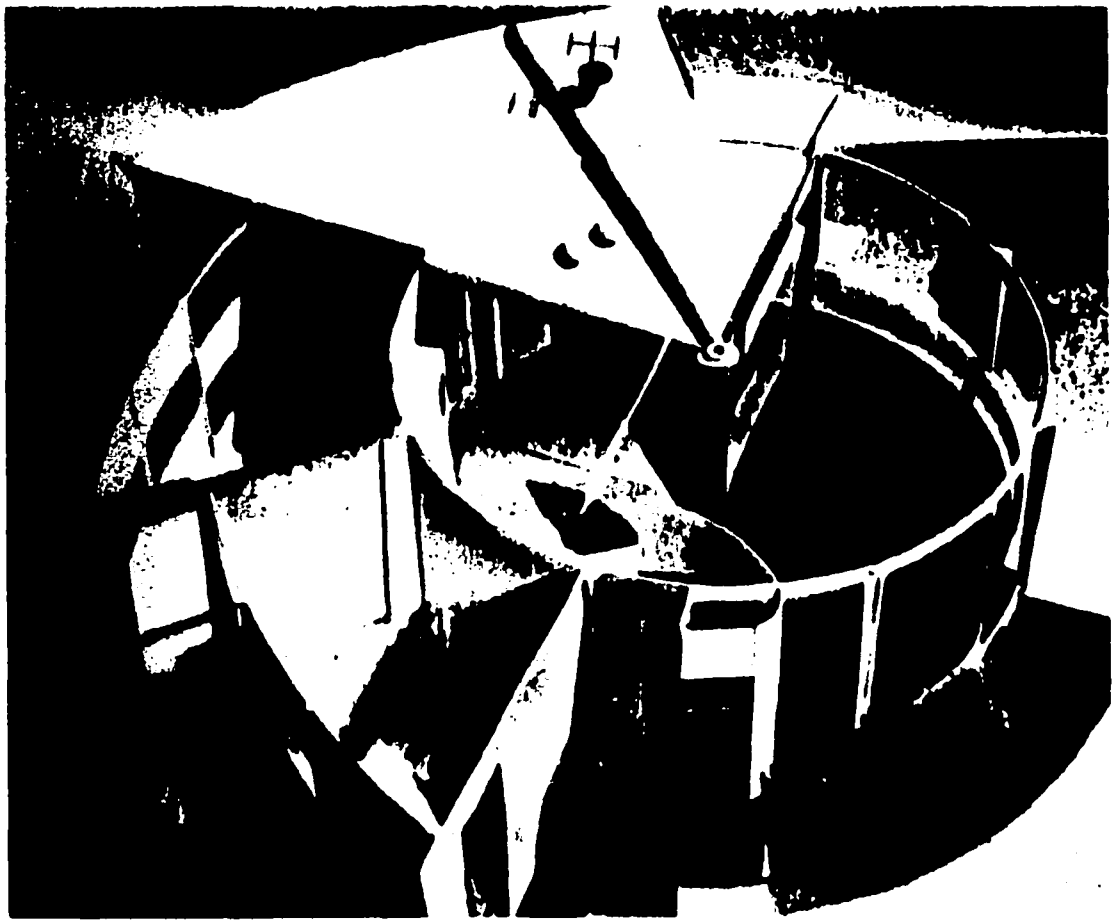

Fig. 1.42 Ionel Schein, Maison "Arts Ménagers," model, 1956. Source: *Architettura: cronache e storia,* vol. 2 no. 9 (July 1956).

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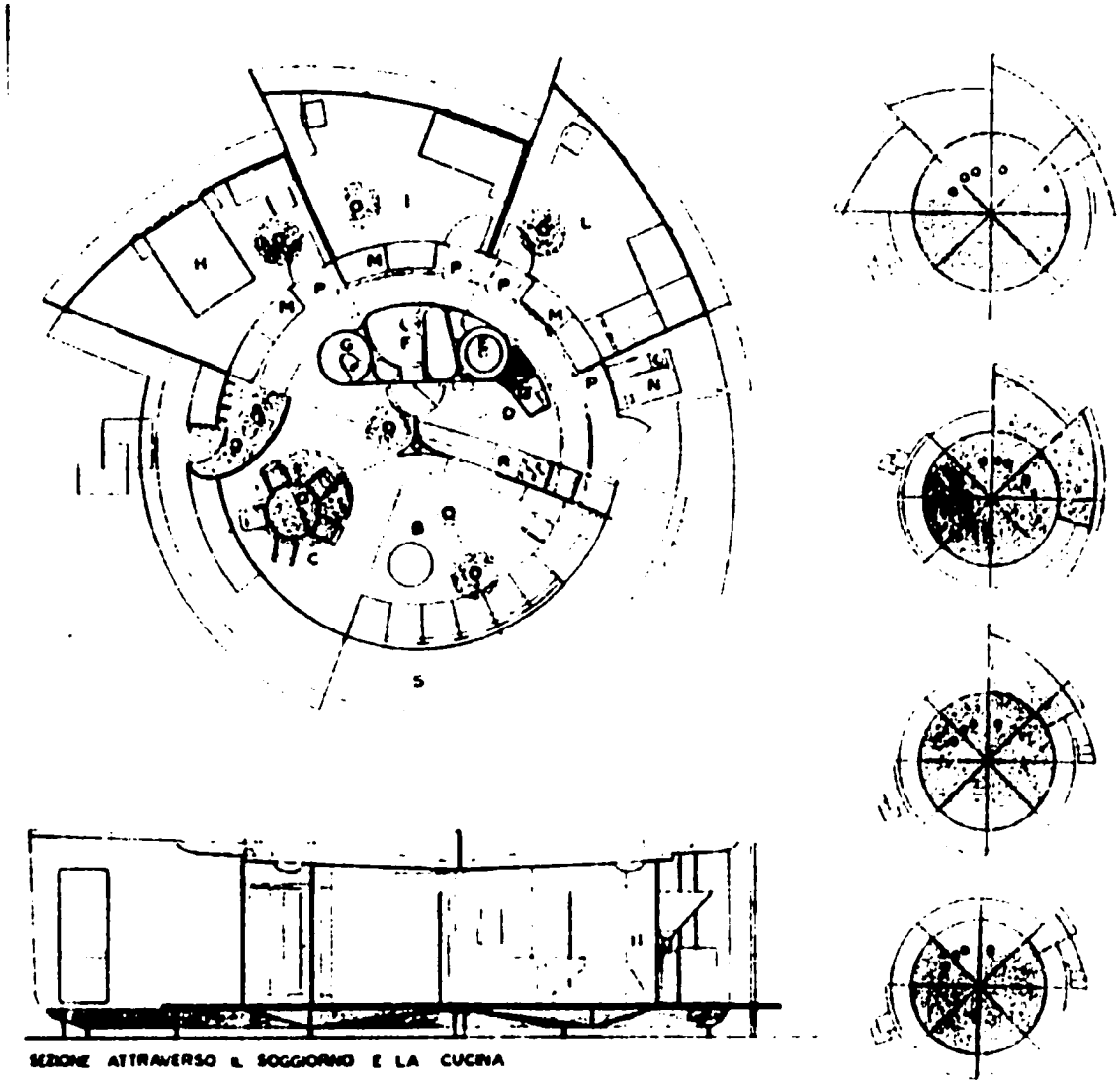

Fig. 1.43 Ionel Schein, Maison "Arts Ménagers," plan, 1956. Source: *Architettura: cronache e storia*, vol. 2 no. 9 (July 1956).

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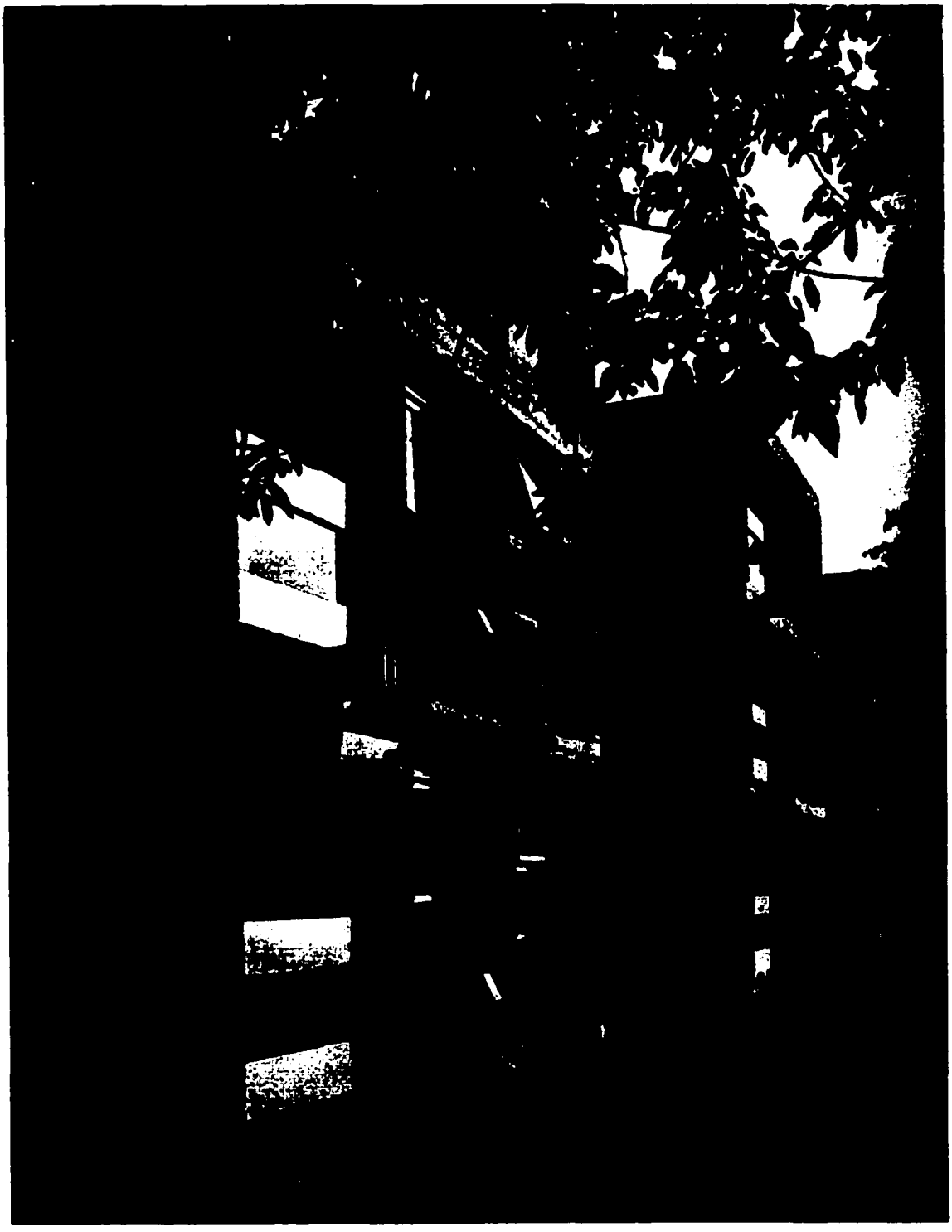

Fig. 1.44 James Stirling and James Gowan, Flats at Ham Common, 1959. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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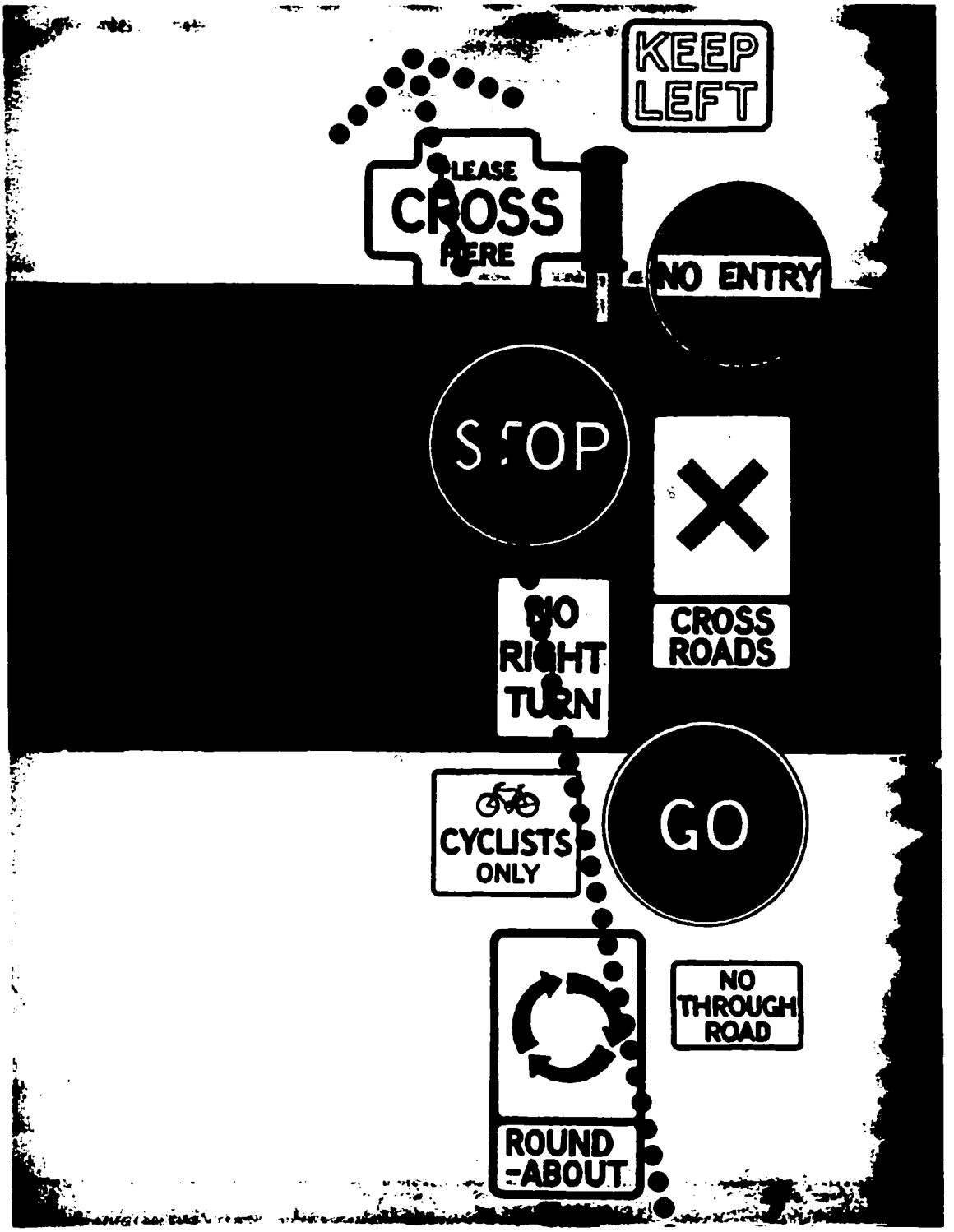

Fig. 2.1 Urban Diagram with Signs. Source: J. Tyrwhitt, J. L. Sert, E. N. Rogers eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanization of Everyday Life* (London: Lund Humphries, 1952).

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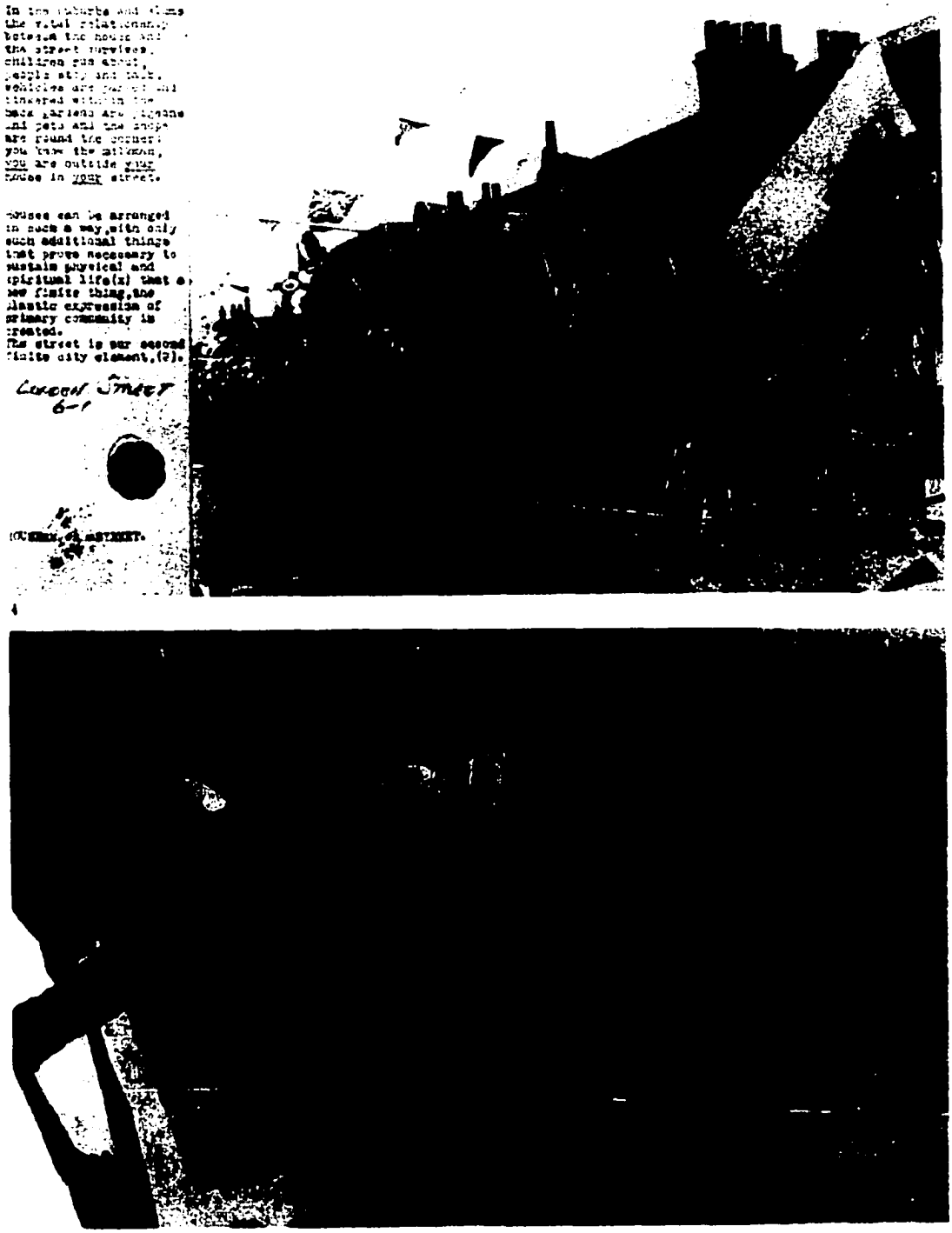

Fig. 2.2. A. and P. Smithson, Urban Reidentification Grid, 1953. Photographs by Nigel Henderson. Source: *Rassegna* 14, no. 52/4 (December 1992).

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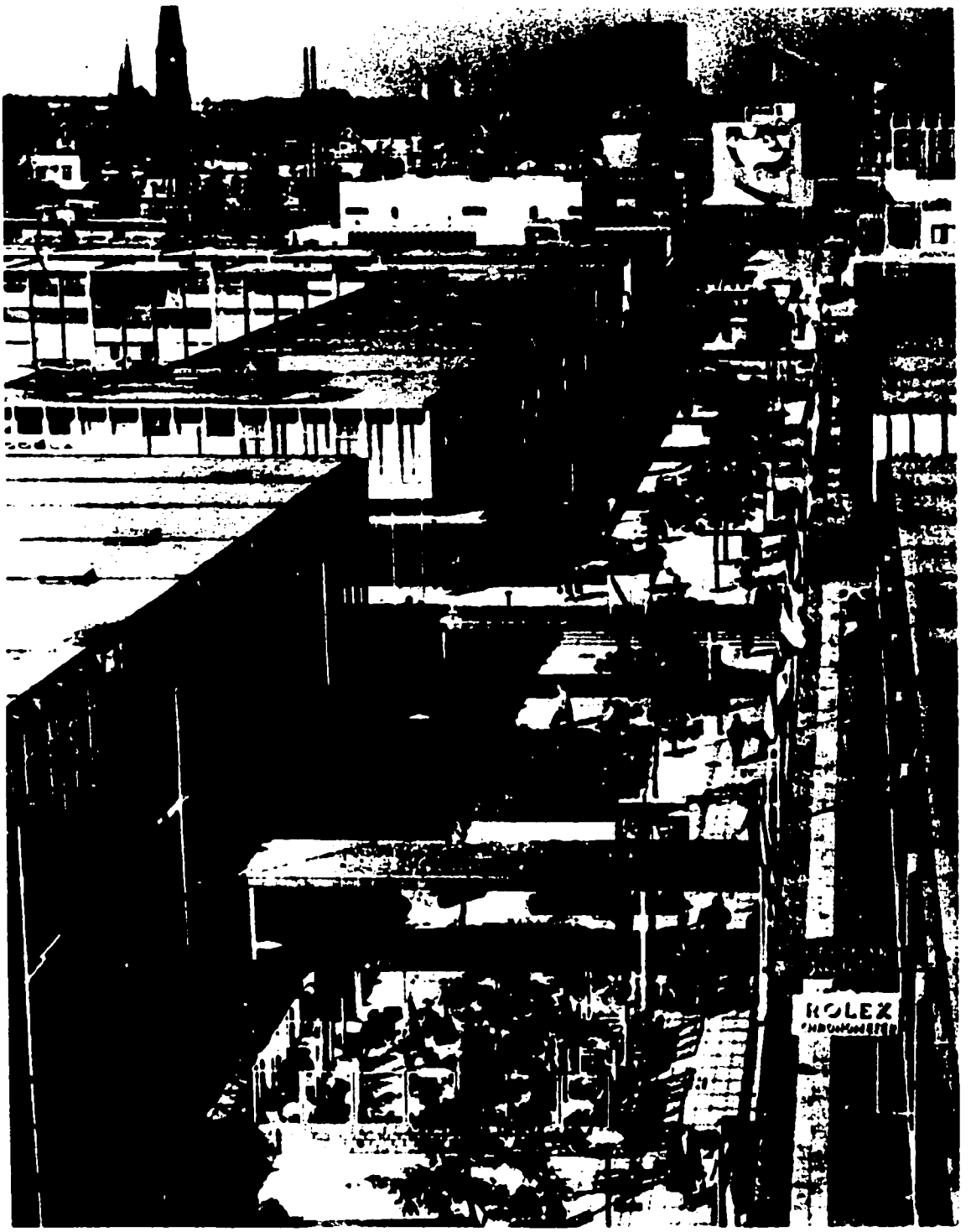

Fig. 2.3 Bakema and van den Broek. *Lijnbaan Shopping District.*, Rotterdam. Perspective view., 1955. Source: Hans Ibelings, ed., *Van den Broek en Bakema, 1948–88: Architectuur en stedenbouw* (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2000).

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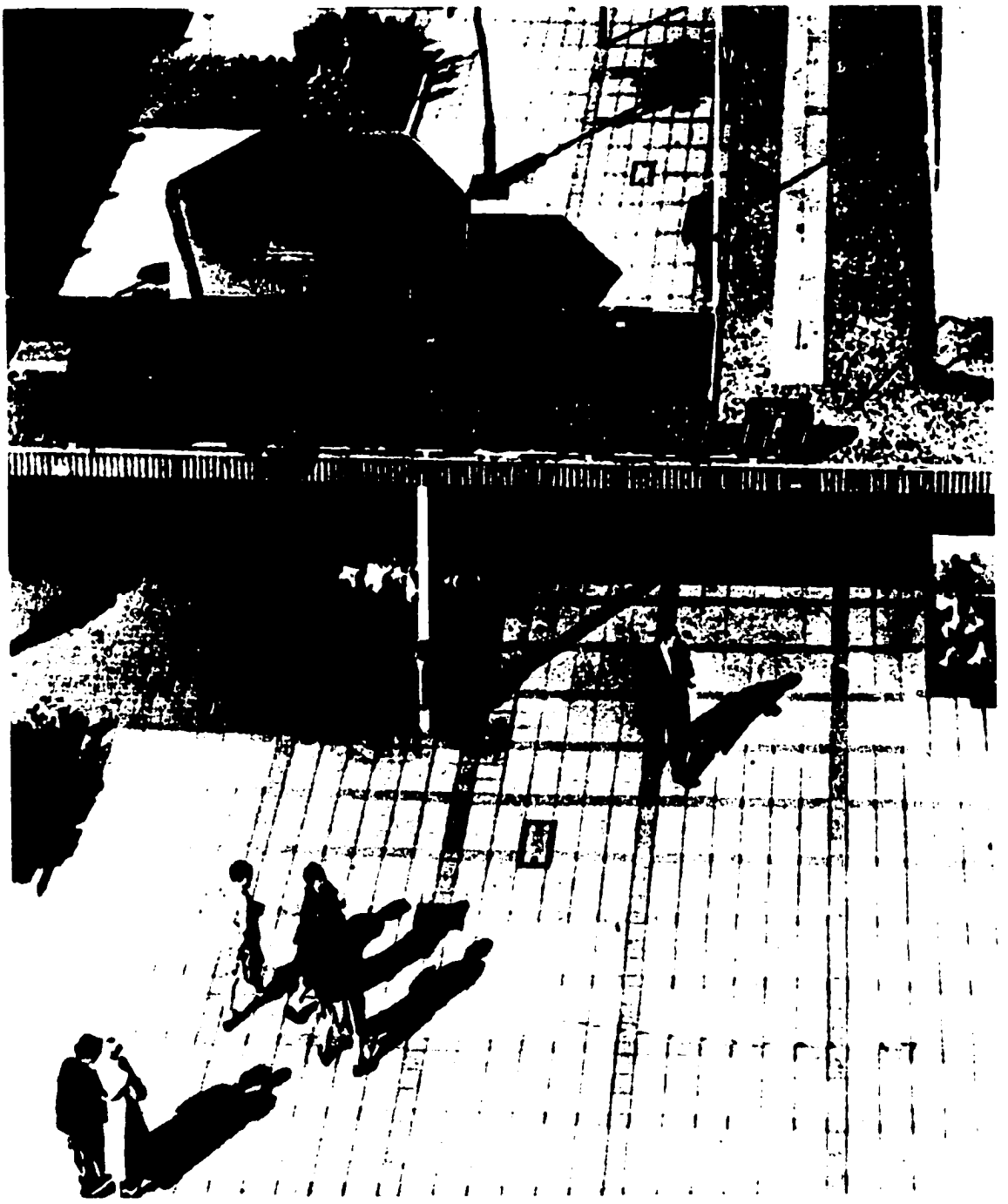

Fig. 2.4 Bakema and van den Broek. *Lijnbaan Shopping District*., Rotterdam, view of pavement grids, 1955. Source: Hans Ibelings, ed., *Van den Broek en Bakema, 1948–88: Architectuur en stedenbouw* (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2000).

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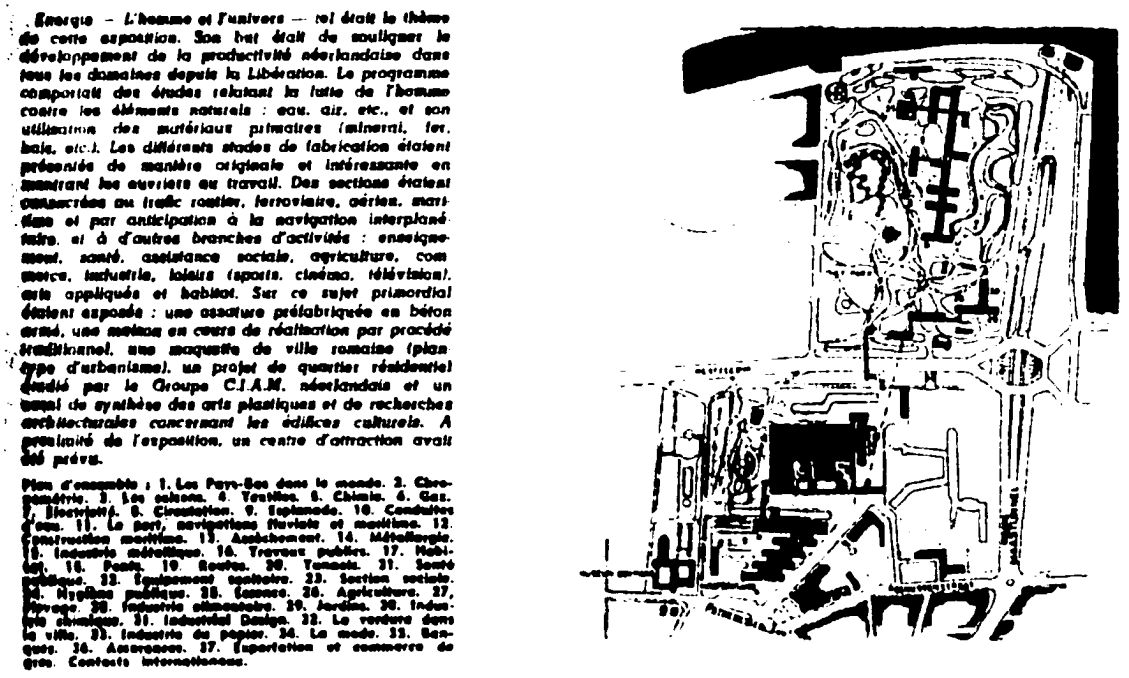

Énergie – L'homme et l'univers — tel était le thème de cette exposition. Son but était de souligner le développement de la productivité néerlandaise dans tous les domaines depuis la Libération. Le programme comportait des études relatant la lutte de l'homme contre les éléments naturels : eau, air, etc., et son utilisation des matériaux primaires (minerai, fer, bois, etc.). Les différents stades de fabrication étaient présentés de manière originale et intéressante en montrant les ouvriers au travail. Des sections étaient consacrées au trafic routier, ferroviaire, aérien, maritime et par anticipation à la navigation interplanétaire, et à d'autres branches d'activités : enseignement, santé, assistance sociale, agriculture, commerce, industrie, loisirs (sports, cinéma, télévision), arts appliqués et habitat. Sur ce sujet primordial étaient exposés : une ossature préfabriquée en béton armé, une maison en cours de réalisation par procédé traditionnel, une maquette de ville romaine (plan type d'urbanisme), un projet de quartier résidentiel dressé par le Groupe C.I.A.M. néerlandais et un canal de synthèse des arts plastiques et de recherches architecturales concernant les édifices culturels. A proximité de l'exposition, un centre d'attraction avait été prévu.

Plan d'ensemble : 1. Les Pays-Bas dans le monde. 2. Chorographie. 3. Les saisons. 4. Textiles. 5. Chimie. 6. Gaz. 7. Électricité. 8. Circulation. 9. Esplanade. 10. Conduites d'eau. 11. Le port, navigations fluviale et maritime. 12. Construction maritime. 13. Assèchement. 14. Métallurgie. 15. Industrie métallique. 16. Travaux publics. 17. Mobilier. 18. Ponts. 19. Routes. 20. Tunnels. 21. Santé publique. 22. Équipement sanitaire. 23. Section sociale. 24. Hygiène publique. 25. Science. 26. Agriculture. 27. Élevage. 28. Industrie alimentaire. 29. Jardins. 30. Industrie chimique. 31. Industriel Design. 32. La verdure dans la ville. 33. Industrie du papier. 34. La mode. 35. Banques. 36. Assurances. 37. Exportation et commerce de gros. Contacts internationaux.

Fig. 2.5 Bakema and Van den Broek, E55 Exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955, site plan. Source: "Exposition à Rotterdam, Hollande," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (Novermber 1955).

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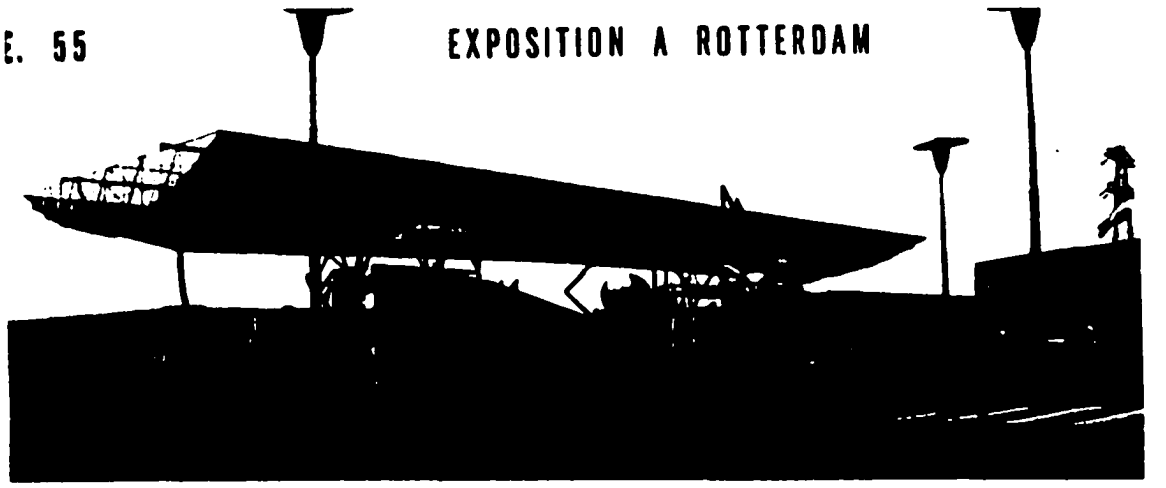

Fig. 2.6 Van den Broek and Bakema. E55 exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955, entrance portico. Source: "Exposition à Rotterdam, Hollande," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (Novermber 1955).

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Fig. 2.7 Karel Appel, mural entitled "The Origin of the World," E55 exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (November 1955).

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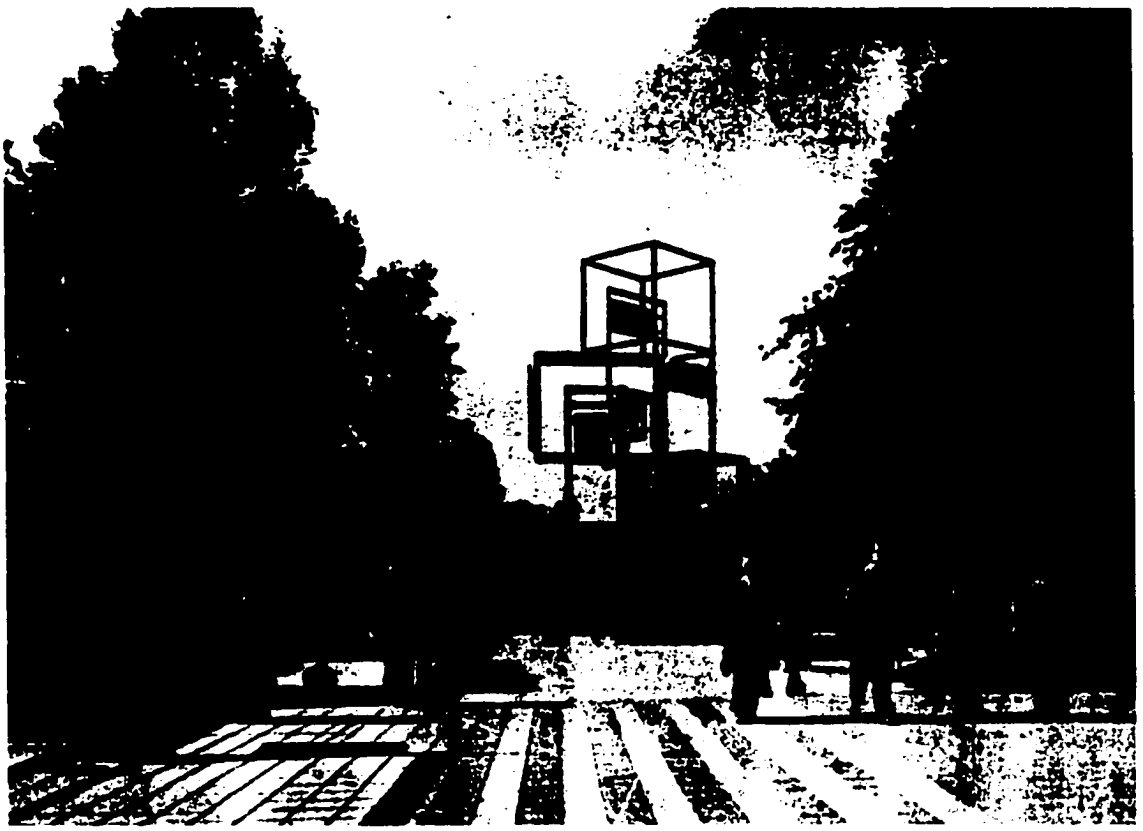

Fig. 2.8 Constant Nieuwenhuis, sculpture at E55 exhibition, Rotterdam, 1955. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 26, no. 62 (Novermber 1955).

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Fig. 2.9 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Spontaeous Architecture," installation view, 9th Milan Triennale, 1951. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo*. Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992.

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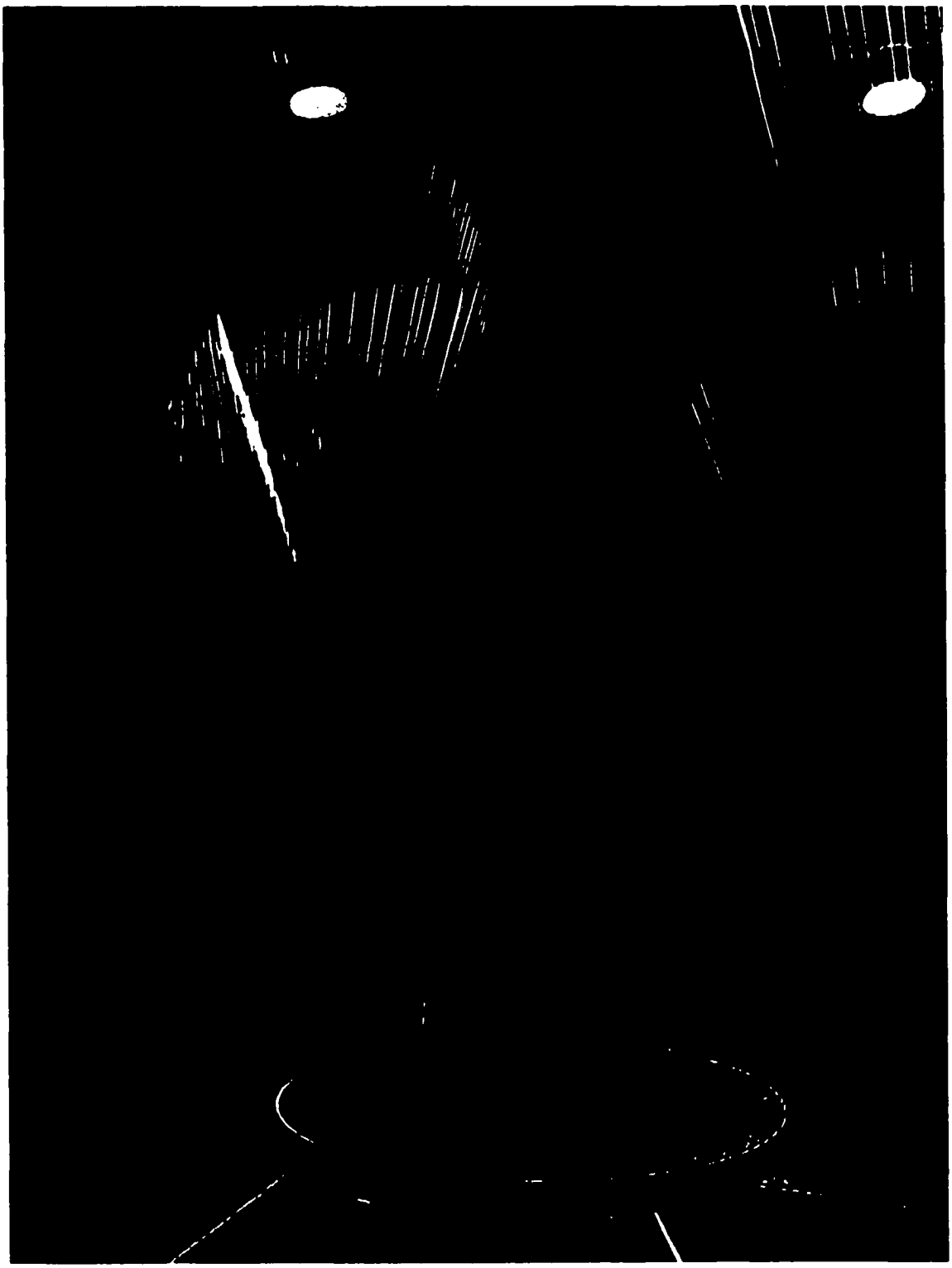

Fig. 2.10 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Spontaeous Architecture," installation view, 9th Milan Triennale, 1951. Source: B. Zucchi, *Giancarlo de Carlo*. Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992.

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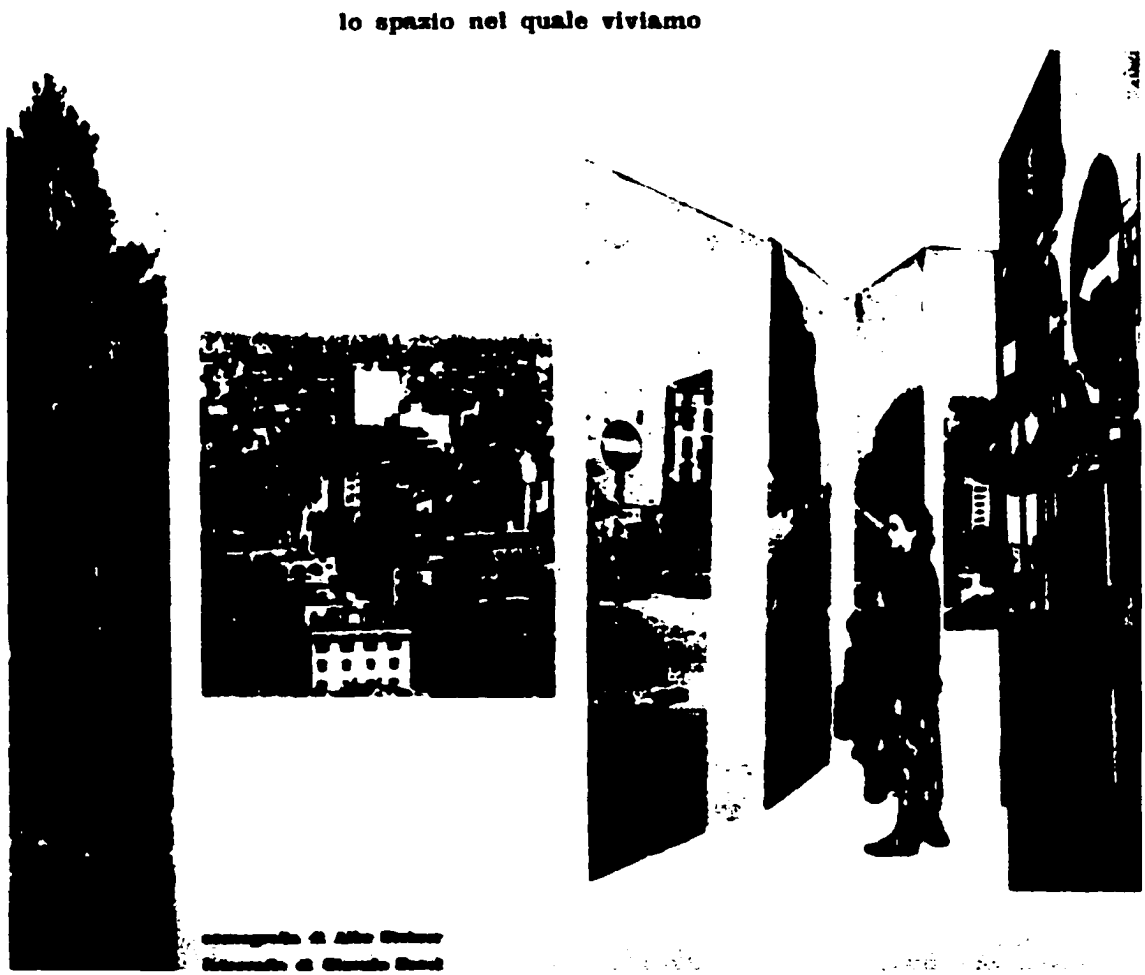

Fig. 2.11 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Exhibition of Urban Design," installation view, 10th Milan Triennale, 1954. Source: *Casabella Continuità* 203 (Novembre–Dicembre 1954).

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Fig. 2.12 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Exhibition of Urban Design," description of films, 10th Milan Triennale, 1954. Source: *Casabella Continuità* 203 (Novembre–Dicembre 1954).

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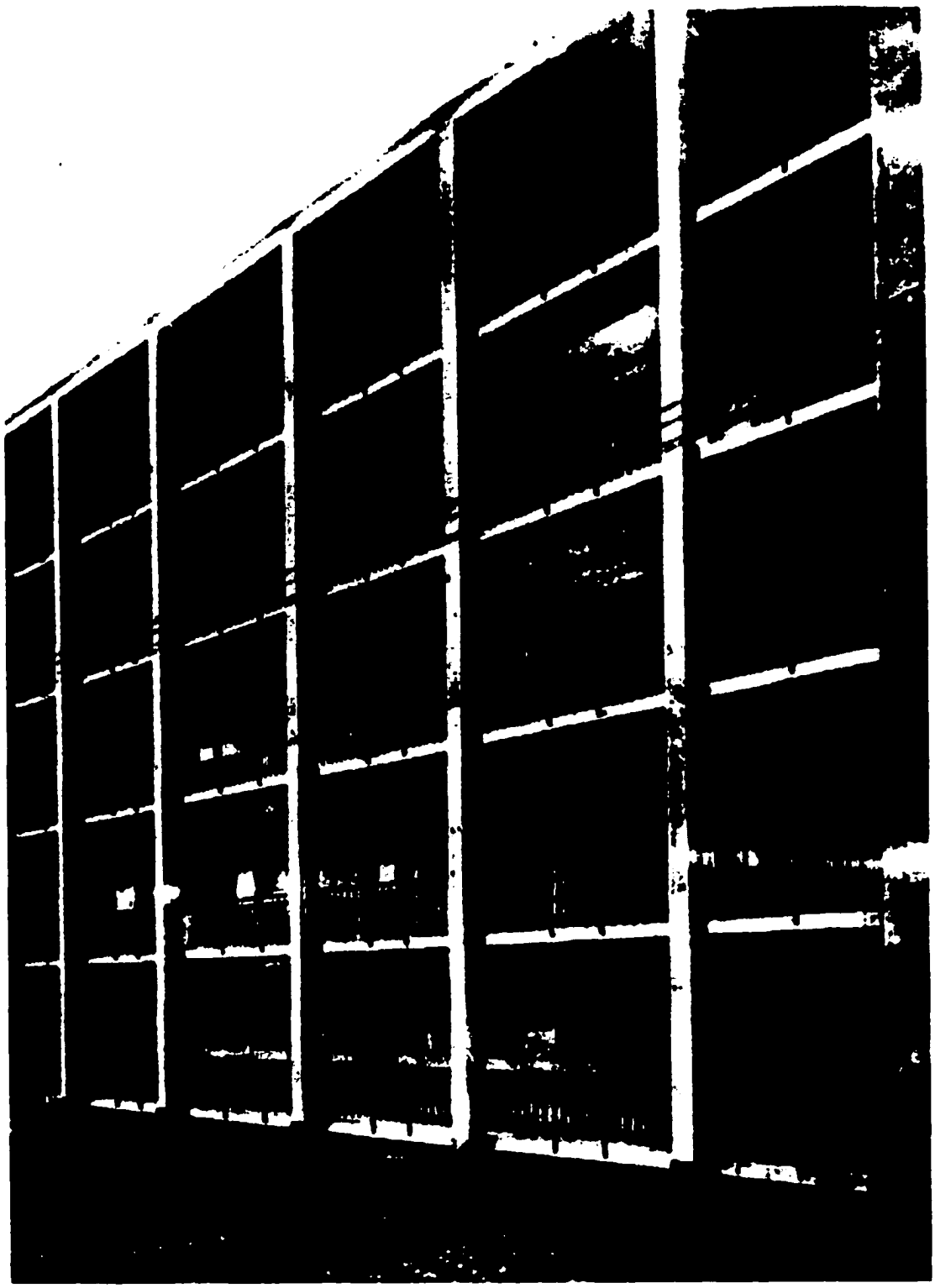

Fig. 2.13 Giancarlo De Carlo, Housing at Sesto San Giovanni, Italy, 1950. Source: B. Zucchi. *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

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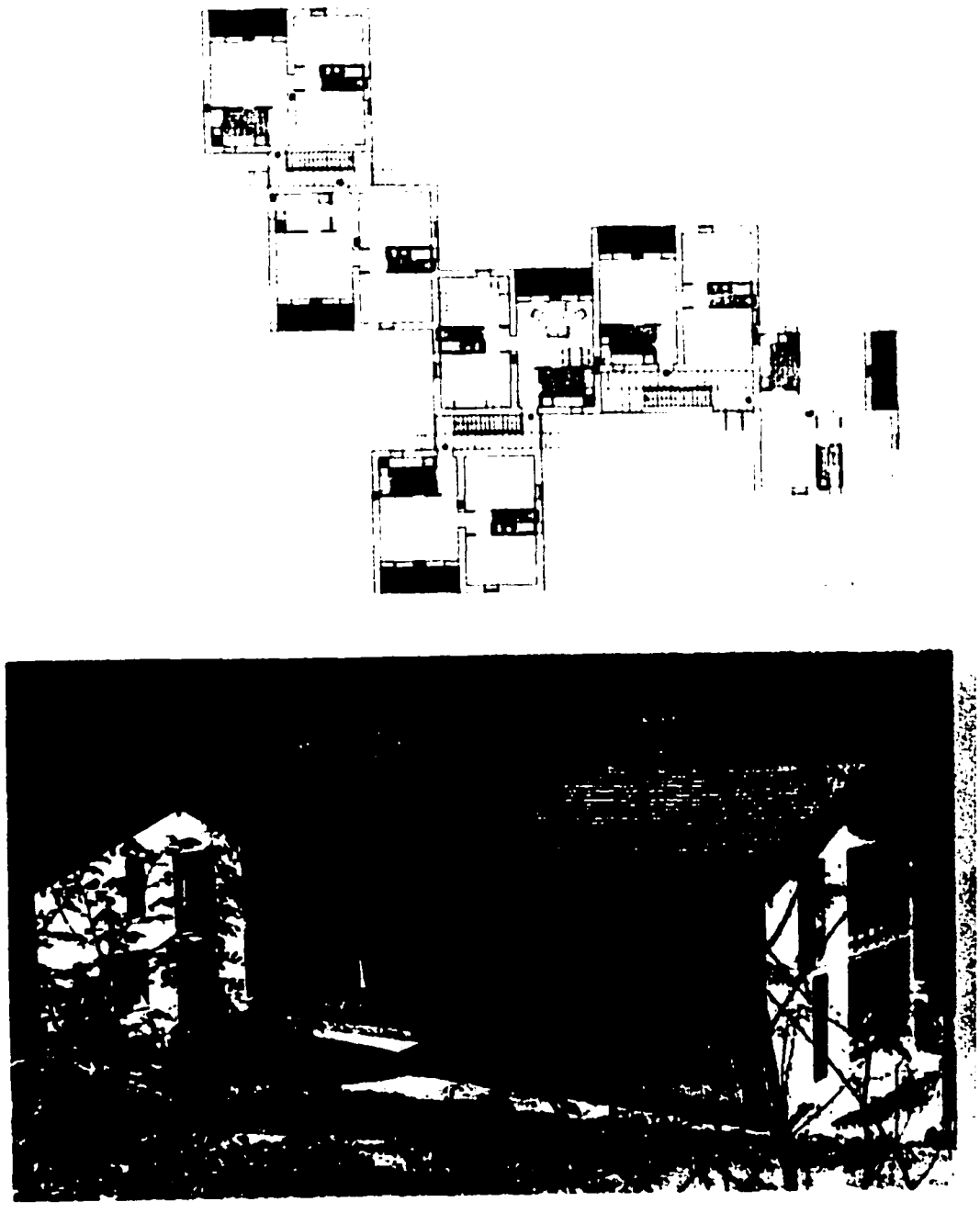

Fig. 2.14 Giancarlo De Carlo, Housing at Baveno, Novarra, Italy, 1951. Plan and exterior. Source: B. Zucchi. *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

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Fig. 2.15 City of Urbino, bird's-eye view. Source: B. Zucchi. *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

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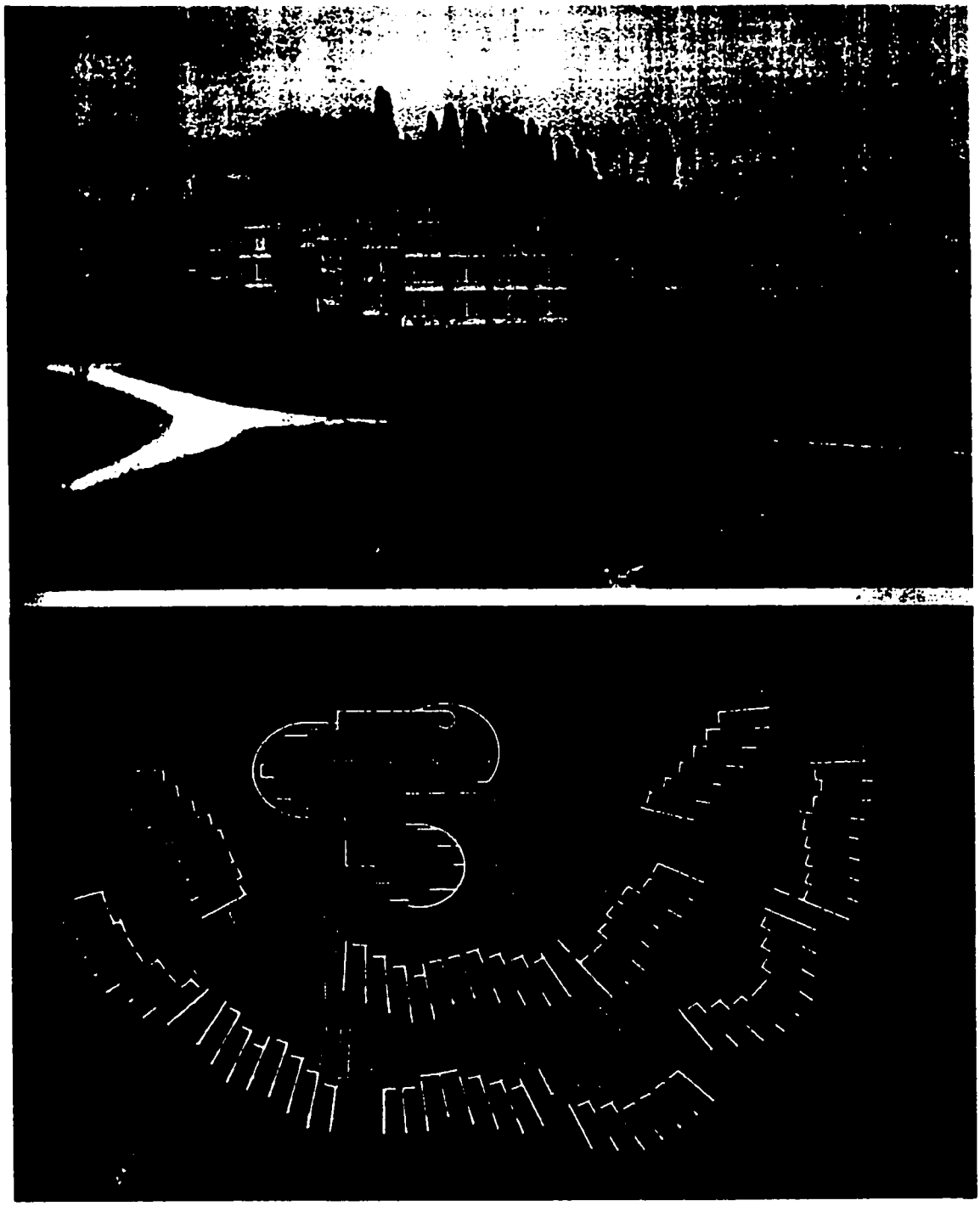

Fig. 2.16 Giancarlo De Carlo, Colegio del Colle, Urbino, Italy, plan and elevation, 1962–83. Source: *Zodiac* 16 (1966).

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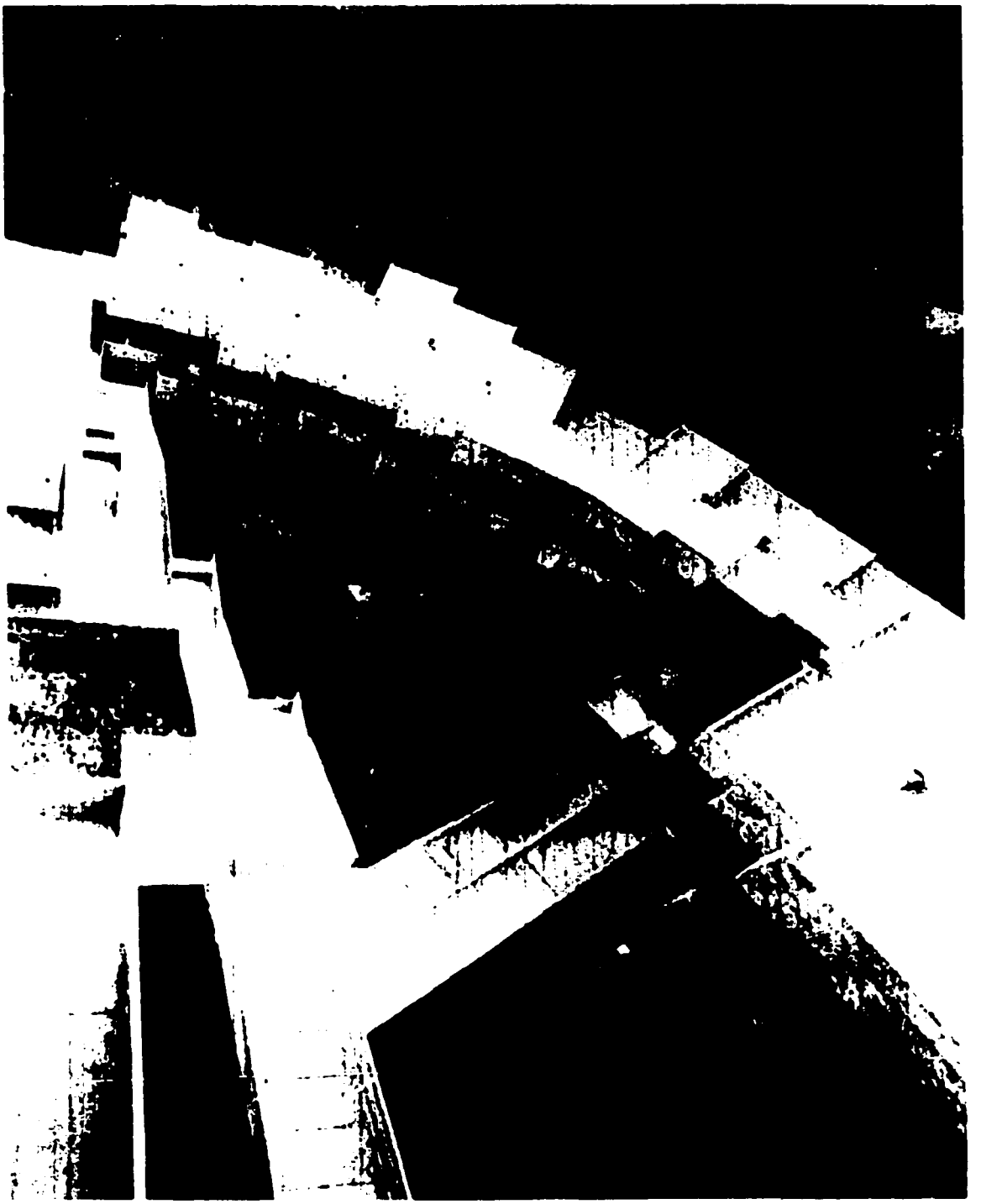

Fig. 2.17 Giancarlo De Carlo, Colegio del Colle, Urbino, Italy, 1962–83, bird's-eye view. Source: B. Zucchi. *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

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Fig. 2.18 Giancarlo De Carlo, Colegio del Colle, Urbino, Italy, 1962–83, view of walkways. Source: B. Zucchi. *Giancarlo de Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992).

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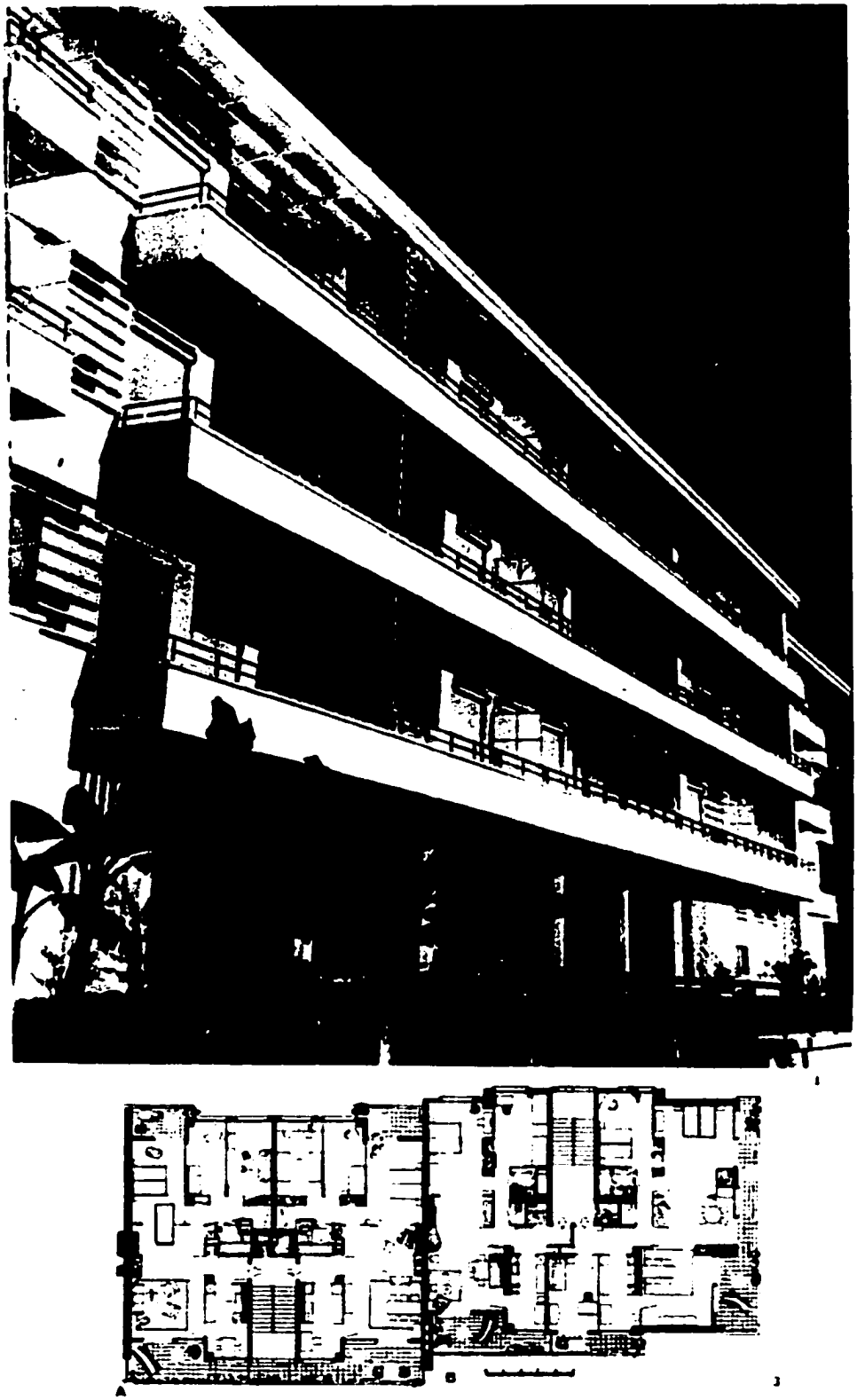

Fig. 2.19 J. and P. Honegger, *Immeubles d'habitation*, Casablanca, Morocco, 1950–1. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 35 (Mai 1951).

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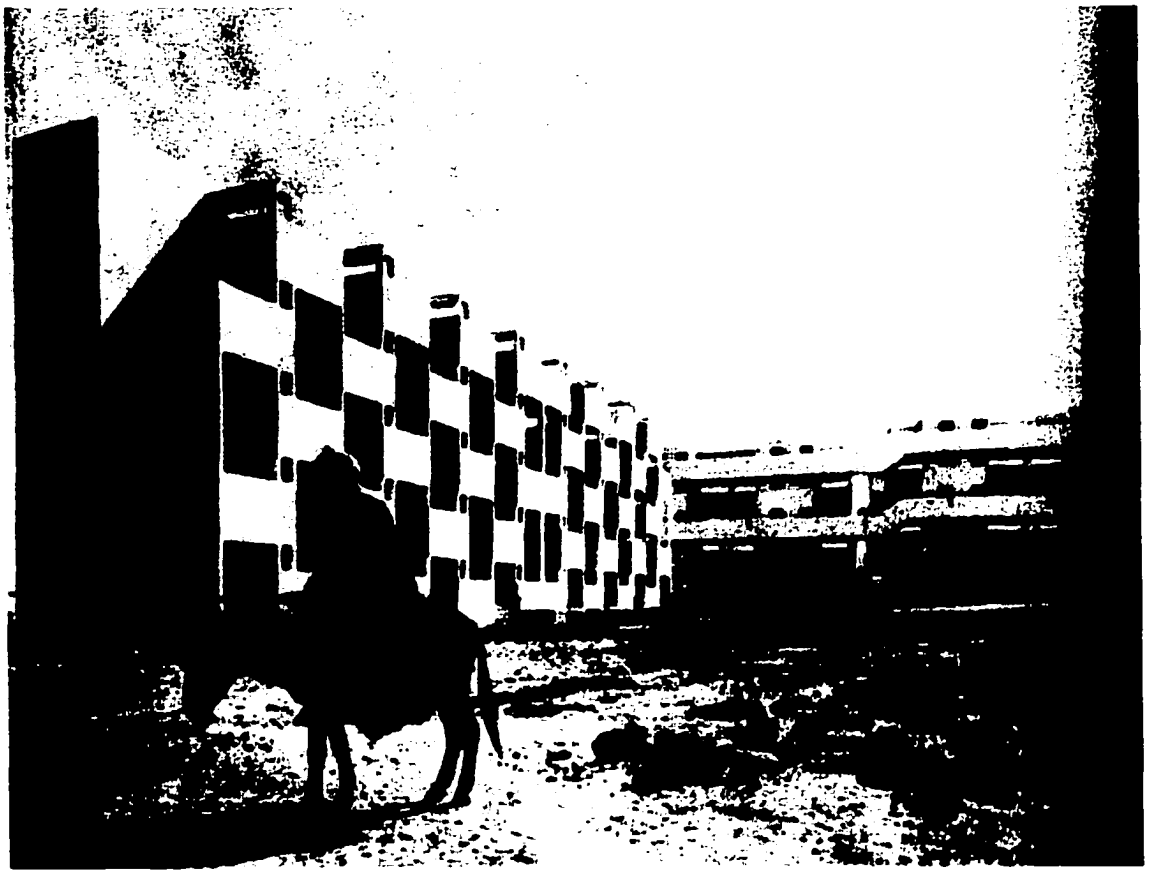

Fig. 2.20 ATBAT-Afrique, "Nid d'abeilles" housing, Casablanca, Morocco, 1951–3. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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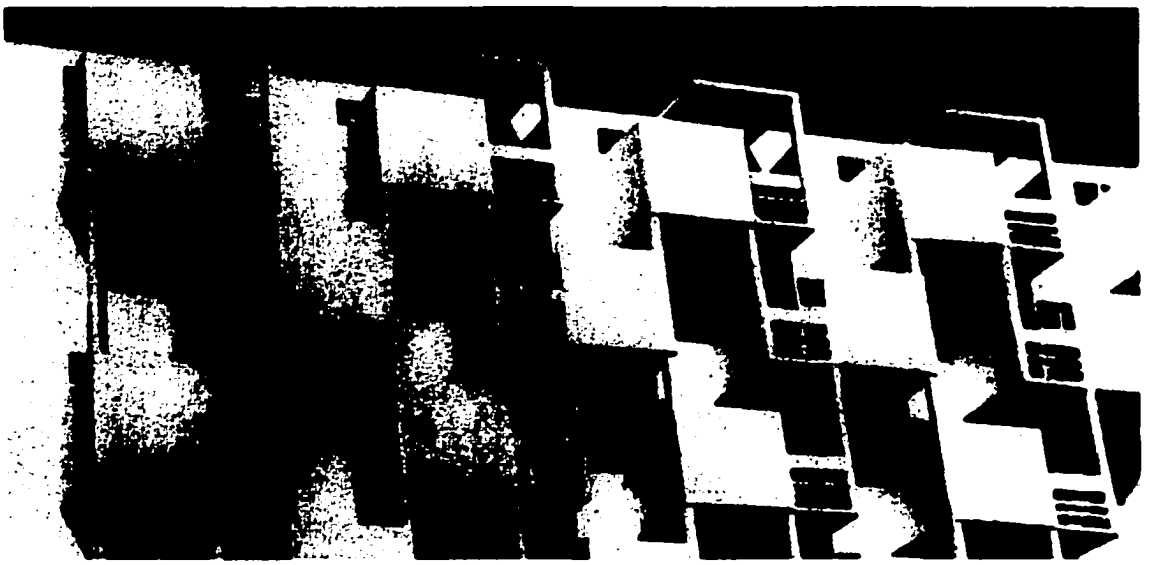

Fig. 2.21 ATBAT-Afrique, Housing for Jewish Residents, Casablanca, Morocco, 1951–3. Source: *Architectural Design* 25 (January 1955).

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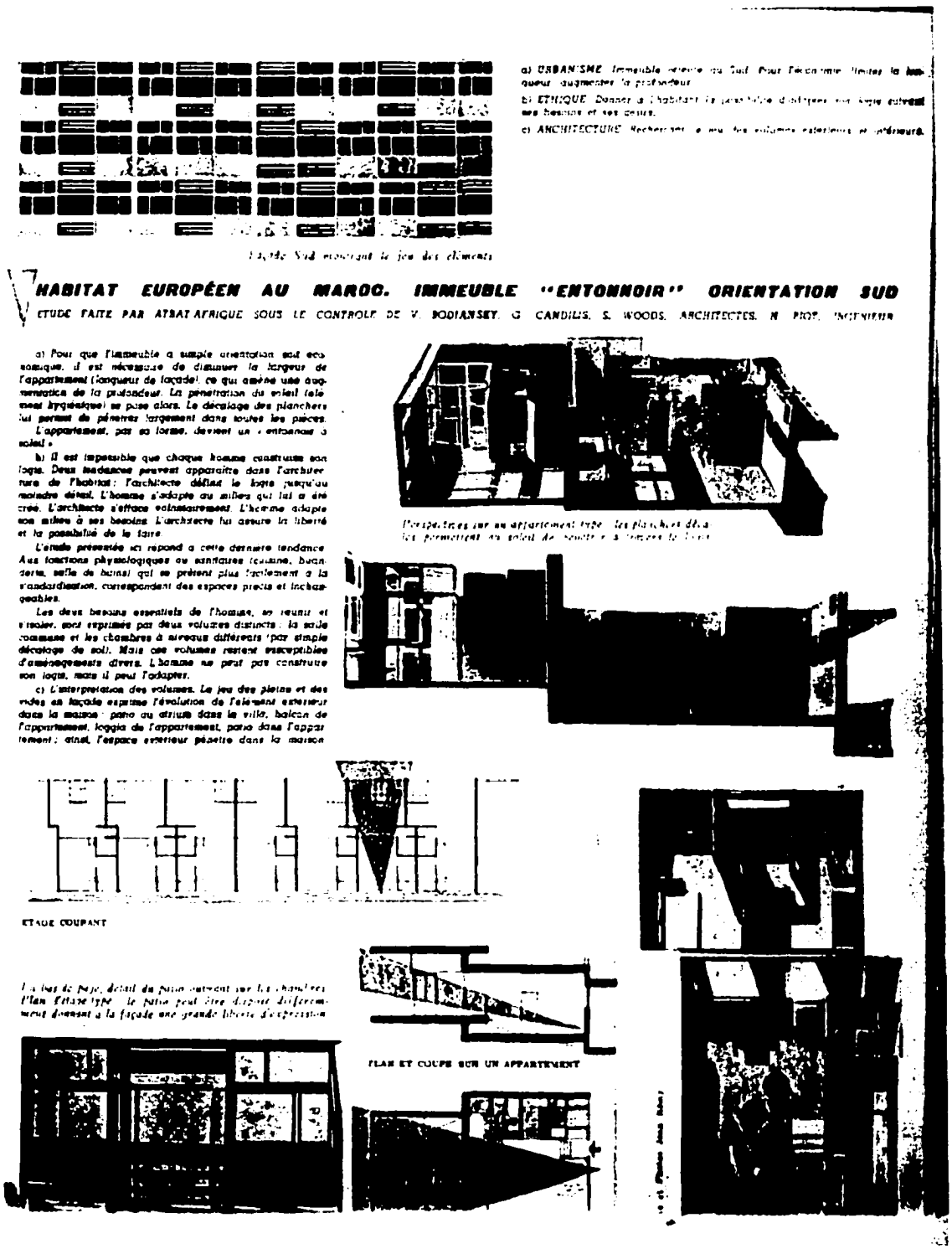

Fig. 2.22 ATBAT-Afrique, *Immeuble "Entonnoir"* housing, Casablanca, Morocco, 1953. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 47 (May 1953).

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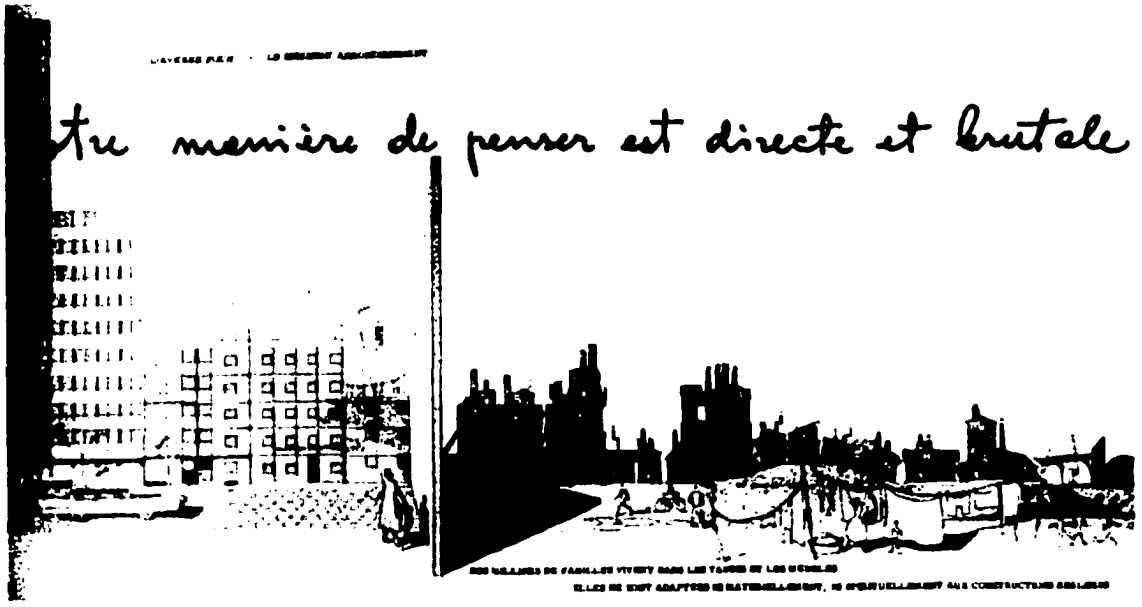

Fig. 2.23 ATBAT-Afrique, Grille Source: CIAM Otterlo, 1959. Oscar Newman ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Interrelationships* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961).

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Fig. 2.24 Aldo van Eyck, installation design for First CoBrA exhibition, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1949. Source: F. Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

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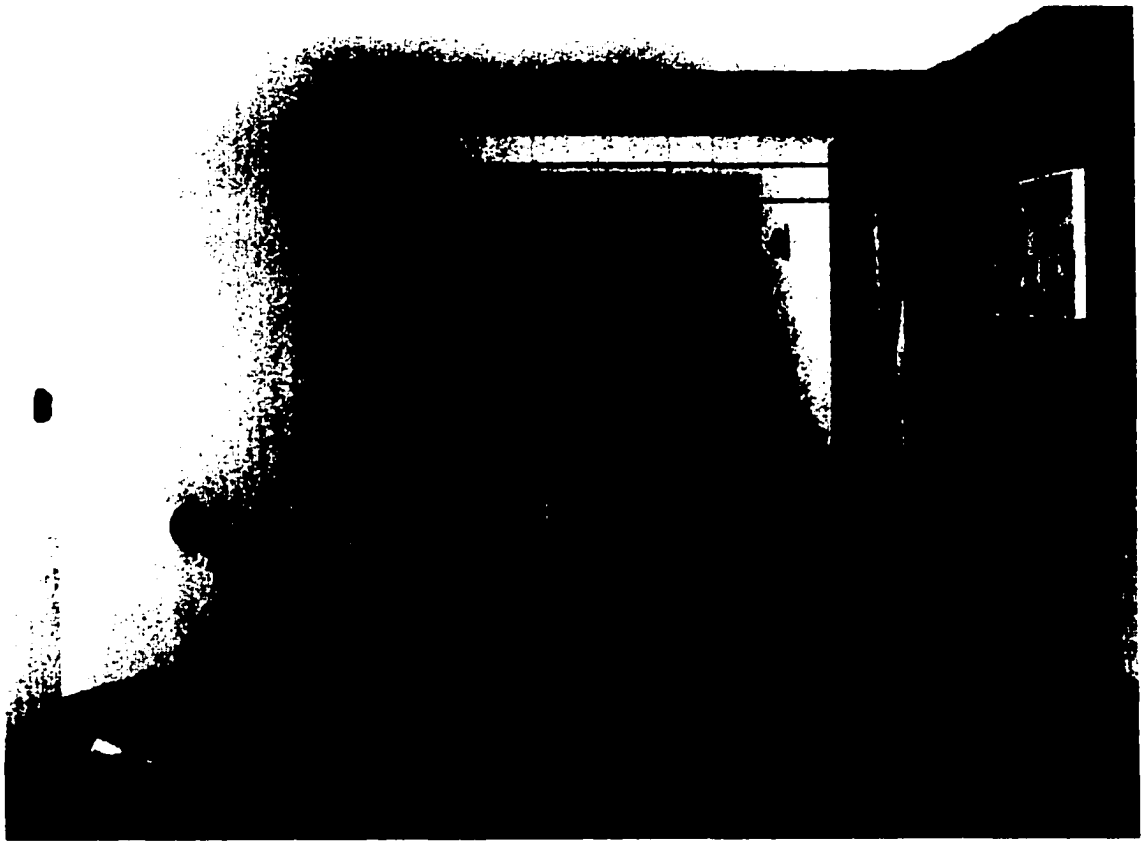

Fig. 2.25 Aldo van Eyck, Van Eyck Apartment, Amsterdam, interior, 1948. Source: F. Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

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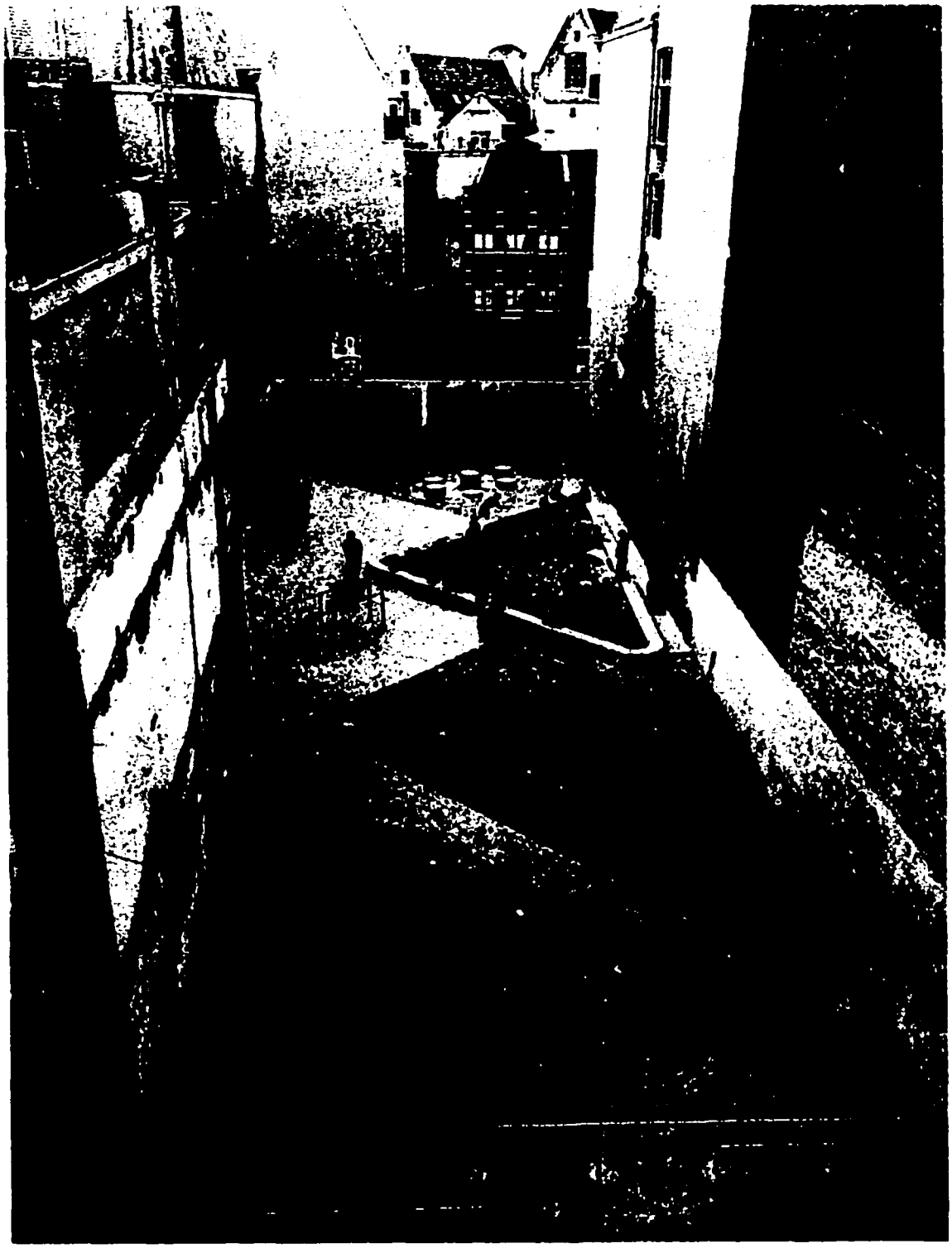

Fig. 2.26 Aldo van Eyck, Dijkstraat Playground, Amsterdam, 1956. Source: *Rassegna* 14, no. 52/4 (December 1992).

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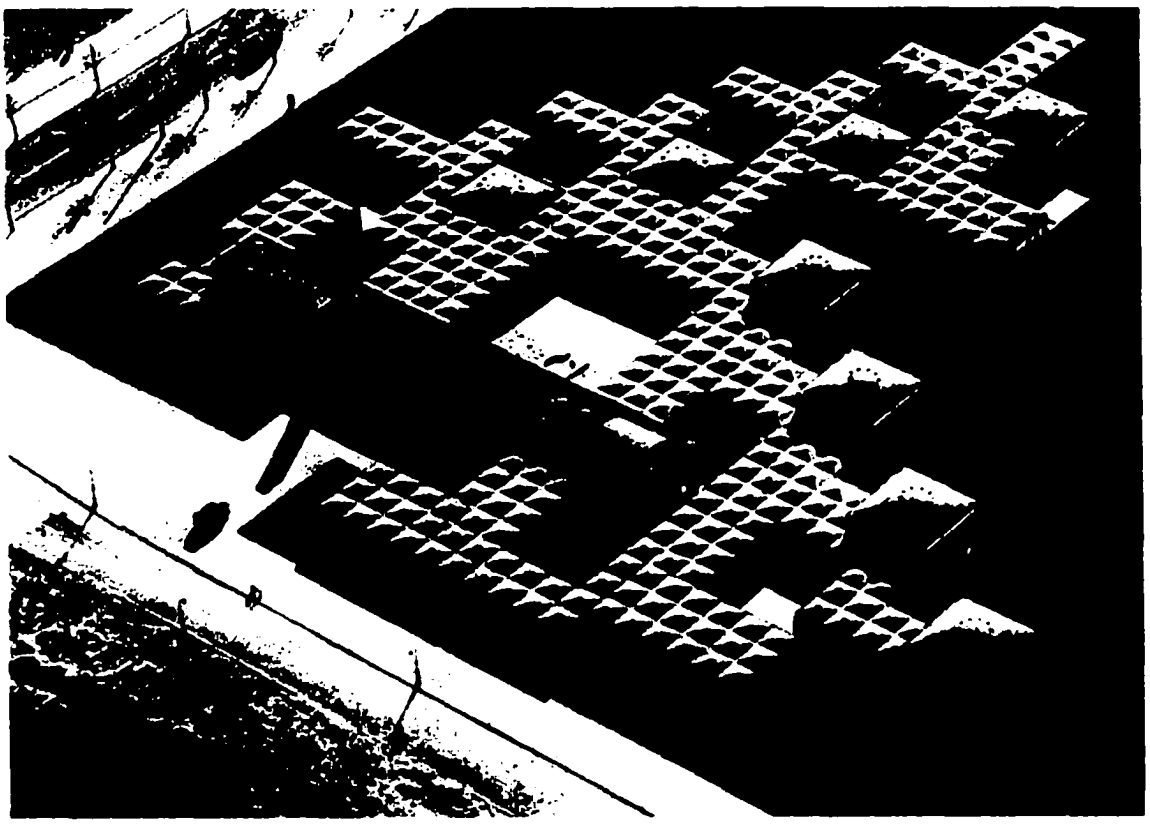

Fig. 2.27 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Children's Home, 1957–60. Bird's-eye view. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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Fig. 2.28 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, Pancake Kitchen. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

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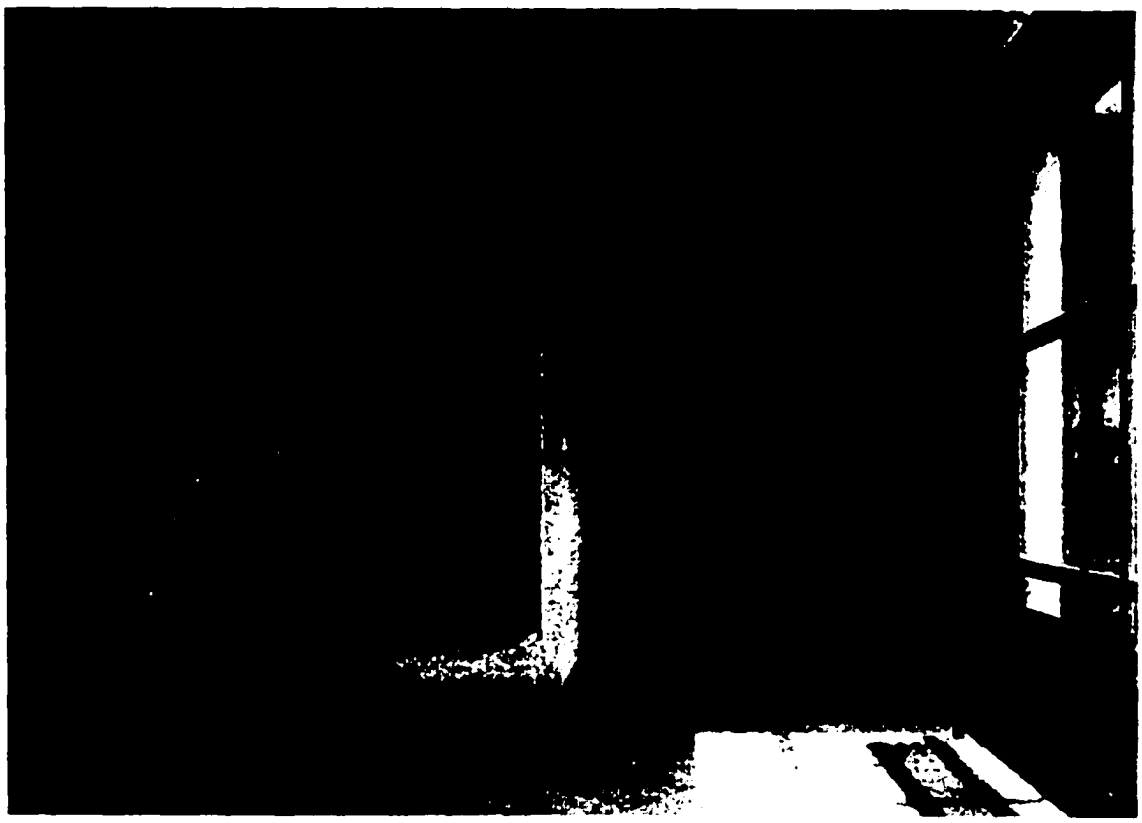

Fig. 2.29 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, Puppet Theatre. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

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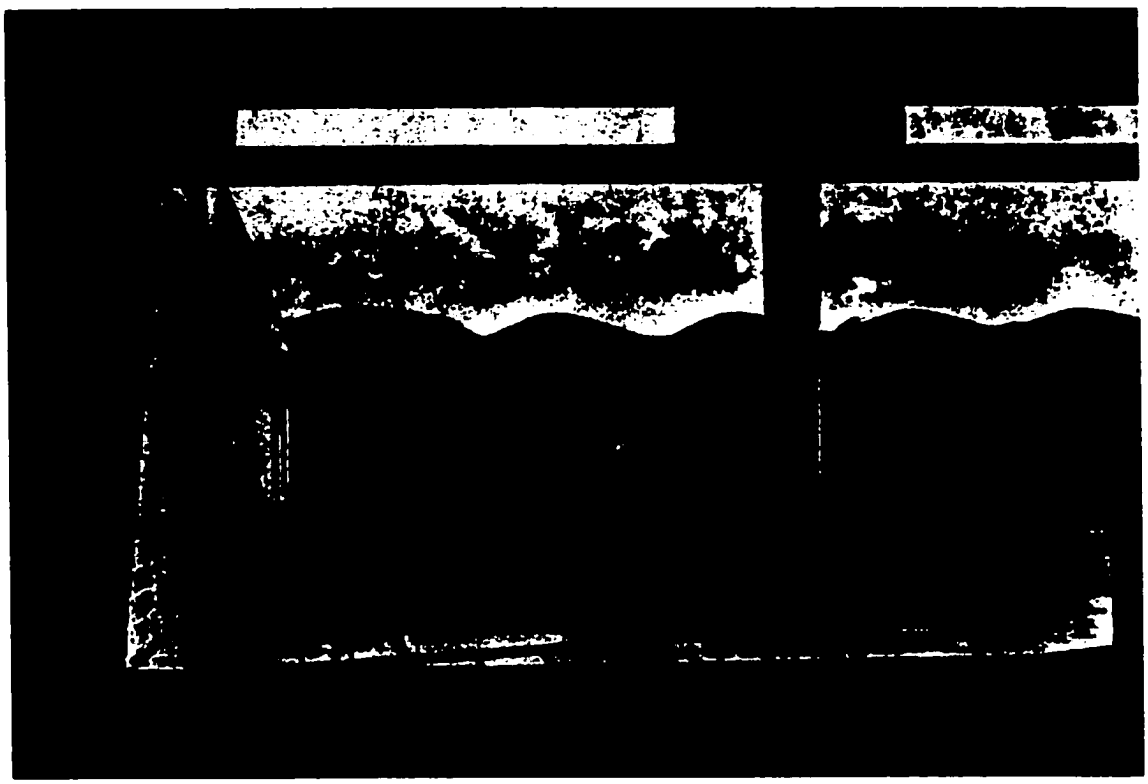

Fig. 2.30 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, entrance Court. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

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Fig. 2.31 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, interior street. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (April–Mei 1961).

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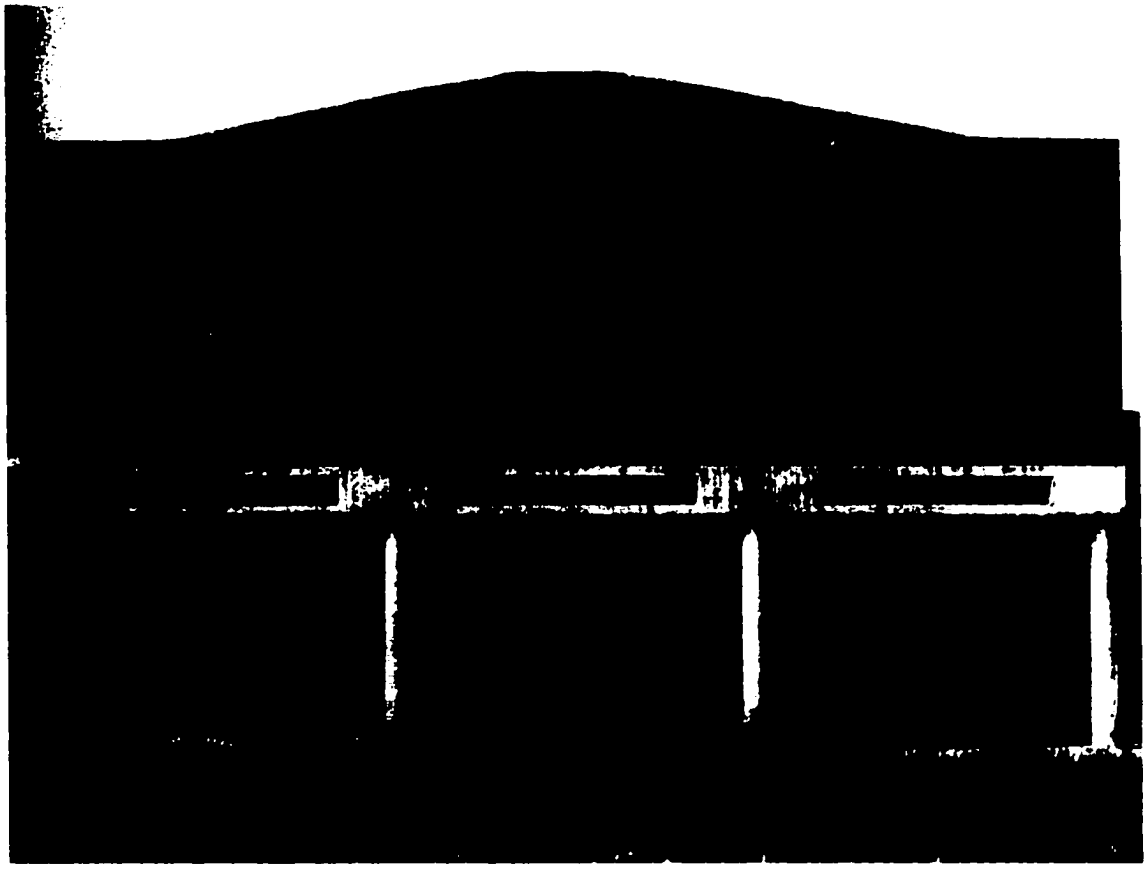

Fig. 2.32 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, "classical" elevation. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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Fig. 2.33 Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam Orphanage, roof domes. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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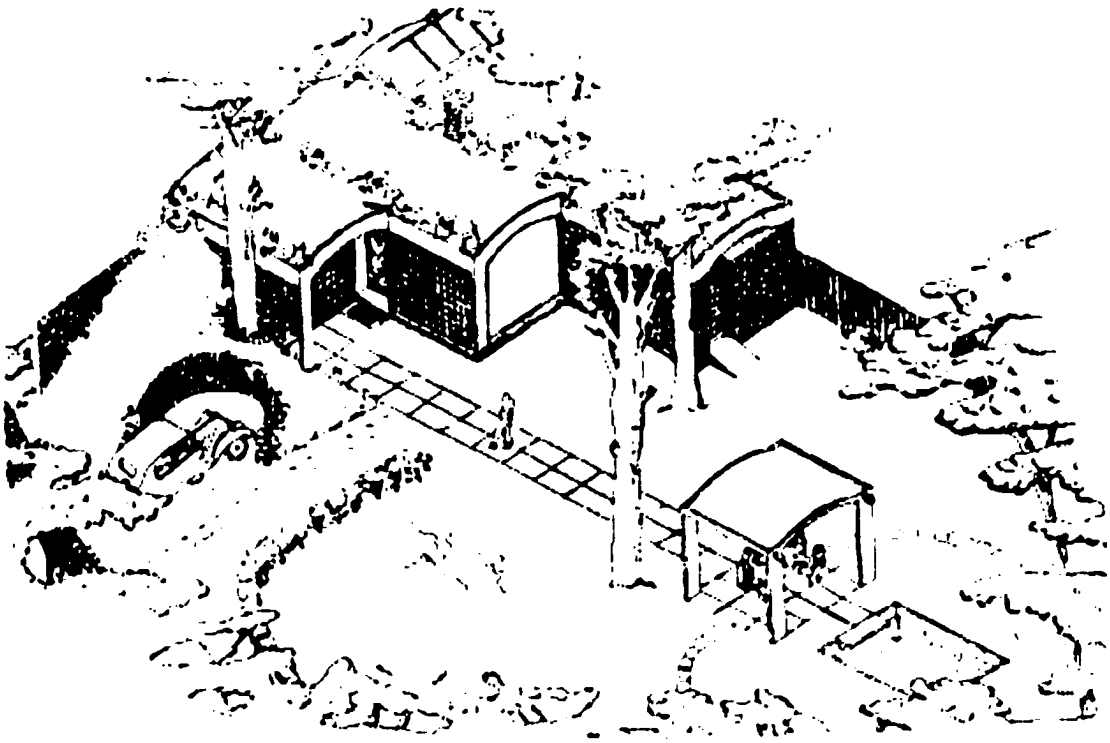

Fig. 2.34 Le Corbusier. Petite Maison de Weekend, 1935, project drawing. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

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100. Selim Bey's tent on Kara Deq, near Colemerik, Turkish Kurdistan. The magic of the desert camp

Fig. 2.35 Caravan in Turkey, Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge. MA: MIT Press, 1970).

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113. Wally Byam caravanners on the road to Guatemala

Fig. 2.36 Caravan in Guatemala, Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

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Fig. 2.37 Army House, Skopje, Yugoslavia, Source: *The Skopje Earthquake of 26 July 1963: Report of the Unesco Technical Assistance Mission* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1968).

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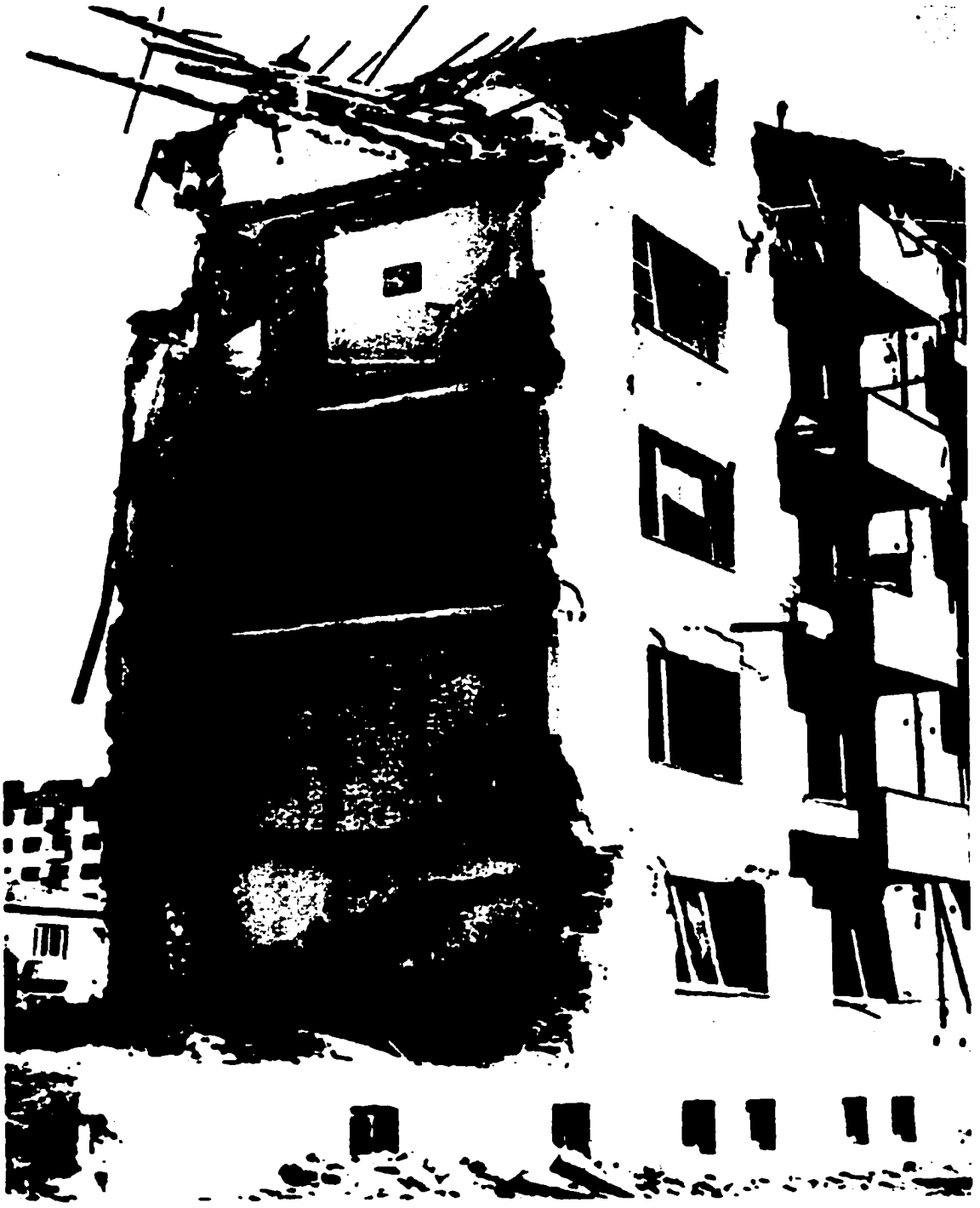

Fig. 2.38 Karpos House, Skopje, Yugoslavia, Source: *The Skopje Earthquake of 26 July 1963: Report of the Unesco Technical Assistance Mission* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1968).

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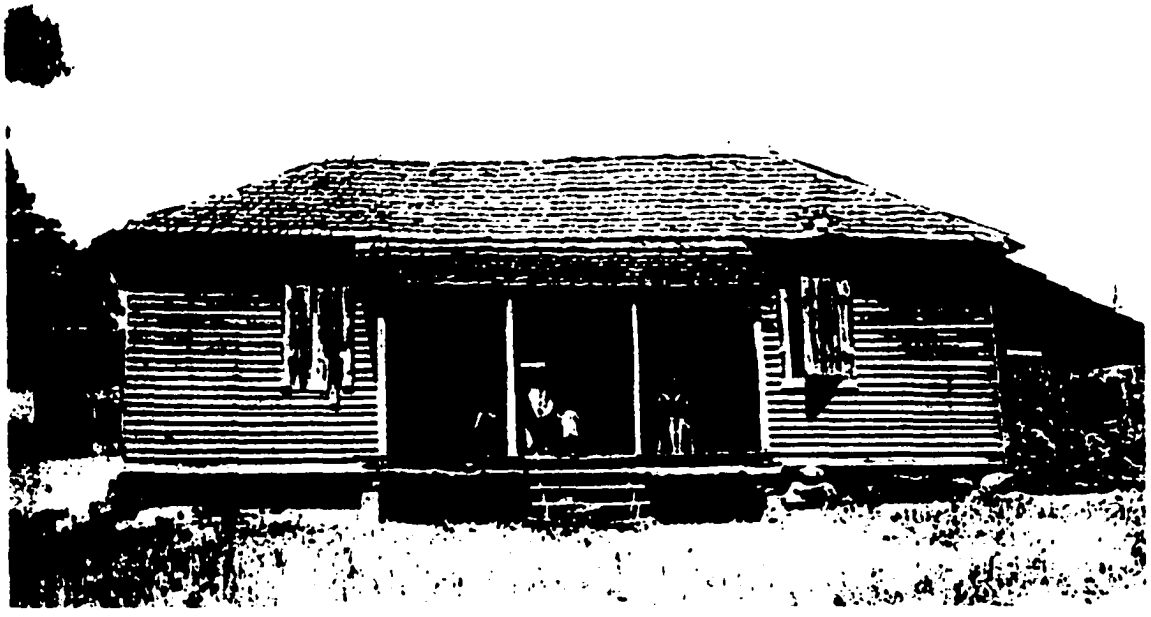

Fig. 3.1 Walker Evans, untitled photograph of tenant farmers on their porch. From J. Agee and W. Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941).

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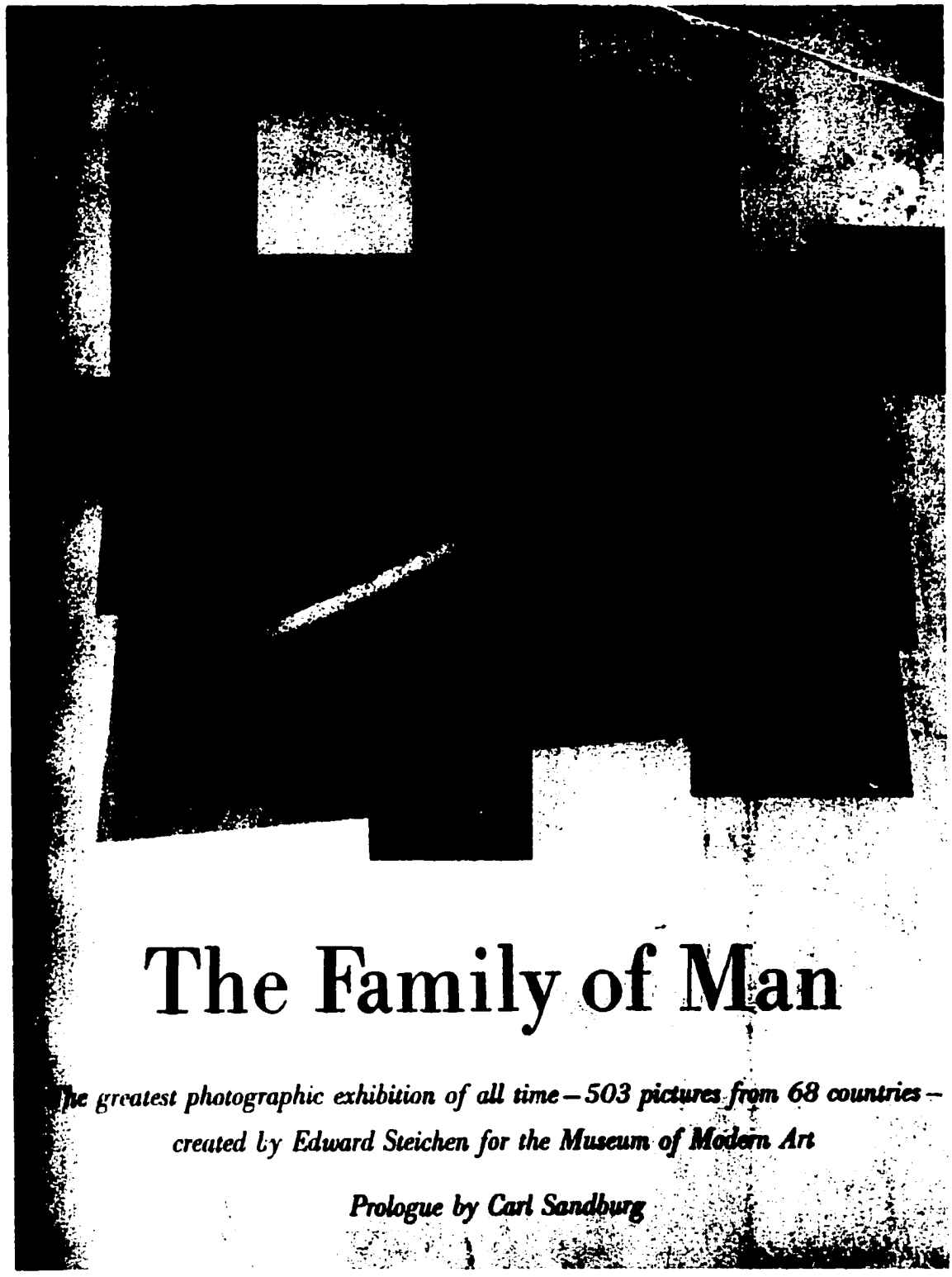

Fig. 3.2 Cover of Edward Steichen, *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955)

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Fig. 3.3 George Howe, Oscar Stonorov, and Louis Kahn, Carver Woods project, Coatesville, PA, 1941–3. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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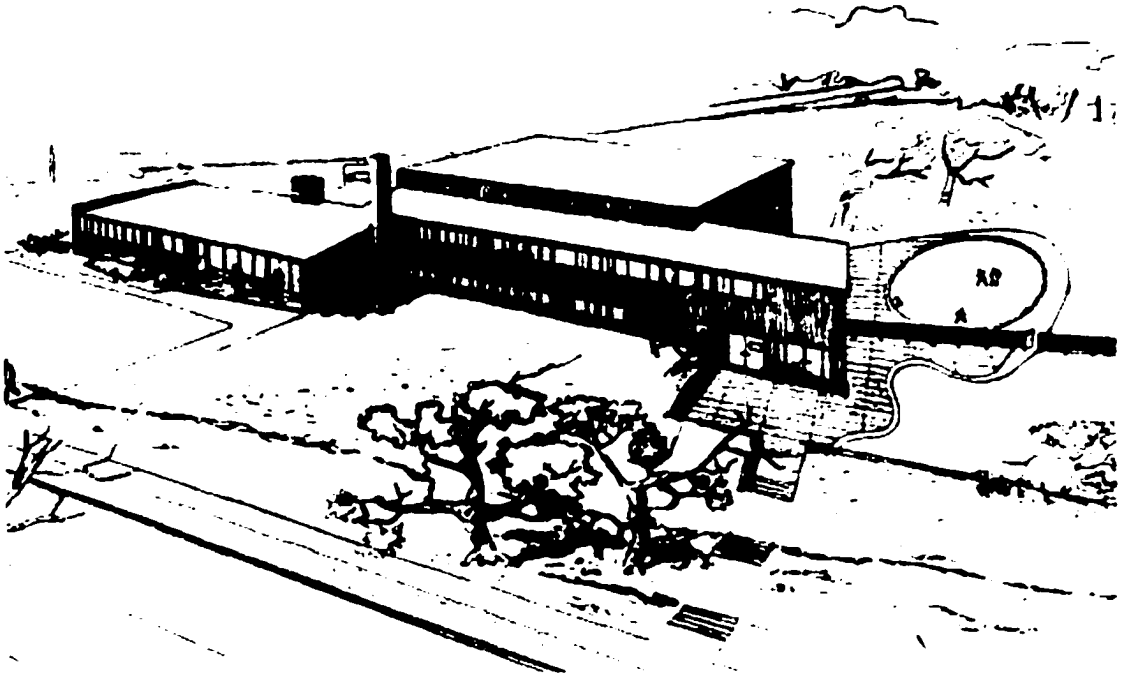

Fig. 3.4 George Howe, Oscar Stonorov, and Louis Kahn, Pennypack Woods Community, Philadelphia, perspective drawing 1941–3. Source: Brownlee and DeLong *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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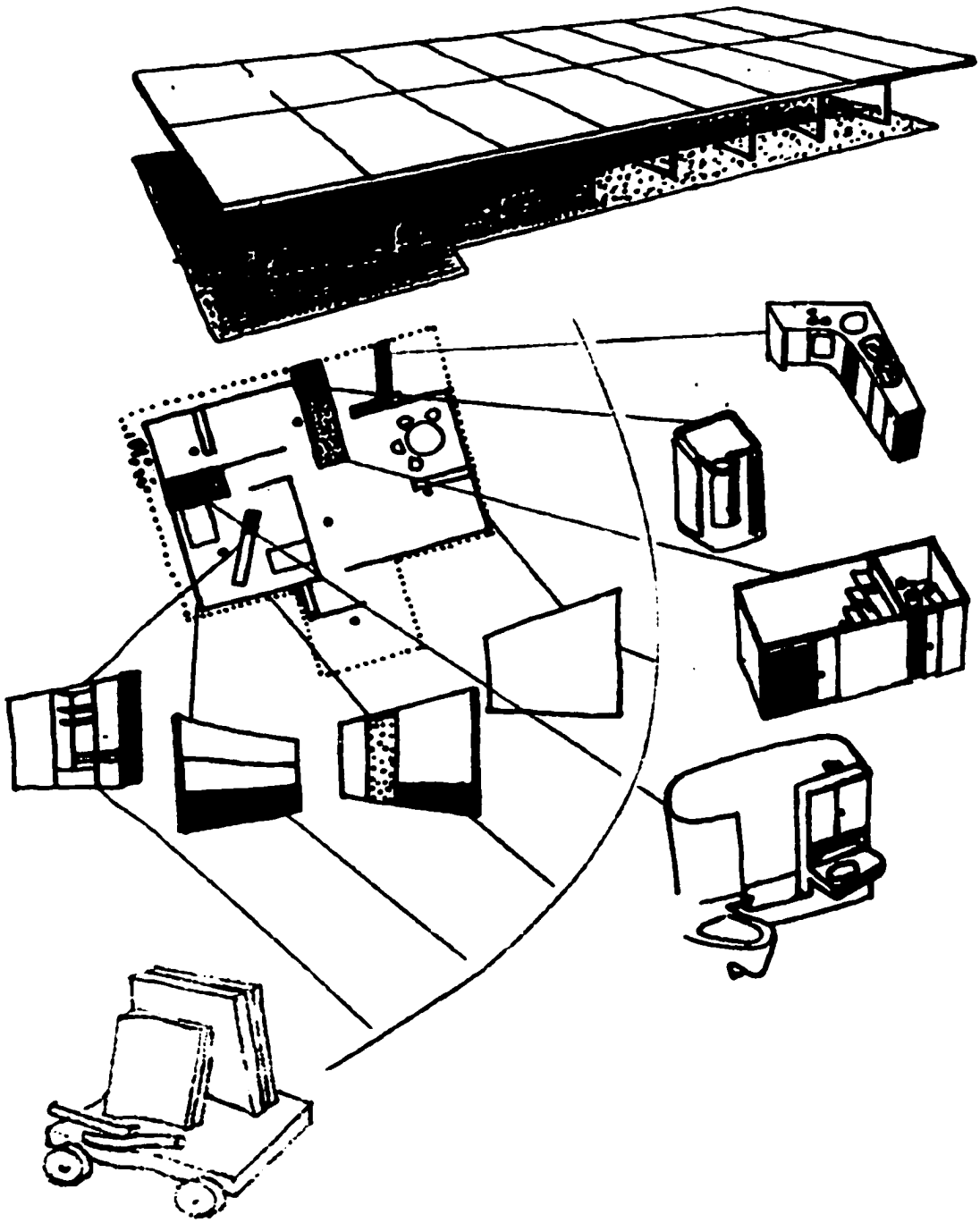

Fig. 3.5 Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov, Parasol House, drawing, 1944. Source: Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

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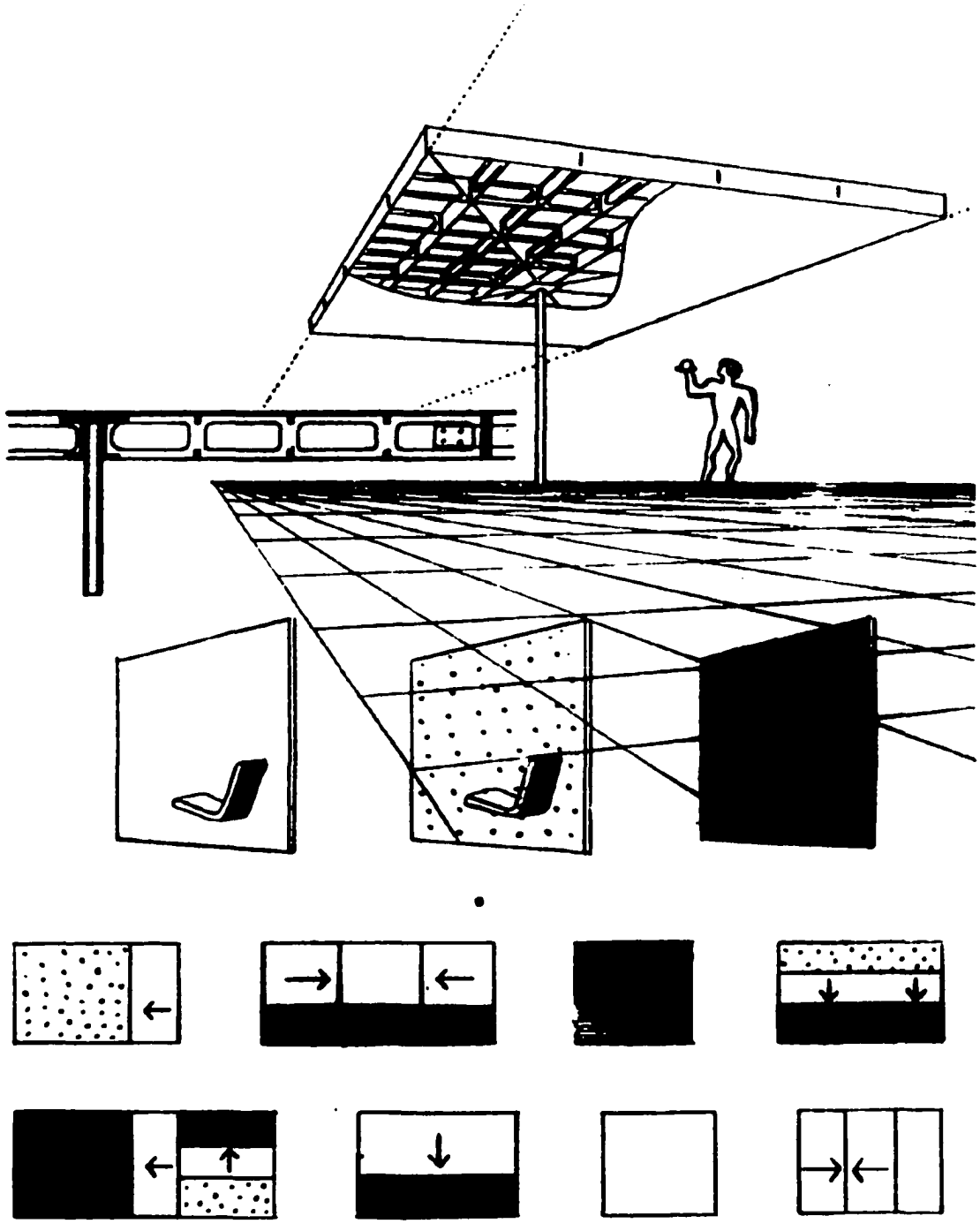

Fig. 3.6 Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov, Parasol House, drawing with "Everyman" figure, 1944. Source: Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

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Fig. 3.7 Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov, Parasol House Bath Unit, 1944. Source: Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

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Fig. 3.8 Buckminster Fuller, Dymaxion Deployment Unit, 1940. Source: Dennis Sharp, ed., *A Visual History of Twentieth-Century Architecture* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1972).

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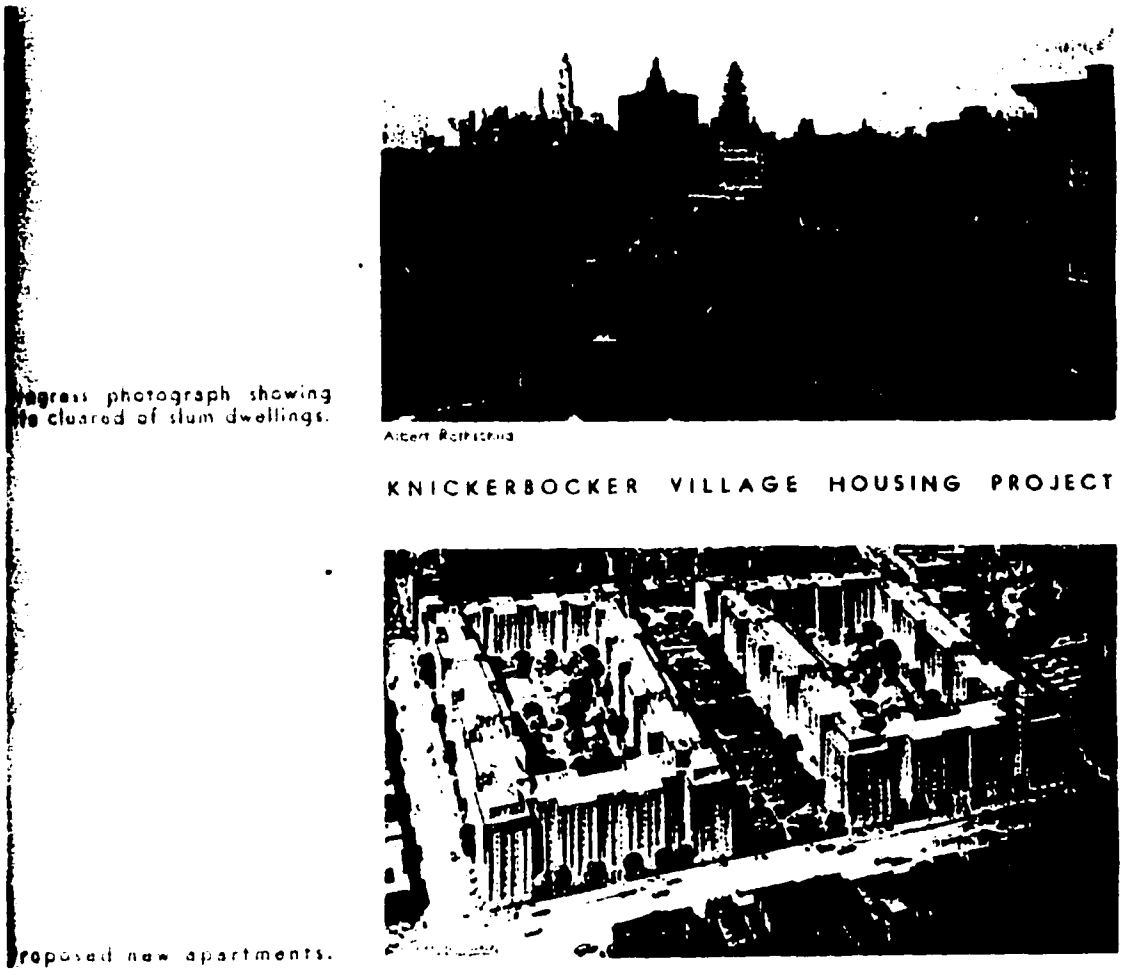

Fig. 3.9 Knickerbocker Village, New York, photograph of cleared site and drawing of proposed buildings. Source: *Architectural Record* 75 (February 1934), p. 122.

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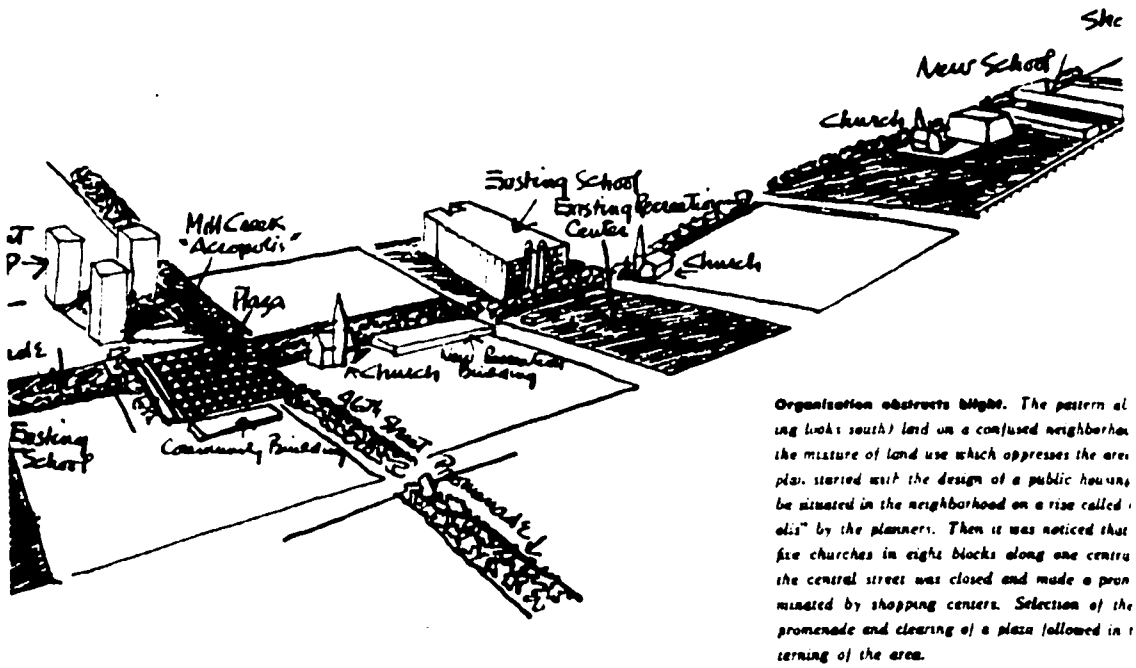

Organization obstructs blight. *The pattern al ing looks south) laid on a confused neighborhoo the mixture of land use which oppresses the area plan, started with the design of a public housing be situated in the neighborhood on a rise called a edis" by the planners. Then it was noticed that five churches in eight blocks along one centra the central street was closed and made a prom minated by shopping centers. Selection of the promenade and clearing of a plaza followed in t terning of the area.*

Fig. 3.10 Louis Kahn, East Poplar Homes, drawing, 1952. Source: *Architectural Forum* (April 1952).

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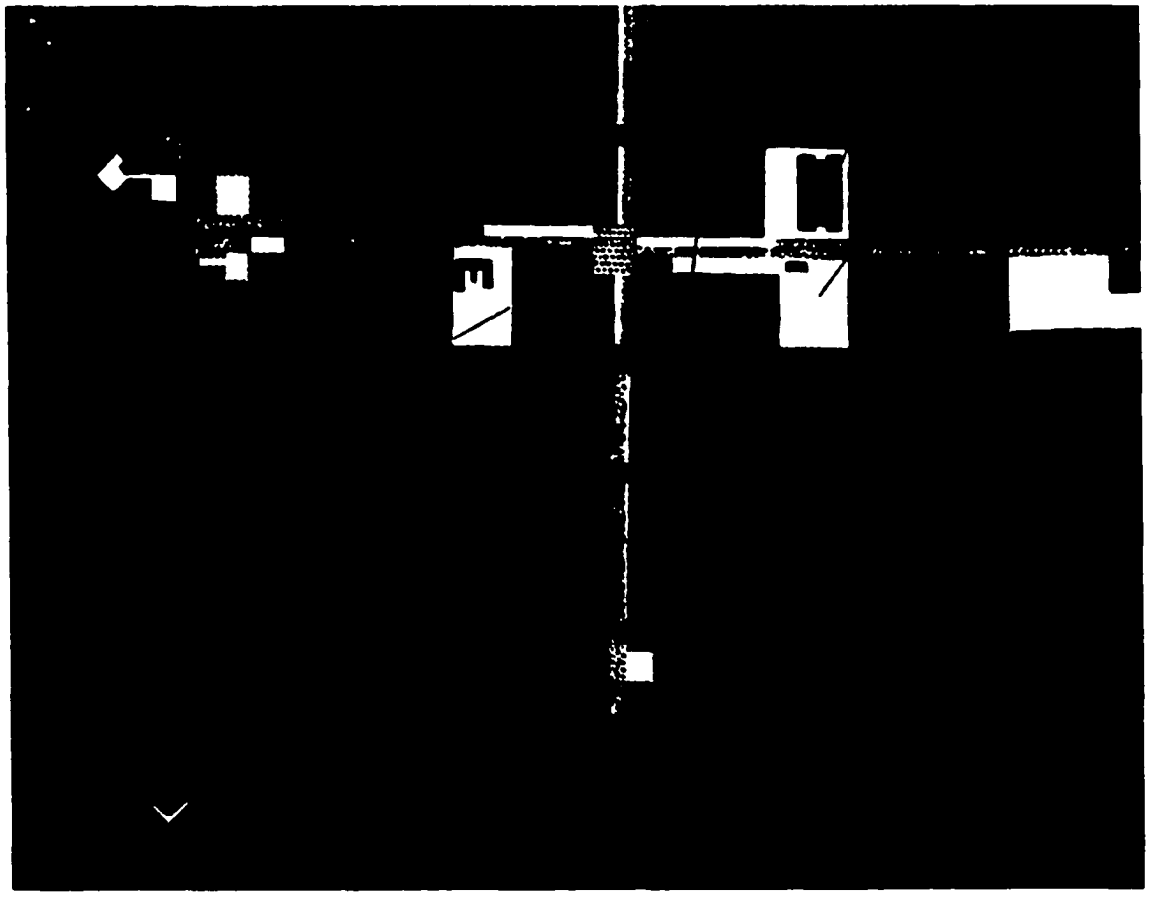

Fig. 3.11 Louis Kahn, East Poplar Homes, site plan, 1952. Source: *Architectural Forum* (April 1952).

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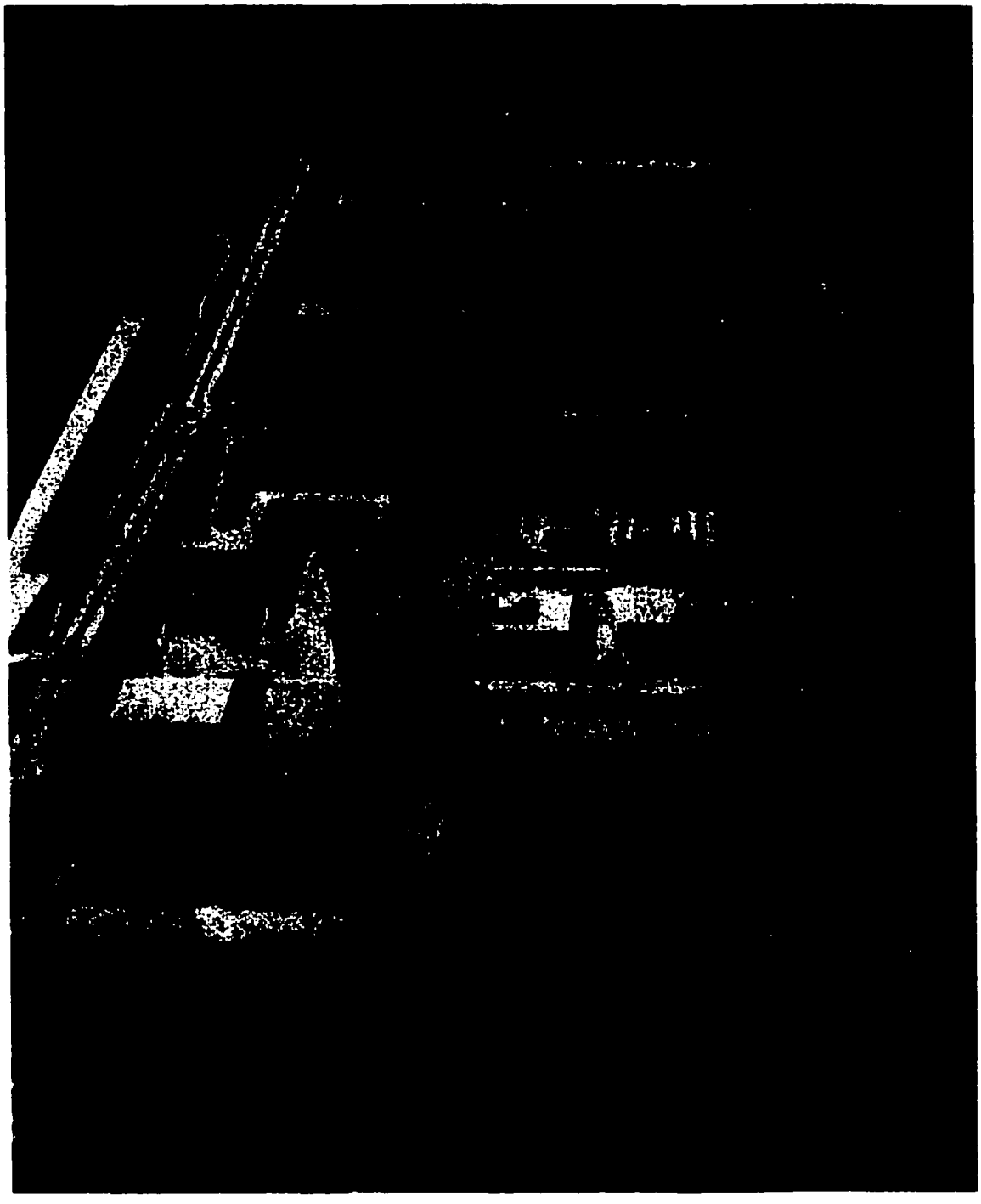

Fig. 3.12 Le Corbusier, City of St. Dié, reconstruction model, 1946. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

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Fig. 3.13 Louis Kahn, Jefferson Memorial Competition, St. Louis, perspective drawing with laboratory of Education, 1947. Source: S. Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

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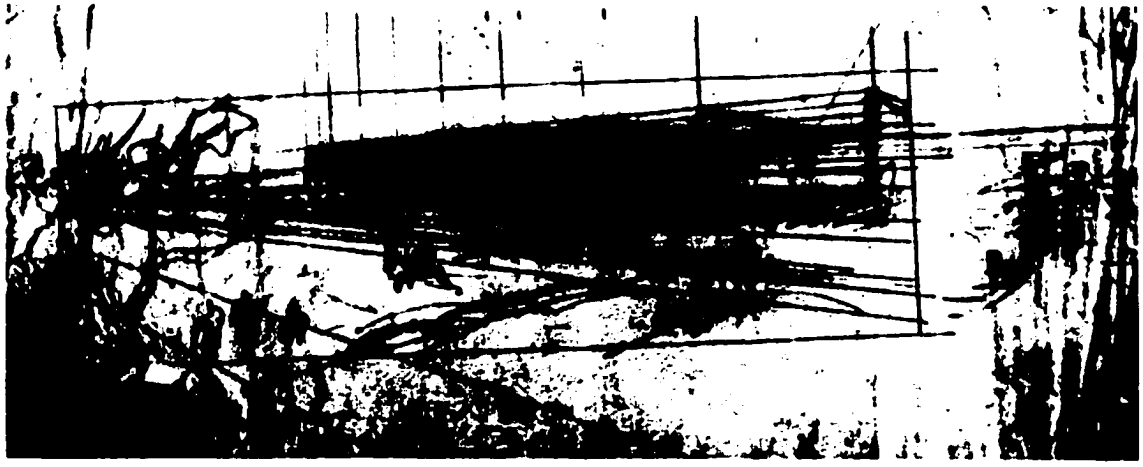

Fig. 3.14 Louis Kahn, Jefferson Memorial Competition, St. Louis, preliminary sketch of UNESCO building, 1947. Source: S. Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

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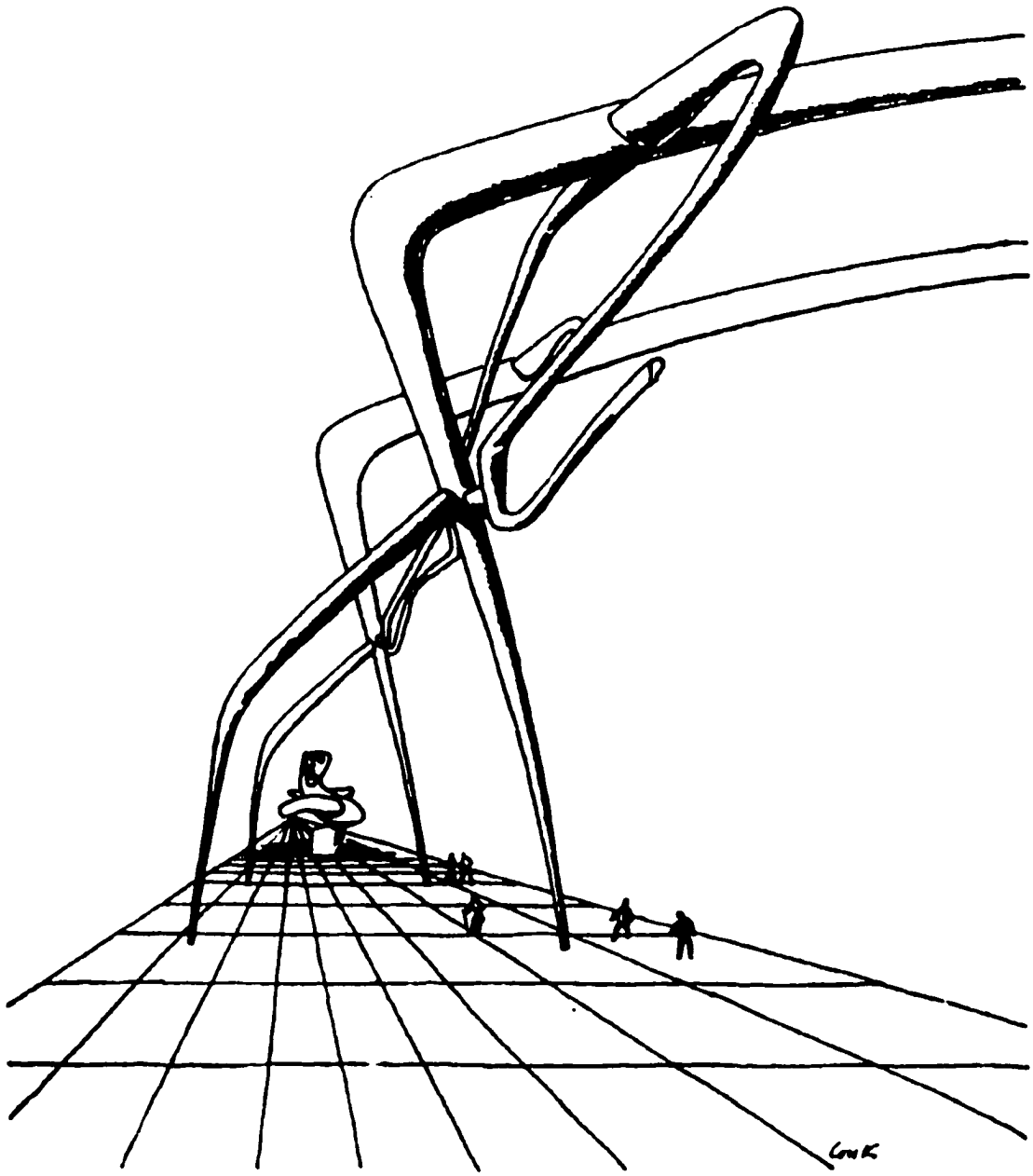

Fig. 3.15 Louis Kahn, drawing, "Monumentality." Source: P. Zucker, *New Architecture and City Planning: A Symposium* (New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1944).

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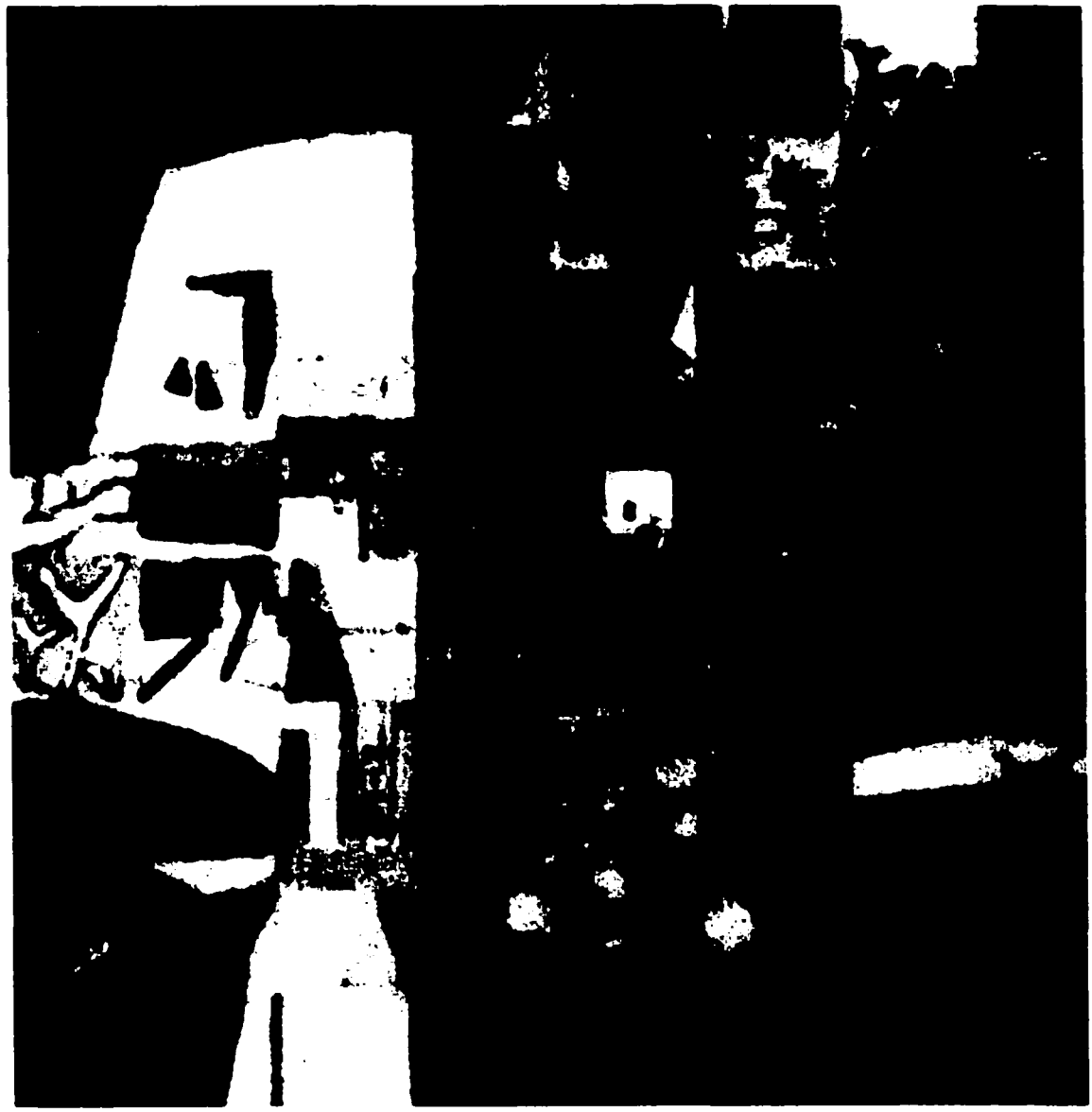

Fig. 3.16 Louis Kahn, Jefferson Memorial Competition, St. Louis, proposal for mural, 1947. Source: S. Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

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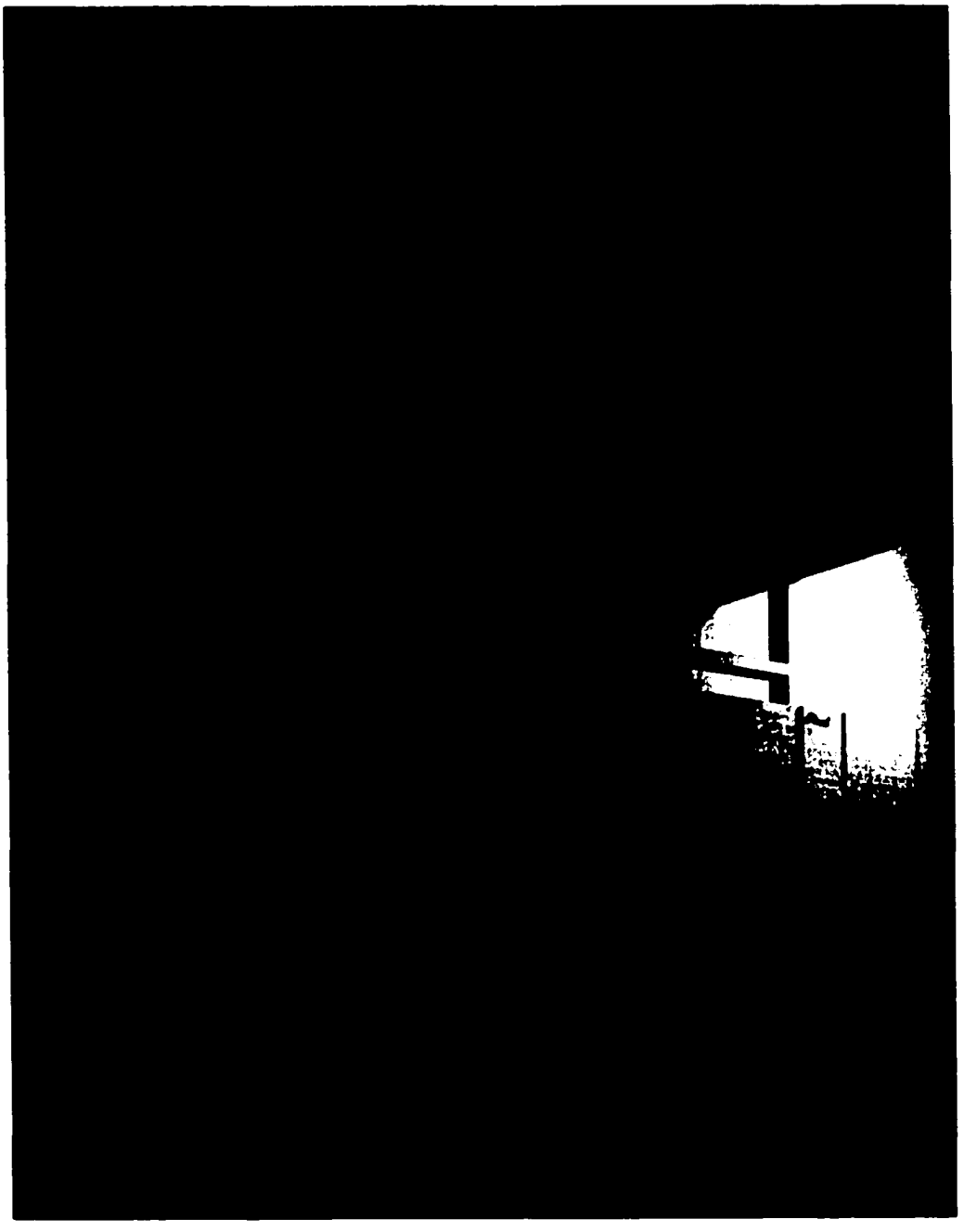

Fig. 3.17 Anni Albers, Tapestries in Louis Kahn's First Unitarian Church, Rochester, NY, date, 1968–9. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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Fig. 1.8 Louis Kahn with Yale Students in UNESCO studio, 1949. Source: *Progressive Architecture* 30, no. 4 (April 1949).

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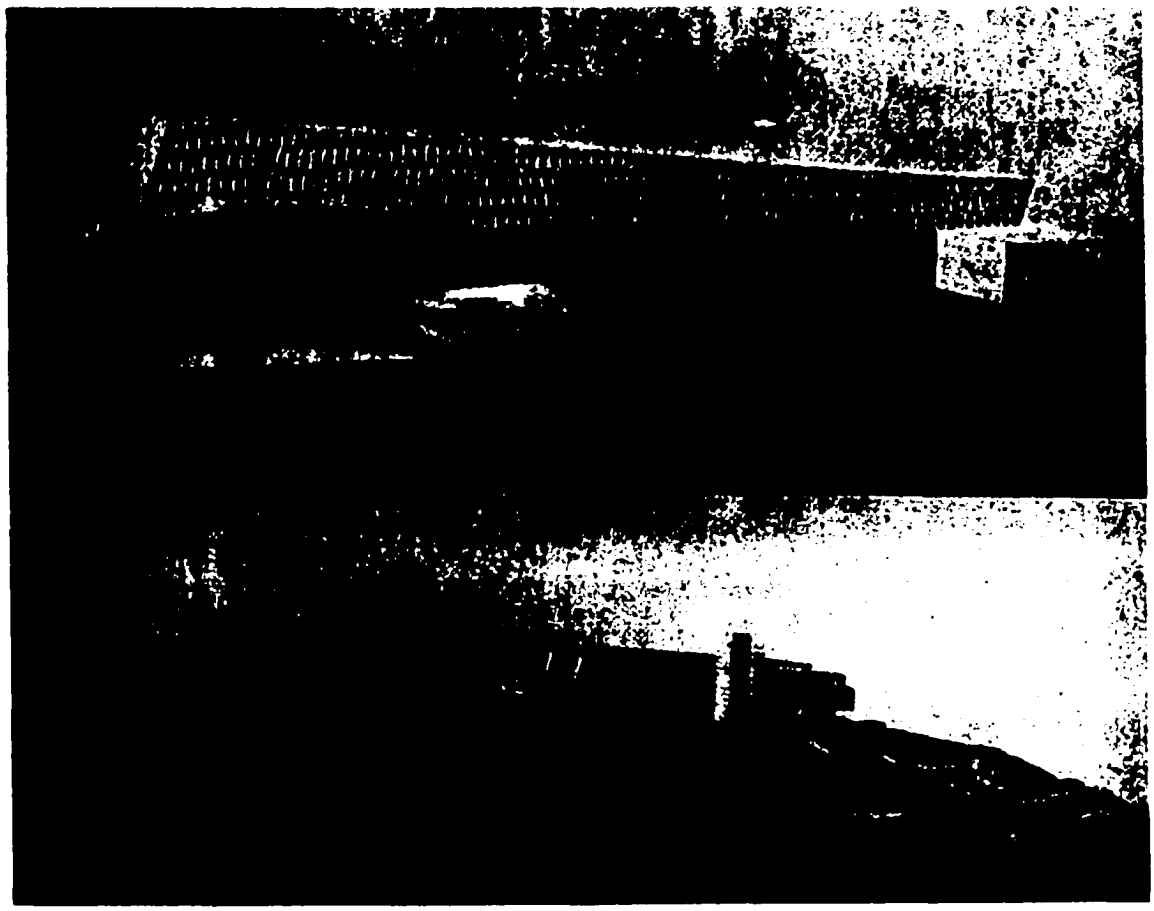

Fig. 3.19 Student projects Source: Yale UNESCO studio, 1949. Source: *Progressive Architecture* 30, no. 4 (April 1949).

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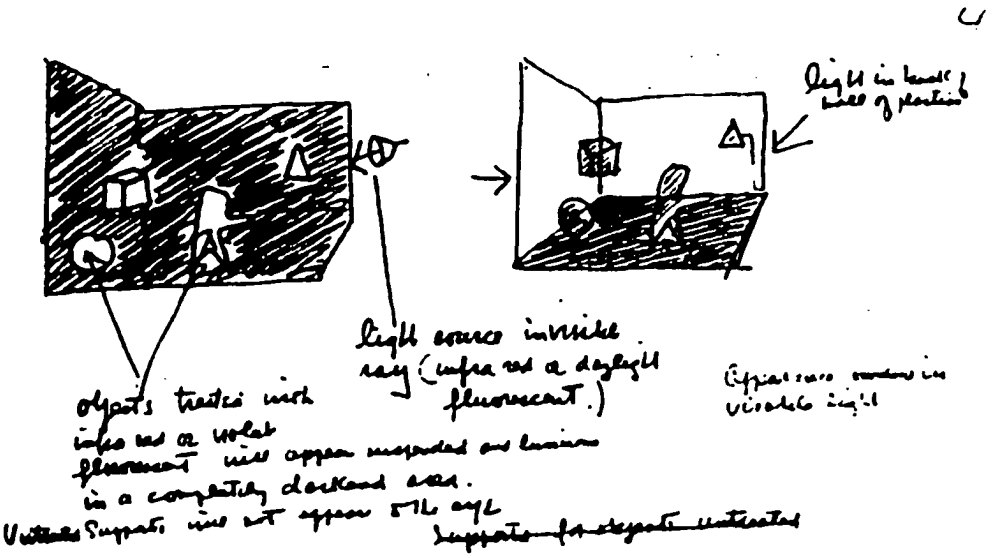

Fig. 3.20 Louis Kahn, sketch for "Idea Center for Plastics" studio, Yale School of Architecture, 1948. Source: Louis Kahn Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

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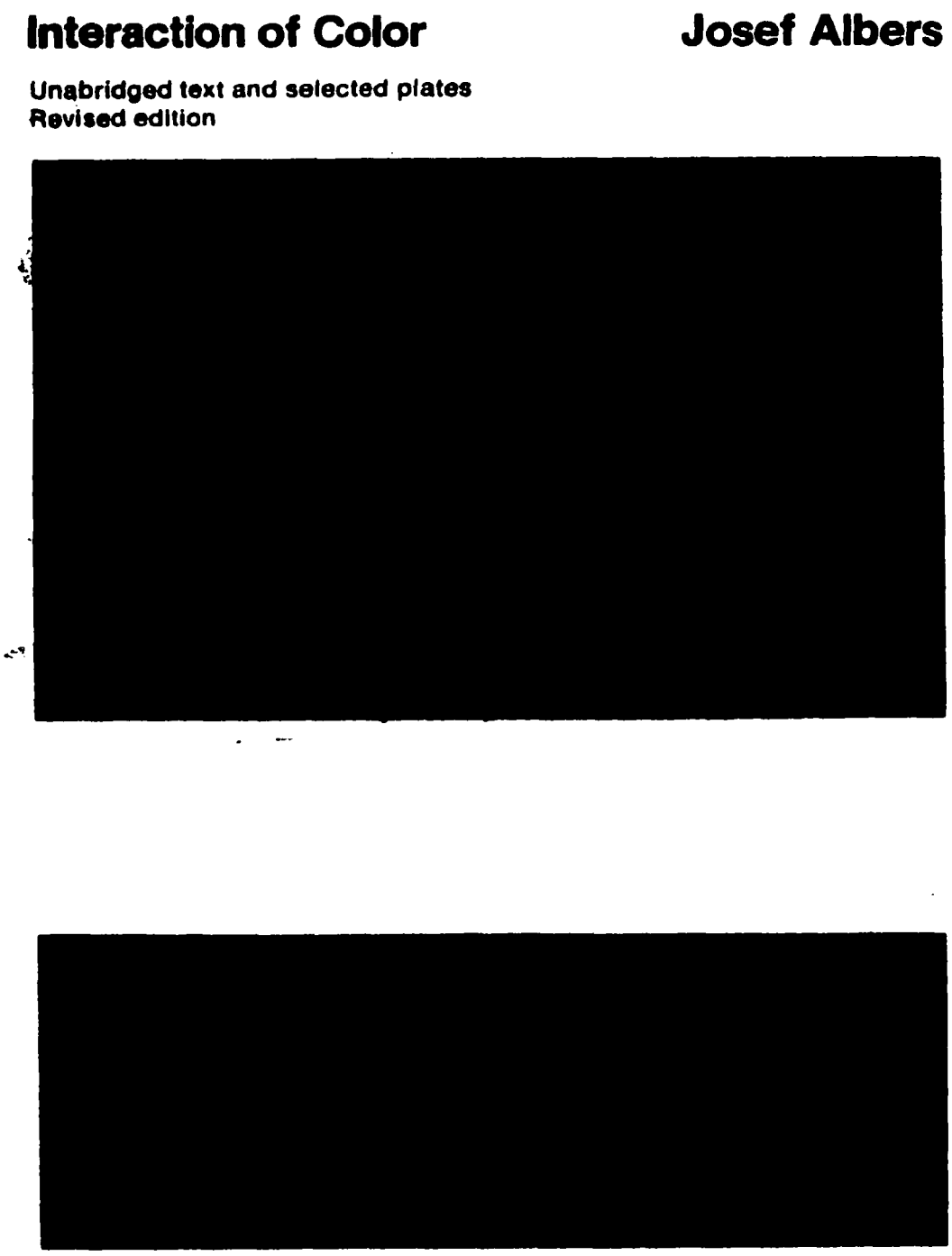

Fig. 3.21 Josef Albers, cover of *The Interaction of Color* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963).

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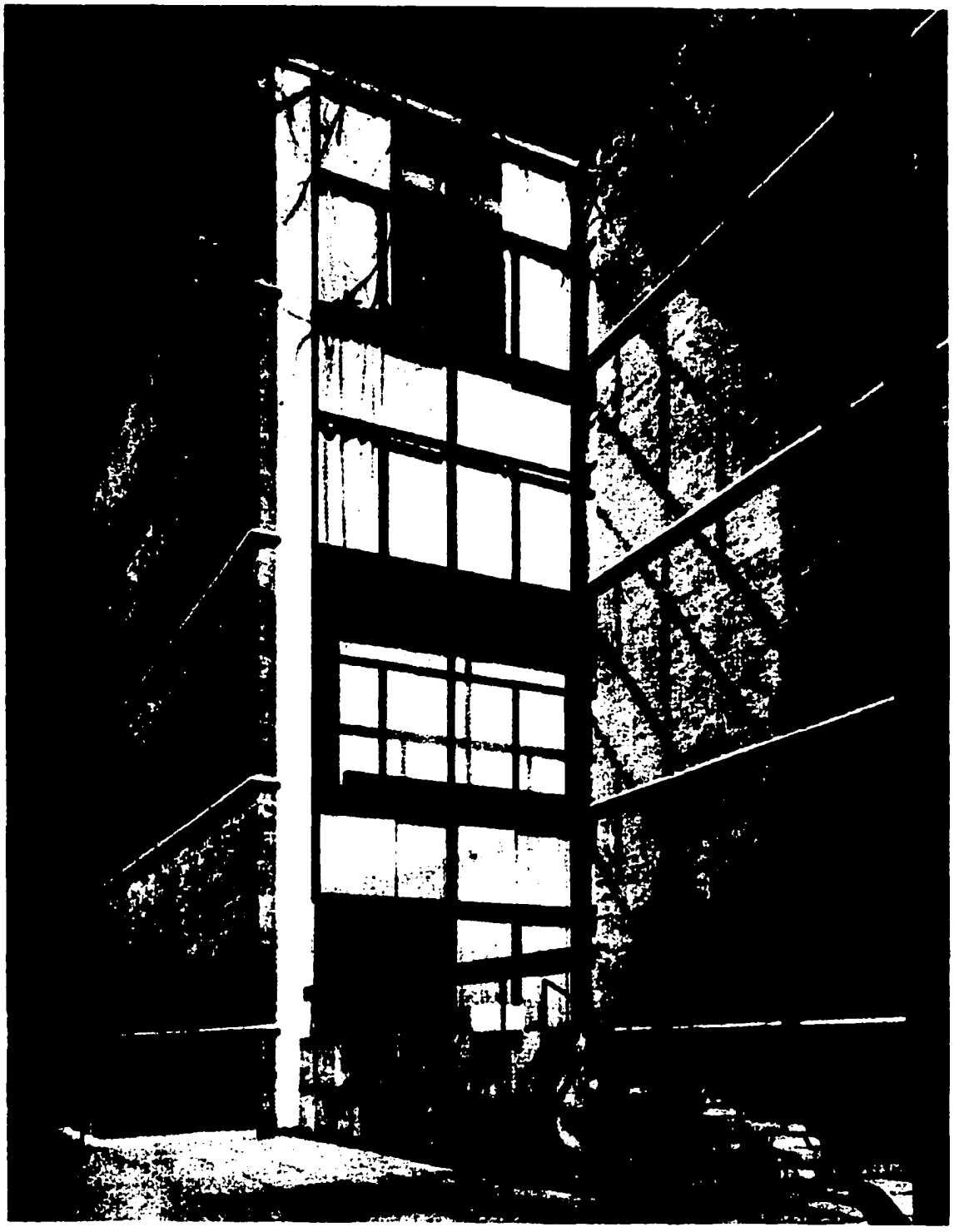

Fig. 3.22 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, 1951–4, exterior. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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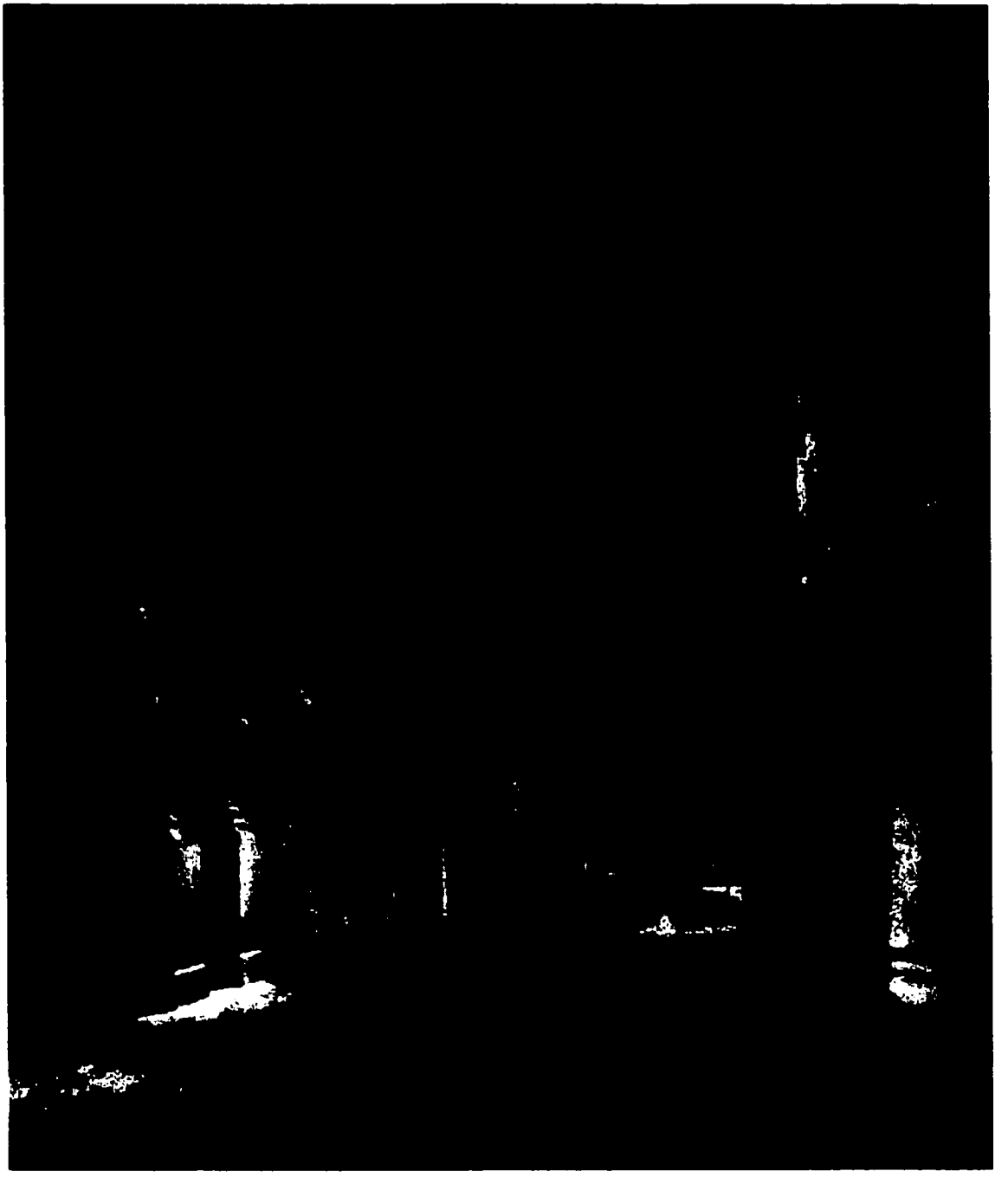

Fig. 3.23 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, 1951–4, interior gallery. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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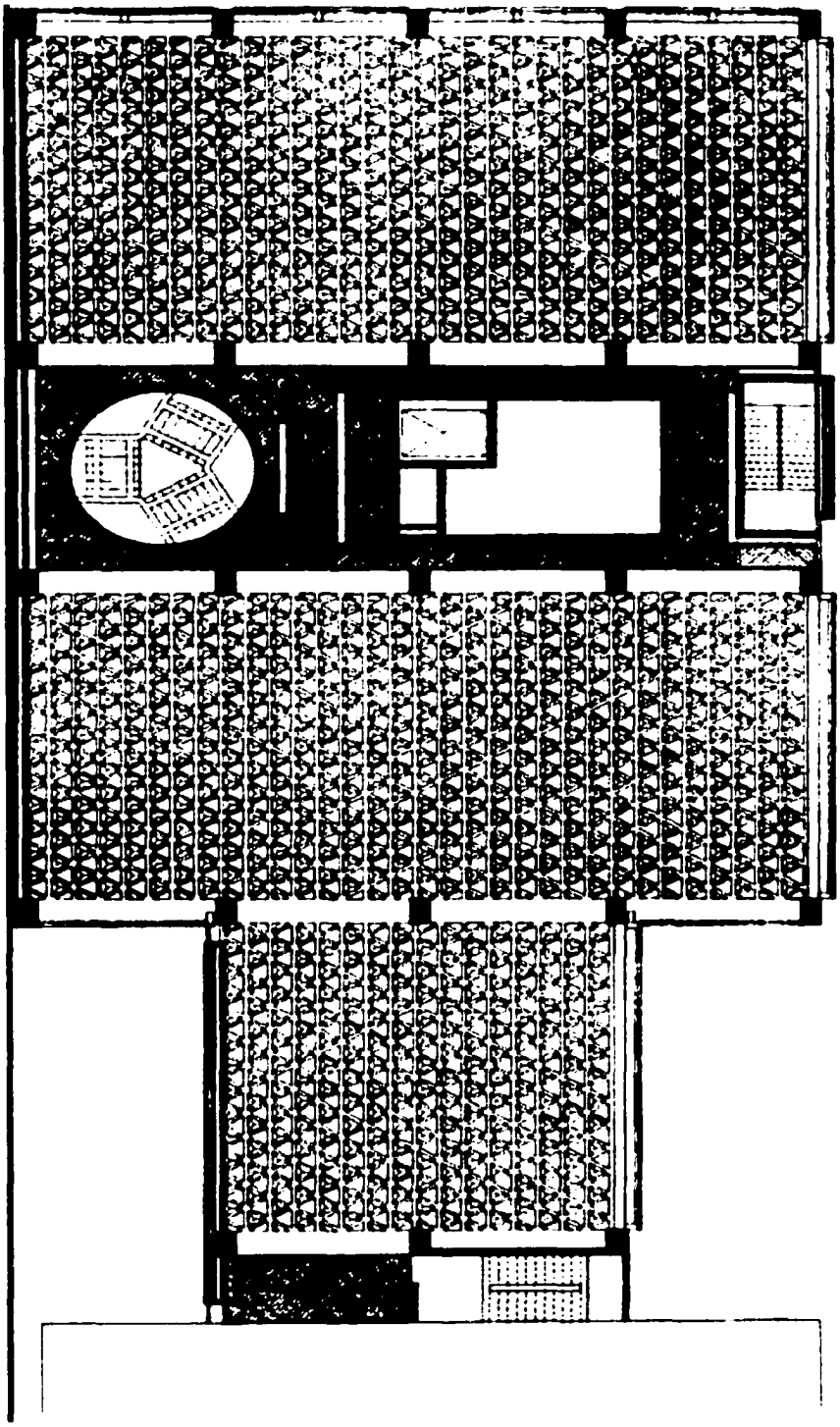

Fig. 3.24 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, 1951–4, ceiling detail. Source: *Architectural Forum* 97 (November 1952).

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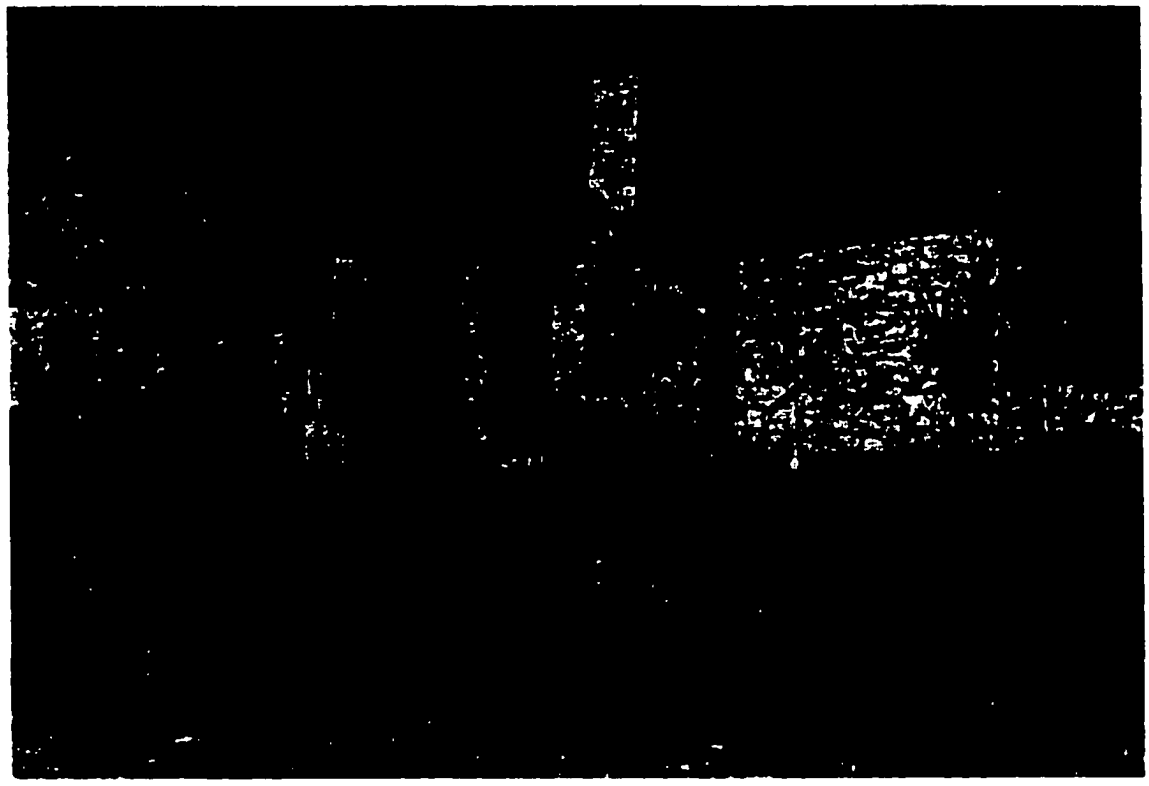

Fig. 3.25 Louis Kahn, Weiss House, East Norristown, PA, 1947–50, exterior. Source: *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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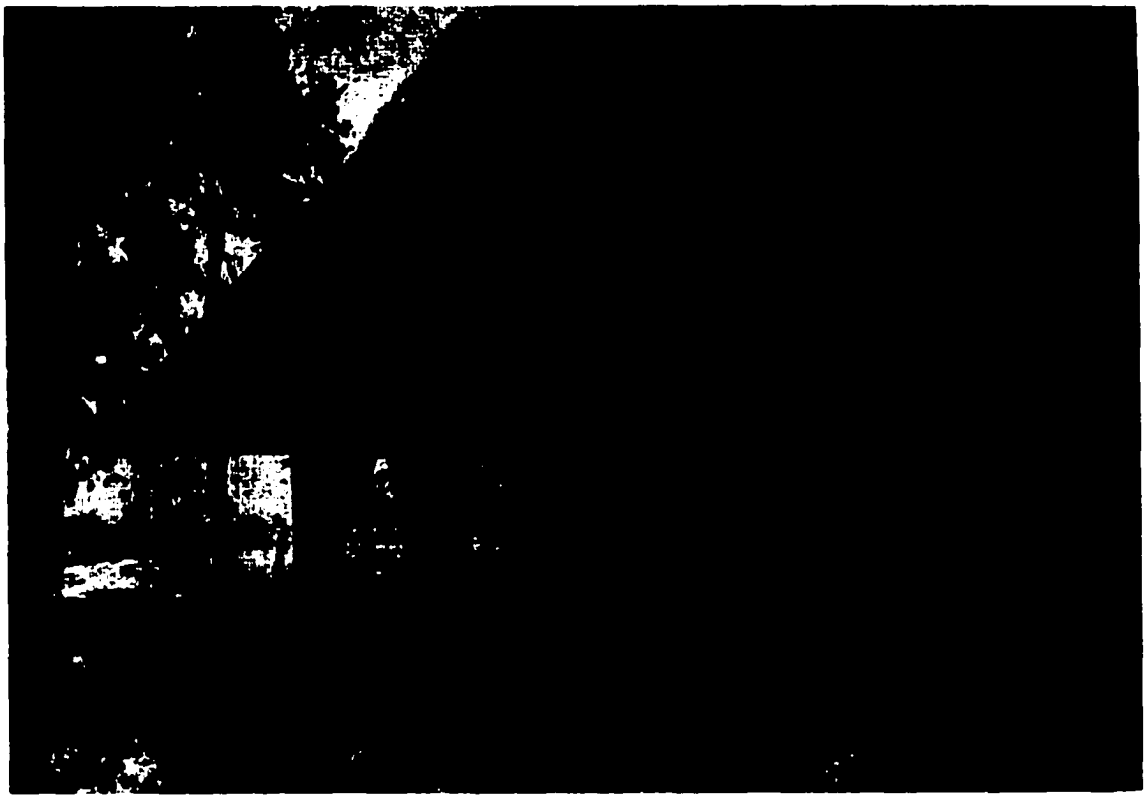

Fig. 3.26 Louis Kahn, Weiss House, East Norristown, PA, 1947–50, rear porch. Source: *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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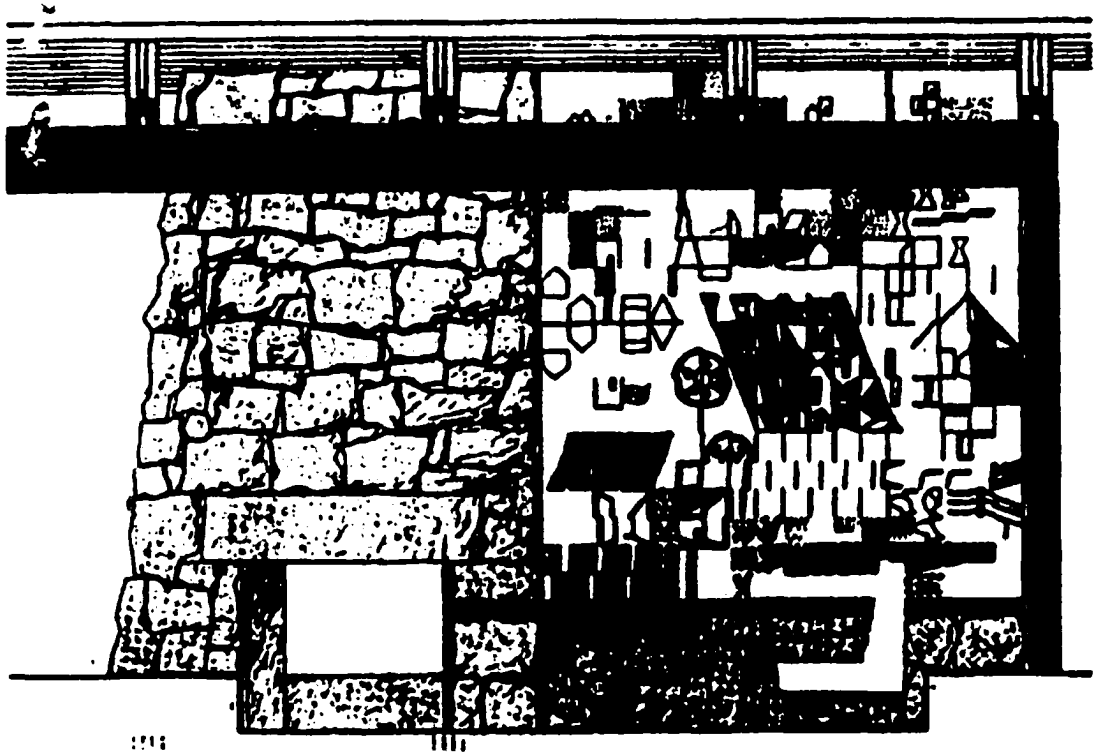

Fig. 3.27 Louis Kahn, Weiss House, East Norristown, PA, 1947–50, proposed mural and shelf unit. Source: *Architectural Forum* (September 1950).

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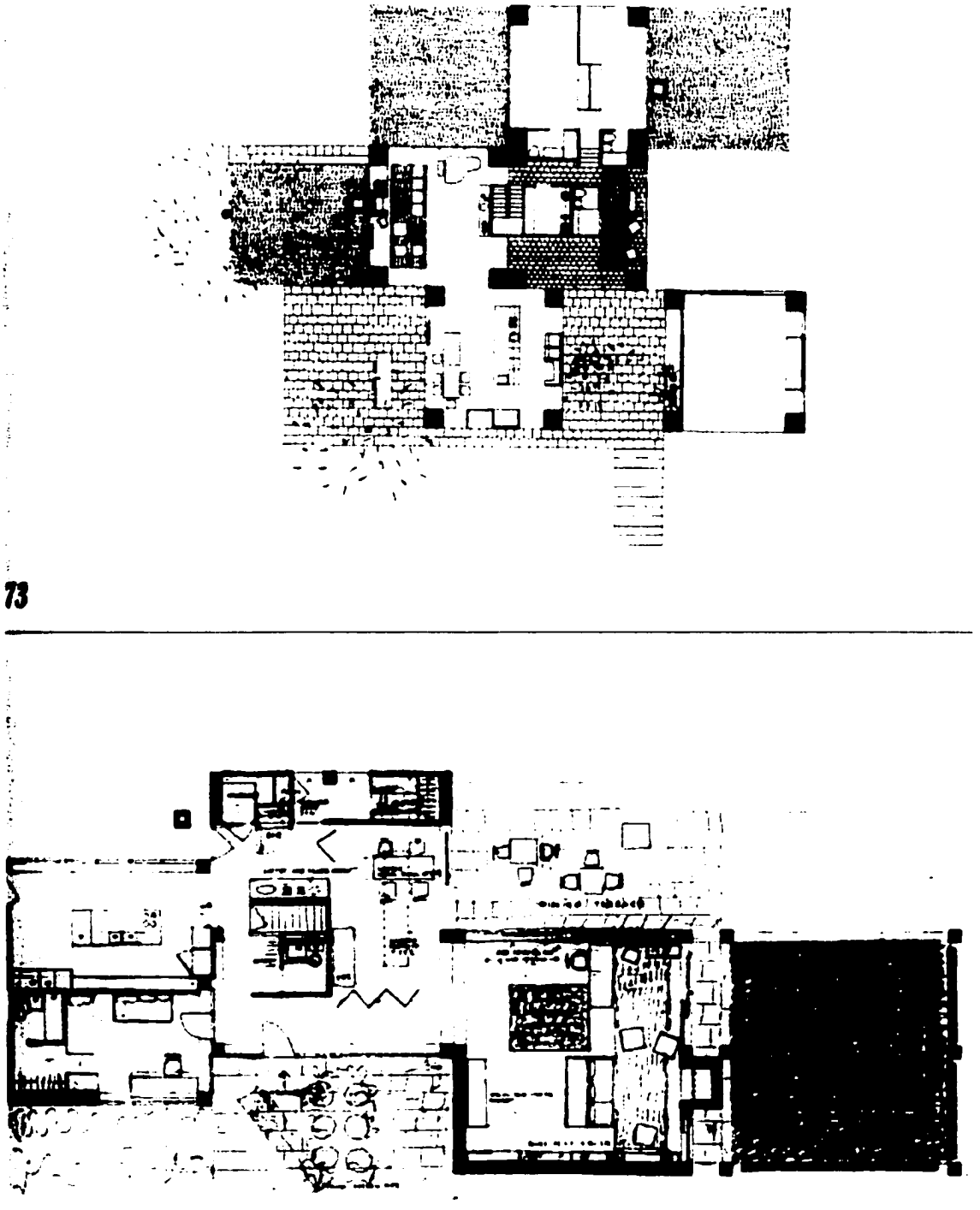

Fig. 3.28 Louis Kahn, Adler House Project, 1954–5, plan. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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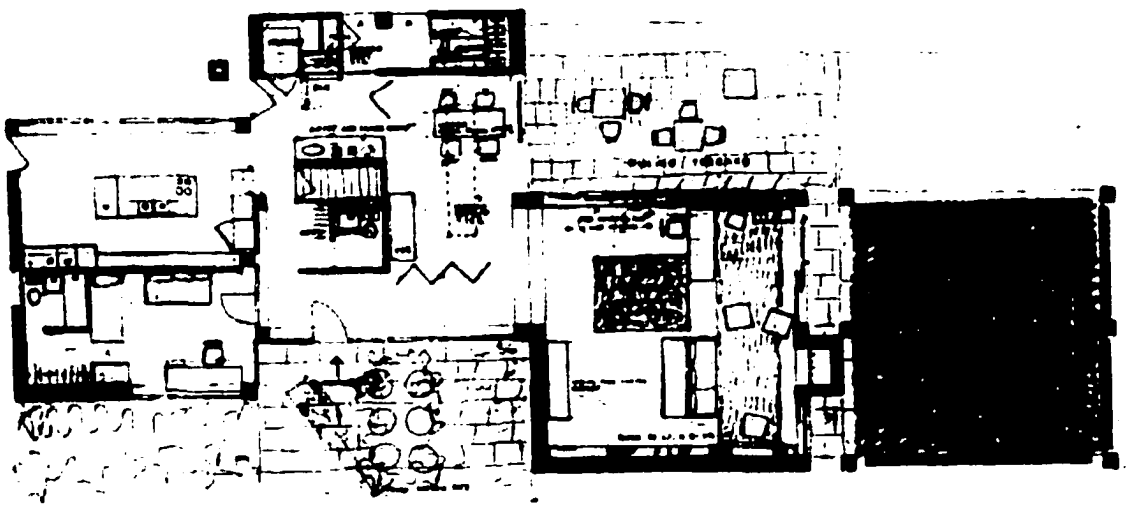

Fig. 3.29 Louis Kahn, DeVore House Project, 1954–5, plan. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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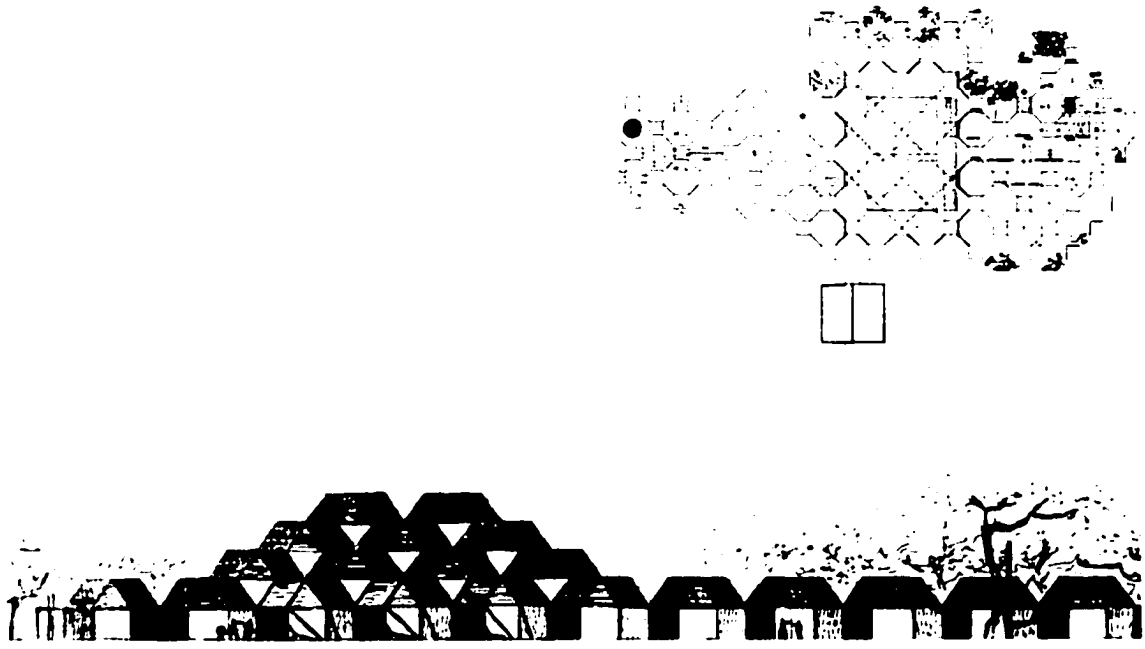

Fig. 3.30 Louis Kahn, Trenton Jewish Community Center, second design, plan and elevation, 1956. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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Fig. 3.31 Louis Kahn, Trenton Jewish Community Center, third design, model, 1956. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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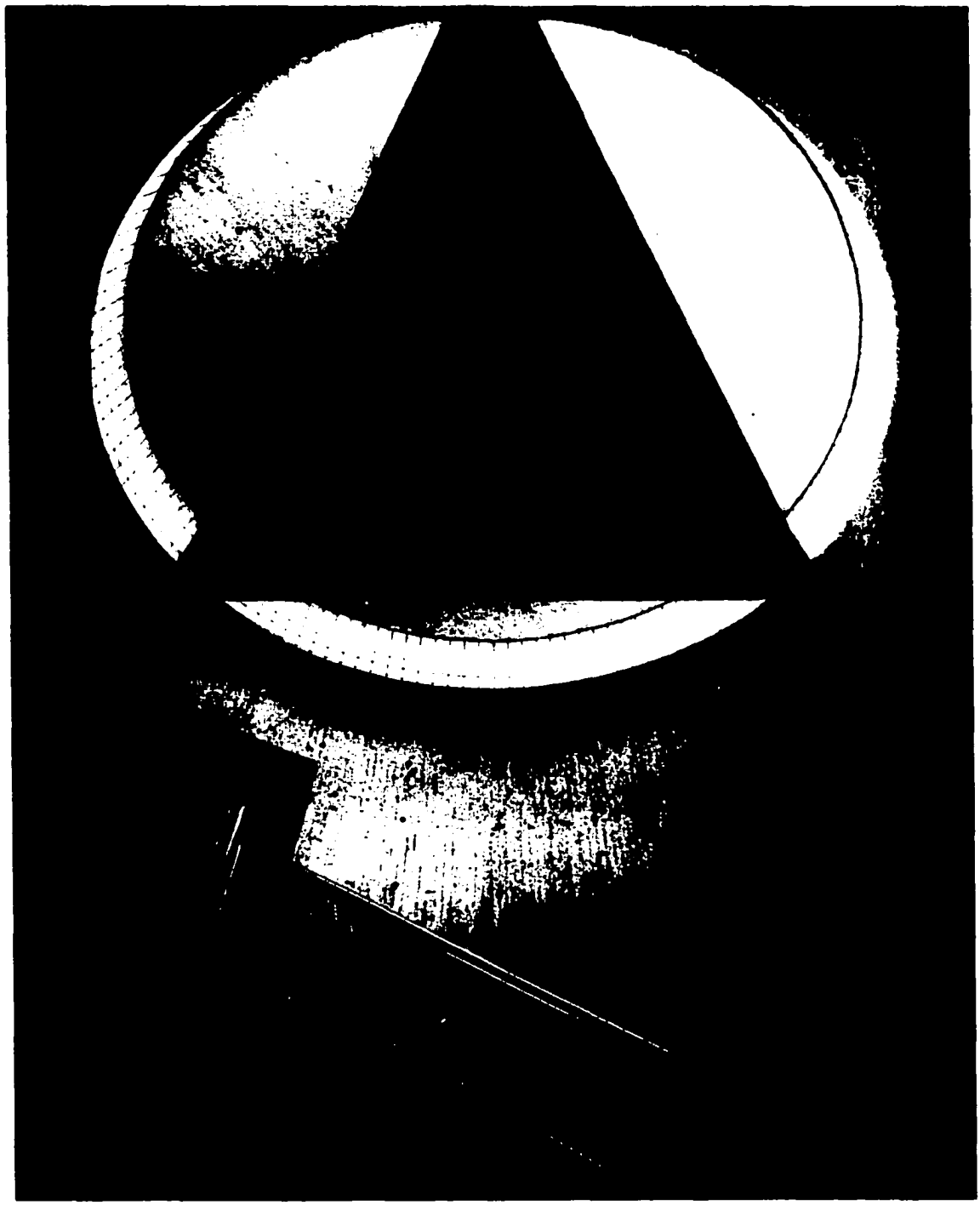

Fig. 3.32 Louis Kahn, Yale Art Gallery, 1951–4, stairwell. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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Fig. 3.33 Louis Kahn, Philadelphia Civic Center and City Hall, preliminary drawing, 1956–7. Source: Brownlee and DeLong, *Louis Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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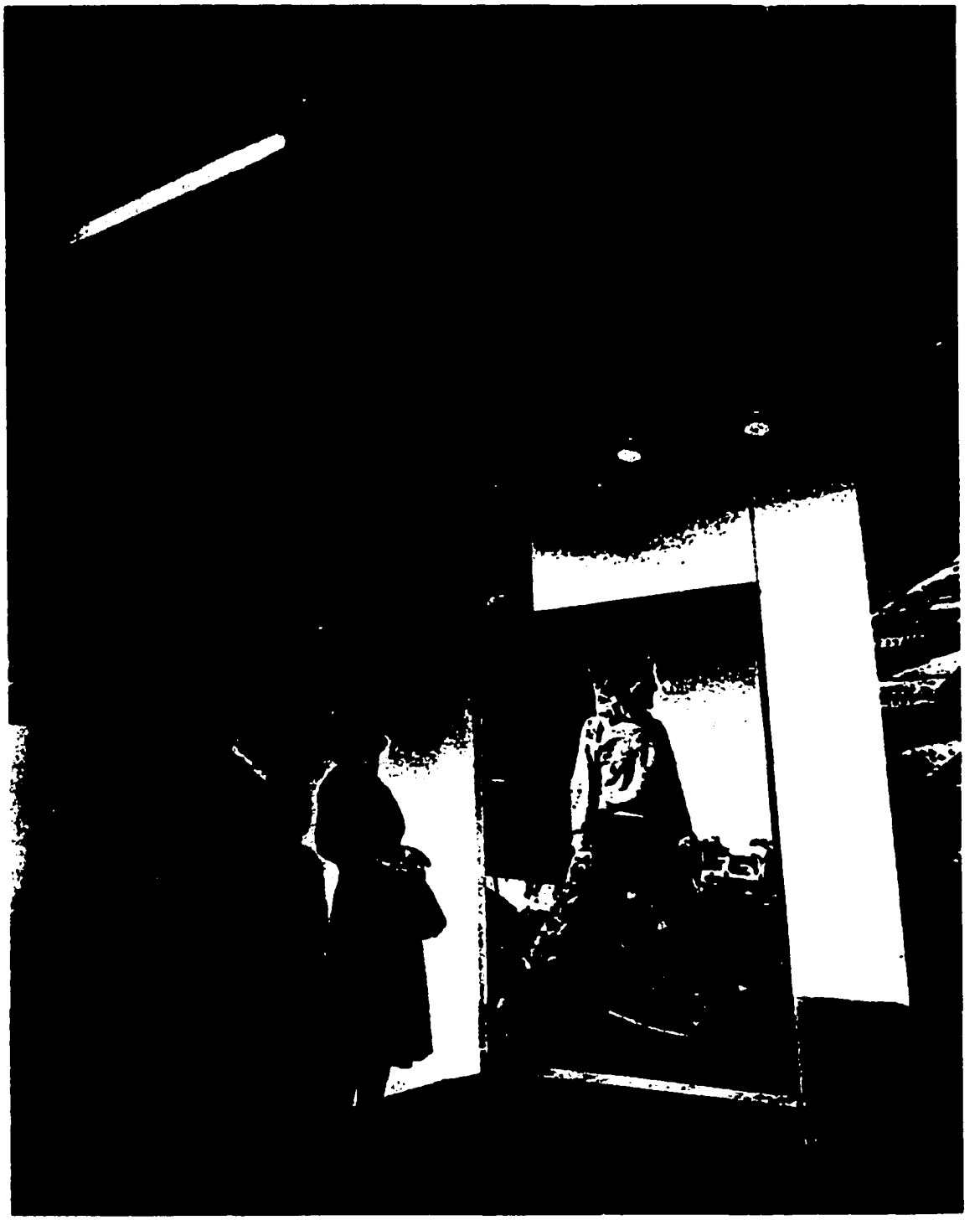

Fig. 3.34 Paul Rudolph, installation view of *The Family of Man* exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955. Source: E. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

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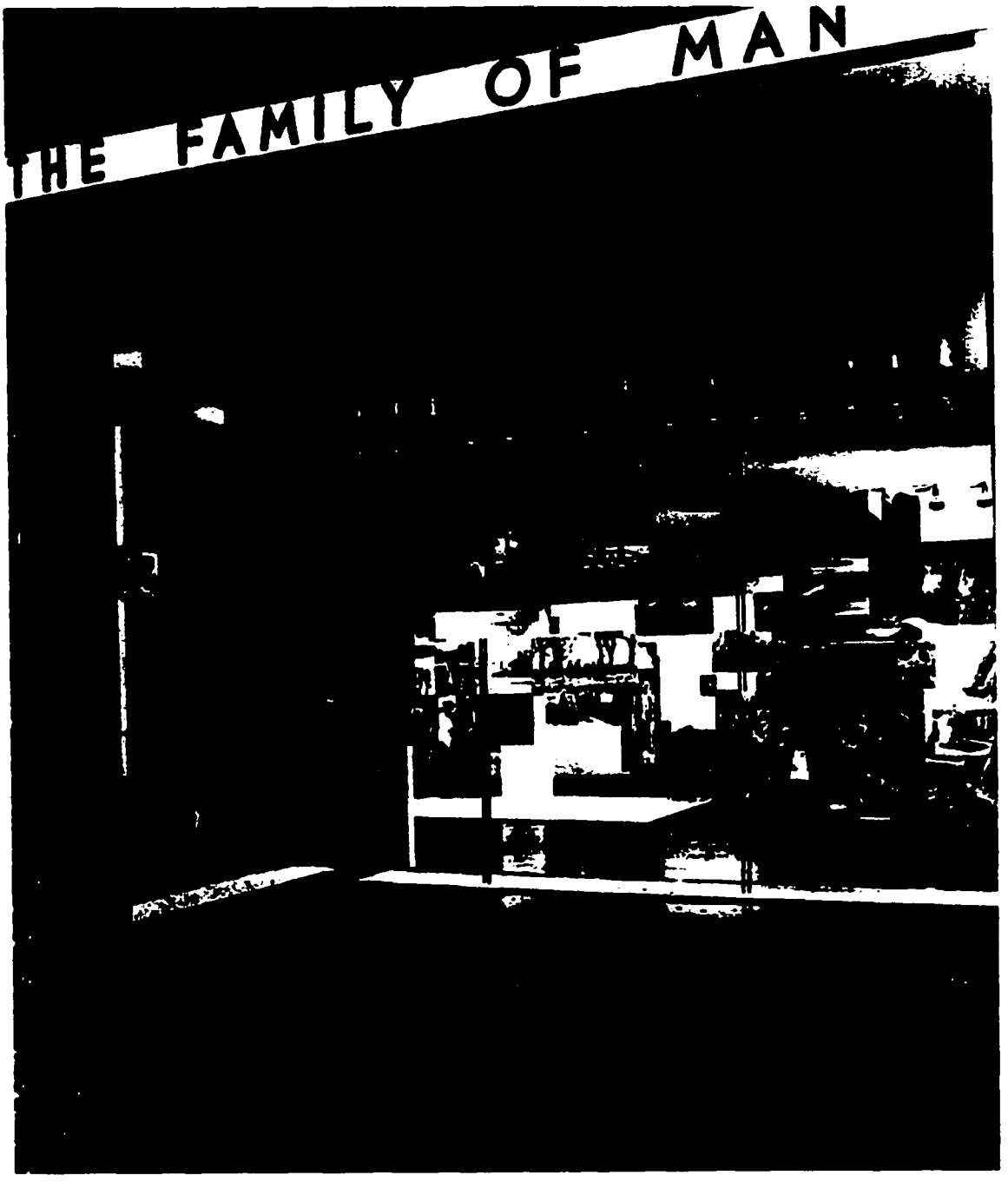

Fig. 3.35 Paul Rudolph, installation view of *The Family of Man* exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955. Source: E. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

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Fig. 3.36 Paul Rudolph, circulation route for installation of *The Family of Man* exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955. Source: E. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition:* The Family of Man *and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

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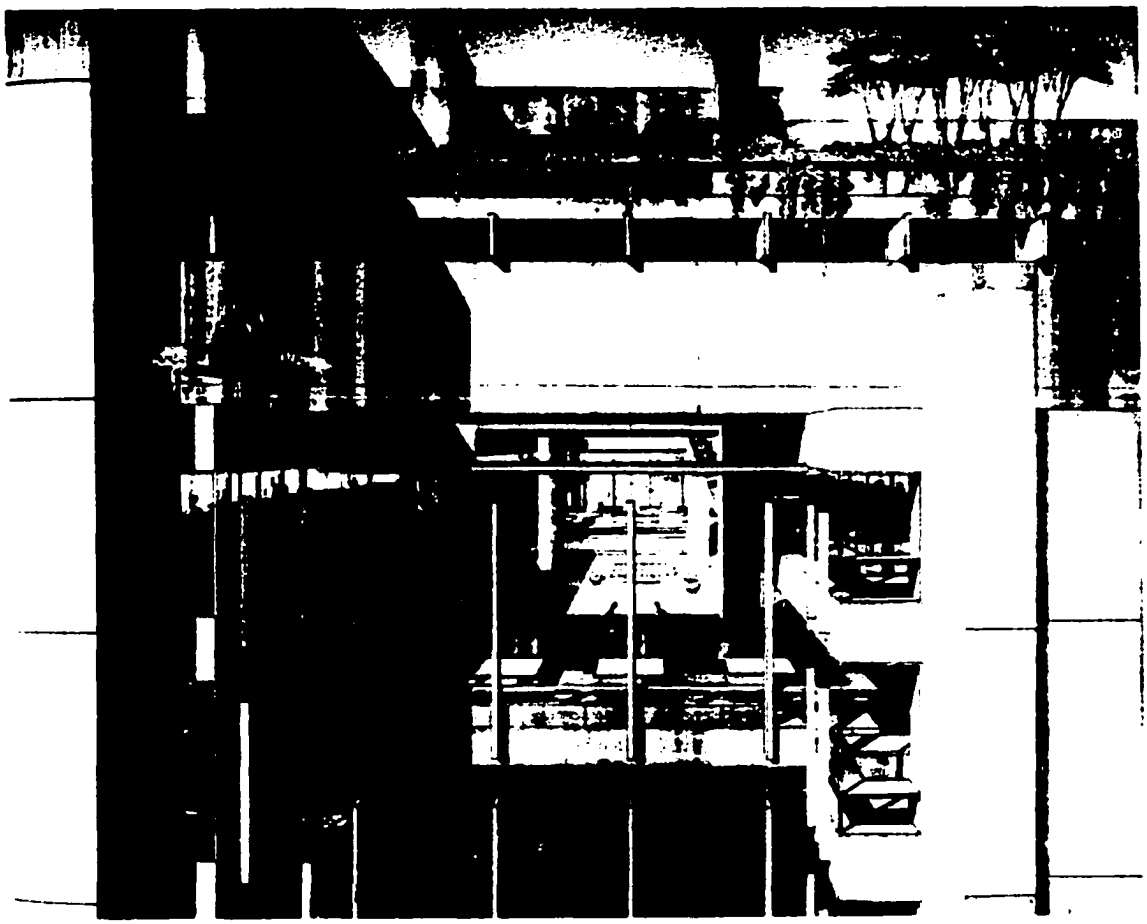

Fig. 3.37 Paul Rudolph. Yale Art and Architecture Building, New Haven, CT, 1963, perspective drawing. Source: *Paul Rudolph: Dessins d'Architecture / Architekturzeichnungen / Architectural Drawings* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1972).

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Fig. 3.38 Paul Rudolph, Yale Art and Architecture Building, New Haven, CT, 1963, elevation. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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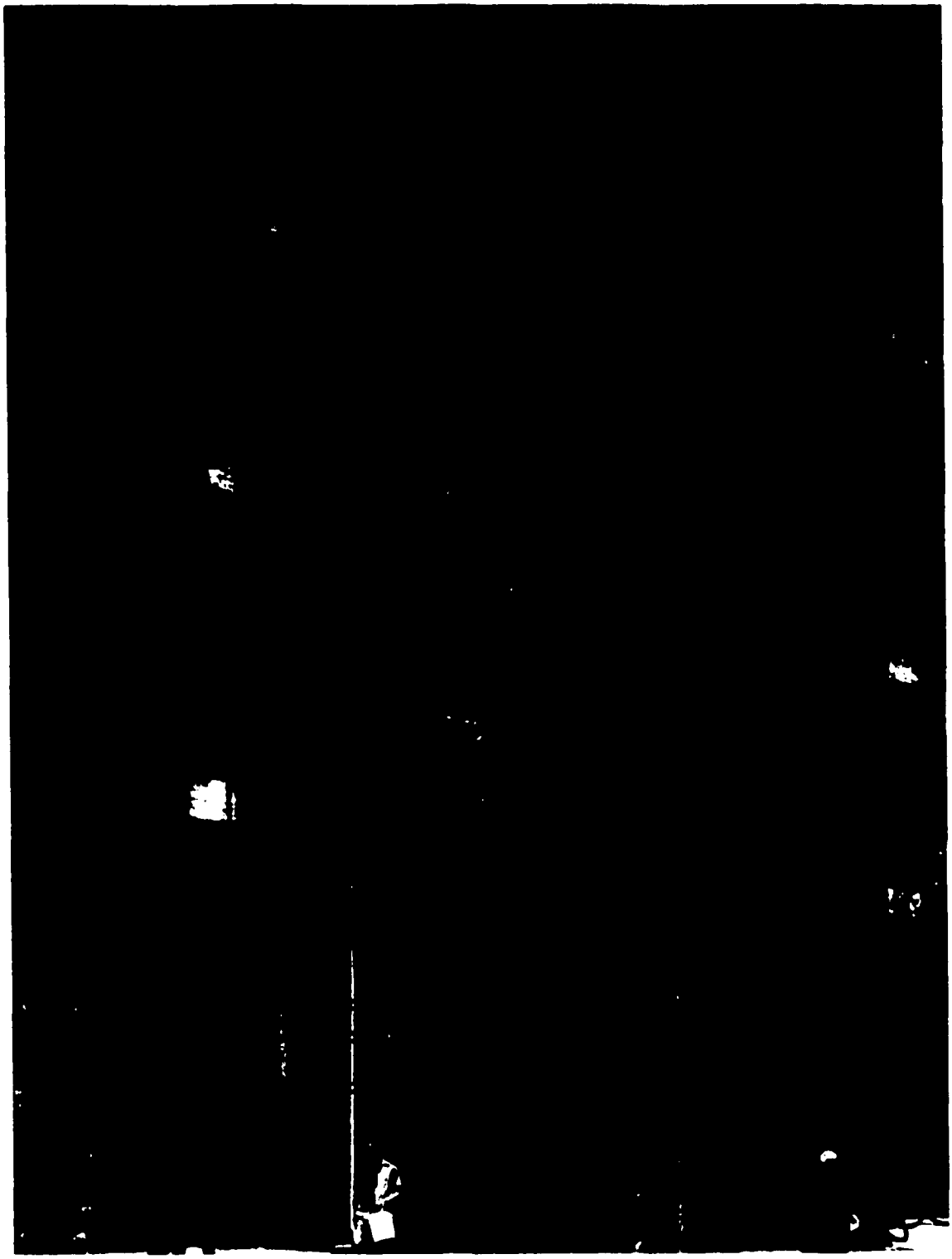

Fig. 3.39 Paul Rudolph, Yale Art and Architecture Building, New Haven, CT, 1963, detail of concrete surface. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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Fig. 3.40 Paul Rudolph, Married Students Housing, New Haven, CT, 1961–2, preliminary elevation drawing. Source: *Architectural Record* (March 1961).

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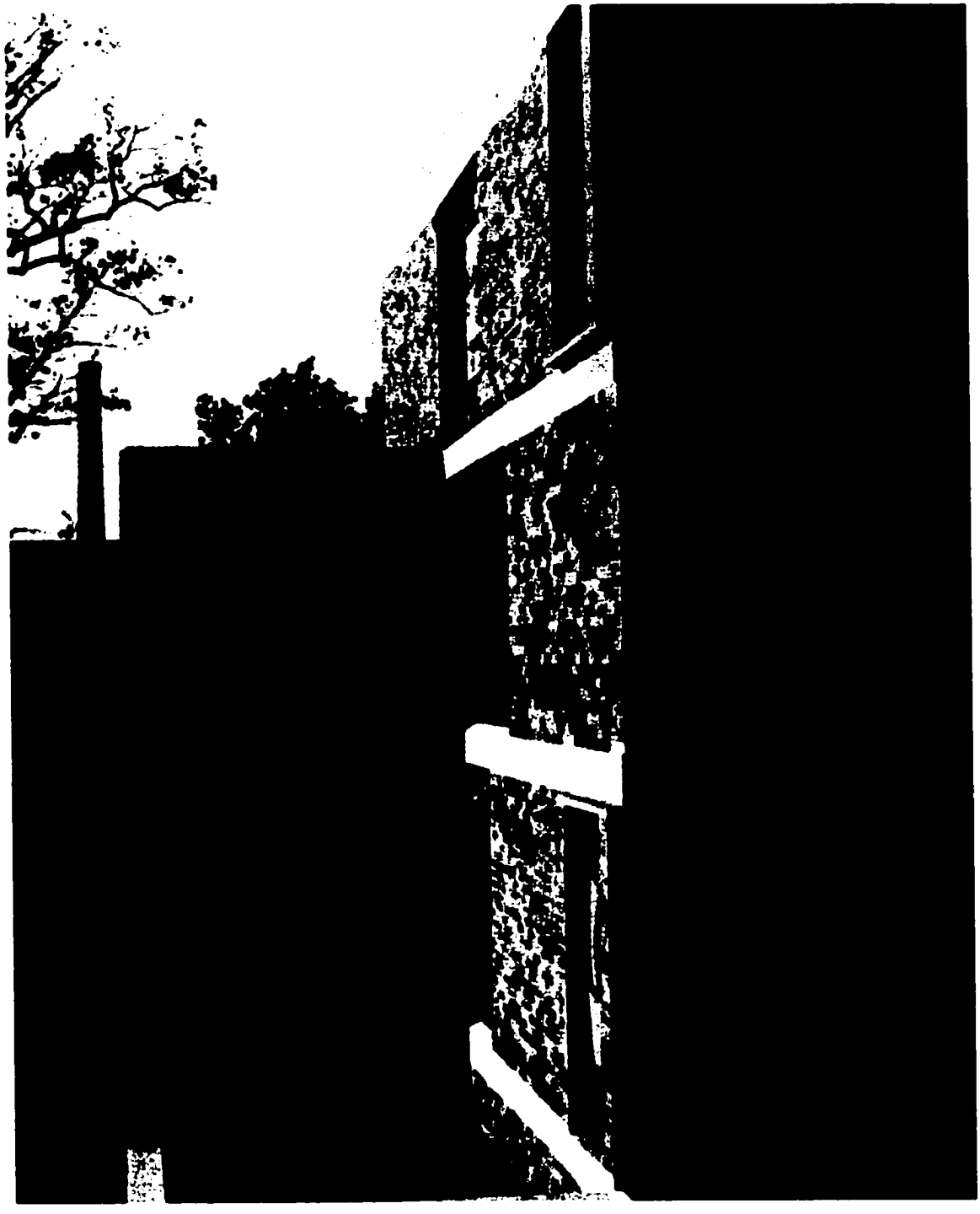

Fig. 3.41 Paul Rudolph, Married Students Housing, New Haven, CT, 1961–2, detail of brickwork and concrete façade. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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Fig. 3.42 Paul Rudolph, Married Students Housing, New Haven, CT, 1961–2.. Source: Banham, *New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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Fig.3.43 Eliot Noyes, Jackson House, Dover, MA, 1947, front elevation. Source: *Architectural Forum* (March, 1947).

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Fig. 3.44 Eliot Noyes, Jackson House, Dover, MA, 1947, rear elevation. Source: Architectural Forum (March, 1947).

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Fig. 3.45 Eliot Noyes, Jackson House, Dover, MA, 1947, interior view. Source: *Architectural Forum* (March, 1947).

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Fig. 3.46 Charles and Ray Eames Pinned By The Metal Bases of Their Own DCM Chairs, cover of *Architectural Design* (September 1966).

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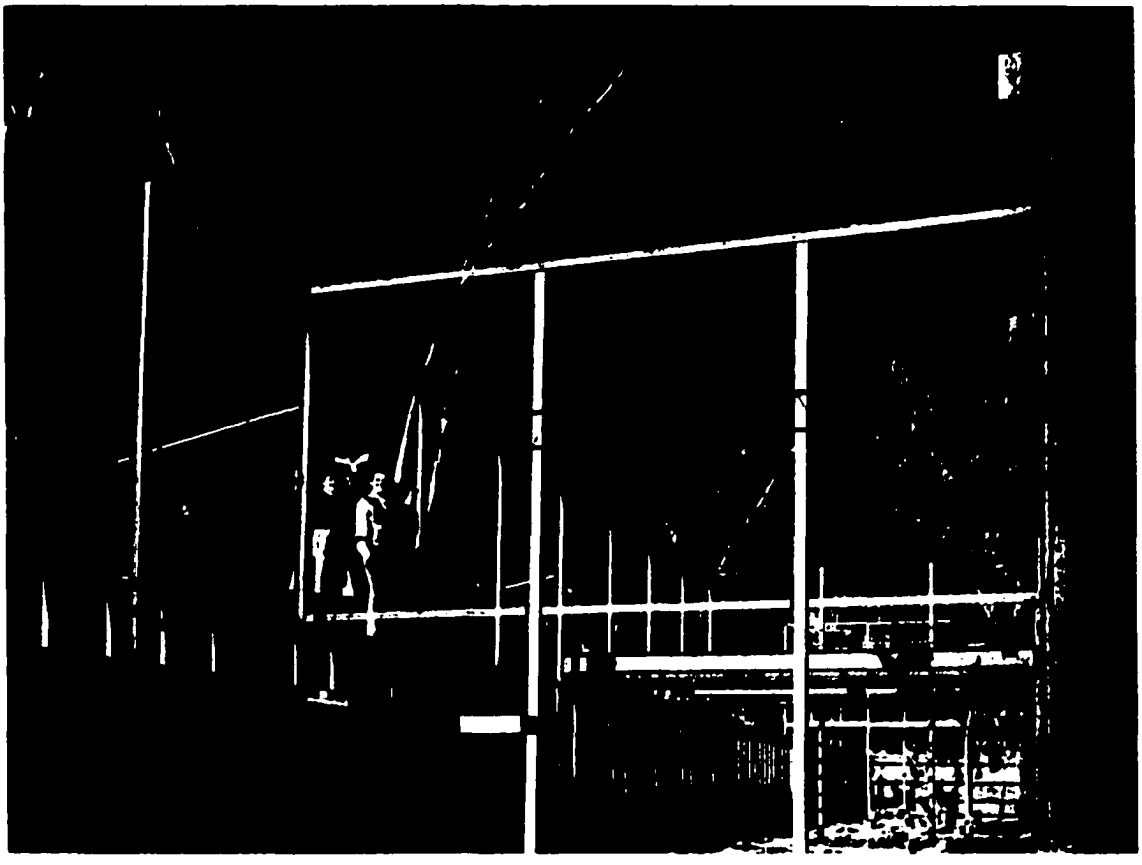

Fig. 3.47 Charles Eames standing on frame of Eames House, 1949. Source: John Neuhart, Marilyn Neuhart, and Ray Eames, eds., *Eames Design: The Work of the Office of Charles and Ray Eames* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989).

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Fig. 3.48 Charles Eames, Eames House, Santa Monica, CA, 1949, exterior. Source: D. Albrecht, ed. *The Work of Charles and Ray Eames: A Legacy of Invention.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1997.

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Fig. 3.49 Charles and Ray Eames, Eames House, Santa Monica, CA, 1949, interior. Source: D. Albrecht, ed. *The Work of Charles and Ray Eames: A Legacy of Invention.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1997.

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Fig. 4.1 CIAM, Charte d'Athènes, 1933. Source: Le Corbusier, *La Charte d'Athènes* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1957).

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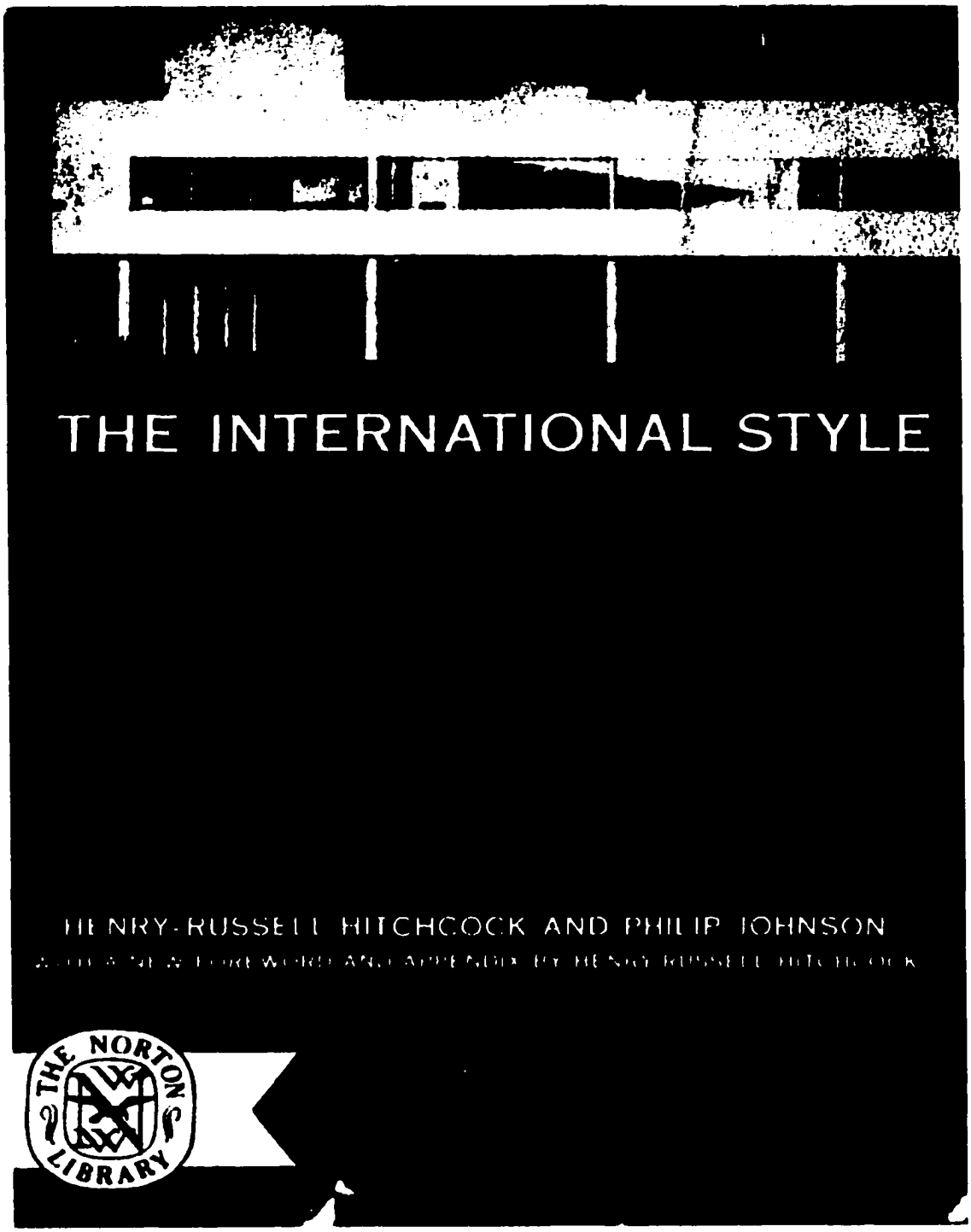

Fig. 4.2 Hitchcock and Johnson, cover of *The International Style* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1932, repr. 1966).

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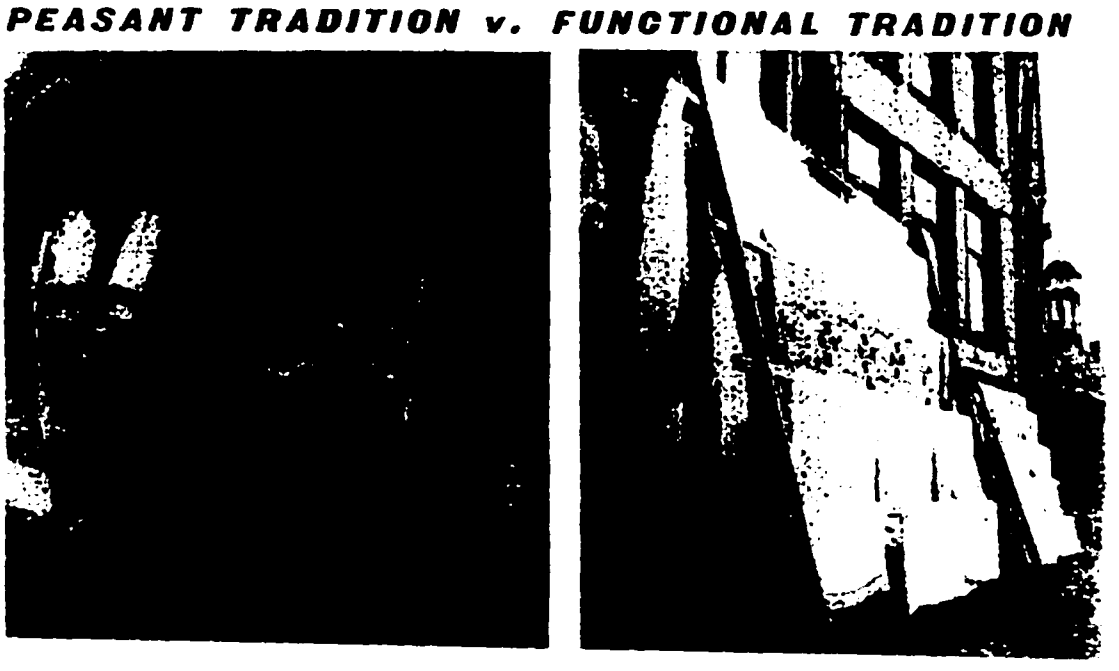

Fig. 4.3 Illustration of butter churn rack and clothes drying rack. Source: *Architectural Review* 107, no. 637 (January 1950).

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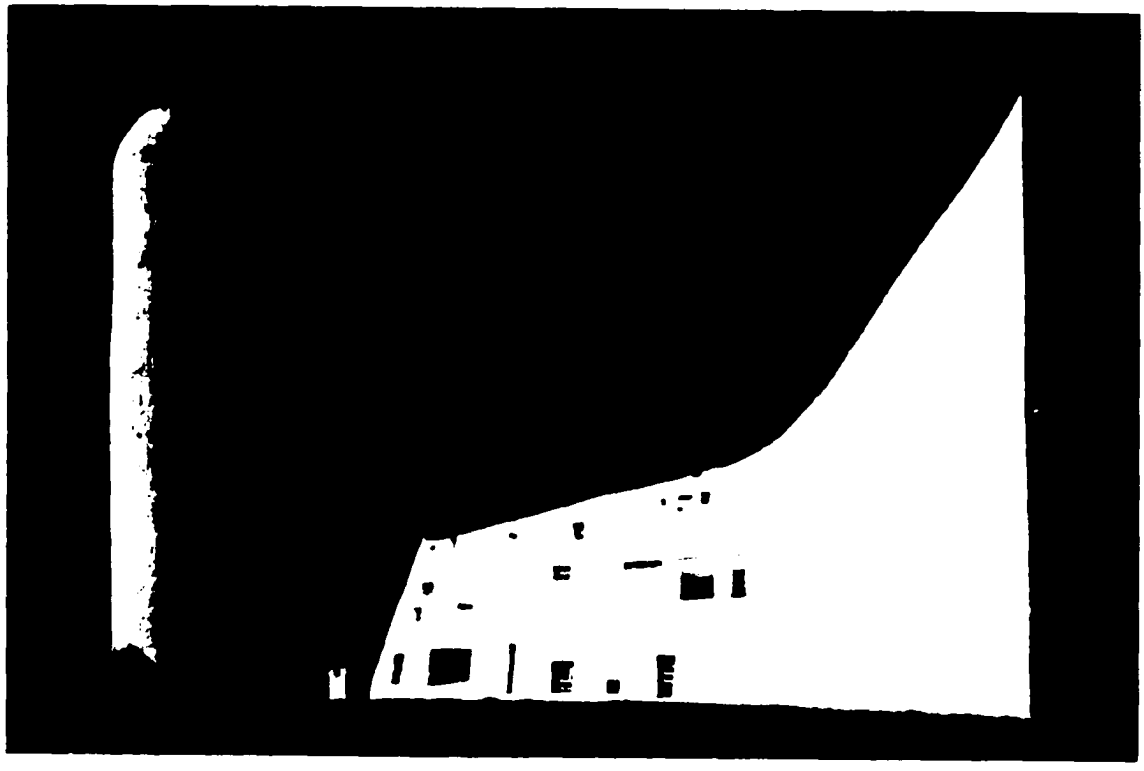

Fig. 4.4 Le Corbusier, Ronchamp Chapel, 1950–5. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

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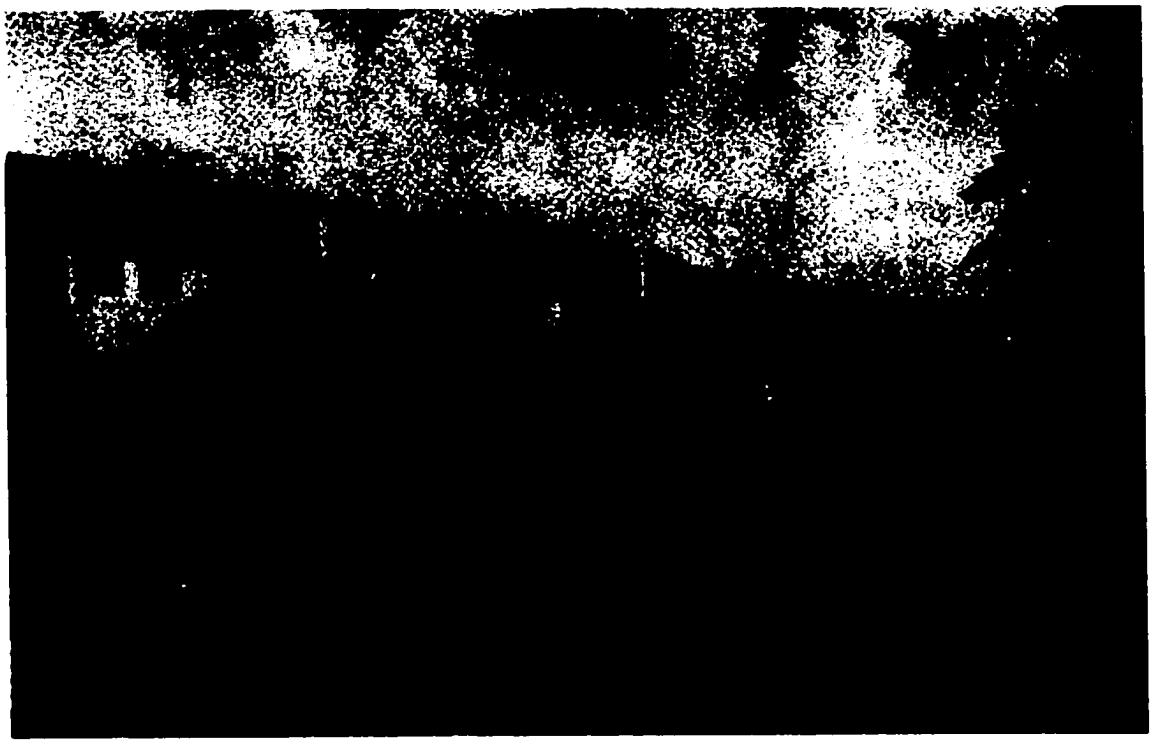

Fig. 4.5 "Fresh Air" Development, Malmö, Sweden, 1947–8. Source: L. Silk, *Sweden Plans for Better Housing* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1948).

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Fig,. 4.6 Louis de Soissons and A. W. Kenyon, Welwyn Garden City housing schemes, 1926–8. Source: F. J. Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1946).

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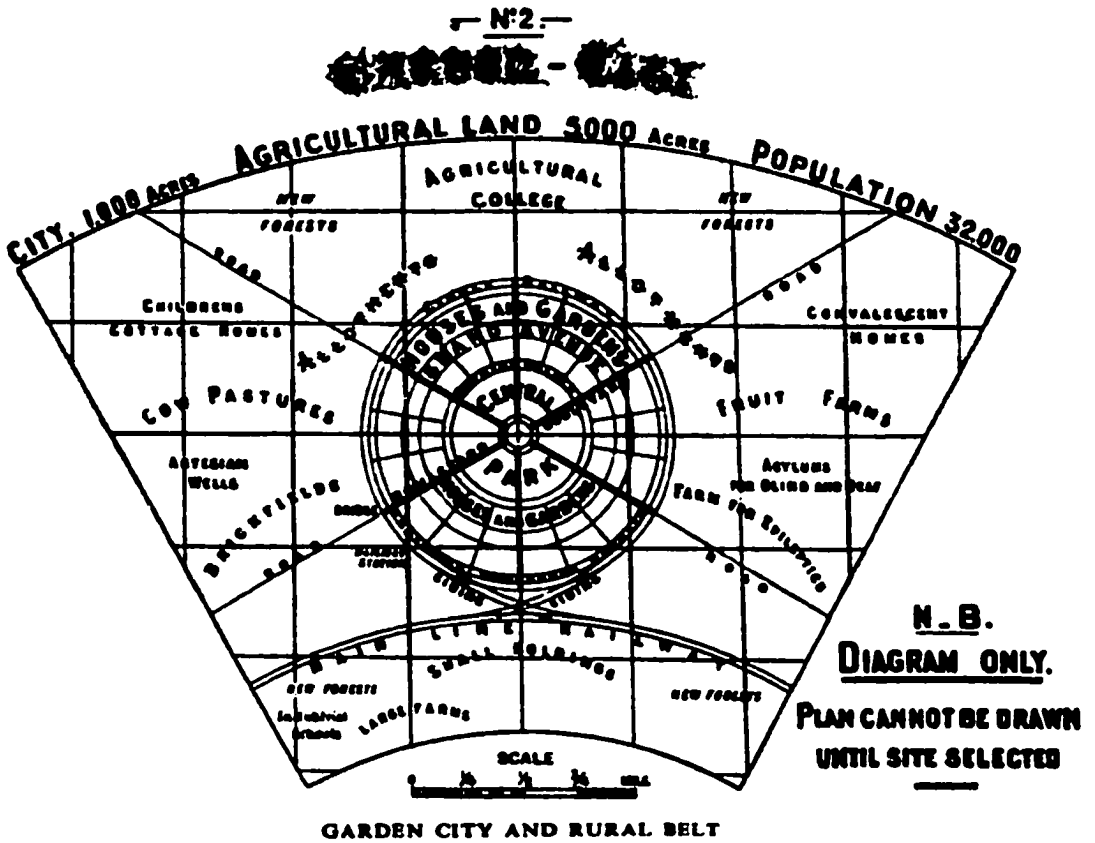

Fig. 4.7 Ebenezer Howard, Garden City Diagram, Source: E. Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, ed. with a preface by F. J. Osborn. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965.

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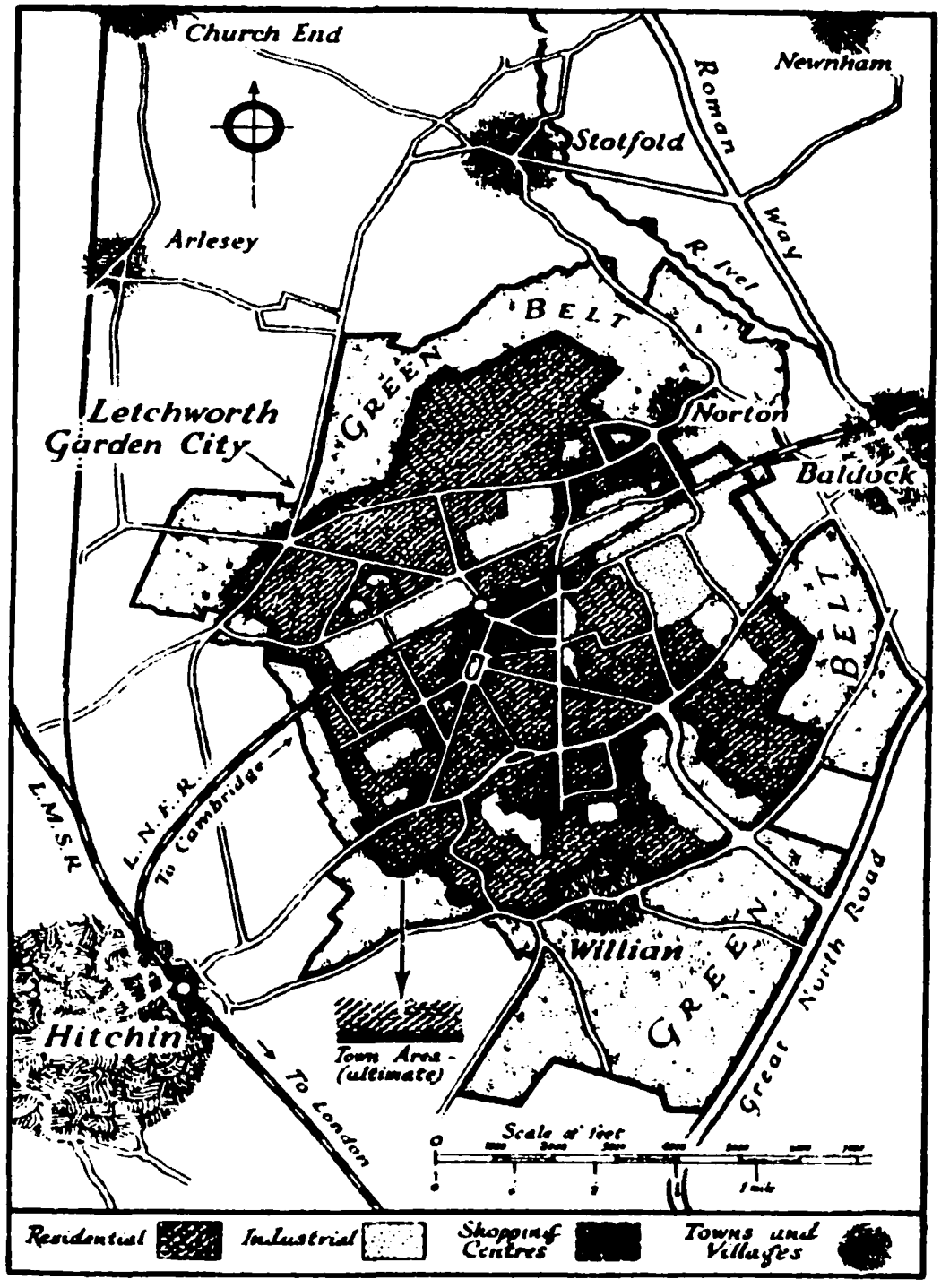

PLAN OF LETCHWORTH

Fig. 4.8 Map of Letchworth Garden City. Source: R. Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982).

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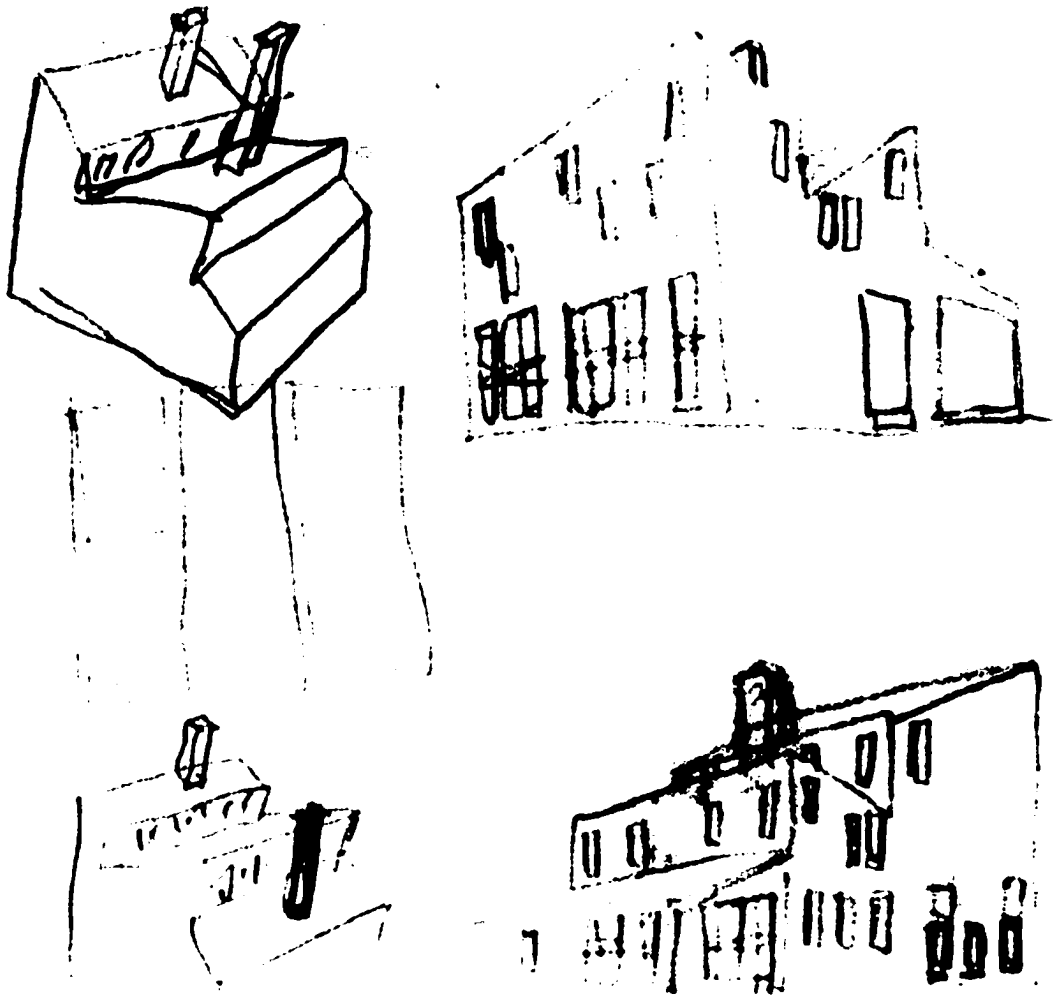

Fig. 4.9 A. and P. Smithson, Sugden House, Watford, Herts, preliminary sketch. Source: *Architectural Review* 122, no. 728 (September 1957).

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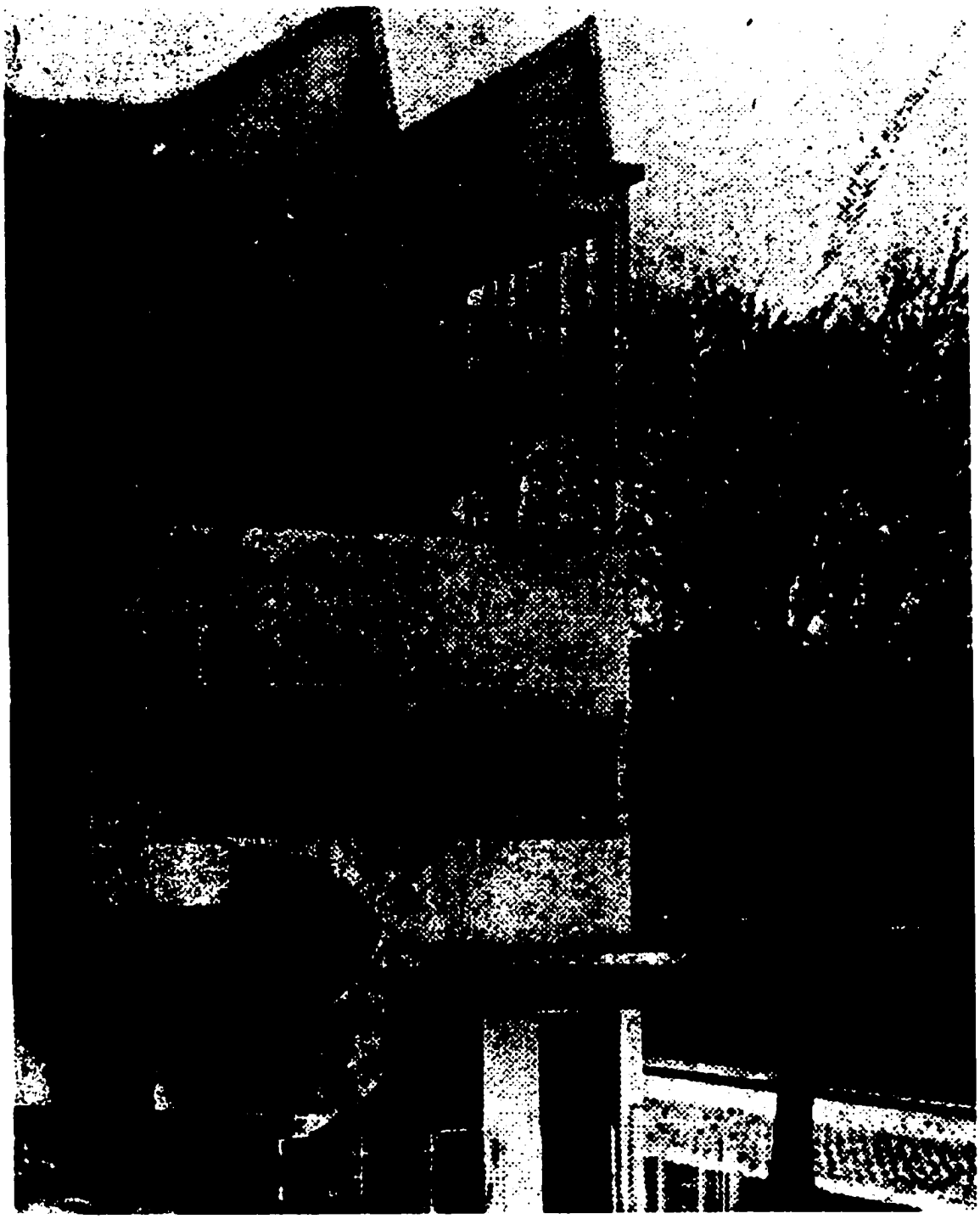

Fig. 4.10 Le Corbusier, Maison Ozenfant, Paris, 1922–3. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

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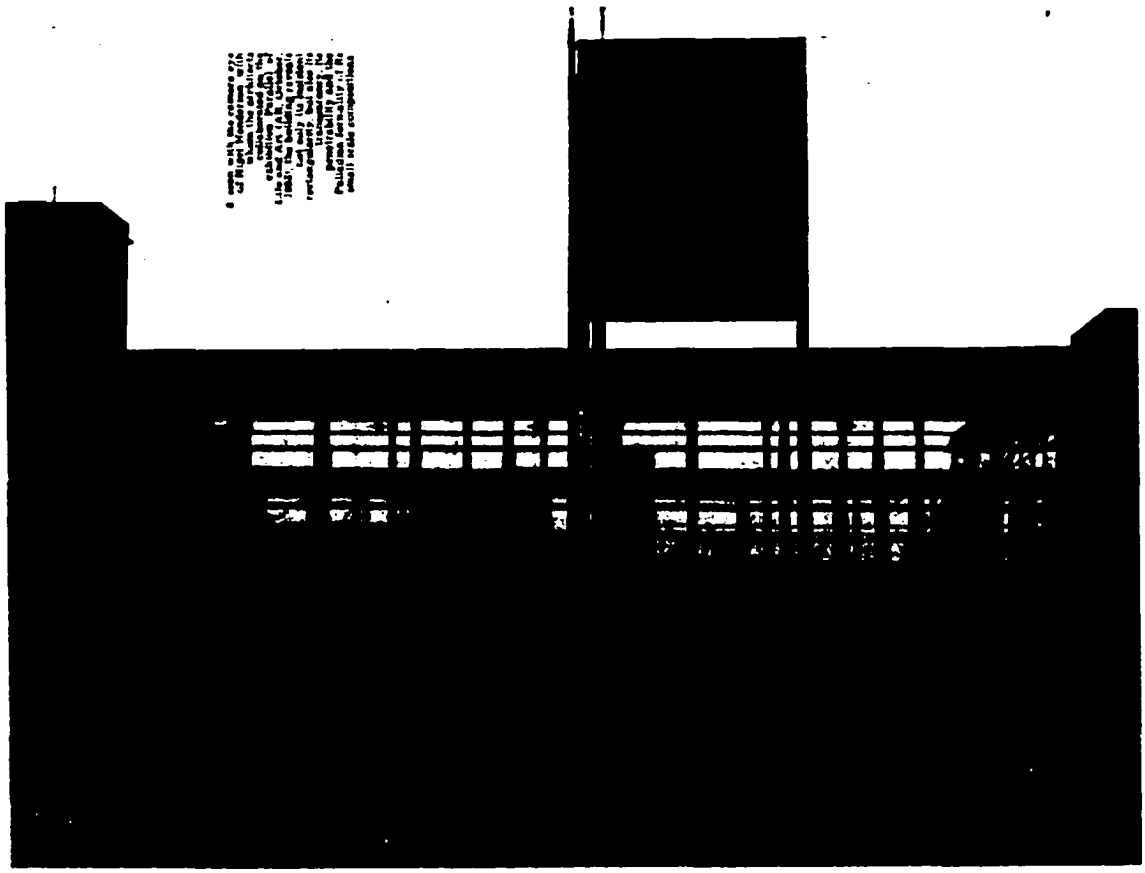

Fig. 4.11 A. and P. Smithson, Hunstaton School Water Tower. Source: *Architectural Review* 116, no. 693 (September 1954).

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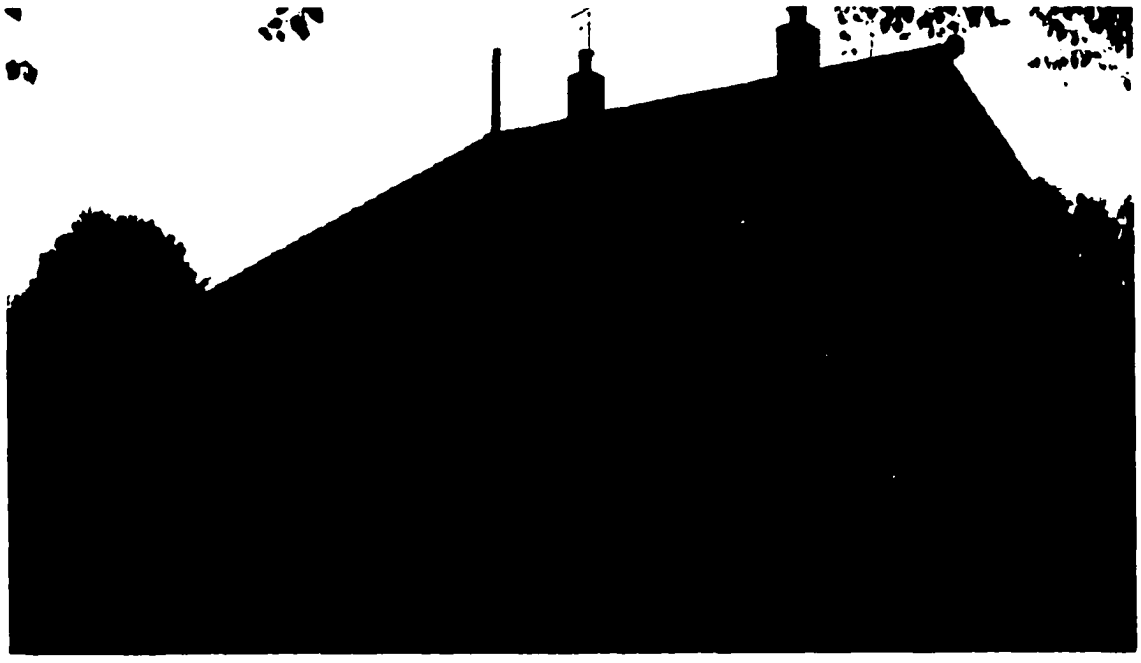

Fig. 4.12 A. and P. Smithson, Sugden House, 1955, side elevation. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

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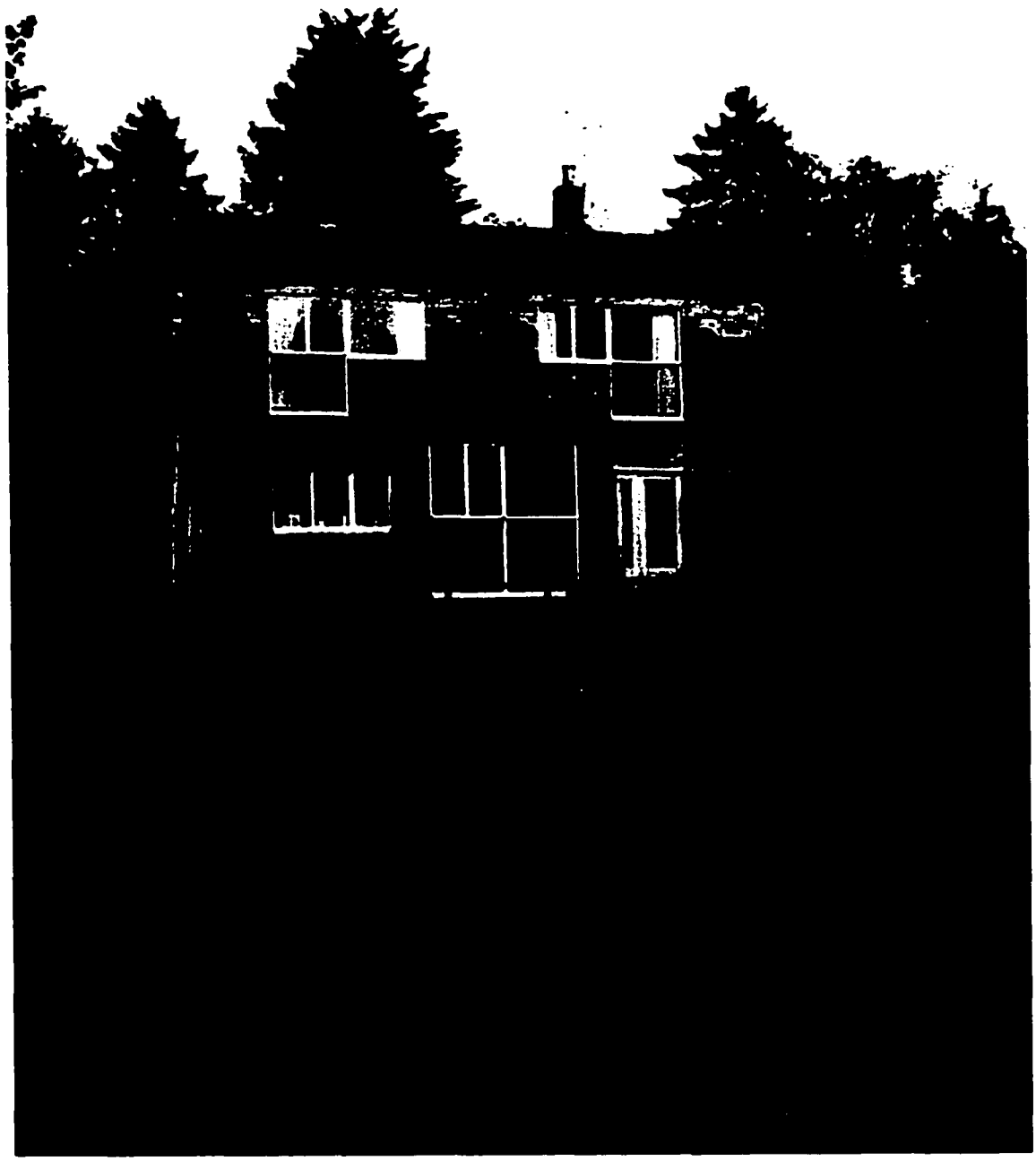

Fig. 4.13 A. and P. Smithson, Sugden House, 1955, rear view from garden. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

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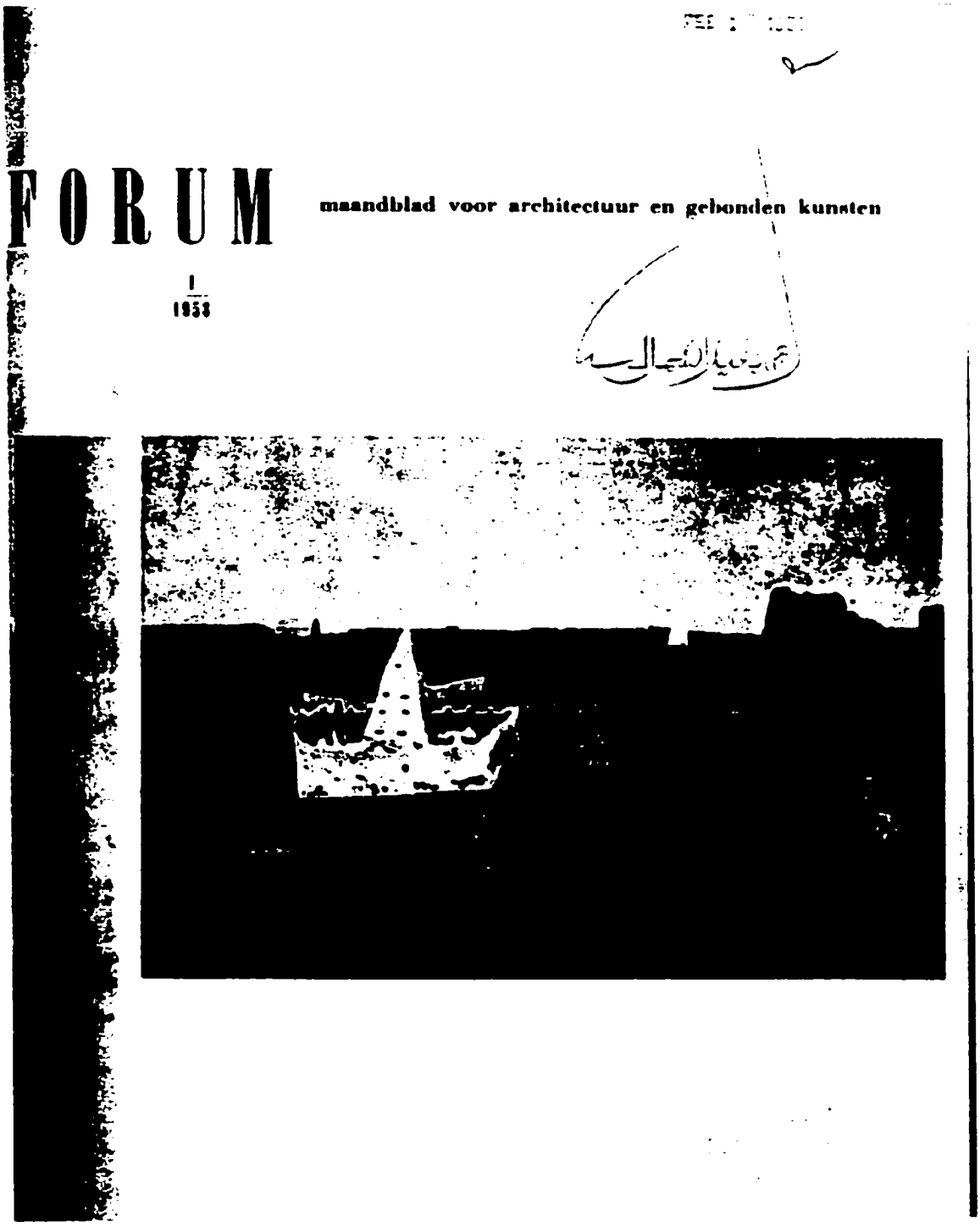

Fig. 4.14 Cover of *Forum: manndblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunsten* 1 (1953).

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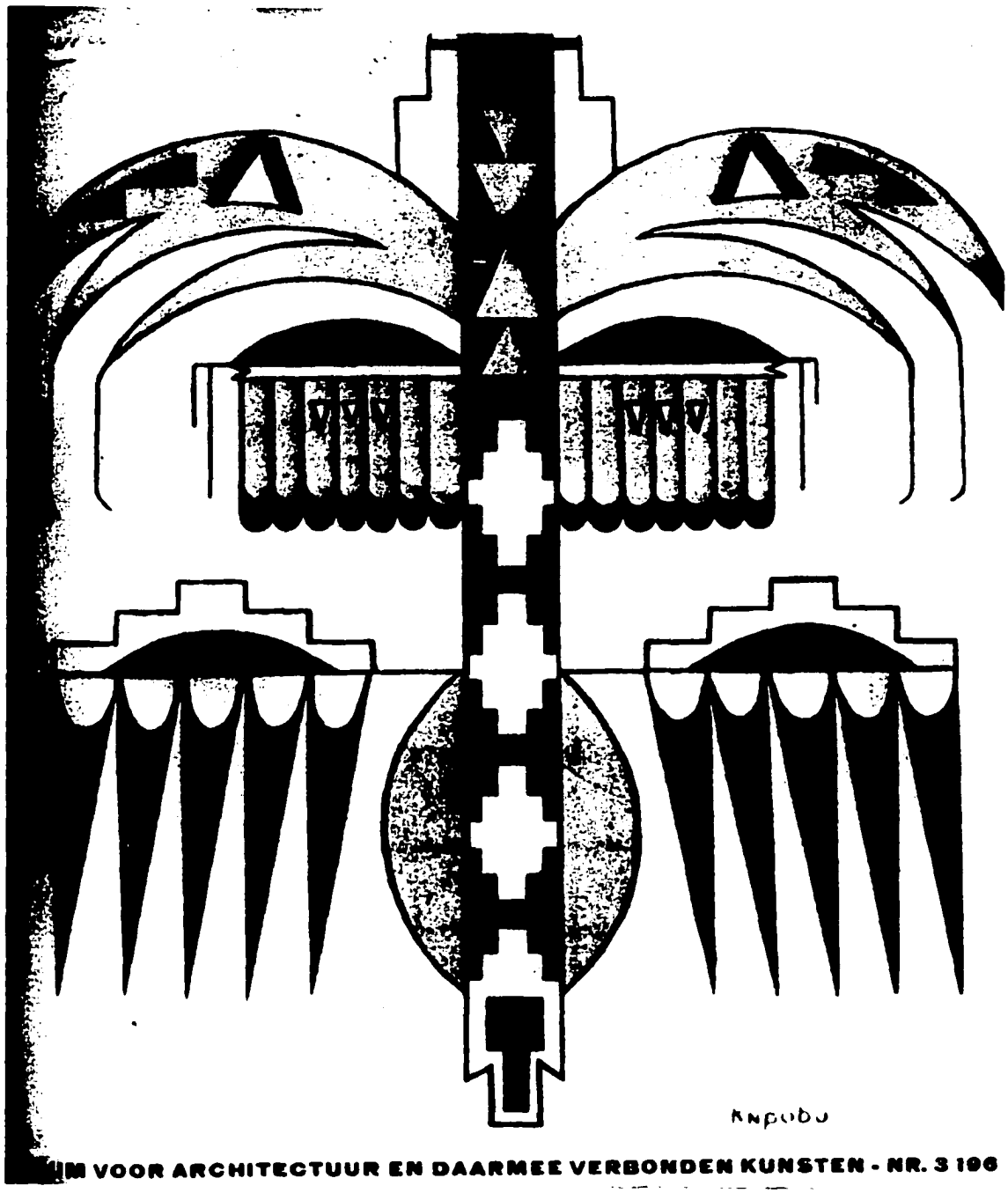

Fig. 4.15 Cover of *Forum: manndblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunste* 3 (1962).

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Fig. 4.16 Le Corbusier, Plan Obus for Algiers, Project A, 1930. Source: W. Boesiger, ed. *Le Corbusier* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

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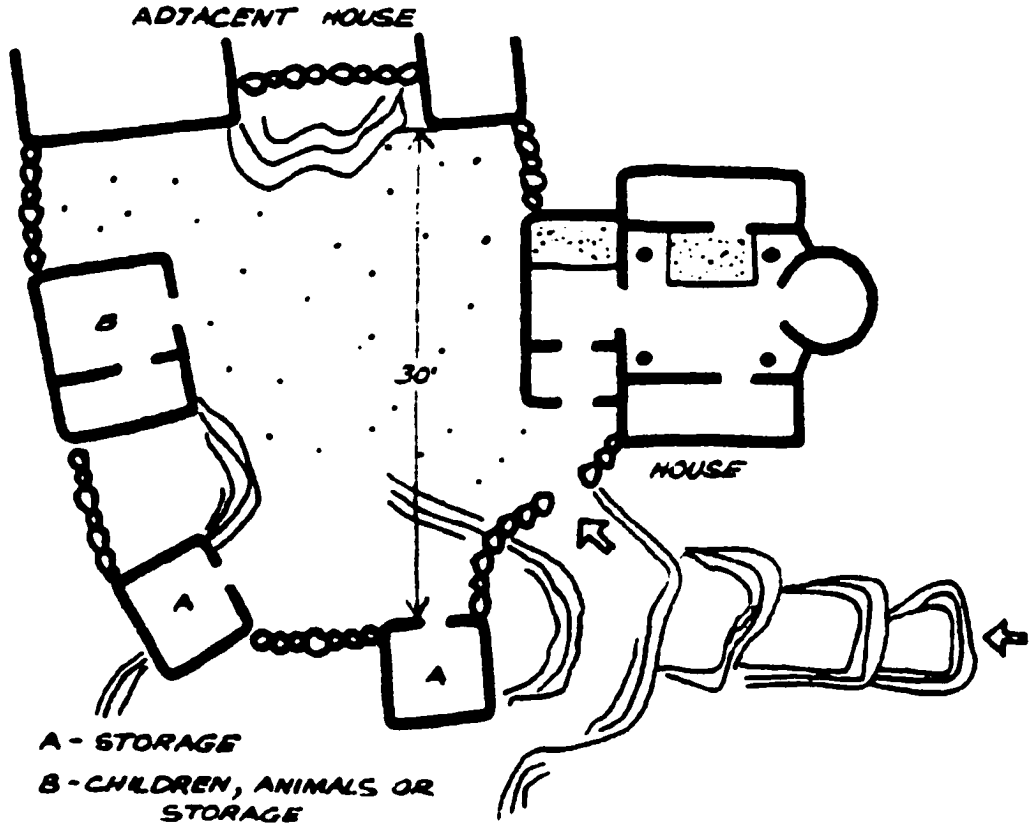

Fig. 4.17 Dogon Extended House, Source: F. Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

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Fig. 4.18 Mesa Verde, Colorado, photographed by Aldo van Eyck. Source: *Forum: manndblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunste* 3 (1962).

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En haut : Jeune garçon bolon habillé de feuillage pour un rite saisonnier

INTRODUCTION MÉTHODOLOGIQUE

par MARCEL GRIAULE

L'expédition française qui vient de parcourir l'Afrique sur la transversale Dakar-Djibouti avait entre autres buts l'étude de certaines populations dans leurs diverses activités, et en cela elle n'était pas exclusivement ethnographique, si tant est que l'ethnographie connaisse surtout des manifestations matérielles.

Certes toutes les activités humaines se traduisent par des objets et l'on peut dire que théoriquement il serait possible de parvenir à la connaissance d'une société en fondant l'observation sur tout ce qu'elle rejette en s'entourant d'un maximum de documentation.

C'est en application de ce principe que la Mission a constitué une collection africaine destinée à combler certaines lacunes du Musée d'Ethnographie.

Mais il serait imprudent de s'en tenir là et de ne pas renverser le problème en voyant aussi dans l'objet le témoin assurant qu'il faut rencontrer à chaque pas de l'enquête de sociologie descriptive, à mon sens activité principale de l'ethnographie.

C'est ainsi que la Mission s'est livrée [illegible] par longs séjours qu'elle effectua chez les Dama de Bandagara, Nord-Cameroun, Ethiopie septentrionale) à des études où l'acquisition d'objets n'était pas son unique préoccupation.

Il ne saurait être question de donner ici un aperçu, même succinct, des travaux qu'elle a effectués. Au reste les pages qui suivent en montreront divers aspects. Il me paraît plus opportun d'exposer les méthodes qu'elle a suivies et dont les grandes lignes ont été dégagées de l'enseignement donné à l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris.

Tout d'abord deux voies principales s'offrent à l'ethnographe qui se rend sur le terrain : la méthode extensive, consistant à étudier des questions données dans le plus grand nombre de sociétés possible ; la méthode intensive, qui consiste, au contraire, en une enquête approfondie d'une seule société.

La méthode extensive est un décret, apparemment à juste titre. *Extensif* se confond souvent avec superficiel ; extraire de l'imbroglio des faits sociaux une documentation se rapportant uniquement à l'un d'eux, c'est vouloir retirer un élément du jeu de jonchets sans ébranler l'ensemble. Pratiquement, ce tour de force ne s'obtient qu'en mettant des œillères à l'informateur, en le ramenant sans

Fig. 4.19 Cover of *Minotaure: revue artistique et littéraire* 2 (June 1933).

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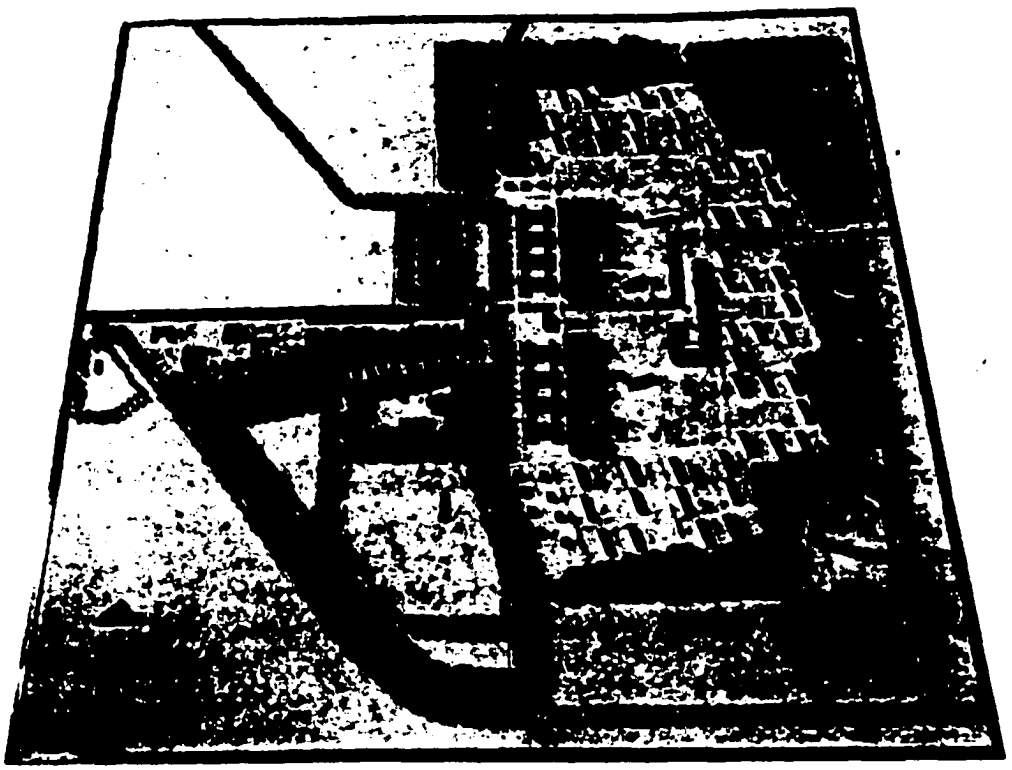

Fig. 4.20 De 8 en Opbouw, Plan for the Village of Nagele, The Netherlands, ca. 1949. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (1952).

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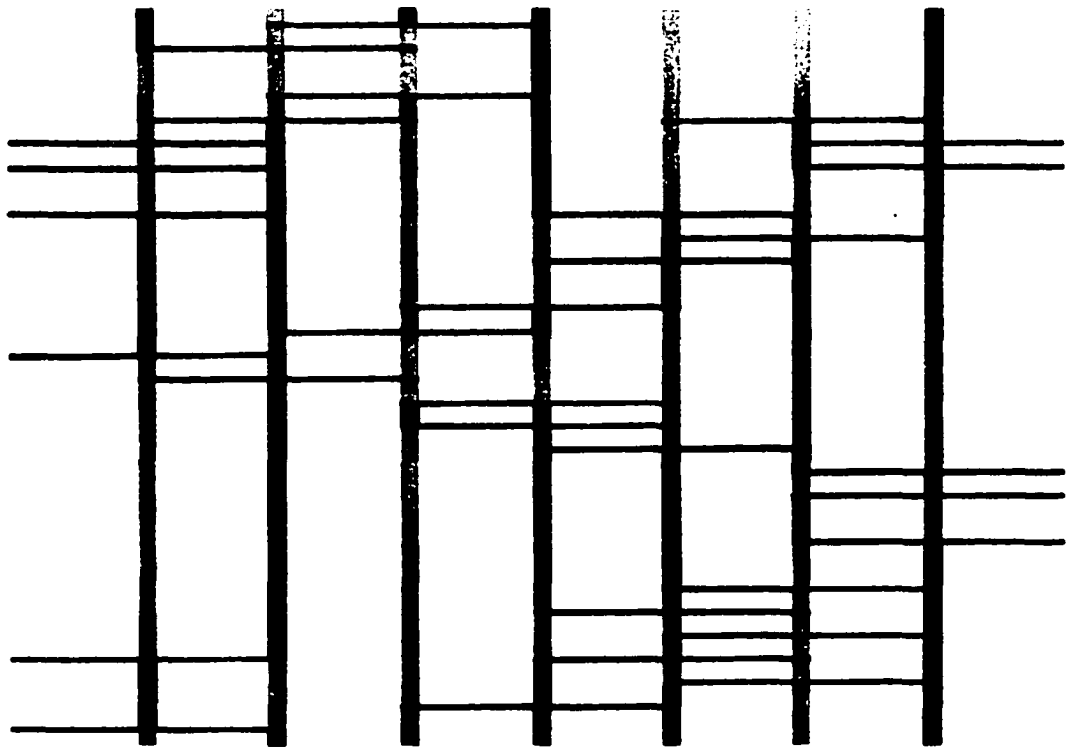

Fig. 4.21 Richard Lohse, *Konkretion III*, 1946. Source: *Forum: maanblad voor architectuur en gebonden kunst* 6/7 (1952).

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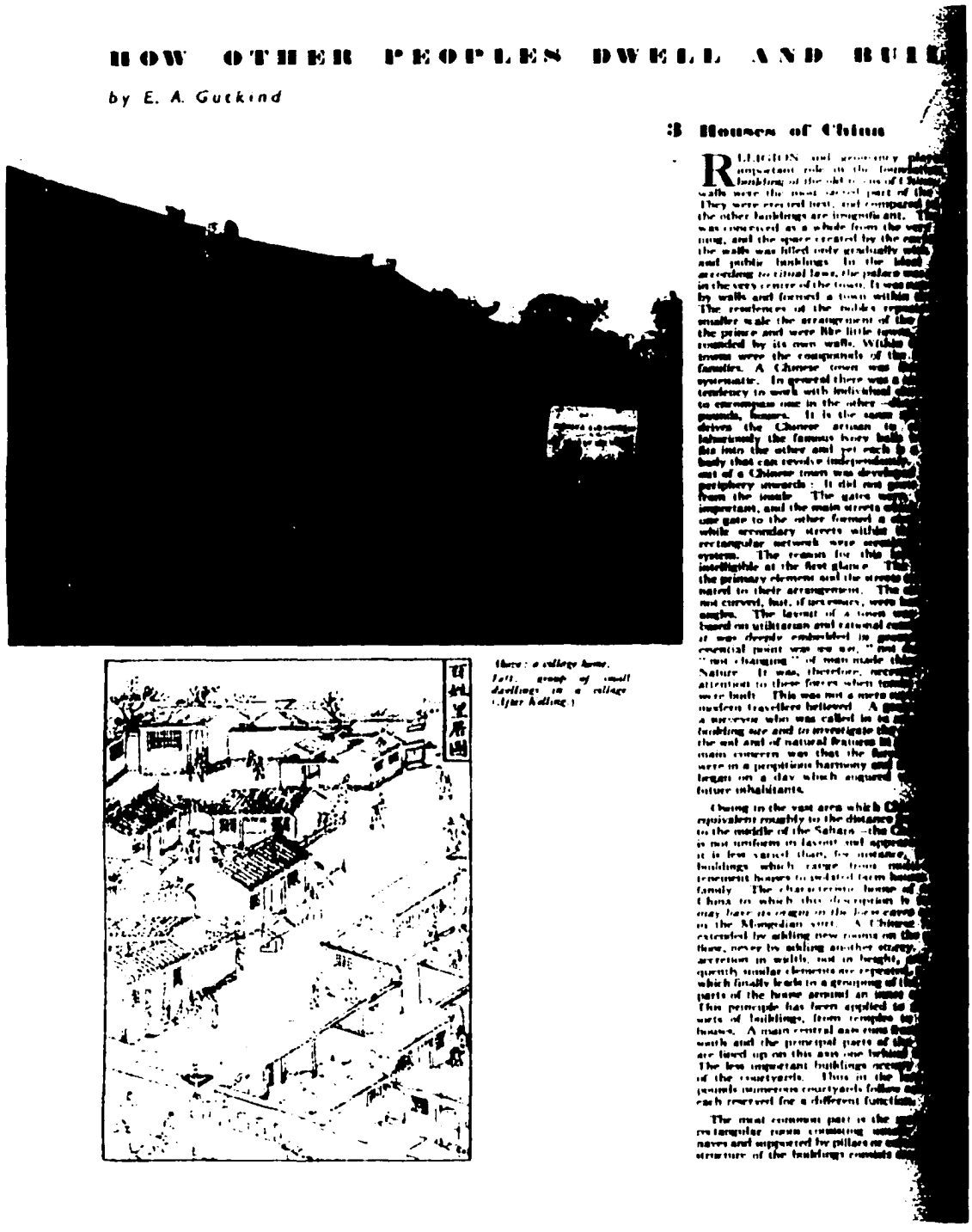

HOW OTHER PEOPLES DWELL AND BUIL

by E. A. Gutkind

3 Houses of China

R

Fig. 4.22 E. A. Gutkind, illustration from "How Other People Dwell and Build: Houses of China." Source: *Architectural Design* 23, no. 3 (March 1953).

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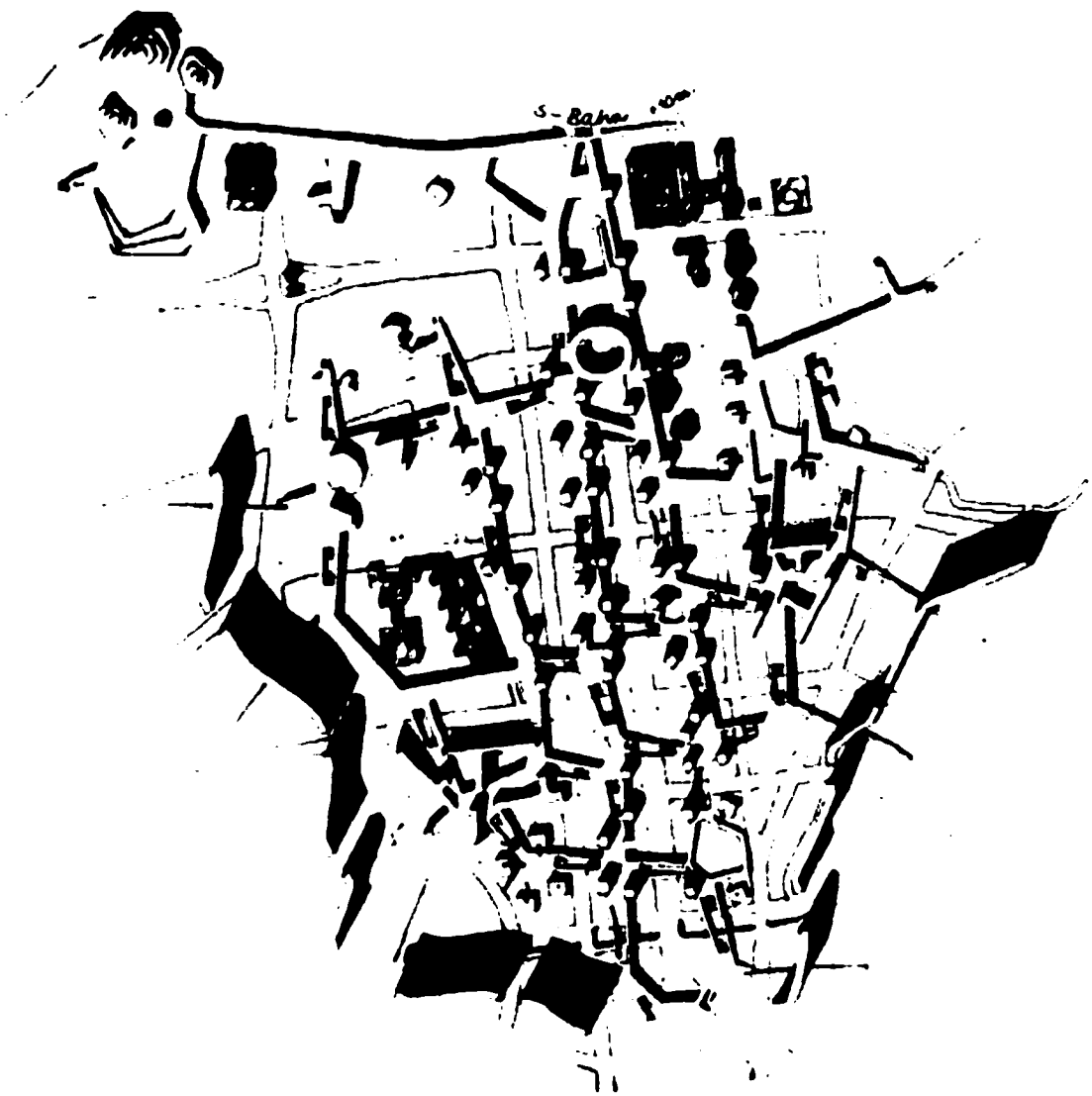

Fig. C.1 A. and P. Smithson, Berlin-Haupstadt Plan, 1958. Source: R. Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1966).

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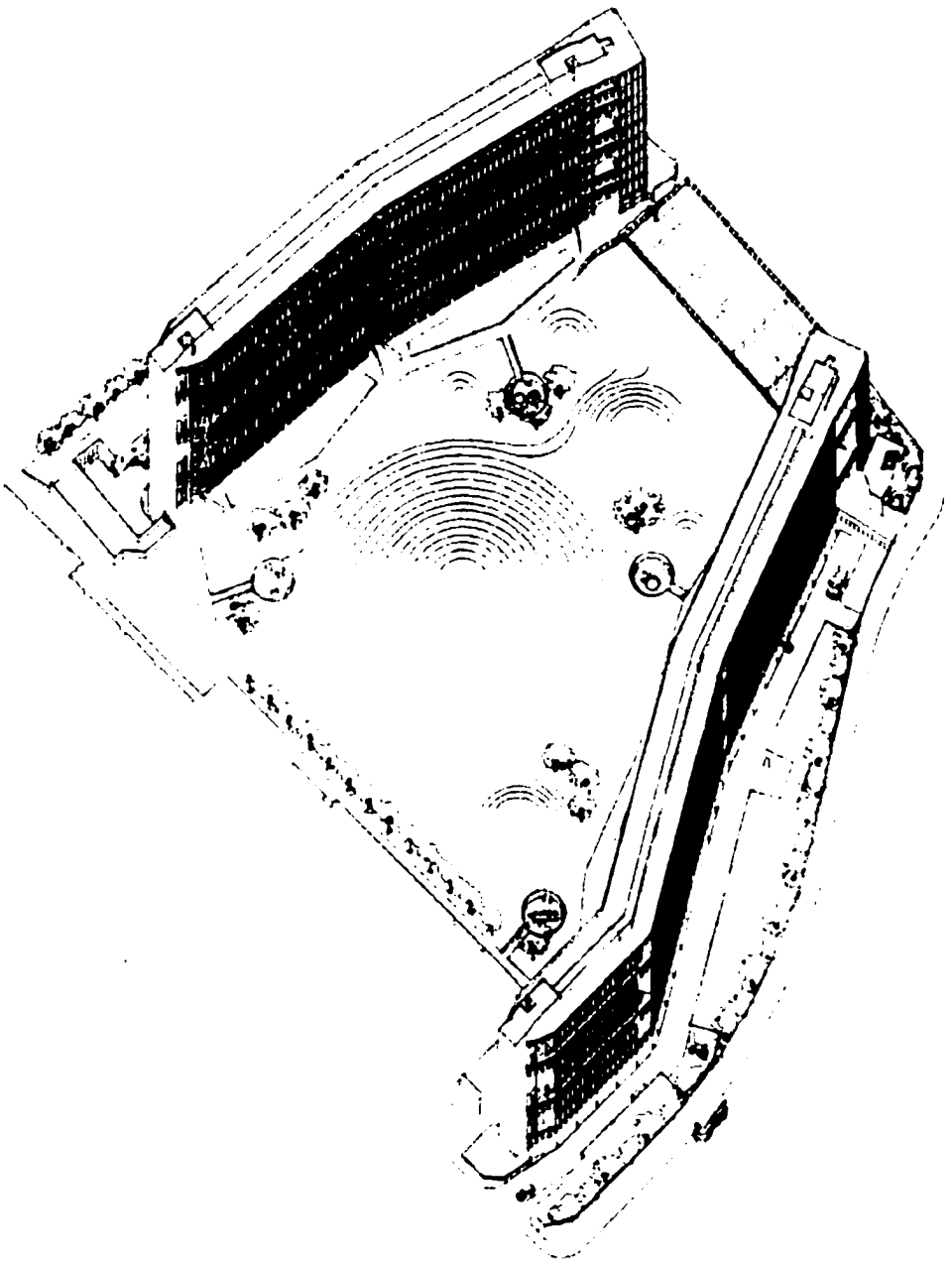

Fig. C.2 A. and P. Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, 1966–72, axonometric drawing. Source: A. and P. Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952–60, and Their Application in a Building Project 1963–70* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

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Fig. C.3 A. and P. Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, view from garden. Source: *Architectural Design* 42 (September 1972).

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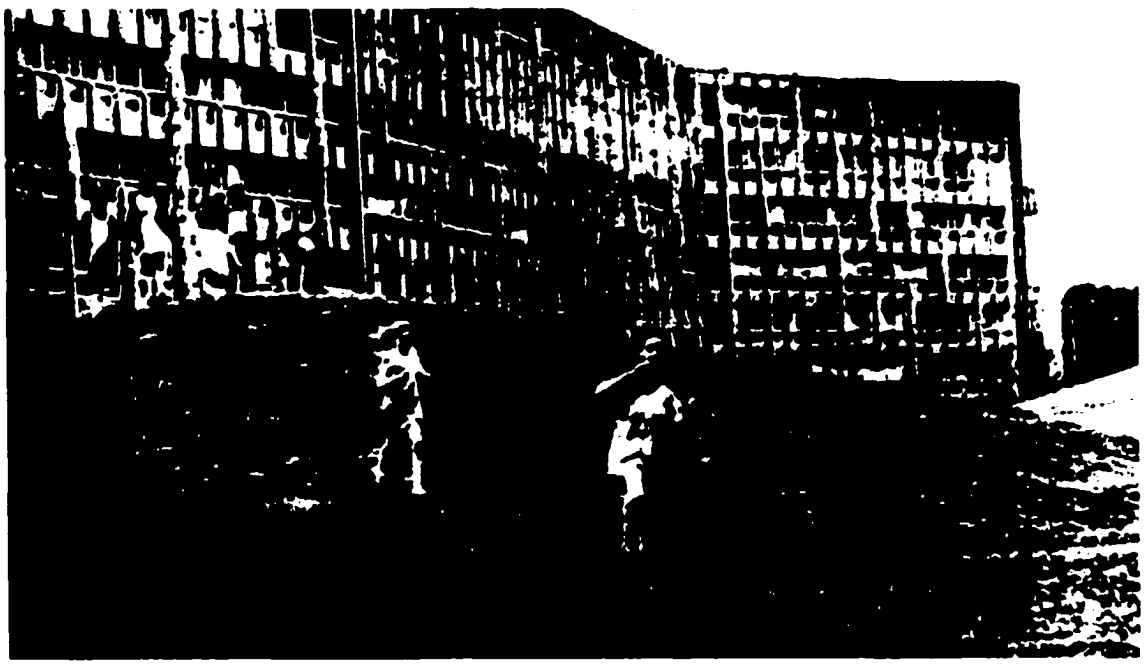

Fig. C.4 A. and P. Smithson, *Robin Hood Gardens,* view from garden. Source: *Architectural Design* 42 (September 1972).

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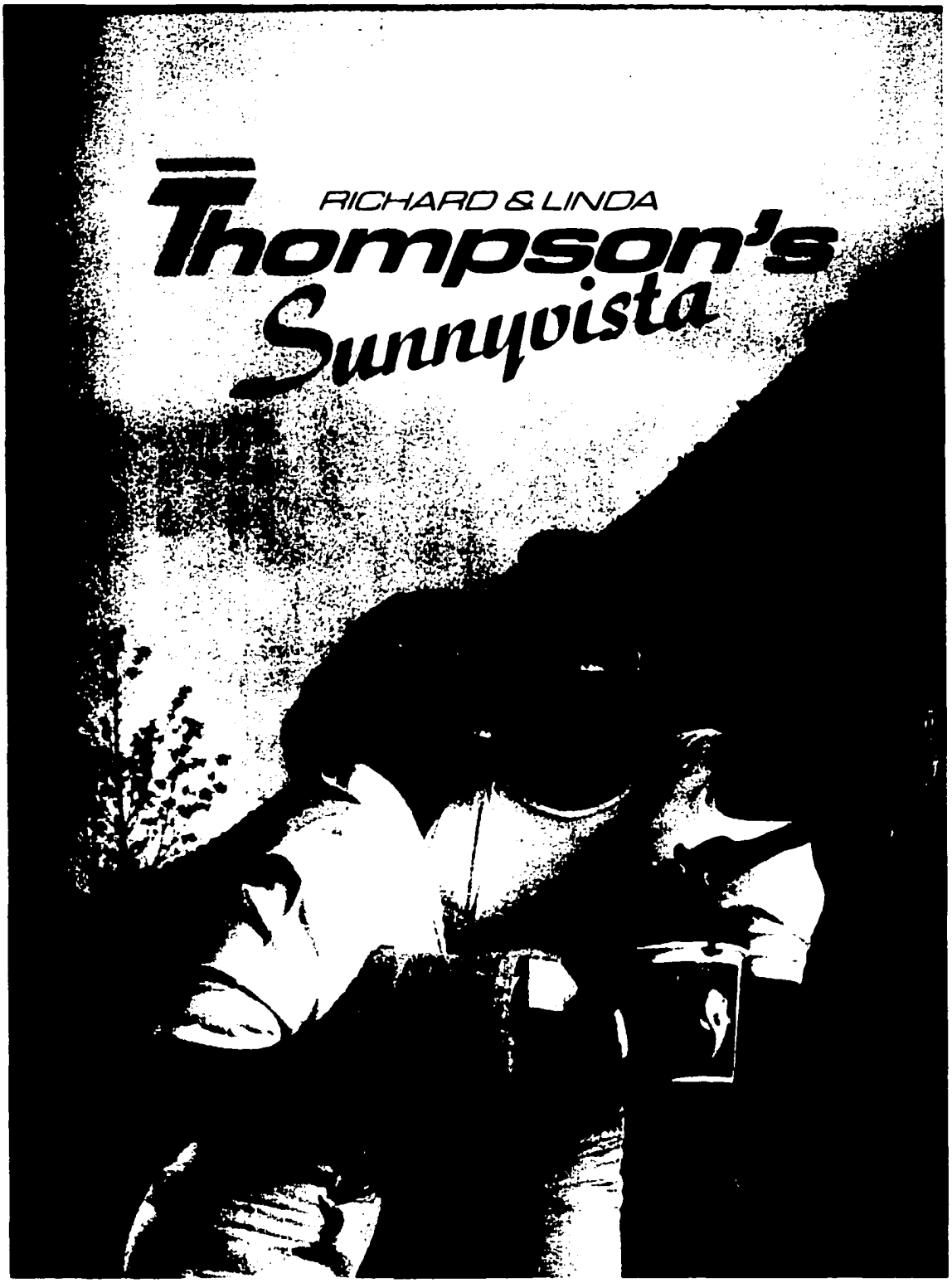

Fig. C.5 Richard and Linda Thompson, cover of LP entitled *Sunnyvista* (New York: Carthage Records, 1983).

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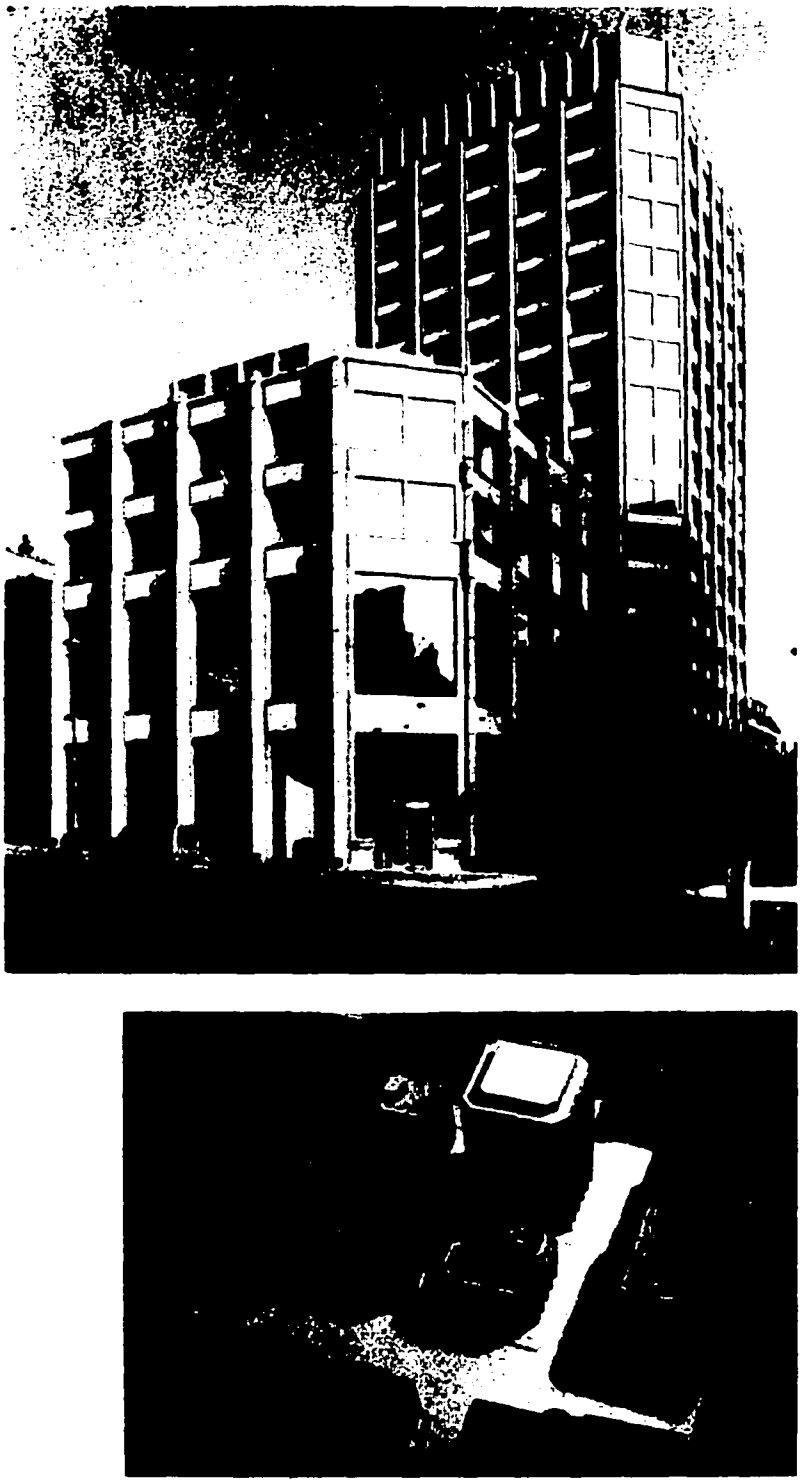

Fig. C.6 A. and P. Smithson, Economist Cluster, London, 1964. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

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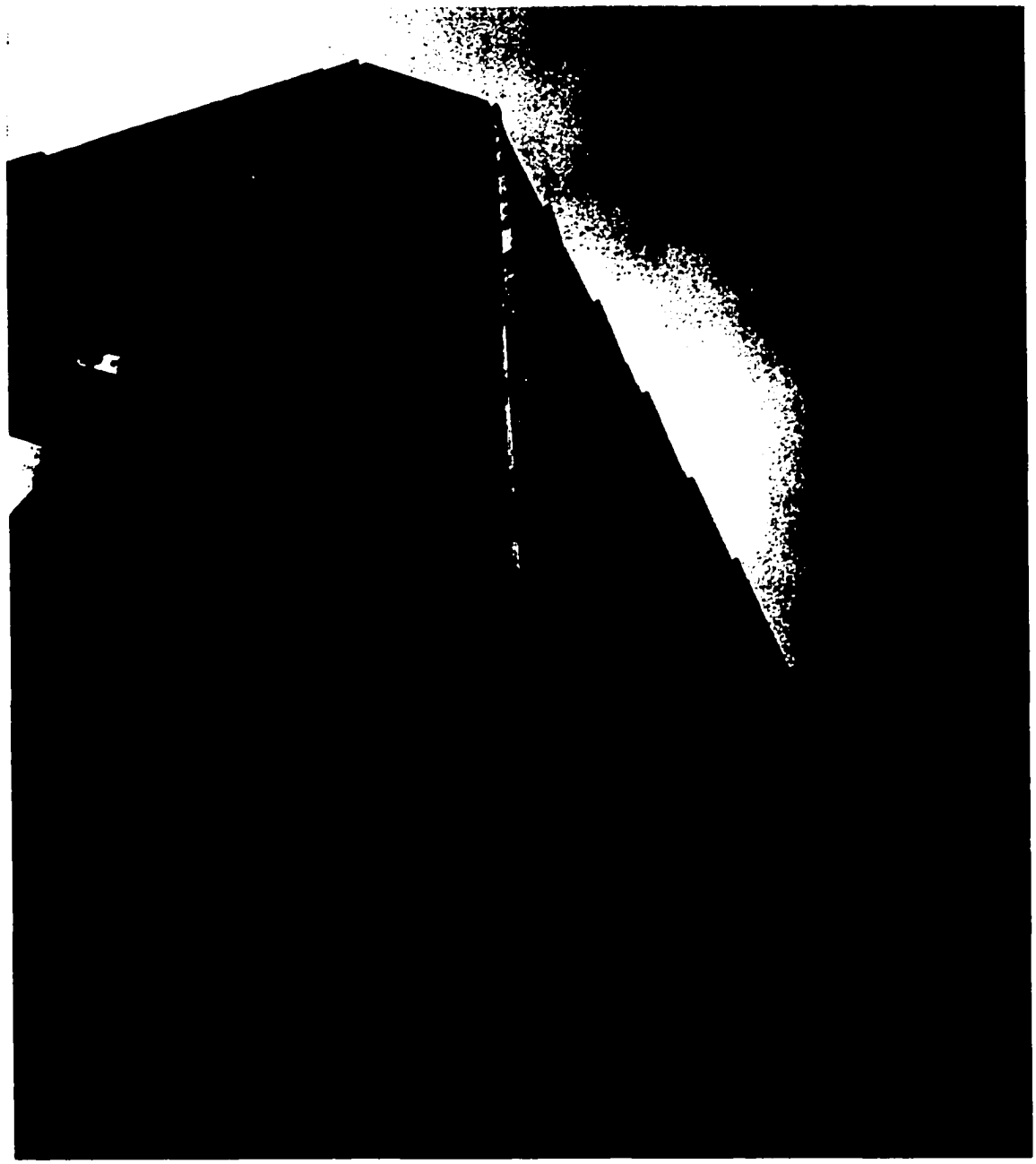

Fig. C.7 A. and P. Smithson, Economist Cluster, London, 1964, worm's-eye view. Source: H. Webster, ed. *Modernism Without Rhetoric: Essays on the Work of A. and P. Smithson* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

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Fig. C.8 A. and P. Smithson, Economist Clusters Mapped onto the City of London. Source: Marco Vidotto. *A. and P. Smithson* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1997).

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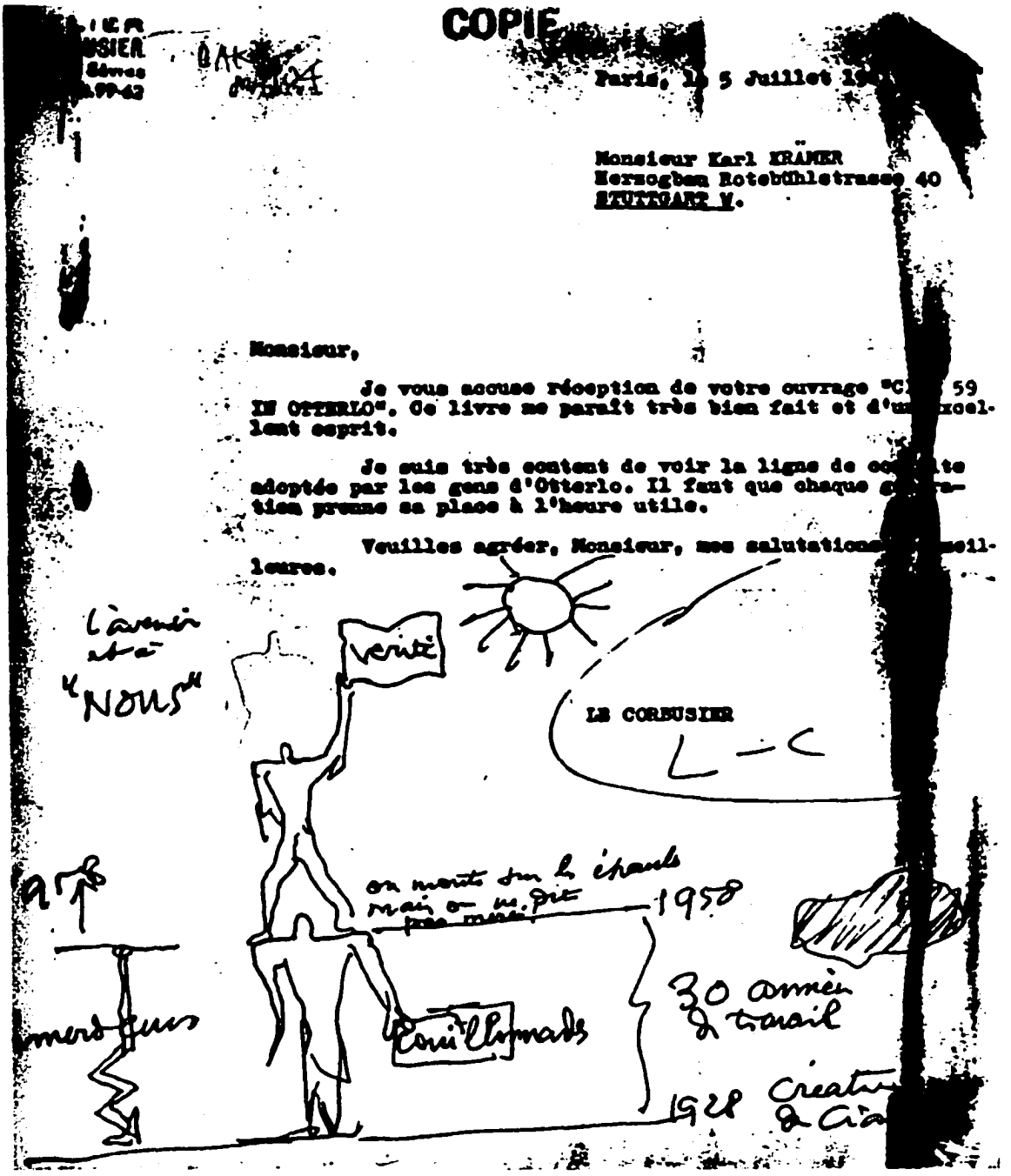

Endpiece: Le Corbusier, Letter to Karl Krämer, 5 July 1961, with drawing ("On monte sur les épauls [sic] mais on ne dit pas merci"). Source: BAKE or104.

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