

# **Architectural Design, 1954-1972**

The architectural magazine's contribution to the writing of architectural history

by  
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## Abstract

This thesis examines the architectural magazine's contribution to the writing of modern architectural history using the magazine *Architectural Design (AD)* as a case study.

There are four main narratives to this research, one "grand" and three "micro":

The overarching grand narrative (or meta-narrative) is the proposal to replace the existing art historical formulation of architectural history with a more holistic understanding of history based on power struggles in the field of architecture. This strategy is derived from an application of Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework to the field of architectural cultural production.

The position of the architectural magazine as an institution in the construction of the architectural profession, and the ever-changing definition of architecture is one underlying micro-narrative. The introduction discusses the role that the architectural magazine played in the emergence of the modern architectural profession, alongside other institutions, specifically the academy and professional bodies.

The central, and largest, micro-narrative is a critical history of the magazine *Architectural Design* from 1954 to 1972. Brief biographies of its editors and a background to the magazine from its inception in 1930 up to 1953 precede this by way of contextualisation. This history of *AD* discusses the content and context of the magazine and traces its shift from a professional architectural magazine to an autonomous "little" magazine, focussing on several key structural themes that underpin the magazine. Throughout, the role that *AD* played in the promotion of the post-war neo-avant-garde, in particular the New Brutalists and Archigram, is documented and the relationships between the small circle of people privileged to produce and contribute to the magazine, and *AD*'s rivalry with the *Architectural Review* are highlighted.

The final micro-narrative is a reading of post-war modern architectural history from 1954 to 1972 through the pages of *AD*, tracing the rise and demise of modern architecture in terms of three defining shifts from the period evident in the magazine: "high to low"; "building to architecture"; and "hard to soft". This period also coincides exactly with the life of the Pruitt Igoe housing blocks in St. Louis whose demolition, according to Jencks, represented the death of modern architecture. A growing post-modern sensibility in architecture is manifest in the magazine through an increasing resistance to modernist thinking. This study consciously employs post-modern methodologies to a period of modern architecture in an attempt to disturb modernist mythologies that have ossified into history.

## Key Propositions

- Modernist architectural history was as much an architectural project as modernist architecture was an historical project – they were two manifestations of a single modernist project of architectural practice.
- The existing modernist formulation of architectural history based on art history is rejected and a new formulation based instead on Bourdieu's field of cultural production is proposed.
- Architectural history's existing normative modernist meta-narrative of teleological progress based on influence, evolution, aesthetic classification, periodisation of styles, and the prioritisation of the architect as genius author and architecture as his/her masterpiece object therefore becomes irrelevant. This is replaced by a post-modernist meta-narrative of a power struggle to define architecture in which architectural history is considered the trace of power relations, the palimpsest of discourse, the debris from altercations over the authority to validate, legitimise and define architecture.
- Architecture is unique in considering itself as both an art and a profession. The field of architecture therefore includes sub-fields of architectural culture (the autonomous art) and architectural practice (the heteronomous profession), and comprises individuals and institutions struggling with each other to impose their definition of architecture. One such institution is the architectural magazine.
- The architectural magazine not only records this struggle for power in the field of architecture as it occurs, but is one of the fundamental sites where it is fought. Architectural culture meets practice on this site. The magazine is therefore able to simultaneously assume the role of reflector and director of both architectural culture and practice.
- Architecture as building can be considered one (but by no means the only) residue of architectural practice. Architectural practice occurs when and where autonomous architectural culture meets the contingency of heteronomous socio-economics and politics. Whereas in the modernist paradigm, architectural culture served architectural practice, in the post-modern paradigm, culture is independent of practice.
- The definition of architecture changes over time and space. Furthermore, “even our concept *architecture* is but a temporary fact in human history.” Architecture here is defined in terms of the ever-changing field of architecture and all that that entails.

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## Abbreviations

AA	Architectural Association
AAD	Association of Architectural Draughtsmen
AAQ	Architectural Association Quarterly
ABC	Audit Bureau of Circulations
ABN	Architect and Building News
AD	Architectural Design
AD&C	Architectural Design & Construction
AJ	Architects' Journal
AP	Architectural Press
AR	Architectural Review
ARB	Architects' Registration Board
ARCUK	Architects' Registration Council of the UK
ASC	Architects' Standard Catalogue
AYB	Architects' Year Book
BSI	British Standards Institution
CAD	Computer Aided Design
CIAM	Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (International Congress of Modern Architecture)
CIB	Conseil International du Bâtiment (International Council for Building)
CI/SfB	Construction Index/Samarbetskommittén för Byggnadsfrågor (Cooperation Committee for Property Issues)
CSF	Clip, Stamp, Fold
GEAM	Groupe d'Étude d'Architecture Mobil (Group for the Study of Mobile Architecture)
IBA	Institute of British Architects
ICA	Institute of Contemporary Art
IG	Independent Group
LAWuN	Locally Available World unseen Network
LCC	London County Council
MARS	Modern Architecture Research Society
MoHLG	Ministry of Housing and Local Government
P/A	Progressive Architecture
PVC	Polyvinyl Chloride
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects

<i>RIBA</i> J	The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects
SCC	Standard Catalogue Company
UIA	Union Internationale des Architectes (International Union of Architects)
WDS	World Design Science Decade
WEC	Whole Earth Catalog

## Preface

Employing the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu demands a self-reflexive statement from the author in order to situate him or her in the context of the work.

In 2006, after many detours, I finally fulfilled a lifetime ambition and qualified as an architect. However, like so many architects, I quickly became disillusioned with practice, especially when compared to how much I had enjoyed the creativity of my education. I began a process of informal research in order to find some answers as to why this was such a common reaction and soon discovered Garry Stevens' *The Favored Circle* which introduced me to Bourdieu. The ideas contained therein, especially concerning how the field works in terms of power relations, correlated so closely to my own intuition on the machinations of the profession and were so alien to what I had learned in school, that I needed to investigate further. I realised that it wasn't the practice of architecture that had let me down, but the education, which was more concerned with developing my habitus and taste and introducing me to the illusion of architecture than actually teaching me anything practically useful. Being an architect was more about who I was than what I did. Before long, I had resigned from my architecture job in order to start a more rigorous study. Bourdieu continued to be the most relevant theorist and the more I read and understood architecture in terms of the field of cultural production and the manufacture of historiography, the more deeply embroiled and fascinated I became in their relationship. A new way of understanding architecture emerged which began to make far more sense.

The decision to focus on architectural magazines resulted from my observation that in the small world of architecture, they have a disproportionately large influence on both education and practice. After an architectural education, there are several institutions that continue to contribute to the illusion that working in the field of architecture is a worthwhile occupation and the architectural press is one of the most potent. This observation was not unique and actually quite obvious, but goes largely unspoken and almost completely unstudied.

This study commenced with the beginning of the global financial crisis. The world in general and architecture specifically became a far more pessimistic place as finance dried up. I failed to win funding so in order to fund the research, I turned to the very thing I was researching and started an accidental career in journalism. I began to write a column for the *Architects' Journal* called "Back Issues" based on my discoveries from the old architectural magazines in the library's stacks. I continue to actively participate in the architectural press and have therefore built up a personal and professional understanding of how it works in practice and its relationship to architectural practice and education. I also started teaching architecture at various schools in various capacities, including several modules based on this research, and

trying to employ a more explicit and less tacit attitude to architectural education.

My practice as an architectural journalist brought home to me how powerful a small group of mostly London-centric people are in the creation of architectural taste and in who gets to say what architecture is. This directly influenced my decision to focus on a writing of architectural history as defined through a set of a few powerful people and viewing it more holistically as a field of relationships rather than a list of masterpieces and their genius authors.

Writing for the architectural press made me acutely aware of my position and what is and is not acceptable to enunciate. This highlights the fact that architecture is an artificial, social construct and the result of a silent consensual agreement amongst those who have the power to define it. The magazine not only reflects the struggle to define architectural discourse that ultimately defines the built environment, but actively directs it.

By writing architectural criticism myself, I have re-positioned myself in this field of architecture that I have been researching and have participated to a certain degree in the battle to define architecture. I have also undoubtedly gained more cultural capital than I ever would have as a practising architect. The underlying motivation of the dissertation that follows is to acknowledge and expose that very process.



Theo Crosby



Monica Pidgeon

Editor  
01.46 - 10.75



Ken Frampton



Robin Middleton

Pidgeon's  
Technical  
Editors



Peter Murray



Archie  
McNab



Martin  
Spring

53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75



**PART I**

**Magazin**  
für  
**Ingenieur und Artilleristen,**  
herausgegeben  
von  
**Andreas Böhm.**



**VI. Band. Mit Kupfern.**

**Gießen, bey Johann Christian Krieger  
1780.**

Fig. 1.1: The cover of Andreas Böhm's *Magazin für Ingenieur und Artilleristen*.

Through it [the press], the field of architecture is created as a completely intellectual activity; the first step is taken. With it, it becomes possible to defend the autonomy of the architect as an artist. From this perspective, one can better understand that the architect/engineer polemic forms only one part. Finally, with it, architecture today contorts itself to the laws of the art market. The history of the architectural press is inseparable from a history of architecture as a market for symbolic goods, and the study of the architect/engineer polemic is inseparable from an analysis of the most beautiful of claims: the claim to a theory of architecture for architecture's sake. The whole thesis of the autonomy of art, known as the ideology of art for art's sake, is the object of desire for any architect. (Hélène Lipstadt and Harvey Mendelsohn, 1980)<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Introduction

From the early to mid nineteenth century, the architectural magazine and the profession it represented and recorded developed in tandem, the latter using the former in its struggle to be recognised as distinct from the other professions associated with building. The magazine thus became a site for the production and reproduction of what the profession was concerned with at the time – its values, beliefs, ideologies and knowledge. At times it reflected the battles being fought elsewhere, and occasionally it became the construction site for the profession itself. Over time, and with some caveats, this “construction site” has become an archive that can be mined for information on what constituted those architectural values, beliefs, ideologies and knowledge at the time of publication.

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1 Hélène Lipstadt and Harvey Mendelsohn, *Architecte et Ingenieur dans la Presse: Polemique, Debat, Conflit* (Paris: CORDA - IERAU, 1980), 42–43 (my translation).

**Allgemeines**  
**M a g a z i n**  
für  
**die bürgerliche Baukunst.**

---

**Herausgegeben**

von

**Gottfried Huth,**

Doctor der Weltweisheit und öffentl. ordentl. Lehrer der Mathematik und Poesie  
auf der Universität zu Frankfurt an der Ober, und Mitglied der Natur-  
forschenden Gesellschaft in Halle.

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**Ersten Bandes, erster Theil.**

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**Mit Kupfern.**

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**Weimar, 1789.**

**bey Carl Ludolph Hoffmanns Wittwe und Erben.**

Fig. 1.2: The cover of Gottfried Huth's first Allgemeines Magazin für die Bürgliche Baukunst.

## A brief history of the architectural journal

John Carter's "The Builder's Magazine"<sup>2</sup> of 1774 used the term "magazine" in its original sense of a storehouse rather than today's meaning. So although issued in monthly instalments until it was complete in 1778 in all its 628 page glory, it formed a single digest of architecture (including a dictionary of architectural terms, building regulations and rates, party wall law, plates of architectural examples, material and labour prices) rather than what could be recognised as a contemporary architectural magazine. According to Rolf Fuhlrott, the world's first architectural periodical was the *Magazin für Ingenieur und Artilleristen* (Fig. 1.1) published by Andreas Böhm in Munich in 1777.<sup>3</sup> However, once again despite the name, this is still a book of almost 400 pages filled with instructions of how to build for artillerymen rather than design. For Hélène Lipstadt, the first architectural magazine was *Allgemeines Magazin für die Bürgliche Baukunst* (Fig. 1.2), started in 1789 in Weimar Germany and published by Gottfried Huth<sup>4</sup> but once more, the name misleads and its 400 pages cannot hide the fact that it is a large book with precious few drawings. More recognisable compared with today's architectural magazines would be the *Journal des Bâtimens Civils* which was first published from Paris on

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- 2 John Carter, *The Builder's Magazine* (London: F. Newberry, 1774). Its full title was incredibly "The builder's magazine: or monthly companion for architects, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, &c. as Well as for Every Gentleman who would wish to be a competent Judge of the elegant and necessary Art of Building. Consisting of designs in architecture, In Every Stile and Taste, from the most magnificent and superb Structures, down to the most simple and unadorned; together with the plans and sections, serving as an unerring Assistant in the Construction of any Building, from a Palace to a Cottage. In which will be Introduced Grand and Elegant Designs for Chimney-Pieces, Cielings, Doors, Windows, &c. proper for Halls, Saloons, Vestibules, State Rooms, Dining Rooms, Parlours, Drawing Rooms, Anti Rooms, Dressing Rooms, Bed Rooms, &c. Together with Designs for Churches, Hospitals, and other Public Buildings. Also, Plans, Elevations, and Sections, in the Greek, Roman and Gothic Taste, calculated to embellish Parks, Gardens, Forests, Woods, Canals, Mounts, Vistos, Islands, extensive Views, &c. The whole forming a complete system of architecture, in all its Branches; and so disposed, as to render the Surveyor, Carpenter, Mason, &c. equally capable to erect a Cathedral, a Mansion, a Temple, or a Rural Cot. By a society of architects. Each having undertaken the department in which he particularly excels."
  - 3 Rolf Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften: Entstehung und Entwicklung der Fachzeitschriften für Architektur in der Zeit von 1789-1918* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1975) cited in; Eva Hurtado Torán, "Las Publicaciones Periódicas de Arquitectura: España 1897-1937" (Doctoral thesis, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2001), 34.
  - 4 Hélène Lipstadt, "Early Architectural Periodicals," in *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth Century Architecture*, ed. Robin Middleton (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 255 note 4.

THE  
**ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINE,**  
AND  
**JOURNAL**  
OF IMPROVEMENT IN  
**ARCHITECTURE, BUILDING, AND FURNISHING,**  
AND IN THE VARIOUS ARTS AND TRADES  
CONNECTED THEREWITH.



CONDUCTED BY J. C. LOUDON, F.L.S. G.S. &c.  
AUTHOR OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF COTTAGE, FARM, AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE  
AND FURNITURE.

VOL. I.

LONDON:  
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMAN,  
PATERNOSTER-ROW.  
1834.

Fig. 1.3: The cover of John Loudon's first Architecture Magazine.

25 September 1800<sup>5</sup> by the contractor Maurice-François-Camille Le Bars,<sup>6</sup> who

began, twice weekly listing the cost of building materials. One hundred and forty pages appeared each month, amounting to four octavo volumes a year. But with the publication of the third issue, he started a transformation, to be completed within three weeks; the lists and accompanying advertisements were relegated to the back pages, and in their place were professional announcements, critical comment on current architecture and architectural practice, history, theory and, above all, debate.<sup>7</sup>

Editor Camille actually provides a definition for his journal that might still be relevant today and even form the reasoning behind why periodicals are worthy of study in themselves:

A periodical provides a range of knowledge at little cost; its clear and simple style can be understood by all. Changes in art may be followed day by day and, so to speak, step by step. It provides a free forum for discussion, for those for and against, in which a talented man who is too modest or too busy to write a book can make himself known to the enlightened public. It is a constant education...<sup>8</sup>

Architecture is considered very much an art in this definition, and indeed the *Journal* implied “a belief in the artistic basis of architecture”.<sup>9</sup> Lipstadt’s short article compares this first architectural periodical with that of the engineer, the *Recueil polytechnique des ponts et chaussées* of which only two volumes ever appeared, in 1803 and 1807.<sup>10</sup> She notes that while the engineers needed no journal to help define them as a profession, this reasoning was very much behind the foundation of the architects’ *Journal*.<sup>11</sup>

British architects had to wait several more years before a modern architectural journal appeared in the UK, the first of which was *The Architectural Magazine* (Fig. 1.3) edited by John Claudius Loudon and which “commenced monthly publication in March 1834 and ran for five years.”<sup>12</sup> This was also the year that the Institute of British Architects was founded.

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5 At the time, it was 3 Vendémiaire Year IX of the French Republican calendar.

6 Lipstadt, “Early Architectural Periodicals,” 51.

7 *Ibid.*, 52.

8 *Ibid.*, 53.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, 54.

11 *Ibid.*, 56.

12 Frank Jenkins, “Nineteenth Century Periodicals,” in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London:

Loudon wrote in the preface to the first volume of the magazine that

The object of the *Architectural Magazine* is to second the effect produced by the *Encyclopaedia [of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, Loudon's other influential magazine which first appeared in 1833] by improving the public taste in architecture generally, by rendering it a more intellectual profession, by recommending it as a fit study for ladies, and by inducing young architects to read, write, and think, as well as to see and draw.<sup>13</sup>

The promotion of “the progress of architectural taste” is mentioned several times and was clearly the primary objective of the magazine. The leading article in the first volume is a discussion “on the present State of the Professions of Architect and Surveyor, and of the Building Trade, in England” by one “Scrutator”, in which he hopes that the magazine will “restore the profession to the station it formerly had in society” and continues, “We find that those classes which have periodicals devoted to them, have very greatly improved their knowledge and their respectability, and have had instilled into them an amicable understanding among themselves.”<sup>14</sup> The twin objectives of improvement of taste and improvement of the profession are already manifest at the earliest opportunity.

Then, as Jenkins has identified, “within a period of less than 6 years, at least three architectural magazines appeared, all very well illustrated and remarkably inexpensive: the monthly *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (commenced 1837), the *Surveyor, Engineers and Architect* (commenced 1840), and the most influential architectural periodical of the last century, the weekly *Builder* (commenced 1842)”<sup>15</sup> The *Civil Engineer* lasted 31 years, the *Surveyor, Engineer and Architect*, 3 years, and *The Builder* is still going, albeit having changed its name to *Building* in 1966. Then, of course, there was *Transactions*, the publication of the newly formed Institute of British Architects (IBA), whose first number was published in 1836. The second didn't appear until 1842 and the third until 1853. “After this date publication was on a regular basis. In 1885 new series were initiated of both the *Transactions* and the *Proceedings*, the latter containing notices and reports of meetings and similar matters, and in 1893 the two were amalgamated to form *The Journal of the R.I.B.A., Third Series.*”<sup>16</sup>

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Allen Lane, 1968), 154.

13 John Claudius Loudon, “Preface,” *The Architectural Magazine*, November 20, 1834.

14 Scrutator, “on the present State of the Professions of Architect and Surveyor, and of the Building Trade, in England,” *The Architectural Magazine*, March 1834, 12.

15 Jenkins, “Nineteenth Century Periodicals,” 154.

16 *Ibid.*, 156.

Architectural periodicals bloomed in the late nineteenth century, among them *The British Architect* (1874-1917), *The Architect* (founded 1869) and *Building News* (founded 1855), the latter two merging in 1855 to form the *Architect and Building News*, one of the most influential journals before the second world war. It reverted to *The Architect* in 1971 and went out of business in 1980. E.W. Abrams' Talbot Newspaper Co. started a pair of architectural journals at the close of the nineteenth century: the weekly *Builders' Journal* in 1895 (which was to become the *Architects' Journal* in 1919) and the monthly *Architectural Review, for the artist and craftsman* on 11 November 1896.<sup>17</sup> These two periodicals have continued as standard bearers of the architectural press ever since, albeit under various owners. Their heyday was the 1930s, under the ownership of Hubert de Cronin Hastings' Architectural Press and editorship of James Richards, when they championed modern architecture's transition from the continent to Britain.<sup>18</sup>

Up until the 1930s, architectural magazines were concerned almost entirely with defining the architectural profession as distinct and autonomous from other professions that had historically played the architect's role in the construction industry. This struggle took various forms. One was to identify the way in which architects could add something unique to the building process that no other profession could. This uniqueness relied greatly on architecture being an art and the journal only added to its autonomy. Another struggle was the creation of statutory registration and another, the creation of a new style. Thomas Donaldson discussed this at the first meeting of the AA, asking, "The great question is are we to have an architecture of our period, a distinct, individual, palpable style of the 19th century?"<sup>19</sup> and it was also a hot topic in the magazines in the mid-nineteenth century, *The Builder* demanding in its first issue, "From the workshop, the mine and the laboratory must proceed the new spirit, the new genius of structure, which our young architects are to clothe with befitting grace and ornament."<sup>20</sup> According to Peter Collins,<sup>21</sup> a new style was demanded "almost entirely from the architectural historians and journalists" and "motivated by the public's craving for originality".<sup>22</sup> An underlying implication of Collins' book is that architectural magazines were fundamental to the birth of operative criticism. Nevertheless, there was a notion that the artistic architect had to

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17 Sutherland Lyall, "The Architects' Journal Centenary Issue," *Architects' Journal*, March 9, 1995, 9.

18 See 'The mission of modernism: James Richards and the Architectural Review' in Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007).

19 John Summerson, *The Architectural Association 1847-1947* (London: Pleiades Books Limited, 1947), 6.

20 Cited in Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*, New Impression. (Faber and Faber, 1967), 128.

21 Peter Collins (13 August 1920 - 7 June 1981).

22 *Ibid.*, 130.

keep pace with the scientific engineer who was inventing new forms and materials at a pace: “The idea thus gained credence that a new architecture was essentially something that needed only an inventor to invent it.”<sup>23</sup> Even though Paxton built the Crystal Palace in 1851, the arguments for a new style abated until after the first world war, at which point a new world and a new movement was looming.

### Theory of professionalisation

There are two pre-conditions necessary for the development of the modern professions: the emergence of knowledge as “a sociocultural entity in its own right, independent of established social institutions” and the creation of the capitalist market that would enable “the private provision of knowledge based services to become viable.”<sup>24</sup> With respect to the architectural profession, John Wilton-Ely equates the first condition to the transition from medieval to modern processes of thought and the second to the shift from agrarian to capitalism-based society through the Industrial Revolution which combined led to the emergence of the modern architectural designer.<sup>25</sup> The first condition took place with the Enlightenment at the beginning of the seventeenth century meaning that the “professional project”<sup>26</sup> was then possible, as knowledge could be packaged up and claimed by an interested group in order to monopolise its servicing and access to it. A professional monopoly requires a “regulative bargain” to be agreed between the profession and the state:<sup>27</sup> the state allows a legal monopoly in exchange for some licensing mechanism. Moreover, the profession is often used as a channel for state action.<sup>28</sup> This is obvious in, for example, the case of law and is also extant in architecture and planning. Furthermore, while professions are to an extent a product of the state, the state is equally a product of professionalisation.<sup>29</sup> It is not knowledge *per se* that gives professionals their relatively high status in society, but the value that such knowledge has for the capitalist system, which is itself the second condition necessary for the formation of professions.

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23 Ibid., 135.

24 Keith Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions* (Sage Publications Ltd, 1995), 157.

25 John Wilton-Ely, “The Rise of the Professional Architect in England,” in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 180.

26 Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: a sociological analysis* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1977).

27 Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*, xii.

28 Ibid., 115.

29 T.J. Johnson, “Work and Power,” in *The Politics of Work and Occupations*, ed. Geoff Esland and Graeme Salaman (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1980).

Although the seeds of capitalism were already well planted, the establishment of free trade did not take place in Britain until the 1830s,<sup>30</sup> coinciding with the establishment of the professions. The formation of the professions orders society in two ways, by both separating and cohering: firstly, professions enhance social stratification and secondly, they encourage individuals with common interests to group together.<sup>31</sup> The resulting groups collaborate and compete accordingly in order to claim a body of knowledge that is exclusive to them and from which they can reap social and economic benefits. This struggle for economic and cultural capital and their eventual accumulation and exchange is analogous to the concept of Pierre Bourdieu's field in an artistic practice and Lipstadt has used the device of the *field-effect* to apply Bourdieu's theoretical framework to the professions<sup>32</sup> (this will be explained in the next chapter).

Andrew Abbot claims that it is through the abstraction of knowledge that professions are able to compete with each other by “redefin[ing] its problems and tasks, defend[ing] them from interlopers, and seiz[ing] new problems.”<sup>33</sup> In order to claim jurisdiction over the type of human problems that professions deal with, the problems need to be converted into a formal, abstract knowledge system that falls within the profession's jurisdiction and is serviceable by the profession. It is this codified knowledge that is referred to as “theory” that is taught in the educational establishments, which are then validated by the profession in order to certify that someone is able to practise as a member of a professional organisation. This “credentialled knowledge”<sup>34</sup> then forms the basis upon which a profession can establish social closure and enhance its social status. However, this “theory”, or knowledge, needs to be located somewhere in order for it to be taught and reproduced for the survival of the profession – Abbott suggests it can be located in people, organisations and commodities and it is the profession's job to construct, organise and guard this knowledge. In the case of architecture, this archive of knowledge is located in the practising architects and their architectural practices (whether written down or remaining in the architects' heads), in the academy (likewise), in public and private libraries and collections, in history books and in architectural magazines. Julia Williams Robinson<sup>35</sup> defines two conceptions of architectural knowledge: explicit

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30 Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002).

31 The first way implies a Marxist view on society and the second, a Weberian.

32 Hélène Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of the Architecture Competition,” *Cultural Studies* 17, no. 3/4 (May 2003): 395.

33 Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: Essay on the Division of Expert Labour* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 9.

34 Cited in Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*, 162.

35 Julia Williams Robinson, “The Form and Structure of Architectural Knowledge: From Practice to

knowledge, disseminated primarily in academia within subjects such as history, theory and technology, and “tacit” knowledge, a concept she borrows from Michael Polanyi<sup>36</sup> and which is “picked up” passively and uncritically from the Pecksniffs (see p.15) of the architectural world, as well as from images in the magazines. Whereas explicit knowledge comprises the more objective aspects of the *discipline* of architecture,<sup>37</sup> tacit knowledge underpins the more artistic side manifest in design, as Williams Robinson observes: “Rather than being defined by particular research methodologies as many other fields (e.g., engineering is based on mathematics and laboratory science), architecture is defined by its synthetic practices of representation and design.”<sup>38</sup> From the beginnings of emergence of the architectural profession, it is this artistic side that lies outside of the discipline of architecture but that has been emphasised in order to distinguish it from other professions involved in the building industry. Within this tacit knowledge is to be found the myth of architecture in the sense of “*what-goes-without-saying*” of Barthes’ *Mythologies*.<sup>39</sup> However, both explicit and tacit knowledge are manifest in the archive of architectural magazines, the former in the shape of drawings and text and the latter in the form of images and design of the magazine.

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Discipline,” in *The Discipline of Architecture* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 61-82.

36 Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-critical Philosophy*, Corrected edition. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

37 In contrast to *field*, Williams Robinson defines the *discipline* of architecture thus: “the use of the word *field* or *area* designates the broad arena of architecture including academia and practice, whereas the term *discipline* designates the formalized architectural knowledge base, or knowledges that are produced and disseminated in education, research, and practice.” Williams Robinson, “Architectural Knowledge,” 81 note 1; Stanford Anderson’s definition broadly agrees: “The discipline of architecture is a growing body of knowledge that is unique to this field; it cannot be reduced to the constructs of other fields. The discipline can be known without tracing every work realized by the profession, yet the discipline is the possession of a wider set of actors than is the profession. Important parts of the discipline may be preserved by, or advanced through, the work of builders, historians, critics, or amateurs. While the discipline of architecture is not axiomatic, it is susceptible to theoretic formations that are constructed and changed in a disordered temporality, in fits and starts and anachronisms, unlike the evolutionary flow of the profession.” Stanford Anderson, “On Criticism,” *Places* 4, no. 1 (1987): 7.

38 Williams Robinson, “Architectural Knowledge,” 63.

39 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (London: Vintage, 1993), 11.

## The architectural profession

So the architectural profession is as much a social construct as the edifices it helps create. Not only is the concept of the professional a modern idea, but the definition of architecture (both the profession and its products) is not the same today as it was even 200 years ago. As Edward Gieskes writes, “The category of ‘profession’ is, like that of the ‘artist’, a recent invention; a product of both sixteenth-century history and twentieth-century sociology.”<sup>40</sup>

The model for the professional architect that we recognise today first appeared in the early nineteenth century. Andrew Saint claims that “the great consolidator of British architectural professionalism”<sup>41</sup> was John Soane, whose vision of the architect is hinted at in the following quote:

The business of the architect is to make the designs and estimates, to direct the works, and to measure and value the different parts; he is the intermediate agent between the employer, whose honour and interest he is to study, and the mechanic, whose rights he is to defend. His situation implies great trust; he is responsible for the mistakes, negligences, and ignorances of those he employs; and above all, he is to take care that the workmen's bills do not exceed his own estimates.<sup>42</sup>

This famous passage, which is also cited by each of Howard Colvin,<sup>43</sup> Barrington Kaye,<sup>44</sup> John Wilton-Ely<sup>45</sup> and Frank Jenkins<sup>46</sup> in their collectively authoritative sociological studies of the British architectural profession, was taken as the ideal for the founders of the *Institute of British Architects* in 1834. Yet today's architect takes entirely for granted not only the concept of being a professional, but also the autonomy of architecture as a field suitable for professionalisation. It is seen as entirely natural and the historical struggles that occurred in the formation of this construction are rarely acknowledged and barely understood.

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40 Edward Gieskes, *Representing the Professions* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 18.

41 Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (London: Yale University Press, 1983), 59.

42 John Soane, *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings* (London: Messers. Taylor at the Architectural Library, 1788), 7; Cited in Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 58.

43 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 3rd ed. (London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995), 45.

44 Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), 60 note 24.

45 Wilton-Ely, “The Professional Architect in England,” 194.

46 Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: a survey of professional relations and practice in England from the sixteenth century to the present day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Before the nineteenth century there was no independent profession of architecture and architects were indistinguishable from other trades involved in the building industry, such as master craftsmen and surveyors. Saint notes that “For about a century from 1660, English architects (in the simple sense of those who designed buildings) tended to belong to one of two classes. There were the talented amateurs with architectural proclivities [...] and there were the higher building craftsmen, generally masons or carpenters by background, who had amassed a reputation for design.”<sup>47</sup> After about 1750, the industry started fragmenting as the industrial revolution gathered momentum. The economy grew and therefore bigger and new types of buildings were required. Even so, “at least until 1850 there were still too few large buildings erected to keep a whole profession afloat upon design alone.”<sup>48</sup> By this time, the speculative builder-developer had already squeezed out the architect-developer in the provision of housing design. Speculation, after all, was not gentlemanly and the Soanean ideal of an architect who was commissioned for his services to design buildings and negotiate the contract between client and contractor was an occupation for a gentleman, that is to say, someone with an education and taste equivalent to that of his client. A greater amount of technological innovation was also creeping into the production of buildings and with it, the phenomenon of the engineer as Saint notes in his more recent tome on the architectural profession, “From about 1860 consultants begin to advise architects about structures more often. Sir Gilbert Scott seems to have been the first British architect regularly to use engineers in that way, iron always being involved.”<sup>49</sup> It is at this time, the beginning of the 19th century, that such men of taste and education started forming architectural associations in order to begin to differentiate themselves as a group from other less desirable occupations involved in the building industry, in particular surveyors who had nothing to do with design, and builders who were less educated speculators. In this way, the gentleman architects were beginning to establish the boundaries of the nascent profession. According to Saint, “It did not take long to discover that the only broad line of defence within the Soanean formulation, the only element in architecture to which some other professional group did not have a prior or better claim, was 'art'.”<sup>50</sup> From this period onwards, the concept of architecture as an art made steady progress, as Kaye confirmed: “the development of the architectural profession in England in the nineteenth century was dominated by an attempt by architects to transfer architecture from the category of applied art to that of quasi-art.”<sup>51</sup>

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47 Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 57.

48 Ibid.

49 Andrew Saint, *Architect and Engineer: a study in sibling rivalry* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 490.

50 Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 61.

51 Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain*, 30.

Associations that were formed included the Architects' Club (1791), the London Architectural Society (1806), and the Architectural Society (1831). The Institute of British Architects then followed in 1834, “for facilitating the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected with it, and for establishing an uniformity and respectability of practice in the profession.”<sup>52</sup> Its Royal Charter was granted in 1837 and, by Royal Command, it became the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1866. The earlier bodies either became defunct or were absorbed into the RIBA. As the profession was organising itself and its knowledge and concentrating on distinguishing itself from the other building trades, it was gradually realised that an educational system was required to pass on this knowledge. In the same year that the Institute of British Architects was established, and Loudon's *The Architectural Magazine* was first published, Donaldson became the country's first professor of architecture at London University. However, there was as yet no systematic education for architects. The system was still very much as described in Charles Dickens' 1843 *Martin Chuzzlewit*, with gentlemen of means like Seth Pecksniff.<sup>53</sup> These gentlemen did not design or build anything but made a living by being paid to article pupils who wanted to become architects but were frustrated at being unable to learn anything of import from their master. It was in this context that another association, the Association of Architectural Draughtsmen (AAD) was formed in 1842 with three main objectives: “The first was mutual improvement and, in the rather obscure phrase of an early prospectus, 'to endeavour to revive the ancient spirit of Architecture'. The second was to maintain a collection of specimens of current draughtsmanship, [...] The third was to keep an employment register, related to the collection of drawings and open, without fee, to architects as well as to members. A Benevolent Fund for unfortunate draughtsmen was opened.”<sup>54</sup> The AAD turned into the Architectural Association (AA) in 1847, with the intention of forming an architectural school in order to improve or indeed establish a systematic architectural education.<sup>55</sup> As Summerson wrote, “Certain young architects, just out of their articles, had been writing letters to the editor of *The Builder*, complaining about things in general and more particularly about the instruction, or lack of it, imparted by the average architect to the pupils of his office.”<sup>56</sup> So the magazines were instrumental in the struggle for both the construction of the profession and its educational system. The latter took a while to get going, but once this institutional infrastructure of associations was underway, there was a mechanism for producing and reproducing knowledge, and the architectural magazine was a central device within it.

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52 Cited in *Ibid.*, 80.

53 Whose brass plate was inscribed with “PECKSNIFF ARCHITECT AND LAND SURVEYOR”.

54 Summerson, *The Architectural Association 1847-1947*, 2.

55 *Ibid.*, 5.

56 *Ibid.*, 3.

In 1884, the Society of Architects broke away from the RIBA in order to concentrate on lobbying Parliament for the statutory registration of architects. The RIBA opposed these bills,<sup>57</sup> as they had not yet achieved control of the profession. Even by 1911, only a quarter of British architects were members of the RIBA and they only achieved over half of British architects by 1925 when they re-amalgamated with the Society of Architects with the common aim of statutory registration of architects.<sup>58</sup> Voluntary registration was finally achieved in 1931, followed by the Architects (Registration) Act (1938) requiring compulsory registration with the Architects Registration Council of the UK (ARCUK) in order to use the term “architect”. This completed the “regulative bargain” between profession and state and handed the profession a monopoly, but only on the usage of the title rather than on any function. As such, this monopoly is a status symbol, representing “symbolic” or “cultural capital” in Bourdieu's terms. A monopoly on function would have guaranteed economic capital, but as it stands, it is left to the architect to convert cultural capital to economic.

By the 1930s, the struggle for recognition of a distinct profession was complete and the profession's second objective, to invent a new style, was already beginning to arrive in Britain from the continent in the form of modern architecture. The nature of the British architectural magazine therefore changed tack to promote this new style and the traces of this struggle henceforth are manifest on its pages. The professional architectural magazine also served another function, however. One key attribute of a profession is its code of conduct that members must abide by and for architects, one point of their code up until 1980 was being forbidden to advertise their services.<sup>59</sup> However, they were allowed to publish illustrations and descriptions of their work. Thus, the architectural magazine became one of the principal ways for architects to promote their work – even though the magazines weren't aimed at an audience that would constitute their prospective clients, a feature on an architect's work was the closest that could be achieved to an advertisement for it.

But the architectural magazine served more than these two most-important and pragmatic roles for architects: from the very earliest days, as Lipstadt has demonstrated in her early ground-breaking work on architecture and the press, the architectural magazine was a vital instrument for the creation of an autonomous art of architecture:

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57 In 1886, 1889 and 1891.

58 Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 66.

59 For an interesting discussion of the relationship of the emerging profession of Public Relations and architecture, and what happens when an architectural magazine becomes an entirely commercial entity, see Paul Hogben, “The Commercialization of ‘Architecture Australia’, 1975-1980,” *Fabrications: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 9 (May 1999): 53-67.

Par elle [la presse], le champ de l'architecture comme activité entièrement intellectuelle se crée; c'est une première étape franchie. Avec elle, soutenir l'autonomie de l'architecte comme artiste devient possible. Dans cette perspective, on comprend mieux que la polémique architecte/ingénieur en fait partie. Enfin, avec elle, et de nos jours, l'architecture se plie aux lois du marché de l'art. L'histoire de la presse architecturale est inséparable d'une histoire du marché pour l'architecture comme bien symbolique, et l'étude de la polémique architecte/ingénieur est inséparable de l'analyse de la plus belle des prétentions, la prétention à la théorie de l'architecture pour l'architecture. La thèse de l'autonomie entière de l'art, connue comme l'idéologie de l'art pour l'art, est l'objet des souhaits de tout architecte.<sup>60</sup>

This continuing tension between the profession and the art of architecture and between its economic and cultural capital, is a running theme in the following thesis, and something to which Bourdieu's theories can fruitfully be applied.

### **The architectural magazine as an historical archive**

The architectural magazine, then, performed several important strategic services for architects throughout their profession's history, and as a by-product, embodies an extent of the knowledge, beliefs, values and ideologies in order to transmit them to distant times and places. As such, we can read them now as a palimpsest of contemporary architectural discourse for which they form a valuable archive. However, while the architectural magazine has a history itself, it must be remembered that the medium also affects the message. It is not simply a neutral transmitter, as is usually assumed, but the very beliefs, values and ideologies that are normally left unwritten, necessarily influence the way the message is received and perceived. It is a window on another time and world, but a window that refracts.

There exist other archives of architectural discourse such as architects' sketches, drawings, models and writings (and today, their Computer Aided Design (CAD) models), audio recordings of lectures and oral histories, video recordings of buildings, photographs, books and of course, buildings themselves. Perhaps surprisingly, due to the nature on the unreproducibility of buildings, their uniqueness and proneness to demolition, alteration and the weather, the primary manifestation of architectural knowledge that is the building can be an unreliable witness for architectural historians wanting to examine the architectural discourse of

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60 Lipstadt and Mendelsohn, *Architecte et Ingenieur dans la Presse: Polemique, Debat, Conflit*, 42–43.

A translation appears at the head of this chapter.

the past – the very thing that generated the buildings' form in the first place. The secondary exhibits, that each mediate the building and its authors in some way, can be more reliable in this regard, as evidence of architectural discourse of the time. They all speak of the building, but the building has been stripped of its “aura”, as Benjamin famously explained.<sup>61</sup> The fact that all means of transmitting architecture beyond its immovable built site and its immediate time requires some form of technological reproduction – and therefore mediation and interpretation – has led Colomina to state that “It is actually the emerging systems of communication that came to define twentieth-century culture – the mass media – that are the true site within which modern architecture is produced and with which it directly engages. In fact, one could argue [...] that modern architecture only becomes modern with its engagement with the media.”<sup>62</sup> In other words, the representations of building have as much claim to the term “architecture” as does the mediated/interpreted building itself. While this has the advantage that unbuilt (and unbuildable) works also qualify it must not be forgotten that the construction of the building is the central focus of the discourse and the reason it exists. In the same book, *Privacy and Publicity*, Colomina examines the archives of two of the most canonic modern architects, Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier. The former attempted to destroy his archive and the latter consciously archived every element of his life and work. In this way, she argues, both effectively made themselves private by hiding themselves within their archives – Loos in too little material and Le Corbusier in too much. “Out' of the archive history is produced”, writes Colomina, or in other words, the private is published – very literally made public. It is these archives, along with their representations and interpretations, that form the basis of architectural history. Or, as Foucault claimed, “history is that which transforms documents into monuments.”<sup>63</sup>

The value of scrutinising the mediator rather than the mediated, then, becomes a question of examining the medium rather than the message, or the construction of its historiographical body. The architectural periodical<sup>64</sup> in particular has, until recently, been largely neglected as a

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61 Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, 3rd ed. (London: Fontana Press, 1992), chap. 213.

62 Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996), 14.

63 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. Alan Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1977), 7.

64 The term “periodical” is used to mean any publication that is published on a regular basis. “Magazine” and “journal” can be, and are often, used interchangeably. “Journal” tends to have academic nuances, where the text is foregrounded, whereas “magazine” tends to refer to more professional publications where the image is foregrounded. However, the cases of the popular *Architects' Journal* and *RIBA Journal* clearly disprove any attempt at a cut-and-dried classification.

subject of study in its own right<sup>65</sup> but has much to offer the architectural historian, as Reinhold Martin recently confirmed: “Among its [history's] raw materials are numerous journal articles, whose capacity, in contrast to books, to circulate within, and configure, the 'open work' that is architectural discourse is all too often underestimated.”<sup>66</sup> This is not only because of the representations of knowledge contained on their pages – knowledge, which it must be remembered, is published by those with influence and power in the architectural community – but also because the periodicals both reflect and direct the architectural culture of the time. Architectural magazines are commercial ventures<sup>67</sup> and need to be relevant to architectural professionals and students in order to sell to them. This implies that their content contains knowledge that is either reflective or directive of the current thinking and discourse in architectural culture. Moreover, periodicals are distinct from that other component of historiography, the history book, in several important ways:

First, they are published regularly and consistently over a long period of time, like an unfinished, ever-changing work. They have a beginning, but even when they come to an end, they are often unaware of it in advance. In this way, at least, they are less teleological than the book, and certainly less structured. Historically, they were bound into annual or semi-annual volumes, and their page numbering even used to accommodate this,<sup>68</sup> but this is more for convenience of physical storage and reference than to structure its contents.

Second, the periodicals crucially contain multiple voices – in Bakhtin's terminology, they are a “heteroglossia”:

Thus at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools,

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65 Chapter 3 will outline the recent attempts to plug this gap.

66 Reinhold Martin, “History after History,” *AA Files*, no. 58 (2009): 14.

67 A point identified by Hugh Casson as early as 1968, when he wrote, “It must be remembered that the main object of the architectural press – small a, small p – is the same as that of any other human organization or individual, whether it be a steel plant or a poet. It is to stay in business.” Hugh Casson, “On Architectural Journalism,” in *Concerning Architecture: essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), 258.

68 *Architectural Design* continued this tradition up until the August-September 1978 issue when it started numbering its *AD Profile* pages separately, ready for publication as a separate book. Similarly, the *AJ*, changed from continuous page numbering throughout the year, to each individual issue starting from 1 in January 1982.

circles, and so forth, all given a bodily form.<sup>69</sup>

Even if one issue transmits a unified message, another issue shortly after may transmit a completely contradictory one. Often, contradictions can easily be viewed inside a single issue or even on a single page. Periodicals often embrace feedback in the form of readers' letters and thus can become a forum for debate as well as platform for rhetoric, adding to the multiple positions and voices. Nevertheless, there will remain an underlying (and often unwritten) policy of the magazine that renders some voices mute. The exposure of this policy is often the focus of the study of a magazine. In the case of the magazine that forms my case study, *Architectural Design* under the editorship of Monica Pidgeon, this policy consisted of only publishing material that was considered to be good (and ignoring the bad) and always to look forward (history was frowned upon). Periodicals contain many genres of material, such as news items, book or exhibition reviews, building case studies and criticism, letters, editorials, miscellanea, photographs, drawings, adverts, polemic or technical features,<sup>70</sup> all of which are montaged together. In addition, editors and owners of a periodical change over time, and so under the title of a single magazine, over many years, many voices will be registered and policies applied.

Third, while the periodicals are edited, there is often little time between their production and reception. They therefore have less perspective on events and are a more immediate record and reflection of them. The exception is the case of the long-running column or series, or a campaign which could run over many years, such as the case with the *Architectural Review's* Townscape.<sup>71</sup> The immediacy of the periodical also means that it can be more responsive to events and therefore more immediately influential.

Fourth, unlike a book, periodicals are relatively cheap and while intended for binding, most are disposable and disposed of. This aspect of the periodical adds to its immediacy and temporariness.

Finally, a mainstream professional magazine is a commercial affair and will be financially viable through advertising. In fact, it can be argued that the purpose of such a magazine is to provide advertisers with a well-targeted audience. It will vary how much the advertisers influence the content and policy of a magazine, but suffice it to say that it is constraining and only a magazine free of advertising (a "little" magazine) is truly autonomous to pursue its own

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69 M.M. Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, New edition. (University of Texas Press, 1982), 291–293.

70 Echoing the original meaning of the word "magazine" as a "storehouse".

71 See Nikolaus Pevsner, *Visual Planning and the Picturesque*, ed. Mathew Aitchison (Getty Research Institute, 2010).

editorial policies.

For all the reasons stated above, periodicals regularly form the material from which architectural history is written, or a “historical source.”<sup>72</sup> As Mitchell Schwarzer has written, “Unlike books, with their long shelf life and irregular rhythms of purchase, periodicals are consumed rapidly but also regularly through subscription. And because of their brief shelf life, periodicals typically focus on what is current. The architectural periodical is consequently one of the best discursive sites for investigating how changing theoretical argumentation and historical narration intersect with day-to-day architectural practice and profession.”<sup>73</sup> This is acknowledged by those writing the periodicals themselves. For example, the *Architectural Review's* policy statement of January 1947, entitled “The Second Half Century”, was quite explicit about the fact. This month marked the 50th anniversary of the magazine and it used the occasion to announce its policy of “visual re-education” and to “re-establish the supremacy of the eye” and to claim that:

Its [the architectural magazine's] prime purpose, that is to say, is to record with varying degrees of efficiency the more interesting buildings of the age, where-ever they may turn up. Such a record obviously has a permanent value beyond its immediate use to practising architects and culture fans, since whether or not the buildings illustrated go out of date, the bringing of them together in one work is a way of providing the raw material of architectural history.

That is the first function of the REVIEW – to record contemporary buildings for the immediate benefit of specialists and for the ultimate use of posterity. This function it shares, however, with other architectural papers in many countries.<sup>74</sup>

When Hugh Casson gave a talk on a century of architectural journalism at the RIBA on 26 May 1948, he claimed that “there were about 25 journals recording contemporary building and providing material for architectural history.”<sup>75</sup> *Architectural Design* itself contributed to this conceit, commissioning a series of articles from Edward Mills called “The New Architecture in Great Britain” starting in April 1951 and published as a compendium two years later.<sup>76</sup> This

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72 Paul Hogben and Stanislaus Fung, “Reading Australian Architectural Journals as Historical Sources,” *Architectural Theory Review* 1997 Vol2 Pt1 (1997): 15-29.

73 Mitchell Schwarzer, “History and Theory In Architectural Periodicals,” *Journal of The Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 342.

74 James Richards et al., “The Second Half Century,” *Architectural Review*, January 1947, 21.

75 Hugh Casson, “100 years of architectural journalism,” *The Builder* (November 6, 1948): 706.

76 Edward D. Mills, *The New Architecture In Great Britain, 1946-1953* (The Standard Catalogue

book was advertised in *Architectural Design* with the words:

The recording of contemporary architecture in Great Britain has hitherto been left to the technical journals, who within their limited compass have done excellent work, but periodic selections of this nature are unable to give a comprehensive picture of the processes by which any given example of architecture has been produced, nor can they be regarded as a permanent record. This defect has now been remedied by MR. EDWARD MILLS.<sup>77</sup>

The book itself mirrors this belief, with the author's preface starting:

The recording of contemporary architecture in Great Britain has until the present time been largely a matter of publication in architectural journals, as part of their excellent service to the architectural profession in presenting promptly the latest news of the building activity of the world. However well this has been done, the pressure of events, the need for speed in publication and the fact that a technical journal cannot be too selective in its material, has meant that the record made in this way often lacked permanent value, and has rarely given a comprehensive picture of the processes by which a particular example of contemporary architecture has been produced.<sup>78</sup>

Even though the same material comprised both the magazine features and the resulting book, the history book still therefore was considered more serious and more authoritative. The above considerations lead directly to my research question:

“What is the architectural magazine's contribution to the writing of architectural history?”

### *Architectural Design* magazine

The number of architectural magazines is great. One recent survey listed “218 architecture magazines (not including 'glossy ones')”<sup>79</sup> in Europe alone. So my tactic is to concentrate on the case study of a single British architecture magazine that was influential in the post-war years to cover the rise and demise of modern British architecture. Andrew Higgott suggests

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Company, 1953).

77 Advert for “The New Architecture in Great Britain 1946-1953,” *Architectural Design*, December 1953, xvii.

78 Mills, *The New Architecture In Great Britain, 1946-1953*, 9.

79 Sylvia Forlati and Marie-Terese Tomiczek, “Architecture Press in Europe,” *Wonderland*, 2008, 6.

that *Architectural Design* took over from the *Architectural Review* as the leading British architectural magazine in the 1960s<sup>80</sup> and the evidence corroborates this as the following quotes from architects who subsequently became eminent in the field testify:

"*Architectural Design* (AD) was the magazine that was interesting. *Architectural Review* (AR) was kind of fusty." (John Outram)<sup>81</sup>

"For about forty years the best English magazine was *Architectural Design*." (Dennis Crompton)<sup>82</sup>

"I first realized what architecture was in 1959. I was rooming with Michael McKinnell from Harvard and John Haller, who went to work with [Paul] Rudolph. They came from England, and they read AD. That was when Theo Crosby was editor. It was all about [James] Stirling, the Smithsons, Team 10, etc. Things we did not know anything about in the United States. This country was totally naive in 1959, and AD was like "Oh my God! This is fantastic!" (Peter Eisenman)<sup>83</sup>

"By being in AD one was numbered among the elite of the world of the man-made environment." (Peter Rawstone)<sup>84</sup>

"for a number of years [...] your extraordinary editorship of *AD* made it one of the most formative pieces of my architectural education." (Brian Carter)<sup>85</sup>

"*Architectural Design* became England's most potent educator." (Peter Cook)<sup>86</sup>

"*Architectural Design* (at that time the preferred magazine of the younger generation)" (Reyner Banham)<sup>87</sup>

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80 Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain*, chap. The Opposite of Architecture.

81 Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X - 197X* (New York, NY: Actar, 2010), 451.

82 *Ibid.*, 318.

83 *Ibid.*, 262.

84 Peter Rawstone, "Obituary: Professor Theo Crosby," *The Independent*, September 15, 1994, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-professor-theo-crosby-1448941.html>.

85 Letter to Monica Pidgeon from Brian Carter, July 8, 2003, MPP box 4 PIM/4/1-5, RIBA Archives.

86 Peter Cook, "The Electric Decade: An Atmosphere at the AA School 1963-73," in *A Continuing Experiment: Learning and Teaching at the Architectural Association*, ed. James Gowan (London: The Architectural Press, 1975), 143-144.

87 Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: The Architectural Press, 1966),

“Architectural Design got everywhere to young architects. One of Alison’s lines: you can walk down the High Street in Venezuela or Bombay and there’s some kid coming towards you carrying Architectural Design.” (Peter Smithson)<sup>88</sup>

“Architectural Design [...] was fantastically influential. Very influential and I used to read that fairly avidly.” (Sunand Prasad)<sup>89</sup>

“For me, the exhibition was *Architectural Design* magazine.” (Will Alsop)<sup>90</sup>

“The most visible results of Theo Crosby’s career were the magazine Architectural Design – which he and Monica Pidgeon turned from a trade journal into one of the best-looking and best-informed magazines in the world ...” (Brian Hanson)<sup>91</sup>

Additionally, the following quotes from eminent architects of the time appeared (verbatim) on the rear cover of the September 1970 issue of *Architectural Design*:

“La revue est de plus en plus passionante, mais il faut attacher une importance, certaine, à sa lisibilité, surtout quand il s’agit de pages couleurs.” (Ionel Schein)

“AD’s contributors become a faculty of architecture, in that they push ideas, contradict, argue, have spleen, encourage you yourself to do something ...” (Peter Cook)

“Student activists will declaim piously ‘At least the pigs can’t stop you reading AD at home.’” (Banham)

“AD is the only architectural magazine we’ve seen that consistently carries substantial new information, as distinct from the stylistic eye-wash characteristic of most architecture journals.” (WEC, Autumn 68)

“After a year watching and using AD, it’s clear that this is much more than an architectural magazine. It prints lots of news of American creative doings, months before any US publication. Its coverage of developments in cybernetics, structure

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88 Peter Smithson, “NLSC: Architects’ Lives. Peter Smithson,” interview by Louise Brodie, mp3 from original tape, September 4, 1997, F5951 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <https://sounds.bl.uk/Download.aspx?item=021A-C0467X0024XX-0700A0.mp3>.

89 Sunand Prasad, interview by Steve Parnell, August 22, 2007.

90 Will Alsop, interview by Florian Kosak, August 15, 2005.

91 Brian Hanson, “Dreams of Design: Theo Crosby,” *The Guardian* (London, September 28, 1994), sec. G2 Personal, 17.

systems, philosophy, use trends, etc., is extraordinary.” (WEC, Autumn 69)

“Los números (de AD) del 69 fueron sensacionales y realmente han ayudado en nuestro modesto aporte por elevar la cultura arquitectónica en Cuba” (Roberto Segre, La Habana)

“AD demands concentration rather than inviting boredom. Like me, it is not ashamed to change its mind.” (Cedric Price)

“AD is free of political and commercial pressures and can break genuine new ground.” (Keith Critchlow)

“AD donne l'information nécessaire qu'on ne trouve pas dans les autres revues.” (Yona Friedman)

The heyday of *Architectural Design* was the “long sixties”,<sup>92</sup> with its rise to eminence beginning in late 1953, when Theo Crosby started as technical editor, and continuing until technical editor Robin Middleton left in 1972.<sup>93</sup> This magazine, on which there has been no in-depth research previously, will therefore be the case study for this thesis.

## Chapter summaries

Part I, consisting of chapters 1 to 4, comprises the intellectual and historical background to the thesis.

Chapter 2 is the methodology where my position on architecture as a social construction, the writing of architectural history and its relationship with modern architecture, as well as Bourdieu's theories that will be employed in the discussion to each section and an explanation of his key terms are discussed.

Chapter 3 is the literature review which examines previous work done in the area of architectural magazine histories and architectural historiography.

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92 There is some debate as to when the period of the sixties actually occurred. Jonathon Green claims it could have been from circa 1956 to circa 1974 in Jonathon Green, “All Dressed Up: The Sixties ‘Youth Revolution’ in retrospect,” in *The Sixties*, ed. Elain Harwood and Alan Powers, Twentieth Century Society 6 (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2002), 12; However, Hewison's hypothesis is that it lasted from 1963 until 1975: Robert Hewison, *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties, 1960-75* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), xiii.

93 This time period is coincidentally the same as that of the life of the Pruitt-Igoe housing blocks in St. Louis, Missouri, whose demolition is regarded by Charles Jencks as the death of modern architecture.

Chapter 4 consists of the brief biographies of the editors of *AD* from 1932 to 1972: Frederic Towndrow, Monica Pidgeon, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton and Robin Middleton. It goes on to explain, by way of contextualisation for the remainder of the study, the first 23 years of *AD* from its inception in 1930 until the crucial point when Theo Crosby started.

Part II, consisting of chapters 5 to 7, comprises a critical history of *AD* and a history of architecture as read through the pages of *AD*.

Chapter 5 comprises a critical history of the magazine from 1954-1972. This history focuses on the content and production of the magazine, in particular its design, editorial policies and direction, contributors, key series, and commercial aspects of the magazine and its parent company.

Chapter 6 describes a history of the rise of modern architecture in Britain (a shift from “high art” to “low art”), as seen through the pages of *AD*, focusing particularly on Alison and Peter Smithson's contribution via the Independent Group, the New Brutalism, and Team 10. It outlines how the Smithsons became so influential at this time and *AD*'s role in this growing neo-avant-garde influence, as well as its growing rivalry with the *AR*.

Chapter 7 similarly describes a history of the demise of modern architecture in Britain, focusing on critiques of the modern movement as read on the pages of *AD*. Specifically, it describes the emergence of Critical Regionalism, Archigram and the softening, or dematerialisation of architecture under Robin Middleton's influence.

Part III, consisting of chapters 8 and 9, situates *AD* in the context of its role in the production of architectural history.

Chapter 8 is a Bourdieuan interpretation of Part II, describing the field of architecture, the magazine's position within it, and how power is used to construct it. It draws together the themes from the previous chapters with respect to the technical editors' times and positions with the wider field.

Chapter 9 contains the conclusions, both grand and micro-narratives, and suggestions for further research.

The appendices include various data that have been collected during the research that may be useful to future researchers, such as circulation figures, a triennial survey of the content of the magazine, the names, positions and dates of staff, known pseudonyms employed by contributors, lists of opinion piece titles, map guides published, and other miscellaneous data about the magazine, as well as a Critical Discourse Analysis of a key article by Alison and Peter Smithson that did not comfortably fit into, but reinforces, the structure of the main analysis.

Let us never forget that there is an architecture of architecture. Down even to its archaic foundation, the most fundamental concept of architecture has been constructed. This naturalized architecture is bequeathed to us: we inhabit it, it inhibits us, we think it is destined for habitation, and it is no longer an object for us at all. But we must recognize in it an artefact, a construction, a monument. It did not fall from the sky; it is not natural, even if it informs a specific scheme of relations to physis, the sky, the earth, the human and the divine. This architecture of architecture has a history; it is historical through and through. Its heritage inaugurates the intimacy of our economy, the law of our hearth (oikos), our familial, religious and political 'oikonomy', all the places of birth and death, temple, school, stadium, agora, square, sepulchre. It goes right through us [nous transit] to the point that we forget its very historicity: we take it for nature. It is common sense itself. (Jacques Derrida, 1986)<sup>1</sup>

## 2 Methodology

Modern architecture and its history are inseparably intertwined and can be seen as two sides of the same modernist project. In Britain, the professionalisation of architectural history roughly coincided with the emergence of modern architecture, due to the introduction of modern ideas on buildings as well as architectural historians from the Continent in the 1930s. It asserted its autonomy only when it became apparent that a postmodern critical re-evaluation was necessary not only in architecture but in the wider discipline of history itself, as the construct of modernity was increasingly criticised. Architectural history inherited from art history the art historians' means of description and analysis, in particular the notions of periodisation of styles, architecture as an object and the architect as author. However, there do exist other ways of writing architectural history, independent of the hegemony of art history's progressive evolutionary approach. While Manfredo Tafuri adapted Michel Foucault's notions of genealogy and rupture to develop his concept of micro-histories within a framework of Marxist criticism, and Kenneth Frampton was inspired by Hannah Arendt's humanist ideals, again underwritten by a Marxist critique, I adopt a sociological framework of institutions and power developed by Foucault's fellow post-structuralist, Pierre Bourdieu.

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1 Jacques Derrida, "Point de Folio - Maintenant l'architecture," *AA Files*, Summer 1986, 65.

## On the construction of architecture

Architecture, as it is exhibited in the galleries, discussed in lectures, written in manifestos, monographs, history books and magazines, as it is taught in the schools and as practised in the real, commercial world, appears entirely natural, as if it would be nonsensical to be any other way. As Derrida's quote at the head of this chapter explains, this state of affairs is untrue, just as it is untrue of any man-made<sup>2</sup> institution that appears natural. The way that architecture is, right now at the beginning of the 21st century, the result of nearly 200 years of ideological battles and power struggles to form a profession that can define and defend its boundaries and sell the knowledge it produces therein.<sup>3</sup> The process of this naturalisation is rarely discussed or explained and even less well understood.<sup>4</sup> I develop a theoretical framework by which one aspect of this naturalisation occurs, which is to say, the question of the contribution of the architectural magazine to the writing of architectural history. Within this discussion, I also offer an answer to the omnipresent, but ever-elusive question of "what is architecture?"

The process of constructing architecture and that of constructing history are similar – even analogous to a degree. I use the phrase "constructing architecture" to refer to the field (a concept that will be outlined below) rather than its buildings. The word "architecture" is ambiguous because it not only refers to the profession, but also to its products. This dual meaning is problematical because the profession of architecture already has a word for its products: "buildings". Till notes that architecture "refers both to the professional activity and also to the outputs of that activity."<sup>5</sup> We therefore have to make a distinction between mere "building" and the more elevated term, "architecture". Pevsner attempted to articulate this difference with his famous and now hackneyed quote, "a bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln cathedral is architecture."<sup>6</sup> This may offer an example of the difference between the two extreme cases, the high and the low, but it is a distinction, rather than a definition, situated in a particular time for a particular purpose. The meaning of the term "architecture", just like that

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2 And they have almost all been *man-* as opposed to *woman-*made.

3 See John Wilton-Ely, "The Rise of the Professional Architect in England," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 180-208; Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (London: Yale University Press, 1983); Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960); Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: a survey of professional relations and practice in England from the sixteenth century to the present day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

4 A good recent exposé, however, is Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (MIT Press, 2009).

5 *Ibid.*, 154.

6 Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1942), 15.

of the term “art” is open to interpretation and can, and does, change over time, a point made by Dorner in his 1947 book *The Way beyond 'Art'*: “even our concept *art* is but a temporary fact in human history.”<sup>7</sup>

However architecture is defined, whether built or unbuilt, there is a process of selection – artificial rather than natural – that occurs in its elevation above mere building. Publication plays a dominant role in this process, so much so, that today publication can arguably be considered the end product of an architects' endeavours rather than the building itself. Edwin Heathcote, architectural critic of the *Financial Times*, has written that “Architects are like novelists. They regard the most important thing in their careers as being published. Buildings are all very well but they are somehow only truly complete when they have appeared in a glossy mag.”<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Kester Rattenbury wrote in *This is Not Architecture* that “Architecture as distinct from building is always that which is represented, and particularly that which is represented in the media aimed at architects”.<sup>9</sup> And even further back, when the architectural and periodicals were in their infancy, Victor Hugo famously anticipated this situation:

as human ideas changed their form they would change their mode of expression [...] the crucial idea of each generation would no longer be written in the same material or in the same way [...] the book of stone, so solid and durable, would give way to the book of paper, which was more solid and durable still [...] printing will kill architecture.<sup>10</sup>

The words “clothing” and “fashion” have a similar relationship to “building” and “architecture”, as do “cooking” and “cuisine” and “writing” and “literature”. It is no coincidence that the first term in these pairs are gerunds that can be used as nouns, whereas the second are just nouns – in each case there is an institution that has developed and has an interest in elevating the second term into an art form, leaving the verbal term as the more base vernacular. Barthes analysed the difference between clothing and fashion in his *Système de la Mode* of 1967,<sup>11</sup> where he wrote that “as soon as we observe Fashion, we

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7 Alexander Dorner, *The Way Beyond "Art"* (New York: New York University Press, 1958), 15.

8 Edwin Heathcote, 'Foreword', in *Is It All About Image?: How PR Works in Architecture*, by Laura Iloniemi (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2004), 6.

9 Kester Rattenbury, ed., *This is Not Architecture: Media Constructions* (London: Routledge, 2002), xii.

10 Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame of Paris*, trans. John Sturrock (London: Penguin, 1978), 189.

11 Roland Barthes, *Système de la Mode* (Paris: Seuil, 1967); translated as Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward (London: University of California Press, 1990).

discover that writing appears constitutive”.<sup>12</sup> While there are undoubtedly benefits from analysing buildings and their written and photographed representations utilising a semiological methodology,<sup>13</sup> I outline a process closer to the sociological distinction between plants and weeds as discussed by John Ellis in his *The Theory of Literary Criticism* of 1974.<sup>14</sup> Ellis argued that the term “literature” was a categorisation of a universe of writing in the same way that weeds are arbitrarily distinguished from plants as simply being horticulturally undesirable: “The basis of the category of weeds is primarily (and as a matter of definition) a question of the grouping of all plants that society treats in a certain way, and only secondarily (and not as a matter of definition at all) is it a question of any physical similarities between members of the class which might lead to such treatment by society.”<sup>15</sup> He goes on to argue that “We are commonly deceived by the familiarity of our own evaluative organization of the world into thinking that we are describing the structure of the world instead of setting up in our language an organization of its reflecting our own needs and values.”<sup>16</sup> In the same way, architecture is elevated above building more for the needs and values of the field of architecture than any intrinsic characteristic that may be attributed to it. The buildings of the past are esteemed by architectural historians in their history books and the buildings of the present by architectural critics in the press. These two processes are similar: criticism and history are closely linked by their analytical methods, a syzygical relationship whereby history can be loosely considered to be criticism in the past tense, echoing Manfredo Tafuri’s<sup>17</sup> famous aphorism, “There is no such thing as criticism, there is only history.”<sup>18</sup> This in turn refers back to and probably quite deliberately reverses a quote by Tafuri’s enemy, Bruno Zevi,<sup>19</sup> who said “there is no history without criticism.”<sup>20</sup> In Italian, the two terms are anyway combined in the phrase “*metodo*

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12 Barthes, *The Fashion System*, xi.

13 This became popular in architecture after Charles Jencks and George Baird, eds., *Meaning in Architecture* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1969).

14 John M. Ellis, *The Theory of Literary Criticism: a logical analysis* (London: University of California Press, 1974).

15 *Ibid.*, 39.

16 *Ibid.*, 41.

17 4 November 1935 – 23 February 1994.

18 Richard Ingersoll interviews Manfredo Tafuri in “There is no Criticism, Only History,” *Casabella*, February 1995; Originally published as Richard Ingersoll, ed., “There is no Criticism, Only History,” in *Design Book Review*, 9 (Berkeley: Design Book Review, 1986), 8–11.

19 22 January 1918 – 9 January 2000.

20 Bruno Zevi, “History as a Method of Teaching Architecture,” in *The History, Theory and Criticism of Architecture: Papers from the 1964 AIA-ACSA Teacher Seminar*, ed. Marcus Whiffen (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965), 12.

*storico-critico*”<sup>21</sup> demonstrating the close relationship in methodological thinking between the two. Regardless of which is prioritised,<sup>22</sup> the very fact that an editor or publisher has selected a project, whether written, photographed or drawn, from the mass of architectural production that exists, and then spent some of their limited resources of page space and editors' and/or designers' time on the book or magazine to disseminate the project, in the speculation that an audience will pay to read it, suggests that the selected project needs to be in some way out of the ordinary. What makes it out of the ordinary depends on the selection criteria, or the editorial policy of the magazine and this mainly depends on the ideology, personal connections and motivation for publication of the publishers. Such a relationship between building and the media corresponds to Carel Weeber's saying that buildings don't become architecture until they are written about<sup>23</sup> and has previously been explored by Colomina, who argued that “Architecture, as distinct from building, is an interpretative, critical act. It has a linguistic condition different from the practical one of building.”<sup>24</sup> This implies that publishing is enough to transform building into architecture, but how and why that is the case is not contemplated. Later in the same piece, Colomina writes, “The history of the architectural media is much more than a footnote to the history of architecture. The journals and now the galleries help to determine that history. They invent 'movements', create 'tendencies' and launch international figures, promoting architects from the limits of the unknown, of building, to the rank of historical events, to the canon of history.” This explicitly connects the architectural magazine with the writing, or construction, of architectural history, but again, how or why this is the case is not expanded upon. This position of Colomina – that the publication has the ability to raise building to the level of architecture – is that which I adopt, but in addition, her unanswered questions will be addressed with reference to Bourdieu's theoretical framework.

So if the field of architecture is as much an artificial construction as are its built products, the obvious question to ask, is how this edifice has been built. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to trace the trajectory of this construction through time, not to find its starting

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21 Ibid.

22 Speaking at the same conference as Zevi, Banham later quipped, “... history is, of course, my academic discipline. Criticism is what I do for money.” Reyner Banham, “Convenient Benches and Handy Hooks: Functional Considerations in the Criticism of the Art of Architecture,” in *The History, Theory and Criticism of Architecture: Papers from the 1964 AIA-ACSA Teacher Seminar*, ed. Marcus Whiffen (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965), 91.

23 Cited in Cited in Hans Ibelings, “A Parallel Universe,” *Wonderland*, 2008; Ibelings confirmed that Weeber said this at a panel discussion in Hans Ibelings to Steve Parnell, “Carel Weeber”, March 6, 2009.

24 Beatriz Colomina and Joan Ockman, eds., *Architectureproduction* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 7.

point – for like a river with all its tributaries, there isn't necessarily a single unique starting point – but to expose the possible range of forces that acted upon the agents (people and institutions) that constituted this field in the past and to contextualise how it emerged into its current state. Such a field can be considered one of Foucault's "units of discourse" about which he writes:

These pre-existing forms of continuity, all these syntheses that are accepted without question, must remain in suspense. They must not be rejected definitively of course, but the tranquillity with which they are accepted must be disturbed; we must show that they do not come about of themselves, but are always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known, and the justifications of which must be scrutinized: we must define in what conditions and in view of which analyses certain of them are legitimate; and we must indicate which of them can never be accepted in any circumstances.<sup>25</sup>

My inspiration, then, is to disturb the tranquillity of the idea that architecture is a natural rather than artificial construction and to scrutinize the rules under which it is justified and the conditions under which one of its constituent sub-fields, the architectural magazine, is legitimated.

#### **The field of architecture, habitus, capital and taste**

The phrase "field of architecture" as used above is derived from Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Bourdieu's sociology has only relatively recently been applied to architecture, but it is not difficult, when reading Bourdieu, to see the homologues between his theories and architecture. In particular, Bourdieu's concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, and *taste*, all feed into his theory of power. Other related concepts that need defining are the *illusio*, *doxa* and symbolic power.

The abstract term "field" in particular is central to Bourdieu's theories. It is utilised to encompass a myriad of other terms that often precede the word "architecture", such as "discipline", "profession", "art", "world", "institution" and "practice". The notion of a "field" is absolutely pivotal to understand the sociology of Bourdieu and although he himself did not apply his sociological theoretical framework to architecture, a small number of theorists such

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25 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. Alan Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1977), 28.

as Kim Dovey<sup>26</sup>, Garry Stevens<sup>27</sup>, and H  l  ne Lipstadt<sup>28</sup> have done just that. Stevens has defined Bourdieu's field succinctly as "a mutually supporting set of social institutions, individuals, and discourses."<sup>29</sup> Lipstadt, on the other hand, offers a more precise definition: "Fields are an abstraction used to apprehend and describe the relatively autonomous social microcosms that in relationship to each other make up social space, the relational notion that replaces the reified one of society in Bourdieu's sociology. Fields are structured configurations or *spaces* of objective relations between both *positions* and *position-takings* and each other." She continues, "Each field obeys a specific logic and recognizes specific stakes as valid (and these are valuable in no other)."<sup>30</sup> A field's boundaries are constantly in flux and specific to a certain time and place. The words "positions" and "position-takings" refer to the fact that a field is a space of struggle for power and domination in the production of capital specific to the field. Every member, or "agent" (individual or institution), within the field has a *position* which is not absolute, but defined only relative to the other agents. Fields are thus spaces of positions. An agent's position in the field is affected not only by the configuration of the field at any one time, but also by the positions of the other agents within that field and the amount of capital relevant to the field that the agents possess. A *position-taking* is a choice taken by agents that symbolises their position in the field. Lipstadt defines them as "the stances, practices and expressions of agents".<sup>31</sup> Stevens has noted that "Another way of looking at any field is that it is a social space in which a game is played."<sup>32</sup> The term "field", then, is deliberately meant to imply a battlefield, a playing field and also a force-field. Bourdieu wrote at length about the field of cultural production, specifically the fields of painting and literature, but the ideas can be transposed freely to other arts. So Bourdieu's field is appropriate to architecture considered as an art, but not directly to architecture as profession, as Bourdieu "finds the whole notion of the profession to be a specious one"<sup>33</sup> for the very reasons of the

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26 Kim Dovey, "The Silent Complicity of Architecture," in *Habitus: a Sense of Place*, ed. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, 2nd ed. (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 283-296.

27 Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1998).

28 H  l  ne Lipstadt, "Can 'Art Professions' be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of the Architecture Competition," *Cultural Studies* 17, no. 3/4 (May 2003): 290-418; H  l  ne Lipstadt, "Sociology: Bourdieu's Bequest," *Journal of The Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 4 (December 2005): 433-436.

29 Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 74.

30 Lipstadt, "Can 'Art Professions' be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?," 398.

31 Ibid.

32 Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 76.

33 Lipstadt, "Can 'Art Professions' be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?," 393.

collective self-interest of “a group’s struggle to construct and impose itself”<sup>34</sup> outlined in the previous chapter and, as in the field of journalism, diametrically opposed to the notions and aims of culture. As the domain of cultural capital, culture is the upside-down anti-market of financial capital. Sociologists commonly consider architecture to be a profession driven by profit and subsumed into a hierarchy of political power, but it is also unusual in that it considers itself to be an art. However, it is still possible to overcome this problem in the same way that Lipstadt did in her analysis, by using the notion of the *field-effect* “to anticipate where the boundaries of a field might lie”<sup>35</sup> and treating the profession as though it were a field, as a “space within which an effect of the field is exercised”<sup>36</sup> due to the fact that an architect as both professional and artist must employ a *modus operandi* to practice. Thus architecture as an art can be considered a “pure” field of cultural production like literature or painting, and as a profession, an “impure” field of political or economic production, but a field nonetheless. In a field of political or economic production, power and economic capital are valued, whereas in a field of cultural production, cultural or symbolic capital is valued. Elsewhere, Lipstadt has neatly related all these themes together:

a field is a space of never-ceasing struggles over first, the valued resources, or capitals, that are vested in positions; second, over the principles of legitimation that undergird the field and which determine admission, on-going membership, and the value of works and capitals; and thirdly, over actual dominance, gained by controlling positions and principles.<sup>37</sup>

The entire field of architecture, from pedagogy to practice and everything concerned with architectural culture, can be considered underpinned by the production, reproduction and transmission of architectural knowledge (both explicit and tacit) which, in the case of architecture as an art, is itself primarily concerned with taste and symbolic capital.

The arbitrary construction of taste is fundamental to the way that a field defines itself. In arguably Bourdieu’s most influential book, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*,<sup>38</sup> Bourdieu defines taste as “the propensity and capacity to appropriate (materially or symbolically) a given class of classified, classifying objects or practices, [and] is the generative

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34 Lipstadt, “Sociology: Bourdieu’s Bequest,” 434.

35 Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?,” 395.

36 Bourdieu cited in *Ibid*.

37 H  l  ne Lipstadt, “The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu as a Challenge to Architectural History,” *Thresholds*, no. 21 (2000): 35.

38 Translated as Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984).

formula of life-style, a unitary set of distinctive preferences which express the same expressive intention in the specific logic of each of the symbolic sub-spaces, furniture, clothing, language or body hexis.”<sup>39</sup> It is not only the entity that groups members of a field together, but also that which excludes others – it “unites and separates”.<sup>40</sup> Bourdieu claims that “Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier”<sup>41</sup> implying the collusion of architects, critics, historians, educators *et al* in taste's role in the construction of the field of architecture and the importance of the long architectural apprenticeship required to acquire such taste. As Stevens has written, “one of the prime functions of the system of architectural education is to produce cultivated individuals; that the central function of the discipline of architecture is to produce instruments of taste.”<sup>42</sup> Taste is a product and manifestation of *habitus*.

Bourdieu defined “habitus” as “something *non natural*, a set of *acquired* characteristics which are the product of social conditions and which, for that reason, may be totally or partially common to people who have been the product of similar social conditions [...] being a product of history, that is of social experience and education, it may be *changed by history*, that is by new experiences, education or training”.<sup>43</sup> Stevens more succinctly interprets this as “a set of internalized dispositions that incline people to act and react in certain ways”, equating it to “socialization or enculturation.”<sup>44</sup> So habitus is the relationship between personal practices and social structures and because habitus is long-lasting (though not necessarily permanent), it tends to perpetuate and becomes the way that social order is reproduced over time. The term “habitus” was actually derived from Bourdieu's fascination with Panofsky's art history and the homologies he traced between Gothic architecture and mediaeval scholasticism, which he termed “mental habit”, or “habit forming force”.<sup>45</sup> Crucially, habitus can be possessed by any agent in the field, whether an individual, a society or an institution, in which case it appears similar to a *Zeitgeist*. In the literature, habitus has been particularly aptly and critically applied to architectural education,<sup>46</sup> where the internalised mental habits of architects

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39 *Ibid.*, 173.

40 *Ibid.*, 56.

41 *Ibid.*, 6.

42 Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 3.

43 Pierre Bourdieu, “Habitus,” in *Habitus: a sense of place*, ed. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, Urban and regional planning and development (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 29.

44 Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 57.

45 Helena Webster, *Bourdieu for Architects* (Routledge, 2011), 70.

46 See Helena Webster, “The Architectural Review: A study of ritual, acculturation and reproduction in architectural education,” *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education* 4, no. 3 (October 2005): 265-282; and Webster, *Bourdieu for Architects*, 71 for a discussion of the role of tacit knowledge in architectural education and acculturation.

and their tacit knowledge are formed for professional life and reproduced in future generations.

According to Bourdieu's framework, as well as economic capital there also exist other types of capital, including social, cultural and symbolic: *Social* capital is a resource that is collectively owned and is a resource that is based on relationships, for example, by being a member of an exclusive group (such as the Royal Institute of British Architects). It can also be gained by networking and knowing the right people. *Cultural* capital, which includes manners, knowledge, skills, education and especially *taste*, comes in three types: objectified, embodied and institutionalised: *Objectified* cultural capital consists of objects owned, such as works of art (or even architecture); *Embodied* cultural capital consists of consciously acquired and the passively inherited characteristics – the way a person talks, his or her body language, the clothes they wear and so on. It is acquired over time and impresses upon a person's *habitus* and can be manifest in their *taste*; *Institutionalised* cultural capital is constituted by institutional recognition in the form of academic qualifications or being certified to know things. Being a professional such as an architect immediately denotes such institutionalised cultural capital. A final type of capital that Bourdieu later introduced is *symbolic* capital, which is essentially status bestowed upon a person, or status symbols possessed. *Symbolic power* is a direct result of possessing symbolic capital in a field where that species of capital is valued, such as any field of cultural production. It is important to realise the relationship between field and capital. As Lipstadt notes, the very presence of a field denotes a power struggle: “a field [...] is a contest for authority over the field itself; without this struggle, there can be no field.”<sup>47</sup> It is the amount of various types of capital that situates a person within the field, and one type of capital can be exchanged for another, for example, by attending a fee-paying school. So the field defines a space in which the members who share the same world view (players of the game) struggle for power both for the various types of capital and for the ability to define what the field should be. In relation to artistic fields, Webster describes it thus: “Those with the most cultural capital, which was recognised internally as the pre-eminent capital in the field, had the power to define what constituted legitimate culture (form and content) and those with less cultural capital fought to gain legitimacy for their beliefs and thereby overturn those in power.”<sup>48</sup> In using Bourdieu's theories, there is a shift of focus from the individual to the field as a whole, which means that cultural intermediaries like historians and critics have the power to define taste within the field as much as architects, depending on their location within the field.<sup>49</sup> However, as Bourdieu stated, “a critic can only 'influence' his readers insofar as they

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47 Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?,” 398.

48 Webster, *Bourdieu for Architects*, 66.

49 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Polity Press, 1993),

grant him this power because they are structurally attuned to him in their view of the social world, their tastes and their whole habitus.”<sup>50</sup> So there needs to be a collective belief in the field and in the rules of production of that field and the stakes that are worth struggling for. This belief is the “illusio”.

Lipstadt, who has applied Bourdieu's theories to architectural competitions<sup>51</sup> (and it is no coincidence that she wrote one of the first Ph.D. dissertations on the architectural press, in her case early 19th century French periodicals<sup>52</sup>), highlights Bourdieu's important “forbidden question” of “who creates the creator?”<sup>53</sup> answering that “the ultimate author is not an individual creator, but the field itself.”<sup>54</sup> This implicates everyone involved in the field of architecture as having a hand in the construction of architecture. Whereas attention is ever focused on the individual architect (and his/her individual genius), the architectural critic, journalist, historian, educator *et al*, all create the field in which the work is made – together they form a consensus of the rules of the game by which they all play – a point well made by Gutschow in his study of the German architectural critic, Adolf Behne.<sup>55</sup> This belief in the game is what Bourdieu calls the “illusio”, which he describes as “the interest, the investment, in both economic and psychological senses”.<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere, Lipstadt notes that it is the illusio that “blocks any understanding by agents in the field that it is the field – the fullest complement of publishers, curators, critics, dealers and preface-writers as well as the artists – which creates the creator and the creator's power to transubstantiate material objects into art.”<sup>57</sup>

The illusio is related to the “doxa” which Bourdieu defined as “a set of cognitive and

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50 Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 240.

51 Hélène Lipstadt, “Publications, Exhibitions, Competitions,” in *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation*, ed. Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman (Montreal, 1989); Hélène Lipstadt, *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competitions in Architecture* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989).

52 Hélène Lipstadt, “Pour une Histoire Sociale de la Presse Architecturale: la Revue Générale de l'Architecture et César Daly (1840-1888)” (Doctoral thesis, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1979).

53 Lipstadt, “Sociology: Bourdieu's Bequest,” 435.

54 *Ibid.*, 434.

55 Kai Konstanty Gutschow, “The Culture of Criticism: Adolf Behne and the Development of Modern Architecture in Germany, 1910-1914” (Columbia University, 2005), 42.

56 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 159.

57 Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?,” 401.

evaluative presuppositions whose acceptance is implied in membership itself.”<sup>58</sup> It is the acceptance of the field, belief in the fact that the game is worth playing (or the struggle worth fighting) and an unquestioning willingness to participate in the game or the struggle according to the rules.

Fields can be considered social microcosms, or “sub-fields” that are related to each other and to the overarching reified society of Bourdieu's sociology within which they exist. This means that the field of architecture has a direct relationship with the field of power in society, reinforcing the statement above (p.10) that “the profession is often used as a channel for state action.” Stevens reinforces this idea, writing that “*the field of architecture is responsible for producing those parts of the built environment that the dominant classes use to justify their domination of the social order.*”<sup>59</sup> This struggle is evident as symbolic capital that grace the pages of the architectural press, as Dovey notes:

Photographic images are often supplied and controlled by the architect, stripped of the traces of everyday life except when used to signify forms of social capital. These books and magazines with their prices discounted by subsidy and their ideas filtered to match the ideology of aesthetic autonomy, are crucial to the production of symbolic capital within the field of architecture. And this field becomes increasingly oriented to the pursuit of symbolic capital and disconnected from the lifeworld of everyday experience. Such symbolic capital circulates across coffee tables within privileged social settings, connecting the field of architecture to the dominant social classes which are its primary market.<sup>60</sup>

Bourdieu's theories of power, developed through the concepts described above, are similar to those of his contemporary and compatriot, Michel Foucault.<sup>61</sup> They agree that power is relative and therefore a result of relations between people and that it is largely a product of unquestioned world views and beliefs that the dominant use to dominate. However, there are two slight misalignments between the two thinkers regarding power: Firstly, Foucault emphasises that power works through knowledge and discourse, whereas Bourdieu concentrates on the internalised dispositions and habitus. Secondly, whereas Foucault's idea is that power is ubiquitous and dispersed throughout society, beyond agency and structure,

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58 Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 100 cited in; Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?,” 399.

59 Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 86 (italics in original).

60 Dovey, “The Silent Complicity of Architecture,” 293.

61 15 October 1926 – 25 June 1984.

Bourdieu argues that power is culturally and symbolically created and legitimised through agency's relationship to the social structure. The architectural magazine is such an agent.

The above outline briefly describes the relevant aspects of Bourdieu's theories of power and how it operates in a field of culture such as that of architecture (as an art) and how it can be transposed to fields of production such as the profession of architecture. It should also help to explain how the field reproduces itself, via the transmission of knowledge, the internalisation of the habitus, and the legitimisation of what constitutes "the good" over time, including ethical and aesthetic values. Power is not a property of an individual, or even of the field, but exists between individuals in their relationships. Ultimately, it helps explain how the artificial nature of the construct of the field of architecture can appear natural: "the illusion of 'natural distinction' is ultimately based on the power of the dominant to impose, by their very existence, a definition of excellence which, being nothing other than their own way of existing, is bound to appear simultaneously as distinctive and different, and therefore both arbitrary (since it is one among others) and perfectly necessary, absolute and natural."<sup>62</sup> It is this illusion of "natural distinction" that forms the basis of my enquiry.

#### **On canonisation**

Being accepted, recorded and written into (architectural) history is a great legitimiser because it entails selection by the powerful and influential and this confers importance not only in the present, but also for the future. It elevates the otherwise ordinary to the extraordinary and determines what gets discussed, taught and passed on to future generations. This history forms the basis of an architect's education, as it is the buildings documented in the books that are used as exemplars worthy of at least discussion and very often, celebration and simulation. Included in this history is the very recent, only-just-passed history of the contemporary magazines which are as valid as historical evidence of an architectural discourse as are the buildings they represent. As mentioned in the introduction, magazines, journals and newspapers, are often quoted and used as evidence in more weighty history books as a record of what was actually being said, thought or happening at the time. For example, the first part of Bullock's *Building The Post-War World*<sup>63</sup> trawls through the periodicals of the period to do exactly this, Jackson's *The Politics of Architecture*<sup>64</sup> reports

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62 Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 255.

63 Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-War World* (London: Routledge, 2002).

64 Anthony Jackson, *The Politics of Architecture: A history of modern architecture in Britain* (London: The Architectural Press, 1970).

from the journals throughout and Banham's *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?*<sup>65</sup> draws heavily on articles from both the *Architectural Review* and *Architectural Design* from the 1950s and early '60s, as well as other more international journals. This is the case in both architectural history and more general socio-political history (“the *history of political power*” as Popper refers to it in his own italics<sup>66</sup> but which I will refer to as simply “general history”) and the phenomenon leads to the claim that “journalism is the first draft of history”. This debatable claim depends on what is meant by history. Journalism certainly presents the reader with an edited viewpoint – a selection of what is considered important at the time – but has none of the perspective and contextualisation that the passing of time affords a writing of history. It should not, therefore, be considered a “first draft” so much as an archival source for historians to refer to in their more considered constructions of history where they have a wider view of events and as such can trace a narrative and make links that are unapparent at the time.

The process of elevating a building to the status of architecture is analogous in process to that of elevating a fact or event of the past to history. One could say that buildings are the “events” or “facts” of architecture, something akin to Foucault's “events in the space of discourse”<sup>67</sup> These “events” or “facts” remain mute in the background until called upon by a historian to play a part in a historical narrative. This is something Tournikiotis alludes to in *The Historiography of Modern Architecture*, when he writes of the Villa Savoye, “the few visitors who make their way to distant Poissy pay homage to the historical fact – that is, to the fact that has been recorded in the established historical texts and is illustrated in the official albums of modern architecture.”<sup>68</sup> To continue the analogy, facts of the past are transformed into historical facts by the same process that buildings are transformed into architecture. Following E.H. Carr's tripartite process, they are proposed by a critic or historian of prominence, then seconded and sponsored, before a handful are chosen for canonisation while the rest disappear into or remain in insignificance. In relation to the claim that “journalism is the first draft of history”, one could suggest that journalism forms one method of proposal. A further level of selection and editing then occurs during the sponsoring stage,

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65 Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: The Architectural Press, 1966).

66 Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies: Volume 2*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2002), 270. Popper acknowledges that the history of political power is only one of “an indefinite number of histories of all kinds of aspects of human life”, but that it is elevated to the history of the world precisely because it is political power that makes things happen and that are recorded and that write the histories themselves.

67 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 29.

68 Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999), 237.

which might occur during the writing of the history books, from which the few commonly agreed upon “events” (buildings) are canonised. This tripartite process echoes that of Juan Pablo Bonta. In *Architecture and its Interpretation*,<sup>69</sup> he described the construction of architectural history as going from “blindness” (insignificance) to “pre-canonical responses” (proposals), to “authoritative interpretations” (seconding or sponsoring), which he described as being “based on recognition of the credentials of the interpreter”<sup>70</sup> to collective “canonical interpretations” (canonisation), which he defines as “a cumulative result of many previous responses, distilled by repetition and reduced to the bare essentials”,<sup>71</sup> and therefore “classification”.<sup>72</sup> Bonta adds a fourth stage of “dissemination” which can be seen, for example, as the integration of the canon into institutions such as education and exhibits, the process by which the canon subsequently gets passed on. These stages, especially those of “authoritative interpretation”, “classification” and “dissemination” can be seen to link directly to Bourdieu’s conceptions of taste. This reading is, of course, overly simplistic, but serves to demonstrate the relationship between journalism, history and the canon, which art critic Victor Burgin describes as being “what gets written about, collected, and taught; it is self-perpetuating, self-justifying, and arbitrary; it is the gold standard against which the values of new aesthetic currencies are measured. The canon is the discourse made flesh; the discourse is the spirit of the canon.”<sup>73</sup> Carr comments on this process, “Every journalist knows today that the most effective way to influence opinion is by the selection and arrangement of the appropriate facts [...] The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context.”<sup>74</sup> The historian, then, is entirely responsible for the creation of the canon, while he or she shares the creation of architectural culture with the architect, as Bonta acknowledges, “Architecture becomes incorporated into culture as a result of the work of critics, no less than that of designers.”<sup>75</sup> This last statement once more further enhances Bourdieu’s idea of the collusion of agents working to produce the field of architecture and ultimately, therefore, the very definition of architecture.

Architects would probably object to Oakeshott’s claim that “to write history is the only way of

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69 Juan Pablo Bonta, *Architecture and Its Interpretation: a study of expressive systems in architecture* (London: Lund Humphries, 1979).

70 *Ibid.*, 154.

71 *Ibid.*, 145.

72 *Ibid.*, chap. The emergence of a canonical interpretation.

73 Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1986), 159.

74 Edward H. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Penguin Books, 1964), 5.

75 Bonta, *Architecture and its Interpretation*, 138.

making it”<sup>76</sup> due to the prioritisation of the text and the word. No doubt, they would claim that other valid histories are located in photographs, drawings and other media. Regardless of this, the fundamental point is that it is the process of selecting, recording and rehearsing in the context of an interpretation, that constructs history. Likewise, the buildings that are selected and recorded to constitute architectural history necessarily exist on the page in order to be reproduced and transmitted to other times and places. This leads onto another characteristic that both history and architecture (as it is argued for here) share: that of mediated representation. History is the past represented in the present (actually to the future when it was written) via some medium – it is the mediated past. This mediation necessarily affects how it is understood, as it can only be partial: partial in that it is somebody's specific interpretation, and partial in that the whole of the context of an event from the past can never be transmitted and therefore understood in the present. I argue that architecture has required a similar partial process of selection and recording in order to elevate it from lowly building, and it is the media – predominantly publications<sup>77</sup> – that play a dominant role in this process. In particular, magazines form the first stage of proposal, or “pre-canonical interpretation” and history books the second stage of canonisation or “canonical interpretation”. In this way, it can be seen that modern architecture has been entirely dependent upon the media for its lifeblood, as Colomina has noted.<sup>78</sup> It almost becomes irrelevant whether the original buildings still exist, or how modified they have been from their original state. But just as political history is not just about events but the people and ideologies behind them, architectural history is not just about buildings. In his intellectual biography of Reyner Banham, Nigel Whiteley points out that “history is not just texts and scholarship, but about personalities, power, and position.”<sup>79</sup> It also comprises ideologies, ideas, economics, and politics – collectively known as “the discourse” – among many other things, including the people who have played a part in the creation of the built environment, whether by designing it, building it or writings about it.

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76 Michael Oakeshott, *Experience and its Modes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), 99 cited in; Carr, *What is History?*, 22.

77 The internet should be included in this, but it still remains to be seen what affect it will have on the canon of architecture. Publication has played such a dominant role in the formation of the architectural canon due to the fact that a select few powerful people have controlled it. However, the internet is a much more bottom-up and “democratic” medium where almost anybody can publish almost anything. Hence the process of turning building into architecture via the internet will be a different one. The events for this history are currently being played out.

78 Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996), 14.

79 Nigel Whiteley, *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future*, New edition. (MIT Press, 2003), 377.

## On modernist histories

The modernist tendency of historical writing has been described by Michael Bentley as a collapse into a nineteenth century Whiggishness, “A process of constant 'advances' towards a sophisticated present from a primitive past, giving prizes along the way to those historians who sound precocious and patronizing those who do not.”<sup>80</sup> This description of writing history in general could equally be applied to the construction of the field of architecture simply by substituting the word “historian” with “architect”. There are certain characteristics that pervade modernist thinking, including that of writing history. This is particularly true of architectural historians of the heroic modern period (such as, but not limited to Pevsner, Giedion, Zevi, Hitchcock, and Kaufmann), who were prone not to reflect on their methods, so intent were they on getting their message across. Bentley notes that modernist views of history “seem united by a particular tone that implied the availability of truth, the undesirability of metaphysics and all forms of blurredness, the necessity for rationalism of an Enlightenment kind. [...] the texts of modernism breathed the excitement of discovery, the identification of hidden structures, the digging-up of clues.”<sup>81</sup> Additionally, modernist thinkers believed in a progressive history, or History “in the upper case”, where a primitive past linearly progressed towards a better future. Keith Jenkins describes it as “a way of looking at the past in terms that assigned to contingent events and situations an objective significance by identifying their place and function within a general schema of historical development usually construed as appropriately 'progressive'.”<sup>82</sup> Once again, here is a direct analogy between the writing of history and the construction of the architectural canon: the buildings that have been nominated into the modernist canon by modern architectural histories have each played a part in the narrative from a primitive, or traditional, past (bad) towards an advanced, modern-styled present (good), no doubt on their way to a future utopia (perfection). Buildings that don't fit this narrative are ignored and forgotten, left to remain in a silent oblivion. The assumption is that history has a direction and a goal and a building needs to fall on that trajectory in order to be written into architectural history and the modernist canon. This writing of history is entirely dependent upon the judgement, taste and prejudices of those who wrote it and despite more recent additions and revisions, such as those by Peter Blundell Jones,<sup>83</sup> the modernist canon

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80 Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 1998), 1.

81 *Ibid.*, 138.

82 Keith Jenkins, *On “What is History?”: From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 8.

83 For example, see Peter Blundell Jones', monographs on *Gunnar Asplund* (London: Phaidon, 2006), *Hugo Haring: The Organic Versus the Geometric* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 1999), *Hans Scharoun*, (London: Phaidon, 1995), *Günter Behnisch* (Basel, Birkhauser, 2000) and Peter Blundell Jones and Eamonn Canniffe, *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies 1945 to 1990: Divergence Within the*

persists in throwing a long shadow over architectural education and culture.

To build a building is a forward-looking, progressive act of optimism by the architect's client – investing so much money and time in a building is a long-term commitment to and belief in the future. It is almost by definition, progressive. But this can be considered a particularly modernist view of building; one that links the present to the future rather than to the past. One of the characteristics of modernism is its unquenchable thirst for innovation and “the new”. As Poggioli has pointed out, the very word “modern” shares its etymological roots with “mode”, or “fashion”.<sup>84</sup> It is this dialectical relationship with the avant-garde that drives modernism forward. One of the most prominent historians cheering on the modern movement was Nikolaus Pevsner<sup>85</sup> who presented a talk at the RIBA in on 10 January 1961 called “Modern Architecture and the Historian or the Return of Historicism.”<sup>86</sup> Pevsner was deeply concerned that the twentieth century relationship between the independent architectural historian and the architect was going wrong and that architects were using history books simply to imitate from. In other words, architects were regressing rather than progressing: “Historicism is the trend to believe in the power of history to such a degree as to choke original action and replace it by action which is inspired by period precedent. [...] Of course, all reviving of styles of the past is a sign of weakness.”<sup>87</sup> To prove his argument, he provided evidence of various buildings that bore a resemblance to historic styles of building. The assembled audience, including John Summerson<sup>88</sup> and Pevsner's doctoral student Reyner Banham,<sup>89</sup> were not entirely convinced by the evidence, but the resulting sentiment was that it would certainly be a bad thing if architects did indeed look to the past for architectural styling. The reasoning behind this would have been that copying styles from the past is not progressive, or exhibiting the “Spirit of the Age” (*Zeitgeist*), one of the key bases of Pevsner's historical methodology. This debate occurred before the invention and growing interest in Post-Modernism, and the timing is important, as 1961 has been identified by Hughes as the beginning of the disillusionment of the modern movement.<sup>90</sup>

Adrian Forty reminds us that “For architects, the development of historical science in the

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*Post-War Consensus*, (London: Architectural Press, 2007)

84 Renato Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-garde* (Harvard University Press, 1968), 79–84, 216.

85 30 January 1902 – 18 August 1983.

86 Documented in Nikolaus Pevsner, “Modern Architecture and the Historian or the Return of Historicism,” *RIBA Journal*, April 1961.

87 *Ibid.*, 230.

88 25 November 1904–10 November 1992.

89 2 March 1922 – 19 March 1988.

90 Jonathan Hughes, “1961,” in *Twentieth-Century Architecture and its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (Otley: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000), 57–86.

nineteenth century could be a great benefit, for it provided them with the means to discover general principles common to the architecture of all times.”<sup>91</sup> At that time, architectural history was essentially the same as architectural theory, i.e. a copy book for the reproduction of styles – the very kind of Banister Fletcher historicism that early twentieth century avant-gardists such as Gropius at the Bauhaus (and later at Harvard) revolted against.<sup>92</sup> According to Forty, history was a problem for such architects for two reasons: firstly because such historicism “hampered their scope for originality”,<sup>93</sup> and secondly because of “the obligation it put them under to create 'historical architecture'.”<sup>94</sup> Both of these problems, however, can be summarised by the single problem of denying the architects of the twentieth century the chance to express the spirit of *their* age. While rejecting architecture as having a special status as historical evidence, they ironically raised its status still further, just like being told to remember to forget something – a point not overlooked by Vidler: “far from rejecting 'history' as such, modernism perhaps respected it too much. In asserting the need to break with the past, whether in futurist, neoplasticist, purist, or constructivist terms, the modernist avant-gardes actually understood history as a fundamental force, an engine of the social world.”<sup>95</sup>

So there was an objective to modernist history, a point to it all and a specific meaning ascribed to the passing of time (time's arrow) that could be translated as hope for the future. Modern architects subscribed to this reading of the past and their historians (who were sometimes the same people) wrote the history of modern architecture as though its fulfilment would bring the emancipatory future that had been envisaged by the early advocates of modernism. This progressive emancipation is the “grand narrative” of modernist histories. However, Jenkins notes that critics of the modern project “conclude that there are not (and nor have there ever been) any 'real foundations' of the kind normally considered to have

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91 Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 196.

92 Winfried Nerdinger, “From Bauhaus to Harvard: Walter Gropius and the Use of History,” in *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture 1865-1975*, ed. Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks, Buell Center Books in American Architectural History 1 (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1990), 89-98. It is somewhat ironic that it was Gropius who gave Pevsner the original idea for *Pioneers* (See Stephen Games, *Pevsner - The Early Life: Germany and Art* (Continuum Publishing Corporation, 2010), 166) and was the man with whom the book concluded as the bearer of the new style. But it was Pevsner's relationship to Gropius that Banham took exception to in his 1960 revision of modernism, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (*Tournikiotis, The Historiography of Modern Architecture*, 150.)

93 Forty, *Words and Buildings*, 198.

94 *Ibid.*

95 Anthony Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 192.

underwritten the experiment of the modern. We must accept that we live and have always lived amidst social formations having no legitimating ontological, epistemological, methodological or ethical grounds for beliefs and actions beyond the status of an ultimately self-referencing (rhetorical) conversation.”<sup>96</sup> This statement refers to modern history in general, but applies equally to modern architectural history. It underlies Summerson's 1957 attempt to offer a theory of modern architecture, in which he identifies that “The general character of all this writing is enthusiastic and propagandist. The authors tend to start with a belief in the new architecture and to write around their beliefs supporting them by picturesque and forceful analogies.”<sup>97</sup> The foundations, then, were simply ideological, fashioned from the avant-garde's manifestos and polemics about what buildings (or architecture) should look like and how people should live in the twentieth century. This realisation led to the fracturing of the certainties of the modernist turn in the 1960s into the multiple positions of post-modernist thinking and this applies as much to the construction of the field of architecture as to the writing of its history.

Unlike the writing of *general* histories,<sup>98</sup> there was until relatively recently little or no reflection on the methodologies upon which the writing of architectural history is based. The writing of *modern* histories of modern architecture that appeared simultaneously with the buildings<sup>99</sup> were entirely ignorant of such reflections and were therefore as instrumental and projective in the definition of the modern style of architecture as the buildings themselves. In more general histories, this reflexivity upon method appeared earlier. Two quite opposing texts in particular that demonstrate this are still commonly used by students of history and are still in print: E.H. Carr's *What is History?* (originally published in 1961) and Geoffrey Elton's *The Practice of History* (originally published in 1967). Carr paid particular attention to the historian and his circumstances, as much to the text he wrote.<sup>100</sup> He separated the two in order to point out that the writer of history was not simply a scribe giving access to an objective truth, but a human being with his own prejudices and limitations who mediated the events he wrote about. Carr famously warned the reader of such histories to always bear this in mind: “Before you study the history, study the historian. [...] Before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment. The historian, being an individual, is also a product of history and of

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96 Keith Jenkins, *The Postmodern History Reader* (Routledge, 1997), 4.

97 John Summerson, “The Case for a Theory of Modern Architecture,” *RIBA Journal*, June 1957, 308. Summerson's lecture was given at the RIBA on 21 May 1957.

98 By which I mean the type of history that a professional historian might concern him- or herself with, including social, political, and economic history.

99 Such as those by Giedion, Pevsner, Zevi or Hitchcock.

100 In 1961, it was almost certainly a “he”.

society."<sup>101</sup> Richard Evans noted that Carr "introduces the idea that history books, like the people who write them, are products of their own times, and that their authors bring particular ideas and ideologies to bear on the past."<sup>102</sup> In any architectural history that neglects the authors' biographies (either architects or historians), the ensuing construct is made to appear natural rather than artificial as human agency is removed.<sup>103</sup> In contrast to Carr, Elton was concerned above all with the historical fact and considered that it would be possible to discover an objective truth through close analysis of the documentary record alone. A conservative in the upper and lower case, he was as keen to maintain the boundaries of his profession and guard them from the amateur as he was to maintain an imperial and Euro-centric focus on the writing of history:

Two fairly common attitudes to historical research and method have done something to give the dog a bad name. On the one hand, there are the 'methodologists' who make a laborious and tedious science out of the historian's techniques, teaching it (as in some American graduate courses) almost as an independent discipline. On the other, we have the remaining inspired amateurs (this is an English failing) to whom the study of evidence presents no problems that cannot be solved by the common sense available to any reasonably intelligent man.<sup>104</sup>

This quote is somewhat ironic, considering the reflective nature of *The Practice of History*. Carr and Elton then, while contrasting in approach and attitude – Carr opening up the field and Elton closing it down – set the scene for the reconsideration of historiographical methodologies which soon enough would impact on art and architectural history. Since the 1970s, there has been a trickle of interest by architectural scholars in this direction.

### On post-modern revisions

If modernist history is based on a belief of being able to re-construct and represent the past

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101 Carr, *What is History?*, 38.

102 Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History*, New edition. (Granta Books, 1998), 2.

103 This can perhaps best be highlighted by the fact that a biography of Le Corbusier, without question considered to be the most influential architect of the twentieth century, only appeared in 2008, (Nicholas Fox Weber, *Le Corbusier: A Life* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2008). after innumerable thousands of books and papers on his work – both his publications and his buildings.

104 Geoffrey Elton, *The Practice of History* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967), 64.

“how it really was (Wie es eigentlich gewesen)”,<sup>105</sup> and an all-pervasive belief in progress towards a future objective, then post-modernist historical methodology would question this in favour of, as Bentley puts it, a

rejection of the possibility of finding a singular 'true' picture of the external world, present or past; a concern to 'decentre' and destabilize conventional academic subjects of enquiry; a wish to see canons of orthodoxy in reading and writing give way to plural readings and interpretations; *a fascination with text itself and its relation to the reality it purports to represent*; a drive to amplify previously unheard voices from unprivileged groups and peoples; a preoccupation with gender as the most immediate generator of underprivileged or unempowered status; *a dwelling on power and lack of it as a conditioner of intellectual as much as political configurations within a culture.*<sup>106</sup>

The two italicised points above demonstrate the particular preoccupations of my thesis. This splintering of a single, knowable truth into multiple world views is perhaps most paradigmatically documented in Lyotard's celebrated *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979)<sup>107</sup> where he famously associated modernity with a belief in “grand narratives”: the belief that such grand ideas as truth or justice can be maintained and used to legitimise smaller projects. This text highlights the crux of the postmodern condition in contrast to that of the modern. Lyotard used the term “modern”, “to designate any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse [...] making an explicit appeal to some grand narrative, such as the dialectics of the Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject or the creation of wealth.”<sup>108</sup> The object of Lyotard's study was “the condition of knowledge in the most highly developed societies”<sup>109</sup> and he used the term “postmodern” to describe that condition, defining postmodernity as “an incredulity towards metanarratives”<sup>110</sup> (his term for grand narratives). Two such metanarratives, humanity's quest for progressive emancipation through science (the Enlightenment project), and the teleological progress of history towards a goal (the Hegelian tradition) are central in the writing of modernist histories. So metanarratives are overarching philosophies used to legitimate a society's knowledge, but for Lyotard, knowledge goes

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105 Ranke, cited in Carr, *What is History?*, 3.

106 Bentley, *Modern Historiography*, 141–142 (my italics).

107 Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Manchester University Press, 1984).

108 *Ibid.*, xxiii.

109 *Ibid.*

110 *Ibid.*, xxiv.

beyond truth to include ethics and aesthetic evaluation. It also needs legitimating through discourse. Looked at the other way round, a society assesses “good” from “bad” by evaluating against the relevant criteria accepted by that social circle. Jenkins comments that “This radical, nominalistic pragmatism, illustrates the notion that various alleged unities (totalities, holisms, teleologies) are at best convenient fictions and, at worst, totalizing mystifications in which can be found intimations of totalitarianism.”<sup>111</sup> In the modern condition, knowledge is legitimated by recourse to the grand narrative. The subtext of Lyotard's report is therefore power: “It is natural in a narrative problematic for such a question to solicit the name of a hero as its response: *Who* has the right to decide for society? Who is the subject whose prescriptions are norms for those they obligate?”<sup>112</sup> Such questions are central to the Bourdieuean analysis of the architectural magazine's contribution to the writing of architectural history. In answer to a paraphrase of Lyotard's question, “*Who* has the right to decide what architecture is?”, one might offer the answer, “whoever controls the knowledge.” The compilers of the press are one of the controllers of this knowledge. One of Foucault's great insights was that it is not so much the case of “knowledge is power”, as “power is knowledge”.<sup>113</sup> The press in general and the architectural magazine in particular stores and transmits what the architecturally powerful, consciously or otherwise, consider to be architectural knowledge, the discourses of which are constructed to legitimise their ideologies and ideas about what architecture should be.

According to Lyotard, in postindustrial societies (and postmodern cultures), knowledge ceases to be an end in itself and instead will be produced as an exchangeable commodity that can be stored on a computer as some form of language. Lyotard's point that all knowledge is represented by language epitomises post-structuralist prioritisation of language above all other disciplines that occurred in academia in the late 1960s and 1970s, resulting in the *linguistic turn* and the rise of *theory*. Theory today has encompassed both of what were previously known as literary theory and critical theory and, despite what some academic avant-garde theoreticians claim in order to stay ahead of the game,<sup>114</sup> remains dominant in architectural theory. Literary theory gained prominence in the 1960s due to the massification of higher education when money was spent on an institutional move to justify literary criticism. The belief behind this was similar to Lyotard's realisation above, that everything, ultimately, is known and made known through language, or, even more strongly, that language actually

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111 Jenkins, *The Postmodern History Reader*, 33.

112 Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, 30.

113 Bentley, *Modern Historiography*, 141.

114 See the discussion of what post-critical might entail according to Robert Somol and Sarah Whiting, 'Okay, Here's the Plan...', *Log*, 5 (2005), 5-7.

constituted reality. Architecture inevitably also fell under the spell of this literary belief which claimed that anything – any *thing* – could be understood as a text. After years of ascetic functionalism, the revelation that a building could carry meaning generated huge excitement in the architectural academy in the early 1970s. In the period directly subsequent to the one I consider here, *Architectural Design* itself, under Andreas Papadakis<sup>115</sup> editorship/ownership and under Charles Jencks<sup>116</sup> influence, was deeply fascinated by this criticism of modernism and published and launched the Post-Modern<sup>117</sup> movement in architecture. Jencks had previously co-edited the book *Meaning in Architecture*<sup>118</sup> with George Baird in 1969, which was the first to document the growing interest in structuralist and linguistic theories applied to architecture as architects grappled with the problems of lack of confidence and both the profession's and public's disillusionment with high modernism throughout the 1960s. This movement in architecture, however, is the basis of future research.

While its object of research is deliberately located in the period of modern architecture's rise and demise, my thesis is self-consciously a result of these post-modern revisions in the construction of history. It uses the post-structuralist thinker Bourdieu as a theoretical framework and the insights and advantages that work in (architectural) history and historiography has since enabled – in particular, the fact that history, like post-structuralist thinking, prioritises the text and is document based, and the acknowledgement that these documents can only be partial mediations and representations of events (or buildings). Yet this partiality is precisely what is of interest, because it reflects the interests of the powerful in the construction of the fields of history and of architecture and the relationship between the two.

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115 Andreas Papadakis (17 June 1938 – 10 June 2008).

116 Charles Jencks (b. 21 June 1939, Baltimore). Studied English (1961) and Architecture (1965) at Harvard before doing a Ph.D. in Architectural History under Reyner Banham at UCL (1970).

117 Jencks introduced his ideas of Post-Modernism in January 1977's *AD* on Arata Isozaki. About him, he wrote: "there is a new situation developing *within* Modernism. We have a plurality of styles, an ever-so-slight tinge of historicism and a discrete sequential Revivalism." (p.42) Jencks later guest-edited the April 1977 issue of *AD* which coincided with his book *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*.

118 Jencks and Baird, *Meaning in Architecture*; See George Baird, "The Publication of Meaning in Architecture," in *Team 10 - Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive* (presented at the Team 10 - Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2006), 72-87, <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/Team%2010.pdf> for Baird's later reflection on the book's influence at the time.

## On architectural history's methodologies

Architectural history, unsurprisingly, lags behind general history in its methodologies. Forty agrees:

in general late twentieth-century architects showed a remarkable lack of curiosity about what had been going on within the discipline of history itself. [...] Whereas amongst historians, 'history' was understood to be a product of the mind of the present, ordering and interpreting material from the past, amongst architects there lingered a belief that past works of architecture were themselves 'history'. How a work of architecture – made in the past – could ever *be* 'history' – made in the present – is a contradiction that not many architects bothered about.<sup>119</sup>

Also unsurprising is the fact that the initial curiosity regarding the modern historical project in architecture – a project born of socialist ideology – came from conservatives, namely Demetri Porphyrios in the quadrangles of Princeton and David Watkin in the cloisters of Peterhouse College, Cambridge. Their publications in particular define the beginnings of a leaning towards more reflection on its own methods and an interest in historiography as much as history: Watkin's *Morality and Architecture*<sup>120</sup> of 1977 and *The Rise of Architectural History*<sup>121</sup> of 1980 and Porphyrios' special issue of *AD, On the Methodology of Architectural History* of 1981.<sup>122</sup>

In *Morality and Architecture*, Watkin argued that both Pugin and Pevsner, while both promoting very different styles of architecture in their respective histories/theories of architecture, used the same kind of argument: “that it is not just a style but a rational way of building evolved inevitably in response to the needs of what society really is or ought to be, and to question its forms is certainly anti-social and probably immoral.”<sup>123</sup> Watkin saves his most violent wrath for his former teacher, Nikolaus Pevsner, criticising his *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* for its Hegelian methodology, which is to say, an overarching belief in the *Zeitgeist* and the progression of history towards an objective. Watkin was correct in identifying that Pevsner employed this methodology uncritically to justify modern architecture as the inevitable, and morally correct, style of the twentieth century. For example, Watkin argues that

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119 Forty, *Words and Buildings*, 203.

120 David Watkin, *Morality and Architecture: the development of a theme in architectural history and theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

121 David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, Paperback edition. (London: The Architectural Press, 1983).

122 Demetri Porphyrios, *On the Methodology of Architectural History*, vol. 51, *Architectural Design* (London: Academy Editions, 1981).

123 Watkin, *Morality and Architecture*, 1.

Pevsner's loathing of historicism, as demonstrated in his *Return to Historicism*<sup>124</sup> article, is due to the fact that it borrows from the wrong *Zeitgeist* to generate its form. The first few sentences of Watkin's conclusion are undeniable:

In outlining the development of an intellectual outlook which has much in common with what Sir Herbert Butterfield called the 'whig' and Sir Karl Popper the 'historicist' interpretation of history, it may have become clear that the assumptions associated with this outlook, as expressed in architectural history, have not been subject to the kind of rigorous historiographical analysis which has been applied since the 1930s to the study of history itself. It seems that no one with a proper training in philosophy, intellectual history, religion, or the social sciences has turned a critical eye on architectural history. Architectural historians have found it easy to fall back on the belief in a unitary, all-pervasive *Zeitgeist*. One important reason for this is that modern art history began in the nineteenth century as a by-product of history and the philosophy of culture in Germany.<sup>125</sup>

However, Watkin's preferred alternative of the "imaginative genius of the individual and [...] the importance of artistic tradition"<sup>126</sup> is as regressive as Pevsner's is progressive and leads nowhere. *The Rise of Architectural History*, on the other hand, is an extensive bibliography, with some contextual history, of the field of architectural historiography. Watkin acknowledges himself, however, that the book does not cover the modern movement due to its temporal proximity and he considered only Banham's *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*<sup>127</sup> (1960) as serious historical writing on the subject. This could also be due to his dislike for the modern period in architecture, as he is not ashamed to admit: "If this is a bad period for practising architects, since they have temporarily suppressed the credibility of their profession by their barbarous Utopian dreams, it is a boom period for the architectural historian who feeds, vulture-like, on the decaying remains of the civilisation which the planners, the politicians and the architects have helped destroy."<sup>128</sup> The modern movement, then, for Watkin is not a serious subject for the professional architectural historian.

The special issue of *AD*, *On the Methodology of Architectural History* was guest-edited by another classicist, Porphyrios and was more than likely a result of Greek Cypriot editor Andreas Papadakis' interest in classical architecture.<sup>129</sup> The whole issue comprises current

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124 Pevsner, "Modern Architecture and the Historian or the Return of Historicism."

125 Watkin, *Morality and Architecture*, 113.

126 *Ibid.*, 115.

127 Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London: Architectural Press, 1960).

128 Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, 190.

129 The Papadakis years of *AD* from 1976 to 1992 were characterised by the creation and promotion of

architectural historians and theoreticians selecting a text by a previously influential art or architectural historians – from the canon of architectural historiography – and then writing a reflective commentary on what it meant in the context of the construction of architectural history. As a classicist, Porphyrios may well have been motivated to expose the construction of modern architectural history for what it was – he starts the introduction in a similar vein to Watkin's conclusion of *Morality and Architecture*,

Architectural history has been taught and studied in a manner that has generally avoided the questioning of its methodological tools, never exposing, therefore, its own ideological assumptions. It is true that architectural history has always had tools of analysis, yet, by avoiding the systematic discussion of these tools, it has blurred its epistemological foundations.<sup>130</sup>

Porphyrios' own remarkable contribution at the end, which is referred to in the methodology above, is a more general criticism of architectural history and remains a text of lucid analysis and insightful criticism. He firstly examines the debt that architectural history owes to art history, and especially the German Hegelian tradition. He then outlines and theorises a possible “other history” of architecture based on exploring architecture's “field of knowledge” and its “problematic” (incidentally, both terms used by Bourdieu) and suggests that, instead of looking at the resulting building's form to categorise and place it in a history, the historian should look underneath at the discourse that was generating it, and even further, to what was generating that discourse. In other words, he's interested in describing the *production* of architecture, rather than its products, or the procedure rather than the work, commensurate with William Hanks' observation of Bourdieu's methodology. I adopt a similar approach.

### On art & architectural history

Watkin pointed out in *The Rise of Architectural History* that most architectural history has been written by practising architects:<sup>131</sup> “architectural history has been promoted by those who have, in many varied ways, a powerful notion of what architecture ought to look like in the present day: either positive in the case of the practising architects, or negative, in the case of preservationists.”<sup>132</sup> This sentiment had previously been articulated by Summerson, who had

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post-modernism and propensity to reflect on historical models for architecture and urbanism.

130 Porphyrios, *On the Methodology of Architectural History*, 51:2.

131 Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, ix.

132 Ibid., 145.

remarked in 1967, “at one time almost all architectural history in England was written by architects. [...] But round about 1934 the game came to an end.”<sup>133</sup> Before the separate profession of architectural history emerged in the 1960s, the other contingent who wrote architectural history was the art historians. Their view of modern architectural history is delivered to us via the predominantly German speaking line of art historians who practised in the Hegelian tradition and who started arriving in this country in 1932 with the establishment of the Courtauld Institute of Art and the arrival of the Warburg Library the following year.<sup>134</sup> The rise of Hitler meant that many art historians left Germany and its neighbouring states for the UK and the US in the 1930s.<sup>135</sup> This infusion of the professional study of Anglo-American architectural history in an art historical context radically shook up the previously amateurish writing of architectural history by gentlemen architects who held connoisseurship as the basis of taste. It also introduced the legacy of Hegelian Idealism into the emerging discipline. According to Hegel, all phenomena should be studied within their actual cultural and social context (never in isolation) and every civilisation is characterised by its own particular “Spirit of the Age”, or *Zeitgeist*. As Porphyrios notes,

The architect/artist, through the 'Idea', appropriates the external world, and in doing so he acquires a *Weltanschauung*. This *Weltanschauung*, or world-view, lodged within the conscious or unconscious constitution of the human mind, becomes the *modus operandi* of all social activity and production. Thus the architect/artist, in the very act of creating, simply represents the 'Idea' in sensuous form.<sup>136</sup>

The influence that this Hegelian epistemology of history has had on the writing of architectural history should not be underestimated. Pevsner, for example, writes in the introduction to his *An Outline of European Architecture*, “It is the spirit of an age that pervades its [a period's] social life, its religion, its scholarship and its arts”<sup>137</sup> This idea of *Zeitgeist* gives way to an

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133 Cited in Joseph Mordaunt Crook, “Opening people’s eyes,” *RIBA Journal*, August 1972, 338.

134 Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, 145.

135 This list includes Nikolaus Pevsner (German, 1902-1983, moved to the UK in 1934), Sigfried Giedion (Swiss, 1888-1965, happily studied under Wölfflin, spent most of his life after 1938 in the US), Rudolph Wittkower (German, 1901-1971, unhappily studied under Wölfflin, moved to the UK in 1934 where he taught at the Warburg, then at Columbia in the US from 1956 to 1969), Emil Kaufmann (Austrian, 1891-1953, moved to the US after the 1938 Anschluss), Erwin Panofsky (German, 1892-1968, emigrated to the US in 1934), Rudolf Arnheim (German, 1904-2007, emigrated to the US in 1940 via Italy and the UK) and Ernst Gombrich (Austrian, 1909-2001, moved to the UK in 1936).

136 Demitri Porphyrios, “Notes on a Method,” *Architectural Design*, May 1981, 96.

137 Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, 17.

underlying notion of influence and evolution in that there is always assumed to be a reason for an event, a causal relationship between the binary determination of cause and effect. Similarly, there is always assumed to be a gradual chronological progression from a definitive starting point to an ultimate endpoint. Pevsner's *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design* assumes this, starting with the question, "Where lie the sources of the twentieth century? Sources bespeak a stream, then a river, and finally, in our particular case, the ocean of the International Style of the 1930s."<sup>138</sup> Additionally, chapter one in his book is entitled *A Style for the Age* reinforcing the notion of *Zeitgeist* in his histories.<sup>139</sup>

A history of architecture as written by Hegelian art historians, then, aims to tell a teleological narrative that has an origin and an objective with a progressive and ever-improving linear evolution of periods in between. It looks at formal influences from other works of architecture and from ideas and beliefs of the age, and it will *a posteriori* formally categorise, classify and group according to a taxonomy convenient to the historian, in order to give historical intelligibility. Such a taxonomy might be one of schools, disciplines, or themes, depending on what narrative the historian is interested in weaving. It relies on the discovery of similarity. Porphyrios emphasises that "Such an understanding of a history of architecture is founded on two fundamental assumptions: first, that there exists an early origin in which lie dormant all the traits that the artistic phenomenon in its development will exhibit; and second, that the history of this phenomenon is nothing but its primordial traits now traced in their successive narrative trajectory called evolution."<sup>140</sup> He supports this with quotes from Frankl, "One of the tasks which particularly preoccupy the historian of art is to demonstrate the dependence of works of art on those that went before and the influence of different regions or schools on one another"<sup>141</sup>, from Pevsner, "In England, in France, in Italy, in Germany, in the Netherlands, in Spain, one coherent and unbroken development runs through the last thousand years and more."<sup>142</sup> and from Panofsky, "The connection I have in mind is a genuine cause-and-effect

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138 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 7.

139 Popper pejoratively named this definitive interpretation of history "historicism", which he wrote was "out to find The Path on which mankind is destined to walk; it is out to discover The Clue to History [...] or The Meaning of History." Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 269. It should be noted that this is a different definition of that generally used in architecture which refers simply to deferral to the past. Pevsner used it in this way in his talk at the RIBA referred to above, and Jencks will also use this term in this way.

140 Porphyrios, "Notes on a Method," 97.

141 Gothic Architecture, ed. by Nikolaus Pevsner (Baltimore-Maryland: Penguin Books, 1962), p. xvi cited in *Ibid.*

142 Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1972), (p. 709)

relation; but in contrast to an individual influence, this cause-and-effect relation comes about by diffusion rather than by direct import. It comes about by the spreading of what may be called, for want of a better term, a mental habit. Such mental habits are at work in all and every civilisation.”<sup>143</sup>

In addition to the notions of the “Spirit of the Age” and evolutionary progress, architectural history owes to art history the tradition of “Converting objects into terms for which a common set of similarities and differences can be adduced, permitting a discussion of style and aesthetic impact.”<sup>144</sup> Bentley has noted that the periodisation of time is also an artificial imposition on the past: “the idea of a ‘period’ of history designating a stretch of time with an internal unity; and, more important, the notion of a ‘source’ understood as comprising one of the elements out of which a historical text might flow just as a river originates in its source were ideas born around the year 1780.”<sup>145</sup> Carr added that it is merely a “tool of thought, valid in so far as it is illuminating, and dependent for its validity on interpretation”<sup>146</sup> and periodisation is one of the main limitations of art history that Gevork Hartoonian questions as valid in architectural history as it is “a formalistic interpretation of history.”<sup>147</sup> The idea of a formal style, whether of an individual or of a period, is a common narrative of architectural history itself, inviting “the tracing of lines of progression and development, the movement of architectural ornament from point A to point B through a set of teleologically observed processes.”<sup>148</sup> It is a direct result of Heinrich Wölfflin’s formative patterning of art historical discourse around pairs of contrasting pictures in the early twentieth century. As Katherine Fischer Taylor has observed, Wölfflin

began his art historical career by attempting to fit architecture into a framework of psychological aesthetics, and later maintained that the comparative categories he formalized in 1914 in his *Principles of Art History* worked so well for architecture that architecture constituted ‘the most express embodiment’ of the Baroque ideal of

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cited in *Ibid.*, 97–98.

143 Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, Pennsylvania: The Archabbey Press, 1951), (pp. 20-21) cited in *Ibid.*, 97.

144 Katherine Fischer Taylor, ‘Architecture’s Place in Art History: Art or Adjunct?’, *The Art Bulletin*, 83 (2001), 342-346 (p. 342) .

145 Bentley, *Modern Historiography*, 3–4.

146 Carr, *What is History?*, 54.

147 Gevork Hartoonian, *The Mental Life of the Architectural Historian: Re-opening the Early Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 34.

148 Dana Arnold, *Reading Architectural History* (London: Routledge, 2002), 86.

In other words, architecture was to be a subservient mistress to the master art of painting.<sup>150</sup> Furthermore, the struggle between painting and photography troubled modern art historians. If it is true that “For the last hundred years art history has been the history of that which can be photographed”,<sup>151</sup> photography is the truly modern art due to its mass reproducibility, something with which architects and architectural critics/historians are extremely well acquainted.<sup>152</sup> Recent theorists such as Rattenbury and Colomina have begun to posit that it is the *representation* of architecture as found in the media that describes the real site of architecture, rather than the building on the building site: “architecture – as distinct from building – is always that which is represented, and particularly that which is represented in the media aimed at architects.”<sup>153</sup> However, on top of these criticisms of understanding architecture in terms of art history's aesthetic stylisations, it is the concepts of “architecture as object” and “architect as author” that the history of architecture has borrowed from art history and that are probably the least questioned and most naturalised way of describing architecture in time. The process of making a building is attributed to a single person, whose style we can identify and indeed actively chart as a progression. The building itself is a bounded thing, in space as well as time, and represents the creator's interpretation or expressive projection of the ideologies of the period and place.

Dana Arnold comments that the “architect as author” narrative of architectural history is a direct inheritance from the notion of the individual genius in art history. She continues to argue

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149 Fischer Taylor, “Architecture's Place in Art History,” 342.

150 See chapter 8 for a discussion on how the painterliness of photography has helped architecture assert its autonomy.

151 André Malraux, quoted by Henri Zerner, 'Malraux and the power of Photography' in Johnson, ed. *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) cited in Fischer Taylor, 342-346 (p. 342).

152 This is an extremely large area of research, but for a brief introduction to the topic, see James Ackerman, “On the origins of architectural photography,” in *This is not architecture*, ed. Kester Rattenbury (London: Routledge, 2002), 26-36; Also Antoine Baudin, ed., *Photography, Modern Architecture, and Design: the Alberto Sartoris Collection: objects from the Vitra Design Museum*, 1st ed. (Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes in collaboration with Vitra Design Museum, 2005); Cervin Robinson and Joel Herschman, *Architecture Transformed: History of the Photography of Buildings from 1839 to the Present*, 1st ed. (MIT Press, 1987); Eve Blau, ed., *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990); Kenneth Frampton, “A Note on Photography and Its Influence on Architecture,” *Perspecta* 22 (1986): 38-41.

153 Rattenbury, *This is Not Architecture: Media Constructions*, xii.

that “The preoccupation with identifying architects is also part of the process of recognising and defending the professional status of the architect.”<sup>154</sup> This utilisation of history claims architecture exclusively for architects by definition, and buildings that cannot be attributed to a known architect are not proposed for entry into the architectural canon. This idea is central to architectural history as a biographical dictionary such as Colvin’s<sup>155</sup>, James Richards’<sup>156</sup> and, more in relation to the modern movement, Dennis Sharp’s.<sup>157</sup> Elsewhere, Arnold describes this creation of the architectural canon as “an important role in the institutionalization of architecture, as new works can be judged against it. As such it is a means of imposing hierarchical relationships on groups of objects which usually favours the individual genius and the idea of the ‘masterpiece’.”<sup>158</sup> Such canonisation of works and authors is the privilege of the institution of architecture that is the preserve of the departments of architecture and of art history, both of whose primary concern is the aesthetic aspect of the work. Arnold continues,

two orders of narrative used frequently in architectural history are the narrative of style and the narrative of the author (architect). Style allows the ordering of architectural production whether anonymous or not through aesthetic categories. The heterogeneity, discordance and lack of synchronization between different strands of architectural production can then be sorted into movements coming into ascendancy and then declining. This is evident in stylistic histories where teleological patterns of stylistic dominance and recession are imposed.<sup>159</sup>

The ideas of both *Weltanschauung* as “the *modus operandi* of all social activity and production” and Panofsky’s “mental habits” can be seen to equate to Bourdieu’s *habitus*, which can apply to institutions as well as people. Indeed, Bourdieu developed the concept after translating Panofsky’s book into French<sup>160</sup> and wrote a postface to this edition in which he remarks on the importance of the art historian’s notion of *habitus*.<sup>161</sup> Hanks comments that

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154 Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, 42.

155 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 3rd ed. (London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995).

156 James Richards, *Who’s Who in Architecture from 1400 to the Present Day* (London: Littlehampton Book Services Ltd, 1977).

157 Dennis Sharp, *Sources of Modern Architecture*, New edition. (HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 1981).

158 Dana Arnold, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (London: Routledge, 2006), xvi.

159 Ibid.

160 Erwin Panofsky, *Architecture Gothique et Pensée Scolastique*, trans. Pierre Bourdieu (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1967).

161 See William F. Hanks, “Pierre Bourdieu and the Practices of Language,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (October 2005): 70–72 for a fuller discussion on this.

“Bourdieu draws from Panofsky [...] the need to reject the dichotomy between individual creativity as embodied in singular works and collective values as embodied in the habitus that guides the creation of those works.”<sup>162</sup> This implies that a Bourdieuean take on art history demands less emphasis on the notion of individual genius and more on his or her cultural environment and context, or the “field”, returning to Bourdieu's claim that the field is the creator. The opportunity that Bourdieu's theoretical framework offers architectural history, therefore, is a reassessment of its traditional methodology of writing history in terms of architect as author, architecture as object, aesthetic classification, periodisation of styles, and teleological progress. Instead, architectural history is considered as the trace of power relations, the palimpsest of discourse, the debris from fights for the authority to validate and the echo of struggles to be able to proclaim “this is architecture!”

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162 Ibid., 71.



His [Don Quixote's] whole being is nothing but language, text, printed pages, stories that have already been written down. He is made up of interwoven words; he is writing itself, wandering through the world among the resemblances of things. Yet not entirely so: for in his reality as an impoverished hidalgo he can become a knight only by listening from afar to the age-old epic that gives its form to Law. The book is not so much his existence as his duty. He is constantly obliged to consult it in order to know what to do or say, and what signs he should give himself and others in order to show that he really is of the same nature as the text from which he springs. (Michel Foucault, 1994)<sup>1</sup>

### 3 Literature Review

The study of architectural magazines has developed in parallel with the development of architectural history and historiography as an independent discipline from art history (covered in the last chapter), coinciding with the postmodern turn of the 1970s and the rise of critical histories. This chapter considers previous work on and approaches to architectural magazines.

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1 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Routledge, 1994), 46.

## Histories of architectural magazines

Historical architectural magazines are increasingly being seen as important documents of architectural history, as well as objects of desire in their own right. This is borne out by recent activity in the facsimile reproduction or translations of architectural magazines of the avant-garde, such as *ABC*,<sup>2</sup> *G*,<sup>3</sup> *Utopie*,<sup>4</sup> *Современная Архитектура (Sovremennaiia Arkhitektura*, or “Contemporary Architecture”),<sup>5</sup> *Вещь (Veshch'*, or “Thing”)<sup>6</sup> as well as more mainstream professional architectural magazines, such as *Arts & Architecture*<sup>7</sup> and *Domus*.<sup>8</sup> While magazines of the avant-garde have enjoyed critical scrutiny, it is perhaps surprising, therefore, that as yet there exists no full history of any professional architectural magazine in the English language. In any other language, there exists only the history of *Casabella*, in Italian.<sup>9</sup> For some American journals, readers have appeared, wrapped in brief outline or partial histories.<sup>10</sup> Architectural magazines themselves occasionally publish histories about themselves, or about their own genre. The *Architectural Review* and *Architects' Journal* both marked their centenary years with full issue histories written by Sutherland Lyall.<sup>11</sup> These were chronologically organised histories of the magazines themselves and their representations of architecture – both the buildings and the profession – since their respective births. A pair of

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2 Jacques Gubler, *ABC. Architettura e avanguardia, 1924-1928* (Milan: Electa, 1983).

3 Detlef Mertins and Michael W. Jennings, eds., *G: An Avant-Garde Journal of Art, Architecture, Design, and Film, 1923-1926* (London; Los Angeles: Tate Publishing in association with the Getty Research Institute, 2010).

4 Craig Buckley and Jean-Louis Violeau, eds., *Utopie: Texts and Projects, 1967-1978*, Foreign Agent Series (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2011).

5 Moisei Ginzburg and Aleksandr Vesnin, eds., *Sovremennaiia Arkhitektura, 1926-1930*, Reprint Box Set., Izdaniia Avangarda (Ekaterinburg: Tatlin, 2010).

6 El Lissitzky, ed., *Veshch': mezhdunarodnoe obozrenie sovremennogo iskusstva = Objet: revue internationale de l'art moderne = Gegenstand: internationale Rundschau der Kunst der Gegenwart*, Reprint edition. (Moscow: Russkii avangard, 2010).

7 David Travers, ed., *Arts & Architecture: the complete reprint, 1945-1967*, Box Set. (Köln; Los Angeles: Taschen, 2008).

8 Charlotte Fiell and Peter Fiell, eds., *Domus, 1928-1999* (Hong Kong; Los Angeles: Taschen, 2006).

9 Chiara Baglione, ed., *Casabella 1928/2008* (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2008).

10 K.Michael Hays, *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture 1973-1984* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999); Robert Am Stern, Peggy Deamer, and Alan Plattus, *Re-Reading "Perspecta": The First Fifty Years of the Yale Architectural Journal* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); Eric Uhlfelder, *The Origins of Modern Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1998).

11 Sutherland Lyall, “The Architects' Journal Centenary Issue,” *Architects' Journal*, March 9, 1995; Sutherland Lyall, “The First 100 Years,” *Architectural Review*, May 1996.

Italian magazines also compiled brief surveys of avant-garde architectural reviews. *Casabella* commissioned a series of articles in 1993 on “the role these periodicals played as instruments of cultural confrontation, theoretical debate and, at times, of promotion of ideas.”<sup>12</sup> Periodicals covered were the Soviet *Arkhitektura SSSR*,<sup>13</sup> the French *l'Architecture Vivante* and *Cahiers d'Art*,<sup>14</sup> the American *Shelter*,<sup>15</sup> and the Dutch *Forum*.<sup>16</sup> Each piece was a short critical history of the magazine and its role in architectural history demonstrating, for example, the politics of the Soviet Union as represented in architecture, the early representations of modern architecture in France and America, through a combination of content and context analysis. In 1982, *Rassegna* had published an issue dedicated to “Architecture in the Avant-Garde Magazines”<sup>17</sup> which included several critical essays on key moments/magazines/regions as well as a wider survey of the genre with brief details of the magazines included.

Using architectural magazines as source material for the writing of architectural histories assumes that the magazine is a trustworthy source that perfectly represents reality and neglects the fact that it necessarily interprets and mediates the events under examination. In recognition of this fact, the magazine itself has come under scrutiny – the medium is on trial in place of the message. This acknowledgement occurred around the same time as postmodern critical historiographies were being constructed and since then, several symposia have been held and various attempts made at understanding the role of the magazine in relation to the field of architecture, in addition to writing their histories (or “biographies”). The most recent large-scale research on the subject by Beatriz Colomina's postgraduate students at Princeton resulted in the touring exhibition and symposia “Clip/Stamp/Fold”, which looked at the architectural “little” magazines of the 1960s and '70s. The resulting book,<sup>18</sup> however, neglects any methodological primer and deracinates any inclination of architecture being a political entity in favour of a hagiography of editors' biographies via interviews, a tendency to gravitate to the celebrated names of today, an obsession with the magazines' covers and preference

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12 Alessandro De Magistris, “Il dibattito architettonico degli anni '30-'50 nelle pagine di *Arkhitektura SSSR*,” *Casabella*, June 1993, 46.

13 De Magistris, “Il dibattito architettonico degli anni '30-'50 nelle pagine di *Arkhitektura SSSR*.”

14 Hélène Jannièrè, “L'Architecture Vivante e 'Cahiers d'Art,” *Casabella*, July 1993.

15 Marc Dessauce, “Contro lo Stile Internazionale: 'Shelter' e la stampa architettonica americana,” *Casabella*, August 1993.

16 Joseph Abram, “Apertura critica e impegno moderno: 'L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui' negli anni trenta,” *Casabella*, September 1993.

17 Vittorio Gregotti and Jacques Gubler, eds., *Architettura nelle riviste d'avanguardia / Architecture in the Avant-Garde Magazines*, *Rassegna* 12 (Milan: CIPIA, 1982).

18 Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X - 197X* (New York, NY: Actar, 2010).

for production methods and technologies over actual content.<sup>19</sup> The Clip/Stamp/Fold programme started in the Autumn of 2004, the same year that the last major international colloquium on architectural magazines was held,<sup>20</sup> which, like Clip/Stamp/Fold, also focused on “Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s”, although not exclusively “little” ones. In contrast to Clip/Stamp/Fold, the resulting proceedings includes a substantial bibliography of all known work done on architectural magazines,<sup>21</sup> as well as a list of the few previous symposia on the subject and a thorough introduction to the methodologies of using architectural magazines as an historical source.<sup>22</sup> It is clear from this that if the genre of the art periodical emerged in the 1960s, then that of the architectural periodical as an object of study in its own right, and distinct from that of the more generic architectural publication or art periodical, emerged in the 1980s. In their methodological introduction to the proceedings, H  l  ne Janni  re and France Vanlaethem discuss the approaches taken for categorising the ways that architectural magazines can be used and studied, dividing them into two types:

one aims to write the history of architectural magazines (as just one type of publication among others), while the other aims to rewrite the history of architecture by exploiting this type of relatively accessible document (compared to archives and even buildings) and occasionally making use of tools or theories borrowed from the humanities in order to go beyond a simply philological and event-driven interpretation. In most cases the magazine is perceived as a vehicle of communication that, as a historical source, preserves the discourse in all its veracity and transparency, bearing witness to the battles of ideas that mobilized architects during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and maintaining their vivacity through the multiplicity of authors and issues.<sup>23</sup>

It would be difficult to improve upon the exhaustive methodologies that Janni  re and Vanlaethem identify in their chapter and so this forms the basis of those discussed below.

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19 I am grateful to Britt Eversole (a postgraduate student on Colomina's PhD Media & Modernity programme at Princeton) for pointing me to some of these observations.

20 Organised by the Institut de Recherche en Histoire de l'Architecture (IHRA), at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), Montr  al, 6-7 May 2004.

21 Taken largely from H  l  ne Janni  re's Ph.D. research.

22 H  l  ne Janni  re and France Vanlaethem, “Architectural Magazines as Historical Source or Object? A Methodological Essay,” in *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: towards a factual, intellectual and material history / Revues d'Architecture dans les Ann  es 1960 et 1970: fragments d'une histoire   v  nementielle, intellectuelle et mat  rielle*, ed. Alexis Sornin, H  l  ne Janni  re, and France Vanlaethem, Bilingual. (Montreal: ABC Art Books Canada Distribution, 2008).

23 *Ibid.*, 60.

## Content Analysis

The first research on architectural magazines were content analyses, based on a “theoretically neutral reading of the text that formed the main body of the periodicals.”<sup>24</sup> In the UK, journalists themselves were always fond of discussing their own profession: for example Hugh Casson's 1948 talk at the AA<sup>25</sup> was reported in *The Builder* as “100 Years of Architectural Journalism”. There, Casson surveys the field of the British architectural press, noting that

there were about 25 journals recording contemporary building and providing material for architectural history. They gave technical information to practising architects and provided space for literary discussion of architecture and allied arts. Their alleged faults were, first, that they were uncritical. Buildings good, bad and indifferent were presented without any attempt at criticism. Secondly, they were scrappy; space was squandered in dealing with two or three subjects inadequately instead of being concentrated on one. In the third place they were visually unimaginative; and, fourthly, by providing ready-made solutions to building problems they discouraged originality and encouraged plagiarism.<sup>26</sup>

Casson defended each of these points in his talk but what is of note here is that the journals could still provide “material for architectural history” even in the context of his subsequent criticisms. Casson was also to add one of three essays concerning architectural journalism in John Summerson's *Festschrift* for Nikolaus Pevsner.<sup>27</sup> These essays simply sketched out a brief history of the British architectural press with a particular emphasis on the exchange of ideas especially regarding the education of taste and the development of style which were considered loosely connected with demarcating the profession's borders. Around this time, professional historians started studying and writing about the first British architectural magazine of any longevity and notable circulation, *The Builder*, and the role its editor George

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24 Ibid., 46.

25 26 May 1948, entitled “One Hundred Years of Type-set Architecture.”

26 Hugh Casson, “100 years of architectural journalism,” *The Builder* (November 6, 1948): 706.

27 James Richards, “Architectural Journalism in the Nineteen-Thirties,” in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London: Penguin, 1968), 252-257; Frank Jenkins, “Nineteenth Century Periodicals,” in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), 153-160; Hugh Casson, “On Architectural Journalism,” in *Concerning Architecture: essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), 258-264.

Godwin played in the production of the architectural profession.<sup>28</sup> These initial forays into the British architectural press uncritically accepted them as transparent recordings of history and innocent reflections of their time that could later be mined for the writing of history.

In a similar vein, and still focusing on the earliest magazines of the 19th century, there were then several doctoral dissertations completed in the 1980s at American universities, all on the topics of either César Daly's *Revue Général de l'Architecture* (acknowledged as the world's first modern architectural periodical of any endurance – see chapter 1) or the early American architectural press.<sup>29</sup> The latest of these by Susan Lichtenstein concentrates on a re-evaluation of early American modern architecture as viewed through the professional magazine *Architectural Record*. Instead of accepting the inherited myth that the US copied its modern architecture from Europe and had no native version, Lichtenstein trawled the early periodical in order to find and re-establish previously silenced voices. She is mindful of the fact that the writing of architectural criticism before the Second World War, in tandem with the construct that was the modern movement in architecture, quickly became history itself, as the criticism and architecture were propagandised as more than just architecture, but a cause – something echoed by Richards' contribution to the Pevsner *Festschrift*.<sup>30</sup>

Authors like Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Nicholas [sic] Pevsner, Siegfried Giedion, W.C. Behrendt and J.M. Richards promoted the 'new architecture' as the product of historical process, the natural and true expression of modern society which must not be denied. By disguising criticism as history they at once justified it as the only

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28 For example, see Anthony King, "Another Blow for Life: George Godwin and the Reform of Working-Class Housing," *Architectural Review*, December 1964; Anthony King, "Architectural Journalism and the Profession: The Early Years of George Godwin," *Architectural History* 19 (1976): 32-53; Jenkins, "Nineteenth Century Periodicals."

29 Robert Vincent Prestiano, "The Inland Architect: a study of contents, influence and significance of Chicago's major late nineteenth-century architectural periodical" (dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973); Richard Becherer, "Between Science and Sentiment: César Daly and the formulation of modern architectural theory" (Doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1980); Ann Lorenz van Zanten, "César Daly and the *Revue Générale de l'Architecture*" (Doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1981); Susan Doubilet, "A Critical Survey of the *Architectural Record* 1891-1938, and the American Architectural Periodicals it Absorbed, 1876-1938" (Doctoral thesis, Columbia, 1981); Daniel Platt Gregory, "Magazine Modern: A Study of the American Architectural Press, 1919-1930" (Doctoral thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1982); Mary Woods, "The American Architect and Building News, 1876-1907" (Doctoral thesis, Columbia, 1983); Susan Lichtenstein, "Editing Architecture: *Architectural Record* and the Growth of Modern Architecture, 1928-1938" (Doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1990).

30 Richards, "Architectural Journalism in the Nineteen-Thirties," 252.

true expression of 'the spirit of the age' and elevated its European practitioners to the status of heroes [sic]. They also proposed that it was backed by a unified body of theory and practice, a myth that was reinforced [...] by the revisionists of the 1960's and 70's who needed a coherent ideology against which to react.<sup>31</sup>

Lichtenstein goes on to comment that "The mythology of modernism created by the first apologists was carried forward after World War II as history,"<sup>32</sup> criticising historians of the modern period for being complicit in this mythology and mystification that became embedded in and identified with the profession of architecture. Her suggested remedy is for contemporary historians to "peel away the layers of myth to get a clearer view of events, personalities and attitudes held by architects in these years."<sup>33</sup> So she is using the magazine as a repository of architectural events from the decade before the war in the belief that the magazine provided a more faithful reading of what architects and critics were actually thinking at the time than subsequent histories have acknowledged and allowed for. The magazine is therefore still considered a transparent and faithful medium of architectural discourse.

Daniel Gregory's thesis studies a similar period in the emergence of modern architecture in America through the professional and popular press and claims that the architectural press laid the groundwork for the acceptance of the new style in America. He claims that "Architectural journals often actually taught architecture in the '20s."<sup>34</sup> They did so primarily through "publishing photographs of buildings [...] considered commendable" alongside architectural judgement, or criticism, for architects to develop their sense of taste. Gregory therefore positioned the architectural magazine as an educational tool for architects at a time when formal education was in its earliest days. This contrasts with the very earliest periodicals such as *The Architect* (described in chapter 1) whose stated aim was to educate and improve the lay person's taste. Like Lichtenstein, Gregory aligns the opinions of the magazines directly with those of the editors, whose "conscious inattention to contrary points of view"<sup>35</sup> he claims are the primary cause of the delay in appropriation of modern architecture in America. In contrast, a Bourdieuean analysis would see the editor's role in the context of the entire field of architecture, rather than magnifying individuals' responsibility. Both Gregory's and Lichtenstein's dissertations reveal the extent to which the early periodicals were eager to contribute not only to the development of the architectural profession in their respective regions, but also to the development of a new architectural style that more appropriately

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31 Lichtenstein, "Editing Architecture," 4.

32 Ibid., 5.

33 Ibid., 7.

34 Gregory, "Magazine Modern," 9.

35 Ibid., 2.

reflected either that region, or the “spirit of the age”. Mary Woods' dissertation on the *American Architect and Building News* demonstrates similar tendencies, showing that the establishment of this particularly influential American periodical coincided with that of the structuring of the profession and the organisation of its education and the “forming of public opinion”. In this way, like the other dissertations of this period, Woods believes that the architectural magazine not only reflects the architectural discourse and culture of the time, but also simultaneously directs it.

César Daly's *Revue Générale de l'Architecture* formed the basis of several Ph.D. studies both in the US and France. Lipstadt notes that the *Revue* was a popular choice for research not because it was the first French architectural magazine (which it wasn't), nor because it was the first to put primacy on the image over the text (which it was), but because Daly was the first editor “to both realize and sustain – for forty-eight years – the production of a fully illustrated architectural magazine.”<sup>36</sup> Like Godwin's relationship to *The Builder*, the editor Daly is as much an object of concern as the magazine he edited in these studies. Becherer's thesis is actually more a biography of the man than the magazine and uses him as an example of a genius of “history-making qualities”<sup>37</sup> and his magazine as an example of his architectural theory that illustrates his positivist epistemology. In contrast, according to Bouvier, Marc Saboya's 1987 dissertation on the *Revue*<sup>38</sup> proved once and for all that the architectural magazine was a valid source for the comprehension of architectural history: “L'importance des revues d'architecture pour la connaissance de l'histoire de l'architecture du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle n'est plus à démontrer.”<sup>39</sup> (“The importance of architectural magazines for the understanding of the history of 19th century architecture needs no further proof.”<sup>40</sup>) However, Jannièrè and Vanlaethem note that although he claims that the magazine should be seen as an object of study, or a “monument” in its own right, it still “did not really extricate itself from the type of event-driven history that continues to see the magazine essentially as a 'reflection' or 'witness

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36 Hélène Lipstadt, “The building and the book in César Daly's *Revue Générale de l'Architecture*,” in *Architectureproduction*, ed. Beatriz Colomina and Joan Ockman (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 25.

37 Richard Becherer, *Between Science and Sentiment: César Daly and the formulation of modern architectural theory*, Studies in the Fine Arts: Architecture 7 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1984), xxxi.

38 Published as Marc Saboya, *Presse et Architecture au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle: César Daly et la Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics* (Paris: Picard, 1991).

39 Béatrice Bouvier, *L'édition d'architecture à Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: les maisons Bance et Morel et la presse architecturale* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), 1.

40 My translation.

of its time,' and was actually in the same tradition as the early studies of the 1970s."<sup>41</sup> It would seem, according to Bouvier, that Saboya's student, Delphine Costedoat, who researched *La Gazette des Architectes et du Bâtiment* takes the same approach, although looking more at the theory and construction methods of the time rather than the ideas and discourse.

Hélène Lipstadt's 1979 doctoral research also looked at the duality of César Daly and his *Revue Générale* in the context of the wider architectural press.<sup>42</sup> It is no coincidence that the same Lipstadt has done so much work recently on applying Bourdieu's theories to the field of architecture – as she acknowledged herself, it was Bourdieu that led her to study French 19th century architectural magazines in the first place.<sup>43</sup> Lipstadt's thesis examined the social history of the earliest art, architectural and civil engineering publications in France, constructing an extensive bibliography in the process.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, however, it established a "theoretical model of the architectural press' as a social institution"<sup>45</sup> by basing the analysis on the sociology of Bourdieu and claiming that magazines "acted as authorities of 'distinction' for architects"<sup>46</sup> through the bestowal of symbolic power and it was this that distinguished them from engineers. This work has not been expanded upon since its completion, nor applied to other regions or magazines. In addition, although his key ideas on symbolic capital were in place at the time of this thesis, Bourdieu continued to publish relevant work since its completion, notably his most famous work, *Distinction*, and a number of essays compiled in the English language *The Field of Cultural Production* that my research draws on. Lipstadt's thesis was genuinely ground-breaking, not only because it was among the first to investigate

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41 Janniere and Vanlaethem, "Architectural Magazines as Historical Source or Object? A Methodological Essay," 47.

42 Hélène Lipstadt, "Pour une Histoire Sociale de la Presse Architecturale: la Revue Générale de l'Architecture et César Daly (1840-1888)" (Doctoral thesis, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1979).

43 Hélène Lipstadt, "Sociology: Bourdieu's Bequest," *Journal of The Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 4 (December 2005): 435.

44 Published as Bertrand Lemoine and Hélène Lipstadt, *Catalogue raisonné des revues d'architecture et de construction en France, 1800-1914* (Paris: Centre d'Études et de Documentation sur l'Architecture Métallique, 1985) This was a French response to the pioneering German catalogue by Fuhlrott several years earlier; Rolf Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften: Entstehung und Entwicklung der Fachzeitschriften für Architektur in der Zeit von 1789-1918* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1975).

45 Janniere and Vanlaethem, "Architectural Magazines as Historical Source or Object? A Methodological Essay," 48.

46 Ibid.

the architectural press, but because it remains unique in its methodology that views the press as an authority for social validation. My research undertakes to build upon this crucial insight. Lipstadt's work since her thesis, in the application of Bourdieu's framework to other areas of the field of architecture, most notably the competition, has already been covered in the chapters above.

The Spanish speaking world has also produced a cluster of research on Spanish language architectural magazines since the 1990s. Eva Hurtado Torán's Ph.D. dissertation, entitled "Las Publicaciones Periódicas de Arquitectura: España 1897-1937"<sup>47</sup> ("Architectural Periodicals: Spain 1897-1937"), is an invaluable and exhaustive survey of avant-garde and professional architectural magazines of Spain during this period. They are contextualised alongside other global architectural, literary and art periodicals and within a history of the emergence of modern architecture. Hurtado Torán investigates the parallel emergence of modern architecture through the avant-garde and its dissemination through the architectural periodical and concludes, like Colomina previously, that the two are inextricably linked – the magazine is how the International Style became truly international:

La arquitectura de la vanguardia aparece y se desarrolla indisolublemente unida a la evolución de los medios impresos de permeabilidad inevitable, económicos y frecuentes, fáciles de enviar y de coleccionar, que son las revistas, y al fenómeno sin precedentes de la propaganda y de los mass media.

[Avant-garde architecture appears and develops, inextricably cojoined with the evolution of print media's inevitable permeability, and with the magazines' ability to be cheaply, frequently and easily sent and collected, as well as with the unprecedented phenomenon of propaganda and of mass media.]<sup>48</sup>

She goes further, however, in linking the history of the architectural magazine to the history of modern architecture:

Las relaciones entre las revistas, los grupos que las soportan, sus intercambios, coincidencias y mimetismos, sus evoluciones y las de sus lectores, lo que publican o silencian, son las componentes de un entramado en el que las posibilidades de comparación proveen de un contexto ideológico a los textos de arquitectura y

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47 Eva Hurtado Torán, "Las Publicaciones Periódicas de Arquitectura: España 1897-1937" (Doctoral thesis, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2001).

48 Ibid., 2 (my translation).

permiten establecer un paralelismo entre la historia de las revistas de arquitectura y la propia arquitectura.

[The relationship between journals, the groups that support them, their exchanges, overlaps and imitations, their evolution and that of their readers, that which they publish or silence, are components of a framework in which comparative possibilities provide an ideological context to the architectural texts and allow the establishment of a parallel between the history of architectural magazines and that of architecture itself.]<sup>49</sup>

Like Lichtenstein above, Hurtado Torán argues that the magazines effectively construct a myth (ficción) of architecture<sup>50</sup> and one of her more interesting conclusions is that the photographic representations therein produce a symbolic value over and above the use value of the building.<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, among the British magazines, she regards the *Architectural Review* highly, but dismisses *AD* in only a passing mention, alongside Crosby's *Uppercase* and *Living Arts*.<sup>52</sup>

Surveys of the field of architectural magazines are surprisingly rare, although Latin America was covered in a 2001 publication,<sup>53</sup> which has unfortunately proved impossible to get hold of, Candelaria Alarcón Reyero's "La Arquitectura en España a través de las Revistas de Arquitectura, 1950-70. El caso de Hogar y Arquitectura"<sup>54</sup> ("Architecture in Spain Through Architectural Magazines, 1950-70. A case study of *Hogar y Arquitectura*") sketches the architectural debate that occurred in international architectural magazines in the 1950s and 1960s and then attempts to highlight the important role played by magazines around the world in the dissemination of contemporary Spanish architecture, focusing specifically on the magazine, *Hogar y Arquitectura (Home and Architecture)*.<sup>55</sup> Alarcón Reyero's research is less of a survey than Hurtado Torán's and more of an investigation into the dissemination of Spanish architecture abroad and the magazine's role as disseminator. Jose Carlos San-

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49 Ibid., 3 (my translation).

50 Ibid., 491.

51 Ibid., 493.

52 Ibid., 485.

53 Ramón Gutiérrez, Patricia Méndez, and Florencia Barcina, eds., *Revistas de Arquitectura de América Latina, 1900-2000* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Nueva Escuela de Arquitectura, Universidad Politécnica de Puerto Rico, 2001).

54 Candelaria Alarcón Reyero, "La Arquitectura en España a través de las Revistas de Arquitectura, 1950-70. El caso de Hogar y Arquitectura" (Doctoral thesis, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2000).

55 Published in Madrid from 1955 to 1978, hence largely during Franco's regime.

Antonio Gomez's 1992 thesis "La Revista Arquitectura: 1918-1936"<sup>56</sup> ("The Magazine *Arquitectura*: 1918-1936") is again a partial monograph of the magazine *Arquitectura*, the official publication of the Madrid College of Architects. Its main focus is the ideology and discourse that generated Spanish architecture before the Spanish Civil War<sup>57</sup> and the underlying belief, therefore, is that this ideology is extant and discoverable in the magazine and truly represented by it.

The only in-depth monograph of a British architectural magazine is Erdem Erten's Ph.D., "Shaping 'The Second Half Century': The Architectural Review, 1947-1971"<sup>58</sup> which investigates the magazine's campaigning potential through a critical analysis of its contributors and their cultural ideals as expressed both in the magazine and their other writings. It is not so much a history of the magazine as the history of the idea of Townscape as refracted through the *AR* at this time, alongside its cultural context. Nevertheless, it forms an excellent counterpoint to my study.

All the above studies use the architectural magazine as a source of architectural history and with the exception of Lipstadt's, they all analyse their respective magazines through "a theoretically neutral reading of the texts"<sup>59</sup> in order to extricate one or more of the following characteristics:

- the development of the profession of architecture (Gregory, Woods, Jannièrè);
- the development of architectural education or cultivation of taste (Gregory, Woods);
- the demand for and development of a new style (Gregory, Gómez, Jannièrè, Lichtenstein, Toran);
- the underlying discourse or ideologies (Becherer, Erten);
- the development or dissemination of a region's own architectural character (Gregory, Gómez, Jannièrè, Alarcón Reyeró, Lichtenstein).

Other, related analyses of art or design magazines have taken different approaches to content analysis, considering the architectural magazine is a valid and useful object of study in several distinct ways:

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56 Jose Carlos San-Antonio Gomez, "La Revista Arquitectura: 1918-1936" (Universidad de Navarra, 1992).

57 1936 – 1939.

58 Erdem Erten, "Shaping 'The Second Half Century': The Architectural Review, 1947-1971" (Doctoral thesis, MIT, 2004).

59 Jannièrè and Vanlaethem, "Architectural Magazines as Historical Source or Object? A Methodological Essay," 46.

- as a collective cultural product;
- as a transmitter of architectural knowledge and ideas (a site for exchange);
- as an object of design in its own right;
- as a site for architectural production itself.

Alex Seago's study of the Royal College of Art's in-house *ARK*, for example, used the contents of the magazine to trace the emergence of a particular idea – Seago explicitly states at the beginning that he was “inspired by the desire to understand and discover the origins of postmodern culture in Britain.”<sup>60</sup> Rick Poynor's research on *Typographica*,<sup>61</sup> on the other hand, treats the magazine as an object of design in its own right, and analyses this design rather than its textual content. Poynor hoped that the study of this particular magazine, which is more a history of the magazine and editor-proprietor than an analysis of its content, would itself contribute to the new area of the wider history of graphic design as *Typographica* had itself been a kind of object of research dissemination for its editor, Herbert Spencer, that would be highly influential on typography while it lasted.<sup>62</sup> In contrast, Gwen Allen's survey of predominantly North American art magazines of the 1960s and 1970s instead focuses on the potential of the magazine as a “new site of artistic practice, functioning as an alternative exhibition space” where artists “began to explore [the magazine] as a medium in its own right, creating works expressly for the mass-produced page.”<sup>63</sup> There are yet other approaches to dividing the architectural magazine for analysis, several of which were exhibited at the 2004 IRHA colloquium. For example, among others, Juliana Maxim looks at photography in the Romanian magazine *Arhitectura* in order to “reverse the pattern of inference that goes from context to artistic form, into one that goes from form towards historical and political signification.”<sup>64</sup> John Schlinke analyses the business context of the *Architectural Forum*<sup>65</sup> and the contrast between the editorial content and the advertising,

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60 Alex Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things: The Development of a Postmodern Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1.

61 Rick Poynor, *Typographica* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001).

62 From 1949 to 1967.

63 Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 1.

64 Juliana Maxim, “Socialism through the Looking Glass: The Use of Photography in *Arhitectura*, 1959-1965,” in *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: towards a factual, intellectual and material history / Revues d'Architecture dans les Années 1960 et 1970: fragments d'une histoire événementielle, intellectuelle et matérielle*, ed. Alexis Sornin, Hélène Janniere, and France Vanlaethem, Bilingual. (Montreal: ABC Art Books Canada Distribution, 2008), 119.

65 John T. Schlinke, “Architectural Forum: Mixed Messages in the 1960s and 1970s,” in *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: towards a factual, intellectual and material history / Revues*

showing that the former took no account of the latter – and even contradicted it – and that this was the main reason for it going out of business. This study includes rare (in fact, unique in these studies) objective content diagrams of page layouts (advertising and editorial space) as well as hard figures on the number of editorial and advertising pages and, where available, circulation figures and back-office narrative. Louis Martin then discusses the background to the theoretical magazine *Oppositions* and outlines the network of people and circumstances involved in its conception and birth.<sup>66</sup>

The rare topic of academic journals rather than professional or little magazines is addressed in Christopher Greig Crysler's *Writing Spaces* where he researches five American journals from the academic world of architecture, planning and geography<sup>67</sup> in order to investigate "the way texts define disciplines and their practices."<sup>68</sup> He does this by briefly surveying their history and highlighting key trends and editorial lines. Each journal is taken as a space of knowledge creation and transmission, and a collective institutional product, asking of them what their unspoken, underlying assumptions are, and what they can reveal of their institutional structures. For example, he reads the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* as "allegories of professional identity [...] where the 'architect' is discursively produced and transmitted."<sup>69</sup> He ultimately criticises all the journals he looks at for becoming inward-looking institutions in their own right, something that theoretical journals are particularly susceptible to.

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*d'Architecture dans les Années 1960 et 1970: fragments d'une histoire événementielle, intellectuelle et matérielle*, ed. Alexis Sornin, Hélène Janniere, and France Vanlaethem, Bilingual. (Montreal: ABC Art Books Canada Distribution, 2008), 123-144.

66 Louis Martin, "Notes on the Origins of *Oppositions*," in *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: towards a factual, intellectual and material history / Revues d'Architecture dans les Années 1960 et 1970: fragments d'une histoire événementielle, intellectuelle et matérielle*, ed. Alexis Sornin, Hélène Janniere, and France Vanlaethem, Bilingual. (Montreal: ABC Art Books Canada Distribution, 2008), 147-169.

67 The journals are: The *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*; *Assemblage. A Critical Journal of Architecture and Design Culture*; the *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*; the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*; and *Environment and Planning D. Society and Space*. Mitchell Schwarzer, "History and Theory In Architectural Periodicals," *Journal of The Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 342-348 also addresses the academic journals *Oppositions* and *Assemblage*.

68 C. Greig Crysler, *Writing Spaces: Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism and the Built Environment*, The Architext Series (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 1.

69 *Ibid.*, 201.

## Architectural Little Magazines

As well as academic journals and professional magazines, architectural magazines can also be grouped or divided in several ways, such as: by period or chronology; by geography; as a theoretical magazine; as an art magazine, or as an avant-garde “little” magazine. The term “little magazine” is adopted from the genre of early twentieth century literary magazines “that took as their mission the publication of art, literature, and social theory by progressive writers.”<sup>70</sup> This sort of magazine is closely associated with the avant-garde and as such demonstrates a freedom of editorial control for the editors, as they are not worried about alienating advertisers. The principal characteristics of little magazines are that they tend to be printed in limited runs, circulated to a select audience, feel no obligation to appear regularly, have a short life, are “led by one guiding spirit, trying to make one point, [...] are hand-made and usually ill-kempt in appearance, but with a certain flair”<sup>71</sup> and are published with little or no regard for commercial gain. Poggioli has noted that avant-garde groups tend to congregate around periodicals, whether their own, or adopted. He writes, “The triumph of mass journalism is precisely what motivates and justifies the existence of the avant-garde review, which represents a reaction, as natural as it is necessary, to the spread of culture out to (or down to) the vulgar.”<sup>72</sup> Periodicals actually define groups and movements, as Heller notes, “Movements are formed around a core – an idea, ideal, or ideology – and avant-garde publications serve as rallying points that reflect, through word and picture, the principles on which the respective movements are founded.”<sup>73</sup> Heller, in fact, goes further in suggesting that “Without paper there could, arguably, be no avant-garde, but without an avant-garde, paper would be less volatile.”<sup>74</sup> Architecture is no exception and with the birth of modernist ideas came modernist periodicals such as *G* (1923-26) and *Bauhaus* (1928-1933) in Germany, *Sovremenniaia Arkhitektura* (1926-30), *Lef* (1923-25) and *Veshch'* (1922) in Russia, *Wendingen* (1918-31) and *de Stijl* (1917-31) in Holland, *l'Esprit Nouveau* (1920-25) in France and all the Futurist periodicals (*Lacerba* (1913-15), *Noi* (1917-20 & 1923-25) etc) in Italy. Beatriz Colomina goes even further with respect to architectural avant-garde publications, saying that the history of the avant-garde in art and architecture is intertwined with that of its publication: “Futurismo didn't exist before the publication of the manifesto in *Le Figaro* in France, Le Corbusier did not exist before *l'Esprit Nouveau* magazine in 1920-1925. It's not

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70 Colomina and Buckley, *Clip, Stamp, Fold*, 8.

71 Denise Scott Brown, “Little Magazines in Architecture and Urbanism,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 34, no. 4 (July 1, 1968): 223.

72 Renato Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-garde* (Harvard University Press, 1968), 23.

73 Steven Heller, *Merz to Emigre and Beyond: Avant-Garde Magazine Design of the Twentieth Century* (Phaidon Press, 2003), 6.

74 Ibid.

only that he became known as an architect and developed a clientèle through this magazine, the very name Le Corbusier did not exist before the publication.”<sup>75</sup> As Colomina's exhibition, *Clip/Stamp/Fold*,<sup>76</sup> recently demonstrated, this tradition of little magazines in architecture was stronger than ever in the 1960s and '70s. *AD* itself was included in this exhibition as although it was traditionally a commercial “business-to-business” magazine, it enjoyed a brief moment of “littleness”.<sup>77</sup>

This phenomenon of architectural little magazines did not go unnoticed at the time by architecture's keenest commentators. Between 1966 and 1972, Reyner Banham and Denise Scott Brown wrote about them, they appeared in *AAQ*,<sup>78</sup> and even *AD* itself surveyed a handful in Middleton's last ever issue as technical editor.<sup>79</sup> Discussing the British student 'zines *Clip-Kit*, *Megascope* and *Archigram*, Banham noted that “The greatest value of the Opping-Popping mags is their insistence that even 'designing up to the minute' is barely good enough.”<sup>80</sup> For him, they were sites of up-to-the-minute architectural production, whereas buildings were out of date by the time they had been realised. Scott Brown similarly points out that “little magazines [...] are an excellent weather vane for new trends in a profession and an indicator of what may be expected from the rank and file in some years' time.”<sup>81</sup> Considering they were both writing about essentially the same magazines and issues, Scott Brown's dour piece contrasts strongly with Banham's up-beat vivacity and she takes them too literally as intentions to build rather than architectural productions of visionary ideas. The “radical architecture” of the sixties and seventies was more about exploring ideas of what architecture could be than making buildings: indeed, it was at this time, in these very magazines, that architectural culture's shift from focusing on the material (buildings) to the immaterial (ideas and theory) occurred. A combination of cheaper and easier magazine production methods and a growing disillusionment with mainstream modernism meant that the sixties and seventies were particularly vulnerable to little magazine production. Particularly across Europe and the US groups were experimenting with ideas in print, venting frustrations at the previous generation and laying the foundations for future architectural careers whose influences are still

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75 Beatriz Colomina, “Little AD” (presented at the 80 Years of AD (1930-2010), R.I.B.A., London, June 29, 2010).

76 Colomina and Buckley, *Clip, Stamp, Fold*.

77 See chapter 5.

78 Neil Steedman, “Student Magazines in British Architectural Schools,” *Architectural Association Quarterly*, Summer 1971 This was a survey of 'zines from architectural schools and attempted to find trends from *Focus* to *Archigram*.

79 Chris Holmes, “Small Mags,” *Architectural Design*, September 1972.

80 Banham, “Zoom wave hits architecture,” 21.

81 Scott Brown, “Little Magazines in Architecture and Urbanism,” 223.

being felt. They were all reading each other's publications, which became an influential communication network for architectural ideas. *Archigram*, the best known of these little magazines, best represented this aspect, its name even being derived from the words "architecture" and "telegram". Andrew Higgott explains that the Archigram group invented a new way of working for the professional architect, "solely validated by the media which they themselves had generated."<sup>82</sup> Perhaps because of this, their ongoing notoriety, and ability for self-promotion, the *Archigram* 'zine and group has been the subject of innumerable articles, a couple of monograph studies<sup>83</sup> and an archival project, led by Kester Rattenbury, that digitises the group's entire work on the internet.<sup>84</sup>

Little magazines, then, are quite distinct in nature from theoretical and professional architectural magazines and hold an important place in the history of architectural magazines because of their association with the avant-garde and new, or iconoclastic ideas, often signalling the shape of things to come. *Architectural Design* is rare in that during Monica Pidgeon's editorship, it continually published the avant-garde while remaining a professional publication. However, with the introduction of Robin Middleton it actually became a little magazine in October 1970, when it expelled adverts and became funded through the "book economy" model of magazine sales alone in order to achieve editorial autonomy.<sup>85</sup>

#### Previous studies on AD

*Architectural Design* marked its 70th anniversary in 2000 with a series of reminiscences by former editors and contributors (including Jencks but excluding Middleton; Crosby had already died by that time).<sup>86</sup> These reminiscences are uncritical and celebratory in tone and offer an

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82 Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007), 13.

83 Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001); See also Hadas Steiner, *Beyond Archigram: The structure of circulation* (London: Routledge, 2009).

84 "The Archigram Archival Project," *The Archigram Archival Project*, September 3, 2011, <http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/>.

85 This will be discussed in chapters 5 and 8.

86 Jan Stratford, "The Ideas Circus: An Overview of Architectural Design, 1930-1977," *Architectural Design*, April 2000; Kenneth Frampton, "AD in the 60s: A Memoir," *Architectural Design*, June 2000; Peter Murray, "Zoom! Whizz! Pow!," *Architectural Design*, August 2000; Haig Beck, "Being There," *Architectural Design*, October 2000; Helen Castle, "A Critical Contribution: 1977-2000, Charles Jencks and AD," *Architectural Design*, December 2000; Helen Castle, "Toy Story: Interview with Maggie Toy," *Architectural Design*, February 2001; Monica Pidgeon, "AD Remembered: 1941-75," *Architectural Design*, April 2001.

orientation to the post-war history of the magazine, but are full of inaccuracies and misrememberings.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, Hardingham later covered the phenomenon of Cosmorama in a 1970s retrospective in a similar manner.<sup>88</sup> There have additionally been several analyses on *AD* outside of the magazine itself.

McCrudden and Witts's study focuses on the Papadakis years of the 1970s and '80s.<sup>89</sup> They divide architectural magazines into two types: the "reporting journals", such as the *AJ*, *BD*, and *RIBA J* which concentrate mainly on the profession and news in the UK; and "representative journals" such as the *AR* and *AD* which have a wider international audience and "broadcast an architectural agenda, paying closer attention to defining the current architectural epoch or discovering where its future may lie."<sup>90</sup> The fact that the journals themselves often *define* the future is ignored, although the relationship between the two types is described as the representative journals publishing the avant-garde that later appears in the reporting journals as the norm. McCrudden and Witts identify seven factors that influence an architectural magazine: reputation, publisher, content, market, style, editor's background and contributors. They then write a very brief history of *AD* from 1973-1993 according to these seven factors, largely through interviews with the three editors, and including data on circulation, but with no content analysis or critical context.

Christine Boyer compared and contrasted the *AR* and *AD* between 1945 and 1960, looking specifically at the Townscape campaign in the former, the New Brutalists in the latter and the response towards America (and thus mass culture) of each.<sup>91</sup> She included brief sketch histories of the magazines and their key contributors as well as their editorial lines and treated

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87 Jan Stratford, who wrote the overview of the *AD* reminiscences, wrote a dissertation on *AD* at Sheffield University under Prof. Blundell Jones in 1999 under her maiden name of Janette Henson. Unfortunately, there is no trace of this dissertation at the school of architecture. Monica Pidgeon's archive shows that Henson interviewed Pidgeon on 27 April 1998, 5 June 1998 and 13 August 1998 (as well as Cedric Price on 21 September 1998 and Peter Murray on the same day). Stratford has been unable to find these interview transcripts and dissertation.

88 Samantha Hardingham, "A Memory of Possibilities," *Architectural Design*, April 2005.

89 Ryan McCrudden and Mat Witts, "Editors - Architectural Design in the 1970s and 1980s," in *An Architect's Guide to Fame: A Collection of essays on why they got famous and you didn't*, ed. Paul Davies and Torsten Schmiedeknecht (London: Architectural Press, 2005), 179-198.

90 *Ibid.*, 180.

91 Christine Boyer, "An Encounter with History: the postwar debate between the English Journals of Architectural Review and Architectural Design (1945-1960)," in *Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday* (presented at the Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2003), 135-163,  
<http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/boyer.pdf>.

the construction of architectural discourse as a debate, or even a “war”, between the two magazines and their respective protagonists. In this way, the magazines are considered sites for constructing architectural culture (a collective cultural product) that can be read as the trace of their respective ideologies, with reference to their historical and cultural context. Richard Williams’ paper, *Representing Architecture: The British Architectural Press in the 1960s*, similarly treats architectural magazines as a collective cultural product and compares photographic representations of buildings in the *ABN*, *AR*, and *AD* in the late 1960s in the conviction that “most histories of architectural representation are histories of photography or, more accurately, photographers.”<sup>92</sup> Although such an obviously crucial part of the architectural magazine, studies of its photography are rare and my thesis does not intend to improve the situation.

Inderbir Singh Riar looks at *AD*’s relationship with American culture during the first years of Middleton’s tenure,<sup>93</sup> noting the absence of an editorial policy.<sup>94</sup> Singh Riar notes Peter Smithson’s distinction between architecture which is designed and that which is assembled from objects available in catalogues and claims that it is the latter that appears as the elusive *architecture autre*. Singh Riar then summarises Smithson’s piece as saying that “American architects were exemplary at creating the rules but not their exceptions.”<sup>95</sup> The gradual shift in editorial policy as Middleton starts including “extra-architectural precedents”<sup>96</sup> and directing the magazine away from visible hardware to more invisible software is noted. Singh Riar essentially scans the magazine from the year 1965 to 1969 and takes any piece related to American culture for analysis, including Peter Smithson’s and Warren Chalk’s impressions, the Eameses, John McHale, Venturi Scott Brown and Tom Wolfe. The themes of technology, flexibility and mobility are extracted on the way, demonstrating how American culture became influential through its imagery of a technological autopia that promised complete freedom. The magazine therefore represents a slice of the larger world of architectural discourse and this provides the basis for a critical contextualisation, although without broaching a conclusion.

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92 Richard Williams, “Representing Architecture: The British Architectural Press in the 1960s,” *Journal of Design History* 9, no. 4 (1996): 285.

93 Inderbir Singh Riar, “‘The Fountain of Technological Culture’: Architectural Design and American Culture, 1965-1969,” in *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: towards a factual, intellectual and material history / Revues d’Architecture dans les Années 1960 et 1970: fragments d’une histoire événementielle, intellectuelle et matérielle*, ed. Alexis Sornin, Hélène Janniere, and France Vanlaethem, Bilingual. (Montreal: ABC Art Books Canada Distribution, 2008), 197-220.

94 There was actually a drafted policy which is discussed in chapter 5.

95 Singh Riar, “‘The Fountain of Technological Culture’: Architectural Design and American Culture, 1965-1969,” 203.

96 Ibid.

Singh Riar's is one of the most detailed and focused critical accounts of *AD* yet written.

Other focused studies include those by Lydia Kallipoliti, who defended her Ph.D. on the emerging ecological concerns during the 1960s and '70s and how they proliferated in the context of "little" publications, which included a chapter on *AD* and its *Cosmorama* and *Recycling* pages. Kallipoliti has produced several papers from this work in relation to *AD* during Middleton's period.<sup>97</sup> These focus on *Cosmorama* and the idea of "Materials off the Catalogue", by which Kallipoliti means the type of object, idea or process espoused by *Cosmorama* that merged the product material with its process of production. These materials, in contradistinction to the usual catalogued products that the Standard Catalogue Company was peddling in *AD*'s sister publications, represented a new type of "anti-building" that "entailed a short-lived subversion of the belief in representation as an exclusive mode of spatial production, putting forward an agenda of 'direct making' before one is in command of formal intent."<sup>98</sup> Such materials and direct, bottom-up action, it was hoped, could help ameliorate social problems and possibly make the architect unnecessary. Kallipoliti also makes a strong link between the experimental production of the magazine as it turned "little" and the experimental nature of the materials and ideas it was promoting, which is a general characteristic of Colomina's Clip/Stamp/Fold group at Princeton where Kallipoliti became the *AD* expert. Clip/Stamp/Fold includes several issues of *AD*, even outside of its "little" period, but relies on description and contextualisation through situating them among many other little magazines of the period.

Finally, *AD* of the 1960s shares a chapter with *Archigram* in Higgott's *Mediating Modernism*.<sup>99</sup> Higgott presents a brief survey of the most important issues of *AD* during the Middleton years (1965-72), highlighting key contributors, protagonists and ideas raised. As such, it acts as a primer or orientation for further research. Higgott identifies that in *Archigram* and *AD* of this time, the general trend for architecture to move away from the specifics of the 1950s ideas of the New Brutalism and New Humanism, and towards more flexibility. As he writes, "The central change of the 1960s was [...] the shift of the central concern of architecture from object to subject. In other words, it was possible to shift from the making of architecture in a physical sense to defining the role of architecture as fulfilling a purpose in relation to the human

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97 Lydia Kallipoliti, "Materials off the Catalogue," *Thresholds*, no. 31 (2006): 8-16; Lydia Kallipoliti, "At Least the Pigs Can't Stop you Reading *AD* at Home: *AD*'s *Cosmorama* and the reinvention of cataloguing (1965 – 1973)" (presented at the Little Magazines Now and Then, Princeton University, 2007); Lydia Kallipoliti, "The Soft Cosmos of *AD*'s 'Cosmorama' in the 1960s and 1970s," *Architectural Design*, December 2010.

98 Kallipoliti, "Materials off the Catalogue," 15.

99 Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain*, chap. The Opposite of Architecture.

being.”<sup>100</sup> The whole book is a history of modern architecture narrated through a series of publications, conveniently divided into decades. Indeed, he introduces the book as a “history of British modern architecture [...] not about buildings but about publications.”<sup>101</sup> As such, he looks at the ideas and discourses that were being discussed at the time, and takes the journals (among other publications) as records of them with the caveat, “This is not to say that buildings are simply the embodiment of prevailing ideas. But, rather, that the context of ideology provides the field from which the building emerges, and publications may determine just how architecture is understood and also shape architects’ actions as designers.”<sup>102</sup> Like Tafuri, Higgott states that “architecture is always the fulfilment of particular ideologies”,<sup>103</sup> but he goes further claiming that “The reality of architecture portrayed in professional journals and books does not come unfiltered, but is edited, framed and presented in such a way that it is transformed. It *becomes* the architecture: the book or journal constructs a reality rather than representing it.” This important point, missing from the studies mentioned so far, means that the architectural magazine is considered a site of architectural production in its own right. Higgott is therefore building upon the positions of Colomina’s earlier *Privacy and Publicity*, where she claimed that “modern architecture only becomes modern with its engagement with the media.”<sup>104</sup> Earlier, in *Architectureproduction*, Colomina had not quite got to that point, but still noted that “Architecture, as distinct from building, is an interpretative, critical act. It has a linguistic condition different from the practical one of building.”<sup>105</sup> Kester Rattenbury, who has uniquely investigated architecture representations in the mainstream media,<sup>106</sup> shares this view of the construction of architecture through its representation:

‘architecture’ is not just a broad, generic name we use to describe the built or inhabited world. It’s a construction, a way of understanding certain parts of the built or inhabited world as being fundamentally different to other parts. It’s to do with a constructed understanding of quality, class, interpretation, intention, meaning. And this seems to be not just conveyed but actually defined by this complex system of

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100 Ibid., 149.

101 Ibid., 1.

102 Ibid., 16.

103 Ibid., 6; See Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1976) for a full discussion on architecture and ideology.

104 Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996), 14.

105 Beatriz Colomina and Joan Ockman, eds., *Architectureproduction* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 7.

106 Kester Rattenbury, “Architecture in the Mass Media” (Doctoral thesis, Oxford Brookes, 1990).

media representations, by an elaborate construct of drawings, photographs, newspaper articles, lectures, books, films, conferences and theoretical books whose subject matter is often (albeit inadvertently) the representations rather than the things themselves [...] There's a strong argument, probably even a historical one, that architecture – as distinct from building – is always that which is represented, and particularly that which is represented in the media aimed at architects.<sup>107</sup>

These latter studies of Higgott, Colomina, Rattenbury and to a certain extent, Kallipoliti, treat architectural magazines as sites for architectural production in themselves. Boyer similarly argues that they are sites for the production of architectural culture. It is worth noting that such architectural production would not be possible were it not for the buildings that they represent in one form or another. This aspect of the architectural magazine is not picked up by McCraddon and Witts or Singh Riar but is something that my thesis will build upon.

## Summary

The research into and writing of histories of architectural magazines is a relatively recent phenomenon. Their value has largely been seen as a view onto the period of the time being written about and therefore a resource for the writing of architectural history, and the magazines often see themselves as the provider of this resource. The danger in this is that the writing of history is as dependent on the world-view of the writer and the time it is written, as it is of the time being written about, and this is not generally acknowledged in those studies that have used the magazine as a neutral source of historic material. The magazine can be studied in many different ways and the most common method is the simple history of the magazine itself, especially focusing on the editors, and trying to reveal editorial policies. Other common studies create histories of architecture through a content analysis of the magazine. The unique and ground-breaking study by H el ene Lipstadt from 1979 has never been built upon and offers a real opportunity to consider the magazine in the context of architectural history, within a Bourdieuean framework that separates it from the usual discipline of art history and enables it to be considered anew. This establishes a theoretical framework to help answer the question that motivated my research, "what is the contribution of the architectural magazine to the writing of architectural history?" *AD* is a unique publication, straddling the gap between professional and little magazine, and there have been several short histories of it

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107 Kester Rattenbury, ed., *This is Not Architecture: Media Constructions* (London: Routledge, 2002), xxii.

and its editors, but no in-depth history of the magazine covering all aspects from the business of advertising to the editors' biographies to its contribution to architectural history. I will address this shortcoming for the period 1954-1972. Finally, I acknowledge Colomina's work in highlighting the fact that the magazine can be the site of architectural production in its own right, which underpins the understanding of *AD* towards the end of the period, as it moved into autonomous little magazine mode.



The hope that essentially sane but decidedly frank criticisms on architectural activities, both at home and abroad, will have even occasional effect upon prevailing tendencies is perhaps rather ambitious. Nevertheless, it is a policy which we have dared to adopt and which we intend to keep constantly in sight.<sup>1</sup>

## 4 Background

As “personalities, power and position” are foregrounded in this reading of architectural history, this chapter presents short biographies of all five editors and technical editors of the magazine from its inception in 1930 up to the end of the period of study in 1972. This chapter also contextualises the main period under consideration by offering a chronological development of the magazine from 1930 up to the end of 1953 when Theo Crosby began as technical editor, taken as the beginning of the main critical history in the next chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> Kendall, ‘A Challenge to Mediocrity’, *Architectural Design & Construction*, November 1930, 1.



*Fig. 4.1: Frederic E. Towndrow from AD&C, July 1943, p.133.*

## **Frederic Towndrow**

**11 January 1897 – 8 August 1977**

Frederic Edward Towndrow (later known as “Tony” Towndrow<sup>2</sup>) was born in London. At the age of 16, he won a scholarship to the Central School of Arts and Crafts to study art and architecture and he exhibited at the Royal Academy at the age of 18. He joined the army in 1915 and served in the first world war as an infantry officer on the Somme in France. He claims that this was when he first got to know and love the Australians. After the first world war, he went to India and got caught up in the Afghan war in 1919. On returning to London, he studied architecture at the Bartlett and received his diploma in 1924. He then became the Clerk of Works at the architects' branch office at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley (as assistant to Sir John Simpson, P.P.R.I.B.A., and Mr. Maxwell Ayrton)<sup>3</sup> and then “from 1925 to 1928 was assistant to various architects, including Sir James West who was the chief architect of of His Majesty's Office of Works.”<sup>4</sup> Buildings he worked on included the Law Courts of Northern Ireland, additions to the National Gallery and National Portrait Gallery, and minor additions to Buckingham Palace. Between 1927 and 1933, he set up in private practice, became Assistant Principal at the Regent Street Polytechnic School of Architecture, and was also architectural critic for the Sunday Observer.<sup>5</sup> He published an apologia of modern architecture called *Architecture in the Balance*<sup>6</sup> which advocated a scientific humanist approach to architecture – one that used science for the well being of mankind. This tract argued against individualism, expressionism, aestheticism and academism and discredited art for art's sake as “like a dog chasing its own tail.”<sup>7</sup> The book championed constructivism as an early functional modernism that contributed to society and ended with his belief that “great

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2 He was known as “Tony” Towndrow because, according to his daughter, “as an officer in the 1st World War he was nick-named ‘Towny’ which became corrupted to Tony which he liked so he added Antony to his names. Thus his initials spelled FEAT!” Jenny Wilson to Steve Parnell, “Tony Towndrow & AD”, July 21, 2010; His later interview with Hazel de berg actually starts, “This is Professor F.E.A. Towndrow speaking.” Frederick Edward Towndrow, “An interview with F.E. Towndrow (1897-1977),” interview by Hazel de Berg, Tape, June 25, 1964, National Library of Australia Oral History and Folklore.

3 Monica Pidgeon and Barbara Randell, “Controller of Experimental Building Development,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, July 1943, 133.

4 Towndrow, “An interview with F.E. Towndrow (1897-1977),” 2.

5 Ibid., 2.

6 Frederic Towndrow, *Architecture in the Balance. An approach to the art of scientific humanism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1933).

7 Ibid., 162.

architecture is anonymous, communal and international.”<sup>8</sup> He later emphasised that architecture as an art “has very considerable social responsibilities, and it is not so much an expressive art for the individual creative artist as an expression of public, social and corporate idealism.”<sup>9</sup> *Architecture in the Balance* was quite controversial at the time, as a rare book review in *AD&C* confirmed, “The book, is, in fact, full of shocks for architects of the most spirited and invigorating nature. Not too pleasant to receive, but quite beneficial for all that.”<sup>10</sup>

From 1932, Towndrow became editor of *Architectural Design & Construction*, a position he held until December 1939. He often used the pseudonym “Archivolt” or “archi volta” before and after this time when contributing to this magazine. He was to publish another book called “The Components of Building”, but this was prevented by the war and instead its 44 chapters were serialised in condensed form as 30 instalments in *AD&C* between January 1940 and July 1942. During this time (1933-1941) he also had a small private practice with Geoffrey Ransom with whom “he built some of the first low-cost flat-roofed houses in the country.”<sup>11</sup> As the houses they designed and published in *AD&C* in 1939 show,<sup>12</sup> the practice was an early advocate of the white box modern style. The German exile Eugen Carl Kaufmann (Eugene Charles Kent) joined them at this time. In 1941, Towndrow attended the Town and Country Planning Association conference<sup>13</sup> which was held to discuss issues of post-war planning of both countryside and cities. The proceedings of this were edited by Towndrow as his second published book, “Replanning Britain”.<sup>14</sup>

During the second world war, Towndrow joined the Ministry of Works as a senior architect in the Directorate of Post-War Building and in 1943 was promoted to Controller of Experimental Building Development where he initiated research into experimental low-cost housing and new methods of house construction. This work combined his belief that the architect should not only be the leader of the construction team but also more involved in the actual production of building, with his conviction that scientific methods could improve modern construction through efficiency of production. Even while at the Ministry of Works, Towndrow remained as consultant editor at *AD&C* until he left for Australia. At the end of the war in May 1945,

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8 Ibid., 177.

9 Towndrow, “An interview with F.E. Towndrow (1897-1977),” 9.

10 Darcy Braddell, “Architecture in the Balance,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, April 1933, 232.

11 Pidgeon and Randell, “Controller of Experimental Building Development,” 133.

12 Frederic Towndrow, “‘House near Boxmoor, Herts’; ‘Houses, Haroldsla Drive, Horley, Surrey,’” *Architectural Design & Construction*, August 1939, 306–307.

13 Held at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, 28-30 March, 1941.

14 Frederic Towndrow, ed., *Replanning Britain, being a summarized report of the Oxford Conference of the Town and Country Planning Association, Spring 1941*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1941).

Towndrow resumed private practice with Ransom before leaving for Australia in October 1947<sup>15</sup> to head up the School of Architecture and Building at Sydney Technical College, New South Wales. In 1949 this school merged with the New South Wales University of Technology and Towndrow was awarded the Chair of Architecture. He “was also editor of the RAIAs journal, *Architecture*, from April 1949 until January 1950 during which period there were eight articles that focused on architectural education.”<sup>16</sup>

Towndrow was married and had two children, Jennifer and Robert.

Towndrow was therefore an all-round architect, involved heavily in writing and education, but also in practice for a while. He was an advocate of technical and scientific research into construction methods such as prefabrication and industrialisation and was an early light in promoting the new modern movement in every type of architectural practice.

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15 Frederic Towndrow, “Prospects for British Architects in the Empire,” *Architectural Design*, August 1948, 178.

16 Richard Blythe, “Science Enthusiasts: a threat to Beaux-Arts architectural education in Australia in the 1950s,” *Fabrications* 8 (July 1997): 122.



*Fig 4.2: Monica Pidgeon, self portrait. c.1965 courtesy of Monica Pidgeon / RIBA Library Photographs Collection.*

## ***Monica Pidgeon***

**29 September 1913 – 17 September 2009**

Monica Lehmann was born in the village of El Ñilhue in the valley of Catemu in the heart of Chile. Her mother, Mary Lehmann (née Bissett), was a Scottish, atheist musician and her father, Andrew Lehmann, was a French/German mining engineer who was later horrified to discover he was Jewish. Monica's elder sister, Olga (1912-2001), was to become a well-respected artist and her younger brother, Andrew (1922-2006), a linguist and cultural critic.

Monica's upbringing in Chile was privileged, with servants for everything (with whom Monica learned to speak Spanish) and an English governess. When she was 7, they moved to Santiago so that the sisters could attend an English primary school and later, an American secondary school. She claims the only thing her mother and father had in common was a love of playing the piano, and Monica learned to play on moving to the city. Despite a very strict Edwardian/Victorian upbringing, she recalled a very happy childhood and school life with lots of friends. She claimed never to have any ambition to do anything other than be a *señorita* in Chile: "dancing", "tennis", and "flirting". Her father had promised her mother that they would return to England for their children's education, so the Lehmanns returned to London when Monica was almost 16 for Olga to go to the Slade School of Fine Art. They lived in Dulwich where her father had gone to the mines school and his mother had left them a house when she died. All the family were depressed at being in England, "we were very international people", she recalled, and everyone in Dulwich was so small-minded.<sup>17</sup> Monica's father returned to Chile to work, visiting occasionally. Monica said that she felt an outsider in England until the 1950s, when she bought a house in Highgate, and she maintained a love of all things Latin American throughout her life.

Monica started a degree in architecture at the Bartlett School of Architecture in 1932.<sup>18</sup> She spent the first year stretching paper, grinding Indian ink and learning the orders, after which, head of school Albert Richardson advised her to switch to interior design as architecture was "no good for women" (despite the fact there were three other women studying architecture, including Rita Troop, the future Lady Casson). At the Bartlett, she attended Italian classes to add to her French and Spanish and was more involved with making friends than in the course itself. The first four years all studied in one large room and students in or around Monica's year included best friend Sylvia Pollack, Gontran Goulden, David Aberdeen, Arthur Ling and

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17 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7491 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0100A0.mp3>.

18 Monica Pidgeon, "CV," CV, n.d., British Library.

Walter Bor, all of whom Monica later called upon as consultants or contributors for *AD*. Hugh Casson also arrived after three years at Cambridge. Another architecture student who arrived in the fourth year, this time from North London Polytechnic, was Raymond Pidgeon, whom Monica married in 1936.<sup>19</sup>

On completing her degree in 1935, Monica started work for the Leo Scott Cooper Furniture company in Bedford, moving to a new office in London a couple of years later, by which time she was pregnant. Her son, Carl, was born in 1937 and Monica left Scott Cooper. She had set up a design company with her husband, but this never went anywhere. Raymond and Monica were quite different: she recalled how he was very meticulous and careful whereas she was sloppy. In architectural terms, Monica remembered that “He loved history and I’m not interested in history. I can’t remember one century for another.”<sup>20</sup> This explains why his later practice was more traditional whereas Monica promoted the modern movement. Throughout my own and others’ interviews with Monica, she continued to remonstrate that she was never any good with history and her vagueness and inaccuracy with dates testifies to this. She also claimed that “she wasn’t a very good designer.” However, she “could see what was good in other people and copied them.”<sup>21</sup>

Although Monica left work when she had Carl, she continued to employ a nanny, claiming that she knew no different. At this time, a young Russian called Simon befriended and, according to Monica, fell in love with her and they used to go out sketching while he taught her about politics. While she admitted, “I was ignorant of politics” and “politics has never featured very large in my life”<sup>22</sup> she always voted Labour and this was a direct result of the political discussions she had with Simon, joining the Left Book Club and reading *The Statesman* during this time. Also at this time, she had a friend called Roger Smithells who edited a magazine called *Decoration*. Smithells published the Pidgeons’ flat (“How to live in 200 square feet”) and Monica did book reviews for him, which, she claimed, gave her a feeling for liking magazines. Just before the war, Monica worked briefly for the Ministry of Supply as a temporary assistant, recalling that it was “the lowest of the low”<sup>23</sup>, but she left upon hearing that because of the imminent war, everyone was going to be conscripted into the jobs they were already in, which she couldn’t bear the thought of.

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19 They married at St. Martin-in-the-Fields and moved into a flat in St. Edmund’s Court.

20 Monica Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects’ Lives. Monica Pidgeon.,” interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7491 Side B, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0200A0.mp3>.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

At the outbreak of the war, the Pidgeons all went to live in Macclesfield with Monica's mother's older brother. They soon couldn't stand it, however, and Monica moved back with a friend in Bedford for 6 months, before returning to London. Raymond was doing essential war work at Cheltenham, but they apparently still lived together in London. Monica met Frederic E. (Tony) Towndrow, the editor of the magazine *Architectural Design & Construction (AD&C)* when Olga brought him round for tea.<sup>24</sup> He and his wife became family friends. Raymond Pidgeon contributed a number of articles to the magazine in 1938 and 1939, starting by taking over the "Materials & Equipment" column in the November 1938 number.<sup>25</sup> On hearing that Monica had resigned her job at the Ministry of Supply, Towndrow asked her to ghost for him while he took up a job at the Ministry of Works in 1941. This she did, effectively co-editing the magazine with Towndrow's secretary, Barbara Randell, taking each issue to Towndrow at the Ministry of Works monthly for his approval.

The first published piece that Monica wrote for *AD&C*, "Nursery School Planning" appeared in December 1941.<sup>26</sup> This was a direct result of her interest in progressive education, possibly a reaction to her own repressive upbringing. She sent her son to an A.S. Neill-influenced nursery, which was initially in Crowborough (when Carl was only 2½) but then moved to Paignton, Devon when the doodlebugs started bombing London. Monica and Raymond's daughter, Annabel, was born in 1943 and joined her brother at the nursery, complete with their own nanny. Raymond and Monica divorced in 1946, both having met other people during the war. Monica was reluctant to discuss Raymond's life in interview, but remained good friends with him, demonstrating her very real unwillingness to hold a grudge. On their divorce, Monica remembers that Raymond gave her £10 a month, so she needed to work to support herself and her children.<sup>27</sup> In January 1946, she and Barbara Randell were finally acknowledged in the masthead as joint editors of the magazine. It is commonly stated, even by Monica herself, that this was enabled by Towndrow taking up a position at Sydney

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24 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7492 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0300A0.mp3>; Monica Pidgeon, interview by Steve Parnell, February 25, 2009.

25 Raymond Pidgeon, "Materials & Equipment," *Architectural Design & Construction*, November 1939, 441.

26 Monica Pidgeon, "Nursery School Planning," *Architectural Design & Construction*, December 1941, 255.

27 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, July 9, 1999, F7497 Side B, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-1400A0.mp3>.

Technical College. However, Towndrow didn't leave for Australia until 1947<sup>28</sup> so his research into post-war building techniques as Controller of Experimental Building Development at the Ministry of Works must have taken precedence over editing a magazine in the desperate post-war years.

After her divorce, Monica moved from her flat overlooking Regent's Park in Frognal to one in a mansion block in Compayne Gardens, West Hampstead. She stayed there (where Dargan Bullivant also lived, a student at the AA who filled the gap of "technical editor" of the magazine before it was invented and who remembered her as "a strikingly handsome woman" with a "brilliant slash of red lipstick"<sup>29</sup>) until she moved, on her birthday in 1952 or '53,<sup>30</sup> into St. Anne's Close in Highgate, an innovative small estate comprising eight houses around a green, designed and developed by Walter Segal and sold mainly to his architect friends as a kind of early housing association.<sup>31</sup> Monica would live there until she died.

In 1953, Monica's life was to change twice more. Her co-editor, Barbara Randell, was pregnant and decided to leave the magazine in order to raise a family in the country with her husband. Monica found her replacement in Theo Crosby, who became *AD's* first technical editor and who would have a profound influence not only on the magazine, but on Monica's outlook, introducing her to the world of art and modern architecture. Then, in December 1953, Monica married Cyril Clarke, artistic director for Argo records.<sup>32</sup> Clarke turned out to be a hopeless drunk and the relationship lasted only about three years. Monica changed her name back to Pidgeon upon the divorce.<sup>33</sup>

Ever the socialite, Monica was always one for joining groups and being on organising committees. She was a member of MARS (Modern Architecture Research Society) during the war, where she got to know Mark Hartland Thomas who would become a valuable contributor

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28 Towndrow, "An interview with F.E. Towndrow (1897-1977)," 3.

29 Ema Bonifacic, *Letters for Monica Pidgeon*, Architectural Association Independent Radio, n.d., <http://radio.aaschool.ac.uk/2009/11/21/letters-for-monica-pidgeon/>.

30 In her interview on 9 July 1999 with Charlotte Benton, she mentioned that she's been in her house for 46 years.

31 The house cost £2500, and with the land, less than £4000 in total. Monica got a mortgage with the London County Council at 2.5% and paid just £47 a quarter for 20 years. In February 2010, the house sold for £926,656 (figure from <http://www.ourproperty.co.uk>).

32 Although her sister Olga had painted a series of record covers for Argo, Monica's connection with Cyril was via two Colombian architecture students she knew. Cyril wanted to record them after discovering them busking in order to pay to work in Le Corbusier's office.

33 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, July 9, 1999, F7498 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-1500A0.mp3>.

to *AD*. After the war, Monica joined CIAM (the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) and was on the organising committee for the 8th congress at Hoddesdon in 1951. She already knew the UK members of CIAM through MARS and had previously met the international members in 1947 at the 6th congress in Bridgwater. In the famous photograph of the group on a visit to the Bristol Aeroplane Factory (Fig. 4.16), Pidgeon is featured sitting in the middle on the front row, to the right of Josep Lluís Sert, President of CIAM (to Monica's right is Barbara Randell and to Sert's left is Sigfried Giedion, Secretary of CIAM). In comparison, Jim Richards, editor of the *Architectural Review* and convener of the congress, is located in the middle of the back row. No doubt her ability to speak Spanish helped her get to so close to the centre of power, but this is a choice example of Monica's way of getting on. After all, her magazine at that time was still relatively unknown with a circulation of less than 3,000.<sup>34</sup> Monica was also involved in organising the 1961 UIA (International Union of Architects) congress in London where she met Richard Buckminster Fuller who would prove to be another large influence on her and *AD*. Although she published the work of Team X continuously, she never attended their meetings as she could not forgive them for the way they killed off CIAM.<sup>35</sup>

Monica continued to travel throughout her life, not only for her work with *AD* but also personally. She attended the Montreal Expo in 1967, the Brussels Expo in 1958, and in the same year, the UIA congress in Moscow. Other trips while at *AD* included a 9 week grand tour of South America in 1963, at the invitation of her parents who were back in Chile by then. On this trip, architect John Turner gave her a guided tour around the *barriadas* that he was working on and in. This deeply impressed Monica and, she claims, changed her outlook on life as she had never before seen anything like it. She would continue to publish such bottom-up methods of housing generation throughout her editorship of *AD*. In 1970, on the recommendation of Buckminster Fuller, she was invited by Mayor Teddy Kolleck to participate in the Jerusalem Committee, alongside architects and historians such as Nikolaus Pevsner, Louis Kahn, Max Bill and Philip Johnson. This also duly found its way onto the pages of *AD*. Monica wasn't religious, and didn't feel Jewish, but fondly recalls enjoying the fact she had Jewish blood.<sup>36</sup> One suspects she enjoyed being at the centre of things socially as much as, if not more than, actually participating in the unification and reconstruction of Jerusalem.

After 30 years as editor of *AD*, Monica accepted an offer from RIBA president Eric Lyons to edit the RIBA Journal in 1975, a move which instantly doubled her salary. Of this move, she

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34 Circulation figures from Audit Bureau of Circulation.

35 Peter Murray, interview by Steve Parnell, October 19, 2009.

36 Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7497 Side B."

later said she had “terrific regrets” and “felt ghastly”.<sup>37</sup> She remembers an unhappy time at the RIBA and she eventually retired in 1979. She continued to work until the end of her life, setting up Pidgeon Audio Visual, a series of talks by influential figures in the world of architecture, while still at the RIBA. The idea came to her when she saw the recording “Conversations Regarding the Future of Architecture”<sup>38</sup> pressed by the Reynolds Metals Company in 1956. Monica also continued to travel internationally and be very active in the architectural community, including being on the editorial board for *AD* until 2006<sup>39</sup> which gives an impressive total of 65 years input to the magazine.

Since Monica died in September 2009, just a few days short of her 96th birthday, much has been said and written about her life and her character. She was a woman in a man's world, especially in the immediate post-war years, yet she was not a feminist. She got very frustrated about the question of what that was like and made nothing of it. Although she admitted to being a social snob (something she got from her mother), she considered herself no less or greater than any other man or woman – to her gender was irrelevant in a professional capacity. In response to Benton, she rebuked, “People are always trying to find out the difference between women's interests and men's interests. Or women architects - there's a women's architects group at the RIBA. I always say an architect's an architect, irrespective of gender [...] you're trying to get out of me there's a difference by being female [...] the only problem I ever had about being a female was these directors.”<sup>40</sup> She loved people, and was “always excited by men”. Her personal life was quite unconventional in the post-war years, being divorced twice by the mid 1950s and having many relationships along the way, including at one point with *AR* editor, Jim Richards, although she denied the rumour that she slept with Le Corbusier. She eventually remained with a long-term companion, Dr. Eric Victor, with whom she shared a house in South Spain but never co-habited in England.

Barbara Goldstein, who was an assistant editor at *AD* from 1973 to 1975, summed her up well at her memorial held at the Architectural Association, saying that Monica:

provid[ed] me with an example of what a truly independent woman was like. She

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37 Monica Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects’ Lives. Monica Pidgeon.,” interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, July 9, 1999, F7495 Side B, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-1000A0.mp3>.

38 *Conversations Regarding the Future of Architecture*, Vinyl (Reynolds Metals Company, 1956).

39 *AD*, Volume 76, number 5

40 Monica Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects’ Lives. Monica Pidgeon.,” interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7494 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0700A0.mp3>.

was direct, sometimes painfully so. Energetic, open-minded and passionate. If I were to imagine a biography of Monica Pidgeon, I would call it 'architects who I've known and loved.' Because not only was she enthusiastic about architecture, she loved architects as well. When an architect came to visit and share his work – and it was always a man, there weren't too many women architects in those days – if Monica was drawn to him and his story, she became a real loyal supporter. That's not to say she didn't have great judgement about architecture, but that she related to architects on a very personal level as well as a professional one. This showed in her attitude towards publishing architects' work. She never really wanted to critique the work of architects that she knew well. She preferred to let them speak in their own words. Sometimes ad nauseum I should add. I learned this personally very early on when she asked me to write a short article about Lawrence Halprin and his take-part workshops in San Francisco. When I attempted to analyse his practice critically from the perspective of the participants, she rejected the article and invited Larry to write it himself. And yet Monica's trust in architects and instinct for new ideas and her talent for spotting strong technical editors and writers was absolutely on target [...] These are a few things that I learned from Monica: Let architects speak for themselves, if you don't like something, don't publish it; if you can't remember somebody's name, just use charm and endearment – the one she usually used was 'ducky'; it's ok to be direct or even argue strongly about something, just don't hold a grudge. Although Monica may not have been a model mother to her own children, she was a role model for me.<sup>41</sup>

Coming from a privileged background, Monica was completely undomesticated (Raymond had to teach her how to cook and iron) and she didn't care much for family life. Most of her friends came from the world of architecture, and this effectively became her family. Her (scant) written and (large) photographic archives, now held at the RIBA, mix personal and professional entirely. They also show her to be a keen and able photographer (she used her maiden name when photographing buildings for the press, including for *AD*).

She was also independently minded. Su Rogers<sup>42</sup> noted that this was a reaction to her strict upbringing.<sup>43</sup> Monica was also always looking forwards and never backwards, had a sharp temper (inherited from her father) but never held a grudge. This remains one of the great contradictions between her personal and professional life. In person, she liked an argument but didn't dwell on it, whereas in her magazine, she would not criticise. She was always

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41 Barbara Goldstein (presented at the Memorial to Monica Pidgeon, Architectural Association, November 23, 2009).

42 Neé Brunwell and first wife of architect Lord Richard Rogers. Su knew Monica since childhood as her aunt, Elizabeth Strachan ("Stricks") ran the progressive school that Carl attended.

43 Bonifacic, *Letters for Monica Pidgeon*.

fiercely loyal and would see a person over and above their work – when she talks of a “wonderful architect”, for example, she means the person, not their buildings or writings. Or in her mind, the two would equate to the same thing. She would judge the work on the character of the author rather than the work itself and would not publish something until she knew who it was by. Even if she didn't understand the work, however, as she didn't with that of the Smithsons<sup>44</sup> she would loyally publish it regardless if it was by someone she knew and trusted.

These qualities go some way to explaining the overarching policies that guided *AD* for those most influential 30 years: loyalty to friends, an international outlook, an unwillingness to criticise and a tendency to look forwards rather than backwards.



*Fig. 4.3: Theo Crosby, 1960, courtesy of Anne Crosby.*

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44 Peter Smithson, “NLSC: Architects’ Lives. Peter Smithson,” interview by Louise Brodie, mp3 from original tape, September 4, 1997, F5951 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <https://sounds.bl.uk/Download.aspx?item=021A-C0467X0024XX-0700A0.mp3>; Robin Middleton, interview by Steve Parnell, March 4, 2010.

## *Theo Crosby*

3 April 1925 – 12 September 1994

Theo Crosby was born in Mafeking, South Africa. His father, Nicholas Johannes Crosby managed a gold mine and had previously been a famous Springboks rugby player. However, he had lost all their money through bad investments<sup>45</sup> and a failed farm before turning to managing a mine. He died in 1938<sup>46</sup> leaving Theo and his mother<sup>47</sup> to move to Johannesburg to live in a one-bedroomed flat, even sleeping in the same bed together, until Theo was 16.<sup>48</sup> There, Crosby attended Jeppe high school. He didn't particularly want to be an architect, but it was the first scholarship that came up which meant that he could leave his home situation. Crosby was always highly intelligent and won this scholarship to study architecture at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, starting in 1940 and hastily finished in 1947 after his war service. He studied under Rex Martienssen, an early light of modernism in South Africa and a disciple and friend of Le Corbusier. In 1944, Crosby participated as a wireless-man<sup>49</sup> in the allied invasion of Italy as part of the 6th South African armoured division.<sup>50</sup> Wandering around Italy for a year after armistice day introduced Crosby to a culture and public space that was not available in South Africa and when the South African government officially sanctioned apartheid in 1948, Crosby decided to stay working in London, where he had arrived during the "golden autumn" of the previous year.<sup>51</sup> Peter Smithson recalled that Crosby went to live in London in order to go on holiday in Italy. He found work in Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Gloucester Place office where he worked on "schools for Ghana, and the Festival of Britain, and the first part of Harlow New Town".<sup>52</sup> Through Drew, Crosby was introduced to CIAM, the MARS group, artists such as Eduardo Paolozzi and the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA), whose first headquarters at Dover Street were designed by Drew.

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45 Anne Crosby, interview by Steve Parnell, January 13, 2011.

46 Alan Powers, "Theo Crosby" (unpublished, n.d.), Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

47 Also called Nicholas Johannes Goosen – according to Powers, this was a name chosen before birth for the boy it was hoped to be. "His parents were cousins, whose families were multiply intermarried. [to keep the money in the family] They were Afrikaans, with the exception of Crosby's paternal grandfather who was a newspaper proprietor from England." Ibid. This Crosby owned all 8 newspapers in South Africa at one point. Crosby, interview.

48 Charlotte Moore, "The throwaway child," *The Guardian* (London, May 23, 2009), sec. Family.

49 Crosby, interview.

50 Powers, "Theo Crosby."

51 Theo Crosby, "Night Thoughts of a Faded Utopia," in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (London: MIT Press, 1992), 197.

52 Ibid.

Later, Crosby remarked that the ICA “became a kind of club for my kind.”<sup>53</sup> It was there that he got involved with (although was never a member of) the Independent Group. Crosby had earlier met Peter Smithson in Florence at the Biblioteca Laurenziana in the summer of 1948 and they started sharing a ground floor flat<sup>54</sup> in the autumn while Smithson attended the Royal Academy School.<sup>55</sup> Crosby and Smithson shared an intense and close friendship that would continue for many years, for example, Smithson was Crosby's best man at his wedding. When Peter Smithson married Alison Gill<sup>56</sup> and remained in the ground floor flat, Crosby moved upstairs. The Smithsons effectively became Crosby's surrogate family in Britain, “Theirs to dominate, theirs to command, something like your family's attitude to you, which makes them almost kin.”<sup>57</sup> Peter Rawstorne, a fellow South African friend of Crosby and future contributor to *AD*, recalled that while at Fry and Drew, “Crosby was dogged, working long hours, almost unceasingly, but without desire for personal gain (although some inevitably accrued) through these years.”<sup>58</sup>

In 1953, Crosby broke his arm in a motorcycle accident and while he couldn't draw, he was “gently fired” from Fry & Drew whose office was being managed at the time by Denys Lasdun (with whom Crosby never got on<sup>59</sup>) and Drake while Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew were in Chandigarh with Le Corbusier.<sup>60</sup> Monica Pidgeon was advertising for a replacement for her co-editor, Barbara Randell, and Peter Smithson encouraged Crosby to apply, buying him a suit for the interview.<sup>61</sup> Crosby got the job, ahead of Douglas Stephen, Joseph Rykwert and Eric Brown (Head of the Kingston School of Architecture) because of his interests in art and his visual sensibility.<sup>62</sup> Crosby started working there in October 1953. Pidgeon later recalled that “he somehow changed the direction of the magazine, it was lovely working with him.”

Between 1947 and 1958, Crosby attended evening classes at the Central School of Arts,

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53 Ibid.

54 At 32, Doughty Street in Bloomsbury.

55 Smithson, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Peter Smithson.”

56 On 18 August 1949: Elain Harwood, “Smithson, Peter Denham (1923-2003),” *Oxford DNB article: Smithson, Peter Denham*, January 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/96708> [accessed 4 January 2012].

57 Anne Crosby, *Matthew a memoir* (London: Haus Books, 2009), 50.

58 Peter Rawstorne, “Obituary: Professor Theo Crosby,” *The Independent*, September 15, 1994, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-professor-theo-crosby-1448941.html> [accessed 4 August 2011].

59 Crosby, interview.

60 Crosby, “Night Thoughts of a Faded Utopia,” 197.

61 Smithson, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Peter Smithson.”

62 Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7494 Side A.”

where he studied sculpture and got to know such influential teachers as Bill Turnbull, Victor Pasmore, Eduardo Paolozzi, Richard Hamilton and Edward Wright. Several of these became attached to the Independent Group and involved in the exhibitions “Parallel of Life and Art” of 1953 and “This is Tomorrow” of 1956<sup>63</sup> which Crosby coordinated, promoted and persuaded the Standard Catalogue Company (SCC, the owners of *AD*) to fund with £500.

In 1960, he co-authored a book with Pidgeon on houses that had appeared in *AD*<sup>64</sup> - a favourite theme of Pidgeon. While at *AD*, Crosby designed the stands for the SCC at the 1955 and 1958 Building Exhibitions, which led to two temporary pavilions on London's South Bank for the 6th International Union of Architects (UIA) Congress in 1961, where he employed Edward Wright to cover the façades with a “super graphics” mural of abstract typography. Pidgeon recalls that the contractors for this building, Taylor Woodrow, were so impressed by it that they enticed Crosby back to practice.<sup>65</sup> However, there was an advert for architects in the August 1961 issue of *AD*<sup>66</sup> and Crosby, having just become a father,<sup>67</sup> felt the need to get a proper job to support his new family situation. The job at *AD* was not well paid and did not offer the secure benefits that a large contractor could. So Crosby left his role as technical editor of *AD* in May 1962 to head up the experimental Design Group at Taylor Woodrow. Here, he employed, among others, the six members of the Archigram group as well as future *AD* contributors Robin Middleton, Alex Pike and Brian Richards.<sup>68</sup> In 1963, Crosby helped Archigram stage their Living Cities exhibition at the ICA by proposing it to them and obtaining £500 in funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation.<sup>69</sup> He then dedicated the second issue of his magazine *Living Arts* to this exhibition.<sup>70</sup> Between 1963 and 1964, Crosby and John Bodley edited just three issues of this *Living Arts* little magazine, which was “planned to complement the activities of The Institute of Contemporary Arts.”<sup>71</sup> It replaced Crosby's first little magazine, *Uppercase*, whose aim was to “try to find a correlation between the arts, and attempt to relate

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63 See Crosby, “Night Thoughts of a Faded Utopia,” 198.

64 Monica Pidgeon and Theo Crosby, *An Anthology of Houses* (London: Batsford, 1960).

65 Monica Pidgeon, “AD Remembered: 1941-75,” *Architectural Design*, April 2001, 96.

66 *Architectural Design*, 1961 (p. A/69)

67 Announced in Michael Manser, “The month in Britain,” *Architectural Design*, January 1962, 1.

68 Robin Middleton, “Haunts of Coot and Hern,” in *L.A.W.U.N. Project #19* (London: AA Publications, 2008), B22; Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 46.

69 Dennis Crompton, ed., *Concerning Archigram* (London: Archigram Archives, 1998), 16.

70 Theo Crosby and John Bodley, eds., *Living Arts*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1963).

71 Theo Crosby and John Bodley, eds., *Living Arts*, vol. 1 (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1963), 1.

them specifically to print.”<sup>72</sup> From its first publication in 1958, it focused largely on the work of Crosby's contacts at the Independent Group, and was ostensibly printed by the Whitefriars Press (who also printed *AD*) to show the high quality of their printing. The fifth and final *Uppercase* was published in 1961.<sup>73</sup>

Crosby hated working at Taylor Woodrow<sup>74</sup> and it must have been a relief when the Labour government stopped all office building in London in 1964, including the development of the Euston Station plans that Crosby's team was working on. Crosby could move on: that same year, he won the Gran Premio for his design for the British Pavilion design at the Milan Triennale,<sup>75</sup> which led to him designing the British pavilion's industrial section at the Montreal Expo-67.<sup>76</sup> He also joined the design consultancy Fletcher Forbes Gill, which ultimately became Pentagram. There, Crosby continued his interests in exhibitions and publishing: in 1973, he curated the exhibition *How to Play the Environment Game*<sup>77</sup> at the Hayward Gallery and in 1975, he started *The Pentagram Papers*, a small pamphlet published once or twice a year and given to Pentagram's friends and clients. These continue to be published today. Crosby had also published *Architecture: City Sense* (1965), a more sociological study of the city based on the Fulham study that his group had done at Taylor Woodrow<sup>78</sup> and inspired by the urbanists William Whyte and Jane Jacobs, whom he had met in 1963 in New York.<sup>79</sup> Crosby's *The Necessary Monument*, in which he focused on the rôle of the monument in the city, was published in 1970.

Crosby was always more interested in art than architecture and this interest resurfaced in 1982 when he co-founded the campaigning group, Art and Architecture, “to encourage architects to engage artists and craftspeople in their work.”<sup>80</sup> In later years, Crosby lost his faith in modern architecture<sup>81</sup> and in the late 1980s became a member of a select group advising Prince Charles on promoting his architectural agenda. He became Professor of architecture at the RCA in 1990, an unhappy position during the 3 years he was there,

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72 Editorial in Theo Crosby, ed., *Uppercase*, vol. 1 (London: Whitefriars Press, 1958), unpaginated.

73 Advertised in *Architectural Design*, January 1962, p. A/79.

74 Crosby, interview.

75 “Professor Theo Crosby,” *The Times* (London, September 21, 1994), sec. Obituaries.

76 Colin Amery, “Daring to be different,” *The Financial Times* (London, September 19, 1994), sec. Architecture, 19.

77 Published as Theo Crosby, *How to play the environment game*. (London: Penguin & Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973).

78 Theo Crosby, *Architecture: City Sense* (London: Studio Vista, 1965), 96.

79 Powers, “Theo Crosby.”

80 Ibid.

81 Smithson, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Peter Smithson.”

because “His call for a return to basic competencies and responsibilities” was “deemed deeply unfashionable by students”.<sup>82</sup> His most enduring legacy as a practising architect is the reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, a result of his increasing interest in the conservation movement. Crosby died in 1994, before its completion.

Crosby married school teacher and artist Anne Buchanan<sup>83</sup> in 1960,<sup>84</sup> after “living in sin” for 3 years – unheard of at that time even in those artist circles. They met in the mid-fifties and he designed their house in Hammersmith, a building heavily influenced by the Smithsons' New Brutalist thinking. Anne and Theo Crosby divorced in 1988, having had a son Matthew,<sup>85</sup> and daughter Dido. Theo married artist Polly Hope in 1990.<sup>86</sup>

In summary, Crosby was a shy, self-effacing man, more “inclined to intellect rather than emotion”.<sup>87</sup> He enjoyed being in the background and was good at organising, as Anne recalled him saying: “You know me, I much prefer the abstract to the intimate. I never was one for the hands-on approach. As you more than once remarked, I enjoy being an *éminence grise*.”<sup>88</sup> In their obituaries, Rawstone wrote, “No one will ever know how many aspiring artists he helped when he was in positions of influence”<sup>89</sup> and Hanson wrote, “it was Crosby's efforts behind the scenes which perhaps in the end had the greatest influence.”<sup>90</sup> He was not a born architect by disposition and was always more interested in art and its integration with the built environment than in architecture itself. He preferred cooperating in cross-disciplinary teams and enabling things, which is why he will chiefly be remembered not for his own works, but for the promotion of others through his editing of magazines and curation of exhibitions.

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82 Brian Hanson, “Dreams of Design: Theo Crosby,” *The Guardian* (London, September 28, 1994), sec. G2 Personal, 17.

83 Born 1929.

84 On 4 April at Hammersmith register office. Powers, “Theo Crosby.”

85 Who had Down's syndrome – see Crosby, *Matthew a memoir*.

86 On 8 June at Westminster register office. Powers, “Theo Crosby.”

87 Ibid.

88 Crosby, *Matthew a memoir*, 87.

89 Rawstone, “Obituary: Professor Theo Crosby.”

90 Hanson, “Dreams of Design: Theo Crosby,” 17.



*Fig. 4.4: Kenneth Frampton, 1964*

## ***Kenneth Frampton***

### **b. 20 November 1930**

Ken Frampton was born in Woking, Surrey. His father was from a long line of carpenter-builders and was himself such a tradesman. He owned a small construction company in Guildford where he built suburban homes and where Frampton lived until the age of 9. When the war broke out, his family moved in with his maternal grandparents over a pub in Woking.<sup>91</sup> At the age of 17, Frampton decided that “the really authentic life was agriculture”<sup>92</sup> and so decided he wanted to be a farmer. After two years of agriculture, however, he decided that he could not cope physically with the labour of farm work, which was also the reason he did not follow his father into building. Subsequently, he learned drafting at the Guildford School of Art for a year before attending the Architectural Association between 1950 and 1956<sup>93</sup> where he was taught by luminaries such as Walter Segal, Leonard Mannaseh, Arthur Korn, Ove Arup, Anthony and Oliver Cox and Peter Smithson. The Festival of Britain profoundly affected Frampton in that it initiated his interest in Constructivism which, for Frampton, linked art, life and social reality by rejecting art for art's sake and instead accepting that architecture should be a form of social service. This interest manifested itself in an exhibition on Dutch Constructivism curated with fellow student Peter Land, and it continued until it was subsumed into his ideas on Critical Regionalism in the early 1980s.<sup>94</sup> While at the AA, Frampton was part of a close circle of friends centred around Thomas (Sam) Stevens. Included in this group that met at Stevens's flat in Marylebone High Street in the early 1950s were James Stirling, John Miller, Alan Colquhoun, Neave Brown, Joseph Rykwert, Patrick Hodgkinson, Bob Maxwell, Douglas Stephen and Peter Reyner Banham.<sup>95</sup> After two years' military service, Frampton worked for a year in Israel for Karmi, Melzer, Karmi<sup>96</sup> and Yashar/Eytan, 1958–59<sup>97</sup> and then

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91 Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn: phenomenology and the rise of the postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 192; Lee Sang-leem, “Interview with Kenneth Frampton,” *Space*, May 2007, 133.

92 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 192.

93 Kenneth Frampton, “The English Crucible” (presented at the CIAM Team 10, the English Context, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2001), <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft1/frampton.pdf>.

94 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 200.

95 Mark Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling*, New edition. (Pimlico, 2000), 60,74 Miller and Colquhoun remained close friends throughout his life.

96 Frampton shared an apartment with Ram Karmi, son of Dov Karmi, while at the AA. Sang-leem, “Interview with Kenneth Frampton,” 135.

97 Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, and Mario Gandelsonas, eds., *Oppositions: A Journal for*

briefly for Middlesex County Council where he designed an unrealised neo-Brutalist primary school that he remembers with some pride.<sup>98</sup> In 1959 he joined the architectural practice of Douglas Stephen and Partners, a crucible of young talent that during Frampton's employment, also employed rising architectural stars such as Elia Zenghelis and Panos Koulermos. Stephen "gave young architects almost total responsibility to design and carry out works."<sup>99</sup> It was here that Frampton designed and supervised the construction of an 8 storey block of flats, 13-16 Craven Hill Gardens in Bayswater (now the grade II listed "Corringham"), one of only two buildings that he designed and saw built.<sup>100</sup> Frampton joined *AD* in May 1962, at the recommendation of Theo Crosby. He does not know why he was approached to take the technical editor's job from Theo Crosby, but he wondered whether it was because Crosby had read some reviews he had written in *Art News* magazine. He recalled, "It's something of an enigma for me. Even though I had met Theo, I wasn't really part of his circle and I hadn't written for the magazine. In fact I'd written very little."<sup>101</sup> Anne Crosby, Theo's first wife, said that Theo never read the art magazines,<sup>102</sup> so Frampton was probably incorrect and it was possibly simply through word of mouth through Pidgeon's extensive network that Frampton was approached. She told Benton in her interview, that somebody had told her about Frampton, although she could not remember who.<sup>103</sup> However, Otero-Pailos notes that Frampton was involved with and influenced by the British Constructionist group of artists including Anthony Hill, John Ernest and Kenneth and Mary Martin,<sup>104</sup> and Crosby was also intimately involved with this group just before he left *AD*<sup>105</sup> so these common acquaintances are a more likely connection.

During his *AD* years, Frampton was mostly influenced by Constructivism. For him, this meant that architecture should be a form of social service rather than a pure art, and that the

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*Ideas and Criticism in Architecture*, vol. 1 (New York: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1973), 57; Eric Mumford, "Frampton, Kenneth 1930-," *Encyclopedia of 20th Century architecture*, n.d., <http://www.bookrags.com/tandf/frampton-kenneth-1930-tf/>.

98 Sang-leem, "Interview with Kenneth Frampton," 135.

99 Kenneth Frampton, interview by Steve Parnell, November 23, 2009.

100 Eisenman, Frampton, and Gandelsonas, *Oppositions: A Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture*, 1:57; Mumford, "Frampton, Kenneth 1930-."

101 Frampton, interview.

102 Crosby, interview.

103 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7495 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0900A0.mp3>.

104 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 206.

105 Crosby, interview.

aesthetic was a part of that same ethic, as Otero-Pailos confirms: “making buildings where people could pursue aesthetic experiences was an ethical commitment dependent on, and appropriate to, progressive social politics.”<sup>106</sup> Frampton never abandoned these ideas, and once he left *AD* to become a professional architectural historian within the academy, he developed them into more phenomenological tenets concerning the tectonic aesthetic and immediate bodily experience, concepts at the experiential core of Critical Regionalism.

As the editors of *AD* only worked from 2pm to 7pm,<sup>107</sup> Frampton was able to supervise the construction of his flats in the mornings and maintain his magazine duties in the afternoons. While at *AD*, travelling around Europe and seeing modernism's various flavours in different European “city states”, the seeds of Frampton's ideas on a Critical Regionalism were sown. Frampton later recalled his 2½ years at *AD* as “among the richest and most rewarding years of my life.”<sup>108</sup> During this time, he was also a visiting tutor at the Royal College of Art<sup>109</sup> and the Architectural Association.

Frampton met Peter Eisenman through Colin Rowe while Eisenman was the latter's Ph.D. student at Cambridge University.<sup>110</sup> In 1964 Eisenman invited Frampton to Princeton to set up and edit a magazine called *CASE*, which Eisenman had persuaded Princeton to fund, but when Frampton denied Eisenman a place on the editorial board, they fell out for two years.<sup>111</sup> For the academic year 1965-66, Frampton was a Hodder Fellow at Princeton where he taught for one semester and researched the *Maison de Verre* for another.<sup>112</sup> He then returned to Douglas Stephen and Partners for a further year before going back to Princeton in 1967 more permanently. It was on arriving in the US in 1965 that Frampton finally read Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition*,<sup>113</sup> which had originally been recommended by Sam Stevens and which

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106 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 183.

107 Ken Frampton, “Presentation at Monica Pidgeon's Memorial, Architectural Association, 23 November 2009.” (presented at the Memorial to Monica Pidgeon, Architectural Association, November 23, 2009).

108 Ibid.

109 From 1961 to 1963.

110 Otero-Pailos notes that “When Frampton and Eisenman met in London, both men felt they shared a common understanding that architectural form preceded style, and that functionalism thus implied research into the formal language of architecture.” note 52, Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 290.

111 Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X - 197X* (New York, NY: Actar, 2010), 262; Frampton, interview.

112 This was published in Kenneth Frampton, “Maison de Verre,” *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 77-128; Kenneth Frampton, “Maison de Verre,” *Architectural Design*, April 1966.

113 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1958).

Frampton claims to have had the most profound influence on his thinking. It was this book, along with his contact with students up to 1968 (these were the Vietnam years) and seeing the scale of production and consumption in the US, that resulted in his “born-again socialism”.<sup>114</sup>

In 1970, Robin Middleton commissioned Frampton to write what became *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*,<sup>115</sup> later a canonical work of architectural reference. It took a decade to write and was published as part of the Thames & Hudson World of Art series in 1980. Frampton claims it as “a question of architecture of the Left”<sup>116</sup> and says he based it on Banham’s *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* in the way he “saw the intentions behind the architecture, plus the architecture itself, as an organic whole.”<sup>117</sup> His next acclaimed piece, *Towards a Critical Regionalism*<sup>118</sup> of 1983, building on the concepts of Tzonis and Lefaivre<sup>119</sup> with his own experience at AD, reinforced his reputation and is arguably what best still characterises his position today. Frampton maintains his *Studies in Tectonic Culture*<sup>120</sup> as “a seminal point of arrival for me in that it insists on the importance of the interrelationship between space and structure.”<sup>121</sup>

In 1971, Frampton was the unsuccessful rival to Alvin Boyarsky for the AA chairmanship.<sup>122</sup> Although he moved from Princeton to Columbia University in 1972,<sup>123</sup> Frampton maintained his connection with Peter Eisenman and founded the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies’s journal, *Oppositions*, with Eisenman and Mario Gandelsonas.<sup>124</sup> He co-edited this

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114 Kenneth Frampton, Stan Allen, and Hal Foster, “A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton,” *October* 106 (Autumn 2003): 39, 42.

115 Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, World of Art (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

116 Frampton, Allen, and Foster, “A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton,” 47.

117 David Keuning, “Bookmark Kenneth Frampton,” *Mark: Another Architecture*, May 2007, 197.

118 Kenneth Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle, Washington: Bay Press, 1983), 16-30.

119 Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway,” *Architecture in Greece*, no. 15 (1981): 164-178.

120 Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture: the poetics of construction in nineteenth and twentieth century architecture* (Chicago; London: Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, 1995).

121 Sang-leem, “Interview with Kenneth Frampton,” 139.

122 Frampton, Allen, and Foster, “A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton,” 45.

123 As Ware Professor of Architecture, a position he has held ever since.

124 Anthony Vidler joined shortly after. Sang-leem, “Interview with Kenneth Frampton,” 137.

journal until the penultimate issue 25 in 1982. Frampton taught at Harvard University during the Spring semester of 1973<sup>125</sup> but remained permanently at Columbia where he has taught continuously since save for three years at the Royal College of Art between 1974 and 1977.<sup>126</sup> Frampton is married to the artist Sylvia Kolbowski, and they have one son, Maximilian.

According to Middleton, Frampton and Pidgeon “were both control freaks, so they did not get on.”<sup>127</sup> Pidgeon characterised him “as the most neurotic thing she’d ever met”<sup>128</sup> yet they became great friends. While at *AD* Frampton developed a “desire to resist the tendency to reduce architecture to images”<sup>129</sup> and he remains resistant to “the enormous visual emphasis upon images and the mediatic, on visual stimulus to the exclusion of other senses.”<sup>130</sup>

Two things in particular characterise his position on architecture: place-making and tectonics, both very physical, material, “authentic” and phenomenological characteristics that originate in his (limited) practice as an architect, his meetings with architects all over Europe while at *AD*, and his reading of Arendt and subsequent Marxist politicisation.

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125 Eisenman, Frampton, and Gandelsonas, *Oppositions: A Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture*, 1:57.

126 Frampton, interview.

127 Colomina and Buckley, *Clip, Stamp, Fold*, 443.

128 Frampton, “Presentation at Monica Pidgeon’s Memorial, Architectural Association, 23 November 2009.”

129 Frampton, Allen, and Foster, “A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton,” 48.

130 Sang-jeem, “Interview with Kenneth Frampton,” 139.



*Fig. 4.5: Robin Middleton, 1965 courtesy of Monica Pidgeon / RIBA Library Photographs Collection*

## **Robin Middleton**

### **b. 30 September 1931**

Robin David Middleton was born in Lichtenberg, in the Western Transvaal, South Africa and attended St. John's College in Johannesburg from 1940 to 1947. He explained, "I decided on architecture because our Latin master had talked a lot about Le Corbusier, I was excited by Mumford's *Culture of Cities* and also, I have to admit, Giedeon's *Space, Time and Architecture*."<sup>131</sup>

He started to study architecture at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg in 1948. Exactly a decade later, he had completed not only his architectural training in South Africa, but also a three-volume Ph.D. entitled "Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Gothic Tradition" at Cambridge University<sup>132</sup> under the supervision of Nikolaus Pevsner.

Architecture students at Witwatersrand were required to work in an office for their fourth year and Middleton was apprenticed at Fleming and Cooke.<sup>133</sup> There, he read the entire *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française* by Viollet-le-Duc as the office was too busy to send work his way. In Middleton's fifth and final year at Witwatersrand, Pevsner visited the university for a semester. He advised Middleton, who had already set up in practice with Ian McLennan, to see Europe before he "settled down to the business of architecture"<sup>134</sup> and arranged for a scholarship to study for a Ph.D. at Cambridge. Middleton and McLennan had already designed a block of flats which McLennan saw to completion. However, Middleton never saw it, as he "took a boat from Durban to Venice and thus through France and Italy to London and Cambridge."<sup>135</sup>

Middleton chose Viollet-le-Duc, as the subject of his research due to his previous extensive reading, and having just read Summerson's *Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Point of View*,<sup>136</sup> he felt that he "would be exploring the springs of thought of the modern movement."<sup>137</sup>

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131 Personal communication with author, Robin Middleton to Steve Parnell, "AD research", April 7, 2011.

132 Robin Middleton, "Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Gothic Tradition" (Doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1958).

133 Bernard Cooke had previously briefly been the partner of Rex Martienssen, who died in 1942.

134 Robin Middleton, "In Search of Architecture" (Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, Columbia University, April 11, 2003) cited in Barry Bergdoll, *Fragments: architecture and the unfinished* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 14.

135 Middleton to Parnell, "AD research."

136 John Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions* (London: Cresset press, 1949), 135–158.

137 Robin Middleton, "In Search of Architecture" (Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, Columbia University, April 11, 2003) cited in Bergdoll, *Fragments*, 14.

However, as noted by Bergdoll, once engrossed in Viollet-le-Duc's papers preserved at his office in rue Condorcet in Paris, Middleton characteristically rejected the obvious route of generating a linear genealogy from Viollet-le-Duc to Gaudí to Perret to Corbusier, and instead focused on re-introducing the “rationalist interpretation of structure as a generator of form and its development as a historically synthetic operation through the peculiarly French construct of the Graeco-Gothic synthesis [...] into art-historical understanding of the modern period.”<sup>138</sup>

Reflecting on his architectural education, he later wrote, “my early education as an architect developed my visual responses, but it hardly taught me to think and during my subsequent years at Cambridge everything took on a literary, academic aspect which dulled my visual responses, but gave me no better notion of how to think. I still suffer from this disability - tabulation I can manage, but not ideas in any real sense.”<sup>139</sup> This rather self-deprecating analysis nevertheless could go some way to explaining his excitement with the original thinkers of the sixties, such as Cedric Price and the Archigram group. Middleton recalls his Cambridge years with fondness: “Much of my research for VleD was in Paris, so I spent a few months in the summer of each of my Cambridge years in Paris. Once my thesis was finished I alternated between London and Paris. The decision to explore the Middle East was made on impulse, on holiday in Athens in the late summer of 1959. We travelled for a year – Cyprus, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey – the *Guide Bleu du Moyen Orient* in hand. It was rough, but sublime. Then, via Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria, France, etc. to Paris.”<sup>140</sup>

He had settled in Paris when Alison and Peter Smithson decided it was time for him to start work and in 1961 they persuaded Theo Crosby to give him a job at Taylor Woodrow working on the Euston station project.<sup>141</sup> Middleton was in charge of the hotel and entertainments complex and Archigram members David Greene and Mike Webb were his assistants.<sup>142</sup> When the Taylor Woodrow Design Group fell apart as a result of a government ban on the building of offices in central London,<sup>143</sup> Middleton took over from Frampton as *AD's* technical editor in December 1964: “I didn't 'get the job' so to speak. Ken Frampton was wanting to go to America and Theo was still in close contact with Monica, he had been all the time, and Theo said 'you must go down and help Monica, she needs some help in the afternoons.’”<sup>144</sup>

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138 Ibid., 14–15.

139 Robin Middleton, “As Scholar,” *RIBA Journal*, July 1976, 287.

140 Middleton to Parnell, “AD research.”

141 Bergdoll, *Fragments*, 17.

142 Middleton, interview.

143 Middleton, “Haunts of Coot and Hern,” B22.

144 Middleton, interview.

Middleton was to remain at *AD* for 7½ years, leaving in July 1972.<sup>145</sup> Although they got along while they worked together, they were never close personally like Crosby had been or Frampton became.<sup>146</sup>

While at *AD*, Middleton continued with other architectural activities: he had a small architectural practice with Frank Linden, with whom he had worked at Taylor Woodrow. He was also an acquisitions editor for Thames & Hudson, for whom he commissioned Frampton's architectural history bestseller *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* in 1970.<sup>147</sup>

In 1972, Middleton was offered the job as librarian and lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture and Art History at Cambridge University, replacing David Watkin. He built such a strong collection of primary sources that the library was named after him when he left. Additionally, in 1973, Alvin Boyarsky asked him to be Director of General Studies at the Architectural Association.<sup>148</sup> As well as supervising student dissertations, Middleton set up around twenty series of lectures each year, one of the most successful of which, "The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux Arts", was a week-long conference held in May 1978 and published as a special issue of *AD* later that year.<sup>149</sup>

In 1985, Middleton spent a term as visiting professor at Columbia University and accepted a permanent position there as Professor of Art History in 1987. Middleton never married but cohabited in New York with architect trained Ruth Lakofski<sup>150</sup> (with whom he had lived since 1959) and artist Billy Walton.<sup>151</sup> Middleton was always a great traveller and Martin Spring, whom Middleton taught at the AA and whom he would recommend to Pidgeon for Peter Murray's editorial assistant, remembers that Middleton was always intense and professional as a teacher and always took a great pile of books to read on his annual two month summer holidays, when he would travel to remote places.<sup>152</sup> Politically, Middleton leaned to the left and would recommend to his students two key books for the history of the origins of socialist history: Wilson's "To The Finland Station"<sup>153</sup> and Hayek's "The Counter Revolution of

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145 Robin Middleton, "Working for Monica," *AA files*, no. 60 (Spring 2010): 26.

146 *Ibid.*, 27.

147 Frampton, interview.

148 Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007), 178.

149 Robin Middleton, ed., *The Beaux-Arts*, *AD Profiles* 17 (London: Academy Editions, 1978).

150 Ruth Lakofski (1933 – 2008) was the sister of Denise Scott Brown, and a friend from his youth in South Africa.

151 Bergdoll, *Fragments*, 19.

152 Martin Spring, interview by Steve Parnell, March 30, 2011.

153 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station: a study in the writing and acting of history* (Garden City:

Science”.<sup>154</sup>

Middleton retired from Columbia in the spring of 2003.

Like his compatriot Theo Crosby, Middleton has been something of an *éminence grise* in architectural culture, preferring to teach and edit and promote others rather than to produce his own oeuvre. Although much of his definitive Cambridge thesis was published as papers in various journals over the years, it was never published as a book in its own right, and his bibliography shows many, many contributions and edited works, but only a single solely authored book.<sup>155</sup> Architecturally, Middleton always “continued to like and to visit Le Corbusier’s buildings and more and more historical ones, in particular, the Romanesque churches of France and Byzantine churches anywhere.” He always maintained a belief in modern architecture but was critical of the compromised version that was being produced in the 1960s (“We ceased believing in most of the architecture going around because it was so bad and was so horrible”<sup>156</sup>). An expert in 18th and 19th century French architecture, Middleton had a more eclectic taste for more humane housing such as Port Grimaud.<sup>157</sup> With this in mind, and the evidence that Middleton loves the book and the idea more than the building, his 7½ “will to autonomy” years at *AD* and the direction in which he took it begin to make sense.

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Doubleday, 1940).

154 Friedrich August Hayek, *The Counter-Revolution of Science: studies on the abuse of reason* (New York and London: Free Press of Glencoe; Collier-Macmillan, 1955).

155 Bergdoll, *Fragments*, 386–391.

156 Middleton, interview.

157 Murray, interview.

## A history of *AD*, 1930–1953

### The Standard Catalogue Company

The Standard Catalogue Company started to publish *Architectural Design & Construction* (*AD&C*) in November 1930.<sup>158</sup> The company's origins lay in an Architects' Technical Bureau, which was started by architects Samuel S. Dottridge, C.P. Moss and a sleeping partner E.N. Barker in Bloomsbury Mansions, 26 Hart Street<sup>159</sup> on 10th December 1907. According to its unpublished history (Fig. 4.6), held by Mr. David Dottridge (grandson of Samuel),

The purpose of the Bureau was to provide an Information Centre for architects, and to this end a complete library of Manufacturers' catalogues was collected, and a staff capable of replying to architects' enquiries was employed. The Bureau continued in existence for some 7 or 8 years, and at one time had a subscription list of over 1,200 architects, who paid an annual fee of 10/6d [...] The Bureau was run under an executive committee of Architects. At the first meeting of this Committee, held on September 24th, 1908, the idea was approved of issuing to architect subscribers, circulars printed to a standard size and form, describing various manufacturers; specialities, and a series of files was supplied to every architect subscriber, in which under various trade headings the architects could file these circulars.<sup>160</sup>

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158 Coincidentally, the same month that *l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* started in Paris.

159 Hart St. became Bloomsbury Way, according to the Raymont list of Inner London street name changes, available at [http://www.raymont.info/general/road\\_name\\_changes/14\\_2H\\_Inner\\_London\\_Streets\\_Old\\_Names.html](http://www.raymont.info/general/road_name_changes/14_2H_Inner_London_Streets_Old_Names.html) [accessed 24 November 2010]. This street name change is reflected in the masthead of *AD&C* in June 1938.

160 "The History of the Standard Catalogue Company," Unpublished manuscript, n.d., 1.

THE HISTORY OF THE STANDARD CATALOGUE COMPANY.

Mr. E.N. Barker originated the formation of the Architects' Technical Bureau at a preliminary meeting held on December 10th, 1907 at Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart St.

The meeting was attended by several architects, including Mr. William Pite.

Mr. Barker convened the first meeting of a Committee of architects, who agreed to serve, and the first meeting was held on April 7th, 1908.

Mr. Barker then stated to the Committee that he represented the Architects' Technical Bureau Association, which had been duly registered as a Company under the Companies' Act of 1862-1900. (The Company was one limited by guarantee.)

The purpose of the Bureau was to provide an Information Centre for architects, and to this end a complete library of Manufacturers' catalogues was collected, and a staff capable of replying to architects' enquiries was employed. The Bureau continued in existence for some 7 or 8 years, and at one time had a subscription list of over 1,200 architects, who paid an annual fee of 10/6d.

The average number of enquiries from architects was perhaps about half a dozen each day which dealt with everything, viz. construction, materials, fittings, etc. *among which Architects' work*

Towards the end of 1909 the premises known as Bloomsbury Hall now occupied as our offices, were taken to provide accommodation for an exhibition of building materials.

The Bureau was run under an executive committee of Architects. At the first meeting of this Committee, held on September 24th, 1908, the idea was approved of issuing to architects subscribers, circulars printed to a standard size and form, describing various manufacturers' specialities, and a series of files was supplied to every architect subscriber, in which under various trade headings the architects could file these circulars. *also* A batch or seal would be affixed to these circulars, which would *indicate that* explain what the

Fig. 4.6: First of a five page history of the Standard Catalogue Company courtesy of David Dottridge.

The committee of architects would approve the products of manufacturers who would then pay a fee for inclusion in the circulars. These circulars became the *Architects' Standard Catalogue* (ASC), the first edition of which was published in 1911.<sup>161</sup> The second edition came out just before the outbreak of the war, and the third in 1920. Bloomsbury Mansions was actually the original Building Centre and, according to David Dottridge, "Because of the difficulty in getting transport to visit the exhibition centre it was decided to put the exhibition onto paper and from this [the] ASC was commenced."<sup>162</sup> During the first world war, the Standard Catalogue Company created the British Standard Exporter, a much larger catalogue covering all facets of industry and aimed at capturing German trade for British manufacturers. It was again paid for by manufacturers and distributed freely to industry overseas. This catalogue became so big and successful that the company decided to buy a reliable printer to support it, hence the purchase of Whitefriars Press in Tonbridge, Kent, which printed *AD* until 1970.

### ***Architectural Design & Construction 1930-1939***

Messrs. Dottridge and Moss "thought it would be nice to have a give-away, semi-social magazine with their standard catalogues"<sup>163</sup> and so *Architectural Design & Construction* volume 1, number 1 appeared in November 1930 (Fig. 4.7). It had a bright orange cover with a list of contributors' names in black lettering in the centre and note stuck on which read, "The only journal with a guaranteed monthly circulation to all the recognised practising Architects totalling 4,000, a printed list of which, with addresses, is supplied to each Advertiser." Clearly, advertisers with their upper case 'A' were considered crucial to this venture from the start. This is underlined by the fact that *AD&C* signed up with the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) almost immediately<sup>164</sup> and was the first architectural periodical to do so. The magazine was primarily a vehicle for advertisers to target specifiers of their products – although it carried

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161 Manufacturers paid £12 for one page reducing to £2/5/- per page for 30 pages or more in the first edition of the catalogue.

162 David Dottridge to Steve Parnell, "Research on Architectural Design", November 25, 2010.

163 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7492 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundsserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0300A0.mp3>.

164 The Audit Bureau of Circulations "was founded in 1931 in response to advertisers' requests for an independent source of circulation data." "Our History - ABC," *Audit Bureau of Circulations*, n.d., <http://www.abc.org.uk/About-us/Our-history/>. Wikipedia lists the founding date as 14 October 1931. "Audit Bureau of Circulations (UK)," *Wikipedia*, n.d., [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Audit\\_Bureau\\_of\\_Circulations\\_%28UK%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Audit_Bureau_of_Circulations_%28UK%29). *AD&C* was listed from as early as 14 December 1931 and the ASC from 27 February 1933.

a cover price of “ONE SHILLING”, the magazine is believed to have been originally given away for free with the *Architects' Standard Catalogue* and was paid for by advertising. This strategy had a significant precedent: as seen in the introduction, the world's first architectural journal as we currently recognise them, the *Journal des Bâtiments Civils*, was founded in October 1800 and sent for free to artists and architects. It also began as a list of building materials and advertisements before including in its third issue “professional announcements, critical comment on current architecture and architectural practice, history, theory and, above all, debate.”<sup>165</sup>

AD&C's first editor was a man called Kendall<sup>166</sup> who, according to Pidgeon, was always drunk and so was soon sacked.<sup>167</sup> His replacement was architect Frederic Towndrow who had, up until then, written a number of pieces for the magazine. His first known contribution is “Confessions of an Architect” in April 1931 under his preferred pseudonym, “Archi Volta”.<sup>168</sup> As Towndrow later recalled, “Sometimes when going to press, and when promised 'copy' from famous contributors had not shown up, Kendall would telephone me (I lived just round the corner in Bloomsbury) and ask me to come along at once and write a feature or two to fill the spaces left vacant by the notabilities. I also helped him in 'making-up' the paper and that was how I got my first real insight into the production side of journalism. And when Kendall became very ill, a little time before his death, I was asked to take over the job as consulting editor.”<sup>169</sup> It is not clear exactly when Towndrow actually took over as editor. His reminiscences in *AD* in 1951 say that he became editor in 1932, but the first editorial wasn't signed “F.E.T.” until the February 1934 issue. There was also a letter from him to the editor in September 1933<sup>170</sup> which suggests he wasn't the official editor at the time, although this could have been a cover, as there was no recognition of an editor's name on the masthead at this point and it was a letter in response to other correspondence printed in the same issue before it. By 1932, the magazine was recording a circulation of around 5,000.<sup>171</sup>

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165 Hélène Lipstadt, “Early Architectural Periodicals,” in *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth Century Architecture*, ed. Robin Middleton (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 52.

166 Frederic Towndrow, “Childhood and Adolescence,” *Architectural Design*, November 1951, 318.

167 Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7492 Side A.”

168 This pseudonym was never explicitly acknowledged, but in the December 1946 editorial, entitled “About Ourselves”, the editors announce a new column called “Technical Causerie” to be written by Towndrow. When this column starts the following month, it is signed “Archivolt”.

169 Towndrow, “Childhood and Adolescence,” 318.

170 Frederic Towndrow, “Letter to the editor,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, September 1933, 450.

171 The first half-yearly circulation figures for *Architectural Design* recorded with the Audit Bureau of Circulations are for January to June 1932. This gives the circulation as 5,072.

The initial policy of the magazine was outlined in the first editorial, "A Challenge to Mediocrity"<sup>172</sup> (Fig. 4.8) which clearly states that the magazine's aim was to be a platform for the layman to be able to criticise architecture: "Whilst holding no brief for the members of the stern old school of traditionalism, we shall not hesitate to give space to any genuine and frank opinions from such people who are in a position to judge, without necessarily being members of the profession."<sup>173</sup> An article by I.M. Parsons in this first issue, called "A Controversial Issue" decries the fact that the architectural critics in the lay press are always architects, leading to the "courtesies and conventions of Conduit Street",<sup>174</sup> and preventing frank criticism: "Unfortunately, for some curious and inexplicable reason, no architect of to-day will dare to criticise in public the work of a fellow-member of his profession. Architects, unlike practitioners of any other art, preserve amongst themselves a close conspiracy of silence – or worse – of mutual admiration."<sup>175</sup> This is ironic, considering they would very shortly call upon Towndrow, who was the *Sunday Observer's* architectural critic between 1927 and 1933,<sup>176</sup> to help out.

This was the period during which modern architecture in Britain was beginning to generate a following. The magazine remained a balanced platform for debate on both sides of the modernist versus traditionalist argument, as they claimed in their first anniversary editorial, "Our Second Year",

It has been our aim to hold the scales justly between the conflicting claim of 'traditionalism' and 'modernism.' Thus, we have declined to applaud stylistic fashions merely because they may be at the moment popular. On the other hand, we have sought to aid the development of every new tendency in architecture which promises to lead to results of permanent value.<sup>177</sup>

The April 1931 issue, for example, contains articles "Modern Bathrooms" by Howard Robertson<sup>178</sup> and "Sane Modernism" by Philip Morton Shand,<sup>179</sup> the chief promoter of

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172 Kendall, 'A Challenge to Mediocrity', 3.

173 Ibid.

174 Conduit Street was where the Architectural Association was located at the time.

175 I.M. Parsons, "A Controversial Issue," *Architectural Design & Construction*, November 1930, 17.

176 Frederick Edward Towndrow, "An interview with F.E. Towndrow (1897-1977)," interview by Hazel de Berg, Tape, June 25, 1964, 2, National Library of Australia Oral History and Folklore.

177 Kendall, "Our Second Year," *Architectural Design & Construction*, November 1931, 3.

178 Howard Robertson, "Modern Bathrooms," *Architectural Design & Construction*, April 1931, 232–238.

179 Philip Morton Shand, "Sane Modernism," *Architectural Design & Construction*, April 1931, 240–242.

# Architectural Design & Construction

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"SIMON STYLITES"

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### NOTE

The only Journal with a guaranteed monthly circulation for all the recognized practising Architects, amounting 4,000; a printed list of whom, with addresses, is supplied to each Advertiser.

Continental “white cube” modernism in the *Architectural Review* and friend and subsequent translator of Le Corbusier and Peter Behrens. However, despite the input of layman’s criticism – albeit laymen of some position – their advertising business model depended upon the content remaining chiefly of interest to architects, and the contributors predominantly remained architects themselves. As Jan Stratford noted, the magazine during these initial years “contained light-hearted articles on contemporary artists and architects”<sup>180</sup> – articles such as “Cathedral for Liverpool” (by Liverpool Prof. C.H. Reilly), “Planning a House in 1724” (by advocate of the Picturesque, Christopher Hussey). “The New Architecture” (by anti-modernist Sir Reginald Blomfield), a tripartite series called “The Delphian Dialectics” including articles entitled “Is Architecture an Art?”, “Is Architecture a Trade?”, “Has Architecture any True Existence?” and a series on “Adjuncts to Country House Work”.

Towndrow continued to practice with Geoffrey Ransom and was also involved in part-time teaching while editor of *AD&C*.<sup>181</sup> His motivation was an interest in the technical aspects of building and new methods of construction (which came from his work as a practitioner) and a belief that architecture and building were one and the same thing (his teaching methodology). His writing leaned towards the more philosophical pondering of architects and their profession in society.<sup>182</sup> As demonstrated by the tempered apologia of modernism he published in 1933<sup>183</sup> (which was based on as a series of 12 articles called “The Creed of a Modernist” in *AD&C*<sup>184</sup>), he was more sympathetic towards modernism, but would balance this in the

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180 Jan Stratford, “The Ideas Circus: An Overview of Architectural Design, 1930-1977,” *Architectural Design*, April 2000, 99.

181 Towndrow, “An interview with F.E. Towndrow (1897-1977),” 2.

182 *Ibid.*, 3.

183 Frederic Towndrow, *Architecture in the Balance. An approach to the art of scientific humanism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1933).

184 Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, November 1931, 18–21; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part II,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, December 1931, 82–87; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part III,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, January 1932, 128–134; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part IV,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, February 1932, 171–177; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part V,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, March 1932, 212–217; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part VI,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, April 1932, 274–279; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part VII,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, May 1932, 310–314; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part VIII,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, June 1932, 348–354; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part IX,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, July 1932, 386–390; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of a Modernist, Part X,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, August 1932, 426–430; Frederick E. Towndrow, “The Creed of

# Architectural Design & Construction

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NOVEMBER, 1932

## "A Challenge to Mediocrity"

THAT the world's greatest war should be followed by a period of violent reaction and that its repercussions should affect every branch of human life was to be expected. It was to be anticipated also that such a period of reaction would be of long duration. But the factor which gives reason for surprise is that sixteen years have not sufficed to bring about even a suggestion of stabilisation. We have only to examine, in comparison, the contemporary arts of 1914 and 1930 to realise the extent of the upheaval brought about by this mental reaction.

In literature, many of the "best sellers" of to-day would not have found a publisher in 1914. A very large number of this year's Royal Academy pictures would have been rejected then without a second thought. The art of the theatre shows exactly the same comparison, and music, in proportion with the other arts, has gone in the same direction. In all of these, we have our critics who condemn or condone, and both classes in their turn do *something* towards the retention of sanity. A book or a play may receive the fiercest criticism, and this, if only to a small extent, has an effect on the public taste.

But what of Architecture? We see the same upheaval in this as in the other arts. It would appear that the old school of traditionalists is fast dying out and that our new buildings, which we shall leave for the future generation, appear to be striving mainly for something new and sensational, in so far as their outward appearances are concerned. There is a note of "jazz" in decoration. There is what the modernist terms "simplicity" in form, but which the old traditionalist would term "crudity."

Elsewhere in this issue is an article ("A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE") which forms lively reading. Our contributor decries the fact that other arts are subject to the frankest criticism, but that the art of Architecture has so far been, to a great extent, immune. This may be due to the fact that the lay Press, whilst

giving increasing attention to the subject of architecture, has been compelled to call upon architects to write on such subjects. And what is the result? The "courtesies and conventions of Conduit Street" go far to prevent frank criticism.

We, however, are quite clear as to our position. Whilst holding no brief for the members of the stern old school of traditionalism, we shall not hesitate to give space to any genuine and frank opinions from such people who are in a position to judge, without necessarily being members of the profession. Surely it would be of more interest to an architect to know the opinion of the person who is to make use of his building, rather than hear the polite platitudes of a brother member of his profession.

That the opinion of the layman can be of interest, is instanced in the following remarks recently made by Dr. Downey, the Archbishop of Liverpool, against the proposed new cathedral at Liverpool:—

*"A cathedral is at least a counterblast to the materialism of industrialism. It serves to arrest the attention of the thoughtless throng. The cathedral would be even a social asset in that it would be a supreme expression of artistic genius, a challenge to the mediocrity of the age, a cultural standard of comparison, a masterpiece to uplift the minds and hearts of those who looked upon even its exterior beauty."*

The italics are ours after an inspection of the preliminary drawings of the cathedral.

The hope that essentially sane but decidedly frank criticisms on architectural activities, both at home and abroad, will have even occasional effect upon prevailing tendencies is perhaps rather ambitious. Nevertheless, it is a policy which we have dared to adopt and which we intend to keep constantly in sight.

EDITOR.

Fig. 4.8: The first editorial.

a Modernist, Part XI," *Architectural Design & Construction*, September 1932, 474–478; Frederick E. Towndrow, "The Creed of a Modernist, Part XII," *Architectural Design & Construction*, October 1932, 502–507.

magazine with traditional and vernacular building alongside more light-hearted articles on, for example, Stephen Hubbard's "The Architect in Drama and Fiction"<sup>185</sup> and "Holidays for Architects".<sup>186</sup> The content of *AD&C* throughout the thirties, then, reflected these sensibilities.

In terms of policy, Towndrow recalled that they "tried to keep a balance between the three aspects of: (a) critical and philosophic discussions, including articles of aesthetic or scholarly interest and articles on foreign travel: (b) first-class photography and layout and detailed descriptions and drawings of the latest buildings as soon as they were completed; and (c) standing news features on professional topics, new materials, methods and equipment." while continuing "the original policy of allowing expression for general ideas or literary skill."<sup>187</sup> The emphasis on the layman's criticism seems to have been less important for Towndrow who was more interested in turning it into a technical publication.<sup>188</sup>

Following his interest and belief in the technical aspects of building and construction, Towndrow initiated a series of articles such as "Inside the Industry"<sup>189</sup> where he explained in detail where building materials came from and how they were manufactured, from their very extraction from the earth to the processing and final place on the building site. In December 1936 this gave way to a much more ambitious reference supplement by the rather exhaustive name of "D.&C. Architectural Record and Reference Supplement" (Fig. 4.10) and for the year of 1937 only, the magazine's name temporarily became *Architectural Record of Design & Construction*. This supplement became the structuring device for the magazine. Each month would concentrate on a different theme and provide building studies and reference material for this type of building every twelve months. Some issues, such as the March 1938 number on theatres and cinemas, were taken over almost entirely by this supplement. The Reference supplement continued until December 1939, when it made for Towndrow's "The Components of Building" series.

1937 also seems to be the year that the magazine split from its parent, *Architects' Standard Catalogue* in order to be purchased by subscription rather than given away freely. There is no significant change in circulation and no notice in the magazine other than the following:

The Directors, Editor and Staff of "Architectural Design & Construction"

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185 Stephen Hubbard, *Architectural Design & Construction*, October, November, December 1934, February, March 1935. Perhaps inspired by an article by Herbert Croly in the *Architectural Record*, in February 1905 called "The Architect in Recent Fiction".

186 Stephen Hubbard, *Architectural Design & Construction*, August, September, October, November 1935

187 Towndrow, "Childhood and Adolescence," 318.

188 Monica Pidgeon, "F.E. Towndrow," *RIBA Journal*, September 1977, 397.

189 *Architectural Design & Construction*, May – December 1936

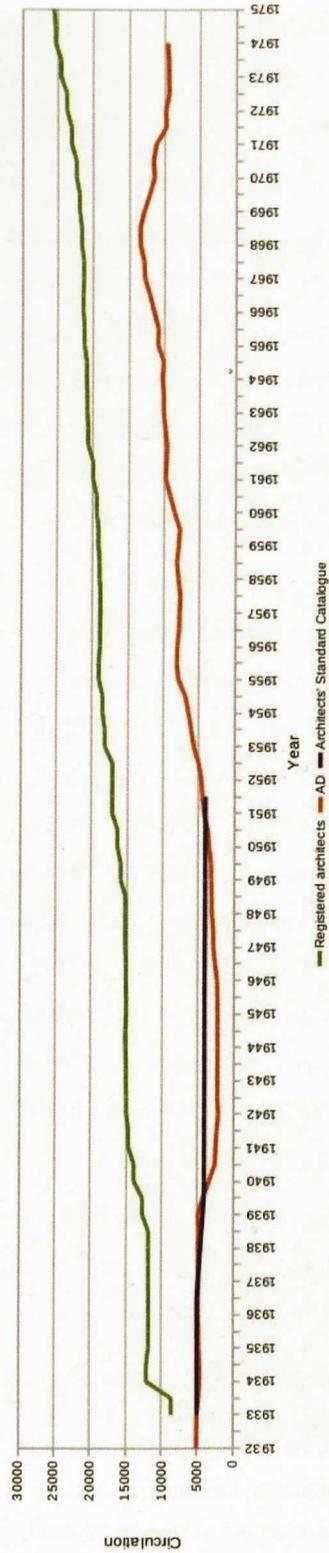


Fig. 4.9: Circulation of AD, ASC and number of architects registered with ARCUK, 1932-1974. Courtesy of ABC and ARB.

wish to thank architects and other readers for nearly two thousand letters of appreciation and offers of subscription which have been received during the past four months. Many of these letters have come – and are still coming – from the most distant parts of the world. They are being replied to individually as rapidly as possible.

To all these we send our warmest thanks. Their offers of subscription have already enabled us to develop our *Architectural Record Supplements*; and such continued, as well as additional, support will help us augment even further the editorial features of the Journal in a number of most practical ways.

To those who have not already offered to subscribe there is a subscription form enclosed. In any case, please write to us on any topic.<sup>190</sup>

The notice of membership of the ABC, along with its insignia moves from the back to the front cover, possibly to reassure advertisers bidding for the picture on the front cover of their circulation numbers, which remained around 4,800. The front cover of the issues of 1936 even boasted that it was “largest circulation amongst practising architects”, although this is difficult to verify or to believe considering the *Architectural Review's* status at the time. In the immediate pre-war years, the tone of the magazine was one of scientific modernism with editor Towndrow being proud of the fact that *AD&C* was the only magazine to carry such technical reference material. While the *Architectural Review* was experimenting with avant-garde page layouts and photography with the white-box modernists, the buildings featured in *AD&C* were plain, undecorated compositions in brick arranged neatly and traditionally on the page. The mood of 1938 was cautiously optimistic. January's issue comprised the first of a series of articles on “Civil Defence”, a response to the growing rumblings of war, but also a notice of growth:

At the beginning of our eighth year of publication we wish all our readers every success during 1938. And we would ask them to note the steady and continuing growth of 'Design and Construction.' This issue contains more editorial and advertising pages than any of our previous issues for January.<sup>191</sup>

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190 Frederic Towndrow, “To All Our Readers,” *Architectural Record of Design & Construction*, March 1937, 168.

191 Frederic Towndrow, “Our Steady Progress,” *Architectural Record of Design & Construction*, January 1938, 4.

# D. & C. — ARCHITECTURAL RECORD & REFERENCE SUPPLEMENT

# S C H O O L S . PART I

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Suggestions for the Planning of  
Buildings for Public Elementary  
Schools (Educational Pamphlet  
No. 7), H.M. Stationery Office,  
2/-.

For further references to  
foreign schools, see also  
*L'architecture d'aujourd'hui*, No.  
5, 1936; *The Architectural  
Record* (American), No. 6, 1936;  
*Architect's Journal*, May 28, 1936.

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### PART II (To be published in January, 1937) on Schools Generally

#### R. 1. Some Points on Planning Elementary Schools

By E. Wamsley Lewis, A.R.I.B.A.

##### THE PRESENT POSITION

THE considerable interest in school buildings, and especially in Elementary Schools, at the present time, has arisen from several reasons.

1. The main one being the increase of the school leaving age to fifteen years for Elementary Schools, which leaves most local authorities with a shortage of sufficient accommodation to cope with the new demands.
2. New and broader methods of instruction (in which the three R's only occupy a small proportion of the time devoted to instruction) necessitate specialist rooms, in which the old schools were deficient.
3. The realisation of deficiencies in physical training and nutrition for the youth of the nation in order to maintain its position among the World Powers, as well as the demand for improvement in hygiene, sanitation, and good light and air.
4. The redistribution of population in the following of industry and new housing estates.
5. The aims of the Board of Education to produce better schools and the realisation that many of the existing schools are both depressing and unsuitable.
6. The new demand for infants' schools or provision for nursery classes at which children are admitted at the age of three years.
7. The increased interest in adult education and the provision of new schools in rural districts to serve as community centres.

##### SITING PROBLEMS

SIZE. The sites required for new schools are very large because of the need for exercising spaces, and, where possible, playing fields in conjunction with the schools. Sites should be adequate to allow for possible future extensions, especially in newly developing districts.

Fig. 4.10: The first instalment of the Design & Construction Architectural Record & Reference Supplement.

## ***Architectural Design & Construction 1939–1946***

As would be expected, the war changed everything, not least the number of pages of editorial, which shrank to just over 20 during the war years. The page size was reduced too from January 1942, as this notice in December 1941 advised:

In common with every other periodical and newspaper in the country, “Architectural Design and Construction” is rationed to a small proportion of its peace-time paper requirements. To meet this need it has been decided to reduce the size of this journal to 12½” deep by 9” wide. We have favoured a reduction in size, rather than a lesser number of pages – though this, too, may be necessary later – so that the general arrangement of features shall remain unaltered. The changeover will be made in the January 1942 issue and will continue until further notice.<sup>192</sup>

There was no further notice and the size remained the same until 1970.

Publishable material was also difficult to come by as clearly nothing was being built and features focused largely on building advice for defence (such as air raid shelters) and propaganda for architects' services for the planning and reconstruction of Britain after the war. The feature “War-time Building” started in February 1940<sup>193</sup> (Fig. 4.11), continuing until May 1942 and Raglan Squire's first of three “Post-war Reconstruction” articles formed the editorial as early as February 1941. The June 1941 editorial was called “Planning is a War Weapon” started:

This is a war of ideas, a war fought to determine the future of civilisation. It is in so many respects a conflict between new ideas and old ideas. Those who fight only for the continuance of the past; for heritage, tradition, and the vested interests of habit and ancient usage, will go down eventually before those who fight for the future. Thus the only way to meet a strong political faith is by a faith that is stronger and more positive in regard to the future.<sup>194</sup>

There were reports from the various war committees on subjects such as the National Buildings Record<sup>195</sup> and the “compensation and betterment” of land.

Towndrow edited *AD&C* until December 1939, when he started being listed as “consultant

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192 Editors, *Architectural Design & Construction*, December 1941, 252.

193 As “War-time problems in Building”.

194 Editors, “Planning is a War Weapon,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, June 1941, 114.

195 March 1941. This became part of the National Monuments Record.

# WAR-TIME PROBLEMS IN BUILDING

**I**N VIEW OF THE PREVAILING STAGNATION IN PRIVATE BUILDING, AND IN ORDER TO STIMULATE SOME UNITY OF ACTION—SO AS TO BRING PRESSURE UPON THE GOVERNMENT AND OTHER AUTHORITIES—WE INSTITUTE THIS MONTH A FEATURE CALLED “WAR-TIME PROBLEMS IN BUILDING.”

## The Manufacturers’ Point of View

THE FIRST PART OF THIS FEATURE WILL CONSIST OF EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM, OR INTERVIEWS WITH, PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY, DISCUSSING PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTING SOLUTIONS.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS FEATURE WILL CONTAIN PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS WITH DRAWINGS TO SHOW ECONOMIC METHODS OF USING MATERIALS IN THE PRESENT EMERGENCY—ESPECIALLY METHODS WHICH CAN OBLIATE THE USE OF SCARCE MATERIALS, SUCH AS TIMBER. WE HAVE REACHED A POSITION WHERE THOUSANDS OF JOBS ARE HELD UP THROUGH LACK OF TIMBER. IN HUNDREDS OF CASES IF A MAN WERE ALLOWED TO SPEND £50 ON TIMBER HE WOULD SPEND £1,000 ON OTHER MATERIALS.

### THE BRICK AND TILE-MAKING INDUSTRY

SINCE THE WAR BEGAN, THE BRICK AND TILE-MAKING INDUSTRY HAS PERHAPS BEEN MORE SERIOUSLY HIT THAN ANY—ESPECIALLY THE MAKERS OF GOOD QUALITY FACING BRICKS AND ENGINEERING BRICKS. IF THIS STAGNATION CONTINUES MUCH LONGER MANY OF THEIR WORKS WILL CEASE PRODUCTION ENTIRELY, WITH A CONSEQUENT WHOLESALE DISBANDING OF TRAINED PERSONNEL AND A SERIOUS BREAK-UP OF ORGANISED INDUSTRY AND EXPENSIVE PLANT.

THUS TO START THE DISCUSSION WE HAVE ADDRESSED A QUESTIONNAIRE TO SOME LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE BRICK INDUSTRY ON THE FOLLOWING LINES:—

An Open Forum for  
our Readers to discuss  
present-day difficulties

- Part I. (a) What is your general position under war conditions so far as the demand for bricks and tiles is concerned?  
(b) What would be your position in the case of sudden demand by the Government, local authorities and other purchasers, and would it not be better, in your view, to keep up a steady demand than to have spasmodic demands later on?
- Part II. Could you let us have any practical suggestions as to: (a) New fields in the use of brick and tiles (such as for A.R.P.)?  
(b) Ways of using brick and tiles in ordinary building construction in spite of the scarcity in certain other materials like timber?

### SOME VIEWS REGARDING THE BRICK AND TILE-MAKING INDUSTRY FROM:—

H. T. LAVENDER  
(PROCTOR AND  
LAVENDER, SOLI-  
HULL, BIRMM.)

“Admittedly times are exceptionally difficult, but we do not propose to make them worse by dwelling on the negative aspect of things.”

“We feel there is an unfortunate tendency these days for an industry to run to the Government the moment it finds itself in a jamb, as if the well-meaning, but uneconomic and probably uninformed average Government Department could just step in and solve everything.”

“Incidentally, the deeper the Government does get into a trade the more difficult it is to get it out again.”

“Surely it is up to the various professions and trades dependent on building to combine and think out the best solutions themselves, bearing in mind, of course, that a purely selfish solution is useless.”

“It must dovetail in with the interest of the nation as a whole and take into full account the present abnormal circumstances.”

“Such a solution, backed by the weight and voting power of the whole industry would no doubt alter the present state of affairs very rapidly.”

W. J. TUCKER  
(G. TUCKER & SON  
LTD.,  
LOUGHBOROUGH).

“Part I. (a) Two of our three yards are now completely closed and the third manned by maintenance men only. There is not the slightest demand for facing bricks, due, we imagine, to the Government control of timber, which has neutralised all the initiative of the private builder.”

“(b) In our opinion we are very certain that a steady demand is beneficial and is absolutely necessary if the trade is not to become stagnant. The tendency is for our craftsmen to seek other employment in munition factories simply because we cannot offer them a full week’s work, a position which could be remedied somewhat if the Government would be more frank. We are given to understand that schemes requiring many millions of bricks will one day be announced by the Government, but unfortunately no one will accept the responsibility for stating the type of brick to be used, hence manufacturers slowly watch their employees drift away.”

“Part II. (a) Sandbags are in our opinion a definite hindrance and brickwork is preferable and safer as a protective medium.”

“(b) We consider your other questions are personal matters for your own profession, but we would like to add that new ideas and suggestions for the development of clay would be warmly welcomed by this firm.”

Fig. 4.11: The introduction of War-Time Problems in Building, February 1940.

editor”, in which capacity, according to the masthead, he continued until June 1941. However, he continued as consultant editor throughout the war, while he went to work for the Ministry of Works, and he drafted in Monica Pidgeon to work alongside his secretary, Barbara Randell, to ghost as his co-editors. Towndrow almost single-handedly kept the magazine going with his “The Components of Building” series which was to be his second book but was never published due to the war. It was at least serialised in abridged form in *AD&C* from January 1940 to July 1942. He even published one of his own buildings, “Chepstow Court, Kensington” under the aegis of one of his more typical philosophical ruminations called “Architectural Science: some observations on the planning of flats and similar buildings on restricted, expensive sites.”<sup>196</sup> Other published buildings were rare and usually came from the US or Sweden, alongside the occasional historical look at India or Russia. The remainder of the magazine consisted largely of news and reports from the Ministry, where Towndrow clearly was privy to information before other magazines. The following announcement was made in July 1942 and seems to mark the end of Towndrow's position as editor of the magazine, although he would continue as consultant editor until he left for Australia in October 1947:<sup>197</sup>

We are please to announce that Mr. F.E. Towndrow has been appointed Senior Architect in the Directorate of Post-War Building, Ministry of Works and Planning.

For the Past year he has been assisting Sir James West, O.B.E., F.R.I.B.A., who is the Ministry's Chief Architect and Director of Post-War Building. In addition, Mr. Towndrow is acting as Secretary to the Policy Committees (for Design, Structure, and Installations) set up by the Post-War Directorate.

Previous to his work at the Ministry he was in private practice as an architect, carrying out a variety of work – chiefly small houses and flats. He is the author of several books and many articles on architecture, building, housing and town planning. He recently edited the book “Replanning Britain.” His main work is the text-book on building materials, “The Components of Building,” the greater part of which has been published in serial form in this journal during that past two years. This month's instalment completes the series.

Mr Towndrow, as our readers will know, has been Consulting Editor of *Architectural Design and Construction* for the past nine years. We wish him every success in his appointment, and we are sure that he will bring to his new duties the same admirable qualities which he has so convincingly shown during his conduct of this

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196 Frederic Towndrow, “Architectural Science: some observations on the planning of flats and similar buildings on restricted, expensive sites,” *Architectural Design & Construction*, July 1941.

197 Frederic Towndrow, “Prospects for British Architects in the Empire,” *Architectural Design*, August 1948, 178.

ARCHITECTURAL

# DESIGN and CONSTRUCTION

FEATURES

NEW TOWN  
IN BRAZIL

HOUSING  
FORUM

8 NEW TYPES OF  
HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

PROJECT FOR  
1951 EXHIBITION

R.I.B.A./U.N.E.S.C.O.  
EXHIBITION

FOCUS ON DESIGN

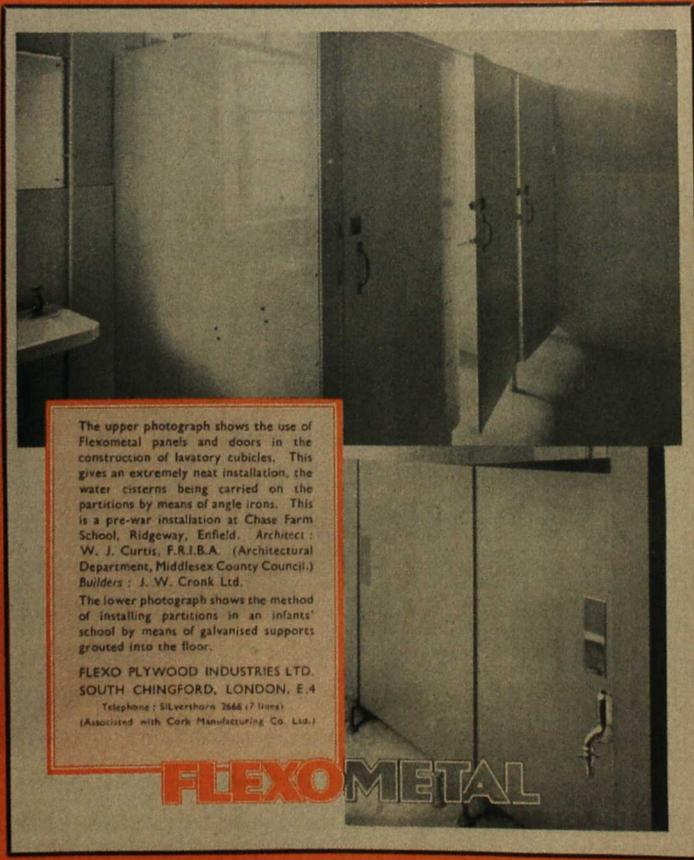
BOOK NOTES

NEWS AND NOTES

No. 12, Vol. XVI

DECEMBER, 1946

Published Monthly 1s. 6d.



The upper photograph shows the use of Flexometal panels and doors in the construction of lavatory cubicles. This gives an extremely neat installation, the water cisterns being carried on the partitions by means of angle irons. This is a pre-war installation at Chase Farm School, Ridgeway, Enfield. Architect: W. J. Curtis, F.R.I.B.A. (Architectural Department, Middlesex County Council.) Builders: J. W. Cronk Ltd.

The lower photograph shows the method of installing partitions in an infants' school by means of galvanised supports grouted into the floor.

FLEXO PLYWOOD INDUSTRIES LTD.  
SOUTH CHINGFORD, LONDON, E.4  
Telephone: SILVERTHORN 2646 (7 lines)  
(Associated with Cork Manufacturing Co. Ltd.)

**FLEXOMETAL**

Fig. 4.12: The cover of the December 1946 issue - the last "Architectural Design & Construction".

Pidgeon and Randell co-edited the magazine from mid 1942, without any credit on the masthead. They took the magazine every month to the Ministry of Works for Towndrow's approval before publishing each issue. Content remained concentrated on the war effort, but more buildings crept in – predominantly houses, schools and health care. Randell may or may not have contributed to anonymous editorials but was never acknowledged with any piece, whereas Pidgeon wrote the “Twenty Years of Housing Progress under local authorities” series from January 1943 as part of the ongoing “Housing Forum”, which formed a staple of the magazine until the end of 1946. In fact, at this time, *AD&C* effectively consisted of the general “News and Notes”<sup>199</sup> and the “Housing Forum”.

Pidgeon's husband Raymond was an architect involved in the practice Arcon with Edric Neel and Rodney Thomas.<sup>200</sup> Arcon at this time were developing pre-fabricated housing and this seems to have been an inspiration for Monica as it formed a substantial focus of the magazine's policy for emergency temporary and even permanent post-war housing. Edric Neel became a regular reviewer of school buildings and planning articles, which were published regularly and used to lobby the government. In December 1943, *AD&C* reprinted several pages from the US magazine *Architectural Forum* on prefabricated housing, including Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion house. This was probably the first mention of Buckminster Fuller in the UK press and demonstrates how forward-looking Pidgeon was even then. The lack of material for publication would have certainly influenced Pidgeon's way of collecting material in her archives for future publication, something that continued throughout her editorship.<sup>201</sup> The end of the war meant that *AD&C* had permission to use more paper, and editorial pages increased to around 30 pages per month. The undomesticated Pidgeon continued to focus on domestic issues for some time, including a “Kitchen Equipment” series from June to November 1945. The voice of Raymond, who had left Arcon at the end of September 1945 to return to private practice, can be heard in some editorials, such as that of February 1946, bemoaning the lack of opportunity for the private practitioner. He also contributed an unusual article on farm buildings in the same issue. The Pidgeons amicably separated that year, and as Raymond's involvement was needed less as the magazine found its way, he contributed only one book review from then on. The war had a considerable impact on circulation of *AD&C*, which shows an average of 4,026 for the ASC between July

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198 Editors, *Architectural Design & Construction*, July 1942, 132.

199 A continuation of the “War-time Building”.

200 Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7492 Side A.”

201 Although unfortunately, nothing can be found of it now.

## About Ourselves

AS we approach the end of this year, the end of our sixteenth and the beginning of our seventeenth year of publication, it is proper that we should take stock of ourselves and consider where we stand in the noble ranks of architectural journalism. So may we now appraise our past and reveal our future.

*Architectural Design and Construction* was founded seventeen years ago upon a policy of providing a monthly journal for architects—and others concerned in building—which would be different from other journals. Its policy was to serve the many-sided nature as well as the practical requirements of the architect. Thus whilst it would provide news and comment on contemporary affairs and detailed descriptions of the latest buildings and materials, it should provide serial articles on the whole trend of design and construction—not only in this country but also abroad. It was unusual at that time—and still is—to carry long serial articles, month after month, covering, within reason, the whole nature of a subject.

What was also unusual was the range of articles of a literary and cultured flavour which appeared in the early issues—articles on aesthetics, history, and architectural design.

Our readers of those early pages—and most of them are still with us—will remember those first articles by famous writers: they were not circumscribed for space; they spread themselves easily over the pages and they were not in the least concerned about "news value": they were, frankly, cultured entertainment. And very good they were. But those happy days were soon gone. Then followed many years of hard work in building up the journal so that it became essentially a leading monthly record of contemporary architecture and current building practice. It grew in size and strength: our readers will remember our very considerable *Reference Sections*, and the serial instalments of "*The Components of Building*."

Times change the surface of things even if they do not change the core. We have weathered the early years and have survived the treacherous days of war; and our basic policy though the same, is now more precise in its definition and more varied in its range. That early policy of ours of trying to serve, within reason, the whole nature of the architect—cultural as well as constructional, poetic as well as practical, has brought us success. We are now firmly established; we already have a tradition which, while it does not dominate us, is a good one. Our editorial problem now—with great pressure upon our space—is to keep the right balance between the different requirements. Broadly—very broadly—there are three spheres of interest which we try to satisfy: they are not strictly compartmentalised in this journal—they often merge with one another—but they are there all the same on the different pages. First, there is news; news in paragraph and comment, and news in the way of the detailed descriptions, photographs and drawings of the latest buildings and industrial design. Second, there is technical information; for instance, articles on new methods of construction and general articles on contemporary building technique and new developments in materials and components, equipment and installations. Third, and not the least important, are the articles which are something of a relief from the highly technical nature of the others: they are the articles on some general matter of interest to architects and designers, such as the history of art or architecture, or contemporary design and planning in foreign countries.

To be more specific, this December issue will mark the end of the "*Housing Forum*" which has run with such success for several years. The *Housing Forum* will wind up in grand style by reviewing no less than eight further types of the permanent prefabricated houses: thus almost every new and approved method of construction has now been covered by this journal. But of course, any further developments of this kind in the future will be welcomed in these pages.

In January, we begin our seventeenth year with a somewhat larger and improved journal containing two important new features: they are *Technical Couesrie* by Mr. Frederic E. Townsend, a lively yet informative review of contemporary building technique, and *American Review*, a feature destined to keep us all abreast of the times, written by an architect whose mind combines the rare qualities of philosophic and independent thought with specific and scientific knowledge.

And we still feel that there should be at least one journal in the architectural and building fields which provides a corner for literary expression, and (not too serious) scholarship or philosophic disquisition. So in the new year, with a little more paper at our disposal, we will in due course publish in serial form a new kind of biographical study of a famous architect of the past. And, last but not least, we shall appear in a new cover with a slight change in our title. For the sake of brevity we shall be known in future as *ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN*.

Fig. 4.13: The December 1946 editorial.

and December 1939, and 4,207 for *AD&C*. However, the following half-yearly figures are 4,026 and 3,387 respectively. *AD&C*'s circulation slowly dropped to around 2,200 for the second half of 1942, where it stayed throughout the war (*ASC*'s circulation, meanwhile, remained precisely 4,026).<sup>202</sup>

January 1946 saw a new beginning for *AD&C* with Pidgeon and Randell credited on the masthead as joint editors (alongside a mysterious "N.R.D." for the first two months<sup>203</sup>), although Towndrow was kept as "Consultant Editor" to reassure advertisers. The real new dawn appeared a year later, however, as the "About Ourselves" editorial of December 1946 testified (Figs. 4.12, 4.13):

Times change the surface of things even if they do not change the core. We have weathered the early years and have survived the treacherous days of war: and our basic policy though the same, is now more precise in its definition and more varied in its range. That early policy of ours of trying to serve, within reason, the whole nature of the architect cultural as well as constructional, poetic as well as practical, has brought us success. We are now firmly established: we already have a tradition which, while it does not dominate us, is a good one. Our editorial problem now with great pressure upon our space is to keep the right balance between the different requirements. Broadly very broadly there are three spheres of interest which we try to satisfy: they are not strictly compartmentalised in this journal they often merge with one another but they are there all the same on the different pages. First, there is news; news in paragraph and comment, and news in the way of the detailed descriptions, photographs and drawings of the latest buildings and industrial design. Second, there is technical information: for instance, articles on new methods of construction and general articles on contemporary building technique and new developments in materials and components, equipment and installations. Third, and not the least important, are the articles which are something of a relief from the highly technical nature of the others: they are the articles on some general matter of interest to architects and designers, such as the history of art or architecture, or contemporary design and planning in foreign countries.<sup>204</sup>

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202 By way of some context, there were 15,045 registered architects in the UK in 1946.

203 David Dottridge thinks that "N.R.D." might refer to a man called "Dowding", who had overall responsibility for all of *SCC*'s title. David Dottridge to Steve Parnell, "Research on Architectural Design", June 20, 2011.

204 Barbara Randall and Monica Pidgeon, "About Ourselves," *Architectural Design & Construction*, December 1946, 322.

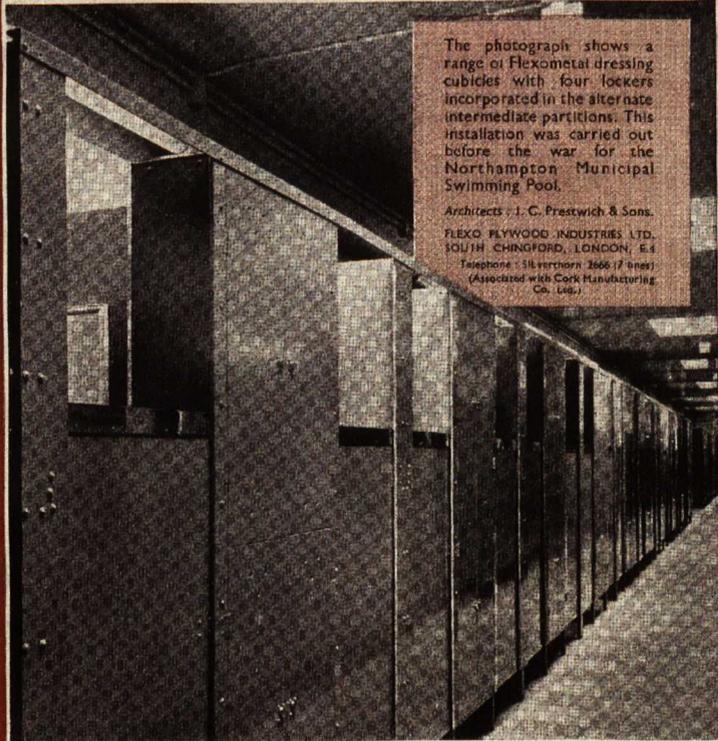
# ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

FORMERLY ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN & CONSTRUCTION

VOLUME XVII

JANUARY 1947

PRICE 1/6



The photograph shows a range of Flexometal dressing cubicles with four lockers incorporated in the alternate intermediate partitions. This installation was carried out before the war for the Northampton Municipal Swimming Pool.

Architects: J. C. Prestwich & Sons.  
FLEXO PLYWOOD INDUSTRIES LTD.  
SOUTH CHINGFORD, LONDON, E.4  
Telephone: Silverthorn 2666 (7 lines)  
(Associated with Cork Manufacturing Co. Ltd.)

**FLEXOMETAL**

Fig. 4.14: The newly designed cover of January 1947, with the name changed to "Architectural Design".

The magazine was also about to modernise in a pique of post-war optimism. Although it had casually been referred to as “Design & Construction” (or “D.&C.”) before the war, “About Ourselves” finished with the announcement that “we shall appear in a new cover with a slight change in our title. For the sake of brevity we shall be known in future as ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN.”<sup>205</sup>

### ***Architectural Design 1947-1953***

The initial post-war austerity years saw a dearth of building in the UK, due to government controls and lack of materials, much to the frustration of returning and newly-qualifying architects. There was therefore little to publish from home in the architectural press and building reviews in these early years were largely from the USA, Sweden and Switzerland. It was therefore a shrewd move to introduce the series of articles “American Review” by Mark Hartland Thomas whom Pidgeon had met at the MARS group, for which he was secretary. This proved a very popular column with great longevity, turning into “Review of American Periodicals” before long and demonstrating Monica’s unwavering international interests. Beyond such short-run series, however, there was little consistency or clear direction. In fact, articles were as eclectic and far-ranging at this time as they would ever be, a testament to Monica’s networking, ingenuity and determination to keep the magazine going. Circulation grew steadily from 2,267 for the second half of 1945 to 3,198 in the same period of 1949, when the following announcement was made:

We shall be allowed a considerable increase in the permitted paper consumption for ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN as from the July issue following the recent announcement by the President of the Board of Trade. This will make it possible for us to accept a number of additional subscriptions beginning July.<sup>206</sup>

Between the end of the war and the end of 1952, figures show that circulation had more than doubled to just over 5,000 and continued to climb for the next four years.<sup>207</sup> The number of editorial pages also grew from around 20 in 1950 to around 30 per issue by 1953. The

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205 Ibid.

206 Monica Pidgeon and Barbara Randell, “‘ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN’ - MORE COPIES AVAILABLE SOON,” *Architectural Design*, May 1949, 104.

207 From 2,267 in the second half of 1945 to 5,037 in the corresponding period of 1952, to a temporary peak of 8,121 in the same period for 1955, according to Audit Bureau of Circulations figures.

# 7 ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

JULY 1952  
VOLUME XXII  
PRICE 2/6



*Westville Road School, by Ernő Goldfinger*

CONTENTS : Constructional system applied to two schools, designed by Ernő Goldfinger : described and analysed by Dargan Bullivant. Block of flats, designed by Walter Segal. Elysian Heights, California, designed by Richard Neutra and described by David Aberdeen. Review of Periodicals (America) by Mark Hartland Thomas. The Voice of the Student : Liverpool School of Architecture. Landscape Architecture. Interior Design. News of Building Materials.

**PLANNING • BUILDING • CONSTRUCTION**

Fig. 4.15: The introduction of a new cover design in July 1952.

editorial of January 1953's issue boasted that "circulation has been steadily booming and continues to do so – *per capita*, as well as in terms of the new countries penetrated abroad."<sup>208</sup> The editors also deliberated about features from the past and upcoming year mentioning, among other things, the new style of cover introduced in July of 1952: "We like it, and are glad that you do too."<sup>209</sup> This new cover format, which replaced the format of a wide brick-red border around a square advert (in place since the name change in January 1947, Fig. 4.14) consisted of a large photo (Fig. 4.15) indicating the contents of the magazine, printed in black on a single brightly coloured background (a different colour each month). The contents were printed on the front cover and the magazine's subtitle, at the bottom in bold sans-serif capitals, was: "PLANNING • BUILDING • CONSTRUCTION", clearly indicating its no-nonsense intentions to advertisers and readers alike. The removal of an advert from the cover was a bold and optimistic move, as a cover ad could attract a lot of money.

Between 1947 and 1950, a number of series were initiated, both cultural and technical. The all-male list of consultants on the masthead (there to re-assure the advertisers) consisted of Mark Hartland Thomas, Edward D. Mills, Gontran Goulden, Dargan Bullivant, David du R. Aberdeen and Gordon T. Tait, all of whom contributed regularly with articles and whose work was also featured frequently. It is no surprise to find many articles on the planning and reconstruction of Britain and other countries, most pieces being lengthy, wordy essays. But the most vital item was the monthly editorial which consistently highlighted the plight of the architect and did not refrain from harsh criticism of the professional bodies, the government or whomever the editors saw as culpable for the lack of material to publish. From 1950, the editors were beginning to find a rhythm as more buildings were publishable. The meetings of CIAM (1947 (Fig. 4.16) and 1951) offered some relief from the drought, as did the Festival of Britain, with June 1951's number dedicated to the Royal Festival Hall and the following issue dedicated to the Festival itself. By this time, the editors had commissioned Edward Mills to write a series of articles "dealing with the best contemporary buildings in Great Britain completed from 1945 onwards, with the hope that it would form the beginning of a permanent record of the development of contemporary architecture in this country from the end of the second world war."<sup>210</sup> This series of articles, called "The New Architecture In Great Britain" added structure to the content of the magazine and was warmly received. It was re-printed as a book of the same name in 1953,<sup>211</sup> providing a record of key architects in the immediate

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208 Monica Pidgeon and Barbara Randall, "Stock Taking," *Architectural Design*, January 1953, 1.

209 Ibid.

210 Edward D. Mills, *The New Architecture In Great Britain, 1946-1953* (The Standard Catalogue Company, 1953), 9.

211 Mills, *The New Architecture In Great Britain, 1946-1953*.

Group photograph taken during the visit of CIAM to the Bristol Aeroplane Company's factory producing aluminium housing.



TOP-RROW 1. (Left to right):  
 1. Milron (England).  
 2. Browne (England).  
 3. Rogers (Italy).  
 4. Cedercreutz (Finland).  
 5. Grossmizot (Hungary).  
 6. Fruska (Czechoslovakia).  
 7. Neumann (Czechoslovakia).  
 8. Marshall (England).  
 9. Kadhugh (England).  
 10. van Boddegraven (Holland).  
 11. Entwistle (England).  
 12. Richards (England).  
 13. Elte (Holland).

14. Samuel (England).  
 15. Roth (Switzerland).  
 16. Emery (Algeria).  
 17. Bijhouwer (Holland).  
 18. de Vries (Holland).  
 19. van den Broek.  
 20. Kloos (Holland).  
 21. Klschamp (Holland).  
 22. Mitlet (Belgium).  
 ROW 2.  
 23. Cadbury-Brown (England).  
 24. Shephard (England).  
 25. De Syllas (England).

26. Cox (England).  
 27. Moffitt (Ireland).  
 28. Batista (Cuba).  
 29. Arroyo (Cuba).  
 30. Fuchs (Czechoslovakia).  
 31. Homneger (Switzerland).  
 32. Fischer (Hungary).  
 33. Steiger (Switzerland).  
 34. Mrs. Siam Bese (Holland).  
 35. Kaona (England).  
 36. Pritchard (England).  
 37. Bakema (Holland).  
 38. Hogan (England).  
 39. Singer (Czechoslovakia).

ROW 3.  
 40. Papadaki (U.S.A.).  
 41. Morrison Shand (England).  
 42. Rosenberg (England).  
 43. Martin (England).  
 44. Goldfinger (England).  
 45. Jensen (England).  
 46. Ling (England).  
 47. Ferrari Harday (Argentina).  
 48. Mrs. Wiener (U.S.A.).  
 49. Wiener (U.S.A.).  
 50. Maxwell Fry (England).  
 51. Wells Coates (England).

52. Townsend (England).  
 53. Krejcar (Czechoslovakia).  
 54. Oberlander (Canada).  
 55. Schütte (Austria).  
 56. Merkelbach (Holland).  
 ROW 4. (Front row).  
 57. Le Corbusier (France).  
 58. Vivanco (Argentina).  
 59. Sadie Spaight (England).  
 60. Susan Cox (England).  
 61. Mahai (Hungary).  
 62. Mrs. Mahai (Hungary).  
 63. Barbara Kandell (England).

64. Monica Pidgeon (England).  
 65. Serr (U.S.A.).  
 66. Giedion (Switzerland).  
 67. Jane Drew (England).  
 68. van Eesteren (Holland).  
 69. M. de Silva (India).  
 70. Gropius (U.S.A.).  
 71. Mrs. Fischer (Hungary).  
 72. Blanche Lomco (Canada).  
 73. Kalivoda (Czechoslovakia).  
 74. Mrs. Sert (U.S.A.).  
 75. Mrs. Schütte (Austria).  
 76. van Tijen (Holland).

Fig. 4.16: Group photograph of CIAM 6 at Bridgwater, 1947 which appeared in AD, October 1947, p.258.

post-war years from 1946 to 1953. Being turned into an object of modern architectural historiography, this is one very obvious and direct way that the magazine contributed to the writing of architectural history, but it was led by a jingoistic desire to show that Britain was rebuilding progressively in the modern idiom, and it was a response to the records of other countries' modern architecture such as those by Kidder Smith.<sup>212</sup> By this point, the magazine held fewer solid pages of text and presented more photographs and line drawings, whether of buildings, details or products that were beginning to become available to architects. In July 1952, the staid cover containing a single advert in the middle of a wine red border made way for a two-colour photograph on the cover, alongside the list of contents. The general trend of an increased visual emphasis continued until October 1953 when it was announced that Barbara Randell would be leaving the magazine and Theo Crosby would take up the position of joint editor. Crosby wrote to Jane Drew, his former employer who was in Chandigarh, on 20th October 1953:

My Dear Jane

Thank you for your short but very very sweet letter. I have actually begun work and find it super – so far, anyway. Its all done at a terrific pace in a chaos of phone calls and messenger boys – and in the mornings the quiet application to the problems of form at the Central School

We hope to do a [sic] absolutely super special Number on Chandigarh next year, as soon as you let us have the stuff – and dear Jane – please do promise it to us. We will do you proud – whole issue – big photographs if its exclusive – and no fancy green tones over it either. So please keep us in mind. We shall want articles from both of you + if you can and lots of plans...

Arch Design will, I hope and intend get better – leaning slightly to Domus + Werk but it takes time to bend an organisation.

Tonight the Mars Group discussed CIAM 9 + contributions for 10. We have actually got a committee to work on the contributions to the next CIAM – Denys is Chairman – and a group actually working on something abroad – A programme of criticism + analysis of our CIAM 9 scheme is under way. We seem to be getting near to a proper theory of Urbanism at last – to replace the rule of thumb County of

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212 G.E. Kidder Smith, *Sweden Builds: Its Modern Architecture and Land Policy Background, Development and Contribution* (London: Architectural Press, 1950); G.E. Kidder Smith, *Switzerland Builds. Its Modern Architecture and Native Prototypes* (London: The Architectural Press., 1950).



Fig. 4.17: Pictures of Barbara Randell by Monica Pidgeon probably at Pidgeon's new house in Highgate. The one in the central column, third row down was used in October 1953's AD to announce Randell's departure, so the date of 1954 is incorrect. Courtesy of Monica Pidgeon / RIBA Library Photographs Collection.

London Plan assumptions and to develop the core functionalism of the Charter of Athens. Once we can get a MARS view on the subject we can push it in the RIBA where we have a vocal minority in Casson, Johnson Marshal et al. Architecture may even look up after the last 2 years of the doldrums. Art + that sort of thing next time.

Love to you both

Theo<sup>213</sup>

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213 Theo Crosby to Jane Drew, October 20, 1953, Box 6 Folder F&D/6/4, Fry and Drew Archives, RIBA Archives.



**PART II**

# 8

# ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

AUGUST 1954

VOLUME XXIV

PRICE 2/6

CONTENTS : Car parks or Plane trees (224). Modern architecture in Holland, by Peter Smithson (225). Architect's own house, Rotterdam (227) and Shopping centre, Rotterdam, by van den Broek and Bakema (231). Architectural education at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris, by Giles Blomfield (235). The design of comfortable chairs, by Dargan Bullivant (237). The window and the machine, by Rodney Thomas (241). Review of periodicals : America, by Mark Hartland Thomas (244). Interior design, by Margot Moffett (247). Furniture detail sheet : sideboard by Walter Greaves (248). Miscellanea : book notes, trade and technical notes (250).



Fig. 5.1: The cover of August 1954 by Theo Crosby, titled "an essay in the manner of "de Stijl," a post-Cubist movement in the 20's led by van Doesburg and Mondrian which had a tremendous effect on industrial design, typography and architecture (explained in Sept 54)."

## 5 A critical history of *AD*, 1954–1972

### AD and the AR in the early 1950s

Although Crosby's arrival at *AD* was announced immediately,<sup>1</sup> he did not appear on the masthead until December, the magazine being laid out two months in advance. Initially, Crosby was credited as joint editor along with Monica Pidgeon, as Barbara Randell had been, but from November 1954 he became the “technical editor”, a role that would continue until the end of Pidgeon's editorship. As well as his writing and editing duties and contributing technical architectural input and advice, Crosby was charged with laying out the magazine and designing the covers. Although in his letter to Drew, Crosby wrote that he hoped *AD* would “get better – leaning to *Domus* and *Werk*”,<sup>2</sup> with its layout grids it actually seems influenced by the work of Richard Lohse at the Swiss magazine *Bauen + Wohnen*. Crosby later wrote,

It didn't seem very difficult, but I was acutely conscious that I really needed some instruction. I was rebuffed at the Central School where I went to ask advice, but after a while heard of the evening class that Edward Wright was teaching there. I was too busy doing sculpture in the evenings so I didn't join but I [...] was drawn a little into Edward's circle of friends. [...] about 1955, we managed to insert Edward into the Whitefriars Press as art director. We worked quite closely together and I finally received some instruction in magazine layout, and am very grateful.<sup>3</sup>

The covers certainly do come to life in 1955, but there is evidence of experimentation the year before, too: he eliminated the square picture the month he started, freeing up the front cover. The “PLANNING • BUILDING • CONSTRUCTION” slogan disappeared in June 1954, July's issue on France saw the introduction of a second colour, and the cover of August's issue was

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1 Monica Pidgeon, “Editorial Staff Changes,” *Architectural Design*, October 1953, 298.

2 Crosby to Drew, October 20, 1953.

3 Theo Crosby, “The Painter as Designer,” in *Edward Wright graphic work & painting* (London: The Arts Council, 1985), 49.



Fig. 5.2: Alison and Peter Smithson by Theo Crosby at 32 Doughty St, September 1949.

the first abstract (Fig. 5.1). By November, the contents had also disappeared from the cover and two colours in addition to black began to appear more frequently, although by no means regularly. The page was therefore ready by 1955 for the artistically designed covers that became a trademark of Crosby's time at the magazine. The number of adverts was also increasing, from around 30 pages per issue on Crosby's arrival, to around 60 per issue at the end of 1955. So in January 1956, as the magazine approached 100 pages of editorial and adverts, it switched from being stapled<sup>4</sup> to glued in a square back binding that would remain until its "little" period that started in October 1970. As the editorial noted, "our old form of binding is not suitable for our increasing girth."<sup>5</sup> This editorial boasted that "*Architectural Design's* circulation has grown at the rate of 1,000 per year in the last few years"<sup>6</sup> which the figures verify, but they would remain at this level, and even dip slightly, until 1960, possibly due to the price increase of a shilling to 3s 6d that was imposed in January 1956. The editorial admitted that this first increase for 5 years may cause them to "lose a number of readers" but their wish was that "our standard coverage and production must not be allowed

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4 Known as a "flat" in publishing terminology.

5 Monica Pidgeon, "Apologia," *Architectural Design*, January 1956, 1.

6 Monica Pidgeon, "Affirmation," *Architectural Design*, January 1956, 1.

to go down; on the contrary it must, if anything, be steadily improved".<sup>7</sup> The editorial went on to affirm its policy: "To show good architecture, and to attempt to stimulate thought about the art of architecture and the direction it must take to complement the rapid development of science."<sup>8</sup> The fact that the Standard Catalogue Company also owned the Whitefriars Press helped production quality. While *AD* could not afford colour regularly on the covers or inside the magazine like their competitor the *AR*, they could at least make their black and white pictures sparkle with high quality printing. As Pidgeon wrote in 1999, "The b and w pics in *AD* 'sparkled' because they were printed on ART paper. That is the secret! Matt paper is very elegant but always damps down photos."<sup>9</sup>

But architectural direction and artistic flair weren't the only thing that Crosby brought to *AD*. Crucially, he was also best friends with Peter Smithson (see p.100, Fig. 5.2). Alison and Peter Smithson, described by Banham as "the bell-wethers of the young throughout the middle fifties"<sup>10</sup> were to become the leading neo-avant-garde architects. They had become famous in architectural circles in the early 1950s after winning the competition to build Hunstanton School (designed in 1949 and published in *AD* in September 1953<sup>11</sup> before its completion the following year). They had also had their unsuccessful competition entries for such high-profile buildings as Coventry Cathedral (1951), housing at Golden Lane (1952) and Sheffield University (1953) widely published. Understanding the role of the Smithsons, their interests and the groups with which they were involved is absolutely fundamental to understanding the evolution of *AD*, mainly during Crosby's time as technical editor, but also after, up until Pidgeon left the magazine in November 1975. This is because the neo-avant-garde of the late 1950s and early 1960s was focused on and around the Smithsons and because of the deep influence they had on Crosby and therefore *AD*.

*Architectural Design* was not a widely read magazine when Crosby started, but its popularity increased. Figures for the last half of 1953 show a circulation of 6,067, a third of the 18,158 registered architects in the UK.<sup>12</sup> The relationship with the Smithsons was mutually beneficial – Crosby and Pidgeon knew that by publishing them, they were publishing the leading neo-

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7 Pidgeon, "Apologia," 1.

8 Pidgeon, "Affirmation," 1.

9 Monica Pidgeon to Peter Carolin, September 16, 1999, MPP box 4 PIM/4/1-5, Monica Pidgeon archive, RIBA Archives.

10 Reyner Banham, "Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945-1965," in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), 270.

11 Dargan Bullivant, "Hunstanton Secondary Modern School," *Architectural Design*, September 1953.

12 Figures for the *AR* are unfortunately not available before 1959.

avant-garde architects of the time. This irritated some readers but simultaneously had a positive impact on reader numbers: in the first half of 1962, when Crosby left, *AD's* circulation was 9,613, compared to the *Review's* 10,947.<sup>13</sup> Until 1966, *AD* sales lagged behind the *AR* consistently by between 1,000 and 2,000 copies. It should be noted that the Smithsons did publish in other magazines, especially the *Architects' Year Book* in the 1950s and in the *Architectural Review*, although their bibliography<sup>14</sup> demonstrates that *Architectural Design* was favourite and was the organ of choice for rhetorical pieces. Clearly, *AD* was not a magazine devoted *solely* to the Smithsons' cause – it published a wide range of material from all over the world. Nevertheless, in the 276 issues between December 1953 (when Crosby became effective) and November 1975 (when Pidgeon left), it published 168 pieces by the Smithsons, or a group connected to the Smithsons.<sup>15</sup> Included in this number are five issues of *AD* that were either guest-edited by Alison Smithson, or contained large chunks of edited material by her. This works out at an average of appearing in almost two thirds of this period's issues.

In the early 1950s, before Monica Pidgeon met the Smithsons at the CIAM 9 in Aix-en-Provence, the *Architectural Review* was the well-established architectural monthly of the establishment.<sup>16</sup> Under its proprietor, the gentlemanly Hubert de Cronin Hastings, and editor James Richards, it had promoted modern architecture in the 1930s and its influence continued through the war, when Hastings and Richards' temporary replacement<sup>17</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, came up with Townscape, a theory applying Picturesque principles to urban design. Largely thanks to Gordon Cullen's eponymous book,<sup>18</sup> Townscape is now more aligned with the re-evaluation of the modern movement that occurred in the 1970s. However, the ideas behind Townscape (or Sharawaggi or Exterior Furnishing – the principle appeared under various neologisms) were originally developed to apply landscaping principles to urban contexts, supposedly accommodating modern and historical buildings alike in a picturesque setting. It was Hastings who suggested that Christopher Hussey's seminal 1927 study *The Picturesque* and the editors' day-to-day work for the *Review* "were really the one and same thing."<sup>19</sup> In the

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13 46% and 53% of the 20,693 registered architects in the UK respectively

14 Julia Bloomfield, "A Bibliography of Alison and Peter Smithson," in *Oppositions*, vol. 2 (New York: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1974), 104–123.

15 By which I mean the Independent Group or Team 10 members, not including Crosby himself.

16 See Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007).

17 While Richards went off to war.

18 Gordon Cullen, *Townscape* (London: Architectural Press, 1961).

19 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Picturesque Garden and its Influence outside the British Isles* (Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1974), 119 cited in ; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Visual Planning and the Picturesque*, ed. Mathew Aitchison (Getty Research Institute, 2010), 9.

book that Hastings commissioned from Pevsner, which was largely completed but never published,<sup>20</sup> Pevsner was to claim there is something peculiarly English (rather than *British*) about the Picturesque in the same way as there is with laissez-faire economics and the unwritten constitution.

In an astounding article entitled “The Second Half Century” in January 1947, the *AR*'s editors outlined their policy for the magazine, claiming the role of “visual re-education”,<sup>21</sup> while “providing the raw material of history”.<sup>22</sup> For the first time, this announced a pro-active policy for a magazine to attempt an improvement in the appearance of the built environment by promoting a theory of urban planning. This philosophy drove the *AR*'s post-war policy until 1973, when Hastings retired.<sup>23</sup> This rare exposure of editorial policy came only a month after *AD*'s own “About Ourselves” editorial (p.133), where they outlined their own future. Reading the two side-by-side reveals how confident the *Review* was in comparison to *AD*. The *AR* was outlining a theory that they hoped would educate not only architects, but also policy makers in the belief that they could pro-actively influence the new world. *AD*, in contrast, was still struggling to find its editorial direction and was no serious rival for the *AR* until Crosby's appointment.

#### Publishing buildings and advertising products

It is no surprise that after the embargo on private building and restrictions on materials were lifted in 1954, the construction profession boomed alongside the economy in general. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, *AD* was therefore concerned entirely with buildings, and dedicated itself to publishing the latest alongside product information.<sup>24</sup> During the years of post-war reconstruction there were plenty of buildings to choose from, particularly offices and the welfare state projects – especially housing and schools. The key discerning policy that Pidgeon applied during her editorship was simply not to publish a building which she considered bad.<sup>25</sup>

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20 Recently published from the archives as Pevsner, *Visual Planning*.

21 James Richards et al., “The Second Half Century,” *Architectural Review*, January 1947, 23.

22 Ibid., 21.

23 See Erdem Erten, “Shaping ‘The Second Half Century’: The Architectural Review, 1947-1971” (Doctoral thesis, MIT, 2004).

24 The brief survey in Appendix 6 shows the buildings that were featured in the magazine at this time.

25 Monica Pidgeon, interview by Steve Parnell, February 25, 2009.

A principle which I hold to this day is never to put in print something that you think is bad, so we never have and never do and never will. Because people go through a magazine from the back like that, and they see a picture of something, something you think is horrible if you've put it in. They see it, they don't read anything about it, and they go on through and then they remember that and they say, "well it must be good if it's in the AD". So we never did that, we only put in things we thought were ok or had some value for some reason.<sup>26</sup>

This principle actually extended to the architects themselves as well as their products, due to her steadfast loyalty and frequent tendency to think of the architects and their work as of the same quality.

Houses and housing featured often, with several issues dedicated to publishing small houses, very often for the architect's own use. In 1960 Crosby and Pidgeon even published a book, based largely on content from *AD* called *An Anthology of Houses*,<sup>27</sup> whose "intention [was] to show houses that really attempt to solve the problem of the mid-twentieth century dwelling, with all that that implies in the way of services and equipment, of the essential luxuries; and which do so in the spirit of the modern movement in architecture."<sup>28</sup> Their motive was a reaction to the speculative house builders and to show that an architect-designed house could benefit the client's life, being beautiful as well as economical. Aimed at the British market, but with examples from 16 countries, the houses shared several characteristics: "the structural and service systems appropriate to [the] time",<sup>29</sup> an "increasing concern for the honest use of materials"<sup>30</sup> and the increased use of the latest technology for products, processes and appliances.<sup>31</sup>

In *AD*, presentations of buildings were balanced by many features on the arts thanks to Crosby's interest and contacts at the ICA. A detachable page was included each month with work by a contemporary artist and criticism to "survey the contemporary scene and attempt to relate the various movements to their origins."<sup>32</sup> There were no news pages, just a few "notes" among the adverts at the beginning. These miscellaneous notes might contain a letter or two, a book review, notices and errata. Full colour appeared occasionally and sparsely, but

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26 Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7492 Side A."

27 Monica Pidgeon and Theo Crosby, *An Anthology of Houses* (London: Batsford, 1960).

28 *Ibid.*, 7.

29 *Ibid.*, 8.

30 *Ibid.*, 10.

31 A review appears in David Lewis, "An anthology of houses," *Architectural Design*, December 1960, 522.

32 Pidgeon, "Apologia," 1.

only when sponsored by advertising.<sup>33</sup> Regular columns included the popular “Review of Periodicals”<sup>34</sup> by Mark Hartland Thomas, which was a cheap and easy way to feature interesting projects published in other magazines from around the world, Pidgeon’s section “Interior Design” which comprised fittings, furniture and finishes, and “Trade and Technical Notes” by Gontran Goulden, which featured the latest product information. There was also always mention of the contractors and suppliers for the featured buildings in separate notes at the back.

During these prosperous years, with modern architecture in its ascendancy, *AD* was still considered by SCC’s directors to follow the same business model as its sister Standard Catalogues, viz. a vehicle to deliver a relevant well-targeted audience to advertisers rather than a publication to direct architectural discourse or to provide the source material for architectural history. *AD* was therefore still very much tied to the commercial imperative of selling advertising for building products and was therefore still required to feature predominantly buildings. During the Crosby era, advertising was the main way that the SCC made money out of *AD*.<sup>35</sup>

One of the characteristics that distinguished modern architecture from traditional architecture was its reliance on machine-made building products.<sup>36</sup> In the same way that the growth of modern architecture ran in parallel with the growth of its publication, the increase of factory-made products saw an increase in their trade literature for the specification and utilisation of these products by architects and contractors respectively. A British Standard had been set up by the BSI in 1946 for the size and content of such information,<sup>37</sup> but nobody, with the

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33 The first colour photograph appeared in April 1955’s issue p.117 as part of an article on an anonymous school in West Lothian, with the caption “The assembly hall looking towards the servery [sic]. The mural painting is by John Reid. The floor is covered with Semastic tiles in three colours, red, green, and buff (supplied by The Limmer & Trinidad Lake Asphalt Co. Ltd. By whose courtesy the above block is published”

34 This was initially split between American, European and Japanese on alternating months, but became a single all-world review from April 1957. It lasted until December 1960, after which it became incorporated into the world news section.

35 David Dottridge to Steve Parnell, “Research on Architectural Design -my best”, September 15, 2011.

36 For a full discussion of trade literature at this time, see Charles Rogers, “Building Products, Trade Literature and Standardization: The British Experience”, 1998, <http://www.grif.umontreal.ca/pages/modul4.htm> [accessed 6 September 2010].

37 “The Standard, BS 1311, duly published on 26 April 1946, had the full title: British Standard Recommendations on the Sizes and Contents for Manufacturers’ Trade and Technical Literature (Building Industry).” Ibid.

The November issue of "ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN" will introduce the new A.D. PRODUCT INDEX. Each month sheets of cards will be inserted in A.D., each comprising four 6" x 4" file cards on building products.

Produced in standard format, each card will contain the essential information on a Manufacturer's product in condensed form—such as general description, dimensions and weights, uses, sitework, physical properties, prices, references to catalogues, points for specification, etc.



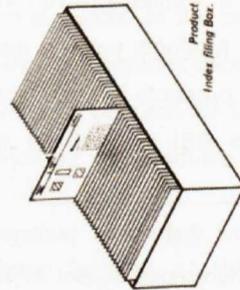
Sample sheet for cutting into 4 cards.

# PRODUCT INDEX

Architectural Design,  
26 Bloomsbury Way,  
London, W.C.1.

These cards will carry the newly accepted international classification system for filing, as recommended at the first C.I.B. Congress held in Rotterdam 21-25 September 1959. This system is similar to that already used in Sweden and known as the SFB classification.

Any 6" x 4" or A6 Filing Box will hold the cards, or you can make your own file from your A.D. carton (see over).



Have you an A.6. or 6" x 4" filing box? If not, please follow the instructions given below.

Your November issue of A.D. will be despatched to you in a carton.

1. On arrival of your A.D. do not rip open the carton, slide your nail down the middle of the gummed paper. You can then easily undo the carton without damaging it. (Fig. I)

2. Open out flat so that the sheet appears as shown. (Fig. II)

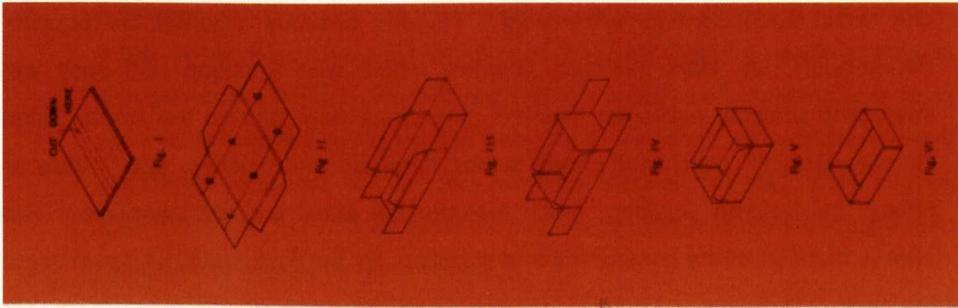
3. Fold A and B up; result as shown. (Fig. III)

4. Then cut C, D, E, F each down to the first crease. Fig. (IV)

5. Fold flaps together and stick adhesive tape completely round. Cut the flaps off and your filing box is finished. (Figs. IV and V)

Should you lose this leaflet, instructions will also be printed on the carton but the instructions above are more descriptive.

Be careful please when you open your November issue.



exceptions of the Building Centre and the Standard Catalogue Company, took any notice of it. In addition, this trade literature was often confused by manufacturers with advertising and so in the late 1950s, there was much discussion about how manufacturers should provide clear information dissemination to architects. The SCC, who clearly had a vested interest, was heavily involved in this. In December 1959 a “panel discussion between users and purveyors” of building industry information was held, involving luminaries such as Ove Arup and *AD* contributor Dargan Bullivant as users, and SCC owner Basil Dottridge and *AD* contributor and Building Centre Deputy Director (later Director) Gontran Goulden as purveyors. The most interesting aspect of the discussion centred first around the possibility of manufacturers providing reliable information on their products that had been tested as true and accurate, in a standardised format, and second on the question of whose responsibility it was to verify that the manufacturers' data was indeed accurate. With their experience in the provision of manufacturers' information, the SCC had already seized on this problem as a commercial opportunity. Basil Dottridge, SCC's Managing Director, was the only British publisher to attend the first International Council for Building (CIB) in Rotterdam earlier that year,<sup>38</sup> where the Swedish classification of building products (SfB) was recommended for international use.<sup>39</sup> This led directly to the introduction of the *AD* Product Index cards, classified using the SfB system. They were launched with the help of Dargan Bullivant in November 1959 at the Building Exhibition in London where the SCC/*AD* stand heavily promoted the idea.<sup>40</sup> The October issue of *AD* came with a loose insert alerting readers to the forthcoming cards that would be inserted on perforated cards at the back of the magazine in sheets of four 6” x 4” yellow cards. The rear of the loose advert also warned readers that the November issue would arrive in a carton that could be refolded into a box to hold the index cards, and instructions were offered as to how to assemble this box (Fig. 5.3).

The introduction boasted that “Each card contains, in concise form, the essential technical headings, such as description, dimensions and weights, uses, physical properties, points of specification, sitework, prices, etc. As manufacturers get to know more about this filing system, the number of cards will build up to form a comprehensive index of all the products in the building trade.”<sup>41</sup> The Product Index cards lasted for almost 3 years, delivering a total of

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38 From 21 to 25 September 1959.

39 Michael Manser, “The month in Britain,” *Architectural Design*, November 1961, 477. The RIBA subsequently approved its usage at the Council Meeting on 3 November 1959.

40 Theo Crosby, “Standard Catalogue Co./Architectural Design stand,” *Architectural Design*, December 1959, 521.

41 “Product Index,” *Architectural Design*, November 1959, 488.

336 cards.<sup>42</sup> It was, of course, effectively another way to sell advertising to product manufacturers, although they were warned to “carry no advertising ‘blurb’”<sup>43</sup> as they sold to architects purely “because of their function.” The cards were less like the adverts in the magazine and more informational, so more directly relevant to the practising architect running a job, but the manufacturers still had to pay £250 per card for their inclusion.<sup>44</sup> *AD* also sold complete sets of cards<sup>45</sup> and 89 white dividers<sup>46</sup> to architects, making the series a decent money-earner. After a year,<sup>47</sup> one of the cards ran a short questionnaire, checking how useful the cards were, wondering whether an index would be useful and requesting any suggestions for improvement. The only feedback that exists from that questionnaire, is a note in January 1961's issue saying that over 76% of readers who replied used the SfB filing system and that many readers wanted them enlarged and expanded.<sup>48</sup>

The provision of the Product Index Cards demonstrated how close *AD* still was to its origins, when it was given away freely with the ASC, itself a catalogue of indexed full-page adverts of building products. The SCC was essentially commoditising and making money from organising architectural knowledge, adding a service between the architect and manufacturer that neither were interested in doing themselves. They also link the contents of the magazine very much to the real world both materially and financially, rendering the magazine completely heteronomous at this time. It was only in the early 1960s, amidst the building boom of 1958 to 1964<sup>49</sup> that both the public and architects began to seriously question how things were turning out.

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42 The last cards were issued in September 1962, so either Frampton must have got rid of them almost as soon as he arrived as technical editor in May 1962, or they had simply run their course – there were fewer and fewer cards issued in each magazine as the campaign progressed.

43 This message was carried on the last ever card (no. 336) in September 1962's issue, implying that the cards were intended to continue. However, despite the cards promising that “the demand for more cards is great”, and that they were “a good investment and moderately priced” the cards were discontinued without warning.

44 Dottridge to Parnell, “Research on Architectural Design -my best.”

45 For 32/- including postage.

46 For 10/- plus 2/- postage.

47 In October 1960, after card number 203.

48 “AD Product Index,” *Architectural Design*, January 1961, A/83.

49 Robert Hewison, *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties, 1960-75* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 56.

## Thoughts in Progress

In the 1950s architects started looking earnestly for a theory to explain modern architecture, over and above the standard modern manifesto. Influential texts such as Wittkower's *Architecture Principles*,<sup>50</sup> Le Corbusier's *Modulor*<sup>51</sup> and Rowe's *Mathematics of the Ideal Villa*<sup>52</sup> all appeared in the late forties and early fifties and John Summerson's last piece of architectural criticism, published in the *RIBA Journal* in 1957, was an investigation into "The case for a theory of modern architecture". Summerson raised the issue that modern architecture was made through "enthusiastic and propagandist" writing and "forceful analogies"<sup>53</sup> rather than any real theoretical position. He postulated that a potential theory of modern architecture will include the idea of programme and the contribution of engineers. However, he considered that it belonged to a history of ideas rather than architecture *per se*. Aside from the Smithsons' regular articles about their ideas on architecture, which will be covered in the next chapter, *AD's* contribution to the debate on a theory of modern architecture was a series of articles called "Opinion: Thoughts in Progress". These started in December 1956 and replaced the regular editorials which had, until August 1956, always appeared on the first page of the magazine and established its *position-taking* with opinion and commentary. These editorials were usually written by the editors and covered a range of topics regarding the profession such as education, planning, the property market, the magazine itself<sup>54</sup> and so on.

"Thoughts in Progress" was published anonymously but appeared in the same month that Denys Lasdun<sup>55</sup> joined the editorial consultants on the masthead. In her oral history interview, Pidgeon confirmed that this series was created to give Lasdun, who was "a terrific guru"<sup>56</sup> for her, a platform: "During Theo's time we decided to let Lasdun have a platform, so we used to meet every two weeks or something, him & Theo & me and then a guy [...] who Denys knew to do the writing up of our conversation. Then we published these anonymously ... that was

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50 Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, Second edition. (London: Alec Tiranti Ltd., 1952).

51 Le Corbusier, *The Modulor: a harmonious measure to the human scale universally applicable to architecture and mechanics*, trans. Anna Bostock and Peter de Francia, First. (London: Faber, 1954).

52 Colin Rowe, "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa," *Architectural Review*, March 1947.

53 John Summerson, "The Case for a Theory of Modern Architecture," *RIBA Journal*, June 1957, 308.

54 The January editorials were fond of "stock taking", for example.

55 8 September 1914 – 11 January 2001.

56 "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, July 9, 1999, F7498 Side B, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-1600A0.mp3>.

This month we introduce a new series of anonymous discussions in dialogue form. There is a great deal being written about architecture today, much of it confusing and seemingly based on doubtful premises. The time appears to be right for a reconsideration of first principles; but the first principles which looked so unassailable in the hey-day of the Bauhaus are no longer acceptable without a whole string of qualifications. The aim of these discussions will be to explore in a tentative and undogmatic way a number of aspects of modern architecture in the hope of establishing some firm ground on which a general pattern of ideas—an aesthetic for modern architecture—might perhaps begin to be built.



## OPINION

### Thoughts in progress Seagram versus Shell



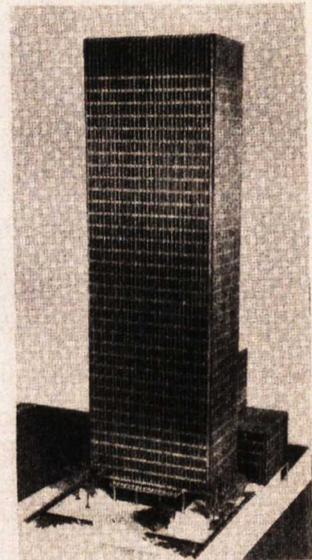
... it lies heavily on the human spirit, redolent with undertones of 1964

(It should be emphasized that the above model is of the original design shown at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, 1956. Sir Howard points out that, since then, the design has undergone considerable modification.)

I wonder if you remember the letter Sir Howard Robertson wrote to the *Architects' Journal*\* last July. Sir Gerald Barry,† in a broadcast which had been rather critical of Sir Howard's project for the Shell Building on the South Bank, had referred to the big skyscrapers in New York as seeming 'to be floating away because they've got wonderful new materials, glass and aluminium, and they're able to use height and use it lightly.' Sir Howard was stimulated by this to write at some length for the benefit of 'the younger members of the profession.' He began by briskly observing that the materials in question were neither wonderful nor new nor much used in New York. He went on to point out that the problem was both practical and aesthetic. Continuous window treatment was not satisfactory for offices that had to have a number of small rooms since the placing of partitions inside was determined by the mullion module. With a curtain wall, the stanchions must be placed inside or outside the curtain. If they were placed inside, they were bound to be a terrible obstruction to partitions; the best thing was to bury them in the outer wall as he was going to do in the Shell Building. Anyhow—Sir Howard continued—the all-glass front will produce 'quasi-greenhouse conditions' wherever you put the partitions, and buildings like the Lever Building are really only 'special publicity,' they are deteriorating rapidly and are very costly to maintain—much more so than a stone and brick building. These buildings—he concluded, unmasking his terrible aesthetic gun—do not really float, whatever they may look like, they 'mostly stand on the ground.' They are as false as stone buildings and Portland stone is a beautiful and traditional material and will always have its place.

You can see that Sir Howard feels strongly about  
(continued overleaf)

Next month:  
The curtain wall



... expresses the idea of efficiency, lightness, airiness, the things which we regard as characteristic of our time

\* July 5th, page 6.  
† See *Architects' Journal*, June 21st, page 699.

Fig. 5.4: The first instalment of *Thoughts in Progress*, December 1956.

Denys, all Denys, prompted [by] Theo. He's very good on theory."<sup>57</sup> The "guy who Denys knew" was amateur architectural critic, John Davies,<sup>58</sup> a friend of and literary advisor to Lasdun. Davies recorded and transcribed the discussions and later wrote of them,

From December, 1956 to December, 1957, Denys Lasdun and J.H.V. Davies, a ~~mild~~ architectural historian and critic, published a series of ~~anonymous~~ dialogues in Architectural Design under the title: Thoughts in Progress. These dialogues were based on real conversations, recorded on tape, but they naturally needed a good deal of literary refining and polishing before they could be presented to the public. They covered many of the major issues of the day as their titles indicate: Seagram versus Shell, the curtain wall, housing at Picton Street, truth to structure, the New Brutalism, the Scope of Total Architecture, aesthetic control, the Pavillon Suisse as a seminal building and detail.

The aim of the dialogues was to have another wrestle with the perennial problem or, as it was phrased at the beginning of the first of them: 'The aim of these discussions will be to explore in a tentative and undogmatic way a number of aspects of modern architecture in the hope of establishing some firm ground on which a general pattern of ideas – and aesthetic for modern architecture – might perhaps begin to be built.

The last three dialogues which follow attempted to sum up the essence of the argument and at least to adumbrate the necessary terms of an architectural philosophy, the philosophy which in fact Denys Lasdun has exemplified in his buildings. Though these dialogues clearly speak from the time they were written and are full of references to it, their relevance to the current architectural situation does not seem to have significantly diminished.<sup>59</sup>

It appears, then, that the dialogues were just between Lasdun (the italicised interlocutor in the publication) and Davies (Fig. 5.4). This new series was introduced in *AD* with the following words:

This month we introduce a new series of anonymous discussions in dialogue form. There is a great deal being written about architecture today, much of it confusing and seemingly based on doubtful premises. The time appears to be right for a

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57 Ibid.

58 John Henry Vaughan Davies, CBE (1921 – 1993) was a civil servant (Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food) with a strong interest in architecture. He was an expert on Hawksmoor and he and Lasdun discussed architectural history and "philosophy" frequently throughout his life.

59 John Davies, "Introduction to the Dialogues", n.d., LaD/241/10, Lasdun archive, RIBA Archives.

reconsideration of first principles; but first principles which looked so unassailable in the hey-day of the Bauhaus are no longer acceptable without a whole string of qualifications.<sup>60</sup>

This series ran throughout 1957 and covered a range of topics from the “The Curtain Wall”<sup>61</sup> to Gropius’s book, “The scope of total architecture”,<sup>62</sup> to “The New Brutalism”.<sup>63</sup> The letters in response to previous articles in the series were printed at the end of the articles and so a platform for debate was generated that had not previously been seen in *AD*. In the case of “The New Brutalism” piece, the Smithsons were given about a third of a page to respond to the criticism which was essentially just trying to figure out what the movement was about and attach some form to the rhetoric beyond the Hunstanton School. “Up to now Brutalism has been discussed stylistically whereas its essence is ethical”<sup>64</sup> they bemoaned. This piece received five spirited letters in response, including a defence by Banham (“The Brutalist Canon is the Brutalists’ affair, not mine”<sup>65</sup>) printed in the June issue. Of the twelve “Thoughts in Progress” pieces, the final three are reserved for a summary of the series and the final piece, called “Summing Up III – the ‘objects found’ philosophy”,<sup>66</sup> quotes each of the first nine pieces in the series in order to argue for an “as found” architecture:

Only the ‘objects found’ philosophy can, it seems to me, regenerate English architecture and create buildings that will solve specific English problems and not merely adapt, as far as possible, something that looks impressive somewhere abroad. For the past thirty years, English architecture has been trying to catch up with what has been going on in Europe and America. It is time that we thought about what we really want ourselves.<sup>67</sup>

The culmination of the articles, then, was a confirmation of the Smithsons’ “as found” philosophy which would, in contrast to the *AR*’s Townscape philosophy, generate a true

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60 Monica Pidgeon and Theo Crosby, “Opinion,” *Architectural Design*, December 1956, 377.

61 John Davies and Denys Lasdun, “Thoughts in Progress: The curtain wall,” *Architectural Design*, January 1957.

62 John Davies and Denys Lasdun, “Thoughts in Progress: The scope of total architecture,” *Architectural Design*, May 1957.

63 John Davies and Denys Lasdun, “Thoughts in Progress: The New Brutalism,” *Architectural Design*, April 1957.

64 *Ibid.*, 113.

65 Reyner Banham, “Letters to the editor,” *Architectural Design*, June 1956, 220.

66 John Davies and Denys Lasdun, “Thoughts in Progress: Summing up III - the ‘objects found’ philosophy,” *Architectural Design*, December 1957.

67 *Ibid.*, 435.

English architecture.

After three months' absence, opinion pieces reappear as longer panel discussions, of which six are reported. These discussions, only the first of which was anonymous,<sup>68</sup> were organised by *AD* and chaired by Crosby. The inconclusive discussions cover aspects of the profession such as “the status of the architect”<sup>69</sup> and “architectural education”,<sup>70</sup> as well as planning issues. As they are no longer a dialogue between the same couple, they don't have the same directional force as the original articles and so don't represent the magazine's position in the same way. The “Opinion” column then disappears until April 1960, when it reappears as reports on external talks (as opposed to those organised by *AD*) and reported by Crosby's compatriot and friend, Peter Rawstome. Then from July 1960 until December 1962 (Frampton had by this time become technical editor), the column is given to individuals to write about anything and a whole range of topics resulted, with no apparent common thread other than many returning to the problems of planning.

A continuous series of columns like an editorial or “Thoughts in Progress” align the magazine with and offer a platform for a particular point of view (a *position-taking*) as well as encourage debate through the published responses. These articles very much back up the New Brutalism message of the Smithsons that the magazine was pushing at the time and position *AD* in contra-distinction to the *AR*'s Picturesque Townscape message which was itself an attempt at developing a particular English theory for modern architecture. Through Crosby, the Smithsons and Lasdun, *AD* was therefore backing the neo-avant-garde in opposition to the position of their establishment rival.

#### A note on photography

Kenneth Frampton's first contribution to *AD* was jointly with Crosby in the “Art” column of June 1962 and he was listed as the technical editor from July, with Crosby joining the growing list of consultants.<sup>71</sup> The only notice of a change of technical editor appeared in July's “The month in Britain” news column, announcing “Theo Crosby left us to work on a hush-hush architectural complex and his place has been taken by Kenneth Frampton.”<sup>72</sup> This pinpoints

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68 Between a Council Member, Official Architect, Private Architect and the Editor (probably Crosby).

69 “The Status of the Architect,” *Architectural Design*, April 1958, 129–130, 162–163.

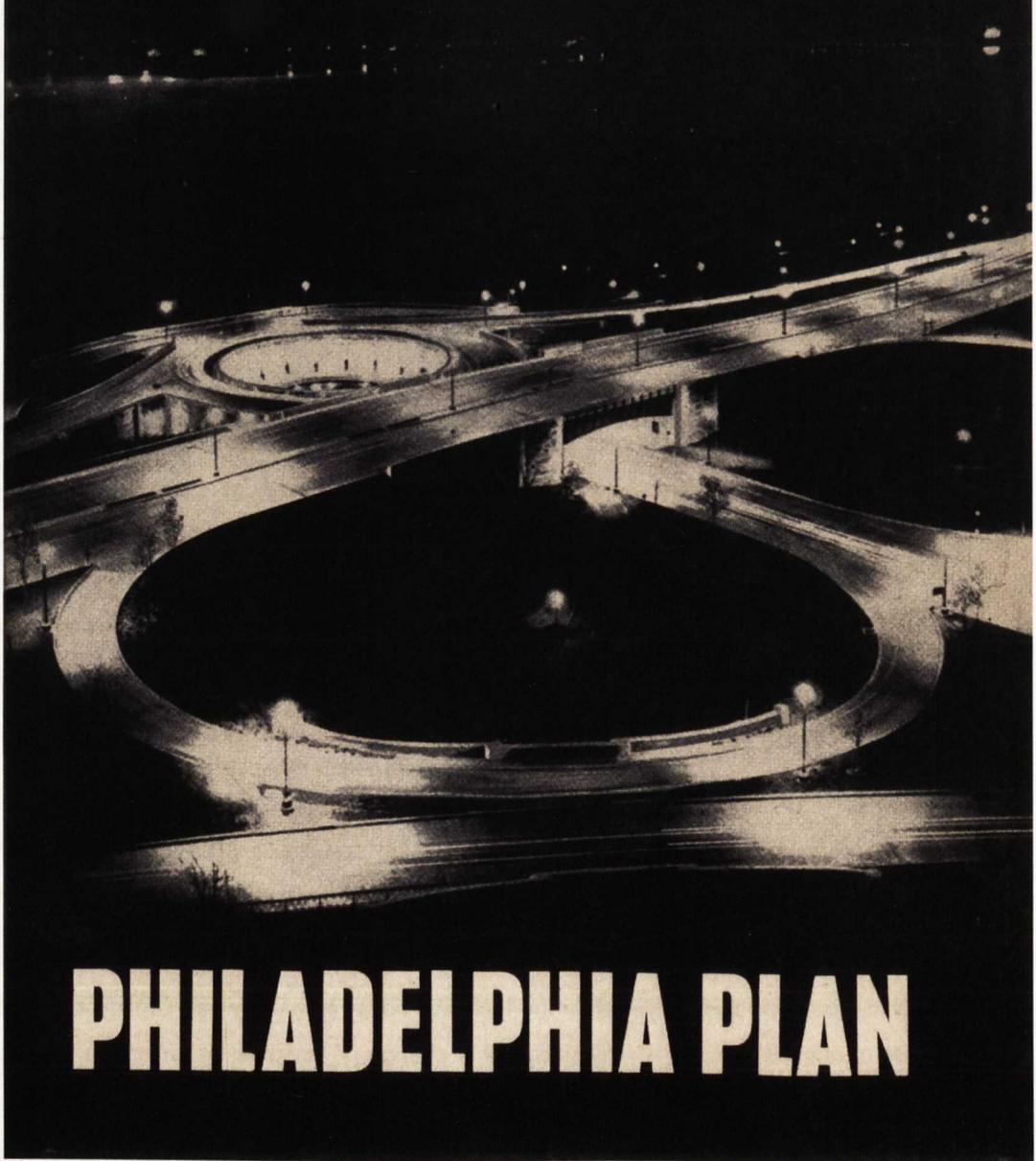
70 “Architectural Education,” *Architectural Design*, June 1958, 220–221, 248.

71 Peter Smithson had also been appointed consultant in February 1962. Alison Smithson was never made an official consultant.

72 Michael Manser, “The month in Britain,” *Architectural Design*, July 1962, 311.

# 8 ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

August 1962 Price 4/-



# PHILADELPHIA PLAN

Fig. 5.5: August 1962 - Frampton's first cover.

Frampton's starting date to June. Everything was planned "a good three months in advance"<sup>73</sup> so the first issue he was responsible for as technical editor was September 1962. His first cover, however, was for the August issue and it immediately marked a change in style with a single black and white photograph of a motorway junction underneath which the words "PHILADELPHIA PLAN" marked the issue's theme<sup>74</sup> (Fig. 5.5). There were less abstract covers and more drawings or photographs of buildings during Frampton's time than during Crosby's, as he acknowledged himself: "I tried to opt for covers that were more concrete and architectonic in their graphic form."<sup>75</sup> Pidgeon also claimed to have done many covers during this time, although it is impossible to detect specifically which ones.<sup>76</sup>

Frampton's aim was to imitate Ernesto Rogers' *Casabella Continuitá* with special issues on key architects, large sumptuous photographs and pull-outs wherever possible:

From the outset my inclination was to assemble special issues whenever I could and throughout my tenure at AD my ideal model was Ernesto Rogers' brilliant *Casabella Continuita* particularly the special issues that featured such figures as Adolf Loos, Hans Poelzig and H.P. Berlage. Needless to say, I could not come close to this ideal, above all because the publisher's rather fixed ideas as to economic paper sizes which could hardly countenance the extravagantly square format of Rogers' *Casabella*. This was hardly the only impediment to my emulating Rogers since I lacked both the graphic flair and the mature cultivation that emanated from its pages. The most I could do, apart from using large photos à la Rogers was to push for the luxury of the fold-out page which I would use whenever it seemed appropriate.<sup>77</sup>

He recently recalled in an interview that "There were special issues by Rogers on Behrens, and Mendelsohn ... I admired the intensity with which this decision had been taken and the graphics of the magazine emphasized the tactile value of the work."<sup>78</sup> Frampton managed to

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73 Kenneth Frampton, "AD in the 60s: A Memoir," *Architectural Design*, June 2000, 100.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

76 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7495 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0900A0.mp3>. A list of cover titles and credits is available in Appendix 8.

77 Kenneth Frampton, "Homage a Monica Pidgeon: An AD Memoir", January 18, 2011, <http://ccgsapp.org/papers/2011/01/homage-monica-pidgeon-ad-memoir> [accessed 7 October 2011].

78 Cited in Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn: phenomenology and the rise of the postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 203.



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*Fig. 5.6: One of two colour photographs by Richard Einzig of Leicester University Engineering building by Stirling and Gowan, February 1964.*

add large, full-bleed photos and pull-outs, though the physical format of *AD* stayed the same as it had been since January 1956 and as it would remain until September 1970. He acknowledged that “my stance at *AD* was to push for what the Italians would have called ‘a magazine of tendency’.”<sup>79</sup> However, his covers suggest that he neither possessed the graphic design flair of Rogers, nor even of that his predecessor Crosby.<sup>80</sup> Even the familiar coloured bars that had been on the spines since January 1956 were removed from the issues of 1964 and the first half of 1965 (they were reinstated by Middleton).

Being technical editor at *AD* made Frampton well aware of the power of the image: as he remarked, his time there cured him of “the naïve notion that the camera is a neutral instrument.”<sup>81</sup> He expanded on this in a short piece in *Perspecta* in 1986, called *A Note on Photography and its Influence on Architecture*, where he starts,

The idea that constructional details may have poetic implications and that they may compensate for the inevitable misinformation that, by definition, arises from the extensive use of partial photographic images regardless of their size are both concepts that have been largely ignored by the editors of architectural journals over the past two decades.<sup>82</sup>

In this short essay, he is critical of “the trend to stress information at the expense of experience.”<sup>83</sup> Otero-Pailos has claimed that Frampton wanted to “transform an essentially visual medium (print) into a tactile experience” in order to “compensate for the inevitable misinformation’ offered by other editors of architectural journals who, in his view, yielded to ‘the imperatives of the mass media’ and reduced their coverage of buildings to one or two general shots.”<sup>84</sup> He attempted this transformation through the use of large sumptuous photographs, such as those used as full-bleed pull-outs in November 1962 for H.T. Cadbury-Brown’s Royal College of Art building taken by Sam Lambert<sup>85</sup> on a Hasselblad, and those

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79 Kenneth Frampton, “Homage à Monica Pidgeon: An AD Memoir,” *AA files*, no. 60 (Spring 2010): 24.

80 *Ibid.*, 23–24.

81 Frampton, “Homage a Monica Pidgeon,” 23.

82 Kenneth Frampton, “A Note on Photography and Its Influence on Architecture,” *Perspecta* 22 (1986): 40.

83 *Ibid.*, 41.

84 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture’s Historical Turn*, 202; Frampton, “A Note on Photography and Its Influence on Architecture,” 40–41.

85 Kenneth Frampton, “The Royal College of Art, London,” *Architectural Design*, November 1962, 511,516–518.



*Fig. 5.7: The Ken Frampton designed maisonettes in Bayswater, photographed by Sam Lambert from September 1964.*

used in February 1964 for Stirling and Gowan's Leicester University Engineering Building taken by Richard Einzig<sup>86</sup> with a plate camera. Of the latter, Frampton would later comment,

The difference between Einzig's images and a number of high-speed alternative shots we had in hand was very marked. As opposed to the dramatic darks and lights of the latter, the specific textures of metal, glass, and brick were almost palpable (tactile) in Einzig's almost shadowless pictures. Printed large on the old letterpress Whitefriars Press was still using at the time, Einzig's photographs approached the level of resolution that used to be achieved in steel engravings.<sup>87</sup>

Two of Einzig's striking photographs on that occasion were full colour (Fig. 5.6), a rare and expensive treat for 1964 and an indication of how much Frampton valued his photography. Einzig's black and white photographs do indeed contrast sharply with the more photo-journalistic snaps by John Donat<sup>88</sup> due to their contrast and detail. Frampton entrusted Sam Lambert to photograph his own Craven Hill Gardens maisonettes which produced one particularly stunning full page image (Fig. 5.7).<sup>89</sup> It was always Frampton's desire to cover a building so extensively that the issue would be the building's monograph in which readers could immerse themselves in, experiencing it fully as a sensual experience. He came closest to realising this ambition in his heroic documentation in July 1965 of the Maison de Verre, published in *Perspecta*<sup>90</sup> with texts, drawings and Michael Carapetian's photographs. Dedication to the architectural magazine as a medium leads Otero-Pailos to go so far as to claim that Frampton's deep involvement with both building and the magazine results in him considering that "buildings did not appear to him to be fully graspable as architecture until they were drawn, photographed, graphically laid out, and published."<sup>91</sup> This conclusion is similar to that being argued for here, but whereas the current thesis argues that the building is transformed into architecture through the bestowal of cultural capital, Otero-Pailos' argument concerns a building's phenomenological experience through the page.

Frampton's last issue of *AD* was his fullest coverage of a building in the form of the

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86 Kenneth Frampton, "Leicester University Engineering Laboratory," *Architectural Design*, February 1964.

87 Frampton, "A Note on Photography and Its Influence on Architecture," 40.

88 John Donat (1933 – 2004) was Pidgeon's son-in-law and studied architecture at the AA.

89 Kenneth Frampton, "Maisonettes in Bayswater, London," *Architectural Design*, September 1964, 444.

90 Kenneth Frampton, "Maison de Verre," *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 77-128.

91 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 210.



*Fig. 5.8: The Economist cluster by the Smithsons photographed by Henk Snoek, February 1965.*

Smithsons' Economist group, again with photographs by Carapetian (among others).<sup>92</sup> These perfectly composed 1960s black and white architectural photographs, with crisp edges, deep contrast and no people were then fashionable, commensurate with a control that high modernism demands (Fig. 5.8). In Crosby's time, they used to rely on the architects' or contractors' pictures, or Pidgeon would occasionally photograph the buildings herself,<sup>93</sup> even at as important a building as the US Embassy by Saarinen.<sup>94</sup> Later on, when they had more money, they could commission a photographer, such as Roger Mayne who photographed Sheffield for the September 1961 issue (Fig. 5.9).<sup>95</sup> Using techniques developed on his Southam Street series of the late 1950s, Mayne<sup>96</sup> focused on people and activity in the buildings rather than the buildings themselves – a kind of snapshot version of photography more akin to holiday snaps than the usual high art framing of architectural photography. This radical, more photo-journalistic, approach was to influence future architectural photography, in particular *AR*'s future Manplan series and also Donat.<sup>97</sup>

### Increasing criticism

After a short resurgence at the end of Crosby's era, *AD*'s circulation tailed off for his last year<sup>98</sup> and remained quite static during Frampton's time,<sup>99</sup> although the editors claimed that "No other architectural monthly magazine has such a large United Kingdom circulation."<sup>100</sup> The number of architects registered in the UK was similarly static. *AR*'s circulation, however,

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92 Frampton, "The Economist Group St James's Street, London," *Architectural Design*, February 1965.

93 Using her maiden name Lehmann. She was a more than competent photographer.

94 "US Embassy, Grosvenor Square, London, W1," *Architectural Design*, July 1960.

95 Subsequently exhibited around the world as part of Mayne's larger collection of street photography.

96 Crosby's *Uppercase 3* of 1961 would feature 57 of Mayne's Southam Street photos.

97 Robert Elwall, "The rise and demise of Manplan in the Architectural Review", February 26, 2010, <http://www.culture24.org.uk/art/architecture/art76477>.

98 Going from 7,781 (41% of the UK registered architects) in the second half of 1959 to 9,613 (46% of UK registered architects) in the first half of 1962. This compares with 10,221 and 10,947 respectively for the *AR*.

99 From 9,682 (48% of UK registered architects) in the second half of 1962 to 10,102 (48% of UK registered architects) in the second half of 1964. This compares with 10,879 and 11,862 respectively for the *AR*.

100 Editors, "Have you tried advertising your vacancies in this column?," *Architectural Design*, April 1963, AD69.



Above and below : the continuous deck at Park Hill 1. Note the squares of lino placed at the individual front doors by the tenants  
Below right : inside the communal laundry



399 Architectural Design September 1961



Fig. 5.9: Some of Roger Mayne's photographs of Park Hill in the Sheffield issue of September 1961.

continued to grow slowly, as it would do until around 1970.

Frampton is fond of recounting that he brought a critical voice to the magazine that had not until then appeared: "I was able to advance the critical stance of the magazine with a line of authors who had not hitherto been published in that journal, including Joseph Rykwert, Alan Colquhoun, Neave Brown and Gunter Nitschke."<sup>101</sup> After the July 1962 issue, which Frampton cannot have edited, and which featured architecture in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, there were no more articles on architecture in the colonies, commensurate with the loss of empire that Britain suffered at this time. But *AD* was no less international: Pidgeon maintained her own long-standing interests in South America. She remembered a nine week tour of South America,<sup>102</sup> returning in July 1962 just as Frampton started.<sup>103</sup> Pidgeon was escorted around Peru by John Turner with their mutual friend Pat Crooke who had worked in Lima. She let Turner guest-edit a special number on "Dwelling Resources in South America" in August 1963 (as August was always a dead month due to holidays, so they were able to experiment a little, she claimed – Fig. 5.10) and subsequently published anything he wanted.<sup>104</sup> September 1963 was then dedicated to Mexico with the help of Mexican correspondent, Jorge Gleason. This number was much more focused on the development of modern architecture in Mexico, such as the market in Coyoacán with a concrete hyperbolic paraboloid roof by Candela, whereas John Turner's issue continued the tradition started back with Erwin Gutkind in 1953, of showing how primitive – or in this case simply poor – people live and dwell and construct their dwellings out of basic materials and processes. This theme recurred throughout Pidgeon's editorship.

During Frampton's time, *AD* became even more international, focusing on particularities rather than the grand polemics of certain favoured groups or movements. Although the United States was still comprehensively covered, the geographical focus of the magazine shifted predominantly to Continental Europe and Frampton produced extended features on specific regions, architects, or even single buildings. The first issue for which he was fully responsible,

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101 Ken Frampton, "Presentation at Monica Pidgeon's Memorial, Architectural Association, 23 November 2009." (presented at the Memorial to Monica Pidgeon, Architectural Association, November 23, 2009).

102 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7492 Side B, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0400A0.mp3>.

103 Manser, "The month in Britain," 311.

104 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7493 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0500A0.mp3>.

# 8 ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

August 1963 Price 4/-

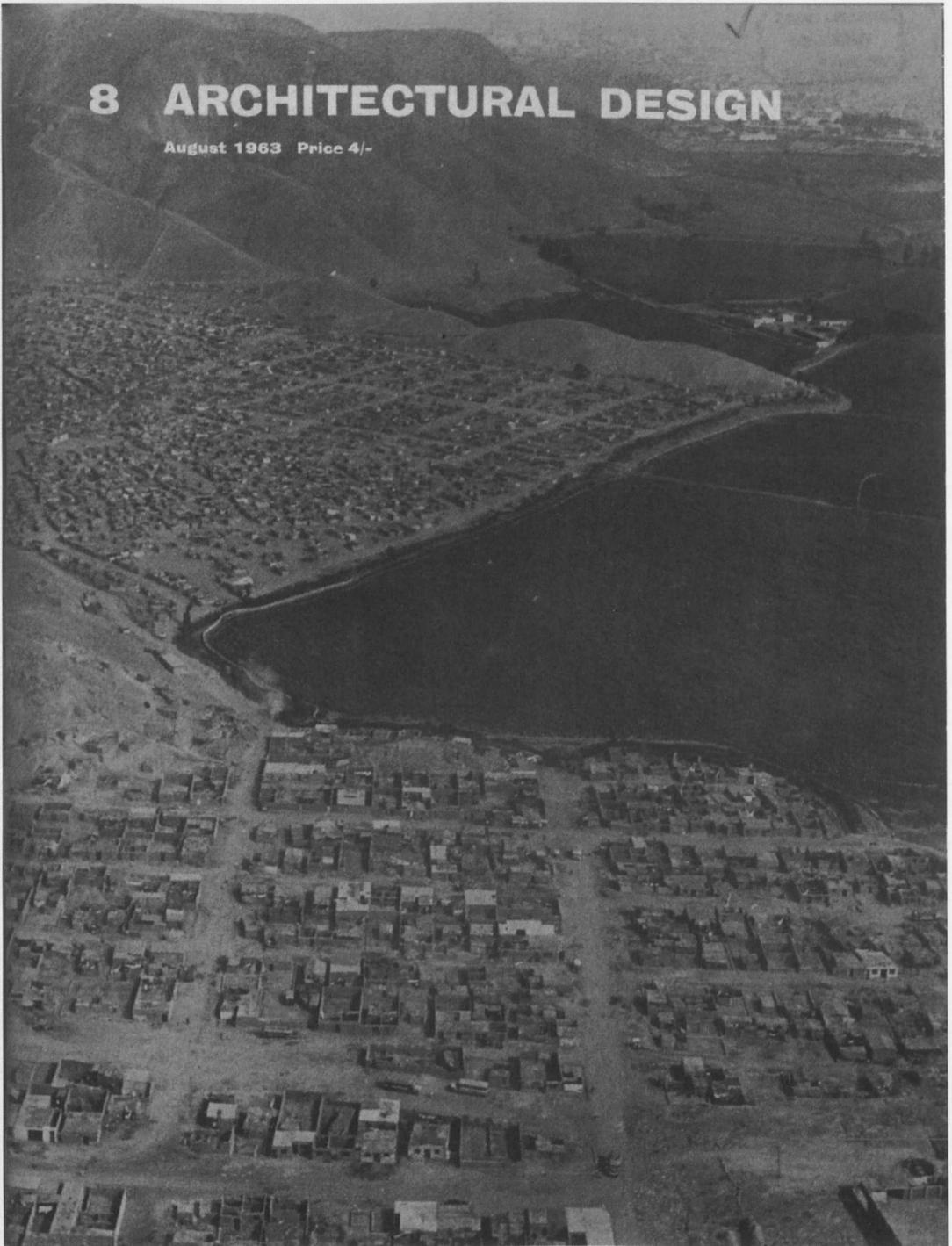


Fig. 5.10: The cover of August 1963, dedicated to "Dwelling Resources in South America" guest-edited by John Turner.

for example, concerned Switzerland.<sup>105</sup> Nearly 40 years later, he recalled it as “a sheer joy on which to work”, retaining “the greatest regard for it.”<sup>106</sup> There was a clear neo-Brutalist flavour to the selection of buildings, particularly with Ernst Gisel's church in Effretikon, Georges Bréra's Villa at Cologny, Geneva (which Frampton drew in axonometric for the cover), and Atelier 5's Villa at Motier, Maisonettes at Flamatt and Siedlung Halen in Berne, as well as Dolf Schnebli's brick and concrete vaulted house at Campione d'Italia and Marc Saugey's non-orthogonal apartments in Geneva. This was all compiled from work sent in<sup>107</sup> and stockpiled<sup>108</sup> by Pidgeon. The following month, Frampton introduced his friend Alan Colquhoun to critique Eero Saarinen's TWA terminal at New York. This format of a separate page or two of introductory independent critique followed by generous photographs and drawings with minimal comment from the architect (which was all that was previously available under Crosby) became the dominant Frampton style for *AD*.

Other countries that were featured as themes of issues were France (April 1963), guest-edited by *Le Carré Bleu*'s André Schimmerling and featuring Yona Friedman's visionary “ports on channel bridge” proposal, and Germany (June 1963). In Frampton's recollections of his time at *AD*, his tour of Germany with Pidgeon always stands out vividly<sup>109</sup> as much for the social side as the architecture. The USA is featured in April 1964, starring Paul Rudolph's Yale Art & Architecture building, and criticised by correspondent John Fowler. Canadian correspondent Anthony Jackson then leads an issue on Canadian architecture.<sup>110</sup>

Monographs on architects followed, including one on Ernő Goldfinger<sup>111</sup> (a constant Pidgeon favourite) followed by a shift to the “city states” of the Continent. This phrase was mentioned, presumably by Frampton, in the “World News” section of January 1965. The first page of this section takes magazines from the continent and reports on their contents for *AD* readers – *l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in France, *Arquitectura* in Spain, *Bauen + Wohnen* in Germany, *Werk* in Switzerland and *Edizia Moderna* in Italy. The small piece “The Work of Epaminoda” is an exception in this case, as it merely reports on the work of this Italian architect in Ravenna:

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105 September 1962.

106 Frampton, “AD in the 60s: A Memoir,” 100.

107 By correspondent Roland Gross, as announced on p. 414.

108 Frampton, “Homage à Monica Pidgeon: An AD Memoir,” 24.

109 See *Ibid.*, 25; Frampton, “AD in the 60s: A Memoir,” 102; Frampton, “Presentation at Monica Pidgeon's Memorial, Architectural Association, 23 November 2009.”; Kenneth Frampton, interview by Steve Parnell, November 23, 2009.

110 July 1964.

111 January 1963.

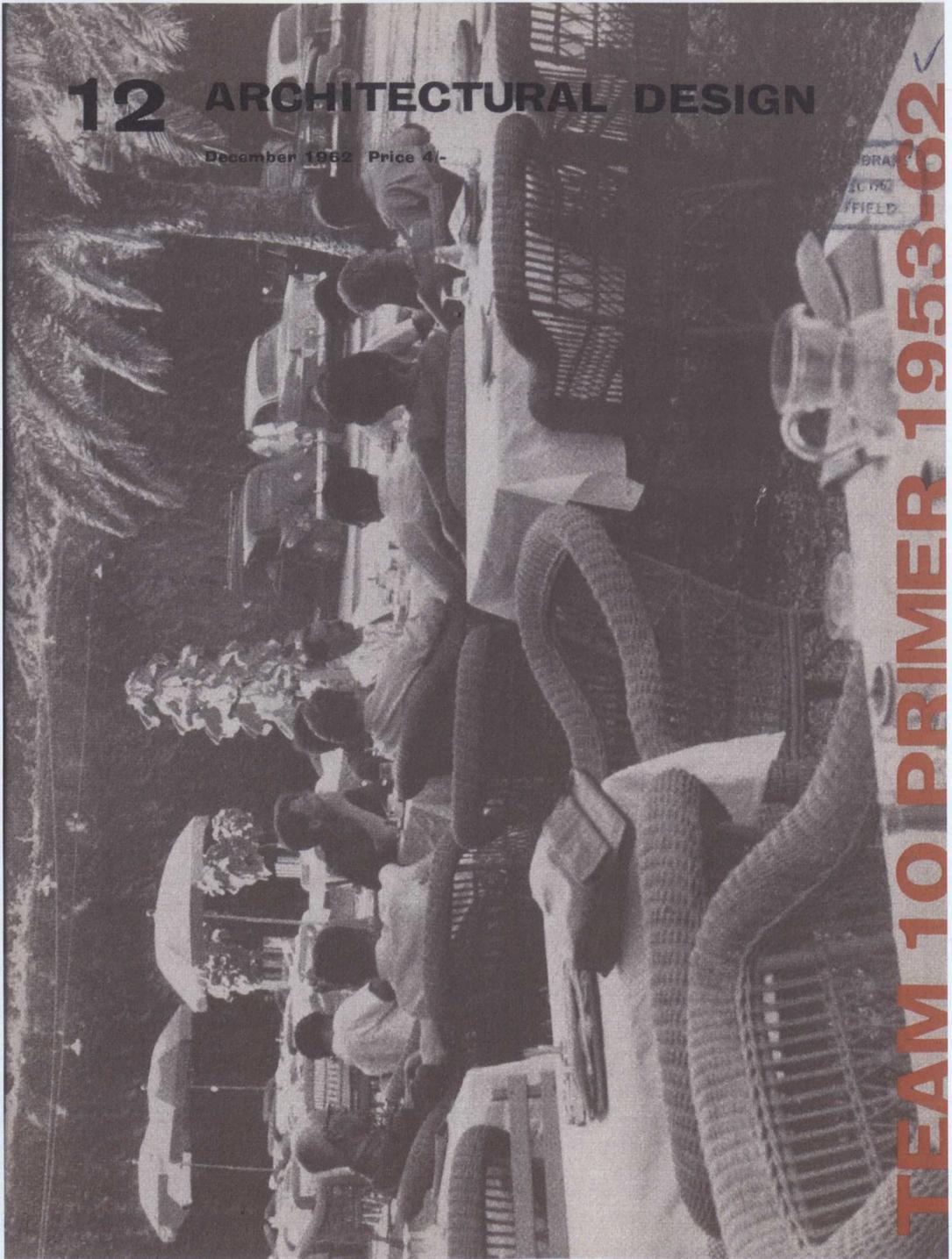


Fig. 5.11: December 1962: the "Team 10 Primer" guest-edited by Alison Smithson.

Today's 'city state' appears to have inherited a natural tendency towards civic pride and culture for in Germany, Switzerland and Italy these 'states' continue to throw up out of their own localized culture their 'princes' of architecture. Ungers in Cologne, Gisel in Zurich, Valle in Udine and now Ceccarelli Epaminoda in Ravenna. Epaminoda is a latter day rationalist who appears to have been quietly building away in concrete during the last few years in the narrow streets of Ravenna. Until now his work has remained virtually unknown.<sup>112</sup>

So ideas about regionalist architects adapting the modern movement to specific "city states" had formed in Frampton's mind by the time he left *AD* and he had already featured other architects working in such a localised manner as the basis for issues: Lingeri & Terragni with an introductory overview of Italian Rationalism by Italian correspondent and former colleague at Douglas Stephen & Partners, Panos Koulermos;<sup>113</sup> a year later came the work of Mangiarotti & Morassuti in Milan and of Gino & Nani Valle in Udine, Italy with an introduction by Joseph Rykwert.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, May 1964's issue is shared between the work of Aris Konstantinidis in Athens, Greece and Oscar Niemeyer in Brasilia.<sup>115</sup> Stirling's (with no credit to Gowan) History Faculty at Cambridge receives a first look in this issue too, still just at model and drawing stage. Frampton always favoured the Constructivist architectonic language of Stirling and devoted 29 pages to Stirling & Gowan's Leicester University Engineering building in February 1964, including criticism by Frampton himself and two colour photographic blocks, indicating its early importance in the canon.

Another favoured building type was the heavy, neo-Brutalist concrete sculptures such as Atelier 5's Siedlung Halen, Berne, to which an issue was dedicated with critique by Neave Brown in February 1964. Frampton was clearly drawn to the textural materiality of such buildings which were reproduced at length in sumptuous black and white photography. But Frampton also recognised the huge technological changes that were influencing architecture: November 1963's issue with Frampton's metallic rendition of the Eiffel tower on the front featured light-weight structures, including a first translation of Yona Friedman's "Towards a Mobile Architecture" and 15 pages on the work of engineer-architect prefabrication specialist, Jean Prouvé. It also showed the sort of visionary work that would become commonplace several years later, particularly Conrad Lehmann's "Multi-Storey Suspension Structures" and an international exhibition tent in Hamburg by Frei Otto. This number also featured an

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112 Kenneth Frampton, "The work of Epaminoda," *Architectural Design*, January 1965, 3.

113 March 1963.

114 March 1964.

115 With photos by Pidgeon under her maiden name (Lehmann).

## 1964 national gymnasias, Yoyogi, Tokyo,

The roofs are the dominant element in the gymnasias at Yoyogi, about a mile from the main Olympic Games site. The basic principle applies to both, of a shell formed by a steel cable suspension structure that has a deck of innumerable small steel plates welded on. The underside is insulated by a sprayed-on asbestos finish, and the exterior is painted white to reflect the heat.

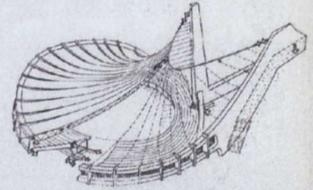
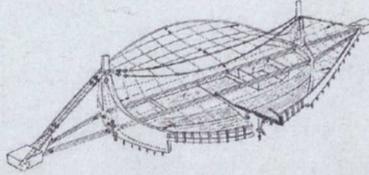
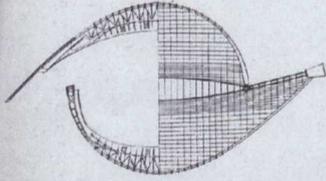
The basic supporting element is a concrete pylon developing into a great sweeping horizontal arch that carries the seat tiers high above the ground. The structure follows a helical curve on plan, while the seating is arranged on a circular basis, which produces a tapering gangway that widens towards the exit. In the large gym, designed for swimming/skating and seating 13,000, there are two arches, arranged in an

interlocking plan with two exits. A bowed box-form steel bridge between the two pylons provides the top anchorage, the arch on each side, and the bottom anchorage. To tie the pylon on each side beyond the ridge and to provide support for the roof over the entranceways, there is a broad double cable between the pylon and a massive anchor block. Near the arena floor huge air inlets supplement the natural ventilation at the ridge.

The small basketball hall, with its single central tower and wrap-around roof, is designed for 4000 spectators. The halls are linked by a high level pedestrian deck for spectator-access to their seats. The wide exits provided here are essential in case of emergency. Below the public level are parking space, athletes' rooms and service facilities. These are the first of Tange's sports buildings.



1 & 3  
Aerial views of the gymnasias before completion.  
2  
The public stroll on the high level pedestrian deck  
Photos: Lehmann 2 Japan Architect 3



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Fig. 5.12: Kenzo Tange's Tokyo gymnasias in May 1965.

“Entertainment Palace for London” by a Mike Webb<sup>116</sup> already involved with Archigram.

Frampton also offered his pages to other avant-gardist polemics, seemingly more with an eye on a wide coverage of discourse than a specific editorial line. Friedman's work has already been mentioned, but he was also the first to publish Constant Nieuwenhuys's Situationist thesis “New Babylon: An Urbanism of the Future” in June 1964 and an excerpt from a young Peter Eisenman's Ph.D. thesis, “Towards an Understanding of Form in Architecture” in October 1963. Frampton claimed that these features were “the first attempt at recovering a wing of the modern movement that had been lost since the end of the Second World War.”<sup>117</sup>

Although Team 10 offered a parallel critique of modern architecture (see chapter 6) to Frampton's focus on the specific place and culture, they did not appear much on his pages. Two notable exceptions are Alison Smithson's guest-edited issues: the first “Team 10 Primer” in December 1962 (Fig. 5.11) and the second in August 1964 “on the work of Team 10”. These were very much at odds with the general Frampton style of magazine, which was neutral, critical and eclectic, and more interested in buildings and criticism than inflated rhetoric. Another exception was the Metabolists,<sup>118</sup> about whom Günter Nitschke guest edited the October 1964 issue and Frampton wrote again in December 1964. Tokyo was in the middle of a large construction phase, holding the Olympics in 1964 and experiencing a booming urban population, with 1,400,000 “dwelling units” needed over the next decade. The Metabolists' thinking parallels that of both Team 10 and Archigram with large megastructures and expandable plug-in components as shown in, for example, Tange's Tokyo Bay scheme of 1960.<sup>119</sup> Many of their urban ideas, which employed similar language to Team 10, like “cluster” for example, remained on the drawing board. However, unlike most of Team 10 and Archigram, the main protagonists of the Metabolists realised many ideas in built form, such as Tange's national gymnasium in Tokyo of 1964 (Fig. 5.12), featured in another Nitschke specially-edited number on Japan in May 1965.<sup>120</sup> They also influenced, for example, Moshe Safdie's Habitat buildings at Expo '67 in Montreal, which were first previewed in December

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116 This so-called “Sin Centre” had appeared in Archigram 2 and had persistently failed the Regent Street Polytechnic's examinations until 1972 – see Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 27.

117 Frampton, “Homage à Monica Pidgeon: An AD Memoir,” 24.

118 The Metabolists formed in 1960 at the World Design Conference in Tokyo and consisted of Kiyonori Kikutake, Noriaki Kurokawa, Fumihiko Maki, Masato Ohtaka and Noboru Kawazoe, with Arato Isozaki and Kenzo Tange joining in 1964.

119 Günter Nitschke, “The approach of the Kenzo Tange team in their plan for Tokyo 1960,” *Architectural Design*, October 1964, 501.

120 Nitschke would guest-edit another two issues on Japanese architecture, in March 1966 and May 1967.

The publishers of **ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN** invite architects and their clients to participate in a new annual Project Awards programme. The object of these awards is threefold: to encourage by competition a generally higher standard of architecture throughout the country; to give public recognition to the work of relatively unknown architects; and to present an assessment of architectural trends in Britain.

This AD programme of annual Project Awards is the first of its kind in the United Kingdom. The scheme is open to all registered architects in this country, and awards will be given in six categories of buildings, including projects which are still in only the design stage at the date of entry. Designs submitted can be for any category or size of building or group of buildings and there is no entry fee.

A *Grand Project Award* will be made for the one best design submitted; and there will be six other *Project Awards* for designs in different categories. In each case a certificate will be awarded to the architect and the client of the project; in the case of the *Grand Project Award* the certificate will later be supplied for fixing to the building on completion.

Awards will be on the basis of (1) solution of the client's brief, (2) conceptual solution, and (3) technical solution.

The jury, consisting of distinguished members of the profession will be selected to judge entries in a changing and alive standard by which current projects may be regularly assessed.

The jury for 1964 will be the architects Theo Crosby, Erno Goldfinger, and Denis Lasdun.

Judging will take place in London during April 1964 and the winners will be notified confidentially immediately. The entries will be held in confidence until the award and the winning designs will be published in *Architectural Design* in the same month, to coincide with the presentation.

at the Building Centre, of the award certificates. (Exact date and time to be announced later.)

Entry date is March 31st, 1964. Any number of designs may be submitted, and no application forms are required.

Submissions should be made as follows:

*Visual material.* This should all be in the form of Bl. x 10in. prints, photostats or photographs. (No original drawings, models, panels, models, etc. will be accepted.) It should include site plans, sections, elevations, and iterations, photos of model or perspective drawings.

*Written material.* This should include:

- (a) name of architect and the client;
- (b) name of intended building;
- (c) description of the brief and of the conceptual and technical solutions; maximum total of 1000 words;
- (d) statement that (1) the project is still in the design stage in March 1964, but that construction is anticipated to start before the end of the year, and (2) that the submission of the project gives *Architectural Design* first publication rights in the architectural field of both the project and the completed building in the case of award winners.

Entries should be addressed to: Project Award Scheme, Architectural Design, 26 Bloomsbury Way, London WC1. The award certificate will be sent by air mail to the winner by post on March 31st, 1964. All material will be returned eventually to the sender.



Fig. 5.13: The inside of the insert announcing the first AD Grand Project Award.

1964<sup>121</sup> and could barely be distinguished from the work of the Metabolists in the same issue. It could easily be argued that Tokyo was another example of Critical Regionalism collected on the pages of *AD*, albeit heavily influenced by the *béton brut* of Le Corbusier, the rhetoric of Team 10 and technological playfulness of Archigram.

Frampton's own block of flats on which he had been working in the mornings while editing the magazine in the afternoons, was published in September 1964.<sup>122</sup> This seems to coincide with his desire to leave the UK to explore an opportunity the US, which arose on the invitation of Peter Eisenman. Although Frampton continued to contribute criticism to the magazine after he left, his last main building study while technical editor was of the Smithsons' Economist group of buildings, in February 1964 – the very buildings with which Banham claimed the Smithsons had abandoned the idea of *une architecture autre*: “Far from being an example of an 'other' architecture, this is a craftsmanly exercise within the great tradition.”<sup>123</sup> For Banham, this was not a compliment, whereas for Frampton, it was. Frampton's review is positive, but mainly for what the cluster of three buildings offers as a public space with their elevated plaza between, which could have been the beginnings of a more three-dimensional urban design, argued Frampton, in the model of the Berlin Hauptstadt competition entry.

By the time Frampton left, he had pared down *AD* to a quite straightforward format: book notes, news, building studies, design notes, and trade notes, with an occasional issue themed by a guest-editor or the new *AD* Grand Project Awards.

### ***AD* Grand Project Awards**

Pidgeon largely left the editorial direction of the magazine to her technical editors, but would interject with specific ideas or issues she wanted to do, such as those on South America. Another of these ideas was the *AD Grand Project Awards*,<sup>124</sup> which she launched in November 1963 with a gold insert (Fig. 5.13) in the magazine along with a special letter from her introducing the award. According to the insert, this programme was “the first of its kind in the UK”. Frampton speculated that motivation for the awards “was to tie the magazine more closely into current practice and the profession and to represent kind of cutting edge

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121 “Habitat '67 Montreal,” *Architectural Design*, December 1964.

122 Frampton, “Maisonettes in Bayswater, London.”

123 Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: The Architectural Press, 1966), 134.

124 In an interview with the author, Frampton confirmed it was Monica's idea, although David Dottridge also claimed it was his idea: David Dottridge to Steve Parnell, “Research on Architectural Design -my best”, September 15, 2011.



### Grand Project Award

Transplantation surgery unit, Western General Hospital, Edinburgh  
 For the South-Eastern Regional Hospital Board, Edinburgh  
 Architect: Peter Womersley and assistant architect, Joseph Blackburn



Peter Womersley

### Project Awards

College of architecture and advanced building technologies, St. Marylebone, London  
 For the London County Council  
 Architect to the LCC, Hubert Bennett; Deputy Architect, Frank West; Schools Architect, Michael Powell



Hubert Bennett



Frank West



Michael Powell



J. Coia

### Our Lady's girls' high school, Cumbernauld

For the County Council of Dumbarton Education Committee  
 Architects, Gillespie, Kidd & Coia; Architects in charge, A. MacMillan, I. Metzstein, R. Walkinshaw



A. MacMillan



I. Metzstein

### New building for St. Hugh's College, Oxford

For the Principal & Fellows, St. Hugh's College  
 Architects, David Roberts & Partners



R. Walkinshaw



David Roberts

### Charlotte Street development, Portsmouth

For E. Alec Colman Group of Companies  
 Architects, Owen Luder (Owen Luder, Dennis F. Drawbridge, Rodney Gordon). Senior Assistant in charge, Norman Wilson



Owen Luder



Rodney Gordon

### Housing, The Ryde, Hatfield

For the Cockaigne Housing Group Ltd.  
 Architects, Peter Phippen in association with David Parkes & Peter Randall



Dennis Drawbridge



Peter Phippen

### Mentioned

Canteen, offices and weighbridge house  
 For the British Oil & Cake Mills Ltd.  
 Architects, Munce & Kennedy; Architect in charge, J. F. Sheldon



David Parkes



Peter Randall

### Blackwall Tunnel ventilation buildings

For the Roads Committee of the London County Council  
 Architect to the LCC, Hubert Bennett; Deputy Architect, Frank West; Senior Architect of Special Works Division, G. F. Horsfall

### Waterfront housing, Pill Creek, Feock, Cornwall

For Marcus Brumwell  
 Architects, Team 4

The publishers of *Architectural Design* invited architects together with their clients to participate in a new annual Project Awards programme—the first of its kind in the United Kingdom.

The object of these awards is threefold: to encourage by competition a generally higher standard of architecture throughout the country; to give public recognition to the work of relatively unknown architects; and to present an assessment of architectural trends in Britain today.

The scheme is open to all registered architects in the United Kingdom, and awards are made for projects still in only the design stage at the date of entry. Designs submitted can be for any category or size of building or group of buildings.

This year's jury were the architects Theo Crosby, Ernő Goldfinger, and Denys Lasdun, and out of the 192 entries submitted for their scrutiny, they chose one for the Grand Project Award—the award for the best design of all—and five for Project Awards (out of the permitted six awards for designs in different categories). They also selected three designs for special mention. The Awards were made on the basis of the solution of the client's brief, the conceptual solution, and the technical solution.

All the entries will be on view at the Building Centre, London, from June 11th to 20th.



Jurors Crosby, Goldfinger and Lasdun

Fig. 5.14: The results for the first Grand Projects Award, June 1964.

architects” although looking back in 2009, he admitted that “there’s something about it that makes me feel uncomfortable in retrospect, I don’t know why. It seems a bit provincial to tell you the truth.” The gold insert explained that “The object of these awards is threefold: to encourage by competition a generally higher standard of architecture throughout the country; to give public recognition to the work of relatively unknown architects; and to present an assessment of architectural trends in Britain.” It is doubtful that the first and last objectives could have been achieved – the projects were not speculative, but had already been commissioned and so merely had to be re-presented in the competition format for submission. Whether they would have been re-designed, or had more time spent on the design for the purposes of the competition is unknown, but doubtful. In addition, the architectural trends in Britain were already being reported in the magazine, albeit once the buildings were constructed. The awards could only have given advanced notice of such trends. The second claim, of giving public recognition to the work of relatively unknown architects, was more realistic and certainly several unknowns were featured. For example, Team 4’s design for housing<sup>125</sup> won a mention in the first awards published in June 1964<sup>126</sup> – their first published work, having only set up in 1963.

The awards were copied from Progressive Architecture’s (P/A) Design Awards Program which was first held in 1954<sup>127</sup> and mentioned in *AD* in March 1964.<sup>128</sup> An editorial in *P/A* congratulated *AD* on picking up the idea and simultaneously took a side-swipe at the “staidly frivolous prima donna of architectural journalism, the *Architectural Review*, competitor of *Architectural Design*” for “letting her angry young editor [Reyner Banham] indulge in a commentary on the results of P/A’s Design Awards. The gist of what this gentleman said is that American architecture has reverted to Beaux-Artism...”<sup>129</sup> Clearly, Pidgeon was intent on differentiating itself from its competitor, although Frampton probably shared Banham’s concerns. Like *P/A*’s Design Awards Program, the *AD* Grand Project Awards were for projects still on the drawing board. The jurors usually came from Pidgeon’s intimate circle, the first three being *AD* consultants Theo Crosby, Ernö Goldfinger and Denys Lasdun (Fig. 5.14).<sup>130</sup>

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125 For Richard Rogers’ first wife, Su Brumwell’s parents, Marcus and Rene. Team 4 consisted of Richard Rogers, Norman Foster and his first wife Wendy Cheeseman and her sister Georgie, who left after 2 weeks. Su Rogers subsequently helped out but was not part of the original four.

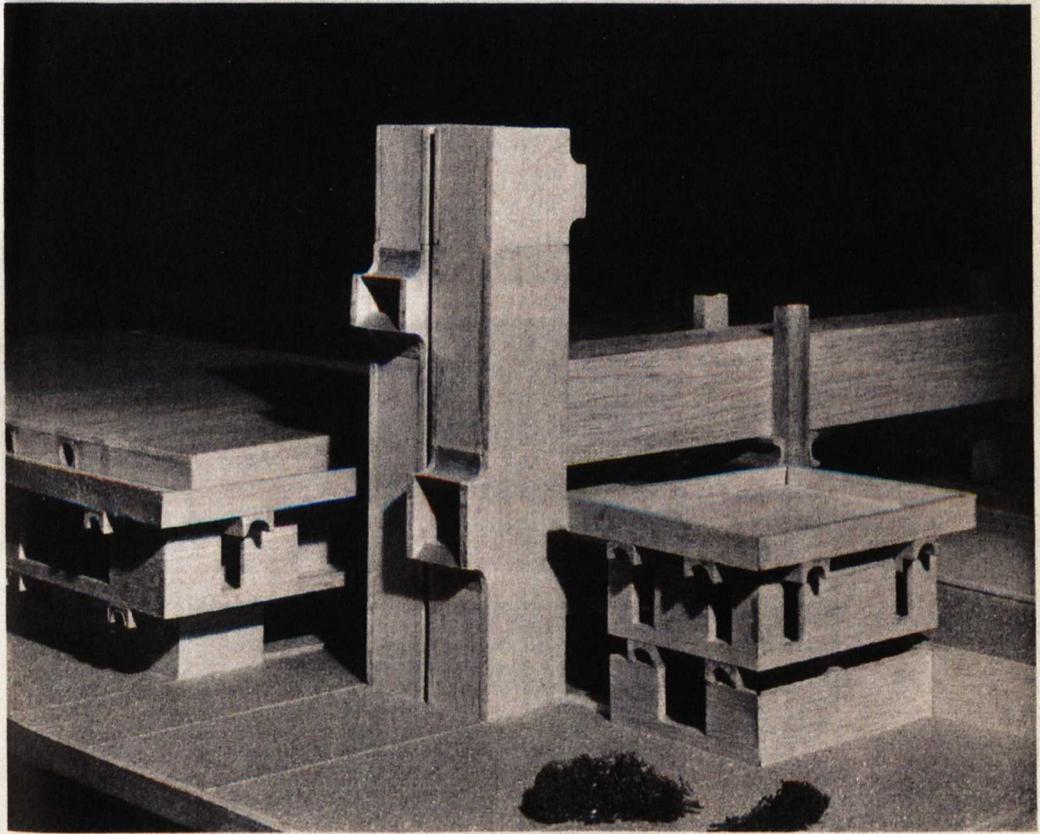
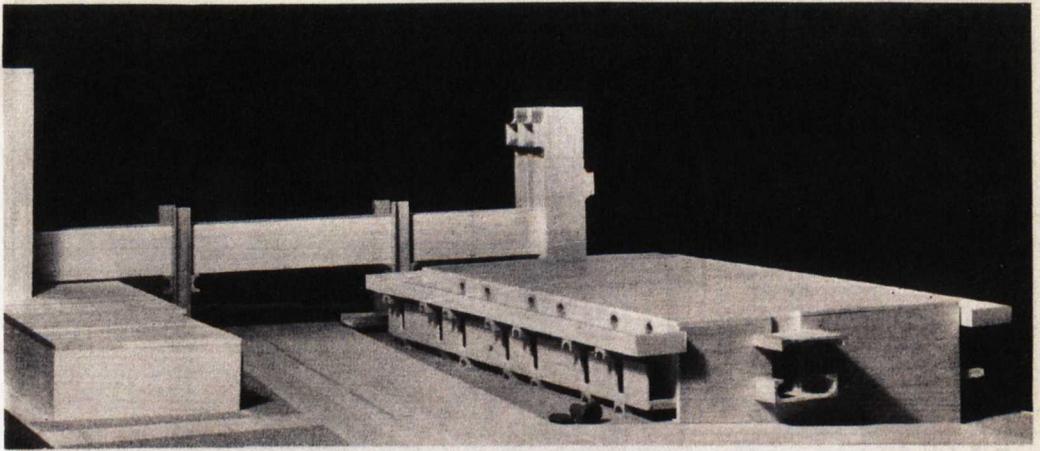
126 “Waterfront housing, Pill Creek, Feock, Cornwall,” *Architectural Design*, June 1964.

127 Announced in its August 1953 issue.

128 “Design Awards,” *Architectural Design*, March 1964, 108.

129 Jan Rowan, “Editorial,” *Progressive Architecture*, January 1964, 99; The article referred to by Rowan is Reyner Banham, “23rd Avenue Overhead,” *Architectural Review*, April 1963, 232.

130 The judging occurred at the Building Centre on 8-10 April: Monica Pidgeon to Denys Lasdun, March 19, 1964, LaD/235/5, Lasdun archive, RIBA Archives.



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*Fig. 5.15: The winner of the first Grand Project Award: Peter Womersley's Nuffield transplantation surgery unit, Western General Hospital, Edinburgh.*

The inaugural prizes, chosen from 192 entries, were awarded in June 1964 and a substantial part of that month's magazine (23 pages) devoted to the awards. The winners were then exhibited around the country's Building Centres.<sup>131</sup> The winners were clearly influenced by the jurors' tastes, the first awards preferring the Brutalist style of exposed concrete architecture. Peter Womersley won the Grand Project Award with his design for the Nuffield transplantation surgery unit at Edinburgh's Western General Hospital (Fig. 5.15), and other awards included Gillespie, Kidd & Coia's school in Cumbernauld, Owen Luder's Charlotte Street development in Portsmouth, LCC's College of architecture and advanced building technologies by the LCC architects' department under Hubert Bennett, a residential building for St. Hugh's College, Oxford by David Roberts & Partners, and the Blackwell Tunnel ventilation buildings, again by the LCC.

Pidgeon herself regretted that "There is a sort of sameness about the winners each year"<sup>132</sup> and was already considering rethinking them in December 1966,<sup>133</sup> but the awards lasted six years, until 1969,<sup>134</sup> when in May the editors announced, "The editors of AD and their consultants have decided to hold over the AD Project Awards for 1970 and instead, to ask readers to suggest a new form for the project or even new subjects and categories."<sup>135</sup> Frampton's successor, Robin Middleton, was also not fond of the idea and said that they were

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131 The Building Centres housed the exhibitions in London (June 11-19), Birmingham (June 22-26), Manchester (June 29 – July 3), Glasgow (July -10), Bristol (July 13-17). A classified advert was placed in May 1964' issue (AD page 62) requesting a student "to help with exhibiting AD's project awards at various Building Centres throughout the country. Must be able to drive."

132 Monica Pidgeon to Denys Lasdun, April 1, 1966, LaD/235/5, Lasdun archive, RIBA Archives.

133 Monica Pidgeon to Denys Lasdun, December 28, 1966, LaD/235/5, Lasdun archive, RIBA Archives.

134 The fourth awards featured in January 1967 with jurors Peter Ahrends, Ove Arup and Robert Maxwell judging 163 entries and awarding 8 awards (including a house in Liverpool by Derek Walker and BDP's Preston bus station) and 9 mentions (including Goslings Runcorn New Town central area) with no outright winner.

The fifth awards were published in January 1968 and judged by Eric Lyons, Colin St. John Wilson and Phillip Powell and was restricted to "houses and housing". It received 139 entries and gave 6 awards but no outright winner.

The sixth and final awards were published in January 1969 and judged by Peter Smithson, Stanley Woolf and Arthur G. Aldersey-Williams and was restricted to "service buildings" such as "post offices, libraries, clinics, garages, workshops, supermarkets, bus stations, transformers, public conveniences, etc." The jurors were not able to pick a Grand Award winner and gave only 2 awards (Fosters' Dockers amenity centre on the Isle of Dogs and Nantley House day nursery by Middlesex Borough Architect's department) and 3 commendations from only 37 entries. John Madin's Central Library in Birmingham received no mention.

135 Editors, "AD Project Awards 1970," *Architectural Design*, May 1969, 233.

“Awful – it was an embarrassment frankly [...] because the designs weren't very good and you had to give awards, you had to publish them and it was all this mediocre stuff.”<sup>136</sup> Even so, he did oversee its replacement (back by popular demand), “Pick of the Projects”, with a theme once again of housing, launched in September 1973 and published in May 1974. This experiment was not repeated however. Regardless of its success as a concept, the initial objective of trying to encourage an improvement in British architecture clearly had not succeeded and it probably had the converse effect – by running a competition, the magazine was committed to publishing whatever was submitted which by all accounts was largely (although not always) mediocre. Even by the second year of the awards,<sup>137</sup> the jury of James Stirling, David Allford and Trevor Dannatt did not award an outright winner. Stirling commented “No single scheme emerged as an outright winner; this was unfortunate as presumably it would have been a guide to the relevant present or the immediate future. Even the six selected schemes were to some extent disappointing as their main asset was to reinforce the general direction of the best English architecture over the last eight years or so...”<sup>138</sup> The second year also featured designs for housing by Team 4 Architects and mentions for Owen Luder's High Street development in Gateshead, as well as three other schemes by Luder, and Jefferson, Sheard and Partners' Electrical Substation in Sheffield. Once more, all selected mentions demonstrated heavy Brutalist leanings. Again, in the third awards,<sup>139</sup> Owen Luder was mentioned with housing in Kensington and Team 4 were mentioned with their Reliance controls factory, which became the seminal High-Tech building. The Grand Project Award for 1966 was given to a Laundry in Leeds by Derek Walker, demonstrating Frampton's fears of the awards' provincialism. Regardless of the quality of entries, *AD* was committed to being associated with the award and dedicated most of an issue to it every year. Unlike selecting material from the mass of built work that was submitted by architects every month, or even pro-actively going out and finding buildings of quality, there was a very small, and seemingly mediocre, selection to choose from. The resulting building designs might well have not been published had they not won the award based on their original drawings. Very few winners or commended projects were subsequently published once built, one notable exception being Owen Luder's shops and market complex at Charlotte St., Portsmouth, which provided very photogenic material for twelve pages in November 1966.<sup>140</sup> The awards were thus a short-circuit in the process of providing the source material

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136 Robin Middleton, interview by Steve Parnell, March 4, 2010.

137 178 entries

138 James Stirling, “Project Awards Jurors' comments,” *Architectural Design*, April 1965, 164.

139 Judged by Alan Colquhoun, James Gowan and Frank Newby and featured in April 1966.

140 “Shops + market complex, Charlotte St, Portsmouth,” *Architectural Design*, November 1966, 537–548.

for architectural history based on mediations and imaginings rather than buildings. Although speculative judgement was (and remains) common in architecture, this type of competition was new to architectural magazines. What it allowed, however, was for architects to be published and therefore gain a reputation before they had built – although while the Grand Project Awards were for projects on the table, there was no guarantee that they would actually be built, let alone as they were designed. This speculative approach to architectural history splits the building as a lived, experienced spatial project from the conceived, projected imagined project and re-prioritises the latter over the former. The process started with the *AD* awards and has grown to dominate architectural culture ever since.

The *AD Grand Project Awards* programme is a prime demonstration of the creation and maintenance of belief, or *illusio*, in the field of architecture of the period. In Bourdieuan terms, the objective was to gain prestige and status within the field of architecture both for those associated with the awards and for the winners. *AD* managed this not only by being associated with, but by the very act of *defining* the best buildings of the year. A team of esteemed jurors judged each year's awards, giving it kudos, or *cultural capital*, which would rub off onto the winning and commended entries, which themselves would gain further capital by being published. Frampton was later dismissive of the awards, as he considered the entries not of sufficient quality for publication (and thereby being elevated to the status of architecture). This dismissal could be read as an acknowledgement that the power of classification was outside Frampton's control. He took no part in the awards and therefore could not benefit from any cultural capital that they produced, other than by association with the magazine. As far as he was concerned, anyway, the entries were too "provincial".<sup>141</sup>

### Readers' opinions

Since the vast majority of readers of the architectural press have a stake in the field of architecture, its influence is not entirely unidirectional. The press can provide a platform for their views by publishing feedback in the form of letters and feedback cards. *AD* was particularly keen on the latter. In the last issue of *AD* with which Frampton was involved – and the first in which Middleton's name appears on the masthead as technical editor – there appears in a short, boxed news item, a request for readers' feedback under the title of "What is your opinion?":

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141 Frampton, interview.

The editors, in determining their policy for 1957, would very much like to feel that they were satisfying the needs of their readers; with this in view they would be most grateful if you would let them know your answers to the few questions below

**Readers' Opinions**

Has A.D. satisfied you in the past two years? \_\_\_\_\_

What do you like most about the contents? \_\_\_\_\_

What do you like least about the contents? \_\_\_\_\_

What would you like to see altered or added? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you welcome the idea of theoretical discussion on—  
 (a) Architectural aesthetics \_\_\_\_\_  
 (b) Planning \_\_\_\_\_

*Answers should be concerned with editorial contents only and not with advertisements or binding.*

Fig. 5.16: Readers' Opinions feedback card from December 1956.

<p>1. Which do you consider to have been        (a) The best issue of A.D. during 1957/1958 _____        (b) The worst issue of A.D. during 1957/1958 _____</p> <p>2. Have you enjoyed the discussions under the title "Opinion" ? _____</p> <p>3. Do you think we have published enough technical information ? _____</p> <p>4. Do you like the quarterly Interior Design Supplements ? _____</p> <p>5. Is there any regular feature        (a) You value highly ? _____        (b) You would like discontinued ? _____</p> <p>6. Is there any one subject that more than any other, you wish we would cover ? _____</p> <p>7. Do you think the standard of A.D. to be        (a) Improving ? _____        (b) Static ? _____        (c) Deteriorating ? _____</p> <p>8. Do you like recent cover designs ? _____</p> <p>9. Are you employed in        (a) Private practice ? _____        (b) Govt. work ? _____        (c) Industry ? _____</p>	<p>10. How do you obtain your A.D.        (a) By direct subscription ? _____        (b) From a bookshop or newsagent ? _____</p> <p>11. How many other people read your A.D. ? _____</p> <p>12. Are you a student ? _____        If so please state year of study _____</p> <p>13. To which age group do you belong ?        Over 60 _____        45-60 _____        30-45 _____        20-30 _____        Under 20 _____</p> <p>14. For how long have you read A.D. ? _____</p> <hr style="border: 1px solid black; margin-top: 20px;"/> <p><b>NAME</b> _____</p> <p><b>DEGREES</b> _____</p> <p><b>ADDRESS</b> _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
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Fig. 5.17: Readers' Opinions feedback card from December 1958.

The Maison des Beaux Arts, Paris, recently convened a meeting of the editors of the leading monthly magazines of architecture of France, Switzerland, Italy and Britain to discuss among themselves and, later, with the students from the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, the ideal content of an architectural magazine. There was a certain amount of agreement among the editors about their approach to the problem, but much confusion of opinion among the rest of the participants (the 'consumers').

It is the opinion of the Maison des Beaux Arts that architectural magazines are not publishing what readers require these days. Since it is our desire to serve the Profession as fully as possible, we would be very interested to hear your views on this matter. What do *you* seek in a monthly magazine like *AD*?

The editors had previously compiled such feedback questionnaires on pre-paid survey cards such as that of December 1956 included as an insert on perforated paper ready to tear-off (Fig. 5.16), that of December 1958, which was a folded card freely inserted (Fig. 5.17), that of March 1960, which was a card on a perforated insert (Fig. 5.18), and a similar one of November 1963 (Fig. 5.19).

These feedback requests from readers appear, on average, about every two years up until Middleton's time, and there may well have been others. They are obviously designed for two reasons: First to help the editors formulate an editorial policy to ensure that the magazine is satisfying the readers' needs, and second to provide information for advertisers that is more specific than raw circulation numbers. A professional trade rag like *AD* was dependent on both advertising revenue and circulation numbers for its survival and so had to keep both readers and advertisers happy. Unfortunately no records survive of the feedback content and how it influenced editorial policy so attributing content or circulation is impossible.

Feedback is more commonly achievable through letters to the editors. Once more, unfortunately, these letters no longer exist other than those published in the magazine. 68 letters appeared in Crosby's pages during his 103 issues (approximately 2 letters to every 3 issues), mainly in response to the *Opinion* features which pro-actively courted feedback. In contrast, during Frampton's time as technical editor (31 issues), only one letter was published, and it was from Robert Matthew, President of the UIA, in March 1964. It was strangely published in the news pages and concerned the World Design Science Decade, suggesting it was Pidgeon's decision rather than Frampton's, as it was she who supported and wanted to promote the Buckminster Fuller initiative. The absence of letters suggests that Frampton was not interested in generating an architectural dialogue on the pages of *AD* and it was one way, like stopping the Product Index cards, that he achieved a level of autonomy. When asked

YEAR HERE

**PLEASE COMPLETE & POST OFF**      **Readers' Comments**

To the readers of Architectural Design  
 We can only be sure that the majority of our readers are getting what they want from our journal by seeking criticism from them. Please be good enough to complete this questionnaire and return it to us as soon as possible - postage is free. Rest assured that your reply will be treated as confidential

1. Which do you consider to have been
  - (a) The best issue during 1959/60.....
  - (b) The worst issue during 1959/60 .....
2. Would you like
  - (a) More special numbers on any one subject.....
  - (b) Any suggestions .....
  - (c) More technical articles .....
3. Have you been interested in
  - (a) The Gardens articles.....
  - (b) The Modular Design sheets.....
4. (a) Are you collecting Product Index Cards .....
- (b) Are you filing under SIB Classification.....
5. Do you think the standard of AD to be  
 Improving  Static  Deteriorating
6. Are you employed in  
 Private Practice  Govt. Work  Industry
7. How do you obtain your AD  
 Full direct subscription  Student sub-  
 scription  From a bookstall or newsagent
8. How many other people read your AD .....
9. For how long have you read AD .....
10. How many other Architectural Magazines do  
 you read.....

Name.....

Address.....

Fig. 5.18: Readers' Comments feedback card, March 1960.

OUT HERE

**Sorry to bother you!**

But it will be to your advantage. Every now and then we like to have some opinions from you, our reader, to formulate an editorial policy.

Delete which-  
ever does not  
apply

(a) Do you enjoy the News item	Yes	No
(b) Do you like the issues dealing with foreign architecture	Yes	No
(c) Do you prefer English building reviews	Yes	No
(d) Would you like more technical articles	Yes	No
(e) Do you find the supplements useful	Yes	No
(f) Do you use the Readers' Service Card	Yes	No
(g) Are you interested in Interior Design	Yes	No
(h) Is there any specific subject you would like reviewed in the editorial.....		
.....		
(i) Is there any specific subject you would like a technical supplement on .....		
.....		
(j) Do you like the new cover designs	Yes	No
(k) How many read your AD.....		
(l) Are you an Architect (Priv. Pract.); Partner (Arch. Firm); Staff Architect; Arch. Asst.; Official Arch.; Student; Interior Designer; Builder; Manufacturer; Surveyor.		

Name .....

Address .....

Postage is free

Fig. 5.19: Readers' Comments feedback card, November 1963.

about the lack of letters published, Frampton simply replied that they didn't get many.<sup>142</sup> Middleton acknowledged that they didn't get many letters, and "tried to look for the rudest."<sup>143</sup> He initially also published very few (only 5 between February 1965 and December 1967), but in his remaining 57 issues, corresponding to *AD's* shift of character in 1968, he published 106 (almost 2 letters per issue). So while he was not interested in using the formal "readers' comments" questionnaire cards, of which there is no evidence during his time as technical editor, it seems he was more interested in encouraging readers' opinions via the letters pages. This period also saw a decline in circulation so the number of readers' letters published per reader was actually increasing. This suggests that while Middleton was trying to steer the magazine away from the field of building, he was not interested in hearing readers' opinions as to what should be published (and therefore would increase circulation). However, he subsequently did want to take his select group of readers with him as the *position-takings* of the readers were becoming aligned with those of the magazine. This was a more post-modern position, allowing the magazine to reflect a wider variety of views than during the more unilateral times of Frampton and Crosby. But *AD* was also becoming an exclusive reactionary club, increasingly linked to that other exclusive reactionary club, the Architectural Association. In fact, *AD* effectively became the publishing arm of the AA from its little moment until the late 1970s when Alvin Boyarsky adopted this strategy himself and started the AA's publishing activities as central to the school's strategy.<sup>144</sup>

### Product catalogues and scrapbooks

It was a long-standing tradition in *AD* to devote a section to new building materials and practices, which had originated with its role as a complement to the Architects' Standard Catalogue. F.E. Towndrow had kept *AD* going through the lean war years with his "Components of Building" series. There were other series on "Materials & Equipment" and "Building Industry Notes" before the war, but the "News and Notes" section started in January 1942. As a spin-off from "War-time Building", it was still concerned with the problems of the war, but after, it gradually evolved into "Trade and Technical Notes".<sup>145</sup> Gontran

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142 Ibid.

143 Middleton, interview.

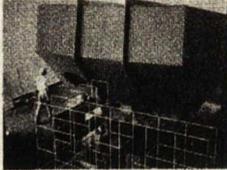
144 Dennis Sharp claimed that in his last 5 years, Boyarsky was "spending just under £1million a year on publications in an institution that was only turning over £2.5 – £3million a year." Dennis Sharp, interview by Steve Parnell, March 2, 2009.

145 "Trade Notes" first appeared as an individual piece in *Architectural Design*, October 1949, 258 and "Technical Notes" in *Architectural Design*, March 1948, 64-66. However, these were one-offs rather

# CATALOGUE

## Kit system

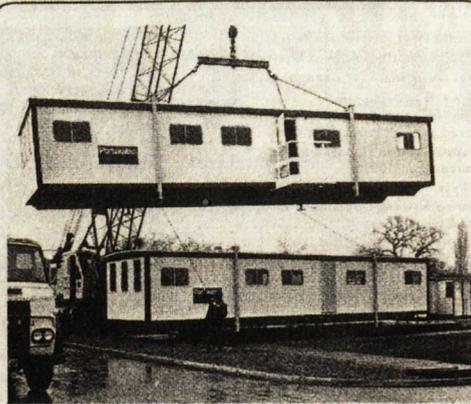
The Aluminum Company of America has developed a Meccano-type aluminium house frame system which uses standard length extrusions with c-slotted gusset plates. The extruded beams are used for floor joists and studding, while trusses are fabricated on the ground for the roof supports. A small crew can erect the frame of a four room house in one day. As window and door frames are load bearing few studs are needed, and the actual number of parts required is half as many as with traditional timber framing.



## Corrugated fibreboard

Tri-Wall Pak is a lightweight heavy duty triple fluted corrugated fibreboard which is finding favour among exporters as an economic replacement for traditional packaging materials such as timber and plywood. It has recently been used for the construction of a suspended projection and viewing enclosure for exhibition purposes, designed by an RCA student, Douglas Patterson. The unit measures 6700 mm x 3960 mm x 2740 mm, weighs 272 kg and was fabricated and erected in three days by four students without previous experience.

Tri-Wall Containers Ltd.,  
1 Mount Street, London, W1Y 5AA.



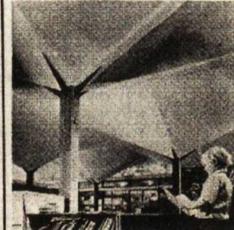
## Portable accommodation unit

Claimed to be the largest one-piece portable building on the British market, the new PK 48 Portakabin provides 55.74 m<sup>2</sup> (600 ft<sup>2</sup>) of floor space and weighs less than 6100 kg (6 tons). The units are said to be capable of being loaded and taken off the delivery vehicle by one man in under two hours, using the independently adjustable leg system, and can be stacked two high and end-to-end. The stressed-skin construction eliminates all joints in the exterior plywood and the roof is surfaced with two layers of mineral felt. All-round thermal insulation gives U-values (W/m<sup>2</sup> deg. C) of 1.19 for floor and roof and 0.79 for walls. Three vertical windows, each 610 mm x 1067 mm, are fitted in each end of the unit, and a total of 11 horizontal sliding windows of the same size are provided to the sides. All window frames are of anodised aluminium with PVC trims. Internal dimensions, 14.63 m long, 3.81m wide, 2.29 m high. Price, from £1,795.

Portakabin Ltd., New Lane, York, YO3 9PT

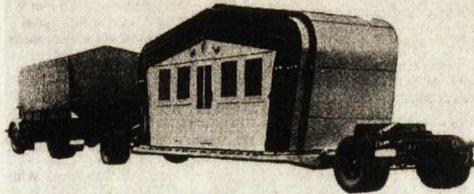
## School Extension

In September 1968 Bousfield parents association invited a number of students from the Architectural Association to submit designs for an extension to Bousfield Infants School the Boltons, London SW10, to relieve the acute shortage of space. As the building was 12 years old it did not qualify for a local authority grant so a parents' association was set up to raise the money. The design by David Harris and Eric Chapman was chosen.



A GRP roof system consisting of six umbrellas, each of 4 panels, was adopted. To save costs a glass cloth mould was stretched across the timber frame of each panel to form the hyperbolic paraboloid surface. This cost 7d/ft<sup>2</sup> as opposed to £1/ft<sup>2</sup> for a mould. GRP was sprayed onto both sides of the cloth followed by 1/2" urethane foam and a further skin of GRP to complete the sandwich panel. Each panel weighs 300 lbs. and has a U value of 0.3. The panels were bolted together on site and the joints were sealed with GRP to produce a monolithic structure.

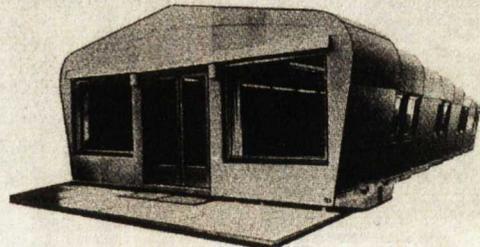
David J.B. Harris.



## Expanding structures

The Both expanding multi-purpose structure consists

of up to eight sections, each of nearly 2 m in depth, designed so that they telescope together to fit into the first main section. This makes it possible to



transport the entire unit on a single truck. The cladding consists of anodised aluminium sheets, a 5 cm thick layer of insulation, which contains

electric wiring etc., and an inner lining of chipboard.

Helmuth Both & Co.,  
283 Boizenburg/Elbe, Galliner Str.,  
German Democratic Republic.

176 AD 3/71

Fig. 5.20: The first "Catalogue" column of March 1971.

than the beginnings of regular series. The latter seemed to take over from Archivolt's (Frederic Towndrow's) "Technical Causerie" series which was a short-lived monthly news-like technical column from January to June 1947.

Goulden, a friend of Pidgeon from her student days and later director of the Building Centre,<sup>146</sup> is credited as taking over in February 1954. "Trade and Technical Notes" was initially a single page at the back of the magazine, alongside the book notes and interior design section, and was dedicated to the more technical aspect of new building and fit-out products in which the practising architect might be interested. Each month, a handful of products was featured, each with an inch or so of descriptive information and a selection of photographs. Goulden continued this section, later abbreviated to simply "Trade Notes",<sup>147</sup> for eleven years.<sup>148</sup> A column of this kind was deemed necessary after the war in a trade rag like *AD* because the nature of building products was changing, implying a shift in the nature of what constituted architectural knowledge. Two months after Goulden finished, in one of the first issues under Middleton, Alexander Pike<sup>149</sup> took it over.<sup>150</sup> Pike had worked with Middleton under Theo Crosby at Taylor Woodrow and was to become head of technical research at the Cambridge University school of architecture partly thanks to Pidgeon's patronage.<sup>151</sup> He continued "Trade Notes" until March 1968, when it changed its name to "Developments" and then to "Hardware" in November 1970. This column, regardless of name or contributor, reported on all kinds of products. For example, in Goulden's first column, he reported on a lorry-mounted crane, a parking meter, light switches, light fittings, an industrial fryer and Formica sheeting.<sup>152</sup> Eleven years later, Pike's first column (April 1965) – still a single page – consisted of plastic building products such as drainage, water, gas and rainwater pipes, vinyl flooring and washable PVC wall coverings, as well as the asbestolux catalogue, aluminium windows, a portable air conditioner and a radio controlled garage door.<sup>153</sup> From that month on, the

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146 He was also the Director of the 1961 UIA Congress held in London: Michael Manser, "Director of 6th Congress, 3rd-7th July, 1961," *Architectural Design*, January 1961, 1. "Mr. F.R. Yerbury has decided to relinquish his position as director of the Building Centre at the end of 1961. Gontran Goulden and Robert Nott will be joint directors from January 1st, 1962, onwards." Michael Manser, "The Building Centre," *Architectural Design*, June 1961, 227.

147 From January 1964.

148 Until February 1965.

149 "Born 1924. Studied LCC School of Building. Worked for Arcon from 1951 and then for A.M. Gear after their merger until 1962; then Taylor Woodrow Construction Co. until 1965, thereafter with Colin St John Wilson." *Architectural Design*, July 1969, Contents page.

150 In April 1965.

151 Alex's wife Nona wrote to Pidgeon after his death: "You must know that Alex was very, very fond of you Monica and he was eternally grateful for all your help and encouragement over the years. We both felt that one of the reasons for his getting the lectureship was due to the fact that you had accepted all those articles for *AD*. Thank you Monica."

152 Gontran Goulden, "Trade and Technical Notes," *Architectural Design*, February 1954, 57.

153 Alexander Pike, "Trade Notes," *Architectural Design*, April 1965, 208.

# Cosmorama

This month the separate UK and World News features cease. Instead we introduce *Cosmorama*, a commentary on buildings or on events throughout the world that impinge upon architecture.

## Mailier rides again

Safe in his brownstone house in Brooklyn Heights Norman Mailier has taken up the challenge proffered by Vincent Scully Jr. (*Architectural Forum*, April 1964), and has set about fabricating the image of his ideal architecture. Not one for 'Kleenex box architecture', he is equally not, it now seems, one for Sir Albert Richardsons' sort of liveliness in architecture (*AD*, June 1964). Strips of aluminium, string, building block and other odds and ends have been piled high in an exuberantly fairytale structure that represents a living environment for about 60,000 people (there will thus be ample room outside cities for the few who like to get away from it all to live in the wide open spaces). The spires and pinnacles rise about half a mile high, a modest bow this in the direction of Frank Lloyd Wright; but already this figure could be increased; what matters is the aspiration and the confident assumption that anyone can do it and everybody's doing it now. Certainly Mailier's fantasy is no less practical from the architectural point of view than those of Taut or Sant 'Ella, though the dogged attempt to show the individual living units and the ways and means of getting to them has set critics off on the line of practicability when castigating the design. The real drawback is the lacklustre nature of Mailier's imaginings. He should have another try.

Photo: Fred W. McDarrah

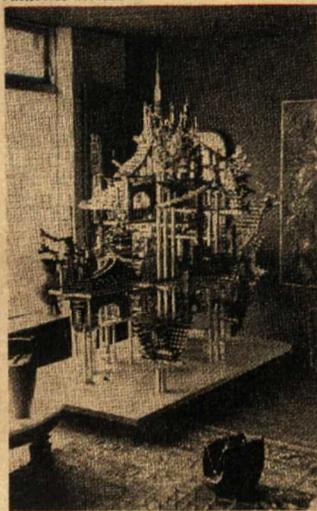


Fig. 5.21: *Cosmorama's* first appearance in July 1965.

## The cost of money

Ever since Lewis Womersley published those startling figures based on an analysis of housing in Sheffield, and demonstrated that building costs only accounted for 17 per cent of council rents and that over half represented repayment of interest and borrowed capital, it has become painfully clear that there is only one really expensive commodity in building—money.

The cost of money, as opposed to the cost of building, is now so high that a vast amount of reconstruction programming will have to be rephrased (i.e. held up) to combat rising costs. Great Britain on the never-never? Never—ever. In two articles in *The Economist* on building, the first outlines ten major factors affecting the present situation: (1) Demand exceeds productivity, there is a growing shortage of building craftsmen and the beginning of bottlenecks in the supply of some key materials. (2) The construction industry is used as a tool of economic restriction that inhibits investment and training schemes required for the future. (3) Credit policy is the most popular weapon of economic restraint and in spite of government promises of low mortgage rates has thrown the building societies into their familiar vicious circle. (4) The discriminate squeeze on house building presupposes that it is an import-sensitive industry, socially uncessurable and that last year's rise in demand was a flash in the pan. Each of these is untrue. (5) Propping up the pound as an international banking currency rates as an indirect tax on a necessity of life, and rent control that makes private development for rent unprofitable, are three factors that together help to explain why the shortage, inadequacy, squalor and misuse of existing housing resources is the biggest cause of abject misery remaining in Britain today. (6) The advent of the Labour government has made all three of these distortions even worse than before. (7) *The Economist* argues the strongest social and economic case for house building to be protected against the present economic squeeze.

## Change to metric

The change to the metric system would mean an increase in efficiency and clarity in a thousand detailed operations. Since we count in decimals it would seem obvious to measure in decimals also.

At a Building Centre forum in 1963, a resolution in favour of going metric was passed nearly unanimously. Early this year at a Modular Society meeting, the majority of speakers favoured the change-over. In April the BSI made recommendations for dimensional coordination, and published them in metric terms. In May, the Architectural Association set up a Committee to discuss the possible change to metric with the Minister of Technology, and subsequently asked the RIBA to set up a metric committee.

It was the Ministry of Technology which proved to be the official catalyst, and having made their recommendation they asked the BSI and the MOPBW to coordinate the change-over.

(Quite apart from the paralysing effect of high interest rates, we only spend 3 per cent of our national income on housing.) (8) Any policy to make mortgages cheaper should also make it easier for more houses to be built. (9) Increase the rate of council house building where there is an exciting prospect of increasing productivity. The last paragraph is quoted in full:

(10) By every social, economic and market test, house building should be due to take over from the consumer durables as a front-running growth industry for Britain in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It will be a major tragedy if this prospect is now delayed by accidental distortions in the direction of the Government's general deflationary policy, or land policy (which has not been discussed here, partly because nobody—apparently including the Government—has got the foggiest idea of what it is to be), or credit policy, or non-planning policy, or inter-ministerial in-fighting with the Bank of England, or political muddle, or economic ineptitude, or anything else. But there are strong grounds for fearing that this is what may happen now.

*The Economist* scores telling points against the Government through sound criticism but is less convincing with proposing alternatives. Surely it is time for some creative re-thinking of the whole structure of economic policy in an attempt to narrow the gap between the real value of men and materials and the artificial value of money.

The second article surveys the world of systems 'Houses, fast'. 'We are in the crazy situation of being in a country that has more industrialized systems on offer than any other in the world (outside America) and yet has as few to show in operation as, say, there are bridges left in North Vietnam'. Although the article makes an admirable survey of industrialized systems and associated arguments, it fails to make any conclusive value judgments and completely omits to mention that most of the 400 available systems are produced by manufacturers in the interest of flogging a proprietary material rather than of solving the problem of a human environment.

John Donat

In the building industry difficulties will vary from branch to branch: many builders and manufacturers will be able to change over without much re-tooling; others will have to spend considerable sums on new tools and will have to carry stocks of both dimensions for a period, and are therefore not enthusiastic about the Government's announcement. However, such isolated objections should be an added spur to the thorough coordination of all aspects of the change-over in the building industry. It is to be hoped that the RIBA will play its part in this, together with the BSI, the MOPBW and the industries.

For those who still wonder whether we will really make our daily work any simpler we publish the following two tables:

1 mile = 1760 yds	1 km = 1000 m
1 yard = 3ft	1 m = 100 cm
1 foot = 12in	1 cm = 10 mm
1 acre = 43,560ft <sup>2</sup>	1 hectare = 10,000m <sup>2</sup>
1 ton = 2240 lb.	1 kg = 1000 gm

Readers' Service card, traditionally completed for more information on products advertised in the magazine, could also be used to request feedback for products in the "Trade Notes" section, and the manufacturers' addresses were also included, suggesting that it was sponsored by them. The direct link to advertising clearly distinguishes "Trade Notes" from the "Product Analysis" series (see p.202). The Readers' Service card started in September 1956 and was the first in the country. David Dottridge recalled that it "was free for the use of advertisers and it was a free service for them, but it was a great sales aid for selling [ad] space [...] I remember Conran first advert pulled about 800 enquires and Terence said, it was the one thing that made his company. I got the idea from a German cookery book."<sup>154</sup> The *AR* always had more advertising than *AD* and later copied this innovation, starting its own Enquiry Service Form in January 1960. *AD*'s Readers' Service card stopped in June 1970, as the magazine was about to transition into its "little" mode. The column continued, however, devoted to an eclectic mix of internal and external building products, materials, fixtures and fittings.

Another long-standing column that paralleled "Trade Notes", was "Interior Design", no doubt due to Pidgeon's interest and background in this relatively new profession. Her friend Margot Moffett started the column in June 1952 and it continued for six years,<sup>155</sup> after which it changed name to "Design Notes", and then simply to "Design"<sup>156</sup> and finally to "Things" for a couple of unsure months.<sup>157</sup> After Moffett, this section was Pidgeon's alone.<sup>158</sup> It was like "Trade Notes" in format but consistently comprised interior furniture and furnishings – fabrics, chairs, desks, wardrobes, light fittings, carpets and so on.

In March 1971, these two stalwart columns combined as "Catalogue" (Fig. 5.20),<sup>159</sup> which was compiled by multiple contributors including Pike, and included sub-sections such as a "hardware" section, as well as "materials", "products", "processes", "electronics" and "publications".

The subtitle for "Catalogue" was "Products and processes currently available" and it became a kind of scrapbook – albeit a very organised one – on that very theme.<sup>160</sup> The scrapbook

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154 Dottridge to Parnell, "Research on Architectural Design -my best."

155 Until June 1958, although Moffet is no longer credited after April 1955.

156 In July 1965.

157 January and February 1971.

158 Middleton, interview.

159 Alexander Pike and Gerald Abramovitz, "Catalogue," *Architectural Design*, March 1971.

160 Catalogue ended in June 1974. An attempt to revive a more technical "Product Analysis" style column called "Product Guide" that compared various manufacturers' products lasted between February and June 1973, and then another as "Check List" lasted from October 1973 to January



style really began in earnest with the introduction of Middleton's Cosmorama in July 1965 (Fig. 5.25), but with "Catalogue", *AD* had returned full circle to its origins as a "semi-social" supplement to the owner's real business of the Standard Catalogues for the design and construction industry.<sup>161</sup> As described in the introduction, these catalogues were essentially volumes of indexed adverts for building products (although not processes) and advertisers in *AD* had to also pay also for a page in the ASC if they wanted to be included in the advertisers' index of the magazine, which always referred the reader to the ASC for further information. However, the products in "Catalogue" in the early 1970s were less technical, and less "hard". First, the inclusion of "Furniture" and the "Interior Design" column meant that the products were literally softer and included cushions, carpets, and inflatables, as opposed to building materials. Secondly, the inclusion of "processes" in the catalogue allowed software to be included alongside hardware. Processes such as building systems and publications. For example, both the "Big Rock Candy Mountain"<sup>162</sup> and the "Inflatocookbook"<sup>163</sup> appeared in "Catalogue" early on, as did building systems: the first appearance of "Catalogue" witnessed three systems<sup>164</sup> as well as a method of producing polystyrene foam in-situ, a device for calculating sunlight from plans and a study on automatically controlling traffic.

While columns like "Trade Notes", "Interior Design" and "Catalogue" only occupied a page or two at the back of each issue, they were an essential ingredient of *AD* and part of its inheritance from the SCC, an ancestry that explains their longevity. *AD* continued to publish a catalogue column like "Trade Notes" throughout almost the entire duration of Pidgeon's tenure as editor, and themes of prefabrication and system building recurred regularly.<sup>165</sup>

### An editorial policy

Traditional elemental building products such as bricks, timber, steel and concrete were replaced after World War 2 by more proprietary products. Of course, these had also existed before the war, but the experience of the war effort and the severe austerity of circumstances

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161 A new "Interior Design Catalogue" was announced in *AD*, July 1971 p.445

162 "Big Rock Candy Mountain," *Architectural Design*, May 1971, 273.

163 "Inflatocookbook," *Architectural Design*, April 1971, 245.

164 An aluminium house frame system, a new cladding system and a new insulated roofing system.

165 This could well have had two origins: Firstly, Pidgeon's husband, Raymond, worked for the prefabricated housing company, Arcon, after the war. Secondly, the previous editor of *AD*, Frederic Towndrow, was Controller of Experimental Building Development in the Ministry of Works during the war and was looking at experimental low-cost housing and new methods of house construction.

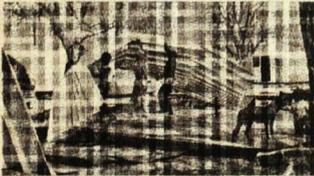


#### Getting moving

A mobile architecture in the Detroit tradition is being steadily evolved—and architects have no part in the evolution. Georg Holt of Tilling, Bavaria (see AD November 1965) has ordered from Gottlob Auwärter KG of Stuttgart-Möhringen a more elaborate, larger and technically superior version of a travelling hotel intended for tours in North and South America. In April this was shipped from Germany to the US. The *Rojel* is 39ft 4in long, 7ft 10in wide and is usually 12ft 8in from the ground, though this height can be decreased by 6in when negotiating low bridges

or overhead wires by simply reducing the pressure in the air suspension. The weight of the vehicle is 12½ tons. It is powered by a Büssing 172bhp horizontal diesel engine.

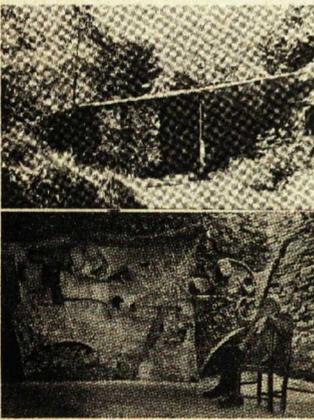
In the observation room there are 27 seats arranged around folding tables; above, in the sleeping compartment, are 21 transverse single bunks and three double bunks. To the rear are washing and changing rooms, lavatories, a shower cubicle and a fully equipped kitchen. The whole is air-conditioned, the plant being powered by a Volkswagen petrol engine which also supplies power for lighting and water heating. *Financial Times* April 15th, 1966 *Photo: J. Moon*



#### Low cost housing—USA

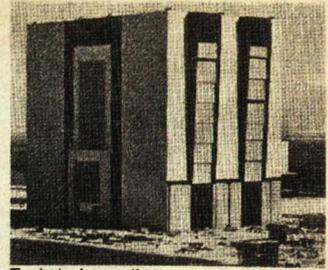
The problem of housing migrant farm labourers in California has been resolved by using a cheap, durable prefabricated shelter that can be opened up or folded away as required—the Plydom house. First devised by Herbert Yates of the Plydom Corporation of Canada it is now manu-

factured by their US subsidiary, International Structures Corporation. The house is in the form of an accordion made of rigid polyurethane board laminated between sheets of Kraft board coated with polyethylene. Window panels at the ends are of timber and aluminium. The whole is weatherproof, fire and insect resistant and well insulated. It is easily transported—the roof and sides folding into two units 14ft long and 14in square weighing, together, 140lb, the end panels and platform bringing the total to 520lb—and can be erected by two unskilled workers in less than an hour. The cost is £190. The polyethylene coating determines the life span 5–7 years. A core unit for the houses, consisting of a simple kitchen and bathroom is being worked out by Sanford Hirshen, one of the architects responsible for the programme. *Fortune* April 1966.



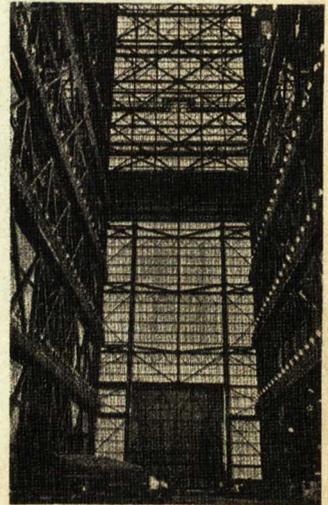
#### Merz Barn

Kurt Schwitters's turgid *merz* buildings in Hanover and Norway, though no longer extant, are well enough known. But his third architectural collage, which he began to put together after the last war in a shed at Cylinders Farm, Langdale near Eterwater in the Lake District, has rarely been illustrated and is known to only a few addicts of this Dadaists' uneven *œuvre*. When Schwitters died on January 3th, 1948 only a part of one wall was complete. This has now been found to be deteriorating. It is however, in one sense, to be saved by moving it to the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. The zeal and good intentions of the preservers is admirable, but with a fragment of a Schwitters' architectural assembly to maintain, it is essential to realize that the surroundings no less than the original shed are integral to the work and that there are strong arguments (not only of the Chateaubriand sort) for letting it rot *in situ* rather than to preserve an isolated part of the whole. Some means should have been found of keeping the Merz Barn intact in Eterwater. *Werk* 3, 1966



#### Technical expertise

Architects, along with almost everyone else, have been so deeply stirred by the sheer unexpected fantasy of the technological advances that have resulted from the US programme to land a man on the moon by 1970, that it is something of a let-down to find that the sort of building that has resulted from the same clear and dispassionate thinking, would, to all external appearances have fitted quite well into Mussolini's Rome '42 or, scaled down, have served as a railway station in Calabria. Indeed although the new rocket assembly building on Merritt Island, Florida is enormous (525ft high) it has no sense of scale. Nor does it appear to be more than a simply and simple-mindedly styled up cube. But internally it is of a breathtaking complexity and richness and clearly there is nothing to touch it in technical variety in the realm of architecture as we know it. The problems with which the designers, URSAM contended have quite simply not existed before. So large and cavernous is the central volume that thunderstorms could form in the interior and fans have to be maintained to keep the air moving. Statistics on the lighting and circuitry are all but incomprehensible to most architects. Everywhere brilliant technical mastery has resolved the problems involved in launching a rocket and it has been allowed to condition the resultant forms of the building; is this then *the functional building?* *Fortune* February 1966



← Code 34

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Fig. 5.25: A page from *Cosmorama*, May 1966.

immediately afterwards required unprecedented measures for reconstruction, in particular the need to save labour and to economise on materials which were in short supply.<sup>166</sup> It was also necessary to find new uses for the weapon and aircraft factories that had been constructed for the war effort. The pre-war early modernists' promise of technology improving building and emancipating the working classes had not yet been realised – the white box modernism of Villa Savoye, for example, was still built in breeze blocks and render – and so the decimated post-war world was seen as the chance to allow technology to change construction in the same way that it was changing mass-manufacturing such as car production. The architectural response was to look to industrialised building techniques, and in particular prefabrication methods. As an aeronautical engineer in the Navy during the war, Dargan Bullivant<sup>167</sup> had become interested in documenting such technical information for aeroplanes and was wondering how these skills could be transferred to his chosen profession of architecture. Recalling the situation, he commented,

The proprietary nature of many of these products presented a really serious and difficult problem for any technical literature. [...] By the mid-50s there was something of a crisis brewing which very few people could actually immediately see, which was whether the architectural profession might conceivably be blown away by this tremendous expansion in technical information for which it had no response. As a profession it had no tradition of documenting its core knowledge.<sup>168</sup>

This “core knowledge” was changing rapidly after the war and would gradually move away from being technical and focused on building to become more theoretical, and the contents of *AD* would reflect this shift. Peter Smithson picked up on the ideas of proprietary and elemental building components in a piece called “The Rocket”, subtitled “A statement on the present state of architecture giving a certain rationality to our instinctive judgements on it.”<sup>169</sup> (Fig. 5.26). Smithson conjectured that the difference between building and architecture was the same as that between Stephenson's Rocket and the modern diesel locomotive (this was, after all, the last year that steam trains ran on the railways). This difference was essentially that the Rocket was “assembled” of “untransformed even re-usable, primitive” components, whereas

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166 Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-War World* (London: Routledge, 2002), 170.

167 A contributor to *AD* in the early 1950s who went on to help introduce the Swedish SFB classification system into the UK.

168 Dargan Bullivant, interview by Steve Parnell, March 30, 2011.

169 Peter Smithson, “The Rocket,” *Architectural Design*, July 1965.

# Future is Now: I

Tomorrow is decided, at least in part, by today's actions, and predictions of what is likely to happen if our present actions continue suggest a dismal future, if a future at all. Many people around the world are realising that the biosphere of planet Earth is a closed system, a system which we have been abusing, seemingly for centuries. Nature's ability to cope was not overtaxed, or the resulting pollutant was unnoticeable. Now, however, by our increasing numbers and present day technology, the natural processes of dealing with abuses are being overtaxed. These are problems of the physical world, but equally they are more important to the future.

Man has produced technological skill and cleverness which is now becoming more powerful than his wisdom to control it, that how else could we be so far from wisdom as to act more than by unthinking, our actions are guided by the 'Quick profit' motive, rather than action for long-term advantage. The future is being created as we might be, but the latter looks at actions only in the context of wholesomeness.

We are particularly interested in publishing articles on the way that individuals and groups 'non-future' if man's present actions continue, but who consider that by thoughtful design the future can offer equal opportunity for all nations, freedom for change within the global society.

Technology is a tool which, although very powerful, can be, if controlled and shared, a force for good. It is a tool which we must think about. So the future, of whatever kind, begins with our decisions of what we want. It begins with attitude—it begins in the mind of the individuals and work has already happened in this field of FUTURES but so far to little effect; it has taken place mainly among one concerned grouping of people, and efforts in the past to coordinate and help have been to little effect.

Recently, however, much seems to have happened with fruitful results throughout the world. We particularly know that multidisciplinary design groups have recently formed in both the USSR and Germany.

Near month FIN will be showing how various groups are forming, giving a focus for efforts in particular fields—especially

ecology and the arts scene. We will be discussing how effective this is in fact, since after general concern and awareness must come a more specific and focused action which is a conscious participation in mankind's evolutionary process.

The list of organisations on the right demonstrates that the future is already the concern of many, and shows where you can make contact with them.

### Notes on classification of Futures Organisations

1. The list of names and addresses is not, and does not claim to be, comprehensive or complete. There undoubtedly exist other organisations concerned with the future which have not been included in this list as far as we know it. If you are future-oriented and your organisation is not mentioned, we would be grateful for information. We are particularly interested in projects to specifically military and strategic research projects e.g. NATO's work. We have also omitted the more obvious international organisations like UN, UNESCO, FAO, and the World Bank, since they are of little importance but because they are sufficiently well-documented elsewhere.

2. Also included in the main are governmental bodies like ministries which are engaged on a national level. We have included them, however, (e.g. Sweden) when their specific frame of reference is to study problems on a global scale.

3. We have also included some government sponsored, independent, some government sponsored, which are concerned with the problems of the present and the future on a world scale. They are business organisations concerned with problems on a global scale, which focus on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

4. We have also included some organisations which are engaged on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

5. We have also included some organisations which are engaged on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

6. We have also included some organisations which are engaged on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

7. We have also included some organisations which are engaged on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

8. We have also included some organisations which are engaged on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

9. We have also included some organisations which are engaged on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

10. We have also included some organisations which are engaged on a particular aspect of the future, e.g. economic, political, social or technological.

### Group A—the 'upstream' approach

**U.S.A.**  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 100 Prospect Street, Boulder, Colorado  
Resources for the Future Inc., 1715 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington DC 20016  
Harvard University 10-Year Program on Technology and Society, Cambridge, Mass.  
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill.  
**Canada**  
Center for Culture and Technology, University of Toronto, Ontario.  
**U.K.**  
The Science of Science Foundation, c/o The CIBA Foundation, 41 Portland Place, London W.1.  
British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSRSS), 44, Great Russell St, London W.C.1.  
Conflict Research Society, London W.C.1.  
The CIBA Foundation for the Promotion of International Cooperation in Medical & Chemical Research, 41 Portland Place, London W.1.  
The Science of Science Foundation, 18 Adam St., London W.C.1.  
Political and Economic Planning (PEP), 12 Upper Belgrave St., London S.W.1.  
**Holland**  
Futurologie, Europese de la Culture, Huismanstraat, 10, Amsterdam.  
**France**  
Bureau d'Informations et de Prévisions Economiques de Nanilly, 12, rue Neuilly-sous-Stein.  
Centre d'Etudes Prospectives, 17 rue d'Artois, Paris 8e.  
Centre d'Etude des Conséquences Géopolitiques, 14, Boulevard Pasteur, Paris 16e.  
Centre d'Etudes de Politique Étrangère, 14 rue de Valenciennes, Paris 7e.  
**Italy**  
Istituto per le Ricerche di Economia Applicata (IREA), Via Verdi Settembre, Roma.  
**Switzerland**  
Association Suisse d'Organisations de Futurologie (ASOF), c/o Industrial Consulting and Management Engineering Co., Grand Strasse 11, Zurich.  
**Germany (Republic)**  
Institut für strategische Zukunftsforschung, Wetzlar Institut, Tübingen, Alternatzell.  
Bildungsweek Europäische Politik, Stuttgart.  
Studiengruppe für Systemforschung, Werdertstrasse 51, Heidelberg.

### Group B—the 'integrated' approach

**U.S.A.**  
World Future Society, P.O. Box 100, 100 North Street Station, Washington D.C. 20016  
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, Mass.  
The Hudson Institute, Quaker Ridge Road, Croton-on-Hudson, New York 10510  
The World Future Society, 1750 Main St., Santa Monica, California, 90406  
Stanford Research Institute, 333 Ravenswood Avenue, Menlo Park, California 94021  
Synapse Corporation, 2150 Colorado Avenue, Santa Monica, California 90406  
TEMPO Center for Advanced Studies, General Electric Co., 815 State Street, Schenectady, New York 12302  
Institute for the Future (IFF), Riverview Center, Middletown, Connecticut 06457.  
**U.K.**  
Mankind 2000, Preparatory International c/o Kenneth Lee, Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.  
Committee on the Next 10 Years/Institute of Future Studies, 100, Strand, London W.C.2.  
c/o SSRIC, Saxe House, High Holborn, London W.C.1.  
LASITOC (Look At, Search In, Try Out Committee), 100, Strand, London W.C.2.  
London School of Economics, 10, Houghton Court, London S.W.7.  
**Sweden**  
Foundation (organised by Swedish Parliament and Swedish National Bank), Stockholm. (as yet unnamed).

### AD circulates in all these countries.

This article will be read by people like yourself all over the world. The cumulative impact of just this one magazine is thus considerable; but it is only really productive when the people concerned make attempts to come together and coordinate their awareness into actions. It depends on you to send us information and articles showing your ideas and proposals for a future with forethought.

<b>North America</b>	<b>South America</b>
USA	Bolivia
	Brazil
<b>Central America</b>	Chile
British Honduras	Colombia
Costa Rica	Cuba
Guatemala	Guinea—British
Honduras	Paraguay
Mexico	Peru
Nicaragua	Uruguay
Panama	Venezuela

### West Indies

Barbados	Trinidad & Tobago
Bahamas	
Jamaica	
Antigua	
Anguilla	
Congo	
French Africa	
Rhodesia	
Gambia	
Ghana	
Iceland	
Liberia	
Madagascar	
Malawi	
Morocco	
Senegal	
Sierra Leone	
Nigeria	
Republic of S. Africa	
Switzerland	
Eastern Europe	
Bulgaria	

### Western Europe

Switzerland	
Belgium	
Denmark	
Republic of Ireland	
France	
West Germany	
France	
Greece	
Ireland	
Italy	
Luxembourg	
Malta	
Norway	
Spain	
Sweden	
Switzerland	
Republic of S. Africa	
Switzerland	
Eastern Europe	
Bulgaria	

### Middle East

Iran	
Israel	
Japan	
S. Vietnam	
Turkey	

### Far East

Japan	
South Korea	
Malaysia	
New Guinea	
Philippines	
Singapore	
S. Vietnam	
Taiwan	
Thailand	
West Germany	
Yugoslavia	

### Others

Spain	
Switzerland	
Belgium	

Fig. 5.26: First appearance of "Future is Now", October 1969, showing list of all countries that AD was read in.

the modern locomotive was “designed” of “special parts useless for anything else”.<sup>170</sup> This argument resonates with Bullivant’s concerns cited above. Smithson reiterated that the inter-war heroic period of modern architecture used machined products that were available at the time, but that were not made especially for building. He goes even further, suggesting that for buildings like Mies van der Rohe’s 900 Lake Shore Drive, the components were bespoke and not even “routine catalogue stuff”.<sup>171</sup> He goes on to state that the original point of using mass-produced components was social in that it would “give houses to those who previously had none.”<sup>172</sup> However, at his time of writing, he claims that “we can mass produce exactly what we want even for small runs” so that “All hindrances to completeness, uniqueness, precision of response to place, and satisfaction of need, are removed.”<sup>173</sup> Technology would at last deliver on the promise of an architecture of the age. In an article in the following month’s *AD* (August 1965), he takes this one step further, declaring that SOM’s Union Carbide and Chase Manhattan Bank buildings in New York “are truly hints of *une architecture autre*”<sup>174</sup> because of “what Americans know most about in their bones – mass-production, process control, etc. – becomes ‘the control’, rather than any notions of composition or art.”<sup>175</sup> Smithson is particularly taken by the American lavatory: “the lavatories are what we envy the most of all. Those luxe vitreous enamelled partitions, the thick-glazed pans, and the flush brush-finished stainless steel towel dispensers. All from catalogues.”<sup>176</sup> This is all quite a step way from the initial Brutalist aspiration to “another architecture” that was to be based on the ethic of the “as found” and Inderbir Singh Riar points out that “the ‘thick-glazed pans’ of Smithson’s venerated lavatory could not, in the American context, lead to a liberative ‘as found’ aesthetic as they had in England; within the exclusionary refinement of private enterprise, the consensus system of order could not admit an object of subversion.”<sup>177</sup> In other words, “American architects were exemplary at creating the rules but not their exceptions.”<sup>178</sup>

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170 Ibid., 322.

171 Ibid., 323.

172 Ibid., 323.

173 Ibid., 323.

174 Peter Smithson, “The fine and the folk,” *Architectural Design*, August 1965, 394.

175 Ibid., 397.

176 Ibid.

177 Inderbir Singh Riar, “‘The Fountain of Technological Culture’: Architectural Design and American Culture, 1965-1969,” in *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: towards a factual, intellectual and material history / Revues d’Architecture dans les Années 1960 et 1970: fragments d’une histoire événementielle, intellectuelle et matérielle*, ed. Alexis Somin, Hélène Janniere, and France Vanlaethem, Bilingual. (Montreal: ABC Art Books Canada Distribution, 2008), 202–203.

178 Ibid., 203.

ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN: EDITORIAL POLICY

The magazine's consultants at their first meeting were unanimous in thinking that could one achieve an architecture in which standard industrially produced equipment and fittings were completely integrated into its organisational and form disciplines, then this would be a 'normalised' architecture entirely appropriate to our present situation.

.....

Industrially produced equipment and fittings are not usually subjected to any kind of scrutiny as to their capacity to perform anonymously and quietly, or as to their form-compatibility within their own range, or with other ranges of equipment likely to be used in the same room and in the same building.

.....

Neither are buildings usually subjected to a 'use of equipment and fittings' scrutiny. How they have dealt with the problem of equipment compatibility, with the language of light-fittings and grilles (do they speak about light and air?); is there apparent in the building any sign of a discipline of services and equipment which could be discussed as Renaissance architects could discuss the discipline of room-sequences and proportions?

.....

For us, the ideal architecture is one in which an ordinary mass-market fashionably dressed person who has arrived in an ordinary bus is perfectly at ease.

.....

All else is gooky.

.....

The acceptance by Architectural Design of what has been outlined above as its policy, could give:-

1. A slant to the whole magazine, including the advertising policy.
2. An edge to editorial commentary.
3. A point of reference for theoretical articles.
4. An approach to the layout and presentation of the material of buildings dealt with in detail.
5. Criteria for the screening of new materials and of news items.

A. & P.S.

2.7.65.

Fig. 5.23: Editorial policy for AD by Alison & Peter Smithson (Folder E032, The Alison and Peter Smithson Archive, Special Collections, Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University).

With this taxonomy, Smithson depicted three grades of architecture – that assembled from “as found”, ready made components (like The Rocket and Hunstanton School), that built from mass-produced components (like most architecture of the early sixties that echoes the Smithsons' former fascination with mass culture), and that designed with bespoke detailing (like the Union Carbide and 900 Lake Shore Drive buildings, “‘designed’ to a point of refinement entirely missed by a popular taste which assumes them to be routine catalogue stuff, when they are in fact unique and one-off.”<sup>179</sup>) The second, mass-produced, grade was that of the catalogue which was as inherent to *AD* as to Smithson as the phrase “All from catalogues” above testifies. The title of his article, “The fine and the folk”, actually refers back to an earlier piece that Smithson had written in *AD* in March 1958, on returning from his first trip to America. There, he is much less keen on American architecture, remarking that it “has not yet had its Pollock and as far as I can see there is no specifically American attitude to their specifically American evolving present.”<sup>180</sup> In the piece, the “folk” corresponds to the low and the “fine” to high architecture and towards the end, he writes enthusiastically about his first encounter with the lowly American lavatory:

Where car/refrigerator technology and standards are applied to building components the results are simply staggering. In fact, a wash-room on Madison was one of my major architectural experiences – a room of about ten feet square lined with mosaic, divided by a stove-enamelled partition and door with chrome fittings: a free-from-the-wall wash-hand basin with, beside it flat with the mosaic, a

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179 Smithson, “The Rocket,” 323.

180 Peter Smithson, “Letter to America,” *Architectural Design*, March 1958, 95, 97.

# Product analysis

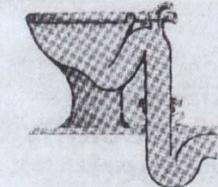
*Architectural Design's* consultants are unanimous in thinking that could one achieve an architecture in which standard industrially produced equipment and fittings were completely integrated into its organizational and form disciplines, the result would be a 'normalized' architecture entirely appropriate to our present situation.

Industrially produced equipment and fittings are not usually subjected to any kind of scrutiny as to their capacity to perform anonymously and quietly, or as to their form-compatibility within their own range, or with other ranges of equipment likely to be used in the same room and in the same building. Neither are buildings usually subjected to a 'use of equipment and fittings' scrutiny. How have their designers dealt with the problem of equipment compatibility, with the language of light-fittings and grilles (do these speak about light and air?); is there apparent in our buildings any sign of a discipline of services and equipment which could be discussed as Renaissance architects could discuss the discipline of room-sequences and proportions?

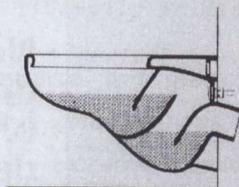
For us, the ideal architecture is one in which an ordinary mass-market fashionably dressed person who has arrived in an ordinary bus is perfectly at ease.

In the belief that manufacturers of standard equipment would welcome viewpoints based on this philosophy and that readers will appreciate statements on the stage reached by any particular product towards the realization of these aims, we intend to publish each month a critical analysis of a range of standard items. Criticism will be severe, but not destructive, having as its aim the creation of a heightened discrimination amongst architects and the stimulation of enterprise and inventiveness on the part of manufacturers. To this end, and to avoid meaningless criticism of bad faults which may appear in isolated examples of a particular product but which are not representative of the design of the product in general, only those items considered to be the best of their kind will be selected as subjects for criticism. The first article in the series, *Water Closets*, appears below, and will be followed by *Bidets and Basins* (January) and *Baths* (February).

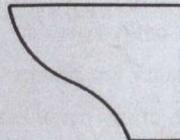
Progress since 1900



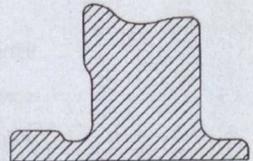
Jennings' siphonic closet 1900



Armitage Muresta



Lotus Bonne Femme 1905



Stonebridge Special 1905

## Water closets

Alexander Pike

Advances in attitudes towards industrial design and training for its future practitioners have led us to anticipate a degree of inventiveness or stimulus to invention during the design process. Given wide scope in the brief, the good designer will ask himself whether the product he has been instructed to design is to fulfil a primary function or is merely required to combat certain deficiencies in other products. Do we really need vacuum cleaners—or should we be concentrating on designing for the exclusion of dust, or using ultrasonic precipitators? Do we have to design opening windows because failure to provide an economical ventilation system precludes its consideration as a separate function? In many instances questions such as these involve the overlap of interests into areas beyond the manufacturer's scope, and the extension of a brief to this extent may be

← Code 51

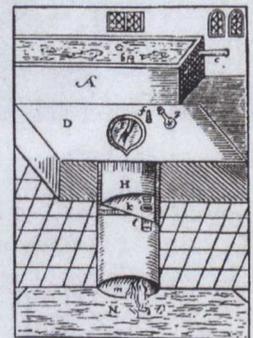
tantamount to commercial suicide or in direct opposition to company policy.

However, in some cases advancement of thought on the subject may have been inhibited by the compliant acceptance of an established product or principle on the part of both the manufacturer and the consumer, creating a barrier to future development. A suitable nomination for inclusion in this category is the time-honoured figure of fun, the Water Closet. A subject with latent possibilities for mirth or offence, it has attracted a wide variety of formal and informal names throughout its history and has been with us for so long in its present form that it has acquired its own mystique of regulations and priesthood of inspectors. To question its 20th century validity as a contribution towards the disposal of human excrement seems almost heretical, yet progress in its development, slow compared with the coeval scientific and technical achievements in the 17th to 19th centuries, has been almost at a standstill for the past fifty years. In a century that has seen universal electricity, produced radio,

television and atomic power, put the world on wheels and the planets within our reach, it is paradoxical that the fundamental problem of the disposal of our personal waste matter should receive such little attention and an unchanging principle be so widely accepted.

### Initial development

The precept is medieval. A type of water closet, flushed from a cistern, was built in London by Thomas Brightfield in 1449, and Leonardo's proposals for Ambrose Castle included water closets with flushing channels and ventilating shafts. The first illustrations of a water closet appear in Sir John Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* in 1596, which contained full instructions for the construction of a valve closet that may possibly have functioned as efficiently as many of those in use at the end of the 19th century. The prototype was constructed at Kellston and no records of its adoption or further development appear to exist before 1718, when one was noted by Aubrey in Sir Francis Carew's house in Beddington, followed in 1738 by Blondel's



Harington's water closet, 1596

▷ 575

574

Fig. 5.24: First "Product Analysis" column based on the Smithsons' "editorial policy"

floor to ceiling panel of unjointed and unframed stainless steel with slots for towel dispensing and disposal. It is quite impossible to communicate the feeling one had of a new sort of solidity, wealth and power in this quite unextraordinary American lavatory. And everything was out of a catalogue.”<sup>181</sup>

This trip seems to have been the beginning of Smithson's reappraisal of America, from experiencing it through magazine images and adverts, to experiencing it at first hand, so that by 1965, this fascination with the catalogue component constituting architecture accompanied a crucial shift in the Smithsons' thinking which they tried to import into *AD*.

Smithson's article appeared in July 1965. On the 2nd of that month, Alison and Peter Smithson wrote an “editorial policy” for the magazine based on the first meeting of the magazine's consultants.<sup>182</sup> (Fig. 5.23).

An all-male list of consultants had existed ever since Monica Pidgeon and Barbara Randell took over from F.E. Towndrow as editors immediately after the war, as a kind of reassurance for the owners of the magazine.<sup>183</sup> In February 1965, after a culling of several consultants, the retained members met to discuss the question of “what should be the content of an architectural magazine like *AD*?”<sup>184</sup> Present were Basil and David Dottridge, Monica Pidgeon, Robin Middleton, and consultants Alison and Peter Smithson,<sup>185</sup> Theo Crosby, Ernö Goldfinger, Walter Bor, Frank Newby, and Denys Lasdun.<sup>186</sup> Just two months into his tenure, this would have been Middleton's first consultants' dinner and he was evidently not too impressed by them, as he later denied the consultants' direct involvement with the magazine: “The *AD* consultants were never consulted during my tenure, though we might well have had

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181 *Ibid.*, 102.

182 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “Architectural Design: Editorial Policy”, July 2, 1965, Folder E032, The Alison and Peter Smithson Archive, Special Collections, Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University.

183 From March 1965, the consultants comprised: Walter Bor, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Denys Lasdun, Frank Newby, and Peter Smithson. This list remained largely unchanged throughout Middleton's tenure. Prof. Z.S. Makowski was added in September 1965 and removed in November 1969. Alexander Pike was added in January 1968 and Denys Lasdun removed in January 1969. Exactly a year later, the consultant list was removed from the masthead completely.

184 Monica Pidgeon to Denys Lasdun, January 8, 1965, LaD/235/5, Lasdun archive, RIBA Archives.

185 Alison Smithson is noted as a consultant in the invitation letter, even though her name doesn't appear on the masthead alongside that of her husband.

186 Judith Wilkinson to Denys Lasdun, “The Consultants' Dinner”, January 20, 1965, LaD/235/5, Lasdun archive, RIBA Archives.

a meeting with the Smithsons. Denys Lasdun said that he did not really support *AD*'s editorial approach, nor, he suspected, did the other consultants, so we decided to dispense with the lot.”<sup>187</sup>

Through writing their “editorial policy” as consultants, the Smithsons seem to have sought to regain the hold over the magazine and its editorial policy that they had enjoyed during the Crosby years. They had been unable to use *AD* as their platform when Frampton was technical editor, but they were more friendly with Middleton. The independent-minded Middleton, however, had his own ideas about the direction the magazine should take: Archigram was about to take over from the Smithsons as the British neo-avant-garde movement promoted by *AD*. But the Smithsons’ “policy” found a use as the basis for a new series of articles by Alexander Pike called “Product Analysis” which started in November 1965 (Fig. 5.24). It was yet another column dedicated to building products, but with the idea of introducing criticism of the product generically, rather than merely presenting the information on specific products. It is perhaps no coincidence that the series began with the Smithsons’ prosaic product of fascination, the WC. “Product Analysis” attempted to do for products what architectural magazines did for buildings – to provide independent criticism. The first four paragraphs of the Smithsons’ policy were used almost verbatim as the first four paragraphs of the introduction to the series:

Architectural Design’s consultants are unanimous in thinking that could one achieve an architecture in which standard industrially produced equipment and fittings were completely integrated into its organizational and form disciplines, the results would be a ‘normalized’ architecture entirely appropriate to our present situation.

Industrially produced equipment and fittings are not usually subjected to any kind of scrutiny as to their capacity to perform anonymously and quietly, or as to their form-compatibility [sic] within their own range, or with other ranges of equipment likely to be used in the same room and in the same building. Neither are buildings usually subjected to a ‘use of equipment and fittings’ scrutiny. How have their designers dealt with the problem of equipment compatibility [sic], with the language of light-fittings and grilles (do these speak about light and air?); is there apparent in our buildings any sign of a discipline of services and equipment which could be discussed as Renaissance architects could discuss the discipline of room-sequences and proportions?

For us, the ideal architecture is one in which an ordinary mass-market fashionably dressed person who has arrived in an ordinary bus is perfectly at ease.

In the belief that manufacturers of standard equipment would welcome viewpoints

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187 Robin Middleton to Steve Parnell, “AD research”, April 7, 2011.

based on this philosophy and that readers will appreciate statements on the stage reached by any particular product towards the realization of these aims, we intend to publish each month a critical analysis of a range of standard items. Criticism will be severe, but not destructive, having as its aim the creation of a heightened discrimination amongst architects and the stimulation of enterprise and inventiveness on the part of manufacturers. To this end, and to avoid meaningless criticism of bad faults which may appear in isolated examples of a particular product but which are not representative of the design of the product in general, only those items considered to be the best of their kind will be selected as subjects for criticism. The first article in the series, *Water Closets*, appear below, and will be followed by *Bidets and Basins* (January) and *Baths* (February).<sup>188</sup>

The criticism of the generic products tended to be along the lines of the products being old fashioned and not having been updated for modern use. The car was constantly used as a comparison, for example: "We find ourselves in the anomolous [sic] situation of attaching plastic copper weatherstrips to domestic doors to improve their efficiency whilst the technology of car manufacturers has produced doors which can be supplied in a wide variety of shapes, totally sealed against strong winds and driving rain by gaskets fully integrated in the design."<sup>189</sup> The product types were deliberately quotidian and prosaic, indeed the very sort that would normally be overlooked in architectural criticism. As per the fourth paragraph in the above introduction implied, this would demonstrate that an improvement in the most basic amenities could improve the overall appeal of even an inexpensive, simple building, if well designed. It also continues from the kind of appreciation that Peter Smithson found in the American lavatory which he argued represented a system of reference for a mass-produced architecture.

"Product Analysis" was a typically Smithson inspired project in its ordinariness and it ran for just 12 issues.<sup>190</sup> It generated a few pages of advertising, as can be seen by the four pages of ironmongery adverts, for example, after the two pages of Product Analysis 10.<sup>191</sup> But the Smithsons' intention went far beyond advertising, as can be seen in the list at the end of their editorial policy, that such a policy could offer the magazine:

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188 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Product Analysis," *Architectural Design*, November 1965, 574. The products analysed were as follows: 1965: November: *Water Closets*; 1966: January: *Basins and bidets*; February: *Baths*; March: *Supply fittings and showers*; April: *Heart units*; May: *Windows*; June: *Timber windows*; July: *Metal windows*; August: *Internal doors*; September: *Door and window furniture*; October: *Electrical accessories*; November: *Electrical trunking and ducting*.

189 Alexander Pike, "Product Analysis 9: *Internal doors*," *Architectural Design*, August 1966, 420.

190 And 13 months – it excluded the December 1965 issue.

191 Alexander Pike, "Product Analysis 10: *Door and window furniture*," *Architectural Design*, August 1966.

1. A slant to the whole magazine, including the advertising policy.
2. An edge to editorial commentary.
3. A point of reference for theoretical articles.
4. An approach to the layout and presentation of the material of buildings dealt with in detail.
5. Criteria for the screening of new materials and of news items.

They wanted to improve the quality of the designed generic proprietary building products that had become the core ingredients of architecture. This intention is reflected in two other pieces they published in *AD* and in the issue they guest-edited on Charles and Ray Eames.

Half way through the “Product Analysis” series in July 1966, they wrote about their “enjoyment of the Citroën/Braun design mode as apposed [sic] to pop.”<sup>192</sup> They famously drove a Citroën DS and wrote about it as a “sensibility primer”<sup>193</sup> and this *AD* article on Citroën/Braun design demonstrates a betrayal of their original rhetoric: “Pop-styling is specific to its situation” they compromise.<sup>194</sup> It smells of success and speaks of a maturation of taste – a move away from the popularism of adverts and the “as found” of the New Brutalism with Hunstanton's exposed pipes, to the world of the designed “anonimity [sic] of *styling*”<sup>195</sup> of The Economist cluster of buildings. This shift from Hunstanton's ethic to The Economist's aesthetic<sup>196</sup> is what Banham wrote about in his *The New Brutalism* of the same period<sup>197</sup> and was what he claimed had betrayed their New Brutalist principles (along with the unmentioned but obvious fact that they'd gone from a public to a commercial building directly reflecting the shift in architectural patronage). They also recognised and wrote about this shift themselves: “Looking back, it would seem that a shift took place in the aesthetic of our architecture in the late sixties.”<sup>198</sup> This shift embraced the mass-produced product as the new ordinary, as-found object: “For us, the ideal architecture is one in which an ordinary mass-market fashionably

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192 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “Concealment and display: meditations on Braun,” *Architectural Design*, July 1966, 362.

193 Alison Smithson, *AS in DS* (Delft: Otto Das, 1983).

194 Smithson and Smithson, “Concealment and display: meditations on Braun,” 362.

195 *Ibid.*, 363.

196 Kenneth Frampton, “The Economist and the Hauptstadt,” *Architectural Design*, February 1965; Frampton, “The Economist Group St James’s Street, London.”

197 Banham, *The New Brutalism*, 134.

198 David Dunster, ed., *Alison + Peter Smithson: The Shift*, Architectural Monographs 7 (London: Academy Editions, 1982).

dressed person who has arrived in an ordinary bus is perfectly at ease.”<sup>199</sup> Risselada has explained this shift as another kind of imagery, “an imagery derived from the processes of appropriation by the users themselves.”<sup>200</sup> But it is also the realisation of the consumer society that was growing throughout the fifties and sixties in Britain and was celebrated by the Smithsons in their plastic “House of the Future” prototype,<sup>201</sup> built in the same year as the Brutalist “Patio & Pavilion”. The New Brutalist “as found” philosophy was a necessity generated by the years of austerity. Hunstanton School, for example, was by necessity designed using off-the-shelf generic building components due to shortages of materials and, according to Smithson, in the same manner as Stephenson’s Rocket. However, by the late 1960s, designed mass produced objects were becoming cheaply available to all. “By then the Smithsons had grown used to metropolitan amenities and assumed that other Londoners had too”<sup>202</sup> wrote Middleton in his review of Banham’s book which had sounded the death knell for the New Brutalism as an avant-garde movement. But this is what architects had dreamed of since the 1920s and nobody exploited it better than Charles and Ray Eames, who had been designing desirable consumer items since the 1940s in the US and on whom the Smithsons guest-edited an issue of *AD* with Geoffrey Holroyd<sup>203</sup> in September 1966.<sup>204</sup> In *Just a few chairs and a house: an essay on the Eames-aesthetic*, Peter Smithson wrote, “as it is the California Man’s real originality to accept the clean and pretty as normal, it is not surprising that it is the Eames’ who have made it respectable to like pretty things. This seems extraordinary, but in our old world, pretty things are usually equated with social irresponsibility. That we can be persuaded to accept the pretty is because their work is by no means without a sense of law.”<sup>205</sup> The Smithsons were clearly aspiring to be the British Eameses whose chairs embodied this proprietary pop-styling attitude that the Smithsons were now applauding and that they felt should drive the editorial policy of *AD*. “Eames chairs are the first chairs which can be put into any position in an empty room. They look as if they had alighted there

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199 Smithson and Smithson, “Product Analysis,” 574.

200 Max Risselada, “Another Shift,” in *Alison and Peter Smithson: from the house of the future to a house of today* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2004), 51.

201 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “House of the Future at the Ideal Homes Exhibition,” *Architectural Design*, March 1956, 101–102.

202 Robin Middleton, “The New Brutalism or a clean, well-lighted place,” *Architectural Design*, January 1967, 8.

203 Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X - 197X* (New York, NY: Actar, 2010), 29.

204 The issue containing the Product Analysis 10: Door and window furniture.

205 Peter Smithson, “Just a few chairs and a house: an essay on the Eames-aesthetic,” *Architectural Design*, September 1966, 445.

[...] The chairs belong to the occupants not to the building.”<sup>206</sup> Here were an American couple who knew how create both the rules *and* the exceptions and who could “admit an object of subversion” into their system of reference.

The final word on this theme arrives in Smithson's piece, “Without Rhetoric” extracted from a lecture he gave at the Berlin Technical University in September 1965<sup>207</sup> but published in January 1967, coincidentally the same issue as Middleton's review of Banham's *The New Brutalism*.<sup>208</sup> Smithson explains that “in my view, the invention of the formal means whereby we sense the essential presence only – without display or rhetoric – of the mechanisms which of necessity support and service our buildings, is the very heart of architecture at present. To make our mechanisms speak with our spaces, is our central problem.”<sup>209</sup> This is quite a reversal from the “ethic” they discussed at length for the design of Hunstanton school with its “honestly” exposed materials, joints and services. Of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which like the Economist cluster is another symbol of capitalism, Smithson writes, “It is calm. It has got its technology and its mechanisms under control. It is without rhetoric.”<sup>210</sup> Dirk van den Heuvel additionally notes that not only was this “lyricism of control” reflected in the Smithsons' “changing position in the mid-sixties” but it also “constituted a polemic remark aimed at the direction being explored by former associate Peter Reyner Banham and by Archigram.”<sup>211</sup>

## Cosmorama

The real shift from hardware to software was manifest in Cosmorama.<sup>212</sup> Pidgeon developed

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206 Ibid., 446.

207 At the invitation of Matthias Ungers, then professor at the university. See note 36, Dirk van den Heuvel, Max Risselada, and Beatriz Colomina, eds., *Alison and Peter Smithson: from the house of the future to a house of today* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2004), 28.

208 Middleton, “The New Brutalism or a clean, well-lighted place.”

209 Peter Smithson, “Without rhetoric,” *Architectural Design*, January 1967, 38.

210 Ibid., 39.

211 van den Heuvel, Risselada, and Colomina, *Alison and Peter Smithson*, 22.

212 A neologism coined by Middleton: “I was learning Greek at the time, so the word “cosmos” seemed fit. “Panorama” was another word in my mind at the time.” Robin Middleton, “Interview with Robin Middleton,” interview by Lydia Kallipoliti, August 1, 2007. In actual fact, dictionary.com defines “Cosmorama” as: “An exhibition in which a series of views in various parts of the world is seen reflected by mirrors through a series of lenses, with such illumination, etc., as will make the views most closely represent reality.” “Cosmorama” Dictionary.com. *Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary*. MICRA, Inc. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/cosmorama> [accessed:

an affinity with putting together a cut and paste magazine early on in life: in her interview with Charlotte Benton, she fondly recalled making scrapbooks as a child.<sup>213</sup> Cosmorama was the most scrapbook-like part of *AD* but it was Middleton's idea and his section with which he could do as he liked – as he later explained, “that was where you could try out things and have a fling.”<sup>214</sup> In Cosmorama, he could surreptitiously introduce things into the magazine without Pidgeon necessarily knowing about it: “Monica would allow almost anything, she wouldn't vet it.”<sup>215</sup> After all, it never had a contents page of its own. It was also the section of the magazine that focused explicitly on ideas rather than products.

Cosmorama emerged from the original News column, which was first introduced as late as April 1960, when Peter Rawstone edited the “International News” alongside his “Opinion” column on new coloured<sup>216</sup> paper at the front of the magazine, but it was short-lived. In October of that year, the radical liberal newspaper *News Chronicle* merged with the *Daily Mail* and Rawstone, as deputy vice-chairman of the *News Chronicle's* Action Committee, had been involved, as a notice in the October issue states.<sup>217</sup> His contributions to *AD* ended at that point. In January 1961, the ever popular “review of foreign periodicals” section was incorporated into the coloured paper world news section. Michael Manser had started in March 1961 as a part-time news editor<sup>218</sup> and Pidgeon soon announced that she wanted him to start “The month in Britain”<sup>219</sup> column, imitating a similar column in *The Spectator*. It appeared in September 1961 (the bumper issue on Sheffield) as part of a revived news section.<sup>220</sup> Manser's “The month in Britain” column set the architectural news in a wider social

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April 13, 2011]. This definition actually aptly defines the word in relation to its use in *Architectural Design*.

213 Monica Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.,” interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7492 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0300A0.mp3>.

214 Middleton, interview.

215 Ibid.

216 Light buff which turned to yellow in October 1961.

217 p.432

218 At £27 per month. Michael Manser (presented at the Memorial to Monica Pidgeon, Architectural Association, November 23, 2009). Pidgeon remembered that she had to ask for more money from the directors specifically to hire him. His name appears on the masthead as “news editor” this month. He left in May 1963 to be replaced by Diana Rowntree the following month. Rowntree changes the title to “Facts of life” from July until October and is generally more sober.

219 Initially as “The month in U.K.”

220 A new Landscape column had started the month before by John Brookes, who became editorial assistant in December 1960, and a new Art column started the month after by Theo Crosby, and then Kenneth Frampton on Crosby's departure.

context with a dry, sardonic opinionated wit unmatched by his successors. The news pages would continue to be popular throughout Frampton's period, but in Middleton's technical editorship evolved into another beast entirely – Cosmorama.

It commenced in July 1965 with the announcement, “This month the separate UK and World News features cease. Instead we introduce Cosmorama, a commentary on buildings or on events throughout the world that impinge upon architecture.”<sup>221</sup> Like the old News sections, its 8 or 9 pages<sup>222</sup> were still printed at the front of the magazine (after several pages of adverts) on coloured (usually beige) matt (rather than glossy 'art') paper, and was initially no different in style. The name had changed, but the content was still ostensibly concerned with buildings and events, just as the old News sections had been. The first instalment included some interesting period pieces such as “The cost of money” by John Donat reporting that the majority of expense in constructing a building is in the cost of borrowing money. There were also pieces on a fantasy city by Norman Mailler, information on the change to metric, and Peter Smithson's “Rocket” article described above.

The general format of Cosmorama remained consistent throughout the sixties. First came Michael Manser's resurrected “The month in Britain”<sup>223</sup> news column followed by a review of buildings or products from other architecture magazines, very similar to the older popular “Review of Periodicals” columns that Mark Hartland Thomas and David Aberdeen wrote after the war,<sup>224</sup> although the buildings would be novel or otherwise unusual in some aspect of their design. The tailpiece of Cosmorama in the early years was usually a page-long essay that introduced the theme for the magazine, or the main building reviewed. Jasia Reichardt<sup>225</sup> continued her “Art” column towards the end of the section and there was a long-standing “Around Britain” page by various authors reporting on a range of architectural issues from the provinces. Between these, stood an eclectic mix of ideas, competitions, events, professional news, conference reports, obituaries, reviews and opinions from writers such as I.

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221 Robin Middleton, “Cosmorama,” *Architectural Design*, July 1965, 315.

222 Until November 1968, when it expanded to 12 pages. Then to 16 pages from January 1970, but reduced to an average of about 6 from November 1970 until December 1973, when it finished.

223 Restarted August 1965 and finished again in December 1967.

224 Until May 1958.

225 Reichardt (b. 1933) took over the Art column in May 1963 and continued it beyond the Pidgeon years.

Chippendale,<sup>226</sup> Sam Webb,<sup>227</sup> Sam Stevens, Ruth Lakofski,<sup>228</sup> and Rupert Spade.<sup>229</sup> Raymond Williams wrote on industrialised building, Brian Richards on transport, Hermione Hobhouse on history, Cedric Price occasionally contributed, as did various members of the Archigram group – mainly Warren Chalk and David Greene, who were Middleton's closest friends of the Archigram group from their Taylor Woodrow days, and whom he had to coax into contributing.<sup>230</sup>

In the first year of Cosmorama's life, 3 or 4 column inches might show a new aluminium version of an alpine hut, complete with photo and tiny plan and section drawings, “not simply a slick capsule dwelling but a framed assemblage designed to withstand both avalanches and colossal wind pressures.”<sup>231</sup> April 1966's Cosmorama featured three separate domes: one made of “glass fibre reinforced polyester”, a group of seven in extruded polystyrene, and a full geodesic dome by Paul Rudolph as an experimental theatre in Berlin, attracting the comments, “How can the geodesic dome be related to its surroundings or to other forms? How divided? How entered?” The magazines reported from gradually changed from global architectural periodicals to magazines like *New Scientist* and even the *Financial Times* reporting on technologies, ideas and products from outside the world of architecture that might be transferable. In May 1966 Cosmorama included a piece on a “moving hotel”: a bus with sleeping compartments in Germany, was taken from the *Financial Times*.<sup>232</sup> This appeared alongside a feature on an enormous space rocket hangar in Florida taken from *Fortune* magazine (“So large and cavernous is the central volume that thunderstorms could form in the interior and fans have to be maintained to keep the air moving.”<sup>233</sup> Fig. 5.21) In June, Warren Chalk introduced a “flying house” (first featured in *Paris Match*) – a capsule dwelling assembled in the factory and transported via helicopter to site. In the same issue, a YRM monograph, Chalk also wrote an unconvincing entrée as the last part of Cosmorama.<sup>234</sup> The quality seems less surprising after Middleton's admission that he had to gently bully Chalk into

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226 Alison Smithson – so called because at school her legs were so thin she looked like a Chippendale piece of furniture.

227 A neighbour of Pidgeon and who also wrote under the pseudonyms Emile Zola and Charles Dickens.

228 Denise Scott Brown's sister and close friend of Middleton.

229 A pseudonym of Martin Pawley.

230 Middleton, interview.

231 “Neo-alpine,” *Architectural Design*, March 1966, 110.

232 “Getting moving,” *Architectural Design*, May 1966, 215.

233 “Technical expertise,” *Architectural Design*, May 1966, 215.

234 Warren Chalk, “Slightly below the knee: thoughts on architecture and YRM,” *Architectural Design*, June 1966.

contributing pieces: “David Greene on the whole I used to have to bully stuff from and Warren Chalk [...] was always very reluctant to do anything. He'd got very bitter about the world by then [...] I always had to bully him. It was positive bullying.”<sup>235</sup>

New people who would feature more prominently in *AD* in future years made their entrée in Cosmorama, such as Hans Hollein with a furniture exhibition in October 1967.<sup>236</sup> New experimental building techniques were also first published there, like Pascal Häusermann's ferrocement ovular architecture where two inches of concrete was sprayed onto chicken wire and “waterproofed with a special paint.”<sup>237</sup> This was typical of many of Cosmorama's new ideas, exploring blue-sky thinking that might or – more likely – might not lead onto new ways of conceiving architecture. Practical aspects like thermal insulation and waterproofing were glibly solved with vague techno-magical remedies, on the optimistic assumption of the time that technology could provide a solution to any problem. “There was certainly a tremendous belief at the time in the possibilities of technology. You could solve problems in the world not by building things but solving the problems of life”<sup>238</sup> admitted Middleton recently. Lydia Kallipoliti notes that the materials featured in Cosmorama were unique in that they were often indistinguishable from their modes of deployment, or their production processes:

Such materials resisted standardization or cataloguing, they avoided the framework of repeatable pieces of knowledge that could be selected and applied indifferently within a variety of predetermined building parts and conditions. Rather than absolute objects, as indexed in a catalog, they were the offsprings of a local inventory, an inventory by which the material selection and the technique of its deployment fused semantically to produce the effect of unique and variable solutions. We may call such experiments “materials off the catalogue,” not exclusively referring to the selection of peculiar materials not otherwise used for the purpose of construction. Rather, it is the inseparable merging of a material, such as snow, and its particular tactic of deployment, such as molding, that positions them within an alternative lineage of building processes.<sup>239</sup>

Suffice it to say that practicalities or economics would not stand in the way of a good image or

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235 Middleton, interview.

236 “Looking at furniture,” *Architectural Design*, October 1967, 442.

237 “Hatching,” *Architectural Design*, October 1967, 442.

238 Colomina and Buckley, *Clip, Stamp, Fold*, 32.

239 Lydia Kallipoliti, “At Least the Pigs Can’t Stop you Reading *AD* at Home: *AD*’s Cosmorama and the reinvention of cataloguing (1965 – 1973),” in *Little Magazines* (Princeton University, 2007).

idea to be explored.

So the boundaries of what was considered legitimate consumption for architects, or of what could be considered valid architectural discourse for an architectural professional publication, were being challenged quite early in *Cosmorama*, if not in the main part of the magazine. Five years earlier, in 1961, the first Archigram had appeared, the 'zine that led the revolt against "the crap going up in London, against the attitude of a continuing European tradition of well-mannered but gutless architecture that had absorbed the label 'modern', but had betrayed most of the philosophies of the earliest 'modern'."<sup>240</sup> Its mission was "to push out, excrete (almost) a thing that would explode upon the oppressed assistants in London offices and the students."<sup>241</sup> This attitude to a modern architecture that had somehow missed the point was shared by Middleton who "ceased believing in most of the architecture going around because it was so bad and was so horrible." He continued, "Everything was bad. It was partly a financial question. Everything was reduced to the minimum standards possible. All the new housing was Parker Morris standards which were really quite beastly and very rigid so there was not much design."<sup>242</sup>

Pidgeon's general principle of only publishing the good did not leave Middleton many buildings to publish. It was presumably his disgust with contemporary architecture that led Middleton to concentrate on *Cosmorama*, as a kind of escape from the banality of the main section of the magazine. He claimed that there was no editorial policy as such for the magazine: "Monica and I could never produce a concerted policy together, we wouldn't have done ... we couldn't have."<sup>243</sup> It was more guided by "the trends of the sixties basically"<sup>244</sup> and that was tightly interwoven with the pop music scene which, as Middleton later recalled, "germinated much of our thinking and what we wanted to do."<sup>245</sup> "We didn't care about fame and money," he explained, "but one opened up and enjoyed oneself, and the whole world did change: not architecture much, but the way of living and people's expectations of what they could do and what they could become, how they could use themselves, how they could discover themselves. There wasn't as much class rigidity as one would imagine. Pop music, of course, was what actually did that."<sup>246</sup>

Middleton came to believe that "*Cosmorama* was the reason people were buying and reading

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240 Peter Cook, "Amazing Archigram," *Perspecta supplement*, no. 11 (1967): 133.

241 Ibid.

242 Middleton, interview.

243 Ibid.

244 Ibid.

245 Colomina and Buckley, *Clip, Stamp, Fold*, 31.

246 Ibid.

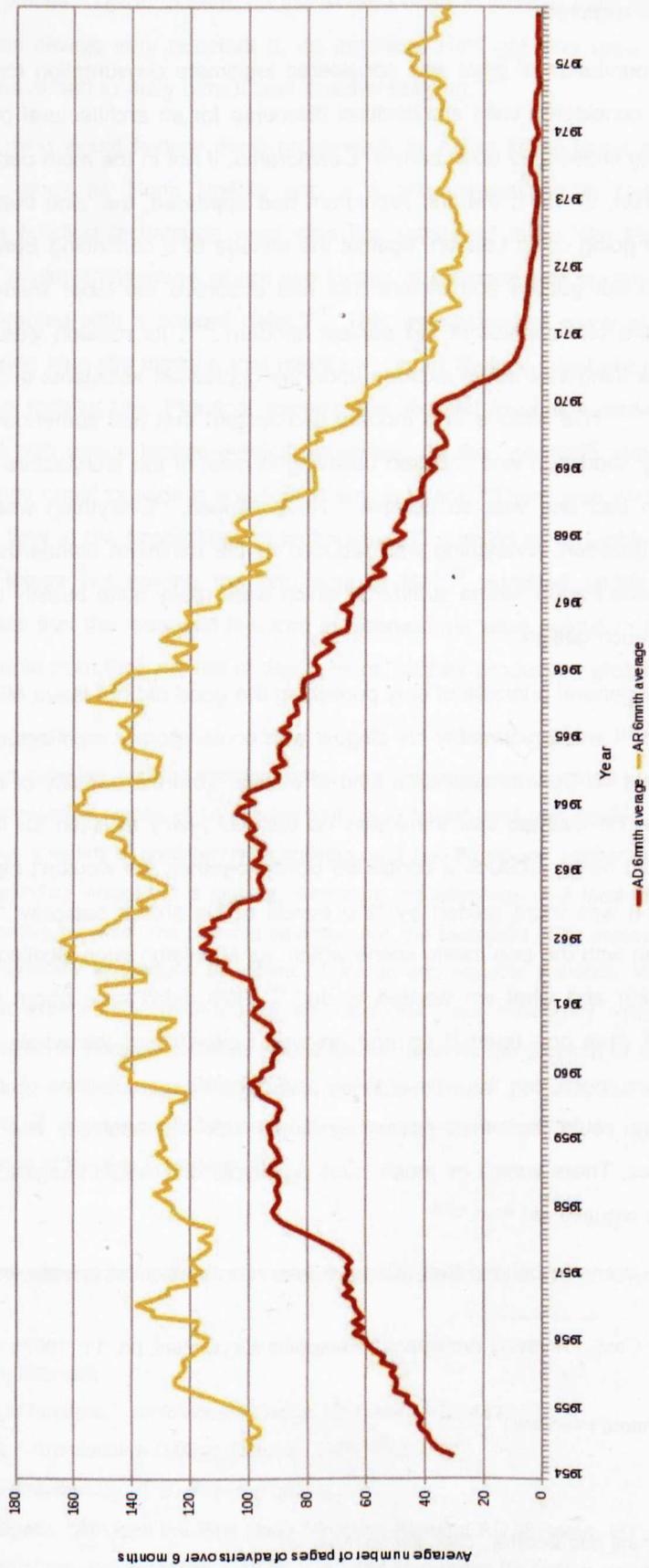


Fig. 5.27: The 6 month average of adverts in AD and AR, 1954-1975.

the magazine. It was the main part of the magazine. We were all saving our energy to put into Cosmorama, picking up any sort of information on new lifestyles that we could find. Nobody was interested in pictures of new buildings. Cosmorama kept the magazine going.”<sup>247</sup> Of course, this may have only been Middleton's perception as his section was clearly what he was most interested in producing. Cosmorama started to eat up the rest and annex other columns, such as the Book Notes<sup>248</sup> and Calendar,<sup>249</sup> which resulted in an increased girth of 12 pages in November 1968. Throughout 1969, it continued to publish ideas for architects beyond normative buildings, such as those for living under water in the “Inner Space” issue of April, for a Cryosanctorum (architecture for the frozen dead)<sup>250</sup> and for mobile inflatables,<sup>251</sup> experimental architecture for Expo 70 (which states, “Not surprisingly, the textbooks, studies, reviews and magazines that are most sought after by architects are those that honour the glamorous image. Such publications have been a powerful force in the dissemination of twentieth-century language of architectural forms.”),<sup>252</sup> new modes of transport,<sup>253</sup> communication technologies,<sup>254</sup> history,<sup>255</sup> lightweight and/or demountable architecture,<sup>256</sup> psychedelic environments,<sup>257</sup> domes<sup>258</sup> and pods<sup>259</sup> galore and Charles Jencks<sup>260</sup> first contribution.<sup>261</sup> It also started to spurn its own sections, such as “Future Is Now” which was announced in September 1969: “As from next month AD will be including a new regular feature entitled FiN (Future is Now) which will provide information in a global context about

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247 Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., “Interview with Robin Middleton,” in *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X - 197X* (New York, NY: Actar, 2010).

248 In October 1967.

249 March 1968.

250 “The living death,” *Architectural Design*, March 1969, 121.

251 “Blow box,” *Architectural Design*, July 1969, 352; “Inflatus,” *Architectural Design*, January 1969.

252 “Picture-book architecture at Expo '70,” *Architectural Design*, August 1969.

253 “Hovertrain,” *Architectural Design*, September 1969, 474; “Go everywhere by car,” *Architectural Design*, March 1969.

254 “Communications,” *Architectural Design*, December 1969, 646.

255 “Master of the soft line,” *Architectural Design*, June 1969.

256 “Demountable theatre,” *Architectural Design*, December 1969, 646; “Torroja lightweights,” *Architectural Design*, December 1969.

257 “Enviro-machine,” *Architectural Design*, December 1969, 646.

258 “Make your own dome,” *Architectural Design*, March 1969, 120.

259 Warren Chalk, “Living with living-pods,” *Architectural Design*, May 1969, 239.

260 Charles Jencks (b. 21 June 1939, Baltimore). Received a BA in English Literature (1961) and MA in Architecture (1965) from Harvard. Studied under Banham for a Ph.D. in Architectural History which he received in 1970. Jencks would go on to be a major contributor to *AD* in the Papadakis years.

261 Charles Jencks, “Pigeon-holing made difficult,” *Architectural Design*, December 1969, 582.

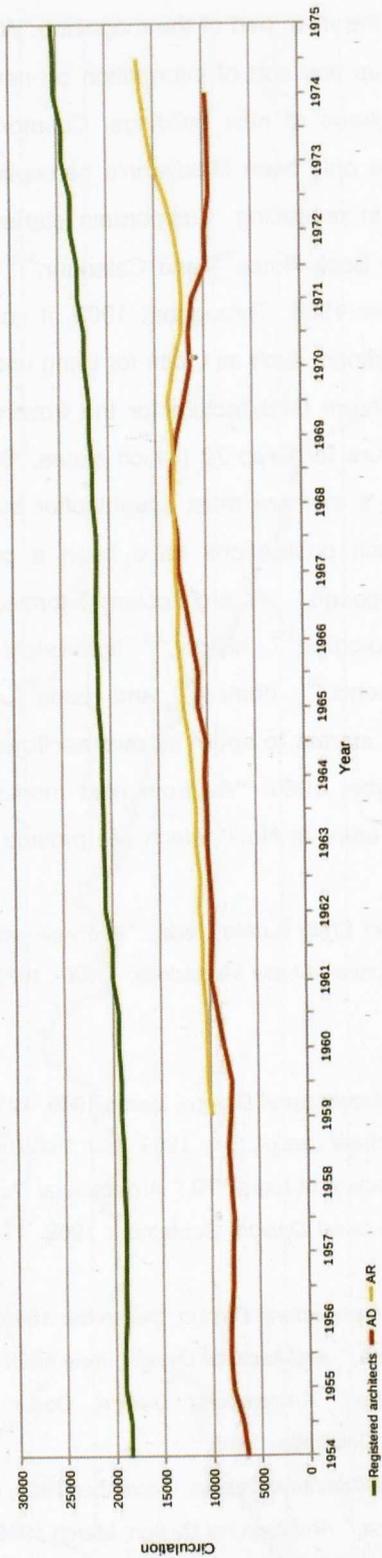


Fig. 5.28: The circulations of AD (orange) and AR (yellow) and the number of architects registered with ARCUK, 1954-1974. Courtesy of ABC and ARB.

current research and activities concerned with improving man's environment. FiN will not aim to be an information service but, rather, to show where such services exist. Articles from FiN may be reproduced in any other magazines as long as their AD source is acknowledged and the editors are notified."<sup>262</sup> This was the first hints of the approaching ecology movement infecting the magazine, for the first instalment read: "Tomorrow is decided, at least in part, by today's actions, and predictions of what is likely to happen if our present actions continue suggest a dismal future, if a future at all."<sup>263</sup> The editors perhaps saw FiN (Fig. 5.22) as a *Whole Earth Catalog* inspired information dissemination system. It only managed four instalments<sup>264</sup> but hailed the beginning of a new ecological consciousness.

### Littleness

The circulation of *AD* had remained fairly stable during the Frampton years<sup>265</sup> but started increasing once Middleton took over. Advertising, however, was a different story. Coinciding with the boom in the advertising industry, the early 1960s saw the magazine host the greatest quantity of adverts, associated with the buildings and products featured in the editorial. Advertising had risen from less than 30 pages when Crosby started to a six month average of around 110 pages when he left in May 1962. During the same period, the *AR* was getting, on average, 30-40 pages more advertising per issue. The graph (Fig. 5.27) shows the 6 month average number of pages of adverts in both the *AR* (yellow line) and *AD* (orange line) during the period from Crosby's arrival at *AD* (November 1953) to Monica Pidgeon's departure (October 1975). Both peak around 1962. The numbers remained fairly constant during Frampton's tenure but began to tail off mid way through 1964.<sup>266</sup> Advertising is clearly linked to the prosperity of the construction industry, which is in turn directly linked to the economic health of the nation. The most advertising pages that *AD* ever published was 146 in

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262 "Future is Now," *Architectural Design*, September 1969, 466.

263 "Future is Now: 1," *Architectural Design*, October 1969, 532.

264 October 1969, pp.532-3, September 1969, p.628, April 1970, p.215 and September 1970, p.478.

265 Averaging 10,100 (according to figures from the ABC) between the second half of 1962 and second half of 1964 inclusive, which maps on quite directly to Frampton's time at the magazine. As a percentage of registered architects, the circulation was 48-49%.

266 The 6 month mean dropping from about 100 pages to about 90 pages per issue around May 1964.

# AD

Architectural Design May 1968. 5/-

“What about Learning?”

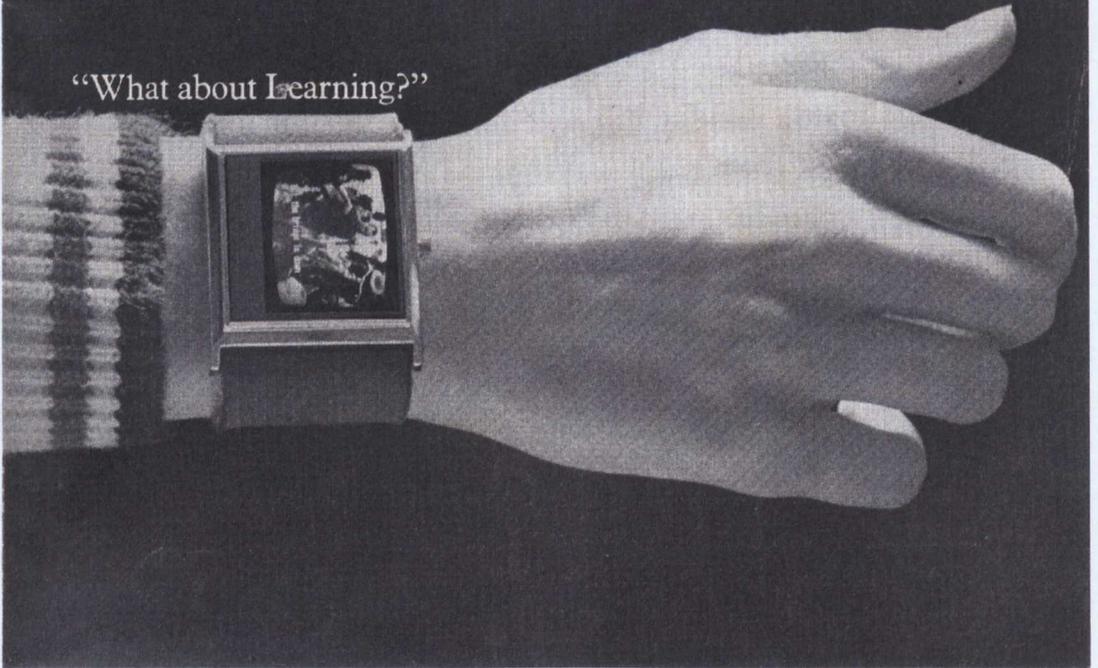


Fig. 5.29: Cover of May 1968's issue, guest-edited by Cedric Price, when "Architectural Design" became "AD".

September 1961, the issue on Sheffield guest-edited by Pat Crooke.<sup>267</sup> It focused on Castle Markets and the newly opened Park Hill flats, the largest and most confident expression of the New Brutalism that would ever be built. It was also one of only two issues of *AD* that concentrated on a single city – the other was Coventry in December 1958 which itself produced 110 pages of advertising, a record at that time. It is no coincidence that these two cities, devastated during the war, were confidently rebuilding themselves, giving architects lots of work and spending lots of money on building products. The decrease in advertising continued until 1970, when the six-monthly mean was less than 40 pages per issue. This was not peculiar to *AD* – figures for the *Architectural Review* and other magazines show a similar trend. Advertisers were simply spending less on magazines, largely due to a shift of focus to television, and the British economy was declining in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Peter Murray recalled, “I think there was a general sort of lull in advertising spend in the late sixties because I can remember other magazines I've been involved with going through problems and there were sort of general cut-backs.”<sup>268</sup>

The financial justification of the magazine was heavily weighted in advertising's favour: “Revenue from advertising far exceeded sub revenue,” remarked David Dottridge, who also claimed that “In its heyday it [*AD*] was making between £60 and £70,000 [a year] which were good numbers in those days.” For an advert, they charged “about £100 a page plus about £60 for colour.”<sup>269</sup> So losing advertising had substantial financial ramifications. Loss of revenue was countered by an increase in circulation which rose at a steady rate of about 1,000 per year and even gained on that of their closest competitor, the *AR*, until eventually, for one year only (1968), *AD*'s figures were slightly higher (Fig. 5.28).<sup>270</sup> Circulation peaked at 13,445 for the second half of 1968 at which point *AD* began to lose readers as fast as it had previously gained them. It would not be accurate to attribute this circulation curve to Cosmorama alone, but it would be fair to claim that Middleton's curation attracted more readers than it lost during the first half of his tenure, while the reverse was true in the second half. By turning away from reviewing buildings and advertising products, and focusing instead on theoretical ideas, paper architecture and political criticism, Middleton started losing professional readers but gaining a student following. He admitted that “we didn't want to be a professional magazine. We wanted to deal with the culture of architecture.”<sup>271</sup> Vidler has also

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267 This number featured photographs by Roger Mayne who used techniques developed on his Southam Street series (Crosby's *Uppercase 3* of 1961 featured 57 of Mayne's Southam Street photos) of the late 1950s focusing on people and activity rather than the buildings themselves.

268 Peter Murray, interview by Steve Parnell, October 19, 2009.

269 Dottridge to Parnell, “Research on Architectural Design -my best.”

270 ABC figures show that *AD*'s mean circulation for 1968 was 13,434 and *AR*'s was 13,278.

271 Middleton, interview.

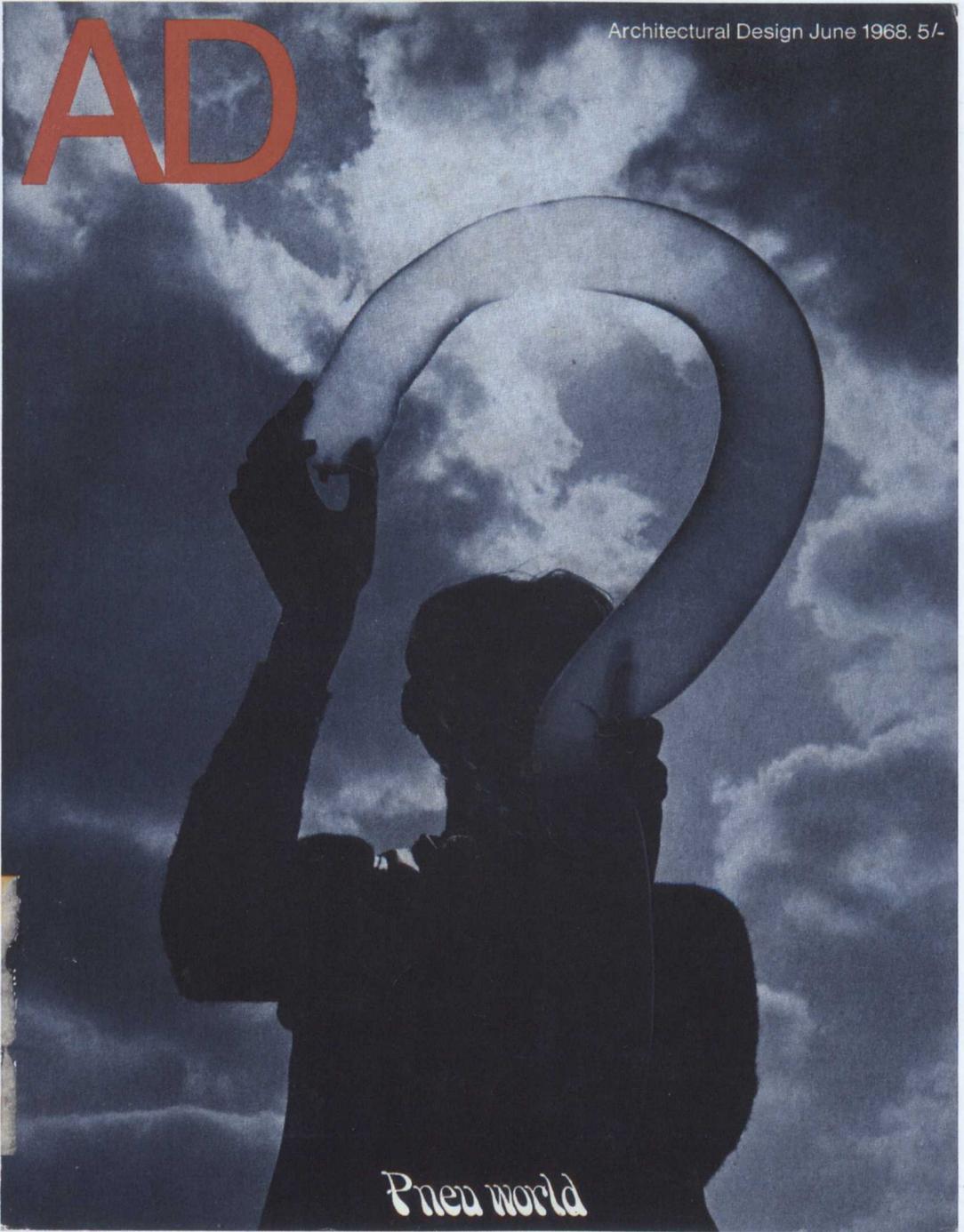


Fig. 5.30: Cover of June 1968's issue on inflatables.

noted that more generally “things theoretically seemed to change”<sup>272</sup> in 1968. So this year was key for *AD*, and was when, as the brief triennial survey of contents in Appendix 6 testifies, it started to change.

Specifically, it was the May 1968 issue, guest-edited by Cedric Price<sup>273</sup> and called “What about Learning?” (Fig. 5.29) that marks the beginning of a new era. It was signalled with the introduction of a new member of staff, Dave Chaston, who joined as the first art editor and who redesigned the magazine. Under Middleton, the design of the title had changed in June 1966 – the first time since the big change of January 1956 when *AD* became square bound and glued – but the layout remained predominantly the same, with modestly sized titles in modest fonts. But in May 1968, not only did the title change, but the very name. From now on, it was officially known as simply “AD”, the two letters boldly fixed at the top left of the cover. This was largely for stylistic reasons and due to Chaston, whom Middleton remembers “was the only real layout person we had.”<sup>274</sup> The two letters have been redesigned twice since,<sup>275</sup> but the name has stuck. Internally, the layout became slightly more daring too, with titles more involved in the overall design of the page and, for example, the first and last pages of the guest-edited section, marked by white letters on a black background. The content also changed and while it was pure chance that the timing coincided with the protests across Europe, it is perhaps no coincidence that Cedric Price underwrote the radical change of direction. The work of Cedric Price Architects, founded in 1960, had first appeared in *AD* in May 1962 with an interior fit-out of a bar and reception hall in a London hotel.<sup>276</sup> Price was already a huge influence on the London architectural scene, as Peter Cook described in relation to the beginnings of Archigram, “Cedric Price, who had a basement office across the street from James Cubitt's office (where David Greene and I worked) was [...] already somehow 'grand' and mysterious.”<sup>277</sup> Price contributed to most Archigrams, and also became a regular contributor to and subject of *AD* because he embodied the iconoclastic attitude of the new generation of late 1960s architects that Archigram came to visualise so vividly and

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272 Anthony Vidler, “Troubles in Theory Part 1: The state of the art 1945-2000,” *Architectural Review*, October 2011, 104.

273 Cedric Price (September 11 1934 – August 10 2003).

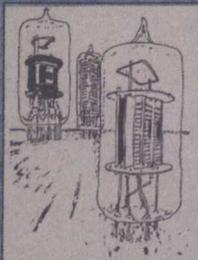
274 Middleton, interview.

275 After an attempt in May 1970 to put full stops after the letters, the first real change came the following month in June 1970 by Adrian George (under Middleton). The second was at the turn of the millennium.

276 Cedric Price, “Bar & Reception hall, Mostyn Hotel, London, W.1,” *Architectural Design*, May 1962, 260.

277 Peter Cook, “The Beginning,” in *Concerning Archigram*, ed. Dennis Crompton (London: Archigram Archives, 1998), 15.

# COSMORAMA



## HOLIDAY HOME 1

The LEM-like winter holiday caracle designed by Roberto Lucci and Paolo Orlandini is a do-it-yourself kit made up from various readily available consumer items. The door is a dustbin lid, the feet are ballasted polythene bows and the structure is aluminium tubing. The light-weight skin has four layers of insulation - aluminium coated polyester, expanded polythene, polythene sheet and an inside lining of synthetic fur.

The whole thing packs flat into the polythene bows for easy transportation and will sleep up to three persons.

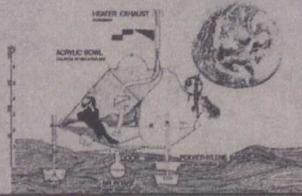


## POLLUTION PROTECTION

Professor Theodore Lundy's pessimistic view of the future success of pollution controls has inspired designs for 1990s buildings, based on the vacuum tube, which will protect their inhabitants from the noxious biosphere and the new forms of life that will evolve to inhabit Earth.

"This is the ultimate conquest of NATURE by man" writes Lundy "The final proof that NATURE is indeed hostile. These buildings and the desolate life they harbour will be man's futile attempt to spare himself the fate which he has imposed on the rest of the Earth's living things. This is the final ARCHITECTURAL STYLE."

Lundy is Professor of Architecture and Urban Design at the University of Kansas.



## LUNAR BASES

The Cryonics Society of New York have just published their latest stiff-stacking scheme.

The Lunar Cryonics Base, designed by cryolune Robert Schimel of Experimental Design Ltd, is planned to be built in 'Clavius D', a crater 15 miles in diameter and 6000 feet deep with a small central peak. It is built of stacking units, each holding six patients in individual capsules which rotate to retain equilibrium when necessary. The units are locked together in 'structural lengths' which are then stacked to form 'networks' holding 89,856 patients. Sixteen networks would be grouped round the central peak with a maximum capacity of 1,437,696 bodies!

De-frost day may mean immortality but crater Clavius sure is a long way from Boot Hill.

Fig. 5.31: January 1970's new look Cosmorama.

iconically. Although Price did not build much, his influence came through his teaching and ideas. His most influential projects were all about the thinking and were all published in *AD*: the Fun Palace,<sup>278</sup> the Pop-up Parliament,<sup>279</sup> the Potteries Thinkbelt,<sup>280</sup> and Non-Plan.<sup>281</sup> Most were published at the time of conception, although Pop-up Parliament was part of the first Cedric Price Supplement that Peter Murray produced. Interestingly, and predictably, the *AR* would publish his built work but not his polemic.

*AD* continued in this ideas-led direction and the second half of 1968 showed a distinct shift away from building themes. June 1968's issue (called "Pneu World") (Fig. 5.30) contained no building studies and was concerned with inflatable architecture while August's issue concentrated on the "Architecture of Democracy" - on squatting, Peruvian *barriadas* and other such architecture-related social justice programmes and consequences. September's issue, guest-edited by Brian Richards, discussed mobility in the city and linked it directly to social mobility. Finally, Jonathan Miller edited December's "Metaphoropolis" to "try and gather together a series of articles that showed how the image of the city has flourished as an imaginative metaphor."<sup>282</sup> The issue covered, among other things, the May riots in Paris,<sup>283</sup> a Situationist look at memory of the city<sup>284</sup> and Surrealism in the city.<sup>285</sup> In brief, *AD* was concentrating on the non-visual discourses that shape the city – the forces of politics and socio-economics – rather than the normal visualisable aspects of architecture.

This change in direction had started in *Cosmorama*, which had itself become a "little" magazine within a bigger magazine and whose contents were always unpredictable. In January 1970, it burst into the new decade with 4 more pages (up to 16) and in full colour (Fig. 5.31):

Cosmorama changes key this month and switches into colour – it also expands. Some of the complexity and entertaining oddity of the old *Cosmorama* will no doubt be lost, but the coverage will be increased and more space will be provided to develop idiosyncratic and stimulating ideas. Some of the material that was once

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278 Terence Bendixson, "Palaces are for fun," *Architectural Design*, November 1964, 533.

279 Cedric Price, "Pop-up Parliament," *Architectural Design*, October 1970, 513.

280 Cedric Price, "Potteries Thinkbelt: A plan for an advanced educational industry in North Staffordshire," *Architectural Design*, October 1966.

281 Cedric Price, "Non-Plan," *Architectural Design*, May 1969.

282 Jonathan Miller, "Metaphoropolis," *Architectural Design*, December 1968, 570.

283 Eric Hobsbawn, "Cities and Insurrections," *Architectural Design*, December 1968.

284 Francis Yates, "Architecture and the Art of Memory," *Architectural Design*, December 1968.

285 Anthony Earnshaw, "Surrealism in the City," *Architectural Design*, December 1968.

# SECTOR

Sector is a new section in AD which will appear every month, in which architecture and planning will be considered as problem solving activities possessing evolving structures and changing approaches.

Sector will include accounts both of current developments and of studies on theoretical topics. It will present material on whatever range of subjects appear appropriate to architecture/planning concerns. This may include: systems studies/operational research/cybernetics/mathematics/sociology/psychology/epistemology/computer studies... for a start.

## Information flows within coordinated systems

W. Ross Ashby

This article is based on a paper presented at the International Symposium on Cybernetics, London, September 2-5, 1962

Every coordinated activity, whether in the movements of a tight-rope walker's limbs, or in the traffic-flows of a big city, requires an internal flow of information between the parts being coordinated. Once the coordination is well defined, the minimal quantity of internal information-flow is determined numerically. An example is given to illustrate the principle.

This numerical quantity can be partitioned in various ways, corresponding to the various organizational ways for managing the coordination. So one can relate a proposed organization, in city or brain, to its resources for internal communication, to see if they are compatible.

Effects with delay ('memory') can be included in the formulation without essential change. Demands for memory, in coordinated activity, can be met in a variety of quantitatively different forms; so a designer can select among them for the most appropriate. An example is given as illustration.

We have brains primarily so that our bodily activities may be coordinated; so that our left hand shall act properly in conjunction with our right. Coordination and integration have long been recognized in physiology as the brain's highest functions, but cybernetics today is equally concerned with coordination in systems of other types. Big cities need coordination in their traffic flows; the prevention of smog requires that many preventive and remedial actions be coordinated if one remedy is not to be nullified by another; and in social problems, too, the activities of welfare agencies need coordination. The purpose of this paper is to show that all coordinations require that information be transmitted within the system (a proposition that might be thought obvious), but particularly to show that the transmissions can be measured quantitatively. Every well-defined coordination specifies a basic total quantity of transmission, such that less than this quantity makes absolutely impossible the achievement of the coordination. It will also show that this total quantity can be analysed (partitioned) in various ways so that we can see how much is required between the components. In regulating traffic flow, for instance, it would show how much transmission is required between point and point. In the brain, it would show how much transmission is required between cell and cell, or between centre and centre.

Coordination is essentially a holistic phenomenon, discernible only over the whole. The method of information analysis presented here is also of this type. It does not say that between points  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  so much transmission must occur: it treats all the transmissions as a complex interrelated set, and allows the transmission between (say)  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  to take almost any value provided that suitable adjustments are made in the other internal transmissions.

The method could be presented in formal and abstract symbols, leaving the reader to find their application. I prefer to present one example, perhaps over-simplified, to show the method at work. The reader should have little difficulty in adapting the example to his own needs. The example is artificial; I would have preferred to have analysed real data, but it seems that no one has yet collected data on coordination with

sufficient breadth to make this type of analysis possible. Perhaps when the existence of this method is better known, the experimenters will supply appropriate data.

As an example, let us consider that classic type of coordination shown by the tight-rope walker. The local condition (Sommerhoff, 1950) is obvious that his four limbs must always have positions such that their centre of gravity lies vertically over the wire. (To keep the example simple I here ignore such complications as their angular momenta.) The unskilled person may well be able to move his limbs through just as wide a range as the expert, but the unskilled person will use combinations of position, all four limbs to the left say, that the expert would avoid. Thus the contrast between the unskilled and the expert may be shown by the fact that the expert confines his actions to a particular subset of those anatomically possible.

The suggestion is not, of course, derived simply from tight-rope walking. As Sommerhoff (1950) showed extensively in biological examples, and as Ashby (1967) showed in the terms of set theory and binary relations, the identification of 'coordination' with 'deviations from statistical independence in an  $n$ -dimensional frequency table' is both broad and rigorous. Given any well defined coordination between  $n$  variables, there is implied a frequency distribution over events in the  $n$ -dimensional space to which Shannon-type measures of information are applicable.

It is simpler now to proceed by example. To avoid infinitesimals, suppose each of the four limbs can go to one of five places situated at distances  $-2, -1, 0, +1, +2$  from the central plane. Thus, if the limbs  $L_1, L_2, L_3, L_4$  are at respectively  $-1, +2, -1, +1$ , the average is  $+0.25$ , and their centre of gravity is away from the central plane. If we allow two or more limbs to be at the same distance, there are 625 possible distributions (postures) of which only a subset would be used by the expert. It is easily verified that of these 625 postures, 85 have the zero average of the coordinated posture (81 in the 5 types of symmetrical distribution such as 0000, 01210, etc.; and 12 each in the asymmetrical 1020 and its reflexion).

To obtain the necessary frequencies (or probabilities after dividing by the total) we may proceed on either of two assumptions (that lead, in fact, to just the same numerical results). One way is to assume that the 625 postures of the unskilled and the 85 of the expert are actually equiprobable, a very arbitrary assumption that may well be false when we consider actual people. The other way is to think of the case where the facilities for transmission will have to be provided, and to ask: suppose the worst happens—that without transmission all 625 postures occur, and that the expert (for other reasons) may be forced to produce all the 85; what is the least quantity of transmission facility that we must provide to be safe? This second form of the question seems to be free from objection (unlike the first) so I shall treat it as the question to be put.

With the frequencies now assumed to be equal (or the probabilities after dividing by 85) we can now find the basic entropies. These are defined in the usual way, by

$$H(X) = \sum_i p_i \log \frac{1}{p_i}$$

As we shall be using frequencies here, however, an arithmetically more convenient method, if the frequencies are  $n_1, n_2, \dots, n_i, \dots$ , summing to  $n$ , is to find  $H(X)$  as

$$\frac{1}{n} (n \log n - \sum_i n_i \log n_i)$$

(With the  $n_i$  all integers, much interpolation may be avoided.)

In the general case, these entropies would be found by whatever method was appropriate. In this example we can soon find that  $L_1$  has the frequency distribution, in the coordinated postures:

Value:  $-2 \quad -1 \quad 0 \quad +1 \quad +2$   
Frequency: 15 18 19 18 15 Total: 85

So  $H(L_1) = 2.316$  bits/posture. By symmetry, this is also the value of  $H(L_2)$ , etc.  $\langle L_1, L_2 \rangle$  has the distribution, over its 25 values:

$L_2$	$L_1$	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
-2	5	4	3	2	1	15
-1	4	5	4	3	2	18
0	3	4	5	4	3	19
+1	2	3	4	5	4	18
+2	1	2	3	4	5	15
		2	1	0	1	2
		$L_1$				

So  $H(L_1, L_2) = 4.544$  bits/posture. All the 85 values of  $\langle L_1, L_2 \rangle$  are different, so  $H(L_1, L_2, L_3) = \log_2 85 = 6.409$ . Similarly  $H(L_1, L_2, L_3, L_4) = 6.409$  bits/posture. If a posture is significant over a time-span of (say) 0.5 seconds, then twice these numbers would give the entropies in bits per second.

The further analysis uses the methods introduced by McGill (1954) and developed by Garner (1962) and Ashby (1965, 1966). The most important quantity required now is the total transmission, represented and defined by

$$T(L_1, L_2, L_3, L_4) = H(L_1) + H(L_2) + H(L_3) + H(L_4) - H(L_1, L_2, L_3, L_4)$$

It measures the total deviation from statistical independence implied by the coordination (with the marginal distributions given). Here its value is 2.860 bits/posture. Its importance is due to the fact that with less than this total quantity of internal transmission the coordination cannot be ensured.

It is worth noticing that the total transmission required is not the obvious  $\log_2 85 - \log_2 85 = -2.678$  but a quantity smaller by 0.428. The reason is that the larger quantity would apply were each variable  $L_i$  to be distributed evenly over the five values. In fact the distribution (in the coordinated case) is not even. Thus, if the variable's distribution is changed from 17, 17, 17, 17 to 15, 18, 19, 18, 15, the change would bring the conjoint 4-variable distribution nearer to the coordinated form without any transmission being used between the variables. Thus the algebraic and numerical analysis has already revealed a possibility for economy and efficiency that otherwise might have passed unnoticed. (In this example the gain is trivial; in other cases it might be of major importance.)

The total quantity of transmission required may be obtained by adding various components. One possible way is to use the fact that  $T(L_1, L_2, L_3, L_4)$  is identically equal to

$$T(L_1, L_2) + T(L_1, L_3) + T(L_1, L_4) + T(L_2, L_3) + T(L_2, L_4) + T(L_3, L_4)$$

Such a partition would be appropriate if the total coordination were achieved by mechanisms or channels that (1) achieved suitable coordination between  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  (between the arms, say) regardless of the position of the legs, (2) achieved coordination between the legs regardless of the arms, and (3) coordinated arms and legs in a way not depending on the details of the relation between the arms (e.g. if the arm-pair has centre of gravity at  $+1.5$  then the leg-pair must have centre of gravity at  $-0.5$ ). The three quantities are found to be

$$0.066, 0.066, \text{ and } 2.678$$

(respectively), summing to 2.860, of course.

Such numbers may be useful in various ways. Thus, suppose that only 2-bit channels were available. Instead of taking two such channels to achieve the 2.678, we could try another way of distributing the transmissions. Another way

Fig. 5.32: The first Sector column, a cybernetic Cosmorama spin-off, January 1970.

enveloped by Cosmorama will now appear in a separate feature Sector at the end of the magazine. This too will allow room for expansion. Altogether information is to be more widely disseminated.<sup>286</sup>

Sector was a Cosmorama spin-off concerned with cybernetics that also started in January 1970 (Fig. 5.32):

*Sector* is a new section in AD which will appear every month, in which architecture and planning will be considered as problem solving activities possessing evolving structures and changing approaches. *Sector* will include accounts both of current developments and of studies on theoretical topics. It will present material on whatever range of subjects appear appropriate to architecture/planning concerns. This may include: systems studies / operational research / cybernetics / mathematics / sociology / psychology / epistemology / computer studies ... for a start.<sup>287</sup>

As Hardingham has noted, "This fact alone endures as a unique moment in architectural publishing. It meant that unbuilt and conceptual projects could be viewed and discussed alongside research and the built."<sup>288</sup>

Furthermore, the "News" section was ejected to its own new 1-page section, as was "Art", and 3 pages of "Books" and a separate 1-page "Buildings" section was even included after *Sector*, as if to remind the reader that this was what the magazine was originally about. "Yes, it was great!" commented Middleton when this was pointed out to him.<sup>289</sup> Cosmorama had truly taken over the magazine at this point. Anything that he thought Pidgeon wouldn't like, such as Archigram's 8-page feature on their Monte Carlo win in this very issue,<sup>290</sup> Middleton included in Cosmorama: "I could get more space for it here than I could in the magazine. Monica wouldn't have allowed this amount of space in the magazine. Cosmorama, she would let me do what I liked."<sup>291</sup>

However, not all readers were happy about AD's new theoretically inclined direction, as a letter to the editor indicates:

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286 "Cosmorama," *Architectural Design*, January 1970, 2.

287 "Sector," *Architectural Design*, January 1970, 39.

288 Samantha Hardingham, "A Memory of Possibilities," *Architectural Design*, April 2005, 14.

289 Middleton, interview.

290 Peter Cook, "Features: Monte Carlo," *Architectural Design*, January 1970.

291 Middleton, interview.

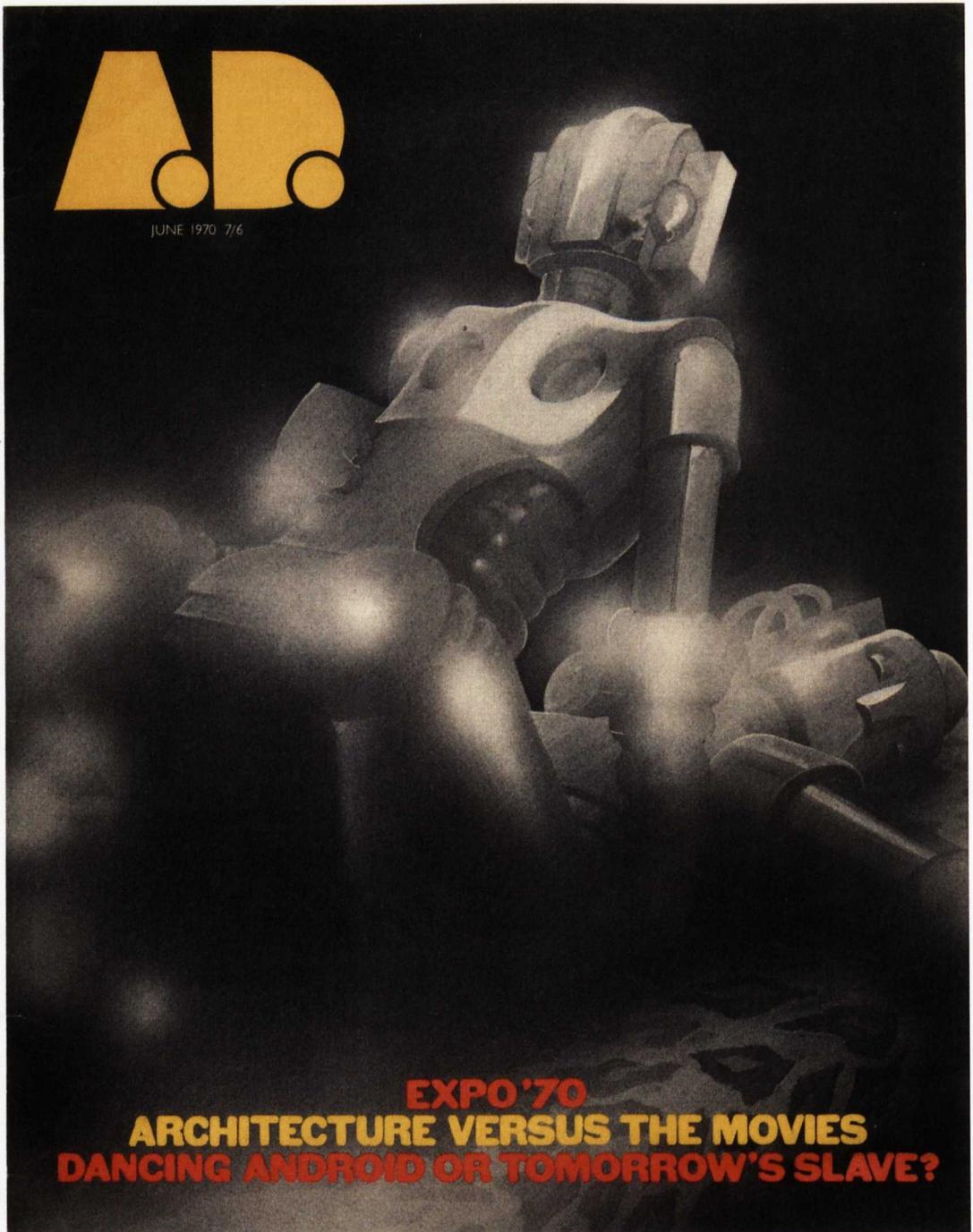


Fig. 5.33: Cover of June 1970 with new logo design.

*Sir*, What is housing? What is the 1969 construction industry capable of supplying? *AD* has branched away from this in the last few issues and has tackled the theory of architecture, urbanization and modern living, omitting the subject of housing. Jonathan Miller (12/68) covered cities, but what is the aim of Warren Chalk (9/69) when playing with the Lennon-Ono asses? You've told us a bit about Venezuela today (8/69), then Roy Landau wrote (9/69) that *AD* 'looks at the present'. What present? Where? You're a jump ahead and it's too trendy. You might be having a whale of a time bugging about with free space and modern living, but you're bypassing the issue: what about all the poor bastards everywhere who need a roof, any kind, and four walls if it's cold or rainy. We're just asking for some work on that from a trade journal; tell us if we're wrong.<sup>292</sup>

The circulation figures show that the number of core readers alienated by this new theoretical direction was greater than the number of new readers attracted to it.<sup>293</sup> Advertisers were therefore put off advertising in *AD*, not only by fewer readers, but also by *AD*'s spread of readership around the globe: in October 1969's issue, as part of FiN 1, a list of countries in which *AD* circulated was printed – a total of 109 countries (Fig. 5.26). The same month, the price appeared on the spine in both £ and \$ for the first time. Pidgeon recalled that 70% of sales came from overseas<sup>294</sup> so the editors were aware of the influence their magazine exerted around the world: "The communicative impact of just this one magazine is thus considerable"<sup>295</sup> they wrote. However, as Middleton remarked, "it was hippies in Colorado buying *AD* and not people who were going to produce advertisers."<sup>296</sup> This clearly had a knock-on effect for the economics of the magazine: "the policy of *Architectural Design*, putting down most architecture, and its status as an international magazine did not attract local advertising as did the *Architectural Review*. We at *AD* did not like publishing new buildings and therefore the concrete and the pipe manufacturers did not want to advertise with us; we simply had a different audience."<sup>297</sup> This audience was international and aimed more at

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292 Micaela Graham-Yooll and Andrew Graham-Yooll, "When is a house not a house?," *Architectural Design*, January 1970, AD/5.

293 The circulation for the first half of 1970 was 11,441 and for the second half, 11,587. For the first half of 1971, it was 11,210 and for the second half, 9,773. The *AR* also show a slight decline in circulation at this time – their figures for the same periods are: 13,198, 12,372, 12,298, 12,503. However, the *AR* recovered from then on, whereas *AD* continued to decline to just 9,633 for the first half of 1974 – the last figure recorded with the ABC.

294 Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7493 Side A."

295 "Future is Now : 1," 533.

296 Middleton, interview.

297 Colomina and Buckley, "Interview with Robin Middleton," 441.

AD

OCTOBER 1970 7/6



Fig. 5.34: The first issue of "little" AD with Cedric Price on the cover inflating himself. This issue contained the first Cedric Price supplement edited by Peter Murray.

students and younger architects than at established practising architects. Again, this was Middleton's influence due to his connections with the AA. In his own words, "we didn't want to be a professional magazine. We wanted to deal with the culture of architecture."<sup>298</sup> This focus on students and academics, and the corresponding editorial focus on ideas rather than buildings, also put off advertisers.

1970 proved a turbulent year for *AD*. In January, they got rid of their consultants. In February, Peter Murray and Adrian George started as joint art directors<sup>299</sup> and in April, they no longer listed an advertisement manager on their masthead. More obviously for the reader, the logo changed again in June to the iconic solid letters, each nibbled at bottom right by an engorged full-stop (Fig. 5.33)<sup>300</sup> *AD*'s lack of profit due to decreasing advertising and subscriptions meant that the SCC, the original owners, were looking to sell the magazine. They offered it to Middleton and Pidgeon: "I said I didn't want it. I couldn't bear the thought of living with Monica for the rest of my life."<sup>301</sup> remembered Middleton years later, reflecting on their successful, if cold partnership. Murray and Middleton considered taking it over themselves, but that did not result in anything.<sup>302</sup> The SCC could not find a buyer and so decided to close the magazine, giving the staff two months' notice.<sup>303</sup> Pidgeon reacted by persuading the company to keep the magazine going, but to run it on a book economy instead, effectively cutting costs and relying on magazine sales rather than advertising. An average of around 30 pages of advertising at the end of the 1960s had dwindled to less than 10 during 1970. From its moment of littleness in October 1970, the number of paid advertising pages averaged about only 3<sup>304</sup> and no effort was put into courting advertisers. *AD*'s shift from trade rag to "little" magazine is manifest in its production (Fig. 5.34). The biggest and most obvious change was the printer. Whitefriars Press, owned by the SCC was still using the traditional hot-metal plate method with photographs printed from expensive copper plates. As Colomina has noted, the explosion of little magazines in the sixties was closely allied to the availability of cheaper and easier

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298 Middleton, interview.

299 George would stay until the end of the year, the last two months in the capacity of consultant. Murray would go on to succeed Middleton as technical editor in October 1973. George designed most of the covers around this period, his first appearing in July 1969 and last in April 1975.

300 The previous month, the letters "AD" had been emboldened and the full-stops appeared. This only lasted a month before Adrian George took the design to its logical conclusion in June. This last logo endured until the new millennium.

301 Middleton, interview.

302 Murray, interview.

303 Monica Pidgeon, "AD Remembered: 1941-75," *Architectural Design*, April 2001, 98.

304 The *AR* continued to have 30-40 pages of advertising during this time.

printing processes.<sup>305</sup> Peter Murray who shared art direction with Adrian George from February 1970, had previous experience with offset lithographic printing when he produced *Megascop*e and *Clip-Kit* little magazines at architecture school, so Pidgeon sought out a printer that used this cheaper method. Murray recalls, “Monica was always very taken with tall, dark handsome men and I remember there was a printer who was tall, dark and handsome and very smooth and he had some printing press up in Oxford and he sold us the idea of printing the magazine there. I think it was quite cheap but he was a terrible printer.” This was Daeha Publications in Kiddlington near Oxford, which, according to Pidgeon, Middleton suggested because they printed *Rolling Stone* magazine, and which did two colour offset litho.<sup>306</sup> Daeha therefore printed the October and November 1970 issues. The paper was cheaper matt, size was reduced, it was stapled rather than glued, and the print quality was very poor. The cover also changed from glossy to matt. So they looked around again and through a printing magazine found North Riding Publishing in Middlesbrough, to whom they switched. The size of the magazine was reduced further but the quality of paper and printing immediately improved. The cover price remained 7s 6d,<sup>307</sup> but with decimalisation in January 1971 this was raised slightly to 40p. The new, more “raggy” production with cheap paper and more freedom of layout due to the new litho printing process, certainly made *AD* look and feel more like an alternative magazine than a professional journal. Murray remembered, “printing on cheap paper was actually quite a good thing really and you saw a lot of community papers and things like *Whole Earth Catalog* which were all newsprint type paper and so we felt that we were in that sort of field.”<sup>308</sup> Additionally, this new, easier printing technology encouraged a more “copy and paste” scrapbook style magazine throughout, not just in *Cosmorama*. Recognition of these printing changes was announced in the February issue as follows:

By now readers will have become accustomed to the new AD size and style, and the increased use of colour that it has been possible to introduce at no extra cost through printing by web offset. The next change to be made is a reorganisation of the editorial content for ease of comprehension. *Cosmorama* will be curtailed and will confine itself to the world of ideas. But a new section, *Catalogue*, will contain information about actual products, things available in the UK or abroad. While *Sector* will continue to deal with architecture and planning as problem solving activities.<sup>309</sup>

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305 Colomina and Buckley, *Clip, Stamp, Fold*, 9.

306 Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects’ Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7493 Side A.”

307 Equivalent to 37½p.

308 Murray, interview.

309 “Next month,” *Architectural Design*, February 1971, inside front cover.

Cosmorama's high point was over, and it averaged only about six pages from the time *AD* went little to Middleton's departure. However, it had succeeded in permanently changing a professional journal concerned with buildings into an avant-garde magazine concerned with ideas. In fact, it had changed so much that it could be argued that from its moment of littleness, *AD* effectively replaced Archigram as the little magazine of the British architectural counter-culture. During the 1960s, Archigram had published nine of its 'zines, the last of which appeared at the end of 1969.<sup>310</sup> Its own circulation was growing<sup>311</sup> to almost compete with that of *AD* and it even included a separate loose flyer for *AD*.<sup>312</sup> By 1970, however, Archigram's members were well established in the architectural establishment and highly influential at the AA where Peter Cook and Dennis Crompton taught, and with which *AD* had a close relationship. With the Monte Carlo win, the news of which came through the same day as Archigram 9 left the printers,<sup>313</sup> they decided to set up an architectural office and the 'zine no longer became a focus for their efforts. Another number, 9½, appeared in 1974 as an update of the group's work rather than the bombastic "excretion" of ideas that they had become famous for. So as the Archigram 'zine faded away, "little *AD*" replaced it as the magazine of choice for the architectural counter-culture.

One example, contained in the first issue of "little *AD*" (October 1970) was the first of a series of five "Cedric Price Supplements" edited by Murray.<sup>314</sup> Price had been a regular contributor

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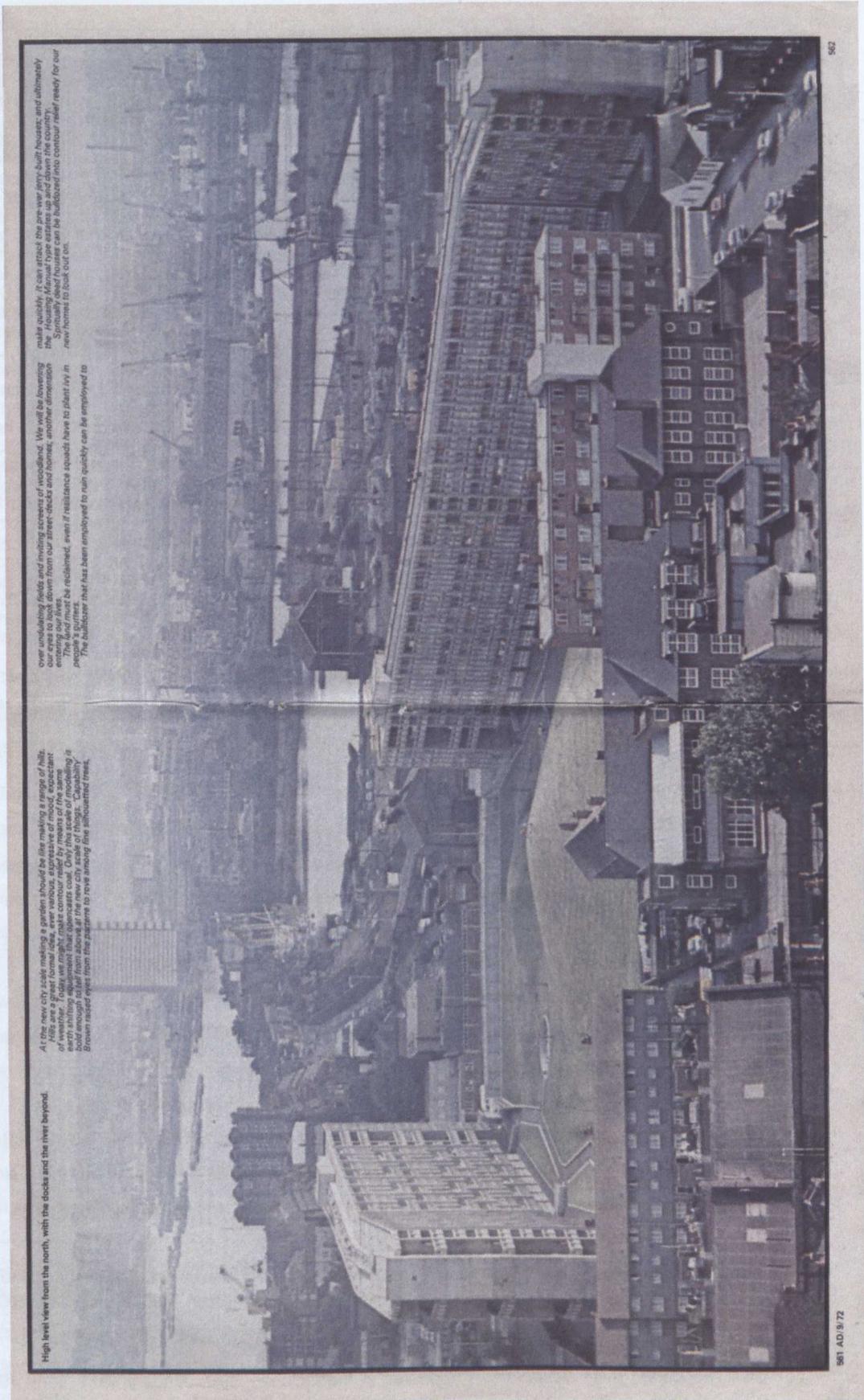
310 Peter Cook, "Features: Monte Carlo Extra," *Architectural Design*, May 1970, 218.

311 The circulation of Archigram 1 is noted as "around 400" on the official archive web site, and as 300 on <http://designmuseum.org/design/archigram> [accessed 5 May 2010] and by Archigram 3, there were "three or four hundred people who were on the mailing list" (Dennis Crompton, interview with Kester Rattenbury, <http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/magazine.php?id=96> and <http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/magazine.php?id=98>, [accessed 28 April 2010]). However, Simon Sadler in *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass. And London: MIT Press, 2001), p.149 quotes a number of about 200 for issue 1 (1961), then 1,000 for Archigram 4 (1964), 1,500 for Archigram 5 (1964) (noted as 1,250 on the Archigram archive site, <http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/magazine.php?id=100> [accessed 28 April 2010]), 2,500 for Archigram 6 (1965), 4,000 for Archigram 7 (1966), 5,000 for Archigram 8 (1968). No figures for Archigram 9 exist, but it must have been more than 5,000. However, this issue was remaindered. See Fig. 9.1.

312 "Archigram magazine issue no. 9", n.d., <http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/magazine.php?id=104> [accessed 5 May 2010].

313 Cook, "Features: Monte Carlo Extra," 218.

314 The *Cedric Price Supplements* appeared in the October 1970, January 1971, June 1971, October 1971 and January 1972 issues of *AD*.



High level view from the north, with the docks and the river beyond.

At the new city scale making a garden should be like making a range of hills of weather. Today we might make contour relief by means of the same earth shifting equipment that operates coal. Only the scale of modelling is different. Brown noted next from the magazine to note among fine architectural firms.

over including fields and making patterns of landscape. We will be lowering our eyes to look down from our street decks and homes, another dimension entering our lives. The land must be reclaimed, even if resistance squads have to plant sky in place. The bulldozer that has been employed to ruin quickly can be employed to

make quickly. It can attack the new semi-built houses and ultimately the Housing Manual type estates up and down the country. Spiritually new houses can be bulldozed into contour relief ready for our new homes to look out on.

Fig. 5.35: Robin Hood Gardens featuring in Middleton's last issue of September 1972.

to Archigram and as Murray later recalled, “Cedric Price probably from my point of view was probably the most influential person really.”<sup>315</sup> Murray wrote in his introduction to the Supplement, “His business is problem-solving within the context of user choice, the freedom from environmental constraints and the general improvement of the quality of life; and that's what its [sic] all about.”<sup>316</sup> Price's projects were more about the construction of an idea than a building and, as Murray noted, “[his] work lacks strong visual impact.”<sup>317</sup> However, Price was something of a mentor for Murray and extremely influential with students at the AA<sup>318</sup> and Murray was clearly keen for his influence to spread wider. Price's iconoclastic attitude to architecture was to question every assumption and to not fetishise the architecture – he was as keen to demolish as to build<sup>319</sup> and was against the monument and the preservation of architecture once it had outlasted its useful life. For example, he was the architect who successfully lobbied the RIBA to allow architects to be able to suggest to their client that the best solution to their problem is to do nothing. In his own words, “The best technical advice may be that rather than build a house your client should leave his wife.”<sup>320</sup> So it was his provocative thinking and teaching rather than his precious few buildings that were influential, and these were collected together in the supplements. The new stapled format of *AD* meant that readers were encouraged to remove the pages from the original magazine and file them or otherwise dispose of them independently. The centrefold in the October 1970 issue was the “Greek and Roman Sites Map 3” - part of the ongoing series of Map Guides for various (mainly European) cities that Pidgeon had inaugurated in July 1966 and continued with some historic maps by Middleton.<sup>321</sup> The original ones had been simple inserts into the magazine. Once the map had been removed, the Cedric Price Supplement was stapled into the centre, and then came Cosmorama's pages. The October 1970 issue of *AD* could therefore also be regarded as a number of little magazines stapled together. Only a review of a block of housing by Farrell and Grimshaw separated the other Cosmorama-like features (Sector etc.) from the covers. The Supplement continued in the centre of the magazine for detachability. So the new little magazine format of *AD* was seen as something to read and throw away, re-collate, file or do with as you like, very much in line with the throw-away philosophy behind things published in *AD*, such as inflatable architecture, paper houses and so on. As

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315 Murray, interview.

316 Peter Murray, “Cedric Price Supplement,” *Architectural Design*, October 1971, 507.

317 Ibid.

318 The AA was where Murray had done his last two years of architectural studies and where Middleton taught.

319 He was a member of Britain's National Institute of Demolition Contractors.

320 Cedric Price, “Life Conditioning,” *Architectural Design*, October 1966, 483.

321 These map guides were later sold independently. See Appendix 5 for a full list.

Hardingham notes, magazines “suited his mode of practice in that items were commissioned and published quickly (within the month), therefore maximising their presentness and limiting the irrelevance of being out of date.”<sup>322</sup> The first Supplement published Price's older ideas, such as the Pop-up Parliament and Non-Plan, and then they move onto more contemporary ideas, built projects and the last two were concerned with research into housing. In an open letter to Price in the final Supplement, Murray wrote, “Some of it has been difficult to understand for me and, most probable, [sic] impossible for the readers; but then, as has often happened in the past, things tend to fit in as time goes by and we can see that you've been right all the time.”<sup>323</sup> This is not entirely true, as Price had a tendency to make things deliberately complicated so that the reader had to work to invent his or her own interpretation. But that, along with his anti-architecture, his anti-aesthetic iconoclasm that fought the established hierarchy of power through architectural ideas, was his unique mystique in architectural culture and was what made him so publishable for Middleton and Murray.

In September 1971, printing moved once more, this time to Papers and Publications Ltd. in Banbury, Oxfordshire, and the editors offered the readers the following explanation acknowledging the magazine's new status as little, as well as the preceding year's turmoil in production:

Over the past year, as you will no doubt have noticed, we have been rationalising the production of AD in order to make it a viable proposition not dependent on advertising as a major source of revenue and therefore free in editorial content and orientation. We have had our problems, as in the disastrously printed issue of October and November last year; but now we feel we have at last reached a suitable solution and this month have started printing on a new head-set web offset machine – the first in Britain – allowing us to use coated paper again. This will give greater clarity and intensity to both the type and the illustrations.<sup>324</sup>

The production quality certainly became a little more glossy, but the content remained alternative (and the circulation correspondingly low) until the departure of Pidgeon as editor, and in fact until the January 1977 issue on Arata Isozaki marked a new start by Papadakis and Beck.

Although Middleton carried some responsibility for another couple of issues, the last one for which he is credited as technical editor on the masthead is September 1972 which appositely

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322 Hardingham, “A Memory of Possibilities,” 17.

323 Peter Murray, “Acknowledgements,” *Architectural Design*, January 1972.

324 Editors, “Dear Readers,” *Architectural Design*, September 1971, inside front cover.

returned to favourite old themes of *AD*: housing and the Smithsons. It featured a long review of their Robin Hood Gardens (Fig. 5.35), their biggest building and the culmination of their ideas on living in the city. It was therefore the building intended to define their careers. However, they had fallen out of favour in British architecture circles by that time, so requested Peter Eisenman to write a full review, rather than using *AD*'s normal method of a single page of criticism by a critic along with architects' text. Pidgeon was away and, according to Middleton,<sup>325</sup> Eisenman filed a piece far too long the day before Middleton was due to go on holiday (and, one would assume from the timing, depart *AD* completely). He even sacrificed advertising pages at the back to accommodate it, but even then it was too long and had to be cut.<sup>326</sup> Middleton added a header effectively distancing the editors from it:

Peter Eisenman, of the New York Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies, where they apparently have time to think about 'architecture', offers below a critique of the new 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 Smithson's [sic] buildings are consigned, forthwith, to the mainstream of the modern movement; they are analysed as works of art in the heroic tradition.<sup>327</sup>

Also unusual in this review is the fact that the Smithsons had an immediate right-of-reply – they came into the *AD* office the afternoon the review was filed and their comments litter the text. The review is not kind and emphasises form above all else, which is hardly surprising considering Eisenman's Ph.D. was entitled, "The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture."<sup>328</sup> He also writes something of an apologetic postscript: "whatever particular flaws of Robin Hood Gardens, whatever the limitations in the original idea of Golden Lane, the achievement of finally realising in built form any ideas must transcend not only my criticism but also the building itself."<sup>329</sup> This is as fitting an epitaph to the Smithsons as anything, given that they would build little in the UK and contribute little to *AD* from that point on, and that the field of theory, spearheaded by Eisenman's Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies and its

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325 Middleton, interview.

326 Peter Eisenman, "From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens; or if you follow the Yellow Brick Road, it may not lead to Golders Green," in *Oppositions*, vol. 1, 26 vols. (New York, NY: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1973), 27-56.

327 Middleton's introduction to Peter Eisenman, "Robin Hood Gardens London E14," *Architectural Design*, September 1972, 557.

328 Peter Eisenman, "The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture" (Cambridge University, 1963).

329 Eisenman, "Robin Hood Gardens London E14," 592.

magazine *Oppositions*,<sup>330</sup> would predominate over that of building from the early 1970s onwards – a shift of which *AD* was itself culpable.

In October 1973 Murray officially took over as technical editor. At this point, the list of consultants reappears and includes Middleton himself, suggesting he preferred to be left alone as editor but was happy to contribute as consultant.<sup>331</sup> Pidgeon was certainly happier with the appearance of her all-male consultants helping guide the magazine, whether or not they actually did. The consultants were all regular contributors anyway and Murray continued the style and content of the magazine exactly as it appeared when he worked with Middleton until January 1974, when he left to do freelance writing for *Building Design* in California. Murray recommended his friend and former tutor from the AA, Archie McNab as his replacement, but he turned out to be an incorrigible alcoholic and only lasted 11 issues before Martin Spring<sup>332</sup> replaced him, this time as deputy editor, in December 1974.

Pidgeon was finally lured away from *AD* by Eric Lyons, then President of the RIBA, who offered her the position as editor of the *RIBA Journal*. She started there in November 1975, doubling her previous salary.<sup>333</sup> She last appears on *AD*'s masthead in October 1975, implying that she would have planned the rest of the year's issues as they were planned three months ahead of publication. Ever faithful to the Smithsons, the 26 page "Team 10 at Royaumont 1962" edited by scribe Alison, appears in November's issue, distinctively in landscape format and claiming rather self-importantly, "This text is a rare and now historic document. Once thought lost, and then found and edited, it is the only firm link between the Team X emotions and manifestos of the fifties and the seventies when their ideas began to come to fruition." It was "edited to show Team 10 thinking aloud, talking to each other as a family."<sup>334</sup> The Smithsons were using the pages of Pidgeon's *AD* to the very end to write their version of architectural history.

Monica Pidgeon had achieved an unbroken 30 years as the official editor of *AD* before a new era started with her replacement, Martin Spring.

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330 See David Wild's review of *Oppositions* in David Wild, "Critical theory," *Architectural Design*, June 1974, 338.

331 Listed as Roy Landau, Robin Middleton, Colin Moorcraft, Alexander Pike, Martin Pawley, Robin Thompson. Andrew Rabeneck is added in January 1973, and the first female consultant, Irene Coates, in July 1973. Murray's name last appears as technical editor on the masthead in January 1974.

332 Started at *AD* as an assistant in August 1973.

333 Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7493 Side A."

334 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Team 10 at Royaumont 1962," *Architectural Design*, November 1975, 664.

## 6 The Rise of Modern Architecture

Crosby's period as technical editor roughly corresponds to the rise of modern architecture in Britain. Specifically, this is the period that Alison and Peter Smithson were heavily involved in and defined through the Independent Group, the New Brutalism and Team 10. These neo-avant-garde groups, centred around the Smithsons, were reacting to the CIAM modernism of their heroes, and the Picturesque or Townscape campaign that the *Architectural Review* was running.<sup>1</sup> Crosby's close friendship with the Smithsons allowed them to use the pages of *AD* as their platform.<sup>2</sup> This period also sees the introduction of the growing sensibility of a postmodern critique of modern architecture, beginning with the influence of Erwin Gutkind on the Smithsons' thinking.

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1 See Erdem Erten, "Shaping 'The Second Half Century': The Architectural Review, 1947-1971" (Doctoral thesis, MIT, 2004).

2 Peter Smithson, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Peter Smithson," interview by Louise Brodie, mp3 from original tape, October 10, 1997, F5956 Side A, British Library Sound Archive. When this was reported in RIBAJ, October 1999, Monica Pidgeon put an exclamation mark next to it!; Monica Pidgeon, "Annotated tear sheet of RIBA Journal November 1999 pp.18-20", n.d., MPP box 6 PIM/6/1-5 Folder "Correspondence M," RIBA Archives.

# ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

JANUARY 1953  
VOLUME XXIII  
PRICE 2/6



CONTENTS : Stock-taking — How other peoples dwell and build. By E. A. Gutkind — Modular Co-ordination: its contribution to cheaper building. By Mark Hartland Thomas — Marcel Breuer designs homes in U.S. for four different patterns of family life — Periodicals Review: America. By Mark Hartland Thomas — Hatfield Development Corporation: Roe Green, Area G. By Richard Sheppard & Partners — Interior Design. By Margot Moffett — Landscape Architecture. By H. Frank Clark — Industrial Design — The Voice of the Student — Chapel by Mies van der Rohe — Miscellanea.

**PLANNING • BUILDING • CONSTRUCTION**

Fig. 6.1: The cover of January 1953's issue advertising E.A. Gutkind's "How other peoples dwell and build."

## *From High to Low*

### The influence of Erwin Gutkind

In the mid 1950s, Erwin Gutkind<sup>3</sup> wrote to the MARS (Modern Architecture Research Society) group:

I am glad that at long last the Athens Charter has been recognised as what it is in reality, namely an utterly useless and nonsensical salad of meaningless phrases. It has nothing whatever to do with LIFE, for it neglects the greatest reality, the human beings whom it degrades to functions of the Functions on which it purports Town Planning to consist ... I enclose my latest book, *The Expanding Environment*, which I believe contains a discussion of some of the problems which could form the basis for a new Charter.<sup>4</sup>

Gutkind was a Jewish architect with anarchist tendencies and modernist leanings who fled Nazi Germany in 1933 and ended up in Britain where he concentrated on teaching and writing. An article he wrote for the *AR* called "An Early Experiment in Planning"<sup>5</sup> was concerned with the settling of the Jesuits in 17th century South America and this may well have caught South America-loving Monica Pidgeon's eye. She commissioned him to write a series of six articles called "How other peoples dwell and build" for *AD* (Fig. 6.1). These were introduced in 1953,<sup>6</sup> the same year as *The Expanding Environment*, with the words,

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3 20 May 1886, Berlin – 7 August 1968, Philadelphia.

4 Cited in Tom Avermaete, "Stem and Web: A Different Way of Analysing, Understanding and Conceiving the City in the Work of Candilis-Josic-Woods," in *Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday* (presented at the Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2003), 255, <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/avermaete.pdf>; Pedret notes that the MARS CIAM 10 sub-committee on 28 May 1954 discussed a letter from Gutkind and that Alison and Peter Smithson attended. See Annie Pedret, "CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959" (MIT, 2001), 354.

5 Erwin Gutkind, "An Early Experiment in Planning," *Architectural Review*, July 1944, 153–154.

6 Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 1 Houses of the South Seas," *Architectural Design*, January 1953; Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 2 Houses of Japan," *Architectural Design*, February 1953; Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 3 Houses of China," *Architectural Design*, March 1953; Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 4 Indigenous Houses of Africa," *Architectural Design*, May 1953; Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 5 Mohammedan Houses," *Architectural Design*, June 1953; Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 6 Houses of North American Indians," *Architectural Design*, July 1953.

The following series of articles on the characteristic individuality of different dwellings in different lands is an attempt [...] to explain the interplay of the ideas which move people in other parts of the world when they build their homes, and the language of form in which these ideas are expressed. [...] it is to be hoped that even the selective method which I have tried to apply will stimulate at least some readers into a questioning disbelief of the dogmatic self-righteousness of modern architecture, and convince them that the real implications of present day architecture should be thought out afresh.<sup>7</sup>

It was claimed that there were two reasons for the articles: first, “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”<sup>8</sup> and second that, “a world-wide fight against housing shortage must take into account the varying needs, customs and aspirations of the peoples who are to receive help through the agencies of UNO. A standardized solution which fulfils merely the bare technical needs is out of the question.”<sup>9</sup> In the articles, Gutkind discusses how vernacular building creates community and ultimately an architecture of social, and spiritual sensibility relevant to the specific conditions “as found”. Although *AD* was always an international magazine, these articles appear startling in their promotion of the vernacular amongst the modern buildings appearing in *AD* at the time. Already, in 1953, Pidgeon is showing an interest in promoting low as well as high architecture – an interest that would continue throughout her editorship – and already, she is allowing criticism of the pre-war modernist approach to architecture, whether or not she considered it as such.

Gutkind's writings were concerned with planning and, above all, with the notion of “habitat”, a theme on which the 9th and 10th CIAM congresses of 1953 and 1956 would concentrate. Similarly, an earlier book by Gutkind called *Revolution of Environment*,<sup>10</sup> which was written during the war, was concerned with the reshaping of the physical environment while accounting for mankind's social and spiritual as well as functional needs. Like his later *AD* articles, *Revolution of Environment* investigated the organisation and structure of primitive settlements in Paraguay, China and Russia in order to extract key principles for the planning of contemporary post-war society. The first part of the book, “Towards Unification” starts with a chapter on “Streets and Houses”. It discusses the relationship of the room to the house to the street to the block and so on, as well as the relationship of the individual to the family to

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7 Gutkind, “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 1 Houses of the South Seas,” 2.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Erwin Gutkind, *Revolution of Environment*, 1st ed., International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1946).

the clan to the tribe. Gutkind is introducing concepts and language that the Smithsons and Team 10 will adopt in a reaction against the pre-war CIAM functionalists. For example, when discussing housing's relationship with the street, he writes, "Housing fulfils a stationary function as opposed to the function of the street which serves the mobile traffic. Each function needs different and even contrasting prerequisites if the most effective results are to be produced."<sup>11</sup> Later, more importantly in terms of the Smithsons' language, he writes about the link between community and *association* between individuals: "we should design neighbourhood units in such a way that the desire for association can be met, but without forcing men into association."<sup>12</sup> The second part of the book, entitled "Growth and Planning," is introduced with Minkowski's words on space-time, "From henceforth space by itself and time by itself are doomed to fade away into mere shadows, and only a kind of union of the two will preserve an independent reality."<sup>13</sup> Gutkind discusses planning in relation to the conquest of space and time, an idea not foreign to architects since Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture's* first publication in 1941 and something Gutkind would return to in *The Expanding Environment*.<sup>14</sup> In that book, published in 1953, Gutkind's ideas on planning followed the theorisation of time as the fourth dimension by Minkowski (1908), so modern planning, Gutkind argued, should take place in four dimensions, not just two as in the Garden Cities, or three as in the Rational Architecture. This meant not only accounting for growth and change, but that the increased mobility that the post-war generation would enjoy with increasingly affordable technologies such as the personal freedom of the car (and presumably other more public modes of transport) meant that distances would be travelled quicker, and therefore settlements could be "dispersed" further apart. In place of a hierarchical and stratified society, Gutkind therefore advocated decentralisation and dispersal of settlements across the countryside,<sup>15</sup> hence the subtitle of *The Expanding Environment* being "the end of cities – the rise of communities". The smallest unit of settlement would be the community,<sup>16</sup> however that would be defined.

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11 Ibid., 76–77; quoted in Christine Boyer, "An Encounter with History: the postwar debate between the English Journals of Architectural Review and Architectural Design (1945-1960)," in *Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday* (presented at the Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2003), 144, <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/boyer.pdf>.

12 Gutkind, *Revolution of Environment*, 88.

13 Quoted in Ibid., 178.

14 Erwin Anton Gutkind, *The Expanding Environment: the end of cities - the rise of communities*, First Edition. (London: Freedom Press, 1953).

15 Ibid., 60–61.

16 Ibid., 35.

So in *Revolution of Environment* (1946), Gutkind already pre-empted the concepts of mobility, patterns of growth, association and identity, as well as introducing the ideas of scale of association, community and the house's relationship to the street, all of which would later appear in Team 10 discourse. Additionally, community, scale and mobility were central to his thinking in *The Expanding Environment*. These themes, sometimes mutated, were carried over and reiterated in the Smithsons' early rhetoric on urban re-identification and in later Team 10 discussions. Where Gutkind's and the Smithsons' thinking diverge is on the concept of hierarchy. The Smithsons reject the idea that small communities will cover the land and favour the existing hierarchical scales of settlement from hamlet to city. This is an imposition of Patrick Geddes' ideas, as demonstrated by the adoption of his valley section for the "Scale of Association" diagram in Team 10's Doorn manifesto.<sup>17</sup> The result of Gutkind's ideas would be a "new regionalism", which he defined as "a unifying force co-ordinating consciously all activities which make up the life of a region."<sup>18</sup> He concluded that it would be "a centre-less and limit-less conception" and "a dispersal, a scattering apart" resulting in "the End of Cities and the Rise of Communities."<sup>19</sup> This idea of regionalism continued in various guises as a criticism of modern architecture's universalism in the 1960s.

So as Boyer has already identified,<sup>20</sup> Gutkind's writings influenced the young generation of the immediate post-war period. Although extensive discussion of Gutkind's influence on the Smithsons is beyond the scope of this study,<sup>21</sup> it is plausible that they were inspired by *Revolution of Environment* for their Golden Lane housing competition and CIAM 9 grid, in terms of thinking and language at least. Evidence for Gutkind's influence is stronger in their "Urban Re-identification" and subsequent pieces in *AD*, after they were exposed to his *The Expanding Environment* around 1954. For example, the word "scatter" from the summary of this book, would be taken up as a Smithson trope later in an article of the same name in April 1959, introduced with words: "The general theory of dispersal – the organizational technique of the 'cluster', mobility, and so on – has been discussed in previous articles."<sup>22</sup> before going

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17 See Volker M. Welter, "In-between space and society: On some British roots of Team 10's urban thought in the 1950s," in *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, ed. Dirk van der Heuvel and Max Risselada (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005), 258-263 for a discussion of Patrick Geddes' influence on the Smithsons' and Team 10 thinking.

18 Gutkind, *The Expanding Environment*, 58.

19 Ibid., 61.

20 Boyer, "An Encounter with History: the postwar debate between the English Journals of Architectural Review and Architectural Design (1945-1960)," 143.

21 Although it appears not to have been covered elsewhere as yet.

22 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Scatter," *Architectural Design*, April 1959, 149 Note specifically the repetition of Gutkind's words "scatter" and "dispersal".

on to discuss a scattered housing proposal based on their single story mass produced appliance house featured in *AD* in April 1958. Such themes were all central to the critical re-evaluation of the original avant-gardes of inter-war modern architecture, and all appeared on the pages of *AD*, usually as a Smithson contribution.

### The Festival of Britain

In the immediate post-war years, the architectural establishment led by the *Architectural Review* were developing a theory of the Picturesque applied to town planning, known as Townscape. The first, and most successful implementation of this was The Festival of Britain at London's South Bank in 1951. Held between May and September 1951, the festival celebrated 100 years since the 1851 Great Exhibition, where Britain's dominance of the world in terms of design and manufacturing had been most splendidly exhibited both in the building and by the Crystal Palace itself. It was a national festival, but attention was focused on the South Bank of the Thames where a number of large buildings and exhibitions were erected for its duration. After the war, during the difficult austerity years of rationing and 'make do and mend', Britain badly needed some cheering up and the Festival of Britain was designed to do just that. In its entirety, the Festival was intended to demonstrate to the patient public the rewards that a post-war, modern world would offer, with Britain continuing to play a key role. It put forward a reconstructed national identity and it explored and endorsed a notion of Britishness with modern design as one of its components.<sup>23</sup> Although the Festival was a five month, nationwide event, the centrepiece that attracted the majority of the nation's and the press's attention was undoubtedly the South Bank site, with the Royal Festival Hall as the first major public building to be completed after the war, alongside the Skylon and Dome of Discovery. John Summerson<sup>24</sup> wrote that here "was a modern understanding of style – urban, 'life-enhancing,' useful and whimsical, new and familiar, 'light and informal'" and that it marked the start of a bright new future for British Modernism.<sup>25</sup>

The Festival's Director of Architecture was Hugh Casson, later to receive a knighthood for the role and to be appointed as a Directing Editor for the *Architectural Review* in July 1954.<sup>26</sup>

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23 The best architectural account of the Festival of Britain is Mary Banham and Bevis Hillier, eds., *A Tonic to the Nation: the Festival of Britain 1951* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

24 John Summerson (25 November 1904 – 10 November 1992).

25 Peter Mandler, "John Summerson 1904-1922: The architectural critic and the quest for the Modern," in *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain*, ed. Peter Mandler and Susan Pederson (London: Routledge, 1994), 237.

26 A position that he would maintain until the end of 1970.

Already closely associated with the *Review*, Casson applied Townscape principles to the layout of the buildings on the South Bank. It was the first time Townscape had been implemented in reality and it was generally considered successful. As it was the largest construction of modern architecture in Britain at that time, and clearly big news for architects, both the *AR* and *AD* devoted whole issues to the South Bank (Fig. 6.2).<sup>27</sup> *AD* had yet to feel the influence of the Smithsons, and in the spirit of promoting modern architecture in Britain, ran a gushing survey praising the architecture and architects:

One of the most important things about the South Bank Exhibition is that in it, modern architecture has arrived, and the people like it very much indeed [...] The architects have stolen the show on the South Bank and scored a popular success sufficient to mark everybody else's mistakes as well as their own: they stole the show and they are, very largely, carrying the show. Whether the British people will draw the moral and, having experienced and enjoyed the environment that modern architecture can give them, will go back and demand it in their own homes and neighbourhoods, is another question.<sup>28</sup>

The *AR*'s reaction can be summarised in the editors' words in the foreword to their Festival of Britain issue, "the Picturesque theory has been followed with triumphant results."<sup>29</sup> It was considered such a success that the organisers of CIAM 8, held at Hoddesdon that year, even ventured to take the delegates on a guided tour of the almost-finished site.

However, there were some who did not agree with the general consensus on the success of the Festival's design, including Joseph Rykwert who later wrote that "many of my generation were disappointed that those whom we considered our leaders had been sidelined: no Tecton, no Goldfinger, and even Fry and Drew were only given a small restaurant by Waterloo Bridge. That is (in part) why the next generation of Team X, Stirling, the Smithsons, Bill Howell and Sandy Wilson wanted nothing to do with it."<sup>30</sup> Soon-to-be *AD* consultant Ernő Goldfinger's own designs were rejected while his former assistants Cadbury-Brown and Ralph Tubbs were given substantial commissions. Later, Goldfinger was dismayed that the organisers chose to focus on basket making when Britain was famous for the Spitfire and Rolls Royce.<sup>31</sup> The Smithsons also disliked the South Bank's architecture, and were embittered by their unsuccessful competition entries for the vertical feature and restaurant (in association with

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27 July 1951 for *Architectural Design* and August 1951 for the *Architectural Review*

28 "We Survey the Precincts," *Architectural Design*, July 1951, 186.

29 Editors, "Foreword," *Architectural Review*, August 1951, 75.

30 Joseph Rykwert, "History: Festival of Britain," *Architectural Review*, July 2011, 75.

31 Nigel Warburton, *Ernő Goldfinger: The Life of an Architect* (Routledge, 2005), 130–131.

Crosby).<sup>32</sup> It is easy to see now that the light-hearted contemporary design of the Festival could be considered condescending, as Judy Attfield has noted:

The only official view of non-elitist popular arts exhibited at the festival of Britain was represented by the Black Eyes and Lemonade exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery, based on a picturesque rural tradition and a quirky, rather condescending middle-class appreciation of the so-called 'unsophisticated arts'.<sup>33</sup>

Such condescension from on high must have been acutely felt by the Smithsons who were at the beginning of their enduring interest in the everyday, the ordinary and mass culture, a position that would see them pitted against the establishment as represented by the *AR*.

### The new generation

The Festival of Britain was an embodiment of the Smithsons' growing disaffection from the original inter-war modernists, who they would later term the "heroes of the modern movement". Many years later, Peter Smithson remembered it as "dowdy", "provincial" and "disappointing" and claimed that they avoided it by going on holiday to Greece while it was being held.<sup>34</sup> They considered that the old guard of Pevsner and Richards, on the editorial board of the *AR*, and whom they had read as supporters of modernism before going away to war, had betrayed the modern movement with their Picturesque theories and support of "The New Empiricism".<sup>35</sup> This latter movement was also invented by the *AR* and represented the welfare state architecture of Sweden after its 1930 exhibition. An anonymous article in the *AR* explains it as "the attempt to be more objective than the functionalists, and to bring back another science, that of psychology, into the picture."<sup>36</sup> Its low-rise, pitched roof, traditional material style was considered a compromise and in complete contrast to the Corbusian heroism that the new generation believed in and in whose image they wanted to reconstruct

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32 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, *The Charged Void: Architecture* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2001), 33.

33 Judy Attfield, "Fascinating Fitness: the dangers of Good Design," in *Utility Reassessed: the role of ethics in the practice of design* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 239.

34 "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Peter Smithson," interview by Louise Brodie, mp3 from original tape, September 17, 1997, F5952 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <https://sounds.bl.uk/View.aspx?item=021M-C0467X0024XX-0900V0.xml>.

35 "The New Empiricism," *Architectural Review*, January 1948.

36 "The New Empiricism: Sweden's latest style," *Architectural Review*, June 1947, 199.

SPECIAL FESTIVAL NUMBER

# ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

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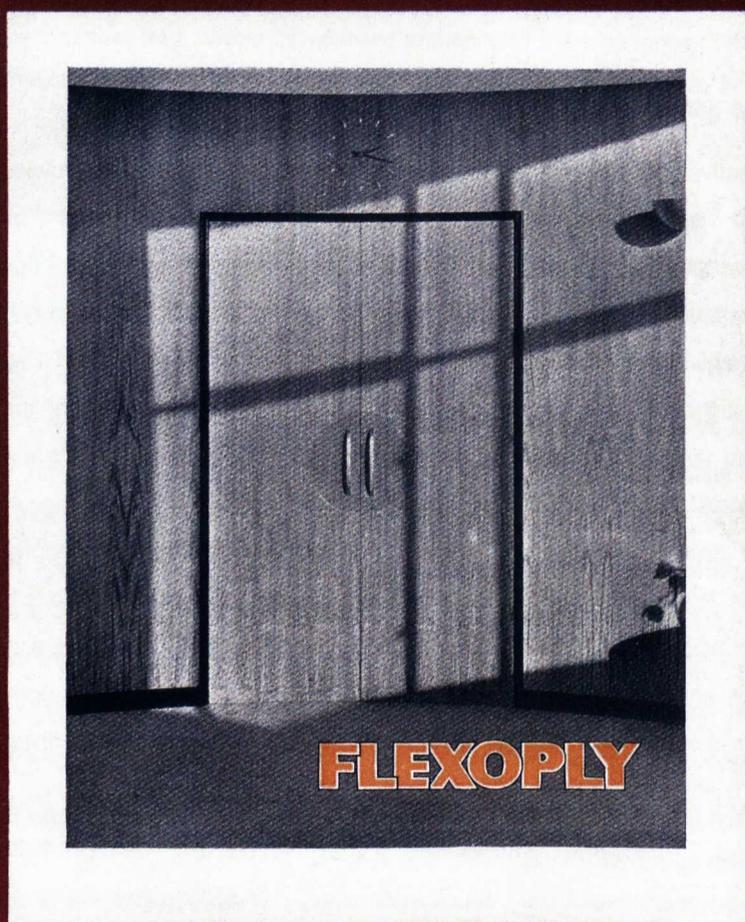


Fig. 6.2: The July 1951 issue dedicated to the Festival of Britain.

the new world.<sup>37</sup> The new sentimental architecture, as espoused by the *AR*, was just not gutsy enough. The *Architectural Review*, therefore, came to represent the thing to be rebelled against by the new post-war generation – to the Smithsons, the *AR* was “the enemy.”<sup>38</sup>

The avant-garde of this new generation of architects, who were finishing their training after the war, revolved around groups focused on the Smithsons and Peter Reyner Banham. Banham was studying for his Ph.D. in architectural history at the Courtauld Institute under *AR* editor Nikolaus Pevsner and joined the *Review's* editorial staff as “assistant literary editor” in March 1953. His regular Sunday morning meetings at his flat in Primrose Hill in the early fifties became legendary. Other members of this new generation of architects who attended were Bob and Margaret Maxwell and Alan Colquhoun who lived down the road, and Colin St. John Wilson who lived next door.<sup>39</sup> As Girouard explains, “The dominant features of the Banham Sunday mornings were the big coffee-pot and the big pile of magazines. These were mainly architectural magazines, English, American and European, which Peter Banham brought back from the *Architectural Review*.”<sup>40</sup> He continues, “Banham worked from behind the lines in the *Architectural Review*, where he was tolerated because he was such a good journalist, and could place occasional articles and letters from his friends.”<sup>41</sup> With respect to Banham's anomaly as an editor at “the enemy”, Erten notes that “Banham's revisionism led the rest of the editorial board to accept his work while they undermined his avant-gardism and embrace of technology. The subversive individualist face of the avant-garde that Banham grafted onto modernism and his particular promotion of mass culture were not acceptable to the rest of the editors.”<sup>42</sup> In fact, “the editors had to try hard to distinguish Banham's personal position from the rest of the *Review's* editorial board.”<sup>43</sup> This is perhaps best illustrated in the series of articles called “Stocktaking” that Banham edited from February to June 1960. This is introduced by the *AR* editors as follows:

Reyner Banham in taking stock of the impact of tradition and technology on architecture today, finds it necessary to re-define these terms. For his purposes both words are used in a specialised sense. Tradition means, not monumental Queen Anne, but the stock of general knowledge (including general scientific knowledge)

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37 Robert Gregory, “Heroism versus Empiricism,” *Architectural Review*, January 2000.

38 Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007), 104.

39 Mark Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling*, New edition. (Pimlico, 2000), 51.

40 *Ibid.*, 52.

41 *Ibid.*, 58.

42 Erten, “Shaping ‘The Second Half Century’: The Architectural Review, 1947-1971,” 264.

43 *Ibid.*, 204.

which specialists assume as the ground of present practice and future progress. Technology represents its converse, the method of exploring, by means of the instrument of science, a potential which may at any moment make nonsense of all existing general knowledge, and so of the ideas founded on it, even 'basic' ideas like house, city, building. Philosophically it could be argued that all ideas, traditional or otherwise, are contemporaneous, since they have to be invented anew for each individual. For the first time in history, the world of what is is suddenly torn by the discovery that what could be, is no longer dependent on what was.<sup>44</sup>

The series evaluates the future of architecture in relation to its history, with some big questions posed to some respected individuals of the time (such as Anthony Cox, Lawrence Alloway, and Richard Llewelyn-Davies) in the context of a Banham commentary. At the end of the series, the editors write what is essentially a disclaimer in order to distance the magazine's stance from that of Banham.<sup>45</sup> Suffice it to say, at the time that Crosby joined *AD*, there was a need for a magazine that would represent the views of this new generation. The *Review* was dominant and the inter-war generation were establishing themselves and their architecture through it – Summerson wrote in 1956 that “there has been very little critical or apologetic writing since the war (in contrast with the innumerable apologies for ‘the modern movement’ between the wars)”.<sup>46</sup> The new generation's growing voice was therefore being muffled, as Banham himself wrote in 1968, “the student generation were without much means of public expression (until Theo Crosby joined *Architectural Design* in October 1953) and little of the polemic is visible in print.”<sup>47</sup> From this point on, *AD* and *AR* would be keen rivals.

### The Independent Group

In the early 1950s, in the absence of much else of interest to do,<sup>48</sup> a number of intersecting

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44 Editors, “1960: Stocktaking,” *Architectural Review*, February 1960, 93.

45 James Richards et al., “1960: Propositions,” *Architectural Review*, June 1960.

46 John Summerson, *Ten Years of British Architecture, '45-55* (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1956), 14.

47 Reyner Banham, “Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945-1965,” in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), 266.

48 “It's difficult to describe how awful life was then. How grey it was! There was nowhere to go.” Alan Fletcher cited in Alex Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things: The Development of a*

groups of younger generation architects met regularly to talk architecture: “The Smithsons in Limerstone Street, and Paolozzi nearby in Paultons Square, became the focus of a Chelsea circle, the western equivalent of the Banhams in Primrose Hill, though never so regularised. There were meals and parties at the Cordells' in Cleveland Square, and in the Hamiltons' big garden in Highgate.”<sup>49</sup> One group met at Banham's flat on Sunday mornings, another (including Colin St. John Wilson, Douglas Stephen, Bob Maxwell, Alan Colquhoun, Edward Reynolds, Cedric Price, Frank Newby<sup>50</sup>) met at the French House pub in Soho on Saturday mornings, another more student group (including Kenneth Frampton, John Miller, Neave Brown, Joseph Rykwert, Patrick Hodgkinson, Bob Maxwell and Alan Colquhoun) met frequently at Thomas (Sam) Stevens' flat in Marylebone High Street.<sup>51</sup> Then there was the newly established Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA).

The ICA was founded in 1946 by three of the pre-war modernist establishment, Herbert Read, Roland Penrose and E.L.T. Mesens, along with an interdisciplinary committee that included the AR's James Richards. It moved to 17 Dover Street in 1950 and Jane Drew, for whom Crosby worked at the time, designed the refurbishment. As Britain hosted the 8th CIAM congress in July 1951, the ICA involved the visiting modern architects in their lecture programme: Philip Johnson lectured on “Modern Architecture” and Serge Chermayeff on “Education and Designers” and Le Corbusier opened the *Growth and Form* exhibition<sup>52</sup> curated by Richard Hamilton and inspired by Giedion's *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948) and the eponymous D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson book that artists were reading at that time. Whereas Robbins remarks that Hamilton associated *Growth and Form* with “the wide ranging manner of Giedion's perception of technological form and process,”<sup>53</sup> Massey points to “The crucial link between Thompson's thesis and the Independent Group (IG) was the rejection of teleological, universal explanations of the environment.”<sup>54</sup> The philosophy behind the project was a result of the general thinking in Independent Group circles that form could be explained as a direct result of growth over time from the original site-specific conditions, rather than

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*Postmodern Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 76.

49 Girouard, *Big Jim*, 59.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid., 60; Nigel Whiteley, *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future*, New edition. (MIT Press, 2003), 11.

52 Anne Massey, *The Independent Group: Modernism and mass culture in Britain 1945-59* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 30.

53 Richard Hamilton, *Collected Works: 1953-1982* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 12; quoted in David Robbins, ed., *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 55.

54 Massey, *The Independent Group*, 44.

explaining the world backwards from its final end point. This more empirical, biological attitude to the site-specific rather than the universal aspect of growth that emphasised process would reappear in the Smithsons' theme of "patterns of growth" within Team 10 years later.

The "Independent Group" was formed from a group of younger ICA members who, dissatisfied with the establishment's programme, wanted to stage their own lectures and discussions. The first meeting took place in April 1952. Robbins notes that "Eduardo Paolozzi projected images – tearouts from popular magazines, postcards, advertisements, and diagrams – through an overhead projector called an epidiascope. It was significant that many of the images were from sources not usually associated with fine art and that he showed the material in no particular order."<sup>55</sup> This montage of low art laid the foundations for Pop Art by representing the deliberate rebellion against the establishment who represented the high art that inter-war modernism had become. Reyner Banham took over leadership of the group in August 1952 and more talks on science, technology and the history of design ensued, including his own on "The Machine Aesthetic" and Tony del Renzio on "Pioneers of the Modern Movement". By mid 1953, the Independent Group had created its own niche within the ICA as an innovative research group, investigating technology's impact on art and "aesthetic problems of contemporary art," as a lecture series was called.

Eduardo Paolozzi and Peter Smithson were both teaching at the Central School of Arts and Crafts and Paolozzi introduced the Smithsons to Nigel Henderson in 1952.<sup>56</sup> This group of four discovered a shared affinity for an aesthetic of the ordinary and even what would conventionally be called "ugly". This common enthusiasm would result in the exhibition *Parallel of Life and Art* at the ICA in 1953.<sup>57</sup> As Anne Massey notes, "Although the images derived from a vast array of sources, their apparent incongruity was overcome by presenting all the images as photographs, printed on coarse, grainy paper and mounted on cardboard."<sup>58</sup> Even original paintings were presented as photographs, giving all the images the same status of representation. There was also no set order to the images, which were hung on walls and from the ceiling to completely envelope the viewer. The point of the exhibition was to challenge the viewer's concept of what could be considered beautiful or tasteful. There was no universal abstract notion of beauty, which destroyed the idea of an established canon of taste having precedence over more vulgar conceptions. In the creation of such "anti-art", the distance between high and low culture was eliminated as it was an aesthetic that many people, both of educated and of popular taste, found difficult and ugly.

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55 Robbins, *The Independent Group*, 20.

56 Massey, *The Independent Group*, 57.

57 From 11 September to 18 October

58 Massey, *The Independent Group*, 57.

Crosby's first contribution to *AD* was a review of *Parallel of Life and Art* in the October 1953 issue, which he must have written before officially joining as technical editor. In it, he immediately links the exhibition with the 1925 Paris Exhibition whose Pavilion de l'Esprit Nouveau by Le Corbusier focused on "the beauty of mass-produced objects; and their subtle and intimate relation to contemporary art."<sup>59</sup> He goes on to separate that "first phase of the Modern Movement"<sup>60</sup> from Corbusier's contemporary work at the Unité and Chandigarh, describing the former as "a natural phenomenon rather than a building"<sup>61</sup> and the latter as "emphasis on plasticity and texture"<sup>62</sup>. In this way, he is already associating the Smithsons (as the architects of the exhibition's organisers) with the new phase of the modern movement, and alongside the most famous and influential architect of the 20th century, even then. This was a precursor of things to come once he took up his post as technical editor.

The second phase of the Independent Group, from 1954-55 when John McHale replaced Banham as convenor, focused more on American inspired ideas of popular culture such as mass media and expendability. This was a continuation of the first session's use of American magazine images and adverts. Magazines such as *Astounding Science Fiction* were a constant source of inspiration and wonder, as Banham recalled: "One of the great trainings for the public's eye was reading American magazines. We goggled at the graphics and the colour-work in adverts for appliances that were almost inconceivable in power-short Britain, and food ads so luscious you wanted to eat them."<sup>63</sup> American magazines would continue to have a powerful influence on *AD*, from Alison Smithson reading *Ladies Home Journal* that her aunt sent her during the war,<sup>64</sup> to the "Review of Periodicals" that was a favourite column in *AD* looking at what the other magazines were publishing, to *Cosmorama* in the 1960s and '70s, which would cut and paste articles of interest from other, not necessarily architectural, magazines.<sup>65</sup> The mass culture preoccupations featured in *AD* towards the end of the 1950s in articles by IG members Alloway and McHale, who would both move to America in 1961. Young art critic Alloway's "The Arts and the Mass Media" was a direct attack on high art: "the élite, accustomed to set æsthetic standards, has found that it no longer possesses the power to dominate all aspects of art. It is in this situation that we need to consider the arts of the mass media. It is impossible to see them clearly within a code of æsthetics associated with

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59 Theo Crosby, "Parallel of Life and Art," *Architectural Design*, October 1953, 297.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Crosby, 297 (p. 297).

63 Reyner Banham, quoted in Massey, *The Independent Group*, 84.

64 Alison Smithson, "Alison Smithson," in *The Evacuees*, ed. B.S. Johnson (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1968), 250.

65 See chapter 5.

minorities with pastoral and upper-class ideas because mass art is urban and democratic.”<sup>66</sup> Instead, he championed the more democratic and representative popular arts of TV, the cinema, magazines and advertising which were then being imported from America: “Sensitiveness to the variables of our life and economy enable the mass arts to accompany the changes in our life far more closely than the fine arts which are a repository of time-binding values.”<sup>67</sup> This echoes the Smithsons' earlier “But Today We Collect Ads”<sup>68</sup> (Fig. 6.3) where they challenged the previously unquestioned respectability of taste of the fine arts with that of the more base popular arts. McHale's later “City Notes” repeats the same themes, focusing more on movies, the American city and advertising's impact on it. In contrast to the staff of the *AR* and to Ernő Goldfinger, who labelled Piccadilly Circus as “ARCHITECTURAL SQUALOR”, Alloway celebrated it: “The ride from Chicago's O'Hare Airport into the Loop at night is a journey along a noisy, narrow corridor of neon. To the compilers of the *Architectural Review's* 'Man Made America' this would be 'unintended squalor', intolerable to people living the architectural way.”<sup>69</sup> These ideas were brought together and articulated best in his “Long Front of Culture” essay where he clearly distinguishes the old guard from the new and identifies technology as the device that separates the generations by democratising taste:

The abundance of twentieth-century communications is an embarrassment to the traditionally educated custodian of culture. The aesthetics of plenty oppose a very strong tradition which dramatizes the arts as the possession of an elite. These “keepers of the flame” master a central (not too large) body of cultural knowledge, meditate on it, pass it on intact (possibly a little enlarged) to the children of the elite. However, mass production techniques, applied to accurately repeatable words, pictures and music, have resulted in an expendable multitude of signs and symbols. To approach this exploding field with Renaissance-based ideas of the uniqueness of art is crippling. Acceptance of the mass media entails a shift in our notion of “what culture is.”<sup>70</sup>

As a critic, Alloway is familiarising the neo-avant-garde view of taste as a mass-produced, democratic phenomenon and breaking down the barriers between it and the old conception of high art. McHale picks up these themes less eloquently in his “Expendable Ikon” articles in

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66 Lawrence Alloway, “The Arts and the Mass Media,” *Architectural Design*, February 1958, 84.

67 Ibid.

68 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “But Today We Collect Ads,” *ARK: The Journal of the Royal College of Art*, November 1956, 49–50.

69 Lawrence Alloway, “City Notes,” *Architectural Design*, January 1959, 35.

70 Lawrence Alloway, “The Long Front of Culture,” *Cambridge Opinion*, no. 17 (1959): 24–26; cited in Robbins, *The Independent Group*, 165.

the subsequent two months of *AD*<sup>71</sup> where he champions “A replaceable, expendable series of ikons”<sup>72</sup> in preference to permanent monuments in order to bring about the “era of the common man.”<sup>73</sup> Between them, McHale and Alloway were initiating the Pop Art and “pop architecture”<sup>74</sup> movement which would find architectural expression in Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour’s *Learning from Las Vegas* and ultimately, Post-Modernism.<sup>75</sup>

Towards the end of the Independent Group’s official life, Richard Hamilton curated another exhibition, *Man, Machine & Motion* bringing it to the ICA in July 1955<sup>76</sup> from its original staging at the Hatton Gallery in Newcastle. Showing photographs of a mixture of science and art, aestheticising mass-produced technology, this exhibition was inspired, once more, by Giedion’s *Mechanization Takes Command*<sup>77</sup> and also Moholy-Nagy’s *Vision in Motion*,<sup>78</sup> both key texts for the Independent Group and Constructivist artists at the time. The room was divided up into “a series of complicated spaces”<sup>79</sup> using panels on which enlarged photographs from magazines such as *Astounding Science Fiction* were bonded, and *AD* (probably Crosby) reported that this exhibition was “astonishingly successful.”<sup>80</sup>

The Independent Group stopped formally meeting at the end of 1955, but the members remained in touch with each other and the following year produced the exhibition *This is Tomorrow* at the Whitechapel Art Gallery.<sup>81</sup> Crosby was largely responsible for coordinating and organising this exhibition, persuading his employer, the SCC, to give £500 towards the cost of staging it. The emphasis shifted from art to design and the idea was to get twelve inter-disciplinary groups of four, each consisting of an architect, a painter and a sculptor to collaborate on creating an installation for the exhibition. Although it is remembered as an Independent Group exhibition, only a third<sup>82</sup> of the participants were actually affiliated to the group. Crosby worked with graphic designer Germano Facetti, artist William Turnbull and

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71 John McHale, “The Expendable Ikon 1,” *Architectural Design*, February 1959; John McHale, “The Expendable Ikon 2,” *Architectural Design*, March 1959.

72 McHale, “The Expendable Ikon 1,” 82.

73 *Ibid.*, 83.

74 A term used in Peter Smithson, “Letter to America,” *Architectural Design*, March 1958, 101.

75 Denise Scott Brown, “Learning from Brutalism,” in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*, ed. David Robbins (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 203-206.

76 From 6 to 20 July.

77 Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948).

78 Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion* (Chicago: Paul Theobald & Co, 1947).

79 “Man, Machine and Motion,” *Architectural Design*, August 1955, 266.

80 *Ibid.*

81 9 August – 9 September 1955.

82 12 of the 36.

## **'But Today we collect Ads'**

by Alison and Peter Smithson

Traditionally the fine arts depend on the popular arts for their vitality, and the popular arts depend on the fine arts for their respectability. It has been said that things hardly 'exist' before the fine artist has made use of them, they are simply part of the unclassified background material against which we pass our lives. The transformation from everyday object to fine art manifestation happens in many ways, the object can be discovered – *objêt trouvé* or *l'art brut* – the object itself remaining the same; a literary or, the folk myth can arise and again the object itself remains unchanged; or, the object can be used as a jumping-off point and is itself transformed.

Le Corbusier in Volume 1 of his *Oeuvre Complete* describes how the 'architectural mechanism' of the *Maison Citrohan* (1920) evolved. Two popular art devices – the arrangement of a small zinc bar at the rear, with a large window to the street, of the café, and the close vertical patent-glazing of the suburban factory were combined and transformed into a fine art aesthetic. The same architectural mechanism produced ultimately the *Unité d'Habitation*.

The *Unité d'Habitation* demonstrates the complexity of an art manifestation, for its genesis involves: popular art stimuli, historic art seen as a pattern of social organization, not as a stylistic source (observed at the *Chartreuse D'Ema* 1907), and ideas of social reform and technical revolution patiently worked out over forty years, during which time the social and technological set up, partly as a result of his own activities, met Le Corbusier half-way.

Why certain folk art objects, historical styles or industrial artifacts and methods become important at a particular moment cannot easily be explained.

**Gropius wrote a book on grain silos,**

**Le Corbusier one on aeroplanes,**

**And Charlotte Perland brought a new object to the office every morning;**

**But today we collect ads.**

Advertising has caused a revolution in the popular art field. Advertising has become respectable in its own right and is beating the fine arts at their old game. We cannot ignore the fact that one of the traditional functions of fine art, the definition of what is fine and desirable for the ruling class and therefore ultimately that which is desired by all society, has now been taken over by the ad-man.

To understand the advertisements which appear in the *New Yorker* or *Gentry* one must have taken a course in Dublin literature, read a *Time* popularizing article on Cybernetics and to have majored in Higher Chinese Philosophy and Cosmetics. Such ads are packed with information – data of a way of life and a standard of living which they are simultaneously inventing and documenting. Ads which do not try to sell you the product except as a natural accessory of a way of life. They are good 'images' and their technical virtuosity is almost magical. Many have involved as much effort for one page as goes into the building of a coffee-bar. And this transient thing is making a bigger contribution to our visual climate than any of the traditional fine arts.

The fine artist is often unaware that his patron, or more often his patron's wife who leafs through the magazines, is living in a different visual world to his own. The pop-art of today, the equivalent of the Dutch fruit and flower arrangement, the pictures of second rank of all Renaissance schools, and the plates that first presented to the public the Wonder of the Machine Age and the New Territories, is to be found in today's glossies – bound up with the throw-away object.

As far as architecture is concerned the influence on mass standards and mass aspirations of advertising is now infinitely stronger than the pace setting of *avant-garde* architects, and it is taking over the functions of social

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Fig. 6.3: The Smithsons' "But Today We Collect Ads" from ARK 18.

typographer Edward Wright in Group One and Group Six consisted of the same clique that organised *Parallel of Life and Art*: the Smithsons, Paolozzi and Henderson. This latter group's installation, "Patio and Pavilion" (Fig. 6.4), consisted of a very basic three-walled shed with a transparent corrugated plastic roof (the pavilion) and a patio covered with sand, gravel and random objects. In this, Alison Smithson explained "are found, in some form or other, the basic human needs – a piece of ground, a view of the sky, privacy, the presence of nature and animals..."<sup>83</sup> It is still an "ordinary", "make-do-and-mend" and "as-found" war-time aesthetic which Highmore has argued was New Brutalism at its most exemplary, swapping *style* for "a thorough engagement with the specificity of the architectural situation."<sup>84</sup>

The IG appeared very little in *AD* until 1956, at which point its members started to become regular contributors and subjects for content. From January 1956 until December 1961 (72 issues), there were at least 30 articles about or by a one-time member of the group, quite apart from the writings by the Smithsons and Crosby.<sup>85</sup> This tailed off during Frampton's tenure, but Hamilton, Alloway and Stirling featured regularly until 1965. Alongside the modern architecture published every month, this added to the magazine a serious art message, commensurate with Crosby's consistent preoccupation throughout his life of merging art and architecture. By 1955, rationing had come to an end. The restriction on the use of steel in buildings ended in May 1953 and the government lifted its restrictions on private property development in November 1954, so more buildings were being built. This encouraged the Smithsons, along with the architect members of the IG to concentrate more on building again. Their interests turned towards the nascent New Brutalist movement the Smithsons were concocting, and the preparations for the CIAM 10 conference that they were central in organising. These concerns were at odds with the older generation's modern architecture and planning which they criticised following Gutkind, and ultimately developed into Team 10 thinking.

### The New Brutalism

The raising of the ordinary and everyday mundane to the status of art, as promoted in the *Parallel of Life and Art* exhibition, was transposed by the Smithsons, with the help of

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83 Alison Smithson, "'Patio and Pavilion' Reconstructed," *AA Files*, no. 47 (September 2002): 47.

84 Ben Highmore, "Rough Poetry: Patio and Pavilion Revisited," *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 271.

85 These members include: John Voelcker, Magda Cordell, Lawrence Alloway, Eduardo Paolozzi, John McHale, James Stirling, Richard Hamilton, and Colin St John Wilson



Fig. 6.4: *Patio and Pavilion*: the Smithsons', Paolozzi's and Henderson's contribution to the *Parallel of Life and Art* exhibition.

interpreter-critic Banham, to the world of architecture as the “New Brutalism”. The first mention of the term in the press was in December 1953's *AD* – Crosby's first issue as technical editor – where they wrote of an unbuilt house design with no internal finishes, “had this been built it would have been the first exponent of the 'new brutalism' in England.”<sup>86</sup> Hunstanton School, the first building of the New Brutalist canon as defined by Banham's book *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?*,<sup>87</sup> had already appeared in its then unfinished state on the magazine's pages in September, the month before Crosby joined (Fig. 6.5).<sup>88</sup> The article must have already been commissioned by the time Monica Pidgeon met the Smithsons at CIAM 10 at Aix-en-Provence<sup>89</sup> in July (a photograph of the near-complete school was taken in June). The magazine would have appeared simultaneously with the *Parallel* exhibition at the ICA but on first glance, the viewer could be forgiven for not identifying the authors of the

86 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “House in Soho, London,” *Architectural Design*, December 1953, 342.

87 Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: The Architectural Press, 1966).

88 Dargan Bullivant, “Hunstanton Secondary Modern School,” *Architectural Design*, September 1953, 238–248.

89 From 19 to 26 July, 1953.

school and exhibition as the same people, and it was not at all obvious that the school would become the seminal building of a new avant-garde movement, other than being the building that made the young Smithsons famous. The inspiration came from Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's IIT campus in Chicago, rather than from Le Corbusier, and it was symmetrically planned, clean lined and constructed of steel and glass with naked brick infill and unfinished internal surfaces. The electrical conduits were exposed and the washbasin outlets drained into an open gully, like those at Sir Banister Fletcher's Gillette Factory, which was featured in *AD&C* in November 1936.<sup>90</sup> The review of Hunstanton in *AD* by Dargan Bullivant is dry and technical, concentrating on the structure, the construction and the services rather than the architectural meaning or relevance of the building. In retrospect, while constructing the history of the New Brutalism, Banham and the Smithsons claimed that the "honesty" of the exposed construction, structure and unfinished materials qualify it as *une architecture autre*, and as an ethic rather than an aesthetic. In contrast, the early modern experiments of what had become known as the International Style was anything but honest, with painted and rendered blockwork standing in for concrete on many occasions, something alluded to with the question "the repainting of the Villa at Garches?"<sup>91</sup> at the very end of the Smithsons' manifesto of The New Brutalism as published in January 1955's *AD*. Nicholas Bullock has pointed out that "Peter Smithson used to say with a kind of pride that their school took so long to build because it swallowed the whole of Norfolk County Council's steel allocation for four years."<sup>92</sup> This was at a time when steel was restricted. He goes on to claim that, "In talking about the method of construction the Smithsons likened the way in which the builder was being asked to treat the steel in the manner that a medieval carpenter might treat wood."<sup>93</sup> This contrasted with the Smithsons' later pronouncements of the New Brutalism having "nothing to do with craft"<sup>94</sup> in the same *AD* manifesto. Photographed without furniture or children, at the Smithsons' request, it was removed from the everyday concerns of the Independent Group and Bullock had decided by 2003 that the building was a monument to the avant-garde, over and above being a school.<sup>95</sup> Particular criticism was piled upon it by Colin Boyne in the

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90 "New Gillette Factory," *Architectural Design & Construction*, November 1936, 17.

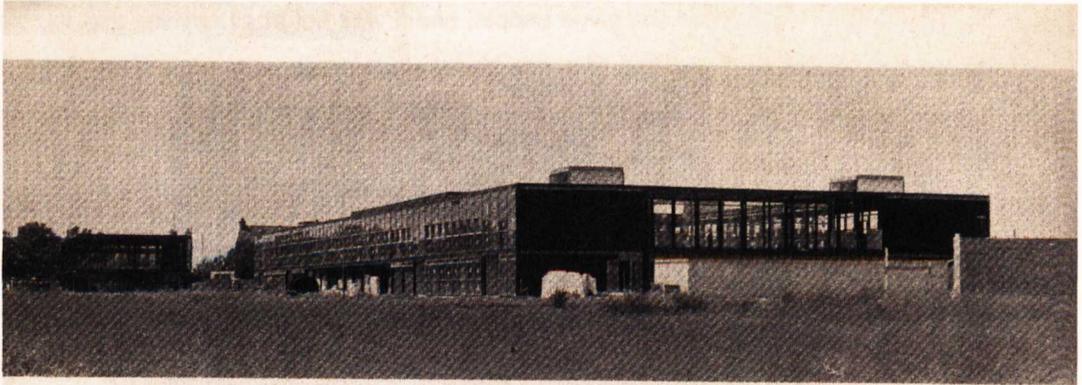
91 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Design*, January 1955, 1.

92 Nicholas Bullock, "Reconstruction, School Building and the Avant-Garde," in *Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday* (presented at the Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2003), 58,  
<http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/bullock.pdf>.

93 *Ibid.*

94 Smithson and Smithson, "The New Brutalism," 1.

95 J.T.A. Shorten, "Readers recall the architect Peter Smithson and his controversial brand of Modernism - Lives remembered," *Times, The (London, England)*, March 19, 2003, 33.



1. View of school from S.E., June 1953

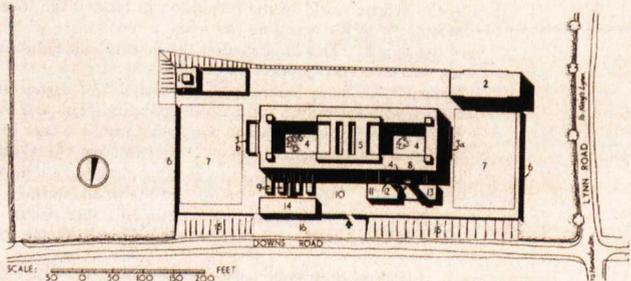
## HUNSTANTON SECONDARY MODERN SCHOOL

FOR THE NORFOLK EDUCATION COMMITTEE

described and illustrated by Dargan Bullivant

Architects:  
ALISON AND PETER SMITHSON

Engineers:  
OVE ARUP & PARTNERS



2. Block plan.

### KEY TO PLAN

1. Head teacher's house—not to be built.
2. Gymnasium and changing rooms.
- 3a. Gardens, caretaker's.
- 3b. School garden.
4. Green court.

5. Main block.
6. Wall, 7 ft. 1½ in. high.
7. Pitch, 100 ft. by 160 ft.
8. Water tower, 65 ft. high, 43 ft. to underside of tanks.
9. Cycle sheds for 250 cycles.
10. Forecourt.

11. Kitchen.
12. Chimney, 52 ft. by 4 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft. 10 in.
13. Adult housecraft.
14. Workshops.
15. Revetment, 3 ft. 6 in. high.
16. Car park.

### GENERAL

This is a three form entry Secondary Modern School in the 1950 M.O.E. building programme. It was won in open competition by the architects in the summer of 1950 and the contract was signed in February of the following year. Work began on the site in March, and shortly after, the job was held up for fourteen months by a delay in the steel-work supply. During this period, the ducts, drains, and site slab were constructed.

### PLANNING

**Site.** The site is just outside the seaside town of Hunstanton, on the main road from there to King's Lynn. It is a rectangle of 22 acres, bounded by the main road on the west and a secondary road on the north and surrounded by hedges and a few small trees, although there are none on the site itself. The ground slopes about 1 in 260 west to east in the building area and about 1 in 330-400 from north to south, with a pleasant view of rural landscape to the south.

**Accommodation Area.** The total area inside walls but excluding the caretaker's flat and the adult housecraft room is 45,748 sq. ft., and the

number of school places, calculated according to the M.O.E. standard method, is 510. The area per place is therefore 89.7 sq. ft. and the teaching area occupies 61.25 per cent. of the total.

**Layout and Planning.** The buildings, with their surrounding paths and area, are raised on a level podium measuring approximately 240 ft. by 600 ft. starting at ground level at the west end and finishing 2 ft. 3 in. above existing ground level at the east end. On the south side is a bank at a slope of 1 in 10 and along the north side, except at the entrance and car park, there is a Ha-Ha (27).

The main block, which is a long rectangle about 290 ft. by 103 ft. with two courtyards 52 ft. by 72 ft., contains all the accommodation except the gym with its changing rooms, the wood and metal workshops, the kitchen, the adult housecraft room and the boiler house.

The plan of the building is that of a long, thin block, looking inwards to two courtyards (30) and raised above the ground on a wide and level podium, on which are symmetrically placed the outlying gymnasium and head teacher's house and two hard play pitches, with the more freely placed low blocks of the kitchen and practical rooms and the vertical accents of the water tower and chimney.

(continued on page 242)

Fig. 6.5: The Smithsons' unfinished Hunstanton school in September 1953.

*Architects' Journal*, who wrote,

in that this building seems often to ignore the children for which it was built, it is hard to define it as *architecture* at all. It is a formalist structure which will please only the architects, and a small coterie concerned more with satisfying their personal design sense than with achieving a humanist, functional architecture. It is likely to prove an expensive venture into a blind alley.<sup>96</sup>

All these incongruities can be explained by the building having been designed in 1949, when Alison Smithson was only 21 and Peter only 26, both just out of architecture school, long before they had had an opportunity to adopt a position on the ideas that came out in the Independent Group meetings. They later post-rationalised their thinking, linking it to the idea of specificity of the architectural situation as found and choosing to underplay the overwhelming influence of Mies. Peter Smithson wrote: "After its three year building period (due to steel rationing at the time of the Korean War), we wrote, 'The idea behind this school was to try and prove that in every programme there exists an inherent order which once discovered appears static, immutable and entirely lucid. In other words, we were determined that we would, from the requirements of the client and the recommendations of the educationalists, create architecture'."<sup>97</sup> But although Hunstanton is the seminal building in Banham's canon, it only really fits because it was the first Smithson building, and it was the Smithsons' rhetoric that was to define the movement. In the early 1950s, the Smithsons were the very embodiment of the New Brutalism, so much so, that whatever they wrote (usually in *AD*), or designed, became the touchstone for what the New Brutalism was to be. As one tongue-in-cheek letter on the pages of *AD* attested, "Does the 'New Brutalism' really mean anything other than the architecture of the Smithsons?"<sup>98</sup>

Since its first mention in *AD*, the term "New Brutalism" became common currency in both the

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96 Cited in Andrew Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture: the role of school-building in post-war England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1987), 186.

97 Peter Smithson and Peter Carolin, "Reflections on Hunstanton," *arq: Architectural Research Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1997): 38.

98 Edward Armitage, "Letters to the editor," *Architectural Design*, June 1957, 220. He continued, "The arts should be outside ethics [...] a criticism of their buildings would be a deal better than a criticism of their theories."

When I hear the word contemporary, I reach for my revolver' x.8.

### The New Brutalism

In 1954, a new and long overdue explosion took place in architectural theory. For many years since the war we have continued in our habit of debasing the coinage of M. le Corbusier, and had created a style—'Contemporary'—easily recognizable by its misuse of traditional materials and its veneration of 'modern' details, frames, recessed plinths, decorative pilots. The reaction appeared at last in the shape of the Hunstanton School (by Alison and Peter Smithson) an illustration of the 'New Brutalism.' The name is new; the method, a re-evaluation of those advanced buildings of the twenties and thirties whose lessons (because of a few plaster cracks) have been forgotten. As well as this, there are certain lessons in the formal use of proportion (from Prof. Wittkower) and a respect for the sensuous use of each material (from the Japanese). Naturally, a theory which takes the props from the generally accepted and easily produced 'Contemporary,' has generated a lot of opposition. All over the country we have been asked to explain the new message. In the hope of provoking as many readers as possible to think more deeply about the form and purpose of their art, we asked the Smithsons, as the prophets of the movement, to supply a definition or statement, which, somewhat edited, appears below.

'Our belief that the New Brutalism is the only possible development for this moment from the Modern Movement, stems not only from the knowledge that Le Corbusier is one of its practitioners (starting with the "béton brut" of the Unité), but because fundamentally both movements have used as their yardstick Japanese architecture—its underlying idea, principles, and spirit.

'Japanese Architecture seduced the generation spanning 1900, producing, in Frank Lloyd Wright, the open plan and an odd sort of constructed decoration; in le Corbusier, the purist aesthetic—the sliding screens, continuous space, the power of white and earth colours; in Mies, the structure and the screen as absolutes. Through Japanese Architecture, the longings of the generation of Garnier and Behrens found FORM.

'But for the Japanese their FORM was only part of a general conception of life, a sort of reverence for the natural world and, from that, for the materials of the built world.\*

'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.

'It has been mooted that the Hunstanton School, which probably owes as much to the existence of Japanese Architecture as to Mies, is the first realization of the New Brutalism in England.

'This particular handling of Materials, not in the craft sense of Frank Lloyd Wright but in intellectual appraisal, has been ever present in the Modern Movement, as indeed familiars of the early German architects have been prompt to remind us.†

'What is new about the New Brutalism among Movements is that it finds its closest affinities, not in a past architectural style, but in peasant dwelling forms. It has nothing to do with craft. We see architecture as the direct result of a way of life.'

1954 has been a key year. It has seen American advertising equal Dada in its impact of overlaid imagery; that automotive masterpiece, the Cadillac convertible, parallel-with-the-ground (four elevations) classic box on wheels; the start of a new way of thinking by CIAM; the revaluation of the work of Gropius; the repainting of the Villa at Garches?

\* The Japanese film 'Gate of Hell,' showed houses, a monastery and palace, in colour for the first time.  
† See Walter Segal's letter in 'Architectural Design,' February, 1954.

Fig. 6.6: The Smithsons' New Brutalism manifesto, with Crosby's introduction, as the editorial to AD, January 1955.

AR<sup>99</sup> and AD<sup>100</sup> and among the small groups of fashionable architects who primarily worked at the London County Council (LCC) architects' department and taught or studied at the AA. It remained something of a nebulous, undefined term, however, being assigned to a building only in Philip Johnson's review of their Hunstanton School (still their only building) in the AR of September 1954.<sup>101</sup> This is probably why Crosby asked the Smithsons to define it in the manifesto that appeared as AD's editorial in January 1955 (Fig. 6.6). Surprisingly, this manifesto identifies Japanese architecture as a key influence: "But for the Japanese their FORM was only part of a general conception of life, a sort of reverence for the natural world and, from that, for the materials of the built world. 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."<sup>102</sup> Indeed, the Hunstanton School did appear to have affinities with the open plan nature of traditional Japanese architecture. Images in Gutkind's article on Japanese architecture<sup>103</sup> show rectilinear spaces framed with dark timbers and light paper infill, which could easily be seen as an analogy to the framing and colour scheme, if not textures, of Hunstanton. Perhaps the reason for introducing Japanese architecture in this manifesto is to try and qualify Hunstanton as the first New Brutalist building. But it goes on: "What *is* new about the New Brutalism among Movements is that it finds its closest affinities, not in a past architectural style, but in peasant dwelling forms. It has nothing to do with craft. We see architecture as the direct result of a way of life." This inspiration of "peasant dwelling forms" and, in particular, "the direct result of a way of life" most closely echoes the "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build" articles of Gutkind from 1953. The specificity of the "as found" situation and the appropriateness of response define the continuous thinking of the Smithsons through the Independent Group, the New Brutalism and ultimately Team 10 and forms the backbone of their criticisms of the older generation of functionalist one-size-fits-all architects.

Over the page from their manifesto, the Smithsons are found again writing about "Collective Housing in Morocco" by ATBAT-Afrique (Fig. 6.7).<sup>104</sup> Of the several examples of constructed mass housing blocks, they comment "We regard these buildings in Morocco as the greatest

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99 See "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Review*, April 1954; Philip Johnson, "School at Hunstanton Norfolk," *Architectural Review*, September 1954.

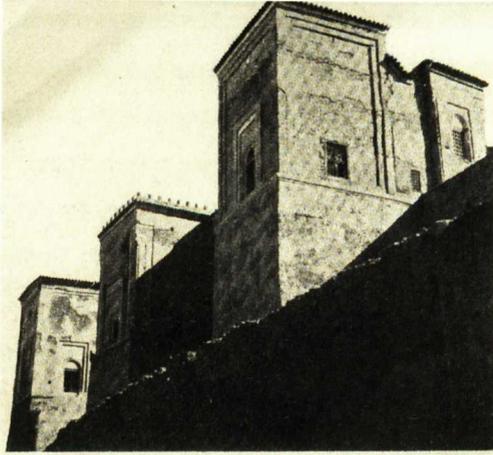
100 For example, the letter Walter Segal, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Design*, February 1954.

101 Johnson, "School at Hunstanton Norfolk."

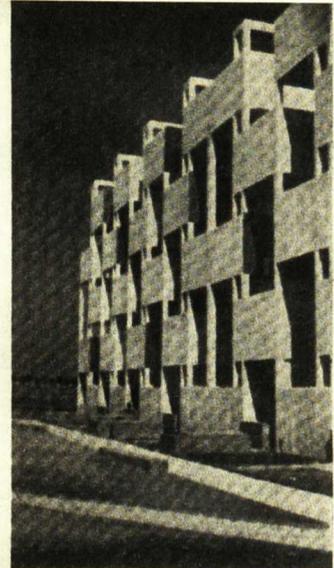
102 Smithson and Smithson, "The New Brutalism," 1.

103 Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build: 2 Houses of Japan."

104 The African office of Le Corbusier's experimental and interdisciplinary ATBAT Atelier des bâtisseurs, founded in 1947 by Le Corbusier, Vladimir Bodiansky, André Wogenscky and Marcel Py. ATBAT-Afrique consisted of Vladimir Bodiansky, Georges Candilis and Shadrach Woods.



Traditional housing from beyond the Atlas mountains, and right, type 1 dwellings at Casablanca.



Bodiansky  
Candilis  
Woods

The work of ATBAT-AFRIQUE

## COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN MOROCCO

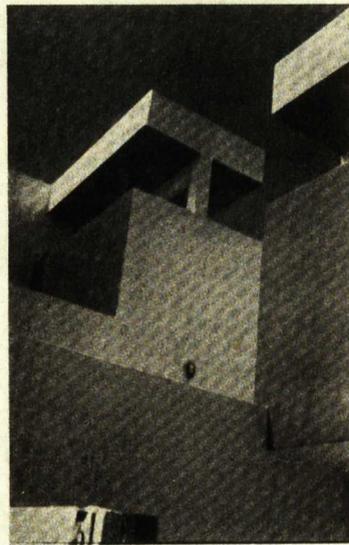
described by A. and P. Smithson

### Bodiansky

*'The "habitat" has been the fundamental factor of well-being and of spiritual evolution of the human race, its constant amelioration constitutes the satisfaction of the mission of builders.'*

### Candilis

*'Throughout the years ATBAT has studied the problems of "habitat" for the greatest number in all its aspects and peculiarities. It has not arrived at an all-round solution, but one solution for each case. It has found many solutions and many variants, but the spirit of search remains the same, the spirit of the greatest number with its laws and its disciplines.'*



Detail of Type 2 A dwellings at Casablanca.

At CIAM X this summer, the subject under discussion will again be 'l'habitat,'\* when it is hoped that the first steps of a CIAM approach to the problems of the dwelling will be formulated. At the 1953 Congress at Aix-en-Provence, though many schemes were presented from all parts of the world, the only really new contributions came from groups from Britain, Holland and Morocco, and these were all concerned with the organization of new forms of collective housing, which could be developed into larger urban patterns.

The essay on 'Modern Architecture in Holland' (*Architectural Design*, August, 1954), although it did not deal specifically with 'habitat,' did try to present the spirit in which the Dutch are working.

Our particular link with the Moroccan group (ATBAT-AFRIQUE), is that we found that through their own circumstances they were, like ourselves, working on the 'extension' of the dwelling. What we in Golden Lane † termed 'back-yard' they term 'patio,' drawing their knowledge of Arab needs from the area of greatest migration behind the Atlas mountains, where the established collective system includes the outdoor living space.

We regard these buildings in Morocco as the greatest achievement since Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles. Whereas the Unité was the summation of a technique of thinking about 'habitat' which started forty years ago, the importance of the Moroccan buildings is that they are the first manifestation of a new way of thinking.

For this reason they are presented as ideas; but it is their realization in built form that convinces us that here is a new universal.

### Statement of Principle

*It is impossible for each man to construct his house for himself.*

*It is for the architect to make it possible for the man to make the flat his home, the maisonette his 'habitat.'*

*Up to now, in Manual and in fact, the house is built down to the smallest detail and man is pressed into this dwelling—in spirit, the same from Scotland to the Gold Coast—and adapts himself as best he may to the life that the architecture furnishes him with.*

*The younger members of CIAM demand as a 'premier proposition de L'habitat' the voluntary effacement of the architecture.*

*We must prepare the 'habitat' only to the point at which man can take over.*

*We aim to provide a framework in which man can again be master of his house.*

*In Morocco they have made it a principle of 'habitat' that man shall have the liberty to adapt for himself.*

\* 'Habitat' is a word used by the French to describe not only the home but also its environment and everything appertaining to it.

† This refers to the rejected project by A. and P. Smithson for the City of London Golden Lane competition. A condensed version of it was included in the British contribution to the CIAM IX exhibition.

Fig. 6.7: The work of fellow young generation architects Bodiansky, Candilis and Woods, reviewed by the Smithsons in January 1955.

achievement since Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles."<sup>105</sup> The scheme is a modern solution for an undeveloped people, an attempt to update Gutkind's principles for contemporary problems of architecture, specifically with reference to "l'habitat", the theme for the CIAM 9 and 10 congresses. This scheme had been presented by ATBAT at CIAM 9 in 1953. These buildings appear in Banham's *New Brutalism* book, and Candilis and Woods become core of Team 10. While aesthetically closer to the modernism of the pre-war old school, these housing blocks offer parallels with the Smithsons' thinking in their urban theories: "It has not arrived at an all-round solution, but one solution for each case" wrote Candilis.<sup>106</sup>

In December 1955, 11 months after the Smithsons' manifesto appeared in *AD*, Banham joined the debate with an article called "The New Brutalism" in the *AR* (Fig. 6.8) in which he attempted to define the term. He identified three characteristics of this new movement in architecture: "1, Memorability as an Image; 2, Clear exhibition of Structure; and 3, Valuation of Materials 'as found.'"<sup>107</sup> This first characteristic of "Memorability as an Image" is one of the first recognitions of image as a driver of architectural form – what might be termed the "icon" 50 years later. Banham defined it as "something which is visually valuable, but not necessarily by the standards of classical aesthetics" and furthermore, "it requires that the building should be an immediately apprehensible visual entity, and that the form grasped by the eye should be confirmed by experience of the building in use. Further, that this form should be entirely proper to the functions and materials of the building, in their entirety."<sup>108</sup> This "Image-ability" also finds precedent in the work of the Independent Group: all 122 pictures<sup>109</sup> in the *Parallel* exhibition were photographic reproductions of other material, be they magazine articles, adverts, or a Jackson Pollock painting. Banham's review for the *AR* appeared in the "Photography" section and focused on the power of the camera and its resulting image: "We tend to forget that every photograph is an artefact, a document recording for ever a momentary construction based upon reality. Instantaneous, it mocks the monumental; timeless, it monumentalizes the grotesque."<sup>110</sup> Further on, he discusses how the photographic image becomes an autonomous entity, or work of art, in its own right, having "little, now, to do

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105 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Collective Housing in Morocco," *Architectural Design*, January 1953, 2.

106 Ibid.

107 Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," *The Architectural Review*, December 1955, 361.

108 Ibid., 358.

109 Whiteley, *Reyner Banham*, 86.

110 Reyner Banham, "Parallel of Life and Art Exhibition," *Architectural Review* 114, no. 682 (October 1953): 259.

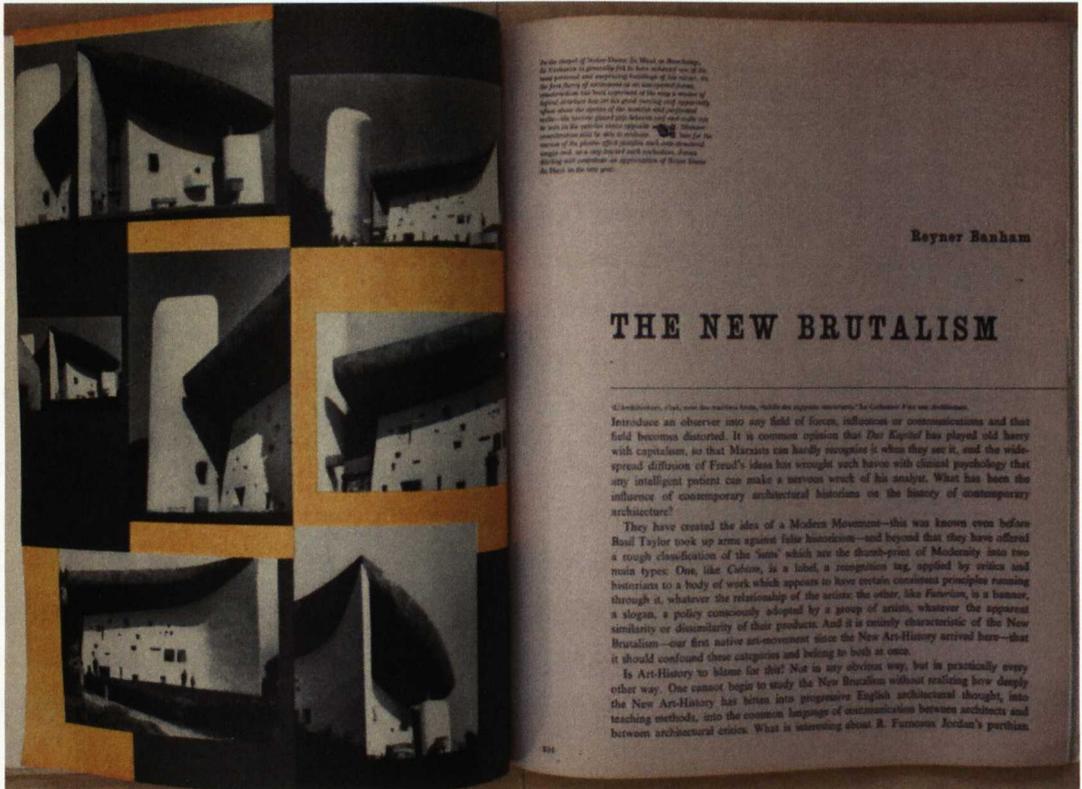


Fig. 6.8: Reyner Banham's "The New Brutalism" apologia in December 1955's AR.

with the recording of any conceivable reality"<sup>111</sup> and that "The camera, with its strong moral claims to truth and objectivity now over a century old, has established its manner of seeing as the common visual currency of our time, and we come to think of the photographic experience as the equivalent of personal participation."<sup>112</sup> If Banham is right, the buildings of the New Brutalists would have been designed with the (black and white) photographic reproduction, or "the image", very much in mind. Lipstadt has argued that this photographic reproduction then allows the architect to retake ownership of and "sign" the building like an artist signs a painting.<sup>113</sup> It could therefore be argued that the New Brutalism was the first architectural movement constructed in the magazines, for the magazines, with the self-conscious knowledge of writing itself into history via this medium. In Bourdieuean terms, this is a case of "production for the producers", or a conscious will to autonomy and away from the reality of building. Publication of the image in the architectural press then confers cultural capital onto the building itself, transforming the building into architecture.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid., 261.

113 Hélène Lipstadt, "Can 'Art Professions' be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of the Architecture Competition," *Cultural Studies* 17, no. 3/4 (May 2003): 408.

Not only were the buildings designed with the final published photograph in mind, but the movement itself as an '-ism' straddled the two main classifications by the art historians – being a label for critics and a slogan for artists/architects. Banham's New Brutalism piece begins with this perceptive recognition, situating the movement in history at its very birth. Asking “What has been the influence of contemporary architectural historians on the history of contemporary architecture?”, he immediately answers himself, writing:

they have offered a rough classification of the 'isms' which are the thumb-print of Modernity into two main types: One, like *Cubism*, is a label, a recognition tag, applied by critics and historians to a body of work which appears to have certain consistent principles running through it, whatever the relationship of the artists; the other, like *Futurism*, is a banner, a slogan, a policy consciously adopted by a group of artists, whatever the apparent similarity or dissimilarity of their products.<sup>114</sup>

The New Brutalism, Banham claimed, was unique in that it belonged to both categories at once. The very process of giving the movement a label was crucial, as Bourdieu would explain in *Distinction*:

A group's presence or absence in the official classification depends on its capacity to get itself recognized, to get itself noticed and admitted, and so to win a place in the social order [...] The fate of groups is bound up with the words that designate them: the power to impose recognition depends on the capacity to mobilize around a name [...] to appropriate a common name and to commune in a proper name, and so to mobilize the union that makes them strong, around the unifying power of a word.<sup>115</sup>

The subsequent task of the Brutalists was to bestow this label with *symbolic capital* in their struggle for domination in the field of architecture. It was Banham's role to define the canon and the Smithsons' role to create it, both through buildings and rhetoric. In this way, Bourdieu would say that between them they were not only producing architecture, but actually making history, by “*mak[ing] a new position exist beyond established positions, ahead [en avant] of those positions, en avant-garde, and in introducing difference, to produce time itself.*”<sup>116</sup>

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114 Banham, “The New Brutalism,” 354.

115 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), 480–481.

116 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 157 Italics in original.

Through the reproduction afforded by publication (as opposed to the one-off nature of a building), the architecture of the avant-garde Brutalists was gradually being *consecrated* and “becoming more and more readable and acceptable the more everyday they seem as a result of a more or less lengthy process of familiarization”.<sup>117</sup>

In a later column for the *New Statesman*, Banham linked the New Brutalist movement directly to the “manifesto-exhibition called [...] *Parallel of Life and Art*” largely due to its anti-aesthetic, raw visual and textural quality<sup>118</sup> and returning to his defining article in the *AR*, Banham's third characteristic was “Valuation of Materials 'as found'.” This is arguably the most commonly identifiable characteristic of the New Brutalism, particularly when it comes to raw, exposed materials such as *béton brut*,<sup>119</sup> legitimated by the *Unité d'Habitation* at Marseille (1948-54) and Chandigarh (1952-59). These were buildings that demonstrated Le Corbusier's willingness to abandon the myth that reinforced concrete was a precise material of the machine age and instead could be used more crudely, proudly exhibiting the marks of the wooden formwork. Banham went on to document and canonise the New Brutalism in his 1966 book *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?*<sup>120</sup> in which he mythicised its beginnings. Politically, it was the architectural response to the betrayal felt by the younger generation of architects at the abandonment of the British pre-war modernists to their ideology of modern architecture as a device for social improvement. This was best exemplified in the calling for an implementation of picturesque theory by the editors of the *AR*.<sup>121</sup> *AR* editor Richards also wrote *An Introduction to Modern Architecture*<sup>122</sup> before the war, but while fighting in Egypt, wrote *Castles on the Ground*<sup>123</sup> which was a home-sick, sentimental recollection of the virtues of Victorian suburbia. The New Brutalism as a movement grew out of the LCC's architects' department, where the cream of post-war British architectural talent – including the Smithsons and most of the architects associated with the Independent Group – worked towards building the architecture of the welfare state. It was the reward to the working man for winning the war and ideologically the culmination of the rise of socialism that had developed earlier. For, as Eric Hobsbawm wrote, “For a large part of the Short Twentieth Century, Soviet communism claimed to be an alternative and superior system to capitalism, and one destined by history to triumph over it. For much of this period even many of those who rejected its claims to

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117 *Ibid.*, 159.

118 Reyner Banham, “Apropos the Smithsons,” *New Statesman*, September 8, 1961, 317.

119 A term that echoes Dubuffet's “l'art brut” and adds another layer of meaning to the term “Brutalism”.

120 Banham, *The New Brutalism*.

121 See Banham, “Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945-1965.”

122 James Richards, *An Introduction to Modern Architecture* (London: Pelican Books, 1940).

123 James Richards, *The Castles on the Ground* (London: The Architectural Press, 1946).

superiority were far from convinced that it might not triumph.”<sup>124</sup> In December 1954, Krushchev's speech to the All-Union Congress of Builders, Architects and Workers in Moscow demanded a radical industrialisation of building construction. This was the beginning of the 1950s thaw and the end of Stalin's favoured Socialist Realist style of architecture and it brought an end to attempts to mimic the “official” style of the USSR by hard-lined Communists in the LCC. The other welfare state model that British architects looked to in the immediate post-war years was Sweden and its “New Empiricism”, promoted by the *AR* as “The New Humanism” described above. The New Brutalism, then, was a critical response by the post-war generation of modern architects to what they considered to be small-minded thinking for the construction of a new world.

### Urban Re-identification

This political reaction against the establishment went beyond Britain, turning into an ideological debate with the old guard of CIAM. The June 1955 issue of *AD* was remarkably forward-looking with the theme “ideas”, and featured five unbuilt projects or ideas, addressing four aspects of architectural theory: traffic, offices, multi-storey housing (a first look at Park Hill's design, Fig. 6.9) and urban planning. It was introduced as follows:

At the present time, when any innovation, both structural and aesthetic, has to pass such a wide welter of unsympathetic controllers, it is all the more necessary to create an architectural dynamic that will carry architecture into the next phase of the modern movement. Some of the projects that follow may never be built, but we present them in the hope of firing enthusiasm and the articles by Allan Jacobs, A. and P. Smithson and Theo Crosby are expressly here to stimulate thought and discussion about urbanism and housing.<sup>125</sup>

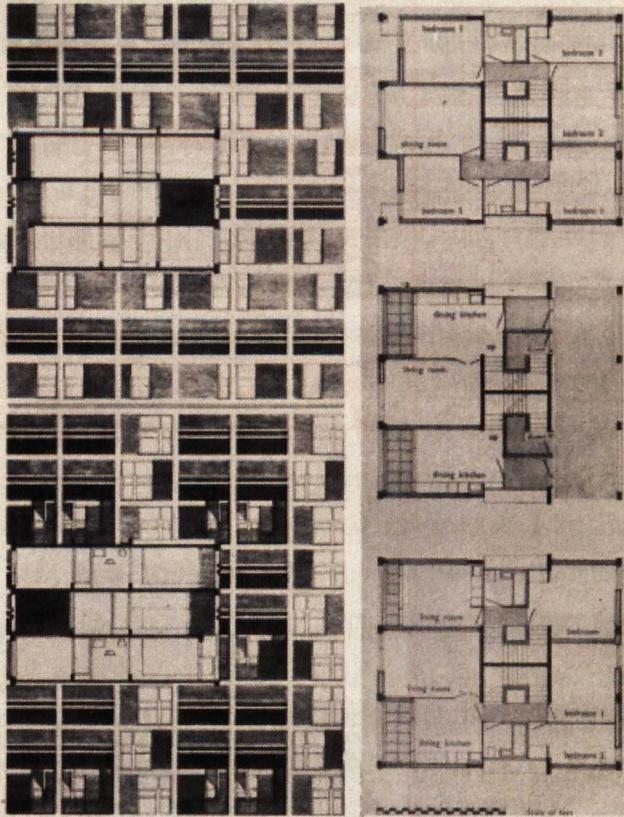
Alison and Peter Smithson's contribution, “The Built World: Urban Reidentification”,<sup>126</sup> contains ideas clearly identifiable from Gutkind and straddle the New Brutalism and the beginnings of Team 10. Based on the grid they showed at CIAM 9 in 1953, it was an exposition of their thinking on urban planning that led to the Golden Lane housing entry.

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124 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes* (London: Abacus, 2006), 56.

125 “ideas,” *Architectural Design*, June 1955, 178.

126 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “The Built World: Urban Reidentification,” *Architectural Design*, June 1955.



Left: portion of a typical elevation of one of the blocks, with superimposed sections through maisonettes and flats. Right: plans of typical three-storey unit for four dwellings. Top: plan above deck, upper storeys of five-person maisonette and four-person maisonette. Centre: plan at deck level, entrance floor to all dwellings, with entrance to five-person and a four-person maisonette and upper storeys of five-person and four-person flats. Bottom: plan below deck, with lower storeys of two-person and three-person flats.

## 6 MULTI-STOREY HOUSING FOR SHEFFIELD

### PARK HILL ESTATE, PART I

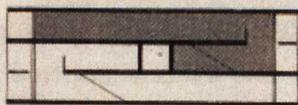
city architect | J. Lewis Womersley

#### CRITICISM by Theo Crosby

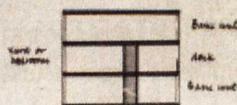
It is rare for a City Architect's department, apart from the L.C.C., to carry out a directed housing research project, with a sufficiently large pilot programme to enable the solutions to be adequately studied. Their sites, their needs and funds militate against it. This is particularly true of the project that tries to solve social and psychological problems as well

as architectural ones. The Sheffield scheme is therefore all the more valuable because it is almost the only project that aims at something more than mere accommodation; it should be built and studied as soon as possible. Architecturally its form is derived from the section, the interlocking maisonette. This was a widely held but formally indeterminate

Le Corbusier section at Marseilles.



Smithson Golden Lane section.



concept until Le Corbusier produced the definitive Unité section at Marseilles (see below). Le Corbusier's section, extremely economic and, by horizontal expansion, offering a wide range of flat types, suffered from two disadvantages. The first is the *rac corridor*, the internal street which is unlit, dark and noisy. Le Corbusier had freed the plan but frozen the section. The next step towards liberating the section was the idea of a 'deck' access system put forward by A. and P. Smithson in their Golden Lane scheme (see below).<sup>\*</sup> Their solution consisted of a basic single bedroom unit on the upper and lower levels, with extra bedrooms, or gardens, at the deck level. Its disadvantage is the inflexibility of the basic unit (same size living-room no matter how many bedrooms). The Sheffield scheme is largely derived (though not acknowledged) from this competition project. Its contribution has been to arrange the plan with two units to every three bays, allowing the central bay to be incorporated into either flat as required. This gives much greater planning flexibility, but the price is high. The stair is clumsy and plan arrangement poor. In one case, access to a living room is via the dining-kitchen, stair and corridor past bedrooms and bathroom.

The problem which the Sheffield project has not faced and which Marseilles and Golden Lane mostly avoid, is that of identity. The façades are a hotch potch of current cliché—panel wall, panel window, string course, structural grid. The flat is merely a permutation behind the grille; its identity remains confused. This applies equally to the Marseilles Unité, where flats other than the basic three-bedroom unit occur; but there the unit is strongly expressed in the double height cell and moreover, heightened with colour.

One reason why people prefer bungalows is that they are recognizably identifiable as their very own. To be a window in an acre of anonymous brickwork is intolerable. The social and psychological side of housing is not the immediate province of the architect and he is seldom adequately briefed for it. He experiments from the basis of his own observation and prejudices. These are not enough. The programme for the CIAM tenth Congress this year is concerned with just these aspects of housing. Why are hygienic, well-spaced flats so poverty stricken in everything but material things? Why is a walk around a New Town (and almost every housing estate) such a bore? Every material condition, the low density, television, lack of communications, militates against the communal life in the new estates. The Peckham experiment showed how fragile the community is—any social success is achieved in spite of the new housing. The material solution must be re-thought in terms, not of sanitation and road maintenance and M.O.H.L.G. minimums, but in terms of an environment that will encourage neighbourliness, solidarity and all the neglected virtues. This may take the form of the Sheffield project, because the intimate street-in-the-air is a social asset, though the slab form is plastically too inflexible a unit for urbanity; it dominates and overshadows. But the idea of a complicated architecture, of infinite permutations, of intimate, neighbourly access, of visual excitement is of value. It is for this reason that the CIAM 10 projects are awaited with impatience.

\* See also page 191 and Architects' Year Book 4.

Fig. 6.9: A first look at the design of Park Hill, Sheffield in June 1955's AD.

However, unlike the earlier precursor to this polemic, published in the *Architects' Year Book* 5,<sup>127</sup> which was a straightforward explanation of their ideas, its purpose was more politically divisive: it also questioned the acceptance of the old order and laid a claim to the new. As such, it was the first volley across the bows of the original inter-war “heroes of the modern movement” who were still in control of CIAM. A detailed critical discourse analysis of this piece, showing how the piece is constructed and how language is used to naturalise their position, can be found in Appendix 1. It is sufficient here to comment on the ideas contained and how it links Gutkind, the New Brutalism and the break with CIAM as Team 10.

Urban Re-identification (Fig. 6.10) starts by disregarding the New Towns as an unfortunate offspring of the Garden Cities of Ebenezer Howard, via Camillo Sitte, as well as the “Rational Architecture Movement” of “the minimum kitchen and the four functions, the mechanical concept of architecture.”<sup>128</sup> These attacks precisely map onto those expressed in Gutkind's *Expanding Environment* where he criticises the ideas that are being used to rebuild the post-war world:

The first results in the establishment of new towns within the sphere of influence of big cities, and the second in “the discovery of the third dimension.” The first is a remedy somewhat in the nature of artificial insemination producing a new child with all the disadvantages of a half-known parentage and without the stimulating excitement which this adventure into the unknown could evoke. The result is the Garden City, now re-christened the new Town Movement. The second is a surgical operation cutting out unhealthy parts of the urban body and replacing them by new ones. This is a sort of plastic surgery which results in the pulling down of slum quarters and the erection of high buildings surrounded by open spaces.<sup>129</sup>

Gutkind's letter introducing his book had been discussed at a MARS meeting attended by the Smithsons in May 1954. So between the presentation of their grid in Aix and the “Urban Re-identification” piece two years later, they had managed to assimilate some appropriate theoretical language and concepts to support their architectural ideas, whether or not they had been aware of Gutkind's earlier books. The Gutkind/Geddes influence is also present in the Smithsons' passage, “A form must be found for the house which is capable of being put together with others of a similar sort so as to form bigger and equally comprehensible elements which can be added to existing villages and towns in such a way as to revitalise the

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127 For example, Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “An Urban Project,” in *Architects' Year Book*, ed. Trevor Dannatt, vol. 5 (London: Elek Books Ltd., 1953), 48-55.

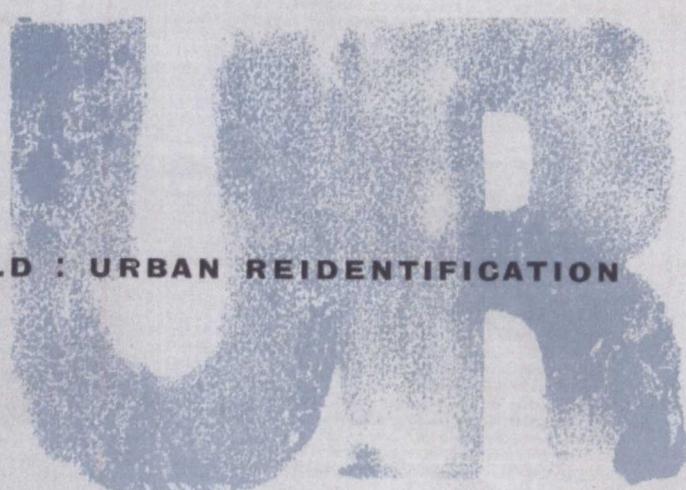
128 Smithson and Smithson, “The Built World: Urban Reidentification,” 185.

129 Gutkind, *The Expanding Environment*, 24.

### 3

## THE BUILT WORLD : URBAN REIDENTIFICATION

by Alison and Peter Smithson



Each generation feels a new dissatisfaction, and conceives of a new idea of order.

This is architecture.

Young architects to-day feel a monumental dissatisfaction with the buildings they see going up around them.

For them, the 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.

These two movements achieved their built form by discovering the aesthetic means to achieving a social programme.

The Garden City Movement is basically a social movement; Ebenezer Howard saw in the idea of combining town and country, a 'Peaceful Path to Real Reform.'

The image left in the mind by his book is one of a railway architecture for clean but bewildered working men.

The Garden City *idea* was Ebenezer Howard's, but its *form* came from Camillo Sitte, who first conceived of 'Town Design'.

Until Camillo Sitte it had not occurred to anyone that a town could be anything other than the most convenient and significant organization of the social hierarchy. After Camillo Sitte, *meaning* was to give way to 'Townscape'. The garden cities as realized owe more to the misunderstanding of the medieval town than to the reforming drive of the railway age.

From the garden cities has come forty years of town planning legislation. They have fixed the density structure, the pattern of garden and house, and the aimless road system of our new council housing estates. They have perpetuated to this day the official opinion, in 1912, of what the deserving working man should have.

The Garden City Movement has mothered the New Towns. In them the concept of 'balanced social structure', and the careful provision of survey assessed amenities, has reached its ultimate anti-climax.

In the more 'progressive' places, the Garden City tradition has given way to the Rational Architecture Movement of the '30s.

The social driving force of this movement was slum clearance, the provision of sun, light, air, and green space in the over-populated cities. This social content was perfectly matched by the form of functionalist architecture, the architecture of the academic period which followed the great period of cubism, and dada, and de Stijl, of the *esprit nouveau*. This was the period of the minimum kitchen and the four functions, the mechanical concept of architecture.

(continued overleaf)

The roots of our dissatisfaction *Crusley new town*

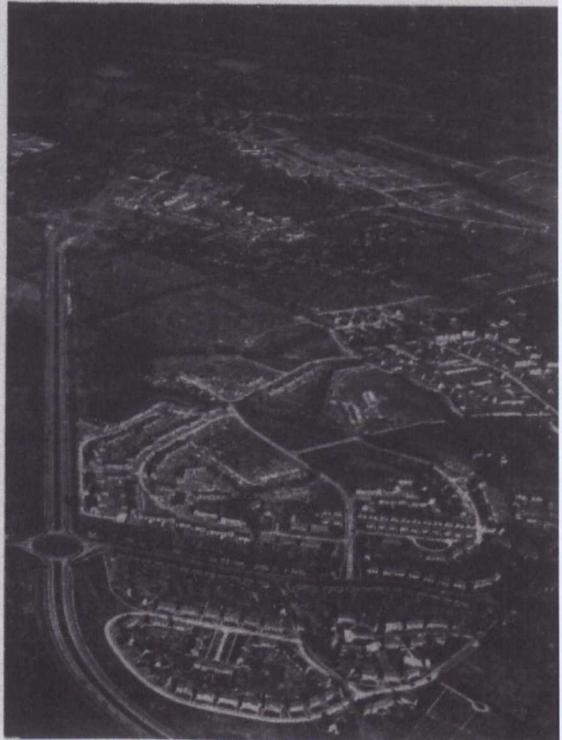


Fig. 6.10: The first page of the Smithsons' Urban Reidentification polemic.

traditional hierarchies and not destroy them.”<sup>130</sup> Ideas of “identity” are mentioned in “We abandon the filing system living of balcony or paired star-access, for wide ‘decks’ or covered streets which would give to the inhabitants a place for the children and the leisurely back-chat of urban street life”<sup>131</sup> while echoing Gutkind’s street/house relationship that results in what the Smithsons term their “doorstep philosophy”. This is one of three positive proposals from the piece. Another is the passage “This is the basic step of the ecological approach to the problem of habitat: the house is a particular house in a particular place, part of an existing community” which reiterates the particular as an approach to design rather than the universal philosophy of their predecessors.<sup>132</sup> Finally, the piece ends rather abruptly with a new aesthetic, based on a “love of materials” which can establish “a unity between the built form and the men using it” referring explicitly to the January 1955 New Brutalist manifesto.

“Urban Re-identification” is a crucial article as it combines the Smithsons’ ideas of New Brutalism with a criticism of the old guard in an attempt to establish themselves as the new avant-garde. It simultaneously introduces ideas taken from their CIAM 9 grid presentation, based on their Golden Lane housing competition, that would evolve over the following two decades, as Team 10 took over from CIAM as the defenders of modern architecture.

### From CIAM to TEAM 10

At a CIAM Council meeting held during the CIAM 8 congress (1951) in Hoddesdon, England, “it was agreed that the occasion of the next Congress would be a good opportunity to ‘hand over’ to the young members”<sup>133</sup> in recognition of the fact that 1953 would be the 25th anniversary of the first CIAM congress held at La Sarraz, Switzerland. This was the beginning of the end of CIAM as an organisation. For various reasons, including the founders becoming older, more established, and busier with actual building or teaching work,<sup>134</sup> and disillusionment born of previous CIAM congresses that were too often inconclusive and ineffective, the post-war CIAM was unable to achieve its pre-war status as harbinger of the avant-garde. Interest and dedication to its causes waned. Additionally, as Mumford notes,

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130 Smithson and Smithson, “The Built World: Urban Reidentification,” 186; c.f. Gutkind, *Revolution of Environment*, 72.

131 Smithson and Smithson, “The Built World: Urban Reidentification,” 187.

132 Ecology is also a term enjoyed by Geddes and Gutkind.

133 Quoted in Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism 1928-1960*, New edition. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002), 206.

134 Pedret, “CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959,” 70.

“The British New Towns and related social housing and planning work by Gordon Stephenson, Arthur Ling, William Holford, and other MARS members discussed at CIAM 8 was not respected by many of the younger members.”<sup>135</sup> To these newer members of CIAM who were poised to take over from their founding elders, this work represented the ideas of the New Empiricism as promoted by the *AR* as the New Humanism. In recognition that an organised evolution of the organisation was needed, the leaders of CIAM, including Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, José Luis Sert and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt,<sup>136</sup> therefore expected “special prominence [...] to be given to the work of young groups” and that the organisation CIAM 10 would be their responsibility.<sup>137</sup>

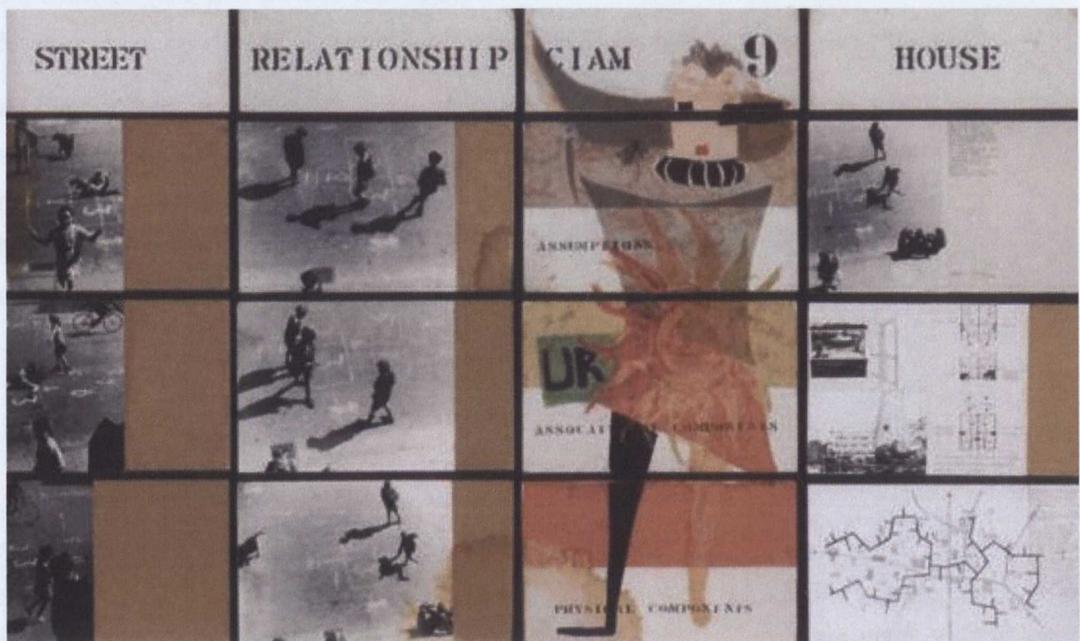


Fig. 6.11: The Smithsons' grid for CIAM showing Roger Mayne's photos.

CIAM 9 of 1953 once again had the theme of “habitat” and the intention of producing a “charter of habitat”. It was recorded in August 1953's *AD*, where an unknowingly prescient editorial mentioned that “Regionalism replaced style.”<sup>138</sup> Among the 40 grids displayed at CIAM 9 were four actual projects and two conceptual schemes by the youth members of the MARS group, the British arm of CIAM. Most accounts of these projects have been written by

135 Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism 1928-1960*, 217.

136 Tyrwhitt was secretary to the CIAM Council, Sert was President and Giedion Secretary-General of CIAM.

137 Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism 1928-1960*, 218.

138 Monica Pidgeon, “CIAM 9,” *Architectural Design*, August 1953, 208. See chapter 7 for more on regionalism.

the Smithsons and therefore not surprisingly emphasise the importance of their contribution, based on their unsuccessful Golden Lane competition entry, despite the fact that Chamberlin, Powell and Bon's *winning* entry was also displayed. Pedret has noted that at the time, the Smithsons' grid (Fig. 6.11) was "not noticed or particularly well received".<sup>139</sup> This illustrates an obvious but important point that providing plenty of source material for future historians, via the pages of magazines, is a good way to get written into history – more so, even, than simply building and waiting for historians to discover the results. The Smithsons' grid is that of the "Urban Reidentification" which ends with an introduction to the concept: "This reidentification should start with a renewal of the house-street relationship."<sup>140</sup> The big idea of the Smithsons' reidentification was to replace the traditional CIAM four functions of dwelling, work, circulation and recreation (of mind and body), as described in the Athens Charter, with a hierarchy of human associations: the house, street, district and city.

CIAM 9 was the biggest of the congresses with 3,000 delegates, members and observers attending<sup>141</sup> and it was here that the British (the Howells, the Smithsons, Voelcker), Dutch (van Eyck, Bakema) and French/North African (Candilis, Bodiensky, Woods) attendees found an affiliation of ideas. As the young members of CIAM, it was this core group that was charged with organising the CIAM 10, eventually held in Dubrovnik in August 1956. However, meeting in Doorn in January 1954 to discuss the congress's organisation, the Dutch and English contingent discovered they also shared a dissatisfaction with the existing organisation of CIAM, its Athens Charter and beliefs in general. This group ultimately became the core of Team 10 (Team X) which organised the 10th congress, but also oversaw its dissolution after the final meeting in Otterlo in 1959.<sup>142</sup> The MARS group had already disbanded itself in January 1957.<sup>143</sup>

CIAM 10 was written up in *AD* in September 1954 where a draft version of the ultimately doomed "Charter of Habitat" was summarised by Crosby. Recognising that in the future, the masses of the welfare state would need to be accommodated in mass produced buildings, it called for "More, not less, organization, mechanisation and automation", though admitting that "the rhythm dictated by the greater number *does not create architectural harmony* but serves

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139 Pedret, "CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959," 135.

140 Smithson and Smithson, "The Built World: Urban Reidentification," 188.

141 *Ibid.*, 126.

142 For a full discussion of the dissolution of CIAM, see Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism 1928-1960*, 238-265; Pedret, "CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959," 196-227.

143 Denys Lasdun, "MARS Group 1953-1957," in *Architects' Year Book*, ed. Trevor Dannatt, vol. 8 (London: Elek Books Ltd., 1957), 59.

as a framework for it.”<sup>144</sup> On the same page, an edited Doorn manifesto described by the Smithsons contained a fatalistic message from Le Corbusier:

CIAM has arrived at the moment when it can come to a conclusion. A new generation turns the page and assures the continuation of CIAM. The problems which occupy them are not the same as they were in the last 2 years, but they are just as serious. The confusion is everywhere. The experience acquired by their elders cannot help them.<sup>145</sup>

The wrangling over the death of CIAM was celebrated in a special issue of *AD* in May 1960 (Fig. 6.12), guest-edited by Alison Smithson.<sup>146</sup> This went on to show the work of Team 10 so far, both theoretical and built. Woods explained his “Stem” idea, van Eyck his “Children’s House” and the Smithsons, their London Roads Study.

In contrast with CIAM, Team 10 was never a formal organisation, but a loose group of like-minded individuals that met regularly to review and critique each other’s work. The introductory text of the Team 10 Primer explained that the group “sought each other out, because each has found the help of the others necessary to the development and understanding of their own individual work.”<sup>147</sup> It also defines their aim as “not to theorize but to build, for only through construction can a Utopia of the present be realized.”<sup>148</sup> This aspiration was enough for George Baird to classify Team 10 as the “last defenders of the modernist project”<sup>149</sup> but also as “radical revisionists.”<sup>150</sup> The group didn’t really have a membership as such (the Smithsons talked of it more as a “family” and indeed, children were included at the meetings), but the core “inner circle” of individuals that attended most meetings comprised the Smithsons, Aldo van Eyck, Jacob Bakema, Georges Candilis,

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144 Theo Crosby, “The Charter of Habitat,” *Architectural Design*, September 1954, 286.

145 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “The background to CIAM 10,” *Architectural Design*, September 1954, 286.

146 Alison Smithson, “CIAM TEAM 10,” *Architectural Design*, May 1960, 175–205.

147 Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Primer* (London: Whitefriars Press, 1965), 3.

148 *Ibid.*

149 George Baird, “The Publication of Meaning in Architecture,” in *Team 10 - Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive* (presented at the Team 10 - Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2006), 86, <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/Team%2010.pdf>.

150 *Ibid.*, 85.

Shadrach Woods and Giancarlo de Carlo.<sup>151</sup> The Team 10 Primer itself defines the family in its preface as follows:

Team 10 – as various publications will show – comprises a gradual caucus. The people who make up the family Team 10 change over the years as various human peaks vary as inclination changes; through pressures of society affecting thought and built work. A person is not felt to be an associate until he has been at three or four family meetings. The basic criterion – other than compatibility – is whether an individual 'stays with it' in a way to take full responsibility for his theoretical programme.<sup>152</sup>

In a similar informal vein, there was no specific theory or school of thought of Team 10, although there was a “Doorn manifesto” of 1954, which started life as the “Statement on Habitat” in preparation for CIAM 10. This itself was heavily re-written and edited by Alison Smithson for publication in the Team 10 Primer special edition of *AD* in December 1962<sup>153</sup> and was disputed by the Dutch members as being substantially different to what was originally collectively written in Doorn.<sup>154</sup> The Doorn manifesto made little or no impact upon architectural culture and while Team 10's aim might have been to build, in Britain at least, they are remembered more for their theoretical work and rhetoric, particularly that of the dominant Smithsons. The main products of Team 10 were the meetings, from which the books were produced as juxtaposed fragments of dialogue, aphorisms, diagrams and various articles written for the press, most frequently published in *AD*. It should be noted that the Smithsons were not the only members of Team 10 criticising the old guard and promoting the new – others such as Giancarlo de Carlo and Aldo van Eyck were equally actively critical.<sup>155</sup> However, Alison Smithson in particular assumed the role of chronicler and historian,<sup>156</sup>

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151 The summary for the Team 10 special issue of *AD* in May 1960 says, “Although he is not a member, nor necessarily a prospective members, of Team 10 it is fair to include the paper Giancarlo de Carlo prepared for Otterlo.” Nevertheless, the historians of Team 10, regard him as a member of the “inner circle”, see: <http://www.team10online.org/team10/members.html#2> [accessed 25 January 2011]

152 Smithson, *Team 10 Primer*, 3.

153 Alison Smithson, “The Doorn Manifesto,” *Architectural Design*, December 1962, 587.

154 See Pedret, “CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959,” 362–371. for van Eyck's version and the original to compare with the edited version published in the Team 10 Primer.

155 For a full discussion of Team 10's emergence, see Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism 1928-1960*, 238–265; Pedret, “CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959.”

156 Dirk van den Heuvel and Max Risselada, eds., *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005); Pedret, “CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-



Fig. 6.12: The cover of May 1960's issue guest edited by Alison Smithson and describing the breakup of CIAM and emergence of Team 10.

promoting and publishing the work of the group, crucially, in English. Until very recently, it was her three books that have defined the common perception of the group.<sup>157</sup> *AD* dedicated three issues in the early sixties to Team 10, each edited by Alison.<sup>158</sup> Even the first issue after Pidgeon left (November 1975), which she would have overseen due to the magazine being planned two to three months in advance, was devoted to Team 10's meetings at Royaumont and edited by Alison (Fig. 6.13).<sup>159</sup> This recording has subsequently dominated Team 10 mythology. Pedret notes that "Team 10 was [...] subject to the editorial control of Alison Smithson whose representation differed in significant ways from Team 10 thinking as it had developed within CIAM."<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, Pedret continues,

The group's thinking, as it has been portrayed in the highly personal accounts about the group in the three books compiled and edited by Alison Smithson, have, in varying degrees, formed the popular conceptions about the Team 10. And this perception was achieved using techniques not unlike those employed by Le Corbusier to promote his planning agenda and by CIAM to construct its own historical record – omission, manipulation and appropriation.<sup>161</sup>

Just as the Smithsons were self-consciously writing themselves into history in 1955, with the New Brutalism being a label for critics and a slogan for artists/architects,<sup>162</sup> they continued this practice with Team 10, using *AD* in particular as their magazine of record. Alison especially was well aware of the power this afforded, as Pedret comments: "In a letter to Jacob Bakema, she described how 'powerful' she felt editing the galley proofs of the book."<sup>163</sup> Years later Peter Smithson recounted to Team 10 member Manfred Scheidhelm that when Alison edited the Team 10 special number in *AD*, which included the first edition of the *Team 10 Primer*.

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157 Smithson, *Team 10 Primer*, Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Meetings: 1953-1984* (Delft/New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1991); Alison Smithson, ed., *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM: Documents* (London: Architectural Association, 1982).

158 Smithson, "CIAM TEAM 10," 175–205; Alison Smithson, "Team 10 Primer," *Architectural Design*, December 1962, 559–602; Alison Smithson, "The Work of TEAM 10," *Architectural Design*, August 1964, 664–689.

159 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Team 10 at Royaumont 1962," *Architectural Design*, November 1975.

160 Pedret, "CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959," 15.

161 *Ibid.*, 228.

162 Banham, "The New Brutalism."

163 Pedret, "CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959," 229.

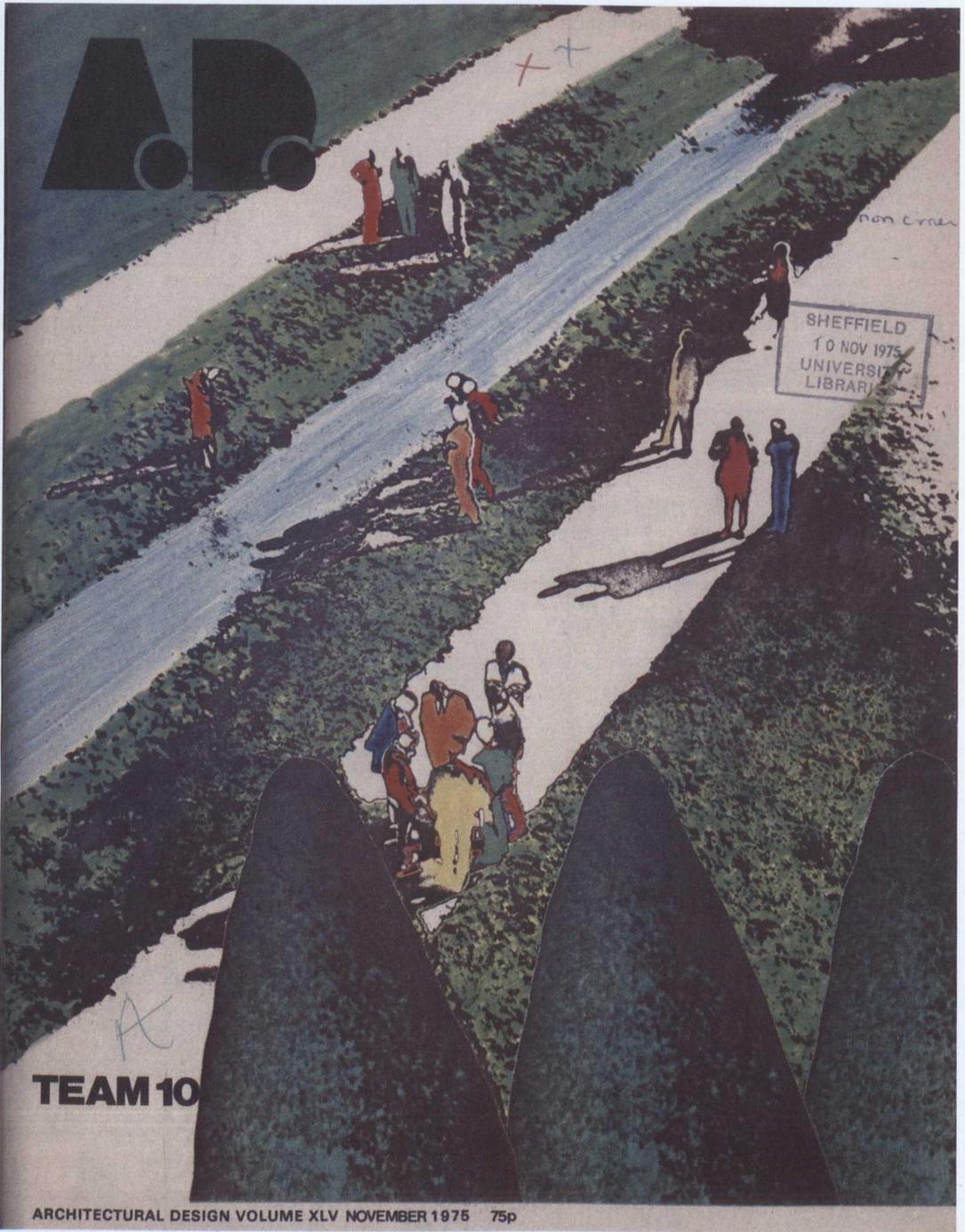


Fig. 6.13: The November 1965 issue of AD, including Alison Smithson's notes on Team 10's meeting at Royaumont.

she controlled everything – layout, picture sizes, text, etc, collaborating with the editor, and this included the suppression of texts, the putting aside of pictures which confused the line she was trying to construct. Furthermore people had to be chased endlessly for their promised material or for a new bit of material to fit the emerging editing pattern.<sup>164</sup>

This special edition of *AD* was actually remaindered<sup>165</sup> and so Alison Smithson suggested that they combine it with some articles from another edition of *AD* from August 1964 that she had also guest-edited on “The Work of Team 10” in order to compile the book, *Team 10 Primer*,<sup>166</sup> which effectively became the group's manifesto.

Pidgeon was completely unimpressed with Team 10 as an organisation and with its rhetoric, and she published their work out of loyalty alone. Although she was very involved in MARS,<sup>167</sup> she knew nothing of it or CIAM before the war.<sup>168</sup> It was only on helping to organise CIAM 6 at Bridgwater in 1947 that she got involved and met the congress's luminaries. She never forgave the Smithsons for the role they played in destroying CIAM and she never attended any Team 10 meetings, as she later recalled:

I didn't go to it. I was very fed up with them killing it like they did because I didn't think what resulted was much good either. Team 10, you know. We published Team 10, I shouldn't say this, but it's because of my colleague, Robin Middleton. At the time, we published Team 10 in full, the whole of a December issue. Oh! I thought it was so boring! The Smithsons and Aldo van Eyck and Shad Woods, those 3 and especially Alison, were the progenitors of Team 10. But they threw out CIAM. It was like getting rid of the heritage, chucking the whole thing overboard and starting afresh which I don't think is the way to do things. I think the way to do things is slowly. They felt they couldn't get rid of Giedion, they couldn't get rid of Jackie Tyrwhitt. Maybe they were right. [...] The only person that linked the two was

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164 Ibid.

165 Monica Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.,” interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7493 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0500A0.mp3>.

166 Smithson, *Team 10 Primer*. This would go on to be reprinted by Studio Vista in 1968 and MIT Press in 1974.

167 She is listed as an attendee in the MARS CIAM X sub-committee at its final meetings on 23 April 1954, 28 May 1954 and 28 January 1957, alongside the Smithsons and Theo Crosby: see Pedret, “CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959,” 353–357.

168 Pidgeon, “NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon. F7493 Side A.”

CIAM and MARS, for her, were her network and contacts: many of her correspondents came through this network (such as Blanche van Ginkel in Canada, Wilhelm Shütte in Austria, André Sive in France and Rolf Gutmann in Switzerland). But she remained loyal to the people, the Smithsons in particular, despite the old guard, especially Jim Richards, giving her a hard time about publishing it.<sup>170</sup>

### Team 10 Ideas

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the ideas of Team 10 in detail,<sup>171</sup> but it is relevant to outline those that occur in *AD*. Regardless of the varying details, each version of the Doorn manifesto includes the idea of scale, from the individual house to the village to the town to the city and this was then abstracted by the Smithsons using several themes that are repeated again and again in their subsequent literature, and even structure the *Uppercase 3*<sup>172</sup> magazine that Crosby devoted to their ideas. These themes are: Association, Identity, Patterns of Growth, Cluster, and Mobility and they appeared in various guises in *AD* throughout Crosby's tenure as technical editor.

The interdependent themes of Association, Identity and Mobility that appear to have originally come from Gutkind, were developed from the Smithsons' work for the Golden Lane housing competition and tested at CIAM 9 at Aix. Where CIAM had rejected the street outright, Team 10 wanted to keep the associations between the house and the street and between the members of the tight-knit community that this enabled, but in a modern form. As a design for city dwelling, this ultimately became the ill-fated streets-in-the-air. The ideas of association and identity were compounded through the friendship with Nigel and Judith Henderson who were photographing the way the streets were used in Bethnal Green in post-war London as part of a Mass Observation study. Association was not necessarily a geographical or physical thing, but concerned how people related and associated with each other at different scales and via various means of communication. According to the Smithsons, quite possibly based on Gutkind's *Revolution of Environment*,<sup>173</sup> it was this interaction that created community. As

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169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

171 For excellent analysis of Team 10, see van den Heuvel and Risselada, *Team 10*.

172 Theo Crosby, ed., *Uppercase*, vol. 3, 5 vols. (London: Whitefriars Press, 1960).

173 Gutkind, *Revolution of Environment*, 88.

the first point of the Smithson's version of the Doorn manifesto stated, "It is useless to consider the house except as a part of a community, owing to the inter-action of these on each other." So it was also concerned with how the house related to the street, how the street related to the district, and so on. Identity occurred at the interface of each scale and at the houses', districts' etc. relationship to the others. They considered that the house was identified by the hearth and the doorstep (their so-called "doorstep philosophy" of Urban Re-identification).<sup>174</sup>

Two years later, in *Uppercase 3*, the Smithsons wrote that "the street has been invalidated by the motor car" but that "we have not yet discovered an equivalent to the street form for the present day."<sup>175</sup> In the austerity East End, the car had not yet taken over the street where the children were playing their games, but the Smithsons foresaw a time when it would dominate the city and they rightly argued that this needed to be planned for. Thus, true to their motto of taking the situation as they found it, mobility became a surprisingly constant theme in the Smithsons' work within the Team 10 context that focused on planning. Again, this is possibly inspired by Gutkind's *The Expanding Environment*. *AD* featured an article dedicated to the theme of mobility in October 1958, where they perceived that, "Social mobility and physical mobility are related; and a car of your own is a symbol for them both" and "Mobility is the key both socially and organizationally to town planning, for mobility is not only concerned with roads, but with the whole concept of a mobile, fragmented, community."<sup>176</sup> Peter Smithson had visited America and wrote about it in *AD*. The images he had seen in the magazines and adverts came to life for him and he described how the "motor cars in general seem nearer to American design truth than buildings."<sup>177</sup> Ironically, he turned this into a magazine article that featured American car adverts suggesting an ideal, easy and even glamorous life. This article also discusses the idea of "urban motorways", to be the backbone of built-up areas, "where their very size in relationship to other development makes them capable of doing the visual and symbolic unifying job at the same time."<sup>178</sup> This idea is demonstrated in Louis Kahn's Philadelphia road plan with its "wound up parking terminals" and the Smithsons' own Berlin Hauptstadt competition entry (1957-58) where they separated the pedestrian from the car using extensive layers of walkways over a city transport grid of un-hierarchical roads, punctuated with large public monumental buildings and point block housing. The article

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174 Peter Smithson and Alison Smithson, *Urban Structuring*, illustrated edition. (Studio Vista, 1967), 15; Crosby, *Uppercase*, 3:unpaginated.

175 Crosby, *Uppercase*, 3:unpaginated.

176 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Mobility: Road Systems," *Architectural Design*, October 1958, 385.

177 Smithson, "Letter to America," 95.

178 Smithson and Smithson, "Mobility: Road Systems," 386.

finished with the statement, “The first step is to realize a system of urban motorways. Not just because we need more roads but because only they can make our cities an extension of ourselves as we now wish to be.”<sup>179</sup> Such infrastructure was to be a significant contribution to the identity of a place.

This idea of a backbone was named “stem” by another Team 10 member, Shadrach Woods. This was outlined as a contribution to the special number of *AD* on Team 10 that Alison Smithson edited in May 1960. Here, Woods described “stem” as providing “the environment in which the cells may function” (cells being a unit of dwelling) and become the “generator of habitat”. The design of the structure, Woods argued, would influence the final design of the cells, as it incorporated in it ideas of “mobility and growth and change”.<sup>180</sup> The nodes that hung off the stem (or core) were called “clusters”, a word first used by Kevin Lynch<sup>181</sup> and then introduced at CIAM 10 in 1956 and meaning “a specific pattern of association” replacing traditional grouping names such as “house”, “street”, “district” etc. as they were considered to be “too loaded with historical overtones.”<sup>182</sup> This cluster was to create a new aesthetic as well as a new way of life and was applied to built form by Drake and Lasdun in their “cluster blocks” in Bethnal Green, which *AD* published several times.<sup>183</sup> For some unknown reason, *AD* surprisingly did not publish Smithsons' theoretical piece on cluster, but the *AR* printed it in November 1957, setting it in a Picturesque context between images of Poussin's *Les Cendres de Phocion*.<sup>184</sup>

The final Team 10 theme was “Patterns of Growth”, concerned with how the settlement would scale up. Its theoretical ideas were not expounded in a single article, but the basic idea was that growth had to be incorporated and to fix the infra-structure (the stem) as a permanent, comprehensible identity, while leaving the rest loose enough to be able to adapt to change. The images associated with this idea echo those of the *Growth and Form* exhibition at the ICA<sup>185</sup> and are in essence a biological and organic metaphor for growth rather than a mechanical one. “Patterns of Growth” also harks back to the second part of Gutkind's

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179 Ibid., 388.

180 Shadrach Woods, “Stem,” *Architectural Design*, May 1960, 181.

181 Kevin Lynch, “The Form of Cities,” *Scientific American*, April 1954.

182 Smithson and Smithson, *Urban Structuring*, 33; Crosby, *Uppercase*, 3:unpaginated.

183 Denys Lasdun, “Cluster Block, Claredale Street, Bethnal Green, London,” *Architectural Design*, June 1960; Drake and Lasdun, “Cluster Blocks at Bethnal Green, London,” *Architectural Design*, April 1956; “Cluster Blocks at Usk Street, Bethnal Green, London,” *Architectural Design*, February 1958.

184 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “Cluster City: A new shape for the community,” *Architectural Review*, November 1957, 336.

185 Massey, *The Independent Group*, 42.

*Revolution of Environment* called “Growth and Planning” where he introduced the idea of time as the fourth dimension of space and an essential element to the planning of settlements.

With this abstract language, Team 10 were trying to transform specifics into general laws of habitat in order to develop a generative architectural theory so that instead of imagining the tabula rasa on which the previous CIAM generation liked to impose their universal ideas, the new generation were to take the particular situation “as found” and apply the laws in order to generate a unique architecture of and for the place and time. Another word for this would be “regionalism”. In thought and in organisation Team 10 can be seen as more of a shift to the “low culture” or quotidian commonplace concerns that began in the Independent Group and were a response to the high modernist absolutism of the church of CIAM.



## 7 The Demise of Modern Architecture

When Ken Frampton left *AD* at the end of 1964 the British Empire was fragmenting and the post-war economic boom was about to come to an end with a new Labour government in huge debt. The space race perfectly spanned the sixties and its spin-offs, both from the technology and the vision, influencing architecture immensely. Particularly instrumental was the 'zine *Archigram*, which spanned the same period almost exactly and which *AD* embraced. In the late sixties modern architecture lost support amongst both the general public and the profession, exacerbated by the Ronan Point disaster of May 1968. The decade witnessed the general liberalisation of British society and coincided with great political unrest around the world, with protests climaxing against the Vietnam War, and with insurrection in Europe. Under Robin Middleton, *AD* reflected these huge changes in society and in architecture as it sought to distance itself from bricks and mortar.

## *From Building to Architecture*

### Towards a Critical Regionalism

Frampton readily accepts that his ideas on Critical Regionalism began to emerge during his tenure as technical editor of *AD*:

I became more interested in history but also I'm convinced that my involvement with what later became known as 'Critical Regionalism', for example, that really has its origins at *AD* because *AD* made me aware of continental Europe in a way which I had not been aware of before. For instance, I had contact with Max Bill: we published Max Bill in Zurich. I had some contact with Ernst Gisel in Zurich and we also published Gisel. We also published the work of the concrete painter, Richardt Lohse, you know. I also wrote an essay on Georges Vantongerloo and I met Vantongerloo in Paris so actually the magazine exposed me to figures that I would otherwise not have met of course and also it exposed me to architects that I would perhaps not have been aware of, for example, Ungers. And however mythic it was, maybe still is, I thought that you could make a case for the provincial cities of Europe. There were architects who had a particular connection to that city, such as Gisel working in Zurich, or Ungers working in Cologne, or Mangiarotti and Marasutti in Milano, you know, and even further afield, Aris Konstantinidis in Athens. And we published not entire issues, but we published special features on all those architects, for example. So as it were, the seed of this idea that this kind of decentralised relationship between the architect and the city was an important – however mythical – important kind of cultural potential I think.<sup>1</sup>

Along with the key interests of place-making and tectonics, Critical Regionalism has ostensibly remained Frampton's fundamental position in architectural criticism. He himself has admitted: "It is said that architects always design the same building. In a sense I have always rewritten the same essay."<sup>2</sup>

Frampton starts each of his three early pieces on Critical Regionalism with a quote from Paul Ricoeur's "Universal Civilization and National Cultures"<sup>3</sup> from the book *History and Truth* (1955, translated 1965). This book describes how history is unified as truth creates a singular and universal history but destroys historicity and subjectivity. According to Ricoeur, allowing

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1 Kenneth Frampton, interview by Steve Parnell, November 23, 2009.

2 Cited in Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn: phenomenology and the rise of the postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 189.

3 Paul Ricoeur, "Universal Civilization and National Cultures," in *History and Truth*, trans. Chas. A. Kelbley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 271-286.

for singularities in history promotes a multiplicity of truths over a single, unique truth, and thereby overrides universality: an imposed universal history has less meaning than an individual's subjective understanding of his or her own history. It is the clash of the decentralised individual and the centralised system which also manifests itself in civilisation, which tends to the global of "instrumental reason",<sup>4</sup> versus culture, or the autochthonous "specifics of expression."<sup>5</sup> The passage that Frampton picks out suggests that universal modernization in the same, thoughtless mechanised and mediated manner leads to a depressing cultural kitsch and an oppression of the masses: "Everywhere throughout the world, one finds the same bad movie, the same slot machines, the same plastic or aluminum [sic] atrocities, the same twisting of language by propaganda, etc. It seems as if mankind, by approaching *en masse* a basic consumer culture, were also stopped *en masse* at a subcultural level."<sup>6</sup> This is actually reminiscent of Adorno and Horkheimer's culture industry from their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944) where they wrote, "Under monopoly all mass culture is identical, and the lines of its artificial framework begin to show through. The people at the top are no longer so interested in concealing monopoly: as its violence becomes more open, so its power grows. Movies and radio need no longer pretend to be art. The truth that they are just business is made into an ideology in order to justify the rubbish they deliberately produce."<sup>7</sup> Adorno and Horkheimer are describing a place where art has already permeated everyday life, but in the service of high capitalism. There, art is not only mechanically produced, but mechanically created, using clichés and market data from focus groups who are programmed by the system to give the pre-ordained correct answer. This critique is a distinct contrast to the mass-media interests of the Independent Group which were being rehearsed around the same time as the original publication of Ricoeur's *History and Truth*.

It is not so much the low culture that Frampton objects to, as the all-dominating, all-conquering single truth imposed upon subservient cultures, as represented by inter-war CIAM "International Style" modern architecture. Critical Regionalism was supposed to be a resistance against such normative universalised forms, standards and technological and economic practices. It was to be considered a process rather than a product, where modern

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4 Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," 17.

5 Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle, Washington: Bay Press, 1983), 17.

6 Paul Ricoeur, *History and Truth*, trans. Chas. A. Kelbley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 276.

7 Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (London: Verso, 1979), 121.



thinking and materials could be applied with sensitivity to the local situation. As he later wrote in the first of his pieces on Critical Regionalism:

The fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place. It is clear [...] that Critical Regionalism depends upon maintaining a high level of critical self-consciousness. It may find its governing inspiration in such things as the range and quality of the local light, or in a tectonic derived form a peculiar structural mode, or in the topography of a given site.<sup>8</sup>

Such thinking recalls the Smithsons' "as found" philosophy as drawn through Team 10, and even of the AR's promotion of the *genius loci* in the "New Empiricism". While Frampton did not promote a single line of thinking in his issues of *AD*, as Crosby did with the Smithsons, substituting this resistance to imposed global universalisation with a promotion of the regional would be his legacy. One of his long-standing beliefs, tectonics (applied universal technologies), forms the same paradox that he highlights in Ricoeur: "how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization." With his other main concern, that of place-making, Frampton is searching for an architectural "aura", akin to that described by Benjamin in his *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproducibility* (1936) – compare, for example, Benjamin's "Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be"<sup>9</sup> with Frampton's "If any central principle of critical regionalism can be isolated, then it is surely a commitment to place rather than space, or, in Heideggerian terminology, to the nearness of *raum*, rather than the distance of *spatium*."<sup>10</sup>

By calling for an *arrière-garde* position for Critical Regionalism to distance itself "equally from the Enlightenment myth of progress and from a reactionary, unrealistic impulse to return to the architectonic forms of the preindustrial past",<sup>11</sup> Frampton opposed the domination of both the High-Tech and Post-Modern movements of the early 1980s. It is not just the dehumanisation of the placeless "universal Megalopolis"<sup>12</sup> that Frampton resists, but the commodification, "pure technique or pure scenography" of postmodernism, referring respectively to the "so-

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8 Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," 21.

9 Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, 3rd ed. (London: Fontana Press, 1992), 214.

10 Kenneth Frampton, "Prospects for a Critical Regionalism," *Perspecta* 20 (1983): 162.

11 Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," 20.

12 Frampton, "Prospects for a Critical Regionalism," 162.

called 'high-tech' approach predicated exclusively upon production and [...] the provision of a 'compensatory facade' to cover up the harsh realities of this universal system".<sup>13</sup> As he wrote, "the so-called postmodern architects are merely feeding the media-society with gratuitous, quietistic images rather than proffering, as they claim a creative *rappel à l'ordre* after the supposedly proven bankruptcy of the liberative modern project."<sup>14</sup> After *AD*, Frampton remained suspicious of an image-based media society, calling for the tactile over the visual.

It was not his intention, but there is a danger that such an *arrière-garde* might be read as a backward-looking historicism, sentimental vernacular or base primitivism, which could imply a reversion to a *Blut und Boden* chauvinist or nationalist regionalism. This is because regionalism necessarily implies the cultivation of national identity. As Lefaivre has pointed out, such place "branding" was associated with regionalism in the mid 1950s by the Hilton Hotel and US Embassy building programmes.<sup>15</sup> This was even highlighted, for example, in one of Frampton's issues of *AD* with the write-up of John Johansen's US Embassy in Dublin (Fig. 7.1) which takes pains to simultaneously claim local influences and advanced technological methods:

he [the architect] had to consider what would be appropriate to Dublin, what would be a representative architectural statement from the United States, what would satisfy the functional requirements and intricate operations of an embassy office building, and what would be of significance to the architectural profession. Study of the early monuments and crafts, and the revival of these by the Gaelic League in 1893, revealed a very strong and truly native style. Although some stylistic similarity can be found between this building and eighteenth-century buildings, the effect in general is more that of earlier culture. Technically, the design may be considered an advance in architectural thinking in the use of precast elements. [...]

An attempt was made to use local materials and crafts. The base of the building is of native granite, the façade of reconstructed limestone. The arcaded façade may be thought of as a revival of medieval 'Tracery'. Technically, the angular streets provide lateral stability to the building, as well as being more expressive of structural forces. They also suggest the interwoven Celtic motive as seen in the *Book of Kells* and elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

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13 Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," 17.

14 Ibid., 19.

15 Liane Lefaivre, "Critical Regionalism: A Facet of Modern Architecture since 1945," in *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World* (London: Prestel, 2003), 31.

16 Kenneth Frampton, "United States Embassy Office, Dublin," *Architectural Design*, November 1964, 549.

National identity is a crucial aspect of regionalism and it is no coincidence that the rise of regionalism is synchronous with the fall of colonialism and the British Empire. The last issue of *AD* that featured any colonial architecture was published just as Frampton arrived, before the interest in what was to become known as Critical Regionalism was evident. Recent theorists such as Keith Eggener have claimed Critical Regionalism as a post-colonial concept:

Like postcolonialist discourse in general, critical regionalist writing regularly engages in monumental binary oppositions: East/West, traditional/modern, natural/cultural, core/periphery, self/other, space/place. Frampton made evident the postcolonial underpinnings of his work via his frequent references to Ricoeur's "Universal Civilization and National Cultures" essay. Like the postcolonialist project Ricoeur described, Frampton's version of critical regionalism revolved around a central paradox, a binary opposition: "how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization." It is the tension arising from this problem – the struggle to resolve it more than its eventual resolution – that fuels critical regionalist discourse. This fact underlies Frampton's emphasis on issues of resistance and process over product.<sup>17</sup>

What Critical Regionalism has in common with post-colonialism is its resistance to an imposed power from above. It is ironic, however, that it is a Western concept from architectural history that has itself been imposed upon architecture, and largely limits itself to a single name per primitive country, such as Oscar Niemeyer in Brazil, Charles Correa in India, or Luis Barragán in Mexico. Frampton's original thoughts, when travelling around Europe for *AD* were less top-down imperial, but still associated a single person with a city state, as described above. Eggener notes in his criticism of the concept that "a regionalist character is not primarily a reaction to the West, or to 'world culture,' as the word resistance would imply, but a response to local circumstances."<sup>18</sup> All things considered, this is exactly the same criticism of the abstract universalising modernism of CIAM that the Smithsons and Team 10 were promoting, just couched in different terms.

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17 Keith Eggener, "Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism," *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 4 (May 2002): 234.

18 *Ibid.*, 233.

## Archigram: another critique

Theo Crosby left *AD* to head up Taylor Woodrow's experimental design group for developing Euston station. In May 1963, *AD* reported problems with this development: "The redevelopment scheme for Euston Station by a team of British Railways and Taylor Woodrow Architects, under the general direction of W.R. Headley, Chief Architect to the Midland Region, has suffered a setback in that part of the proposals have been refused by the Town Planning Committee of the LCC."<sup>19</sup> Then in 1964, it fell victim to the new Labour government's ban on office building, as without commercial office space, the scheme was not viable.<sup>20</sup> This possible setback had been mentioned in April 1963's "The month in Britain".<sup>21</sup> Crosby's team did other things in the meantime, such as the Fulham study complete with a huge Buckminster Fuller inspired dome, briefly mentioned in November 1963's issue as being able "to discover the possibilities of large-scale redevelopment of obsolete residential areas on the basis of partnership between private enterprise and local authorities."<sup>22</sup> Soon after, Crosby's team dispersed, and Crosby himself joined Fletcher, Forbes and Gill.<sup>23</sup>

The constitution of Crosby's team between 1962 and 1965, coinciding with the Frampton years at *AD*, forms the beginning of the next wave of the British neo-avant-garde. For it was at Taylor Woodrow that Crosby assembled what would become the core members of the Archigram group, alongside other leading young architects of the day such as Frank Linden, Alex Pike, Brian Richards<sup>24</sup> and of course, Robin Middleton. Middleton was to succeed Frampton as the next technical editor of *AD* and regularly employed Pike and Richards, as well as the Archigram members, as contributors.<sup>25</sup> Middleton recalled, "Cook was the first of the group to arrive [at Taylor Woodrow], in 1962; Chalk and Herron followed at the end of the year, to be joined by Crompton, Webb and Greene in 1963, when the architects' office was established on the Euston site."<sup>26</sup> It was in that office and in the home of Peter Cook that Archigram numbers 3 to 6 were designed and produced. The first mention of Archigram in the British press was in *AD* of June 1964 with the notice, "*Zoom*, a novel architectural magazine

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19 Michael Manser, "High Euston," *Architectural Design*, May 1963, 201.

20 Robin Middleton, interview by Steve Parnell, March 4, 2010. For the full Euston Story, see Robin Middleton, "The Euston Story," *Architectural Design*, June 1966, 267.

21 Michael Manser, "The month in Britain," *Architectural Design*, April 1963, 151.

22 Michael Manser, "Urban renewal: Fulham study," *Architectural Design*, November 1963, 506.

23 Later to become the multidisciplinary design firm, Pentagram.

24 6 October 1928 – 19 December 2004. "Studied at Liverpool University from 1945 and Yale University on a Fullbright Fellowship.

25 Middleton, interview.

26 Robin Middleton, "Haunts of Coot and Hern," in *L.A.W.U.N. Project #19* (London: AA Publications, 2008), B22.

for those whose minds are in a 'Go' condition is published at 59 Aberdare Gardens, London, N.W.6"<sup>27</sup> This was clearly referring to Archigram number 4, the "Zoom" edition, the issue that made Archigram's name and was briefly reviewed in the *AR* two months later.<sup>28</sup> Despite giving them a good review,<sup>29</sup> the *AR* left Archigram well alone until it had passed as a phenomenon, only returning to them in January 1973 with their Monte Carlo competition win.

As Sadler has described in some detail, Archigram was born of Brutalism.<sup>30</sup> Chalk, Herron and Crompton had previously worked under Norman Engleback at the LCC on the very Brutalist South Bank Centre and Chalk later admitted, "I joined your lot. I could have joined the other lot."<sup>31</sup> Peter Cook, generally acknowledged as the engine of the group, admitted to Mary Banham that he came to London to be part of the scene and to replicate the success of the Independent Group's exhibitions.<sup>32</sup> The Archigram group did actually stage an exhibition of their own in 1963 called *The Living City* which self-consciously appended itself to the tradition of the IG exhibitions *Parallel of Life and Art* and *This is Tomorrow*. It was supported by their boss, Theo Crosby, who organised £500 funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation<sup>33</sup> and helped stage it at the ICA. Just as he had dedicated issues of *Uppercase* to the Smithsons, he also dedicated 52 pages of the second issue of his next little magazine, *Living Arts*, to *The Living City* exhibition<sup>34</sup> and he got Robert Maxwell to review it in the third (and final) issue.<sup>35</sup> As Sadler has written, "The "Living City" exhibition tried to account for an urban experience unregistered in the purviews of maps, plans, elevations, and statistical analyses"<sup>36</sup> although Maxwell finished his review with "It seems that only a more dynamic presentation could match the fleeting variety of city experience with a parallel in art as unpredictable and exciting."<sup>37</sup>

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27 "Publications," *Architectural Design*, June 1964, 259.

28 "Zoom architecture," *Architectural Review*, August 1964, 83.

29 Reyner Banham, "A comment from Peter Reyner Banham," in *Archigram*, ed. Peter Cook, Revised edition. (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 5.

30 Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001); Barry Curtis, "A Necessary Irritant," in *Concerning Archigram* (London: Archigram Archives, 1998), 25-79; Middleton, "Haunts of Coot and Hern."

31 Chalk cited in Simon Sadler, "The Brutal Birth of Archigram," in *The Sixties, Twentieth Century Architecture 6* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2002), 126.

32 Mary Banham, interview by Steve Parnell, July 2, 2008.

33 Peter Cook in Dennis Crompton, ed., *Concerning Archigram* (London: Archigram Archives, 1998), 16.

34 An expanded version of the catalogue.

35 Robert Maxwell, "The 'Living City' exhibition at the ICA," in *Living Arts*, ed. Theo Crosby and John Bodley, vol. 3, 3 vols. (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1963).

36 Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, 55.

37 Maxwell, "The 'Living City' exhibition at the ICA," 100.

The exhibition attempted to re-create the vibrant city experience of the emerging swinging sixties<sup>38</sup> in the middle of the city itself. In contrast to art being brought down to the level of reality in the case of *Parallel of Life and Art*, *The Living City* demonstrated the opposite tendency to unite life and art by attempting to raise life to the level of art, a common feature of the Archigram 'zines. It celebrated the liberal and liberated individual of the new modern consumer society.

So Archigram as a neo-avant-garde movement had a prestigious ancestry and precedence with the Independent Group, the ICA, and with Crosby and Banham as supporters and promoters: but it was not until Middleton became technical editor of *AD* in 1965 that the group took on the mantle of the real British architectural neo-avant-garde. Middleton remembers that his “first real intrusion, editorially, was the 15-page survey of the works of Archigram”<sup>39</sup> and as David Greene recalled:

I think for all of Archigram one group that was really important to us was the Smithsons. Peter Smithson was an intellectual – very thoughtful – a really interesting man even if you don't like his work. I think we were all coming from Peter Smithson really. And he of all of them, I think, really hated us. Perhaps he felt we'd stolen his ideas, dressed up in new colours, in a kind of pop aesthetic. And I can understand that. If you look at some of the Archigram projects – the streets in the air – you can see why he might have felt that we had pinched it, but had drawn it in a much more pop, kind of beautiful way. But yeah he was great. And the real lucky break for Archigram was Robin Middleton became assistant editor of *Architectural Design*.<sup>40</sup>

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38 “Swinging London” was officially born in an article of the same title in *Time* magazine, 15 April 1966, although the pace of London culture had been accelerating for some years prior to that.” note 218 Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, 206.

39 Robin Middleton, “Working for Monica,” *AA files*, no. 60 (Spring 2010): 26.

40 David Greene, Jon Goodbun, and David Cunningham, “Architecture and the rain,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 6 (Summer 2001): 197.

## ***From Hard to Soft***

The architectural little magazines of the late sixties and early seventies show five main themes, which are as much a sociological history of the period as architectural:

1. cybernetics and information networks;
2. the beginnings of the ecological movement;
3. political protest;
4. the space race and its technological spin-offs;
5. control and choice and the right to individual happiness.

The first four of these were identified by Colomina's group in *Clip, Stamp, Fold*<sup>41</sup> and the fifth comes from an examination of *AD* during the Middleton years. Together, these themes contribute to a “softening” of architecture. First in terms of the very material of architecture: it is no longer considered to be formed of hard materials like bricks, concrete, glass, and steel, but is more integrated into its environment and ecological. Inflatables and softer materials, including “air walls”, were literally considered as building materials. Second, the previously hard boundaries of what constituted architecture, the profession and the role of the architect in the building process, were softened by talk of participation, community architecture, “architecture without architects”, and squatting. Third, there was more talk of “software” and less of “hardware”. Kallipoliti examines the shift from hard to soft in other ways in her guest-edited *AD* of 2010, where she summarises, “the term ‘hard’ denotes an additive logic of juxtapositions and superimpositions, while ‘soft’ denotes a procedural, evolving logic of transfusion.”<sup>42</sup> In other words, the processes were as much a part of architecture as the product which was itself discussed in terms of loose fit and flexibility rather than hard, pre-configured “form follows function”. Finally, technology itself was softening from the hardness of mechanics and materials science to what became known as the “soft-tech” of a more ecological alternative, or appropriate technology.

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41 Beatriz Colomina, “Little AD” (presented at the 80 Years of AD (1930-2010), R.I.B.A., London, June 29, 2010).

42 Lydia Kallipoliti, “The Soft Cosmos of AD’s ‘Cosmorama’ in the 1960s and 1970s,” *Architectural Design*, December 2010, 38.



## Cybernetics

A year after the 1967 Summer of Love and at a time of considerable political unrest, “Cybernetic Serendipity: the computer and the arts” (Fig. 7.2) was held at the ICA in London to much critical and popular acclaim.<sup>43</sup> Curated by the ICA's then associate director and *AD*'s art columnist, Jasia Reichardt, the exhibition explored “an area of activity which manifests artists' involvement with science, and the scientists' involvement with the arts.”<sup>44</sup> It was the first exhibition of its kind in its demonstration of Reichardt's belief that scientists could be creative and artists could be technical, so that the overlap between the two disciplines would become a significant and fruitful place to explore. She used her column in *AD* to advertise the exhibition<sup>45</sup> and a few pages later, David Osborne reviewed it, starting with a quote from psychiatrist Thomas Szasz, suggesting that the reader replace the word “psychiatry” with “art” in the following passage:

Sooner or later every scientific enterprise comes to a fork in the road. Scientists must then decide which of two paths to follow. The dilemma that must be faced is: how shall we conceive of what we do? Should we think of what we do in terms of *substantives* and *entities* – for example, elements, compounds, living things, mental illnesses, and so forth? Or should we think of it in terms of *processes* and *activities* – for example, Brownian movement, oxidation, or communication? We need not consider the dilemma in the abstract, other than to note that these two modes of conceptualization represent a developmental sequence in the evolution of scientific thought. Entity-thinking has always preceded process-thinking. Physics, chemistry, and certain branches of biology have long ago supplemented substantive conceptualizations by process-theories. Psychiatry has not.<sup>46</sup>

Osborne goes on to note that “Art is traditionally concerned with entities, objects of beauty, paintings, sculpture, etc. Science and in particular Cybernetics is concerned with processes, the way things happen.”<sup>47</sup> Clearly, there is a shift occurring in art from object to process, just

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43 *Time* noted that the exhibition attracted 40,000 visitors in its 11 weeks: “Exhibitions: Cybernetic Serendipity,” *Time*, October 4, 1968, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,838821,00.html>.

44 Jasia Reichardt, ed., *Cybernetic Serendipity: the computer and the arts*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Studio International, 1968), 5.

45 Jasia Reichardt, “Cybernetic Serendipity,” *Architectural Design*, September 1968, 394.

46 Thomas Stephen Szasz, *The myth of mental illness: foundations of a theory of personal conduct*. (Secker & Warburg, 1962); cited in David Osborne, “The art of computers, or computer art,” *Architectural Design*, September 1968, 397.

47 Osborne, “The art of computers, or computer art,” 398.

as there was with architecture at the time. This was demonstrated by most of the pieces in Cosmorama. Usborne's review appeared sandwiched between a piece on computer graphics and another on the automation of the Library of Congress, written by Roy Landau,<sup>48</sup> effectively AD's "cybernetics" correspondent. Landau had taught at MIT from 1960-67 and subsequently at the University of Pennsylvania from 1969-74, before taking up his role as director of graduate studies at the AA. Like many AD contributors of the time, he can be seen importing contacts and ideas from the US via the AA.

Landau was one of the consultants<sup>49</sup> for the "Sector" section of the magazine (Fig. 6.26) that appeared as part of the re-organisation in January 1970 and continued until November 1973. It concentrated on architecture and planning as "problem solving activities possessing evolving structures and changing approaches." Landau had also guest-edited the September 1969 issue, entitled "Despite popular demand ... AD is thinking about architecture & planning," It was dominated by long, mainly unillustrated essays by contributors such as Imre Lakatos ("Sophisticated versus naïve methodological falsificationism"), A.G. Wilson ("New planning tools"), Judith Greene ("Lessons from Chomsky"), Karl Popper ("Of clouds and clocks"), Cedric Price ("Expediency"), Gordon Pask ("The architectural relevance of cybernetics"), Andrew Rabeneck ("Cybermation: a useful dream"), Chris Abel ("Urban chaos or self-organization"), Warren Chalk ("Owing to lack of interest, tomorrow has been cancelled"), David Greene ("Are you sitting uncomfortably? Then I'll begin" and "Gardeners notebook"), Peter Kamnitzer ("Computer aid to design", Nicholas Negro Ponte ("Architecture machine" and "Towards a humanism through machines"), and a final commentary from Stanford Anderson. These articles share the common theme of epistemology of design methodologies: all contribute to the debate on what constitutes architectural theory in the 1960s. For example, in his introduction, Landau defines architecture as "question-asking activities which are popularly classified as 'problem-solving'"<sup>50</sup> and equates architecture and planning with the sciences, thereby allowing "problem-solving as a style of discovery, a process and a method".<sup>51</sup> He argues that architecture and planning have, up until then, been treated as artefactual/plan producing activities. However, this is dependent upon a body of theory, which in architecture's and planning's case had only just achieved respectable status in the 1960s.

There was therefore a search underway for better methods, and architects were looking towards mathematics, systems studies, operational research and cybernetics for the lead.

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48 Royston Landau (6 October 1927 – 11 October 2001).

49 The other was Nick Jeffrey – see Sector, AD January 1971

50 Roy Landau, "Thinking about architecture and planning - a question of ways and means," *Architectural Design*, September 1969, 479.

51 Ibid.

After abandoning the idea of constructing a theory of modern architecture in the late fifties, architectural knowledge was moving more towards a theoretical basis and away from the empirical. The idea of an analysable system was central to the approach. In particular, this was evident in Gordon Pask's article on applying cybernetic theory to architectural problems in which he too attempts to make a case for a new architectural theory based on the idea that "architects are first and foremost system designers who have been forced, over the last 100 years or so, to take an increasing interest in the organizational (i.e. non-tangible) system properties of development, communication and control."<sup>52</sup> This system-oriented approach introduced biological thinking into architecture with organic language such as evolution, ecology, feedback and adaptation creating a softer scientific approach. This adaptation from biology allowed Pask to claim that a cybernetic theory would be more predictive and explanatory than the previously descriptive and prescriptive old theories. Not only was architecture and the city considered a self-organising system within its environment, but the same theory could be applied to the designer and the designed object. This led to the idea of Computer Aided Design (CAD) with which the *AD* issue finished, offering Nicholas Negroponte's ideas on "architecture machines".<sup>53</sup> In the mid to late 1960s, computer technology was advancing rapidly and architects were considering how it would affect their profession. It all started with Ivan Sutherland's mesmerizing Sketchpad Ph.D. thesis at MIT<sup>54</sup> where only four years later, Negroponte had set up his *Architecture Machine Group*. In 1970 Negroponte published *The Architecture Machine*<sup>55</sup> "about artificial intelligence and architectural design"<sup>56</sup> which was positively reviewed by Landau in *AD* in September 1970, an issue in which Negroponte also contributed an article on architecture machines.<sup>57</sup> While Negroponte was concerned with intelligent, evolutionary learning computers with which architects were to be in dialogue during the design process, other less ambitious machines were being introduced into architectural practice. *AD* consultant Makowski first introduced computers onto the pages of *AD* in January 1966 with an article on how the forces and sizes of space

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52 Gordon Pask, "The Architectural Relevance of Cybernetics," *Architectural Design*, September 1969, 494.

53 Nicholas Negroponte, "Towards a Humanism through Machines," *Architectural Design*, September 1969.

54 Ivan Sutherland, "Sketchpad, a man-machine graphical communication system" (MIT, 1963).

55 Nicholas Negroponte, *The Architecture Machine: toward a more human environment* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1970).

56 Roy Landau, "A certain sort of robot," *Architectural Design*, September 1970, 472.

57 Nicholas Negroponte, "The semantics of architecture machines," *Architectural Design*, September 1970.

# ALEXANDER PINE DEVELOPMENTS

To obtain additional information about any of the items described below, circle their code numbers (J1, J2 . . . etc.) on the Readers' Service Card inserted in this magazine.

## J2 Electric car

American Motors Corporation, Detroit, USA  
Gulton Industries Company, Metuchen, New Jersey, USA

Employing a new type of battery, a prototype electric car now being developed is expected to have a range of 150 miles without recharging, more than twice the distance anticipated in other electric cars now being considered. The car, which will be known as the Amitron, will be powered by two lithium batteries which are much smaller and lighter than any hitherto employed, and would give the vehicle a speed of up to 50 miles an hour. Full charge on the batteries will take about four hours, but sufficient charge for a distance of 20 miles can be given in about twenty minutes. A regenerative braking system will be employed in which the energy normally dissipated in slowing and stopping can be used to recharge the battery, adding up to 25 per cent to the car's range.

## J3 Vehicle navigation

AGA Company, Stockholm, Sweden

An electronic navigation device utilizing a solid-state computer can be used in land vehicles, and provides an exact heading and four figure map references, accurate to within 0.5 per cent of the distance travelled in one hour. The initial heading and map references to within 10 metres are preset at commencement of journey. Thereafter the heading is continuously displayed on the compass indicator and position is shown on illuminated counters, one for eastings and one for northings.

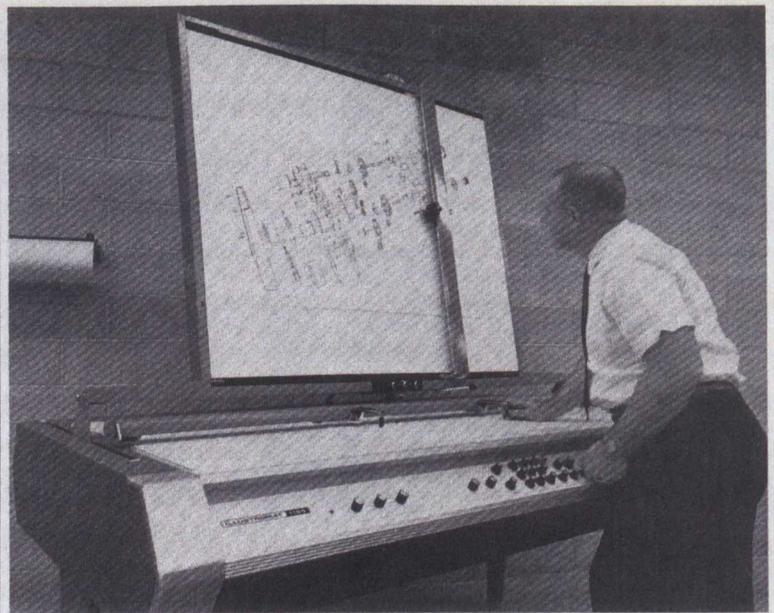
## J4 Cleaner exhaust fumes

A reduction of the amount of carbon-monoxide in the exhaust gases, from 4.5 to 1.15 per cent, is claimed for a new car engine developed by Atex Nilsson and tested by AB Atomenergi, Studsvik, Nyköping, Sweden. The figures quoted were the results of tests at speeds of approximately 30 miles per hour, but in the average city traffic, travelling at half this speed, the carbon-monoxide content was reduced to 0.5 per cent. The improvements are achieved by incorporating an after-burner chamber in the cylinder into which air is injected, to burn some of the unused fuel.

## J5 Improved holograms

Bell Telephone Laboratories, Murray Hill, New Jersey 07971, USA

The conventional Hologram made in laser light to reproduce a three-dimensional image of an object, presents only a limited angular view. The improved



## J1 Draughting machine

Induscom International (UK), Friars House, 39-41, New Broad Street, London EC2

The "Sketchpad" technique for three dimensional design, first used at M.I.T., is now available in the form of a draughting machine which can produce perspective and isometric views from orthogonal drawings. The Illustromat incorporates a small analogue computer which enables the operator, by following lines on plans and elevations with a pair of styli, to produce a three-dimensional drawing which can be rotated through 360° in increments of half a degree. The apparatus is also capable of producing exploded views of complicated objects, and can produce distorted views along any one of the major axes. The equipment will cost about £25,000, estimated to be between a third and a fifth of the price of other computer-based units, and it is claimed that a trained draughtsman could learn to operate it in one day.

version is a composite of many narrow holograms each showing a different view of the object, permitting the viewer, by moving his head from side to side in front of the flat surface, to get the effect of rotating the object through 360°. It is claimed that the new holograms could be used in textbooks to demonstrate an all-round view of a complex shape, for example molecular models and biological specimens.

## J6 Simplified videophone

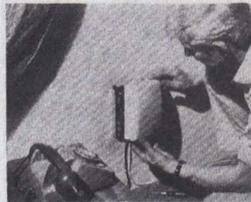
L. M. Ericsson Telephone Company, Stockholm, Sweden

By employing a picture tube with a dot scan system which provides a higher resolution than normally obtainable, the amount of information needed to produce a satisfactory television picture can be considerably compressed. By using this system, Swedish engineers anticipate that ordinary telephone transmission lines may be used for a new videophone system, provided a sufficient number of repeaters are installed in the circuit.

## J7 Improved telephone facilities

Standard Telephone & Cables Limited, STC House, 190 Strand, London WC2

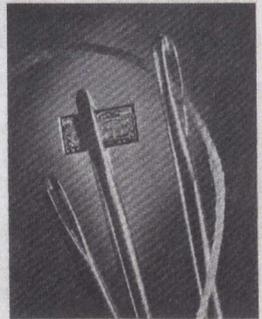
A new system which, if generally adopted could eliminate the problem posed by the present partyline system, has been developed. It will allow two instruments to be connected to one line, either providing a completely independent



## J9 Microcircuits

Mullard Ltd, Mullard House, Torrington Place, London WC1

Micro-miniaturization advances at such a rapid rate that we constantly require new visual similia to assist our appreciation of scale. The Mullard transistor logic decade counter contains over 120 components—as complicated as a fairly powerful radio. It is shown compared with Size 5 needles and 40g sewing cotton.



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Fig. 7.3: New computer technologies such as the automated draughting machine and the microcircuit appeared from circa 1968.

structures could be more easily calculated, and therefore made more feasible.<sup>58</sup> By September Michael Manser noted in his “The month in Britain” news column that the later infamous “J.G.L. Poulson, Pontefract architects, ordered a computer.”<sup>59</sup> Clearly, his business was doing well. A little later, *AD* was featuring “automatic draughting equipment” including a draughting machine and “a digitilizer [sic] allowing an operator to translate information from architectural drawings into numerical forms, automatically punched into eight-channel tape, at very high speed.”<sup>60</sup> Only three months later, Pike featured another draughting machine (Fig. 7.3), drawing on Sketchpad's technique to “produce perspective and isometric views from orthogonal drawings”<sup>61</sup> and costing £25,000. On the same page, a “microcircuit” containing “over 120 components – as complicated as a fairly powerful radio”<sup>62</sup> was shown in the eye of a needle but we had to wait until August 1970 for the first “computer wrist watch”<sup>63</sup> to be given pride of place in “Developments” at a price of \$1500, alongside a \$400 “Miniature calculator”<sup>64</sup> which could, with very big hands, be hand-held.

These examples demonstrate the tools and software to which architects were beginning to get access alongside advances in building products and *AD*'s increasing focus on the process, or the software side of architecture rather than the physical objects, or hardware. This was echoed by Landau's move “from a static idea of 'state' towards a dynamic idea of 'process'.”<sup>65</sup> It introduced Archigram's and Cedric Price's ideas of time and flexibility into the theory, predicting that buildings might literally adapt to and interact with their environment.

Landau's second guest-editing of *AD*, which was also the first post-Middleton issue, was that of October 1972, entitled “Complexity (or how to see the wood in spite of the trees)” (Fig. 7.4). Its format was similar to “despite popular demand...” The articles were similarly long, heavy and unillustrated, and concerned with philosophy and the theory of complexity, a branch of mathematics that was only then just appearing. Landau steps back even further from architecture to consider General Systems theory, a meta-theory embracing cybernetics, and the newly emerging information theory and game theory. For Landau, it was “no longer adequate to consider entities, whether organizations or fields of study, whether planning and

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58 Z.S. Makowski, “Space structures and the electronic computer,” *Architectural Design*, January 1966, 8.

59 Manser, “The month in Britain,” 423.

60 Alexander Pike, “Automatic draughting equipment,” *Architectural Design*, April 1968, 193.

61 Alexander Pike, “Draughting machine,” *Architectural Design*, July 1968, 343.

62 Alexander Pike, “Microcircuits,” *Architectural Design*, July 1968, 343.

63 Alexander Pike, “Computer wrist watch,” *Architectural Design*, August 1970, 423.

64 Alexander Pike, “Miniature calculator,” *Architectural Design*, August 1970, 423.

65 Roy Landau and Michael Pearson, “A Note on an Architecture of Time,” *Architectural Design*, August 1971, 502.



Architectural Design 10 1972 40p

**ROYSTON LANDAU**  
**COMPLEXITY**  
**(OR HOW TO SEE THE WOOD IN SPITE OF THE TREES)**

Fig. 7.4: The cover of the second Roy Landau guest edited issue on cybernetics, October 1972.

planners or architecture and architects, as isolated (or isolatable) phenomenon.”<sup>66</sup> This isolation had been characteristic of a modernist mindset, while the approach of considering everything as connected to everything else can be considered one of the more general characteristics of post-modern thinking. The language and ideas in this issue are similarly organic, with discussions of artificial life (Miroslav Valach), organisation behaviour (Stafford Beer and Sir Geoffrey Vickers), and biological organisms (Lancelot Law Whyte and Britton Harris). The key difference between this issue guest-edited by Landau and the previous one is the introduction of information management, something broached by Stafford Beer in his prescient essay “Managing Modern Complexity” in which he writes,

I argue that the problem of information management is now a problem of filtering and refining a massive overload – for all of us, whether citizens, firms, institutions or governments. We might well say that it is a problem not so much of data acquisition as of right storage, not so much of storage as of fast retrieval, not so much of retrieval as of proper selection, not so much of selection as of identifying wants, not so much of knowing wants as of recognising needs – and the needs are precisely the requirements of systemic equilibria.<sup>67</sup>

We have moved from the organisation of data to the management of information as key ideas in the construction of a theory that ultimately constitutes architectural knowledge. This did not end here, of course, but continued to the present day with the increasing – and increasingly uncritical – role and reliance on computers in architectural design methodologies.

In contrast with the rest of the magazine at the time, Landau's “Sector” column was as dry and sober as his guest-edited issues, often resorting to mathematical equations amongst the academic style papers and including footnotes from papers delivered at conferences or previously published elsewhere. Many contributions were concerned with the unseen aspects of planning and societal problems, as well as the more traditional town plans that had been regularly discussed and published in *AD* since the war. The underlying assumption of “Sector” was belief in the relatively new sciences of cybernetics and systems and information theories. This led to everything being considered a system (preferably closed and with feedback) with an underlying structure, from humans to their immediate environment to their wider environment. Gone was the hand-waving rhetoric of the Smithsons' Urban re-identification articles and their Team 10 generalisations, in favour of an attempt to base planning theory on mathematical models with academic rigour. This approach did, however,

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66 Roy Landau, “Complexity and Complexing,” *Architectural Design*, October 1972, 609.

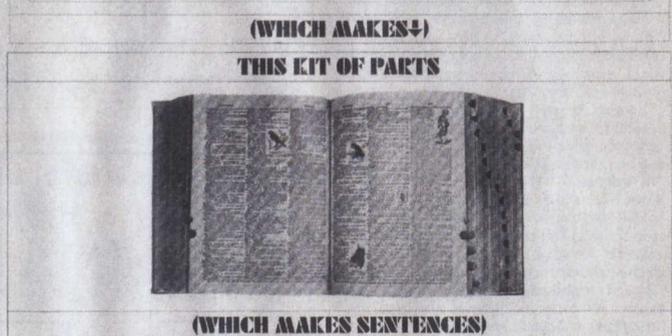
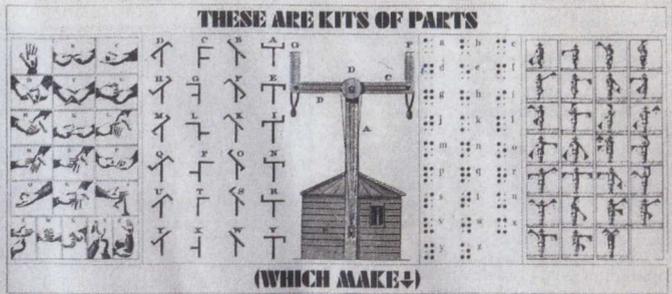
67 Stafford Beer, “Managing Modern Complexity,” *Architectural Design*, October 1972, 631.

# SYSTEMS GENERATING SYSTEMS

Christopher Alexander

1. There are two ideas hidden in the word system: the idea of a *system as a whole* and the idea of a *generating system*.
2. A *system as a whole* is not an object but a way of looking at an object. It focuses on some holistic property which can only be understood as a product of interaction among parts.
3. A *generating system* is not a view of a single thing. It is a kit of parts, with rules about the way these parts may be combined.
4. Almost every 'system as a whole' is generated by a 'generating system.' If we wish to make things which function as 'wholes' we shall have to invent generating systems to create them.

In a properly functioning building, the building and the people in it, together form a whole: a social, human whole. The building systems which have so far been created do not in this sense generate wholes at all.



1. *There are two ideas hidden in the word system: the idea of a system as a whole and the idea of a generating system.*

The word system, like any technical word borrowed from common use, has many meanings and is imprecise. This lack of precision in a technical word might seem dangerous at first; in fact it is often helpful. It allows new ideas to flourish while still vague, it allows connections between these ideas to be explored, and it allows the ideas to be extended, instead of having them cut short by premature definition and precision.

The word 'system' is just such a word. It still has many meanings hidden in it. Among these meanings there are two central ones: the idea of a *system as a whole*, and the idea of a *generating system*.

These two views, though superficially similar, are logically quite different. In the

first case the word 'system' refers to a particular holistic view of a single thing. In the second case, the word 'system' does not refer to a single thing at all, but to a kit of parts and combinatory rules capable of generating many things.

2. *A system as a whole is not an object but a way of looking at an object. It focuses on some holistic phenomenon which can only be understood as a product of interaction among parts.*

Let us consider some examples of holistic phenomena which need to be viewed as systems.

The great depression is an obvious example of a holistic phenomenon. We cannot understand the depression, except as a result of interaction among rates of consumption, capital investment and savings: the interactions can be specified in the form of equations: if we

Fig. 7.5: Christopher Alexander's cybernetic design methodology - "Systems generating systems", December 1968.

tend to eliminate people from the discussions in favour of cold, abstract generalisations. An entirely typical early piece on “cities as open systems” illustrates this:

The practical problems of system analysis and modelling can now be seen to include:

- (1) definition of the environment of an open system i.e. the choice of a boundary for what is to be regarded as the system;
- (2) definition of the elements of the system;
- (3) definition of the relationships and/or the nature of the couplings between elements (and between system and environment).

Affecting all these choices is the question of what *resolution level* to adopt – i.e. in what degree of detail is the real world situation to be defined as a system.<sup>68</sup>

The ultimate aim of this approach was to be able to model society on computers and to use the computer as a design tool to aid rather than replace the designer. The “Pattern Language” work of Christopher Alexander was particularly appropriate and he took the systems approach to a new meta- level with his “Systems Generating Systems” piece in December 1968 (Fig. 7.5).<sup>69</sup> It would not be too much of an exaggeration to say that by 1969 cybernetics had replaced industrialisation as the design epistemology in *AD* which had implications for what was valid in architectural discourse. For example, “Sector” was not just concerned with the planning of the visible and physical, but also discussed the economic and political aspects which could also be considered as (sometimes self-organising) systems. This consideration of everything as a system also applied to the growing science of ecology.

## Ecology

Lloyd Kahn, author of *Domebooks 1* and *2*, which were promoted and sold through *AD*, wrote about his experience of *The Architecture Machine* while visiting MIT: “it’s going to be ecologically unsound, it will only produce environments that machines or machine-like people

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68 J. Brian McLoughlin, “Cities as open systems: a framework for analysis,” *Architectural Design*, June 1970, 313.

69 Christopher Alexander, “Systems Generating Systems,” *Architectural Design*, December 1968, 605–610.

# WHOLE EARTH CATALOG

*access to tools*



Fall 1968

\$5

Fig. 7.6: The first Whole Earth Catalog's cover depicting NASA's first image of the Earth from space, Autumn 1968.

will want to inhabit.”<sup>70</sup> So the emerging ecological movement, while underwritten by the theories of cybernetics, had some serious misgivings about other aspects of the developing architectural avant-gardes, including disposable buildings and the assumption that energy would forever be cheaply available.

As street protests were running their course in Europe, a new type of insurrection was being imported from the US in the form of Stewart Brand's *Whole Earth Catalog* (Fig. 7.6). With NASA's newly released picture of Spaceship Earth floating in a universe of black ink on the cover, the *Whole Earth Catalog* first appeared in the Autumn of 1968 and was published regularly for only three years. However during that short time, it became immensely influential, selling millions of copies and winning the National Book Award, while encouraging an American counter-culture of grass-roots radicalism. As the review in *AD's* *Cosmorama* put it, “the *Whole Earth Catalog* is a unique compendium of the hip and the home-spun, of far-out technology and down-home atavism, dedicated to the proposition that 'we are as Gods – and might as well get [good] at it,' and to the assumption that anything practical, cheap, of high quality and easy availability can serve as a tool towards that end.”<sup>71</sup> Being a catalogue, the *WEC* clearly resonated with *AD's* beginnings and indeed, its sister *Standard Catalogue* publications which were still going strong. It also adopted the same editorial policy of only publishing positive reviews, and simply ignoring things that it did not believe to be worthwhile. Its content, too, echoed that on the pages of *Cosmorama*. Kirk notes that “Counterculture environmentalism simultaneously encompassed both anti-modernism *and* modernism. Inside the covers of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, the seemingly neat bipolar world of twentieth-century environmental politics became a messy *mélange* of apparently incongruous philosophies and goals united under the banner of whole systems, cybernetics, and alternative technology.”<sup>72</sup> This quote could just as easily apply to “*Cosmorama*” as to the *Whole Earth Catalog*. The *Whole Earth Catalog* was a compendium of tools aimed at those who wanted to challenge conventional lifestyles and encourage an alternative mode of living that did not depend on either governments or big business. Brand used the word “tools” to include education as well as physical tools and therefore many of its entries were book reviews. *AD* itself made it into the first number, featuring the *Architecture of Democracy* issue<sup>73</sup> with the comments “This is the only architectural magazine we've seen that consistently carries substantial new

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70 Lloyd Kahn, “Smart but not wise,” *Architectural Design*, September 1972, 538.

71 Thomas Albright, “Whole Earth Catalog,” *Architectural Design*, April 1970, 169.

72 Andrew Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism*, Culture America (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 15.

73 August 1968

information, as distinct from the stylistic eye-wash characteristic of most architecture journals.”<sup>74</sup>

The *Whole Earth Catalog* inspired hippie, drop-out artistic communities such as Ant Farm<sup>75</sup> and Drop City and its success inspired other publications seen on the pages of *AD*, such as *All Globe Co-ordination*,<sup>76</sup> *Mother Earth News*,<sup>77</sup> and the *Domebooks*, “a practical account of the construction of ten different domes built at an experimental high school in the California hills within a period of four months.”<sup>78</sup> *Domebook 1* was featured in September 1970's issue of *AD* and was sold through the magazine from then on. The *Whole Earth Catalog* was inspired mainly by the insights of Buckminster Fuller, whose section, *Understanding Whole Systems*, starts the catalogue and is acknowledged with the opening line, “The insights of Buckminster Fuller initiated this catalog.” This section documented the growing ecology movement and the systems theories of biologists and designers, expressing a holistic philosophy towards the future's ecological challenges. Following Fuller's Dymaxion ethos of doing more with less, domes appeared everywhere on the pages of leading magazines and some were even built – they were not only efficient in that they enclosed the most space with the least material, but they also represented an aesthetic for a new counter-cultural thinking. They were the built form of the anti-establishment, bottom-up, self-help DIY underground culture inspired by the optimistic and radical spirit of Fuller.

Richard Buckminster Fuller<sup>79</sup> was an omnipresent influence on the 1960s generation of contributors to *AD*, particularly Archigram and Cedric Price. Largely due to his technological aesthetic and futuristic ideas, he represented both an aesthetic and an ethic that could be utilised by the second generation neo-avant-garde. As Simon Sadler points out, whereas Fuller espoused the economics of lightweight component architecture, Archigram pursued its pleasures.<sup>80</sup> Fuller is most famous for his geodesic dome which found its way into the Taylor Woodrow Design Group's (then the Archigram members' employer) Fulham Study<sup>81</sup> of 1963 and the Montreal Expo '67 Tower of the following year.<sup>82</sup> Subsequently, the geodesic dome's triangular steel struts were the substructure for Peter Cook's megastructural Plug-In City of

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74 Stewart Brand, “Architectural Design,” *Whole Earth Catalog*, Fall 1968, 17.

75 “Ant Farm,” *Architectural Design*, March 1970.

76 David Burdett, “All Globe Co-ordination & Contacts for Survival,” *Architectural Design*, October 1970.

77 “Mother Earth News,” *Architectural Design*, October 1970.

78 “Domebook,” *Architectural Design*, September 1970, 431.

79 July 12 1895 – July 1 1983.

80 Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, 102.

81 Manser, “Urban renewal: Fulham study,” 506.

82 “Archigram Group, London: A chronological survey,” *Architectural Design*, November 1965, 569.

1964<sup>83</sup> and other projects. Fuller epitomised the “technology is the answer, but what was the question?”<sup>84</sup> stance of twentieth century modernism and Archigram adopted and adapted this for their hedonistic “zoom-wave” designs. Whereas Fuller’s world assumed plentiful provision for a limited population, Archigram seemed to assume infinite resources for infinite pleasure for infinite people. On Fuller’s winning of the RIBA Gold Medal in 1968, *AD* published an abbreviated version of his 16,500 word acceptance speech containing this paragraph on politics:

I am transcendental to all political thinking. I am utterly convinced that the world can be made to work and I'm convinced that all the politicians of both sides have really an extraordinary sense of responsibility to their people. I don't question their integrity as human beings; I'm sorry for them, however, because nothing in their particular art can ever help man to be a success.<sup>85</sup>

Archigram may have been apolitical, but Fuller was “transcendental to all political thinking”, suggesting that the world could be made to work better through technology alone, without the need for political will or structures of power.

Pidgeon was quite taken with Fuller, whom she met while helping organise the VIIIth congress of the UIA held in London in July 1961. Although not architecturally trained, Fuller believed that the world could be saved by designers – and by architects in particular. During the UIA Congress, Pidgeon invited him to contribute his views on the role of the architect in the present world situation and published his call to arms the following month as “The Architect as World Planner”: a declaration of intent. It starts, “I propose that the architectural departments of all the universities around the world be encouraged by the UIA to invest the next ten years in a continuing problem of how to make the total world’s resources serve 100 per cent of humanity through competent design”<sup>86</sup> (in 1961, it served only 40%).<sup>87</sup> He goes on to claim, “It is clearly manifest ... that the architects are able to think regarding such world

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83 Ibid., 570.

84 Cedric Price, “Technology is the answer, but what was the question?” (Lecture, Pidgeon Digital, 1979).

85 Richard Buckminster Fuller and John Donat, “Bucky’s Gold,” *Architectural Design*, December 1968, 560.

86 Richard Buckminster Fuller, “The Architect as World Planner,” *Architectural Design*, August 1961, 336.

87 Buckminster Fuller Institute, “World Design Science Decade Documents”, n.d., <http://www.bfi.org/about-bucky/resources/world-design-science-decade-documents>.

## Whole Earth Catalog\*

Definition / the Underground / those scattered people all over the country / who recognize the need for new life styles and have committed their lives / often at cross-purposes / to creating them / Gurney Norman.

The following is a straight's account of the **Whole Earth Catalog** / access to tools / Fall 1968 / 5 dollars / and its **Difficult But Possible Supplements** for March and January 1969 / Brain damage is what we had in mind all along / chromosome damage is just gravy / this account is known to the straight world as a book review.

It is a collection of information and opinion about books and artefacts / largely covering current underground preoccupations / Nomadics Learning Communications Trout Fishing in N America Psycho-Cybernetics Blasters Handbook sensitive chaos Aladdin Kerosene Lamps We Built Our Own Computers The Ching it's all there / Each item commented upon / copiously illustrated / graphics essentially botch-art.

Although the word architecture is never mentioned / great / it's full of beautiful food for fired environmental beauticians / supplement 2 in particular containing an account of Alloy / First Programmatic Gathering / in the desert / The mike is a ploy to create structure it doesn't have to be plugged in / Lovely / And the very groovy image of your actual instant town / Car-homes / Domes, etc., clustered round a disused factory / that's your beautician taking O.K. / The World's most informative clock created by Dr Athelstone Spilhaus / Any fan of Edmund Scientific Popular Science Frank Zappa, etc., will already be familiar with most of the goodies / here however they are all assembled together and there's lots of information on how to get

them / Do's and Don'ts for the desert traveller.

The first supplement is interesting for two features / a proposal for a libertarian Nomadic Association in Southern California / and a survey of what can be had for free in New York / sample / Chase Manhattan Bank Museum of Money 1256 6th Avenue people consider property as theft and regard all banks especially Chase Manhattan as museums / file under Museums Free if you're that way inclined.

The basic appeal of W.E.C. is neatly explained by an Alloy slogan / Now is the time to find new relationships between different subjects to find simplifying similarities to plan new projects to see the world in a new light / one might disagree with some of the repatterning / but that's not the point / a new world can be made if the present role playing is abandoned / if the present indexing systems can be discarded and allow new hybrids to bloom.

I suppose the most noticeable characteristic of the so-called underground (and therefore W.E.C.) that really gets a straight all hung up / apart from the sexual revolution bit / is its wonderful optimism and ability / stupidity? / to ignore the complexity of the simple / perhaps this is what revolution is all about / Enough words / W.E.C. is great / and they are doing it / and its about people who are building it / and it makes Galileo's revolution look like peanuts / now read the poem / it's about the revolution / it's about how it is going to be / if it turns you on get W.E.C. **David Greene**  
**Definitely book of the month selection**

... please send me under separate plain cover my free copy of the *ghost in the machine* . . . Warren Chalk

... so great that it made me want to crawl away and belt up . . . Peter Cook

\* Available from the Portola Institute, 558 Santa Cruz, Menlo Park, California 94025. Subscription rate for one year \$8.

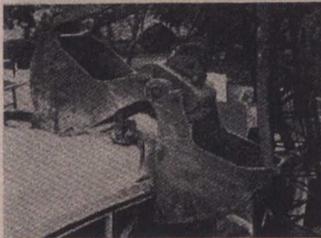
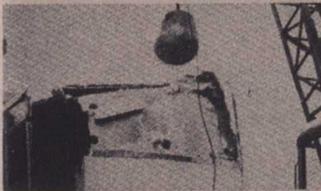
All watched over by machines of loving grace



I like to think (and the sooner the better!) of a cybernetic meadow where mammals and computers live together in mutually programming harmony like pure water touching the clear sky

I like to think (right now, please!) of a cybernetic forest filled with pines and electronics where deer stroll peacefully past computers as if they were flowers with spinning blossoms

I like to think (it has to be!) of a cybernetic ecology where we are free of our labours and joined back to nature returning to our mammal brothers and sisters and all watched over by machines of loving grace. **The Realist**



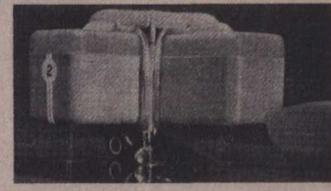
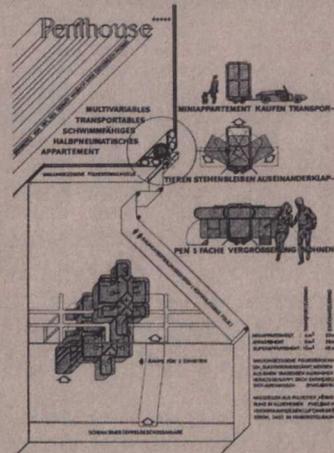
### Monsanto house

We'll have it down in a day, the wreckers said. That was before they started work on Hamilton and Goody's famous Monsanto's Home of the Future, built ten years ago at Disneyland.

A 3000lb steel ball bounced off the glass fibre reinforced plastic walls. Half-inch chain saw blades broke. The crane that was supposed to lift the walls from the foundations got its truck tilted instead. Steel anchor bolts half an inch thick broke, but not the GRP of the house.

After two weeks, the job was finished. What the demolition crew finally had to do was crush the house with choker cables. The pieces were hauled away by truck.

Architectural and Engineering News 10/1968.



### Living with living-pods

During a ceremonial burning of a Hans Hollein candle recently—one of those red wax extruded section eight-wick jobs—discussion turned to speculation on future Archigram directions, the problem of running faster in order to stay in the same spot, and the fact that disciples can sometimes be a bit of an embarrassment.

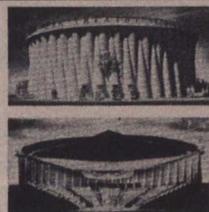
What more is there to say? Confronted with yet another plug-in capsule. Great! Welcome to the club. How about a wax technology? If the only measure of success is how effectively *avant-garde* images are passed from one generation to another—forget it. Gernot Nalbach, however, has developed inherited standards and extracted some new ones of his own as his multi-variable-transportable-apartment project, surprisingly titled 'Perthouse' clearly shows.

Warren Chalk

### Porta theatre

A fully and highly equipped portable grp theatre, by D Onslager and Jo Mielziner and a host of technical advisers (but no architects) and a Ford Foundation grant.

Total cost \$550,000. Diameter 112ft; height 36ft; weight 150 tons. Capacity 1022 seats. Erection time three days, using five skilled and twenty-four unskilled labourers. *Architectural Record* 3/1969.



### Think metric



### Miss Metric

One of a series of posters designed 'to help the construction industry in the changeover to the metric system'. (But what woman will want to quote her vital statistics in hundreds of millimetres instead of tens of centimetres?) Posters, at £2.30 each, available from CITB, Radnar House, Norbury, London, SW16.

Fig. 7.7: Cook's, Chalk's and Greene's review of the Whole Earth Catalog introduced it to AD readers in May 1969.

planning in a manner transcendental to any political bias.”<sup>88</sup> Fuller’s vision was implemented as the World Design Science Decade (WSDS) starting in 1965. *AD* continued to publish Fuller’s ideas throughout the 1960s as it complemented *AD*’s international perspective and target student audience, and the December 1972 issue was dedicated to a Buckminster Fuller retrospective. The outcome of the WSDS was six verbose documents of ideas, research and tools on resource planning<sup>89</sup> for use by architectural schools worldwide in the pursuit of Fuller’s initial declaration. The last document, “The Ecological Context, Energy and Materials”, was published in 1967 by Fuller and his associate, former IG member John McHale. Unfortunately, Fuller’s deliberate apolitical stance meant that while he influenced and inspired the ideas and aesthetics of a generation of architects, he never affected any real change: the arguments and discussions regarding ecology that were becoming prevalent in architecture and *AD* at the end of the sixties and early seventies are remain as urgent and unresolved today.

David Greene was teaching at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute in the US between 1965 and 1969<sup>90</sup> so could have easily come across the *Whole Earth Catalog* in its early days. He must have been reading it around the same time as he drew his rokplug and logplug drawings, dated February 1969, because he reviewed it for *AD* in May 1969 along with Warren Chalk and Peter Cook (Fig. 7.7). They were breathlessly positive about it “W.E.C. Is great / and they are doing it / and its [sic] about people who are building it / and it makes Galileo’s revolution look like peanuts / now read the poem / it’s about the revolution / it’s about how it is going to be / if it turns you on get W.E.C.”<sup>91</sup> The poem it refers to, which is printed alongside, is Richard Brautigan’s *All Watched Over by Machines of Loving Grace* (1967):

I like to think (and  
the sooner the better!)  
of a cybernetic meadow  
where mammals and computers  
live together in mutually  
programming harmony  
like pure water  
touching the clear sky

I like to think

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88 Buckminster Fuller, “The Architect as World Planner,” 336.

89 Available from Buckminster Fuller Institute, “World Design Science Decade Documents.”

90 “David Greene - Curriculum Vitae”, n.d., <http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/person-cv.php?id=7>.

91 Greene, Chalk, and Cook, “Whole Earth Catalog,” 239.

(right now, please!)  
of a cybernetic forest  
filled with pines and electronics  
where deer stroll peacefully  
past computers  
as if they were flowers  
with spinning blossoms

I like to think (it has to be!)  
of a cybernetic ecology  
where we are free of our labours  
and joined back to nature  
returning to our mammal  
brothers and sisters  
and all watched over  
by machines of loving grace.<sup>92</sup>

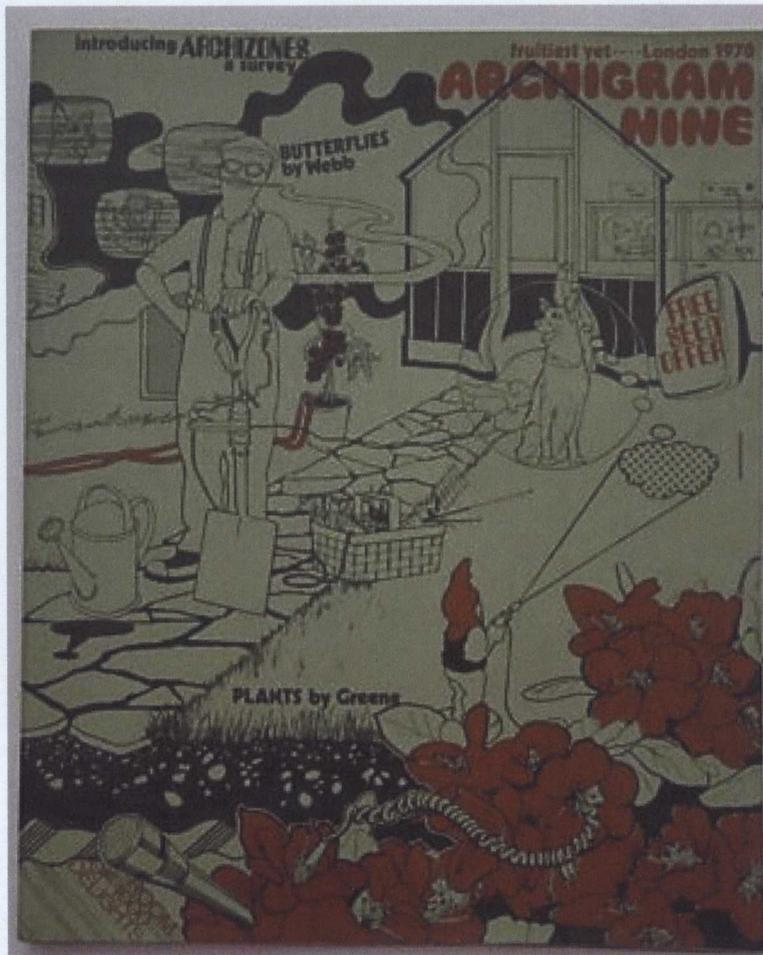


Fig. 7.8: The cover of Archigram 9, 1970.

92 Ibid.

The next feature, also by Chalk, mentions “speculation on future Archigram directions”.<sup>93</sup> This apparent turn towards ecology was clearly influenced by the *Whole Earth Catalog* and Brautigan's poem, as demonstrated by the last full Archigram (number 9) – the “seed issue” (Fig. 7.8), which appeared in 1970. This is not only a softer architecture and softer approach from Archigram, it advocates the complete subservience of architecture to its environment. Sadler remarks that this was not so much Archigram turning ecological, as an extension of their cybernetic interests – it was an attempt to make the environment into a system rather than insert a system into the environment.<sup>94</sup> This eco-cybernetics manifested itself in “An Experimental Bottery”, David Greene's L.A.W.U.N. number one, published in *AD* in August 1970.<sup>95</sup> A “bot” is “a machine transient in the landscape”, or “a non-specialised robot appliance made up from interchangeable [sic] modules” and he defines “bottery” is a “robot serviced landscape.”<sup>96</sup> So the generic bot is the hardware which would be programmable or reconfigurable to perform a variety of functions. Greene dreamed of the time when the bots would render architecture obsolete, defining “L.A.W.U.N.” as “the striving after basic objectives – doing your own thing without disturbing the events of the existing scene and in a way which is invisible because it involves no formal statement, and because it is related to time, may or may not be there at any given point in time.”<sup>97</sup>

Greene's Lawun project two appeared seven months later in *AD*. This time, he goes further than simply suggesting that architecture should be invisible by advocating the un-designed and actually calling for building to be made illegal. He introduces the project with the following: “Notes intended 1 to encourage a closer relationship between man; electronics and nature (as electronics gets more and more sophisticated, maybe man can become more and more primitive) and 2 to make illegal the construction of any new building – a declared moratorium on buildings, a search for Lawun Project No 2, the Invisible University.”<sup>98</sup> The main image shows a discarded fridge in a deserted landscape (Fig. 7.9). Greene suggests that this is about as much an architecture as he can bear, “it's just lying about, no fuss, no 'landscaping', no grids or megastructures.”<sup>99</sup> Architecture has transformed itself into a personalised product, much like “the electronic tomato” and “Manzak,” “a radio controlled, battery powered electric automation. [...] Optional extras include response equipment for specific applications and

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93 Warren Chalk, “Living with living-pods,” *Architectural Design*, May 1969, 239.

94 Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, 124.

95 David Greene, “L.A.W.U.N. Project Number One,” *Architectural Design*, August 1970.

96 *Ibid.*, 386.

97 *Ibid.*, 385.

98 David Greene, “Lawun project two,” *Architectural Design*, March 1971, 200.

99 *Ibid.*



subtasks to your own specification.”<sup>100</sup> This primitivism was appearing elsewhere in *AD* and was in stark contrast to Archigram’s usual futurist, high-tech aesthetic, although the ideology was still to “transcend all social convention (including politics and conflict) through relentless cybernetic modification.”<sup>101</sup> Archigram had gone beyond ideology and beyond architecture and the group was rather reluctantly addressing the environmental problem, but only as part of a cybernetic avant-garde;

Ecology - there, I've said that word - is a social problem. We have been told so by *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *Look* and the Nixon administration. Pollution is insidiously growing. Either the environment goes or we go. And you all know what will happen if the environment goes. We have produced a society with production for the sake of production. The city has become a market place, every human being a commodity. Nature is a resource. Human beings are a resource. Well. Our very survival depends on an ecological utopia, otherwise we will be destroyed.

The technological backlash we are experiencing must be fought with a more sophisticated technology, a more sophisticated science. [...] But if we are to prevent eco-catastrophe it can only be done by more sophisticated environmental systems, not by dropping out. Nor the hippy type philosophy. [...] Let's face it, total dispersal won't work economically any more than total centralisation. Apart from being a head-in-the-sand attitude, we need to fight technology with technology, to produce David Greene's cybernetic forest [...] What we look for is technological play, so that individuals can create an even greater environmental stimulation. A person switched on to the electric tomato, or the proud possessor of the personalised robot like Manzak, (*AD* 7/69) can extend an existing situation, and a new man/machine [relationship] be established getting people, through their extension with a machine, into action. [...]

Experiments such as these could achieve a people-oriented technology of human liberation, directed towards pleasure, enjoyment, experimentation: a try-it-and-see attitude [...] Hopefully some environmental magic will then prevail and we will again think up the impossible in order to be realistic.<sup>102</sup>

Warren Chalk delivered this at the AA Summer School in 1970. It also formed the last piece in the 1972 Archigram book which essentially became their monograph.<sup>103</sup> In other words, this quotation represents their final words while still, just about, being part of the avant-garde.

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100 Ron Herron, Warren Chalk, and David Greene, “Manzak,” *Architectural Design*, July 1969, 377.

101 Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, 125.

102 Warren Chalk, “Touch not...,” *Architectural Design*, April 1971, 238.

103 Peter Cook, ed., *Archigram*, Revised edition. (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

AT THE HEAD  
OF  
THE COLUMN\*



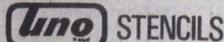
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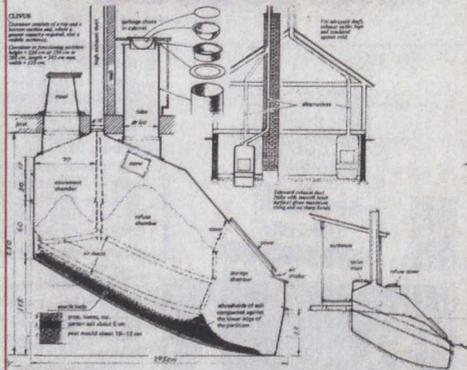
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## Recycling



### Clivus

Clivus is a system for the biological degradation of organic waste, with a built-in garbage chute and toilet. It requires no input of water and its output is fertiliser — hence it is not connected to any sewage system.



The system consists of little chutes from the kitchen and toilet, an exhaust duct and a decomposition chamber. It is little more than a consumerised cesspit and yet looks sufficiently Swedish and sterile to end up at the Design Centre. It will handle all solid and liquid organic wastes other than bath, dish and laundry water. It was originally developed for remote Scandinavian weekend houses which are miles from water and sewage pipes but are used by people who turn up their noses at earth closets. Clearly its potential use is far greater and its widespread use in towns is the obvious next step. Naturally the unit is not manufactured in this country.

Colin Moorcraft

#### CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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**Robert Adams Landscape Architects,** have recently changed their address from: 31 The Green, Richmond, Surrey, to 5-6 Roxby Place, Rickett Street, London SW6 (Phone 01-381 2256)

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Fig. 7.10: Colin Moorcraft's first Recycling column, September 1971.

Ecological issues were becoming more prevalent everywhere. The “soft technology” movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed communities moving towards a back-to-nature small scale self-sufficiency, involving recycling, composting toilets, and decentralised energy generation from solar and wind power, geothermal heat and biogas conversion which all became more than an ideology during and after the energy crisis of 1973. Kirk has noted that “Appropriate technology emerged as a popular cause at a 1968 conference held in England on technological needs for lesser developed nations.”<sup>104</sup> Such “soft-tech”<sup>105</sup> initiatives had been featured widely in *AD* from around that point onwards, with features like reviews of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, and the “Future is Now” initiative.

Although small pieces regarding recycling had appeared in *AD* in 1970,<sup>106</sup> and the “Future is Now” column briefly appeared between 1969 and 1970 (chapter 6), Colin Moorcraft’s<sup>107</sup> full-blown *Recycling* column did not appear in *AD* until September 1971 (Fig. 7.10).<sup>108</sup> This was after a feature/advert in *Cosmorama* appeared in June’s issue, requesting help for contributions from readers in this new field:

The Editors of *AD* would like to hear of any ideas or scheme for the  
**RECYCLING OR**  
**REGENERATION OF**  
**RESOURCES**

in any field (waste, solids, liquids, gases) which is currently being investigated by any organisation, firm or individual, in any part of the world. Can YOU help by telling us of any?<sup>109</sup>

The first column covered a composting toilet, Coca-Cola bottle recycling, the production of energy from sewage, the reuse of water, and the recycling of paper. The latter two were themselves recycled from the *Financial Times* and *New Scientist* respectively, in true scrapbook fashion. Moorcraft’s tone was highly critical of the status quo and lack of attention to this aspect of the environment from the start. A short bibliography of publications appended

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104 Kirk, *Counterculture Green*, 29.

105 The term “soft-tech” is from the title of an issue of Stewart Brand’s *Co-evolution Quarterly* from 1978 and is derived from Amory Lovin’s 1977 book *Soft Energy Paths*.

106 “Re-using it,” *Architectural Design*, October 1970; “Trick Recyclist,” *Architectural Design*, March 1970.

107 Colin Moorcraft (b. 1947) was a student at the AA whose third year thesis was published as *Must the Seas Die?* (Colin Moorcraft, *Must the Seas Die?* (London: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd, 1972).

108 This was renamed “Eco-tech” in October 1972, in Peter Murray’s first issue as technical editor.

109 Editors, “Help!,” *Architectural Design*, June 1971, 334.



Fig. 7.11: The cover of the July 1972 issue guest edited by Colin Moorcraft on the issue of "Designing for Survival".

the first column, reminiscent of the *Whole Earth Catalog*. Moorcraft's *Recycling* column remained at the back of the magazine, but slowly grew from its initial page and a quarter as interest and knowledge grew. Later columns included energy generation from methane,<sup>110</sup> solar<sup>111</sup> and wind power<sup>112</sup> as well as the usual recycling features. The column culminated in a whole issue guest-edited by Moorcraft, entitled "Designing for Survival"<sup>113</sup> (Fig. 7.11) and based on *AD's* contribution to the 1972 RIBA Conference of the same name. The mini-editorial<sup>114</sup> that introduced the issue repeated the opening paragraph of the conference brochure: "The environmental crisis is not something for architects to think about only in their spare time, or as public-spirited citizens. Design decisions affect not only the internal and external environment, but also the use of land, the consumption of energy and materials, and the industrial process. Architects can create or minimise waste or pollution. They are part of the problem, and must be part of the cure."<sup>115</sup> This set the tone for the issue which addressed food and water shortage, population explosion, pollution, the exploitation of natural resources, land use, the rise of CO<sub>2</sub> levels (and the corresponding rise in the oceans' levels), and other similarly prescient ecological concerns. The solution was still considered in cybernetic terms, as illustrated by the young Ken Yeang<sup>116</sup> in an article where he identified that "At the outset, a fundamental ecological approach is essential, so that we have artificial ecosystems that do not disrupt the world's ecology but rather function inside it. As a concept we can call these systems which are ecologically designed as *designed ecosystems*."<sup>117</sup> Leader of Yeang's team at Cambridge, and *AD* contributor, Alex Pike, wrote the final article, in which he articulated the contradiction that faced the architect:

having been persuaded during the last twenty or thirty years to design heavily serviced buildings, factory-manufactured buildings for mass-production, 'throw-away' buildings with a built-in obsolescence factor, 'all-plastics' houses, or pneumatics – adopting a hard technology in general – he [the architect] is now asked to make a sudden mental flip, designing minimum inputs of energy during manufacture,

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110 Colin Moorcraft, "Methane Power," *Architectural Design*, February 1972.

111 Colin Moorcraft, "Solar House," *Architectural Design*, January 1972.

112 David Stabb, "Wind," *Architectural Design*, April 1972.

113 July 1972

114 These "mini-editorials" were re-introduced in February 1972 and essentially served as short introductions to the issue rather than a platform for comment.

115 Editors, "This month.....," *Architectural Design*, July 1972.

116 At the time, Ken Yeang (b. 1948) was a Ph.D. research student at the Technical Research Division of the Cambridge University Department of Architecture

117 Ken Yeang, "Bases for Ecosystem Design," *Architectural Design*, July 1972, 434.

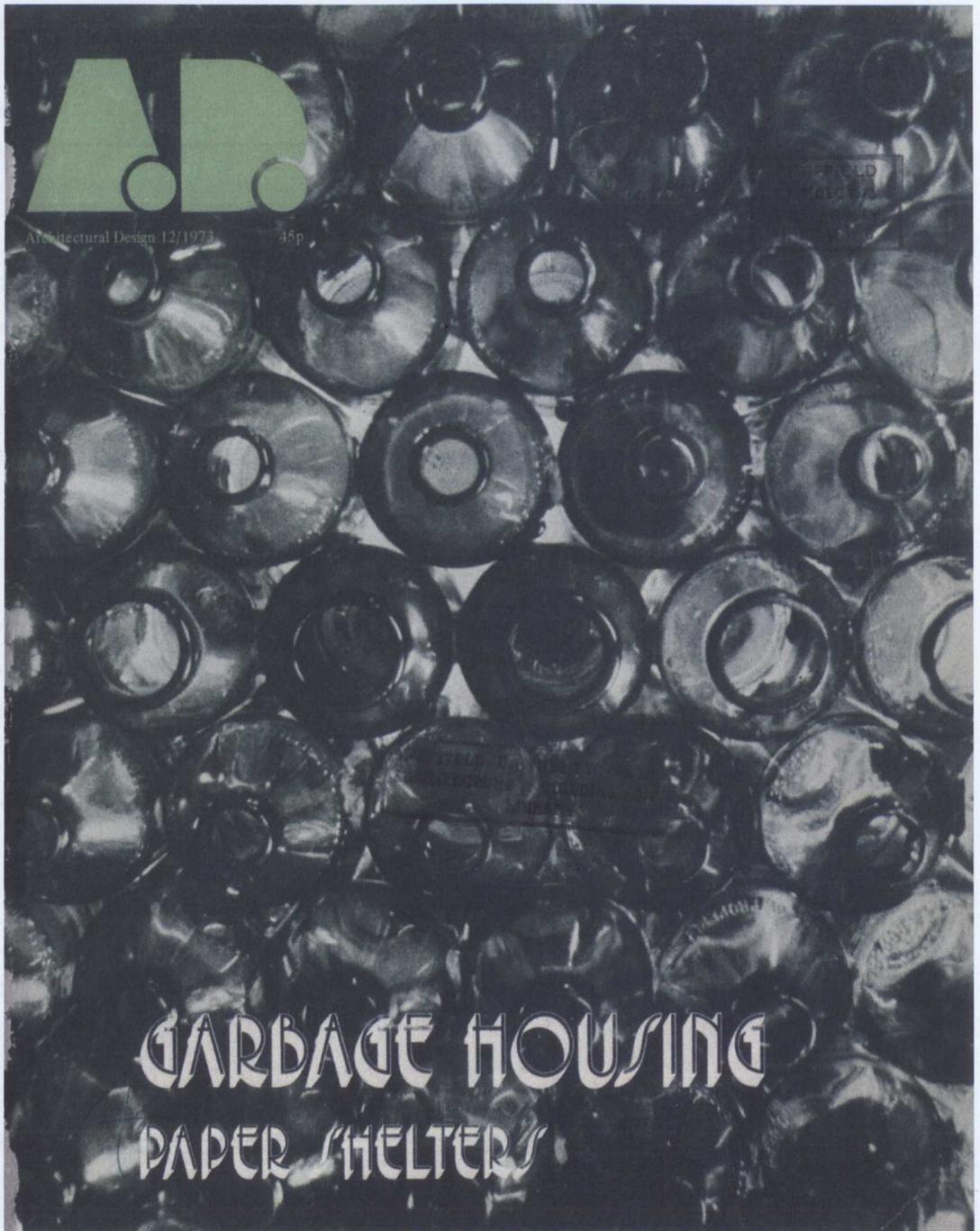


Fig. 7.12: The cover of Martin Pawley's guest-edited issue on "Garbage Housing", December 1973.

construction and occupation, built to give an extremely long life-expectancy, but providing sufficient flexibility of choice for a range of different life styles.<sup>118</sup>

This implied the shift from “hard” to “soft” technology and finally acknowledged the contradiction between, for example, Archigram’s aesthetic and the ethics of the emerging ecological movement.<sup>119</sup>

### Political protest

In addition to the shift from hard to soft technologies, there were other demonstrations of resistance to architecture’s domination by capitalist and/or consumerist society, particularly in radical new ways of inhabiting the planet, such as squatting, communal living and building houses out of temporary materials, sitting lightly on the earth and encouraging a more traditional way of life, not embroiling oneself in the fiscal ecosystem of mortgages, inflation or economic growth. This was the main message of Martin Pawley’s *Garbage Housing*<sup>120</sup> of 1971, which became an *AD* special issue in December 1973 (Fig. 7.12).<sup>121</sup> Pawley was one of *AD*’s more political contributors<sup>122</sup> who wrote time and again about the lack of housing for the poor and its unaffordability, issues which again resonate 40 years on. These culminated in his books *Architecture Versus Housing*<sup>123</sup> and *Garbage Housing*<sup>124</sup> before he moved on to more high-tech concerns. In *Garbage Housing*, he argues that housing should be temporary, demountable, mobile and not attached to land, so as not to partake in the long term finance system. The use of garbage for housing was not only to build more naturally, but to suggest another way of life that rejected the subservience of people’s real needs to capital: “Housing as a product of radical life styles.”<sup>125</sup> Pawley was suggesting non-visible systems here but he pointed to examples such as pop festivals and communes such as Drop City, as well as

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118 Alexander Pike, “Cambridge Studies,” *Architectural Design*, July 1972, 441.

119 Steve Parnell, “The Collision of Scarcity and Expendability in Architectural Culture of the 60s/70s,” *Architectural Design*, August 2012, forthcoming.

120 Martin Pawley, “Garbage Housing,” *Architectural Design*, February 1971.

121 Under Peter Murray as technical editor.

122 Martin Pawley (21 March 1938 – 9 March 2008) also wrote as Rupert Spade while writing for other magazines.

123 Martin Pawley, *Architecture versus housing*, New concepts of architecture (London: Studio Vista, 1971).

124 Martin Pawley, *Garbage housing* ((London): Architectural Press, 1975).

125 Pawley, “Garbage Housing,” 91.

Fuller's Wichita house, the Dymaxion house, and the "DIY Dome Kit". These were objects of industrial production not necessarily attached to the land. In other words, Pawley advocated the complete rethinking of housing from the bottom up, as a total system, as a "service industry" in the words of Fuller,<sup>126</sup> and as a way of resisting or protesting against the dominance of the status quo which advocated that housing should be tied to a piece of land, and therefore to the financial system. This idea that housing, or one's shelter, could be an itinerant mass-produced product was suggested in Archigram's "Instant City"<sup>127</sup> project, which was considered by Pawley to be fulfilled in pop festivals such as Woodstock (1969) and the Isle of Wight Festival of Pop (1968-70) about which he wrote in *AD*, and which he claimed attracted between 300,000 and 600,000 people between the 26th and 31st August 1970. For Pawley, these festivals represented a new order: "it [the squalor of pop festivals] is integral with the abandonment of bourgeois individualism, career-structures, law and order, possessive love, forbidden sex and eroticism. It is part of the collapse of monumentality, dignity, self respect; all the delusory values of the old narrow world [...]"<sup>128</sup> To make the juxtaposition of Instant City and pop festivals clear, Pawley's festival piece was immediately followed by an 8 page report on Archigram's "Instant City in Progress".

The ultimate soft technology was the inflatable, a fad initiated by the Utopie group<sup>129</sup> in Paris as "a radical critique of architecture, urbanism, and everyday life in French society."<sup>130</sup> Utopie had something of a stand-off relationship with Archigram, considering them (quite rightly) ineffectively apolitical and concerned only with aesthetics. This became obvious when Archigram visited the new UP6 (Unité Pédagogique – a replacement for the Ecole des Beaux Arts) – to present their work alongside that of the French in 1971,<sup>131</sup> and when they found themselves on opposing sides at the Utopia o/e Rivoluzione congress in Turin in April 1969. As Tonkin later recalled, "At a colloquium called 'Utopia or Revolution' we wrapped a number

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126 Cited in Pawley, *Architecture versus housing*, 111.

127 Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton, and Ron Herron, "Instant City," *Architectural Design*, May 1969.

128 Martin Pawley, "Caroline Go To Canvas City Immediately - Your Friend Has Been Busted: and that's not all," *Architectural Design*, November 1970, 564–565.

129 Consisting of architects Jean Aubert, Jean-Paul Jungmann, Antoine Stinco, landscape architect Isabelle Auricoste, planner Hubert Tonka and sociologists René Loureau and Jean Baudrillard. The group was mainly associated with the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and existed from 1966-1971.

130 Rosalie Genevro, "Introduction," in *The Inflatable Moment: pneumatics and protest in '68*, ed. Marc Dessauce (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 7.

131 Martin Pawley, "The Old School," *Architectural Design*, September 1971, 536 This issue, edited by Pawley who was a student at the Beaux Arts, and called "The 'Beaux Arts' since '68' documents the change from the Ecole des Beaux Arts to the new Unités Pédagogiques that occurred due to the May 1968 protests."

of shitheads in toilet paper. We held the whole conference hostage for several hours with a leftist group called the Vikings. The cops showed up with submachine guns, etc. Oh, yes, 'Utopia or Revolution,' that was a bad scene... Archigram [as well as Superstudio and Archizoom] was there; Archigram was on the wrong side, that of the hostages, not of the hostage-takers."<sup>132</sup> Archigram were also bemused by the student protests at the Milan Triennale in 1968<sup>133</sup> where they were exhibiting the "Milanogram" (Archigram 8).<sup>134</sup> No sooner had the exhibition opened than it was occupied by students for 10 days in sympathy with the French and also in protest at their archaic architectural training.<sup>135</sup> Both Utopie and Archigram shared an avant-garde wish to "take direct action" to change architecture, but Utopie were active political agitators and protesters while Archigram remained on paper, hence the antagonism.

The architects of Utopie were just completing their diplomas at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in the summer of 1968, when they became involved in the break up of the school and subsequent riots in Paris. Utopie believed in architecture as a social practice and Genevro remarks that they held architecture to represent a formalist, bourgeois occupation and to be the image or agent of social inertia. Therefore the only valid approach to architecture at that time was to *avoid* it, or to *challenge* it. To this end, the French group started a review called *Utopie: revue de sociologie de l'urbain* which first appeared in May 1967. Their big move, however, was to organise the exhibition Structures Gonflables<sup>136</sup> (Fig. 7.13) at the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris, just before the May riots, and which featured a range of inflatable products and buildings to challenge the "weight, permanence, expense, and immobility of traditional architecture."<sup>137</sup> This was very much along the lines of Pawley's Garbage Housing in that it protested against architecture's inherent link with land ownership and its role in the capitalist economy.

*AD* devoted the "Pneu World" June 1968 issue<sup>138</sup> (Fig. 6.26) to inflatables and gave Utopie the last page in *Cosmorama* to introduce the issue. This article, translated from their "Architecture as a Theoretical Problem", goes some way to explaining Utopie's frustration at

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132 Interview with Hubert Tonkin, cited in Jean-Louis Violeau, "utopie: in acts," in *The Inflatable Moment: pneumatics and protest in '68*, ed. Marc Dessauce (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 49.

133 May 30 – July 10, 1968.

134 "Milanogram," *Architectural Design*, April 1968, 152.

135 "Miscarriage," *Architectural Design*, July 1968, 298.

136 March 1 – 28, 1968. Announced in *AD* in "Gonflé," *Architectural Design*, February 1968, 56.

137 Genevro, "Introduction," 8.

138 Guest-edited by AA students Simon Conolly, Mike Davies (later of Chrysalis and Richard Rogers), Johnny Devas, David Harrison and Dave Martin.

UTOPIE

Revue de sociologie de l'urbain

Catalogue de l'exposition

# structures gonflables

mars 1968

*Précède d'un*

Essai sur technique et société

*de*

Considérations inactuelles  
sur le gonflable

*et de*

Particularité des structures gonflables



animation recherche confrontation

Musée d'Art Moderne  
de la ville de Paris

Fig. 7.13: Cover of the exhibition catalogue for Structures Gonflables.

Archigram. As the editors explain in an introduction to their Structures Gonflables exhibition later in the issue, “Their utopian credo ... is not intended as an excuse for other-worldly fantasy in design.”<sup>139</sup> “Architecture as a Theoretical Problem” describes how architecture must be a social practice and not merely theory, how their aim was “to analyse what happens in reality and to act in accord with this analysis in the practice of architecture and town planning”.<sup>140</sup> They claimed that urban planning was an instrument of repression: “Architecture can be thought of only in a social context, that is in relation to an architectural practice that arises out of a political and economic structure and not as a 'humanist' ideal by which it has been sustained for more than a hundred years, and which, being an illusion, has had no impact on reality and by default has abetted those institutions and seats of power that control our social activities.”<sup>141</sup> Ultimately, however, Utopie's only real practice was the inflatable moment and it was this inability to continually reconcile theory and practice that led to the group's dissolution in 1971.<sup>142</sup>

Inflatable objects were commonplace in *AD*'s “Cosmorama”, the section on interior design and Pike's “Development” and “Hardware” sections. Apart from the ubiquitous domes and furniture, a whole range of inventive uses was found for inflatables, especially by the army, such as shown in April 1970's Cosmorama: an “inflatable fabric 'Centurion' tank decoy device”, a pneumatic jack that connected to the exhaust to inflate and thereby lift up vehicles, an inflatable mast, hovercraft, and even an inflatable hoist consisting of “a suitable length of hose, clamped [...] by a pair of rollers. When the hose is inflated by air or water the rollers are forced along its length.” A man is shown looking nonchalant, hands in pockets, clearly in some discomfort having been hoisted high above his colleagues' heads as though the victim of a stag-do prank. The hoist was used for maintenance work on electric pylons with a rocket to carry the line over a suitable attachment point (Fig. 7.14). Expo '70 in Osaka was the inflatable movement's last gasp as many of the pavilions utilised inflatable architecture, documented by Martin Pawley and Tim Street-Porter in July 1970's issue of *AD*. Some of these pavilions were quite large, such as Fuji's by Yutaka Murata, hailed by Pawley as “the most advanced” and consisting of 16 airbeams, each 72m long.<sup>143</sup> Others were quirky, like Ricoh's, a roof made of a 25m diameter balloon, which held a range of coloured lamps and

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139 Simon Conolly et al., “La Pneumatique,” *Architectural Design*, June 1968, 273.

140 Jean Aubert et al., “Architecture as a Theoretical Problem,” *Architectural Design*, June 1968, 255

This was 3 months before it appeared in French in *l'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*.

141 Ibid.

142 The slogan at a mass meeting at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts that was infiltrated by Maoists was “Are we fighting for inflatables?” - see Violeau, “utopie: in acts,” 50.

143 Martin Pawley, “The Most Advanced,” *Architectural Design*, July 1970, 300.

### INFLATABLE HOIST

The pneumatic hoist consists of a suitable length of hose, clamped to either side by a pair of rollers. When the hose is inflated by air or water the rollers are forced along its length.

For initial experiments the hose was fabricated from rubber proofed 3 ply linen fabric, and the metal clamped to it using packing shims so that they were reasonably tight but could run smoothly along the hose. The hose was inflated using a vacuum cleaner as a blower. The maximum pressure the blower could deliver was 1 3/4 lb./sq./in. With the hose suspended from a roof truss, a weight of 8lbs. attached to the roller was raised by this means.

Rubber lined fire hose being readily available it was decided to use this for further experiments. The fire hose when new has to undergo a proof pressure test of 150 lbs./sq./in. To raise a 10 stone man a pressure of about 30 lbs./sq./in. is required in the hose. The internal diameter of the hose is about 2 1/2" with an area of 5.93 sq. ins. but the bearing part of the hose is more elliptical than circular, thus reducing this area. The standard air cylinder can be charged to 4,000 lbs./sq./in. but a reducing valve, or relief valve, should be fitted in the air supply line to prevent the hose bursting should the rollers seize or jam; this could operate at 100 lbs./sq./in.

The hose is fitted with a metal plug at the bottom, into which is screwed the air supply line. A similar plug at the top is fitted with an eyebolt and strop to suspend the hose. In the hose near the base is a screwed plug to which an air tap is connected, this is used to release the air and regulate the descent of the load. Near the top a small hole is cut in the hose which acts as an air relief and prevents the hose from being over pressurized, also any air escaping between the rollers is exhausted and does not build up ahead of the rollers, and prevent them moving. The fire hose is sometimes woven by the manufacturer slightly on the bias, and when pressurized can induce a twist in the hose. This can be a nuisance unless a reverse twist is put in the hose before inflation, a swivel at the top should be of assistance in reducing this tendency.

The system can be used in a horizontal position for hauling trollies, sledges, etc. In mining work there is no fire risk as with electric, or motor driven hoists, it could be used for rescue work, or conveying personnel and equipment in narrow shafts, or tunnels.

The Central Electricity Authority has adopted the inflatable hoist for inspection and maintenance work on electric pylons. A Land Rover fitted with a small air compressor is used on the site, and a rocket is used to carry the line over a suitable attachment point.



### INFLATABLE HOVERCRAFT

Hovercraft are often required to operate in remote areas, but owing to their size it is difficult to transport them over unmade or narrow roads.

An inflatable hovercraft can be packed into a small space for storage or transport by air, land or sea; it can also be parachuted. It is light in weight, very buoyant, has no corrosion problems, and is easy to maintain and repair. It can flex in a rough sea without structural failure and the rubber structure damps out engine vibration.

There are no parking, housing or mooring problems with the craft deflated. The craft is 19ft. long, 12ft. wide and fitted with 1'-6" fluted skirts. It can be inflated by a vacuum cleaner or an air pump connected to the propulsion engine. The fan unit is fitted to the front compartment to provide air to the skirts. Air from the plenum chamber is directed over the windscreens to keep it clear from rain and spray. A swivelling propeller at the rear can be used to propel and steer it.

The packed size is 3ft. square by 2ft. deep and it can be carried in the boot of a car or in the back of an estate car. The craft can carry a crew of 2, plus 2 passengers or equivalent payload.

The inflatable structure weighs 180lbs. the buoyancy tube which is inflated to 2 1/2 lbs./sq./in. is constructed from neoprene nylon, the cover sheets from P.V.C. coated nylon and the cabin of 3 ply cotton fabric with "Vybak" screens. The skirts are of rubberised cotton flutes.



Fig. 7.14: Page from *Cosmorama*, January 1970, showing ingenious uses of inflatable technology.

which rose and fell using helium.<sup>144</sup> Once again, commercial pressures had managed to deflate the ideals of resistance.

Such explicit political protest ran parallel with more implicit methods of protestation that appeared in *AD*, such as more democratic participation in design, squatting, and communal living. The August 1968 issue was dedicated to the “Architecture of Democracy” which tried to apply lessons from earlier features on squatter settlements and the “architecture-without-architects” of undeveloped countries and to apply them to developed countries. The contributors considered that “there are many positive aspects of the squatter environment, especially in the flexibility of the solution and its adaptability to the changing needs of families over time, and in the sense of autonomy and self-determination for both individuals and communities in making their own environment directly.”<sup>145</sup> This was in contrast to the alienation imposed by the developed world's architecture on its inhabitants. The notion of questioning not only what architecture should be, but also what the architect's role should be, was developed from Rudofsky's 1964 exhibition entitled *Architecture Without Architects* held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, out of which came the book of the same name. The book was reviewed by Middleton in *AD* in June 1965 where he calls Rudofsky “the unacknowledged Gutkind”,<sup>146</sup> harking back to the 1950s era of *AD* (chapter 5). This praise arose because of Rudofsky's enlightened travel and unrivalled collection of natural, vernacular and anonymous architecture that comprised his exhibition of the “non-pedigreed”. Middleton evidently sympathised with this, being an inveterate and unorthodox traveller himself, and he was keen to see such architecture inspire practising architects and such methods break down barriers between the professional and the user.

Such concerns with “primitive architecture” was not new to *AD*, as demonstrated by Gutkind's “How other peoples dwell and build” series (chapter 7) and by the August 1963 issue on “Dwelling Resources in South America” by John Turner (chapter 6). It was taken up again in Turner's contribution to the “Architecture of Democracy” issue called, “The Squatter Settlement: An Architecture that Works” which was positive about the three freedoms that such unofficial settlements provided as opposed to renting from “slumlords”: “the freedom of community self-selection; the freedom to budget one's own resources and the freedom to shape one's own environment.”<sup>147</sup> *AD* returned to squatting in Murray's brief period as

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144 This idea was used in Rem Koolhaas's Serpentine pavilion of 2006.

145 Rolf Goetze et al., “Architecture of Democracy,” *Architectural Design*, August 1968, 354.

146 Robin Middleton, “Architecture without Architects,” *Architectural Design*, June 1965, AD Page 7.

147 John Turner, “The Squatter Settlement: An Architecture that Works,” *Architectural Design*, August 1968, 357.

# Think again

The following is a free selection from the book **Design for the real world** by Victor Papanek, (Dean of the School of Design at the California Institute of Arts and advisor to UNESCO), published in the UK this month by Thames and Hudson, price £ 4.00. It is published in the USA by Pantheon Books



289 AD/5/72

There are professions more harmful than industrial design, but only a very few of them, and possibly only one profession is phonier. Advertising design, in persuading people to buy things they don't need, with money they don't have, in order to impress others who don't care, is probably the phoniest field in existence today. Industrial design, by concocting the tawdry idiocies hawked by advertisers, comes a close second.

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Ever since the German Bauhaus first published its fourteen slender volumes around 1924, most books have merely repeated the methods evolved there or added frills to them. A philosophy more than half a century old is out of place in a field that must be as forward-looking as this.

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#### Industrial design: a case history

Industrial design differs from its sister arts of architecture and engineering. Where architects and engineers are hired to solve problems, industrial designers are often hired to create new ones. Once they have succeeded in building a new dissatisfaction into people's lives, they are then prepared to find a temporary solution for it.

Discrimination by designers and their employers against the poor is reflected in the pricing of many appliances and tools. Rather than designing an object that will sell at a reasonable price and work well, and then adding other choice options to it as the price rises, we seem to delight in a different approach. We have established a new cycle: the cheapest item in the line is usually virtually a toy (Polaroid Colorpack III). One step up in product cost and we reach the level of junk (most mixers and blenders). A further step and we arrive where should have been at the beginning: an honest piece of equipment, but vastly overpriced (the IBM Selectric Typewriter). But there are still a few more steps to go. The next one is usually the same piece of equipment as before but now "loaded" with extras. This is called *luxury* (any American automobile). Finally, we get basic design simplicity, usually well made, and outrageously overpriced. This is status (the Mies van der Rohe Barcelona Chair). In this connection it might be instructive to use a case history.

A number of years ago, Kodak developed a gravity feed system for the slide magazines used in their slide projectors. A projector called the Kodak Carousel was developed. Because the method of handling slides was really excellent, and because the projector itself was of unusually rugged construction, it sold well. But as the dean of the American Industrial Design profession, Raymond Loewy, is so fond of saying, "never leave well enough alone." Soon a new Kodak Carousel model came off the drawing board,

Fig. 7.15: Excerpts from Victor Papanek's *Design for a Real World*, May 1972.

technical editor,<sup>148</sup> with a piece on squatting in Zambia in the January 1973's issue.<sup>149</sup> This "squatting" in the developing world was different to that in the developed world as it was more about claiming some land in a shanty town in order to live. It was less about protest and more about survival. These two types of squatting were juxtaposed several months later. Geoffrey Payne's article on squatting in India described the social and economic reasons for its shanty towns on the edges of the main cities, the advantages of these and how they became integrated into the economy and city as more permanent fixtures.<sup>150</sup> Dr. John Pollard's piece, on the other hand, was about squatting in London in the sense of taking over and reusing empty houses as a means of protesting against the government's housing policy and as a cultural and social way of life.<sup>151</sup> While Payne described the establishment of a way of life in the developing world, Pollard discussed protest against it in the developed world. *AD's* stance was that the developed world could learn from the developing world's almost anarchic strategies and can be read as protest by the editors of *AD* merely due to its publication.

*AD* would protest against the hegemony of modern architecture in several ways, not only by promoting squatting as something to be learned from, but also publishing drop-out communes such as those aboard the converted Liberty Ship.<sup>152</sup> Whereas the neo-avant-garde such as Archigram were advocating a disposable architecture, the counter-culture was recycling ships for habitation and adopting more ecologically friendly, low-tech ways of living, such as at the hippy Libre commune in New Mexico featured in *AD* in December 1971.<sup>153</sup> There, junk and recycled materials were used to build homes out of domes and tipis, aiming for a self-sufficient, moneyless lifestyle – the name "Libre" implying both freedom of resources and freedom of lifestyle, dropping out of the commercialisation of the industrialised world. The design and layout of the article were also free, with hand-written text and amateur photography alongside the more conventional straight-line architectural drawings and typesetting descriptions. Criticism of the industrialised world came from many directions and often appeared in early 1970s *AD*. One of the harshest came from inside the design world, from Victor Papanek, Dean of the School of Design at the California Institute of Arts and advisor to UNESCO, whose book *Design for the Real World*<sup>154</sup> advocated a progressive

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148 He is credited as technical editor on the masthead between October 1972 and January 1974.

149 Paul Andrews, Malcolm Christie, and Richard Martin, "Squatters and the evolution of a lifestyle," *Architectural Design*, January 1973.

150 Geoffrey K. Payne, "Functions of Informality: A case study of squatters settlements in India," *Architectural Design*, August 1973.

151 John Pollard, "Squatting in the City," *Architectural Design*, August 1973.

152 "Liberty Communes," *Architectural Design*, February 1971, 95.

153 "Libre," *Architectural Design*, December 1971.

154 Victor Papanek, *Design for the Real World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972).

# 2000+

Architectural Design, February 1967, price 5s.



Fig. 7.16: Cover of the best-selling February 1967 issue guest-edited by John McHale.

design for society with a social conscience, directing effort towards the developing world and the disadvantaged of society rather than towards the rich, a tenet of the original mid-war modernism that had been lost by the late 1960s. A free selection from the book was published in *AD* in May 1972 (Fig. 7.15), commencing with the sentiment that “Advertising design, in persuading people to buy things they don't need, with money they don't have, in order to impress others who don't care, is probably the phoniest field in existence today. Industrial design, by concocting the tawdry idiocies hawked by advertisers, comes a close second.”<sup>155</sup> Papanek argues that while architects are employed to solve problems, industrial designers are employed to create them, in order to solve them for later profit as they are linked to the need-generating world of advertising. This is a direct evolution of Buckminster Fuller's original desire for “an operating manual for spaceship earth” and the basis for a radical, or even revolutionary design ideology that had gone missing in the ultra-commercialised world of the late 1960s.

### Space race technology

On 12 April 1961 Yuri Gagarin orbited the Earth, making it clear that Russia had beaten the USA in putting a man in space. President Kennedy reacted quickly and in a speech on 25 May, committed the USA to putting a man on the moon before the end of the decade. This was achieved on 20 July 1969, making space travel a background theme for the sixties. Architects were particularly optimistic about this not only because it potentially offered more place to build in the future and questioned what man's environment could be, but more pragmatically, the way its technological spin-offs and futuristic aesthetic could influence buildings on Earth.

A few months after the first series of *Star Trek* was aired in the US,<sup>156</sup> the February 1967 issue of *AD* epitomised this interest in all things cosmic by featuring a faceless black, white and silver astronaut's helmet on a red background on the front cover with the usual “architectural design” title uniquely rendered much smaller in favour of a larger “2000+” title (Fig. 7.16).<sup>157</sup> This issue was compiled by former IG member John McHale, who was assisting Buckminster Fuller<sup>158</sup> at the Southern Illinois University. He wrote in the introduction that “the

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155 Victor Papanek, “Think Again,” *Architectural Design*, May 1972, 269.

156 8 September 1966.

157 This was taken from an advert by Cutler-Hammer from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, an industrial electrical equipment manufacturer.

158 As Executive Director and Research Associate of the World Resources Inventory

issue began with the suggestion from *AD* that more attempts might be made 'to communicate the idea of technological innovation to an architecture still largely hidebound by a vision of the fine arts'. Traces of this original bias may still be found in its pictorial emphasis on the visible 'hardware' aspects of a technological revolution whose more characteristic features are now largely invisible." He didn't use the term "software", but that is what was implied. Although "Cosmorama" was regularly featuring articles from other non-architectural magazines such as *Time* and *New Scientist*, *AD* was only just beginning to change from being building oriented to ideas oriented. This issue, however, reads more like a technology journal than an architectural magazine. Indeed, Kallipoliti notes that this issue "was McHale's earliest fully designed and edited publication on world systems and the management of the global reservoir (to be republished first in *Design Quarterly's* January 1968 issue "Towards the Future" and later in McHale's 1969 book *The Future of the Future*)."<sup>159</sup>

The *2000+* issue was a compendium of Fuller's thinking with a nod in the direction of Archigram, who had started the "zoom wave" in their Archigram 4 of 1964 and acknowledged science fiction as a key influence.<sup>160</sup> Its contents were largely concerned with the minimum environment in which a human being could dwell, considering it (the environment) as a closed system, which it clearly had to be for a space flight. The enclosure was considered in terms of a man's inputs and outputs, minimum and maximum requirements, and consideration of what could be recycled. Such "pods" really were machines for living in, with services and structure designed to be maximally efficient, something Fuller had been interested in for years. The Earth itself was also considered such a closed system and much in Fuller's and McHales' articles was based on their thinking about Spaceship Earth and all who sailed on her, using technology to provide equally for each and every citizen. As McHale wrote of the space programmes, "their most tangible by-product is an entirely new way of regarding our planet, man himself and his relationships to it."<sup>161</sup> The technologies described and predicted in *2000+* ranged from the biochemical and mechanical to the new extensions of man in terms of prosthetics and communications, compressing time and space as per Marshall McLuhan. But it was all couched in terms of deflecting attention away from the "killingry" aspect of new technology, and focussing on the "livingry", terms coined by Fuller.

This was one of the best selling issues of all time,<sup>162</sup> and although it was not exclusively concerned with space technology, the interest in outer space was so great that it infiltrated

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159 Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X - 197X* (New York, NY: Actar, 2010), 102.

160 Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, 38.

161 John McHale, "Outer Space," *Architectural Design*, February 1967, 67.

162 Monica Pidgeon, interview by Steve Parnell, February 25, 2009.

into many other discussions about the future of dwelling and mobility. Another feature of the issue, "Inner Space" took the same ideas about minimal environments to the bottom of the oceans.<sup>163</sup> This inspired a future issue, in April 1969, with the same title guest-edited by Farooq Hussein<sup>164</sup> and Jean-Michel Cousteau<sup>165</sup> (Fig. 7.17). According to Pidgeon, this issue didn't sell at all well<sup>166</sup> proving that it was space that was popular rather than pods, technology, minimal or hostile living environments, or future architectural opportunities more generally. Less fantastical and futuristic, the issue still discussed the sea as a resource, and while it included various submersible vehicles, it did not have a contribution by Fuller. Lacking his blessing, it failed to provide the futuristic space-frame aesthetic and talk of cybernetics that held young architects' attention, just three months before the Apollo 11 moon landing.

One of the reasons technology transfer from space exploration to building on terra firma was so interesting, apart from its exciting potential to boldly go where no man had gone before, was the general malaise and disillusionment with industrialised building, supposedly the epitome of modernist architecture. This was expressed in Raymond Wilson's review of the second biennial IBSAC (Industrialized Building Systems and Components) exhibition which found "most of the systems on display [...] dull and retrograde."<sup>167</sup> Wilson was involved in the "Heart Unit"<sup>168</sup> programme at the MoHLG<sup>169</sup> which designed prefabricated serviced cores for housing, a development of Fuller's Dymaxion Bathroom unit of 1937.<sup>170</sup> These self-contained "pods" were open systems with inputs and outputs, aligned with the thinking about serviced environments that was being utilised in outer and inner space exploration. Another branch of Wilson's research was an increasing interest in mobile homes, which were basically heart units on wheels with a development of Fuller's 1943 mobile mechanical core – an early serviced caravan. Mobile homes and itinerant living were a key feature of architectural debate, partly in relation to the protest movement, partly as a debate over new modes of dwelling and partly in response to the burgeoning leisure industry. Permanent, monumental architecture

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163 John McHale, "Inner Space," *Architectural Design*, February 1967.

164 Born 1948. Studied sculpture at St Martin's School of Art, London. As research assistant to Keith Critchlow, pursued a study of three- and four-coordinate space geometries at the AA. His research into sub-aquatic living was published as Farooq Hussein, *Living Underwater* (London: Studio Vista, 1970).

165 Born 1938. Son of Jacques Cousteau. Studied architecture in Paris.

166 Pidgeon, interview.

167 Raymond Wilson, "IBSAC in retrospect," *Architectural Design*, July 1966, 327; Goulden covered the first exhibition in Gontran Goulden, "Points from IBSAC," *Architectural Design*, August 1964.

168 Alexander Pike, "Product Analysis 5: Heart Units," *Architectural Design*, April 1966.

169 Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

170 See Peter Cook, *Architecture: Action and Plan* (London: Studio Vista, 1967), 93.

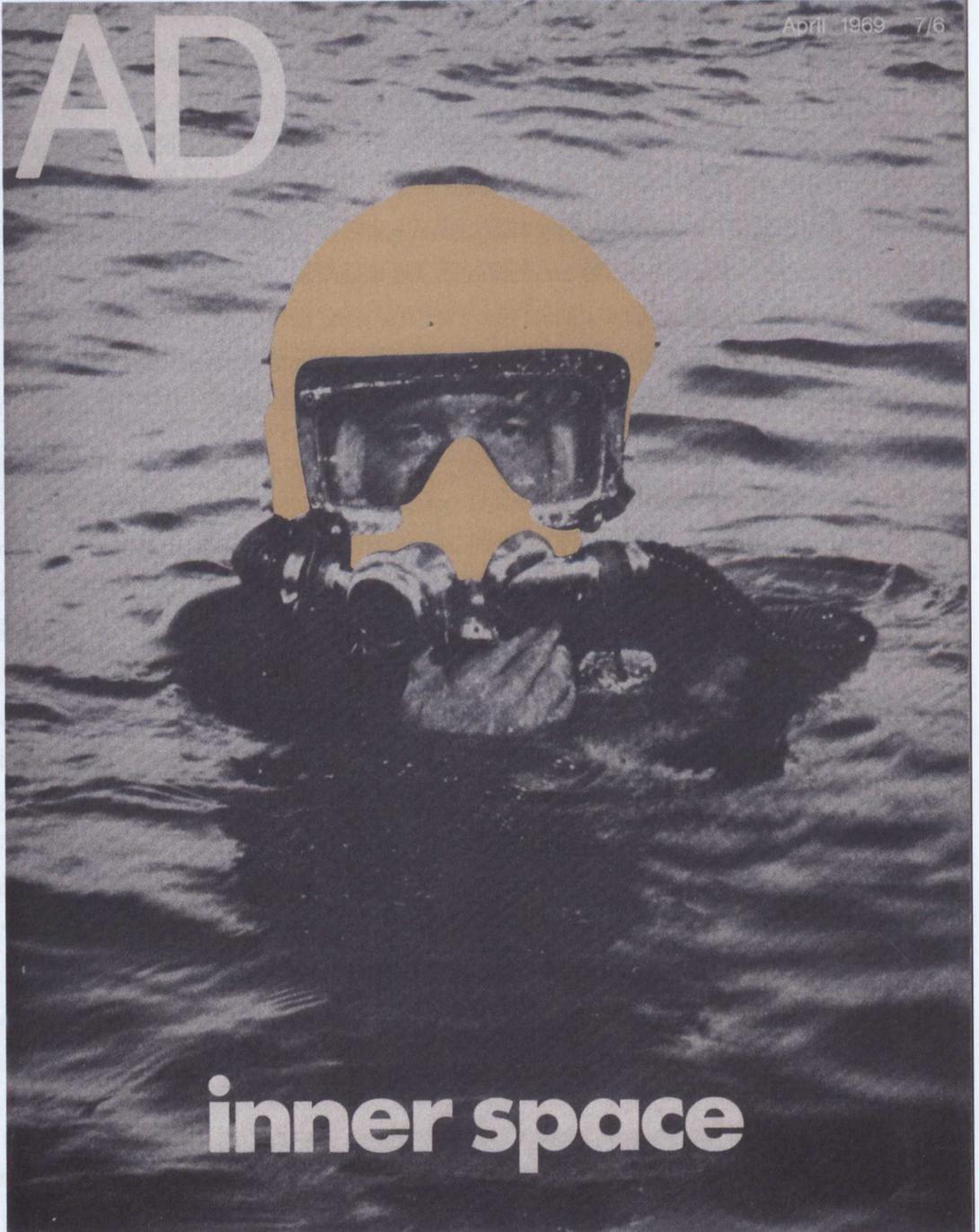


Fig. 7.17: Cover of the April 1969 issue exploring submarine architecture.

was frowned upon by the avant-garde who dreamed of more subversive, temporary living arrangements. Serviced mobile cores, compact minimal environments, new artificial materials and expandable lightweight structures – all essential features of the space programme's architecture – were employed to this extent. The American Airstream caravans were particularly iconic. With their streamlined design and polished aluminium monocoque body shell they brought a space-age aesthetic into the American wild as a lifestyle choice.<sup>171</sup> Such mobile architecture was often a softer architecture, composed of fabric or canvas fold-out panels, such as the mobile shelter built by the Hornsey School of Art for the Milan Triennale in 1964.<sup>172</sup> New synthetic materials were being developed and applied in the building industry in the belief that prefabrication and mass production were the key to cheap and plentiful buildings, especially houses. The ability to freely make any form in any colour, their cheapness, lightness, relative strength and the fact that they were waterproof led many architects to believe that plastics would revolutionise building. Furthermore, building was not seen as particularly permanent, and plastics could offer a way of achieving disposable buildings. Ionel Schein built the first all-plastic house for the Paris Exhibition of 1955 and followed it up with the advanced GRP prototype motel cabin<sup>173</sup> – a “living capsule” – the following year, as the Smithsons designed their mock-up House of the Future for the Ideal Home Exhibition in London.<sup>174</sup> Other plastics adopted for the construction industry included PVC for pipes and drains and at one point, for inflatables; vinyl finishes, perspex and acrylic sheeting, polyurethane foam for insulation, neoprene gaskets,<sup>175</sup> and a variety of glues and resin-bonded wood and particle boards. Arthur Quarmby<sup>176</sup> was the authority on plastics in architecture and the research for his two seminal books on the subject<sup>177</sup> (both 1974) was

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171 Raymond Wilson, “Mobility,” *Architectural Design*, March 1967, 220.

172 Hornsey School of Art, “Mobile Shelter,” *Architectural Design*, August 1964.

173 Editors, “A discussion about future developments in Building Techniques,” *Architectural Design*, November 1957, 403.

174 Arthur Quarmby, *Plastics and Architecture*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Praeger, 1974), 46–49.

175 Used first by Eero Saarinen at the General Motors Technical Centre Editors, “A discussion about future developments in Building Techniques,” 407.

176 Born 1934. Won the 1959 Arthur Louis Aaron V.C. Memorial Scholarship for research into the structural applications of plastics. He appeared in Archigram 6 in 1965 which noted that he taught at the school of architecture in Huddersfield. In 1960, he was working for British Railways (Eastern Region) where he developed a series of wayside plastic huts – see Arthur Quarmby, “The Design of Structures in Plastic,” *Architectural Design*, November 1961, 519. He later developed the world's largest transparent pneumatic dome for the film *The Touchables* (1968) – see: “Bubbledom,” *Architectural Design*, February 1968.

177 Quarmby, *Plastics and Architecture*; Arthur Quarmby, *The Plastics Architect* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1974).

hinted at in *AD* in 1961.<sup>178</sup> After a number of experiments with plastic housing that were published in *AD* in the sixties,<sup>179</sup> Quarmby argued in 1968 for the construction industry to become a manufacturing industry like that of the car in order to “permit the full resources of modern technology to be made available for the production of buildings.”<sup>180</sup> Like many others, Raymond Wilson envisaged a mass-produced, modular industry taking advantage of modern materials and off-site production rather than the on-site bespoke craft based method of building. Theoretically, this would be able to meet the demand for housing. Quarmby argued that only the government, which then procured almost 60% of the output of the building industry, could effect this change, and that only a handful of very large construction companies, which would evolve from mergers and acquisition of product manufacturers, would ultimately exist. For a variety of reasons, neither plastics nor systems building revolutionised the conservative construction industry, although, they did contribute to the shift from traditional to proprietary types of components described above and they certainly made the curvy more organic aesthetic of people like Archigram seem more feasible, at least theoretically.

The interest in modular building, as well as the perceived need for more efficient, potentially transportable structures, instigated new research in non-rectilinear geometries. Space frames were originally developed for strong, lightweight structures for kite and early flight experiments by Alexander Graham Bell who published his paper “Tetrahedral principle in kite construction” in 1903: “This form seemed to give maximum strength with the minimum of material.”<sup>181</sup> This experimentation developed into an 80' tall structural tower in 1907 which “weighed less than five tons and took 10 days to erect” and which “stood for twelve years before being dismantled.”<sup>182</sup> The space frame was developed further as an architectural solution by Konrad Wachsmann in the 1950s for the US Air Force aeroplane hangars. In 1955 *AD* noted that “a new company, Space Decks Ltd., has been formed to promote the system, which is patented.”<sup>183</sup> By 1961, the space frame had become foldable as shown by Emilio Perez Piñero's mobile theatre project exhibited at the UIA Congress in London.<sup>184</sup> which could easily have influenced Archigram's Instant City proposals as Cook features it in his *Architecture: Action and Plan* of 1967.<sup>185</sup> In the same book, he shows the giant space frame erected at

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178 Quarmby, “The Design of Structures in Plastic.”

179 Arthur Quarmby, “Living Units Made of Plastics,” *Architectural Design*, June 1963; Arthur Quarmby, “Pavilion Housing Project,” *Architectural Design*, November 1965.

180 Arthur Quarmby, “Creation of an Industry,” *Architectural Design*, April 1968, 155.

181 Cited in Bill Busfield, “Alexander Graham Bell,” *Architectural Design*, August 1970, 378.

182 *Ibid.*

183 “The Space Deck System,” *Architectural Design*, December 1955, 407.

184 “Project for a Mobile Theatre,” *Architectural Design*, December 1961, 570.

185 Cook, *Architecture: Action and Plan*, 79.

Cape Kennedy for the construction of space rockets with the comment, “architecture of the mightiest dimensions already beyond the brief of architects.”<sup>186</sup> Buckminster Fuller’s research into “finding ways of doing more with less” led him to the space frame in the 1940s and a subsequent rediscovery of the geodesic dome. He is credited with its popularisation from the 1950s onwards and its image resonates with the age of space exploration where it was used due to its efficiency. As McHale reported in *AD* as early as 1960, “if the US achieve a moon landing, the first man there will, more than likely, be accompanied by a ‘Bucky’ dome. As a result of invited talks with top rocketry experts last year, Fuller now has designed for such moon base structures in hand.”<sup>187</sup> Not only did this allow huge spans with minimal weight, but it also encouraged novel forms and allowed industrialised building, or prefabrication. The subject was covered thoroughly by future *AD* consultant Zygmunt Makowski.<sup>188</sup> David Emmerich,<sup>189</sup> a tutor of the architect faction of Utopie and member of GEAM<sup>190</sup> also contributed numerous articles on polyhedral geometry and mobile architecture during Middleton’s tenure.<sup>191</sup> His “deltamobiles” of 1966 used foldable space frames to create the conceit that was a fold-away car that looked more like a golf buggy without an engine. Space frames in turn led to tensegrity structures and research into geometries other than the usual Cartesian rectangle for building with. Keith Critchlow’s “Universal Space Families”, which was developed for Buckminster Fuller’s WSD in 1965,<sup>192</sup> studied regular 3D polyhedrons and their

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186 *Ibid.*, 61.

187 John McHale and Richard Buckminster Fuller, “Universal Requirements Check List,” *Architectural Design*, March 1960, 101.

188 Z.S. Makowski, “A Survey of Recent Three-Dimensional Structures,” *Architectural Design*, January 1966.

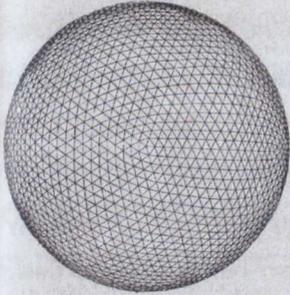
189 David Georges Emmerich (1925-1996) was tutor at the Ecole des Beaux Arts 1960-1970.

190 Groupe d’Étude d’Architecture Mobil: “A group formed by the architects Yona Friedman, Paul Maymont, Frei Otto, Eckhard Schultze-Fielitz, Werner Ruhnau and D. G. Emmerich in 1957. Its purpose was to explore the implications of the crisis in architecture brought about by accelerated demographic, social and technological change. A more flexible and mobile kind of architecture was envisaged as a solution. GEAM evolved into GIAP (Groupe International d’Architecture Prospective), a group led by Michel Ragon which met from 1965 onwards to discuss visionary and futuristic concepts of architecture and town planning.” John A. Walker, “Groupe d’Étude d’Architecture Mobile”, n.d.,

<http://www.artdesigncafe.com/Groupe-d-Etude-d-Architecture-Mobile-GEAM>.

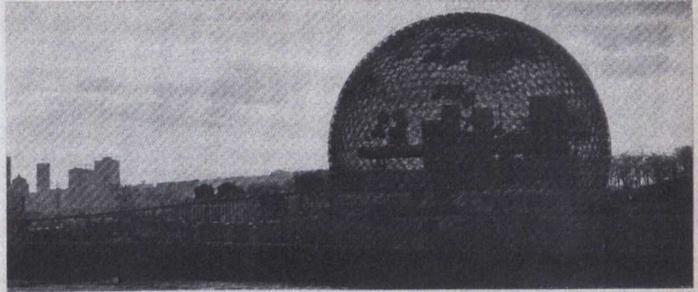
191 For example, D.G. Emmerich, “Deltamobiles into houses,” *Architectural Design*, August 1966; D.G. Emmerich, “Structures,” *Architectural Design*, July 1965.

192 See Keith Critchlow, “Universal Space Families,” *Architectural Design*, October 1965. This was later published in book form as Keith Critchlow, *Order in Space: A Design Source Book* (Thames & Hudson, 1969).



1

1 Roof plan of dome



2

2 US pavilion at sunset

3 Exterior close-up of dome structure, showing inner and outer framework and domed acrylic panels

Photos 2, 3, Lehmann

3

## US Pavilion

R. Buckminster Fuller  
Fuller and Sadao, Inc.  
Geometrics Inc.

Interior Platforms & Exhibit:  
Cambridge Seven Associates, Inc.  
Structural Engineers:  
Simpson Gumpertz & Heger, Inc.  
Associated Canadian architects:  
George F. Eber

The United States Pavilion on the Ile St. Hélène at Montreal is a Geodesic Skybreak bubble, 250ft in spherical diameter and 200ft in height. The bubble encloses a volume of 6,700,000 cu. ft and has a surface area of 141,000 sq. ft. The space frame configuration is the result of a sustained programme of testing and refinement in order to produce a lightweight frame of minimum visual obstruction. Buckminster Fuller's extensive work with lightweight structures has been exploited to achieve a clear spanning lacy filigree of metal, which will appear weightlessly poised against a background of cloud and sky.

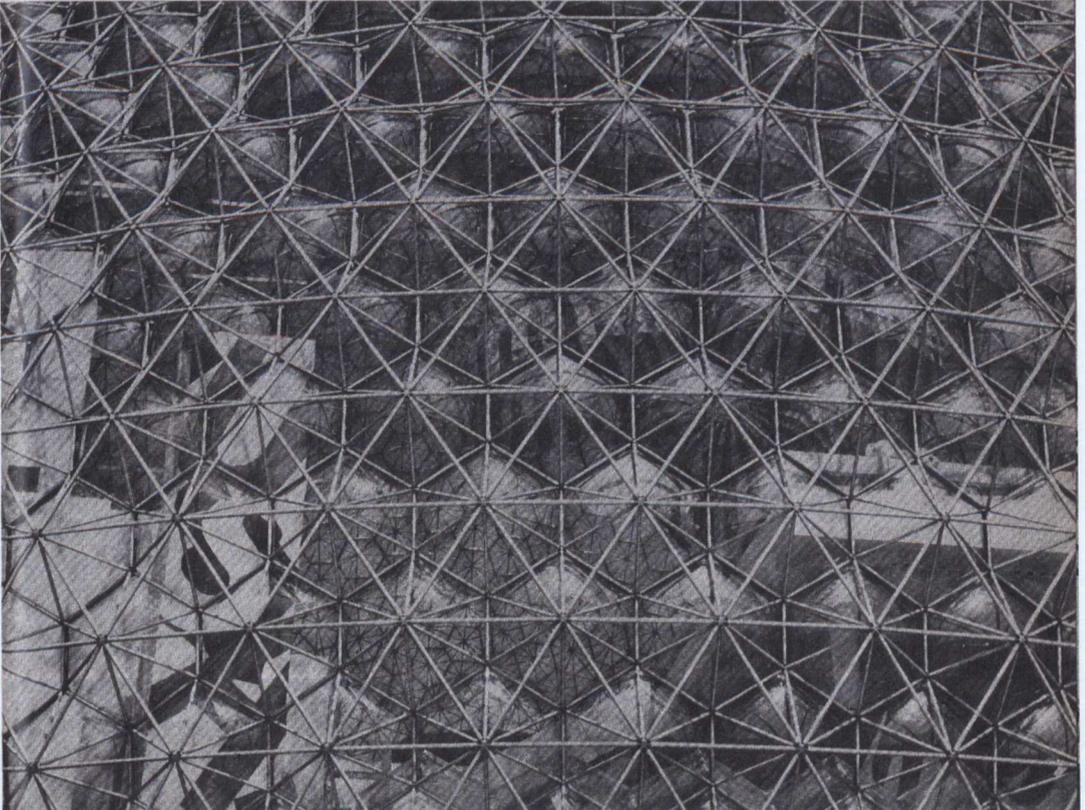


Fig. 7.18: Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome for the US pavilion at the World Expo 1967.

tessellation in space. Critchlow's motivation was to generate new architectural geometries from first principles, following laws of biology and nature in the belief that a more efficient, regular structure could be fabricated from new materials (i.e. plastics) and solve architectural problems, such as the commonly cited housing crisis for both developing and developed nations. Critchlow acknowledged that he considered the physical (spatial) environment somehow connected with the metaphysical (cultural, social, psychic): "it becomes possible to view man's spatial awareness as an extension of his cultural and conceptual awareness. If we are finding so many of our cultural habits inadequate or partitative then it isn't surprising that we also find our spatial norms subject to question."<sup>193</sup> So the underlying belief was that a change in the spatial environment would enable a change in the cultural and social environment – one that benefited mankind in line with Buckminster Fuller's WDSO. Critchlow shared an interest in close-packing geometry with Frei Otto, both using soap bubbles to experiment with naturally efficient form. The March 1971 issue was dedicated to the work of Otto and his Institute of Lightweight Structures, showing his cable net, fabric and removable roofs, usually achieving large spans elegantly.

All these ideas of a new geometry, directly or indirectly adapted from space-race technologies, seemed to come together at the World Expo in Montreal in 1967 where Buckminster Fuller built a huge 250' diameter geodesic sphere for the US pavilion (Fig. 7.18)<sup>194</sup> and Otto a huge cable net polyester and PVC tent for the West German pavilion.<sup>195</sup> *AD* devoted its July 1967 issue to this Expo and featured Moshe Safdie's Habitat there in the March 1967 issue.<sup>196</sup> Habitat's design was originally supposed to provide a high density environment through the close-packing of apartments in a tetrahedral megastructure. Although it still used prefabricated units, stacked loosely in a pyramid, its final form turned out more rectilinear than envisaged.

The space race decade (1961-1969) coincided almost perfectly with the Archigram decade (1961-1970). Warren Chalk in particular collected "space comic material"<sup>197</sup> and this was put to good use in Archigram 4, the "zoom" issue of 1964 which first adopted the aesthetic of the space frame, geodesic dome and the science fiction comic, introducing the idea of the plug-in city. It could be imagined existing on the moon as well as the Earth with the plug-in unit a space capsule. The word "capsule" started to be used by Chalk in 1964, when the Archigram group worked at Taylor Woodrow Design Group and were being fed experimental projects: "The notion of a completely new prefabricated dwelling was one of these: the only constraint

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193 Keith Critchlow, "New Geometrical Information," *Architectural Design*, April 1970, 164.

194 Anonymous, "US Pavilion," *Architectural Design*, July 1967.

195 Anonymous, "W. German Pavilion," *Architectural Design*, July 1967.

196 "Habitat '67," *Architectural Design*, March 1967.

197 "Archigram Group, London: A chronological survey," 568.



was that it should stack up into a tower structure. From every point of view the space capsule was an inspiration: how different in concept and in efficiency from the tradition of buildings! The statement was a capsule *dwelling*, with the ergonomics and the sophistication of a space capsule.”<sup>198</sup> Furthermore, the idea that a “large-scale network-structure that contains access ways and essential services”<sup>199</sup> can be reconfigured with plug-in capsules is essentially the same as a piece of permanent hardware being reprogrammed with changeable software as needs change and technologies improve. It was this fourth issue of *Archigram* that really took off, with Banham taking over a handful of copies to the US and introducing them to Philip Johnson.<sup>200</sup> After that *Archigram* got into the mainstream architectural press and *AD* were among the first to publish them, the November 1965 issue carrying Middleton's first editorial intervention – a chronological survey of their work to that point (Fig. 7.19), along with a reprint of “A clip-on architecture” that Banham had written for his guest-edited issue of *Design Quarterly* on the 'zine earlier that year.<sup>201</sup> In that article, Banham called *Archigram* an “architectural space comic” that “offers an image-starved world a new vision of the city of the future”.<sup>202</sup> After this, *Archigram's* ideas on architecture as a consumer product shifted from expendable hardware towards reconfigurable software and the concept of flexible and responsive environments.<sup>203</sup>

So Middleton's period as technical editor was dominated by an architecture that was inspired by or transferred from the technology of the space age and *Archigram* represented this aesthetic as an avant-garde architectural proposition. This directly translated into *AD* features that were less about what had been built in the past, and more about what could be built in the future.

### Control and choice

In the mid-sixties, the consumer and building boom in Britain was starting to stagnate as the economy slowed down. Manser reported “an immediate wages and prices freeze” in

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198 Cook, *Archigram*, 44.

199 “Archigram Group, London: A chronological survey,” 570.

200 Cook, *Archigram*, 5.

201 *Design Quarterly*, 63, 1965.

202 Reyner Banham, “A clip-on architecture,” *Architectural Design*, November 1965, 535.

203 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): 15; Parnell, “The Collision of Scarcity and Expendability in Architectural Culture of the 60s/70s,” forthcoming.

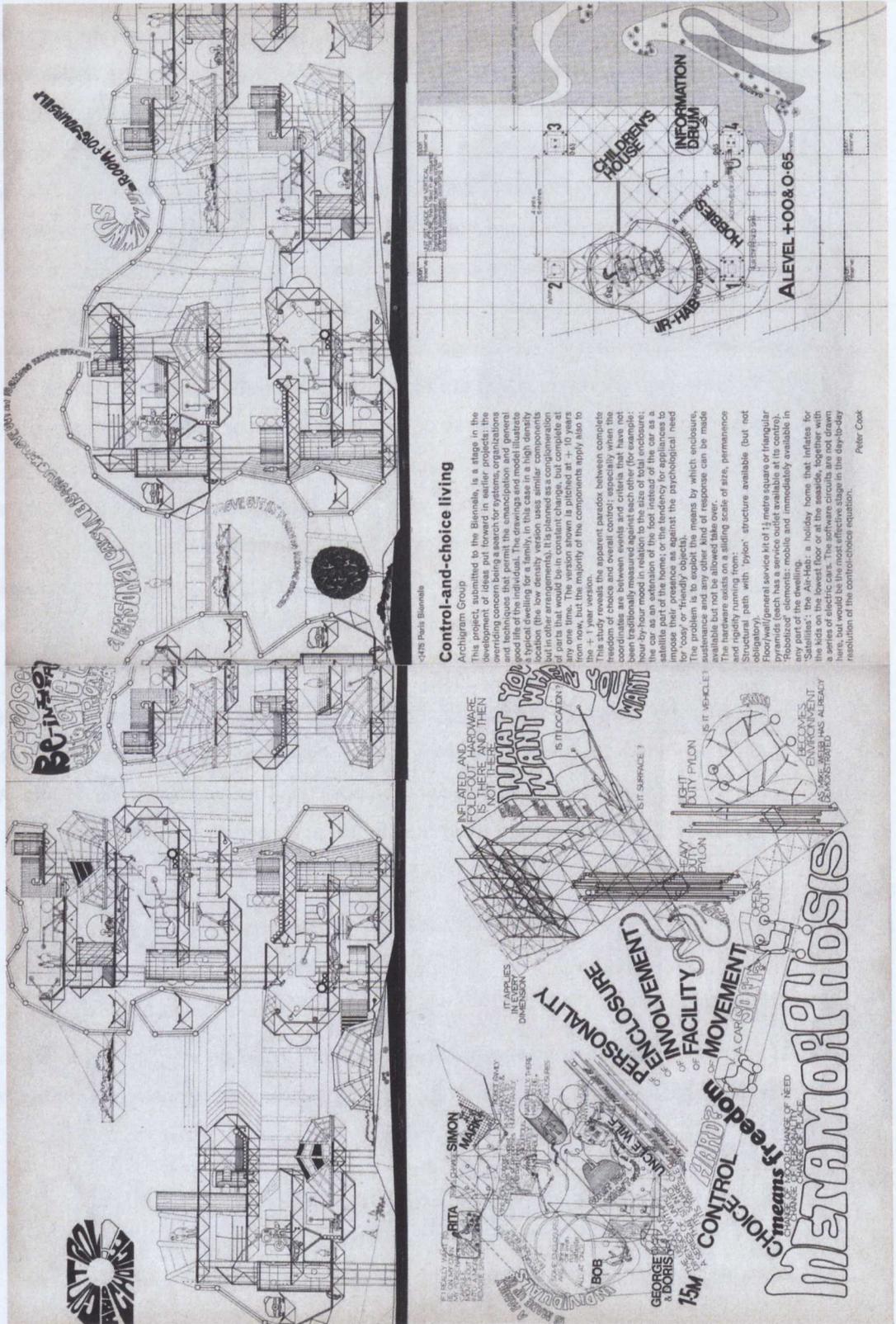


Fig. 7.20: Archigram's "Control and Choice" from October 1967

September 1966<sup>204</sup> and that “the credit squeeze crunch is coming” in January 1967<sup>205</sup> as optimism in architectural modernism reached its peak. Modern architecture began to lose support amongst both the general public (exacerbated by the Ronan Point disaster of 1968) and the profession. This period also witnessed the general liberalisation of British society, with the abolition of capital punishment, the introduction of the pill, the legalisation of abortion, the decriminalisation of homosexuality, the testing of obscenity laws, and the increasing use of recreational drugs for exploration of inner as well as outer space. All this took place against a psychedelic background of pop music provided by groups like The Beatles and The Rolling Stones who set the tone and attitude of the times. Thanks to this prosperity and liberalisation of society, individual choice and life style were something that could be afforded – and indeed demanded – by the early 1970s, despite the economic gloom. A subscription form advert for *AD* in 1971 picked up on this tendency, stating that,

*AD* is concerned with breaking down the notion of architecture as a formal, fine art composition, based on relationships of volume, form and silhouette; and with showing instead that architecture is an organisational framework which should allow and encourage people to develop their own life styles to maximum effect.<sup>206</sup>

Technology was getting smaller and more personalised, and the Archigram group was using these ideas to propose a new architecture focused on the individual rather than the community. This started with “living pods” and “expendable place pads” which, when assembled in some framework of megastructure and megaservices, generated “control-and-choice living” for the 1967 Paris Biennale. This idea was published in *Control* magazine<sup>207</sup> and in *AD* in October 1967 (Fig. 7.20).<sup>208</sup> The proposal is for “a typical dwelling for a family” and claims to reveal “the apparent paradox between complete freedom of choice and overall control”.<sup>209</sup> The graphics show a space-age enclosure, appropriate for extra-terrestrial exploration, and hand-drawn words in swirly sixties fonts promise the impossible. The collages of isometric and sectional black-and-white line drawings with large superimposed dominating words spell out messages of personal happiness: “Choose to be-in love-in or freak-out but love the environment that responds”, “a personal capsule is for you to move out into a more remote space”, “inflated and fold-out hardware is there and then not there”, “what you want

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204 Michael Manser, “The month in Britain,” *Architectural Design*, September 1966, 423.

205 Michael Manser, “The month in Britain,” *Architectural Design*, January 1967, 1.

206 “AD SUBSCRIPTION,” *Architectural Design*, April 1971, 258.

207 Peter Cook, “Control or Choice?,” *Control*, 1967.

208 Peter Cook, “Control-and-choice living,” *Architectural Design*, October 1967, 476–479.

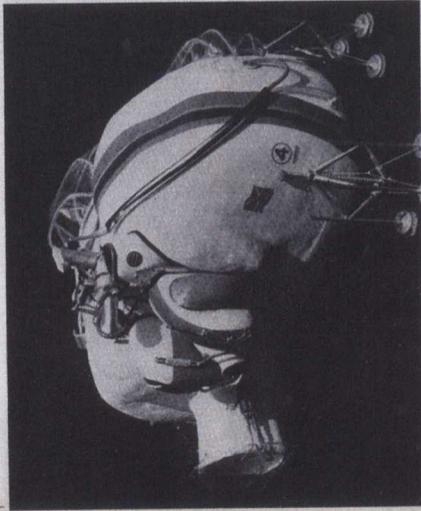
209 *Ibid.*, 477.

## Living-pod

David Greene

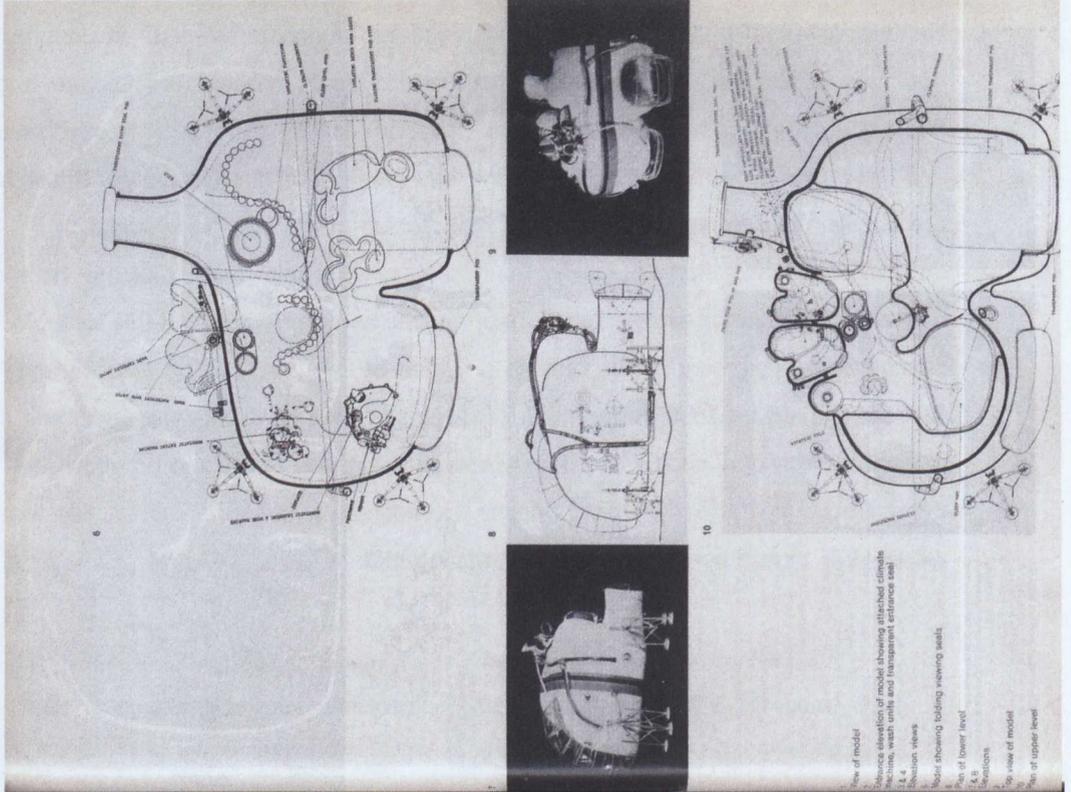
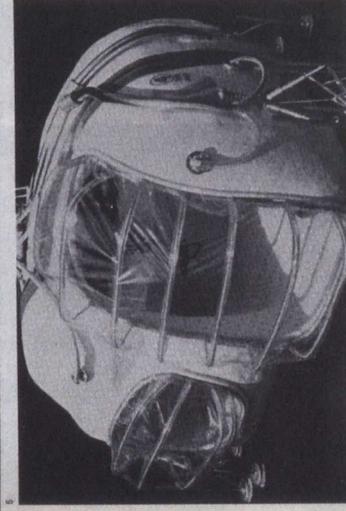
**Paradigm:** Trailer homes, "Prefab" etc. Development of a mobile, self-contained living pod and attached machines.

**Description:** Part one, a pod (Type KBC) 2-level support structure (steel) 10' x 10' x 10' (40 sq ft) 105 per cent surface) 1" insulation, all with vacuumed fitting seals, inner bonded sandwich of insulation and/or finish. Multi-purpose inflating floor 45 per cent area. Inflating floor 45 per cent area. Inflating compression legs for maximum 5 ft (in water) 40 per cent slope. Two transparent sectionalized sliding aperture seals with motors. Transparent entry seal with ramp and hydraulics. Two wash and dry units. Two automatic body cleaning equipment. One only with total body water immersion possibility. Two rotating sites for non-droppable clothing, sunny dispensers and sites for disposable body heat. Climate machinery for temperature zone (with connections to inflating sleep mats and warm section of inflating floor). Non-static food dispenser with self-cook modifications. Non-static water dispenser with self-cook modifications. Instant transparent cocoon ring inflating screens to sleep mats.



**Appraisal:** Although this capsule can be hung within a plug-in urban structure or can sit in the open landscape it is still a "house". Really one is left with a "room-land" realization about housing has always been that the human being needs a house, an assumption that must be reassessed in terms of the possibility of increasing personal mobility about the world. The concept of respecting permanence and security in a house brief and adding instead curiosity and variety to the social life. In relation to the mobile world, the pod is a "house" in the sense that it is the tent and camel equivalent; the node comes an oasis equivalent around which would cluster communities conditioned by various rates of change. It is likely the need for a house (in the form of permanent static container) as part of man's psychological make-up will disappear.

With ecologies to be master the house is an appliance for carrying with you, the city is a machine for plugging into.



View of model  
 Section elevation of model showing attached climate  
 machine, wash units and transparent entrance seal  
 Section view  
 Model showing folding viewing seats  
 Plan of lower level  
 Section  
 Plan of upper level

Fig. 7.21: David Greene's "Living Pod", November 1966.

when you want”, “choice means freedom of personality of enclosure of involvement of facility of movement”. The intention was for the user to take control of the personalisation of the design from the designer, using software to tune it to their individual needs and requirements. The ambience would change by the hour according to the occupant's mood. “Control and choice” is a dichotomy of hardware and software, the latter promising “the most effective stage in the day-to-day resolution of the control-choice equation.”<sup>210</sup> Like an advert for the future, it conjures up a dream lifestyle.

A focus on the individual is equally apparent in Archigram's “Instant City” proposal of May 1969.<sup>211</sup> The piece starts with “The proposal requires an assembly of instantly mounted enclosures” and by the third paragraph, we learn that Archigram have “produced assemblies that can give us information, art kicks, and maybe transport: all as part of the same package.”<sup>212</sup> In short, “The result can be a replacement to architecture that (for once) responds environmentally to the individual.”<sup>213</sup> Architecture, as traditionally conceived as building, is no longer needed. The “experience of the individual” in their environment is the ultimate concern and however that is produced, it is to be called architecture.

David Greene's “living-pod” (Fig. 7.21) was an antecedent to individualised dwellings that comes straight from space-capsule or submarine imagery:

Although this capsule can be hung within a plug-in urban structure or can sit in the open landscape it is still a 'house'. Really one is left with a zoom-land trailer home. Probably a dead end. A basic assumption about housing has always been that the human being needs a house, an assumption that must be reassessed in terms of the possibility of increasing personal mobility and technological advance. Anything is probable. The outcome of rejecting permanence and security in a house brief and adding instead curiosity and search could result in a mobile world – like early nomad societies [...] It is likely that under the impact of the second machine age the need for a house (in the form of permanent static container) as part of mans' [sic] psychological [sic] make-up will disappear.<sup>214</sup>

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210 Ibid.

211 Cook, Crompton, and Herron, “Instant City,” 276–280.

212 Ibid., 277.

213 Ibid.

214 David Greene, “Living-pod,” *Architectural Design*, November 1966, 570.

pretending that the floor-heating does not make the whole area habitable, which it does) and in any case, what does he mean by a controlled environment? It is not the same thing as a uniform environment, it is simply an environment suited to what you are going to do next, and whether you build a stone monument, move away from the fire or turn on the air-conditioning, it's the same basic human gesture you are making.

Only, the monument is such a ponderous solution that it astounds me that Americans are still prepared to employ it, except out of some profound sense of insecurity, a persistent inability to rid themselves of those habits of mind they left Europe to escape. In the open-fronted society, with its social and personal mobility, its interchangeability of components and personnel, its gadgetry and almost universal expendability, the persistence of architecture-as-monumental-space must appear as evidence of the sentimentality of the tough.

**The environment bubble**

*In the present state of the environmental art no mechanical device can make the rain go back to Spain; the standard-of-living package is apt to need some sort of umbrella for emergencies, and it could well be a plastic dome inflated by conditioned air blown out by the package itself.*

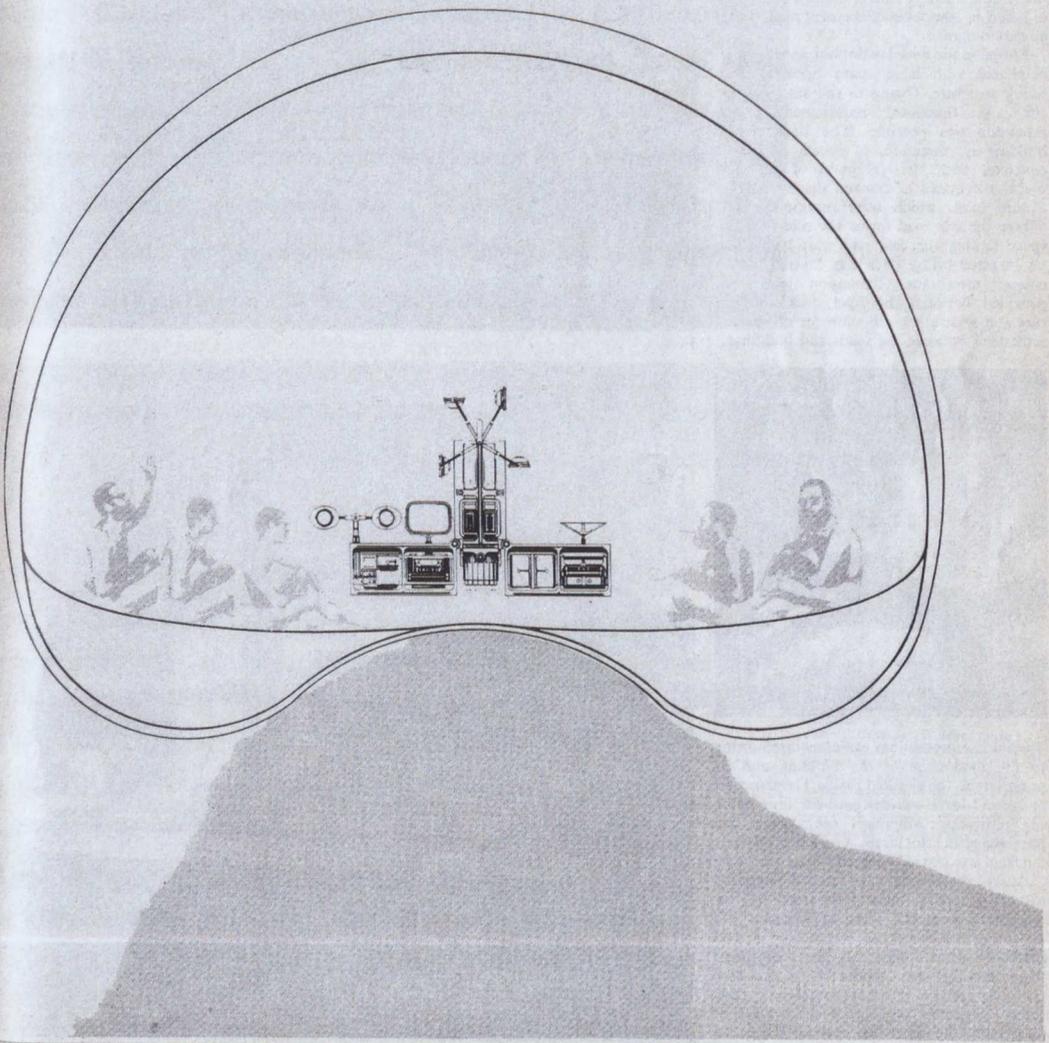


Fig. 7.22: Reyner Banham naked in his "Environmental Bubble", January 1969.

This was published in the same *AD* as Mike Webb's "Drive-in housing"<sup>215</sup> and cushicle.<sup>216</sup> The latter was personalised shelter as "clothing for living in" rather than a "machine for living in". The cushicle and its more developed progeny, the suitaloon, about which he wrote, "if it wasn't for my suitaloon I would have to buy a house",<sup>217</sup> were clearly inspired by space-suit and jet-pack technologies that were being developed at the time. At the Milan Triennale in 1968, Greene wore an "inflatable suit-home", a very primitive mock-up of the suitaloon that tapped into the inflatable craze of the time but looked incredibly uncomfortable. These ideas were actually developed and manufactured, as shown in "Cosmorama" a couple of years later with a motorbike suit that transforms into an inflatable tent.<sup>218</sup> Archigram's ideas were more about envisioning exciting new ways of living and personal fulfilment, about choice and liberalism, than about making political statements.<sup>219</sup> Chalk admitted as much in *AD* in October 1968: "as a 'don't know', one suspects that individual thought and action are still more potent than the dissipation of energy through collective demonstration."<sup>220</sup> The most political sentiment was simply to eliminate the architect and encourage a primitive participative design ethos through software: "The public is not interested in the current betrayal of the Bauhaus achievement; it is equally, reluctant to suffer the inefficiencies of Welfare State housing. The only way to involve the public in architecture is to give them what they want. We see self-selection as the obvious solution."<sup>221</sup>

Archigram were not the only visionaries advocating individual personalised living – critic Banham himself became caught up in the desire to dissolve architecture with his "A home is not a house" article first published in *Art in America* in April 1965 and reprinted in *AD* in January 1969. His argument is driven by a love of technology that results in a building consisting of nothing but services inside a plastic bubble.

"That crazy modern-movement dream of the interpenetration of indoors and outdoors could become real at last by abolishing the doors."<sup>222</sup> He is illustrated naked but for his trademark beard, cigar and sunglasses inside this bubble (Fig. 7.22) serviced by an entertainment centre. The future page showed a proto-cyberpunk machine consisting of nothing but

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215 Mike Webb, "Drive-in Housing," *Architectural Design*, November 1966.

216 Mike Webb, "The Ultimate in Drive-in Living," *Architectural Design*, November 1966, 576.

217 Mike Webb, "Clothing for Living in," *Architectural Design*, June 1968, 272.

218 "Shelter Suits," *Architectural Design*, May 1970, 225.

219 Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, 187–188.

220 Warren Chalk, "How to get involved without understanding McLuhan," *Architectural Design*, October 1968, 449.

221 Archigram Group, "Living, 1990," *Architectural Design*, March 1967, 147.

222 Reyner Banham, "A Home is not a House," *Architectural Design*, January 1969, 47.

mechanical and electrical services of an everyday house, compressed into a small unit, not dissimilar to the heart unit mentioned above, but without any structure or building fabric. This is called a “transportable standard-of-living package” (after Buckminster Fuller) and Banham noted that such packages were already available and called “cars” – a point that Greene would agree with four months later in his “Instant City Children’s Primer” when he considers a traffic jam a “collection of rooms.”<sup>223</sup> All that Greene considered necessary was a support system of air-conditioning and communications and his Logplug and Rokplug would assist with the latter in the wilds of the countryside. .

Banham’s bubble idea was taken up by designers in Vienna who created balloons “to discover a hitherto unknown feeling of peace, security and relaxation and love. It will heighten your sensitivity. Take a trip into inner space with someone you love. You will be able to think better and to make love better because you are relaxed.”<sup>224</sup> Walter Pichler is featured with his “Grosser Raum” (1966), “Kleiner Raum” (1967) and “Intensiv-box” (1967) alongside Ortner, Hareiter and Pinter’s “Mind-expander” and “balloon for two”. These “love balloons” were precursors to the Excessive Machine in the film *Barbarella* (1968), which subjected its occupant to increasing doses of pleasure until they quite literally died of it. The boom times were over and individuals were encouraged to retreat into their own bubbles to seek solace in love and drugs. In a piece called “Drug-in city”, Peter Hodgkinson suggested that anyone content to live in the “Plug-in city” would have to be seriously dependent on drugs anyway: “Is Archigram’s Plug-in city in fact Drug-in city, the sub-conscious herald of capsule society, the ultra and last nihilist statement of world architecture, a vast web of plastic wombs in which man’s limbs rot away and his brain, drug injected, blows up to fill the capsule home until, finally, the brain itself no longer in control of the machinery it has so carefully set up over millenniums of years, gets sucked down the waste tube.”<sup>225</sup> If architecture is simply about stimulating the brain, argued Hodgkinson, then it may as well simply vanish and we all instead just take drugs. This would finally achieve the full dematerialisation of architecture.

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223 David Greene, “Instant City Children’s Primer,” *Architectural Design*, May 1969, 274.

224 “Activity stimulants,” *Architectural Design*, March 1968, 100.

225 Peter Hodgkinson, “Drug-in city,” *Architectural Design*, November 1969, 586.

## **PART III**



## 8 Discussion: a Bourdieuan interpretation

### Power in the field of architecture

Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the field of cultural production outlined in chapter 2 can aid an understanding of the architectural magazine in relation to the production of architectural history – the central question of this thesis. It is impossible to understand this relationship without first understanding a little of the field of architecture, its laws of cultural production and will to autonomy. The field of architecture can be subdivided into many sub-fields, one of which is the sub-field of publication (which includes the institution of the architectural magazine) and another is the sub-field of building, each of which has its own beliefs, social universe (agents, or players in “the game”), and struggle for power and significance. These two sub-fields<sup>1</sup> are related, however, in that the field of the building is dependent upon the field of the architectural magazine (as part of the wider field of the architectural publication) for its legitimation, and transformation into architecture. The architectural magazine can therefore not only be considered as a sub-field of architecture, but also as an institution that acts as an *agent* in this field. This is not to say that buildings are *only* dependent on publications for legitimation – other devices such as awards, lectures, and exhibitions also operate in the same way. However, publications are one of the most powerful, widespread and obvious legitimising devices in the field of architecture – in Bourdieu's words, they are “instruments of diffusion”.<sup>2</sup>

Building is a slow procedure involving many people, much money, and crucially, a patron, or client, for whom the building is built. Only in extremely rare cases, such as when architects design their own house, are architect and client the same person. Even in these cases the building is still contingent on a broader real world legal or regulatory framework, such as building regulations, design guidelines and planning permission. The only other situation when

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1 Sub-field are fields in their own right, so will subsequently be referred to as “fields”.

2 Pierre Bourdieu, *On Television and Journalism*, trans. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson (London: Pluto Press, 1998), 1.

an architect becomes the client, and potentially the builder as well, is in primitive building, when the broader legal and regulatory frameworks do not exist. Only in these “purer” cases of building, free of the developed world’s ideas of political and economic interest, but still necessarily dependent on function, environment and context, can building become architecture without the conferral of cultural capital. This is how Rudofsky’s “architecture without architects” or Gutkind’s claims for a primitive, non-pedigree architecture can be seen as an avant-garde criticism of mainstream modern architecture. In the less pure cases of building in the real, developed world with which this thesis is primarily concerned, a client may rely on a system of financing, may or may not want to communicate something with the building and may want the building not for his or her own use, but for a different group of users. To get the building built, the architect relies on a number of other agents, namely the contractor and sub-contractors, other consultants and product manufacturers. Architecture’s sub-field of building is therefore necessarily dependent on a whole social universe with its own beliefs, obligations and rules of production. A building commission from a client is by definition not speculative in the way that a work of art can be speculative, or a design like most of Archigram’s, that was never intended to be built. A client’s commission does not create its own market, but responds to an existing need or desire. Bourdieu would call this “heteronomous”: “Heteronomy arises from *demand*, which may take the form of personal *commission* (formulated by a ‘patron’ in Haskell’s sense of a protector or client) or of the sanction of an autonomous *market*, which may be *anticipated* or *ignored*.”<sup>3</sup> Architects are positioned close to the seat of power, the client, who is the source of economic capital (which, according to Bourdieu, is the diametric opposite of cultural capital). The field of building, in which the practising architect is situated, is a component in the broader economic and political system and does not in itself generate cultural capital, but relies on related sub-fields for its meaning within the overarching field of architecture as culture. These related sub-fields include the awards system, the listing process, the lecture circuit, exhibitions, the professional institutions of architecture and crucially, architectural publication and architectural history. In particular, the architectural press provides contemporary interpretation while books provide longer term historiography.<sup>4</sup>

This related sub-field of architectural magazines can be split into at least four types, including the professional magazine (“trade rag”), the little magazine, the theoretical magazine and the academic journal. *AD* started out as a trade rag in November 1930 and turned little in October 1970. The agents that constitute an architectural magazine are: the architects, whose work is

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3 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Polity Press, 1993), 45–46 (italics in original).

4 The phenomenon of publication on the internet and its subsequent role in interpretation and history writing will not be considered here, although it would provide an interesting future study.

featured and discussed; the contributors, such as the critics and photographers; the producers such as the designers and editors; the readers and, in the case of a trade rag, the advertisers. This last category is the crucial difference between a professional and a little magazine. A professional architectural magazine can be more autonomous than a built work as it is further away from economic and political capital and is a speculative venture rather than commissioned by a client. However, it is less autonomous than a little magazine, as it is still partially accountable to advertisers, so still dependent on economic and political capital. The primary function of a trade rag like *AD* is to provide a filtered, well-targeted audience for the advertisers. *AD* had a particularly close relationship with advertising due to its origins as a free supplement for the Architects' Standard Catalogue and, even when it split from this relationship, it was still a sister publication to the ASC, obliged to persuade manufacturers to advertise in the magazine and to pay to be included in the associated catalogue. The Product Index cards from 1959 to 1962 are perfect examples of this foregrounding of manufacturers' products in the magazine, along with the fact that only if the manufacturers paid for a place in the ASC would they be listed in the advertisers' index at the back of *AD*. Then there were the enduring columns of manufacturers' products, such as "Technical & Trade Notes" and the Readers' Service Card, which the reader could return for more information on a product or manufacturer. All these tactics demonstrate the early *AD*'s proximity to economic capital when the content of the magazine had to reflect the interests of the product manufacturers in the hope that architects would specify their wares.

However, magazines are not entirely about the advertisers: they have to be of interest and relevance to the target readers in order for them to be bought and for the adverts to reach their audience. So a professional magazine is always a compromise between the interests of readers and those of advertisers. Either way, it cannot be disinterested from commercial or political reality. In contrast, little magazines, which survive on subscriptions (or the publisher's own finances) for survival, are free of the commercial pressures of advertising. This is not to say that they are free of adverts, but that they do not rely on them for survival and therefore are not beholden to them for editorial policy. *AD* ran a small number of advert pages in its little phase, but stopped the Readers' Service Card, while the "Trade Notes" and "Design Notes" columns became simply the "Catalogue" which discussed processes as much as products. Autonomy from real-world products gives the editors of little magazines more editorial freedom and therefore more autonomy to publish without concession and to speculate about what the reader would pay to read. If it is not necessary to make a profit or to break even (in the case of privately funded magazines that broadcast some kind of ideology), the producers can be completely autonomous, as in the case of Archigram.

Bourdieu claims that the field of cultural production inverts the logic of the economic field. *AD*

never made much money: produced originally as a free supplement to get advertisers to pay for inclusion in the ASC, it was finally sold because it was a financial liability that did not fit into Robert Maxwell's portfolio when he bought the SCC. But it did pay its own way, even though its skeletal staff were paid rather poorly.<sup>5</sup> Its editors worked there for the satisfaction of it and were less interested in financial remuneration.<sup>6</sup> They did, however, acquire and hold substantial cultural capital due to their position in the field of architecture. Pidgeon herself, whose work and private life were completely intertwined (she admitted that most of her friends were architects<sup>7</sup>), accrued great social and institutional capital during her years of editorship and through forming a large network of architectural colleagues and taking membership in organisations such as MARS, CIAM and UIA. Her technical editors likewise gained authority and cultural capital while at *AD*, not only through association with a long-running, popular and respected magazine, but through their associated network of contacts. Crosby, Frampton and Middleton were all qualified architects who had practised, however briefly, before and during their editing of *AD*. Crosby and Middleton, the longest serving and most influential editors, were also part of the architectural elite in London: Crosby through the ICA and association with the Independent Group and friendship with many of its members, Middleton through his links with the Architectural Association and Cambridge University where he had gained a Ph.D. under Pevsner. An architectural magazine such as *AD*, then, embodies much cultural capital (in itself and its staff) and little economic capital.

A building becomes architecture when it has some form of cultural capital conferred upon it, and it is the holders of that cultural capital who have the power to do the conferring. The editors of architectural magazines hold one of the most powerful positions in the field of architecture because they are able to select which architects' work (a constructed building, an imaginary building, or a written polemic) to spend their limited resources on publishing in their magazines, and whose name or image will be broadcast to thousands of readers. These works enter architectural discourse and become proposed for inclusion into the permanence of architectural history. Conversely, by denying access to the pages of a magazine, editors deny one route to architectural discourse and ultimately validation by history. Critics (Bourdieu calls

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5 Robin Middleton, interview by Steve Parnell, March 4, 2010.

6 Pidgeon finally left *AD* for the *RIBA Journal*, where she was offered twice the salary. Similarly, Peter Murray left *AD* for *Building Design* where he earned twice as much. Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, April 29, 1999, F7493 Side A, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-0500A0.mp3>.

7 Monica Pidgeon, "NLSC: Architects' Lives. Monica Pidgeon.," interview by Charlotte Benton, mp3 from original tape, July 9, 1999, F7497 Side B, British Library Sound Archive, <http://soundserver.bl.uk:81/C0467X0039XX/021A-C0467X0039XX-1400A0.mp3>.

them “cultural bankers”<sup>8</sup>) have the power to make or break an architect's reputation. The reputation of a name, for both architect and critic, is paramount in accumulating cultural capital and therefore being able to consecrate the works of others, as Bourdieu confirms:

For the author, the critic, the art dealer, the publisher or the theatre manager, the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects (with a trademark or signature) or persons (through publication, exhibition, etc.) and therefore to give value, and to appropriate the profits from this operation.<sup>9</sup>

Publication, then, validates a work within the field of architecture. It assigns cultural capital to that work and to the architect, depending upon the authority and position within the field held by the conferrer (editor or critic). These positions change with time, but the editor of a widely read and respected magazine like *Architectural Design* or the *Architectural Review* holds a more esteemed place in the field of architecture than a less popular or more niche magazine. Similarly, when a respected critic such as Reyner Banham (then) or Kenneth Frampton (now) writes about a building more capital is assigned to it than with an unknown critic. The field of architecture is fluid and constantly changing. The agents' positions within it constantly change too, as they struggle for power to accumulate the cultural capital, whether consciously or not. The changing field expands and contracts its boundaries, altering the “problematic”, or the positions that can be taken. With each new issue, the relative positions of the magazine, the critics, the architects and other agents in the field are slightly re-organised. Similarly, as other events occur in the field, whether it be a new building completed or a new book published, the relative positions in the field shift accordingly.

Bourdieu believed that the multiplication of books in 19th century France amounted to the “development of a veritable culture industry.”<sup>10</sup> Similarly this explosion of publications that paralleled the growth of the modern movement in architecture developed an “architectural culture industry”. It is to this that Colomina refers when she claims “Modern architecture only becomes modern with its engagement with the media.”<sup>11</sup> A new market for the consumption of architecture has been created through the media. Lipstadt has written that publication “works

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8 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 75.

9 Ibid.

10 Cited in Hélène Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of the Architecture Competition,” *Cultural Studies* 17, no. 3/4 (May 2003): 407.

11 Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996), 14.

to lessen the difference between architecture and painting, 'rob[bing] the latter of [its] advantages',<sup>12</sup> that "it allows them [architects] to repossess the creation they had sold to their clients, asserting both ownership and authorship of the designs and thereby gaining for their authors a semblance of aesthetic autonomy"<sup>13</sup> and that publication "signs" the building as an artist signs a painting. In other words, the publication loans a semblance of autonomy to the work while simultaneously validating it. Validation comes through production and reproduction of the *habitus* of the field of architecture. The magazines do this in two ways: first, they publish buildings or ideas that the editors consider worthy of being categorised as "good" architecture. Pidgeon's long-standing and consistent editorial policy was only to publish what was good and to ignore the bad.<sup>14</sup> To be selected was to be elected to an elite, to be given a voice, to be reproduced thousands of times and transmitted across time and space. The field of architecture is small and there are only a handful of architectural magazines in circulation. To be chosen by one of the more respected and widely circulated magazines such as *AD* was (and still is) considered a privilege – page space in the magazine is limited and given only to what is believed worthy of the elevated status of architecture. The readers recognised this, for example in a letter printed in 1954 from eight architects, which also conveniently acknowledges Bourdieu's concept of "taste":

DEAR SIR, - We wish to register a protest at the choice of subject matter contained in the March issue of the *Architectural Design*. We are disgusted that the limited space available for illustrating good contemporary architecture should be exclusively devoted to mediocre design of radio and television.

We have been disappointed to notice the recent "falling off" of the usual high standard associated with your magazine and, as regular subscribers, we hope for a speedy return to your former good taste.<sup>15</sup>

Second, architectural magazines contribute to the production and reproduction of architectural knowledge in the form of technical and professional information, discourse, evaluation of the good and the bad in terms of product, building and urban design (architectural criticism), and both historical nomination and projection of the future. They make both physical entities (manufacturers' products, buildings, urban form) and conceptual ideas (drawings, polemic) manifest to the world. Pidgeon was aware of this guardianship of different types of architectural knowledge at the beginning of her editorship, noting in the December 1946

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12 Lipstadt, "Can 'Art Professions' be Bourdieuan Fields of Cultural Production?," 408.

13 Ibid.

14 Monica Pidgeon, interview by Steve Parnell, February 25, 2009.

15 A.H. Miller et al., "Protest from Sunderland," *Architectural Design*, April 1954, 5.

editorial:

Broadly very broadly there are three spheres of interest which we try to satisfy: they are not strictly compartmentalised in this journal they often merge with one another but they are there all the same on the different pages. First, there is news; news in paragraph and comment, and news in the way of the detailed descriptions, photographs and drawings of the latest buildings and industrial design. Second, there is technical information: for instance, articles on new methods of construction and general articles on contemporary building technique and new developments in materials and components, equipment and installations. Third, and not the least important, are the articles which are something of a relief from the highly technical nature of the others: they are the articles on some general matter of interest to architects and designers, such as the history of art or architecture, or contemporary design and planning in foreign countries.<sup>16</sup>

The magazines become a source book of ideas and up-to-date best practice on the accepted way, (aesthetically, technically, ethically) of designing, for students and professionals alike. In other words, they define *taste*, a concept central to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and theory of power and "one of the most vital stakes in the struggles fought in the field of the dominant class and the field of cultural production."<sup>17</sup> *Habitus* is something acquired over time and manifest in *taste*, which the contributors to architectural magazines are deemed to have, and they are therefore able to influence and define the accepted *taste* of the field. So architectural magazines produce and reproduce architectural culture at large. They do so through maintaining belief in the field, or the *illusio*, which is "the fundamental recognition of the cultural game and its stakes."<sup>18</sup> The *illusio* is demonstrated, for example, by architects submitting work for publication. Pidgeon maintained a large archive of such material for filling slow months and "Frampton received dozens of architects' portfolios every month".<sup>19</sup> A notice in January 1959's issue reads: "Readers who have had their designs for buildings rejected on aesthetic grounds are asked to communicate with the Editor"<sup>20</sup> indicating not only that architects submitted work, but that it was also regularly rejected and that such a rebuff was

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16 Barbara Randall and Monica Pidgeon, "About Ourselves," *Architectural Design & Construction*, December 1946, 322.

17 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), 11.

18 Ibid., 250.

19 Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn: phenomenology and the rise of the postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 202.

20 Editors, *Architectural Design*, January 1959, A/5.

not welcome. *Illusio* is equally demonstrated through the belief in the power of the *AD Grand Project Awards* programme. Through reading the magazine, practitioners and students then appropriate the value of the works inside – not only the works of architecture, but the works of criticism and comment, all of which contribute to creating the field of architectural production.

There is a constant struggle for power within this *field*, with magazine editors and contributors fighting for the privilege of defining the *field* and its *taste*. Critics and editors struggle as much as the architects themselves for recognition, power, and authority within the field, and the field itself creates these creators – for Bourdieu, the field is the ultimate author. So it is more than mere knowledge that is reproduced in the magazines – it is recognition of the legitimate culture – a tacit understanding of what constitutes the *taste*, the rules of the game, the stakes involved, the boundaries of the field: in short, what constitutes architecture. But a magazine's contributors only maintain this power as long as the *illusio* is maintained, as long as their readers allow, as Bourdieu noticed: “In accordance with the law that one only preaches to the converted, a critic can only ‘influence’ his readers insofar as they grant him this power because they are structurally attuned to him in their view of the social world, their tastes and their whole habitus.”<sup>21</sup> If a professional magazine becomes unfashionable or irrelevant or even too commercial for whatever reason, then it loses its position of authority in the field of architecture and therefore its ability to confer cultural capital. For example, *AD* was gaining circulation each month until its peak in 1968, when it sold more issues than its rival the *AR*, a clear indication that it was relevant and interesting for its readership of professional architects (and that the economy and therefore the profession was doing well). Its economic capital was increasing and it was becoming a mass produced object of the architectural culture industry. After its 1968 “shift”, however, *AD* started to lose readers in its will to autonomy and its reaction against the conventions of modern architecture. It became more autonomous and less relevant to the field of building production and its readership became avant-garde and niche – “a restricted product” in Bourdieuean terms.

The key enduring dualities that define *AD*'s position within the field of architecture are the relationships between heteronomy and autonomy, and between advertising and readership. The development from an emphasis on the former term of each duality (heteronomy and advertising) to the latter (autonomy and readership) characterise *AD*'s role in the rise and demise of modern architecture. This development encompasses a reversal of taste (“high to low”), the conferral of cultural capital (“building to architecture”) and the will to autonomy (“hard to soft” and “big to little”). Each of these shifts are summarised below.

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21 Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 240.

## Adverts: economic and cultural capital

While a magazine can continue to exist without adverts, it cannot without readers – advertisers need an audience. But it is advertising that distinguishes a heteronomous professional “trade rag” of mass production from an autonomous “little mag” of restricted production. A magazine is seen by advertisers as merely a vehicle to reach a target audience, so circulation is important as well as knowing who the readership is. The content is useful as a relevant hook for adverts as Middleton confirmed: “you look at most magazines and you find that the advertising is built up against the main editorial presentation of a building. That's how the reps go out and get advertising.”<sup>22</sup> Adverts were a vital component of *AD* from its origins in November 1930 when it was a free supplement to the *ASC*, up until October 1970, when it became little by eschewing adverts altogether. This development meant that from being a disposable give-away that supported paid advertising to being independent describes *AD*'s trajectory through the period of the rise and demise of modernism. Adverts are so closely linked to the commercial health of the architectural magazine (which is itself heavily influenced by the health of the construction industry) that this graph can be seen to trace an arc representative of the rise and demise of modern architecture in the UK. It can only be coincidence that the rise corresponds to Crosby's tenure and the stagnation to Frampton's, although it has been argued that 1961 (the year before Crosby departed) saw the height of modernism and the beginnings of its critical reevaluation.<sup>23</sup> This was when Park Hill was completed, and its publication in *AD* produced the greatest number of adverts the magazine ever carried. In the same year Archigram (and *Private Eye*) were launched, Jane Jacobs' *Life and Death of Great American Cities*<sup>24</sup> was published in the US and Gordon Cullen's *Townscape*<sup>25</sup> in the UK, a product of *AR*'s campaign. It has also been argued elsewhere<sup>26</sup> that 1966 (the year after Middleton started) saw the beginnings of the rise of post-modernism in architecture with the publication of Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction*<sup>27</sup> and Rossi's *L'Architettura della Città*<sup>28</sup> (as well as Banham's history of *The New Brutalism*<sup>29</sup> which sounded

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22 Middleton, interview.

23 Jonathan Hughes, “1961,” in *Twentieth-Century Architecture and its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (Otley: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000), 57-86.

24 Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

25 Gordon Cullen, *Townscape* (London: Architectural Press, 1961).

26 Tahl Kaminer, *Architecture, Crisis and Resuscitation: The Reproduction of Post-fordism in Late-twentieth-century Architecture*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2011).

27 Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, The Museum of Modern Art Papers in Architecture (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966).

28 Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città* (Padova: Marsilio, 1966).

29 Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: The Architectural Press, 1966).

the death knell of the movement). Epochs are not defined solely by publications, but they can be symptomatic of deeper changes in thinking. Middleton was responsible for the eradication of advertising in *AD*, but this took place in the wider social context of a slowing economy – the number of advertising pages in the *AR* was also decreasing. However, because the number of *AD*'s ads was always less, it reached the critical point in 1970 where the magazine was no longer commercially viable on advertising revenue.

While forming a critical component in the constitution and production of magazines, adverts also gained the attention of the Independent Group as the basis of the reversal of taste that described the introduction of Pop Art.<sup>30</sup> Adverts were an inspiration for many IG members, from Alison Smithson reading the *Ladies' Home Journal* that her aunt sent her from America<sup>31</sup> to Richard Hamilton's usage of magazine adverts (including the *Ladies' Home Journal*) to create the seminal Pop Art work of 1956, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?* Sally Stein has actually analysed the advertising in the *Ladies' Home Journal* up to the beginning of the war, and concluded that the adverts and editorial were increasingly integrated so that readers were engrossed in both at the same time and the two types of content became inseparable.<sup>32</sup> In 1956 the Smithsons documented this obsession with ads in their short piece for *ARK: the Journal of the Royal College of Art* called "But Today We Collect Ads"<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 6.3) in which they try to describe how apparently banal objects are transformed into art:

Traditionally the fine arts depend on the popular arts for their vitality, and the popular arts depend on the fine arts for their respectability. It has been said that things hardly 'exist' before the fine artist has made use of them, they are simply part of the unclassified background material against which we pass our lives. The transformation from everyday object to fine art manifestation happens in many ways, the object can be discovered – *objêt trouvé* or *l'art brut* – the object itself remaining the same<sup>34</sup>

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30 David Robbins, ed., *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

31 Alison Smithson, "Alison Smithson," in *The Evacuees*, ed. B.S. Johnson (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1968), 250.

32 Sally Stein, "The Graphic Ordering of Desire: modernization of a middle-class women's magazine, 1914-1939," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 145-162.

33 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "But Today We Collect Ads," *ARK: The Journal of the Royal College of Art*, November 1956.

34 *Ibid.*, 49.

This opening paragraph articulates the essence of my argument – what transforms building into architecture? The Smithsons do not really address the question of how the everyday object is transformed into fine art, but Bourdieu would say that it is through the bestowal of cultural capital, and this thesis' central argument is that publication is a crucial device with the authority to contribute to this transformation. Crucially, the Smithsons note that, “We cannot ignore the fact that one of the traditional functions of fine art, the definition of what is fine and desirable for the ruling class and therefore ultimately that which is desired by all society, has now been taken over by the ad-man.”<sup>35</sup> Although he was no doubt ignorant of the Smithsons' writings, Bourdieu's *Distinction* is based entirely on the first half of this point. There he makes explicit the correlation between taste and class habitus: “It must never be forgotten that the working-class ‘aesthetic’ is a dominated ‘aesthetic’ which is constantly obliged to define itself in terms of the dominant aesthetics.”<sup>36</sup> He is also aware the dangers of the new order, warning that the new petite bourgeoisie “can itself be understood only in terms of changes in the mode of domination, which, substituting seduction for repression, public relations for policing, advertising for authority, the velvet glove for the iron fist, pursues the symbolic integration of the dominated classes by imposing needs rather than inculcating norms.”<sup>37</sup>

So while adverts represent the heteronomy of building, tying its economic interests to those of the magazine during Crosby's era, they are simultaneously used as the chosen object to overthrow the existing hierarchy of domination. In a strange reversal of economic exchange, culture is fabricated from commercial necessity. By Middleton's era, however, this reversal of values, “upsetting the balance between 'high' and 'low', between the fine and the popular arts, and between the ruling class, marked by refined and educated tastes, and the tasteless class of uncritical consumers”<sup>38</sup> had already taken place, so adverts were not respected as much – they were positively discriminated against to the point of eradication in the pursuit of other, more cultural interests that saw architectural culture take over from building as the real site of architectural production.

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35 Ibid.

36 Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 41.

37 Ibid., 154.

38 Dirk van den Heuvel, “‘Picking up, Turning over and Putting with...’,” in *Alison and Peter Smithson: from the house of the future to a house of today*, ed. Dirk van den Heuvel, Max Risselada, and Beatriz Colomina (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2004), 13.

### Crosby: a reversal of taste

Crosby's tenure at *AD* was identified mainly with the neo-avant-garde of the Smithsons and their principle concerns: the Independent Group, the New Brutalism and Team 10. When Crosby became technical editor, the first generation of inter-war modernists dominated the fields of art and architecture, as represented by the key contributors to the Festival of Britain, the editorial board of the *Architectural Review* and the directors of the ICA, who had already achieved an elitist position of "art for art's sake". Pidgeon acquired *social capital* in these early years by associating herself with this generation, many of whom were her contemporaries at university. Bourdieu describes the avant-garde in terms of waves.<sup>39</sup> By year of birth and therefore friendship and contemporaries, Pidgeon was related to the first generation wave of the inter-war years that introduced modern architecture to Britain in the thirties. This led to her involvement in MARS and CIAM immediately after the war once she had become the official co-editor of *AD*. However, she did not "age",<sup>40</sup> in that she was prepared to move on and re-align her *position-taking* with the next wave of the fifties. Although she was loyal, she was always forward looking, more interested in the future than the past, ready to move with the times in order to remain relevant to her readers, and she had a great instinct for the next big thing. So while she continued to publish the older generation, she was equally interested in the next, if not more so.

By 1954, the first generation of modernists were the architectural elite, having established modernism as the mainstream thanks to their influential positions in the architectural institutions (particularly the RIBA, but also in the press) and government, as well as in the reconstruction and welfare state programmes.<sup>41</sup> In Bourdieu's terms, this generation of avant-garde had become "consecrated". There was a difference of social class between the pre- and post-war generations of avant-garde architects. The pre-war elite were predominantly upper-middle class or even aristocracy and centred around the Architectural Press (AP), who published the *AJ* and *AR*, and whose proprietor was the moneyed gentleman Hubert de Cronin Hastings.<sup>42</sup> Another important figure was his friend, the aristocrat Philip Morton

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39 See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 158–159.

40 Bourdieu describes ageing occurring in authors "when they remain attached (actively or passively) to modes of production which – especially if they have left their mark – inevitably become dated." *Ibid.*, 156.

41 Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-War World* (London: Routledge, 2002), xi–xiii, 12; However, Gold is less convinced that this was the case, see John R. Gold, *The Practice of Modernism: Modern Architects and Urban Transformation, 1954-1972* (Routledge, 2007), 1.

42 18 July 1902 – 3 December 1986.

Shand,<sup>43</sup> who could be described as one of the midwives of the architectural modern movement in Britain in the thirties.<sup>44</sup> He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, was friends with and translated Gropius and Le Corbusier and wrote regularly for the *AR*. Other English members of the *AR*'s pre- and post-war editorial board, (Sir) Jim Richards,<sup>45</sup> (Sir) John Betjeman,<sup>46</sup> (Sir) Hugh Casson,<sup>47</sup> and (Sir) Osbert Lancaster<sup>48</sup> were also all educated at public school and Oxbridge and all eventually knighted, as was the other member of the post-war editorial board, the Russian-German (Sir) Nikolaus Pevsner.<sup>49</sup> The exception is Ian McCallum<sup>50</sup> who, although schooled at Gordonstoun and the AA, left architecture and was never knighted. The AP was as much an institution of the architectural elite from the 1930s to 1950s as the RIBA and the MARS group, of which most of the first generation were members. The age difference between the first and second generations, however, was only a decade or so. The first generation was mainly born in the 1900s and 1910s, whereas the second was born in the 1920s, having to wait until after the war to complete their architectural education.<sup>51</sup> Pidgeon was born in 1913 and came from a privileged family, therefore with a *disposition* that in terms of her *habitus* belonged to the first generation of architectural elite with whom she was

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43 Of Philip Morton Shand (21 January 1888 – 30 April 1960), Denys Lasdun said, “I had also read another writer who informed and inspired me and who wrote about the founding fathers of the modern movement at a time when he would have been old enough to be James Bond’s father. A most precise writer, he was known affectionately in the architectural press as ‘001’. Shortly before his death, at the end of the ‘fifties, he had this to say: ‘I have frightful nightmares, and no wonder, for I am haunted by a gnawing sense of guilt in having, in however minor or obscure a degree, helped to bring about, anyhow encouraged and praised, the embryo that has now materialized into a monster which neither of us could have foreseen – contemporary architecture’. Name: Morton Shand. The war had been and gone, but the Pavillon Suisse was repeated by others in different contexts ad nauseum throughout the world. Meanwhile, life itself had changed.” Denys Lasdun, “His Approach to Architecture,” *Architectural Design*, June 1965, 271.

44 See chapters 1 and 2 of Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007). for a concise discussion of the *ABNs* and *AR*'s relative roles in introducing modernism to Britain in the 1920s and '30s.

45 James Maude Richards (13 August 1907 – 27 April 1992).

46 John Betjeman (28 August 1906 – 19 May 1984).

47 Hugh Casson (23 May 1910 – 15 August 1999).

48 Osbert Lancaster (4 August 1908 – 27 July 1986).

49 Nikolaus Pevsner (30 January 1902 – 18 August 1983). To emphasise the point of the Architectural Press's establishmentarianism, Pevsner and Hastings were also awarded the RIBA Gold Medal in 1967 and 1971 respectively.

50 Ian McCallum (b. 1919).

51 See Tables 2.2 and 2.3 in Gold, *The Practice of Modernism*, 21–25.

educated, so she comfortably fitted into their milieu. In contrast with the pedigree of the first generation, however, the *disposition* of the second, in the form of the Independent Group, was predominantly of a working or lower-middle class background.<sup>52</sup> Particularly important for the architectural representation in the IG are Alison<sup>53</sup> and Peter<sup>54</sup> Smithson and Peter Reyner Banham,<sup>55</sup> who wrote about his and his milieu's background in *The Atavism of the Short-Distance Mini-cyclist*.<sup>56</sup> The Smithsons were central to the *Parallel of Life and Art* and the *This is Tomorrow* exhibitions at the ICA and the promotion of anti-art and the “uglification” of taste at the IG, in deliberate and stark contrast to the high “art for art's sake” of the previous generation's dominating elite at the ICA.

In Bourdieu's terms, these exhibitions were manifestations of the younger generation's *position-taking*. While the younger generation challenged the position and authority of the dominant elite, the older generation allowed and even encouraged this freedom. One key feature of the avant-garde's relationship to modernism, after all, is its generosity towards the new, as Lunn has described:

Modernists were often members of defensive and belligerent coteries, circles, or self-proclaimed 'avant-gardes.' For such groups, the tyrannies of commercialization, conventional public opinion, and an innocuous and clichéd classical or romantic culture acted as an irritant and a provocation for revolt, but were exercised within limits that allowed the free play of scandal and experimentation (which themselves

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- 52 Peter Smithson disputed this in a conversation with Beatriz Colomina, stating that “Nigel went to Marlborough, more upper-middle-class. Alison was George Watson Ladies College in Edinburgh. Sandy Wilson, who was in one of the groups, went to public school, and to Cambridge.” in Beatriz Colomina and Peter Smithson, “Friends of the Future: A Conversation with Peter Smithson,” *October 94* (October 1, 2000): 17.
- 53 Alison Smithson (née Gill) (22 June 1928 – 16 August 1993) was born in Sheffield to a middle class family, was schooled at the independent George Watson's Ladies College in Edinburgh and studied architecture at Durham University (1944-49).
- 54 Peter Smithson (18 September 1923 – 3 March 2003) was born in Stockton-on-Tees to a working class family and went to school at The Grammar School in Stockton-on-Tees before studying architecture at Durham University (1939-42, 1945-47).
- 55 Peter Reyner Banham (2 March 1922 – 19 March 1988) was born in Norwich to a working class family and went to school there at the King Edward VI Grammar School before beginning training as a mechanical engineer at Bristol Technical College. Although he did not finish his HNC there, he later trained at the Courtauld Institute with a B.A. (1949-52) in art history and Ph.D. (1958) under the supervision of Pevsner.
- 56 Reyner Banham, “The Atavism of the Short-Distance Mini-cyclist,” in *Living Arts*, ed. Theo Crosby and John Bodley, vol. 3, 3 vols. (London: The Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1964), 91-97.

eventually could be absorbed and become a new cliché).<sup>57</sup>

For example, the older generation encouraged the new by providing a platform for meetings and lectures at the ICA<sup>58</sup> and at the main architectural monthlies, the *AR* and *AD* via the new, key editors: Banham at the *AR* and Crosby at *AD*, both of whom started in 1953. The *AR* represented the modern architecture establishment and Banham was accepted through his supervisor Pevsner,<sup>59</sup> recognised as a talented writer and critic, regardless of his *position-taking*. The *AD* on the other hand was the challenger and therefore in more of a position to represent the riskier avant-garde *position-taking*. Crosby and Banham, both born in the 1920s and so linked by biological age to the second generation, were also both involved with the ICA and were close friends with the Smithsons. So it was through Banham at the *AR* and particularly Crosby at *AD* that the Smithsons broadcast their work (both written and built), familiarising their audience with its differences from the consecrated avant-garde and re-configuring the positions and boundaries of the field of architecture. As Bourdieu writes about the production of belief:

On one side are the dominant figures, who want continuity, identity, reproduction; on the other, the newcomers, who seek discontinuity, rupture, difference, revolution. To 'make one's name' [*faire date*] means making one's *mark*, achieving recognition (in both senses) of one's *difference* from other producers, especially the most consecrated of them; at the same time, it means *creating a new position* beyond the

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57 Eugene Lunn, *Marxism & Modernism: an historical study of Lukács, Brecht, Benjamin and Adorno* (London: University of California Press, 1984), 41.

58 For a discussion of the relationship between the ICA and the IG, see chapter 2 of Anne Massey, *The Independent Group: Modernism and mass culture in Britain 1945-59* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

59 In an interview with Susie Harries, Richards claimed to have introduced Banham to the *AR*. Harries wrote, "I interviewed Jim Richards about a fortnight before he died, in April 1992. This is the relevant para from the transcript: 'NP had no connection with Banham's appointment at the *AR*. After Ian McCallum left, rather suddenly, to become director of the American Museum at Claverton manor near Bath, I had to find a new assistant to replace him and I found Reyner Banham, who had been an occasional contributor and was obviously a first-rate journalist as well as a good critic. So he joined the full-time staff. NP had nothing to do with it - although [Banham] must have sat under NP at some time, as NP then was lecturing all over the place.' As far as I can remember, I introduced the slight note of doubt - 'almost certainly' - because, although Richards was perfectly compos in the interview, he was quite anxious to establish his own contribution to the *AR*." Susie Harries to Steve Parnell, "Banham", August 19, 2011.

positions presently occupied, *ahead* of them, in the *avant-garde*.<sup>60</sup>

The Smithsons still had two larger moves to make in the struggle for recognition and power in the field of architecture: the New Brutalism and the dissolution of CIAM.

It was argued above (chapter 6) that the New Brutalism was an architectural expression of the “as found” ordinary aesthetic of the masses as exhibited in the IG exhibitions. It came to represent much welfare state architecture of the LCC and beyond (especially housing) and thus has been attached to the taste of the (dominated) working class. So it was taste produced by the dominated class for the dominated class. Class is formative in the *disposition* of the agents as well as their *taste*, a major part of their *habitus*. Bourdieu explains in *Distinction* that “The detachment of the pure gaze cannot be dissociated from a general disposition towards the world which is the paradoxical product of conditioning by negative economic necessities – a life of ease – that tends to induce an active distance from necessity.”<sup>61</sup> In contrast to this, “working-class people expect every image to explicitly perform a function [...] their appreciation always has an ethical basis.”<sup>62</sup> These words, published 13 years after Banham's *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* and presumably oblivious to it, emphasise the meaning of its subtitle – the question of whether the movement concerned working class taste of the masses (an ethic) or the connoisseurship of taste of the self-selected few (an aesthetic). Ultimately, Banham decided it came down to the latter: “For all its brave talk of ‘an ethic, not an aesthetic’, Brutalism never quite broke out of the aesthetic frame of reference.”<sup>63</sup> It is worth noting, however, that *The New Brutalism* was published in 1966, at the end of the movement's *avant-garde* period and a year after the Smithsons' “shift” started to become evident.<sup>64</sup>

The New Brutalism was a development of the interests of the Smithsons within the IG, but it was concurrent and tied in with their struggle for power in the wider field of architecture expressed in the Corbusier- and Giedion-led architecture club that was CIAM. Their struggle for authority involved defining what architecture was through their buildings, their rhetoric and their writing of history and thereby redefining the boundaries of the *field* of architecture, as well as their position within it. Lipstadt has written that

The most general thing that can be said about a field is that it is a contest for

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60 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 106.

61 Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 5.

62 Ibid.

63 Banham, *The New Brutalism*, 134.

64 See chapter 5.

authority over the field itself; without this struggle, there can be no field. Structured by contests for domination of power, both symbolic and real, fields are arenas in which everything is always at play and up for grabs, including the shared principles that define the identity of the field and that are used to establish the boundaries that distinguish it from others.<sup>65</sup>

The Smithsons' struggle to overthrow the old order as manifest in CIAM is a good, old-fashioned struggle for power to dominate and therefore define the field. Lipstadt again:

The object of competing in this field – the stakes in this particular and peculiar game – is control over the categories of evaluation that determine the legitimacy of works within the field, establish criteria of membership, define boundaries and set the rules whereby, in modes acceptable to the field's notion of disinterestedness, the cultural capital gained can be converted to other forms of capital in use outside of it and defined by the field of power.<sup>66</sup>

In other words, destroying CIAM, leading the formation of its successor Team 10, publishing the struggle in the architectural press and publishing pieces by or about Team 10 while simultaneously defining a new architectural movement, was ultimately a strategy to win commissions to build. And they promoted themselves at the expense of others: in Team 10 Primer, Pedret notes that “Although this couple represented only 13 percent of the 'family' membership as determined by Alison Smithson, their contributions consisted 40 percent of the main body of the text.”<sup>67</sup> While they were good at playing the game in the field of architectural culture, with the exception of the relatively large commission for The Economist cluster of buildings, they were never successful at converting their hard-won cultural capital into economic capital and not through want of trying. By the time they succeeded in building their ideas on housing at Robin Hood Gardens (completed 1972), they had fallen out of fashion and favour and it was poorly received.<sup>68</sup> They were, arguably, too much architects' architects, producing for the producers.

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65 Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?,” 398.

66 Ibid., 399.

67 Annie Pedret, “CIAM and the Emergence of Team 10 Thinking, 1945-1959” (MIT, 2001), 230.

68 Peter Eisenman, “Robin Hood Gardens London E14,” *Architectural Design*, September 1972; The full version of this was published as Peter Eisenman, “From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens; or if you follow the Yellow Brick Road, it may not lead to Golders Green,” in *Oppositions*, vol. 1, 26 vols. (New York, NY: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1973), 27-56.

Just as the IG developed within the ICA, so the older CIAM leaders invited the younger generation to take over the running of its congresses from the tenth congress, due to be held in 1959. Events clearly went in an unexpected direction, as the leaders of Team 10 needed not only to take over CIAM, but to destroy it completely as it represented another age, another ethic and another aesthetic opposed to the ones they were promoting. They pitched their New Brutalism against the Functionalist style and the battle was fought in the architectural press, particularly on the pages of the *AR* and *AD*. The new style was necessarily shocking for the old masters, just as Archigram would be, shocking for the Smithsons. That, after all, was the point. The Smithsons would proclaim in their manifesto of the New Brutalism that “We see architecture as the direct result of a way of life”<sup>69</sup> and they took the primitive architecture as researched by Erwin Gutkind and featured in *AD* as a starting point, sensing it as a true, “pure” architecture, untouched by political or economic interests. This was in contrast to the Functionalist architecture of the pre-war heroes which was establishing itself as mainstream for both public and private buildings in a type of polite contemporary New Humanism as applauded by the *AR* and seen at the Festival of Britain. Becoming dominant in a field requires either that the agent navigates its position within the existing field and within the existing rules of the game, or that it envisions a new configuration for the field in which it will feature more dominantly. This “revolutionary rupture” strategy is the one that the Smithsons chose while putting themselves at the head of the next generation of the architectural avant-garde to challenge the establishment. Their tactics were similar to those used by IG against the elders at the ICA – that of rejecting the established position (and taste) and distinguishing their own, complete with group name (Team 10) to congregate around and identify themselves by.

Bourdieu writes about a “space of possibles” (or a “problematic”) which he defines as “the universe of problems, references, intellectual benchmarks (often constituted by the names of its leading figures), concepts in -ism, in short, all that one must have in the back of one's mind in order to be in the game.”<sup>70</sup> Elsewhere, he describes it as “an oriented space, pregnant with position-takings identifiable as objective potentialities, things 'to be done', 'movements' to launch, reviews to create, adversaries to combat, established position-takings to be 'overtaken' and so forth.”<sup>71</sup> A “space of possibles”, then, is every possible future configuration of the field that can possibly be imagined, given the current configuration. The Smithsons were particularly good at differentiating themselves from the status quo, making a name for themselves and “imposing new modes of thought and expression which break with current

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69 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “The New Brutalism,” *Architectural Design*, January 1955, 1.

70 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 176.

71 Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, 235.

modes of thought and hence are destined to disconcert by their 'obscurity' and their 'gratuitousness'.<sup>72</sup> They were good at imagining a different field configuration, but their unique attribute was not necessarily seeing new possibilities, or that there was a battle to be fought – all their contemporaries whom they met at the time and with whom they discussed architecture probably felt the same way about a new version of modernism that contrasted with the polite New Humanism – but they also had the necessary contacts and disposition, particularly in Theo Crosby, to broadcast these opinions as their own. In their definition of a new *problematic*, and their real-time documentation of it in the architectural press, the Smithsons were effectively writing histories – half-cooked historical positions for future historians to adopt and develop.

As explained in chapter 6, the Smithsons were far from being alone in the criticism of CIAM and the creation of Team 10, but crucially they, and Alison in particular, understood the power of publication. By editing and publishing the meetings to their own agenda, and suppressing others' contributions, Alison was able to accrue the cultural capital not only for Team 10, but for herself, and raise her position in the field of architecture's hierarchy. The strategy of “ageing” the previous generation, situating and dating them in a former *problematic* allowed the younger one to adopt the dominant position in the new *problematic* for the new generation. According to Bourdieu, this new-trumps-old series of *problematics* is how the history of cultural production develops and in the field of architecture, its trace can be considered another reading of architectural history.

#### Frampton: the conferral of cultural capital

Frampton's 31 issues of *AD* were a brief interregnum in its history between Crosby and Middleton who, in terms of their editorial policies and direction, had more in common with each other than with Frampton. South Africans Crosby and Middleton both pushed a generation of neo-avant-gardists and were both highly influential on *AD* and the wider architectural culture through their respective ideologies and favourite architects: Crosby with the Smithsons and Middleton with Price and Archigram. Crosby was technical editor for 8 years and 7 months, a seat Middleton occupied for almost as long: 7 years and 8 months. In contrast, Frampton spent just 2 years and 7 months<sup>73</sup> with *AD*. Although he made an impact on the magazine, he did not spend enough time there to influence the wider field of

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72 Ibid., 240.

73 By some strange fate of symmetry, another Englishman, Peter Murray succeeded Robin Middleton as technical editor in October 1972 and lasted only until January 1974 (a total of 1 year and 4 months), although he had worked at *AD* as art director since February 1970.

architectural culture through it, whether or not that was his intention. Although in retrospect, he saw that his time at *AD* was formative in constructing his ideas on Critical Regionalism, he had not consciously developed them by the time he left at the end of 1964.

While Frampton was at *AD*, he was working out his own position on what constituted an authentic architectural experience through his building of the Craven Hill Gardens flats at Bayswater, through visiting architects and their work throughout Continental Europe, and through editing the magazine. The ideas he was unconsciously developing included: the distinction between building and architecture, the magazine's role in constructing that distinction and in experiencing buildings, architecture as a social service, and Critical Regionalism as a resistance to the universalisation of high modernism. But unlike Crosby before him and Middleton after him, he was not consciously promoting a new movement, avant-garde or a select group of architects. Frampton was more interested in architecture as an art and shared an interest with Eisenman in pure architectural form as distinct from style.<sup>74</sup> As for architecture as a social service, he was arguing for something between an autonomous and heteronomous architecture, neither a product for the producers (architects) nor a sop to the rich and powerful, but in the service of the average person. In terms of the experience of architecture, whether through the building or the page, Frampton was trying to make a clear distinction between mere building and a higher architecture, based on aesthetic experience as a means of accessing the core reality (see chapter 5), or what Otero-Pailos calls "surplus experience".<sup>75</sup> In this way, he was involved with deliberations of taste and the magazines he edited demonstrate an affinity for the ideas of a universal modernism adapted to a local situation – a way of thinking and resistance to the domination of high modernism. In Bourdieu's terms, he was therefore questioning the *doxa* (particularly the *aesthetic doxa*) of a universal modernism and the tacit understanding that one solution fits all that was prevalent in modernist thinking. He was sympathetic to the thinking of Team 10, but his more independent, critical stance launched a more general debate at a higher plane concerning the seminal question "what is architecture?" which promoted the esoteric and the relatively unknown ahead of the established. By pro-actively working as a critic, and seeking out the types of buildings he considered to be worthy of elevating to architecture, he was acting within the field as a *classifier*. As Lipstadt wrote, "The object of competing in this field – the stakes in this particular and peculiar game – is control over the categories of evaluation that determine the legitimacy of works within that field, establish criteria of membership, define boundaries and

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74 Note 52 in Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 290; Frampton published a summary of Eisenman's PhD thesis as Peter Eisenman, "Towards an Understanding of Form in Architecture," *Architectural Design*, October 1963.

75 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, chap. Surplus Experience.

set the rules.”<sup>76</sup> His later distinguished career as an architectural historian demonstrates how successful he was at this, essentially becoming the champion of Critical Regionalism even though he goes to great lengths to point out that a) it was not he who coined the term or started the movement; and b) it is not a style, but a method for writing architectural history.<sup>77</sup>

Crosby published very cursorily a couple of buildings with which he had earlier assisted at Fry, Drew & Partners<sup>78</sup> and a single page on a small house extension<sup>79</sup> and Middleton published no buildings of his own. In contrast, Frampton published the building he was working on during the mornings of his time at *AD*, Craven Hill Gardens, in detail (Fig. 5.7) in September 1964,<sup>80</sup> after which he almost immediately left for America and academia. More than the other editors of *AD*, Frampton attempted to produce architecture *on* the pages of the magazine rather than *through* it. He also brought a critical voice through independent analyses of buildings that had not been evident with Crosby. Initially, these critiques were written by members of his close circle, such as Alan Colquhoun<sup>81</sup> and Neave Brown<sup>82</sup> (both of whom he knew from meetings at Sam Stevens' flat) and Panos Koulermos<sup>83</sup> (with whom he worked at Douglas Stephen and Partners). These critiques, focused on a specific building, took over from the more general “opinion” pieces which Crosby had started with Lasdun in December 1956.<sup>84</sup> Half way through his tenure Frampton started writing his own lengthy critiques, starting with the Leicester University Engineering building by Stirling and Gowan,<sup>85</sup> but later including the Economist group by the Smithsons,<sup>86</sup> and Scharoun's Philharmonie in Berlin.<sup>87</sup> By writing

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76 Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production?,” 399.

77 Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 238.

78 Jane Drew, “Recent work by Fry, Drew & Partners and Fry, Drew, Drake & Lasdun in West Africa,” *Architectural Design*, May 1955, 140,157,167.

79 Theo Crosby, “Extension to a house in Barnes, London,” *Architectural Design*, August 1960, 328.

80 Kenneth Frampton, “Maisonettes in Bayswater, London,” *Architectural Design*, September 1964.

81 Alan Colquhoun, “TWA terminal building, Idlewild, New York,” *Architectural Design*, October 1962, 465; Alan Colquhoun, “Symbolic and Literal Aspects of Technology,” *Architectural Design*, November 1962, 508–509.

82 Neave Brown, “Siedlung Halen and the Eclectic Predicament,” *Architectural Design*, February 1963, 63.

83 Panos Koulermos, “Terragni, Lingeri and Italian Rationalism,” *Architectural Design*, March 1963, 108–109.

84 The last one being December 1962, see Appendix 3.

85 Kenneth Frampton, “Leicester University Engineering Laboratory,” *Architectural Design*, February 1964, 61.

86 Kenneth Frampton, “The Economist and the Hauptstadt,” *Architectural Design*, February 1965, 61–62.

87 Kenneth Frampton, “Genesis of the Philharmonie,” *Architectural Design*, March 1965, 111–112.

his own critiques, he determined his position in the field of architecture through his own work rather than that of others. This is a crucial point because through these critical pieces, he was moving away from establishing a *position-taking* of the magazine, as Crosby had done with the “opinion” platform for others, and more towards establishing one of his own, therefore increasing his personal authority and *cultural capital* in the field of architecture.

Criticising buildings in this way reinforces the belief (or *illusio*) that there is something called architecture that somehow has a more elevated status than mere building, and what is more, that it is the job of the critic to point out this distinction and even to define it. In Bourdieu's observation, “The work of art is an object which exists as such only by virtue of the (collective) belief which knows and acknowledges it as a work of art”,<sup>88</sup> the word “architecture” can replace “art” with no loss of meaning or relevance. The critic has a major role to play in the construction of this belief, as Bourdieu notes: “The production of discourse (critical, historical, etc.) about the work of art is one of the conditions of production of the work [...] All critics declare not only their judgement of the work but also their claim to the right for the monopoly of legitimate discourse about the work of art, and consequently in the production of the value of the work of art.”<sup>89</sup> This not only enhances the position of the critic within the field of architecture, but moreover, the field itself as creator of the agents themselves, as Lipstadt has pointed out:

The *illusio* thus blocks any understanding by agents in the field that it is the field – the fullest complement of publishers, curators, critics, dealers and preface writers as well as the artists – which creates the creator and the creator's power to transubstantiate material objects into art.<sup>90</sup>

Frampton's tenure was defined by his critical independence and desire to dictate what should be considered architecture. This is emphasised by his unwillingness to publish readers' letters – he did not publish a single one, in contrast to Crosby and Middleton. One explanation for this is Frampton wanting the pages of his magazine to become a platform for his (and his friends') opinions and critiques without response, rather than a platform for debate and dialogue. In other words, he wished to close down the definition of architecture, rather than open it up, as Middleton was to do.

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88 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 35.

89 *Ibid.*, 35–36.

90 Lipstadt, “Can ‘Art Professions’ be Bourdieuan Fields of Cultural Production?,” 401.

### Middleton: The will to autonomy

Middleton's tenure is characterised by a criticism of modern architecture through the will to autonomy in both the magazine's format and content – the medium and the message. He was primarily concerned with the autonomy of architecture and a desire to define architecture by reshaping and extending the field's boundaries. While there were always two economies operating in *AD*, the economic and the cultural, the boundary of the field of the architectural magazine and that of the field of architecture had never overlapped so much. The autonomy of *AD*'s content impacted its readership (circulation), its economics (advertising) and ultimately its format when it shifted from a professional to a little magazine. While the owners wished to keep it heteronomous and close to advertisers' wishes, they were kept at arm's length from the content by the formidable Pidgeon. Besides, Dottridge remembered that "Intervention was not a policy of the management."<sup>91</sup>

Middleton cared as little for the buildings that were going up as for the adverts that manufacturers wished to place.<sup>92</sup> The biggest criticism that could possibly be made of buildings and their products was not to publish them, therefore failing to confer cultural capital upon them. For manufacturers this was inconvenient, but for the architects of buildings it was disastrous, as they were cut off from a stream of cultural capital that would transubstantiate their work into architecture. Middleton's "falling out of love with the architecture"<sup>93</sup> led to him publishing instead a wide variety of reactionary designers like Hans Hollein, Haus Rucker Co., Archizoom, and Superstudio all of whom reconfigured the boundaries of the field of architecture way beyond the traditional modernist *problematic*. But his closest allies in his struggle for independence were his colleagues from the AA: Cedric Price and the Archigram group.

In every way, the distance between *AD* and the *AR* increased from the appointment of Middleton. Until the end of 1964, a cursory glance at the two would have shown similar products aimed at basically the same readership. Both were essentially concerned with the criticism of buildings, often the same buildings. Both were also involved in the creation of the New Brutalism neo-avant-garde movement, although the *AR* was predominantly concerned with its own Townscape campaign that ran from the war until Hastings' retirement in 1973. Banham's period at the *AR* coincided almost exactly with those of Crosby and Frampton at *AD*.<sup>94</sup> If anyone would have championed Archigram at the *AR*, it would have been Banham.

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91 David Dottridge to Steve Parnell, "Research on Architectural Design -my best", September 15, 2011.

92 Middleton, interview.

93 Ibid.

94 Banham is listed in the masthead of the *AR* from March 1953 until October 1964. Crosby is listed in

He briefly reviewed Archigram's "Zoom" edition<sup>95</sup> before he left but in his absence, the *AR* completely ignored the group and their 'zines, preferring to maintain its own enduring campaign and its tried and tested formula of architectural criticism. *AD* began to distinguish itself and seek its own readership when Middleton joined, testing the boundaries of and repositioning itself within the field of architecture. For within the sub-field of the architectural magazine, the readers, the editor, the contributors and the subjects of the articles are all agents that actively or passively position the magazine, between them constructing its hierarchy of legitimation. As the nature of *AD* changed after Middleton's appointment, so did its readers, contributors, and content. Middleton remained by disposition very young-minded. He claimed that he was "a sort of late teenager [him]self" and that his link with the academy kept him young: "I had an adolescence in South Africa, I had 5 years at university there, then I went to Cambridge, and I was 5 years there so I had another adolescence, then in the sixties in London, I had another adolescence. So I don't think I ever grew up properly."<sup>96</sup> Crosby, Frampton and Middleton were all architects but only Middleton went on to do a Ph.D. and subsequently continued links with architectural education as a teacher. Middleton's permanent adolescence affected the magazine whose juvenilisation progressed to target students rather than practising architects thanks to Middleton's connections at the AA and Cambridge, at a time when architectural education was moving into the university system<sup>97</sup> and the university system was expanding in Britain. But Middleton deliberately targeted the young because "they have more ideas" and because "architects were thinking in a very stodgy way in those days"<sup>98</sup> rather than because they represented a growing market. This change in focus corresponded to the diminishing belief in modern architecture – the demise of modernism – as the way to build the future with the next generation of architects looking for a replacement ideology.

By the end of his first year, Middleton had prepared the way for the next generation of the neo-avant-garde. While the Smithsons were busy accommodating manufacturing (heteronomy) in their theories, Archigram were envisioning impossibly exciting new worlds on paper (autonomy). Middleton and Pidgeon continued to commission the Smithsons' pieces for *AD*, but they were no longer the voice of the vanguard and were by this time beginning to fall out of favour. The Archigram group was the progeny of the New Brutalists (to the dismay of the

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*AD* from December 1953 and Frampton until January 1965.

95 "Zoom architecture," *Architectural Review*, August 1964, 83.

96 Middleton, interview.

97 As recommended by the Oxford conference of 1958.

98 Middleton, interview.

Smithsons who called it “Mickey Mouse architecture”<sup>99</sup>) and their heritage and sense of distinction came from this lineage, having been patronised by both Crosby and Middleton and supported by Banham, which all must have lent them a disposition of entitlement. They took a completely different approach to positioning themselves apart from the old guard, however. In the same way that the New Brutalism can be seen as an architectural expression of the “Kitchen Sink Realism” of the “Angry Young Men” movement epitomised by John Osborne’s 1959 film *Look Back In Anger*,<sup>100</sup> Archigram can be associated with the satire boom of the 1960s, as Sadler has pointed out: “It [Archigram] was no less serious than contemporaneous cultural agitants, such as those of Britain’s ‘satire boom’ gathered around London’s jokingly named Establishment Club (coincidentally opened in 1961 by another Peter Cook).”<sup>101</sup> In this same year, both Archigram and *Private Eye* first appeared. Booker notes that “the satirists were heavily influenced by the imagery of the age; a great deal of their material was concerned with parodies of television shows and advertising, the clichés of journalism, the jargon of trendsetters and the new ambience of the glossy magazines.”<sup>102</sup> While not exactly satirical, a similar tone of provocative criticism against an architectural establishment that had become stuffy and hegemonic was where their image-obsessed agitprop samizdat ‘zine began. Unlike the Smithsons, Archigram did not discredit the previous generation in order to age them. In the words of Bourdieu, “To impose a new producer, a new product and a new system of taste on the market at a given moment means to relegate to the past a whole set of producers, products and systems of taste”<sup>103</sup> so simply publishing the new at the expense of the old is a sufficient condition for dating the previous generation. Instead of merely discrediting the old generation, Archigram, along with Price, rejected the entire institution of building in favour of the immaterial concept, or idea. They created a new *doxa* and *illusio*.

Not all readers were taken in by this, though, as one student wrote to *AD* in January 1968:

Sir, An educational experience of Peter Cook has made us love him dearly – it also gives us grounds for the opinion that articles like ‘Control and choice living’ in your 11/67 issue,<sup>104</sup> have to be treated with caution.

H.G. Wells wrote of a Martian invasion ‘It has robbed us of that serene confidence in the future which is the most fruitful source of decadence’; we are of the opinion

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99 Bryan Appleyard, *Richard Rogers: a biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), 181.

100 See Banham, *The New Brutalism*, 13.

101 Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 6; See Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs* (London: Collins, 1969), 165 for more on the satire boom.

102 Booker, *The Neophiliacs*, 165–166.

103 Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, 160.

104 It was actually 10/67: Peter Cook, “Control-and-choice living,” *Architectural Design*, October 1967.

that the future has replaced the past as the most significant source of *architectural* decadence.

Any hypothesis of the future can provide a romantic and polemical basis for the design of objects. It effectively prohibits any precise use of language as a larger reference system. Checking is not possible. Discussion cannot establish anything except internal logic. So it is quite possible to accept the position where an object is derived only by polemic, where the only criteria of success and failure are not real. The result of polemic manipulation is liable to be nonsense, in any terms – see any speech by Lyndon Baines Johnson – because premises and conclusions are vague emotional 'charges' that vary from person to person.

A student who is faced with a teacher who adopts this form of thinking must take any published designs as articles of faith. He is increasingly obliged to establish his own faith, whether the same or different, in the same way. In the last analysis it is this that reduces useful discussion more and more and will eventually lead to the complete disintegration of the social contract that architectural thinking must have – it must relate to some sort of reality. It will also lead to the complete disintegration of language as the discursive tool for intra-personal exchange. As the realm of discussion is slowly eroded the only portions that are left involve technique – the external expression of an object. This takes many forms – from theoretical technology to the correct methods of applying Letraset.

Polemic is required to establish belief. A crisis of belief occurs when no meaningful goals can be established from it. This is happening now and a dilettante involvement with slogans, superficially feeding on the certainties and techniques of others, is a frightening and visible result.<sup>105</sup>

The article referred to in this letter (Fig. 7.20) is typical of Archigram. The illusion that it has been well considered is created by addressing the most obscure, tangential objections with technical gobbledegook and undefined neologisms, such as “‘Satellites’: the Air-Hab: a holiday home that inflates for the kids on the lowest floor or at the seaside, together with a series of electric cars.”<sup>106</sup> It is easy to see how this resonated with students, whose projects can exist autonomously on paper, in models, and through speech alone. The magazine was the perfect medium for Archigram because it could keep up with the speed of their ideas, which could be drawn, published and disposed of monthly, unlike the responsibilities of more permanent building and its contingency of clients, users, budget, schedule and legal obligations.

Archigram's main tactic in the struggle for power in the field of architecture was that of the production – or deconstruction and reconstruction – of belief, or *illusio*. Stephen Gage's letter

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105 Stephen Gage, “Learning by faith?,” *Architectural Design*, January 1968, AD/3.

106 Cook, “Control-and-choice living,” 477.

printed above confirms this, especially when he writes “Discussion cannot establish anything except internal logic” and “Polemic is required to establish belief.” In contrast to the Smithsons’ lengthy and logically argued dialectic that established their *position-taking*, Archigram’s production of belief was achieved largely through the image – as Banham confirmed, “Archigram can’t tell you for certain whether Plug-in City can be made to work, but it can tell you what it might look like.”<sup>107</sup> Any accompanying text was full of vague promises and pseudo-scientific jargon that promised a nebulous space-age or drug-induced future of happiness. Their Instant City article,<sup>108</sup> for example, is full of vague generalities: “a scrambled set of starters”, “a multiplicity of factors”, “a series of appliances” and “induced variables” alongside over-elaborate specifics: “equipment includes trailers, ordinary (non-pneumatic) tents, services trellises, a range of optional extras to the pylon/robot system”.<sup>109</sup>

Archigram imagined and drew a fantasy world in which readers had to believe, in order to elect themselves to the next, sublime generation. In contrast with the Smithsons’ earnestness, Archigram made a point of being playful, jocular and irreverent – they were “hip”. Their images and slogans were arresting and provocative and their language was either alienating or intriguing, depending on whether the reader was also hip. Archigram’s naturalisation took place by simply being so “way out” and different, that the previous generation was automatically alienated and the young students and architects that Pidgeon and Middleton were aiming at were intrigued enough to claim it as theirs. This is shown in “Instant City”, a comment on English provincialism. The objective of the Instant City is that the intensity and “buzz” of the metropolis can be brought to provincial towns throughout the country and this intervention could permanently change their outlook for the better. The assumption is that those in the provincial towns can’t be happy without experiencing the intensity of a big metropolitan city like London.<sup>110</sup> The same divisive strategy is used here as in the Smithsons’ “Urban Re-identification” article (see Appendix 1): the distinction between “us” and “them”. However, the separation here is based on geography (the hip metropolis versus the square province) rather than on the *ageing* of a generation that the Smithsons used. Instead of readers being made to feel past it if they hold the beliefs of the older generation, they are made to feel uncool if they don’t subscribe to the vibe. In the Instant City, the provincial town is “jolted out of its sleep for a marvellous, heady week”<sup>111</sup> implying the reader is asleep, or even worse, left out of things, unless with the happening Archigram scene.

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107 Reyner Banham, “A clip-on architecture,” *Architectural Design*, November 1965, 535.

108 Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton, and Ron Herron, “Instant City,” *Architectural Design*, May 1969.

109 *Ibid.*, 280.

110 Only Warren Chalk and Ron Herron of the Archigram group were born in London.

111 Cook, Crompton, and Herron, “Instant City,” 280.

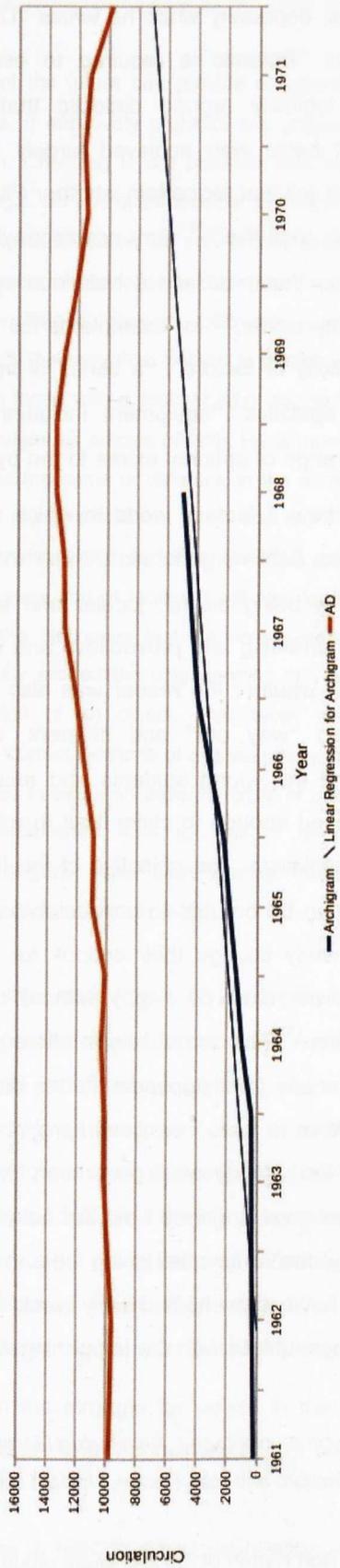


Fig. 8.1: Circulation of AD (orange, courtesy of Audit Bureau of Circulations) and Archigram (blue).

Archigram validate their ideas with mention of past workshops, experiments, and exhibitions they have carried out and even previously published articles (“The Ideas Circus Project” of 1968<sup>112</sup> and the “Plug-in City” of 1964<sup>113</sup>). The question, once again, is one of *taste*. Archigram were establishing themselves as the new *taste-makers* and establishing a new *aesthetic doxa*, which, as it was based on publication, was easily reproducible through publication – both their own and others’. The advantage of their architecture existing only on the page means that any reproduction is as authentic as the original – unlike the publication of a building, its reproduction on the page does not lose any “aura”: it is not a way for the author to re-take possession. The other way they establish and reproduce this new taste is by becoming embedded in educational establishments towards the end of the 1960s. According to Bourdieu, “The educational system [is] an institutionalized classifier which is itself an objectified system of classification reproducing the hierarchies of the social world.”<sup>114</sup> And one of its main roles is the reproduction of taste, something that “unites and separates”.<sup>115</sup> With the creation of a new class of architecture, Archigram united the young architects they were teaching and separated themselves from the old who taught them.<sup>116</sup> The new, much reproduced taste then became their *position-taking* in the field of architecture and the basis of their *illusio*. However, the reader is constantly reminded of the unfinished state of their ideas: “At the moment these experiments are crude, and the philosophical statement forced”,<sup>117</sup> “The work illustrated is at an interim stage”<sup>118</sup> and even the title is subtitled “first stage”, all of which is a defensive move to anticipate and deflect criticism. But Archigram’s work is never supposed to progress beyond the interim stage – if it did, the *illusio* and *aesthetic doxa* would be destroyed. It is not to be taken literally, but as a criticism of what architectural modernism had become in the form of the architectural establishment highlighting Archigram’s real potency that came from pointing out the gap between a bricks and mortar attitude to building, and the space race. In retrospect, it is fortunate that they only built a couple of small,

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112 Peter Cook, “Ideas Circus,” *Architectural Design*, May 1968, 236.

113 “Archigram Group, London: A chronological survey,” *Architectural Design*, November 1965, 570.

114 Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 387.

115 *Ibid.*, 56.

116 It is notable that Cedric Price (11 September 1934 – 10 August 2003) and the Archigram members were of a biological age of about a decade younger than the previous generation and so would have trained as architects under them: Warren Chalk (7 July 1927 – 7 August 1987), Ron Herron (12 August 1930 – 1 October 1994), Dennis Crompton (b. 1935), Peter Cook (b. 22 October 1936), Michael Webb (b. 3 March 1937), David Greene (b. 1937).

117 Cook, Crompton, and Herron, “Instant City,” 277.

118 *Ibid.*, 280.

forgettable projects<sup>119</sup> because had any of their fantastical sci-fi ideas attempted to engage with economic or political reality, it would have defaced the purity of the illusion.

In “Theory of the Avant-Garde”, Peter Bürger claims that a common characteristic of the historical avant-garde movements is uniting art and life by conceiving art as the basis of social praxis.<sup>120</sup> Richard Murphy takes the idea further in “Theorizing the Avant-Garde” by explaining how the avant-garde can reduce the distance between art and life.<sup>121</sup> One option is for art to serve as an ideal model, offering a utopia for life to aspire to – in other words, mundane reality is “sublimated” or raised to the sublime, ideal level of the aesthetic sphere. The other option lies in the opposite direction – for art to descend to banal reality, which Murphy calls a “cynical’ sublation of art and life”.<sup>122</sup> The word “sublation” is the English translation of Hegel’s *Aufhebung* meaning both “to preserve” and “to change”, and this perfectly describes the dialectic process that occurs with avant-garde movements as they first extend and then become subsumed by modernism. The New Brutalism and Archigram are good examples of the two types of avant-garde. Although the New Brutalists generated a lot of rhetoric (much of it published in *AD*), they did also actually build buildings. In contrast, Archigram were “short on theory, long on draughtsmanship and craftsmanship” according to Banham, were “in the image business” and had been “blessed with the power to create some of the most compelling images of our time.”<sup>123</sup> If one way for buildings to become architecture is for them to be published, then Archigram simply removed the arduous building process and went straight to publishing their proposals as finished projects. There was no financial or political economy involved, no clients, building regulations, planning controls or even political slant on their pages – it was pure autonomous architectural culture that could be speculatively produced for the producers in the form of architectural students and young architects. Archigram created architecture as pure art, easily reproducible on paper. There was no mention of ethics, it was an unashamedly pure aesthetic. It was an idealist avant-garde that wished to sublimate, or raise life to the level of art and implied criticism of the old avant-garde which wanted to sublimate, or reduce art to the mundane level of life. The group was apparently uninterested in economic and political capital but their continued publication by Middleton in the late 1960s and early 1970s conferred increasing cultural capital upon them and their

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119 A playground in Milton Keynes and Rod Stewart’s swimming pool.

120 Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw, *Theory and History of Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

121 Richard Murphy, *Theorizing the Avant-Garde: Modernism, Expressionism, and the Problem of Postmodernity*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

122 *Ibid.*, 34.

123 Peter Cook, ed., *Archigram*, Revised edition. (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 5.

projects while consecrating them. Middleton also gained cultural capital as the main protagonist for their publication in the mainstream architectural press and effectively as one of the producers of their work. Bourdieu wrote, “The ideology of creation, which makes the author the first and last source of the value of his work, conceals the fact that [...] the person who, by putting it on the market, by exhibiting, publishing or staging it, consecrates a product which he has 'discovered'”.<sup>124</sup> *AD* and Archigram (the 'zine) were brought closer together after the latter's publication in the former. Archigram lost a modicum of autonomy by being associated with a commercial magazine linked to advertising and building but gained culturally, and perhaps financially, by being selected for publication by people with authority in the field of architecture (authority as yet unpossessed by Archigram). Similarly, *AD* gained autonomy by publishing architecture that could not be associated with real products or advertising. This autonomy brought a loss of advertising and professional readers, however. Archigram was gaining circulation as fast as *AD* was losing it and their lines on a graph of circulation would have intersected around 1971 or 1972 had Archigram continued (Fig. 8.1). As it was, *AD* effectively took over from Archigram in October 1970 when it became “little”, and took over as the student protest magazine of choice.

By publishing Archigram so prolifically, Middleton conferred the full weight of *AD*'s now considerable cultural capital upon the group, validating their theoretical projects and bestowing architectural legitimation upon them. Bourdieu notes that such an association also works the other way round: “The classifying subjects who classify the properties and practices of others, or their own, are also classifiable objects which classify themselves (in the eyes of others) by appropriating practices and properties that are already classified”.<sup>125</sup> So *AD* maintained its association with the architectural neo-avant-garde that had started with the Smithsons and the New Brutalism, which affected not only its position in the field as it continued its forward-looking trajectory, but also the field itself. In other words, by publishing Archigram, Price, and other theoretical projects, *AD* was, issue by issue, expanding the *problematic* with its own agenda and extending what was deemed acceptable to be called architecture. Even more than the question of what architecture was, *AD* was asking what the architect was. Hence the emphasis on generalised and abstract ideas about architecture rather than specific buildings, and on so-called “non-pedigree” architecture such as Rudofsky's (the “unacknowledged Gutkind”) *Architecture without Architects*, Pasternak's *Design for the Real World*, Negroponete's *Soft Architecture Machine*, and subjects more concerned with participation, squatting, counter-culture's ecological movement, disposable and temporary architecture. All this was turned into architecture by *AD* in favour of buildings, explaining Hans Hollein's now

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124 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 76.

125 Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 482.

famous quote, “Alles ist architektur”.<sup>126</sup>

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126 Which itself unsurprisingly appeared as an article in AD: Hans Hollein, “Alles ist architektur,” *Architectural Design*, February 1970.

It is not the historian's task to "recombine fragments." Nor is it legitimate for the historian to identify with the victors – a vice that complements the apologia for present-day conditions that is, lamentably, still quite active. On the contrary: it is possible for history to lend its voice to a dialectical process that does not take the outcome of the struggles it narrates for granted. Hence it must suspend its judgments if it is to proceed at all. Nothing is given as past. Historical time is, by its constitution, hybrid. (Manfredo Tafuri, 1992)<sup>1</sup>

## 9 Conclusions

This thesis asked, "what is the contribution of the architectural magazine to the writing of architectural history?" This has been answered in terms of a grand narrative and several micro-narratives. Adopting Bourdieu's framework to situate the institution of the architectural magazine in the wider context of the field of architecture, specifically the profession and architectural history, has led to the grand narrative of a more holistic understanding and interpretation of architectural history through a study of the production of the medium itself, its contributors, and their discourse and relationships. Considering architecture and its history and historiography as artifices of individual and institutional agency struggling for power in the field of architecture offers a reading of architectural history rendered as a trace of this struggle. Micro-narratives that would not have been available simply through fact-finding and story-telling from today's perspective have also been exposed by starting with the magazine's content and context.

### Findings: the grand narrative

Chapter 1 established how the architectural press was one of three key institutions that between them constructed the architectural profession from the early 19th century onwards. The other two were the professional associations and the academy. Each institution depended on the other two and none could have produced the profession of architecture alone. The magazine's role in particular was to disseminate architectural knowledge and taste; in other words, to educate. But it was also used as a unifying device – something that people with common opinions and goals could congregate around to proclaim their message and

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1 Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, trans. Daniel Sherer (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 22.

intentions. In this way, it was fundamental in the call for a profession of architecture distinct from the other professions that also laid claim to architectural practice's functions in the construction industry – especially building (contracting and speculating), engineering and surveying – and it was central to the campaign for the establishment of professional bodies and ultimately the registration of architects. The key function that architects soon found distinguished them from their competitors was that of design, or the artistic aspect of construction, and in particular, the appearance of the building. The architectural magazine became a key site for the call for a new style that represented the “Spirit of the Age” distinct from that of the engineer. Once a new style emerged around the turn of the 20th century, the magazine was the most effective instrument of mass reproduction and diffusion. It was also the medium that the avant-garde used immediately after world war one to distribute its message of a new style for a new world. As Colomina has pointed out, without the magazine *l'Esprit Nouveau*, for example, there would quite literally be no Le Corbusier.<sup>2</sup>

Once a number of examples of the new style of modern architecture in its various different forms had been built on the Continent, it was through the photographs in the magazines *ABN* and the *AR* that they were transmitted to Britain in the late twenties and early thirties.<sup>3</sup> This only just precluded the Architects (Registration) Act of 1938 and the establishment of the profession very much in the image that we recognise today. At this point, several professional magazines, or trade rags, appeared throughout Europe which continue to be popular today, including *la Casa Bella* in Italy (founded by Studio Editoriale Milanese in January 1928 and directed by Guido Marangoni), *l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in France (founded by André Bloc in November 1930) and *Architectural Design & Construction* in Britain (founded by the SCC also in November 1930). The Italian and French reviews both started off promoting modern architecture, and although the British magazine was initially ambivalent about modern architecture, with a change of editor in 1932, it too began to promote the new style.

As chapter 2 demonstrated, by the 1930s, the new style imported from the Continent was becoming established, but still only for elite clients. This period coincided with an influx of intellectual émigrés from Nazi Germany including architects (such as Gropius and Mendelsohn) and art historians like Pevsner, Wittkower and Gombrich who introduced a professionalism to the discipline of art history, under which architectural history was still subsumed. Art history in Britain had previously been practised by dilettante amateurs who for the most part had simply wished to know more about their own country houses or research

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2 Beatriz Colomina, “Little AD” (presented at the 80 Years of AD (1930-2010), R.I.B.A., London, June 29, 2010).

3 See chapters 1 and 2 of Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural cultures in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007).

their family collection of paintings and sculpture. But the opening of the Courtauld (1932) and Warburg (1934) Institutes in London were testament to a new seriousness in the discipline beyond the connoisseurship of taste.

During this crucial nascent period for modern architecture, many architectural historians both in Britain and overseas were entirely complicit with the creation of a modern architecture as the one true style for the age. As Tournikiotis has noted, the most influential texts, such as those from between the war by Kaufmann,<sup>4</sup> Pevsner,<sup>5</sup> and Giedion,<sup>6</sup> “endeavour to prove the historical legitimacy of the modern movement [...] in order to encourage architects to take an active part in its development.”<sup>7</sup> As mentioned in chapter 3, other studies in this area have remarked how “The mythology of modernism created by the first apologists was carried forward after World War II as history”<sup>8</sup> and the critics in the magazines as well as the historians in their canonisation, were all involved in this process without question. This effectively made the construction of the modern movement in architecture an inevitable collusion of modern architects and modern architectural historians against tradition. As Vidler has remarked, “History was at once source, verification, and authorization.”<sup>9</sup> It was not until Tafuri's *Teorie e Storia dell'Architettura* (1968, translated as *Theories and History of Architecture* in 1980) that this collusion was seriously questioned and the methodologies of architectural historians scrutinised. In that ground-breaking book, Tafuri defined operative history as

an analysis of architecture (or of the arts in general) that, instead of an abstract survey, has as its objective the planning of a precise poetical tendency, anticipated in its structures and derived from historical analyses programmatically distorted and finalised.

By this definition operative criticism represents the meeting point of history and

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4 Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier, Ursprung und Entwicklung der autonomen Architektur*, 1st ed. (Vienna: Rolf Passer, 1933).

5 Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, 1st ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 1936).

6 Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: the growth of a new tradition*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941).

7 Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999), 21–22.

8 Susan Lichtenstein, “Editing Architecture: Architectural Record and the Growth of Modern Architecture, 1928-1938” (Doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1990), 5.

9 Anthony Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 13.

planning. We could say, in fact, that operative criticism plans past history by projecting it towards the future. Its verifiability does not require abstractions of principle, it measures itself, each time, against the results obtained, while its theoretical horizon is the pragmatist and instrumentalist tradition.

One could add that this type of criticism, by anticipating the ways of action, forces history: forces past history because, by investing it with a strong ideological charge, it rejects the failures and dispersions throughout history; and forces the future because it is not satisfied with the simple registering of what is happening, but hankers after solutions and problems not yet shown (at least, not explicitly so). Its attitude is contesting towards past history, and prophetic towards the future.<sup>10</sup>

Modern architectural historians such as Pevsner, Zevi and in particular, Giedion, were working as architects rather than historians when writing their histories of modern architecture to define the future of architecture, rather than representing the past critically. Architecture became an historical project, but by the same token, history became an architectural project: the two joined together to become the unique project of the very construction of the modern movement in architecture. As Vidler has remarked, “far from rejecting ‘history’ as such, modernism perhaps respected it too much. In asserting the need to break with the past, whether in futurist, neoplasticist, purist, or constructivist terms, the modernist avant-gardes in fact understood history as a fundamental force, an engine of the social world.”<sup>11</sup> Architecture gave history material for consideration and publication and history repaid it with legitimisation. This project can be seen as a particularly modernist epistemology of history-writing, with the grand narrative and the teleological goal of utopia to aim for (chapter 2).

Leach has observed that “it is important to recognize that there is no trans-historical, trans-geographical, fixed definition of architecture about which historians can make histories.”<sup>12</sup> An identical claim might be made for history – over time, disciplines change their focus and words change their meaning. What we connote by “architecture” and “history” now is certainly not the same as was connoted even fifty years ago, and the methodologies and theories of each necessarily change. To paraphrase Dorner, “even our concept *history* is but a temporary fact.” Leach also noted that “Architectural history is always shaped, to one extent or another, by a theory of history and historiography that determines the historical scope and content of architecture as a profession, discipline, art, craft, science or technique.”<sup>13</sup> A critical reflection

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10 Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, trans. Giorgio Verrecchia (London: Granada, 1980), 141.

11 Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, 192.

12 Andrew Leach, *What is Architectural History?* (Polity Press, 2010), 18.

13 *Ibid.*

on this “theory of history,” or methodology, that might be termed the postmodern turn in the writing of history, occurred in the 1960s. This is around the same time that architectural history split away from art history as a discipline in its own right, an event that could be marked in Britain by Banham becoming the first Professor of Architectural History at the Bartlett, University College London in 1969, but elsewhere by Tafuri’s adoption of Foucault’s structuralist methodologies for *Theories and History*. A split of architectural history away from art history allows it to develop its own methodologies and theories distinct from those, such as the taxonomy of styles, the chronology of periodisation, the building as object and the architect as author, inherited from art history (chapter 2).

Adopting postmodern (structuralist and post-structural) theories in the writing of architectural history allows new ways of thinking about it that were not available to modernist historians. Specifically, in this thesis, through the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu, architecture is considered as not simply the product of an individual architect, but as the product of the field of architecture and the agents (individuals and institutions) contained therein. One of the most important and influential institutions in this field is the architectural magazine. This thesis has been inspired by the work of H  l  ne Lipstadt whose Bourdieuean interpretation of the institution of architectural competitions provides a similar inspiration for the main conclusion. She writes about architectural competitions “as an acting out of the *illusio* that gives architecture its specificity as a field”<sup>14</sup> and this could equally be applied to the architectural magazine. It reinforces the belief in architecture as a worthwhile art (concerned with cultural capital) and profession (concerned with economic capital) and naturalises both it and its products, as well as legitimising the mythology that becomes its history. Buildings are nominated to the canon as much by the critic who validates a building as the architect who designs it. This nomination is the first step to consecration and it is as much the editorial policy of the magazine, however that is decided and enforced, that chooses what gets discussed and diffused and tacitly reproduced over time and space.

If architectural history, architectural practice, and the architectural magazine are considered as separate institutions, there is only so much to be said for the contribution of the third to the first two, i.e. that it validates buildings as architecture and nominates them for inclusion in architectural history. This time-honoured method tends to foreground the architect of the work as an individual genius at the expense of either anonymity or the larger team that is necessarily involved in the building project and the conditions and people who transubstantiate its status from building to architecture. If, however, a Bourdieuean framework is employed, all institutions become interconnected and interdependent and the potency of human agency

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14 H  l  ne Lipstadt, “The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu as a Challenge to Architectural History,” *Thresholds*, no. 21 (2000): 36.

allows architectural history to be considered in terms of the trace of power relations, the palimpsest of discourse, the debris from fights for the authority to validate and the echo of struggles to be able to proclaim "THIS is architecture!"

For as Nietzsche wrote, "architecture is a veritable oratory of power made by form."<sup>15</sup>

### Findings: micro-narratives

A reading of architectural history through an architectural magazine (or several) is always going to be partial in both senses of the word: it cannot reveal either the full story or every angle. However, it does have the advantage of offering to the diligent and patient reader a myriad of false starts and contradicting voices that never get written into traditional architectural history. There is a huge quantity of material that appears on the pages of architectural magazines, the vast majority of which is forgotten to time. By scanning every page, including the adverts and the editorial that is usually overlooked for a whole range of reasons, and then comparing it with the well-rehearsed architectural history of the period, gaps are revealed that may or may not be found to be worth exploring. It is like pulling the loose ends of a poorly made woolly jumper – some immediately come out and have no effect, but others keep on unravelling and eventually pull large chunks of the jumper to bits. One such thread was the Smithsons' editorial policy (chapter 5) which was discovered by comparing Bloomfield's 1974 bibliography of the Smithsons in *Oppositions 2*<sup>16</sup> with the Smithsons' archive<sup>17</sup> while closely reading the issues of *AD* and keeping in the back of the mind the relationships between Pidgeon, Middleton and the Smithsons and the question of what was driving the editorial. This has led to a novel reading of the Smithsons' thinking and their shift around 1965 (chapter 5). Another thread is Gutkind. The Smithsons feature prominently in this story of *AD*, but the influence of Gutkind is never mentioned in their "official" histories.<sup>18</sup> A cursory glance at the evidence (chapter 6) and a conversation with Dirk

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15 Cited in Philip Johnson, "The Seven Crutches of Modern Architecture," *Perspecta* 3 (1955): 44.

16 Julia Bloomfield, "A Bibliography of Alison and Peter Smithson," in *Oppositions*, vol. 2 (New York: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1974), 104-123.

17 Located in the Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design at Harvard University: Inés Zaldueño, "Smithson, Alison Margaret, 1928-1993; and Smithson, Peter, 1923-2003. The Alison and Peter Smithson Archive: An Inventory.", 2005, <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~des00015> [accessed 9 October 2011].

18 A sole exception is Christine Boyer, "An Encounter with History: the postwar debate between the English Journals of Architectural Review and Architectural Design (1945-1960)," in *Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday* (presented at the Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday, Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, 2003), 135-163,

van den Heuvel, who is currently completing his Ph.D. on the Smithsons at TU Delft, confirms that this may be worth following up in more detail. His own work has shown that the Smithsons used at least two images from Gutkind, “a subterranean settlement in China, Honan, and a picture of Isfahan - they re-appear in their Ordinarity and Light, in the chapter on 'Human Associations' - both taken from *Our World from the Air* (but not referred to as such).<sup>19</sup> If further work reveals an influence, then questions need to be asked about why they acknowledge some influences, such as that of Patrick Geddes,<sup>20</sup> and not Gutkind?

There are many, many threads like this that could not be followed up and that may offer other original readings of architectural history. One particular theme that has not been explored here is the failure of industrialised building and the movement for modular dimensions. *AD* was a firm supporter of such initiatives through, for example, Bruce Martin's<sup>21</sup> Modular Design Information Sheet series<sup>22</sup> and Mark Hartland Thomas<sup>23</sup> who was a favourite early post-war contributor to *AD* and also the first secretary of the Modular Society in 1953. Like other architectural magazines at the time, *AD* published many examples of prefabricated, industrialised and modular buildings and products, and this is a story that is also arrested with the rejection of modern architecture.

A history of modern architecture as read through *AD* reveals multiple narratives of a change in architecture both as practice and as culture. The graph of number of advertising pages in *AD* (Fig. 6.23) can be read as an analogy to the rise and demise of modern architecture not only as represented on its pages, but also within architectural culture and as ultimately constructed, whether in published or built form. Its coincidence with the tenures of the three technical editors studied here is forms a useful structural device to loosely identify the eras of rise, height and demise. Crosby's years were concerned with building, with products and their advertisement, and with the promotion of modern architecture, particularly of the Brutalist idiom. The link with manufacturers' products, catalogues and advertising is a theme that continues and is particularly strong in *AD* because of its origins in the Standard Catalogue Company. It even ends up being the basis of a new way of thinking about architecture for the Smithsons (chapter 5). Frampton's brief but crucial couple of years represented an

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<http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/boyer.pdf>.

19 Dirk van den Heuvel to Steve Parnell, “Gutkind”, July 14, 2011.

20 Patrick Geddes (2 October 1854 – 17 April 1932).

21 Bruce Martin (b. 1917) studied at Cambridge and then with the Architectural Association. Following the Second World War he worked in the Architects' Department of Hertfordshire County Council where he developed ideas on modularised and industrialised school building.

22 From February 1959 to June 1960.

23 Mark Hartland Thomas (8 October 1905 – 2 July 1973).

independent stability. While he also promoted modern architecture as building, *AD*'s features became more independently critical and less reliant on the architects' own interpretations. Unlike Crosby and Middleton, Frampton did not use the pages of *AD* to promote the architectural work of his particular network of friends and colleagues, but rather in their critical capacity. He used the magazine as a personal educational process while increasing his own circle of architectural acquaintances in search of an "authentic" architecture that combined the regional and universal. Frampton's own voice as a critic became that of the magazine in the process of bestowing cultural capital upon buildings and their architects, thereby defining what architecture should be. It was a transition period between heteronomy and autonomy when reader numbers and advertising remained quite static. Finally, Middleton's period sees a definite will to autonomy both in the magazine and in architectural culture as a whole. The previous strong link with buildings, products and advertising is broken and the core knowledge of the profession shifts from being about the construction of buildings, to more theoretical and sociological ideas. *AD* represents this shift most starkly. With the loss of belief in architecture as a socially beneficial agent, the selling out of architecture to (economic) capital and the impending shift of political consensus towards the right, the avant-garde retreated to paper architecture and theory. Whereas previously practice (economic capital) dominated culture, the pages of *AD* now clearly showed that the reverse was true with its cultural capital being bestowed on activities and ideas associated with non-building.

Across this time period of almost twenty years (1954-1972), *AD* represents and reflects the changing discourse and values of architectural practice and culture within the context of broader societal changes that have been characterised most famously by Daniel Bell as the move from industrial to post-industrial society.<sup>24</sup> It is seen in the nature of the neo-avant-garde architects being promoted – from the hard and cold concrete reality of Brutalism to the sci-fi cartoons of Archigram and ideas of Price. These neo-avant-garde movements themselves are completely opposite in their nature, what Murphy has called respectively sublation and sublimation (chapter 8). The very nature of *AD* itself was affected by these changes as it went from a "big" professional magazine or "trade rag" to a little magazine, effectively replacing Archigram as the little magazine of the neo-avant-garde in 1970 and focusing on students and young architects rather than established professionals.

Comparing the two rival magazine *AD* and *AR* during this immediate post-war period, from their respective rare editorial policy statements within a month of each other<sup>25</sup> to their respective end of long-term editors in the early 1970s, is particularly revealing.<sup>26</sup> By looking at

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24 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

25 December 1946 (*AD*) and January 1947 (*AR*)

26 Steve Parnell, "The Post-war Editorial Policies of Architectural Design and the Architectural Review,"

the magazines' context in the wider field of architecture it is possible to offer an explanation of how and why these two periodicals started so similar and ended up being so different. There are, of course, the obvious differences to mention: Although the *Review* was sold around the world, it was an English publication concentrating on English needs (not even extending to "British"). The Festival of Britain and Townscape were quite jingoistic concerns. In contrast, Monica Pidgeon was born in Chile to a Scottish mother and French/German father, and her most influential technical editors were both South African. They were incessant travellers and maintained a global perspective throughout the magazine's life. Another obvious difference was the *Review's* enduring interest in history, whereas Pidgeon didn't allow history on her pages and was all for looking forward.

But the real differences emanate from the owners and contributors and their respective agendas. The *Review* was owned by a rich, educated gentleman amateur who believed in connoisseurship as the basis for taste. It had money to pursue its own (i.e. Hastings's) objectives and policies. It had more pages of advertising, and more people working on the magazine. It could afford to go out and pro-actively find buildings to review. In other words, it could afford to campaign. *AD*, on the other hand, was owned by the Standard Catalogue Company, who also owned Whitefriars Press; the only reason it was economically viable. It was a commercial rather than a campaigning concern and only employed Pidgeon, her technical editor (part-time) and two other assistants. In the early days when it focused on building, it was reliant largely on architects sending in their material for publication. The *Review* was very much the magazine of the establishment and its high point was the 1930s when it championed modern architecture in the UK. Its editors were largely products of this decade, too, and became establishment figures themselves. Hastings received the RIBA Gold Medal in 1971. Pevsner received his Gold Medal in 1967, and was knighted in 1969. Editor Jim Richards was also knighted in 1972 after receiving the CBE in 1959. The latter two individuals both broadcast with the BBC and Richards was also *The Times'* architecture correspondent. The other members of the editorial board, Lancaster and Casson, were also knighted (chapter 8). In contrast, none of the *AD* editors, who were biologically of the next generation, were ever honoured by the RIBA or the Queen even though in hindsight, they arguably did more to progress architecture during this period.

Examining this from another angle reveals that the *Review's* contents were driven by the editors under the aegis of their Townscape policy.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, *AD's* contents were driven by their contributors, specifically the Smithsons and the Archigram group, each of which were

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*The Journal of Architecture* 17, no. 5 (October 2012) (forthcoming).

27 See Erdem Erten, "Shaping 'The Second Half Century': The Architectural Review, 1947-1971" (Doctoral thesis, MIT, 2004) for an excellent discussion of AR's Townscape campaign.

extremely conscious of writing themselves into history and leaving behind huge archives to ensure that this happened.<sup>28</sup> The Smithsons never received recognition (more than likely due to their persistent snubbing of the RIBA), but Archigram received the Gold Medal in 2002 and Peter Cook was knighted in 2007.

By financial necessity, then, AD became a platform for avant-garde architects who were close to the editors which resulted in it reflecting and directing a number of the key struggles that were going on in architecture rather than being in a position to impose its own agenda like the AR.

### Suggestions for future research

There are many directions in which work can be taken in the future. I have not investigated how magazines influence architectural production in this research, but it would be an interesting proposal for the future. There is much study on architectural photography, but not its relationship to text in the magazines. I have not attempted to investigate this and it remains outstanding. Similarly, I deliberately avoided the graphic design of the magazine but this could provide interesting material for analysis, as would a study of the adverts in the magazine and what this says about the profession, the magazine and the social mores of the time. Lipstadt has worked on the institution of the architectural competition, but there is further work to be done applying Bourdieu's theories to other institutions, including education, the professional bodies, associations and societies, the awards system, lecture circuit, exhibitions and every other idiosyncrasy that makes architecture what it is and distinct from other professions and/or arts. This story could also be situated within a larger one concerning other institutions and their growing role in defining architectural culture and the possibility of a complete financial and professional life in architecture irrespective of clients and buildings.

There is also much more work to be done on the architectural magazine as a genre. It remains a starkly understudied institution, with a past going back to the dawn of the profession, but scant history of its own. There are many other magazines that could produce fruitful histories, such as *The Builder*, the *Architect and Building News*, the *Architects' Journal* and the *RIBA Journal*, to name but four British examples – there are literally hundreds worldwide. Indeed, there is a *magnum opus* project to write a critical history of the twentieth

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28 The Smithsons archive was donated to Harvard University in 2003 and Archigram's was collated and digitised in 2010 as The Archigram Archival Project at the University of Westminster, available at <http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk>. Cedric Price's archive is located at the Canadian Centre of Architecture in Montreal.

century architectural magazine – a project equivalent to Frampton's decade long *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. As for *Architectural Design*, the remainder of its history needs writing and the subsequent period is the next step for this researcher. The period is another golden age for *AD*, as Andreas Papadakis' became sole editor and publisher in 1977 and teamed up with Charles Jencks to essentially define the Post-Modern movement in architecture. Papadakis published five remarkable issues on Russian Constructivism by Catherine Cooke in the 1980s,<sup>29</sup> which revived and imported this forgotten but important movement to the West. Through seminars, conferences and exhibitions Papadakis launched careers and movements and documented them all on the pages of the *AD* which had become a bi-monthly medium somewhere between book and magazine. One of these conferences was on Deconstruction and between Papadakis, Jencks and Cooke, the confluence of this literary influence and that of Constructivism launched the Deconstructivist movement in architecture in 1988.<sup>30</sup>

At the time of writing in 2011, publications of all types are being threatened by the rise of the internet. Circulation figures are universally down not only due to the current recession but because of architects' reading habits – a much longer term threat. This presents a challenge to the architectural magazine and its position within the field of architecture primarily due to the readers' perception of where authority lies. A study of the opposition and position of online blogs and social media to the institution of the architectural magazine would be a particularly pertinent study for it is not only the architectural press that is changing, but the very nature of the writing of architectural history.

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29 Catherine Cooke, ed., *Russian Avant-Garde Art and Architecture*, Architectural Design Profile 47 (London: Academy Editions, 1983); Catherine Cooke, ed., *Chernikov Fantasy and Construction: Iakov Chernikov's approach to architectural design*, Architectural Design Profile 55 (London: Academy Editions, 1985); Catherine Cooke and Alexander Kudriatsev, eds., *Uses of Tradition in Russian & Soviet Architecture*, Architectural Design Profile 68 (London: Academy Editions, 1987); Catherine Cooke, ed., *Russian Constructivism & Iakov Chernikov*, Architectural Design Profile 80 (London: Academy Editions, 1989); Catherine Cooke and Justin Ageros, eds., *The Avant-Garde: Russian Architecture in the Twenties*, Architectural Design Profile 93 (London: Academy Editions, 1991).

30 Andreas Papadakis, ed., *Deconstruction in architecture*, Architectural Design profile 72 (London: Academy Group, 1988).



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## Appendix 1

### A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Smithsons' "Urban Reidentification"

This appendix is based on a paper read at the Writing Design conference, University of Hertfordshire, September 2009.

This paper will employ techniques borrowed from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough's definition of discourse and its analysis is: " 'discourse' is use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice."<sup>1</sup> A critical approach to discourse analysis, as opposed to descriptive approach, "has its theoretical underpinnings in views of the relationship between 'micro' events (including verbal events) and 'macro' structures which see the latter as both the conditions for and the products of the former."<sup>2</sup> Van Dijk, describes the function of CDA as follows: "CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society."<sup>3</sup> He goes on to write that "A central notion in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the social power of groups or institutions."<sup>4</sup> CDA's underlying motive is therefore to expose the inherent ideology of the speaker or writer of the text. Ideology is often hidden in denotive meanings: "a typical feature of manipulation is to communicate beliefs implicitly, that is, without actually asserting them, and with less chance that they will be challenged."<sup>5</sup> Architectural magazines tend to be apolitical, preferring to concentrate on the art of architecture, and architectural journalists tend not to get kidnapped or killed while on duty, as do their more political peers. It is an inherently safe strain of journalism. Nevertheless, in the 1950s, during Britain's reconstruction, the stakes were indeed high as architects at that time did hold a modicum of power and influence and were to determine the face of Britain's future cities. This fact is not ignored by Fairclough, who talks of texts as "elements of social events" that "bring about changes"<sup>6</sup> and whose effects "can include changes in the material world,

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1 Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (Longman, 1995), 7.

2 Ibid., 28.

3 Teun van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Oxford: WileyBlackwell, 2001), 352.

4 Ibid., 354.

5 Ibid., 358.

6 Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research* (London: Routledge, 2003), 8.

such as changes in urban design, or the architecture and design of particular types of building.”<sup>7</sup> After all, it was the texts of the heroes of modern architecture, rather than their buildings, that not only constituted the majority of their architectural production but also went on to influence others'. Before the Second World War, these heroes largely comprised members of CIAM, and in particular Le Corbusier. After the Second World War, it was the Smithsons as figureheads of Team 10 who were responsible for the dissolution of CIAM (heavily reported in *AD* at the time<sup>8</sup>). A combination of Corbusian and Smithsonian thinking was ultimately largely responsible for the look of postwar urban Britain and even more than their built work, it was their words that determined this influence.

This paper examines the writings of the Smithsons at this crucial point in the development of modern architecture and its post-war manifestation of the New Brutalism, focusing in particular on an article called “The Built World: Urban Reidentification” from *AD* of June 1955.<sup>9</sup> This was only their second polemical piece in the architectural press and a development of their first, “An Urban Project”,<sup>10</sup> which was published in the Architects' Year Book two years previously.<sup>11</sup> Both of these pieces discussed the place of man<sup>12</sup> in his urban environment, the identity of this environment, and they led onto an explanation of their failed Golden Lane competition entry of 1952. To situate Urban Reidentification in its period, the Smithsons' New Brutalism manifesto was published as the editorial to January 1955's *AD*<sup>13</sup> and Reyner Banham's apologia appeared in December 1955's *AR*.<sup>14</sup> So the Smithsons' piece is right in the middle of this nascent year of the creation of the New Brutalism in the press. The Smithsons were also heavily involved in the formation of Team 10, a group of architects who were charged with organising the tenth CIAM conference in Dubrovnik in 1956 and who were ultimately responsible for CIAM's dissolution after the following conference in 1959. Hence, in the formation of both a new movement of architectural style and an avant-garde group, the Smithsons were central figures in the move away from “white box” modernism beloved of their pre-war heroes. The piece can be seen as a reflection of this detachment, promoting

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7 Ibid.

8 See for example, *Architectural Design*, October 1956.

9 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “The Built World: Urban Reidentification,” *Architectural Design*, June 1955.

10 The title was asterisked with a footnote ‘Pilot project, an application of the principles of Urban Re-identification’.

11 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “An Urban Project,” in *Architects' Year Book*, ed. Trevor Dannatt, vol. 5 (London: Elek Books Ltd., 1953), 48–55.

12 And it was ‘man’ in the pieces, in the sense of ‘mankind’.

13 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “The New Brutalism,” *Architectural Design*, January 1955, 1.

14 Reyner Banham, “The New Brutalism,” *The Architectural Review*, December 1955, 354–361.

difference between CIAM and Team 10: its purpose is to question the acceptance the old order and lay a claim to the new. As a whole, the text can be read as a “problem-solution relation”<sup>15</sup> where the problems of the day are outlined and solutions proposed.

The article is split into two halves exactly (Fig. 12.1). The structure of the first half (paragraphs 1-19 out of a total of 39) basically consists of an introduction to their dissatisfaction with the current situation, a description and discrediting of two movements that failed to solve the town planning problem and an articulation of the problem, essentially that of finding a form suitable for today's generation, which is what is meant by “re-identification” (presumably for both architects and the general public). In the first half, the Smithsons define the problem as they see it and set themselves up as the natural “solution providers”. They use a weave of words to discredit the past two generations' attempts at town planning and to put themselves forward as the obvious saviours of this generation. The intertwining of language not only refers to other sections in the article, but also to other articles that the Smithsons wrote in *AD* during this period, as well as texts of others. Most obviously, it discredits Ebenezer Howard's *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* of 1898 and Camillo Sitte's *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* of 1889, a poor English translation of which only appeared in 1945.<sup>16</sup> This is the first generation, Garden City Movement that the Smithsons wish to distance themselves from. As a side-swipe, they claim that Sitte's ideas evolve into “Townscape”, a neologism and concept that was based on an image of the Picturesque and that the *AR* promoted from the 1940s onwards. The second generation of urban planners, termed the “Rational Architecture Movement” in this piece, is clearly referring to CIAM and the Bauhaus: “That was the period of the minimum kitchen and the four functions, the mechanical concept of architecture.” The four functions of architecture: dwelling, working, recreation and circulation, were a result of the fourth CIAM congress on the subject of “The Functional City” in 1933 when CIAM branched out from architecture to examine urban issues. The description of the Rational City as “Multi-storey flats running north-south in parallel blocks just that distance apart that permits winter sun to enter bottom stories, and just that high to get fully economic density occupation of the ground area.” anticipates a future article in *AD* of June 1957, called “Planning Today” in which Peter Smithson argues much the same points with renowned post-war planners William Holford and Arthur Ling. In *Urban Reidentification*, The Ministry of Health's Housing Manual of 1949 is questioned as being suitable for every house type across the country, and at the end of the piece, a footnote references *AD* of January 1955 and September 1954 alongside the only reference in the piece to the New Brutalism. September

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15 Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*, 91.

16 T. W. Freeman, “Review: City Planning According to Artistic Principles,” *The Geographical Journal* 132, no. 1 (March 1966): 136.

1954's *AD* simply contains a short note by the Smithsons entitled "The Lesson of Le Havre" which complains about how much the English are behind the French in planning and which in turn references *AD* of July 1954 and the work of August Perret, in which, incidentally, they claim "the secrets of towns" lie.<sup>17</sup> January 1955's *AD* contains the famous editorial "The New Brutalism" written by the Smithsons.<sup>18</sup> This in turn refers to a letter by Walter Segal published in *AD* of February 1954<sup>19</sup> which attempts to trace the origins of the style, saying that the New Brutalism is nothing new. The first building study of 1955 in *AD* comes right after the editorial, is called "Collective Housing in Morocco" and looks at the work of ATBAT-Afrique.<sup>20</sup> "Collective Housing in Morocco" itself refers to the Smithsons' Golden Lane competition entry once more, as well as another piece from August 1954's *AD* called Modern Architecture in Holland, for no other apparent reason than to self-reference. This piece is also linked, unsurprisingly, with Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation and the prospective 10th CIAM conference whose theme, once again, would be "habitat". These themes reappear throughout "Urban Reidentification". One could go on backwards and forward, tracing links, but it is clear that a coherent body of work centred around the Smithsons, *AD*, the members of Team 10, The New Brutalism, and the Unité d'Habitation is emerging, as distinct from the rearguard of CIAM's ideas.

The way the Smithsons insert themselves into the picture is subtle. The first four paragraphs talk of a new generation and refer to it in the third person ("each generation" and "young architects"), without associating themselves with it directly. This new generation is dissatisfied with current architectural design. Therefore, the implication is that anybody reading it who is not dissatisfied must be of the old generation. Right from the start, the reader must identify him- or herself to be either with this new generation, or outside of it. They are made to feel insane if the latter. These initial paragraphs set the scene of their dissatisfaction and employ a metaphor of sleeping and waking – the new generation has woken up today, implying the old generation are yesterday. Paragraphs 5-13 could even be read as a bedtime story, a tale of how the old generation got it wrong. At the beginning, the first three sentences are short, each of a single sentence and each making an apparently self-evident declaration:

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17 Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "The Lesson of Le Havre," *Architectural Design*, September 1954, 7.

18 Smithson and Smithson, "The New Brutalism," 1.

19 Walter Segal, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Design*, February 1954, 9 (Feb).

20 ATBAT was the African office of Le Corbusier's Atelier des Bâisseurs consisting of Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Vladimir Bodiansky and set up as the project office for the Unité d'Habitation in Marseille (1945-52). Candilis, Woods and the Smithsons would go on to form four of the seven core members of Team X.

Each generation feels a new dissatisfaction, and conceives of a new idea of order.

This is architecture.

Young architects to-day feel a monumental dissatisfaction with the buildings they see going up around them.

The Smithsons de-personalise and distance themselves initially from the argument. They appear to be speaking on behalf of others – in fact a whole generation – rather than merely themselves. They are apparently introducing other architects' voices. It is unclear how large this new generation is: more than likely, it is their immediate circle of the Independent Group and like-minded architects who are about to form Team 10. It is certainly not every new young architect or even every young individual. The first sentence starts off most generally in the way that children rebel against their parents, and could be talking about any art movement or evolutionary change, not just architecture. The word “architecture” is reserved for the new order, whereas “building”, as a noun, is associated with the dissatisfaction, a distinction that is repeated in the fourth paragraph:

For them, the 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.

Here the Smithsons are still referring to the new generation in the third person: “For them”, “they feel”. This new generation, although a minority, is distinguished from the existing majority generation who have “lost contact with reality” and “building yesterday's dreams”. Only at this point do the Smithsons hint at associating with the new generation, when they write “the rest of us have woken up in to-day”. The repetition of “they” (or “them”) at the beginning of each sentence is reminiscent of a tactic used by speech makers driving home a point. This fourth paragraph is linked to the first sentence of paragraph fifteen, by which time the Smithsons have shifted from third to first person (“they” to “we”), having dismissed the Garden City and Rational Architecture Movements:

The dissatisfaction we feel to-day is due to the inadequacy of either of these movements to provide an environment which gives form to our generation's idea of

order.

This sentence strongly echoes the first three above. Now, the Smithsons are associating themselves with the “dissatisfaction” (“we feel to-day”). They also write “our generation's idea of order”, claiming the new generation as theirs and repeating the words in the very first sentence, “generation”, “dissatisfaction” and “idea of order” and “feel to-day” in the third paragraph above.

From the second sentence of paragraph fifteen to the end of the first half of the article, the language shifts from distinguishing the new generation from the old and towards ideas for this new generation.

The word “form” is infused throughout this article and repeated six times in paragraphs 18 and 19. It is the very building block of life: “Form is an active force, it creates the community, it is life itself made manifest.” The Smithsons claim that “We are involved in mass housing not as reformers, but as form givers” distinguishing themselves from the reformers Ebenezer Howard and Camillo Sitte. They go on to write, “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.” Given their view of form, and this language of evolution, they are almost claiming divine powers. The term “life itself” is echoed from the definition of form above to this last sentence where the task is defined, as well as the contrast with Art in the July 1956 article, where the Smithsons start their article “An Alternative to the Garden City Idea” with the sentence It has been fashionable since Camillo Sitte to look at town plans not as life but as Art.”

Returning the Urban Reidentification, the “we” is read as the writers and anyone willing to follow them in their lofty, idealistic task, because the beginning of the second half, where they start to outline a solution, they claim modestly, “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.” They have moved from “them” to “us” (inclusive) to “us” (exclusive), thereby taking their readers with them and legitimising themselves and their ideas in the process. Legitimation is an important part of this article – the legitimacy of the new order needs to be established, as does the authority of the proposers. Van Leeuwan has described four categories of legitimation:<sup>21</sup>

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21 Theo van Leeuwan and Ruth Wodak, “Legitimizing Immigration Control: A Discourse-Historical Analysis,” *Discourse Studies* 1, no. 1 (February 1999): 104.

- Authorization: legitimation by reference to authority, whether a person or something impersonal such as tradition or the law
- Rationalization: legitimation by reference to “the utility of institutionalized action, and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity”<sup>22</sup>
- Moral Evaluation: legitimation by reference to a value system.
- Mythopoesis: legitimation achieved through story-telling.

Each of these legitimation processes is used in “Urban Reidentification”. The majority of legitimation comes in the second half of the piece, once the problem has been stated and during the establishment of the solution. There are several legitimations by authorization, specifically by reference to the works of Le Corbusier (Unité d’Habitation, Ronchamps and ATBAT) and one reference to Alvar Aalto. Two of these legitimations are rationalized with the word “evidence”, as in “evidence enough of a new way of thinking” and “evidence that an architecture of here and now is possible”. Using Le Corbusier as a validator would seem to contradict discrediting the CIAM organisation, as Le Corbusier was one of the main drivers of CIAM throughout its history. Yet the Smithsons are keen to associate with the ideas of “habitat” of CIAM IX. However, it is this later CIAM conference when the Smithsons start to get involved and therefore, where their efforts and interests are invested.

Legitimation by mythopoesis is employed at the end of the first half of the article (paragraphs 15-19). Here, life in a rural village or town is described with mention of “the Street, the Place, the Village Green” and so on, then later, “We no longer cluster at the well, meet at the market place, dance on the village green, get milk from the farm, visit to get information, or journey to inform. Into our houses is [sic] brought light, heat, water, entertainment, information, food, etc.” before finally describing “The relationship to the country and the town, the bank and the house, the school and the pub”. Alongside this narrative are four pictures emphasising this life: two of traditional crofting houses from the Isle of Tiree in Scotland (one of a single house and one of a street of them), a modern concrete, single story house at Ronchamps by Le Corbusier and the Saynäsälo Town Hall by Alvar Aalto. These passages are validated with reference to a tradition which is assumed to be desirable and should be continued in the new age – the last sentence of the first half of the article lays down the challenge with a deontic modality: “We must evolve an architecture from the fabric of life itself”.

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22 Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*, 98.

There are also two legitimations by rationalization, each accompanied by rhetorical questions: “Surely we must be mad to keep on building forms evolved in previous cultures with their own unique associational patterns and expect them even to be convenient?” and “Surely the pattern of a mining village in County Durham and an out-country estate of the London County Council should reflect in some way the life and aspirations of the inhabitants[?]” The Smithsons are appealing to the readers' rationality to agree with their assumptions. If there is any doubt in the readers' mind after the second question, it is followed by the only contrastive elaboration in the article, “Yet, as one travels about England, can one honestly see any real differences[?]”

The second half of the piece is legitimated heavily with moral evaluations, starting with paragraph 26, immediately after the Smithsons start to describe their “doorstep philosophy”, which is the first part of their solution. To start with, the suitability of the government's Housing Manual type houses is questioned, implying a moral right for individuals (or at least developers) to choose their own designs – this is quickly reinforced with “no alternatives have been presented [...] no choice has been offered” and mention of the architect's responsibility starting at the doorstep. A second wave of legitimation by moral evaluation occurs on the last page, when the Smithsons have just introduced their Golden Lane project. The old “filing system living of balcony or paired stair-access” is contrasted negatively with their proposed “wide 'decks' or covered streets which would give to the inhabitants a place for the children and the leisurely back-chat of urban street life.” The word “humanity” is used with their solution, implying that the old “filing system” of arranging blocks of flats was inhumane. Finally, the last pair of legitimation by moral evaluation occurs at the end, just after the Smithsons have introduced the second part of their solution, “the new aesthetic”, which “starts again with life and with a love of materials.” Natural and life-enhancing qualities and words are used to build up a positive image of the appreciation of materials in their natural state, in contrast with the “academic” and “intensely intellectual architecture of the twenties” and in order to “establish a unity between the built form and the men using it.” Materials and “the techniques with which they are put together” are to be honest expressions of the architecture, in the mantra of this new movement.

The tone of the article as a whole is assertive and is largely composed of declarative assertions, with only five questions clustered into two groups in paragraphs 16 and 26. Scattered throughout are evaluations and assumptions.

Fairclough distinguishes three types of assumption:<sup>23</sup>

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23 *Ibid.*, 55.

- Existential assumptions: assumptions about what exists
- Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case
- Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable

For example, the housing at Casablanca by ATBAT is held up as a good example for the new generation which achieves “in an urban environment, through twentieth century technological means, the unity and brilliance of an Atlas village without being in any way sentimentalist or revivalist.” The common value assumption is therefore that sentimentalism and revivalism are undesirable attributes of architecture, in accordance with a progressively modern way of thinking. Also, twentieth century technology, is the welcome instrument by which this achievement was possible.

Existential assumptions are also in no short supply. For example, in paragraph 14, with reference to the Rational Architecture Movement's way of laying out multi-storey flats, the Smithsons write, “we wonder how anyone could possibly believe that in this, lay the secret of town building.” The assumption is that there exists a secret to town building. This is an ingrained belief of the Smithsons, as they previously mentioned it in their letter “The Lesson of Le Havre”.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, in the following paragraph, they write that, “The historical built forms [...] achieved order through significant organization, and the forms have a permanent validity, a secret life”. In this simple sentence, historical forms are assumed to have an order which is, in itself, presumed to be desirable seeing as it was “achieved”. It was also the historical built forms themselves that achieved this order, demoting the importance of their builders or designers. Historical built forms, it seems, have a life of their own – one which is secret. It is interesting also, how the term “built form” is chosen in place of “building”, which would be a derogatory, insufficiently architectural term.

In terms of propositional assumptions, the best example is where the Smithsons assume that the form of buildings can represent ideas, or vice-versa, that the built environment can give form to ideas. This is demonstrated in the same paragraph as the last example (paragraph 15) with “The dissatisfaction we feel to-day is due to the inadequacy of either of these movements to provide an environment which gives form to our generation's idea of order” and back in paragraph 4 with the phrase “the idea these buildings represent”. It is perhaps best summarised in their sentence, “Form is an active force, it creates the community, it is life itself made manifest.”

The assumption previously discussed can perhaps explain the few deontic (obligational)

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24 Smithson and Smithson, “The Lesson of Le Havre,” 7.

modalities present in the piece. They appear in relation to form and life and the agglomeration of housing units. There are two of high commitment: “A form must be found for the house which is capable of being put together with others of a similar sort...”(paragraph 18) and “We must evolve an architecture from the fabric of life itself” (paragraph 19). Finally, there is one of median commitment: “We must try and find out in what way this basic contact should take place, how many houses should be put together...” (paragraph 27) It seems that the Smithsons are arguing themselves into a position to defend their design for the Golden Lane competition entry, a picture of which shows it obliterating an existing town, despite their calls for an integrative approach “to revitalise the traditional hierarchies and not destroy them.”

This is not an exhaustive analysis of the Urban Reidentification article, but it should cover enough aspects of it to summarise the meaning-building that is happening within it, both explicitly and implicitly. As stated earlier, this article is located at the beginning of the Smithsons' careers and is only the second (or an extension of the first) polemical piece they wrote in the architectural press. The Smithsons embodied and spearheaded the architectural neo-avant-garde of the post-war years. At the time, they were in the process of constructing a movement (the New Brutalism), as well as a group (Team 10) that would see off the old guard of CIAM, as well as being involved in another group of artists (the Independent Group) that was still to produce another influential exhibition (This is Tomorrow at the ICA in 1956). By the end of their careers, they had built relatively little, but written much and it is more by their words than their buildings that they are remembered and through which they were influential. The words and meanings they were conjuring up at this time, manifest in this article, were thoroughly humanist in conception but married to a speculative formalism. In the end, this thinking saw the construction of Robin Hood Gardens housing estate in the East End of London. By the time of its completion in 1972, it was far from a “new aesthetic” and the reality of it is far removed from words and phrases like “humanity”, “community”, “an ecological approach to the problem of habitat” and “life itself made manifest”.

## Appendix 2

Circulations (from Audit Bureau of Circulations) and registered architects (from ARB).

Year	No. of registered architects	AD Circulation	ASC Circulation	AR Circulation
1932		5072 5013		
1933	8575	4997 4745	4980	
1934	12032	4612 4614		
1935	11745	4736 4755		
1936	11756	4830 4857	5001	
1937	11795	4753 4754		
1938	11806	4814 4737		
1939	12696	4876 4207	4026	
1940	13867	3387 2551	4026 4026	
1941	14648	2453 2314	4026 4026	
1942	14944	2102 2224	4026 4026	
1943	14984	2228 2225	4026 4026	
1944	15093	2229 2230	4026 4026	

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of registered architects</b>	<b>AD Circulation</b>	<b>ASC Circulation</b>	<b>AR Circulation</b>
1945	14980	2235	4026	
		2267	4026	
1946	15045	2313	4026	
		2625		
1947	15137	2867		
		2898		
1948	15144	3107		
		3126	4000	
1949	15824	3198	4000	
		3241		
1950	16312	3518		
		3708	4000	
1951	17072	4199	4000	
		4467	4000	
1952	17072	4623		
		5037		
1953	18158	5705		
		6067		
1954	18484	6459		
		6928		
1955	19027	7903		
		8121		
1956	18892	8054		
		7813		
1957	18835	7795		
		7680		
1958	18987	7945		
		8180		
1959	19183	7911		9841
		7781		10221

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of registered architects</b>	<b>AD Circulation</b>	<b>ASC Circulation</b>	<b>AR Circulation</b>
1960	19436	8555 9174		10244 10345
1961	19981	9796 9682		10653 10653
1962	20693	9613 9871		10947 10879
1963	20811	10108 10103		11275 11221
1964	20911	10307 10102		11565 11862
1965	21224	10941 10873		12456 12641
1966	21377	11477 12066		13000 12882
1967	21325	12812 12901		13159 13127
1968	21652	13423 13445		13364 13192
1969	21947	12895 12107		13392 13739
1970	22399	11441 11587		13198 12372
1971	23069	11210 9773		12298 12503
1972	23728	9856 9403		13134 14039
1973	24559	9487		15276 15875
1974	25334	9633		16389 16756

## Appendix 3

### Titles of opinion pieces

#### Thoughts in Progress

Date	Title	Contributor
Dec 56	Seagram versus Shell	
Jan 57	The curtain wall	
Feb 57	Housing at Picton Street, London	
Mar 57	Truth to structure	
Apr 57	The New Brutalism	
May 57	The scope of total architecture	
Jun 57	Aesthetic control	
Jul 57	The Pavillion Suisse as a seminal building	
Sep 57	Detail	
Oct 57	Summing up I	
Nov 57	Summing up II	
Dec 57	Summing up III	

#### Opinion

Apr 58	The status of the architect	Council Member, Official Architect, Private Architect
May 58	Office organization	Phillip Bennett, Leo de Syllas, Randall Evans, Peter Moro
Jun 58	Architectural education	Eric Brown, Edward Mills, Peter Moro
Aug 58	The problems of planning	Percy Johnson-Marshall, Eric Lyons
Oct 58	Traffic	J.A. Proudlove, P.M. Bamford
Nov 58	Capital Cities	Lucio Costa, Arthur Korn, Denys Lasdun, Peter Smithson

#### Reports on panel discussions

Apr 60	Urban Housing	Peter Chamberlin, Arthur Ling, Otto Koenigsberger, Roy Brooks
May 60	Urban Offices	Ruth Glass, John Christopher Jones, C. Harman Hunt, Maurice H.J. Bebb, Otto Koenigsberger
Jun 60	Central area redevelopment	Cleeve Barr, William Holford, Hubert Bennett

No longer panels, but individuals from now on...

Jul 60	Expressways: an interview with Fred Burggraf	
Aug 60	Interview with James Gardner	
Sep 60	Railways into Roads	Walter Bor, Thomas Ifan Lloyd
Oct 60	Report on Birmingham	Peter Rawstone
Nov 60	Design education	Tomas Maldonado
Dec 60	Social foci and social space	Peter Smithson
Feb 61	Eero Saarinen	Peter Rawstone
Mar 61	St. Anne's Limehouse and Christ Church Spitalfields	J.H.V. Davies
Apr 61	Building societies and design	Rankin Ward
May 61	Visionary architects at the MOMA New York	John Fowler
Sep 61	Aesthetic and technical ambiguities in present day architecture	Gillo Dorfles
Oct 61	Town planning in Venice	Teodora Olga Sammartini
Nov 61	Experiment in integration	letter from P.A. Dennison to Sir Harry Pilkington
Jan 62	The new scientific and technological humanism	Lucio Costa
Feb 62	Town planning in Venice	Tudy Sammartini
Mar 62	Gaudí, the precursor Architecture of the Absurd	Jose Reznik Ernesto Rogers
Apr 62	The survival of architecture	Kenneth Smithies
May 62	The city in history	review of Lewis Mumford's book
Jun 62	The architect as naturalist	Richard Neutra
Jul 62	Artist or designer	F.H.K. Henrion
Aug 62	The three scales of town planning 1: Villages	Anthony Goss
Sep 62	The three scales of town planning 2: Towns the quest for urbanity	Anthony Goss
Oct 62	The three scales of town planning 3: Cities in the scientific age	Anthony Goss
Nov 62	Symbolic and literal aspects of technology	Alan Colquhoun
Dec 62	The problem of Venice	Tudy Sammartini

## Appendix 4

### Pseudonyms

<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Real Name</b>
Waldo Camini	Peter Smithson
I. Chippendale	Alison Smithson
Charles Dickens	Sam Webb
Rupert Spade	Martin Pawley
Archivolt/Archi Volta	Frederic Towndrow
Emile Zola	Sam Webb

## Appendix 5

### Map Guides

Year	Month	Number	Subject
1966	July	1	London
1966	August	2	Helsinki
1966	September	3	Copenhagen
1966	October	4	Rome
1966	November	5	Milan
1967	January	6	Stockholm
1967	June	7	Prague (for the UIA congress)
1967	July	8	Brighton (for the RIBA conference)
1969	April	9	Rotterdam
1969	May	10	Amsterdam
1969	July	11	Madrid
1969	August	12	Barcelona
1969	September	13	Berlin
1969	October	14	Vienna
1969	November	15	Paris
1969	December	16	Cambridge
1970	June	17	Tokyo/Yokohama (for Expo 70)
1970	August		Greek & Roman sites map 1
1970	September		Greek & Roman sites map 2
1970	October		Greek & Roman sites map 3
1970	December	18	Chicago
1971	January		Hector Guimard's surviving works
1971	February	19	Brussels
1971	June		Johann Balthasar Neumann (1687-1753) surviving works

<b>Year</b>	<b>Month</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Subject</b>
1972	January		Byzantine Churches of Greece
1972	May	20	Manhattan, NY
1972	August	21	Berlin & West Germany late 18th, 19th and 20th century buildings
1973	July	22	Britain & London 20th century buildings
1974	July	23	Los Angeles

## Appendix 6

### Triennial surveys of *AD* content, 1956-1971

1956

January led on “Hospital Planning” with an introduction by John Weeks and then showed Le Corbusier’s Mill Owners’ Association Building and the Museum in Ahmedabad.

February focussed on Venezuela, looking at a range of buildings from blocks of flats to a bank, to offices a theatre and the planning of the centre in Bolivar.

The theme for March was “The Modern House” and showed houses from around the world, including: in Oslo, Arne Korsmo’s and Christian Norberg-Schulz’s own houses; in Rotterdam, architect Herman Haan’s own house and a bungalow by Romke de Vries; a house in Lombardy by Gregotti, Stoppino and Meneghetti; in Hollywood, a lavish residence (as opposed to “house”) by Richard Neutra; in Massachusetts, a Breuer house; in Argentina and Ahmedabad, India, and Paris, houses by Le Corbusier; simple houses in Kenya, Venezuela and Canada; and in England, houses by Powell and Moya, the Architects’ Co-Partnership and Lewis Womersley. All of these houses, of course, are in the modern idiom with large expanses of glass in rectilinear forms and experiments with steel and concrete. Denys Lasdun wrote of Le Corbusier’s Brutalist Maison Jaoul in Paris: “They are the product of a sophisticated and emotional will to form.” wrote Denys Lasdun of them. As dwellings they stand in contrast to the monotonous failures of misdirected technology and speculative building which, treating man as a statistical pawn, have neither enriched his environment nor been available at a price he could afford.”<sup>25</sup>

April’s number dealt with “Planning the Comprehensive School” but still included Lasdun’s Cluster block housing at Bethnal Green, a timber-clad house by *AD* consultant Mark Hartland Thomas and an experimental fibreglass shell-like “house of tomorrow” by Ionel Schein.

Then the May issue featured a review of the LCC’s post-war reconstruction composed mainly of housing. June was devoted to “Contemporary architecture in South Africa” including the whole gamut of building types.

July’s issue looked at speculative housing, with the builder as architect and the architect as builder predominantly in the USA in the hope of learning lessons for Britain. This included a positive piece on Levittown which marvelled at what the American got for his money in terms of modern appliances, layout and size. Its success was down to the “fruit of the rigid

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25 Denys Lasdun, “Maison Jaoui, Paris,” *Architectural Design*, March 1956, 75.

application of the principle of the assembly line to the processes of construction”<sup>26</sup> although there was some criticism at the end of the piece about the lack of three dimensional planning and cohesion of neighbourhoods: “The whole development appears alien to the land, visibly nourished by feed lines from afar, with an air of impermanence that is, tragically, probably untrue.”<sup>27</sup> This piece contrasts starkly with the next, which is the Smithsons’ “An Alternative to the Garden City Idea” polemic that reiterates their Urban Re-Identification piece of the previous year, criticising the New Towns being built and looking forward to CIAM 10. The issue finished with a review of Powell and Moya’s plans for the Barbican in London.

August’s number featured the work of Gollins, Melvin, Ward and Partners who specialised in educational buildings, from primary to tertiary. The latter are indistinguishable from the couple of office blocks also included.

September returned to schools by Chamberlin, Powell and Bon and their Golden Lane Housing, as well as Goldfinger’s flats in Regent’s Park Road, London.

October was devoted to problems of planning. It looked at three urban centres (Vällingby in Stockholm, Fort Worth in Texas and St. Paul’s Precinct in London) and ultimately returned to housing proposals by students at the Architectural Association under the title “The Decaying Neighbourhood”. It did also include, F.R.S. Yorke’s Gatwick Airport terminal building, the Turnhouse airport Terminal airport in Edinburgh by Robert Matthew and Cairo International Airport by Sayed Karim.

November concentrated on “Building for Music” - concert halls, theatres and opera houses from all over the world, at the time of the Sydney Opera House competition.

Finally, December’s issue unusually comprises mostly historical features on Gaudí, Indian Architecture and “Writing and Environment” by Edward Wright, and its only featured building was “Six Houses at Hampstead, London” by Amis and Howell.

## 1959

January leads on the first great post-war housing estate of Roehampton by the LCC and then shows the work of Lyons, Israel & Ellis, comprising eight secondary schools, the Old Vic theatre, a college of technology, a medical school and a block housing development.

February relies on the heroes: Mies van der Rohe and Philip Johnson’s Seagram Building in new York and Breuer’s, Zehruss’s and Nervi’s UNESCO headquarters in Paris. It finished with the first stage of Barcelona’s new 88,000 seat football stadium.

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26 Anonymous, “The Builder as Architect,” *Architectural Design*, July 1956, 228.

27 Ibid.

March is dedicated to “Danish architecture” featuring two offices, one by Arne Jacobsen, and Jacobsen's air terminal in Copenhagen and works building in Ålborg. There's a cinema and three houses, plus a couple of Trevor Dannatt houses in England.

Amongst the Team 10 polemic in April's number are some flats by Arthur Baker & Colin St. John Wilson and the work of the Architects Co-Partnership in Nigeria, with an extended look at tropical architecture and a new town in Ghana.

May is about housing and education again, with Gollins, Melvin, Ward & Partners' Colleges of Technology & Commerce in Sheffield and Candilis, Woods, Josic & Brunahce's low cost housing at Blanc Mesnil, Paris alongside Noel Moffet's long look at road building in America, with a warning (or promising) title of “This can happen here).

June features 19 schools of various sorts, an office block in London, Pierre Vago's pilgrimage building at Lourdes, the lightweight music bowl in Melbourne that pre-dates Frei Otto's cable structures, and Raglan Squire & Partner's proposed parliament buildings in Karachi.

Shopping is the theme for July with the New Town centres of Stevenage and Crawley compared with an American and Finnish design, followed by two secondary schools, a house and housing development by Leslie Martin and Colin St. John Wilson at St. Pancras. Peter Smithson criticises Lucio Costa and Le Corbusier's Maison du Brésil, Cité Universitaire, Paris and a reconditioned Pavillon Suisse.

August focuses on Factories around the world demonstrating an architecture of large spans.

Mies van der Rohe reappears in September with his Chicago apartment block and museum of fine arts in Texas. Then there's an eclectic mix: a proposal for a public library in Chicago, a béton brut church near Milan, “five years of low-cost housing in the Federation of Maya”, and the LCC's old people's housing.

September seems to celebrate brick with Colin St. John Wilson's extension to the school of architecture in Cambridge, a beautifully pared down brick Lawn Tennis Association headquarters in London, and a brick and concrete convent in Lille, France. Then there is Studio BPR's group of 50 houses for metallurgical workers in Milan, in a kind of Garden City suburb. Chamberlin, Powell & Bon's Barbican development is examined by Graeme Shankland and finally a page on Ernö Goldfinger's office at Elephant & Castle, AD consultant David du R. Aberdeen's offices for the Swiss Bank Corporation and Gordon Bunschaft's bank building in Brussels for SOM.

November returns to houses around the world, including designs by Seidler, Jacobsen, Chamberlin, Powell & Bon, Kikutake, Atelier 5, Rudolph, Ellwood and Vigano among others – in all 23 single houses.

December's theme is "more houses", with 16 houses including some standard houses at Blackheath by Eric Lyons. The year is finished with a department store on the Strand by Denys Lasdun and a building society branch by Trevor Dannatt.

## 1962

January focussed on Scotland, featuring a whole range of buildings, both built and proposed, from schools and hospitals to offices and churches to individual houses and offices, to Cumberland New Town (with housing by Gillespie, Kidd & Coia). Peter Womersely, Basil Spence and Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall & Partners all features, among other less celebrated names.

February was a mixture of buildings, including Sven Markelius's Trade Union's Congress and Cultural Centre and Erik and Tore Ahlsén's imposing Department store, both in Stockholm. A parabolic shell roofed church in Tampere, Finland before a handful of offices: in Toronto and Rome as well as a starkly modern steel and glass Pepsi-Cola headquarters in New York by SOM. More offices follow in Hamburg, Mexico and Buenos Aires (by future AD correspondent, Gerardo Clusellas) before finishing with a striking circular fire station in California. AD was nothing if not international.

March once again returned to Pidgeon's favourite theme of individual "houses", showing 33 examples from France, West Germany, Belgium, Italy, Brazil, Australia, Switzerland, the US, Norway, Canada, and several from the UK including Edward Cullinan's first appearance in the architectural press<sup>28</sup> and Michael Manser's house at Leatherhead.<sup>29</sup> Each house got a full page or two to itself with lavish black and white photos and minimal descriptive commentary and all houses were deeply modern. It is worth mentioning in passing that this month's interior design section devoted a full 7 pages to Carlo Scarpa's now celebrated renovation of the Museo Correr in Venice.

April discussed "Industrialised building" before moving on to a variety of university buildings at Leicester (by Trevor Dannatt and Sir Leslie Martin), Brasenose College, Oxford (by Powell & Moya), Brandeis University in Massachusetts (by The Architects' Collaborative), and Pennsylvania (by Geddes, Brecher, Qualls and Cunningham). It finishes with the Cultural Museum in Le Havre, France and Michel Ecochard's proposed National Museum in Kuwait.

May once again returns to housing, but this time speculative housing, guest edited by Paul Ritter. He starts, "Speculative housing is built to sell or rent for a profit. I am primarily

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28 Anonymous, "House in Hampshire," *Architectural Design*, March 1962, 133.

29 With landscaping by AD editorial assistant, John Brookes.

concerned to show (a) that this is compatible with good design; (b) what stands in the way of realization of good design; and (c) how these obstacles may be overcome.”<sup>30</sup> He goes on to discuss the main influences on speculative housing development, such as the contractor, by-laws, the Town and Country Planning Act and building societies. The brief commentary accompanying each house shown on the following pages are based on these influences. The houses themselves are detached, semis, terraced, patio houses, infill flats, including a couple of developments for SPAN by Eric Lyons. This issue also includes an early work by Cedric Price in the interior design section – a bar & reception hall at a London hotel.

June leads with Maekawa's Brutalist Metropolitan Festival Hall in Tokyo, and spends 5 pages on a brick church at Farst in Stockholm by Hans Borgström and Bengt Lindroos and 4 pages on a department store in Rome by Franco Albini and Franca Helg. After 9 pages of hospital design in the US and Holland, there are 2 pages about primitive Fra-Fra housing in Ghana.

Frampton takes over for July's issue which leads on Sir Basil Spence's Coventry Cathedral followed by Coventry station. This issue include a double-page fold-out of Coventry's new city centre. The rest of the issue shows various building types in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, all by Fry, Drew and Partners; James Cubbitt & Partners; Godwin and Hopwood; Nickson & Borys; Kenneth Scott; Frank Rutter; and the Architects Co-partnership. It finishes with theatres in Haifa and Birmingham and a cinema in Rotterdam.

August is dedicated to a detailed examination of “The Planning of Philadelphia” complete with a comparison to London by Alison and Peter Smithson, on a double page fold-out for a London road study map.

September's theme is “Swiss Architecture” and features mainly apartments, houses and villas but also offices in Zurich, a church in Effretikon by Ernst Gisel and a school at Riedenhalde. Atelier 5's villa at Motier, maisonettes at Flamatt features in the main section, as well as their Siedung Halen in Berne in the interior design section. Richard Lohse's paintings constitute the art section. Much of the building is in raw, sculpted concrete.

October leads with the sculptural futuristic TWA terminal in New York by Eero Saarinen, complete with criticism by Alan Colquhoun who Frampton recruited from his previous circle of architectural critic colleagues. In considerable contrast to the TWA terminal, the rear of the magazine shows 2 pages of photographs of Frederick Gibberd's rectilinear functional terminal building at London Airport. Mies van der Rohe buildings form the bulk of the rest: the Bacardi building in Mexico, a federal office building in Iowa, the Chicago Center office building in Baltimore, and the Lakeview Avenue apartments in Chicago. Each building based on a grid and each indistinguishable from the other in terms of function. There are 5 pages of Stirling

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30 Paul Ritter, “Spec Housing,” *Architectural Design*, May 1962, 220.

and Gowan's Leicester University Engineering building under construction and a rare treat of recent Soviet and Polish architecture, prepared by consultants Professor Kolli and Boleslaw Szmidt, consisting of various post Socialist Realist style building types.

November sees several full double-page pull-outs, including a face to face one for the Royal College of Art by Cadbury-Brown, Casson and Goodden and one for Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge by St. John Wilson. Also featured is Powell & Moya's Chichester Festival Theatre and an organic styled summer resort in Italy.

December's issue is devoted to the Team 10 Primer, guest edited by Alison Smithson and contains no buildings.

## 1965

January This issue on France, introduced by Ionel Schien, featured a variety of French buildings from the previous 20 years, starting with a historical review of the importance of ATBAT and Vladimir Bodiansky.

Buildings included André Wogenscky's houses a hostel and future theatre, Atelier Candilis, Josic and Woods' housing, primary school, and a projected ski resort, Atelier Montrouge's holiday village looking like a stack of Maisons Jaoul, a 6 storey office building and a house and Atelier Anger and Puccinelli's flats.

February's issue is dedicated to the Smithsons' Economist group of office buildings (26 pages) but also includes Forderer & Zwimpfer's Brutalist restaurant in Nuehausen, Switzerland and Jørn Utzon's concrete and brick single storey residence in Harpenden for Povl Ahm, the Arup engineer who made the Sydney Opera House buildbale and who helped Basil Spence at Coventry Cathedral and Rogers and Piano at the Pompidou.

Hans Scharoun's Philharmonie in Berlin is the star attraction for March and includes 18 pages of information and a critique by Ken Frampton. 10 pages on the Sydney Opera House, at that time under construction, follows. Craig Ellwood's Miesian Rosen House in California completes the issue.

April's issue presents the second AD Grand Project Awards with mentions for a swimming pool, the Oxford picture gallery at Christ Church by Powell & Moya, a row of 5 speculative houses, a nursing home, Team 4's housing at Coulsdon, Surrey (75 speculative houses), a central entertainment and shopping precinct by Derek Walker for Wallis' Holiday Camp. "Selected designs" include a selection of houses and housing, from two storey conventional semis for a housing partnership to a ten storey tower block for mixed development for Lambeth Borough Council. Owen Luder Architects includes a private house, a warehouse,

shop and offices in London SW, and for The E. Alec Colman Group of Companies, an office block in Bromley Common and his more celebrated High Street development in Gateshead. The unbuilt geology building for Sheffield University also received a mention, along with its half built electrical substation by Jefferson Sheard & Partners. Other special mentions went to a kindergarten in Paddington, a youth centre in Cambridge, a pumping station by the LCC and a hospital. All in all, a real mixture of public and private projects with no discerning style uniting them. The issue is completed with hexagonal temporary beach shelters in Israel by Zvi Heker, predicting the forms of the later Star Wars films, Powell & Moya's bare faced concrete low-rise hospital in Oxfordshire and Atelier 5's characteristic brick and raw concrete barrel vaulted house at Carona.

May is dedicated to the Japanese architects Junzo Sakakura, Kunio Maekawa and Kenzo Tange. The first two are Corbusier acolytes and the latter a metabolist and their work reflects as much. There is a wide variety of projects, but the major review is of the 1964 national gymnasium in Tokyo by Tange – a highly sculptural affair with a steel cable suspended roof structure. There are also a couple of pages on his Roman Catholic Cathedral in Tokyo, in similarly sculptural concrete covered externally in stainless steel. J.S. Bonnington's own two storey house in brick, lots of glass under a flat roof at Harpenden, brings up the rear.

The work of Denys Lasdun dominates June's issue, specifically his Royal College of Physicians, projects for the RICS buildings, the university laboratories at Cambridge, and the University of East Anglia. There is also an anonymous school in Gibraltar and then ample coverage (15 pages plus several rare colour blocks) of James Gowan's Schreiber House in Hampstead Heath with criticism by Neave Brown. Then there is Trevor Dannatt's muscly brick hall of residence in Hull and finally an expressive Futurist but unsuccessful competition entry for Madrid Opera House by Francisco Longoria.

In July, specific buildings are usurped entirely for the first time, in favour of descriptions and reviews of systems, starting with the SCSD (School Construction Systems Development) project from the USA and followed by Industrialized Building Studies at the HfG, Ulm, a page of "geodesic variations" pondering Buckminster-Fuller and Makowski geometries for construction and D.G. Emmerich's similar structures.

Kurokawa's Metabolist design for high-density plug-in concrete component housing is included as an idea, along with an individual, portable plastic ski-lodge, metabolist furniture, and GK Industrial design. This is the first issue that does not include a review of a building, and crucially, it's also the issue that Cosmorama first appears, taking the place of UK and World News.

August returns to buildings in the USA and features Sert, Jackson, Gourley and Associates'

married student housing at Harvard, and the university campus at Boston followed by a Neutra medical building in California, all glass and overhangs. In contrast, there is Eero Saarinen's Deere and Co.'s administrative centre, all glass and louvres. *AD* correspondent John Fowler's doctor's house – all stacked timber boxes – completes the issue.

After a lengthy tribute to Sir Leslie Martin, his library buildings at Oxford University are the main feature in September's issue followed by Stirling and Gowan's children's homes built in brick in Putney. The most striking feature is Cedric Price and Frank Newby's aviary at London zoo, quite the opposite of Martin's heavy library. White-tiled offices in Watford by Douglas Stephen and Partners seems to be a 7 page filler.

A few buildings grace the pages of the October number: Colquhoun and Miller's red brick secondary school in London, Llewelyn-Davies & Weeks' Zoological society exposed aggregate laboratories in Regent's Park and Sheppard, Robson and Partners' university laboratories in Newcastle. From the base to the sublime, with a review of Le Corbusier in Chandigarh. Enav and Tedros's hexagonal thermal baths in Addis Ababa contrast with the rectilinearity of the British entries and echo Keith Critchlow's "universal space families" geometry theory for the World Design Science Decade on the previous pages.

The main focus in November's issue is the chronological survey of Archigram, but in terms of buildings, it's far less interesting. First up is an army officers' quarters in white stone in Malta by Austin-Smith, Salmon, Lord Partnership. Then Colin St. John Wilson has two houses in Cambridge, where he was teaching under Sir Leslie Martin and Chamberlin, Powell & Bon has a housing project (mixed houses and flats) in Greenwich, followed by Ionel Schein's penthouse flat and office in Paris.

The December issue is the famous "The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture" guest-edited by Alison and Peter Smithson which featured the architecture of the pre-war Continental modernism from 1910 to 1937, but no reviews of contemporary buildings. This level of historicism in *AD* was unprecedented.

## 1968

January starts off with the Project Awards on the theme of housing. No grand winner was selected, just six commendations, none of which are worthy of a mention here. In the "Jurors' award for verve", there are a couple of schemes with pop tendencies though, with semi-circular windows and other such primitive geometrical shapes bleeding to the edge of the walls. Rabeneck, Wright and Chester's Rede Place also has overtones of a Constructivist Brutalist 45 degree glazing as seen at Stirling's Leicester University Engineering Laboratories.

10 pages then cover a huge multi-use concrete megastructure in Montreal, comprising exhibition centre, merchandise mart, shopping concourse, hotel and transport interchange. D.G. Emmerich returns with more geometric “construction games” looking at 3D tessellations and domes. Finally, there is a page each on a very simple toll gate in Christchurch, New Zealand and a hippodrome in Buenos Aires.

The Institute of Technology in Otaniemi, Finland is the main building in February's issue. Then Denys Lasdun's projects for residential blocks at Christ's Church College, Cambridge and the National Theatre on the South Bank are shown. A very lumpen Sea Training School in Gravesend by Lyons, Israel, Ellis and Partners follows, with commentary by Neave Brown. Edward Cullinan has two projects – a very traditional looking extension/conversion for the Centre for Advanced Study in the Cotswolds, and a more Brutal/Constructivist printing works in Essex. Finally, Peter Cook reviews a huge hotel in Atlanta.

March's issue focuses on the work of Irish practice Michael Scott and Partners and introduced by Alan Colquhoun. It shows a Miesian glass TV centre, the National Bank head office, a theatre, and an office building for the tourist board, all in Dublin. There's a church with one wall entirely glazed and the others brick, a routine industrial estate but in brick and concrete, a large two storey factory, a prefabricated hotel bedroom unit and a single storey concrete weekend house on stilts in County Cork. The other buildings featured in this issue are an extension to a large factory in Stuttgart, and a future project for Leicester University's Library by Castle, Park, Dean, Hook.

April's issue consists of only two building reviews. Firstly, the Nuffield transplantation surgery unit at Edinburgh by Peter Womersley, who won the 1964 AD Project Awards with it. It is a sculptural Brutalist sand-coloured concrete behemoth. Secondly comes Arup Associates' Wolfson building in Oxford. This is a block of student bedrooms seemingly consisting of glass boxes hung from concrete arms on a brick ground floor plinth. The rest of the issue discusses lightweight building technologies such as tents, cable suspensions, tensile structures and gridshells as well as a two mile tower proposal by Buckminster-Fuller. It finishes with a very simple Highway service station in Illinois by David Haid.

The May issue is entitled “What about Learning” and guest-edited by Cedric Price. As such, it contains no building reviews, but several systems and blue-sky thinking for school design.

Similarly in the June issue called “Pneu World”, there are no conventional building reviews, just reports on experiments with inflatable and air supported structures and furniture.

The main building in July is the monumental Ford Foundation headquarters by Roche and Dinkeloo, critiqued by Kenneth Frampton. There is also a theatre in Grenoble by André Wogenscky, a huge space frame hangar leisure centre, complete with indoor beach, called

“Summerland” in Japan and another huge space frame hangar, but this time for assembling aircraft in the South West of Britain. Next is Xanadua, a 7 apartment block in Spain by Bofill and 5 houses for a housing association by Neave Brown. Finally, AD returns to 2 buildings that won project awards: a school in Islington by the GLC (AD 1/67) and an aquarena in Worthing by Derek Walker, John Attenborough and Bryn Jones (AD 4/65). Also in Worthing is a crematorium by borough architect F.C.S. Morris (AD 4/66).

Once more, there are no traditional building reviews in August’s issue, which is entitled “architecture of democracy” and discusses the mobile home, squatting and architectural education.

The September issue is concerned with the idea of mobility in the city and has no building reviews other than a retrospective criticism of Cumbernauld centre.

October is dominated by Stirling’s History library at Cambridge University and a preview of the Florey building at Oxford, with an introduction by Alvin Boyarsky. The Smithsons’ timber framed student rooms at St. Hilda’s College, Oxford receive a couple of pages and then there are three galleries reviewed: the art gallery at Christchurch, Oxford (AD Project Award winner 1965), The Hayward Art Gallery in London and an adaptation of the ICA. Finally, there is Farrell & Grimshaw’s space-age helical bathroom tower conversion, made of a single ramp with bathroom “pods” inserted, for a hostel in London.

“The anatomy of the factory” is the theme for November and after several pages of history and theory, several single storey factories are discussed, usually in terms of their structure and span. 3 in Italy, 1 in Switzerland, 3 in Japan, 6 in England (including Team 4’s Reliance Controls in Swindon and a huge future IBM factory by Arup Associates), and 1 in the USA.

December’s issue once again snubs building reviews. Jonathan Miller guest-edits the issue on “Metaphoropolis”, on “how the image of the city has flourished as an imaginative metaphor.”

So in 1968, five of the issues favoured a non-building theme and did not review any buildings: May, June, August, September and December. It must be noted that 1968 was AD’s biggest selling year.

## 1971

By 1971, AD had changed dramatically and gone into book economy mode, or become a “little magazine”, consumed by Cosmorama. There was very little left of the old AD and building reviews were few and far between. Features were long and difficult articles about

sociological issues, cybernetics and planning. In fact, buildings are largely contained to the "Buildings" section, which often takes second hand clippings from other journals. In January, for example, there were two such buildings occupying a single page.

The Smithsons' student residence at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, bucks this trend and achieves 9 pages in February, although it is the only building reviewed that month. The buildings section featured competition result for the Yale Mathematics building (won by Venturi and Rauch Associates), and their competition entry for the Civic Center Competition for Thousand Oaks, California. It also features Roche, Dinkeloo and Associates' Knights of Columbus Insurance Headquarters in New Haven with its distinguished cylinders at the corners of a tower block.

March's issue is dedicated to the lightweight tensile structures of Frei Otto, but more on the method and ideas than a specific building.

There are no building reviews in April's issue, although the Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation's proposal for a central city complex in Houston receives 2 pages of socio-political discussion.

May, June and July's issues contains no building studies.

Foster Associates' single storey all glass high-tech IBM Head Office in Hampshire and Taller de Arquitectura's Barrio Gaudí housing block in Barcelona are the building reviews for August.

September is bereft of buildings completely.

In October, Peter Smithson reviews his Team X colleagues' Cadilis, Josic and Woods' large slab housing at Toulouse Le Mirail and Peter Murray reviews Foundling Estate housing scheme in Bloomsbury (now called the Brunswick Centre). There is also a look at the finished housing at Pollards Hill, Merton which won an AD Project Award in 1968.

November looks at American building systems designs, but no specific buildings.

December's issue is similarly void of buildings.

## **Appendix 7**

### **Staff & Consultants, 1950-1975**

The following is a list of staff and consultants taken from the masthead of the magazines from 1950 to 1976. A bold entry indicates a new position.

#### **1950**

##### **March**

**EDITORS:** M. Pidgeon and B.C. Randell.

**CONSULTANTS:** David du R. Aberdeen, B.A. (Arch.), F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A., and Gordon T. Tait, F.R.I.B.A.

##### **April**

**CONSULTANTS:** David du R. Aberdeen, B.A. (Arch.), F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., Mark Hartland Thomas, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A., and Gordon T. Tait, F.R.I.B.A.

##### **July**

**CONSULTANTS:** David du R. Aberdeen, B.A. (Arch.), F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., **Gontran Goulden, A.R.I.B.A.**, Mark Hartland Thomas, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A., and Gordon T. Tait, F.R.I.B.A.

#### **1951**

##### **May**

**CONSULTANTS:** David du R. Aberdeen, B.A. (Arch.), F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., **Dargan Bullivant, A.A.Dip., A.R.I.B.A.**, Gontran Goulden, A.R.I.B.A., Mark Hartland Thomas, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A., and Gordon T. Tait, F.R.I.B.A.

#### **1952**

**July** – no longer carries list of consultants etc.

#### **1953**

##### **December**

Editors: M. Pidgeon and T. Crosby

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., Dargan Bullivant, A.R.I.B.A., Ernö Goldfinger D.P.L.G., L.R.I.B.A., Gontran Goulden, A.R.I.B.A., Mark Hartland Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A., and Gordon T. Tait, F.R.I.B.A.

## 1954

### June

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., Dargan Bullivant, A.R.I.B.A., E. Maxwell Fry, C.B.E., F.R.I.B.A., Ernö Goldfinger D.P.L.G., L.R.I.B.A., Gontran Goulden, A.R.I.B.A., Mark Hartland Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A., and Gordon T. Tait, F.R.I.B.A.

### November

Editor: Monica Pidgeon

Technical Editor: Theo Crosby

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I.  
Dargan Bullivant, A.R.I.B.A.  
E. Maxwell Fry, C.B.E., F.R.I.B.A.  
Ernö Goldfinger D.P.L.G., L.R.I.B.A.  
Gontran Goulden, A.R.I.B.A.  
Mark Hartland Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.  
Ian Kaye, M.A. (Cantab.), A.R.I.B.A.  
Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A.  
Gordon Tait, F.R.I.B.A.

## 1955

### October

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I.  
Dargan Bullivant, A.R.I.B.A.  
E. Maxwell Fry, C.B.E., F.R.I.B.A.  
Ernö Goldfinger D.P.L.G., L.R.I.B.A.  
Gontran Goulden, A.R.I.B.A.  
Mark Hartland Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.  
Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A.

[Ian Kaye deleted]

**1956**

**January**

**Correspondents:** Anna Castelli Ferrieri (Italy), Rolf Gutmann (Switzerland), Henry Hill (U.S.A.), Peter Pfankuch (West Germany), André Sive (France), Olga Sims Tieder (Israel).

**February**

**Correspondents:** *France* André Sive. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A.* Henry Hill. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *West Germany* Peter Pfankuch.

**March**

**Correspondents:** *France* André Sive. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *West Germany* Peter Pfankuch.

**April**

**Correspondents:** *France* André Sive. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A. (California)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (Massachusetts)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (Michigan)* Peter Floyd. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *West Germany* Peter Pfankuch.

**May**

**Correspondents:** *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho *France* André Sive. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *West Germany* Peter Pfankuch.

**November (October?)**

**Correspondents:** *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho *France* André Sive. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A. (west)*

Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *West Germany* Peter Pfankuch.

#### **December**

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I.  
Dargan Bullivant, A.R.I.B.A.  
E. Maxwell Fry, C.B.E., F.R.I.B.A.  
Ernö Goldfinger D.P.L.G., L.R.I.B.A.  
Gontran Goulden, A.R.I.B.A.  
Mark Hartland Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.  
Denys Lasdun, F.R.I.B.A.  
Edward D. Mills, F.R.I.B.A.

[Gordon Tait deleted]

**1957**

#### **March**

Correspondents: *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *France* André Sive. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *West Germany* Peter Pfankuch.

#### **July**

Advertising manager: Kenneth Towell

#### **November**

Correspondents: *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *France* André Sive. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd, *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *West Germany* Peter Pfankuch.

#### **December**

Editorial assistant: Mary Dalley

**Editorial secretary: Liz Goldfinger**

**1958**

**January**

Correspondents: *Australia* Noel Bell. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *France* André Sive. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd.

[*West Germany* changed to *Germany (West)*]

**June**

Correspondents: *Australia* Noel Bell. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *France* André Sive. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd.

**July**

Correspondents: *Australia* Noel Bell. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *France* André Sive. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd.

**October**

**Editorial secretary: Margaret Safranek**

**November**

Correspondents: *Australia* Noel Bell. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and

Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *U.S.A. (west)* Henry Hill. *U.S.A. (middle west)* Peter Carter. *U.S.A. (east)* Peter Floyd.

[France André Sive. Deleted – announcement that he had died]

## December

Editorial assistant: Margaret Connal

## 1959

### January

Correspondents: *Australia* Noel Bell. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA (west)* Henry Hill. *USA (middle west)* Peter Carter. *USA (east)* Peter Floyd. *USA (south east)* Phillip Pritchard.

### May

Correspondents: *Australia* Noel Bell. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA (west)* Henry Hill. *USA (middle west)* Peter Carter. *USA (east)* Peter Floyd. *USA (south east)* Phillip Pritchard.

### June

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi

Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA (west)* Henry Hill. *USA (middle west)* Peter Carter. *USA (east)* Peter Floyd. *USA (south east)* Phillip Pritchard.

#### July

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA (west)* Henry Hill. *USA (middle west)* Peter Carter. *USA (east)* Peter Floyd. *USA (south east)* Phillip Pritchard.

#### September

No longer an editorial assistant.

#### October

No longer an editorial secretary.

#### November

**Editorial assistant: Margaret Connal**

**Editorial secretary: Valerie Lawrence**

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; **José Reznik**. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA (west)* Henry Hill. *USA (middle west)* Peter Carter. *USA (east)* Peter Floyd. *USA (south east)* Phillip Pritchard.

1960

January

No longer an advertising manager (Announcement that Kenneth 'Tim' Towell died in December)

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA (west)* Henry Hill. *USA (middle west)* Peter Carter. *USA (east)* Peter Floyd. *USA (south east)* Phillip Pritchard.

February

Editorial assistant: Margaret Linden

(a married Margaret Connal?)

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Spain* Dennis Ball. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA (west)* Henry Hill. *USA (middle west)* Peter Carter. *USA (east)* Peter Floyd. [USA (south east) Phillip Pritchard deleted]

April

Not on masthead:

International News edited by Peter Rawstorne

April

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, Dargan Bullivant, E. Maxwell Fry, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Mark Hartland Thomas, Denys Lasdun, Edward D. Mills, Frank Newby

## May

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Peter Carter, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Max Gordon, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.

## June

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri and Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Peter Carter, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Max Gordon, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.

## August

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Peter Carter, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Max Gordon, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.  
[*Italy* Anna Castelli Ferrieri, *Switzerland* Rolf Gutmann deleted]

## September

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada (British Columbia)* Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Peter Carter, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Max Gordon, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.

## November

**Editorial secretary: Anne Sandersley**

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada* Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Peter Carter, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.  
[Max Gordon deleted]

## December

**Editorial Assistant: John Brookes**

## 1961

### January

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi.

*Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Peter Carter, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.

## March

**News editor: Michael Manser**

**Consultants:** David du R. Aberdeen, Dargan Bullivant, E. Maxwell Fry, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Mark Hartland Thomas, Denys Lasdun, Edward D. Mills, Frank Newby, Ernst Priefert

**Correspondents:** *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.

## April

**Editor of technical supplements: Derek Phillips**

**Correspondents:** *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Jeremy Dodd, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.

## July

**Correspondents:** *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte.

*Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany* (Berlin) Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moisescu. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Jeremy Dodd, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland.

## September

**Editorial secretary:** Virginia Gleadell

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany* (Berlin) Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy *India* K.V. Satyamty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moisescu. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Jeremy Dodd, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

## October

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Noel Bell. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho; José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* R. Aujame. *Germany* (Berlin) Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy *India* K.V. Satyamty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moisescu. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Jeremy Dodd, Peter Floyd, John Fowler,

Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

[*Holland* H.P.C. Haan and J. Huijts deleted]

## December

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy *India* K.V. Satyamty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moisescu. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Jeremy Dodd, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

[Alfredo Paisano and Rodolpho Ortenblad Filho deleted]

## 1962

### February

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, Dargan Bullivant, E. Maxwell Fry, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Mark Hartland Thomas, Denys Lasdun, Edward D. Mills, Frank Newby, Ernst Priefert, Peter Smithson

### March

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *China* Colin Penn. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy *India* K.V. Satyamty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* John Lloyd. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moisescu. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Jeremy Dodd, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

[Mexico Giovanni Maria Cosco deleted]

#### April

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* José Reznik. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *China* Colin Penn. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy *India* K.V. Satyammy. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Mexico* Giovanni Maria Cosco. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* Bengt Knutsen. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moiescu. *Sweden* Örjan Lünig. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, Jeremy Dodd, Peter Floyd, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

#### July

**Technical editor: Kenneth Frampton**

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, Dargan Bullivant, Theo Crosby, E. Maxwell Fry, Ernő Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Mark Hartland Thomas, Denys Lasdun, Edward D. Mills, Frank Newby, Ernst Priefert, Peter Smithson

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[José Reznik deleted]

#### August

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[USA Jeremy Dodd deleted]

### October

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#### November

Consultants: David du R. Aberdeen, Walter Bor, Dargan Bullivant, Theo Crosby, E. Maxwell Fry,

Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Mark Hartland Thomas, Denys Lasdun, Edward D. Mills, Frank Newby, Ernst Priefert, Peter Smithson

**Editorial secretary: Veronica Bennett**

#### December

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Harry Cole. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *China* Colin Penn. *Colombia* Alec Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hong Kong* Chung Wah Nan. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy. *India* K.V. Satyamty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frallich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Malaysia* Stanley Merer. *Mexico* Jorge Gleason. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* Bengt Knutsen. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moiescu. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

[USA Peter Floyd deleted]

### 1963

#### June

**News editor: Diana Rowntree**

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews, Andrew Young. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Harry Cole. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *China* Colin Penn. *Colombia* Alec Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)*

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#### 1964

##### January

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews, Andrew Young. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Harry Cole. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *China* Colin Penn. *Colombia* Alec Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hong Kong* Chung Wah Nan. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy *India* K.V. Satyammy. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Malaysia* Stanley Merer. *Mexico* Jorge Gleason. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* Bengt Knutsen.

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### March

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### April

Editorial secretary: Sarah Sheppard

Correspondents: *Argentina* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews, Andrew Young. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Harry Cole. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *China* Colin Penn. *Colombia* Alec Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hong Kong* Chung Wah Nan. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy. *India* K.V. Satyamty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Panos Koulermos. Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Malaysia* Stanley Merer. *Mexico* Jorge Gleason. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* Bengt Knutsen. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moiescu. *Spain* Carlos Flores. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Dr. Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, David Lewis, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

## May

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[*China* Colin Penn. deleted]

## August

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews, Andrew Young. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Harry Cole. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos García Huidobro. *Colombia* Alec Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hong Kong* Chung Wah Nan. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy. *India* Prof. Eulie Chowdhury, K.V. Satyammy. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Panos Koulermos. Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sanmartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Malaysia* Stanley Merer. *Mexico* Jorge Gleason. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* Bengt Knutsen. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moiescu. *Spain* Carlos Flores. *Sweden* Örjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli

## September

Editorial secretary: Judith Wilkinson

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Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Hong Kong* Chung Wah Nan. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy  
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[*India* Prof. Eulie Chowdhury, *USA* Donlyn Lyndon, deleted]

#### December

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## 1965

### January

Correspondents: *Argentine* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews, Andrew Young. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Harry Cole. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos Garcia Huidobro. *Colombia* Alec Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman. *Germany (Berlin)* Peter Pfankuch. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne. *Greece* Orestis Doumanis. *Hong Kong* Chung Wah Nan. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy. *India* Prof. Eulie Chowdhury, K.V. Satyamurty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Panos Koulermos, Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sammartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Malaysia* Stanley Merer. *Mexico* Jorge Gleason. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* Bengt Knutsen. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moiescu. *Spain* Carlos Flores. *Sweden* Orjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross. *Uruguay* Ernesto Puppo. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, David Lewis, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli.

### February

Technical Editor: Robin Middleton

### March

Consultants: Walter Bor, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Denys Lasdun, Frank Newby, Peter Smithson.

[World News = John Donat inside]

### April

[No UK News Editor listed, Ian Brown credited on page]

[Alex Pike = trade notes]

## July

[No World News or UK News, just individually signed pieces in Cosmorama]

## September

Consultants: Walter Bor, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Denys Lasdun, Prof. Z.S. Makowski, Frank Newby, Peter Smithson.

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[*Germany (Berlin)* combined with *Germany (West)*, *Malaysia* Stanley Merer. deleted]

## October

Editorial assistant: Stephen Bell

## November

Correspondents: *Argentina* Gerardo Clusellas. *Australia* Mary Andrews, Andrew Young. *Austria* Wilhelm Shütte. *Belgium* Roger Thirion. *Brazil* Harry Cole. *Canada* Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Peter Oberlander. *Chile* Carlos Garcia Huidobro. *Colombia* Alec Bright. *Ceylon* Geoffrey Bawa. *Denmark* Christian Enevoldsen. *Finland* Olavi Kantele. *France* Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman. *Germany (West)* Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne, Peter Pfankuch. *Greece* Orestis Doumanis. *Hong Kong* Chung Wah Nan. *Hungary* Elemér Nagy. *India* Prof. Eulie Chowdhury, K.V. Satyamurty. *Israel* Olga Sims Tieder. *Italy* Panos Koulermos, Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sammartini. *Japan* Nobuo Hozumi. *Kenya* Richard Hughes. *Mexico* Jorge Gleason. *Netherlands* Jan Piet Kloos. *Norway* Bengt Knutsen. *Peru* Eduardo Orrego J. *Poland* Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt. *Roumania* Anton Moiescu. *Spain* Carlos Flores. *Sweden* Orjan Lüning. *Switzerland* Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross.

*Uruguay* Ernesto Puppó. *USA* Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, David Lewis, *Donlyn Lyndon*, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland. *USSR* Prof. N.D. Kolli.

**1966**

**January**

**Overseas correspondents:**

**Argentina** Gerardo Clusellas **Australia** Mary Andrews, Andrew Young

**Austria** Wilhelm Shütte **Belgium** Roger Thirion **Brazil** Harry Cole

**Canada** Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander

**Chile** Carlos Garcia Huidobro **Colombia** Alec Bright

**Ceylon** Geoffrey Bawa **Denmark** Jørgen Sestoft **Finland** Olavi Kantele

**France** Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman

**Germany (West)** Hans Kammerer, Gunther Kühne, Peter Pfankuch

**Greece** Orestis Dourmanis, Panos Koulermos **Hong Kong** Chung Wah Nan

**Hungary** Elemér Nagy **India** Eulie Chowdhury, K.V. Satyamurty **Israel** Olga Sims Tieder

**Italy** Letizia Frailich Ponti, Teodora Olga Sammartini

**Japan** Nobuo Hozumi, Günter Nitschke

**Kenya** Richard Hughes **Mexico** Jorge Gleason **Netherlands** Jan Piet Kloos

**Norway** Bengt Knutsen **Peru** Eduardo Orrego J. **Poland** Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt

**Roumania** Anton Moiescu **Spain** Carlos Flores **Sweden** Orjan Lüning

**Switzerland** Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross **Uruguay** Ernesto Puppó

**USA** Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland **USSR** Prof. N.D. Kolli.

[Panos Koulermos went from Italy to Greece]

**March**

**Overseas correspondents:**

**Argentina** Gerardo Clusellas **Australia** Mary Andrews, Andrew Young

**Austria** Wilhelm Shütte **Belgium** Roger Thirion **Brazil** Harry Cole

**Canada** Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander

**Chile** Carlos Garcia Huidobro **Colombia** Alec Bright

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Norway Bengt Knutsen Peru Eduardo Orrego J. Poland Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt  
Roumania Anton Moiescu Spain Carlos Flores Sweden Orjan Lüning  
Switzerland Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross Uruguay Ernesto Puppo  
USA Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland, David Lewis,  
Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland  
USSR Prof. N.D. Kolli Venezuela Dirk Bornhorst.

#### June

Overseas correspondents:

Argentina Gerardo Clusellas Australia Mary Andrews, Andrew Young  
Austria Wilhelm Shütte Belgium Roger Thirion Brazil Harry Cole  
Canada Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander  
Chile Carlos Garcia Huidobro Colombia Alec Bright  
Ceylon Geoffrey Bawa Denmark Jørgen Sestoft Finland Olavi Kantele  
France Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman  
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Switzerland Lucius Burckhardt, Roland Gross Uruguay Ernesto Puppo  
USA Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland,  
David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland  
USSR Prof. N.D. Kolli Venezuela Dirk Bornhorst.

#### July

Overseas correspondents:

Argentina Gerardo Clusellas Australia Andrew Young  
Austria Wilhelm Shütte Belgium Roger Thirion Brazil Harry Cole

**Canada** Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander  
**Chile** Carlos Garcia Huidobro **Colombia** Alec Bright  
**Ceylon** Geoffrey Bawa **Denmark** Jørgen Sestoft **Finland** Olavi Kantele  
**France** Bernard de la Tour d'Auvergne, Yona Friedman  
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**USA** Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland,  
 David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland  
**USSR** Prof. N.D. Kolli **Venezuela** Dirk Bornhorst.  
 [Australia Mary Andrews, Switzerland Roland Gross deleted]

## September

Overseas correspondents:

**Argentine** Gerardo Clusellas **Australia** Andrew Young  
**Austria** Wilhelm Shütte **Belgium** Roger Thirion **Brazil** Harry Cole  
**Canada** Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander  
**Ceylon** Geoffrey Bawa **Chile** Carlos Garcia Huidobro **Colombia** Alec Bright  
**Cuba** Roberto Segre **Denmark** Jørgen Sestoft **Finland** Olavi Kantele  
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Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland

**USSR Prof. N.D. Kolli Venezuela Dirk Bornhorst.**

**November**

**Editorial assistant: J. Heywood Hill**

**1967**

**June**

**Publications manager: David Dottridge**

**Advertising manager: Ian Waddell**

**July**

**Overseas correspondents:**

**Argentina Gerardo Clusellas Australia Andrew Young**

**Austria Wilhelm Shütte Belgium Roger Thirion Brazil Harry Cole**

**Canada Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander**

**Ceylon Geoffrey Bawa Chile Carlos Garcia Huidobro Colombia Alec Bright**

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**Switzerland Lucius Burckhardt Uruguay Ernesto Puppo**

**USA Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland,**

**David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland**

**Venezuela Dirk Bornhorst.**

**[USSR Prof. N.D. Kolli deleted]**

**October**

**Overseas correspondents:**

**Argentina Gerardo Clusellas Australia Andrew Young**

**Austria** Wilhelm Shütte **Belgium** Roger Thirion **Brazil** Harry Cole  
**Canada** Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander  
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**USA** Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland,  
David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland  
**USSR** Anna Opotchinskaia **Venezuela** Dirk Bornhorst.  
[Ceylon Geoffrey Bawa deleted]

**1968**

**January**

Consultants: Walter Bor, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden,  
Denys Lasdun, Prof. Z.S. Makowski, Frank Newby, Alexander Pike, Peter Smithson.

Overseas correspondents:

**Argentine** Gerardo Clusellas **Australia** Andrew Young  
**Austria** Wilhelm Shütte **Belgium** Roger Thirion **Brazil** Harry Cole  
**Canada** Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander  
**Chile** Jaime Bellalta, Carlos Garcia Huidobro **Colombia** Alec Bright  
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**Korea** Kim Chung-up **Mexico** Jorge Gleason **Netherlands** Hein Salomonson

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USA Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland,  
David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland  
USSR Anna Opotchinskaia Venezuela Dirk Bornhorst.

## February

Overseas correspondents:

Argentine Gerardo Clusellas Australia Andrew Young  
*Austria* Wilhelm Shütte Belgium Roger Thirion Brazil Harry Cole  
Canada Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander  
Chile Jaime Bellalta, Carlos Garcia Huidobro Colombia Alec Bright  
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Norway Bengt Knutsen Peru Frederick Cooper Poland Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt  
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David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland  
USSR Anna Opotchinskaia Venezuela Dirk Bornhorst.

## March

Overseas correspondents:

Argentine Gerardo Clusellas Australia Andrew Young  
*Austria* Wilhelm Shütte Belgium Roger Thirion Brazil Harry Cole  
Canada Anthony Jackson, Blanche Lemco can Ginkel, Peter Oberlander  
Chile Jaime Bellalta, Carlos Garcia Huidobro Colombia Alec Bright  
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**Norway** Bengt Knutsen **Peru** Frederick Cooper **Poland** Prof. Boleslaw Szmidt  
**Roumania** Anton Moisescu **Spain** Carlos Flores **Sweden** Orjan Lüning  
**Switzerland** Lucius Burckhardt, Colin Glennie **Uruguay** Ernesto Puppo  
**USA** Arthur Baker, Peter Carter, John Fowler, Henry Hill, Burdette Keeland,  
David Lewis, Donlyn Lyndon, Sy Mintz, Tim Vreeland  
**USSR** Anna Opotchinskaia **Venezuela** Dirk Bornhorst.

#### **May**

**Art editor: Dave Chaston**

**Editorial secretary: Gillian Heiser**

#### **August**

No more correspondents listed.

#### **November**

**Subscriptions: Maureen Bolwell**

**Consultants: Walter Bor, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton, Ernő Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Denys Lasdun, Frank Newby, Alexander Pike, Peter Smithson.**

[Prof. Z.S. Makowski deleted]

#### **1969**

##### **January**

[Publications manager: David Dottridge deleted]

**Consultants: Walter Bor, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton, Ernő Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Frank Newby, Alexander Pike, Peter Smithson.**

[Denys Lasdun deleted]

##### **March**

[Art editor: Dave Chaston deleted]

**April**

**Art editor: Avril Hodges**

**August**

**Art editor: Pearce Marchbank**

**November**

**Subscriptions: Anne Juffs**

**December**

**[Subscriptions: Anne Juffs deleted]**

**1970**

**January**

**[Consultants: Walter Bor, Theo Crosby, Kenneth Frampton, Ernö Goldfinger, Gontran Goulden, Frank Newby, Alexander Pike, Peter Smithson. deleted]**

**Subscriptions: Anne Juffs**

**February**

**Art direction: Adrian George, Peter Murray**

**April**

**[Advertising manager: Ian Waddell deleted]**

**November**

**Art editor Peter Murray. Consultant, Adrian George**

**1971**

**January**

**[Consultant, Adrian George deleted]**

**June**

**Art assistant: James Corridan**

**October**

**Editorial secretary: Janet Rogol**

**December**

**Art assistant: Michael Gough**

**1972**

**January**

**Subscriptions: Anne Hardiman**

**March**

**Subscriptions: Dawn Giroire**

**April**

**Subscriptions: Dawn Girboire**

**May**

**Subscriptions: Dawn Giboire**

**September**

**Editorial assistant: Shirley Wilson**

**October**

**Technical Editor: Peter Murray**

**Editorial assistants: Shirley Wilson (Information) Mike Gough (artwork)**

**Consultant editors: Roy Landau, Robin Middleton, Colin Moorcraft, Alexander Pike, Martin Pawley, Robin Thompson**

**[Robin Middleton deleted]**

**December**

**Assistant editor: Norma Di Marco**

**1973**

**January**

**Consultant editors: Roy Landau, Robin Middleton, Colin Moorcraft, Alexander Pike, Martin Pawley, Andrew Rabeneck, Robin Thompson**

**April**

Editorial assistants: **Stephanie Cassegrain** (information) **Mike Gough** (artwork)

**May**

**Assistants:** **Josefina Mena**  
**Stephanie Cassegrain**  
**Michael Gough**

[Editorial assistants become simply assistants]

**July**

**Assistants:** **Josefina Mena, Stephanie Cassegrain, Tony Murray.**

**August**

**Assistants:** **Martin Spring, Stephanie Cassegrain, Tony Murray.**

[Josefina Mena deleted]

**Consultant editors:** **Irene Coates**  
**Roy Landau**  
**Robin Middleton**  
**Colin Moorcraft**  
**Alexander Pike**  
**Martin Pawley**  
**Andrew Rabeneck**  
**Robin Thompson**

**September**

**Subscriptions:** **Dorothy Reid.**

**November**

**Marketing:** **David Dottridge**

**1974**

**January**

**Deputy technical editor:** **Martin Spring**

**Assistant, information:** **Stephanie Cassegrain**

**Art assistant:** **Kevin Sparrow**

**February**

**Technical editor:** **Archie McNab**

**Editorial secretary: Dinah Delap**

[Peter Murray deleted]

[Assistant, information: Stephanie Cassegrain deleted]

**April**

[Subscriptions: Dorothy Reid deleted]

**July**

**Editorial assistants: Robert Kingsley**

**Sandy Heck**

**August**

[Sandy Heck deleted]

**September**

**Editorial secretary: Susan Barrow**

**October**

**Consultants: Irene Coates**

**George Kasabov**

**Roy Landau**

**Robin Middleton**

**Colin Moorcraft**

**Alexander Pike**

**Martin Pawley**

**Andrew Rabeneck**

**Robin Thompson**

**John Turner**

**1975**

**January**

**Martin Spring – Deputy Editor**

**Barbara Goldstein – Assoc. dep editor**

**Robert Kingsley – Production editor**

**Sue Barrow – Information/Secretary**

[Technical Editor: Archie McNab deleted]

**November**

**Martin Spring – Editor**

**Haig Beck – Associate editor**

**Marilyn Jones – Sub-editor**

**Marica Cooper – Editorial secretary**

**1976**

**March**

[Consultants deleted]

**April**

**Consultants: Ian Hogan**

George Kasabov

Robin Middleton

Martin Pawley

Andrew Rabeneck

John Turner

**Tom Woolley**

[Consultants: Irene Coates

Roy Landau

Colin Moorcraft

Alexander Pike

Robin Thompson deleted]

**May**

**Editors: Martin Spring & Haig Beck**

**Publisher: Dr Andreas Papadakis**

**Proprietor: Acroshaw Ltd. 7/8 Holland Street, London W8**

**July**

**Editorial assistant – Jeffrey Segal**

[Sub-Editor Marilyn Jones deleted]

**Consultants: Gerald Foley**

Ian Hogan  
George Kasabov  
Paul Lawless  
James Mellor  
Robin Middleton  
Martin Pawley  
Andrew Rabeneck  
John Turner  
Tom Woolley

**August**

[Production editor – Robert Kingsley deleted]

**September**

[Consultants: Martin Pawley deleted]

**October**

**Production Editor – Danuta Trebus**

## Appendix 8

### Details of issues

The following is a list of information about *AD* from November 1953 to October 1975 that may be useful for future research.

Year/Month	Price	Theme	Cover Description	No. of Letters	No. of pages of ads
1953 Nov	2s6d	Small Houses		0	29
Dec	2s6d		Patterns made with some new design for hand-printed tiles by Gordon Cullen for the Carter Group of Companies	0	24
1954 Jan	2s6d	Tropical Architecture Part Two		0	25
Feb	2s6d		Reproduction from "The Basilica of Saint Peter" by Paul Letarouilly. Published by Tiranti. 25s.	2	30
Mar	2s6d	Sound vision		0	39
Apr	2s6d	Small Houses Structure in U.S. Reg Butler	From The Modulor by le Corbusier (Faber and Faber, 25s.)	1	34
May	2s6d	Patent glazing	Great Palm House, Kew, by Decimus Burton, and Arme de Salut Building, Paris by Le Corbusier	1	58
Jun	2s6d	Churches	Brass rubbing of Sir W.Echyngham, wife and son from Etchingam Church, Sussex,	1	36

			courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Wayfarers Chapel, Palos Verdes, California by John Lloyd Wright, courtesy Churches and Temples by Thirg, Bennett and Kamphoefner, Reinhold. 144/-		
Jul	2s6d	France	Unite d'habitation at Marseilles, by Le Corbusier, the Pont du Gard at Nimes, and the Grand Palais, Paris, built for the 1865 exhibition.	0	35
Aug	2s6d		an essay in the manner of "de Stijl," a post-Cubist movement in the 20's led by van Doesburg and Mondrian which had a tremendous effect on industrial design, typography and architecture (explained in Sept 54)	0	32
Sep	2s6d		T.U.C. Memorial Building, and drawing of a man on a horse by Marino Marini. (See also page 5)	0	54
Oct	2s6d		Showroom in Piccadilly, London, for Coventry Climax Engines Ltd., designed by Rolf Hellberg and M.H. Harris with Gaby Schreiber and Associates	4	38
Nov	2s6d	The cladding of framed buildings : 1	Cladding the modern building provides endless possibilities for variations of texture and finish. The background design by Theo Crosby is a fantasy on curtain walling. The photographs are, from top to bottom, Hawkesley Farm Infants School by A.G. Sheppard Fiddler, school at Tulse Hill, by Yorke, Rosenberg and Mardall, and Castle	0	52

			Donington Power Station by Clifford, Tee and Gale.			
	Dec	2s6d	The cladding of framed buildings : 2	A panel of precast concrete units and coloured glass which fills the south wall of the entrance to a college for women, at Chandigarh, the new capital of the Punjab, India, designed by E. Maxwell Fry.	1	46
1955	Jan	2s6d		The silver statue of Kurprinz Maximilian Joseph von Bayern by Wilhelm de Groff, 1680-1742, which was shown at the recent exhibition of Bavarian Rococo art at the Victoria and Albert Museum	1	38
	Feb	2s6d		The photograph, by Sam Lambert, is of a Japanese netsuke, 1½ in. high, in walrus ivory. A netsuke is attached to a lacquer box by a cord, and, passed through the sash, becomes a hand sculpture, to be fondled in moments of tension. The Japanese calligraph of Nippon is by Mrs. Jeremy Dodd	2	50
	Mar	2s6d		A garden layout designed by Burle Marx for one of the sectors at the Sao Paolo Fourth Centenary Exhibition, was used as the motif for the cover.	3	50
	Apr	2s6d	Aalto	Alvar Aalto's own house at Muuratsalo is super-imposed on a pattern of his timber and brick detailing, with a few traditional examples thrown in.	1	66
	May	2s6d	West Africa	The Saudana of Sokoto, the leading figure	0	48

			of Northern Nigeria, at the opening of the Trenchard Hall; super-imposed upon the University Library corridor. Both photographs by Richard Lannoy.		
Jun	2s6d	Ideas	This number is concerned mainly with ideas; generating ideas which are intended to stimulate, though possibly irritate, architects into new ways of thinking. The one shown here is the 27-storey block of offices projected by Ernő Goldfinger and H.T. Cadbury-Brown for the Barbican area of the City of London which has resulted in the clarification of many points of access and fire protection as well as lettable area. It is fully described on page 182.	1	46
Jul	2s6d	Theatres	Le Corbusier's Chapel of Notre Dame de Ronchamp, sanctified last month is undoubtedly one of his greatest and most eloquent works. In modern times no architect has moulded space so freely or modelled his forms so sculpturally as in this pilgrim church – forms suggested by acoustic and programme requirements transformed into poetry.	0	49
Aug	2s6d	Flats Hospitals Theory of Dimensional Coordination	The main feature of this month's issue is a closely argued theory of machine building, involving problems of tolerance, edge condition and dimensional co-ordination. The cover is a fantasy by Theo Crosby on this theme.	5	42
Sep	2s6d		The work of H.N. Werjman, mentioned in	1	77

			the review of Typographica in the August issue of Architectural Design, proved an irresistible crib for Theo Crosby's design on the theme of Housing and CIAM 10 which forms the body of this month's number.		
Oct	2s6d	Chicago redevelopment . House in Holland . Design of large metal windows . Competition	The death of Fernand Léger removes the greatest architectural painter of our time, and as a tribute to his memory we have devoted our cover to a detail of his great painting 'The Builders,' 1951.	2	62
Nov	2s6d	XXV anniversary, special international number	Designed by Edward Wright, the cover is based on the type and motifs used in the decoration of Architectural Design's stand at the Building Trades Exhibition	0	68
Dec	2s6d		The sculpture pavilion at Arnhem by G. Rietveld provided the excuse for Theo Crosby to show his favourite sculptures; they are the Warrior of Capestrano (a pre-Etruscan figure in the Villa Giulia, Rome), Canova's Venus (Pitti Gallery, Florence), Kouros (archaic Greek from the Archeological Museum, Florence), and the Priestess Toui (wooden Egyptian figure in the Louvre, Paris)	1	59
1956 Jan	3s6d		Le Corbusier has always used his painting and sculpture to explore problems of form which have subsequently reappeared in his architecture. The facade of the mill owners' building at Ahmedabad, with its complicated entrance complex, owes a	1	54

			great deal to the Ozon sculptures of 1940-50. These are done in collaboration with Joseph Savina		
Feb	3s6d	Venezuela	The contrast of extremes in Venezuela is dramatically illustrated by the photograph of the sophisticated elevation of the Edificio Polar, by Vegas and Galia, against the bare red mountains surrounding Caracas.	1	65
Mar	3s6d	The Modern House	The directions which are opened to the designer of modern houses are as numerous as the designers themselves. The cover opens a shutter or two on some of the paths that are being followed	0	58
Apr	3s6d		Apart from its considerable architectural merits, Drake and Lasdun's cluster block (page 125) provides a method for decanting families from a redevelopment area. The tower takes up little space on the site and only a few houses need be demolished to accommodate it. The cover shows an arbitrary area of the East End in the process of symbolical redevelopment.	0	82
May	3s6d		The rebuilding of London's East End is symbolised by Theo Crosby's drawing of a phoenix, superimposed on an 1836 map of Stepney and Poplar. The dominant structural features are already present, highways, canals, etc., which to-day form the bounding elements of new neighbourhoods	1	50
Jun	3s6d		Traditional African patterns, derived mainly	1	69

from beadwork, have been used by the M'pogh tribe to decorate their houses. The photograph above shows a typical decorated house at Wonderboom, near Pretoria.

Jul	3s6d		A collage of paper cuts on a background of housing advertisements from an inner page of the West London Observer forms an ædicule of the ideal speculators' home	0	60
Aug	3s6d		The exhibition at Whitechapel Art Gallery this month – This is Tomorrow – is a manifestation of the current preoccupation with the reintegration of the arts. Some of the elements used in the first section (Crosby, Facetti, Turnbull, Wright) are shown here. The space is articulated by mechanically produced elements, space deck, chipboard, plastic, glass, photomontage. The sculpture is the organic object, symbol of man, which provides the complement and the antidote to the machine environment.	0	66
Sep	3s6d		Strictly nonrepresentational pattern designed by Theo Crosby	0	78
Oct	3s6d			0	66
Nov	3s6d	Building for music	Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, from a contemporary print	0	64
Dec	3s6d		Design based on ironwork by Gaudi	1	68
1957 Jan	3s6d	private houses	This month's issue consists almost entirely	0	52

			of small houses, some of which occur as elements within the modular pattern of the cover.		
Feb	3s6d	Television studio design	a scene in a studio, enclosed within an eye, the most potent of vision symbols	2	72
Mar	3s6d	a special number on architecture in the middle east	The apprehensive child in a Mosul street, with its crumbling walls, is a symbol of the Middle East to-day; a world of enclosed courts and watertight ideas is being rudely broken down by the intrusion of western technology. Some of the consequences of this impact are shown and discussed in this special number.	3	68
Apr	3s6d		As this month's "Opinion" is concerned with the New Brutalism the cover shows a few brutalist images (with apologies to brutalists, who have not been consulted). The images 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 for 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 neighbour	6	78
May	3s6d	a special number on the architecture of	The cover is based on Bruce Goff's characteristic titling and decorative motif	0	77

		Bruce Goff	which runs through a great deal of his work		
Jun	3s6d	The work of Town Planning Associates in Latin America 1945-1956	In the development of the Quinta Palatino area in Havan, Cuba, Town Planning Associates developed a most interesting apartment block using a complex one and a half level section. This has produced the elevation on which the cover is based.	8	89
Jul	3s6d		The discussion on the Pavilion Suisse as a seminal building brings up the relation in Le Corbusier's work of his painting and architecture. We show a fragment of a painting of 1926 with a top view of the model of his Centrosoyus Palace, Moscow (1927), which shows the consistency of the formal imagery	0	74
Aug	3s6d	Roofs	The fame of Pier Luigi Nervi, Italy's greatest engineer, rests mainly on his exciting roofs for hangars, and especially on the great ferro-cement vault over Turin Exhibition Hall. It is the ideal image for a number devoted to problems of roofing, mainly with new materials	1	95
Sep	3s6d		Abstract pattern by Theo Crosby	0	93
Oct	3s6d	Modern houses (interior design supplement)	Trompe loeil construction by Theo Crosby	1	102
Nov	3s6d	New building techniques	Sculpture by Antoine Pevsner which, in its use of the warped plane, is reminiscent of some of the latest advances in structural thinking – just another example of art preceding techniques. Pevsner has been	0	90

			working on sculptures like these since 1918.			
	Dec	3s6d		The final article of our Opinion series is a summing up of the principles of the 'objects-found' philosophy which offers a way forward in the present impasse in architectural thinking. The cover sums up the problem that confronts the architect today – democracy face to face with hugeness – mass society, mass housing, universal mobility	1	97
1958	Jan	3s6d	-	Abstract design by Theo Crosby	2	66
	Feb	3s6d	The work of Drake and Lasdun	-	0	88
	Mar	3s6d	Letter to America	binocular slot machine at the Battery, New York, provides an image of the American psyche, with a like minded little brother offering some advice (P.Smithson)	2	98
	Apr	3s6d	Japan	A number of Japanese motifs (including a small section of Kenchika – Bunka's article on Brutalism) are combined with one of Noel Moffet's photos showing two aspects of Japan, the old and the new, side by side	0	105
	May	3s6d		The crematorium at Baden, by Edi and Ruth Lanners, featured in this issue is a remarkable, formal piece of architecture; the cover design is based on the approach elevation	0	82
	Jun	3s6d	British Pavilions at	The interior of the British Industries	0	100

		Brussels	Pavilion, which forms the basis of this design, is a riot of competing commercialism, which has caused a few raised eyebrows in the general atmosphere of competing culture. It is said the British are even taking orders...		
Jul	3s6d	a special number on office building & interiors	In a number devoted to offices it seemed inevitable to dedicate the cover to the machine which above all made the vast expansion of clerical work possible, the typewriter; with passing salute to Saul Steinberg.	0	86
Aug	3s6d	Expo 58	Experimenta Typographica by Theo Crosby	3	81
Sep	3s6d	HOUSES	Repeat design, using a single block, by Theo Crosby		80
Oct	3s6d		Fantasy on the idea of mobility, the subject of this month's 'Opinion' discussion, as well as Alison and Peter Smithson's article analysing the traffic problem in cities.		110
Nov	3s6d		Designed specially for this issue by Mies van der Rohe, the cover shows the interior of his projected office for the Bacardi Company, at Santiago de Cuba		88
Dec	3s6d	Coventry Rebuilds	by Theo Crosby, symbolizes the destruction and reconstruction of Coventry		110
1959 Jan	3s6d	Roehampton	Collage by Theo Crosby	1	84
Feb	3s6d		Detail of Picasso's mural in UNESCO headquarters, Paris. The figure, the most		84

			potent image among all the art works there, shows the fall of Icarus, a rather sombre subject for a building dedicated to the spreading of light		
Mar	3s6d		Fantasy on a Danish theme by Theo Crosby	0	84
Apr	3s6d		Design on a tropical theme by Theo Crosby	0	91
May	3s6d		The cover, inspired by the motor car in the American scene, is by Theo Crosby	0	88
Jun	3s6d		The drawing on the cover is a design for a modern school, by Evanthe Piper, aged 11	0	103
Jul	3s6d	Shopping	The cover design, by Theo Crosby, is based on the parking patterns for an American shopping centre	0	90
Aug	3s6d	Factories	A pattern of production line symbols and computer tape, by Theo Crosby	0	108
Sep	3s6d		Cover design based on a painting of 1916 by Piet Mondrian. It was this kind of pictorial research which provided the basis for Mies' work.	0	100
Oct	3s6d		The extension to the Cambridge School of Architecture, which forms the main feature of this issue, is a didactic and controversial building. Each material is used 'as found'; the rubbings of brick texture on the cover show some of the powerful qualities of this basic material.	0	92

Nov	3s6d	One family houses	Cover design by Theo Crosby	2	104
Dec	3s6d	More houses	Collage by Theo Crosby, one of a series of sculptures and collages n related themes to be shown at the Institute of Contemporary Arts during January 1960	0	80
1960 Jan	3s6d	Frank Lloyd Wright	-	0	88
Feb	3s6d		-	0	86
Mar	3s6d	-	-	0	102
Apr	3s6d		symbolises the problem of inserting tall buildings into the tight mesh of the existing urban scene. Design by Theo Crosby.	0	88
May	3s6d		-	0	91
Jun	3s6d		-	2	94
Jul	3s6d	-	design by A.M. Shibrain		100
Aug	3s6d		design by Theo Crosby, based on the transformable construction by Mari, discussed on page 329	0	74
Sep	3s6d		design by Theo Crosby based on the courtyard/pedestrian street pattern of a Greek village	1	108
Oct	3s6d	Libraries	design by Theo Crosby	0	108
Nov	3s6d	a special number on HOUSES	Design by Theo Crosby	0	108

Dec	3s6d		design by Theo Crosby	0	88
1961 Jan	3s6d	Mechanization & Hospital Design (guest editor John Weeks)	-	0	85
Feb	3s6d	The rebirth of Japanese architecture	.	0	90
Mar	3s6d	Mies van der Rohe	Photograph by Robert Damora (Courtesy The Conde Nast Publications, Inc.) Design by Peter Carter	1	110
Apr	3s6d		-	0	112
May	3s6d		Designed by Theo Crosby	0	110
Jun	3s6d	London Today	Design by Theo Crosby on the theme of the two cities of London and Westminster	0	118
Jul	3s6d	Richard Buckminster Fuller	Design by Theo Crosby based on a Tensegrity sphere by R. Buckminster Fuller	0	110
Aug	3s6d	-	Design by Theo Crosby based on John Ernest's wall in the Press Room of the International Union of Architects Headquarters Building, South Bank, London	0	88
Sep	3s6d	Sheffield (guest editor Pat Crooke)	Designed by John Forrester, adapted from one of his new 'Marks'. Forrester worked as a consultant on the Park Hill 1 housing site, Sheffield, and the appearance of the scheme owes a great deal to him.	0	146
Oct	3s6d	Small Houses	-	0	98

	Nov	3s6d	-	Designed by Theo Crosby based on the mural by Peter Stroud in the UIA exhibition building	0	138
	Dec	3s6d	-	Design by Theo Crosby	0	102
1962	Jan	3s6d	Scotland	Design by Theo Crosby	0	106
	Feb	3s6d		Magic scale, by Theo Crosby	0	108
	Mar	3s6d	Houses	Designed by Theo Crosby	0	118
	Apr	3s6d	-	Design by Theo Crosby	0	102
	May	4s	Spec Housing	Design by Theo Crosby	0	106
	Jun	4s	Homage to Maekawa (32 page Architectural Ironmongery supplement)	Homage to Maekawa, by Theo Crosby	0	96
	Jul	4s		Cover by Theo Crosby	0	94
	Aug	4s	The planning of Philadelphia	Cover by Kenneth Frampton	0	62
	Sep	4s	Switzerland	Axonometric by Kenneth Frampton of Brera's House in Geneva	0	110
	Oct	4s		Design by Kenneth Frampton based on a Vitruvian figure by Leonardo da Vinci	0	106
	Nov	4s	UK 1962	Design by Kenneth Frampton incorporating the north elevation of Gonville and Caius	0	112

				College, Cambridge		
	Dec	4s	Team 10 Primer		0	92
1963	Jan	4s	1924 1962 Erno Goldfinger	The link between Blocks B and C of the Ministry of the Elephant	0	84
	Feb	4s	HOUSING HALEN BERNE	Siedlung Halen	0	88
	Mar	4s	The work of Lingeri & Terragni	Conventionalized drawing of portico to Casa Rustici	0	94
	Apr	4s	1952-1962 FRANCE	Plan for Rond Point de la Defense, Paris	0	106
	May	4s	-	Plan view of model of Cumbernauld central area	0	104
	Jun	4s	GERMANY	Phoenix Rheinrohr building in Dusseldorf	0	110
	Jul	4s	(40 page partitions supplement)	Photos of New Zealand House, Eros House and Greystoke Place offices.	0	102
	Aug	4s	DWELLING RESOURCES IN SOUTH AMERICA	The Lima barriadas Pampa de Cuevas and Pampa El Ermitano, with the city seen in the far distance. Photo John Turner	0	71
	Sep	4s	MEXICO	Tenochtitlan. Plan c 1510 showing relation of the Aztec capital (red) to the present centre of Mexico City (green). 1 Main temple. 2 Montezuma's Palace. 3 principal streets.	0	100
	Oct	4s	ONE-FAMILY HOUSES	-	0	116
	Nov	4s	(launch of AD grand	Eiffel tower	0	127

		project award – June 1964 for results)			
Dec	4s		Abstract by Kenneth Frampton derived from south entrance to Imperial College halls of residence	0	102
1964 Jan	4s		By Kenneth Frampton. Flags of the nations illustrated in this number.	0	72
Feb	4s	Leicester University Engineering Laboratory/Nottingham Playhouse/Swiss Bank	Abstraction based on plan of Leicester University Engineering laboratory.	0	93
Mar	4s	Italy/The work of Mangiarotti & Morassuti & Gino Valle	By Kenneth Frampton.	1	88
Apr	4s		By Kenneth Frampton. Montage showing how the newest, tallest buildings in the world change their New York skyline.	0	86
May	4s	Greece, The work of A. Konstantinidis/Brasilia	By Kenneth Frampton.	0	99
Jun	4s	AD Project Awards/Le Corbusier Unite Briey-en-Foret	By Kenneth Frampton.	0	101
Jul	4s	Canada	-	0	84
Aug	4s	(suspended ceiling supplement)	Tel Aviv – Yafo Plan by v.d.Broek & Bakema	0	67
Sep	4s	High Buildings/St.	An abstract based on a scissors staircase	0	99

		Catherine's College, Oxford/Maisonettes at Bayswater	system by Kenneth Frampton and Anthony Stockbridge		
Oct	4s		Metabolist drawing by Kikutake	0	87
Nov	4s	(one of four supplements on the kitchen) (AD grand project award '65 announcement)	Designed by Anthony Stockbridge based on the solid cuboctahedron from which the structural elements of the Bat Yam civic centre are taken	0	99
Dec	4s	Science Buildings/Metabolism II/Lausanne Exposition/Multi-Level Planning	Design by Anthony Stockbridge based on the laboratory planning grid discussed in Sir Leslie Martin's article.	0	87
1965 Jan	5s	France	By Anthony Stockbridge	0	77
Feb	5s	The Economist Group/Restaurant in Switzerland/Ahm House/Robinson Offices	Isometric drawing by Christopher Woodward of the Economist building in St. James's, London.	0	86
Mar	5s	Philharmonie, Berlin/Ove Arup/Rosen House	Design by Anthony Stockbridge based on one of the coloured glass windows lighting the foyer stairs of the Philharmonie, Berlin	0	80
Apr	5s	AD Project awards	-	0	89
May	5s	Maekawa/Tange/Sakak ura	Design by Anthony Stockbridge based on aerial view of Kenzo Tange's National Gymnasia at Yoyogi, Tokyo	2	81

Jun	5s	Royal College of Physicians/Schreiber House/University of East Anglia	by A. Stockbridge	0	89
Jul	5s	Industrialised buildings (U.S. Schools, HfG Ulm studies, G.K. Japan)	by A. Stockbridge	0	81
Aug	5s	Sert, Jackson and Gourley/Neutra medical centre/Saarinen Deere building	by Geoffrey Reeves	0	67
Sep	5s	Sir Leslie Martin/Children's Home/Zoo aviary/Watford offices	Two-fifths full size reproduction of 'Tortured Life', a screen print by Eduardo Paolozzi, the second of 12 entitled 'As is When' based on the life and writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein (see page 468).	0	83
Oct	5s	International Cooperation Year/Nehru/Le Corbusier/Secondary School	designed by Geoffrey Reeves in honour of International Cooperation Year, and the 20th Anniversary on October 25th of the founding of the United Nations Organization.	1	87
Nov	5s	Housing	design by Geoff Reeve	0	80
Dec	5s	The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture	Photo of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe discussing the Weissenhof Exhibition, Stuttgart, in 1926 (Courtesy Wie Bauen by H. & B. Rasch; Wedekind, Stuttgart, 1927)	0	62
1966 Jan	5s	Three dimensional structures/Structural plastics/Thonet	Contour lines of rotations obtained experimentally by the Moire technique during recent investigations on the	0	78

			behaviour of flat slabs supported by columns. The tests were carried out in the Department of Civil Engineering of Battersea College of Technology.		
Feb	5s	Fragmentary Utopia/Karl Schwanzer/High density housing/Nordweststadt Centre	A design study from the second sixteen of Lionel March's Trio No.5 'Rotation around a 'Square' composed in 1965 for intended presentation in book form.	0	77
Mar	5s	The Japanese sense of place in architecture & planning	The Japanese character Ma printed over the plan of Himeiji Castle (see page 150).	0	77
Apr	5s	Project Awards/Cansado New Town in Mauretania	Photographic design by Vincenzo Ragazzini based on the AD Project Awards Symbol	0	69
May	5s	Recent work by Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe	Le Corbusier's design of the single-bed ward unit for his hospital in Venice	0	65
Jun	5s	The work of Yorke, Rosenberg & Mardall	By James Mellor inspired by Gatwick Airport	0	81
Jul	5s	James Stirling new projects/Frei Otto pneumatic structures	By Neville Vine, inspired by Frei Otto's pneumatic structures	0	57
Aug	5s	MOHLG Research and Development/Simon Fraser University/Warren &	By Neville Vine, based on D.G.Emmerich's structures (see page 413)	0	50

		Mahoney				
	Sep	5s	Eames celebration	Photo of Charles and Ray Eames with metal bases of the Moulded Plywood Chair, just after World War II	0	74
	Oct	5s	Potteries Thinkbelt/Lyons Israel & Ellis/Hatfield Housing	by Cedric Price, view from a railbus, Longton Faculty Area, Potteries Thinkbelt	0	69
	Nov	5s	Portsmouth shopping and market centre/Chicago civic centre/Smithson on Doric	By Geoff Reeve, based on the Charlotte shopping centre	0	61
	Dec	5s	Living in universities	Photos taken by John Donat at British universities	0	99
1967	Jan	5s	Project Awards 1966	By Geoff Reeve using Project Awards symbol	0	37
	Feb	5s	2000+	Photo courtesy of Cutler-Hammer (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), originally used in one of their advertisements	0	46
	Mar	5s	Habitat/Queen Elizabeth Hall/Dusseldorf theatre/Lapland building/Dannatt & Happold	Habitat 67. Model and section.	0	61
	Apr	5s	Building for science/Frank Lloyd Wright/Scarborough	From A tool box by Jim Dine: one of ten images screen-printed and assembled by Kelpra Studios on various materials and	0	54

		College/Kikutake hotel	papers chosen by the artist. Published by Alecto Ltd in a limited edition of 150.		
May	5s	Metabolists/Caravans/Factory/Office furniture/Finnish churches/German embassy	Gunther Nitschke's arrangement of Japanese 'mon' symbols – see page 207 for explanation	0	57
Jun	5s	Montreal	Shrine lithograph, edition 30, by Josef Albers, 1942. 13.5 in x 12.5 in. Available from Editions Alecto, 27 Kelso Place, London W.8.	1	68
Jul	5s	Erno Goldfinger offices, cinema and school/Trinity College Library	Winning design by Royston Edwards, in a competition set by AD for the third year students in the Graphic Design Department, Chelsea School of Art.	0	57
Aug	5s	Figini and Pollini/Bell Telephone Laboratory/Liverpool lecture theatres	Detail of the roof to the Pozzi Ceramic Works, near Caserta, by Figini and Polini	0	30
Sep	5s	Low and medium rise Housing Primer	Aerial view of Bishopfield housing estate at Harlow by Michael Neylan (see page 400). Photo by Aerofilms Ltd.	0	55
Oct	5s	Erno Go	Designed by Rod Springett, using part of the Celtic design on the cover of the Book of Kells in Trinity College Library, Dublin. (See page 459.)	0	58
Nov	5s	SCSD schools/Steel houses/Fun palace/Pattern of	Fantasia on the SCSD schools, designed by Philip Castle	1	54

		streets			
	Dec	5s	Heroic relics/J.M. Olbrich/Centre Le Corbusier/Schindler	Designed by Adrian George	0 42
1968	Jan	5s	Project Awards/Place Bonaventure	-	2 42
	Feb	5s	Elissa and Alvar Aalto/Denys Lasdun/Lyons. Israel & Ellis/Oskar Hansen	Cover design based on Aalto's Institute of Technology, Otaniemi. Designed by Sandra May.	0 51
	Mar	5s	Michael Scott & Partners/Philadelphia/Leitz factory/Library in Leicester	Designed by David Chaston, based on a photograph by John Donat of the Abbey Theatre Dublin.	2 48
	Apr	5s	Nuffield Transplantation Unit, Edinburgh/Somerville College, Oxford/Frei Otto	montage by Roger Jeffs, with photos of Somerville College, Cambridge	0 47
	May	5s	"What about Learning?"	Cover by Dave Chaston, photograph by Mike Newton	3 56
	Jun	5s	Pneu world/Techcrete/Sterility for surgery	Cover designed and photographed by Dave Chaston.	0 36
	Jul	5s	Ford Foundation/Summerland/Xanadu/Life in	Designed by David Chaston, illustration by Robert Macauley	1 38

		N.19/Project Awards			
	Aug	5s	Architecture of democracy	Designed by Dave Chaston.	22
	Sep	5s	Mobility	Designed by Dave Chaston. Photo by Don Hunstein	0 50
	Oct	7s6d	Stirling and Smithson university buildings/art galleries/N.E.R./Bathroom tower	Reading Room at the History Faculty, Cambridge; design Dave Chaston, photograph Tim Street-Porter	0 44
	Nov	7s6d	The anatomy of the factory	design Dave Chaston; computer photograph Tim Street-Porter; portion of James Watt's face from a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence	3 54
	Dec	7s6d	Metaphor of a city/Systems generating systems	A city cake designed by Dave Chaston and Robert Mcauley, photographed by Roy A.Giles	0 24
1969	Jan	7s6d	AD Project Awards/Venturi v. Gowan/Safdie/Triton City/Banham and Dallegret	Design by Dave Chaston	1 25
	Feb	7s6d	Mies' Berlin Museum/Behrens/Washington	Confrontation between master and pupil; a drawing by Robert Macauley of Peter Behrens and Mies van der Rohe flanking a model of Behrens' German Embassy in St Petersburg, the building on which Mies worked while he was in Behrens' office. '... under Behrens,' he said in 1966, 'I learned	0 39

the grand form, if you see what I mean.'

Mar	7s6d	Schools of architecture/Summer school/Moulded plastic furniture	The member's Room at the Architectural Association, London, the focus of learning at the school.	5 (refer to Oct 68 issue)	36
Apr	7s6d	Inner space	Commander Scott Carpenter the 1962 astronaut, who turned aquanaut. This photo by Michael Alexander first appeared in Look.	0	42
May	7s6d	University of East Anglia/Non plan/Instant City	View from one of the breakfast rooms in the residences of Denys Lasdun's new University of East Anglia, looking down to the gutter and gargoyle of the terrace below.	5	30
Jun	7s6d	Treasure Island	Treasure Island', designed by Alan Aldridge (Ink Studios).	4	27
Jul	7s6d	Drontan Agora/Smithsons on Mies/Electrographic architecture	designed by Adrian George	5	32
Aug	7s6d	Ditching the dinosaur/Venezuela/Cli mate control/Warped plastic structures	Designed by Pearce Marchbank, based on GKN's Versatran industrial robot with continuous-path control performing arc welding operations on a motor vehicle rear wheel suspension assembly. Photo, Hawker Siddeley Dynamics Ltd. (see page 421)	0	50
Sep	7s6d	...AD's thinking about	An interpretation of Sir Karl Popper's	3	36

		architecture and planning	clouds and clocks (p. 491) by Philip Castle		
Oct	7s6d	Multi-strategy buildings/City of dialectic/Echoes/Bath/M edikit	Medikit (see p.566) fantasia by Pearce Marchbank	0	30
Nov	7s6d	Alexandra Road housing/Thamesmead/ De Stijl/Carpets	A place to live illustrated by Lionel Stott	4	46
Dec	7s6d	(Clare Hall: Home life in a Cambridge College)	Clare Hall, Cambridge, photograph Tim Street-Porter, design Pearce Marchbank	0	26
1970 Jan	7s6d		Illustration by Philip Castle	10	16
Feb	7s6d		Tatlin and some assistants working on the model of the monument to the Third International, 1920.	0	17
Mar	7s6d		A sand fantasy by Adrian George, inspired by the Kuwait sports centre by Kenzo Tange and Frei Otto.	3	18
Apr	7s6d		Peruvian boys from a photo by G M Dyott from Peoples of all nations	0	12
May	7s6d		Fantasy by Adrian George inspired by the Olsen Amenity Centre by Foster Associates Photos: Tim Street-Porter	2	14
Jun	7s6d		Drawing by Adrian George inspired by Expo '70 images	0	9

Jul	7s6d		Drawing by Adrian George: 'The Pope and the Judge'	7	2
Aug	7s6d	Finland/Operation breakthrough/Greek and Roman sites, Map 1	Rupert Spade in Finland: drawing by Adrian George	0	4.5
Sep	7s6d		Andrew Melville Hall. (See page 447).	2	11
Oct	7s6d		Cedric Price, by Adrian George	4	8.75
Nov	7s6d		Instant City collage by Ron Herron.	4	8
Dec	7s6d	Chicago a la carte: The city as an energy system	Postcard cut-away of Chicago's subway in the business centre below State Street	0	6.5
1971 Jan	40p	Cedric Price: 2/Living in Space Time/Boston Government Centre	Adrian George takes a look out of the AD editorial office window during the festive season	2	3
Feb	40p	Garbage housing, St. Hilda's College, Brussels map guide	Garbage Hall by Adrian George (See Martin pawley on Garbage Housing p.86)	1	6.25
Mar	40p	Frei Otto at work	Frei Otto, redesigned by Philip Castle	0	7
Apr	40p	I.I.D. Summer session, Jerusalem plan	Summer session, 1970, by Richard Yeend	2	5
May	40p	Models of environment	by Derek Boshier	0	7
Jun	40p		Buildings at home by Adrian George	0	4
Jul	40p	Covent Garden carve	Covent Garden carve up as seen by	0	3

		up	Richard Yeend		
Aug	40p	Archigram 1970-71	Archigram's 'Mon Repos'. Drawn by Dian Jowsey	7	4
Sep	40p	The 'Beaux Arts' since '68	Circular handed to students after the burning of files in February this year at the École des Beaux Arts	0	5.5
Oct	40p		Housing fantasy by Peter Brooks, (See pages 598 to 614)	9	5
Nov	40p		BSD (San Francisco team) by Adrian George	0	5.5
Dec	40p		Superstudio today and in the future, as visualised by Adrian George. (See page.737).	0	1.5
1972 Jan	40p	Archizoom/Byzantine Churches of Greece/Cedric Price Final Supplement	Archizoom Hydra by Adrian George	4	2.75
Feb	40p	Martin Pawley on housing/A&P Smithson's signs of occupancy/Peter Murray and Archie McNab's LA Scrapbook	AD symbol built in driftwood. Berkeley, San Francisco, 1971.	6	2.5
Mar	40p	Pneumatics/Camden Housing	Lady in space (See article p.165) Photo: Roger Philips	0	1.75
Apr	40p	Summer session '71	Alvin Boyarsky Director of IID/SS (see	2	3

			below). Visualised by Adrian George		
May	40p	Invisible London	Invisible London by Adrian George	0	2.5
Jun	40p	The lost generation	The Lost Generation by Adrian George	0	3
Jul	40p	Designing for Survival, Piano & Rogers	Recycling by Adrian George	0	2.25
Aug	40p	Munich Olympics	AD sales girl by Adrian George	5	2.25
Sep	40p	Housing/A+P Smithson	A. & P. Smithson by Adrian George	0	3.25
Oct	40p	Complexity	Guest Editor Royston Landau	0	1
Nov	40p	Foster Associates	Trevor Sutton's interpretation of Foster Associates and their work (l to r: Michael Kuch, Michael Hopkins, Birkin Howard, Frank Peacock, Mark Sutcliffe, Norman Foster, Loren Butt, Wendy Foster. Associates not shown: Reg Bradley, Tomm Nyhuus)	10	1
Dec	40p	R. Buckminster Fuller Retrospective	R. Buckminster Fuller Montage by Trevor Sutton	7	1
1973 Jan	40p	Pneumatic structures, Zambia squatters, Leisure buildings, Archigram catalogue	Photo by Jacques Henri Lartigue Zissou in a tyre boat, his legs in a pair of waders sealed to the bottom of the hull, 'walking' through water. From Lartigue's 'Diary of the century', published by Weidenfeld & Nicholson, £6.50	2	1.5
Feb	40p	FARRELL/GRIMSHAW PARTNERSHIP, SHOPPING CENTRES	Portrait of Terence Farrell (left) and Nick Grimshaw and 125 Park Road where they live (see right and page 94). By Adrian		2

			George.		
Mar	40p	Stirling University, Theatres	Strirling University visualized by Trevor Sutton	2	5.25
Apr	40p	Airports/Olivetti UK branches/AD/AA/Polyar k bus tour	Bus-tour video monitor. Photo Peter Murray	2	3.5
May	40p	What to do with Manhattan?	Manhattan workshop (see page 290). By Adrian George	6	1
Jun	40p	Milton Keynes	The Milton Keynes team photographed by John Donat	0	11.25
Jul	40p	Convertible roofs/Planning in China/Hospital briefing	Convertible roofs envisaged by Patrick Duncan. See page 427.	4	1
Aug	40p	Squatters	Squatters in India' (See page 494)	0	1
Sep	45p	AD goes West	Photomontage by Gunther de Graaf(AA Diploma School student) illustrating the Cosmorama feature 'THE AA in LA'	0	2.25
Oct	45p	Solar energy in housing	Adrian George illustrates solar energy.	3	0.25
Nov	45p	Housing/flexibility? / Laboratories / Danish collective housing	Flexible housing visualised by Trevor Sutton	6	1.75
Dec	45p	Garbage Housing	Heineken bottles. (See Garbage Housing)	3	1.75
1974 Jan	45p	Solar energy/Berlin free university/Storage and	Solar power montage by Tony Vesely.	4	1.25

		distribution			
Feb	45p	Housing flexibility/adaptability? / Factories/Hertzberger	Flexible/adaptable living visualised by Lars Hokanson	2	5.25
Mar	45p	China	Chairman Mao drawing by Adrian George	0	5
Apr	45p	Take Part	Drawing by Adrian George illustrating the article on Lawrence Halprin's 'Take Part' workshops. (Page 208).	0	0.5
May	45p	Pick of the Projects	Battersea housing. Drawing by Boh Helliwell.		0.25
Jun	60p	Chandigarh, Munich 72	Chandigarh twenty years later	4	0.75
Jul	60p	Libraries	Adrian George: Libraries	1	1.75
Aug	60p				
Sep	60p	Mat building, Suburbs, Toys & Lumps	Collage by Peter Cook. Photo by Sandra May.	4	0.5
Oct	60p	Zambia/Persia/Hotels	Phase 4 hairstyle in Zambia. See page 626.	2	2
Nov	60p	Autonomous House, "AT" directory, University campus	Susan Coe visualises the idea of 'university'.	3	1.5
Dec	60p				
1975 Jan	60p	Low impact design, The	Pumping windmill in the sunset	3	1.25

		space between	photographed by Alain Gerrand.		
Feb	60p				
Mar	60p				
Apr	60p	Indigenous Housing	Indigenous building in the Third World (see p,207), visualised by Adrian George.	4	1
May	60p	Piano & Rogers	Photo of part of the back elevation of the Centre Beauborg, Paris, by Piano & Rogers (see page 307)	4	0.75
Jun	75p	Aldo van Eyck	Aldo van Eyck. Photo by Sandra Lousada		3.25
Jul	75p	Women in architecture	Nancy Fowler illustrates woman's burden using AD's Sue Barrow as her model.		0.25
Aug	75p				
Sep	75p	French new towns, Housing by People	Trevor Sutton illustrates French New Towns (page 534)	3	1.5
Oct	75p	Evans Shalev, Housing by People: Part 2	SUPERSTUDIO'S suggestion for the restoration of Florence to 'historical virginity'. (See page 592)	5	1
Nov					
Dec					