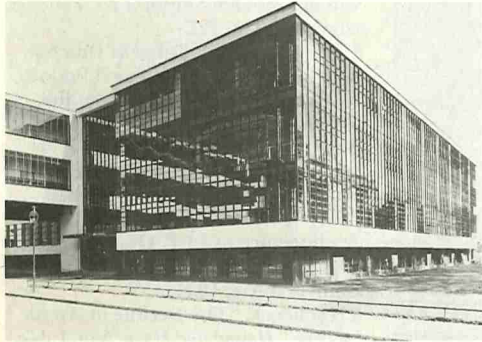
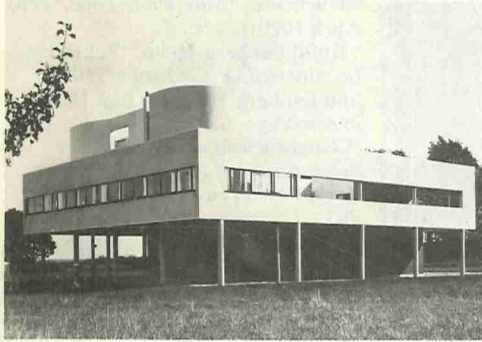


International Style: the MoMA exhibition



1 Gropius, Bauhaus.



2 Le Corbusier, Villa Savoye.



3 Mies van der Rohe, Barcelona Pavilion.



4 Colonial Williamsburg.

Richard Guy Wilson

A complete history of the International Style exhibition, called 'International Exhibition of Modern Architecture,' which opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York 50 years ago, is traced on the following pages. The author discusses the show from many points of view to give a complete picture of its organization, its inclusions and omissions, and its ultimate impact.

When the International Style exhibition opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Alfred Barr, the museum's director, announced: "The present exhibition is an assertion that the confusion of the past 40 years, or rather of the past century, may shortly come to an end."¹ As important as the London 1851 or the Chicago 1893 exhibitions, the Museum of Modern Art exhibit named and legitimized a brand of Modernism that came to dominate American and international developments. The exhibit was accompanied by two publications: a catalog, "Modern Architecture," and a book, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*. Written by the show's organizers Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., and Philip Johnson, with a preface by Barr, *The International Style*, while appearing scholarly, was polemical and set the standard against which all other types of Modernism—Functional, Decorative, Neo-Traditional, Stripped Classical, Streamlined, Wrightian, and Expressionist—would be measured and found wanting. The exhibit and the books argued the 20th-Century style was that of the European radical extreme, the seemingly ahistorical and machine-oriented Bauhaus by Walter Gropius of 1926 (1), the Hook of Holland housing of 1926 by J.J.P. Oud (p. 93), the Villa Savoye of 1930 by Le Corbusier (2), and the Barcelona Pavilion of 1929 by Mies van der Rohe (3).

To understand the importance and ultimate influence of the International Style exhibit, the context of the period



5 Cret, Folger Shakespeare Library.

and the content of the show and the books need to be examined. The social context of the exhibit was the Great Depression. Unemployment, mortgage foreclosures, bank closings, bread lines, and the Dust Bowl were the concerns of the day. By 1932, architects felt the decline in business investment; the professional journals explained how to economize in the office, how to attract clients, and what to do when out of work: soap carving and strolling about town were suggestions.

In 1932 there also occurred another important opening: the public viewing of the first buildings of Colonial Williamsburg (4). Somewhere between the two openings in Virginia and New York, most American architecture existed. The profession was largely dominated by men trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts or at an American derivative. What they admired can be seen in the AIA Gold Medal award. In 1929, Milton B. Medary, a Philadelphia eclectic who designed in the Arts and Crafts, Gothic, American Renaissance, and Art Deco modes received the medal. In 1932 (presentation in 1933), the Gold Medal went to Ragnar Østberg for his widely acclaimed—and eclectic—Stockholm City Hall of 1912–1923 (p. 93). The next Gold Medal went in 1938 to Paul Cret in recognition of his role as an American Beaux Arts educator and as the master of the stripped Classical mode, so prominent in governmental buildings, and as seen in his Folger Shakespeare Library of 1932 (5) in Washington, DC.

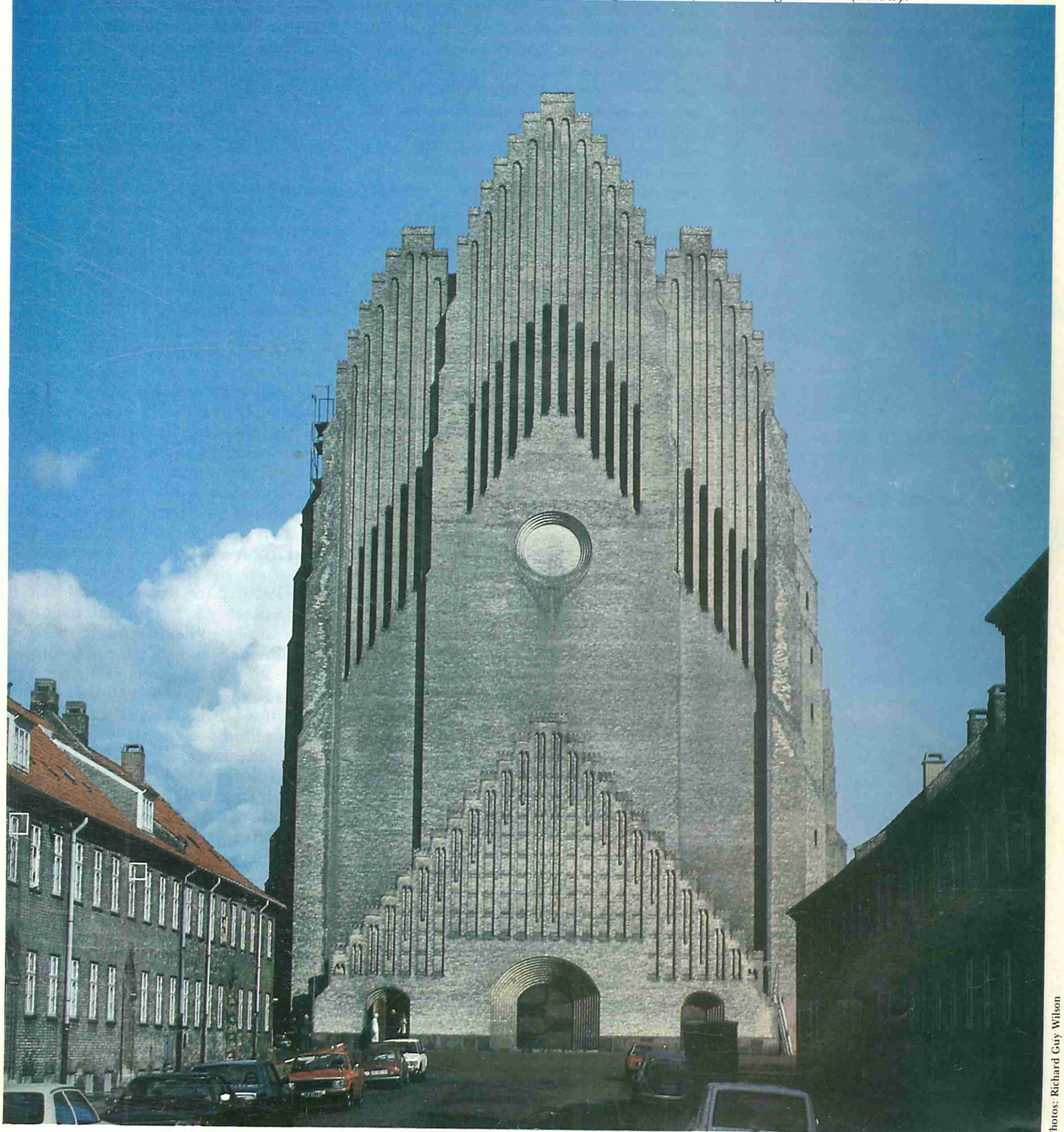
Another indication of taste is seen in a poll of admired buildings conducted of architectural offices in 1932 by the *Federal Architect* magazine.² The results were: 1 Lincoln Memorial (Henry Ba-

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Photos 1, 2, 3, 14, 17, 18, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30: courtesy of Museum of Modern Art



Oud, Hook of Holland housing (above); Østberg, Stockholm City Hall (above right); Klint, Grundtvig Church (below).



con); 2 Empire State Building (Shreve, Lamb & Harmon); 3 Nebraska State Capitol (Bertram G. Goodhue); 4 Morgan Library (McKim, Mead & White); 5 St. Thomas Church, New York (Cram & Goodhue); 6 Chicago Daily News Building (Holabird & Root); 7 Scottish Rite Temple, Washington, DC (John Russell Pope); 8 Columbia University (McKim, Mead & White); 9 Harkness Memorial Building, Yale (Goodhue and James Gambrel Rodgers); 10 Folger Library (Paul Cret).

The poll reveals a respect for the older turn-of-the-century architects, such as McKim, Bacon, and Pope, who worked within the confines of an academic tradition. Also apparent is admiration for the younger generation who, recognizing the changed circumstances and new requirements, tried to update tradition by stripping away historical ornament and creating large, massive forms. Bertram Goodhue was the hero of this Neo-Traditional-Modern, or Art Deco group, and although he died in 1924, he remained well into the 1930s a figure of reverence. (Goodhue posthumously received the Gold Medal in 1925, the same year as Edwin Lutyens.)

Eliel Saarinen must be counted with the Neo-Traditional-Modernists; his entry in the 1921-1922 Chicago Tribune Competition helped to form the style. Involved ornament, textured materials, picturesque composition, and the stylization and simplification of historical precedent made his Cranbrook

Schools (6) in Bloomfield, Mi, a much admired design throughout the 1930s. Saarinen carefully separated himself from the radical Modern; evolution, not revolution, was the theme of a talk he gave to the AIA in 1931.³

Conspicuously absent from the poll were the older generation of American Modernists, Sullivan and Wright. Louis Sullivan died in 1924, building very little in his last years. Although his work was published extensively, Sullivan's lack of clients came from personal failing and not from conspiracy. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, his reputation underwent a rehabilitation by historians and critics, and instead of a failure, he became a prophet of Modernism.⁴

Frank Lloyd Wright, like Sullivan, was well known to the architects, but his day seemed past; he had no work and no apparent prospects. He was a 65-year-old romantic eccentric pontificating from the hills of Wisconsin or the deserts of Arizona. From 1925 to 1932, only five of his designs were built, of which two were for himself and one for a family member. In retrospect, however, Wright was on the comeback trail; his messy personal life was finally in order, he was in demand as a speaker, and he was writing, most notably the essays "In the Cause of Architecture" for *Architectural Record* (1929), *An Autobiography* (1932), and the initial prospectus for the Broadacre City scheme, *When the Industrial Revolution Runs Away* (1932). In the summer of 1931, he announced the Taliesin Fellowship, and the first class began in the fall of 1932. In 1932, he received the Wiley house commission at Minneapolis.

Wright was well known to the Europeans; Oud, Mies, and Gropius all acknowledged their debt to him, and actually Mies and Gropius appeared as sponsors on the initial announcement of the Taliesin Fellowship. While Wright used their names, he believed they departed too far from his principles, and in early 1932, before the Museum of Modern Art exhibit opened, he attacked the "ready-made culture" of the "internationalists" as "only the modern improvement on the old eclectic." George Howe, stung by Wright's gibes, responded: "Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright, abandoning the part of Moses, is suddenly turned Pharaoh. . . . Why should he who has led us out of bondage turn and destroy his children?"⁵

By 1932, there was also present a generally younger group who found their lead in the more radical European architecture that would be proclaimed "The International Style." The spokesman for this group was George Howe, older and Beaux-Arts trained, who experienced his "crise à quarante ans" a few years earlier and had thrown over a conventional Philadelphia practice to search for a Modern American architec-

ture.⁶ Howe lent his financial support and prestige to the *T-Square Journal* (later *Shelter*), which strenuously upheld the idea of a new architecture. Included in this group were those Americans who had been trained either at the Bauhaus or in European offices: Alfred Kastner, Norman Rice, and Hamilton Beatty. The men who actually provided the ideas and images of the new architecture were the foreign émigrés Albert Frey, William Lescaze, Richard Neutra, Frederick Kiesler, Oscar Stonorov, and at some remove, Rudolf Schindler. Howe and Lescaze's PSFS building, nearing completion in Philadelphia in 1932 (p. 98), became the first International Style highrise to be built, though its revealed structure would be somewhat at variance with the tenets to be laid down.

Richard Neutra's work came the closest to following the current advanced images. Trained in Vienna, Neutra was in Berlin with Mendelsohn in the early 1920s and saw the new architecture taking shape. His *Jardinette Apartments* in Los Angeles of 1927 (7) had all the features of the new style—thin volumetric walls, no ornament, and prominent horizontal fenestration—although he colored photographs with a black crayon to increase the horizontality and daring of the reinforced concrete construction. His *Lovell Health House* of 1929 (p. 98) was a doctrinaire International Style building set down on a Los Angeles hillside.

Rudolf Schindler, Neutra's former partner (they had a falling out in 1927), also trained in Vienna, but had been longer in the U.S. and had worked for Wright; consequently he was tagged a Wrightian. His *Lovell beach house* of 1924-1926 (p. 98) in Newport Beach, Ca, is arguably as original a creation as Le Corbusier's *Villa Savoye* (2) or Mies's *Barcelona Pavilion* (3). Its predominant, not to say overly expressive, concrete piers, roughly treated materials such as the shuttering marks and exposed timbers, and the ornamental touches, however, made it unacceptable to be proclaimed as International Style.

Finally, in 1932, there was a small group of designers who combined images of European radicalism with poetic and dramatic shapes that recalled speed, movement machines, and perpetual newness. Closely connected with the theater, the main figures of this Streamlined Style were the interior designer Paul Frankl, the architect Joseph Urban, and the industrial designers Norman Bel Geddes, Raymond Loewy, and Walter Dorwin Teague. Most of their ideas were still on paper in 1932.

In the professional press

An examination of the periodicals to see what the American architect would know of European architecture reveals



6 Saarinen, Cranbrook Schools.



7 Neutra, Jardinette Apartments.

the 1920s dominated by photos of brick buildings such as: Østberg's city hall (p. 93), P.V.J. Klint's Grundvig church of 1926 (p. 93) in Copenhagen, and Fritz Hoyer's Chilehaus of 1923 (8) in Hamburg. To some degree, such illustrations both influenced and confirmed the dominant direction of American architecture in those years in the decorated, set-back skyscraper. Well into the 1930s, this preference continued, with the new hero becoming Willem Marinus Dudok of Holland. The more radical Europeans had appeared sporadically in the 1920s. The *AIA Journal* in 1923 began reviewing foreign periodicals, and published illustrations of Mies, Le Corbusier, Scharoun, and others. By the later 1920s, as the new European architecture gained more prominence, coherence, and similarity of appearance, especially as seen in the 1927 Weissenhof housing exposition buildings by Mies, Gropius, and Oud (9) in Stuttgart, there was accordingly more appearance in American periodicals, though never as a unified movement.

Le Corbusier published his first American article in the drastically updated *Architectural Record* of August 1929. Earlier, in 1927, Samuel Chamberlain, "in search of Modernism," enthusiastically endorsed Le Corbusier's "uncompromising voice," and a reviewer of the English translation of *Vers une Architecture* claimed: "He sees the greatness of our future in a scientific expression of the possibilities of steel beams, mass production units, bare concrete walls, and a complete avoidance of all unnecessary detail. In a word, we must consider the function of a building, and that only, if we are to arrive at a truly new and beautiful architecture."⁷

This interpretation of Le Corbusier (and by extension, of all the European radical Modernists) as unadorned Functionalist was common in the U.S. and would be one of the issues the International Style would seek to disclaim. Ralph Walker reacted to Le Corbusier in 1928: "The fundamental, spiritual, and intellectual needs of man can never be satisfied with the thin, austere design of the engineer-architect, which, while perfectly honest, fails to take into consideration the thoughts or emotions of anyone other than a Robot." Walker argued for a "new architecture" of "infinite variety of complex forms and an intricate meaning," such as his Barclay Vesey building of 1926 (10).⁸ Ironically, Le Corbusier used this New York Telephone Company building as the frontispiece to the English language edition of *Vers une Architecture*.

The concern of many American architects with European Modernism and what their architecture should look like came to the forefront in a debate sponsored by the AIA at the 1930 convention.⁹ The spokesmen were: George

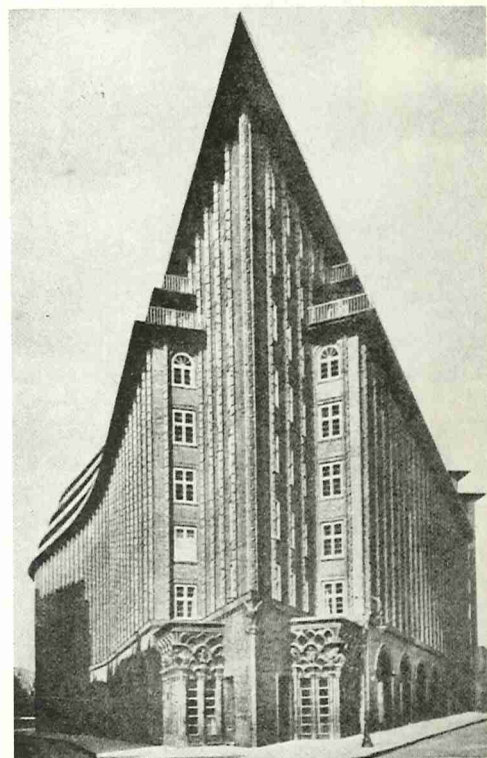
Howe for the Moderns; C. Howard Walker for the Traditionalists; Ralph Walker for the Neo-Traditional-Moderns; and Earl H. Reed, Jr., for the Wrightians. The moderator claimed, "We are facing a crisis"; and Howe noted a development "away from order toward architectural chaos." Howe couched his position in Functionalist terms, denying that Modernism had a style and attacking the "grab-bag" styles of the Traditionalists. For him, the "Modern movement" was essentially technique, the prospect of using "modern construction and modern materials to the full, for architectural expression as well as for practical ends." C. Howard Walker of Boston couched his arguments in an urbane and witty manner, and criticized the Modernist position. Earl Reed of Chicago argued against the "alien" Classicism of the 1893 Worlds Fair and pleaded passionately for the Mid-Western tradition of Wright, Sullivan, and their contemporary followers Holabird & Root. Ralph Walker noted the typical American "colonial" mentality: "Our architects are looking to Germany, France, and Holland for that which sprang from our own loins, but has now the foreign touch of flavor." Grain elevators were of more importance than Roman baths, but he criticized Le Corbusier and Gropius for the analogy between transportation and houses. Walker condemned the search for a "formula" for Modern architecture and pleaded for individualism.

That the American architect had a right to be confused is obvious; European Modernism could appear almost simultaneously in exhibits such as those of Erich Mendelsohn in New York at the Contempora Gallery and Peter Behrens and his students of the Vienna School of Architecture at the Brooklyn Museum. Sheldon Cheney wrote the popular *New World Architecture* in 1930 in which he introduced the term "space-time," but did not describe it, and included as his heroes Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, and Bernard Maybeck. The imperception of the different positions is evident in the claim of one writer of "a kind of Kyrie eleison, 'Saarinen, Le Corbusier, Neutra, and Frank Lloyd Wright.'"¹⁰ Straightening out this confusion and demonstrating that an order, a unified expression did exist, which passed beyond national boundaries, would be the role of the Museum of Modern Art.

MoMA

The idea of a museum exhibition of Modern architecture resulted from equal measures of youthful moralistic earnestness to bring America up to date with advanced European architecture, a tweaking of the nose of the bourgeois, and self-promotion on the part of the exhibition's organizers. Barely two years

old in 1932, the Museum of Modern Art had been founded in 1929 by a group of wealthy New York art collectors.¹¹ The early trustees and officers of the museum read like a roll call of important American patrons of advanced art: Miss Lillie Bliss, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., A. Conger Goodyear, Chester Dale, Duncan Phillips, and Paul Sachs.



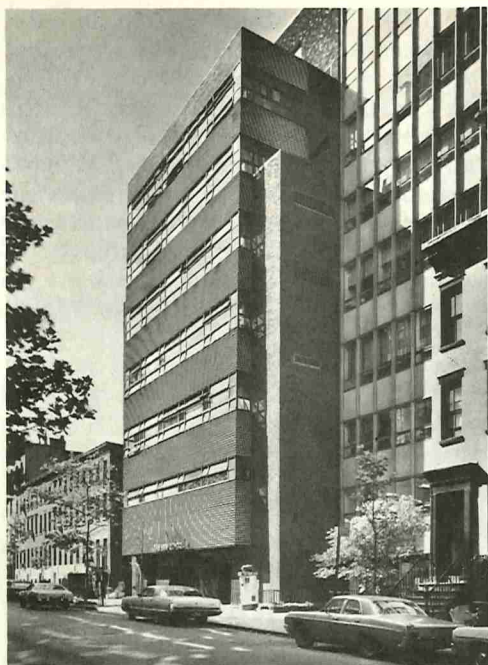
8 Hoyer, Chilehaus.



9 Weissenhof housing exposition.

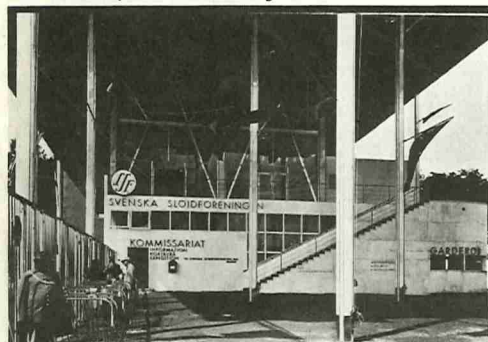


10 Walker, Barclay Vesey building.

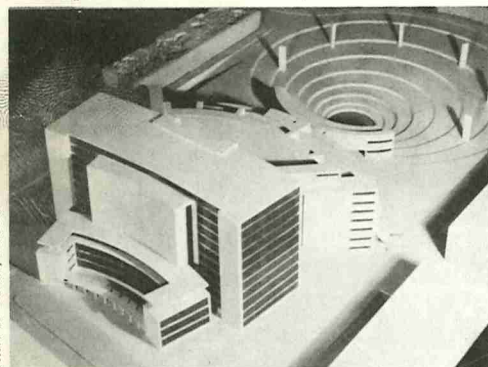


Cervin Robinson

11 *Urban, New School for Social Research.*

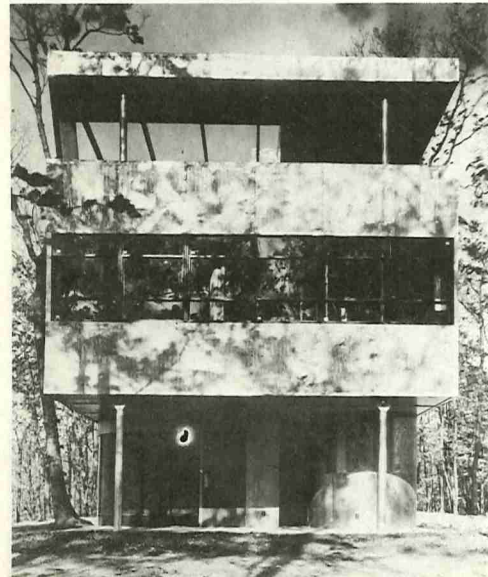


12 *Asplund, Stockholm Exposition.*



Hoblitzelle Theatre Arts Collection,
Univ. of Texas, Austin

13 *Bel Geddes, Ukrainian State Theater.*



14 *Kocher & Frey, Aluminaire house.*

The man entrusted with implementing the idea and who gave it a distinctive cast was the first director, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., the son of a Detroit Presbyterian minister, whose missionary passion for Modern art approached that of a religion. Barr had gained a certain fame—or notoriety—by teaching a course at Wellesley College on the arts of the 20th Century that included painting, sculpture, prints, posters, advertising, films, theater, photography, industrial design, and architecture. His course became the prospectus for a museum that he envisioned that would encompass the sprawling modes of Modern art, prove it popular with the public, and give serious academic attention to the subject.

Barr had wanted an exhibition devoted to advanced European architecture, and by the summer of 1930 he had approached Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., with the idea. Hitchcock, only 27 years old, was already a respected architectural historian and critic. He had graduated from Harvard in 1924, done some post-graduate work, lectured and taught, and published extensively. His writings were on a variety of subjects, but most prominently on contemporary American and European architecture: an article (1928) and a book (1931) on J.J.P. Oud, a book on Frank Lloyd Wright (1929), and a large book, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929), that attempted to put the ahistorical architecture of Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, Oud, and Le Corbusier, or—as he termed them, the “New Pioneers,” into perspective with the half-Modern or more derivative work of Wright, Berlage, Behrens, and Dudok, which he termed “The New Tradition.” Barr reviewed the book for a Harvard “little” literary magazine and highly praised the New Pioneers’ work as a more original development than even the Gothic or Byzantine styles.¹²

Philip Johnson was 24 in 1930 when he graduated from Harvard, having studied classics and philosophy. An interest in architecture came through Hitchcock’s article on Oud. Later he recalled: “Only Modern and only that kind of Modern architecture . . . enthralled me—not de Klerk, not Berlage, not Poelzig or Lutyens . . . I especially and contemptuously degraded the Modern Movement (i.e., Morris and Voysey) and Frank Lloyd Wright.”¹³ Johnson became close friends with Barr and after graduation moved to New York and volunteered his services to the fledgling museum, along with George Howe (who was working on designs for it, which were, of course, never executed). Johnson served on the junior advisory council; he oversaw renovations of the museum’s rented quarters, worked on the museum’s typog-

raphy, and organized the “Modern Architecture” show. The creation of the Department of Architecture with Johnson as the first head did not occur until after the exhibit was mounted.

Background of the exhibit

Ideas were developed and materials collected for the exhibition from mid-1930 onwards, while at the same time the ground was laid and events occurred that ensured the show would be controversial. The tenor of the proposed show was exemplified by Johnson’s prospectus written in early 1931: “Modern architecture was born and exists in an era of applied science. Modern architecture does not fight the machine age, but accepts it.” He claimed the new style “will not be a Greek temple made into a bank, a Gothic church become an office tower, or, worst of all, a ‘modernistic’ hodgepodge of half-hidden construction and fantastic detail.”¹⁴ In an article for *Arts* magazine in March 1931, Johnson attacked Joseph Urban’s recently completed New School for Social Research (11) in New York—one of the most modern, and European, buildings in the U.S., with a façade strongly related to Brinkman and van der Vlugt’s van Nelle Factory in Rotterdam of 1928 (p. 91). But for Johnson, the New School had “the illusion of a building in the International Style rather than a building resulting from a genuine application of the new principles,”¹⁵ which he claimed were: 1 purpose and function, a structure that creates the interior and subsequently the exterior; 2 function and structure create the decoration, no applied ornament; and 3 fine proportions and simple design create the feeling of beauty.

In April 1931, the Architectural League of New York held its annual exposition that also commemorated its 50th anniversary. Raymond Hood was president and Ely Jacques Kahn was in charge of the exhibits. The League’s annual Gold Medal went to Eliel Saarinen for Cranbrook (6) and to Shreve, Lamb & Harmon for the Empire State Building of 1931. The exhibition was inclusive, showing highly traditional work, along with Østberg’s city hall (p. 93), Asplund’s Stockholm Exposition designs of 1930 (12), Howe & Lescaze’s PSFS of 1932 (p. 98), Hood’s Daily News of 1930, three Norman Bel Geddes designs, including the Ukrainian State Theater (13), and Kocher & Frey’s full-scale model Aluminaire house of 1931 (14) (purchased by Wallace K. Harrison and moved to Syosset, Long Island). Rejected for the exhibit were a group of younger architects committed to Modernism and closely identified with Howe. Johnson, with the blessings of Howe and Barr, rented a storefront, set up an exhibit of the rejected work, and hired a sandwich-board man to parade

in front of the League with the message: "See Really Modern Architecture Rejected by the League . . ." Shown were Clauss & Daub, Stonorov & Morgan, Hazen Size, William Muschenheim, Walter Baermann, Elroy Weber, and Richard Wood. Labeled "Rejected Architects," the show caught the eye of the press. The *Art News* critic noted that the "elements of International Style stress design that is primarily dependent on the function which the building is to serve, without consideration of traditional principles of symmetry."¹⁷ Johnson followed up the short-lived exhibit with two articles. One, "Rejected Architects" in *Creative Art*, claimed "the public found a new thrill in the Rejected Architects. Here was the chance to witness an unusual fight."

Johnson used the show as a ploy for the "International Style," which he proclaimed in capital letters, and denounced critics and architects alike who he claimed were picking up only the surface features of the style and not the principles.¹⁸ Inflammatory in reading people in or out of serious consideration, Johnson published almost simultaneously in *Arts* magazine "The Skyscraper School of Modern Architecture," which criticized the skyscrapers of Walker, Hood, and Ely Jacques Kahn as false, unmodern, and of no aesthetic merit. He questioned whether they represented a style, since they lacked a consistent attitude towards ornament and structure, and said, "In addition, a style must be worthy of continuing at least a decade; yet already an essentially new kind of skyscraper is emerging."¹⁹

By 1931, the term "International Style" was current in the vocabulary of many American architects and critics. Hitchcock first used it in 1928 with reference to a design by Peter van der Meulen Smith, a student of André Lurçat's.²⁰ Apparently the source was Walter Gropius's *Internationale Architektur* (1st ed. 1925, 2nd ed. 1927), an inclusive picture book of his own work and that of Behrens, Perret, Le Corbusier, and others, and which also included American grain silos. In a brief foreword, Gropius claimed that in spite of the national and individual differences, all the work had similar features of "a general will to form which seeks a fundamentally new expression." And Gropius rather grandly used the term "INTERNATIONAL architecture"! In a review in *Architectural Record* for 1929, Hitchcock translated part of the preface from Gropius's second edition of *Internationale Architektur*: "Since the appearance of the first edition, the modern architecture of various lands of western culture has followed the line of development indicated by this book with a surprisingly rapid tempo. Then but an idea, it is today a solid fact. . . ."²¹ Hitchcock

attempted to substitute the awkward phrase "The New Pioneers" and avoid the sticky word style, but the term International Style stuck.

'Modern Architecture' exhibit

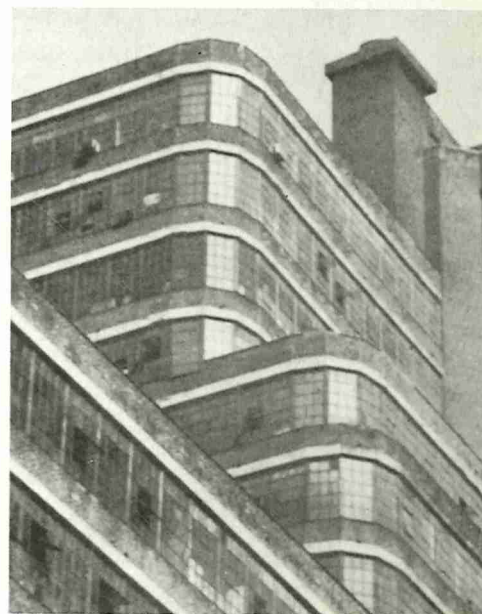
The long-awaited "Modern Architecture" exhibit finally opened on February 9, 1932, in the museum's temporary quarters of the Heckscher Building on Fifth Avenue and remained on view until March 23. Subsequently, the exhibit, with slight alterations, appeared in museums and galleries in Philadelphia, Hartford, Buffalo, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Rochester, Toledo, Cambridge, Worcester, and in Los Angeles at the Bullocks Wilshire Department Store.

The displays of photos, drawings, and models were installed by Johnson, although Mies had earlier been announced as the designer of the exhibition. (Johnson was already a disciple of Mies, who had designed Johnson's New York apartment interior—a photo of it appeared in *The International Style*. Johnson had written two articles admiring Mies's installation of the 1931 Berlin Building Exposition.²² A footnote in *The International Style* announced that Johnson had a book on Mies in preparation, but it did not appear until 1947.)

The museum trustees requested that American architects be accorded equal representation, and to circumvent this restriction, Johnson split the exhibit into three parts to mask the European predominance. The parts were: first, a survey of the extent of Modern architecture; second, an in-depth examination of the leaders; and third, a section on housing. This arrangement, with the addition of essays and a slightly different and lesser number of illustrations, was followed in the catalog *Modern Architecture*. Barr provided a polemical foreword, took swipes at the "Modernistic or half-modern decorative style," and asserted that the "aesthetic principles of the International Style are based primarily upon the nature of modern materials and structure and upon modern requirements in planning."²³ Johnson followed with a "Historical Note" that outlined the classical litany of formative influences: 19th-Century train sheds, bridges and engineering, Cubist painting and sculpture, and the architecture of Richardson, Sullivan, and Wagner. Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture* announced the new style, and "Since 1922 the new style has not changed in its fundamentals."²⁴

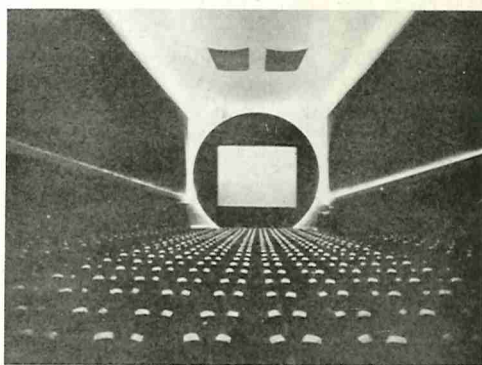
The quantitative section on "The Extent of Modern Architecture" consisted of the exhibit of photographs of 40 buildings from around the world; six were by American firms: R.G. & W.M. Cory's Starrett Lehigh Building of 1931 (15); Frederick Kiesler's Film Guild Cinema of 1929 (16); and Thompson &

Churchill's Office Building of 1930 on the northwest corner of Lexington Avenue and 57th Street—all in New York—and Kocher & Frey's Harrison house (14) at Syosset; Tucker & Howell's (with Oscar Stonorov as associate) Biological Laboratory of the Highland Museum of 1931 (17) in North Carolina; and Clauss & Daub's Filling Station of 1931 (18) in Cleveland for the Standard Oil Company of Ohio.



David Dunlap

15 Cory, Starrett Lehigh building.



16 Kiesler, Film Guild Cinema.



17 Tucker & Howell, Biological Laboratory.

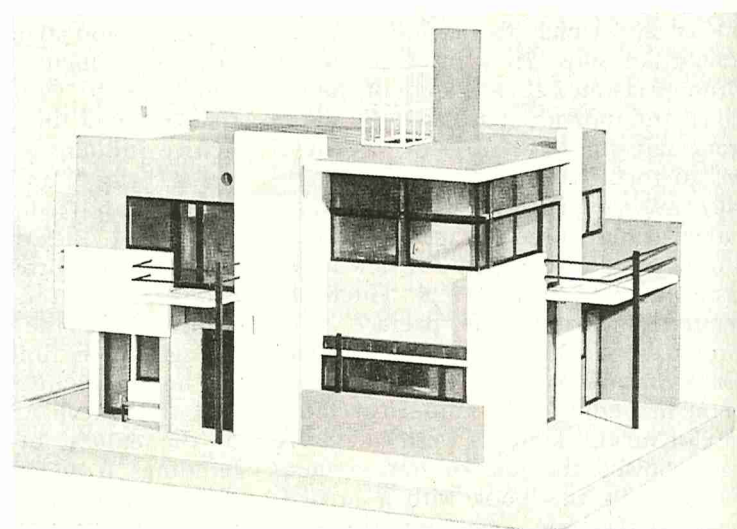


18 Clauss & Daub, Filling Station.



Photos: Richard Guy Wilson

Neutra, Lovell house (above); Howe & Lescaze, PSFS building (below left); Schindler, Lovell house (below right).



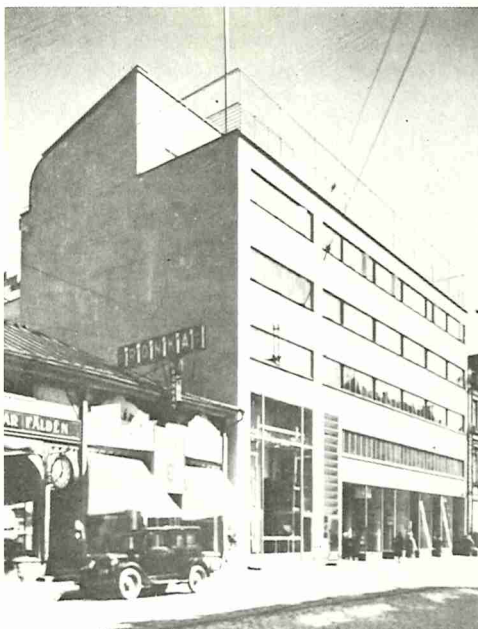
20 Rietveld, Schröder house.

The remaining 34 buildings ranged from Aalto's Turun Sanomat building in Turku of 1928 (19), Rietveld's Schröder house in Utrecht of 1924 (20), and Ueno's Star Bar in Kyoto. All the buildings in this section, even Mendelsohn's Schocken Department Store in Chemnitz of 1928 (21) or the Corys' Starrett Lehigh Building (15), had features that were identified as International Style. The catalog contained none of these illustrations (most would appear in *The International Style*), but did have an essay by Hitchcock and Johnson that read individuals either in or out of the movement, and criticized the "half-Modern."²⁵

The second section explored the work of nine architects/firms; four were European, and of the five Americans, Neutra and Lescaze were born and trained abroad. Shown were photographs, drawings, and models. The nine and their models were: Frank Lloyd Wright, House on the Mesa project for Denver of 1931 (22); Walter Gropius, Bauhaus (1); Le Corbusier, Villa Savoye (2); J.J.P. Oud, project for a house in Pinehurst, NC (p. 89) (for Johnson's sister and never built); Mies van der Rohe, Tugendhat house of 1930 (23); Howe & Lescaze, Chrystie-Forsyth housing project of 1931 (24) for New York; Raymond Hood, Country Tower project for the New York suburbs of 1932 (25); Richard Neutra, Ring Plan School project (26); and Bowman Brothers, Lux apartment project (27).

With the exception of Oud, all the Europeans presented actual buildings in model form, while all the American models were experimental and hypothetical. In the catalog, Hitchcock provided eight of the essays on the individuals, and Johnson the one on Mies. The leaders, openly stated, were Le Corbusier, Mies, Gropius, and Oud. Of the Americans, Howe & Lescaze were clearly the most important. Neutra's Lovell house (p. 98) was claimed as stylistically the most advanced house in the U.S. The Bowman Brothers were a strange inclusion; they had built nothing of importance, and their proclaimed aesthetics of function and construction were beyond the thesis of the exhibit. Also strange was the presence of Raymond Hood, but he appeared to be moving in the right direction with the predominant horizontals of the McGraw-Hill Building (28) in New York, completed in 1934, or the Country Tower apartments (25).

Wright's inclusion was the most difficult to explain, yet how could any exhibit of Modern architecture ignore America's most famous Modern? Barr explained that Wright "is not intimately related to the Style although his early work was one of the Style's most important sources."²⁶ And on that basis Wright was treated by Hitchcock as an



Arkkitehti Helsinki

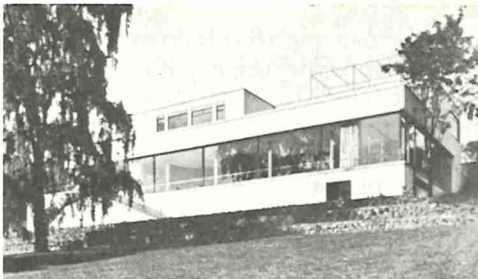
19 Aalto, Turun Sanomat building.



21 Mendelsohn, Schocken Dept. Store.

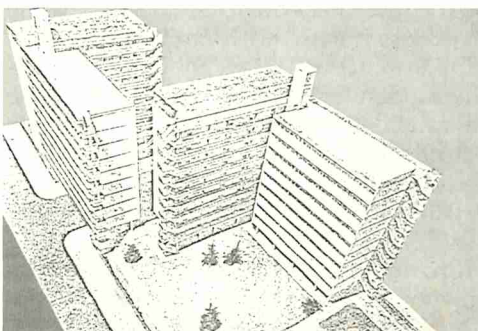


22 Wright, House on the Mesa project.

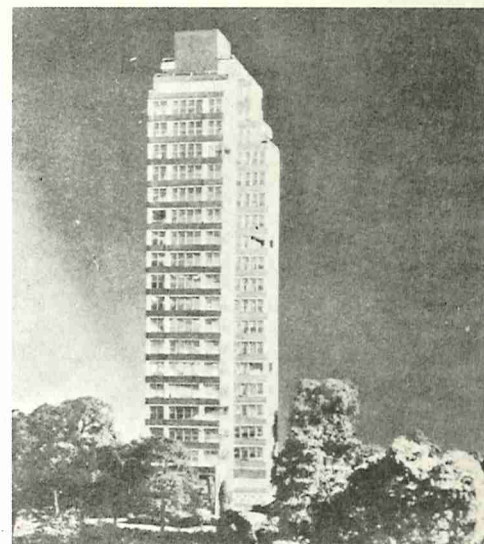


Hedrich-Blessing

23 Mies, Tugendhat house.

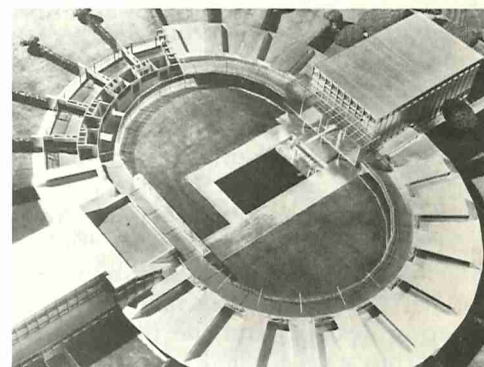


24 Howe & Lescaze, Chrystie-Forsyth housing.

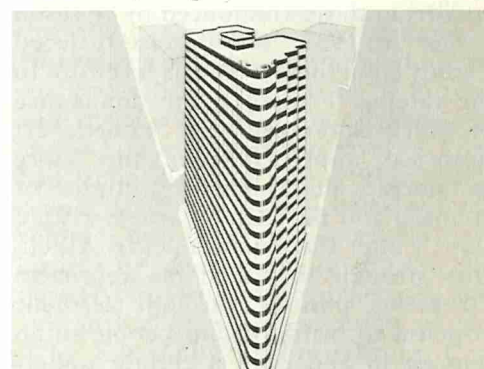


Courtesy McGraw-Hill

25 Hood, Country Tower project.



26 Neutra, Ring Plan School.



27 Bowman, Lux Apartments.



28 Hood, McGraw-Hill building.

Richard Guy Wilson

International Style

individualist who recognized no boundaries of style and an innovator of new concepts of plan, space, form, and image. The difference between the architects "throughout the world who work consciously or unconsciously in a single international style" and Wright was that: "At the bottom they are Classicists and he a Romantic."²⁷

Part three, housing, had a large model and photos of Otto Haesler's Rothenberg housing development in Kassel, Germany, and photos of the work of Ernst May, Oud, Henry Wright, and Clarence Stein, and American slums and housing developments. The catalog contained an essay by Lewis Mumford and a short entry by Johnson on Haesler.

The International Style

The book, *The International Style*, went far beyond the schematic catalog and dogmatically laid down the principles of the new style. The principles were three: "architecture as volume rather than mass," "regularity rather than axial symmetry serves as the chief means of ordering design," and the proscription of "arbitrary applied ornament."²⁸ These three principles differed markedly from those announced by Johnson earlier in 1931, and in fact differed slightly from those of Barr's foreword to the catalog. Evident is the dominance of Hitchcock's primarily aesthetic art historical approach over the more technocratic-deterministic attitudes of Johnson and Barr. In an article written shortly after the exhibit opened, Hitchcock strongly defended his approach: "It seems possible through aesthetic criticism to bring certain people to an interest in and even a certain understanding of Modern architecture who are bored by technicians and sociologists."²⁹ Prominent was the scholarly apparatus Barr had sought. The Germanic art historical approach of Wolfflin and Frankl underlay much of Hitchcock and Johnson's theorizing: "The unconscious and halting architectural developments of the 19th Century, the confused and contradictory experimentation of the beginning of the 20th, have been succeeded by a directed evolution. There is now a single body of discipline, fixed enough to integrate contemporary style as a reality and yet elastic enough to permit individual interpretation and to encourage general growth."³⁰

The argument developed by Hitchcock and Johnson was complex and ultimately misunderstood, for while they recognized the importance of the ideas of designing for function and of incorporating the new expressive possibilities of (supposedly) 20th Century materials

and structure, these were not the determinants. For a style—or an aesthetic—had developed that provided a method of arranging façades, fenestration, plans, and details. The International Style was, in other words, an aesthetic that really did not depend upon the ideas of function and materials, which of course was proven by buildings that looked like thin-walled volumetric containers, but were stucco-covered brick. This was perfectly acceptable to Hitchcock and Johnson: "from an aesthetic point of view, brick is undoubtedly less satisfactory than any other material, including stucco. Indeed, brick is often covered with stucco."³¹ Surprisingly, given the importance that expressed or articulated structure came to have in the 1940s and 1950s in "International Style" buildings, structure was down-played in 1932; walls were thin, flat, and unbroken by the structural cage. When structure does appear, as in the pilotis, it is an object separate from the wall. Also, details when they appear, whether window frames or railings, are objects, mechanical in appearance. As William Jordy later argued, the process is more of a symbolic objectification of the machine age than the real thing.³²

Space was not defined as a principle per se, but treated under the concept of architecture as volume, although buildings were presented with no sections, but only plans. The free plan, or "interiors which open up into one another without definite circumscribing partitions," as in those of Mies and Le Corbusier, were claimed as the particular innovation of the International Style. The use of screens, curved and oblique, gave to the interior a new type of abstract space "unknown in the architecture of the past."³³

Essentially, *The International Style* became a cookbook, a set of do's and don'ts: "Anyone who follows the rules, who accepts the implications . . . can produce buildings which are at least aesthetically sound."³⁴ The rules are set forth extensively: "Good Modern architecture expresses in its design this characteristic orderliness of structure and this similarity of parts by an aesthetic ordering which emphasizes the underlying regularity. Bad modern design contradicts this regularity."³⁵ "The flat roofs normal with modern methods of construction have an essential aesthetic significance. . . . Flat roofs are so much more useful that slanting or rounded roofs are only exceptionally justified."³⁶ "The mark of the bad modern architect is the positive cultivation of asymmetry for decorative reasons."³⁷ Horizontality is noted as one of the conspicuous characteristics of the International Style and justified by construction and function. The horizontality made the International Style stand apart from

the usual verticality of American skyscrapers, and for this reason, Raymond Hood's McGraw-Hill building (28) could be grudgingly included as "within the limits" of the International Style.³⁸ Yet, after extensively discussing horizontality and depreciating the "average American client" who found it "unacceptable aesthetically," it was noted, "Horizontality is not in itself, however, a principle of the International Style."³⁹

In both the text and the captions, suggestions were made with regard to specific buildings. For Mendelsohn's Schocken Department store (21) in Chemnitz: "The setbacks required by building laws give an unfortunate stepped effect, as in New York skyscrapers"; and for Tucker and Howell's Biological Laboratory (17) of the Highlands Museum: "Pipe support is incongruous and appears too frail."⁴⁰ The problem of a too rigid adherence to the rules was faced by Hitchcock and Johnson, with the admission that "dull" buildings could result, and the observation that "It is the privilege of great architects to interpret the aesthetic discipline of the style according to the spirit rather than the letter."⁴¹

In this emphasis upon aesthetics and style, Hitchcock and Johnson conspicuously placed themselves on one side of a debate raging in European Modernist circles between the straightforward Functionalists, such as Hannes Meyer and Mart Stam, and those such as Le Corbusier and Mies, who claimed that the architect was an artist concerned with composition, beauty, and aesthetics. The Functionalist view that any concern with proportions or problems of design for their own sake was decadent and reminiscent of the 19th Century was noted and criticized: "Consciously or unconsciously the architect must make free choices before his design is completed. In these choices the European Functionalists follow, rather than go against, the principles of the general contemporary style. Whether they admit it or not is beside the point."⁴² Barr, in the preface, actually suggested an alternative name for the International Style—Post-Functionalism.⁴³ Fundamental to this split was the sociological and political orientation of many European architects; they were largely left-wing, if not communist, as in the cases of Meyer and Stam, and saw their work not as aesthetics, but as attempts to solve problems of housing and standards of living, and as spurs to collective action. This leftist political orientation would be clearly unacceptable not only to the Museum's trustees, but also to the majority of the American public, especially those with the power to commission buildings.

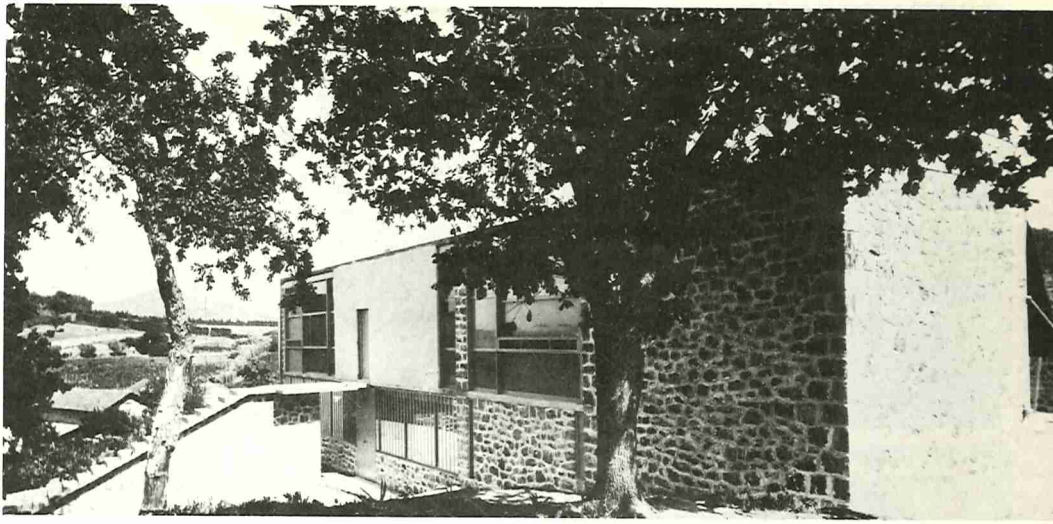
Housing

Some critics have charged that the exhibit and the books essentially drained all social content out of the International Style in order to make it digestible for Americans. The truth is more that the architecture was depoliticized, with some of the goals of social improvement in housing kept. The intent of Hitchcock and Johnson's International Style was admittedly not social, although a final chapter on the Siedlungen (German housing communities) (9) was included in recognition of the importance they had played in the architectural development. Nevertheless, the authors were critical of certain concepts: "This statistical monster, the typical family, has no personal existence," and "Too often in European Siedlungen the Functionalists build for some proletarian superman of the future."⁴⁴ Yet it was implied that housing would be one of the important areas of future American commissions. The exhibit and the catalog were definite on the problems of housing, though typically, the concern was for the application of the International Style.

The actual section on housing was largely the work of Lewis Mumford and Catherine Bauer—he providing the essay and she assembling the materials. Mumford's reputation as an architectural critic and historian was already well established; his fundamentally social (as distinct from Hitchcock's fundamentally aesthetic) viewpoint had been developed, though his later critical views on the machine were not yet evident. Catherine Bauer, a protégée of Mumford, had traveled in Germany in 1930, and the Siedlung, in her words, was "so exciting that it transformed me from an aesthetic into a housing reformer."⁴⁶

The exhibit attempted to show the totally planned communities of Haesler and May in Germany, Oud in Rotterdam, and Wright and Stein at Radburn, NJ, and on Long Island, in comparison to slums. Certainly the Traditional architecture of Radburn and Sunnyside Gardens was at odds with the International Style, but on the level of comprehensive planning, large-scale development, and a recognition of the issues of hygiene, open green space, and traffic separation, they were equal to the European models. Mumford's essay went the farthest towards political comment, using terms such as "collective enterprise," "economic revolution," and stating that adequate housing would only be possible with "Limited Profits" and "State Subvention." The neo-picturesque quality of most American housing was roundly condemned, and Mumford translated the social, biological, and economic requirements of housing into Modern architecture—and by implication, into the Interna-

n built



29 *Le Corbusier, de Mandrot house.*

tional Style: "Modern architecture, with its strong lines, its disdain for the 'quaint' and the 'pretty,' its communal unity, its submergence of the individual unit in the design of the whole, is not a poor substitute for our abandoned heaven of the individual romantic house, built according to the heart's desire; on the contrary, it is far superior, superior not only to the speculative builder's pathetic caricature, but likewise to such nearer approximations as one finds in the upper-class suburbs today."⁴⁶

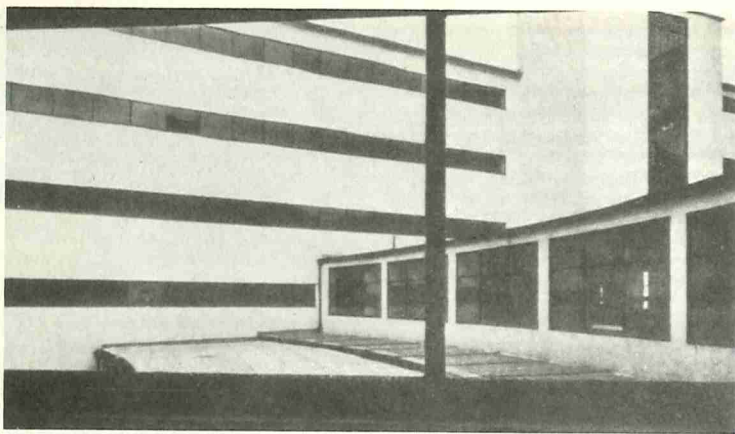
In a symposium held during the exhibit, the political implications came more into focus. Henry Wright made a presentation on the "social responsibility of the architect" and the issues of housing. The answer for American housing would be found in the small community, and while impressed by the German Siedlung, he felt it was not the solution for the U.S. Mumford also made a presentation on housing and concluded with a "message" for architects who wanted to design housing: "You must plan them as though you were working for a Communist government."⁴⁷ Barr must have writhed in his seat, but apparently Mumford's and the other talks were reported only in *Shelter*.

Impact of the exhibit

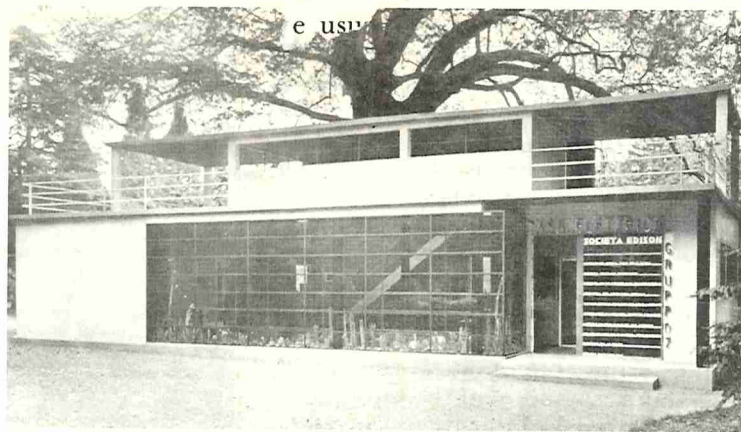
About 33,000 people saw the exhibit in New York, a total less than that of other exhibitions at the Museum that season. The number that saw it on tour, or were exposed to it through the catalog and book or other articles, is speculation. In New York it received extensive publicity, especially considering the three other current architectural exhibits: the work of Joseph Urban sponsored by the Architectural League, the "City of the Future" drawings by Hugh Ferriss at the Roerich Museum, and finally, the annual Architectural League show. Comparisons were inevitable, especially with the rival League. One critic claimed, "So far as the League is concerned, we have another demonstration of American in-

genuity and taste in revamping the various architectural modes of other days to suit our modern conveniences," and he summed up the exhibit as "academic, and—if the truth be told—rather dull."⁴⁸ To further the excitement, Howe & Lescaze's League submissions were rejected, and they in turn resigned. The Museum hired a publicity agent and got the commotion reported on the front page of *The New York Times* and elsewhere.⁴⁹

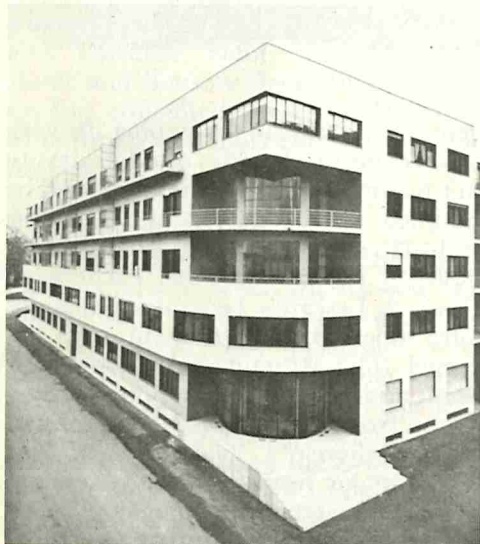
The major result of the Museum exhibit was the establishment of the International Style as the approved image of the 20th Century. How accurately Hitchcock and Johnson summed up the current radical architecture of Europe and the work of the four leaders will always be a matter of controversy. They had some difficulty fitting Mies's Barcelona Pavilion (3), with its lack of fixed volume, into their principles. Le Corbusier's de Mandrot house of 1931 (29) near Hyeres, with solid rubble walls, was also included as an extension of the style. Essentially a return by Le Corbusier to a rustic vernacular and a rejection of the style of the 1920s, it was contemporary with his Pavillon Suisse in Paris (not in the exhibit), which had rubble walls and dramatically sculptural pilotis. Hitchcock has noted that if the book and exhibit had been either earlier or later, the resultant definition and image might have been different.⁵⁰ However that may be, they caught and enshrined for all time a particular architectural image and style, essentially one of the later 1920s.



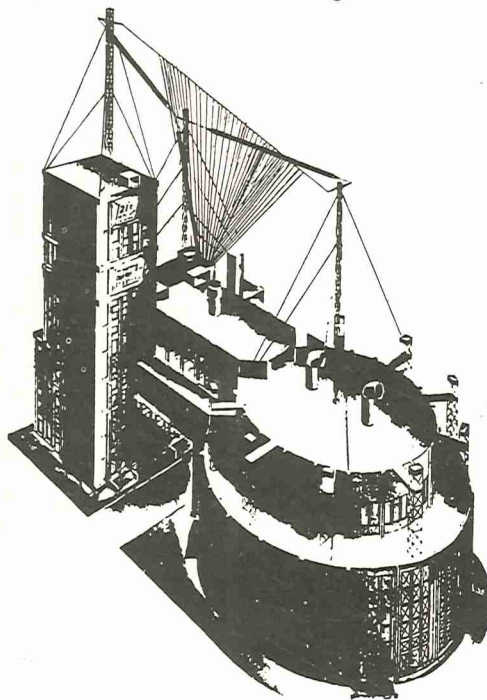
30 Mendelsohn, German Metal Workers building.



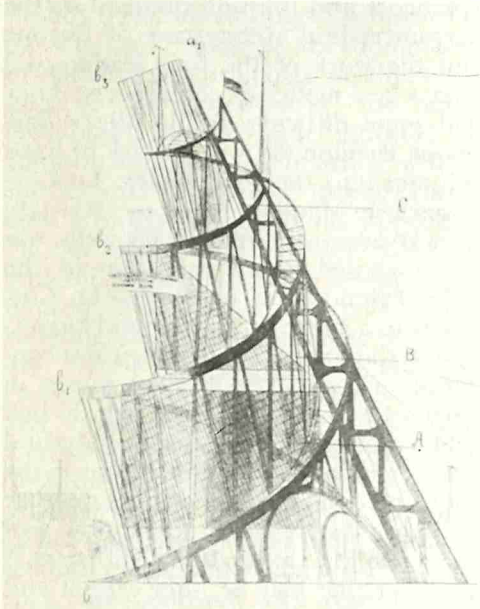
31 Figini & Pollini, Monza exposition house.



32 Terragni, Novocomun Apartments.



34 Vesnin, Palace of Labor.



33 Tatlin, Monument to 3rd International.



35 Melkinov, Rusakov Club.



36 Terragni, Casa del Fascio.

Reputations, and to a certain degree what was deemed important and worthy of study, were defined by the exhibit and books. Rudolf Schindler asked to be included, claiming not an affinity with "the so-called 'International Style,'" but with problems beyond style and materials. Johnson responded curtly: "From my knowledge of your work, my real opinion is that your work would not belong in this exhibition"; and by his definitions it did not.³⁰ Certainly not all of Schindler's subsequent problems can be blamed on his exclusion, but it hurt, and he remained largely a regional figure. (He did participate in the Museum's 1935 "Modern Architecture in California" exhibit.) In contrast, Richard Neutra's exploitation of the publicity resulting from the exhibit gave him a position of prominence equal to—for a period of time—that of Wright, Mies, and Le Corbusier.

Foreign omissions

Certain foreign omissions or slights were equally damaging. Erich Mendelsohn, certainly the most successful of the German Modernists and well known in the U.S., received marginal inclusion with a plan and photo of the Schocken Department Store (21) in Chemnitz and a photo of the German Metal Workers' Union Building of 1930 (30) in Berlin (designed with R.W. Reichel). Hans Scharoun had a plan and a photo of a Berlin apartment house in the book. By the late 1920s their work was well within the bounds of the International Style. Perhaps their earlier Expressionist work—certainly an excess in terms of the International Style—made them questionable. However, Mies and the Bauhaus of the immediate post-war years were also largely Expressionist, yet their reputations had been sanitized by the later 1920s. Other figures—Hugo Häring, the Amsterdam School, Bruno and Max Taut—could also be mentioned, yet their architecture passed beyond the Hitchcock and Johnson boundaries.

Only one building was included from Italy, Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini's house at the Monza Exposition of 1930

(31). In actuality, little had been built in Italy by 1932 that accorded with the International Style definition, though Giuseppe Terragni had completed his Novocomun apartments in Como by 1929 (32). Pier Luigi Nervi's Florence Stadium was also completed, but would have been considered engineering.

Far more political was the almost complete absence of new Soviet architecture. None of the Museum's organizers was unaware of Russian Constructivism, and in fact Barr had traveled in the USSR and written in 1929 about the "advanced" architecture, though he criticized it for poor details and finish and complained that the "fantastic paper architecture" seemed to overwhelm the actual built examples.⁵² Vladimir Tatlin's Monument to the Third International project of 1920 (33); Viktor, Leonid, and Aleksandr Vesnin's Palace of Labor project of 1923 (34); and many of the projects of the Soviet architectural school and of the Vkhutemas (Free State Art Studios) were paper architecture and beyond the boundaries of the International Style. Yet there were also many works in accord, such as Le Corbusier's Centrosoyus Building in Moscow under construction from 1929 onwards, the workers' clubs of the 1920s by Konstantin Melnikov, such as the Rusakov Club in Moscow of 1929 (35), and Ilya Golosov, and the Narkomfin flats in Moscow by Moisei Ginsburg and I. Milinis. The Soviet identification of Modern architecture with revolution would not be conducive to selling the International Style in the U.S. Consequently, the Russian contribution became a few photographs of the insignificant Electro-Physical Laboratory and Institute in Moscow (p. 90).

Reactions

Reactions to the exhibit and books indicate how the International Style would be interpreted. Typically conservative was William Adams Delano: "After centuries of struggle to evolve a culture worthy of his position in the animal kingdom, is this to be man's end? No better, no worse than the insects, ants and caterpillars. . . ." And William Williams in *Pencil Points*: "How did they come into being—such houses? Certainly no owner with an eye to his comfort ever specified one in detail."⁵³ On the other side there were Buckminster Fuller and Knud Lønberg-Holm, who thought the International Style was too preoccupied with aesthetics and did not accept technology as the only determinant.⁵⁴ Talbot Hamlin found the International Style too concerned with "strict Functionalism" and interested primarily in "economy, efficiency and bareness."⁵⁵ The editor of *Architectural Forum* approved of the exhibit and interpreted the stark, unadorned character as "an

expression of the fast-growing band of scientific-minded who believe in the universal efficacy of machine efficiency." He felt the exhibit might clear away the "chaff of copyism" though the style could become "the happy hunting ground of copyist charlatans."⁵⁶

The debate on Modernism was removed from the confines of architectural journals and schools through review in the popular and art press. Ralph Flint in *Art News* wrote several articles praising the International Style show, the honest treatment of materials, the applicability for large-scale work, the nonderivative nature, and the simplicity that made even the work of "Moderns as Frank Lloyd Wright . . . look overloaded and fussy."⁵⁷

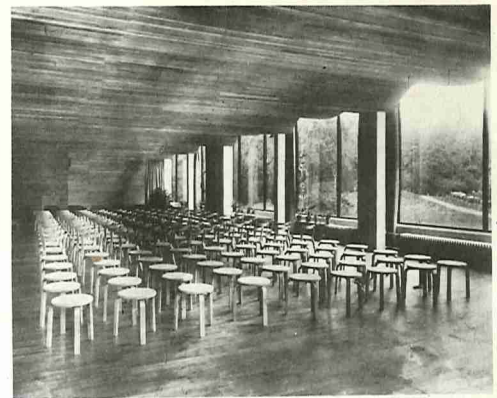
Out of these reactions a pattern emerged; the illustrations made more of an impact than the printed work; images and details were assimilated more readily than aesthetic theory. In spite of Hitchcock and Johnson's caution on functionalism, the International Style became the Functionalist style; its seemingly ahistorical image was the expression of necessity and not art. Severity, flat spartan surfaces, revealed structure, and mechanics became the identifying features. The white building in the



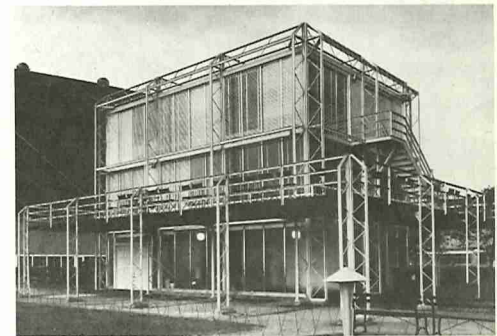
37 Lubetkin & Tecton, Highpoint Towers.



38 Stone & Goodwin, Museum of Modern Art.



39 Aalto, Viipuri Library.



40 Keck, Crystal House.



41 Gropius & Breuer, Gropius house.



42 Wright, Fallingwater.

landscape and the white interior were its trademarks. It was the machine style, even if the forms were rarely dictated or made by the machine. The International Style, according to most interpretations, expressed the scientific mind of the 20th Century.

Portents

The future transformations of the International Style are beyond the boundaries of this article, except to sketch some outlines. Certainly one reason Mies, Moholy-Nagy, Gropius, Breuer, Hilberseimer, and other Europeans were so readily accepted in American architectural schools in the later 1930s can be attributed to the favorable climate created by the exhibit. As for actual designs, by 1932 the leaders, Mies and Le Corbusier (as noted), were already separating themselves from the doctrinaire phase chronicled by Hitchcock and Johnson. Gropius would similarly change. Oud, because of health, produced little work. Buildings within the strict canons of the style were produced in spite of straitened economics. Abroad, there were Marcel Breuer's Dolderthal Apartments in Zurich of 1936, Giuseppe Terragni's Casa del Fascio of 1936 (36) in Como, Lubetkin and Tecton's Highpoint Towers of 1935 (37) in London, and Mendelsohn and Chermayeff's De La Warr Pavilion of 1936 (p. 105) at Bexhill-on-sea. In the U.S., Edward Durrell Stone's A. Conger Goodyear house in Old Westbury, L.I., Stone and Goodwin's Museum of Modern Art building of 1939 (38), and Richard Neutra's John Nicholas Brown house of 1937 on Fishers Island, NY, come directly from the exhibit and the book. More important were designs that expanded or altered the principles. Abroad, Alvar Aalto emerges as the most important innovator, his Turun Sanomat building (19) (in the exhibit and book) already departed markedly from the style with its sculptural piers. In the Viipuri Library of 1930-1935 (39), the roof of the lecture room indicated the direction Aalto would take in reconciling nature with the rigidity of the International Style. In the U.S., George Fred Keck's Crystal House of 1934 (40) at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition took the mechanical-technological image to its logical end. Richard Neutra's Corona School of 1935 in Los Angeles explored the reductivist tendency. The later wood-sheathed houses of Gropius and Breuer around Boston, such as the Gropius house of 1937 (41) in Lincoln, Ma, and of Harwell Hamilton Harris in California made palatable for Americans the ascetic white box. And finally, Frank Lloyd Wright, influenced by the

International Style though remaining independent, created perhaps the most memorable image of the 1930s, if not of the 20th Century: Fallingwater (42).

To claim that the International Style exhibit changed the course of architecture is excessive hyperbole, yet it did exercise a significant influence in summarizing certain developments, giving them publicity, and providing a name. The exhibit and books helped to create a consensus of what Modern architecture should be. For American architecture, the colonial status was confirmed; another foreign style was imported.

Barr, Hitchcock, and Johnson were selective, as suited their purpose, to demonstrate that a Modern style of architecture did exist with definite characteristics, principles, and appearances. If they had included a broader spectrum, the outcome might have been different. Later generations have discovered the Constructivists, Schindler, Cret, the American Skyscraper, Scharoun, and others. To bemoan their loss is understandable, but not a futile flailing at history, because the International Style is now history. The wheel has turned again, and a very different consensus or "controlling style" is emerging. □

Footnotes

- ¹ Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., Philip Johnson, and Lewis Mumford, *Modern Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art and W.W. Norton Co., 1932), p. 13; reprint edition (New York, 1973).
- ² *The Federal Architect*, 3 (February 1932).
- ³ Eliel Saarinen, "Address," *The Octagon*, 3 (April 1931), pp. 6-13.
- ⁴ Lewis Mumford, "Sticks and Stones" (1924) and "The Brown Decades" (1931) were especially important. The two editions of Thomas Tallmadge's *The Story of American Architecture* have different chapter titles, 1927, "Louis Sullivan and the Lost Cause," and 1936, "Louis Sullivan Parent and Prophet."
- ⁵ Frank Lloyd Wright, "For all may raise the flowers now for all have got the seed," and George Howe, "Moses turns Pharaoh," *T-Square Club Journal*, 2 (February 1932), pp. 6-9.
- ⁶ Robert A.M. Stern, *George Howe: Toward a Modern American Architecture* (New Haven: 1975).
- ⁷ Samuel Chamberlain, *American Architect*, 131 (January 20, 1927), pp. 71-74; and *The Architect*, 9 (December 1927), pp. 287-288.
- ⁸ Ralph Walker, "A New Architecture," *Architectural Forum*, 48 (January 1928), pp. 1-4.
- ⁹ "Contemporary Architecture, A Symposium," *Journal of Proceedings of the 63rd Annual Convention of the AIA*, May 21-23, 1930, pp. 23-55. Excerpts were reprinted in *Architectural Forum*, 53 (July 1930), pp. 49-50; and Howe's talk excerpted in *T-Square Club Journal*, 1 (March 1931).
- ¹⁰ Harvey M. Watts, *T-Square Club Journal*, 1 (February 1931), p. 14.
- ¹¹ For the MoMA see: A. Conger Goodyear, *The Museum of Modern Art: The First Ten Years* (New York: 1943); and Russell Lynes, *Good Old Modern* (New York: 1973).
- ¹² Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Hound and Horn*, 3 (April-June 1930), pp. 431-433.
- ¹³ Philip Johnson, *Writings*, ed. by Robert A.M. Stern and Peter Eisenman (New York: 1979), p. 268.
- ¹⁴ Philip Johnson, "Built to Live In," Museum of Modern Art, March 1931, reprinted in *Writings*, pp. 29-31.
- ¹⁵ Philip Johnson, "The Architecture of the New School," *The Arts*, 8 (March 1931), pp. 393-398.

- ¹⁶ Stern, Howe, pp. 151-152; Philip Johnson, Architectural League, *News Bulletin* (September 1965), pp. 1-4.
- ¹⁷ "Rejected Architects," and Richard Flint, "Architects Show Fine Work in Annual Exhibit," *Art News*, 29 (April 25, 1931), pp. 3-5 and 12.
- ¹⁸ Philip Johnson, "Rejected Architects," *Creative Art*, 8 (June 1931), pp. 433-435.
- ¹⁹ Philip Johnson, "The Skyscraper School of Modern Architecture," *Arts*, 17 (May 1931) pp. 569-575.
- ²⁰ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., "Four Harvard Architects," *Hound and Horn*, 2 (September 1928), pp. 41-47.
- ²¹ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architectural Record*, 66 (August 1929), p. 191. Also Ludwig Hilberseimer, *Internationale Neue Baukunst* (1926, 1928), should be noted as a source for the term.
- ²² Philip Johnson, "In Berlin: Comment on Building Exposition," *The New York Times*, August 9, 1931, art page, reprinted in *Writings*, pp. 49-51; and "The Berlin Building Exposition of 1931," *T-Square*, 2 (January 1932), pp. 17-19, 36-37.
- ²³ *Modern Architecture* (MA hereafter), p. 15, 13-14.
- ²⁴ MA, p. 20.
- ²⁵ MA, p. 21.
- ²⁶ MA, p. 15.
- ²⁷ MA, p. 37.
- ²⁸ *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922* (IS hereafter) (New York: W.W. Norton Co., 1932), p. 20 (reprint edition, New York: 1966).
- ²⁹ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., "Architectural Criticism," *Shelter*, 2 (April 1932), p. 2.
- ³⁰ IS, p. 20.
- ³¹ IS, p. 52.
- ³² William Jordy, "Symbolic Objectification," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 22 (October 1963), pp. 177-187.
- ³³ IS, pp. 86, 87.
- ³⁴ IS, p. 68.
- ³⁵ IS, p. 57.
- ³⁶ IS, p. 44.
- ³⁷ IS, p. 60.
- ³⁸ IS, p. 156.
- ³⁹ IS, pp. 66, 67.
- ⁴⁰ IS, pp. 177, 223.
- ⁴¹ IS, pp. 65, 67.
- ⁴² IS, p. 37.
- ⁴³ IS, p. 14.
- ⁴⁴ IS, pp. 92, 93.
- ⁴⁵ Catherine Bauer Wurster, "The Social Front of Modern Architecture in 1930s," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 24 (March 1965), p. 48.
- ⁴⁶ MA, pp. 180, 182, 184, 187.
- ⁴⁷ Lewis Mumford, *Shelter*, 2 (April 1932), p. 4.
- ⁴⁸ Ralph Flint, "A Conservative Spirit Rules in Architect's Show," *Art News*, 30 (March 5, 1932), pp. 5-6.
- ⁴⁹ *The New York Times*, February 28, 1932; and Stern, Howe, pp. 155-157.
- ⁵⁰ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Foreword to the 1966 Edition," *The International Style* (New York: 1966).
- ⁵¹ David Gebhard, *Schindler* (New York: 1971), p. 116.
- ⁵² Alfred H. Barr, "Notes on Russian Architecture," *The Arts*, 1 (January 1929), p. 12.
- ⁵³ William Adams Delano, "Man versus Mass," *Shelter*, 2 May 1932, p. 12; and William Williams, "A la Mode Horizontale," *Pencil Points*, 13 (April 1932), pp. 271-272.
- ⁵⁴ R.B. Fuller, *The Buckminster Fuller Reader*, ed. J. Meller (London: 1970), pp. 43-63; K. Lönberg-Holm, "Two Shows, A Comment on the Aesthetic Racket," *Shelter*, 2 (April 1932), pp. 16-17.
- ⁵⁵ Talbot F. Hamlin, "The International Style Lacks the Essence of Great Architecture," *American Architect*, 143 (January 1933), pp. 12-16.
- ⁵⁶ Kenneth K. Stowell, *Architectural Forum*, 56 (March 1932), p. 253.
- ⁵⁷ Ralph Flint, "Present Trends in Architecture in Fine Exhibit," *Art News*, 30 (February 13, 1932), pp. 5-6.

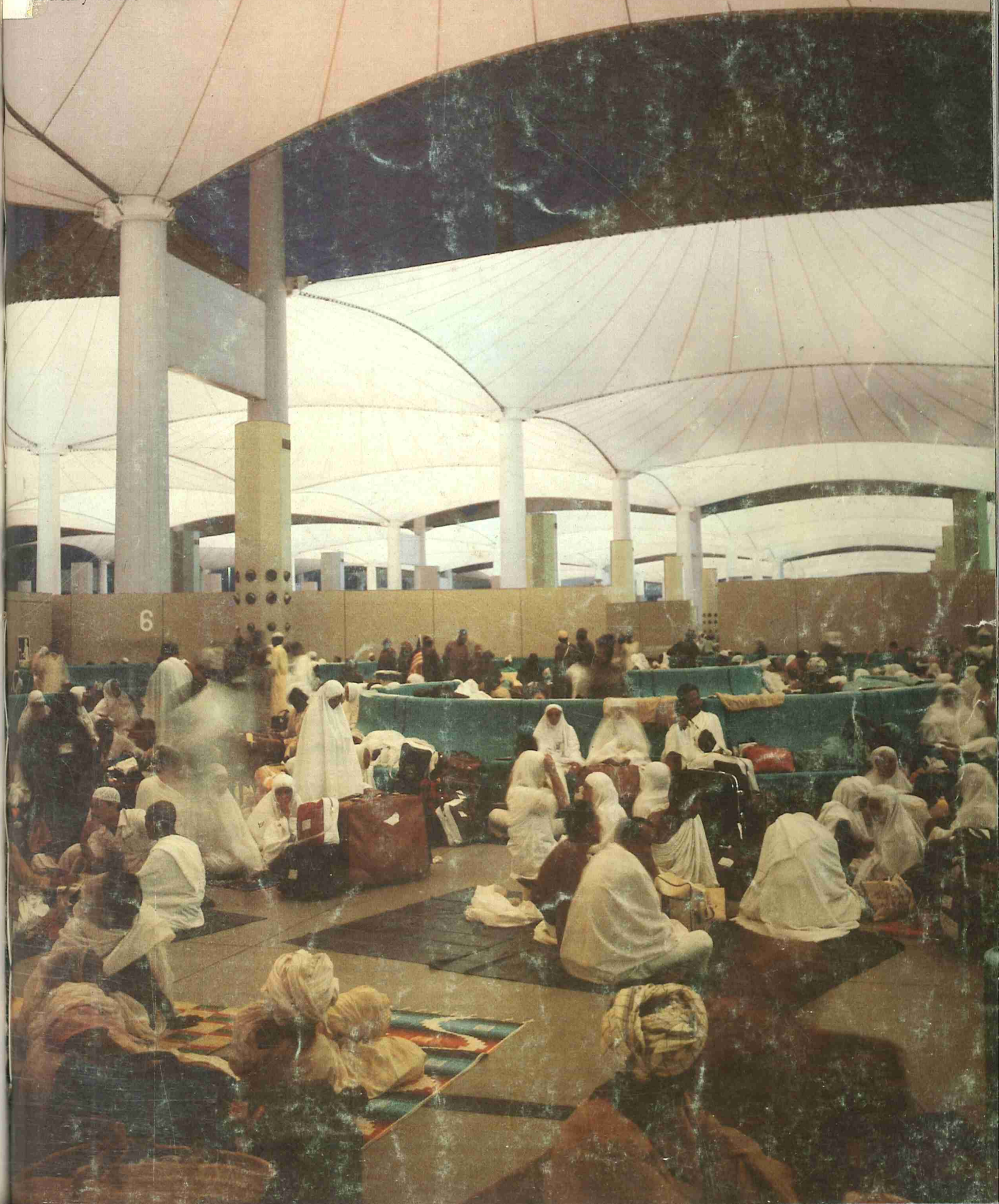
Mendelsohn & Chermayeff, *De La Warr Pavilion (opposite)*. Photo: Richard Guy Wilson.



Progressive Architecture

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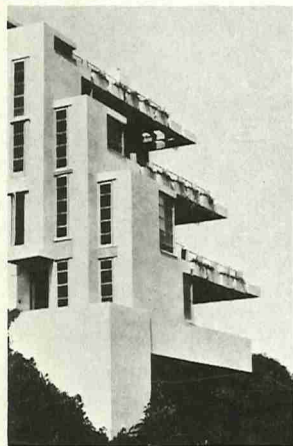
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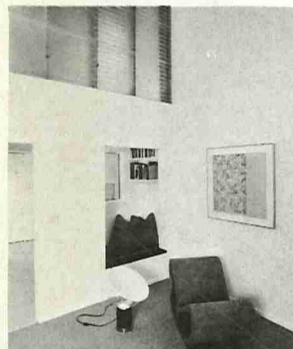
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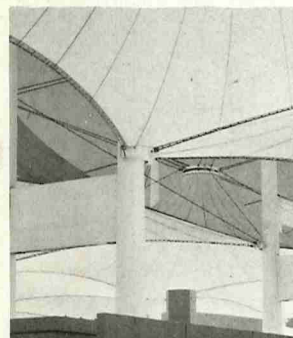
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