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'A terrible battle with architecture': Denys Lasdun in the 1950s, part 2

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The second paper in a two-part exploration of Denys Lasdun's work in the 1950s looks at his experimentation with a range of styles and his relationship to New Brutalism in the latter half of the decade.

'A terrible battle with architecture': Denys Lasdun in the 1950s, part 2

Barnabas Calder

By 1957, Denys Lasdun was bored:

*'We must try to get away from the sameness of English architecture. If you look at modern Italian work, for example, it is at least clear that architects have engaged in a terrible battle with architecture and certainly many of them have been disastrously defeated; but most English architects seem to have reached a gentlemanly understanding with their art that they should leave each other strictly alone.'*¹

This article examines three ways in which Lasdun tried in the later 1950s to wage his own 'terrible battle with architecture', and to escape 'the sameness of English architecture'. Under the title 'New Styles' it looks at his attempts to develop a personal architectural style. 'New Types' investigates Lasdun's pursuit of fresh architectural approaches to designing large building complexes. 'A New Movement', the final section of the article, suggests that part of the process of self-reinvention which Lasdun pursued throughout the 1950s included positioning himself close to the core group who were developing the most internationally discussed British movement of the decade, 'New Brutalism'.

This is not a story that divides neatly into chronological phases, but rather one where stages overlap, some apparent failures are repeated while some successes are neglected. It was a messy decade of experimentation for Lasdun, and the three themes isolated in this article jostle each other in every successive project.

'A Terrible Battle with Architecture' is the pair of an article which appeared in the last issue of *arq* ('Unlearning Lessons', 11/3+4, pp. 301–310), in which the author examined the reasons why Lasdun wished to reinvent himself in the 1950s, and the manner in which he initiated the process of self-definition by establishing an opposed theoretical stance to that of his erstwhile mentor, Berthold Lubetkin.² The previous article ended by suggesting that despite this theoretical distancing, Lasdun's buildings of the earlier 1950s still *looked* in some respects like late products of Lubetkin and Tecton. This article examines the bumpy process by which Lasdun arrived at an architecture that looked like Lasdun.

New Styles

In order to free himself from the formative influence of Tecton on his designs, and to help to lead English architecture out of the wilderness in which he felt it was perishing, Lasdun set out to be voraciously eclectic. As he wrote in 1957, an architect 'is no less creative if he spreads his net wide and has an eye that remembers'.³ Lasdun looked to good modern architecture everywhere for inspiration, and in the buildings and projects of 1956–60 a wide variety of sources can be identified, most notably the influence of Le Corbusier. Some of these sources provide the primary aesthetic expression for the Lasdun design in which they appear. This is the case at Fitzwilliam House (1955–61, now Fitzwilliam College), Cambridge [5–9], most of the elevations of which derive from the side walls of Le Corbusier's Maisons Jaoul. Other sources are assimilated in more minor roles. The *ondulatoires* of Le Corbusier's La Tourette are borrowed for Lasdun's competition entry for Liverpool Catholic



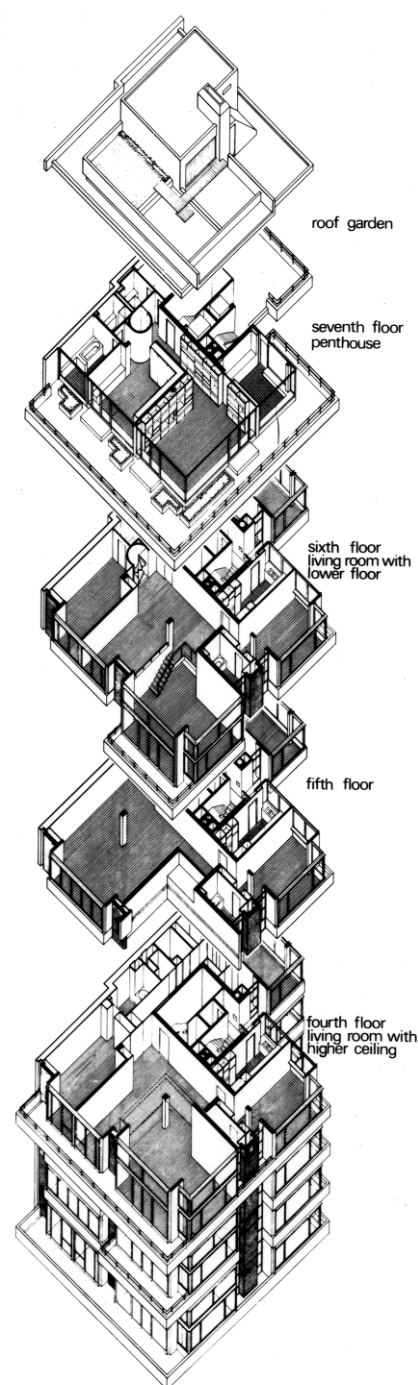
1 26 St. James's Place (1958–60), the penthouse roof garden



2 Peter Robinson, the Strand (1958–59, demolished 1994)

3 St. James's Place, exploded axonometric showing the sectional complexity

4 St. James's Place



3

Cathedral (1959) [10–12], but here are mixed with a spectacular roof inspired by the then current international trend for hyperbolic paraboloid reinforced-concrete vaults.⁴ Le Corbusier reappears in a third guise on the roof of the flats at 26 St. James's Place, Piccadilly (1958–60), where a garden for the client owes – in its expressive board-marked concrete and its simple zigzag stairs with their plain metal handrail – unmistakable debts to the roof of the Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles [1]. A pair of expressionist roof canopies – one built, the other revised out of existence – were proposed for Fitzwilliam and the Royal College of Physicians in Regent's Park (1958–64). In two Drake & Lasdun projects in West Africa there are reminders of Frank Lloyd Wright as well as, in one case, Buckminster Fuller and Ralph Tubbs. At Peter Robinson (1958–59, demolished 1994) [2] in the Strand a curtain wall, which may have an element of Mies about it, appears in a treatment which also has echoes of Lasdun's favourite piece of Le Corbusier since student days – the Pavillon Suisse in Paris. Current developments in England made an impression too, with his entry for the 1959 Churchill College, Cambridge competition [14–17] showing the influence of Leslie Martin's university schemes of the 1950s. This healthily omnivorous attitude to the Modernist canon is characteristic of the English younger generation in the 1950s. Reyner Banham recalled that 'their degree of sophistication about the history of Modern Architecture was remarkable by world standards at the time', and it was to this history and to contemporary journals that they looked for inspiration.⁵

Nor do the stylistic strands in Lasdun's work correlate with different job architects or partners in charge; John Shaw, for example, appears from the job files to have been Lasdun's main assistant for projects as varied as Hallfield Schools and Fitzwilliam House. Those who worked for Lasdun agree that, with rare exceptions, Lasdun himself maintained overall control of all major design decisions.⁶

Some of Lasdun's work from this period of contemporary eclecticism is first class, some is not. In later years, Lasdun made little or no reference to several of the buildings and projects mentioned above and, perhaps as a result, these have tended to



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slip into obscurity. Whether or not each individual experiment led on directly towards his work of the 1960s, the process of trying new things and seeing what he liked allowed Lasdun's style to mature very fast in the later 1950s. Had he not put such energy into absorbing the widest possible range of influences it is hard to imagine that he could have been so creatively fecund throughout the 1960s.

The letter with which 'Unlearning Lessons' opened shows that Lasdun felt that his block of flats at 26 St. James's Place was the project which particularly demonstrated his success in detaching himself from Tecton:

'It is always stimulating to talk to you about architecture, but I have noticed over the past two years that you tend to identify me entirely with Tecton. [...] I rather hoped that when you saw the model of [the flats at] 26 St. James's Place, you would have realised the extent to which my ideas are changing.'

Here too, however, the story is complicated: the St. James's Place flats represent in some respects a return to the colour palette of Tecton, with dark brick and light panelling (here granite cladding rather than concrete to suit the luxurious budget and setting). The block was also a return to lessons learnt in the 1930s, when Lasdun worked under Wells Coates on projects for blocks of flats in which, as at St. James's Place, living rooms were half as high again as service rooms (including bedrooms).⁸ With three floors of service rooms to every two of living rooms this arrangement provides graceful main spaces economically, at the cost of greater complexity for architects and engineers. As well as pointing back to the 1930s, this scheme's sectional sophistication has some claim to be the progenitor of Lasdun's spectacularly intricate sectional solutions of the 1960s, notably in his student residences at the University of East Anglia and Christ's College, Cambridge.

In one further respect St. James's Place seems to suggest an important development: the breaking forward of its floor decks into light-fronted balconies seems to prefigure the language of floating slabs which was to characterise much of Lasdun's work in the 1960s. By allowing himself to engage once again with the lessons of Tecton and Coates, but with a new critical distance achieved through his years of eclecticism, Lasdun was discovering more fruitful directions for his architectural development.

Underlying the whole project of Lasdun's 1950s experimentation with styles was a fundamental belief in the importance of the art of the architect. At a time when some were arguing that technology had rendered obsolete the personal aesthetic vision of the individual, he stated that:

*'Architecture is first and foremost an art. [...] The architect has no need to apologise for his existence, no need at all to present himself as a self-effacing assistant in a technological process. He has his work to do and no one else can do it.'*⁹

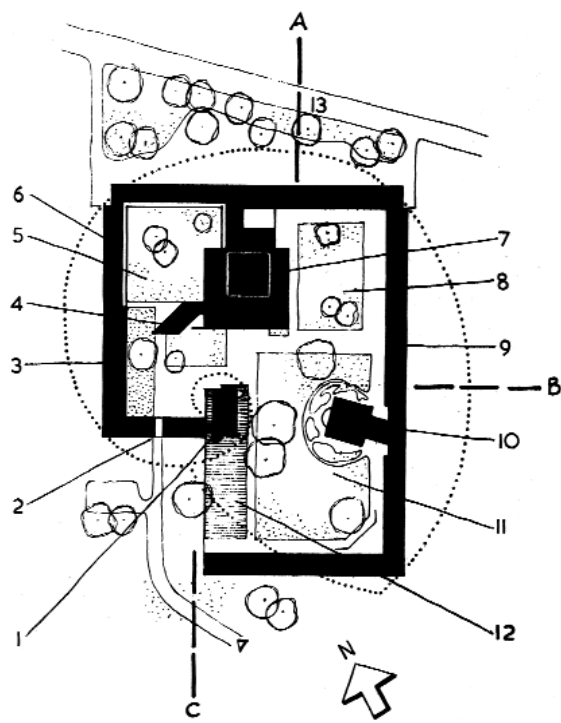
By the end of the 1950s Lasdun had liberated himself from some of his inherited stylistic habits, and in doing so he had freed himself to embrace unashamedly those he chose to retain.

New Types

The second component of Lasdun's 'terrible battle with architecture' was also to shape and influence Lasdun's work in the 1960s and beyond – the architectural treatment of large complexes of buildings. At the Hallfield Estate, Paddington he had worked on a very large scale, but his approach had been to design individual blocks of flats and to repeat them in an overall pattern. The self-imposed challenge for avant-garde architects of the late 1950s was to achieve an integrated handling of large building complexes. His two college schemes for Cambridge give the clearest indications of his thinking. One, Fitzwilliam House, was built, the other, for Churchill College, was an unsuccessful competition entry. Fitzwilliam, along with the early designs for the Royal College of Physicians and a further unsuccessful competition entry for Liverpool Catholic Cathedral, are little-discussed schemes, somewhat unpersuasive and awkward. These schemes will be discussed in this section, and it will be argued that their architectural confusion arose from an overindulgence in the intellectual consideration of the aesthetics of the designs. The Churchill College competition scheme, on the other hand, demonstrates an alternative design approach which was ultimately to be more fruitful for Lasdun.

At Fitzwilliam, Lasdun reinterpreted the traditional Oxbridge college. The aspect which he most emphasised in his own accounts of the job was its plan for growth – a squared-off spiral of accommodation which could seem complete and yet still leave room for expansion. His preferred illustration showed the plan of the college superimposed with a line drawing of a snail shell [5], calling to mind Le Corbusier's 1939 project for a spiral-shaped Musée à Croissance Illimitée, which was illustrated with sketches of snail shells to illustrate the growth principle.¹⁰ The Fitzwilliam spiral was originally to be divided by the landscaping into a series of courts, the outer ones informal and garden-like, the innermost one highly formal, enclosing a traditionally perfect Oxbridge lawn. This innermost court even has a cloister, partly obscured where it penetrates the central social building as a corridor, but clearly discernible when walking round the court.

Another aspect of the modernised Oxbridge tradition at Fitzwilliam is expressed through the differing levels of detailing and cost given to different parts of the college. The residences [6], like most medieval and Renaissance college residences, are low-key with simple detailing, an uneventful sky-line and informal arrangement of windows. The facilities for communal life, however, are given a higher level of architectural treatment. Where once these would have consisted primarily of the chapel and hall, here the central spaces of college life are the library, hall and common rooms [7]. The block which contains them is much more modulated than the residences. Recessions and projections, together with strip windows, were intended to produce the impression that the main volume of the building is hovering



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6



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over a dark void, although this effect is compromised by excessively thick window frames at the lower level. Tall slit windows give the upper volume shape and an interesting asymmetry on one side. On the opposite side [8], boxed-out bronze window-cowls introduce variation in colour and shape above an angular, jutting porch. The whole is crowned with a striking roof canopy standing on slender mullions. Inside, pleasant woodwork sets the tone in most areas, and an attractive combination of board-marked concrete and rough render, derived no

doubt from La Tourette, makes the Hall both dignified and light [9].

Perhaps this division into high and low architectural status reflects Lasdun's view, influenced no doubt by John Summerson's influential teaching and writing on Georgian London, that 'the aim must be a decent environment elevated at significant points by buildings of high architectural power'.¹⁴ Lasdun was here talking about architecture in general, but the quotation could be used to describe his intentions for Fitzwilliam. The



8



5 Fitzwilliam House (1955–61, now Fitzwilliam College), original plan including superimposed snail shell to indicate the growth idea

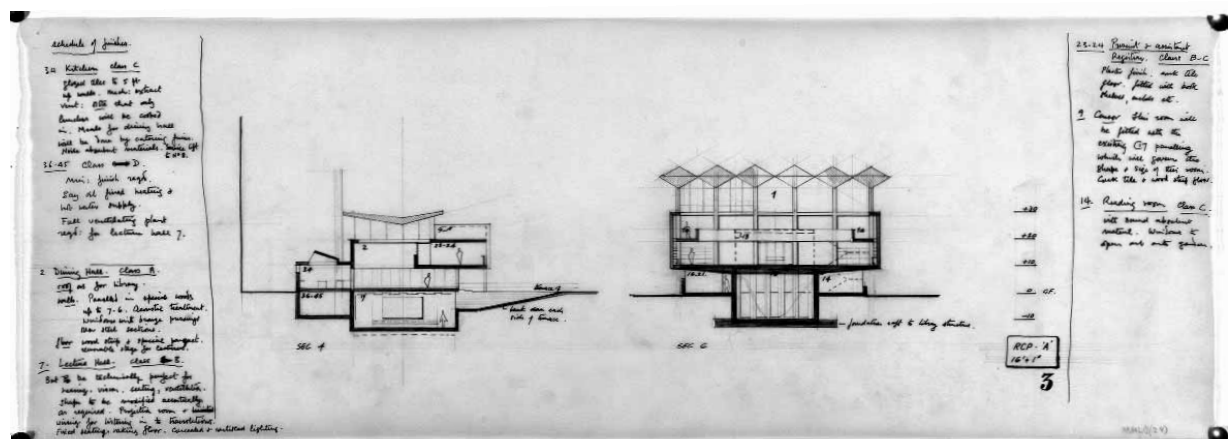
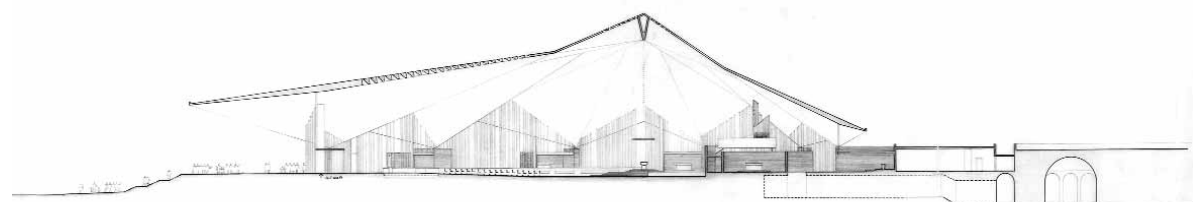
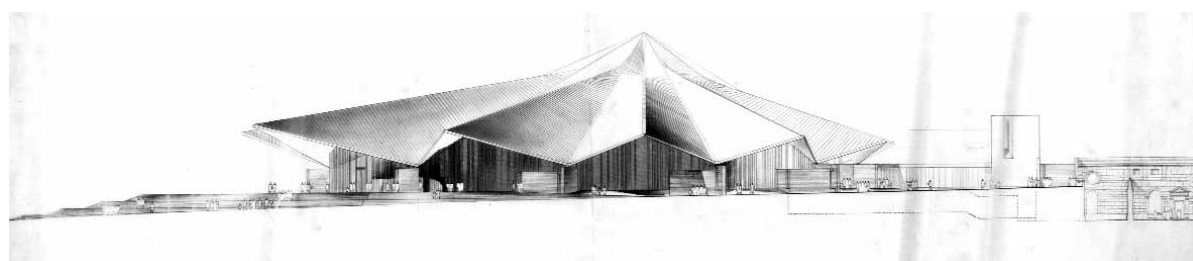
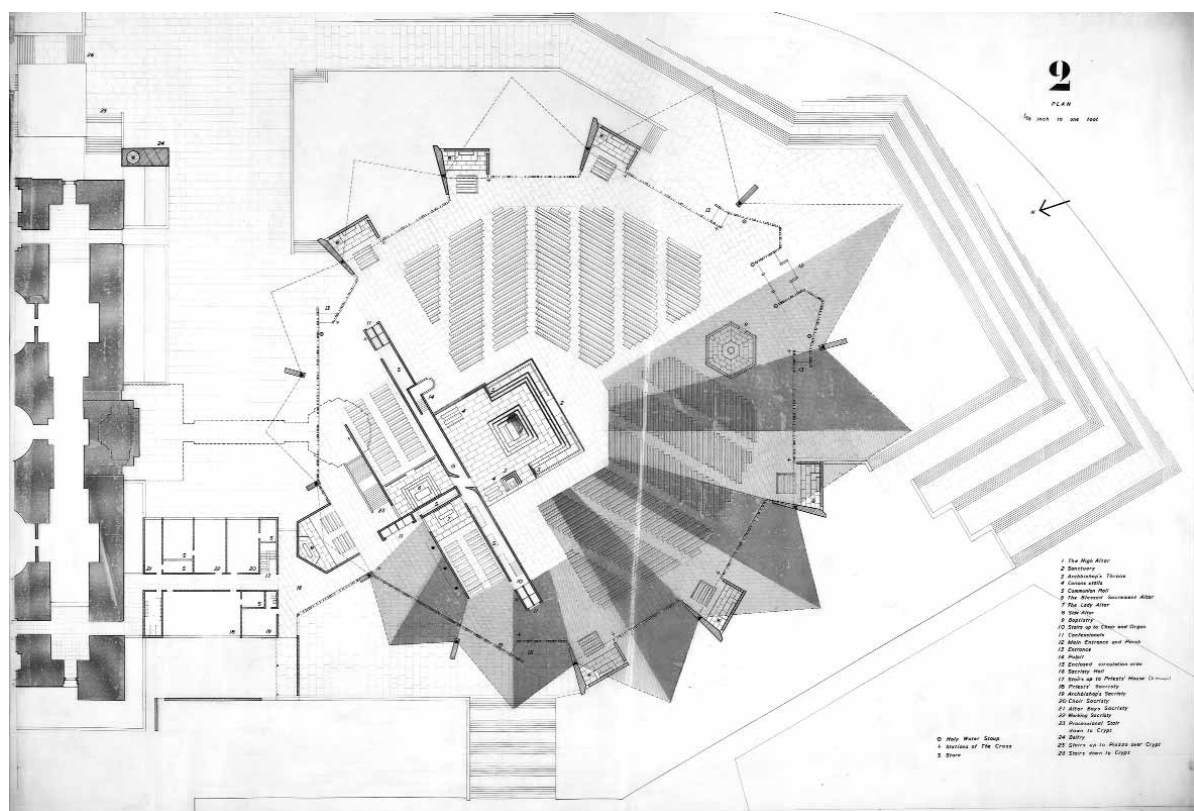
6 Fitzwilliam House residential block
7 Fitzwilliam House, library, hall and common room block from the south

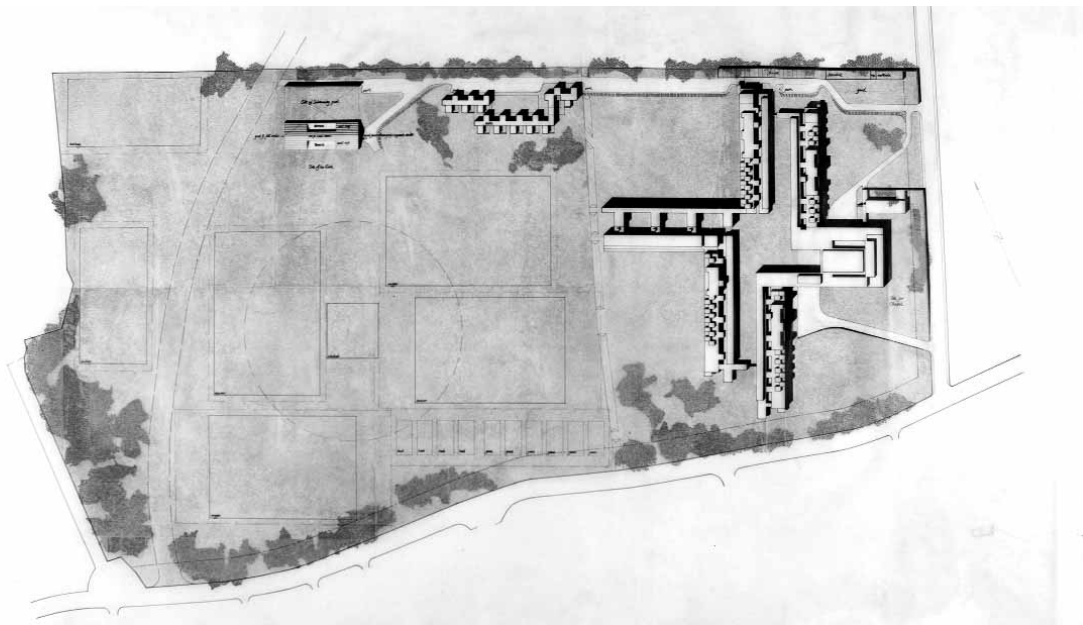
8 Fitzwilliam House, library, hall and common room block from the north
9 Fitzwilliam House, interior view of the hall

In the central building Lasdun aims for ‘high architectural power’. The greater height, the more varied elevations, the different cladding, the porch and the dining hall roof each manifest this desire for a building with more architectural content, yet there is something uneasy about Fitzwilliam. Both the spiral block and the communal core are unconvincing. The core fails to cohere, with the frill round the dining hall roof seeming arbitrary and shrill; the juxtaposition of its delicacy with the solidity of the brown brick and green copper cladding is unresolved. The porch, logical in plan as part of the cloister, appears – when seen from the ground – to jut out haphazardly and too sharply. The rest of the block remains too simple, and the overall effect is of a plain building in fancy dress – surprising in an architect who wrote in 1957 that ‘economy of means is a true idea of the machine age which really appeals to us’, and whose buildings are generally characterised by an elimination of the unnecessary and a rigour in integrating the parts.¹³ The scale and arrangement of the complex seems to suggest Cambridge’s collegiate domestic scale, yet the brown brick refuses to be pretty, and the repetitive elevations of the residential block deny the individuality of the elements within.

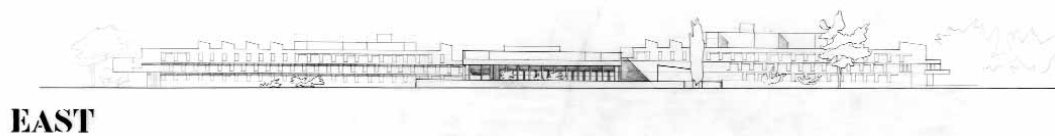
Fitzwilliam today is not as Lasdun intended. Subsequent additions have failed to respect his spiral growth plan and the current landscaping, while attractive, breaks down the divisions between

spiral of residential accommodation at the college has an informal simplicity: his ‘decent environment’ is provided by the spiral of accommodation, with its simple elevation. Indeed, the elevations of Fitzwilliam’s residential block suggest a sort of automatism in their generic repetitiveness, perhaps reflecting Lasdun’s sense that, while significant buildings should be treated as art, industrialisation ‘may in fact eventually remove the architect altogether from buildings of a low architectural intensity’.¹²



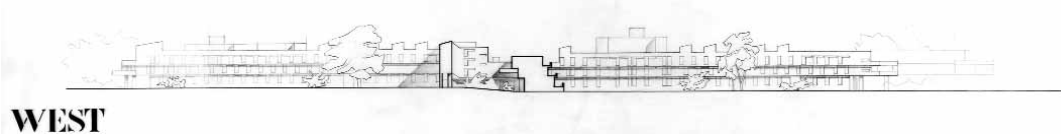


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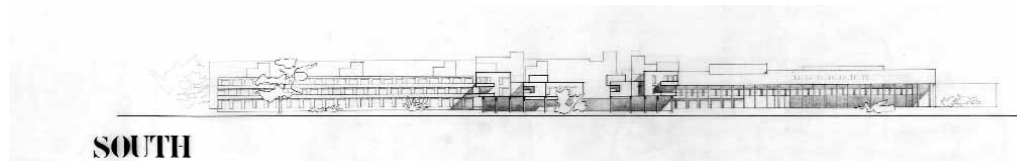
EAST

15



WEST

16



SOUTH

17

10 Liverpool Cathedral competition scheme (1959), plan

13 Royal College of Physicians, early scheme (c. 1959)

16 Churchill College competition scheme, west elevation

11 Liverpool Cathedral competition scheme, elevation

14 Churchill College competition scheme (1959), shadow plan

17 Churchill College competition scheme, south elevation

12 Liverpool Cathedral competition scheme, section

15 Churchill College competition scheme, east (entrance) elevation

Lasdun's courts. Undoubtedly the original buildings were also affected adversely by a meagre budget. Its contemporary neighbours, New Hall and Churchill, had building budgets amounting to £3,195 per student and £5,520 per student respectively, whereas Fitzwilliam, under strict University Grants Committee limits, cost only £1,553 per student.¹⁴ Nevertheless, in his Bethnal Green Housing and again at the University of East Anglia, Lasdun was to prove himself exceptionally able at producing good architecture on frugal budgets.

Lasdun himself was dissatisfied with the result. He wrote to Edward Cullinan in later years that Fitzwilliam was 'NOT [triple underlined] one of my favourites – (was trying to find my bearings at the time)'.¹⁵ Lasdun had considerable control over the publication of his projects, and the relative quietness of Fitzwilliam's birth seems to imply that he was not especially proud of it, even at its completion.

Two other projects also under way in 1959 seem to show a similarly self-conscious attempt to create 'high power' architecture. In both, the punctuation which Lasdun seeks to provide for the city – his 'high power architecture' – comes, as at Fitzwilliam, in the shape of an expressionist roof. In his entry to the competition for the design of Liverpool Catholic Cathedral [10–12], Lasdun had the opportunity to experiment with an appropriate expression for one of the archetypal high-intensity public building-types. A wall of glazing is crowned by a roof of twisted strips, converging at the apex. The design has some satisfying elements – the glazing derived from Iannis Xenakis's *ondulatoires* and the angled slits in the

brickwork of the interior were both to reappear in Lasdun's later work – and it is very hard to assess such a complex three-dimensional effect from plans and elevations alone. It is notable, however, that it is Lasdun's only serious attempt at such a roof, and he made little reference to the scheme in later years, perhaps implying that he felt it had been a blind alley.

The other 1959 project which seems to attempt high intensity by eye-catching architectural elements would, like Fitzwilliam, probably have been disappointing if built unchanged. It is Lasdun's first sketch-scheme for the Royal College of Physicians [13]. A continuous range of buildings round a court is presided over by the volume containing the library whose roof, though not elaborated in the sketch, appears to be a structure reminiscent in diagrammatic form of the Fitzwilliam dining-hall roof. The project was saved in the end by repeated re-designs, during the course of which Lasdun followed his own maxim that 'designing is a process of paring down and of elimination; therefore, whenever the architect is in doubt he should subtract'.¹⁶ Once the self-conscious whimsy of his late-1950s phase had been pared away, the scheme was stripped down to become one of his great works.¹⁷

These three schemes seem to show Lasdun trying too hard to design 'high intensity monumental, poetic building[s]'.¹⁸ Lasdun's notion of 'high intensity' was to remain with him, as was his sense of the importance of finding an expression appropriate to location and function, but in these three projects he had experienced in practice what he had warned of in 1957 – that too much eagerness to demonstrate a general theory gets in the way of a specific design. In trying consciously to build a demonstration of his principle of low-intensity buildings punctuated by high-intensity public architecture, Lasdun compromised his focus on his art.

In contrast to these projects, Lasdun's entry to the 1959 Churchill College competition is much more convincing. Unbuilt, and drawn only in plan, elevation and section, the scheme can nevertheless be seen to have considerable drama without resorting to melodrama [14–17]. The design disposes the required college buildings around an open-ended, irregular, cruciform open area, and organises the accommodation on a stepped section which may well be a manifestation of the influence on Lasdun of Leslie Martin's university designs of the 1950s. The roof-line is varied by the introduction of penthouse student rooms. The profiles continually shift with different kinds of accommodation with different orientations. The grouping of all the functions into four large, varied blocks creates a memorable and impressive overall mass. At the risk of engaging in teleological speculation, this kind of integrated planning and this achievement of drama through the composition of simple functional elements was the sort of design technique that was to see Lasdun producing such superb results at the University of East Anglia, the University of London and elsewhere during the 1960s and '70s. The second element of Lasdun's 'terrible battle' had ended in victory.



18 Denys Lasdun talking to Eduardo Paolozzi and Edwin Maxwell Fry on the building site of the Hallfield Estate, Paddington, c. 1955

A new movement

At Fitzwilliam, too literal a built manifestation of architectural theory led to an inferior design. Nevertheless, Lasdun was correct in his understanding that engagement with avant-garde architectural theory was essential to producing – and being seen to produce – exciting architecture. This final section looks at a third component of Lasdun's battle with architecture, his relationship with the most talked-about movement of the 1950s, New Brutalism, and with its central figures, Alison and Peter Smithson.

Those who, in the 1950s, were close confederates of the Smithsons tended in later years to downplay their proximity to the controversial couple. This distancing was probably accentuated by the declining reputation of the Smithsons who went from being in the 1950s, in Eduardo Paolozzi's words, 'THE architects' to a position of increasingly peripheral isolation in the succeeding decades.¹⁹ James Stirling and Colin St. John Wilson were among those who spent endless hours in the 1950s discussing architecture with the Smithsons at meetings of the Independent Group of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, or at Reyner and Mary Banham's home.²⁰ The different directions which Stirling and Wilson were to pursue in later years may have led them to underestimate or understate the importance to them of their connections to the Smithsons in those early days.

Lasdun, who was always less close to the Smithsons than were others of the avant-garde, stressed his separation vehemently. There are, however, clear

parallels between them, and even periodic signs of warmth between Lasdun and the Smithsons and their supporters in the 1950s [18]. Firstly, there is the surprising fact that while most were attacking the Hallfield Estate, the Smithsons wrote that 'its architects must indeed be happy men, they have made the grade'.²¹ The Smithsons' closest ally, Banham, also came to the estate's defence in *The Architectural Review*.²² In 1957, Lasdun's 'Thoughts in Progress' series discussed the New Brutalism, and while it was in parts critical, Lasdun tended to defend the Smithsons' spirit against the attacks of his interlocutor, and expressed admiration for their Smithdon School, Hunstanton.²³

Another interesting suggestion of proximity of ideas comes in the shared term 'cluster'. It seems likely that both the Smithsons and Lasdun took it from Kevin Lynch, who used it in print in 1954.²⁴ Although their 'Cluster City' project was not published until 1957, the Smithsons appear to have worked on it for some years previously.²⁵ Lasdun's Bethnal Green towers were discussed as 'cluster-blocks' in April 1956.²⁶ Although Lasdun believed that he had used the term before the Smithsons, and the Smithsons claimed to have come up with it before Lynch, the documentary evidence does not seem adequate to decide the question finally.²⁷ Whether or not Lasdun brought the word 'cluster' to architecture, it is beyond argument that his Bethnal Green blocks were at the forefront of international planning theory in their practical working through of the idea, perhaps before the term had even been coined – Usk Street was on the drawing board three years before Lynch published 'The Form of Cities'.²⁸

In this example may be seen Lasdun's relationship to Brutalism. The Smithsons and Banham had an uncommon ability to produce striking words and phrases which caught the imagination of young

architects. The Smithsons also produced resonant sketches. After Smithdon School, however, their buildings tended to be less influential than their words. Lasdun, by contrast, had less facility for the verbal expression of theoretical positions, but had a remarkable talent for producing convincing built forms for the new theories. In the 1960s Lasdun withdrew entirely from written theory, and instead devoted his energy to the production of a sequence of buildings which provided some of the most compelling realised expressions of advanced architectural and planning theory. He repeatedly achieved seminal expressions of new building types, and compelling artistic exploitation of current techniques of construction.

By 1960, the year after Lindsey Drake left their joint practice and Lasdun established Denys Lasdun & Partners, his engagement with Brutalist theory, his bold approach to the large complex of buildings and his systematic exploration of different architectural manners had enabled Lasdun to emerge from Tecton as a distinctive and widely admired independent architect in his own right. With conscious effort he had reinvented himself for the post-war world and, as one of only a handful of British architects to practise to general acclaim before and after the Second World War, was ready for the 1960s.

Arup's reply to the letter quoted above with which this pair of articles opened shows the confidence which that shrewdest observer of the architectural scene placed in Lasdun as early as 1958:

*'I don't think you're right when you say that I always identify you entirely with Tecton. I think you started out with a strong Tecton influence, and that was probably not a bad thing at all, but I am perfectly aware that you are going your own way now, and that you are improving all the time, because you are one of the few architects who really treat their job as a vocation.'*²⁹

Notes

1. Denys Lasdun and J. H. V. Davies (published anonymously; in the year-long series of 'Thoughts in Progress' dialogues the italicised speaker is Lasdun), 'Thoughts in Progress: Summing up III – The "Objects Found" Philosophy', *Architectural Design*, 27 (December 1957), 435–36 (p. 436).
2. Barnabas Calder, 'Unlearning Lessons': Denys Lasdun in the 1950s, Part 1', *arq*, 11 (December 2007), 301–10.
3. Lasdun and Davies, 'Thoughts in Progress: Summing up III', p. 435.
4. Anthony Jackson, *The Politics of Architecture: A History of Modern Architecture in Britain* (London: Architectural Press, 1970), p. 190.
5. Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic* (London: Architectural Press, 1966), p. 14.
6. Interviews with former Lasdun colleagues conducted by the author and William Fawcett with Ted Cullinan (at Edward Cullinan Architects, Islington, 25 May 2004), Peter McKinley (at the Athenaeum, 9 June 2005), David Russell (in Cambridge, 28 July 2005), and by the author alone with John Hurley (at Hurley Robertson, Lambeth, 26 March 2004), Derek Potter (at his home in Docklands, 20 September 2005) and Philip Wood (at the National Theatre, 18 May 2004).
7. Letter from Lasdun to Ove Arup, 10 November 1958, RIBA LaD/242/2.
8. Barnabas Calder, 'The Education of a Modern Architect: Denys Lasdun in the 1930s', *Twentieth Century Architecture*, 8 (2007), 117–27 (pp. 121 and 126–27).
9. Lasdun and Davies, 'Thoughts in Progress: Summing up III', p. 436.
10. Le Corbusier, *Oeuvre Complète: Vol 3, 1938–1946* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1946), pp. 16–21; this architectural borrowing identified by Flora Samuel.
11. Lasdun and Davies, 'Thoughts in Progress: Summing up I', *Architectural Design*, 27 (October 1957), 343–44 (p. 344).
12. *Ibid.*
13. 'Thoughts in Progress: Truth to Structure', *Architectural Design*, 27 (March 1957), 69–71 (p. 70).
14. From figures quoted in Philip Booth and Nicholas Taylor, *A Guide to Cambridge New Architecture: Three Walks from the Market Place* (London: Leonard Hill, 1972), pp. 7, 16 and 18.
15. Letter from Lasdun to Edward Cullinan, 23 November 1983, RIBA LaD/35/5.
16. 'Thoughts in Progress: Detail', *Architectural Design*, 27 (September 1957), 300–01 (p. 301).
17. Barnabas Calder, *A Monumental Act of Faith: Denys Lasdun's Royal College of Physicians* (London: Royal College of Physicians, 2008).
18. Lasdun and Davies 'Thoughts in Progress: Summing Up II', *Architectural Design*, 27 (November 1957), 395–96 (p. 395).
19. Mark Girouard, *Big Jim: The Life and Work of James Stirling* (London:

- Chatto and Windus, 2000), p. 54.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
21. Letter from Alison and Peter Smithson to the editor of *Architectural Association Journal*, 21 January 1953, RIBA LaD/3/3.
22. Reyner Banham, 'Facade. Elevational Treatment of the Hallfield Estate, Paddington', *The Architectural Review*, 116 (November 1954), 302–07.
23. Lasdun, 'Thoughts in Progress: The New Brutalism', *Architectural Design*, 27 (April 1957), 111–112.
24. Kevin Lynch, 'The Form of Cities', *Scientific American*, 190 (April 1954), 55ff., reprinted in *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*, ed. by T. Banerjee and M. Southworth (Boston: MIT Press, 1990), 35–46 (p. 41).
25. Alison and Peter Smithson, 'Cluster City: A New Shape for the Community', *The Architectural Review*, 122 (November 1957), 333–36.
26. 'Cluster Blocks at Bethnal Green, London', *Architectural Design*, 26 (April 1956), 125–128.
27. Lasdun's claim recalled by the architect's widow, Susan Lasdun, in discussion with the author, 19 July 2007; Smithsons' claim in a marginal note in the Smithson archive at Harvard GSD, Folder J-161, discovered by Laurent Stalder, who has kindly given his permission for the reference to be published here.
28. For example, PB887/3(1–4, 10–22).
29. Letter from Ove Arup to Lasdun, 11 November 1958, RIBA LaD/242/2.

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Biography

Barnabas Calder is Lecturer in Architectural History and Theory at Strathclyde University in Glasgow. His primary research focus is on British and North American architecture since 1945. He completed his doctorate on the architecture of Lasdun's National Theatre in 2006 before going on to research and catalogue Lasdun's archive for the RIBA Drawings & Archives Collections.

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