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The "New Empiricism–Bay Region Axis": Kay Fisker and Postwar Debates on Functionalism, Regionalism, and Monumentality

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Danish architect Kay Fisker is presented as a representative figure in the post–World War II architectural debates on functionalism, regionalism, and monumentality. Fisker participated in a transatlantic exchange on these matters that linked Scandinavia, the English conception of "new empiricism," and the teaching and architectural practice associated with two noted American schools at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of California at Berkeley. Prominent Americans in this program for a modern architecture that confronted the more dominant ideology of the International Style included Lewis Mumford, William Wilson Wurster, Pietro Belluschi, and Lawrence B. Anderson.

THE ARCHITECTURAL SITUATION FOLLOWING World War II required an international reassessment of the condition and direction of modern architecture. Despite the focus on a white, abstract architecture in such prominent events as the Weissenhof Siedlung in Stuttgart (1927) and the International Style exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art (1932), the prolific and much more diverse modern architecture of the twenties had not undergone a process of selection and matured to a more singular mode of design. On the contrary, internal to architecture, the work of major figures like Le Corbusier and Alvar Aalto in the thirties challenged any foreseen convergence of the form of modern architecture. Simultaneously, external political forces sometimes eroded the asserted moral status of modern architecture through co-optation and more often reawakened the development of conventional architectural styles.

Yet in the postwar period, the impetus of modern architecture was so strong that its confrontations were to become internal rather than external. The defeated powers appeared to have been more closely wedded to traditional architectural forms and thus further discredited them. The wartime necessity of efficient production and action, assertedly realized in modern architecture, seemed equally necessary in the condition of massive rebuilding after decades of depression and war. Countries that had been less affected by the war could be identified as having successfully extended modernist paradigms: Switzerland, Sweden, and Brazil.[1] The United States—blessed with victory without destruction and also with vast needs and equally great resources—seemed poised to take a lead in proving the feasibility of modern architecture in addressing postwar problems. In architectural education, too, the United States took a lead with modernist giants like Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe at the head of notable schools that soon set the agenda for all other schools.

That Gropius and Mies held such positions was an aspect of an increasingly successful polemical group centered on the Museum of Modern Art in New York, abetted by a network reaching into architectural publishing and education. If a new thrust of modern architecture appeared inevitable, it is not surprising that the agency for that impetus seemed to be vested in the heroes of the Museum's International Style exhibition of fifteen years earlier: Gropius, Mies, and Le Corbusier.

Still, there were questions. The organizers of the International Style exhibition, Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, strenuously asserted that their master architects were *not* functionalists. Yet in pragmatic lands like Britain and the United States, marked by depression, war, and recovery, modern architecture was dominantly "sold" as just that: functional. That such a perception of modern architecture could soon limit the scope of activity allowed to modernists was recognized early and from within the dominant circle. Already during the war, Sigfried Giedion, the dominant polemicizing historian of the modern movement and secretary of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM), closely allied with both Gropius and Le Corbusier, published an article titled "The Need for a New Monumentality"[2]—finding in a work like Le Corbusier's competition design for the League of Nations the roots for a monumentality that could open all of society's needs to the modern architect.

Others, even those less squeamish about functionalism, felt that modern architecture should reveal a close attention to individual and social conditions that they found wanting in the more aesthetically abstract or technically derived variations of modernism. The *Architectural Review* of London, surveying the development of architecture in Sweden during and just after the war, editorialized:

> So far no strong reaction is evident against the principles upon which functionalism was founded. Indeed, these principles were never more relevant than now. The tendency is, rather, both to humanise the theory on its aesthetic side and to get back to the earlier rationalism on the technical side. [This Swedish attempt to humanize may] be called The New Empiricism.
>
> [Then, quoting Swedish architect Sven Backström:]
>
> "The years passed, and one 'objective' house after the other stood ready for use. It was then that people gradually began to discover that the 'new objectivity' [Neue Sachlichkeit] was not always so objective, and the houses did not always function so well as had been expected. They also felt the lack of many

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> of the aesthetic values and the little contributions to cosiness that we human beings are so dependent upon, and that our architectural and domestic tradition had nevertheless developed. . . . One result of this growing insight was a reaction against all the too-schematic architecture of the 1930s. Today we have reached the point where all the elusive psychological factors have again begun to engage our attention. Man and his habits, reactions and needs are the focus of interest as never before. To interpret such a programme as a reaction and a return to something that is past and to pastiches is definitely to misunderstand the development of architecture in this country."[3]

Although these comments relate to Sweden and its less disrupted architectural development in the war years, the thrust of the argument could also apply to the thought and production of Kay Fisker, a leading Danish architect (Figure 1). Indeed, in just these years, Fisker took theoretical positions and gave honor to earlier architects and their precedent-setting buildings, which made him a leading international exponent of such a program. Consider, for example, his essay on C.F.A. Voysey, H.M. Baillie-Scott, and Heinrich Tessenow,[4] that on Louis Sullivan,[5] his study for an English audience of Danish domestic architecture,[6] and especially his two essays on functionalism.[7] It is this contribution of Fisker, and particularly his increasing participation in related transatlantic debates, that I wish to consider.

First, I must develop further that transatlantic discourse. In just the time that the English became interested in Sweden and affirmed a "new empiricism" (which they also recognized in Switzerland), Lewis Mumford, the American social critic and frequent commentator on architecture, championed for similar reasons the distinctive regional work of the American West Coast in opposition to the imported modernism of his East Coast colleagues. From within their own fashionable journal, the *New Yorker,* Mumford affronted the eastern architectural establishment:

> Meanwhile, new winds are beginning to blow, and presently they may hit even backward old New York. The very critics, such as Henry-Russell Hitchcock, who twenty years ago were identifying the "modern" in architecture with Cubism in painting and with a general glorification of the mechanical and the impersonal and aesthetically puritanic have become advocates of Frank Lloyd Wright. . . . Sigfried Giedion, once a leader of the mechanical rigorists, has come out for the monumental and the symbolic, and among the younger people an inclination to play with the "feeling" elements in design—with color, texture, even painting and sculpture—has become irrepressible. . . .
>
> . . . The rigorists placed the mechanical functions of a building above its human functions: they neglected the feelings, the sentiments, and the interests of the person who was to occupy it. Instead of regarding engineering as a foundation for form, they treated it as an end. . . .
>
> Well, it was time that some of our architects remembered the non-mechanical and non-formal elements in architecture, and that they remembered what a building says as well as what it does. A house, as the Uruguayan architect Julio Vilamajó has put it, should be as personal as one's clothes and should fit the family life just as well. This is not a new doctrine in the United States. People like Bernard Maybeck and William Wilson Wurster [Figures 2 to 4], in California, always practiced it. . . . I look for the continued spread, to every part of the country, of that native and humane form of modernism one might call the Bay Region style, a free yet unobtrusive expression of the terrain, the climate, and the way of life on the Coast. . . . Some of the best examples of this at once native and universal tradition are being built in New England. The change that is now going on in both Europe and America means only that modern architecture is past its adolescent period, with its quixotic purities, its awkward self-consciousness, its assertive dogmatism. The good young architects today are familiar enough with the machine and its products and processes to take them for granted and so they are ready to relax and enjoy themselves a little. That will be better for all of us.[8]

The architectural circle of the Museum of Modern Art could not let such heresy go unchallenged. The museum induced Mumford to confront his old associates in a symposium titled "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?"[9] Alfred Barr, the director of the museum, wittily undermined the regionalism, Americanism, and seriousness of the presumptive alternative West Coast architecture by labeling it with variants of the old slogans for the museum's "rigorous" modernism: He saw in the Bay Region works an "International Cottage Style" and a "Neue

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1. Kay Fisker and C.F. Møller, apartment house on Vodroffsvej, Copenhagen, 1930. View of exterior. (Copenhagen, Kunstakademiets Bibliotek, Samlingen af Arkitekturtegninger.)

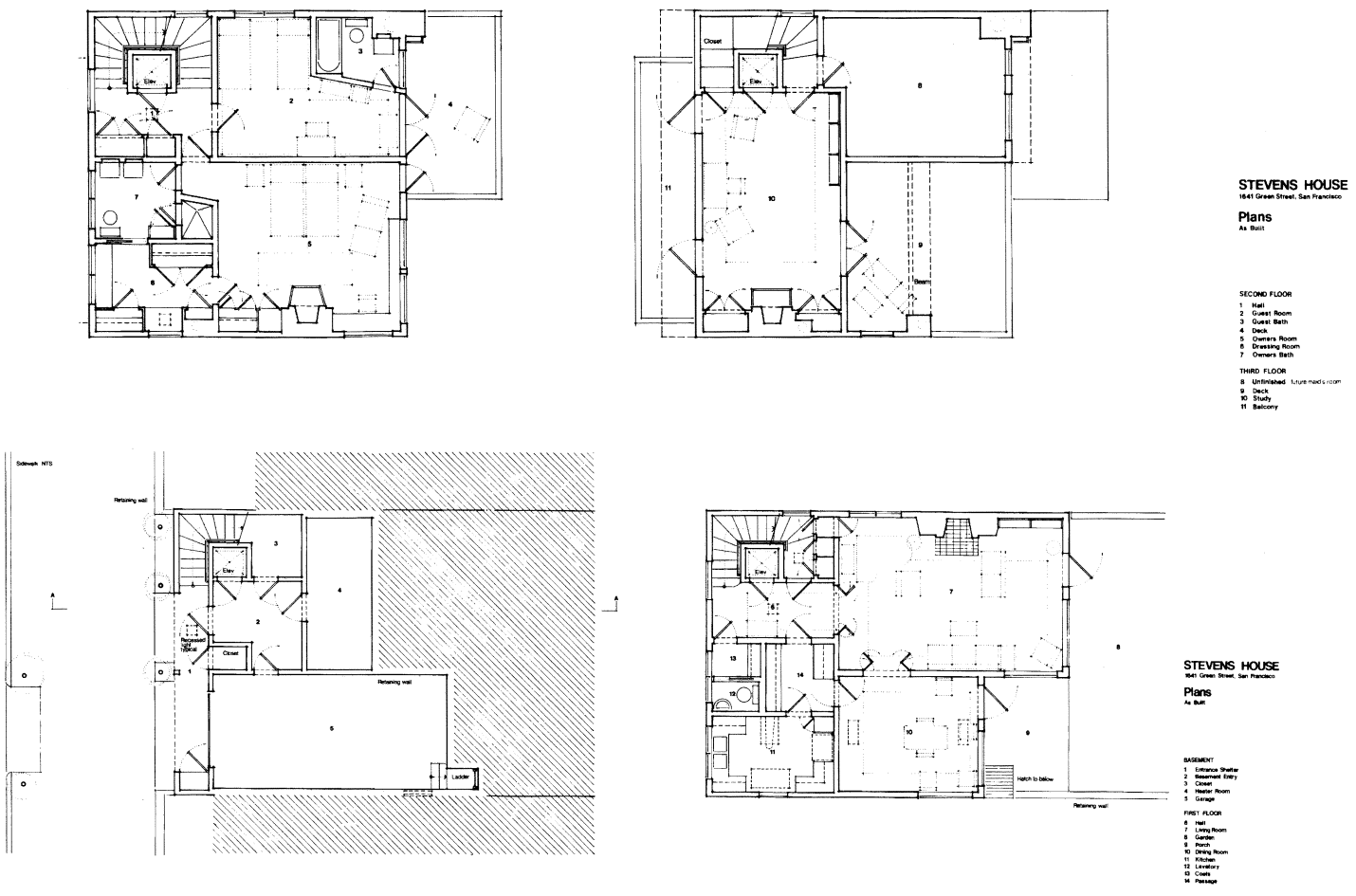
Gemütlichkeit." Henry-Russell Hitchcock, now distinctly a historian rather than a critic and, as Mumford had noted, as attentive to Wright as to the Europeans, sought to dismiss Mumford's challenge by asserting that, anyway, Le Corbusier had already done it, citing the Errazauris house in South America. Perhaps the museum's greatest success in subduing their antagonist was achieved by putting the gentlemanly Mumford in the chair, where he was rendered least effective in defending his own cause.[10]

Paralleling this resistance of attention to the individual and the everyday, Giedion continued his advocacy of a new monumentalism. An appropriate new venue was a lecture to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1946, closely following his article of two years earlier. The RIBA lecture ended with only a slight variant of this last paragraph of the original version:

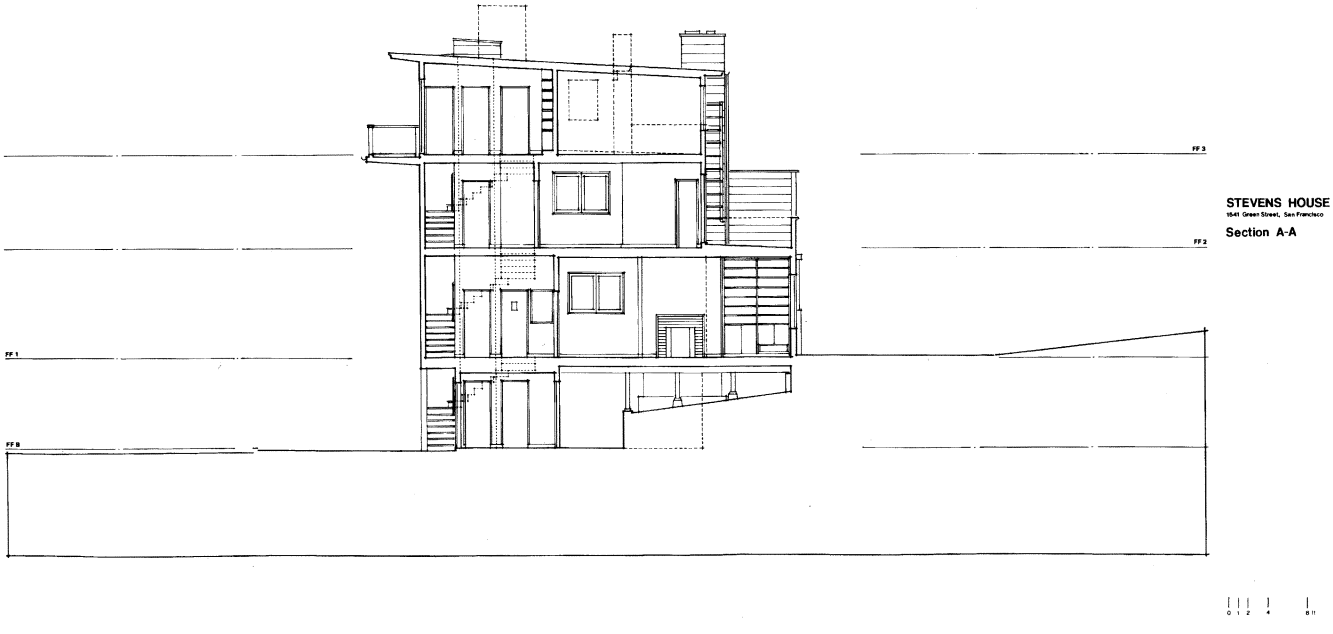
> Everybody is susceptible to symbols. Our period is no exception. But those who govern must know that spectacles, which will lead the people back to a neglected community life, must be re-incorporated into civic centers, those very centers which our mechanized civilization has always regarded as unessential. Not haphazard world's fairs, which in their present form have lost their old significance, but newly created civic centers should be the site for collective emotional events, where the people play as important a role as the spectacle itself, and where a unity of the architectural background, the people and the symbols conveyed by the spectacles will arise.[11]

Such a vision, as applicable to the shaping of the Nuremberg Nazi party rallies as to whatever Giedion envisioned, could not be universally accepted by modern architects. Such advocacy revealed what the Museum of Modern Art and its International Style elite had invited: that modernism in architecture be considered a matter of style, a historicist "style of our times," to be sure, but a style nonetheless, capable of displacing earlier styles in all their ambitions. For those for whom modern architecture was part of a modernism that disavowed authoritarianism and placed new value on a social vision of the everyday, this advocacy had to be challenged.

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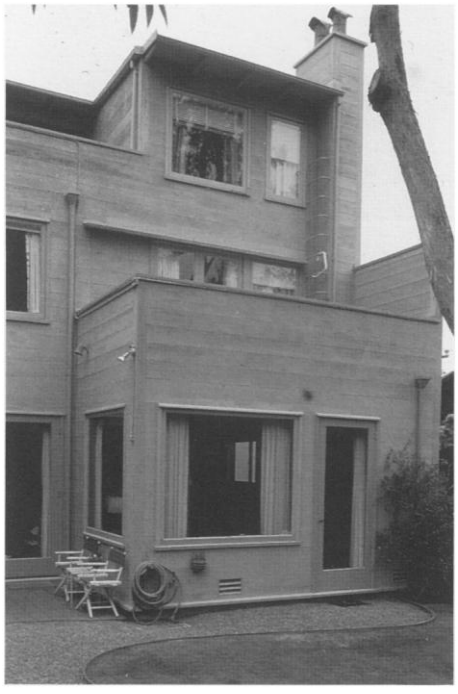


2. William Wilson Wurster, Stevens House, San Francisco, 1940. Plans reconstructed by Thomas Hille.



3. Stevens House. Section reconstructed by Thomas Hille.

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4. Stevens House. View from the garden. (Courtesy of Thomas Hille.)

The *Architectural Review* provided a forum, incorporating a version of Giedion's "monumentalism piece," presumably close to the RIBA lecture and with contributions by Gregor Paulsson, Hitchcock, William Holford, Giedion, Gropius, Lucio Costa, and Alfred Roth.[12] Paulsson of Sweden was both the most interesting commentator and the most challenging to Giedion's position. Paulsson resisted the call to a new monumentalism, relying on his reading of modern architecture as fundamentally allied with democracy. He viewed the asserted "need for monumentality" as a recognition of the inadequacy of modern architecture to date—but this inadequacy should be defined and solved not by a return to old motives, but by extending the range of issues that modern architecture addresses: psychology, sociology, and especially ecology (in the sense of human and urban ecology). We are returned to the confrontation of the "new empiricism" with a more abstract and formal modernism now escalated to monumentality.

A more pragmatic and crude version of this argument appeared as an editorial in the American journal *Progressive Architecture* of December 1948 and deserves mention if only for the range of notables who responded with letters in the two following issues.[13] Bay Region architects (Gardner Dailey and Ernest Kump) and those associated with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (William Wurster and Robert Woods Kennedy) wrote in support; critics from the New York area opposed (Christopher Tunnard and C.L.V. Meeks of Yale, Talbot Hamlin of Columbia, and Philip Johnson and Peter Blake of the Museum of Modern Art). Hitchcock, then teaching the history of architecture at MIT took a measured position. There can be little question but that the intellectual weight and the call for more rather than less dialogue favored the opponents, but this is in no small part due to the inadequate formulation of the originating editorial.

In early 1949, Lewis Mumford joined what had been two separate but related debates: that of the Museum of Modern Art in resistance to Mumford's claims for the Bay Area Style and the London debates around Giedion's new monumentalism. Writing in the London journal *Architectural Review*, Mumford reflected on their symposium in an article titled "Monumentalism, Symbolism and Style."[14] Mumford saw no reason to reject the architecture that had come to be labeled "International Style," but rather to recognize that it is selected work stemming from certain centers like Paris and Berlin. In this sense, the International Style was more particular than the deep-seated internationalism evidenced by a much wider range of modern architecture. With the advocacy stemming from New York, Mumford perceived the International Style polemic as a covert imperialism of the great world megalopolises. He preferred the more free unity of the broader view of modern architecture to what he saw as the uniformity engendered by such imperialism. Nonetheless, Mumford also immediately warned against chauvinist regionalism and classic revival.

What is this broader view that Mumford valued and that might unite modern work? Mumford had earlier warned of the "insidious meanings" of Giedion's will to reinstate such terms as monumentalism, symbolism, hierarchic order, aesthetic expressiveness, and even civic dignity. Later he returned to a consideration of symbolism in modern times:

> Now we live in an age that has not merely abandoned a great many historic symbols but has likewise made an effort to deflate the symbol itself, by denying the values which it represents. Or rather, our age has deflated every form of symbolism except that which it employs so constantly and so unconsciously that it fails to recognize it as symbolism and treats it as reality itself.[15]

I find this a telling statement that underlies the profound resistance of thinkers like Paulsson and Mumford to the impetus that Giedion would give to modern architecture at that moment. Mumford continued, laying the ground for his competing tendency: "Because we have dethroned symbolism, we are now left, momentarily, with but a single symbol of almost universal validity: that of the machine."[16] Mumford gave honor to the already long history of the exploitation of the machine as symbol from

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Rennie, Paxton, and Roebling to Le Corbusier. But,

> What we are beginning to witness today is a reaction against this one-sided symbolism and this distorted picture of modern civilization. We can no longer treat the machine as an exclusive architectural symbol at a moment when the whole ideology of the machine is in dissolution, for culture is passing now from an ideology of the machine to an ideology of the organism and the person. . . . As an integral part of modern culture, the machine will remain as long as modern culture remains. . . . [But] we must erect a new hierarchy of function, in which the mechanical will give place to the biological, the biological to the social, the social to the personal. . . . On these terms, Frank Lloyd Wright, in 1900, was far in advance of Le Corbusier in 1920.[17]

Mumford's interest in the architecture of the West Coast is not premised on regionalism so much as the claim that it participates in an important shift in modern culture and architecture that could also be observed elsewhere: a shift from mechanistic metaphors of understanding and design to an ideology of organism and the person. He cites the paradigmatic ecological and planning principles of Sir Patrick Geddes[18] and the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead[19] as well as the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright. These models are Anglo-American, but the argument is very similar to that which Paulsson had advanced.

It is this world of discourse into which Kay Fisker places himself in the essays mentioned earlier,[20] especially in his two essays on functionalism.[21] In "The Moral of Functionalism," Fisker allowed that functionalism as a style was dead but that its program was not. He traces functionalism from the nineteenth century and its agency in victory over the then-prevailing eclecticism. More than the critics and architects we have surveyed thus far, Fisker wishes to retain the intellectual and moral impulse of the call to functional design. The necessary further development of this functional design is very like the advocacy of Paulsson and Mumford, though with less of Mumford's insistence on the individual: "Now, after the first victory of the early raw functionalism, we should be concerned with the development of the more vigourous and human side of functional architecture: a clear and functional frame around modern existence, created with new means; further development of tradition, perhaps, but not a return to forms past and gone. The barren qualities of functionalism came not from the relinquishment of the old, but rather from the failure to utilize in a sufficiently imaginative manner the possibilities of the new—new materials and construction, new social conditions."[22]

The illustrations to "The Moral of Functionalism" were largely European: historical, modern, and vernacular. The more extensive 1950 essay, "The Functional Tradition," is about American architecture, with only a small coda on a few Swiss and Scandinavian wood-frame buildings. A revealing bibliography[23] includes Mumford's *New Yorker* article on the Bay Region style and the publication of the ensuing debate at the Museum of Modern Art. From these Fisker is launched on what he sees in America as the contrast "between a refined European imported emigrant architecture and a more robust original American architectural form; Mr. Mumford has called this the Bay Region Style."[24] Further, his preference is to see such architecture not as uniquely American, but rather as a regionally derived architecture with parallels in other parts of the world. After a historical survey of American architecture, extending from houses of colonial New England and Jefferson's University of Virginia to H.H. Richardson, Sullivan, Bernard Maybeck, and the Greene brothers, Fisker enters on a quite extensive survey of West Coast architecture, emphasizing those whom he considers the two great figures: Pietro Belluschi (Figures 5 and 6) and, especially, William Wilson Wurster (Figures 7 and 8).[25] Strong as is the claim for a broader understanding of functionalism and for such work as that of Wurster and Belluschi as exemplars, the argument is blunted for Fisker, as it was for Mumford, by the almost total domination of single-family houses. The only other types to appear are Wurster's small office building for the Schuchl Canning Company in Sunnyvale, California, and the communal buildings of the large public housing estate Chabot Terrace in Vallejo, California, by Franklin, Kump and Wurster. It could be argued, and was, that the principles behind the houses of this alternative modernism were generalizable to other tasks. It is curious, however, that neither Mumford nor Fisker extended the range of examples in order to forestall the rejection of their position as the "International Cottage Style." Could not their position lay claim to the works of Aalto at least as plausibly as did the proponents of the International Style—or to the works of modernists rejected by the International Style such as Johannes Duiker, Hugo Häring, and others? To return to the subject of Fisker's essay, Wurster did not shrink from asserting his position even in the context of the competition for such a representational building as the U.S. Chancery in London: "Architecture is not a goal. Architecture is for life and pleasure and work and for people. The picture frame and not the picture."[26]

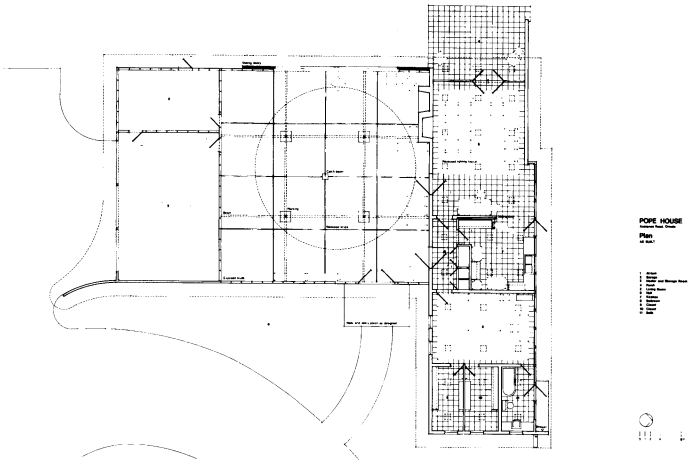
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5. Pietro Belluschi, Coats House, Netarts Bay, Oregon, 1941. (Courtesy of Marjorie Belluschi.)



6. Belluschi, Equitable Building, Portland, Oregon, 1947–1948. Photo by G.E. Kidder-Smith. (Rotch Visual Collections, MIT.)

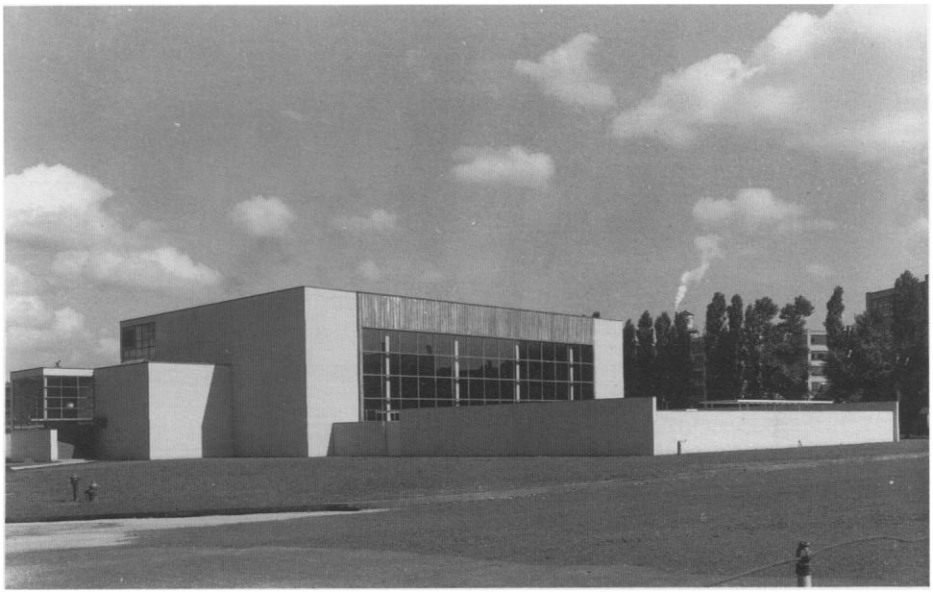


7. Wurster, Pope House, Orinda, California, 1940. Plan reconstructed by Thomas Hille.

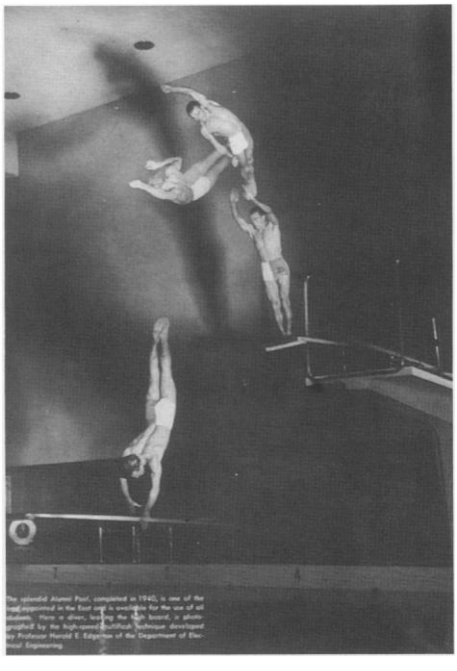


8. Pope House. View of courtyard. (Photo by Donn Emmons.)

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9. Lawrence B. Anderson and Herbert Beckwith. Alumni Swimming Pool, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, 1939. View of the exterior, ca. 1939. (The MIT Museum.)



10. Alumni Swimming Pool. Interior photograph by Dr. Harold Edgerton. (The MIT Museum.)

In the bibliography to Fisker's 1950 functionalism essay, the most recent entry was a special issue of *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui,* "Walter Gropius et son école" edited by Paul Rudolph.[27] From January 5, 1953, for three months, Fisker was a visiting professor at Gropius's Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. From April 6 to the end of May, he was at the Department of Architecture of the nearby Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Associated with these schools were many of the figures in the critical debate Fisker had already engaged in both his written and built works. In addition to Gropius, Giedion was regularly at Harvard. MIT had still stronger ties to the other pole of the debate. Although Wurster, who had been dean of MIT's School of Architecture and Planning from 1944 to 1950, was now again in California, as chairman of the Department of Architecture at Berkeley, Pietro Belluschi had come to MIT as his successor. More important in the present context was the presence of Lawrence B. Anderson[28] as head of the Department of Architecture, for it was in these years that Anderson established and maintained an exchange between the Academy in Copenhagen and MIT, of which Fisker's visits were an important part.

Anderson was the main figure to introduce architectural modernism to MIT. As a student at the University of Minnesota, a young professor at the University of Virginia, a masters' student at MIT, and then a Paris prize fellow in the early thirties, Anderson knew the lessons of classical training well. When he began his long teaching and administrative career at MIT in 1933, the school was still strongly marked by that classical tradition, even as it was being transformed under the then-current approaches often referred to as "stripped classicism" and "art deco." In his teaching and design, Anderson worked through such transformations to be the architect, in 1939, of one of the first modern buildings on an American campus, the Alumni Swimming Pool at MIT (Figures 9 and 10).

Anderson was an ardent Francophile, but this extended more to the entire land and culture of France, its historic architecture, and to an early modernist like Tony Garnier than to Le Corbusier. Anderson was also a Danish-American who had traveled in Scandinavia, and it is these connections that are more evident in his built work, as witness the Swimming Pool, built in the year that Giedion at Harvard was seeking to induce American interest in his thought and Gropius's work. The Swimming Pool neither offers a cold blast of Nikolaus Pevsner's modern Zeitgeist[29] nor is it derivative. It is an excellent work with a vision of physical culture. It is also a key element in building the campus, as can be seen from a street of related buildings to the west, other athletic facilities on the West Campus, and the un-

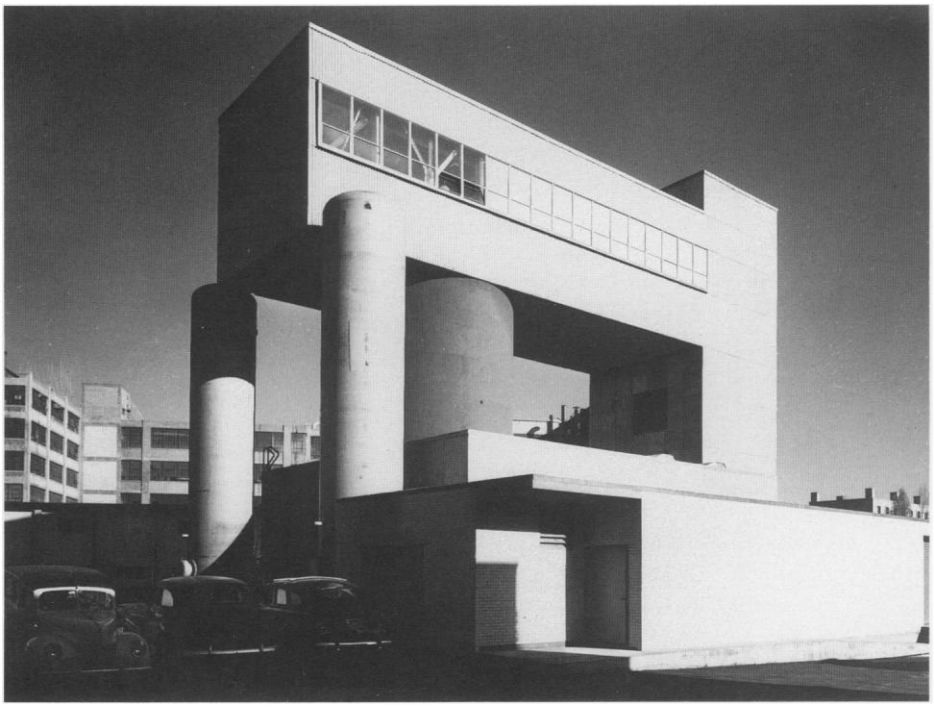
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fortunately lately demolished Van de Graaff generator that was the eastern neighbor of the Swimming Pool until 1990 (Figure 11).[30] Though a younger man and dominant in an institution rather than in a larger realm, Anderson's development, thought, and work have remarkable parallels with those of Fisker. Anderson himself invited comparison of his Swimming Pool with the contemporary work of Fisker for the University of Aarhus (Figure 12). The Swimming Pool and continuing work by Anderson at MIT share a position with later works by Fisker, including, for example, the school at Voldparken of 1952 to 1956.

One should also mention, at least briefly, other ties that establish the axis of an alternative modernism running from Scandinavia through MIT to Berkeley and the Bay Area. At the invitation of John Ely Burchard, then director of housing research under the Bemis Foundation, it was to MIT that Alvar Aalto came to conduct his own research on housing and settlements in 1939. He served as a research professor in 1940 to 1941 before returning to the demands of war-torn Finland. It was Wurster who brought Aalto back, partially as a teacher, but primarily as designer of Baker House at MIT in the period 1946 to 1949.

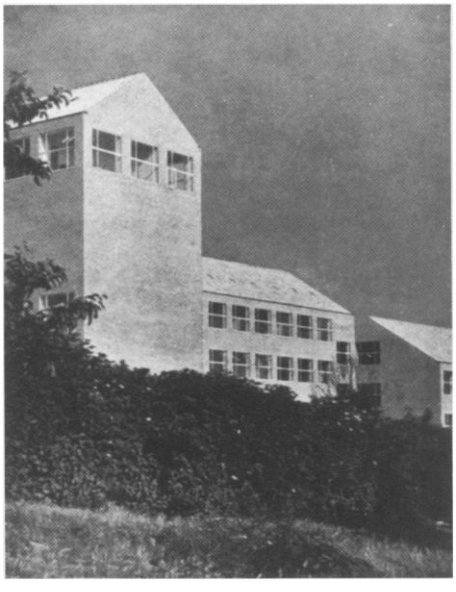
Wurster and Anderson also brought to the MIT faculty young designers who figured in the larger notion of a social architecture with roots in New England as well as the West Coast: Robert Woods Kennedy,[31] Carl Koch, and Vernon DeMars, the latter of whom had made a significant contribution in depression-era migrant housing and wartime housing in California and soon returned to continue his work from a position at Berkeley.

In 1940, Wurster married Catherine Bauer, whose book *Modern Housing*[32] demonstrated not only her extensive knowledge of European modern architecture, but her commitment to it as a social art, centrally involved with the issue of social housing. Throughout the remainder of her life, Catherine Bauer Wurster remained one of the most important voices for public housing in the United States and for the social and political dimensions of modern architecture generally.



11. Anderson and Beckwith, Van de Graaff Generator, MIT, 1948. View of the exterior, ca. 1948. (The MIT Museum.)

In the Wurster circle was also Mumford, who then served as an MIT Bemis visiting professor at intervals in the fifties. Indeed, when Kay Fisker returned for his second visit to MIT from February to May 1956, Mumford was also a visiting professor. We may recall that it was Mumford who curated the modern housing exhibition that paralleled the International Style exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932—a part of the exhibition that was virtually suppressed in favor of the stylistically



12. Kay Fisker, C.F. Møller, and Povl Stegmann. Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark, 1932. From Hans Erling Langkilde, *Arkitekten Kay Fisker* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 1960), p. 55.

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selected buildings of Hitchcock and Johnson's International Style. Catherine Bauer Wurster's already well-established association of modern architecture with social justice, particularly in housing, may have weighed in the association of MIT in these years with both of Mumford's campaigns: regionalism and antimonumentalism.

Another member of the Danish Academy who made significant contributions to the teaching programs of both MIT and Berkeley in these years was Steen Eiler Rasmussen.[33] Like Fisker, his architectural commentary was deeply historically based and rooted in the understanding of architecture as a social art. At Berkeley, his favorable attention to Maybeck and Greene and Greene could have resulted in the article actually written by Fisker.[34]

The years of Fisker's visits to MIT, 1953 and 1956, were just the years of the emergence of Team Ten, the younger generation's challenge to the modern masters from within their own organization, CIAM.[35] Team Ten criticism was in large part based on issues of the individual and society as generators of architectural and urban form. These architects extended a discourse not unlike that of the "New Empiricism–Bay Region axis" to other cultures and to a wider range of social needs and building types. It is then not surprising that MIT's ties with Scandinavia and Berkeley slackened as Giancarlo Di Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, and the young Herman Hertzberger appeared in the halls of the school. However, as I have sought to show, the groundwork had been laid since the thirties. At MIT alone, Anderson's Swimming Pool, Aalto's Baker House, and Eero Saarinen's Chapel posed alternatives without risking denigration as "cottage style." In the postwar decade from the midforties to the midfifties, with the MIT–Danish Royal Academy exchange as one resource, this axis of an alternative modern architecture played an important, even seminal, role that is not yet exhausted.

Notes

This essay was written in 1992 for a volume to celebrate the centennial of the birth of Kay Fisker (1893–1965). It appeared in Danish only and with an incorrect title as part of Tobias Faber, et al., *Kay Fisker* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 1995).

1. Philip Goodwin, with photographs by G.E. Kidder Smith, *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old, 1652–1942* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1943); G.E. Kidder Smith, *Sweden Builds,* 2d ed. (New York: Reinhold, 1957); and G.E. Kidder Smith, *Switzerland Builds: Its Native and Modern Architecture* (New York: A. Bonnier, 1950).

2. Sigfried Giedion, "The Need for a New Monumentality," in Paul Zucker, ed., *New Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), pp. 549–68. Reprinted in Sigfried Giedion, *Architecture, You and Me* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 25–39, and in *Harvard Architecture Review* 4 (Spring 1984): 52–63. In Swedish in *Byggmästaren* 27/24 (Dec. 1948): 439–45.

3. "The New Empiricism: Sweden's latest style," *Architectural Review* 101/606 (June 1947): 199–204.

4. Kay Fisker, "Tre pionerer fra aarhundredskiftet," *Byggmästaren* 26/15 (Aug. 1947): 221–32.

5. Kay Fisker, "Louis Henry Sullivan," *Forum* (Amsterdam) 3/12 (Dec. 1948): 347–55.

6. Kay Fisker, "The History of Domestic Architecture in Denmark," *Architectural Review* 104/623 (Nov. 1948): 219–26.

7. Kay Fisker, "Die Moral des Funktionalismus," *Werk* 35/5 (May 1948):131–34; versions appeared in English, "The Moral of Functionalism," *Magazine of Art* 43/2 (Feb. 1950):62–67, and in Italian, "Lo stile funzionale è morto, le ragioni del funzionalismo non muoiono," *Domus* 248–249 (July–Aug. 1950): 1–3, 101. The second essay is "Den funktionelle Tradition. Spredte indtryk af amerikansk arkitektur," *Arkitekten* 52/5–7 (May–June 1950):69–100; also published as an offprint with new pagination, preceded by a two-page English summary.

8. Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line: Status Quo ['Bay Region Style']," *New Yorker* (Oct. 11, 1947): 104–10.

9. "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture? A Symposium," special issue, *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin* 15/3 (Spring 1948).

10. There was a reprise of these confrontations when Robert Woods Kennedy, "The Small House in New England," *Magazine of Art* 41/4 (Apr. 1948): 123–28, sought to identify the strengths of a contextual and traditional yet modern house of a given region and was answered by Philip Johnson and Peter Blake, "Architectural Freedom and Order," *Magazine of Art* 41/6 (Oct. 1948): 228–31.

In "Bay Region Domestic," *Architectural Review* 104/622 (Oct. 1948): 164–70, the editors of that London journal, citing Mumford favorably, argued for the fifty-year pedigree of the Bay Region architecture as well as the essential modernity of its contemporary state, as in the two illustrated houses by Albert Henry Hill. "To sum up, the Bay Region style is not, like the New Empiricism, the architecture of a land which feels that it has *come through* the Modern Movement, but is rather a parallel development to the Modern Movement, local in origin though ever becoming less so in effect" (p. 164).

Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., close to the Museum of Modern Art group but also a student of Wright and heir to Wright's Falling Water, chose the noted California journal *Arts and Architecture* to attempt a conciliatory position that gave both International Style and Bay Region their places according to varying sites and demands. Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?" *Arts and Architecture* 66/9 (Sept. 1949):26–29.

11. Giedion, "The Need for a New Monumentality," p. 568.

12. Gregor Paulsson, H.-R. Hitchcock, William Holford, S. Giedion, W. Gropius, L. Costa, and A. Roth, "In Search of a New Monumentality: A Symposium," *Architectural Review* 105/621 (Sept. 1948): 117–28.

13. Thomas Creighton, ed., "Architecture—Not Style," *Progressive Architecture* 29/12 (Dec. 1948): 49, 120, 122, 138; letters (Jan. 1949), pp. 8, 10, 12 and (Feb. 1949), pp. 8, 10, 12.

14. Lewis Mumford, "Monumentalism, Symbolism and Style," *Architectural Review* 105/628 (Apr. 1949): 174–80.

15. Ibid., p. 177.

16. Ibid.

17 Ibid., pp. 177–78.

18. Sir Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* [1915], rev. ed. (London: Benn, 1968).

19. Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* [1925] (New York: Macmillan, 1967); and Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas* [1933] (New York: New American Library, 1964).

20. See notes 4 to 6 above.

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21. See note 7 above.

22. Fisker, "Moral of Functionalism," p. 66.

23. Fisker, "Den funktionelle Tradition" [offprint], p. 32. Also included in the bibliography are the *Architectural Review* symposium on monumentality, many of the items cited in the present essay, and an article by Eric Westerberg, "Tre begrepp," *Byggmästaren* 27/24 (1948):429–35 (the three concepts being New Empiricism; Bay Region Style; Monumentality). This article is followed by one on Giedion by Lennart Holm and Giedion's article on the need for a new monumentality.

24. Ibid., first page of the unpaginated English summary.

25. Given Fisker's acclaim for Wurster and Belluschi, some biographical details may be supplied: William Wilson Wurster (b. Stockton, CA, 1895; d. Berkeley, CA, 1972) was educated at the University of California, Berkeley, and designed a large number of houses, especially in northern California, before World War II. Then, as now, these houses were innovative and impressive in their adaptation of both vernacular and modern forms to the specifics of climate, site, and use. During the war, he was on the East Coast, studying housing and urbanism at Yale and Harvard. In 1944, he was chosen as the first dean of the School of Architecture and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Cambridge. Serving until 1950, together with the Head of the Department of Architecture Lawrence B. Anderson, he oversaw the rapid growth of the school at the end of the war, bringing in a diverse and strong faculty. Wurster also won the Baker House dormitory commission for Aalto and other commissions for his young faculty. In 1950, he returned to Berkeley, where he served as chairman of the Department of Architecture until 1959 and then as dean of the new College of Environmental Design until 1963. See Thomas Hille, *Inside the Large Small House: The Residential Design Legacy of William W. Wurster* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994); and Marc Treib, ed., *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Pietro Belluschi (b. Ancona, Italy 1899; d. Portland, Oregon, 1994) was educated as an engineer in his native Italy. After immigrating to the United States, he served from 1927 as chief designer in the firm of A.E. Doyle in Portland, Oregon, succeeded to that practice, and established his own in 1943. In the years before and after the World War II, he established a reputation for his evocative yet restrained houses and churches in wood construction. There were also larger commissions, including the elemental green glass and aluminum Equitable office building in Portland. He succeeded Wurster as dean at MIT, serving from 1951 to1965. He received the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects in 1972. See Camillo Gubitosi and Alberto Izzo, eds., *Pietro Belluschi: Edifici e progetti 1932–1973* (Rome: Officina, 1974); and Meredith Clausen, *Pietro Belluschi: Modern American Architect* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994).

26. William Wurster, "Competition for U.S. Chancery Building, London," *Architectural Record* 119/4(Apr. 1956): 222.

27. Paul Rudolph, ed., "Walter Gropius et son école," sp. no. of *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 20/28 (Feb. 1950, spec. issue), including Michel Aimé, "Climat de l'enseignement de l'architecture aux Etats-Unis," pp. 48–49 (English translation, pp. 112–13, incorporating a chart of the architecture curriculum at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

28. Lawrence B. Anderson (b. Geneva, Minnesota, 1906; d. Boston, 1994) received his architectural degree from the University of Minnesota and an M.Arch. at MIT, where he won the Paris Prize. He taught at MIT from 1933 and was head of the department from 1947 until 1965, when he succeeded Belluschi as dean of the school, serving until his retirement in 1972.

29. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, 2d ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1949).

30. These MIT buildings were done in partnership with Herbert Beckwith. In 1984, Anderson gave principal responsibility for the generator building to Beckwith.

31. See note 10 above.

32. Catherine Bauer [Wurster], *Modern Housing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934).

33. I would not want to miss this opportunity to record my indebtedness to Steen Eiler Rasmussen (1898–1990) for the rich personal and intellectual rewards I received while serving as his assistant in a subject in the history of architecture at Berkeley in 1958–1959. Among Rasmussen's writings: *London: The Unique City* [1937] rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982); and *Experiencing Architecture* [in Danish, 1957; English, 1959], 2d ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1962). See also *Steen Eiler Rasmussen: Architect, Town-Planner, Author* (Aarhus, Denmark: School of Architecture, 1988).

34. Kay Fisker, "Bay Region-stilens ophavsmænd," *Arkitekten* 64/2 (Jan. 1962): 17–27.

35. Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Primer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968).

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