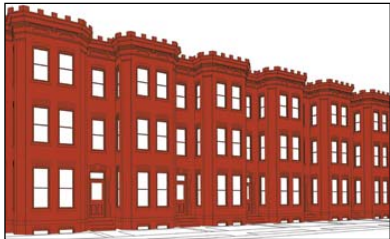


vaf Vernacular Architecture Forum



HOUSING WASHINGTON
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PAPER SESSIONS
Key Bridge Marriott

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SESSION 1:

Interpreting Vernacular Architecture of the Early Mid-Atlantic

CHAIR: Gabrielle M. Lanier, James Madison University

1.1. Big City Dreams in a “Greene Country Towne”: Samuel Carpenter and Management of the Philadelphia Waterfront, 1683-1714

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American city plans were often inscribed on dreams for improvement. Discussions of Philadelphia’s beginnings and urban planning in the late-seventeenth century often center on the origins of Thomas Holme’s 1683 grid plan for the city. But emphasis on this imagined urban space, only realized in the nineteenth century, provides only a partial view of the strategies employed to manage and regulate the city’s spatial and social development. Examining the actual processes of building the city reveals multiple strategies for manipulating the material world in order to secure a role for Pennsylvania in the ever-expanding British Empire.

One of the key players in the building projects that shaped early Philadelphia was Samuel Carpenter, a Quaker merchant and promoter of civic growth. Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia in 1683, Carpenter initiated a broad project of improvement that included mercantile pursuits, charitable and civic service, and the construction of a complex of buildings centered on the Philadelphia waterfront. Including a wharf, warehouses, a crane, steps, personal residences, rental properties, a tavern, and coffeehouse, Carpenter’s investments created a multifunctional center around which early settlement radiated.

The so-called Slate Roof House (built c. 1687-1696), rented to William Penn as a town home and used as an administrative center for the provincial government, left the greatest legacy of Carpenter’s buildings. Arguably the most extensively documented first-period structure in Philadelphia, the architecture and use of the Slate Roof House is captured in interior sketches, insurance plans, personal and public records, and photographs taken before the house’s destruction in 1867. Often pictured in publications discussing colonial Philadelphia, the traditional designation of the building as an H-plan structure is rarely examined in close detail or placed in any architectural or historical context.

This paper reexamines the architecture of the Slate Roof House and suggests it is best interpreted as a vernacular interpretation of a forecourt plan, informed by high-style homes and official architecture of the British Atlantic world. Carpenter’s knowledge of the vocabulary of traditional and contemporary building forms helped shape the building’s reputation as the “only suitable place in town” for meetings of council, commissioners of property, and reception of the governor. Additionally, this building is framed as part of Carpenter’s vision for an integrated domestic and mercantile landscape that both supported and defied Penn’s vision for a “greene country towne.” Although Carpenter’s personal reputation and influence waned, the mercantile and civic center he helped shape provided a foundation for the city’s growth in the eighteenth century.

1.2. Colonial Timber Framing in Southwestern New Jersey: The Cultural Implications of Structural Logic

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The structural logic of the timber-framed houses of southwestern New Jersey is as various as the diverse cultural groups who settled the area, bearing resemblance to traditions found elsewhere in the American colonies. Through fieldwork and study of colonial timber-framed houses in the southern counties of Salem and Cumberland (formerly Fenwick's Tenth of West Jersey), two different framing traditions emerged as distinguished by the structural logic of how they bear loads—one English, and one New Netherlandic. Further, the English box frame appeared in two distinct forms, one a heavy frame like that of New England houses, and the other light and simplified similar to houses from the Chesapeake Bay region of the American South. The New Netherlandic “H-bent” house frame was a new discovery for this region and recalls the tradition found in northern New Jersey, Hudson Valley, and lower Delaware.

The findings point to diverse building practices co-existing in this region during the colonial period. The material evidence of framing coupled with immigration history supports the idea of ethnic heterogeneity in the mid-Atlantic cultural hearth, extending its reach into Fenwick's Colony as a diverse sub-region of the Delaware Valley. Dual Anglo-American traditions converged here. Further, despite so-called “first permanent settlement” and early dominance by Quaker immigrants from the British Isles, what was likely an ethnically-creolized minority people descended from settlers of New Netherland and New Sweden made an architectural mark on the landscape that survives to this day in numbers.

Looking at early house frames in southwestern New Jersey fills in our understanding of timber frame building in colonial America where documents do not exist to inform us. The colonial house frames of southwestern New Jersey illustrate the diffusion and persistence of building ideas, and for the first time, the lasting though hidden influence of the Dutch on local material culture.

1.3. Building Stories: Narrative Prospects for Vernacular Architecture Studies

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Historians have paid increasing attention to the use of narrative form over the past several decades. Some have even gone so far as to proclaim a “Revival of Narrative.” How has the field of vernacular architecture engaged the possibilities of narrative-based scholarship? In this paper, I will review early proponents of the use of *story* in material culture, such as James Deetz and Bernard Herman, and I will highlight recent examples of story-based architectural studies.

I will argue that despite these examples, vernacular architecture scholars on the whole have not embraced the narrative form. They have succeeded on a variety of fronts—developing a rigorous methodology, expanding the possibilities for subjects of study, and providing the historic preservation movement with essential tools. And yet a more active engagement with historical narratives would broaden the appeal and impact of vernacular architecture studies, and it could aid in understanding how meanings are made. There have been good reasons why

the story form was initially eschewed in architectural studies. But these hazards can be engaged, and they may be no more problematic than the hazards of more purely analytical or thematic organizational methods.

As a way of illustration and conclusion, I will briefly sketch the “plot” of my current manuscript: the story of Robert Morris’s townhouse (1793-1799). In 1793, Morris, a notable American founder, engaged P. Charles L’Enfant to design and build a remarkable mansion near the center of Philadelphia. The house proved extraordinarily costly, and it featured idiosyncratic, French-inspired designs. When Morris’s financial schemes failed during its construction and he was sent to debtor’s prison, the unfinished house was labeled “Morris’s Folly” and immediately torn down for its materials. I suggest that a study of the house, in narrative format, can reveal a great deal about community tensions and the limits of aristocratic pretensions in the early republic. I hope the presentation will stimulate a discussion among the audience and other presenters regarding vernacular architecture narratives—past or forthcoming examples, and their problems and possibilities.

SESSION 2:

Making the Modern Home

CHAIR: Sandy Isenstadt, University of Delaware

2.1. Mid-Century Modernism in Lexington, Massachusetts: Four Planned Communities

Anne A. Grady, Architectural Historian and Preservation Consultant,
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Between 1940 and 1960, a number of planned neighborhoods of Modern architecture were built in the western suburbs of Boston. This paper discusses the origins, influences and functioning over time of four of these neighborhoods in Lexington. Questions addressed are 1) what made these neighborhoods successful as experiments in housing and community planning, and 2) to what extent did they fulfill the utopian architectural and social agenda of the young architects who designed them?

Circumstances after World War II created a great need for housing. Lexington’s population nearly doubled between 1945 and 1960. The 191 units in the four neighborhoods represent a small fraction of the total housing built, the vast majority of which were more traditional Cape, Colonial and Raised Ranch designs. The four modernist neighborhoods, through housing design, neighborhood layout, and community initiatives, fostered a distinctive kind of living experience. They became some of the most stable communities in the area.

Leadership of the modern movement in New England resided primarily in the faculties of the Harvard Graduate School of Design and the School of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Members of The Architects Collaborative (TAC), founded by Walter Gropius in 1945, designed the first two neighborhoods built in Lexington, Six Moon Hill (1948) and Five Fields (1951). Peacock Farm was begun in 1952 by architects Walter Pierce and Danforth Compton, graduates of the MIT School of Architecture. Middle Ridge, a neighborhood of prefabricated Techbuilt houses at Turning Mill, was designed in 1955 by Carl Koch, who taught architecture at MIT after architectural training at Harvard. These men and

women shared the objectives of making good modern design available to people with limited budgets, employing innovative materials, taking advantage of natural settings, and providing for community governance and shared facilities. The architects also shared the social agenda of modernism. As Walter Pierce said, “there was a messianic component to the modern movement, a feeling that the future could be organized through architecture.”

Study of the four neighborhoods through a literature search and interviews with residents, surviving architects, and developers indicates that these communities were not only an architectural milestone for Lexington, but also a social experiment that worked. They represent successful attempts to realize modernism’s promise that good design can provide a transformative living experience to the middle classes, even if not in the utopian sense that the architects envisioned.

2.2. **Modernism at Home: Edward Loewenstein + Architectural Innovation in Greensboro, North Carolina, 1946-1970**

Patrick Lee Lucas, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, pllucas@uncg.edu

Though scholars have addressed various meanings of vernacular Modernism in mid-twentieth century residential structures, the evidence of forward-thinking dwellings in medium-sized Southern cities has largely been untapped. In this presentation, I recount the design story of MIT-trained architect Edward Loewenstein (1913-1970) who immigrated to Greensboro in 1946, married into a leading textiles manufacturing family, and through a network embedded in the Jewish community, secured well more than 1,600 design commissions for residential and commercial projects, redefining Greensboro in the post-World War II period. Loewenstein’s greatest contribution to the emerging contemporary architectural lexicon of the Piedmont region of North Carolina, best represented by his residential commissions—livable houses that mediated between the crisp high style Modernism of his training and the traditional buildings on the local landscape—demonstrated his agility at working with a diverse clientele to say something different with innovative buildings antithetical to their conservative, upright Colonial Revival neighbors.

These explorations of a localized Modern dialect stand as material evidence of a progressive designer and innovative firm who hired the first African-American design professionals in Greensboro, who mentored hundreds of students in the office as interns and on campus at the Woman’s College of the University of North Carolina, where he taught from 1958 through the late 1960s, and who actively engaged in community service to numerous civil rights advocacy and other organizations.

Through discourse analysis (Rose, 2001) grounded in material culture theory and visual investigation, I recount and interpret Loewenstein’s designs for a half dozen Modern dwellings, all the while considering the suburban historical context and the local political and cultural scene. In a community where the sit-in movement originated and where civil rights struggles marked the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, Loewenstein’s vernacular Modern dwellings stood in bold relief to a conventional architecture grounded in the past. This story, one of the ability of architecture to transform lives, suggests that Loewenstein expressed aspiration for change in the community through his work. My examination, moving beyond mere description, uncovers

a view of hybridized design intimately tied to the local landscape and outwardly connected to Modernism writ large.

2.3. **“Exactly What We Wanted”: A Case Study in Consumers as Designers of the Postwar Suburban Home**

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After World War II, young couples became homeowners on an unprecedented scale, thanks to increased choices offered by the GI bill, new FHA loans, and federal highways. Homebuyers could choose exterior styles, how many bedrooms, what lifestyle their layout accommodated. Yet their choices were defined by the market and developers. How did they navigate this consumer culture when buying a 30-year investment: their house?

Using interviews, photographic documentation, and measured drawings, I describe the process one young couple went through in designing their house. The Lindsays, my grandparents, were typical homebuyers after the war, hiring a builder to construct a house for them in Chattanooga, Tennessee, to get “exactly what we wanted.” Thus, the design of their house speaks of their personalities and lifestyle, yet is profoundly affected by the social and cultural morass of the early 1950s.

Based on this evidence, I argue that, far from being passive consumers, homebuyers had the capacity to be active creators of the post-war suburban landscape. To structure the argument, I use the Cranz model of taste. In “A New Way of Thinking About Taste,” Galen Cranz proposes taste as a process of assembling consumer objects. Her model was built from analysis of interiors, but I argue it can be applied at the scale of a house. Like decorating, architecture is a process of assembly. If decorating is a process of psychic integration, then architecture is a process of social integration.

Fifty years after the post-war housing boom, the buildings and building pattern of that suburban landscape remain with us. At 90, so does Mabel Lindsay. My project serves to document and theorize her contribution to that landscape. Because she is my grandmother, I have unprecedented access to her stories and her house. Because she was a part of the massive building of the suburbs, she can speak on behalf of a generation whose living memory we will soon lose.

SESSION 3:

Tourism and the Interpreted Landscape

CHAIR: Joseph Sciorra, John D. Calandra Italian American Institute, Queens College/CUNY

3.1. **Wishing You Were Here: Curating Memories of the Holy Land in Picture Postcards**

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As part of an ever-swelling tourist economy that began to boom in the nineteenth century, the Holy Land became one of the most photographed geographic sites in the world. These images became popularized through postcards, in particular, because they were cheap to produce and

disseminate. Photography held then more than ever the power to “authenticate” and witness the way a place looked to those far away. Curated, that is, selected, framed, and cared for largely by photographers and postcard publishers, picture postcards of these ancient and modern architectural sites were designed to convey an overall sense of the place. Seen by citizens, tourists and eventually recipients of these postcards in (diasporic) communities elsewhere, these architectural and topographical images and their digital equivalents in magazines and on the web today weave together the complex threads of antiquity, modernism, and contemporaneity that inhabit the same physical and imagined space.

In these postcards, compositions of an emerging modern nation wilfully inscribe the “White City”—the everyday streets of Tel Aviv—for tourist consumption along with selected archaeological sites, the souks, temples or streets of Jaffa or Jerusalem, civic buildings, memorial sites, and historic landmarks. Taken together, these constitute an exhibition of culture as a non-linear narrative of nationhood and citizenship. I propose to consider how the concept of nation-branding operates as one sees and imagines the Holy Land—both historically and today—as a dynamic and evolving urban informality and biblical landscape. How is the cultural and ethnic concept of the place framed in these curated postcards? What conventions are implemented to capture a sense of architectural place? A postcard of a place records an architectural site *in situ* but it also records—through a personal narrative—the testimony of one’s experience in that place and stands as a souvenir of that moment in time. The souvenir, as Susan Stewart and Walter Benjamin pointed out, is created to materialize the event. It displaces the point of authenticity to itself as a marker of the “new” authentic. This paper demonstrates how through curatorial intervention, postcards and memories of places we travel to and desire—of which the Holy Land has been the most sought after destination in real and virtual travel—create a visual landscape and architectural world idealized outside of the place itself.

3.2. **Neglected Natives: Resort Landscapes Along Hawai'i's Ala Kahakai National Historic Trail**

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The Ala Kahakai National Historic Trail, still in the planning stages, stretches along 175 miles of Hawai'i's Big Island coastline. In its northwestern reaches, the route follows still-extant segments of ancient coastal foot trails and passes through, or adjacent to, some of the island's most elaborate and luxurious master-planned resorts. Central to the mission of the Ala Kahakai is the “preservation, protection, and interpretation of traditional Native Hawaiian culture and natural resources.” Stakeholder and Park Service efforts to interpret the Hawaiian past and preserve its artifacts, however, consistently ignore or erase the resort landscapes found along the trail. Such interpretive frameworks reflect typical biases against both the more recent past and the seeming inauthenticity of tourist infrastructure.

This paper, however, argues that Big Island resort environments are in fact valuable artifacts for interpretation precisely because they are tourist landscapes. As manifestations of a complex cultural history of tourism, the roots of which reach from European contact, through American annexation, and up to the present, Big Island resorts actually reveal a great deal about native experience in Hawai'i. Such landscapes, then, actually fit well within the scope of the National

Historic Trail's goals of preserving, protecting, and interpreting artifacts of the Native Hawaiian past.

Moreover, understanding Big Islands resorts as elements of a distinctly Hawaiian historical landscape reveals a troubling challenge of representation for native social movements. Many activists, in their critiques of tourism and modernity, deploy powerful images of timeless Hawaiian ecological knowledge and spirituality. Yet the history of Hawaiian place promotion suggests that these images may share significant historical roots with contemporary tourist imaginings of Hawai'i, with perhaps dire political implications. This paper proposes that a more historically dynamic understanding of Native Hawaiian cultural authority may not only produce better, more revealing interpretations of landscape history in the islands, but also avoid such potentially destabilizing representations of native political strength.

Evidence for this study is drawn from both archival research – including resort planning and marketing documents – and interviews with National Park Service employees, native activists and cultural specialists, preservationists, and hikers.

3.3. Consuming the Tibetan Landscape: One-Stop Shopping in the Ganzi Autonomous Tibetan Prefecture

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In Tibet, many mountains are sacred homes to spirits who define Buddhism. In the Ganzi Autonomous Tibetan Prefecture, one of these sacred mountains has been purchased, packaged, and consumed. The consumption has been on the part of the Chinese tourist—the emerging traveler who has limited time and money to experience minority life. The purchasing and packaging has been conducted by a Tibetan—a strict Buddhist interested in contemplation but recognizing the complex needs, and opportunities, in modern society.

The result is a Disneyfication of interior rural Tibetan landscapes, Buddhist practice and the sacred mountain. A one-stop shop for visitors with limited time and money. To western eyes, this commodification may seem inappropriate and inauthentic. I argue that, in fact, it is a very thoughtful, yet opportunistic, representation of Eastern Tibet, one that may ultimately result in the preservation of interior communities while increasing the benefits of Buddha-based business promoted by the developer. I will do this by juxtaposing experiences within the “real” Tibetan landscape with that of the “imaged” one. I will also discuss the mountain as an example of a “hardscape”—in terms of its intangible and tangible values—versus that of a “softscape.” Principles of the emerging Buddha-based business practice and its present and proposed effect on the Tibetan landscape will also be defined.

SESSION 4:

Organizing the Landscape

CHAIR: Daves Rossell, Savannah College of Art and Design

4.1. **Ecumenical America: The Parish Landscape of German Settlements in Indiana's Whitewater River Valley, 1830-1860**

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This paper looks at the process of German immigrant acculturation in southeastern Indiana during the three decades preceding the Civil War. Extensive fieldwork in Franklin, Ripley, and Dearborn Counties, the counties in the area with the largest percentage of German immigrants, leads to two initial observations. First, the most important factor in landscape organization was religion. Small religious communities, whether they were American or German, characterized settlement in the area, and churches of all denominations were built with the goal of manifestly representing the nature of the religious community as well as attracting and retaining clergy for their congregation. Second, the domestic building practices of German settlers suggest no dominant pattern of assimilation; rather, a wide range of design and construction options, ranging from kitchen-dominated *fachwerk* houses to symmetrical stone I houses, prevailed throughout the principal years of settlement, from 1830 into the 1860s. These findings suggest that because community identity was largely framed in religious terms, parish churches rather than the style of the family house became the main symbols of German ethnic identity. In this way, the German immigrants were able to fit into an ecumenical landscape where an atmosphere of religious tolerance facilitated an acceptance of both architectural and cultural difference.

4.2. **Beer: A Cultural Landscape**

Paula Lupkin, Washington University in St. Louis, plupkin@gmail.com

In the late nineteenth century St. Louis was, arguably, the beer capital of the United States. With more than forty active breweries, including the nationally significant Anheuser-Busch and Lemp companies, the city was dominated architecturally, culturally, and economically by the production, distribution, marketing, and consumption of beer. This paper will trace the impact of this commodity on the production of a distinctive cultural landscape in St. Louis, one that fused ethnic, industrial, and public culture.

Drawing upon architectural history, business history, geography, industrial archaeology, and ethnic and labor history, this paper will examine the web of buildings and sites that developed around brewing in pre-Prohibition St. Louis. This includes the breweries themselves as well as saloons, biergartens, worker housing, union halls, turnvereine, elite residential neighborhoods, the World's Fair of 1904, and even that famous first skyscraper, the Wainwright Building, itself owned by a prominent brewer. This paper will, first and foremost, demonstrate the broad cultural and spatial impact of the brewing industry, extending beyond the factory to encompass

elite and vernacular architecture as well as more ephemeral marks on the landscape: the regular delivery routes of the beer wagons and billboards and signage.

4.3. **Concrete in the Steel City: The Initial Experiment to Construct Thomas Edison's Concrete House for the Working Man**

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In 1906 Thomas A. Edison patented a metal form and a method for constructing a concrete house in a single pour. The house was billed as a Progressive solution for American working-class families trapped in industrial tenements. Despite widespread praise for the invention by the national press, Edison never successfully formed a single dwelling. Also in 1906, the United States Steel Corporation created the city of Gary, Indiana, to support its new works on the south shore of Lake Michigan. Immediately, the city's private market was unable to meet the domestic housing needs for the thousands of new workers (a majority of them immigrants). In 1909, the Gary works of the United States Sheet and Tin Plate Company, a U. S. Steel subsidiary, chose to construct concrete flats and houses for its employees. *These dwellings are the initial realization of Edison's invention.* Although Edison never set foot in Gary, several period accounts acknowledge the Tin Plate dwellings as a test of his ideas. Gary was to become a "Mecca" for architects, and the local press claimed that it could be appropriately renamed the "Concrete City."

All together, 92 concrete buildings, containing 120 dwellings, were constructed: 6 concrete apartments of four units each, 6 cottages, and 90 terraced houses. This paper applies field work and the evaluation of primary sources to place the Tin Plate houses within the context of Edison's grand vision. The Gary houses, along with similar concrete housing developments linked to Edison, are evaluated for each the invention's three principal ideals:

- A process for constructing a house in a single concrete pour.
- The invention of a cast iron forming system.
- The underlying theme of constructing safe, sanitary, and affordable housing for the working class.

SESSION 5:

Marketing Modernism

CHAIR: Beth L. Savage, Center for Historic Buildings, U.S. General Services Administration

5.1. **"The Greatest Publicity Stunt Available to Developers": Washington's 1939 World's Fair Home**

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By 1939 suburban subdivisions were a familiar element in the American landscape. The spurious suburb created in the 1939 New York World's Fair Town of Tomorrow offered visitors a sampler of tradition and innovation packaged for consumers just beginning to emerge

from the depths of economic depression. Shortly before the fair opened in the spring of 1939, Washington, D.C., subdivider and developer Garden Homes, Inc., secured the rights to use the Fair Corporation's name and the plans to one of the Town of Tomorrow's 15 demonstration homes. Designed by New York architects Godwin, Thompson and Patterson and sponsored by the Johns-Manville Corporation, House No. 15, the Long Island Colonial Home, became Garden Homes' 1939 marketing centerpiece in Northwood Park, the Silver Spring, Maryland, subdivision located less than three miles north of the District of Columbia.

Northwood Park was an ordinary subdivision with modest brick Cape Cod cottages and larger stone Tudor Revival houses marketed to young professionals with new families. Using common real estate trade tools, Garden Homes lured prospective buyers through creatively illustrated and worded display ads hawking Northwood Park's rustic charm and affordability. The firm used themed models like the *Bride's Home* and the *Anniversary Home* equipped with the latest modern gas appliances; some came with a brand new car in the garage and a supply of groceries. Garden Homes' ads were packed with multiple meanings to bring middle class doctors, engineers, and government employees into its subdivision. Its most successful marketing vehicle was the "World's Fair Home," which drew thousands of sightseers and many prospective buyers to Northwood Park in the spring of 1939 during a carefully crafted 120-day marketing campaign.

Using local land records and newspaper archives along with the records of the New York World's Fair Corporation, this paper explores the vernacular landscape created by Garden Homes between 1936 and 1941 and the social and economic factors that made it possible to construct an ephemeral tourist attraction in one of Washington's ubiquitous suburban subdivisions. Northwood Park's World's Fair Home was built at the intersection of corporate consumer culture and vernacular entrepreneurialism, and it was one of many efforts by Maryland and Virginia developers to capitalize on the demand for affordable and attractive single-family homes in proximity to the nation's capital in what World's Fair Corporation executives called "the greatest publicity stunt available to developers."

5.2. **From Fifth Avenue to the Suburbs: The Creation of the Lord & Taylor Suburban Department Store**

Christine G. O'Malley, Ithaca College, cg4c@earthlink.net

In 1941, the venerable New York City department store Lord & Taylor opened its first suburban store in Manhasset, Long Island. As a major Fifth Avenue retailer making its move into the growing suburbs, Lord & Taylor worked to carefully blend its building into the community fabric by erecting a low-rise structure complete with tasteful landscaping and adjacent parking. Building on historian Richard Longstreth's studies of department stores as important sites for understanding the economic and architectural development of the American consumer landscape, this paper considers how and why Lord & Taylor made the transition from city icon to desirable suburban destination. In particular, this paper argues that Dorothy Shaver, first vice-president (and later president) of Lord & Taylor, and Raymond Loewy's industrial design office played key roles in determining the store's design, much more so than the store's architects Starrett and Van Vleck. Shaver and Loewy's office emphasized the insertion of art and design into the retail realm to entice suburban shoppers. Recognized by

historians for her encouragement of American fashion designers, Shaver also warrants attention for her influence on the appearance of suburban department stores. The product and packaging designs of Loewy's office have frequently been examined by historians, but the retail architecture division, under the direction of architect William T. Snaith, has not received the same degree of interest despite its active participation in store design development from the late 1930s to the 1960s.

Drawing on original research conducted in the Dorothy Shaver Papers at the Smithsonian Museum, the Raymond Loewy Papers at the Library of Congress and the Hagley Museum and Library, the Lord & Taylor offices, and site visits to the Manhasset store, this paper explores how Shaver and Loewy's firm shaped a particular vision of a modern shopping experience in the suburbs for its largely white, middle and upper-middle class customers. My paper argues that a close study of the multiple hands involved in the store's design reveals much about the expectations and intentions of a city retailer in the American suburbs during the early 1940s. This case study of Lord & Taylor will contribute to our knowledge of the history of American department stores and expand our understanding of retail life in suburban communities.

5.3. **The Home of a "Three-Bedroom" Family: Transformations in Canadian Postwar Small House Design**

Ioana Teodorescu, McGill University, ioanat20@yahoo.com

Defining the vernacular in the postwar world is not an easy task, as house architecture has had to adhere to increasingly stricter building codes and residential standards. In North America, developers and builders have gradually taken over the industry and since the end of the Second World War have provided "prêt-à-porter" houses for the general public, on which the buyers can hardly intervene.

In looking at a particular Canadian example, this paper argues that the postwar period has—however—seen cases when the implementation of architect-designed plans resulted in interesting forms of vernacular housing. Between 1947 and 1974, the federal body Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation supervised a national scheme which published over twenty catalogues of small house plans designed solely by Canadian architects for the general use of the Canadian public. Prospective homebuyers and builders across the country had free access to these plans, which followed precise building standards.

Under this centralized format, new plans were published in each subsequent catalogue, while plans that sold well remained in place. This development clearly shows the preferences of the Canadian public and their direct input in the transformation of the house plan for over two decades. The method allowed for a quick urbanization of a then mostly rural Canada and acted as an educational means for both the general public and professionals. Most of the houses resulting from these catalogue plans were owner-built; as such, they received modifications to the design immediately before and after being built, sometimes to the point of no resemblance to the initial blueprints.

One of the most influential plan transformations was the development of the family room. While acknowledging previous scholarship that reflects on the relationship between the family room and the change in the postwar social structure, the essay also takes the argument further

into the gender realm in contending that the family room is primarily the creation of women, at the time the omnipresent characters who manipulated the space of the house to suit their needs.

Richly illustrated with examples of such plan transformations, this paper considers Canadian archival sources and interviews with surviving actors, in relation to relevant foreign influences such as British and American. As such, it is inscribed in a larger vernacular approach to postwar material culture and its impact on the present reality that we live today.

SESSION 6:

The Real and Ideal Home in America

CHAIR: Janet W. Foster, Columbia University

6.1. **Mid-Nineteenth-Century House Pattern-Book Ideals and Suburban Reality in Germantown, Pennsylvania**

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Mid-nineteenth-century house pattern books offer a starting point for researchers interested in the history of domestic architecture, but the rhetoric and designs they promoted are in many ways not representative of suburban development in this era. A close study of the houses built in the Germantown section of Philadelphia from the 1840s into the 1860s shows that the majority of dwellings newly cast as suburban cottages reflected conventional house forms that were already prevalent in the region. Large numbers of buyers, developers, and house builders, as well as some local architects, eschewed the more individualized, picturesque plans that pattern-book authors celebrated in favor of familiar interior arrangements modeled on large side-passage town houses and center-passage country houses.

Despite their tendency toward internal conformity, these new houses rapidly embraced emerging architectural styles to create significant exterior differentiation. They also took advantage of spacious new building lots by offering enlarged interior dimensions to a growing population of upwardly mobile occupants. In a significant modernization, these dwellings almost universally incorporated a large single parlor (rather than double-parlors) that stretched the full depth of the house. By also employing floor-length windows and broad piazzas to enhance impressions of space, air, light, garden views, and sociability, these houses evoked the rural values and picturesque sensibilities enshrined in pattern books while retaining more recognizable plan types.

A much smaller number of houses exhibited a more bookish character, employing pinwheel arrangements of hall and main rooms, sometimes with a basement kitchen. These houses represented unconventional choices, but they were not always closely tied to the identity of their occupants in the way that pattern-book rhetoric prescribed. Although some owners indeed built these dwellings to suit their own discriminating tastes, others built them as speculative ventures or as rental properties that capitalized on the rhetoric of the individualized home and may have appealed to city residents seeking not a permanent dwelling but a summer retreat.

The stories of these houses, told through the choices and circumstances of several families and individuals, attest to a formative period in which the idea of relocating year-round from the city to the suburb was only beginning to emerge as an acceptable option. In a fluid housing market

distinguished by considerable speculative activity and a seemingly high rate of property turnover, familiar plan types cloaked in new stylistic fashions offered a more sound investment than the unusual tastes represented in innovative pattern-book designs.

6.2. Postwar Prefabricated Homes in the Washington, D.C. Suburbs

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Why can't we build a house like we build a car? This simple question served as inspiration for twentieth-century architects, innovators, industrialists, and housing reformers, driven by the “Henry Ford syndrome” to search for a way to revolutionize the American housing industry using the principles of mass production. Many talented architects and visionaries, including Buckminster Fuller and Walter Gropius, were stymied by the challenge of getting their designs into production. Too often, conceptual designs and prototypes for the modern factory-built house never made it to the assembly line.

To some twentieth-century architects, it seemed as if the tastes of the American public and local regulatory commissions were an insurmountable barrier to realizing the “house of the future,” manufactured with precision and efficiency in the controlled factory environment. But in fact, many medium-to-large companies produced and sold hundreds of thousands of prefabricated or pre-cut homes during the twentieth century. The post-World War II mass-market-modern or conventionally-styled ranch homes, bungalows, and Cape Cods were valued by their original owners primarily for their quick assembly and affordability. Lurking behind the conventional appearances of these modest prefabricated homes is evidence of advances in materials technology and industrial production that are a significant part of the history of American housing.

The more radically modern and innovative designs of major architects’ “failed” attempts at the prefabricated house tend to receive more attention from architectural historians and scholars, while the factory-built homes that make up a significant part of our built heritage receive little scholarship.

This paper demonstrates how prefabricated housing as a modern vernacular type made a real and lasting impact on the American suburban landscape, using the postwar Maryland and Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C. as a case study. The survey of postwar prefabricated houses in the Washington metropolitan area includes small clusters of steel Lustron Homes and Harman Homes, aluminum Reliance Homes and General Houses, and complete subdivisions of the more commercially successful plywood- or composite-panel National Homes, Gunnison Homes, and Pease Homes.

Building from the author's graduate research on twentieth-century American prefabricated housing, promotional materials and contemporary coverage of postwar prefabricated housing companies, and windshield surveys of extant prefabricated housing in the Washington region, the paper will show the extent to which prefabricated housing contributed to the rapid postwar growth of the Washington suburbs.

6.3. “Design for Living”: The Henry Street Settlement and the Development of a Public Housing Vernacular

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Public housing in the 1930s ushered in a new vernacular interior architecture. In New York City’s Lower East Side, the Henry Street Settlement played a critical role in developing this interior vernacular. In the late 1930s municipal, state, and federal authorities began to develop low income public housing for tenement dwellers, arguing that these new premises were healthier, safer, and more efficient than the old tenement apartments. But the transition from the dilapidated tenements to the “bright clean apartments” of the public housing projects was often problematic for the targeted residents.¹ The tenement dwellers’ furniture was often too old to survive the move and the furniture that was moved did not adequately fit into the modern layouts of the new apartments. Consequently, many families turned to installment buying in order to furnish their apartments, frequently ending up with furniture that they could not afford. Perhaps more importantly, the interiors of the public housing units, with their open floor plans and modern kitchens, did not fit the lifestyles of the tenement dwellers, forcing them into awkward eating and sleeping arrangements.

Using case study research based on archival data gathered from the University of Minnesota’s Social Welfare History Archives, this paper examines the role that the Henry Street Settlement, with the support of the Works Progress Administration, played in adapting the interiors of New York’s Vladeck Houses to better suit the residents’ needs.² Within this housing project, the settlement set up a demonstration apartment that showcased efficient and attractive ways to utilize the new apartments. The settlement also ran a home planning workshop out of a basement room that provided instruction to the new residents on how to build and revamp furniture, which it hoped would be a good “shield against installment buying.”³ Finally, the Henry Street Settlement ran a visiting home design service out of the workshop that provided residents with design advice and drawings tailored to the needs of their unique living situation.⁴ By examining the role the Henry Street Settlement played in the modification of the Vladeck apartments, this paper provides a lens into the development of a new interior vernacular that emerged out of a compromise between the modernist vision of the public housing architects and the environmental needs of public housing residents.

¹ Anthony Jackson, *A Place Called Home: A History of Low-Cost Housing in Manhattan* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976), 225.

² The Vladeck Houses were the first coordinated public housing effort between New York City and the federal government

³ Helen Hall, *Unfinished Business in Neighborhood and Nation* (New York: Macmillian Company, 1971), 183.

⁴ Henry Street’s home planning services continue in modified form today.

SESSION 7:

Children's Space for Work and Play

CHAIR: Marvin Brown, URS Corporation-North Carolina

7.1. The Short Life of Modern Schools in African-American Communities in Georgia, 1952-1970

Steven Moffson, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, smoffson@gmail.com

In the 1950s and 1960s, Southern states embraced a strategy of massive resistance to racial integration in schools and other public places. In Georgia, massive resistance included the construction of modern schools for African-American children in an attempt by the state to appease black communities and demonstrate that it could operate racially separate and equal public school systems. By 1955, the state spent nearly \$275 million on new schools, including 500 new schools for African-American children. These modern schools were built in urban and rural African-American communities throughout the state from roughly 1952 to 1962.

Designed by Georgia architects, these International Style schools were larger and more advanced than previous schools for African Americans. Plans varied in complexity from long, low classroom blocks to sprawling campuses that included libraries, cafeterias, and gymnasiums. The improved academic curriculum, which added higher-level math and science courses, extended beyond the vocational training programs that had been standard for African-American schools.

Continuously under-funded and always overcrowded, these modern schools were a source of pride, independence, and cultural cohesion in African-American communities. By 1970, however, racial desegregation of the state's public schools resulted in the closure of many African-American schools after little more than a decade of use. The consolidation of black and white school systems left a surplus of schools so that most African-American high schools were either reduced to junior highs, or simply closed and vacated when white school boards created integrated school systems composed of only formerly white schools.

This paper will demonstrate that the control African Americans exerted over their new schools was temporal and illusory and that the disproportionate burden of desegregation borne by African-American communities is exemplified by their modern schools. Interviews with former students and analysis of board of education records and other archival materials will shed light on the role of modern schools in rural African-American communities and the devastating effects that resulted from the closure of these schools, including the loss of control of their schools, loss of control of their children who were integrated into formerly white schools, loss of role models in teachers and principals who were not rehired in the integrated schools, and the loss of their school history. Said one former student, "we lost everything."

7.2. **“Casual” Schools in the 1950s and the Impact of “Child-Centered” Culture**

Dale Allen Gyure, Lawrence Technological University, dalegyure@yahoo.com

A new type of school building emerged in America in the 1950s during the suburban migration and the “baby boom.” These schools were much different from the grand multistory brick monuments dressed in historical styles that preceded them; the postwar generation schools were open, one-story structures of steel and glass with an intentionally unimposing appearance. This paper examines Chicago high schools from the fifties as a case study in the development of these new “casual” schools, utilizing information gleaned from the Chicago Public School archives, contemporary education journals, and popular literature. It proposes that two important factors affected the school building’s evolution from monumentality to casualness: an extraordinary societal focus on children and parenting, and a shift in the educational curriculum to emphasize individual fulfillment and societal roles over mental training or mastery of subject matter.

Casual schools were intended to help students feel good about themselves and enjoy learning. This sense of informality in the school environment was unique, engendered by a new conception of children and their development. American society became “child-centered” after World War II. A growing preoccupation with the needs and interests of their children, fueled by psychologists, physicians, and educators, created a different school environment for students. From scientific research on developmental psychology to the popularity of psychoanalysis to the ubiquitous Dr. Spock, newspapers and popular magazines assailed parents with messages about how to raise their children. The underlying message was consistent: parents needed to pay more attention to their children’s wants, needs, and interests than in the past.

In response, educators tried to maximize students’ learning experiences by making school interesting and fun, an approach that affected both pedagogy and architecture at all levels of public school systems. Architects designed schools to be less intimidating and more pleasant, “humanizing” them with lower ceilings, curtains, bright colors, and carpeting. Simultaneously, the evolving child-centered culture demanded that education become more appealing and accessible to the average student. Hence, the “life adjustment” curriculum that became popular in the fifties was intended to address “real life problems” rather than provide an academic foundation. It shifted the emphasis from learning basic fundamentals, core concepts, and cultural milestones to readying students for everyday life as an adult in a democratic society.

7.3. **Cornelia Hahn Oberlander at Play: Six Decades of Playground Design**

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Internationally renowned as a pioneer of sustainable design, Cornelia Hahn Oberlander has spent her sixty-year landscape architecture career also cultivating a design vernacular for children’s space. As one of the first women to graduate from Harvard Graduate School of Design in the 1940s, Oberlander eschewed traditional garden design in favor of creating innovative spaces for racially diverse and immigrant populations. While practicing in the offices of legendary modernists Louis Kahn, Oskar Stonorov, Dan Kiley, and James Rose, she began designing open space for densely populated, mixed-income, multicultural housing

complexes along the eastern seaboard. Since relocating her practice to British Columbia in the 1950s, she has advocated for both children's rights and urban nature while publishing on a broad range of issues, including playgrounds, housing, collaborative design, and ecological practices.

This paper synthesizes my critical analysis of those writings and recreational landscapes, extensive interviews with her, and systematic study of her archives at the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Oberlander has played a central role in improving materials, equipment, and activities; addressing shifting demographics based on community history; and relating each design to its cultural and ecological context. From traditional equipment thoughtfully laid out within strategically delineated domestic environments of the mid-twentieth century to integrated recreational areas within expansive metropolitan public parks today, prescribed recreation for the marginalized is being replaced by more autonomous play in more democratic spaces. The following Oberlander projects will illustrate this trajectory: Mill Creek Redevelopment Public Housing Project (with Louis Kahn, architect, and Dan Kiley, landscape architect) in Philadelphia in the early 1950s; a series of low rent housing projects in Vancouver in the 1960s; a model playground for the Canadian Federal Pavilion at Expo '67 in Montréal; a series of schoolyards across Canada in the 1970s; a farm school for Japanese students in British Columbia in the late 1980s; and ecological play environments, such as Jim Everett Memorial Park in Vancouver at the turn of this century. Collectively these landscapes underscore the increasing importance of this typology to address societal—from cultural to ecological—imbalances and to advance the burgeoning field of childhood studies within vernacular landscape design.

SESSION 8:

Slavery and Freedom

CHAIR: Clifton Ellis, Texas Tech University

8.1. **Race and Space at George Washington's Mount Vernon**

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Mount Vernon, George Washington's home on the banks of the Potomac in Northern Virginia, is one of America's most celebrated historic sites. Yet unlike most early American house museums, Washington's estate was famous *in its own day*, receiving thousands of visitors a year. At the height of his fame, during and after the American Revolution, Washington began a series of major renovations to the built environment of the plantation. Understanding Mount Vernon as a reflection of his own social and political ideals as well as those of the new republic, Washington tirelessly worked to craft a plantation landscape that would appropriately convey these ideals to the visiting public. Yet this project was increasingly complicated by the presence of slavery on the landscape and by Washington's growing ambivalence toward that institution. In the last two decades of his life, Washington undoubtedly saw slavery as the greatest obstacle to his political and economic project for Mount Vernon as well as his deepest moral anxiety. This study examines the ways he used the built environment to mediate these anxieties and, in turn, the ways the landscape and the various actors within it both followed and resisted his goals. Considering the perspectives of elite white visitors, various enslaved

African-Americans, and Washington himself, I examine both the intended and actual experiences of late eighteenth-century Mount Vernon, paying particular attention to the sensory elements of the landscape. By exploring the changes Washington made to the Mansion House and formal grounds surrounding it as well as to the architecture of slavery and labor on the plantation, I argue that in the late eighteenth century, Mount Vernon was defined by a constant tension between private and public, white and black. Despite Washington's ideals for the space—largely reflective of his ideals for the new nation as a whole—Mount Vernon was, at its heart, a contested landscape.

8.2. Mapping Richmond's Slave Trade

Maurie D. McInnis, University of Virginia, mcinnis@virginia.edu

There has been much attention paid to the 200-year anniversary of the ending of the transatlantic slave trade. Yet even after it legally ended, the domestic slave trade thrived in the U.S. and hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children were sold, many of them relocated to the Cotton South. Despite Southerners' claims that slaves were rarely sold, this paper demonstrates the centrality of the slave trade to Richmond, Virginia, the largest slave-trading city in the Upper South.

A young British artist, Eyre Crowe, came to Richmond in the 1850s and his images, both paintings and illustrations, published in the *London Illustrated News*, are critical evidence about the slave trade. When Crowe visited the slave auctions in Richmond, he went to a place called Wall Street, but you will not find that name on any contemporary map of Richmond. The neighborhood where thousands of men, women and children were held for days or weeks in jails and then sold like livestock is changed beyond recognition as Interstate 95 now sits on top of the nineteenth-century Wall Street.

This paper will reconstruct the texture of the neighborhood, recapturing the geography of the slave-trading district. Despite the paucity of surviving streetscapes and buildings, much can be reconstructed about the neighborhood where slave traders and auctioneers conducted their business in the 1850s. Through extensive research in public documents and early photographic archives, this chapter will also recreate the neighborhood in word and in image. The building Crowe represented was part of the larger material world of the slave trade including a variety of different building types: jails where slaves were held until sale, boarding houses where traders lodged when they came to town, auction rooms where slaves were sold at auction, and houses where the slave traders lived. Antebellum Richmond, like other American cities, was a mix of grand public buildings and vernacular residential and commercial structures. Only a couple of blocks from Thomas Jefferson's Virginia State capitol building, the slave-trading district, like so much of southern society, was the site of extreme contrasts, between the height of luxury and extreme degradation, between gaiety and misery, between freedom and slavery. The relationship of this district to the rest of Richmond's commercial and political center demonstrates the relationship of the slave trade to the economic and political stability of the state.

8.3. **Constructing Free Identity: The Invention and Adaptation of the Charleston Freedman's Cottage**

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In the decades following the Civil War, black Charlestonians began to construct a free identity steeped in the local architectural traditions of the old southern city. Employing the small one-story structure commonly referred to as the freedman's cottage, African Americans enlisted the architectural cues of their immediate environment to build new identities as free men and women. The freedman's cottage echoes the form and placement of the larger and more common Charleston house type known as the "single house," a two- or three-storied structure, one-room wide and two-rooms deep. Standing with its gable end towards the street, the single house characterizes Charleston's built environment as the most popular dwelling solution in the nineteenth-century city. While the single house consistently appears in literature addressing Charleston's vernacular architecture, the freedman's cottage has escaped notice and research. Few published histories of the city's architecture have mentioned the freedman's cottage, and a comprehensive history of the structure as its own contributing type has yet to be told.

Relying on little published research, this paper attempts to establish the geographic and historical context as well as the form of the freedman's cottage, a form directed by the political and social atmosphere of a post-Civil War southern city and the spirit of its local architectural traditions. Primary research, including the investigation of deed and census records, documentation of existing structures, and conversations with residents who call these century-old buildings home, comprises the basis of this study and provides great insight into the importance of the freedman's cottage to the Charleston community. This paper is offered as a beginning to the understanding of the freedman's cottage type and its value to the architectural and cultural history of the city. With a fuller comprehension of Charleston's built environment as a goal, the freedman's cottage deserves a place among the single houses, double houses, and plantation estates that currently occupy the front row of the city's architectural story.

SESSION 9:

Architecture and Ideology

CHAIR: Arijit Sen, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

9.1. **The Soviet Union's Path to Minimum Living Space and the Legacy of 19th Century Housing Reform in Europe**

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In the 1950s and 1960s, the Soviet Union set out to resolve its debilitating housing shortages through a mass housing campaign that produced millions of single-family apartments of standardized design in pre-fabricated buildings made of reinforced concrete. The campaign embodied the Soviet regime's broader attempts under Nikita Khrushchev's leadership to meet material needs, which had deteriorated under Stalin and during the war. It allowed millions of citizens to move from the communal apartment in which several families lived together, to the single-family, separate apartment, which became known as the *khrushchevka* in reference to

the new Soviet leader. Khrushchev's regime used mass housing to revamp socialism after Stalinism and forge ahead with constructing communism. At the core of that vision was the regime's determination to eliminate material needs, create a classless society, and demonstrate to the world that communism was superior to capitalism. In housing, this meant constructing entirely new forms of housing fit for a communist society and providing every citizen with a minimum amount of living space. In this paper, I argue that the design of the *khrushchevka* was significantly shaped by minimum living space standards the Soviet Union had adapted from the West soon after the October Revolution of 1917. The Soviet Union transformed these minimum living space norms in ways unintended by the pan-European housing reform movement of the 19th century that had invented them. What emerged was a distinctly Soviet version of minimum living space that powerfully impacted forty years later the design of single-family apartments under Khrushchev. The end result was a shrunken version of the pre-revolutionary bourgeois family apartment, which Khrushchev's regime insisted was uniquely socialist and distinct from mass housing projects in the West that were similarly rooted in 19th century housing reform. The paper concludes by exploring the convergences and divergences between Soviet and Western mass housing programs and how together they can help us rethink the legacy of 19th century housing reform.

9.2. **U.S. Geopolitics as Design Agent: The Global Postcolonial Vernacular in Reston, Virginia**

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As with many of the 1960s new towns, scholars traditionally place Reston, Virginia, in the garden city tradition, which runs from Ebenezer Howard's work in England at the turn of the twentieth century, to the British new towns, built after World War II. In this paper, I chart a different course. I remove Reston from the oft-recited garden city legacy and argue instead that it brought to the U.S. a unique mid-century architectural vernacular, born, not in Britain, but in the postcolonial, so-called "Third World."

The construction battalions of the U.S. war effort spirited American architects to India and Africa. Some stayed to advise governments building independent nations. These stays were transformative. One of the sojourners was the New Yorker Albert Mayer, along with members of his firm—Julian Whittlesey, William Conklin, Edward G. Echeverria, and James Rossant. Designing new cities in India, they came into contact with Indian architects creating their own sense of a vernacular national built environment.

Reston brought the hybrid form created by these encounters home to the Washington suburbs. The town then became a pedagogical space for designers working on the project of the Third World, who passed through on United Nations goodwill tours. These architects took Reston's representative forms back to their own countries, to India, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere. This essay's location of Reston's history in its historical moment's transnational frame not only recovers a lost lineage for the town. It enters the debate over vernacular architecture from a new perspective. I theorize the vernacular as not simply the indigenous, but as a hybrid form indigenous to a particular global historical moment, one that influenced architecture in the United States, not simply in a Third World advised by the United States. To make my

argument, I use archives from George Mason, University of Chicago, University of Virginia, and the National Archives, as well as new interviews with the town's creators.

This paper is well-suited to this year's conference theme of "Housing Washington." When Reston lost its original master plan and began to sprawl along the Access Road to Dulles Airport, it did so because U.S. foreign policy, enacted by important residents of Reston, foreclosed the town's and the postcolonial moment's idealistic aspirations. In Washington's vernacular housing, I argue, U.S. geopolitics itself becomes a design agent.

9.3. **Good Houses Make Good Neighbors: U.S. Housing Aid in Guatemala During the Cold War**

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After World War II, United States government officials became increasingly concerned with the "housing crisis" of the developing world. Put simply, policymakers believed that poor housing could lead to social unrest and therefore to Communist infiltration. Beginning with President Truman, housing aid became a part of U.S. foreign aid programs to the developing world, calling on the country's experts to go abroad and share their "know-how" with local architects and housing officials. From the beginning, the bulk of U.S. housing aid went to Latin America, where the U.S. wanted to assert its geopolitical role in the Cold War. This paper uses Project No. 1 (1956-63), a residential housing development in Guatemala City, as a case study to explore the influence of U.S. technical "experts" on Latin American architectural practices, the role of architecture in U.S. foreign policy, and the construction methods developed by U.S. architects to transplant the "American Dream" to the developing world. Following the 1954 CIA-led coup in Guatemala, the U.S. was eager to prove its commitment to the country and showcase the advantages of American culture. This paper will show that International Housing policy was both pragmatically and ideologically motivated—confronting underdevelopment and poverty with new low-cost building techniques, such as cement block or cast-in-place construction, while primarily limiting aid to the construction of new, single-family dwellings for sale in order to export the American way of life abroad. Architects designed housing projects in a self-consciously "modern" style in order to convey the image of a progressive, developing nation, one that was modernizing with the help of American aid. Projects tended to create, albeit in cheaper form, a likeness of "modern" postwar America. To address the significant financial and industrial limitations of "underdevelopment" in Guatemala, radically new low-cost construction methods and materials needed to be implemented. In Project No. 1, U.S. architects and engineers focused on introducing innovative low-cost housing solutions. Composed of about 2,000 houses, the project was built through "aided self-help," an alternative construction technique developed by U.S. housing officials in Puerto Rico, where individuals build their own dwellings with state technical and economic assistance. Project No. 1 was designed by George L. Reed, a self-help architect trained in Puerto Rico, and Temple Dick, an architect who had worked for the San Francisco Housing Authority.

SESSION 10:

Contested Preservation

CHAIR: Lauren Weiss Bricker, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

10.1. Envisioning Detroit: The Michigan Central Station and the Politics of Representation

Nate Millington, University of Wisconsin-Madison, natemillington@gmail.com

In April 2009, the Detroit, Michigan City Council voted to demolish the Michigan Central Station. The building, built in 1913, is a national historic site but has fallen into immense disrepair. It is now seen by many as an iconic image of Detroit's decline and figures prominently in voyeuristic accounts of Detroit's decay and ruin. The planned demolition is nonetheless being fought by many in the city's preservation community. This current conflict over demolition raises interesting questions about how urban places are represented, how memory is related to physical places, and how visual representations relate to urban economic redevelopment. The station's status as an icon of decay and an informal tourist site suggests that the demolition plans are a response to these representations, which conflict with a desire by city officials to downplay decay by highlighting areas of renewal. This paper will place the current conflict over demolition within the broader confines of Detroit's history and political squabbles. In particular, I will situate the demolition of the station in the context of Detroit's complicated politics of representation, as urban redevelopment and historic preservation become implicated in the complex constellation of race and history that characterizes Detroit's present. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which preservation is connected to conflicts over representational authority, racial conflict, and tourist development.

10.2. Mainstreet vs. The Miracle Mile: Competing Visions of Community Identity on U.S. Route 1 in Hyattsville, MD

Timothy Davis, U.S. National Park Service

This paper addresses the clash of values associated with recent plans to redevelop a former commercial strip along Route 1 in Hyattsville, MD. The conflict pitted residents and historians who sought to preserve significant vestiges of the strip's architectural fabric and historical associations against residents, developers, and politicians who sought to transform the corridor into a high-end mixed use urban development. This proposal was endorsed by powerful political interests as well as by Smart Growth advocates who embraced the idea of a brown field development located (very arguably) within walking distance of public transportation.

The primary conflict arose over the developer's plans to eliminate a complex of three mid-twentieth-century automobile showrooms. One side argued for their preservation as significant examples of local, regional and national social and architectural history, while the other condemned them as worthless eyesores and embodiments of misguided architectural fashions and cultural trends. This group preferred the image and associations of Hyattsville's two block traditional Main Street, and cast the replacement of an automobile-oriented "wasteland" with a dense townhouse development as a civic, aesthetic, economic, and moral triumph. Opponents

maintained that the contested area had always reflected transportation-oriented commercial development and that Hyattsville's identity had long been associated with Route 1 in general and automobile dealerships in particular. They called for an adaptive re-use strategy that would combine modern infill with retention of the strip's architectural character and historical associations. They also pointed out that the proposed architectural treatments had no relation to the local context, transforming Hyattsville's primary public artery into generic Anywhere, USA. Following a protracted and contentious debate, during which the developer repeatedly insisted that any form of preservation was technically and financially impossible, the most significant of the three show rooms was retained and incorporated into the new residential development.

A summary of this process provides insights into the politics of preservation and the challenges of preserving vernacular relics of the recent, automobile-oriented past. This is an issue of pressing concern, as similar resources throughout the country are increasingly threatened by efforts to revitalize moribund commercial strips on the edges of traditional downtowns. As in Hyattsville, questions are arising both about practical matters such as the difficulty of stabilizing and finding new uses for mid-twentieth-century automobile-oriented resources and more philosophical concerns about community identity, Smart Growth, and the propriety of preserving resources that many still find aesthetically unappealing and culturally inappropriate.

10.3. A Modern(ist) Dilemma: Preserving Postwar Libraries in San Francisco

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In the golden years of California's postwar boom, local governments spent large sums to update community facilities, including schools, parks, and libraries. The City of San Francisco embarked on a program of library construction in the 1950s and 60s that reflected the *Sunset Magazine* aesthetic dominating much of that era's architectural flavor. One firm, Appleton and Wolfard, was hired to design eight new libraries in neighborhoods throughout the city. The main elements of these structures included sweeping shed roofs held up by thick glu-lam beams; open floor plans that allowed flexibility in use; and tall, narrow windows cased in wood. Appleton and Wolfard's diverse designs represented a type of popular modernism reflecting California's promise of a new way of living in the American West, a sort of "living room" for bibliographic recreation that replaced the stern, compartmentalized Beaux Arts typical of earlier Carnegie Libraries.

Mid-century modern buildings such as these libraries are becoming controversial as San Francisco begins to implement a new preservation apparatus adopted by initiative in 2008. A more powerful Historic Preservation Commission has replaced the old Landmarks Board, which had little control over the process of planning and development in this dynamic urban environment. Moving from an advisory board to an independent commission may provide the opportunity for greater protection of vernacular and other lesser-known historical structures. Two of the threatened library structures will be discussed to demonstrate the issues in historical appreciation and public policy faced in this dilemma: the Ortega Library, part of an original scheme for a Sunset Community Center planned by William Wurster among others (only partially realized) and the North Beach Library, a small branch in a very dense district that stands in the way of a larger public works development.

This paper will both explore how everyday modernist designs can be evaluated in the early 21st century and also investigate how current city planning treats such resources.

SESSION 11:

Architects at Work: Design and Redesign

CHAIR: Marta Gutman, The City College of the City University of New York

11.1. Southern Homes & Plan Books: The Architectural Legacy of Leila Ross Wilburn

Sarah J. Boykin, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, sarahboykin@mindspring.com

Leila Ross Wilburn (1885-1967) was one of the most influential architects in Georgia during the first six decades of the twentieth century. Using the plan book as a vehicle for her work, Wilburn designed hundreds of houses and published nine plan books in her fifty-eight year career. Her house plans were popular with developers, and her stock plans provided affordable designs for prospective homeowners. These houses are a diverse collection of southern vernacular structures, including the familiar bungalows, cottages, and neo-classical residences that were popular during the early and mid-twentieth century. Today, Wilburn's plan book houses figure prominently in historic Atlanta neighborhoods and small towns throughout the South. Collectively, her work represents some of the richest examples of twentieth-century American vernacular architecture to emerge from the plan book tradition.

As an architect, businesswoman, and entrepreneur, Wilburn created a unique place for herself by promoting the home as a woman's area of expertise and by publishing her designs in plan books that reinforced this concept. With no formal training, Wilburn began her architectural practice in Atlanta in 1907. Concentrating her architectural practice on domestic architecture, Wilburn's ambition was to design houses that were functionally innovative, contextually appropriate, and economically affordable to prospective homeowners and builders throughout the South. Her first plan book, *Southern Homes and Bungalows*, published in 1914, contains photographs and plans of over eighty houses, many of which were built in Atlanta neighborhoods and the nearby town of Decatur.

Drawing from Wilburn's plan books and the author's research, this presentation will provide an overview of Wilburn's architectural career, with an emphasis on her earlier plan book houses. Using illustrative examples of her work, the presentation will analyze the ways in which her houses reflect her design philosophy and incorporate strategies for creating appealing homes for the South. Finally, in examining the timeless qualities of Wilburn's houses, the paper will suggest ways in which her twentieth-century designs offer important lessons for the twenty-first century.

11.2. **Building the “New Old House”: The Restoration Architectures of Joseph Everett Chandler**

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Joseph Everett Chandler (1863-1945) is known today primarily for his museum restorations of early Massachusetts buildings such as the Old State House in Boston and the House of the Seven Gables in Salem. Though little read now, his books *The Colonial Architecture of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia* (1892) and *The Colonial House* (1916), and his essays for the White Pine series, were widely read and reprinted, and they helped establish the canon of early American architecture. Chandler’s restoration work has been discounted, most notably because he mistakenly removed original elements to recreate the historic appearance of the Paul Revere House in Boston. Historian Walter Muir Whitehill famously joked that Chandler’s restoration was so extensive that “Paul Revere, were he to return to North Square, would not recognize the house in which he long lived.” The destruction of Chandler’s plans and office files, shortly after his death, hastened his descent into obscurity.

Newly uncovered evidence redefines Chandler’s work and the evolution of restoration architecture in this country. In 2005, Historic New England acquired twenty-five years of Chandler’s personal diaries, which now have been read and transcribed. The diaries document a prolific five-decade career of over 500 consultations and commissions, which included the restoration of more than two dozen house museums. In his museum work he pioneered several techniques of restoration architecture (including hinged casings and view windows) and weighed many of the same questions that current preservationists do. The diaries also show Chandler’s previously unknown original architecture: shingled cottages, country houses, commercial blocks, fraternity houses, libraries, and even subdivisions.

But most of Chandler’s commissions were for the restoration of old houses for new families, from Beacon Hill townhouses to remodeled farmhouses scattered across New England and as far south as Virginia and North Carolina. The Joseph Everett Chandler newly revealed by the diaries made a career out of restoration architecture, measuring and photographing old houses and carefully weighing changes based upon an extensive knowledge of early American architecture. His restorations for private clients demonstrate a consistent effort to study historic houses, educate his clients on their value, and preserve historic details. Chandler cultivated an affluent, educated, and discriminating clientele willing to invest personally, monetarily, and socially in restoration architecture. The museum restorations were only the most visible aspect of this much broader architectural movement.

11.3. **“Well-Mannered” Renovations in Georgetown: Hugh Newell Jacobsen’s Historic Preservation**

Katherine Miller, University of Virginia, kam8wr@virginia.edu

Argument: Hugh Jacobsen’s renovations in Georgetown demonstrate a respectful balance between past vernacular and contemporary modern design relationships. His “well-mannered” designs illustrate an understanding of contextualism and its hyper-importance in dense cultural landscapes. The sensitivity of his design is made most apparent by contrasting his townhouses

with weekend retreats designed along the Tidewater, where the lack of density allows Jacobsen to more overtly play with vernacular and modern relationships.

Georgetown surged in popularity during the Kennedy administration creating a new social vitality and sense of community in the nineteenth-century neighborhood; and in this moment, in 1960, Hugh Jacobsen left Keyes, Lethbridge & Condon to start his eponymous firm. Living and working in Georgetown, Jacobsen began his career revitalizing his neighborhood through a series of renovation projects. Jacobsen's renovations focus on maintaining the human scale of the existing city fabric, only quietly inserting hints of his modern renovations. Having worked on over 100 houses in Georgetown, Jacobsen's work is inextricably tied to the revitalization, preservation, and gentrification of the neighborhood.

Jacobsen's renovations of Georgetown townhouses, such as the Lee House, dramatically transform interior spaces, with façade alterations. Jacobsen's architecture strives for contextualism, understanding that the urban density of Georgetown's landscape magnifies even the smallest modern addition. To preserve Georgetown's vernacular visuality, Jacobsen designs his houses to be "well-mannered" paying particular attention to the order and progression of the street, as well as the scale and proportions of neighboring houses.

An important contrast to his Georgetown renovations, Jacobsen's Tidewater houses highlight the importance of density in vernacular landscapes—while small interventions scream in dense landscapes, rural landscapes hold a greater capacity for modern additions. The greater porosity of the rural palimpsest allows Jacobsen's designs to evoke vernacular forms by channeling images of idealized American memory. From these houses, we learn how Jacobsen's sense of place is a sliding scale of acuity. Along the Tidewater, modern evocations of regional vernacular typologies can be sympathetic to the existing cultural landscape while also being obviously contemporary.

Methodology: My paper is a historical interpretation relying on interviews with the architect, archival research, on-site analysis of houses, and vernacular methods of analysis. In looking at the social importance of architectural inheritance in contemporary architectural practice, I engage theories of community memory, notions of place-making, as well as the importance of maintaining a sense of place in vernacular cultural landscapes.

SESSION 12:

Ethnography of the Home

CHAIR: Kingston Heath, University of Oregon

12.1. Houses Without Names: Architectural Nomenclature and Classification of America's Common Houses

Thomas C. Hubka, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

There are approximately 100 million houses in America today. The vast majority of these houses have only loosely fitting, generalized names, like ranch, bungalow, duplex, and cape. Most houses can not even be identified by these common names, much less by an architectural style, which is the standard method of professional classification. Consequently, most common houses, past or present, can seldom be identified or recorded with any degree of analytical

accuracy. This paper addresses these issues and offers solutions to the problems of nomenclature primarily through a classification system based on floor plan/room-usage analysis related to local/regional traditions.

The paper begins with a brief summary of housing nomenclature and classification emphasizing the inadequacy of both current and historical traditions to adequately address the vast majority of common houses. Although vernacular architecture researchers have significantly expanded classification standards for common buildings beyond traditional stylistic categories, this paper will advocate for classification based primarily on the internal, domestic usage of vernacular structures, of which floor plan and room usage analysis appears the most productive.

The major portion of the presentation will analyze the major house types from several case-study, metropolitan regions from throughout the country. These regional types will then be compared to establish the basis for local/regional/national classification. But rather than advocating a system of dominant “national types,” emphasis will be placed on the importance of local/regional types to confirm and define national vernacular types. In conclusion, a plan-based, popular housing classification and nomenclature is recommended for advancing the study of American housing and especially for advancing the current and historical study of domestic usage and cultural interpretation.

Research for this paper has been conducted over a ten year period, including detailed housing case-studies (with floor plan and domestic history analysis) in fifteen metropolitan areas, as well as housing “windshield” surveys in another 20 metropolitan regions. The research findings have been evaluated through correspondence with local and regional specialists throughout the country, including many members of VAF. I am currently working on a book manuscript about this subject which is scheduled for publication in the VAF, Special Series in Vernacular Architecture, edited by Anna Andrzejewski and Tom Carter.

12.2. **Looking Inside the Everyday: Canadian Prairie Farmhouse Design and the Meaning of Home**

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“But, like... when you stop to think: Where would I go? Where would I feel at home? Sometimes I think I could have a smaller house, but then... would it be ‘home’?”

Margaret Geisbrecht – Tolstoi, Manitoba

Mrs. Geisbrecht’s house, located on the Manitoba prairie, is a dwelling that does not stand out—particularly when measured against the orchestrated compositions of modern residential design. One cannot speak of its powerful allusions to ancient form, or the sophistication of its materiality.

Most people would drive right by this house. But to Margaret Geisbrecht, it is the only place on earth where she feels entirely comfortable.

This illustrated paper investigates the design and decoration of a rural prairie house, situated within the context of the complex and profound notion of “home.” Emphasis is placed upon the

influences of Mrs. Geisbrecht's conventional everyday domestic life, the passage of time, the modest prairie culture, and the pragmatism of rural life upon rural house interiors. Further, the influence of women within the interior realm is explored, with specific regard to their role in the labour and management of farm operations and, ultimately, as the backbone of rural families and communities.

I argue that the organic evolution and interior design/decoration of rural houses is predominantly an extension of the everyday life, cultural values, and position of women in rural society. Life cycle events such as childbirth, marriages, and deaths, combined with domestic rituals such as bread making, potato drying, and dishwashing, serve to create a physical link to interior spaces. These spaces, in turn, act as the receptacle for decades of personal memories. The emotive power of material culture collections and family photos reinforces the connection to a lifetime of people and events.

Building upon the work of vernacularists such as Dell Upton, Michael Ann Williams, and Annmarie Adams, the primary contribution of this paper is its contemporary examination of the complex gender relationships that exist between the tangible and intangible in a rural Canadian interior environment.

Stories and narratives gathered from first person interviews are linked to architectural plans, drawings, and photographs. Together they achieve a direct connection to inhabitants' use and alteration of space; and to an exploration of the ways in which these spaces have shaped and been shaped by the real people who inhabit them.

12.3. **Behind the "Invariable" Style: The Development of Residential Architecture in Yanxia Village, Zhejiang Province, China**

Wei (Windy) Zhao, Iowa State University, zhao@iastate.edu

Compared to Western architecture, traditional Chinese architecture has not changed dramatically in terms of the overall style and construction method throughout history. The organization and identity of architectural space, however, has been celebrated, reconfigured, and redefined according to economic, social, and cultural changes. The kinds of architectural space here include interior space, exterior space within a building complex, and open space defined by the built environment. The spatial development is especially critical in vernacular Chinese architecture for a variety of reasons. First of all, wood structures need intensive maintenance, which is financially challenging for civilians; thus, most existing vernacular buildings were built within the past few hundred years with little evolution in architectural style and construction method, compared to thousands of years of physical records for state and religious buildings. In addition, historical documents, including building treatises, paintings, and sculptures, rarely give attention to buildings for common people, which limit study to the structures still in existence. Most importantly, vernacular architecture "may be adapted or developed over time as needs and circumstances change," which has little effect on the overall structure, but rearranges the program and space within.¹ In particular, Chinese vernacular houses were not only built with a clear spatial hierarchy, but also underwent a continual

¹ Paul Oliver, *Dwellings: The Vernacular House World Wide* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 14.

transformation in order to meet constantly changing requirements from the family members due to the kinship structure and life cycle changes.

This paper is based on the field research conducted by the author, which focused on the vernacular architecture of Yanxia Village, Zhejiang Province, China. It will take nine houses belonging to the Cheng Family as case studies to illustrate that though the construction of these nine houses occurred across four hundred years, they were built in a similar architectural style, building method, and even design module. It will reveal the development of the residential architecture and its built environment in the Cheng village: the four houses, built in the nineteenth and twentieth century, were strategically located along the pilgrim path, which reached its peak concurrently; while the earlier houses were built in the valley and near the agriculture land. Upon further analysis, it will then argue that the organization and identity of space have been changed dramatically due to the ever changing economical, social, and cultural factors, including the family's status in the village, the number of heirs the family had, the type of business they were running, and the kind of social experience the family members had.

SESSION 13:

A Case for a Regionalist View of Suburbia

CHAIR: Katherine Solomonson, University of Minnesota

13.1. Madison's University Hill Farms—A Mid-Century Planned Community

Daina J. Penkiunas, Wisconsin Historical Society, Daina.Penkiunas@wisconsinhistory.org

This paper will demonstrate that the University Hill Farms neighborhood is far from the stereotypical view of 1950s suburbia. The community's planners promoted a varied architecture and created a walkable community geared to the professional and middle classes that included shopping, employment, education, and relaxation facilities. Information from a variety of primary documents, including university records, builders' plans and archival photographs, illustrates what continues to be a unique and vibrant suburban neighborhood.

Pressure from city government to develop the University of Wisconsin's 600 acre research farm led the 1953 state legislature to authorize its sale and relocation to new lands farther from Madison. The combined efforts of the city and the university to redevelop the area led to a comprehensively planned neighborhood on Madison's western edge. The final plan, prepared by Carl L. Gardner and Associates of Chicago, incorporated a variety of elements, including a large shopping center at the busiest intersection, park spaces, apartments and single family residential areas, churches, and a combined elementary/junior high school with large playing fields placed near the center of the residential area with mid-block walkways providing easy access from various parts of the neighborhood.

The University Regents appointed an Architectural Control Committee to evaluate and maintain architectural standards in the new community. No building could be constructed without the committee's approval of its exterior design, materials, or location on the lot. While the standards set certain requirements, they did not specify a particular architectural style. Scattered through the neighborhood are the homes of prominent local builders and houses

designed by local architects, including a design by Frank Lloyd Wright. As a newly opened and expanding neighborhood, Hill Farms was the location of four Madison Builders' Association's Parade of Homes events from 1957 through 1960. As a result, the neighborhood is a textbook of what was popular and what was promoted in the Madison housing market in the late 1950s. By 1962, a university committee charged with overseeing the project claimed to have achieved its goals with the establishment of a new experiment station north of the city, as well as "an attractive residential, retail business, and office community." The project brought in optimal return for the sale of the land and was a "unique and dynamic experiment in development."

13.2. **The Builder's Wright: Marshall Erdman's Understanding of Frank Lloyd Wright's Modernism in Madison, Wisconsin**

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Frank Lloyd Wright's influence on domestic architecture, especially in the Midwest, is unquestioned. From his early prairie houses in Chicago and its environs to his later experiments with Usonian Houses (including the prototype Jacobs House in Madison), Wright's houses offered architects and builders a new stylistic vocabulary that transformed the twentieth-century Midwest suburb. An examination of this relationship shows the interaction between mainstream modernist ideas and local, vernacular considerations—a dynamic exchange that is essential to understanding American architectural modernism more broadly.

This paper looks at how one Madison-based merchant builder, Marshall Erdman, adapted Wright's architecture to his own prefabricated production model. Erdman first encountered Wright in a bid to be the general contractor for the Unitarian Meeting House (1947), a project that was turned down by several other builders for its constructional difficulty. Later, in the 1950's, the pair co-developed a series of models for prefabricated housing, which collectively represent the fusion of Wright's elite architecture with Erdman's vernacular pragmatism. Though the Marshall Erdman Pre-fabs were not widely successful and remain in relative obscurity today, Erdman adapted Wright's standard modular method and developed a new model for prefabricated doctor's offices that led to the rise of the Marshall Erdman Co. Using evidence from Erdman's surviving buildings as well as the extensive archives of the Erdman company (in Madison), our paper explores the specific ways that a builder seized upon perceived modernist aesthetic values, in this case those of Wright, and reconceived them to create a pragmatic modernism suited to the needs of the late twentieth century industrial builder.

After Wright's death in 1959, Erdman became a prominent developer of modular buildings and a celebrity in Madison, shipping prefabricated doctor's parks throughout the world. By the end of Erdman's own life, he was once again engaged with a pair of elite architects, Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, on one of the first New Urbanism projects to be completed after the original Seaside development. This planned community, Middleton Hills, offers homeowners a variety of popularized conceptions of Wright's Prairie Style, Arts and Crafts bungalows, and mid-western farmhouses, in a higher density, "walkable" community. In exploring the career of Marshall Erdman, the Middleton Hills project, the doctor's parks, and

the prefabricated Wright designs collectively challenge conventional assumptions about the dialogue between elitism and folk tradition as well as the relationship of architect and developer.

This paper builds on previous scholarship that has explored how concerns for industrial pragmatism intermingled with modernist stylistic ideas, in hopes of better understanding the patterns of ideological exchange between the elite and vernacular spheres, in an era where globalization seems to lend to a convergence of method and style in architecture. This project is also part of ongoing research for an upcoming VAF conference in Madison in 2012, two themes of which will be “Wrightification” (Wright’s influence) and suburbanization.

13.3. **Early American Modernism: Regionalism or Kitsch?**

Elizabeth Hooper-Lane, University of Wisconsin-Madison, ehooperl@wisc.edu

This paper will demonstrate that domestic interior design practiced by women in the Great Lakes region, specifically Madison, Wisconsin, during the 1950s was a conscious effort to embrace aspects of modernity, while retaining a sense of comfort and familiarity based on regional heritage. For most of these homemakers furnishing the main living space of their home was an evolutionary process that displayed a common set of priorities. The valuation of personality over the provenance of interior furnishings prompted homemakers to use a fusion of elements rather than make a universal stylistic statement. In these rooms, ambiance took precedence over aesthetics, and the idea of warm comfort won out over modernist minimalism. Ultimately, practicality became a more compelling motivation in the home furnishing process than modernist perfection.

Architectural scholarship that has examined 20th century suburbia in the United States has concentrated on sweeping, developmental patterns that characterize the phenomenon as a national experience. More detailed exploration of regional suburbias can add to this standardized understanding of the suburban experience. The methodological approach I will use in this paper, in which historic object study is directly fueled by user habits and memories, will provide an intimate understanding of postwar, suburban domesticity. It draws on the work of vernacular architecture historians, folklorists, and material culture scholars to develop a fluid, multi-layered research method and works particularly well for uncovering normally undervalued details of daily life within specific regional locations.

A model such as this recognizes that variations in style move beyond formal, visual composition to involve sociological, economic, and political issues. A vernacular, methodological approach to style variations, which recognizes and emphasizes regionalism as a framework, can provide an even broader examination of lifestyle change across time *and* space. Armed with this model, which considers the interaction between the individual, community, regional, and national levels, this paper will focus on the intersection between region and nation in the Great Lakes area and more fully address the diverse range of suburban domestic environments that appeared in postwar America.

SESSION 14:

Race, Class, and Neighborhood

CHAIR: Anne Krulikowski, West Chester University

14.1. Developing Elite Housing in the Industrial Suburb of East Chicago, Indiana: A Comparison of Marktown and the Washington Park Subdivision

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In the opening decades of the twentieth century, many American manufacturers hired prominent architects and planners to design model residential communities in an effort to attract supervisors and skilled workers to the industrialized outskirts of cities. In 1917, the Mark Manufacturing Company commissioned Chicago architect Howard Van Doren Shaw to design a neighborhood for steel workers in the industrial suburb of East Chicago, Indiana. The garden city inspired designs of model company communities such as Marktown have been widely studied. In contrast, relatively little is known about the development of the hundreds of speculative residential subdivisions built to house the “aristocracy of labor” in American industrial suburbs. In East Chicago, the Washington Park Land Company developed the Washington Park subdivision, a successful speculative venture marketed to relatively prosperous blue-collar home buyers.

A comparison of Marktown and the Washington Park subdivision reveals that the developers of elite residential neighborhoods in American industrial suburbs followed many of the design principles promoted by the architects and planners of model company towns. In addition to similarities in physical form and aesthetic appearance, both Marktown and the Washington Park subdivision were planned as restrictive communities that excluded residents on the basis of ethnicity and race. A review of deed records and local newspapers indicates that the developers of the Washington Park subdivision relied on restrictive covenants to ensure the neighborhood’s exclusive character. This paper demonstrates that the striking differences between Marktown, the Washington Park subdivision, and East Chicago’s poorer, ethnically diverse neighborhoods were not accidental. Both manufacturing firms and ambitious real estate speculators relied on similar design strategies and restrictive housing policies to develop neighborhoods for the elite residents of industrial suburbs. This paper will draw on primary written and visual sources to help explain the development of hierarchical housing patterns in America’s industrial suburbs.

14.2. Rebuilding Chocolate City: The Appropriation of Race in the Stalled Development of Washington, D.C.

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This paper examines how the rhetoric of racial and class diversity was employed in planning discourse in the decades following Washington, D.C.’s civil uprisings in 1968. Focusing on Columbia Heights—a historically African-American and increasingly Latina/o, working class neighborhood affected by the civil uprisings—this project uses textual analysis of city planning

initiatives for housing, commercial, and transportation development to elucidate how a rhetorical commitment to race and class-based equity in housing and development was operationalized in a majority African-American and largely working class city.

I argue that while municipal discourse was unique in its explicit focus on spatialized social justice along lines of race, ethnicity, and class, the reality of development in the area privileged private capital and further marginalized working class residents of color. Ultimately, planning literature used the language of difference to forward a neoliberal redevelopment scheme that sought to appease working class residents of color and appropriate the neighborhood's multiculturalism as a commodity. This commodity was then used to attract upper-middle class (often white) residents and upscale private development. Recent development has given the city much-needed tax revenues but also threatens to displace the very diversity used to sell the neighborhood.

This paper acknowledges the powerful ideology promoted by state actors, but my critique of planning strategies is tempered by an analysis of resident response. I illustrate how the everyday experience in the built environment of working-class residents of color simultaneously resisted and affirmed neoliberal planning strategies. The strategic and shifting alliances between municipal planners and residents of color reveal the complex field of interaction engendered when urban development is framed explicitly in terms of race and class. This project offers new ways of understanding how the language of racial, ethnic, and economic justice can be deployed in service of inequitable urban development in addition to exploring ways planners can more substantively engage with difference and equity in demographically diverse urban spaces.

14.3. **Loss of Status: Planning and Preservation in LeDroit Park**

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This paper makes the claim that the demise of the LeDroit Park neighborhood in the mid- to late- twentieth century was not the result of inferior architectural stock; instead, the fate of the neighborhood was tied to early preservation efforts in the city and the town and gown class struggle with Howard University in the post-desegregation era. New Deal legislation on housing in Washington and the involvement of the National Capital Housing Authority in LeDroit Park and Georgetown solidified the future of the two neighborhoods, making one a pocket of concentrated poverty while transforming the other into a pristine example of early preservation designation and restoration. The watershed year of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, twenty years after the District of Columbia Anti-Dwelling Act of 1934 and four years after the Old Georgetown Act of 1950, would find LeDroit Park in the midst of a battle for its social, economic, educational, and cultural capital. The paper analyzes the architectural stock of the neighborhood in comparison to Georgetown, completed and proposed projects for the LeDroit Park neighborhood, media coverage of neighborhood conditions, photographic documentation of the neighborhood, and a critique of the effect of “colorism” and class struggles in the preservation of Black Washington.